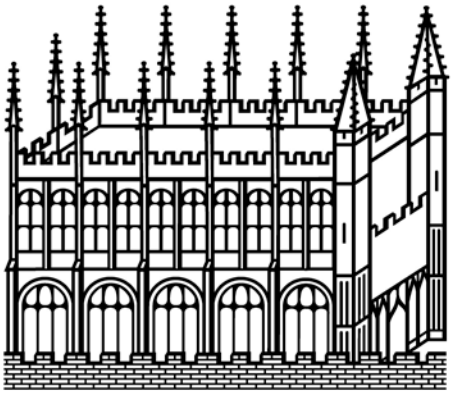

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THE LIFE AND TIMES OF BISHOP ULLATHORNE

BIBLIOTHECA BODLEIANA

3 Chandos Place
Broadstairs
Sept 14th 1870.

My dear Lord Archbishop,

I leave this for Birmingham on Friday of this week, I may say completely recovered. As I shall stop in London on Friday evening, I suppose calling upon you, should you be at home and disengaged. I should like to have a talk upon the education question. Hoping you are quite well I remain

My dear Lord Archbishop
Yours faithfully in Xt
+ W. B. Heathcote

THE LIFE & TIMES OF BISHOP ULLATHORNE

1806–1889

BY

DOM CUTHBERT BUTLER

BENEDICTINE MONK OF DOWNSIDE ABBEY

VOLUME II

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LIFE AND TIMES OF BISHOP ULLATHORNE

CHAPTER XIII

THE UNIVERSITY QUESTION (1863—1867)

THE question of university education vexed the Catholic body in England for wellnigh half a century. A principal motive impelling Newman to respond to the invitation of the Irish bishops and go to Dublin in 1852, and inducing Wiseman to encourage him to do so, had been the hope, shared in by both, that a strong Catholic University set up in Ireland would serve as a University for English Catholics too. Indeed, it was this idea that inspired in Newman the greater part of his interest in the work; and the realization that the idea was not destined to be fulfilled, that, as Ullathorne told him, 'the English gentlemen would never send their sons to it',[1] was one of the determining causes of his retirement from the rectorship and return to Birmingham in 1858.

Wiseman had all along been keenly alive to the need of university education for the English Catholics and the grave disabilities its want inflicted upon them. It was a natural part of his grand vision of Catholics entering into all paths of public life and playing their part in the life of the nation, that he should have wished to see them at the old Universities holding their rightful place at the great intellectual centres of the country. W. Ward says that he had avowed these sentiments openly in the *Dublin Review*.[2] The *Life of Ambrose de Lisle* (ch. XVI, *init.*) states definitely that the correspondence between him and Wiseman contained letters of Wiseman showing that he supported the project of estab-

[1] *Newman*, I, 383.

[2] Ibid., II, 48.

lishing a Catholic hall or college at Oxford and at Cambridge, but no letter of his on the subject is printed. De Lisle was a keen promoter of this scheme of a Catholic college at Oxford or Cambridge, and it is stated that he secured the adhesion of several of the bishops, as shown by letters in his correspondence, though none such are in print.

Meanwhile, by the abolition of religious tests, it had become possible for Catholics to enter the Oxford and Cambridge colleges, and many Catholic parents began sending their sons to the Universities. Some viewed this action with grave apprehension and disapproval. The objection was twofold: theoretical, against mixed education of Catholics with non-Catholics as undesirable in itself, and condemned in principle by the Holy See recently in the case of the Queen's Colleges in Ireland; and practical, as likely to have a religiously unsettling effect on young Catholics in respect of faith and morals alike, and to produce a race of weak-kneed, worldly Catholics infected with religious indifferentism. This uncompromisingly adverse view was held with characteristic clarity and tenacity by Manning and Ward, and they exerted their influence to the utmost, both at home, on Wiseman, and at Rome, to bring about an unequivocal ecclesiastical prohibition against the frequentation of the old Universities by Catholics. In September 1862 Wiseman put into Manning's hands the *Dublin Review* to deal with as if it were his own property,[1] and Manning turned to Ward and invited him to be editor. Ward accepted; and in July 1863 began the 'new series' under him as editor and owner, destined to run, and to exercise a potent sway in Catholic affairs, till 1878. Though Ward's first idea was to make the *Dublin* a rallying-ground for sound Catholic representatives of whatever school, so that he pressed Newman to contribute, in no long time it became the organ of the most intransigent school of Catholic thought, of which Manning was the protagonist in England. Indeed, Ward was ever pressing Manning to more and more extreme positions, supplying with a merciless academic logic the intellectual basis of Manning's practical policies.

The first subject to which they turned their attention was

[1] *Dublin Review*, October, 1921, p. 185.

the University question. To Ward's first number of the *Dublin*, July 1863, Manning contributed an article, 'The Work and Wants of the Catholic Church in England',[1] wherein among the 'wants' a prominent place was given to university education. Manning balances the reasons then being urged for and against Catholics going to Oxford and Cambridge. This is done in fair and temperate language, but his own unfavourable view is made manifest, and he declares he considers possible, and hopes for, the formation of a Catholic University in England. Ward pursued the subject in 1864 and subsequent years. Wilfrid Ward explains his father's attitude and the principles that underlay it.[2]

Manning, both personally during his visits to Rome on Wiseman's businesses, and also through Talbot, strongly urged on Propaganda his sense of the importance of Catholics being stopped from going to Oxford and Cambridge. As the result of these representations, Cardinal Barnabò in July 1863 wrote to Ullathorne, as the bishop in whose diocese Oxford was, telling him it had been brought to the knowledge of Propaganda that some English Catholics were contemplating the establishment of a Catholic college at Oxford and at Cambridge as a part of the '*a*-catholic' Universities.[3] He goes on: 'A certain ecclesiastic who knows very well the condition of things in England has expressed to me the fear that from such a step would follow the evil effects of mixed education.'

We know from Newman that Ullathorne had previously looked with favour on the idea of a Catholic college at Oxford, but had before this undergone a change of view.[4] Accordingly his reply to Barnabò 'was unfavourable to the plan of establishing Catholic halls at the Universities, as also to the mixed system in every shape. He likewise assured him

[1] Reprinted in his *Miscellanies*, 1877, Vol. I.

[2] *W. G. Ward and the Catholic Revival*, pp. 189 ff., and *Newman*, II, 62 ff.

[3] The only consecutive account of the episode, citing the principal documents, is in a privately circulated pamphlet by Ullathorne, *Facts and Documents relative to the proposed Oratory at Oxford* (1867). Newman's part is told in great fulness by Ward in the *Life of Newman*, Vol. II, chs. XXI-XXVI; all references are to be taken as made to Vol. II.

[4] *Newman*, p. 54.

he would do nothing and allow of nothing at Oxford that could directly or indirectly imply approval of Catholics being educated at Protestant Universities, unless first instructed to do so by higher authority.'[1]

In the following January he heard again from Barnabò that it had been represented on the part of those desiring the erection of Catholic colleges at Oxford and Cambridge, that these colleges would have Catholic tutors and teachers, so as to remove the dangers of mixed education. But if this be so, he does not see why the proposed colleges should be set up in the Protestant Universities and not rather elsewhere. This definitely suggested the formation of a Catholic University or University college away from any existing University, such as had just been attempted with such little success even in Catholic Ireland.

Wiseman was now in the last year of his life, when, owing to his broken health and failing powers, Manning's ascendancy over him waxed ever greater and greater; and so he inevitably inspired in Wiseman his own fears and ideas concerning Catholics at the Universities. At his instigation the matter was brought up at the Low Week meeting of the bishops, 1864, with the result that the idea of Catholic colleges at Oxford or Cambridge was negatived; that Catholic parents were to be discouraged from sending their sons to the Universities (no action, however, was taken in this matter—indeed, the bishops recommended Propaganda to take no action)[2]; and that an independent Catholic University was declared impracticable.

The bishops' resolution did not kill the idea of a Catholic college at Oxford or Cambridge, and the sense of those who still advocated the scheme was voiced by Canon F. Oakeley in a public letter to the Bishop of Birmingham, August 1864. Oakeley had been for twelve years fellow and tutor at Balliol, and was now a canon of Westminster and one of the ablest and most highly respected of the converts. He addressed Ullathorne as a bishop known to have given special attention to questions bearing on Catholic education, and, though it is not said, no doubt known also to be more sympathetically disposed than others to the project. He strongly advocated

[1] *Facts and Documents*, p. 3. [2] *Newman*, p. 67.

a Catholic college, but was no less strongly opposed to young Catholics entering the existing colleges at the Universities.

In the autumn of the same year, by a train of circumstances that need not be detailed,[1] Newman became the purchaser of a plot of five acres of land in Oxford. Newman had spoken with Ullathorne and broached the idea of founding an Oratory in Oxford. The Bishop took up the proposal with alacrity and said he would place the Catholic mission (or parish) at Oxford in charge of the Oratorians, if they would build a Catholic church worthy of Oxford. The existing chapel was but a barn in a backyard in St Clement's. At first there flitted before Newman's mind the thought of a Catholic college, or at least hall, in connection with the Oratory, wherein Catholic undergraduates might reside under the care of the Oratorians; but such idea was quickly set aside. It was on September 20 that the purchase of the land was made, and thereupon there followed an interchange of conversations and letters with Ullathorne. Newman wrote:[2]

Will you let me tell you the object with which I have been contemplating an Oratory at Oxford, and again the effect upon my mind of the remarks you made to me the other day?

1. I consider that there is considerable danger to the souls of Catholic youths who go to the Protestant colleges in Oxford.

2. I consider there is comparatively little danger in their going to a Catholic college there.

3. The former of these is the actual state of the case.

4. When I thought of our going to Oxford, it was with a view of meeting this actually existing danger.

5. If that danger ceased, I should not feel any special reason for our going there.

[This in view of the fact that the formation of a Catholic University was still looked on by some as a possibility, in which event Newman held quite explicitly that Catholics would be, and ought to be, prohibited from going to any other University. See Purcell, p. 294.]

Ullathorne replied, referring back to their first conversation:[3]

[1] See *Newman*, p. 51.

[2] *Facts and Documents*, p. 6; see also Purcell, p. 294, for entire letter.

[3] Ibid., p. 7.

Owing to a general impression that you might be possibly contemplating educational objects in conjunction with the University, I called on you for the purpose of giving an opportunity for any explanation on the subject of university education, if an object of that kind was thought of.

I will now say what was exactly in my mind, and perhaps expressed imperfectly in the conversation that ensued.

I wished it to be understood that I was in a position that did not allow me to give any sanction to any clerical co-operation in any scheme that would imply ecclesiastical sanction of the education of Catholics in a Protestant University. I stated that in consequence of a letter from Propaganda, cautioning me against committing myself, or giving countenance to such education, I had pledged myself to take this course, until I received directions from higher authority.

I pointed out that the Holy See had been, and was, inquiring into this question, and the question being *de facto* before Rome, I can do nothing leading to a practical solution of it until Rome has spoken.

Newman replied the following day, September 26:[1]

We thank your Lordship very much for your most candid and instructive letter, and I hope in what I shall say in answer to it, I shall show that I understand its full drift, and shall meet your wishes; as regards, then, the Oxford matter, I will say:

1. That we have no intention at present to do more than accept your Lordship's offer to put into our hands the Oxford mission.

2. That we do so with a view to the *future* foundation of an Oratory there; and for the same reason we buy the ground.

3. That we have no intention in any way to co-operate with the University, or with the colleges of Oxford, whether by taking lodgers, or private pupils, or in any other way.

4. That we propose to confine ourselves to the spiritual duties of the mission, taking the care of the present Catholics there, and doing our best to increase their numbers.

5. That neither now, nor in time to come, will we take part in any Catholic college there, or sell our ground for that purpose, without your Lordship's knowing our intention, so that you may write to Propaganda on the point if you so wish.

6. That we feel the kindness of your offer to write for us to Propaganda, but we will not avail ourselves of it, nor write ourselves, for this simple reason, that if we do we shall give

[1] *Facts and Documents*, p. 8; also Purcell, p. 295.

Propaganda the impression that we are contemplating something more than the performance of spiritual duties at Oxford.

7. That we contemplate, as our first step, to build a church on such a site as we can best provide for it.

This is all that strikes me to say. I have put it down in a formal shape, that you may more easily see if I have left out anything which it might be desirable to say.

Ullathorne expressed himself 'perfectly satisfied' with this letter, and the thing went forward. Still, it is impossible to avoid the feeling that he and Newman were at cross-purposes in the matter and never quite came out into the open. It would seem that they both wanted the thing so greatly, though for divergent reasons, that they would not face the difference that divided them. In letters written in December Newman declares categorically:[1]

As to our bishop, I formally told him a month before I bought the ground that, if I accepted the mission and proposed to introduce the Oratory to Oxford, it was solely for the sake of the Catholics in the colleges. Yet he let me go on. In truth, he knew of no real difficulty or hitch in prospect.

In another letter, October 30, he thus sets forth his purpose:

After explaining why he considered the idea of a Catholic college or hall impracticable, at any rate, for the time being, he goes on:[2]

Hence I am led to contemplate, if possible, a strong ecclesiastical body in Oxford in order to be a centre of the Catholic youth there, and as a defence against Protestant influences. Now do not think I am contemplating anything controversial. Just the contrary; I would conciliate the University if I could, but young Catholics must be seen to.

Meanwhile Newman had drawn up a Circular with the view of making the project of the Oxford Oratory and church known, and of soliciting subscriptions. The full text is given by Purcell (*Manning*, p. 295) from Ullathorne's *Facts and Documents*.[3]

[1] *Newman*, p. 66, and again, p. 67. [2] Ibid., p. 54.

[3] Ward has made a curious mistake; he prints in this place (p. 59) the revised form of the Circular as issued in 1867 (p. 131, where it is repeated).

CHURCH OF THE ORATORY, OXFORD

Dr Newman, having been entrusted by his Diocesan with the Mission of Oxford, has it in contemplation, with the blessing of God, to proceed to the establishment of a Church and House of the Oratory.

Some such establishment has been for some years required in behalf of Catholic youth, whom the University admits to matriculation. It need hardly be insisted on that a measure like this on the part of the University, however equitable in itself, and however kind and liberal in its character, is nevertheless fraught with spiritual danger to the parties who are the subjects of it, unless the inexperience of their age and the temptations of the place are met by some corresponding safeguard of special religious aid and superintendence.

Priests of the Oratory may attempt, it is conceived, to supply this imperative need. . . . Educated as many of the English Fathers have been themselves at Oxford and Cambridge, they bring to the work an intimate acquaintance with the routine and habits of university life.

[They solicit contributions towards the church.]

It will be noticed that the entire emphasis is thrown on the side of the undertaking that interested Newman, the well-being of the Catholics at the University, there being no reference at all to the side that interested the Bishop, the development of a strong Catholic mission or parish. And so Ullathorne thought that, as set forth in the Circular, the movement would be construed as favourable to the education of Catholics at Oxford. Accordingly he asked Newman to withhold its publication, and it was not sent out. But the news of what was in prospect became common knowledge, and was welcomed with acclamation by Catholic laymen of the upper classes, both old Catholics and converts, who desired university education for their sons, and thought that a body of Oratorians at Oxford would so strengthen the religious influences over Catholic undergraduates as to counteract the intellectual and other dangers of the place. In no less degree was it distasteful to those altogether opposed to Catholics frequenting the Universities. They saw very well that Newman in Oxford, or even an Oratory under the prestige of his name, would surely draw Catholics there and practically solve the University Question in the way they

sought to prevent. Wiseman was almost on his death-bed, and Manning, who had already weaned him from his old idea of the Catholic college at Oxford and Cambridge, easily induced him to refer the new crisis to Propaganda and ask for a lead from Rome. At the same time Manning and Ward plied Talbot with urgent appeals to intervene with Barnabò and the Pope.[1] The result was an injunction to Wiseman to convene an extraordinary meeting of the bishops before Christmas, the opinions of the bishops to be submitted to Propaganda. A few days before the meeting a strange thing happened. An interrogatory of twenty questions was circulated among the University men of the converts, lay and clerical, Newman excepted, and they were asked to 'consider them conscientiously in the presence of God, and weighing them in the balance of the Sanctuary, to say, Do you believe that, should a considerable body of young Catholics receive education in Protestant Universities, the result will be the formation of a future Catholic body more conscientious, more orthodox, more religious, more devout, and more pure than we can obtain by any other process of education?' The whole Interrogatory, along with the answers of a convert father who wished to send his son to Oxford, are printed by Ward (*Newman*, pp. 540-3). The questions were drawn up in such a way as to make clear that a negative answer was desired, and, indeed, to make an affirmative difficult. They went out in Wiseman's name, but certainly he did not draw them up. It does not appear whose handiwork they were—probably a joint production of Manning and Ward, with Dr Grant of Southwark, who in this matter was whole-heartedly with them. Some of the questions surprise us: those concerning religious and moral results were natural, but what is to be thought of this: 'Supposing a young Catholic, whose education had been carried on in one of our colleges to the extent professed to be taught there, were to go for three years to a Protestant University, in what respect and to what extent do you suppose that his education would be found advanced

[1] W. Ward says that Herbert Vaughan went to Rome at this time in support of Manning's views (*Newman*, p. 64); but this is incorrect; from December, 1863, till July, 1865, he was on his great begging tour in South America, finding the money for his Missionary College of Mill Hill.

and his character better formed?' Ullathorne was much displeased at Newman being passed over, alone among the prominent Oxford converts, and not invited to express his views; and of course Newman felt it acutely. It left the impression on his mind, as Ullathorne said, that confidence was not placed in him.[1] 'I do not know how to doubt', he wrote, 'that the sudden meeting of the bishops has been ordered apropos of my going to Oxford.'[2]

The bishops' meeting took place on December 13, 1864. Many of them, like Wiseman and Ullathorne, had been in past years in favour of Catholics going to Oxford and Cambridge in a Catholic college or hall; but at the meeting only two were found to advocate it. It is possible to identify the two as Clifford of Clifton and William Vaughan of Plymouth, uncle of Herbert Vaughan.[3] Others, as Grant of Southwark, took up a strongly adverse attitude. A unanimous decision was arrived at, probably in deference to the known wish of Propaganda and the Pope. Ullathorne thus summarized the decisions:[4]

In the joint letter addressed from the meeting to Propaganda, the bishops expressed their unanimous agreement against establishing Catholic colleges at the Universities, and on the duty of discouraging Catholics from sending their sons to Oxford and Cambridge for education; but *plurimi* were of the opinion that the circumstances of the moment suggested the gravest deliberation, before issuing any absolute prohibition.

As a result of the meeting Newman abandoned the project of the Oxford Oratory and sold the land.

Ullathorne was one of the bishops adverse to an absolute prohibition on Catholics going to the Universities; and so strongly did he feel on the subject that at the beginning of January he wrote a private letter to Barnabò dissuading him from such a measure. His Latin letters were usually written by a good Latinist, but this one was so private that he wrote it himself, with results bordering on the comic—he just turned his English sentences word for word into Latin: it is to be remembered that his schooling in Latin began when he was

[1] *Facts and Documents*, p. 11.
[2] *Newman*, p. 65.
[3] *Newman*, p. 71; Purcell, 303.
[4] *Facts and Documents*, p. 5.

seventeen, so that he never possessed any classical scholarship; it was sufficiently remarkable that he should have made himself able to read the Latin Fathers and theologians, even so difficult a writer as Tertullian, as easily as he did. The letter is of interest, showing his estimate of the condition of things Catholic in England at the beginning of 1865, the end of Wiseman's reign:[1]

He said he would not satisfy his conscience did he not open his mind on the grave situation that would arise in England if at that time the Catholics should be absolutely prohibited from the Universities. For among the Catholics some of the most observant, recognized as pious and faithful, were speaking out on this question. The leading laymen on all sides were in a turmoil without guidance (laici potiores hinc inde absque duce aestuant); and some of the clergy took the same view, extolling the education in these Universities. The recent condemnation of the *Rambler* and *Home and Foreign Review*, and afterward of the A.P.U.C., and other causes which have already excited the minds of the Catholics in England, afford, in the writer's judgement, reason for proceeding with much prudence in announcing any decisions in regard to the Universities. For the present he advised only an exhortation; later on, if necessary, a prohibition might more opportunely come. The 'plurimi' at the bishops' meeting who advised this course were nine out of twelve; all were opposed to the Universities, but these nine desired the greatest caution as to the mode of dealing with the Catholics.

Bishop Clifford also wrote to Rome, pressing the view that Catholics should be allowed to go to the Universities, and this was one of the counts a few weeks later against his candidature for Westminster: 'Two things he has been guilty of lately, which will be strong facts against him—writing in favour of Catholics going to the University, and recommending Errington. Both these acts show he is very weak in principle.'[2] At the same time a lay Memorial to Propaganda was got up by a number of leading Catholics, expressing the hope that Propaganda would not think it necessary to interfere, as they were satisfied that young Catholics were not exposed to greater dangers at Oxford or Cambridge than elsewhere. It carried over a hundred signatures, old Catho-

[1] The draft is in the Newman-Ullathorne correspondence at the Oratory.
[2] So Talbot in Purcell, p. 208.

lics and converts being equally represented. It appeared in the *Tablet* of January 28 and February 4, and called forth a heated controversy. The Memorial was taken to Rome by a representative layman, but the memorialists got no hearing: 'The laity go to Propaganda. Cardinal Barnabò talks by the half hour, not letting anyone else speak, and saying he knows all about it already, and wants no information, for Mgr Talbot has told him all about it.'[1]

At this juncture Cardinal Wiseman died. Newman's note on his death ran:[2]

> The Cardinal has done a great work. Alas! I wish he had not done his last act. He lived just long enough to put an extinguisher on the Oxford scheme—quite inconsistently too with what he had wished and said in former years.

During the vacancy at Westminster came the answer of Propaganda to the bishops' letter. It confirmed the resolutions of the bishops, and ordered them to make known to the clergy that Catholic parents were to be discouraged from sending their sons to the Universities. This the bishops did in a circular letter in March. Propaganda seems to have listened to Ullathorne and Clifford, inasmuch as no positive prohibition was imposed.

On April 30 Manning became Archbishop of Westminster; this decided the University Question for Catholics for thirty years, so far as Oxford and Cambridge were concerned. Still the question was not quite closed at once.

Barnabò's reply to Ullathorne's letter of January 4 was despatched early in February.[3] Commending the prudence of his dealings with Newman, both in seeing that no even indirect inducement should be given to Catholics to send their sons to the Universities, and also in inviting Newman to make a strong Catholic mission in Oxford, he went on: 'But if Fr Newman be not disposed to undertake it, the bishop should provide that some learned and worthy priest be placed there to meet the needs of the Catholics of the town.' It concluded with a graceful tribute to Newman's zeal and religious influence, in striking contrast to the tone

[1] *Newman*, p. 69. [2] *Wiseman*, II, 477.
[3] *Facts and Documents*, p. 12

of the complaints and accusations poured in through Talbot by Ward and the rest of Manning's entourage. Barnabò liked Newman, disliked Manning, and was his principal opponent in Rome; he said on this occasion to Ullathorne:

As for Fr Newman, I know he has often suffered disappointment at finding that his undertakings cannot be carried through; so I wish you to take care to encourage him, for his piety and zeal for souls are not called in question.

This seemed to encourage the idea that Newman, if he were willing, should still be placed in charge of the church and mission at Oxford; accordingly at the end of August the same year, 1865, Ullathorne reopened the question. Newman wrote:[1]

The Bishop was here yesterday. He asked me if I still thought of Oxford. I said absolutely, no. I added that I had bought some land, but for the chances of the future, not as connected with myself. He said he had heard so. Well, for the chance of things, he said, he should keep the matter open for a year.

Before the expiration of the twelvemonth, however, the Bishop put the question to Newman once more, as to taking up the work of founding an Oratory and building a church in Oxford.

But the Superior of the Oratory still spoke under the sense of a heavy reluctance, felt how serious would be the pecuniary responsibility that would rest on him, and foresaw other difficulties of a grave character. He asked for time to reflect and consult his brethren. Finally it was thought most expedient, if the work were undertaken, that the infant Oratory at Oxford should be placed in subordination to that of Birmingham during Dr Newman's life, and for three years after. The liabilities that would fall upon its founder seemed to require this, and the Bishop offered to present a petition to the Sovereign Pontiff in favour of such an arrangement. A petition dated June 11, 1866, was accordingly addressed to the Pope through Propaganda.[2]

On hearing of this new move Manning wrote to Talbot, June 26:[3]

[1] *Newman*, p. 123. It is to be observed that soon after selling his piece of land, he had bought another piece, more central.

[2] *Facts and Documents*, p. 13.

[3] Purcell, p. 300.

I have written nothing about Dr Ullathorne's reopening the question of Dr Newman and Oxford. But I am certain it will bring back the University Question, and encourage the Catholics to send their sons to Oxford. If Propaganda sanctions it, I trust they will couple it with a renewed and stronger declaration against the Protestant Universities. I think Propaganda can hardly know the effects of Dr Newman's going to Oxford. The English national spirit is spreading among Catholics, and we shall have dangers.

Ullathorne and Newman had spoken of this aspect of the case in a long interview in May, of which Newman took notes.[1]

Newman raised the question of Catholics being not only discouraged but prohibited from sending their sons to Oxford. Ullathorne said it was not improbable that at a Provincial Synod the question might be mooted, and the Archbishop was very decided on the point. For himself, at present, he thought it imprudent to run the chance of the bishops setting themselves against the laity in a matter not of faith or morals. Newman said he thought many young Catholics would go, whether the bishops wished it or no. Ullathorne said what he should like would be to pick the men who were to go—that there were two men there who were doing the Catholic body great credit, but X. had got into disgrace.

Newman's own private personal attitude is described in a letter of June 10 to his old Tractarian friend F. Rogers, later Lord Blachford:

It is all but certain we are going to Oxford. Our bishop proposed it to me three successive years, and I could not refuse, but look on the prospect of being there with extreme dismay. I have parted with it for once and all, and it is opening wounds which are quite healed. It is a great mark of confidence in him, and that alone makes it almost a duty in me to accept it, considering the various controversies going on around and about me.

At the middle of July came Cardinal Reisach, one of the Cardinals of Propaganda, to England, commissioned to examine the question on the spot. This was a practical and sensible measure, but its purpose was frustrated by the manner in which it was carried out. Reisach was the one

[1] Oratory.

Cardinal who, under the influence of Fr Coffin's representations, had at Propaganda advocated Manning's appointment to Westminster. It was therefore only natural that Coffin should now act as his guide in England; but this resulted in his hearing only one side of the question. He was convoyed by Manning himself to spend three days at Ward's, but he did not see Newman, though he visited Oscott: it is difficult to imagine that Ullathorne should not have suggested his seeing Newman. However, Newman wrote a year later:[1]

It was a part of the same incomprehensible neglect that, when Cardinal Reisach was here last summer, not a hint of any kind was given me that he might like to hear my opinion on the matter which had brought him here, an omission the more strange because he was not only brought as near to me as Oscott without my knowing it, but he was taken to see the very ground I had purchased at Oxford, being lionized over it, as I understand, by Fr Coffin, who had no claim whatever to represent the owner of that ground, against whose teaching he is in the practice of protesting.

About the same time Ullathorne heard from Barnabò that before his petition for the Oxford Oratory should be acceded to, the Pope desired to know whether and why the fears previously expressed as to Catholics being indirectly encouraged thereby to go to Oxford had vanished.[2] Ullathorne showed the letter to Newman, who wrote: 'Nothing occurs to me to say, except that I shall have no difficulty in acquiescing in the Holy Father's decision, whether it be in favour of my taking the Oxford mission or against it.' Ullathorne now sent a long statement to Barnabò exposing the whole situation, whereof the following passage should be cited:[3]

It cannot be denied that in some degree and indirectly and beyond what is intended, if a church be built at Oxford it will be an attraction for Catholics to the city and the University. And Fr Newman's name, as it will be attractive in drawing funds for building the church, will also exercise an indirect attraction for those parents who are disposed to send their sons to the University. But Fr Newman does not intend to change his residence from Birmingham, but to

[1] Purcell, p. 314; cf. Ward, *Newman*, pp. 122, 127, 142.
[2] *Facts and Documents*, p. 14. [3] Ibid., p. 17.

place at Oxford some of the Fathers of the Oratory, and to make visits there from time to time.

This letter of July 30, 1866, was submitted to Newman, who wrote a lengthy reply, in which was the following clear manifestation of his mind:[1]

The two principles—that I took it from your Lordship as a mission; and that, as my own personal motive, I undertook it for the sake of the Catholics in the University, actual or to be converted, I have never give up nor hidden. I profess them now; and Cardinal Barnabò should clearly apprehend that I feel no calling whatever to go to Oxford, except it be in order to take care of Catholic undergraduates or to convert graduates. Such care, such conversion, is at Oxford, the chief and most important missionary work. [He also said explicitly] the very fact of my going there would encourage parents to send their children to the University.

In December came Propaganda's reply to the bishop's petition, giving leave for the opening of an Oratory at Oxford, to remain subject to Newman during his lifetime, but only provisionally and conditionally on its not proving in fact a cause of attracting young Catholics to Oxford. So much Ullathorne communicated to Newman; but he did not communicate the concluding instruction to himself, that if he saw any disposition on Newman's part to change his residence to Oxford, he should take care 'blandly and suavely' to dissuade him from a step that would certainly induce Catholics to send their sons to Oxford without any fears.[2] His motive in withholding this clause was, that although it had no practical application, Newman not contemplating a change of residence from the Birmingham Oratory, it would cause him distress and discouragement to know that his residence at Oxford was explicitly vetoed by the Holy See; Ullathorne would be going to Rome that summer, 1867, for the Centenary celebration of the martyrdom of SS. Peter and Paul, for which all the bishops of the Catholic world had been invited, and he hoped to be able to make representations that would secure the cancelling of the instruction without Newman ever coming to hear of it. In this he acted certainly kindly, but whether wisely may greatly be questioned.

[1] *Facts and Documents*, p. 19. [2] Ibid., p. 22.

When Newman read that the permission was given only provisionally and conditionally, he asked the bishop what he thought of it, and what he would advise. He replied that doubtless the petition was substantially granted, and would not have been granted unless intended to be acted upon. He added, however: 'Yet were I in your place, I do not think I would act upon it. For new opposition and new troubles may arise that may be very harassing. But suppose you wait until I go to Rome, when I should like to enter into explanations with the authorities, and we shall then see our way more clearly.'[1] This advice was accepted, and it was decided to wait.

Then the newspapers came into play. The *Westminster Gazette* was a Catholic weekly, started in December 1866, on strong ultramontane lines, under Manning's patronage, owned and edited by E. S. Purcell, at that time an ardent supporter of Manning's ideas and policy. This series of the *Westminster* has not been preserved at the British Museum. After a troublous career of ten years it ended in financial failure. Manning, being unable to recoup Purcell for his losses over the venture, as a way of compensating him gave him the promise that he should be his biographer. It is to this journalistic episode that we owe Purcell's *Life of Manning*. Whatever be thought of Purcell's indiscretions, but for them it would have been for ever impossible that any real history of the Catholic Church in England from 1850 to 1890 should be written. In the first number of the new *Westminster*, December 29, 1866, appeared the paragraph: 'The *on dit* at Oxford is, that Dr Newman has abandoned his plan of going to Oxford, in deference to the opinion of a most eminent prelate in Rome.'

On January 1 Newman went to see the bishop, and wrote:[2]

> He really is hand and glove with us. He is much annoyed at the paragraph in the new paper, and is bringing out an answer to it. He said it must all simply be cleared up at Rome, and that there were busybodies and intriguers who put things wrong which they had nothing to do with, while those whose concerns they were went on in simplicity, thinking no evil.

[1] *Facts and Documents*, p. 23.

[2] Oratory.

A long letter from Ullathorne duly appeared in the next *Westminster Gazette:*

Dear Sir: In the first number of your *Gazette* you have laid down a rule, that 'when anything especially interesting to Catholic readers is found among the home or foreign news of the week, it shall be carefully collected and scrutinized, so as to prevent, if possible, the dissemination of untrue or dubious reports.' The introduction of so wise and conscientious a rule into any portion of the press might well have formed a subject of congratulation, had it not been reversed in practice by the insertion of the following little paragraph: 'The *on dit* at Oxford', etc. [as above].

For the sake of the distinguished ecclesiastic with whose name this liberty has been taken, as well as for the sake of his numerous friends to whom this statement will cause unnecessary pain, I regret its insertion in your infant journal, especially without any qualifying expression of doubt as to its truth. Keenly watchful and susceptible as the public mind is respecting any rumour of the kind, even the earliest contradiction of it, devoid of truth as it is either as a whole or in any part, will scarcely prevent its being widely circulated, and accepted as a fact on the faith of its appearance in the *Westminster Gazette.*

However reluctant I may feel to enter upon matters far from being *publici juris*, yet I do not see how I am to dispel the phantom you have conjured up without entering into some particulars which are more of a private than a public character.

It is, then, quite true that Dr Newman has purchased a piece of land at Oxford, but it is not true that he ever decided on going there, or on doing anything there, although he was not without hope that by some means the scheme of building a church there might be brought about. It is still less true Dr Newman has ever intended to leave the Birmingham Oratory with the view of taking up his own residence at Oxford. But it is true that Dr Newman, encouraged by me, has had under deliberation the question of establishing a church and Oratory at Oxford in connection with the Birmingham Oratory. . . . Dr Newman has not only received no intimation of such an opinion as is asserted in your *Gazette*, from any Roman prelate, but is still in course of deliberation on the question of the church and Oratory at Oxford.

On January 10 Ullathorne thus expressed himself on the *Westminster Gazette* intervention, in a letter to Herbert

Vaughan, just starting for Rome, without doubt as emissary of Manning, to urge his and Ward's views, and reinforce Talbot in the effort to keep Catholics out of Oxford and Cambridge:[1]

As to the newspaper, I have told Mr Purcell, as I told Mr Wallis when he began [as editor of the *Tablet*, 1855], that a paper will never get on well amongst us with a bishop for its special patron. It will be looked on as a special organ for personal purposes. Do what you will, and all it says and does will be laid at the door of its patron. The mischief that would have been done by this notice, if not corrected, would have been more than some people are aware of. And even as it is, it has been the source of very active correspondence and inquiry. Why will not honest people let each other alone! There are people without heads, English Catholics by name, both in London and in Rome, who do endless mischief by their nonsensical gossip about things they cannot understand, and keep our English Catholic body in perpetual hot water. They are the veritable thorns under the pot.

When writing to thank the bishop for his letter in the *Westminster*, Newman asked him what he would think of his beginning to solicit subscriptions at once, but to embark on nothing before the bishop's visit to Rome. To this Ullathorne saw no objection, and at the middle of January a circular was issued privately to Newman's friends. It was on the lines of the previous one, only every reference to Catholics at the University was eliminated. It began: 'Fr Newman, having been entrusted with the mission at Oxford, is proceeding, with the sanction of Propaganda, to the establishment there of a House of the Oratory.' It included a strong letter of commendation from the bishop, and appealed for a sum of from £8,000 to £10,000, for church and Oratory.[2] In response to this appeal £5,000 was subscribed within two months. Meantime the opponents of the scheme were working at Rome, and at the middle of March came an injunction to Ullathorne, that the permission was being misunderstood;

[1] Vaughan's Memorial of 1867 to Barnabò on the University Question, spoken of by Snead-Cox (*Life of Vaughan*, II, 70), was undoubtedly put in in Manning's name. Ullathorne's letter is among those to Manning at St Mary of the Angels, Bayswater.

[2] *Newman*, p. 131.

it had been given solely for the benefit of the Catholics of the town, and in no way derogated from the declarations against a Catholic college at Oxford, and against the idea of those who would consider Fr Newman's presence at Oxford, or any other pretext whatsoever, a motive for sending Catholic young men to a Protestant University. Accordingly Archbishop Manning was being written to, to bring up the whole question at the bishops' meeting in Low Week, and meanwhile the bishop should take care that Fr Newman do nothing that could in any way whatever favour the entrance of Catholics at Oxford.[1] A letter in the same sense was written to Newman. On receipt of this letter Ullathorne wrote to Manning:[2]

I have received a letter from Propaganda touching upon dangers thought to be apprehended lest the Oratory which Dr Newman has received permission from the S. Congregation to found, should be a means of attracting Catholic youth to the University. It is further stated that by direction of His Holiness you are required to bring the question before the bishops at our annual meeting for discussion. But as Dr Newman, his plans, views, and proceedings are necessarily involved in the question to come before the bishops, I think it my duty as his bishop and natural protector, as well as for the sake of the general interests involved, to propose and request that Dr Newman himself be invited to be near at hand, and invited in the name of the bishops, so that he may be able to furnish them with authentic information, so far as may be required, for the enlightenment of the bishops, or for his own justification.

Manning agreed, replying by return:[3]

What you propose is in every way desirable. A few words from you or from him, distinguishing the Oxford Oratory from the other question, will, I hope, suffice to satisfy a large number of those who are full of respect and regard to Dr Newman, and enable them to feel glad of anything which gives him a work in Oxford.

The bishops were greatly divided in opinion on the Oxford Oratory. Grant of Southwark was altogether opposed, and wrote to Ullathorne a series of letters urging his fears: 'I hope something will prevent Dr Newman's going to Oxford,

[1] *Facts and Documents*, p. 24. [2] St Mary's, Bayswater.
[3] Leslie, p. 185.

as I dread its effect upon the families that wish for a pretext to send their children thither.' Brown of Newport, then in Rome, was fighting Ullathorne's battle there in favour of the scheme; he wrote to Ullathorne in March:

What a bad effect must have upon many this vacillation of Rome about the Oratory at Oxford. There is a violent party against poor Newman. How I wish you were here. All that I can do I do, which is quietly to reason with those who are violent, showing them the hollowness of their arguments, and the benefits sure to accrue to religion from an Oratory at Oxford. I have not yet had an audience of the Pope, but when I have I am sure he will bring up the matter, and I will endeavour to set him right. Talbot could not reply to my reasoning, but he stuck to his disproved conclusions as a parrot does to its empty words. [A few days later:] The Pope opened at once about Newman, but let me reply, and told me to lay my views before Barnabò. The Pope is disposed to accept for his guidance the decision of the bishops at the coming Low Week meeting.

The storm, however, broke before the bishops' meeting. It seems to us curious that neither Ullathorne nor Newman took Barnabò's last letter of March 11 as a reason for delaying the Oxford project. It was settled on March 21 that the mission should be handed over to Newman at Easter, and he was planning to go there to preach in the Catholic chapel on the second Sunday after Easter and each Sunday during term.[1] The Father destined to be in charge at Oxford was to go there again on Saturday, April 6. That morning he had a walk with Newman, which he described as follows to Wilfrid Ward:[2]

Newman, sunshine on his face, talked of the prospect. 'Earlier failures do not matter now,' said he; 'I see that I have been reserved by God for this. There are signs of a religious reaction in Oxford against the liberalism and indifferentism of ten years ago. It is evidently a moment when a strong and persuasive assertion of Christian and Catholic principles will be invaluable. Such men as Mark Pattison may conceivably be won over. Although I am not young, I feel as full of life and thought as ever I did. It may prove to be the inauguration of a second Oxford Movement.'

[1] *Newman*, p. 141. [2] Ibid., p. 138.

Then he turned to the practical object of Neville's visit. 'Have a good look at the Catholic undergraduates in church. Tell me how many there are. Try and find out *who* they are and what they are like. Let me know where they sit in the church, that I may picture beforehand how I shall have to stand when I preach, in order to see them naturally, and address them. Tell me, too, what the church services are at present, and we will discuss what changes may be made with advantage.' Thus happily they returned to the Oratory. The servant, who opened the door to admit them, at once gave Newman a long blue envelope, and said: 'Canon Estcourt has called from the Bishop's house and asked me to be sure to give you this immediately on your return.' Newman opened and read the letter, and turned to Neville: 'All is over. I am not allowed to go.' No word more was spoken. The Father covered his face with his hands, and left his friend, who went to his room and unpacked his portmanteau.

The bishop's letter disclosed the secret instruction hitherto withheld. That morning had appeared in the *Weekly Register*, one of the Catholic papers, a venomous letter from its Roman correspondent, the Mr Martin who the year before had attacked in the *Tablet* the *Letter to Pusey*, publishing in terms studiously and vulgarly offensive, and the most wounding possible to Newman, the prohibition on his going into residence at Oxford. It is printed by Ward;[1] a few sentences must be given, to explain the outburst of indignation it called forth from Ullathorne and from the great body of English Catholic opinion:

What the Bishop of Birmingham's application really amounted to does not seem to have been perceived by more than one Cardinal of Propaganda. The Holy Father is well acquainted with what is going on in England, and knowing in what results the consent of Propaganda was likely to issue, he has thought right to override it and to inhibit the proposed mission of Dr Newman. It is almost needless to say—for anyone who knows the prevailing spirit of Rome—that this distinguished man has no longer in Roman opinion the high place he once held. . . . Good soldier of the Faith as Dr Newman has been, and devoted Catholic as he still doubtless is, a mission of so delicate a nature as that proposed for Oxford could not safely be entrusted to one who has com-

[1] *Newman*, p. 543.

promised himself in the opinion of Rome by certain statements. Only an ultramontane without a taint in his fidelity could enter such an arena as Oxford life with results to the advantage of the Faith in England.

Much will no doubt be said about this in England. The Anglican papers of the mosquito or flea tribe, such as the *Church Times*, and gnats of the *Union Review* school, will, no doubt, make a great commotion, and be very ready—for Anglicans of the advanced school love slander as Mrs. Gamp loves her bottle—to throw the blame on a very illustrious personage. . . . The objection is in substance as old as the oldest heresy. Everywhere have heretics profanely said that they appeal from Rome drunk to Rome sober. Unhappily Dr Newman himself has said what comes to the same thing in the *Apologia*, having in mind, one may believe, a miserable calumny of Dr Döllinger. . . .

Ullathorne wrote to Manning an evidently vehement letter, not preserved; for April 9 Manning wrote a very long reply, in which he said:[1]

I lament and censure the article in the *Weekly Register* as strongly as you do, and I shall express my judgement upon it both here and in Rome. The knowledge that Dr Newman has been led to regard me as opposed to him will not hinder my doing the amplest justice to him in this matter. And now, my dear Lord, I thank you for your openness towards me. I should lament also anything which should cause reserve between us, and on my part nothing shall be left undone to avert it. I shall be most happy to put into your hands all information as to my opinions and judgements respecting the subject of Oxford. You will, I think, be surprised when you know the limits of my intervention in the question. Viewed as a question of a better church and a more vigorous mission you have the sympathy of everyone. It is moreover simply diocesan. But it is impossible so to isolate the subject. And in this aspect the whole Church in England is affected.

Manning, in a letter written a short time afterwards, and intended to be communicated to Newman, thus states his share in the episode of the Oxford Oratory after he became Archbishop:[2]

I have opposed the sending young Catholics to Oxford as before. I have also expressed my regret that the subject of

[1] *Dublin Review*, April, 1920, p. 211. [2] Purcell, p. 333.

the Oratory in Oxford should be renewed, and that on the reason given by Newman in one of his letters to the Bishop of Birmingham, and communicated by his desire, on the former occasion, to someone of the Cardinals in Rome—namely, that his going there would attract young Catholics to the University.

Nevertheless, I stated that, as the subject had been again proposed to him, I thought he would have cause to complain if the permission to go to Oxford were refused; but that the permission ought to be accompanied by a renewal of the declaration against our youth frequenting the University.

As to the personal restraint of Newman's going to Oxford, I never heard or imagined such a thing until the Rescript had been for at least two months in England.

I had answered the Holy See, always supposing that Newman would go if the Oratory went.

And I know from Cardinal Barnabò that the decision as to the Oratory was given upon my answer; and that he believed and believes that answer to have been given against my own judgement, 'out of regard to an old friend'. This he has stated to two other persons as well as myself, adding: 'Aliquid humani passus est.'

This is the whole of my part in the matter. I am, however, conscious that if it had been the affair of anybody else I should have opposed it altogether.

The leading Catholic laity, who greatly venerated Newman and for the most part were desirous to send their sons to the Universities, were deeply moved at the personal attack of the *Weekly Register*. On the very day it appeared a meeting of representative laymen was held and an Address drawn up which within a week received over two hundred signatures of 'most of our chief laymen'.[1] The prime mover was Rt Hon. William Monsell, a prominent politician of the Liberal Party, afterwards Lord Emly; he wished to introduce the Oxford question, but found that some would not express themselves as against the Archbishop. The Address was presented to Newman and printed in the *Tablet* the week after the offending article. It ran:

TO THE VERY REV. JOHN HENRY NEWMAN:

We, the undersigned, have been deeply pained at some anonymous attacks which have been made upon you. They may be of little importance in themselves, but we feel that

[1] So Manning to Talbot, Purcell, p. 315; Ward, *Newman*, p. 145.

JOHN HENRY NEWMAN

C. 1867

every blow that touches you inflicts a wound upon the Catholic Church in this country. We hope, therefore, that you will not think it presumptuous in us to express our gratitude for all we owe you, and to assure you how heartily we appreciate the services which, under God, you have been the means of rendering to our holy religion.

Signed THE LORD EDWARD FITZALAN HOWARD,
Deputy Earl Marshal;
THE EARL OF DENBIGH, etc., etc.

STAFFORD CLUB,
April 6, 1867.

The reply ran:

THE ORATORY, BIRMINGHAM,
April 12, 1867.

MY DEAR MONSELL: I acknowledge without delay the high honour done me in the Memorial addressed to me by so many Catholic noblemen and gentlemen, which you have been the medium of conveying to me. The attacks of opponents are never hard to bear when the person who is the subject of them is conscious to himself that they are undeserved; but in the present instance I have small cause indeed for pain or regret at their occurrence, since they have at once elicited in my behalf the warm feelings of so many dear friends who know me well, and of so many others whose good opinion is the more impartial for the very reason that I am not personally known to them. Of such men, whether friends or strangers to me, I would a hundred times rather receive the generous sympathy than have escaped the misrepresentations which are the occasion of their showing it.

I rely on you, my dear Monsell, who from long intimacy understand me so well, to make clear to them my deep and lasting gratitude in fuller terms than it is possible, within the limits of a formal acknowledgement, to express it.—I am ever your affectionate friend,

JOHN H. NEWMAN.

The editor of the *Weekly Register* inserted a leaderette explaining that there had been a change of editors, the old having gone and the new not having yet come during the week in question, so that the office had been in charge of an inexperienced subordinate, who inserted the Roman correspondent's letter without reading it. The new editor said for himself:

We have no hesitation in saying we entirely and altogether disavow the sentiments with which our Roman correspondent

has scandalized Catholic England. We have received many letters from laymen as well as priests—seculars and regulars of nearly every Order in England—all lamenting that the passages should have appeared, and all expressing their condemnation of them.

The out-going editor similarly disclaimed responsibility, and many letters of protest appeared in both *Weekly Register* and *Tablet*.

The whole episode, both the public attack on Newman and the Address to him, was greatly displeasing and disconcerting to Manning and Talbot, and led to a lively interchange of letters between them, printed by Purcell (pp. 315-20), and by Ward (pp. 145-9); though of much interest, these letters need not be reproduced here. But a letter of Talbot's to Ullathorne has not been printed:

I seize this occasion to say that Mr Martin's last letter in the *Weekly Register* in which he attacks Dr Newman has given me great pain. I have always looked upon Mr Martin as so imprudent a man that I have always avoided him, and I do not think I have spoken to him for a year. Although I cannot approve of many things that Dr Newman has written and done of late years, it grieves me much to see him publicly attacked, because there can be no doubt that whilst an Anglican he induced a vast number of people to imbibe Catholic doctrines, and afterwards to submit to the Church.

I regret very much that he did not come to Rome two years ago, when I invited him with the approbation of the Pope to come here to preach a course of sermons.[1] A kind of cloud has been hanging over him for years in Rome, ever since the affair of the *Rambler*. Certain expressions in his late writings have been delated to Rome, which contributed to cast some suspicion on his orthodoxy in some questions. All these impressions would have been removed, and he would have regained the full confidence of the Holy See by preaching a course of sermons. [!]

Dr Neve, Rector of the English College, also wrote to Ullathorne:

The English papers of April 13 fell like a bombshell on Rome. The Address to Dr Newman and the letters to the papers surprised the faction. The blame is laid upon Martin. I have sent to tell him that I think he has been treated very

[1] See Ward, *Newman*, pp. 47 and 539.

harshly. He knows as well as I know that words more harsh and cruel have been spoken than he has written; he has shaded off rather than exaggerated what, as correspondent, he was bound to relate of the current gossip of the Town. I have told Talbot that neither he nor another personage [Manning] can escape the imputation of having suggested the remarks of the writer's article which exonerate them.[1] Every English ecclesiastic whom I have heard speak on the subject, with the exception of Fr Burke the Dominican, who is eager to defend Dr Newman, have spoken in the same sense as Martin. The Pope will be just about Dr Newman: 'He must be treated with the greatest charity,' were his words a few days ago.

Ward, far from seeking to cloak his part in the affair, gloried in it. Four years later he wrote, December 1871:[2]

I think the evils of a Catholic college at Oxford would have been indefinitely greater if Fr Newman had been President, because of his surpassing power of influencing young men, united with what I must consider the unsoundness and disloyalty of various of his views. . . . I entreated the Archbishop to take some step in the matter, but he steadily refused. From first to last he had nothing to do with stopping the scheme. For me on the contrary, I thought no trouble could be too great, and I wrote to every one I could think of in Rome, saying how the measure was misunderstood here. . . . There can hardly have been one other besides the Bishop of Birmingham, who did not see that Fr Newman going to Oxford would be universally considered an authoritative sanction for Catholics sending their sons thither. . . . There is no act of my life on which I look back with so much gratitude to God as the having been able to take part in so sacred a cause.

It was the letter in the *Weekly Register* that impelled Ullathorne to put together the pamphlet *Facts and Documents*, so often cited in this chapter. It was signed April 15, and was 'privately printed for the information of the bishops'. The concluding paragraph shows what he thought of the whole situation:

On the 6th of this month those most offensive remarks appeared in the Roman Letter of the *Weekly Register*. And,

[1] Martin's article explicitly exonerated Manning and Talbot.
[2] Oratory.

however calumnious and replete with error, they had yet an obvious connection with the transactions here recorded. Other painful incidents were occurring at the same period. And it became a matter of justice as well as prudence to reveal that instruction to Dr Newman respecting his residence in Oxford. For the new embarrassments in which he was placed, and the measures he might be led to adopt for counteracting them, absolutely required that he should know the whole mind of Propaganda as to his relations with Oxford. However painful this communication might be, and however wounding to his feelings, this was done. The Cardinal Prefect was informed of it, and of the motives that seemed to require it, and the offensive remarks in the Roman Letter were likewise transmitted to His Eminence.

Of this pamphlet Manning wrote to Talbot:[1] 'Dr Ullathorne has printed a statement of the Oxford affair. It is fatal to Dr Ullathorne's prudence and to Dr Newman's going to Oxford.'

In an autobiographical note on his relations with Newman, written in 1887, he says:[2]

The Bishop of Birmingham printed a pamphlet to assure the bishops that he did not promote the Oxford scheme. It obviously proved that he did. The Bishop of Northampton called it to me, 'The Bishop of Birmingham's general confession'.

Newman's own feeling towards Ullathorne's action was expressed to a friend a few days after the event:[3]

No sort of blame attaches to our bishop, who is my good friend. He hoped to have made these crooked ways straight, which he could not prevent existing, for they were not his ways; but Mr Martin was too much for him, and before he could gain his point has let the cat out of the bag.

In order to clear up the situation, Newman commissioned two Fathers of the Oratory, his intimate, Fr Ambrose St John, and another, to go to Rome, the Bishop strongly urging it.[4] They reached Rome before the end of April. Their letters are of extreme interest and very instructive: they are printed by Ward (pp. 154-80, 546-51). The dele-

[1] Purcell, p. 320.
[2] Ibid., p. 349.
[3] *Newman*, p. 141.
[4] Ibid., p. 550.

gates were very kindly received by Cardinal Barnabò, the Pope, everyone. They found the Pope and Barnabò inflexibly opposed to any countenance of mixed education. They found that the *Rambler* article of 1859 was still a bad mark against Newman, and he was under a cloud for his supposed failure to comply with the instructions of the Holy See (see I, 318); but when his letter to Wiseman of January 1860 was brought to the knowledge of the authorities, it was deemed to have been quite satisfactory as a first step, as had been pointed out (loc. cit.). Wiseman, Manning, and Talbot have to share and bear between them the responsibility of the virtual withholding of that letter. Once this trouble was removed, the emissaries found on the part of the authorities the kindest and most appreciative consideration for Newman's person and work. Pius and Barnabò both spoke very warmly in his regard in terms altogether different from those current in Manning's inner circle in England. Indeed the authorities in Rome could not rise to the heights of the theological heroics being bandied about in England: 'I think the Italians think us all—Manning, Talbot, you, Ward, etc.—a lot of queer, quarrelsome Inglesi', wrote St John to Newman. Barnabò threw on Ullathorne the blame of the whole untoward incident, for having withheld from Newman the bar on his residing at Oxford; but Newman's friends saw that 'it wouldn't do in after times to let Barnabò whitewash you at the expense of the Bishop. Whatever faults the Bishop may have committed, he has been your friend, and it won't do to leave him in the lurch.' So they put in a note in defence of Ullathorne.[1] It is indeed difficult to see that his interpretation of the instruction was mistaken.

Newman's instinct on the disclosure of the prohibition against his residence at Oxford, had been to write at once to the Bishop withdrawing from the entire Oxford scheme, but he had been dissuaded by his friends from such immediate action. Barnabò said to St John that the permission for the Oratory at Oxford was granted and might be acted on, and that Newman might go there for a month now and then, provided he did not change his residence. During the time in Rome for St Peter's Centenary celebrations in the summer of

[1] *Newman*, p. 550.

that same year, Ullathorne had his say on the whole business. On his return he had an interview with Newman, who thus describes it:[1]

He said Mgr Capalti, Secretary of Propaganda, was very strong about my [Newman's] going to Rome—implored me. The Bishop, in speaking to me, evidently acquiesced; perhaps he had suggested it to Capalti. He said I ought to stay a whole season there.

Then he said abruptly, very grave, and looking straight at me: 'I find that at Rome they consider the Oxford matter quite at an end.' I answered: 'I suppose they mean they have said their last word.' He answered, apparently not seeing the drift of my question: 'Yes.' What I meant was that we had got leave to extend our Birmingham Oratory into Oxford, provided I did not change my residence.

This was August 1. The impossibility in existing conditions of the Oxford scheme grew increasingly upon Newman, so that at last, August 18, he wrote to the Bishop:[2]

I do not think you will feel any surprise if I at length act on the resolve which I formed on the very day that I heard of the restriction placed on my presence in Oxford, which I have cherished ever since, and only not carried out because of the dissuasion of friends here and elsewhere.

That dissuasion has now ceased; and, accordingly, I now ask your permission to withdraw from my engagement to undertake the mission of Oxford, on the ground that I am not allowed by Propaganda the freedom to discharge its duties with effect.

Thanking you for all your kindness, and with much regret for the trouble I have caused you.

Bishop Ullathorne's reply:[3]

Your letter reached me this morning from Stone. I am not at all surprised that you have renounced the project of the Oxford mission. Were I in the same position, I should do the same. And yet I receive the announcement of your decision with a sense of pain both acute and deep.

I have no hesitation in saying it, as my complete conviction, that you have been shamefully misrepresented at Rome, and that by countrymen of our own.

When I went thither I had some hope of being able to put

[1] *Newman*, p. 181. [2] Ibid., p. 184. [3] Ibid.

this affair more straight. But when I got there I plainly saw that the time had not come for an impartial hearing. Preoccupations in the quarters where alone representation is effectual were still too strong, and minds were too much occupied with the vast multitude of affairs brought to Rome by so many bishops there assembled.

I still trust that the time will come when the facts of the case will be better understood at Rome, and when justice will be done to you.

Ullathorne's own personal attitude on the question of Catholics at the Universities is not clear. His official attitude, as represented by his letters of 1863 to Barnabò and onwards, was adverse; but the two who had the best opportunities of knowing his mind agree that he really was in favour. It is a remarkable coincidence that, quite independently, these two on the very same day, August 29, 1864, should have written, Newman to Hope-Scott:[1] 'Our Bishop, left to himself, would be for an Oxford Catholic college or hall; but Propaganda would be against him'; and Manning to Talbot:[2] 'I believe that neither Newman nor Dr Ullathorne is opposed to a Catholic hall at Oxford in itself.' And in autobiographical memoirs shortly before his death Manning said:[3] 'The Bishop of Birmingham invited Newman to found an Oratory at Oxford. It was believed that both the bishop and Newman were in favour of our youth going to Oxford.' Again: 'I have never doubted that the Bishop of Birmingham was in favour of Oxford.' Moreover, words in the Life of Ambrose de Lisle, one of Ullathorne's intimate friends and correspondents, imply the presence in his correspondence of letters from both Clifford and Ullathorne, regretting the action of Propaganda in regard to Catholics frequenting the Universities, but no actual letters are cited.[4] And so there can be little doubt that one effect of Ullathorne becoming Archbishop instead of Manning, would have been that Catholics would have begun frequenting Oxford and Cambridge thirty years sooner than they did. But against this must be set the fact that the movement would have taken the shape, then popular, of a Catholic college or

[1] *Newman*, p. 52.
[2] Purcell, p. 299.
[3] Purcell, pp. 349, 302.
[4] *Life of de Lisle*, II, 9.

hall at Oxford and Cambridge. That this has been avoided, even at the cost of the long delay, Catholics may now be thankful.

At their Low Week meeting, 1867, the bishops had again to deliberate on the University Question in compliance with instructions from Rome. A month before the meeting Manning had reassured Talbot:[1] 'You may depend on me. I have not a temptation to swerve from the line I have taken, or to compromise. You may assure those who ought to know that I will neither allow any compromise nor any dissension.' And he was as good as his word. On May 3 he was able to report to Talbot: 'We had three days of kind and united conference. We were perfectly united on the subject of the Protestant Universities,' on the lines that each should publish a pastoral, and that an obligation should be laid on the clergy to hinder Catholics from going to the Universities by all means in their power. And they prayed the Holy See to enjoin them to act in this sense. 'A prohibition on the clergy must come first. With this we can begin; and my belief is that it will suffice. But we must act at once, for the evil is spreading.'

In response to this appeal Propaganda on August 6 despatched a letter to Manning, to be communicated to the bishops. It was not an absolute prohibition; but short of that, it was as strong a dissuasion as it well could be, declaring it to be almost a matter of grave obligation in conscience for Catholic parents to refrain from sending their sons to the Universities.

In letters to Bishop Brown, Ullathorne complains that the Letter of Propaganda was more stringent than the report adopted by the bishops at their meeting, in that they had refrained from making the thing a matter of sin binding on the conscience of Catholic parents; and he attributes this stringing up of the decree to Manning's personal influence. However, the bishops were instructed by Propaganda each to issue a pastoral promulgating the decision. They did so; and there the question of Oxford and Cambridge for Catholics stood for thirty years.

Manning, of course, realized very well the real grievance

[1] Purcell, pp. 300, 301.

that the lack of university education was for the Catholics of the upper and professional classes, and he had all along seen that the need should be in some way supplied. In January 1864 he had proposed to Wiseman that some priest—he suggested Mgr Stonor—should open in Rome an Academia for youths of the aristocratic and wealthy families of the English Catholics, 'till we have a University'. The idea was canvassed in England, adversely, as unworkable and inadequate.[1] Ullathorne thus commented on it to Brown: 'An absurd scheme has been mooted in Rome as a substitute for our Universities, which if talked about in England would, I think, raise people's shoulders and round their eyes.' At last it received its quietus from Pio Nono, who remarked that 'there was only one objection, that no one would come to it.'[2]

Propaganda had pressed upon the bishops the necessity of raising the studies of the Catholic colleges and schools, so as to take away the excuses made for sending boys to the Universities. Manning must have been very well aware that no improvement in the schools could make them give university education; still he proceeded to give effect to Propaganda's injunction:[3]

> Therefore in Low Week, 1868, I brought on the subject of creating a Board of Examiners in obedience to the Letter of Propaganda.
>
> Nearly a whole day was spent in vain, and at 5 p.m. I withdrew the subject.
>
> That night I drew up a minute, which is in our Acta for 1868, and brought it on next day. To my surprise it was at once adopted.
>
> The scheme was to create a *personal* university, not a local: a Board of Examiners who should universally test and reward the best students in our existing colleges. This was, and always has been, my belief as to the way of proceeding.[4]

A conference of three days was held at Bayswater; certain bishops and the heads of colleges were present. Much useful matter was written and printed, and the subject was launched,

[1] Purcell, pp. 378-81.
[2] Leslie, p. 145.
[3] Note written in 1888, Purcell, p. 303.
[4] In the official minutes this stands: 'The preparation which might be made for a future University by the formation of an academical body of examiners and other officers, under the guidance of the Hierarchy, with power to confer degrees'—that would not be recognized by Government nor by anyone in England!

but nothing done. Then came the Vatican Council, and all stood over till the Fourth Provincial Council of Westminster in 1873.

Surely, never was Manning's power of bending others to his will more conspicuously displayed than on this occasion, when he induced a dozen sensible men to spend three days discussing a scheme for a travelling board of examiners to the Catholic schools, as a substitute for university education!

But his own real idea was the establishment of a Catholic University. When in December 1864 the bishops decided that this was impossible in England, Manning wrote to Talbot:[1]

The bishops decided against the Protestant Universities in all ways, but that a Catholic University is not possible. To this I cannot agree. And I trust that they will be encouraged to attempt, or to let others attempt, something to meet the needs of our laity. It will not do to prohibit and to provide nothing. Many will go to Oxford and Cambridge; and the precedent will be set, and all hope of anything higher will be lost.

When he was made Archbishop six months later this became one of the fixed ideas of his policy, but circumstances, in chief the Vatican Council, did not allow him to bring it to the birth for nearly ten years. He sought to get an injunction from Rome, but got only 'good wishes rather than directions'.[2] Meantime many of the laity went on hoping for Oxford and Cambridge, and after the Council the thing came up again.[3] Propaganda kept impressing on the bishops the necessity of prompt and energetic action in the matter of providing higher education for Catholics. Accordingly, in November 1871, Manning, Ullathorne, and Clifford, as representing the bishops, called a conference of heads of existing colleges and superiors of religious Orders engaged in higher education, to consider the situation. A sub-commission of five was named, to collect information and report. The sub-commission presented at the bishops' Low Week meeting of 1872 a general report signed by all, and five

[1] Purcell, p. 291. [2] *Dublin Review*, April, 1920, p. 219.

[3] What follows is based on a *Report*, dated June, 1872, of the English Bishops to the Cardinal Prefect of Propaganda.

special reports, one by each sub-commissioner. To Manning's annoyance, the sub-commission went beyond its terms of reference and raised again the question of the Oxford Catholic college. Three of the five—Dr Northcote, the president of Oscott, and the Jesuit and Benedictine representatives, Fr Purbrick and Dr Sweeney—advocated the reopening of the question at Rome; one was neutral, and only one adverse. And when the matter came up at the bishops' meeting, five were found favourable to the proposal that Rome should be asked to reconsider the case, against seven who wished it to be held as closed. Thus Manning had just a majority. All the documents were sent to Propaganda, weighted with a long appendix, practically an enforcement of Manning's side; and the bishops renewed their petition for direction as to the course to be pursued. Who the five bishops were does not appear; Clifford and Vaughan of Plymouth were certainly among them; Ullathorne now was not—so he says in a letter to Manning, remonstrating on the unfairness of the Report sent to Propaganda.

The answer came from Rome that the previous ruling was confirmed; but the bishops were instructed urgently to deal with the subject at the forthcoming Fourth Provincial Synod, to be held in the summer of 1873, and to leave nothing undone to overcome the difficulties standing in the way of the formation of a Catholic University.[1] Fortified with this backing, Manning determined to proceed without further delay immediately after the close of the Synod.

Manning's own story of the ill-starred venture of the Catholic University college in Wright's Lane, next the station at High Street, Kensington, is printed by Purcell, along with comments and judgements that seem in this case to be substantially right;[2] therefore there is no need to tell the story here. A really strong staff of teachers was got together; men of such recognized eminence in their respective lines as F. A. Paley, Mivart, Barff, C. S. Devas, gave a distinction to the college on the side of higher studies. It was opened in October 1874; the first year there were but sixteen students; the second year there were twenty-eight (among whom was the present writer, who must gratefully

[1] *Acta* of the Synod, decretum xvii, 8. [2] Purcell, pp. 495-505.

acknowledge the debt he has ever since owed to the high quality of the instruction and formation received there); the third year the number mounted up, I believe, to fifty. But at the end of the fourth year, the summer of 1878, the college had to be wound up in hopeless bankruptcy, and worse—'a heavy cross, a grave scandal', Manning calls it. Manning was the only one who really had his heart in it; the bishops did not believe in it—we have seen that in 1864 they had declared the idea to be impracticable; the laity did not want it—it did not meet their desires or needs, though they contributed generously to it. Manning kept it wholly in his own control and management, allowing neither laity nor religious Orders, nor even the bishops, any real share in its government. Seldom has masterful man succeeded so well in brushing away all interference and in getting his own way so completely, to meet with failure so speedy and so entire. No more need be said about it; some correspondence of Manning with Ullathorne will be cited in ch. XVI.

In 1883 another attempt was made to open the question. Dr Brown's successor in Newport, Bishop Hedley, like him a Benedictine, along with two laymen, being in Rome obtained an audience with Leo XIII, at which they laid before him the case in favour of the removal of the prohibition, and they were able to enforce it by a letter from Cardinal Newman, written for the purpose.[1] The result was that the bishops were again called upon to make known their views, but this time individually and without communication with each other. This we learn from a letter of Ullathorne to Hedley, September 5, 1883.[2] Ullathorne himself now gave an uncertain voice: he stressed the difficulty of going back on what had been done, but pointed out that it was impossible to provide otherwise what the laity want; that the studies are not the first thing looked for in the University, but social manners and polish and status and political influence, which can be provided nowhere but in the Universities—'hence I always knew and predicted that the Kensington College would be a failure.' Moreover, youths leaving the Catholic schools are exposed to the same sort of dangers as they would be in the Universities, in schools preparing for

[1] *Newman*, p. 486. [2] Cardiff.

the various professions, in offices, or in idleness: 'So it is a choice of dangers.' He said a good word for the dozen Catholic undergraduates at Oxford, and then 'left the conclusion to the Holy See.'

Nothing came of the movement. Manning in his old age only stiffened in his view; and Herbert Vaughan, then Bishop of Salford, to meet the new crisis, wrote an uncompromising article in the *Dublin* against the frequentation of non-Catholic universities by Catholics. Manning wrote to him:[1]

I have read your article in the *Dublin* with great assent. It is direct, to the point, and very well done. How I thank God that neither you nor I have ever wavered! How easily you might have been deceived, and how easily I might have been blinded and biassed by my love of Oxford and England. But I have been saved in this and in other things by nothing less than the Holy Ghost. Let us open our eyes and stand like a rock. The faith of the future is at stake.

And so for the remaining years of Manning's episcopate no attempt of any kind was made to meet the acknowledged need of university education for Catholics. When Manning died and was succeeded at Westminster by Vaughan in 1892, a good result issued from the Kensington fiasco. The new Archbishop felt that something must be done to meet the very real grievance of the laity of the upper classes in the matter of university education. He approached the leading laymen with the view of making another attempt to form a Catholic University; they all said quite firmly that never again would they contribute towards any such scheme as the Kensington experiment, and a strong movement was set on foot to secure a reconsideration of the case at Rome. Never did Herbert Vaughan's real greatness stand out more conspicuously than then. Though he had been one of Manning's stalwarts in the campaign against Catholics going to the Universities, now seeing the mind of the laity, and recognizing the reality of the grievance from which they were suffering in the loss of university education, and realizing there was no other way of meeting the need, Cardinal Vaughan not only withdrew his opposition, but frankly put himself at the head of the movement, and threw himself heart

[1] Snead-Cox, *Life of Cardinal Vaughan*, I, 469.

and soul into the delicate task of inducing Propaganda to go back on its former policy, and into the making the new movement the success that it has been.[1] After thirty years' experience of Catholics at Oxford and Cambridge, we look back with wonder at the violences and fears and hesitations of sixty years ago, and the theorizings of Ward and Manning on the inevitable consequences that have not happened, and that there is no reason for supposing would have happened any more then than now. Of course the traditional attitude of Rome was, and is, against mixed education, so that it was easy to obtain prohibitions, which, however, never were so strong as Manning looked for. But if archbishop and bishops had pleaded for toleration or permission, there is no reason for doubting it would have been given as easily in '65 as it was in '95. Propaganda throughout showed itself ready to be guided by the voice of the authorities on the spot. The regret of Ullathorne's biographer must be that, it seeming certain his sympathies were with Newman and those in favour of the movement, he did not act with greater courage at the fateful meetings in 1864 and '65, and join his voice to those of Clifford and William Vaughan of Plymouth.

And Newman: his position, consistently maintained in many letters and in the Dublin lectures on the 'Idea of a University', was that the normal and the desirable thing everywhere would be a Catholic University under the guidance of the Church as at Louvain and Washington; but this he held to be impracticable in England. He was altogether against the idea of a Catholic college or hall at Oxford or Cambridge. And so he advocated that Catholics should enter the existing non-Catholic colleges, but on the condition that strong Catholic influences should be provided in each place to give the young Catholics the religious support and guidance they needed. This is exactly what has been done, and in a measure and manner probably far beyond anything Newman ever dreamed of. This is Newman's signal victory in English Catholic party politics, whereby the idea he stood for, and fought for, and suffered for, did after his death come triumphantly to its own.

[1] J. G. Snead-Cox's account in Vol. II, ch. III, *Life of Vaughan*, makes him stand out in this episode as the fine character he was.

And the Catholic laymen. As at the close of a previous chapter it was right to make a defence for the bishops against the many depreciatory remarks of Manning and his correspondents, so here it is right to make a similar defence for the leading Catholic laymen of the 'sixties, for it was over this matter of Oxford and Cambridge that they chiefly incurred the charges of worldliness, and low views, and weak-kneed semi-Catholicism, so constantly levelled against them by Manning and Talbot and Ward, which produce so painful an impression. When Manning wrote in 1888:[1] 'In truth, nobody cared for higher studies. Certain Catholic parents wished to get their sons into English society, and to have latch-keys to Grosvenor Square. Nevertheless a great noise was made about higher studies'—he was libelling the leading laymen, as was shown as soon as the bar to access to the Universities was removed for Catholics.

It may safely be said that in no part of the world could there be found a more staunchly Catholic, loyal, devoted and devout, and long-suffering body of educated Catholic laymen than the English Catholics of the 'sixties, old Catholics and converts alike; and they had to suffer long in this matter of university education for the ideas of their ecclesiastical leaders.

[1] Purcell, p. 303.

CHAPTER XIV

THE VATICAN COUNCIL
(1867—1870)

THE Vatican Council was not for Ullathorne, as it was for Manning, the great time of his life. Still, he did take a part, and a substantive one, in its proceedings, and was certainly among the bishops that counted: this will appear. Any attempt, even the most sketchy, to tell the deeply interesting story of the Council would be impossible here. All that can be done is to bring out Ullathorne's own share; but even this will afford side-lights of much interest as a contribution to the history of the Council.

For any appreciation of what is to follow, some knowledge is necessary of the heated controversy that raged during the years before the Council throughout the Catholic world. He who would have a real understandintg of the issues in debate should read chs. V to X of Wilfrid Ward's *W. G. Ward and the Catholic Revival*, especially ch. V, 'The New Ultramontanism', the only philosophical account in English, a fine piece of work. The following sketch of the English corner of the stage must suffice here.

In 1863 W. G. Ward took over from Wiseman and Manning the ownership and editorship of the *Dublin Review*. We have seen in ch. XI that the tendency of the *Rambler* and *Home and Foreign* writers had been to limit obligatory Catholic belief to the doctrines formally defined as of 'divine faith' by Councils or by dogmatic definitions of Popes, claiming outside of this narrow circle of formal definitions an almost unrestricted freedom of discussion, criticism and selection in matters of philosophy, science, history, politics, sociology. To combat this school, whose capital offence lay, in his judgement, in an unbridled intellectualism and a lack of reverence for authority, Ward entered on a vigorous

and uncompromising campaign in the *Dublin*. In this campaign he fought for the extreme opposite view with an intransigence equal to Acton's. For him, all the direct doctrinal instructions of all encyclicals, of all letters to individual bishops and allocutions, published by the Pope, are *ex cathedra* pronouncements and *ipso facto* infallible.[1] He was not directly concerned with the Gallican controversy—whether the organ of the Church's infallibility be the Pope alone, or Pope and episcopate; his contention was concerned, as he expressed it, not with the 'subject' of the infallibility, but with the 'object', the kinds of pronouncements to which it extends. He held that the infallible element of bulls, encyclicals, etc., should not be restricted to their formal definitions, but ran through their entire doctrinal instructions; the decrees of the Roman Congregations, if adopted by the Pope and published by his order, thereby were stamped with the mark of infallibility; in short, 'his every doctrinal pronouncement is infallibly directed by the Holy Ghost.'[2] Pusey in the *Eirenicon* not unjustly objected that such a doctrine of infallibility went far beyond the inerrancy in defining matters of faith or morals guaranteed to the Pope by the special assistance of the Holy Ghost, as laid down by the standard Catholic theologians, and, in fact, practically amounted to inspiration; and Ward did not shrink from saying that bulls, as the *Quanta Cura* of 1864, were to be accepted 'as the Word of God'.[3] Thus he utterly rejected the idea that infallible pronouncements are few and far between, or need to be marked by the solemnities and conditions laid down by the theologians, or require any theological tribunal to declare them *ex cathedra* or interpret their meaning. On the contrary they bore their *ex cathedra* character on their face, and any man of good will and ordinary intelligence could recognize them and understand their import, and was immediately bound in conscience under pain of mortal sin to accept their teaching with full interior

[1] This formulation of his doctrine was accepted by Ward in the controversy with Fr Ryder (*Postscriptum, p.* 2).

[2] *Dublin Review*, October, 1866, p. 418. In this year Ward published a volume of reprints of his articles under the title *The Authority of Doctrinal Decisions*.

[3] *Authority of Doctrinal Decisions*, p. 94.

assent. Thus Ward's attitude to encyclicals and allocutions was much like the Protestant attitude to the Bible. He was a man with a passion not only for truth, but for certitude, and he had 'a hankering after premature logical completeness' which he himself recognized as 'prominent among his intellectual faults'.[1] For him the eighty propositions of the 'Syllabus' of 1864 and the encyclical *Quanta Cura* were 'beyond question the Church's infallible utterance';[2] and not only so, but the thirty encyclicals and allocutions from which the propositions were culled were all thereby shown to have been *ex cathedra* in their entirety.

And not only did he urge with merciless logic and great vehemence of language his own view as to the infallible character of this enormous and quite indefinite mass of *ex cathedra* teaching, to be dug out from the Bullarium and Papal Acta of the past; he insisted with uncompromising assurance that his view was the only Catholic one, and must be accepted as Catholic Faith necessary for salvation, only invincible ignorance excusing from mortal sin. He grievously offended the bulk of the English Catholics, who had not been brought up in such ideas, by habitually stigmatizing all who fell short of his standard of orthodoxy as 'unsound and disloyal Catholics', as 'minimizers', as 'anti-papal', and a number of other offensive epithets.[3] The cheerful ease with which he consigned to hell those who did not accept his views earned for him the sobriquet 'damnation Ward'. Though such views were a novelty, many were stunned by the vehemence and the noise and the clear-cut rhetorical logic with which they were asserted in number after number of the *Dublin*, so that much confusion of mind was produced, especially when it came to be known that other ultramontane writers in other countries were advocating similar ideas,

[1] *The Church's Doctrinal Authority*, p. 432. This was a revision and enlargement, in 1880, of the earlier book.

[2] *Weekly Register*, July 29, 1865.

[3] It is perhaps refreshing to know that Pugin once paid Ward in his own coin, on his proclaiming his preference for renaissance classical architecture and ornamentation in churches over gothic: 'I can only say that the less we have to do with each other in future the better, for I must plainly tell you that I consider you a greater enemy to true Christianity than the most rabid Exeter Hall fanatic' (*W. G. Ward and the Oxford Movement*, p. 155).

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especially in France, always the home of extreme views, on whatever side they may be. When Ward had got into his stride, Ullathorne in May, 1866, wrote a remonstrance to Manning:[1]

Between ourselves, I am deeply convinced that the *Dublin's* extreme line tends to conjure up reaction. I know it does, and I should care less for that if people did not persist in making you the sponsor of Mr Ward. People say that if he had been a confessor he would not be in a hurry to make mortal sins out of theological inferences.

Ward's views on infallibility and Faber's on devotion to the Blessed Virgin were stressed by Pusey in the *Eirenicon* as being not only outstanding obstacles to Reunion, but apparently also the coming views in the Catholic Church. Newman, as we saw, threw Ward and Faber overboard in the *Letter to Pusey*, as not being representatives of Catholic opinion. In the Letter he dealt only with the second topic, reserving the first for another occasion. That occasion did not come to him for eight years; but one of the younger Fathers of the Oratory, Ignatius Ryder, stepped into the lists as his champion and broke a lance with Dr Ward in 1867, three pamphlets being written on each side. On this controversy should be read, by those who desire to understand the questions at issue among Catholics just before the Vatican Council, the Note which Fr Bacchus of the Birmingham Oratory has added to the volume of collected Essays of Fr Ryder, which he edited in 1911. Newman pressed forward the issue of the first pamphlet in order that his delegates to Rome in 1867 might take it with them and present it as a statement of his position.

Against Ryder, but without naming him, Fr Knox of the London Oratory, the inheritor of the Faber tradition, put out a non-theological popularization of Ward's ideas, as being the true and full Catholic doctrine, to be held unhesitatingly by all Catholics, and extending the range of infallibility to its utmost limits: *When does the Church speak infallibly: the Nature and Scope of the Church's Teaching Office.*

To Manning the challenging of Ward's theories was very distasteful. He wrote both to Talbot and to Ullathorne that

[1] Leslie, p. 276.

it was 'very sad', and he declared that Ryder's second pamphlet was 'a great evil', and would have to be examined at Rome.[1] He and Ward on their side desired that the latter's position also should be submitted to the judgement of the Roman theologians. This was done, with the result that they would only very partially endorse Ward's theses; consequently, even before the Council, he withdrew from some of his most advanced positions.

In his Advent pastoral of 1867 Ullathorne gave vent to his disapproval of Ward's campaign and of the whole controversy:

> Much has been written of late, and especially in a portion of our lay periodical press, which from its general tone is calculated to leave an impression on the mind of its readers that English Catholics have not that faith or loyalty towards the Holy and Apostolic See which they ought to have; or, at all events, that they do not comprehend what that faith and loyalty require of them. Abstruse questions belonging to doctrine and theological teaching have been discussed on that lay arena as to what is of faith and what is not of faith, as to what is of sin and what is not of sin, and that in a style and after a manner which we will not characterize, but which perplexes and bewilders the faithful, whilst it exhibits us to the non-Catholic world around us as though, divided like them, the English Catholics know not what they believe, or of what they speak. . . . We are the faithful children of the Church, and therefore we are the loyal children of the Holy See. Was it not the consciousness of this truth, and was it not the inheritance of this consolation, that strengthened our fathers in their cruel conflicts with adversaries of the Papacy? And who shall lightly accuse their children of defection, who still are holding with much earthly cost to the faith of their fathers? You know that whenever the Apostle, holding Peter's place, speaks to the churches, his confirming voice speaks the unfailing truth. If the Pope proclaims to the Church that a doctrine is heretical, it is heretical. If he says that a doctrine is nigh to heretical, it is nigh to heretical. What he declares from Peter's chair to be unsound, is unsound; and what he affirms to be rash or scandalous, is rash

[1] *Purcell*, p. 320. In letter of January 12, 1865, to Ward, Manning substantially identified himself with Ward's position (*W. G. Ward and the Catholic Revival*, p. 187). Also in 1866 to Talbot, sending Ward's book: 'It is ably done. It has brought on him the charge of extravagance; but I am confident that in Rome it will not be thought so' (Purcell, p. 389).

or scandalous. This you know. This you believe. By this voice you both guide your faith and regulate your conduct. The sincerity of your faith will not allow you to be falterers; nor, if we must allude to the latest term invented as a brand for the brows of Catholics, will the simplicity of your belief allow you to be minimizers. And for this very reason is your faith sincere and simple, that you keep to what the Church has taught you through her pastors, and concern not yourselves with such opinions as are framed by any unauthorized teachers. You know what example your bishops have set you, and you have witnessed their quick response to every call made upon them by the Sovereign Pontiff.

It has here to be noted that at the end of 1868 Dr Herbert Vaughan purchased the *Tablet* and himself acted as effective editor. He was completely under the intellectual influence of Manning and Ward, and the devoted friend of both, and so the *Tablet* in his hands became another organ for propagating their ideas. It must suffice to refer to J. G. Snead-Cox's very candid chapter, 'England and the Vatican Council', in the *Life of Cardinal Vaughan* (I, IX).

Distant though all this controversy may seem to us now, so much as has been said was essential for any understanding of what is to follow.

Though the idea of the Council had been in consideration since 1864, no public notification was made until the great assembly of bishops at Rome for the Centenary of SS. Peter and Paul in 1867. On June 18 Ullathorne wrote to Estcourt, his secretary:[1]

I have great news, so keep this as a memorandum of history. The Bishop of Orleans [Dupanloup] has just been here, and tells us that all is prepared for the General Council. The Pope will announce it in his allocution on the 26th. The bishops of all nations are strong in its favour. It is contemplated at present to open on the Immaculate Conception of 1868. It is calculated to last six months, and a great congregation will prepare the way for it six months beforehand. The Pope will summon theologians to this preparatory congregation by name from all nations. The great work will be the reform of the canon law, much of which is now in an impracticable shape; but discipline and doctrine will both be taken in hand.

[1] *Letters*, p. 186.

From this time forward the preparations for the Council went on apace. The proposed date had to be put off for a year. Commissions of theologians and canonists were set to work to prepare in draft schemata the matter to be laid before the Council. Eminent theologians were invited by the Holy Father from the various nations, to take part in this preparatory work, and the one thus invited from England was Newman. It should be said that after the visit of his two delegates to Rome in 1867, and the representations they had made, and the reconsideration of the *Rambler* article, Rome took the very wise and practical step of asking Archbishop Cullen of Dublin, as one who could appreciate English writings and modes of thought, for a judgement on the theological character and influence of Newman's writings. His answer was altogether favourable, and this verdict of Cullen, communicated to Newman by express desire of Pius IX, was singularly pleasing to him, especially as there had been no small variance between them over the Catholic University in Dublin. On the strength of Cullen's report a letter was despatched to Ullathorne, October 2, 1868, telling him to signify to Newman that the Holy Father had it in mind to invite him to repair to Rome at once, to take part in the work of the Council, and to ascertain if he would be willing to go. Newman was greatly gratified, regarding it as an honour and a rehabilitation (Ward, II, 192). A paper remains wherein, according to his wont, he balanced the *pros* and *cons*—*pro*, I might be able to do some good, it might be an advantage to the Oratory; *con*, age and failing health; the interruption of the piece of work, projected years before, and on which, after so many delays, he was now fairly embarked —*the Grammar of Assent;* his difficulty in working on boards and inability to speak any language but English; the fact that he was a controversialist, not a trained theologian. The *cons* prevailed, and he asked Ullathorne to lay before the Holy Father his excuses on the score of health. But he none the less valued it as a mark of confidence on the part of the Pope. Pius himself had ever been kind to him, he used to say.

The Pope was not the only one who desired Newman to be at Rome among the theologians of the Council. The English

bishops, as those of other countries, were invited to choose a theologian, and in May of that same year Manning had received an intimation from Barnabò to that effect. A letter from Grant to Manning in September shows that the wish of most would be to elect Newman, but for the rumour that the Pope was going to invite him.[1] Newman having declined the Holy Father's invitation, it was plainly impossible that he should go as anyone else's theologian, and Dr Weathers, the President of St Edmund's, Ware, was chosen, November 1868.

It is, perhaps, necessary briefly to explain Newman's attitude to the question of papal infallibility. In various letters at the time of the definition he said that he had ever held it as a practically certain theological opinion from the time of his reception into the Catholic Church. The following passage in a letter of 1866 to Ward may be cited as a pre-Council formulation of opinion:[2] 'I have ever thought it likely to be true, never thought it certain. I think, too, its definition inexpedient and unlikely; but I should have no difficulty in accepting it were it made.' His strong 'inopportunism' and opposition to the definition as the Council drew near was motived by two reasons: First, he looked on it as the setting up of a bar in the way of non-Catholics entering the Church; and then his conception of infallibility was the old one of the standard theologians, as Bellarmine, with its clearly defined theological statement of conditions and safeguards and limitations, and he was in fear of such vague unlimited infallibility as was being advocated by Ward, and, in even more extreme shape, by others in other countries, especially France.

It is due to Dr Ullathorne, as the subject of this biography, to make clear his position at the Council. A note on the subject is one of the additions he made to the *Autobiography*, when revising it with the view to publication in the last year of his life;[3] but of greater interest is the passage as it stands in the original draft of 1868, written without any kind of theological preoccupation. In speaking of his theological course as a young monk at Downside under Fr Brown, the

[1] Purcell, p. 423. [2] Ibid., p. 322. [3] P. 46.

professor, afterwards Prior, and later Bishop of Newport, he says:

On the Church we were taught the Gallican doctrine, and I still have a copy of the theses drawn up by our professor on that subject, a proof of the then strong Gallican leanings of our teacher at that period. I was not, however, satisfied in my own mind on the subject, and I got hold of de Maistre's book, *Du Pape*,[1] which was in the library. I remember the professor finding it in my hands and being very displeased, declaring that there was no foundation for his conclusions. But my mind tended to system and completeness, and I thought I had found something more complete in that book than in the Gallican theologians, of which we chiefly used Tournely and Delahogue. But the influence of the Gallican teaching lingered upon me for a certain time, until subsequent and more extensive reading, and the tendency of my own reflections, cleared it out of my mind.

Thus he had at an early date read himself out of Gallicanism into a solid but sober Ultramontanism. It is true, as we have seen, that, according to the fashion of the extremists, he was called Gallican by Manning and Vaughan, as they called all the English bishops and clergy and laity who fell short of their own ideas. But we have seen enough of Ullathorne to realize his thoroughgoing loyalty and devotion to Pope and Holy See, and how preposterous it was to dub him 'Gallican' or 'low-type insular Catholic'.

In the year 1866 he preached the sermon at the dedication of St Peter's Church in Belfast; it speaks in wholehearted Catholic strains on Peter and Pope and Papacy, using the Petrine texts to the full. On Pius IX and his utterances he perorates:

The statesmen of the world, however they may revolt from his doctrines, pay this homage to his power, that they calculate the results of his movements and even of his slightest word. The world itself is amazed at his uncompromising boldness; it has no test by which to measure or to comprehend the freedom with which he rebukes the injustice of crowned and successful force, as well as the dissoluteness of unprincipled multitudes. He stands alone among the

[1] See Wilfrid Ward's analysis and appreciation, in *W. G. Ward and the Catholic Revival*, ch. v, especially pp. 88-92.

howling tempests of revolutionary passion and unbelief that beat against the rock on which he stands.

On the eve of the Council he issued a pastoral letter to his diocese, in which occurs the following passage:

In a General Council the office of the bishops is twofold: they are witnesses and judges. As a witness, each bishop bears testimony to the traditions, teachings, and customs of the church over which he presides; and so, when all the bishops have given their testimony, the doctrine and practice of the Universal Church becomes manifest. The bishops are also the judges and definers of the questions that come before the Council; hence every bishop signs the decrees of the Council like the Pontiff himself, adding the word *definiens*, which indicates the exercise of the judicial office. It does not, however, follow that the judicial authority of the bishops is equal in its force and result with that of the Supreme Pontiff. This may be illustrated from our own Parliament. For after both Houses of the Legislature have agreed to a Bill, it has no force or effect until it has received the consent and approbation of the Sovereign. Yet must we not forget the difference between the cases. For the authority of the Head of the State is professedly of human institution, even although loyalty to constituted authority rests upon the divine law; but the authority of the Head of the Church rests directly upon the authority of God, and was instituted by Christ Himself, with the promise that the Church should be built upon that authority, that faith with that authority should never fail, and that its possessor should 'confirm the brethren' in the things of faith. For to Peter in himself and his successors, Christ gave the power of supreme and final judgement, when He established the Church on him as on a rock, when He gave him as head pastor the feeding of the entire flock, when to him, first of all, and singularly, He gave the keys of the Kingdom of Heaven, and the power to bind and loose. It is for the bishops, then, in Council to bear witness, to deliberate, and to deliver their judgements by their votes on the matter in hand; and it is for the Pope to confirm or withhold consent from their decisions. The Church does not consist of body alone, or of head alone, but of head and body moving in joint action; but the head is the crowning authority alike in the Church's capacity of teacher, of lawgiver, and of ruler.

The last sentence serves to bring out the difference of idea between Ullathorne and Manning. Ullathorne's preoccupation

throughout was to secure solidarity of Pope and episcopate; Manning's was to keep the bishops out of it. He, too, had issued a pastoral on the Council before starting for Rome, and had added a postscript on a book just published by the French Bishop Maret, one of the handful of real Gallicans, who reasserted the view that papal pronouncements take on an *ex cathedra* and infallible character only in virtue of their subsequent endorsement by the general body of the episcopate. Against this Manning asserted the counter-thesis, that 'judgements *ex cathedra* are, in their essence, judgements of the Pontiff, apart from the episcopal body, congregated or dispersed', and he repeated the expression 'apart from' three or four times. It was seized upon by the famous Bishop of Orleans, Dupanloup, in a Letter to his clergy, and pressed, I think unduly, to a position against which Manning remonstrated. Still, this matter of the relation between Pope and Episcopate ran through the whole course of the Council, and neither Manning nor Ullathorne succeeded in securing quite what he wanted.

A letter written on October 22, just before he started for Rome, shows Ullathorne's mind on the general situation:[1]

We cannot have our Town Hall meeting [on the education question] till November 15, so I cannot leave for Rome until the 16th, which is the day I have fixed on. *The Pope and the Council*, by 'Janus', has been sent me, supposed to be by Döllinger and Oxenham. It is the gravest and severest attack on the Holy See and the Jesuits, and specially on the policy of Rome for a thousand years, and will be a great storehouse for the adversaries of the Church. . . . Things are daily growing hotter and hotter, thanks, in great measure, to the constant straining after extremes on the orthodox side. . . . A great deal of controversy is raging round the question of proposing the infallibility, and there will be warm work at Rome. Prayer will have to carry the Council through.

To Dr Brown of Newport, the only one of the English bishops to obtain leave of absence from the Council, he wrote more confidentially a few days later:[2]

Since I have read 'Janus' I can scarcely think it to be Döllinger's, it is so outrageous and extreme. Dr Newman,

[1] *Letters*, p. 212. [2] Cardiff.

who thinks it will do immense mischief, thinks also that it cannot be Döllinger.

I think, however much more moderate the Archbishop's new pastoral is, until it reaches the Appendix on Maret's injudicious book, he has committed a blunder by inviting the French bishops to bring the infallibility forward, angry as many of them are against him, and divided as they are into three parties.

You should have seen the former production before it was revised and several pages cut out of it; it would have put France in a fury. It was by my advice it was sent to Murray [the principal theologian at Maynooth], after I had given my objections and others had done the same.

I do believe that moderation will prevail, and that the bulk of the bishops will feel the pressure of the times, and control the enthusiasts. As Grenoble said to me, coming to me in a fury against our friend in the Consistory (1867): *Ce n'est pas le temps de casser les vitraux.*

The Pope, I believe, is bent on the definition, if he can, as the crowning of his reign, and I think it will in some shape probably pass. What I am anxious most about is to get a balance on the side of the episcopate, by defining its divine origin as a counter-balance, and by putting landmarks about the *ex cathedra*. If this is not done we shall have a wild enthusiasm, especially on the part of converts, and a disposition amongst the clergy and even laity to lower the power of the episcopate, and a stronger centralization, leading ultimately to reaction, and a narrower door presented to those who are seeking the Church, and a fanatical extending of the papal prerogatives beyond the fact, after the style of Ward. Look at his impertinence in his three censures on the strong ultramontane pastoral of the Primate of Belgium, even after the Pope's letter has so strongly praised it.[1].

I want to see a good chapter drawn up in the Council on the status, sanctity, and obligations of the pastoral clergy, and some such word as pastoral consecrated to their designa-

[1] Mgr Dechamps, Archbishop of Malines, and afterwards Cardinal, one of the foremost ultramontanes, issued a pastoral to prepare his flock for the possible definition by the Council of the papal infallibility, and explaining the import of the doctrine. He followed the traditional teaching of the standard theologians as to the conditions and limitations of infallible pronouncements. Such teaching was not in accord with Ward's ideas; and so, notwithstanding a special letter of approbation of Pius IX, he expressed his dissent from this portion of the pastoral. Similarly, a work of another foremost ultramontane, Abbot Guéranger, published at this time, and approved by a papal letter, Ward criticized on the same ground of 'minimizing' the doctrine.

tion that we may not always be tied to that detestable word 'secular' to mark them off. Everyone to whom I have spoken, the Archbishop and Reisach included, all think this of the utmost importance for the future well-being of them who have the real responsibility of souls on them.

The Council had been convoked for the Feast of the Immaculate Conception, December 8, 1869. Ullathorne left England November 16, going by Paris and Marseilles, and thence by sea to Genoa, Leghorn, and Civita Vecchia. After an adventure whereby he missed the ship at Leghorn and got separated from his luggage for some days, he arrived at Rome and was lodged in the English college, along with half a dozen of the English bishops. Naturally his first visit was to Cardinal Barnabò:

After three calls at Propaganda, I found him, as usual, among the clerks. As soon as he saw me, up he came. 'Why, Ullathorne!' grasping me round and giving me two strong hugs, 'what has made your hair so grey?' I could only return the compliment; but he was warm and affectionate as an old friend could be.

Ullathorne's picture of the opening session on December 8 is given in the volume of *Letters* (p. 214). The mode of procedure at the Council must be explained. The public business was transacted at Public Sessions and General Congregations. It was at the latter that the business was really done, the Public Sessions, of which there were only four, being the solemn functions marking each stage of the Council. Four deputations or subcommittees, each of twenty-four, were elected by the bishops by ballot—one for Faith or dogma, one for ecclesiastical discipline, one for regulars and religious Orders, one for Oriental matters and foreign missions. The great work of the Council fell on these deputations. The various schemata, prepared beforehand by the commissions of theologians and canonists, were first circulated among the bishops, and all who desired to do so wrote their observations and criticisms on each schema. These observations were given to the deputation to whom the subject belonged, and it was their duty to consider the criticisms and recast the text of the schema so as to try to meet any general wish expressed. Then the new text was debated, first as a whole,

and then chapter by chapter, at the General Congregations; and the deputation had to schedule all the amendments proposed line by line, circulate them, consider them, advise the acceptance or rejection of each; and then, after they had been voted on, one by one, revise the text again, incorporating the amendments passed at the General Congregation. Nor was this the last. The text so revised was again put to the vote, and an opportunity for amendments once again afforded. These last amendments—and they used to be very numerous—were once more dealt with, and not till then was the decree put to the final voting at a Public Session, and, when passed, was confirmed and enacted by the Pope, 'with the approval of the Council'. Only two dogmatic Constitutions—in reality half-Constitutions, covering less than twenty octavo pages—emerged from the eight months of the Council. There were eighty-six General Congregations, of about four hours' duration, regularly attended by 500 to 600 Fathers, the speeches often lasting an hour each. Anyone who will look even in a cursory way through the great volume of *Acta*,[1] must be filled with wonder at the number of speakers, and the amendments by the hundred, great and small, even in matter of Latinity, and the care with which they were sifted, and the theological knowledge and acumen it all bespeaks, and the endurance of middle-aged and elderly bishops listening day after day for three hours on end to long theological speeches in Latin. It may be doubted if in the whole history of deliberative assemblies so much work, so much criticism, so much thought has ever been put into legislative acts as was put into these dogmatic Constitutions of the Vatican Council.

Ullathorne was elected to the deputation on ecclesiastical discipline, or the reform of the canon law. There was an understanding that each nation should have at least one representative on each deputation. Lists of suggested names were circulated, and Ullathorne's was on the two principal lists for the deputation on discipline, so that he came out second, Archbishops McClosky of New York and John MacHale of Tuam being the first and the third. It was noticed as remarkable that the three English-speaking

[1] Vol. VII of the *Collectio Lacensis Conciliorum Recentiorum*.

bishops should head the poll. Manning and Clifford were the English bishops on the deputations *de Fide* and on Regulars respectively.

The newspaper men were, of course, active in trying to penetrate the secrets being enacted behind the veil in the Council; and as English public opinion on the Council was mainly formed on the reports of the special correspondent of *The Times*, the following letter written by Ullathorne on December 23 may be cited with advantage:

The Times correspondent has entertained the world with the most astounding decisions, dissensions and confusion in the Council. The President stopped bishops by his bell, 130 bishops walked out of the Council in disgust, and all sorts of protests have been made against oppression of our liberty of speech and action: the fact being that not a bishop has yet opened his mouth, except in prayer and singing and uttering certain formularies. *The Times* has much to say about a certain bull that has angered the bishops until the Pope durst not publish it in the Session: the fact being that this so-called bull is the method of proceeding distributed at the presynodal assembly in the Sistine containing the ordinary rules of a General Council. The correspondent has even got a glimpse of it, and quoted from it, as an astute obtaining of secret information: the document being posted all the while on the walls of the city. He tells a conversation between the Pope and Cardinal Bonnechose, how the Cardinal told a piece of his mind to the Pope, and the words are given: that Cardinal being the actual leader of what may be called the Roman and papal party amongst the French. The lies with which people have deluded the poor correspondent are so huge, so ludicrous, so utterly antagonistic to the facts, that we read them at our table as they arrive from London with roars of laughter. He says the bishops were kept two and a half hours at devotions, Mass, etc., before beginning discussions, thus wearing them down first: the fact being that we have simply the Low Mass of the Holy Ghost, then give in our votes [for the deputations, etc.], prepared beforehand, and that is hitherto all we have done, except to receive printed documents to take home with us. Discussion begins next Tuesday for the first time. He even tells who spoke Latin, who French, and who got into a passion. Well! I suppose England will believe all this, and it will become part of the Protestant tradition. Let us turn to something less revolting, to truth and common sense. But

almost all English papers are going in the same vein. Even the *Tablet* has made some very egregious statements, having no truth in them. Well did I advise the faithful in the pastoral to trust nothing but authentic documents.

On December 29 he writes that on that morning the first discussion began and six prelates spoke. 'The matter in debate has been long before us in that green book which the correspondent of *The Times* is so anxious to get a look at. Tied by the pontifical secret, I yet may say that clear signs were given that there will be no absence of freedom in discussion.'

The first subject brought before the Council was the theologians' schema on 'Catholic Doctrine, against the manifold errors flowing from rationalism.' It was the principal theme up to Easter. The schema was divided into two parts, and the first part was by dint of prodigious labour and discussion shaped into the Dogmatic Constitution passed and enacted at the Public Session of Low Sunday, April 24. Ullathorne intervened with success at one point, as shall be noted just now.

The question of the definition of papal infallibility was, of course, in the air from the beginning, and unofficial international committees had formed themselves for the purpose of promoting or of preventing the definition, Manning being the chief driving power on the one side, and Dupanloup of Orleans on the other. The theologians had advised that the question be not brought up at the Council, unless asked for by the bishops; consequently it was not included in the schema on Church and Pope first proposed to the bishops. But it was perfectly certain, considering the controversies going on outside the Council, and the temper of men's minds, that a great number of the bishops would call for its introduction. And so it fell out. In the course of January various petitions were signed by nearly 500 bishops praying for its introduction, and counter-petitions by 136 bishops. These documents were all at the beginning of February laid before the special commission appointed to report on postulations for the bringing of any fresh matter before the Council, and it was not until March 6 that the announcement was made that the Holy Father, on the advice of the commission, ordained

that the infallibility be added to the schema on Church and Pontiff.

While these movements were in progress, Ullathorne wrote to Newman, January 20:

It has occurred to me that a letter from me would not be unacceptable to you. I therefore write before I get too much involved in the labours of the special deputation of discipline, to which I was, however unworthy, elected.

We have now got through all the preliminaries and formalities, and the Council is fairly at work, and my impression is that it will ultimately do a good work for the Church. But large bodies move slowly, and the Roman Curia is unaccustomed to the craft of managing great assemblies engaged in discussion. . . . There is no stiffness in the demeanour of the assembled Council—all is free, easy, and of course fraternal and courteous; and there is a good deal of coming and going in a quiet way without interference with the speaker, who addresses from an ambo at the lower end of the aula. It is one mass of many-coloured mantellettas, and episcopal faces, and a very lively scene ever in gentle waving motion, unless when some able speaker rivets attention. . . . Thus far the Germans have exhibited the greatest solidity and closeness to the business in hand. The Hungarians have delighted by the fluent and pliable ease with which they use the Latin as a vernacular tongue. The French, with two very remarkable exceptions, have been rhetorical. The North Americans have been able and businesslike. The Italians have presented opposite qualities: some clever and to the point, others mere academical preachers. The Spaniards have been least successful, whether for judgement or handling the point in hand.[1] . . . You will hear a good deal of movements outside of the Council, and, indeed, I wish there was less of them; but they certainly began on what may be called the *ultra* side, which naturally led to efforts at counter-organization. But everything will find its level, though this may require a little time. Many reputations will be marred and made in this Council, and the true metal, tried in the fire of patience, will come out at last. For my part, I decline all invitations to all reunions of a party character—to all moves, in fact, that can be construed into partisanship outside the Council, and have made my rule known that I will put hand to no petitions or propositions on this side or that. I hear all sides, say my say when I think it prudent, and keep my course for the interior of the Council. The Pope

[1] See *Letters*, p. 223.

said to most of the nations at their audience: 'You will find the Holy Ghost inside the Council, not outside of it.' Still, I allow that prelates must understand one another, and that each nation must confer on its own requirements, and there must be understandings come to as to joint action.

Be assured of this, that Rome itself is learning a great deal about the state of the Church and of the position of the faithful in their divers countries, and that the very freest speech is used, consistent with that mutual respect which the authorities of the Church owe to each other. One great result of the Council must necessarily be the widening of knowledge and experience on the part of Rome as well as on that of the universal episcopate. For the rest, even the strongest adversaries, in so far as questions of ecclesiastical polity are concerned, are full of kindness and courtesy towards each other, even to great edification.

Just then *The Times* correspondent added to his enormities by announcing that Ullathorne had joined the international committee against the definition of the infallibility. On February 11 appeared a letter from him:

I must ask you to allow me to state in your journal (1) that I am no Gallican; (2) that I have joined no party outside the Council, or with reference to the Council; (3) that I have signed no document drawn up by any person or party whatsoever; (4) that I neither contemplate secession from the Council in any contingency that could arise, nor do I know of anyone who does. Finally, that I am contented with the position of affairs in the Council.[1]

On this letter to *The Times* Ullathorne wrote to his friend Dr Northcote, the President of Oscott:

Yesterday I despatched a letter to *The Times*, not sorry that its Roman correspondent gave me the opportunity, as both here and in England rumour, and the trick of parties, has been free and unjust in the use of my name. It has been for some time said that I took part with and signed the petition of the anti-papal party, as it may be called for want of an accurate designation. On the contrary, I have been exercising quietly a moderating influence. The Pope himself believed it, but now has been able to see with his own eyes that it is not true. Of course, the outside of the Council is an arena of policy and intrigue, and moderate men are

[1] It was to this same time that belonged Odo Russell's statement, 'Bishop Ullathorne has joined the ranks of the Opposition' (Purcell, p. 439).

disliked by the extremes of both parties. Still I am quite satisfied with the position, and I know from most authentic sources that moderation will prevail.

It was in reply to Ullathorne's letter of January 20 that Newman wrote that one which, by becoming public, caused at the time, it is not too much to say, a world-wide sensation. The letter has been printed more than once—indeed, many times;[1] but Ullathorne's part in the correspondence has not, and may fittingly find a place here. So Newman's letter must be given again; indeed, it could not be passed over in any account of the doings of the English Catholics:[2]

January 28, 1870.—My dear Lord: I thank your Lordship very heartily for your most interesting and seasonable letter. Such letters, if they could be circulated, would do much to reassure the many minds which are at present distressed when they look towards Rome. Rome ought to be a name to lighten the heart at all times, and a Council's proper office is, when some great heresy or other evil impends, to inspire the faithful with hope and confidence; but now we have the greatest meeting which ever has been, and that at Rome, infusing into us by the accredited organs of Rome and its partisans (such as the *Civiltà*, the *Armonia*, the *Univers*, and the *Tablet*) little else than fear and dismay.

When we are all at rest, and have no doubts, and—at least practically, not to say doctrinally—hold the Holy Father to be infallible, suddenly there is thunder in the clear sky, and we are told to prepare for something we know not what, to try our faith we know not how. No impending danger is to be averted, but a great difficulty is to be created. Is this the proper work for an Ecumenical Council? As to myself personally, please God, I do not expect any trial at all; but I cannot help suffering with the various souls which are suffering, and I look with anxiety at the prospect of having to defend decisions which may not be difficult to my private judgement, but may be most difficult to maintain logically in the face of historical facts. What have we done to be treated as the faithful never were treated before? When has definition of doctrine *de fide* been a luxury of devotion, and not a stern painful necessity? Why should an aggressive insolent faction be allowed to 'make the heart of the just

[1] By Ward, *Newman*, II, 287; by Snead-Cox, *Life of Cardinal Vaughan*, I, 219.

[2] It is here printed from the original letter actually sent, now in the Oratory archives, Birmingham.

to mourn, whom the Lord hath not made sorrowful'? Why can't we be let alone, when we have pursued peace, and thought no evil? I assure you, my dear Lord, some of the truest minds are driven one way and another, and do not know where to rest their feet, one day determining to give up all theology as a bad job, and recklessly to believe henceforth almost that the Pope is impeccable; at another tempted to believe all the worst that a book like *Janus* says; others doubting about the capacity possessed by bishops, drawn from all corners of the earth, to judge what is fitting for European society, and then again angry with the Holy See for listening to the flattery of a clique of Jesuits, Redemptorists and converts.

Then, again, think of the store of pontifical scandals in the history of eighteen centuries which have partly been poured out and partly are still to come. What Murphy inflicted upon us in one way, M. Veuillot indirectly is bringing on us in another.[1]

And then again, the blight which is falling upon the multitude of Anglican ritualists, etc., who themselves perhaps, at least their leaders, may never become Catholics, but who are leavening the various English denominations and parties (far beyond their own range) with principles and sentiments tending towards their ultimate absorption in the Catholic Church.

With these thoughts before me, I am continually asking myself whether I ought not to make my feelings public; but all I do is to pray those great early Doctors of the Church, whose intercession would decide the matter—Augustine and the rest—to avert so great a calamity. If it is God's Will that the Pope's infallibility should be defined, then is it His blessed Will to throw back 'the times and the moments' of that triumph which He has destined for His kingdom; and I shall feel I have but to bow my head to His adorable, inscrutable Providence. You have not touched upon the subject yourself; but I think you will allow me to express to you feelings which for the most part I keep to myself.

Of this letter Newman says that in it '*liberavi animam meam* to my bishop, with great deliberation, in one of the most passionate and most confidential letters I ever wrote in my life.'[2] The flood-gates were opened and the torrent of

[1] The reference to 'Murphy', and the offence caused by the coupling of his name with Veuillot's, will be understood from the narrative in ch. XVII.

[2] Ward, *Newman*, 291. The word there printed is 'private'; but it is 'passionate' quite clearly both in the notes of the rough draft, and in the clean copy kept, in Fr Neville's writing.

pent-up feelings of ten years overflowed. As has sufficiently been seen, he knew very well the campaign persistently carried on against him in private in England and at Rome, by Ward, Coffin, Vaughan, Talbot; and as he felt, surely rightly, with the knowledge and countenance of Manning. The evidence of this campaign is overwhelming, and it was not denied or concealed by the actors, though it was kept out of the public press. 'Our chief enemy is Newman', said Ward in one of his letters to Rome.[1] It was this that made the Cardinalate so sweet when it came, as he said to his constant friend, Church: '*Haec mutatio dexterae Excelsi.* All the stories which have gone about of my being a half Catholic, a liberal Catholic, under a cloud, not to be trusted, are now at an end.'[2]

Substantive portions of Ullathorne's answer to the letter, now printed for the first time, will be read with interest:[3]

February 4.—Your letter received to-day, and written with true tact and deep feeling of the position created by the zealots, but repeats with force what many here are feeling, as well as yourself. But I think I may venture to say that the zealots are doomed to future confusion. Some are in fact beginning to find it already.

As the question of which you speak has not yet been even breathed within the Council Chamber, I may venture to give you some information as to its actual position outside of it.

Cardinal Bilio [President of the special deputation *de Fide*] informed an American archbishop, who informed me, only two days since, that although a schema *de Summo Pontifice* has been prepared, it had been decided to put it aside, and not to present it, in so far as that important question was concerned. But when Maret and Dupanloup came out so strongly in antagonism, then it was thought desirable to do something.

For my part, I have quietly and in private maintained that I should not oppose a calm and moderate definition, *provided* it was duly balanced by strengthening the authority of the episcopate; provided also it was duly limited, so as to save us from enthusiastic and fanatical interpretations.

One Cardinal assured me that, though in consequence of Court intrigues and anti-papal writings, something must now come in, yet it would be proposed in such very moderate terms that it will not fail to meet the wishes of the moderate of all parties.

[1] Letter of Dr Neve to Ullathorne, 1867. [2] Ward, *Newman*, 452.

[3] Oratory.

Be assured, my dear friend, that whatever mischief is doing outside by our own newspapers, to which so many of us are alive, moderation will be the upshot in the Council. If you could but see, as I see, schemata brought in, only to be pulled to pieces and sent out again, bleeding in every limb, to be reconstructed by the special deputations by the light given in the Council, you would realize how the general sense of the Fathers prevails over all party views and idiosyncrasies. . . .

You may have heard of this or that prelate being called to order. But in the rare instances in which this has occurred, there have been real excesses, and that beyond the point in hand, and the whole sense of the Council has gone with the Presidents. What the bishops universally feel, and want to get corrected, just as in the Council of Trent, is that often the time of the Council is abused by irrelevant matter. And the Presidents set us all an example of patience. The Pope spoke of you very kindly the other day to Capel.

God bless you and the brethren.

Newman replied February 9:

I feel the extreme kindness of your long letter, which is a very tranquillizing one. . . . You have said to me all that need be said. And we must have a little more faith than we have, and rest in quiet confidence that all must turn out well.

As is well known, Newman's letter became public and caused no small stir. The story is told sufficiently by Ward and Snead-Cox.[1] The following letter of Ullathorne clears up the mystery as to how it got out:[2]

March 18. I am much distressed at your letter to me having got out into other hands, though without my concurrence, and proceed by return of post to explain all that I know about it. I showed your letter to some four of the English bishops, all your friends, and all having strong feelings of difficulty, greater indeed than I have, about the definition.[3] One of these was Bishop Clifford, the only one to whom I parted with it out of my sight, he living in another part of Rome, promising he would let no one see it, and that he would return it to me next morning, after reading it. We were at the moment leaving the Council in opposite direc-

[1] *Life of Newman*, II, 289 ff.; *Life of Cardinal Vaughan*, I, 215 ff.

[2] Oratory.

[3] These were, besides Clifford, Vaughan of Plymouth, and probably Amherst of Northampton, and Turner of Salford, who all in varying degrees acted with the minority.

tions. To my surprise on returning it next morning, he told me he had taken a copy of it. On my expressing my annoyance at this, he solemnly promised that no one should see it without my express permission, and I was satisfied, though not altogether so. Soon after Archbishop Errington and Bishop Moriarty[1] came to me and asked if I would consent to have your letter to me translated and put into the hands of Cardinal Bardi, etc. I asked if they had seen the letter, for I had not shewn it to them or authorized its being shewn. Archbishop Errington replied that he had not, but that from what they had heard of it, it seemed fuller and clearer than one addressed to Bishop Moriarty. For the purpose of making my refusal more emphatic I replied that I would answer them after the congregation was over. They then came to me in company with Bishop Clifford, and I replied that it would be very inexpedient, that it would be sure to be misunderstood, and that individual passages would be certain to be taken hold of and used to do you an injury. With this they expressed themselves satisfied.

About a week or so after this reports reached me through a friend, that a copy of your letter to me was in the hands of a lady and had been shewn about. I went to Bishop Clifford and told him of what I had heard, and expressed my conviction that he, and he alone, could have let it out. He assured me in most solemn terms that no one could have seen or taken a copy of his copy. This is all I know about it. I cannot possibly see Bishop Clifford before post time, and so I send off this statement without delay.

At this distance I do not see that I can do anything more. But of course you are free to take whatever course you think most prudent.

I am, I repeat it, very much distressed at what has happened. And I see but one channel through which it could have got into anyone's hands.

Newman replied:

March 22.—Your letter came this morning. Thanks for all the pains you have been at about mine. . . . Don't mind for me, my dear Lord, I have had too many knocks to care for this.

Had the letter been marked 'Private', Ullathorne could hardly be excused of a breach of confidence in showing such

[1] Moriarty was bishop of Kerry; he had been one of Newman's principal supporters in the Catholic University, and 'the Catholic bishop' in the A.P.U.C.; he was now one of the most active of the Inopportunists.

a letter to anyone whomsoever under what safeguards soever. Ward does print 'Private' at the head of the letter;[1] but the original is not so marked. As for Newman, he was not altogether sorry at his protest becoming public without his intending it.[2] And that he struck a sympathetic chord in many good English Catholic hearts is shown by the fact that two of the bishops wrote thanking him for the letter. Dr Goss of Liverpool, nothing if not outspoken, who had started for the Council, but had been held invalided at Cannes and never got to Rome, wrote from Cannes:

I wish to signify my adhesion to your condemnation of an aggressive and insolent faction. The *Dublin Review*, the *Tablet*, and Archbishop Manning have taken upon themselves not merely to advocate the infallibility, but to denounce everybody else as little less than heretics and infidels, and as committing the unpardonable sin against the Holy Ghost, whose decision and ruling they forestalled.

Dr Brown of Newport wrote in like strain:

I cannot resist my desire of thanking you for the admirable letter you wrote to Dr Ullathorne, and am rejoiced at finding it in print. With every word of it my feelings and judgement fully coincide—though it would not be prudent in me to give publicity. Yet in regard to the *Tablet* I have not hesitated to express loudly my disapproval, also my apprehension of the serious evil likely to ensue from the course pursued by Herbert Vaughan and his party in England.

This serves to illustrate the letter, showing how greatly many good people, even good bishops, were suffering under the intemperate language of foremost advocates of the infallibility. On the other hand, Newman's letter caused repercussions, and called forth inevitably protests. It came to Ullathorne through the provost of the Chapter that there was question of a repudiation of it by a number of the Birmingham clergy. Thereon he wrote his view of the letter:

I think it well to remark that Dr Newman's letter to me was private and intended to be private, and that neither Dr Newman nor myself had the slightest intention of making it public. In that letter he communicates to me his personal conviction of the infallibility, whilst he is driven, through

[1] *Newman*, p. 287. [2] Ibid., p. 291.

the difficulties of other persons, to put his ideas on the policy of the question of opportuneness before me. This in the private way in which it was done was a legitimate proceeding. But I think, and very prudent bishops, on what I may call both sides of the question, unite with me in thinking, that it would be unfair and ungenerous to treat that private letter, addressed by a priest to his bishop, as if it had been a formal one and intended for publication.

We must return to the Council and pick up the threads from the date of Ullathorne's first letter to Newman. The next day, January 21, he wrote:

We are now fairly launched into work, hold three General Congregations a week, and have had some very able speakers as well as some muffs. We have before us two long schemata *de Fide* and four *de Disciplina*. The first *de Fide* is sent after long discussion to its special deputation. The first two *de Disciplina* will have had, I hope, all the first stage of discussion finished to-morrow, when our special deputation will begin its work. These two deputations will have no easy time of it. And in the end I suspect ours will be the hardest worked.

Twenty-eight schemata on Discipline had been prepared; it was no less than the work of codification of the canon law carried through by Pius X. Only four were actually brought forward, and were discussed at twenty-one General Congregations, to be remitted to the deputation on Discipline. From January 25 till the end of May the deputation was steadily at work, recasting the text again and again, in view of the successive debates and the abundant crops of amendments they gave birth to. Some of the schemata were brought to the penultimate form, but none of them were finally enacted. From the end of April the great question of the Papacy engrossed all interest, and other things had to stand over. For all that, the work of the deputation was not labour lost, for it was used by the commission that codified the canon law half a century later.

From the middle of March until the Public Session on Low Sunday, April 24, the Council was occupied primarily over the Constitution on 'the Catholic Faith'. It was on this that Ullathorne made his only public speech, on March 24. In a letter of that date he describes the experience:

March 24.—The last three days in the Council have been given to most thorough work, at the rate of some ten speeches a day. As it has been the last revising of the first schema on Catholic Faith after its reconstruction, subsequent to its first discussion, by the deputation or special congregation *De Fide*, everyone has felt the importance of weighing not only every sentence but every word. This has been done with great learning, ability and conscientiousness, and with a solid method, devoid of rhetoric. The work has shewn how much philosophical and theological learning the Church possesses in the episcopate, and I doubt if in any previous Council was exhibited as much. The three days have been a great treat. But you will get some notion of the result when I tell you that the mere list of printed amendments proposed upon about six pages of matter fill more than twice that number of pages, and everyone of them will have to be put to the votes of the Council one after another, and yet this is only with reference to the preface and first chapter of the first schema, and is the result of discussions upon a document already reformed throughout upon a long previous discussion.

You may be interested to know that I made, or rather read, my first speech to-day in the General Congregation. It was in advocacy of an amendment about which the English bishops were anxious and which no one else seemed likely to take up; and being both delicate and difficult to be understood by the bishops who had never lived in a Protestant country like ours, I felt it required some tact to secure an attentive hearing until the sense of a question altogether new to the majority was fairly brought out. Thank God I was heard with perfect silence and attention; all parties saw the importance of the point, and bishops of all parties and nations congratulated me on the success of the exposition. But the whole speech only filled a sheet of note paper. You will scarcely, however, understand the delicacy of the task unless I add that I had to introduce terms which had repeatedly on their introduction set the Council on fire, and in the use of which one of the ablest orators had been repeatedly called to order by many bishops and by the President only two days before.

The gist of the speech is given in Granderath's *History of the Council*,[1] it is of interest in itself, and the episode will illustrate the procedure of the Council in a particular case. The first chapter of the Constitution as proposed by the deputation *de Fide* opened with the words: 'Sancta Romana

[1] French translation, II, ii, 70.

Catholica Ecclesia credit et confitetur.' When this chapter came under debate at the General Congregation, 'two English bishops, Ullathorne and Clifford, intervened and demanded with great energy a change of expression.'[1] Ullathorne desired the word 'Roman' to be placed after 'Catholic', so that we may not seem to encourage in any way the tendencies of those who wish to qualify the word 'Catholic' by the word 'Roman'. English Protestants pretend that the Catholic Church is divided into three parts: the Roman Catholic community, the Anglo-Catholic community, and the Graeco-Catholic community. They cannot bear that we call ourselves simply 'Catholics', and that we call ourselves not a part of the Church, but the entire Church. If we call the Church 'Roman Catholic', the Puseyites will take it as an admission of the Branch theory. His amendment was that 'Catholic and Roman Church' be read; or, at least a comma placed between 'Roman and Catholic' (*Acta*, 98). Clifford followed in support, advocating a return to the simple form of the Apostles' Creed, 'the Holy Catholic Church'.

The deputation *de Fide*, Manning being the English representative, at its private session, March 27, rejected these suggestions unanimously (*Acta*, 1671), and their expositor at the General Congregation on the 29th set forth the reasons for which the deputation thought the form, 'Sancta Romana Catholica Ecclesia', should be adhered to; he said, however, they would see no objection to the comma between 'Romana' and 'Catholica'. When put to the vote Clifford's amendment was thrown out by a large majority, and so was Ullathorne's proposed transposition of the two words. But on the comma, the voting by standing up was not decisive, and the scrutators were preparing to take a count when several Fathers declared they did not well understand the significance of the comma, and asked the Presidents to postpone the voting till the next day (*Acta*, 108). Next day the expositor made a special relation on the 'comma' all to itself, the deputation having reconsidered it in the interval, and he said that after mature consideration the reasons alleged by the English bishops appeared invalid, and he

[1] French translation, II, ii, 70.

recommended the Fathers to delete the comma, which they did by a large majority (*Acta*, 118).

But this was not the end. On April 12 the schema as a whole was voted on by *placet*, *non placet*, or *placet iuxta modum*;[1] and of the 148 amendments put in with the *iuxta modum* votes no fewer than thirty-five in one way or another backed Ullathorne (*Acta*, 221). This made the deputation think the thing over again, with the result that on April 19 the expositor announced that all the deputation except two agreed that the view of the English and American bishops ought to be met, and recommended that the formula, 'Holy Catholic Apostolic Roman Church', be adopted by the Council (*Acta*, 234). When put to the vote, this amendment was carried almost unanimously (*Acta*, 246); and so the first words of the actual dogmatic decrees of the Vatican Council are due to Ullathorne's intervention. He gives a pleasing picture of the congratulations he received: 'The first to congratulate me was a cardinal, who rose from his place to do so from a distance by bows and waves of his hand, and pointing me out to his red-robed neighbours. And so much of it threatened me that as soon as the Congregation rose I got away as fast as I could.'

At the third Public Session, held on Low Sunday, April 24, the Constitution on the Catholic Faith, thus laboriously hammered into shape, received the universal *placet* of the bishops, and was approved, confirmed, and enacted by the Pope, 'the bishops sitting and judging with him'.

After this the Council settled down to the next dogmatic Constitution, on the Roman Pontiff, his Primacy and Infallibility, that was to put an end to those long-standing controversies on the position of the Pope in the Church, which had been vexing the Catholic world ever since the Council of Constance, early in the fifteenth century. And here it seems that there can be no more authentic account than that given by Ullathorne in the pastoral letter he issued on his return from the Council, October 1870.

[1] *Placet iuxta modum* was like voting for the second reading of a Bill, but with the intention of moving an amendment in the committee stage.

Extracts from Letter addressed to the Clergy and Laity of the Diocese of Birmingham.

Restored by the blessing of God to my ordinary health I deem it amongst my earliest duties to put before you the decrees of the Vatican Council defining as of faith the doctrine of the infallible teaching of the Vicar of Christ. But as so many false statements have gone abroad respecting the way in which the question was treated in the Council, it will be but justice to that holy and august assembly, if, in the first instance, I give, in a brief manner, the history of the introduction and the passing of that most important decree. . . .

Keeping, then, the widespread misrepresentations in view, let me first say a word upon the spirit which animated the Fathers of the Council. And of course I speak of what passed within that sacred assembly, being a witness of all from first to last; to which I may venture to add, being a witness also of all that passed in one of the most important of the special committees, to which I had the honour of being elected. . . .

Never before had the Church witnessed an episcopal assemblage so numerous; and most impressive was it to see the patriarchs and prelates of all the Oriental Rites without exception mingled with the primates, archbishops, and heads of religious Orders of the Western Church. To the number of nearly eight hundred they had come from near and far off, even from the remotest regions of the globe. Never before had so wide a reach of learning and so great an accumulation of experience come together for the service of the Church. . . .

The qualities that adorned the assemblies of the Council were order and dignity, charity and the spirit of brotherhood, kindliness and courtesy of manner, unwavering patience, and a frankness and freedom of speech which was only controlled by these virtues; those qualities, in short, which Catholics of all nations are accustomed to contemplate in their bishops. No one could enter the Council without being struck and edified by the simple and dignified bearing of the prelates, their frank and open bearing towards each other, and that unity of brethren in the bond of charity which became the chief ministers of Christ and the dispensers of God's mysteries. Often was admiration expressed at this spectacle, which even the strongest diversity of opinion seemed never to interfere with. . .

Is it necessary I should say that there were no personal altercations, except in the imagination of certain newspaper

correspondents? Ardour there was in debate, but an ardour replete with gravity, and with a sense of responsibility that weighed more heavily than usual upon men accustomed to bear the burden of the Church. The great freedom of speech sometimes occasioned calls to order; but, with rare exceptions, the manifest sense of the Council anticipated the voice of the President. In no case was a discussion closed by the Presidents until either there were no more speakers who offered themselves, or until the majority of the Council plainly indicated that the subject was exhausted, and then the closing of the debate was decided by the general vote. . . .

The definition of the Papal Infallibility has filled the world with excitement; and after the ordinary way of the world, which has never been the friend of Christ or of Christ's Vicar, it has conjured up a vast amount of hatred and opposition to the Holy See. . . .

It was not the Holy See that brought the question into the Council. A plan of a Constitution, magnificent in its substance and incorporating the Catholic doctrine respecting the Church, was laid before the Council, and the one-half of its chapters underwent a long discussion. But although the proposed Constitution contained chapters on the Papal Supremacy, it said not a word on the Papal Infallibility. The movement for introducing that doctrine came from the Fathers of the Council themselves. From the beginning of its work it was evident and unmistakable, that a great number of the bishops had set their mind on having the doctrine of the Church on this point definitively settled. There was nothing new in it; implicitly or explicitly it has been always believed. Practically it had been acted upon by the Church throughout her history. There was only one school of theology that had stood against it. . . .

Gallicanism seemed, in fact, to have expired, together with the influence of the secular powers in the Church; when suddenly it flashed up anew in certain well-known writers just before the Council, and apparently with a view of influencing the decisions. This was the effective cause that determined so many bishops to call for the definition of the true doctrine, and to have an end put for ever to this conflict of principles, to this internal warfare, within the Church herself. The peace, harmony, and interior union of the Church seemed to them to demand the definition. Nor was it less considered that in these calamitous times, when too the Pope is abandoned by the Governments of the Catholic populations, it was the duty of the episcopate to strengthen the hands of Christ's Vicar by a complete declaration of all his spiritual prerogatives. Before the Council began, and still more dur-

ing its earlier sessions, the question of the Papal Infallibility was agitating the Church, and it occupied the attention of the world. The Council was expected to entertain the question, and it became evident to many minds that to remain silent on it would have thrown doubt upon the doctrine itself, and have left an impression that it was undefinable. It had been implicitly defined in the Council of Florence; why should it not be explicitly defined in the Council of the Vatican?

Accordingly, in course of time, the wish of so many bishops obtained a corporate expression. More than six hundred[1] of their number attached their names to petitions postulating that the doctrine should be defined; and consequently, the deputation on Faith was enjoined to draw up a new chapter in the Constitution on the Church, embodying the doctrine of the Papal Infallibility. This was done; and copies of the proposed Chapter were placed in the hands of all the Fathers. Ten days, extended afterwards to a longer period, were allowed the bishops for examining the chapter, and for writing their animadversions upon it; and meanwhile the sittings of the Council were suspended. Aided by their theologians, one hundred and thirty-eight bishops drew up dissertations on the chapter, some of them at great length. The substance of them was printed, and filled a volume of 242 pages folio, which was distributed to the members of the Council; and then the discussion began upon the general question. The chief point debated was, whether it was or was not expedient at this time to define the Papal Infallibility. The debate began on the 15th of May, and was continued during fourteen days, averaging nearly five hours a day; and it terminated on the 3rd of June. By this time, sixty-three Fathers had addressed the Council, and the subject had become so completely exhausted that nothing seemed to remain that was not in repetition of what had been already adduced.

The rule was that ten bishops could move for the closing of a discussion, to be decided by vote of the majority; but one hundred and fifty bishops now petitioned, and the great majority voted for the closing of this part of the discussion. The second discussion, on the text itself of the definition, began on the 6th of June, and one hundred and eighteen bishops inscribed their names to speak; again, notwithstanding the vast amount of learning brought to bear on all sides of the subject, and although each sentence, almost every word, of the chapter underwent a special scrutiny and a severe criticism,—although amendment upon amendment was proposed and argued upon even to upwards of a hundred in number,—yet the subject became fairly exhausted long before

[1] The printed lists in *Acta* show only 480.

all that were inscribed had addressed the assembly. The Presidents were repeatedly petitioned to call the vote for closing the discussion; but they declined doing so. And it was finally brought to an end by mutual agreement, each one whose right remained withdrawing his name as it was read out, or only ascending the pulpit to utter a few words.

Next came the task of the deputation on Faith, to take into their consideration the alterations and amendments proposed, and the grounds on which they were argued; for which purpose the reports of the speeches, which were taken down in full, together with a printed summary of them, were put at their disposal. The deputation, consisting of twenty-four members elected by the Council and presided over by a Cardinal, had most laborious duties. They had what in parliamentary language would be called the care of the Bill—the guidance of the proposed Constitution through the Council; yet, as a delegated body, their duty was to guide the modification of its terms in accordance with the sense of the great majority of the Council. It was likewise their office to put forth expositors, who from time to time ascended the pulpit for the purpose of explaining their reading of the sense of the document under discussion, and to meet objections and misconstructions. It is a fact which will show the extent of their labours, that for forty days without intermission, besides their presence and labour in the general Council, they had from three to seven hours of work in committee.

It was their duty then, after the debate had finally closed, to take the whole of the proposed amendments into consideration, and afterwards, through their expositors, to put a clear exposition and summary of the debate before the general assembly, to assign their reasons why they were inclined to favour certain amendments, and why they were inclined to reject others. These expositions were generally given with great clearness and ability. After the exposition, the next process was the voting on the amendments. This was done in an expeditious but satisfactory way by rising and sitting; for, except in a single instance, the majority was so large and so obvious, that there was no occasion to have recourse to counting. The alterations and amendments voted were then inserted in the text by the deputation, and the document was reprinted. Next came the personal voting on the entire chapter. In this process the name of each bishop was read out in its order, and the prelate replied by the word *Placet* if he approved, *Non placet* if he did not approve, or *Placet iuxta modum* if he wished some alteration or addition to the text; in this last case he delivered in a paper containing the modification he desired and the reasons why he desired it.

In this voting for the chapter on the Infallibility there were 451 affirmatives, 88 negatives, and 62 votes for some modification of the decree. Of these last, some were for a more stringent and some for a more moderate expression of the doctrine; so that it cannot be inferred from the fact that a bishop voted conditionally, that therefore he was more or less an opponent of the definition.

The newly proposed modifications had next to be printed, be delivered to the Fathers, be considered by the deputation, be expounded to the Council by their expositor, and be submitted to the general vote. After the final alterations thus introduced into it, the decree was complete; and in the fourth Public Session of the Vatican Council, presided over by the Pontiff himself, the Holy Sacrifice and the devotions invoking the Holy Ghost having been offered up, the solemn and final vote was given by all the Fathers present. Of the 800 Fathers present at the opening of the Council a considerable number had been compelled, with leave of the Council, to return to their dioceses through urgent affairs, or because of sickness; and others had died; but 535 were present in the Session, and, with the exception of two, all gave their judgement in favour of the definition; and no sooner had the result of the voting been reported to the Sovereign Pontiff than he gave his confirmation to the decree.

It remains to say a word respecting those Fathers who absented themselves from the Council at this Session, and thus withheld their votes. The number of those who gave a negative at the previous voting was 88; but I know more than one of that number who voted in the affirmative at the final Session, and those who had hitherto given conditional votes now gave affirmative votes. And to these 62 votes, now become affirmative, we must add 20 more, as the full increase of affirmatives over the numbers given in the previous voting. Those Fathers, then, who remained absent could scarcely have reached the number of 88, as popularly represented, even though that was the number of negatives in the previous voting.

Whatever might be its numbers when it took this step, this compact party has been called the Opposition. But what did it oppose? The popular notion is that they opposed the doctrine of the Papal Infallibility. This is not true. With the exception of three or four, none of them expressed opposition to the doctrine, nay, several of them openly expressed their belief in it. They did not oppose the doctrine itself, but, in opposition to the overwhelming majority, they maintained that the definition was not expedient, or at this time opportune; and when it came to the discussion of the text, they

contended, as did others, for the insertion of modifying sentences to a greater extent than the great majority were willing to accept. So far from finally rejecting the definition in principle, a few days before the session this very party proposed, through its delegates, to accept the definition subject to the insertion of two explanatory clauses. But these clauses were not accepted, and their originators abstained from voting or being present on this policy. They still hoped that, owing to their opposition, the Sovereign Pontiff himself might be induced to alter the decree in their sense before giving his confirmation; and, out of respect for his presence, they were unwilling to give a negative vote in what so intimately concerned his prerogative; but they likewise resolved that, in the event of the Holy Father giving his confirmation without accepting their modification, they would then give in their adhesion to the decree. This the most of them have already done; and I may point to the document issued from Fulda in proof of the loyal spirit in which many of those prelates have acted.

I am not judging, but only explaining, the policy that held this party together; and that with a view to removing the wrong impressions that prevail respecting its character. And although I had no part either in that policy or in the proceedings to which it led, I am yet able to give this much reliable information, derived from those who were themselves of the party.

If I have dwelt so long upon the procedure of the Council, and chosen the instance of the discussion of the Papal Infallibility for its illustration, it has been with the purpose of showing that every condition of a full and free debate was satisfied, that the question was considered on all its sides, and both by writing in the closet and by the sifting process of public discussion, by four readings and by three forms of voting, the mind of the Council was clearly brought out and freely expressed. I might have added that, in addition to the public discussions, there were many private lights contributed towards the elucidation of the question; for no sooner had the doctrine been mooted than a number of pamphlets began to appear, and were left at the residences of the bishops. Of these I received about sixty. Written on different sides of the question, most of them exhibited both learning and ability; and several of them were known to have been the productions either of leading prelates of the Council or of skilful theologians. And if amongst them were to be found a considerable number of lucubrations opposed to the definition, this only proved more and more that all that could be said in opposition was fairly said out, and had a fair opportunity of

being considered. The result of the debates and votings was, that considerable modifications were introduced into the decree before it reached the authoritative shape in which it now stands. . . .

This statement, of the definition having undergone much modification, is borne out by the material in the *Acta;* Wilfrid Ward has brought out the point and its significance.[1]

It remains, in supplement of the narration of the pastoral, to indicate Ullathorne's own attitude in the Infallibility controversy. On March 15 he wrote:

Dr Northcote [who had joined him in Rome as his theologian] is writing out our joint Latin translation of my *votum de Summo Pontifice*, which goes in to-morrow. [The tenor of the votum is known from later letters.] Though I kept apart from all agitation outside the Council, the moment that the bishops were synodically invited to write their views on the proposed schema, I put my sentiments on record on the side of the definition. And again: I contended that the doctrine should be rendered theologically precise, refusing to vote for anything vague and undefined; for what is undefined is unlimited, and would give rise to endless fanaticism.

The regular course would have been that after the enactment of the First Part of the Constitution on Catholic Faith on Low Sunday, April 24, the Second Part should have come on, and after that the First Part of the Constitution on the Church, and only then the Constitution on the Supreme Pontiff. On this order it was clear that only the remainder of the Constitution on Faith could be enacted that summer, and so the question of the Roman Pontiff would be postponed for a whole year. Towards the end of Lent a movement was set on foot to secure precedence for the question felt on all hands to be the burning one. And so Ullathorne wrote, April 20:

To-day a Cardinal informed me, through a third person, that the Pope has decided on bringing on the infallibility question after the Session, the first thing, and out of its course. The reason is, that there is so much agitation in the world and in the episcopate about it, and that it would be very inconvenient for the episcopate to return to their sees after the suspension of the Council, with this agitation and suspense to deal with. I think he is right, as matters stand. Pamphlets

[1] *W. G. Ward and the Catholic Revival*, pp. 261-2, and appendix A.

continue to pour out, printed abroad and distributed here, on both sides of the question. Two very clever ones have just come out, one from Bishop Ketteler [of Mainz, *against*], the other from the Archbishop of Malines [Dechamps, *for*]. I see my own course very clearly, thank God, and am in full peace about it. I stand for the scientific definition perfected by theology, the result of three hundred years of scientific thought, familiar in our theologies, and with all its scientific limitations and conditions already complete, and ready in hand.

The following account of the atmosphere of the Council, curiously at variance with those of the newspaper correspondents and others outside the Council, and ending in a characteristic note, for Ullathorne was a great believer in the episcopal state, is worth recording:

May 1: Free and friendly are the two qualities which more and more distinguish the bishops both in their general and in their particular assemblies. I have never witnessed the least ill-feeling manifested between any two bishops who have spoken even the most strongly against each other's views from the ambo. And you see those who are considered the leading antagonists on even the gravest points talking as cheerily with each other, and having their pleasant jokes, as those who are the most closely allied in sentiments. It is certainly a most edifying assemblage, and tends to prove the maxim that bishops are in 'the state of perfection'.

During the debate he wrote to Newman, June 1:

We are in the thick of the discussion on the great question: fifty have spoken on the general question [*i.e.*, the vital one of the opportuneness or inopportuneness of the definition], and as many more wait their turn; and yet when that is over, even though no new speakers be added, we are as far off as ever. For until the general debate is ended, we cannot come to the express terms of the schema, or propose any modifications in it. For my part, I don't think the bearing of the question upon other questions is yet fully understood. And I should like to put one or two crucial questions; but then, to wait perhaps for a month before you can get into the ambo, and who knows how things will stand then!

Strong efforts have been privately made by conferences of members to bring things to an understanding, but hitherto without success. Still, it is pretty well understood by all parties that there is to be a recast of the schema. The number

of pamphlets goes on increasing—I received three on last Sunday and two more the day following.

I think I shall not really transgress the secrecy imposed whilst telling you *in genere* that an Italian prelate quoted one of your Protestant books, and also some replies you made in the schools of Propaganda, in support of his views, and that with strong expressions of regard towards yourself, their object being to show your personal sentiments towards the infallibility. I listened of course with attention and compared notes with those under the ambo; but there was nothing said that a friend would have wished to have been unsaid, or which was not said in a friendly spirit. And indeed I may add that I have heard nothing from bishops even in private respecting your letter to me, except regret that by the injudiciousness of a third person, it should, being so confidential, have got published.

We cannot break up leaving this question in suspension without serious evil following, but when we shall come to a close no one can say.

In the printed *Autobiography* (p. 46) he inserted a note wherein he speaks of an amendment he desired to introduce in the definition, but was prevented at the last moment by illness. He had this amendment in mind from the middle of May, but the time to bring it forward did not come till the end of June. On June 28 he writes:

What dire events from trifling causes spring! Last Saturday came my turn in the Council. I had an amendment on the great point on which I had spoken to several Fathers of the deputation of Faith, and to one of the Cardinal Presidents, all of whom thought it might not improbably serve as a basis for accommodation. It skimmed the fatal rock, whilst it secured what required to be made secure, so at least I thought. I looked hard at it for two days before, and was all ready, when, behold! on the very morning, I awoke at 4 o'clock as sick as a horse, if a horse ever is sick, and with a diarrhœa like an attack of cholera. So I was in bed all day, and the day following, and had to send for a doctor, who has put me right again, and I have no further indisposition. Dr Vaughan tried hard to get leave to read my speech, but there was an irrevocable rule, requiring that only those actually present, who from infirmity could not read for themselves, could be read for by another. Could I speak on my return to the Council? No. By a rule promulgated a few days before, those who lost their turn were off the list. I might put my name down to come on at the end. But to

come in after 90 others, after 117 in all, was too much, so I have sent in my amendment as a private document to the deputation of Faith, which may be used, but cannot be printed, so as to become a document of the Council.

In a letter of May 1875 to Ambrose Phillipps de Lisle he says what the amendment was: he desired to introduce into the definition the clause: 'quando ex magisterio Ecclesiae definit.'[1] The 'skimming the fatal rock' evidently means that this formula avoided the Gallican 'ex consensu Ecclesiae'; and yet also avoided the suggestion of isolation or separation of Pope from Church, which was, perhaps, the great difficulty felt by the minority; the 'ex magisterio Ecclesiae' seems in substance much the same as the declaration in the dogmatic preamble to the definition, that the infallibility exercised by the Pope is 'that infallibility wherewith Christ vouchsafed to endow His Church in defining doctrine of faith or morals.' It is a pity that this proposal had not its chance of being ventilated among the dozens of proposals put forward to explore some path of accommodation. Ullathorne had his chance at the eleventh hour of putting it in, and that no doubt is the reason why, at the trial voting on July 13, he was one of the sixty-two who voted *placet iuxta modum*, those so voting having to submit the amendments they desired. But it was too late for fair consideration: the prolonged strain of the Council had worn out all alike, and there was a general sense that the matter had been amply considered and should be pushed through to its conclusion without delay.

It is necessary to refer to the note on the episode added in the revision of the *Autobiography*. More than once during the Council, owing to the detached position he took up, Ullathorne was subjected to the annoyance of being looked on as of the Opposition. In later years one of his favourite stories of the Council was how an Italian bishop whispered at him the word 'Gallican', and how leaving his place and climbing over the intervening benches he confronted the offender and said, 'You call me "Gallican"?' 'And I fixed my glassy eye upon him'—with results left to be imagined. However, he thought it incumbent on him to make a per-

[1] *Life of de Lisle*, II, 40.

sonal explanation to Pius IX, and asked for an audience. This he had on July 5. I have not come across any account of what transpired, except the note in the *Autobiography*:[1]

The sole object contemplated in the intended speech was to propose the addition of a term in the definition which might tend to greater clearness. As I knew that impressions had been made on the mind of the Sovereign Pontiff with respect to my views, I solicited a special audience, in which I informed His Holiness that from the time of my theological studies I had always been an infallibilist, and that all I desired was to see that the definition should be as clear as it could be made. But in fact the lines of explanation added to the decree before its promulgation accomplished all that I desired. With this explanation His Holiness expressed himself well satisfied. When recounting the episode he used to say that Pius was so pleased that he patted him on the back, exclaiming, 'Bravo! bravo!'

The added explanations had been made in the preamble to the Chapter before July, and the decree was the same on July 13, when he voted *placet iuxta modum*, as it was at the Public Session of July 18, when he voted *placet*. There was no inconsistency in such a vote; one may vote for the third reading of a Bill, even after having failed to carry an amendment. Others voted similarly, as McCloskey of New York, who had at first taken a definite inopportunist line. Some, as Ullathorne says, voted *non placet* on the 13th and *placet* on the 18th: such were Vaughan of Plymouth and the Archbishop of Salzburg. The letter (printed by Ward[2]) of those who, having voted *non placet*, confirmed their vote but absented themselves from the Public Session, bore fifty-five signatures. Clifford's was the only English one. But others, as Errington, MacHale, Moriarty, and Cardinal Rauscher, Archbishop of Vienna, absented themselves without explanation. Among the signatories were the Cardinal Archbishops of Prague and Besançon, the Archbishop of Gran, Primate of Hungary, the Archbishops of Munich, Olmutz, Milan, Paris, Lyons, St Louis (Kenrick), Halifax (Connolly), and such distinguished bishops as Ketteler of Mainz, Hefele, Dupanloup. The Archbishop of Cologne had voted *placet iuxta modum;* but when the amendment

[1] P. 46.

[2] *Newman*, 303.

he desired to introduce was ruled out, he wrote a personal letter to the Pope, that he could not conscientiously vote for the decree as it stood, but would accept whatever should be enacted by the Council. All without exception recognized the Vatican Council as Ecumenical, and were therefore prepared to accept its final decrees as Catholic Faith, and not one bishop took part in any schismatical movement: it is to be remembered that practically all the Inopportunists among the bishops held all along, as Newman did, the Infallibility as theologically true.

Ullathorne's account of the closing scene is brief, written on the day itself:

> The great Session is over. The Decree was voted by 533 *placets* to two *non placets*, amid a great storm. The lightning flashed into the Aula, the thunder rolled over the roof; the glass was broken by the tempest in a window nearly over the pontifical throne. After the votes were given the Pope confirmed it at once, and immediately there was a great cheering and clapping from the bishops, and cheers from the body of St Peter's. Then the *Te Deum* began, the thunder forming the diapason. . . . We are to return here by St Martin, November 11; but by that time who knows what will be going on in Italy, or what may happen to suspend the Council.

The next day war was declared between France and Prussia.

CHAPTER XV

AFTERMATH OF THE COUNCIL
(1870—1879)

NO sooner was the Council over and the decrees published than a great outburst of indignant protest arose throughout the world, the adversaries of the Church and the Papacy, part wilfully, part in ignorance, attaching to the decrees, especially that on the infallibility, interpretations often grotesquely extravagant. In the pastoral of October 1870, quoted in the preceding chapter, Ullathorne gives a very clear interpretation, worthy of attention even at the present day. After reciting in full the decree on infallibility he goes on:

You have heard the decree, and now let me assist you to understand it. Like most decrees of faith, it consists of two parts—the exposition and the definition; but the definition alone is of faith, although the exposition is of great authority, as explaining the sense of the definition. The definition is contained in these words:

'We teach and define that it is a dogma divinely revealed: that the Roman Pontiff, when he speaks *ex cathedra*—that is, when in discharge of the office of Pastor and Doctor of all Christians, by virtue of his supreme apostolic authority he defines a doctrine regarding faith or morals to be held by the Universal Church,—by the divine assistance promised to him in blessed Peter, is possessed of that infallibility with which the divine Redeemer willed His Church should be endowed for defining doctrine regarding faith or morals; and that therefore such definitions of the Roman Pontiff are irreformable of themselves, and not from the consent of the Church. But if anyone—which may God avert—presume to contradict this our definition, let him be anathema.'

This, then, is the Catholic doctrine, which to deny is heresy and involves separation from the Church of God. It is proclaimed in the name of the Pope, the Council consenting, the Fathers within it, as is said elsewhere, sitting and judging with him. This is the usual form when the Pope presides over a Council in person.

It has been widely, but most erroneously, asserted by the adversaries of our faith, and possibly even some Catholics may have imbibed the notion, that this definition makes the Pope infallible in all his words and actions, and even to the extent of whatsoever he thinks. Nay, some have been so absurd as to say that it makes him sinless. But this is not the doctrine of the definition, nor is it the teaching of the Church. The definition does not extend infallibility to the private teaching of the Pope, still less to his conversation, or to his ordinary actions, or to his political functions, or to his judgement of causes as between man and man. To nothing of this kind does it reach; they are excluded by the very terms. It is only when he exercises a certain office in a certain way that he is declared to speak without error. Mark the words of the definition; they say, 'when he speaks *ex cathedra*—that is to say,' continues the text, '*when* in discharge of the office of Pastor and Doctor of all Christians, by virtue of his supreme apostolic authority he defines.' And again, it is only when he *defines* 'a doctrine regarding faith or morals.' We might as well say that a judge is always delivering sentence, or that the Sovereign is always giving the force of law to Acts of Parliament, as to say that the Pope is always exercising his infallibility. The occasions for such an exercise of authority are comparatively few, and occur but now and then. As the judge only from the bench, and after the cause has been heard, pronounces that sentence which must be obeyed; as the Sovereign only from the throne of authority gives those acts, after their discussion in Parliament, the confirming sanction that makes them law; so the Pope, only after due investigation made as to what is or what is not contained in the deposit of Catholic teaching, pronounces *ex cathedra* from his apostolic chair or throne what is to be believed, because it always has been received, as an article of Catholic tradition. The means which he employs for investigating what is the Catholic truth are enumerated in the decree itself. The Council says: 'According to the exigencies of times and circumstances, the Roman Pontiffs sometimes assembling Ecumenical Councils, or asking the mind of the Church scattered throughout the world, sometimes by particular Synods, sometimes using other helps which divine Providence supplied, defined those things as to be held which with the help of God they had recognized as conformable with the Sacred Scriptures and Apostolic Traditions.' The past is guarantee for the future, and prescribes the general principles and rules by which the Popes are guided. Scripture and Tradition are the fountains

of their judgements. Into these they inquire, consulting according to the gravity of the case. In some cases the Catholic Tradition is so obvious that they require but little if any consultations; others are of greater gravity, and involve a certain obscurity. Such was that of the Immaculate Conception before its definition, which led the Pope to consult the whole episcopate before taking the final step. Again, in this case of defining his infallibility, the Pope has the sense of a General Council. But in every case of an infallible definition, it is always the Vicar of Christ who unites his apostolic authority to the Catholic Tradition.

Hence it is also stated in the decree, that it is not 'new doctrine' or any new revelation, but 'the deposit of faith delivered to the Apostles,' which, not by inspiration, but by the guiding assistance of the Holy Ghost, they are able to keep inviolable, and to expound without error.

On the other hand, it is part and parcel of the definition of Papal infallibility, that 'the definitions of the Roman Pontiff are irreformable of themselves, and not from the consent of the Church.'

A little reflection will make this evident. The authority of the Roman Pontiff is not derived from the Church, but from Christ. It comes from above, not from below, and is the supreme authority over the Church. The less cannot overrule the greater authority; and those who are subject to the supreme authority cannot reform its decisions. We must not be here misled by the example of temporal authority constituted by men: this power is constituted by God; and He can as easily make His Vicar infallible as His Church. Nay, for that matter, humanly speaking, it is easier to make one man infallible than a multitude. Christ constituted His Vicar as the representative of His authority; to Peter, thus constituted, He promised by His prayer an unfailing faith; and with that unfailing faith He enjoined him to confirm his brethren. But if the consent of the Church were needed for the validity of his definitions, it would not be the Vicar of Christ who confirmed his brethren, but his brethren who confirmed him. The very idea is destructive of the Papal infallibility.

Ever since the Council the brief of Protestant controversialists has been that Catholic theologians have been toning down and explaining away the real original force and meaning of the decrees, which, it is maintained, were framed and passed in the sense of the most extreme school of Ultramontanism represented by Ward and even Louis

Veuillot. But, in Ullathorne's pastoral we have the utterance of a bishop fresh from the Council, one who, though not a party man, took an alert share in the deliberations and discussions both within and without the Council chamber, and was in friendly touch with the principal leaders on both sides. It would be difficult to have a more authentic private interpretation of the sense of the definition; moreover, he tells us that he heard from Rome his pastoral was well received there.[1] Yet, authentic witness though he was, a witness still more authentic appeared, who amply confirmed his exposition. This was Bishop Fessler of St Polten in Austria, the General Secretary of the Council. Before being bishop he was professor of ecclesiastical history and canon law at Vienna University. After the Council it was the tendency, policy, of those who took part in the Old Catholic schism to exaggerate to the utmost the scope of the decrees. One of the most prominent of the Old Catholics was Dr Schulte, professor of canon and civil law at Prague. He at the beginning of 1871 produced a tractate, *The Power of the Roman Pontiff over Sovereigns, Countries, Peoples, Individuals, according to the Vatican Decrees*, in which he fairly out-Warded Ward, but with the object of making the decrees preposterous. Fessler took the matter up and wrote a reply: *The True and the False Infallibility of the Popes*. It was translated into French, and in 1875 into English by Fr St John, at Newman's request, as a confirmation of the attitude he had all along maintained on the theology of the infallibility. And not only was Fessler in himself, as Secretary to the Council, the best accredited private witness that could well be found; more than this: he sent a copy to Pius IX, who had it examined by a special board of theologians, caused a translation into Italian to be made, that he might read it himself, and sent to Fessler a brief of warm approval, April 27, 1871.[2]

Fessler's tract is spoken of by Newman, Ullathorne, and others, and also by Wilfrid Ward in his account of the controversy in which his father took so prominent a part; but I do not know that anywhere in English have the heads of its teaching been extracted and set forth in form. And so it seems well worth while to do this here, not only because

[1] *Letters*, p. 253. [2] English translation, 'Introduction', p. ix.

Fessler's tract is, in all its circumstances, probably the most authoritative interpretation hitherto given of the decree, but also because in a remarkable manner it corroborates Ullathorne's interpretation. Moreover, this matter of the authentic interpretation of the decree must at all times be of vital importance, as it certainly is in England at this day.

Perhaps it will be best to follow the order of the points as laid down in Ullathorne's explanation:

Ullathorne: The decree consists of two parts: the exposition and the definition. The definition alone is of faith, although the exposition is of great authority as explaining the sense of the definition.

Fessler: The dogmatic definition *de fide* commences after the solemn word *definimus*—the introduction is very important, but it is not to be looked on as the definition (p. 7).

Ullathorne: It is only when the Pope exercises a certain office in a certain way that he is declared to speak without error.

Fessler: The utterances of the Pope are to be received as infallible definitions only under certain conditions, and these conditions have been exactly specified in the Vatican Council itself (p. 112).

Ullathorne: The Pope speaks *ex cathedra* 'only when he *defines* a doctrine regarding faith and morals.'

Fessler: What Popes have taught as doctrine on faith and morals, and defined (*definit* is the well considered word of the Vatican Council), by virtue of their highest apostolical power, as true and to be held by the Universal Church, that alone is an infallible utterance *ex cathedra* (p. 57).

Ullathorne: The occasions for such an exercise of authority are comparatively few, and occur but now and then.

Fessler: Dr Schulte finds a great number of papal *ex cathedra* utterances; I, in accordance with the theological faculty, find only a few (p. 52).

Ullathorne: Only after due investigation made as to what is or what is not contained in the deposit of Catholic teaching, does the Pope pronounce *ex cathedra* from his apostolic chair or throne what is to be believed, because it has always been received, as an article of Catholic tradition.

Fessler: The Pope in his doctrinal utterances only speaks what he finds, under the special divine assistance, to be already part of the truth revealed by God, necessary for salvation, which He has given in trust to the Catholic Church (i.e., in the divine *depositum fidei*) (p. 53).

Ullathorne: It is not 'new doctrine', or any new revelation, but the 'deposit of faith delivered to the Apostles', which, not by inspiration, but by the guiding assistance of the Holy Ghost, the Popes are able to keep inviolable, and to expound without error.

Fessler: The Pope cannot according to his own will and fancy extend his infallible definition [as Schulte pretended] to matters relating to the *jus publicum*, to which the divine revelation does not extend (p. 53).

The parallelism of the two sets of statements would be very extraordinary, unless both the one and the other be taken as a true reflection of the mind of the Council.

Most of the bishops, either individually or collectively, issued instructions to their flocks on the definitions of the Council, and it was, humanly speaking, inevitable that their instructions should be to some extent coloured by their own views and wishes. Ullathorne, as we have seen, all along stood for a 'moderate' and theologically well-safeguarded definition of the infallibility, and the interpretation given in his pastoral reflects this attitude. Manning, on the other hand, was an *ultra*, who personally favoured Ward's ideas as far as they were tenable, and sought to push infallibility of Church and Pope to the utmost limits theologically possible. He on his side issued a pastoral—indeed, a tract of over 200 pages, *The Vatican Council and its Definitions*, explaining that the definition of the infallibility should be taken in a large, not in a legal, sense, thus extending the scope of infallibility far beyond the wording of the definition, and interpreting in a wide, not in a strict, sense, the conditions laid down for an infallible utterance: in particular he said that the word *definit* is not to be taken as meaning 'definition' strictly so called, but as including any judgement of the Pontiff intended to end any question affecting faith or morals. It is here that Fessler steps in as invested with something more than the personal authority of a bishop who had taken part in the Council. As Secretary he had been more closely in touch than any other single person with everything that had gone on at the Council, and therefore was better entitled than any private bishop to declare what had been the mind of the Council in the decrees; and his tract had, after due

examination, received at any rate an informal approbation from the Pope. Thus his witness, though, of course , not of final authority, is unique. He stands unequivocally for the strict theological interpretation of the decree, and in particular for the strict limitation of the crucial word *definit*. He says:

Even if we have before us a real and true dogmatic definition of the Pope, only that portion of it is to be looked upon and accepted as an *ex cathedra* utterance, which is expressly mentioned as 'the Definition'; and nothing whatever is to be so regarded which is only mentioned as accessory matter (p. 65).

This emphasis on the word 'define' is the keynote of the tractate. He explicitly controverts Schulte, who took the same view as Manning of the wider, non-legal meaning of *definire* (pp. 122-4). Fessler interjects in the course of his argument several useful observations:

A mere intention [or mind] of a Pope in an *ex cathedra* utterance, even if it may be assumed from his actions to have existed, if it be not expressed, is not to be looked on as a dogmatic definition (p. 69). A dogmatic definition *ex cathedra* will not be made as accessory matter to the condemnation of a book (p. 58). That the Pope speaks of his apostolic office and the plenitude of his power, and orders publication—tests proposed by Schulte, and also by Ward—does not constitute a document an utterance *ex cathedra* (p. 59).

The central passage, wherein the necessity is insisted on of the strict theological application of the conditions of the Vatican definition as the test of the *ex cathedra* character of a pronouncement, all vague popular criteria being ruled out, is worth reproducing (pp. 51, 52):

Dr Schulte's starting-point is unsound and misleading. He assumes that each individual Catholic Christian must be able, without the intervention of bishop or priest [theologians]—i.e., without recourse to any teaching authority in the Church—to recognize at once what is an *ex cathedra* utterance of the Pope, and this because 'each one has to work out his own salvation.'

The bishops and the priests are well aware that when there is no authentic explanation of a papal *ex cathedra* utterance, the theological faculty, which has been for centuries engaged upon this question, has to be heard upon the marks of a real *ex cathedra* utterance, and that in reality the short *de fide* definition in the Vatican Council in its few words does but contain what the science of theology has been this long time investigating at great length, with the full knowledge and admission of the difficult questions arising out of the history of ancient times. But we shall look in vain, if we wish to find from history or theology that such papal utterances are to be recognized, sometimes from the words used, sometimes from the circumstances, and sometimes from the definition itself, as though each one of these marks was of itself sufficient to establish the fact.

On our part, we find that it is the view of Catholic theologians that there are two marks of an *ex cathedra* utterance, and, moreover, that these two marks must be found together, viz., that (1) the *objectum* or subject-matter of the decision must be doctrine of faith or morals; and (2) the Pope must express his intention, by virtue of his supreme teaching power, to declare this particular doctrine on faith and morals to be a component part of the truth necessary to salvation revealed by God, and as such to be held by the whole Catholic Church; he must publish it, and so give a formal definition in the matter (*definire*). Any mere circumstances do not suffice to enable a person to recognize that which a Pope says, as an utterance *ex cathedra*, or, in other words, as a *de fide* definition. It is only when the two other marks just mentioned are acknowledged to be present that the circumstances of the case serve to support and strengthen the proof of the Pope's intention; and this intention will be made known by his own words.

Anyone who turns back to the account given at the beginning of the preceding chapter, of W. G. Ward's theorizings on infallibility, will see how diametrically opposite to them, point by point, is Fessler's explanation of the definition; in effect, he strews on the ground the new edifice of constructive and inferential infallibility which Ward had sought to set up. Had Fessler written in the years before the Council, he would have fallen under Ward's lash as one of the worst of 'minimizers'. As it was, in 1875, on the publication of the English translation, Ward dealt with Fessler in two articles, somewhat feebly it must be said; on the one hand,

discounting the authority of his tract, and, on the other, trying to show he could not really mean what he said. Nor did he bring out the greatness of the divergence between them.

There lingers on still in many minds a vague traditional sense that Manning and Ward were the fully sound Catholics of those days, and that their ideas were proclaimed at the Vatican Council as the Catholic Faith; and therefore it has seemed right to enlarge on the teaching of Bishop Fessler as to the true import of the Vatican decree, and to show that according to him it was by no means the triumph of the ideas championed by the most intransigent school of the pre-Council days.

From 1870 for four years there was in England a lull in the excitement evoked by the Vatican Council; until towards the end of 1874 a violent recrudescence of the controversy was caused by Mr. Gladstone. He was smarting under the defeat and fall of his Government over an Irish University Bill, by the adverse vote of the Irish Members of Parliament, consequent on the rejection of the measure by the Catholic Hierarchy of Ireland. He was less concerned with questions of faith than with those of practical politics, the relations of Church and State, and of the spiritual and temporal powers; and especially was he solicitous as to the civil allegiance of Catholics, profoundly affected, as he thought, by the Vatican decrees. This range of questions it was that at the time of the Council had so greatly agitated the Governments, especially of the Catholic States—Austria, Bavaria, France—and had stirred up statesmen to their hostility to the Council. That this opposition was chiefly focussed on the definition of the infallibility, was no doubt due in great measure to the infallibility being taken as involving the full 'Hildebrandine' conception of the supremacy of the Papacy over secular rulers, the 'deposing power' included. It had been Schulte's thesis, combated by Fessler, that all the bulls asserting such powers, and all those carrying them into execution by the excommunication and deposition of princes, were all *ex cathedra* pronouncements, and as such imposed on Catholics as of faith by the Vatican decrees. Unsubstantial though such alarms were, it is not altogether surprising that statesmen should have entertained them, in view of the utterances

of certain of the most extreme school of ultramontanes, as of Louis Veuillot, who declared: 'We must affirm squarely the authority and the omnipotence of the Pope, as the source of all authority, spiritual and temporal. The proclamation of the dogma of the infallibility of the Pope has no other object.'[1]

Gladstone's first battle-cry was uttered in an article in the *Contemporary Review*, October 1874. It was a defence of the Ritualist movement, and sought to meet the charge that Ritualism leads to Rome:

But there is a question which it is the special purpose of this paper to suggest for consideration by my fellow Christians generally, which is more practical and of greater importance, as it seems to me, and has far stronger claims on the attention of the nation and of the rulers of the Church than the question whether a handful of the clergy are or are not engaged in an utterly hopeless and visionary effort to Romanize the Church and people of England. At no time since the bloody reign of Mary has such a scheme been possible. But if it had been possible in the seventeenth or eighteenth centuries, it would still have become impossible in the nineteenth. When Rome has substituted for the proud boast of *semper eadem* a policy of violence and change of faith; when she has refurbished and paraded anew every rusty tool she was fondly thought to have disused; when no one can become her convert without renouncing his moral and mental freedom, and placing his civil loyalty and duty at the mercy of another; and when she has equally repudiated modern thought and ancient history, I cannot persuade myself to feel alarm as to the final issue of her crusade in England, and this although I do not undervalue her great powers of mischief.

Gladstone followed up the attack with a pamphlet, *The Vatican Decrees in their Bearing on Civil Allegiance: a Political Expostulation.* It was published, appropriately enough, on the fifth of November, being a trenchant and intemperate onslaught on the Vatican Council and the modern Papacy. Manning at once, November 7, had a letter in *The Times* and the leading papers—he excelled in letters to the press: 'The Vatican decrees have in no jot or tittle changed

[1] Cited by the French translator of Fessler.

either the obligation or the conditions of civil allegiance; the civil allegiance of Catholics is as undivided as that of all Christians, and of all men who recognize a divine or natural moral law.'[1]

All the Catholic writers hastened to take the field in vindication of the allegiance and loyalty of Catholics, and to repel the attack on their Church. Within three months over twenty such publications appeared. As might be expected, Ullathorne was almost the first in the field with a Letter to his diocese, *The Döllingerites, Mr Gladstone, and Apostates from the Faith*. It was dated November 17, and on the 24th extracts, more than a column of small type, were printed in *The Times*. His old friend the Roman correspondent of *The Times* asserted that it had been written for him in Rome and sent to him to issue—a notion absurd on the face of it, and which he contradicted in a letter to *The Times*, December 8. After this preliminary skirmish he set to work on a fuller and more substantive reply, and after a fortnight's labour of ten hours a day,[2] produced a pamphlet of eighty pages with the somewhat oracular title, *Mr Gladstone's Expostulation Unravelled*. It won the approbation of so competent a judge as Mr. Monsell (later Lord Emly), one of the Oxford converts of 1850, the close friend of Newman and of Gladstone, whose Postmaster-General he had been, and who now was deeply grieved and chagrined at his leader's wanton attack on the Catholics. 'How good the Bishop of Birmingham's Letter was,' he wrote to de Lisle. 'Coming out at the same time as Newman's, I fear few have read it.'[3] For all that, it reached a third edition. Its most telling controversial feature was a confronting of Gladstone's present utterances on Church and State with those of his High Church book of 1840, *Church Principles*, whereby he was answered out of his own mouth. During the Council Ullathorne had had occasion to write to Gladstone on the very subject of the intrusion of the Church into politics. On May 6, 1870, he wrote:

[1] Purcell, p. 473.

[2] *Letters*, p. 341.

[3] *Life of de Lisle*, II, 56. The whole series of letters relating to this episode, of de Lisle with Gladstone, Newman, Clifford, Monsell, Ullathorne, and others, printed in ch. XVII of the *Life*, is of the highest interest as a manifestation of intimate personal feelings of the principal actors. De Lisle was one of those who combated Gladstone.

The Governments of the world are getting alarmed under the notion that the Council is going to revive old claims of the Church over the civil power, and I have before me a letter of Mr Gladstone's, privately addressed to a relative, recently converted, in which he says that with our unity, which we parade in face of other people's divisions, we must expect to be all held as participators, and that if we intrude beyond religious questions into the civil order, we must expect the *lex talionis*—that is, I suppose, an intrusion of the civil power into our religious affairs. This letter I am going to reply to.

In the pastoral *The Döllingerites* Ullathorne recalls the episode:

During the sitting of the Vatican Council, being then Prime Minister, Mr Gladstone wrote a letter to an intimate friend who was a Catholic, and in that letter it was said that if the Church invaded the civil sphere, she must expect the law of retaliation. To this letter its receiver invited the Bishop of Orleans and the present writer to reply. What the Bishop of Orleans did we do not know, but the writer of this pastoral replied in a letter communicated to Mr Gladstone, in which, among other things, it was plainly stated, not merely on the writer's own authority, but on that of one of the Cardinal Presidents of the Council, obtained for the purpose, that there was no intention in any act or decree of the Council to invade the civil sphere.

This he reaffirms emphatically in the pamphlet:

The Vatican decrees have no bearing on civil allegiance. Neither in the decrees themselves, nor in the discussions upon them, nor in the schemata discussed but not voted, nor in the postulata, nor in any private remark I ever heard from the members of the Council, was there ever a word uttered which either expressed or implied that any decree, whether passed or contemplated, bore the slightest reference to the civil power or to civil allegiance (p. 32).

And in regard to the 'deposing power' he adduced words of Pius IX, spoken in 1871. The Pope's words were:

There are many errors regarding infallibility, but the most malicious of all is that which includes in that dogma the right of deposing sovereigns, and declaring the people no longer bound by the obligation of fidelity. This right was, in fact, exercised by the Pope in extreme cases, but it has absolutely

nothing in common with papal infallibility. It was a consequence of the public right [*jus publicum*] then in force with the consent of Christian nations, who recognized in the Pope the supreme judge of Christendom, and constituted him judge of princes and peoples, even in temporal matters. But the present situation is altogether different. Bad faith alone could confound objects so different and times so unlike each other, as if an infallible judgement on revealed truth had any analogy with a right that Popes, solicited by the desires of the people, have exercised when the general good demanded it. Statements like these are but a pretext for stirring up princes against the Church.

On the Council and on infallibility he repeats in substance what he had said in the pastoral of October 1870, already cited. He concludes with an 'Apostrophe to Mr Gladstone', an indignant but restrained invective, which may be given here, as Purcell gives the similar personal ending of Manning's reply (p. 481):

RIGHT HONOURABLE SIR: Responding to the call you have made upon all English Catholics to give you the expression of their sentiments on the charges you have brought against their Pontiff and their holy religion, I have the honour to offer you mine.

After ages of cruel persecution, the Catholics of this country were living in peace and content, loving their Church and Pontiff, loving their Queen and Country, and your political efforts in their favour had contributed to their peace; when, to our sudden amazement, and with no slight shock to our gratitude, we found our religious principles, in their bearing on our civil allegiance, called with vehemence into question by your eloquent, but this time misguided, pen. In your Expostulation you call upon us to disclaim doctrines and principles of conduct that neither in the mind of our ecclesiastical superiors nor our own have any existence; and that upon allegations that, short of absolute proof, we have every reason to believe were prompted by a factious party, once our brethren in faith, but now engaged in assaulting and ungenerously reviling that supreme authority of God's Church which was once their rock of security. Even should we be mistaken in ascribing the violence of your attack to the personal influence of those misguided men, there can be no mistake in tracing the materials you have used to the book in which they have drawn up their false indictment ['Janus', 1869].

It is the privilege of those who have been wronged to complain; and when the wrong comes from one to whom they have habitually looked for right, the breath of complaint comes from those deeper sources of emotion that touch upon the verge of indignation. Nothing inflicts pain like the breaking down of trust, especially where no reason has been shown for the change. When the bishops of Ireland opposed the scheme of mixed university education, they stood equally upon their religious principles, their constitutional right, and experience of the evils of mixed education. That which you proffered to them as a boon, they discovered to be an evil. What was there in this, although it proved the occasion of breaking up a Ministry inclining to its fall, to justify an unprovoked attack upon the Pope and the Catholics of England, not on the ground of the university scheme, but on the totally different plea of a disloyalty which, you yourself admit, does not exist among us?

At a time when every Christian force is needed to check the advance of unchristian, infidel, and atheistic invasions upon the peace and happiness of mankind, to draw up a severe accusation against the Head of the greatest Christian community—an accusation on matters that the accused look upon as criminal; to rest that accusation not upon proof, but on conjecture; to colour it and to heighten it with all the arts of rhetoric; to subscribe it with a great and influential name; and then, knowing the effect it must produce of inflaming prejudice and enkindling strife, to flood the country and the world at large with 100,000 copies of it, is what we did not expect, and could not beforehand have believed. It is not as if the Protestant population of the country had any true knowledge by which to judge what the Catholic religion is, or what are its principles and practices. They have had nothing of it in their minds for centuries but a grotesque caricature, to which your Expostulation corresponds.

Wheresoever prejudice, bigotry, and hatred of the Catholic religion and its professors prevail, there, as your correspondence will have proved, you have added flame to fire. Can this be justified on any party, political, or human motive? Is it a deed that has met the approval of the nobler-minded men of this country or of the press, or of the more prudent and abler men of your party? Unless it be the intention to strike your roots into lower strata in search of a new party, what is there to explain this downward course?

The venerable Pontiff whom we love so well, what has he done that you should strike at him? Why should you, who profess Christianity, join the throng of scorners who buffet

the Apostle of Christ? By what word, by what deed, has he done injury to any mortal being, except, according to his divine commission, to warn men from error and exhort them to the truth, except to turn their way from evil and draw it unto good? For long years he has been a spectacle of the righteous man suffering, to the world, to angels, and to men. Suffering is undoubtedly the allotted portion of prophets, apostles, and saints, yet no less undoubtedly are men the inflictors of that suffering. Faith broken with him by half the powers of the world, stripped of the patrimony that protected the freedom of his predecessors for more than a thousand years, he sees the strength of the world and much of its thought combined against him. His bishops are persecuted and imprisoned; their clergy and the members of the religious Orders are scattered and dispersed by violence, leaving devoted Christian populations without pastors or sacraments. Yet you, Right Honourable Sir, who once carried your energies in defence of the imprisoned as far as the South of Italy, profess not to understand the merits of that unprovoked persecution in Germany that rivals, and in malignity surpasses, the persecution of Christianity by the Roman Caesars.

Is it possible that a man of large mind and political experience like your own, can imagine, still less can gravely state to the world, that this same Pontiff, amidst his sufferings and solitude, can be plotting a dangerous combination of physical forces, expecting therewith to re-establish an order of things which, through the injustice of men, God has permitted to depart? A Pope seated on a terrestrial throne, 're-erected on the ashes of a city amidst the whitening bones of the people,' is a combination of images such as Mr Gladstone may contemplate with artistic enjoyment, but from the very notion of which a Pope would turn with horror.

Prussia has been long habituated to chastise its people with stick and cane, and that a minister of that country should strike a man when he is down is not so very surprising. But that an Englishman, and that Englishman Mr Gladstone, should strike a man when he is down, and that a man of the highest and most venerable dignity, stricken already with years, stripped of strength, his place contracted from a kingdom to a virtual prison; in his sorrows and solitude to strike such a man, and that with foul blows, is what honourable men would not have believed, had you not given them the proofs of it.

Inevitably the Syllabus of 1864 loomed large in Gladstone's attack, and out of it were forged the most telling arms of

his indictment. Seldom has document been so generally, so grievously, and so mischievously misconstrued.[1] And seeing that so objective and fair-minded a writer as Lord Morley, in the *Life of Gladstone*, thirty years after the controversy, and in spite of the explanations of Newman and others, should still have written:[2] 'A movement of the first magnitude was accentuated by Pius IX, when by the Syllabus of 1864 he challenged modern society in all its foundations, its aims, its principles, in the whole range of its ideals; some called this daring ultimatum the gravest event since the French uprising of 1789'—it will not be a reviving of a dead controversy to reproduce Ullathorne's answer to Gladstone. He points out that the Syllabus is not a body of dogmatic teaching, but a list or index, issued to the bishops, of errors condemned in the allocutions and encyclicals of Pius IX; to each of the eighty propositions is attached the reference to the documents wherein that error was condemned; and in order to understand the several condemnations and the nature of the errors, recourse must be had to the original documents, the contexts, not the face value of the propositions, affording the key to the right interpretation. He then takes as an example the last and probably most startling of all the propositions, the one that above all gave rise to such ideas as those of Lord Morley:

So much has been well written on the Syllabus, that I shall confine my attention to one or two of its easiest propositions, such as scarcely require the science I have spoken of to understand them; nor shall I do more than simply replace the propositions in their context. But this will be sufficient to exhibit the difference between Mr Gladstone's Syllabus and the Pope's Syllabus.

I select the eightieth and last proposition as one of those which has been subject to the widest misconstruction, has been made the most hostile use of against the Church, and, nevertheless, with its context, presents the most complete refutation, not merely of the unjustifiable sense attached to it, but of that which has been attached to other propositions of the Syllabus. Mr Gladstone renders it in these words: 'Or that the Roman Pontiff ought to come to terms with progress,

[1] Of the Syllabus the best account in English is Wilfrid Ward's, in *W. G. Ward and the Catholic Revival*, pp. 236-44.

[2] Op. cit., II, 508.

liberalism, and modern civilization.' The original is: 'That the Roman Pontiff *can* and *ought* to reconcile himself and come to terms with progress, with liberalism, and with recent civilization.' The question before us is, whether this is a condemnation of progress, liberty, and modern civilization absolutely and without distinction, or only of evils and abuses that go under that name. Englishmen, with insular pride, are apt to measure all things by what exists in England, and to think the Pope is always aiming his censure at them; whereas, to understand the Pope's allocution of March 18, 1861, from which the proposition is taken, they must consider the then state of things on the Continent, and the style in which evil men cloaked under popular names—such as liberty, civilization, and progress—doctrines and deeds which in England would never be tolerated.

The Pope says in his Allocution *Jamdudum cernimus:* 'Long have we been witness of the agitation into which civil society is thrown, especially at this time, through the lamentable conflict of antagonistic principles, between error and truth, between virtue and vice, between light and darkness. For certain men, on the one side, contend for *what they call modern civilization;* others, on the contrary, strive for the rights of justice and of our holy religion. They first demand that *the Roman Pontiff should reconcile himself and come to terms with* WHAT THEY CALL *progress, with liberalism, and with recent civilization.* But others with reason reclaim that the immovable and unchangeable principles of eternal justice be kept in their integrity and inviolability, and that the salutary force of our divine religion be completely preserved. . . . But the patrons of *modern* civilization will not admit of any such distinction, even though they declare that they are the true and sincere friends of religion. Willingly would we give faith to them, were it not that the melancholy facts which are this day before the eyes of all men prove absolutely the contrary. . . . Among these facts, no one is ignorant how solemn Concordats, regularly concluded between the Apostolic See and various sovereign Princes, have been utterly abolished, as recently occurred at Naples. Against which act, in this august assembly, we again and again complain, venerable brethren, and loudly reclaim in like manner, as on other occasions we have protested against like attempts and violations.

'But whilst this modern civilization fosters every anti-Catholic worship, and by no means keeps back infidels from public employments, nor closes the Catholic schools against their sons, it is irritated against religious Orders, against

institutions founded to teach Catholic schools, and against numerous ecclesiastics of every grade, even those who are clothed with the highest dignity, of whom not a few drag on an uncertain life in miserable exile or imprisonment, and even against distinguished laymen, who, devoted to us and this Holy See, courageously defend the cause of religion and justice. Whilst it grants pecuniary assistance to anti-Catholic institutions and persons, this *civilization* despoils the Catholic Church of her most lawful possessions, and puts forth every effort to lower the salutary influence of the Church. Moreover whilst it gives entire liberty to all discourses and writings that attack the Church and those who from the heart are devoted to her, whilst it stirs up, fosters, and favours such license, at the same time it is exceedingly cautious and moderate in repressing the attacks, sometimes violent and excessive, employed against those who publish excellent works, whilst it punishes the authors of these works, if they pass the bounds of moderation in the least degree, with the utmost severity.

'Can the Roman Pontiff ever extend a hand to *this kind of civilization*, or cordially enter into alliance and agreement with it? *Let their real names be restored to things, and this Holy See will be ever consistent with itself. For truly has it always been the patron and nurse of real civilization;* the monuments of history bear witness and prove that in all ages from this Holy See have gone forth, even into the most remote and barbarous nations, right and true humanity, moral culture, and wisdom. But if *under the name of civilization* is to be understood a system devised to weaken, and perhaps even to destroy, the Church—no, never can the Holy See and the Roman Pontiff *come to terms with such a civilization.*'

The Pope goes on to narrate how, in return for his paternal concessions, *this civilization* spattered his Council Chamber with the blood of his Minister [Count de Rossi]; how it stripped the Holy See of its territories, and, amidst all its infamies, still called upon the Pontiff to reconcile himself with *this modern civilization.* 'Willingly,' says the Pontiff, 'do we pray for these persons, that by the help of divine grace they may repent. But in the meanwhile we cannot remain passive, as if we had no care for human calamities. . . . If unjust concessions are asked of us, we cannot consent to them. But if pardon be asked of us, freely and promptly shall we be prepared to give it.'

From one example learn all. Here is the text from which the eightieth proposition of the Syllabus is extracted, and from its apostolic author we learn its true sense. Mr. Glad-

stone declaims on the Pope's condemnation of all modern civilization. Ironically the Pope uses the word from the mouth of the Church's adversaries, until he comes to true civilization, and then he embraces and exalts it. But *this civilization* with which the Pope is asked to be reconciled is a civilization and a liberty that breaks down solemn agreements with the Holy See, and that, without ever consulting the other party to the contracts, breaks Concordats and puts an end to them, renouncing the entire obligation of the solemn compact. This, by natural, divine, international, and even English law, is a great crime.

It is to Italy in 1861 that the allocution refers, to a country in which the Catholic Church had full possession through the faith of its people; and *this modern civilization* advances infidels into confidence and power, to the scandal of the people; does everything in its power to suppress the Church of the people; rises against the religious Orders and the educational institutions; exiles and imprisons the bishops; gives every license to speech and the press against religion, but severely represses whatever is earnestly written in its defence. Its *liberalism*, even in its royal personages and ministers of State, does not 'keep faith with princes.' And its *progress* moves strongly in the opposite direction to that loyalty to sovereigns about which Mr Gladstone is so solicitous, when it murdered the Pope's lay Minister of State, revolted and raised insurrection against his throne, as well as half a dozen more; and put a number of innocent priests to death in cold blood. Little birds have even told us how Mr Gladstone gave a helping pen, and how his liberal friends used the name, the influence, and even the ships of England to give an impulse to the progress of *this civilization*.

This was triumphant. But it must be allowed that, as a piece of indexing, proposition eighty was singularly unfortunate, in that it issued to the world as an 'error', a proposition that, as worded and without reference to documents generally inaccessible, was bound to give rise to wrong and mischievous interpretations. We can easily see how, taken at its face value, it could occasion such estimates as Morley's of the Syllabus.

Ullathorne's summing up may be taken as a just and sober estimate of the import of the Syllabus as a whole:

To sum up the Syllabus: some of its propositions defend natural human reason against its detractors, others defend

Creation against Pantheism, others defend Christianity against Rationalism, others defend natural and Christian ethics against immoral theories. Some defend Christian faith against Latitudinarianism and Indifferentism; not a few of the propositions are defensive of the Church and of the prerogatives of the Holy See against the Church's assailants; others of them maintain the rights of the civil power to the duty and allegiance of its subjects; others, again, the right of Christians to Christian marriage and Christian education; whilst others of these propositions condemn that revolutionary and rebellious spirit which under false names strikes at all real freedom, progress, and true civilization.

Around the Syllabus there was waging also a domestic controversy of the theologians, in which Ullathorne took his part. One school of theologians held the view that the Syllabus was issued *ex cathedra*, and that therefore its propositions were infallible pronouncements. Ward, of course, advocated this opinion uncompromisingly, declaring that all Catholics are bound in conscience under pain of mortal sin to hold them all with full interior assent as infallible utterances: he had also urged that the fact of these propositions being placed in the Syllabus showed that the thirty papal documents from which they had been culled were all *ex cathedra* documents. This was one of Schulte's positions also, in his attempt to discredit the Vatican definition by making it lead to extravagant results; and so the matter was dealt with by Fessler:

Dr Schulte assumes that the Syllabus, with all its eighty propositions, is a papal definition of doctrine *ex cathedra*. He assumes it to be so as a *fact*, whilst the truth of the matter is, that this fact is called in question by the gravest theologians. It is certain that many of the documents from which the propositions are drawn are not *ex cathedra*. It may be said the Pope intended to raise all these condemnations to the position of doctrinal definitions. This many theologians think may be assumed to be doubtful (pp. 91-3).

Eight of the propositions are taken from a condemnation of a book. It is a purely gratuitous assertion that a papal document by which a bad book is rejected and forbidden, the reasons being assigned, is on that account raised to the rank of a dogmatic definition, and the reasons assigned by the Pope for the condemnation of a book stamped as papal utter

ances *ex cathedra: (note)* just as if all that the Syllabus refers to is, for that very reason, i.e., because it is in the Syllabus, at once to be looked on as a dogmatic definition of faith (p. 59).

In the preface to the third edition he reasserts and confirms his position.

Ullathorne said that the propositions of the Syllabus could not be turned into dogmas of faith, because they are far from all of them capable of being pronounced heretical (p. 66). He did say that they had what was required to give them every kind of force, and Ward claimed him, as against Fessler, as saying that the Syllabus 'is certainly an *ex cathedra* pronouncement.' Ullathorne wrote a letter to the *Dublin*:[1]

I say nothing about *ex cathedra* in connection with the Syllabus. What I say is that 'the letter of Cardinal Antonelli simply authenticates the propositions.' I have always considered those propositions as deriving their force from the documents from which they are extracted, and their sense from the context of the originals. I now find that Bishop Fessler takes the same view.

Of the three principal replies to Gladstone—Manning's, Newman's, Ullathorne's—Ward in the *Dublin* pronounced the last to be the 'much more direct and sustained reply.' Manning's was a tract of 200 pages, and is sufficiently spoken of by Purcell: it is almost wholly concerned with the matter of civil allegiance and the relations between the spiritual and temporal powers. One passage was thought by some at Rome 'to savour of conciliation' with United Italy, though the Pope did not think so.[2]

But *the* answer to Gladstone's attack was Newman's *Letter to the Duke of Norfolk*. It is the one that survived the occasion calling it forth, and that still lives and is read as a substantive piece of Catholic apologetics. Newman it was, of Catholic writers, who had the ear of the British public, and he well knew how to use his vantage-ground. On the Letter itself and its reception, Wilfrid Ward's account may be referred to (ch. XXXII). The main headings were 'Divided

[1] *Dublin Review*, April, 1875, p. 530. [2] Purcell, pp. 483, 486.

Allegiance', 'Conscience' (perhaps the most permanently valuable chapter), 'The Syllabus', 'The Vatican Council and Definition'; in all a straightforward statement of present-day Catholic polity. This final great controversial effort of Newman's was again received with enthusiasm by the British public, and was accepted as a valid vindication of Catholic loyalty against Gladstone's aspersions, since that date very thoroughly refuted by the logic of fifty years of facts. On the two previous occasions, the *Apologia* and the *Letter to Pusey*, some controversy arose among Catholics, the Manning-Ward group disliking and attacking; but now this *Letter* was acquiesced in gladly and without controversy by the whole Catholic body in England.[1] Not so, however, in Rome. On February 3, 1875, Cardinal Franchi, Barnabò's successor as Prefect of Propaganda, wrote a confidential letter to Manning, that it had been notified to Propaganda that the pamphlet, triumphant in the first part, in the second part is censurable, as containing propositions apt to do great harm to the minds of the faithful; and he calls on Manning to state candidly his judgement as to what ought to be done. This called forth the following response from Manning:[2]

The communication of your Eminence reached me to-day, and I make no delay in answering it. But my reply will take the form of a *supplica*.

Earnestly do I beseech your Eminence that no *public* action be taken in reference to the pamphlet of Fr Newman, and this for the following reasons:

1. The heart of the revered Fr Newman is as right and as Catholic as it is possible to be.
2. His pamphlet exercises a most powerful influence upon the non-Catholics of this country.
3. In like manner, the effect of it on Catholics of an intractable disposition and incorrect ideas is a wholesome one.
4. The said Father has never hitherto so openly defended the prerogatives and infallible magisterium of the Roman Pontiff, although he has always believed and proclaimed these truths.

[1] Purcell's statement (p. 480, note) that the *Letter* was 'fiercely attacked' in the *Dublin* is quite wrong; it was welcomed by Ward, in spite of passages causing him acute personal pain. At no time was Newman personally attacked in the *Dublin:* Manning saw to that

[2] St. Mary's, Bayswater.

5. The substance of the recent pamphlet is sound; nevertheless one cannot but be sensible of certain propositions and of a certain method of reasoning which are wanting in accuracy of expression.

6. These slight blemishes are not apparent to non-Catholics, or to Catholics who are of defective instinct, and are therefore no hindrance to the salutary effect of the pamphlet. On the more clear-sighted among Catholics they have no influence at all.

7. For these reasons I think it is absolutely safe to abstain from any public action.

8. On the other hand, I apprehend a grave danger, were there the shadow of a public censure.

9. It would occasion the appearance, perhaps even more than the appearance, of division among Catholics in the presence of our enemies and of our non-Catholic friends.

10. It would arouse a domestic controversy such as aforetime blazed amongst us, but is now by the grace of God extinguished.

11. It would introduce among us all the evil spirits of hates and jealousies and personal bitterness.

12. A papal Bull would not suffice to do away with the belief that the Holy See had been spurred on to taking such a step by the English Ultramontanes.

I can with all confidence declare that Catholic Truth and the Authority of the Holy See will not in the slightest degree be diminished by the aforesaid pamphlet; and that never to this day did the unity of Catholics and the infallibility of the Vicar of Christ shine forth more brightly in England. This being the case, I would earnestly pray, *quieta ne movere*.

It is not a true and old friendship that is making supplication, but prudence, if I have any, which counsels me in this humble advice.[1]

This letter, it will be felt, was not only generous but sensible and politic, and one would like to think with Leslie that it set Newman right at Rome, and paved the way for the cardinalate. But, unfortunately, it was not the end of the matter. Manning's agent in Rome did, indeed, write to him, February 16:[2]

MY DEAR LORD: The Holy Father said to me this morning that he understood you were afraid that he was going to con-

[1] Manning's letter is Italian; the translation has been made by one well conversant with Italian.

[2] Purcell, p. 486.

demn Fr Newman, but that he had no such intention, though he would wish that some friend might let Newman know that there were some objectionable passages in his pamphlet. He had heard, he said, that good had been effected by it, and that the notion of Newman's opposition to the Pope was completely dispelled. To all this I gave respectful assent.

But at the same time as Cardinal Franchi's letter to Manning, one of like tenor, but couched in stronger terms, was despatched to Ullathorne, February 5: If the pamphlet really contains unsound propositions, as is stated, the thing cannot be passed over in silence, but something must be done to allay the scandal given to Catholics; and he calls on Ullathorne for his confidential and candid opinion on the pamphlet and on what can prudently be done in the matter.

The draft of Ullathorne's answer survives, written in his queer English-Latin. It is of the same tenor as Manning's, but much more detailed:

He was not altogether surprised at the letter from Rome. In matter of doctrine the pamphlet seemed to him thoroughly sound, but in historical points concerning the Popes some things are incautiously and imprudently said: this arises from his method of argument *ex abundantia concessionis*. His method wins the minds of Protestants. But there is a small band of Catholics, mostly converts, zealots, inclined to rigid interpretations of doctrine. This party is represented by the *Dublin Review*, owned and edited by the layman Dr Ward, a man excessively dogmatic (*vir super omnia dogmaticus*). But this method more rigid than the schools seldom succeeds with those inquiring after the Catholic faith, and also disturbs the minds of not a few Catholics. Dr Newman, on the contrary, has a tender and compassionate heart, and exercises a great influence in conciliating to the faith minds in trouble; and especially has he reconciled many to accepting the Vatican decree on infallibility. And the recent pamphlet has been welcomed by the whole Catholic press in England with one accord; and especially did Cardinal Cullen in a pastoral letter praise it highly.

In regard to the historical points that might seem unsatisfactory, it is to be remembered that Newman has a style of his own when writing for the Protestant mind, by which he subtly but effectively draws them; he takes their own positions and leads them on to the Catholic position. Thus his treatment of the position of the Pope is not theological, but

historical—[the line of argument is sketched]. It is to be noted that there is a clear and vigorous confession of the writer's faith in the papal infallibility. Certain things are said, perhaps, imprudently, but Ullathorne finds only one passage really reprehensible, that which says that the luxurious worldly lives of some of the renaissance Popes was the cause of the Reformation.[1]

Finally he urges that any public censure would be greatly inexpedient. The pamphlet has been read by everyone, and is recognized by Protestants as a splendid defence of the Catholic religion; the doctrine of the papal infallibility and prerogatives, and the Syllabus, have been made to appear to the Protestant mind in a way much less unacceptable. All this good effect would be destroyed, and Newman's influence shattered for ever, by any censure, and the cry would go forth through England that after all Gladstone was right.

The letters of Manning and Ullathorne did not put the matter to rest at Rome. It is difficult to resist the suspicion that some of the English Catholics, more intransigent than even Ward himself—and such there were—kept pressing at Rome for a condemnation. Be that as it may, eight months later, on October 22, Franchi again wrote to Ullathorne:[2]

The work had been denounced as containing censurable propositions, had been subjected to careful examination, and found to contain such—given in accompanying schedule. The Holy See attaches great weight to your views as to the prudent manner of dealing with Dr Newman publicly. And so you will consider it part of your pastoral duty to bring these propositions to his notice, as if from yourself, and without letting him know that you are acting under instructions from the Holy See; and will point out to him how pernicious they may be to others, against his intention, and warn him to take the first opportunity of correcting them: or else suggest some other mode of procedure.

The items deemed censurable are eleven, and the theologian's censures range from 'heretical' to '*troppo irreverente* to the Curia Romana', affixed to the proposition, 'The Rock of Peter on its summit enjoys a pure and serene atmosphere, but there is a great deal of Roman *malaria* at the foot of it.' The note 'heretical' is attached to the two letters, written

[1] Collected Works, ed. 1888, *Difficulties of Anglicans*, II, p. 254.
[2] Oratory.

straightway after the promulgation of the Vatican definition to Catholic friends troubled in mind, for the purpose of lessening the difficulty they felt in regard to the definition.[1] The Roman censor seems to have supposed that these tentative considerations represented Newman's own considered permanent attitude to the Council. It may be taken that the judgement of the bishops on the spot, of Manning and Ullathorne, re-enforced as it was by that of Cullen, was more likely to be correct than that of a theologian in Rome, as to the real import, tendency, influence of words written in England and for England. Statements as to actions of certain Popes and their results, especially in regard to England, are declared to be 'false and contrary to genuine history.' The reader, who may refer to these passages,[2] will probably be surprised at the kind of strictures on Popes deemed objectionable at Rome in 1875; he will rejoice in the change wrought in this Roman sensitiveness as to the political acts of Popes by the enlightened policy of Leo XIII. One wonders how Pastor's *History*—e.g., the volume on Paul IV, one of the cases in point—would have fared in the days of Pio Nono.

Ullathorne took a month over the reply; it was dated December 2. He said in effect:[3]

When the pamphlet appeared I communicated to Dr Newman certain things I thought imprudently written. Now, after a year, and when nothing is being said about the pamphlet in England, it would be impossible for me to approach him with a new list of passages, without his at once seeing I was acting under instructions of the Holy See. Fr Newman has often complained that the authorities at Rome do not deal with him directly and openly, but by intermediaries and secretly. I strongly urge that if anything is to be done, he be written to directly and openly.

This seems to have ended the affair; probably the Roman authorities finally acquiesced in the concordant judgement of Manning, Ullathorne, and Cullen as to the doctrinal soundness of the pamphlet. At any rate no further step was taken. Still the fact remains that, though there was at Rome, par-

[1] Op. cit., pp. 301-7. [2] Op. cit., pp. 217, 257.
[3] Oratory.

ticularly on the part of Barnabò while he lived, and also of Pius, much consideration for Newman's person, his method of apologetics was not liked in the days of Pius IX. It was not his line, but Manning's, that was wanted.

At this time came Manning's cardinalate. It had been long expected. Ullathorne had prognosticated it at the eve of the Vatican Council: 'Take care you don't turn that red-lined cap inside out when you get to the end of it';[1] and now, on the first rumour, he wrote a congratulatory letter. On March 2, 1875, Manning could reply:[2] 'Some time ago you congratulated me when I knew nothing. I do now, and am called at once to Rome. But God knows I feel no congratulation. It is to me simple increase of anxiety. I wrote to the Holy Father that I could not judge what is best in such a case, but if he would decide I would obey.'

He went to Rome immediately and was raised to the cardinalate on March 15. The event was received with general applause in England. Ullathorne wrote:[3] 'It is quite remarkable that, after all Mr. Gladstone has attempted, there is a sense of satisfaction generally expressed in this country that we are to have a genuine English Cardinal.'

On February 7, 1878, died Pius IX, in his eighty-sixth year, the thirty-second of his pontificate. We have already seen how Ullathorne, like everyone who came into close contact with him, had fallen under the spell of Pio Nono's extraordinary personal charm. And now, no doubt like every bishop in the Catholic world, he preached a funeral panegyric, recording the outstanding features of the long pontificate and estimating their religious and social value. It is a fine piece of oratory, animated with a very genuine yet sober enthusiasm. Any extracts would be perforce too lengthy; but a letter on the death of the Pope, with a closing reference to Cardinal Pecci, may be given:[4]

Next to his own wonderful vigour, recollection, and devoutness to the last moment, the most wonderful thing about the death of the Pope is the impression which his character has imprinted on the world. I am not speaking of the Church;

[1] Leslie, p. 216. [2] *Dublin Review*, April, 1920, p. 217.

[3] *Letters*, p. 343. Manning's *biglietto* address and the letters of congratulation are recorded by Purcell, pp. 533 ff.

[4] *Letters*, p. 372.

but the whole world is praising and extolling his character in language so extraordinary, in language that could not possibly be used of anyone else. The Press of England, of all shades of opinion, amazes one by the way in which it has seized the grand points of his character. It has been the same even with the Liberalistic Press of the Continent. There the finest and most Catholic anecdotes about him are everywhere flying about. Then see how quietly and regularly all things are proceeding at the Vatican. The departed Pope has certainly left an enormous blessing behind him, and great things will ultimately come of it. It has always been so when great Popes have died, not seeing the end of conflicts and afflictions. The first voting for the new Pope will be on Tuesday. Notwithstanding all reports to the contrary, I believe the Cardinals are calm, and will act as a body with a deep and religious sense of their responsibility. Cardinal Pecci, who presides, is a shrewd, experienced, and most saintly man. He is a more meagre figure than Cardinal Manning, and as tall.

In the Conclave, Manning promoted Cardinal Pecci's election, being one of those that canvassed in his favour. He was elected on February 20, taking for name Leo XIII.[1]

The following year, 1879, was to bring one of the great joys of Ullathorne's life—Newman's cardinalate. Though the story has been told many times, by Purcell, Ward, Leslie, still Ullathorne's part in it was so large that it must be told here once again. Moreover, the full sequence of letters that mattered has not yet been printed in one place, so as to tell

[1] I think that Leslie (p. 252), and still more A. Lunn (*Roman Converts*, p. 119), make much too much of the proposal made that Manning's name should be put forward at the Conclave, and of his *rifiuto*. The facts are known only from Manning's own note, and they are these (Purcell, p. 550): Three days before the Conclave Manning and five of the most prominent Italian Cardinals in Curia had a private meeting to confer together as to who should be proposed for election. Cardinal Pecci was first put forward and adopted unanimously for the first name. Then came the question of another name, as second string; after the choice of Pecci as the candidate to be supported, it was not real business, and the Cardinals present politely proposed each other, each in turn protesting his unsuitability. Bilio thought that at the crisis with the Italian Kingdom the new Pope should be a foreigner, and proposed Manning; but Manning firmly and sensibly insisted it must, more than ever, be an Italian. The Papacy never was within Manning's grasp, 'had not the cautious hand refrained'; it was not during the Conclave that his name was put forward; he never 'stood on the step of the Papal throne'. I think that at the Conclave he got one or two stray votes; but he never was seriously in the running.

their own story, not even in Ward's *Newman*. And Leslie's two pages, by their inadequateness, make an incorrect impression of an episode that should not be slurred over in a history.

The idea originated with the leading Catholic laymen, who all along had been Newman's staunchest supporters, recognizing him as the one who had the most sympathetic understanding of their special religious and intellectual needs, and had championed their cause to his own hurt. They now hailed the new pontificate as the opportunity of securing to him in the eleventh hour—he was now seventy-eight—that recognition from the Holy See that had all these years been withheld, and reinstating him in the position of public Catholic confidence that his character, his piety, and his great work for religion and the Catholic cause in England merited. And so, in July 1878, the two leaders of the Catholic laity, the Duke of Norfolk and the Marquis of Ripon, took their courage in their hand—and it needed no small courage!—and approached Cardinal Manning, to represent the widespread desire of the Catholic laity of England that Dr Newman's great services for the Catholic Church should receive the highest reward from the Church by his elevation to the cardinalate. This was perhaps the act of the Duke's life that called forth in the fullest measure that quality of simple straightforward courage that was the secret of the high respect in which he was held, and of the great influence he wielded. To Manning the proposal must have come as a shock. If there was genuine conviction in the disapproval and opposition he had shown to Newman during twenty years—and we are bound to give him the credit of sincerity even in the most fanatical of the intellectual judgements so often encountered in these pages—the idea of Newman's life being crowned by the highest and most public act of approval on the part of the Holy See must necessarily have been displeasing to him beyond words. It is related that he bent his head for some moments—at the time it was said he then spoke the words *Fiat voluntas Tua!*—and then undertook to forward the matter with the Holy See—surely a wonderful act of self-conquest. Having made up his mind and given his word, he proceeded to do it with thoroughness. The letter he wrote

to Cardinal Nina, the Pope's Secretary of State, set forth the grounds of the laymen's petition in terms that would satisfy the most ardent Newmanite. It concluded: 'I have felt it to be a duty, very grateful to myself, to convey to your Eminence this expression of the desire of the distinguished Catholic laymen in whose name I write, and of those whom they represent.'[1]

This was in the summer of 1878. In December the Duke of Norfolk was in Rome, and taking for granted that the letter to Cardinal Nina had been duly despatched and laid before the Holy Father, he spoke on the subject at his audience. To his surprise he found it was the first that Leo had heard of the matter, his first words being, 'What does Cardinal Manning think of it?'—it being strange that such a proposal should come to him first from the laity.[2] It is untrue and unjust to suggest, as Mr G. L. Strachey does, but without saying it, that Manning had withheld the letter.[3] It had been entrusted to Cardinal Howard to present to the Holy Father on his return to Rome from England, and he had delayed on the journey, not reaching Rome until after the Duke's audience.[4] The letter was then presented, and the thing at once moved on, not without difficulty, as appears from words spoken by Leo to Lord Selborne and his daughter Sophia Palmer ten years later. Before leaving England they had gone to the Oratory to see the Cardinal, then in extreme old age. Sophia Palmer gives a most touching account of this final farewell interview—Selborne was brother of Newman's close friend William Palmer—and tells how they bore a dutiful message from Newman to the Pope. On reaching Rome, they had their audience, and this is how she reported the Pope's words on the day they were spoken:[5]

[1] Purcell, p. 555; Ward, p. 577. [2] Ward, *Newman*, p. 436.

[3] *Eminent Victorians*, 'Cardinal Manning', p. 104.

[4] The reason given in the text for the long delay in the transmission of Manning's letter is stated as the fact by Purcell (p. 557), though he does not give any documentary authority. There seems to be no reason for hesitating to accept it. The two essayists who have drawn character sketches of Manning, Strachey and Lunn, in handling this episode have both alike overlooked this passage, the former representing the letter as deliberately withheld by Manning, the latter offering an explanation of his own (*Roman Converts*, p. 124).

[5] *Memoir of Sophia Palmer, Comtesse de Franqueville*, p. 190.

I forgot to say that before the Pope and Father began politics, Father gave Cardinal Newman's message, and His Holiness's face lit up as he said: 'My Cardinal! it was not easy, it was not easy. They said he was too liberal; but I had determined to honour the Church in honouring Newman. I always had a cult for him. I am proud that I was allowed to honour such a man.'

There is no reason for supposing the opposition came from England; the twenty-year prejudice against Newman in the Curia amply accounts for it. Whatever it may have been, Leo claims that he himself it was who overbore it, so that in a month Newman's cardinalate was settled, and towards the end of January Nina wrote to Manning that Leo XIII 'had intimated his desire to raise Dr Newman to the rank of Cardinal.' This letter Manning forwarded to Ullathorne, to communicate to Newman. He received it at Oscott, January 30. Being unwell he wrote to Newman asking him urgently to come to see him. Newman, too, was unwell, but Fr Pope, as his confidential friend, went to Oscott, and to him Ullathorne told the great news, sending also this letter, January 31:[1]

MY DEAR DR NEWMAN: On the important subject I have communicated to you this morning I take the liberty of offering to you my own reflections as follows:

1. The desire that you should receive this proof of the confidence and respect of the Sovereign Pontiff has originated with the principal Catholic peers of England, and this desire has more in it than meets the ear, as you will perfectly understand.

2. The prompt response of a Pontiff of such solid and distinguished qualities, is clear proof that His Holiness earnestly desires to recognize your great services to the Church, and your personal character, by placing you in this high position.

3. Your accepting this position would give a great gratification to the Universal Church, and more especially to the prelates and clergy, and to none so much as to the bishops, the clergy, and laity of these countries and of America.

4. It would be for the good of religion and of the Church, by giving a weight to your personality of special significance as bearing on your Catholic writings, the more forcible as

[1] *Letters*, p. 380.

this highest expression of confidence comes after their publication.

5. It would bring for ever to an end those idle and mischievous rumours, long kept up, that you have not the complete confidence of the Holy See.

6. It would confer a singular honour upon the English Oratory in the person of its founder, and increase its strength thereby.

7. Although at your venerable age you might be inclined to shrink from a position so new, and apparently opposed to your simple habits, yet I fail to see how these habits need be much interfered with further than you are inclined to allow. The Pope would scarcely, I think, require you to live in Rome unless it were your desire. The chief object of His Holiness is evidently to confer upon you this dignity and honour in token of his confidence and respect. And you know that Cardinals out of Rome are not required to keep up much state that would be cumbrous or expensive. And your friends who have moved in this cause would, of course, take care that you should not be left without what is requisite to sustain your dignity. Chiefly, therefore, on large public grounds, I would even urge you to enter into the intentions of the Holy Father; but I also take the liberty to express my own personal hope that you may decide on accepting, moved by that great affection I have always felt towards you, and not unconscious of the honour it would confer on the Church in England and on this diocese especially.

Always your faithful and affectionate friend,

W. B. ULLATHORNE.

On February 3 Newman went to Oscott, and this letter, addressed to Ullathorne as his bishop, but intended for Cardinal Nina, was written there in concert with Ullathorne:[1]

MY RIGHT REV. FATHER: I trust that His Holiness and the most eminent Cardinal Nina will not think me a thoroughly discourteous and unfeeling man, who is not touched by the commendation of Superiors, or a sense of gratitude, or splendour of dignity, when I say to you, my Bishop, who know me so well, that I regard as altogether above me the great honour which the Holy Father proposes with wonderful kindness to confer on one so insignificant, an honour quite transcendent and unparalleled, than which His Holiness has none greater to bestow.

For I am, indeed, old and distrustful of myself. I have

[1] Ward, p. 439.

lived now thirty years *in nidulo meo*, in my much-loved Oratory, sheltered and happy, and would therefore entreat His Holiness not to take me from St Philip, my Father and Patron.

By the love and reverence with which a long succession of Popes have regarded and trusted St Philip, I pray and entreat His Holiness in compassion of my diffidence of mind, in consideration of my feeble health, my nearly eighty years, the retired course of my life from my youth, my ignorance of foreign languages, and my lack of experience in business, to let me die where I have so long lived. Since I know now and henceforth that His Holiness thinks kindly of me, what more can I desire?

Right Rev. Father, your most devoted

JOHN H. NEWMAN.

On the same day Ullathorne sent this letter to Manning with a covering letter of his own:[1]

MY DEAR LORD CARDINAL: Your kind letter, enclosing that of Cardinal Nina, gave me very great gratification. As I could not with any prudence go to Birmingham, I wrote and asked Dr Newman if he could come to Oscott. But he was in bed suffering from a severe cold, and much pulled down. I therefore took advantage of a clause in Cardinal Nina's letter, and asked him to send a Father in his intimate confidence whom he might consult in a grave matter of importance, to whom I could communicate in secrecy the Holy Father's message. Father Pope was sent, and with him I went into the subject, and sent the documents with a paper in which I had written my own reflections.

Dr Newman contrived to come himself to-day, although quite feeble. He is profoundly and tenderly impressed with the goodness of the Holy Father towards him, and he spoke to me with great humility of what he conceived to be his disqualifications, especially at his age, for so great a position, and of his necessity to the Birmingham Oratory, which still requires his care.

I represented to him, as I had already done through Father Pope, that I felt confident that the one intention of the Holy Father was to confer upon him this signal proof of his confidence, and to give him an exalted position in the Church in token of the great services he had rendered to her cause, and that I felt confident also that His Holiness would not require his leaving the Oratory and taking a new position at his great age. But that if he would leave it to me, I would

[1] Purcell, p. 558; Ward, p. 440.

undertake to explain all to your Eminence, who would make the due explanations to Cardinal Nina.

Dr Newman has far too humble and delicate a mind to dream of thinking or saying anything which would look like hinting at any kind of terms with the Sovereign Pontiff. He has expressed himself in a Latin letter addressed to me, which I could send to your Eminence, and which you could place in the hands of Cardinal Nina.

I think, however, that I ought to express my own sense of what Dr Newman's dispositions are, and that it will be expected of me. As I have already said, Dr Newman is most profoundly touched and moved by this very great mark of consideration on the part of the Sovereign Pontiff, and I am thoroughly confident that nothing stands in the way of his most grateful acceptance except what he tells me greatly distresses him, namely, the having to leave the Oratory at a critical period of its existence, and when it is just beginning to develop in new members, and the impossibility of his beginning a new life at his advanced age.

I cannot, however, but think myself that this is not the Holy Father's intention, and that His Holiness would consider his presence in England of importance, where he has been so much in communication with those who are in search of the Truth.

I have also said to Dr Newman himself that I am confident that the noble Catholics of England would not leave him without the proper means for maintaining his dignity in a suitable manner.

Although expecting me to make the official communication, Dr Newman will write to you himself. I remain, my dear Lord Cardinal, your faithful and affectionate servant.

Newman's letter had been written in consultation with Ullathorne, whose letter was intended to be sent to Cardinal Nina along with Newman's, in order to make clear Newman's mind. The next day, February 4, Ullathorne wrote again a private letter to Manning:[1]

MY DEAR LORD CARDINAL: I had no time to write you a more private letter after seeing Dr Newman yesterday. He is very much aged, and softened with age and the trials he has had, especially by the loss of his two brethren, St John and Caswall; he can never refer to these losses without weeping and becoming speechless for the time. He is very much affected by the Pope's kindness, would, I know, like to receive

[1] Purcell, p. 559; Ward, p. 442.

the great honour offered him, but feels the whole difficulty at his age of changing his life, or having to leave the Oratory, which I am sure he could not do. If the Holy Father thinks well to confer on him the dignity, leaving him where he is, I know how immensely he would be gratified, and you will know how generally the conferring on him the Cardinalate will be applauded. . . .

My dear Lord Cardinal, faithfully and affectionately yours.

And on the 5th Newman himself sent a line to Manning:[1]

I could not be so ungracious, whether to the Holy Father or to the friends at home who have interested themselves in this matter, as to decline what was so kindly proposed, provided that it did not involve unfaithfulness to St Philip.

And now Manning made what must be pronounced the most unfortunate and unaccountable mistake of his life. The letters of Ullathorne made Newman's attitude clear beyond possibility of misconception: he would gratefully and gladly accept the proffered dignity, if only it would not involve residence in Rome, his age and infirmities making it impossible for him to move from his home in the Oratory. Manning, however, entirely disregarded Ullathorne's letters, and fixed on the face meaning of Newman's own, which on the surface was a declining of the cardinalate. Rumours soon began to circulate in London that the cardinalate had been offered and declined, and gossip was busy assigning reasons for the refusal.

Manning's letter of February 4, acknowledging receipt of Ullathorne's of the 3rd with Newman's enclosed: 'Your letter reached me safely, and I will forward the enclosure to Cardinal Nina'—had aroused Ullathorne's suspicions, and the rumours now current confirmed them; so that on February 11 Ullathorne wrote himself to Cardinal Nina, enclosing a copy of his own letter to Manning:[2]

MOST EMINENT AND REVEREND LORD: After much anxious consideration I feel that I shall hardly have done my duty, unless I open my mind to your Eminence in regard to the Rev. Fr Newman, to whom I have shown your gracious letter, and as to whose disposition of mind in regard of ac-

[1] Purcell, p. 560. This is the letter which Ward (p. 449) says he could not find.

[2] Ward, p. 582.

cepting the Sacred Purple I have carefully inquired. I am the rather moved to this, because a report has been spread in London, though as yet it has not reached Birmingham, that this sacred dignity has been offered to Fr Newman, and that it has been declined by him. Letters have come from London altogether unknown to the Fathers of the Birmingham Oratory, stating what I have just written. It has not been, certainly, Fr Newman's intention to decline what the Holy Father has so graciously offered, but simply to state the difficulties of his position. He is a man so modest and humble, especially to his Superiors, and above all towards the Holy Father, that in the letter he addressed to me he wished simply to express his sense of his own unworthiness, his advanced age, his state of health, and his unfitness for living in Rome, both on account of his age, and of his want of readiness in speaking any modern language but his own. And thus he said to me: 'How can I possibly intimate, or in any way suggest conditions—it would be altogether unbecoming.' I answered: 'Write your letter, and leave it to me to give the needful explanations.' And thus, in addition to his letter, I sent another to the most Eminent Cardinal Manning, in which I gave my full explanations. But when the most Eminent Cardinal, in acknowledging the receipt of the letters, said that he would forward Dr Newman's to your Eminence, without a word about mine, and when I found it reported and believed in London that Dr Newman had shrunk from and declined that very great honour, I began to fear that my explanatory letter had not been sent on to Rome.

Wherefore, by way of precaution, I now enclose a copy of my English letter to Cardinal Manning. For so many erroneous statements have reached Rome, in regard to Dr Newman's disposition of mind, that as his Bishop, knowing better than most his modesty, his perfect faith and charity, knowing, moreover, the great things he has done for the Church of God, and how many he has drawn from heresy to the Faith, and in what esteem as a writer he is held by all, both within the Church and outside it, I deem it a part of my duty, in a matter of such grave moment, that his disposition of mind should not be misapprehended. And if, while acting with a good intention, I err in act, I know I shall be readily forgiven.

And now, kissing your Eminence's hand in token of my reverence, I have the honour to be, your Eminence's most humble, most devoted and obedient servant,

WILLIAM BERNARD
(*Bishop of Birmingham*).

On February 15 Manning started for Rome. The fact of the offer and the supposed refusal got into the press, and on the 18th *The Times* published the following paragraph: 'Pope Leo XIII has intimated his desire to raise Dr Newman to the rank of Cardinal, but with expressions of deep respect for the Holy See Dr Newman has excused himself from accepting the purple.' This drew from Newman a letter to the Duke of Norfolk, February 20:[1]

MY DEAR DUKE: I have heard from various quarters of the affectionate interest you have taken in the application to Rome about me, and I write to thank you and to express my great pleasure at it.[2]

As to the statement of my refusing a Cardinal's Hat, which is in the papers, you must not believe it, for this reason:

Of course, it implies that an offer has been made me, and I have sent an answer to it. Now I have ever understood that it is a point of propriety and honour to consider such communications sacred. The statement, therefore, cannot come from me. Nor could it come from Rome, for it was made public before my answer got to Rome.

It could only come, then, from someone who not only read my letter, but, instead of leaving to the Pope to interpret it, took upon himself to put an interpretation upon it, and published that interpretation to the world.

A private letter, addressed to Roman Authorities, is interpreted on its way and published in the English papers. How is it possible that anyone can have done this?

And besides, I am quite sure that, if so high an honour was offered me, I should not answer it by a blunt refusal.

Yours affectionately,

JOHN H. NEWMAN.

The leakage of the supposed news could be traced to none other than Manning, and the insertion of the note in *The Times* can only have been, as Newman evidently indicates, the act, direct or indirect, of Manning himself. The laymen were determined that there should be no miscarriage, and took steps at once to give the thing the utmost publicity. Even before the receipt of Newman's letter, the Duke of Norfolk had convened a special meeting of the 'Catholic Union', or

[1] Purcell, p. 561; Ward, p. 443.

[2] The Duke, as a boy of the Oratory School, had a special personal tie of respect and affection for Newman.

Association of leading lay Catholics, on the 20th; and on the 21st appeared in *The Times*, with a note that it was at the special request of the Duke of Norfolk, the notice:

At a meeting of the Catholic Union, on the 20th, proposed by the Duke of Norfolk, seconded by the Marquis of Ripon, unanimously adopted by acclamation, that the Catholic Union has received with profound gratification the intelligence . . . ; it desires to lay before the Apostolic Throne 'an expression of unfeigned gratitude for the honour thus shown to one whose name is especially dear and precious to the Catholics of the British Empire, and also justly venerated and cherished by his countrymen generally, for his high moral and intellectual endowments'; it offers its congratulations to Dr Newman with deepest reverence and regard; copies of these resolutions to be sent to the Holy Father and to Dr Newman.

The Duke, on his part, at once sent Newman's letter on to Manning at Rome, with strong representations of his own, on February 22 and 23.[1] On receipt of these letters Manning at once acted with Cardinal Nina and Leo XIII, and was able without a moment's delay to telegraph and write to Ullathorne that the cardinalate was secured, and without the obligation of residence in Rome. Ullathorne received the letter on March 1, and sent it to Newman with the following congratulations:[2]

MY DEAR DR NEWMAN: The enclosed letter from Rome I send you without delay, by the hands of the Vice-rector. It remains for me to have the honour of being the first to congratulate you. The exalted position to which the Sovereign Pontiff has raised you is the recognition of your eminent services to the Church of God. The exceptional mode in which the Pontiff confers his favours is most delicately and generously appreciative of your own feelings and desires. May this, your exaltation to the side of the Sovereign Pontiff, be the symbol and shadow of your reward for all your labours and solicitudes in the kingdom of Heaven.

Always your faithful and affectionate friend in Christ.

The next day he had Newman's answer:[3]

Dr Newman writes to me: 'You may fancy how I am overcome by the Pope's goodness. It is the crown of the kind-

[1] Purcell, pp. 561-2. [2] *Letters*, p. 384. [3] Ibid., p. 384.

nesses and affectionatenesses of so many, and specially of yourself, for whom I shall always give thanks and pray as one of my benefactors.'

On March 4, to make Newman's acceptance clear beyond mistake, Ullathorne wrote to Manning:[1]

MY DEAR LORD CARDINAL: Your letter, following your telegram, was extremely welcome to Dr Newman. He wrote to me: 'You may fancy how I am overcome by the Pope's goodness.' He also said to his own brethren: 'The cloud is lifted from me for ever.' He accepts with the greatest gratitude the honour and dignity which the Holy Father designs for him, and I am sure that if he can take the journey he will come to Rome. He is still suffering from severe cold, but is wonderfully consoled by the Pope's kindness.

The whole Press of England has been engaged on the subject, and the general disposition is to look upon Dr Newman not merely as a Catholic but as a great Englishman, and to regard the intention of the Pope as an honour to England.

Your communications came happily in time to stop the general conclusion that Dr Newman had declined, upon which the comic papers have founded their illustration.[2]

I have considered it prudent, now that all is public, to deny, and cause it to be denied, that Dr Newman has, or did, decline.

[1] Purcell, p. 567; Ward, p. 446.

[2] I find no illustration in *Punch*, but the following paragraph, March 1:

CORONATUS, NON PILEATUS.

The Pope, much to his credit, has respectfully offered Dr Newman a Cardinal's Hat. The venerable doctor, equally to his credit, has respectfully declined it.

A Cardinal's Hat! Fancy Newman in *that*,
For the crown o'er his grey temples spread!
'Tis the good and great head would honour the hat,
Not the hat that would honour the head.

There's many a priest craves it: no wonder *he* waives it,
Or that we, the soiled head-cover scanning,
Exclaim with one breath, *sans* distinction of faith,
Would they wish Newman ranked with old Manning?

But when he came home 'Mr Punch' addressed to him words of appreciative welcome: Most venerable Cardinal Newman, your Eminence has well earned your Scarlet Hat. It is to yourself, probably, that the Pope owes the reflecting portion of his British converts. A thoughtful man, if any dogma that you subscribe appears nonsense to him, naturally asks himself, Whether is the more likely, that you should credit an absurdity, or that he should be an ass. . . .

On the same day and again the day after, Newman himself wrote to Manning:[1]

(March 4.) DEAR CARDINAL MANNING: I hardly should have thought it became me, since no letter has been addressed to me, to write to anyone at Rome myself, on the gracious message of the Holy Father about me. Since, however, the Bishop of Birmingham recommends me to do so, I hereby beg to say that with much gratitude and with true devotion to His Holiness, I am made acquainted with and accept the permission he proposes to me in his condescending goodness to keep place within the walls of my Oratory at Birmingham.

(March 5.) DEAR CARDINAL MANNING: Wishing to guard against all possible mistake, I trouble you with this second letter.

As soon as the Holy Father condescends to make it known to me that he means to confer on me the high dignity of Cardinal, I shall write to Rome to signify my obedience and glad acceptance of the honour without any delay.

I write this, thinking that the impression which existed some fortnight since, that I had declined it, may still prevail.

He wrote also to Cardinal Howard in Rome.

Manning answered these letters by two, both of March 8:[2]

MY DEAR NEWMAN: Your letter (of March 4) reached me last night; and I took and repeated it to the Holy Father this morning.

He charged me to say that the official letter will be sent to you, and that he gives full permission that you should continue to reside in your home at Birmingham.

He told me to say to you that in elevating you to the Sacred College he intends to bestow on you a testimony to your virtues and your learning, and to do an act grateful to the Catholics of England, and to England itself, for which he feels an affectionate interest.

It gives me much happiness to be the bearer of this message to you.

Believe me always, yours affectionately.

MY DEAR NEWMAN: Your second letter (of March 5) has just reached me. Mine will have been received before this, and you will know that I have not a second time failed to understand your intention. The letter written by you to the

[1] Purcell, p. 568; Ward, pp. 447, 448.
[2] Purcell, p. 568; Ward, p. 449.

Bishop of Birmingham in answer to Cardinal Nina's letter was sent by the Bishop to me with a letter of his own.

I fully believed that, for the reasons given in your letter, you declined what might be offered.

But the Bishop expressed his hope that you might under a change of conditions accept it.

This confirmed my belief that as it stood you declined it.

And your letter to me of a day or two later [Feb. 5] still further confirmed my belief.

I started for Rome, taking with me the Bishop's letters, not knowing what might be done here.

In passing through Paris I wrote to the Duke of Norfolk in the sense I have written above.

I never doubted that impression, received from your letters and the Bishop's, till I received from the Duke a copy of a letter of yours to him, in which you said that you had not intended to refuse what had been proposed.

The moment I read this I went to the Vatican, and told the Holy Father, and asked his permission to write to the Duke, and to the Bishop of Birmingham.

But to shorten still further the suspense I telegraphed to both.

I write this because if I misunderstood your intention it was by an error which I repaired the instant I knew it.

Believe me always, yours affectionately.

What is to be said of this letter! Plainly, it is impossible to square it objectively with the letters of Newman and Ullathorne of which it speaks. On the other hand, when we reflect how bitter to Manning must have been the idea of Newman's cardinalate, not because of the personal honour for Newman, but because of the realization of all it implied of official stamp of approval on him whose principles and ideas had been for twenty years the constant object of mistrust, anxiety, and disapproval with Manning and his intimates: when we know that to the end this aspect was being rubbed into Manning—among his papers is an article of the *Pall Mall Gazette*, the following piece heavily scored under: '*Dr Newman's elevation to the cardinalate would mark almost more than any other single act the divergence of Leo XIII's policy from that of Pius IX:*'[1] when we take count of those strange aberrations and want of balance in his practical intel-

[1] Purcell, p. 564.

lectual judgements, when swayed by strong emotion—the letter can, it surely may be said, be absolved from the charge of subjective insincerity. Intellect in him was in a very unusual degree under the sway of the will. The wish was so vehemently father to the thought, that what he wished to see in the letters, that he thought he saw.

We shall see that Ullathorne, than whom none better knew the facts, at the end of his life said roundly that Manning had tried to prevent Newman's cardinalate.

After Easter Newman went to Rome to receive the Hat. His reception by Leo XIII and by the Cardinals was all that his friends could desire. The account of it all, as told by the Oratorian Fathers who accompanied him, and the *biglietto* address, his final utterance against that religious liberalism he had combated all his life, are recorded by Ward. Ullathorne was watching it all with delight:[1]

A letter from Rome confirms all that the papers say about the singular affection and the marked distinction shown by the Pope to Dr Newman. When the three Fathers were presented, the Pope said wonderful things to them of Dr Newman in his presence. What a consolation to him after all his troubles! The Pope specially desired to see Dr Newman before any of the other new Cardinals, as Cardinal Nina expressly told Fr Pope. He appears to have had three audiences. The Pope consulted him about England and the Oxford party, and requested him to write the substance of what he had said to him. Everyone, they say, is wonderfully kind, and they are so engaged they have no time for writing letters. We write our joint congratulations to the new Cardinal. His reply to the *biglietto* was very fine, and worthy both of his humility and his genius.

On his return as Cardinal the bishop sent a letter of 'welcome home', July 2:[2]

MY DEAR LORD CARDINAL: The safe return of your Eminence from Rome to your own cherished home gives me great pleasure, as it does to all the faithful of this diocese; and to that pleasure I wish to give expression. I have both heard and read the accounts of your reception at your return, and wish to join the general chorus of welcome. What I have heard of your reception by the Holy Father has given

[1] *Letters*, p. 384. [2] Ibid., p. 385.

me great content; and indeed your reception by the Sacred College all through is of the most gratifying description.

The Pope's words have been completely realized. He wished to do an act pleasing to the Catholics of England and to England itself, and that pleasure has been given in full measure.

You may not have seen an article in the *Quarterly Review* on the subject, of which I have only seen a notice. But I understand that the writer of it gives a survey of all the anti-Catholic movements in England down to the Papal Aggression Movement (as it was called), and then points out how in your person the tide has been turned the opposite way.

I hope and trust that being now at rest in your own house, and in your usual habits of life, you may soon recover strength and be in all respects yourself again.

Requesting you not to take the trouble to answer this note, I remain, with all reverence and respect towards your Eminence's person and dignity,

My dear Lord Cardinal,

Always your faithful and affectionate servant in Christ,

W. B. ULLATHORNE.

He did send an answer, which Ullathorne calls 'a beautiful letter': unfortunately it seems not to be extant.

The reception given to the new Cardinal by the entire body of English and Irish Catholics was most impressive. The flood-gates were opened, and the feelings of admiration, gratitude, love, so long pent up through the opposition of the knot of intransigent men around Manning, welled up and overflowed in a great flood, revealing the real mind of the English Catholics, bishops clergy laity alike, towards John Henry Newman. It rolled up in a great tide overbearing all opposition, and an enthusiastic chorus of congratulation and joy found vent in the innumerable letters and addresses that poured in upon Newman.[1]

In the 'Apologia' letter of 1864 (above, I, 331) Ullathorne had truly voiced the real sentiments of the English Catholics. Newman's cardinalate was the happy finish of one of the principal strands running through the texture of his life for forty years, that had brought him no little anxiety, now turned into joy.

[1] The addresses have been printed in a volume, and Ward in Appendix to ch. XXXIII (p. 577) gives a selection from the letters.

CHAPTER XVI

ULLATHORNE AND MANNING
(1865—1889)

MR LESLIE calls Manning's correspondences with Gladstone and Ullathorne the two most important of his life (*Manning*, p. 491). And as an influence in Ullathorne's public life Manning stands second only to Newman. It therefore seems in place to set forth the chief aspects of the personal relations between them. The materials are to hand in abundance in the mass of letters that survive: Manning's to Ullathorne, from 1865 till 1888, have been in greater part preserved; unfortunately Ullathorne's to Manning are but fragments of his side of the correspondence. They were among the Manning papers that passed into Purcell's hands, and were on his death, by an unaccountable misadventure, scattered, and have only in part been recovered. However, quite sufficient material exists for the present purpose. Leslie has printed a selection from these letters under the title 'Some Birmingham Bygones', in the *Dublin Review* of April 1920; and many more are given in his *Life of Manning*. There is no object in distinguishing between the letters here printed for the first time and those already in print, and therefore no references are given.

Ullathorne and Manning first established close contact at Rome during the winter 1861-2, in the circumstances related in chapter IX, when in the controversy between Wiseman and the bishops, Manning was fighting Wiseman's case, and Ullathorne that of the bishops. Their relations for life were pretty well fixed on that occasion, and stand out in the letters there cited. They then got to respect and to value each other, and to be able to work together, even in opposition, harmoniously; but there never ripened between them such

cordial intimate friendship as grew up between Ullathorne and Newman. Both strong men, their temperaments were antipathetic, and Ullathorne's intellectual outlook on religious and theological issues was more akin to Newman's than to Manning's.

Manning's substantive appreciation of Ullathorne appears in the letters of the winter 1863-4, when he was doing his best to bring in Ullathorne as coadjutor to Wiseman. After failing to induce Wiseman to acquiesce, he wrote to Ullathorne the following letter, which gives a pleasing picture of the friendly footing established between them in Rome the previous year; it is dated February 18, 1864:

You were very malicious against Protonotaries, and three walks by the Tiber would hardly cure you. However, if I had any personal secrets, there are few I would sooner tell them to than to you. But there are none. I have been much mortified by the folly of the newspapers. It began in the *Cork Examiner*, how I cannot conceive, and then the Protestant papers took it up from simple ignorance.[1] But the only *altiora* before me are, I hope, St Benedict's twelve steps and the rest which remains for us. I do not believe, monk as you call yourself, that you desire this more than I do. And I have every year a stronger wish to be released from the active life which I have had more than thirty years, and not to make it heavier.

The closing words make us think of a wise saying of St Augustine: 'When we are involved in affairs we long for leisure, and when the leisure comes we soon long to be back in affairs.' It cannot be supposed that Manning had any thought of 'a Benedictine cowl'; he was no doubt sighing for the retirement of his community of Oblates at St Mary of the Angels in Bayswater, which he loved so well.[2]

[1] The reference must be to some press rumours of a bishopric, possibly of the archbishopric; but I have not been able to trace them. His promotion to one or other see in England was commonly expected.

[2] Near the end of his life Manning wrote: 'The eight years I was at St Mary's were the happiest of my life. Hard indeed, and full of anxiety, but full of high peace and independence of the world. My name has been always over my door, and I never feel so much at home as when I am in that little room. I lived in it only eight years, but these eight years were a work and a life which cannot be measured by dial time' (Purcell, p. 74).

A year later Manning was appointed Archbishop of Westminster, April 30, 1865. The news leaked out, but the official letter did not reach Manning until May 8, and it did not get into the papers till the next day. Immediately on hearing it, Ullathorne, who like the rest of the bishops had wished for Errington, wrote to Manning, May 10, and a pleasing interchange of letters ensued:

MY DEAR ARCHBISHOP ELECT: Why did you not drop me one line with the news? News of course it was not to many people, but still one is left to guess from the style of newspapers. I did not think what it was best to do before the event—that was the Pope's business. But since the fact, I think under all circumstances he could not have done much better.

I was descending on the station platform at Coventry yesterday morning when Mr Hansom came up and put the newspaper in my hand. When I read the announcement I broke into a little laugh, and suddenly found a sort of lightening and expansion of the breast, which proved to me that I had been for some days under an unconscious pressure of care.

I never yet congratulated a bishop or an archbishop on his nomination. I do not do so now, I only congratulate the archdiocese.

Your beginnings will not be without a good share of solicitude, but I think the body of the diocese will rally round you, and of course your experience of life and its nature will induce you to look well forward before stepping when first getting into harness.

Your thoughts are too gravely occupied at this moment to spare me a smile at my congratulating myself in getting rid of the Protonotary, but as Archbishop I hope you will believe me to be

Your faithful and obedient suffragan,
W. B. ULLATHORNE.

ST MARY OF THE ANGELS,
BAYSWATER,
May 11.

MY DEAR LORD AND DEAR FRIEND: For so you have always been, and I trust always will be, for I could only lose your friendship by being unworthy of it. I wrote only to my brother, one of my sisters, and two who are very near. But my first thought was to write to you.

I had so fully expected you to be put over us, or if not you Mgr Talbot, that when I read Rinaldini's letter on Mon-

day, for two days I thought it was an error. Until my letter of last night came from Rome, I never ceased to doubt.[1]

And now, my dear Lord, I feel altogether sad: not that I misgive the pity and power of our Lord to help me, but because I can see nothing but my own unworthiness.

I know you will always let me turn to you and speak with you as I have in times past. One desire I have above all and for that I would lay down not only this trust, but I hope still more, I mean the true and perfect union of heart among all those to whom I am now, contrary to all demerits, the most closely united in the world, I mean yourself and your colleagues, for whom I entertain a heartfelt respect and regard.

Though I do feel as you say in no mood for merriment, yet I cannot help laughing at your joy in having got rid of the protonotorial gad-fly.

I know I shall have your prayers, and that you will believe how truly I am always,

Yours very affectionately,

H. E. MANNING.

BIRMINGHAM,
May 12.

MY DEAR LORD ARCHBISHOP ELECT: Thank you for your warm letter. You have pleased me much by your sense of the importance of cherishing union in the episcopal body. Unless the Pope wants you to go to Rome, I feel satisfied

[1] It must strike us as curious that he could have thought there was any error in the official letter from Propaganda, received May 8. Moreover, the news had come through before that and was current in Catholic circles in London and elsewhere; and Manning knew it. On May 6 he wrote to Talbot (Purcell, p. 244): 'You may like to know that we are all as still as a mill-pond. I am thankful to say that there are no contentions or manifestations of anxiety or disturbance. The act and the attitude of the Holy Father has silenced everybody. I think I know that four or five of the bishops are glad of what has happened.' Yet to Talbot he wrote on 9th in the same strain as to Ullathorne on 11th (Ibid., p. 221): 'Rinaldini's letter came upon me yesterday as something which I hardly yet believe. I had fully hoped that you would be sent to us; or if not you, I looked for Dr Ullathorne. But God has willed otherwise.' And the same day, 9th, to his sister he wrote the news definitely: 'The Holy Father has laid on me the archbishopric of Westminster' (Ibid., p. 221). Yet on 12th he wrote again to Talbot (p. 223): 'Till I got your letters on Wednesday—i.e., the 10th—I felt that there must have been some error.'

I hardly like to call this a 'psychological problem', for that is a polite way of suggesting insincerity, which I do not believe. I believe it is but the alternations of mind in a great emotional upheaval. One thing stands out quite clearly: up to the Pope's act in appointing him, Manning certainly was not expecting it—was expecting something else.

you will see the wisdom of being consecrated in England with your suffragans around you. Nothing could tend so well to opening an understanding with them; whilst going to Rome at present would give rise to many imaginations.

Though I have had no communications on the subject, yet I have the impression that most, if not all, the bishops will be satisfied with the nomination. The only apprehension I have known expressed, but it was not a belief, was lest one should be sent [i.e., Talbot], who though a very good and kind-hearted man, yet is notorious for want of judgement, and for his mischievous meddling in Errington's affair, a meddling which left bitterness behind it, and is not yet forgotten.

I am also anxious that the coldness between you and Dr Newman should be at an end, and surely this is a moment when that may arrive.

In preparing for the episcopal consecration and office, one naturally inquires for some good manual as well for spiritual use as for instruction. Cardinal Wiseman used and recommended to others Abelly's *Manual for a New Bishop*, a 4to in French. He gave me his copy when I was consecrated, and I lent it to so many that it has got lost.

Manning's first instinct had been to go to Rome for consecration by Pio Nono; he wrote so to Talbot in his first letter on 9th, and again on 12th:[1] 'All my desires are to receive the last grace at the hands of the Holy Father. I feel that it would give me an especial light and strength.' Talbot on this occasion showed good sense, and telegraphed that he would not present such a petition, and that the consecration should be in England.

Manning seems to have revived the idea of getting Newman a titular bishopric, an idea already mooted two or three times, first by Wiseman in 1854, when Newman was appointed by papal brief Rector of the Catholic University of Ireland.[2] Manning's letter is lost, but on May 18 Ullathorne wrote:

I mentioned in a previous letter that I had lent my copy of Abelly's book to so many suckling bishops, that it got lost amongst them.

Your notion about Dr Newman, if it refers, as I think it does, to the revival of the bishopric, would I think under the

[1] Purcell, pp. 222, 223.

[2] See Ward, *Newman*, I, 330 ff.

changed circumstances be open to misconstruction. I have not the least objection to it. But when I alluded to the idea, as revived by Cardinal Wiseman, to Fr St John, he got excited, and said it looked as if they wanted to soothe him with ornaments, or something of that sort. When it was contemplated giving that honour to the newly constituted Head of the Dublin University, it was an intelligible act, it gave him a position. But after all that has passed, there would be nothing at this moment to explain it.

My impression is, that a hint from the Holy Father direct that he should write against the infidelity of the age, would be the truest compliment. I know he is in some way prepared for it, but I have heard that nothing short of a request from the Pope would give him confidence to do so, after the way he was denounced for heterodoxy.

I do not say these things with any object of urging them upon your will, but simply to explain what I conceive to be the veritable posture of things.

(Manning, 22nd.) Now I have a request to make of you. The senior bishop [Brown, of Newport] requests to waive his privilege as Consecrator, and I therefore turn at once to you to ask it, not only as the next, but as the one in England from whom I had rather receive this grace. I feel as I have always felt that you have served the Church so as to be at the head of us. And now, my dear Lord, grant me this request, the first at least, if not the last, I may make of you —and believe me, always

Your affectionate H. E. MANNING.

(Ullathorne, 23rd.) It will give me a real pleasure to officiate as Consecrator in the function of your episcopal ordination. You will no doubt let me know when the time is certainly fixed.

Manning's next letter is lost.

(Ullathorne, 30th.) I thank you for your letter and the very kind expression which it contains. But I verily and honestly believe that the Pope has done the right thing.

I would by all means write to Dr Newman, and if your letter is dated from your retreat it will be sure to say the right thing and be the more impressive and safe of its object.

Of course I envy you your retreat and the dispositions you carry into it. Of all outward assistance at such a time you will feel that there is nothing like the words which the Church herself addresses to the elected in the solemn rite of consecration. I have always felt that there is one book yet

wanted, and that is a little book pointing out to those who are preparing for Orders the wealth of texts for meditation in the solemn rite we are going to be the recipients of.

The invitation to Newman and the answer are given by Ward.[1] Of course he came to the Consecration, but on two conditions: that he should not be expected to stay for the dinner, and that it should be understood that Manning would give up the thought of his being made a titular bishop. Sending Newman's letter to Ullathorne, Manning wrote:

(June 1.) So far well. I will content him—and try what you suggested a week ago. [See letter of May 18.]
You will kindly *sing* the Office I hope on the 8th? I have been using it, and it is wonderful for beauty and fulness.

(Ullathorne, 2nd.) I return Dr Newman's letter. I think he is quite right in not wishing for a mitre without its office, in a place and position which would only provoke the question why he has not the office as well as the honour.
I have had a letter from the Bishop of Newport, thinking it will be awkward for him to be present without some office. It is merely his character, he always does this sort of thing. I have written to tell him he ought to come, that it will be marked if he does not, and that his proper place, not being Consecrator, is to be at the head of those who are assisting without an office. Don't trouble yourself about him, I will angle him, and should he drop off the hook all will understand it. But if he writes again, I should hold him to his engagement to you.
I am glad Dr Newman comes, that is important. I know he has a dread of dinners, etc.

(Manning, 3rd.) Would it be prudent, delicate, and free from false interpretation, if I were to write to Dr Errington to say that in the event of his ever coming to London, I hope he would feel the assurance that my house would be his home. Please give me one word.
And pray catch Newport; treat him, as Walton says of putting hooks in frogs, as if you loved him, but hook him nevertheless.

(Ullathorne, 4th.) I think it would be a little too much to write to Archbishop Errington in that sense so soon. I put it to Estcourt, who has good tact in such matters, and he independently thought the same. It strikes me it would be

[1] *Newman*, II, p. 88.

better if an opportunity presented itself of conveying a message through some mutual friend, or of waiting for the *mollia tempora*.

The Consecration was on June 8, Grant and Clifford being the assistant consecrators, and on the next day Manning went for a holiday in France; while away he wrote to Ullathorne, June 21:

I have been intending to write to you for some days, but travelling does not help letter-writing, and I have continually delayed to do so. The last time we met was in such a confusion that I could not thank you as I wished for all your kindness in the last month and especially on the last day. I was very sensible of it. And I trust that I may hereafter be able to assure you of it in ways better than words. . . .

He replied: 'Duties do not call for thanks, though I appreciate your good and kind feelings not the less.' He went on to speak of various affairs that would require to be dealt with on Manning's return, making proposals as to how they might be met. Manning replied on June 28, thanking him and asking him to come and spend a few days with him on his return home, to talk things over. The letters continued through July and August, until in September Manning started for Rome: 'I trust to be home for St Charles' Day (November 4). Do me the great kindness to preach, or to pontificate on that day,' i.e., in the church of the Oblates of St Charles.

Every new superior has his honeymoon, and Manning was in those days having his. The next year, 1866, brought the beginning of differences, first over Newman's *Letter to Dr Pusey*, as recorded towards the end of chapter XII; and then over Ward's intemperate theological writings of which Ullathorne greatly disapproved (see beginning of chapter XIV). On this subject he wrote to Manning a friendly warning that he was being identified with Ward (p. 43); he concludes: 'When I began this letter I had no intention of teasing you with these remarks; but where there is confidence in one's correspondent, and affection behind confidence, things will out.' In the same letter he spoke of a violent and insulting attack made on Manning in the public press by a Catholic, one of the prominent converts:

He is just the kind of man whom the natural man in me would like to have the handling of; for though I reached my sixtieth year two days ago, I fear there is still a lingering fondness for putting down insolence, left from the days of blue jackets and handspikes of forty-five years ago.

Manning replied the next day:

I must thank you at once for your affectionate and valuable letter for which I am sincerely grateful. I assure you that I appreciate very sensibly the kind watchfulness with which you have given me notice of this and many other points of difficulty. Those who are near me know how I feel your kind acts towards me, and how I value your friendship.

After the bishops' Low Week Meeting, 1866, the first under Manning's presidency, Ullathorne expressed his satisfaction to Newman:

Archbishop Manning presided with admirable tact and judgement over our long three days' meeting last week. We had many things on hand, and it was a great contrast, much to our comfort, after what we have gone through of late years under the former archbishop.

Under Manning, as under Wiseman, Ullathorne was the acknowledged second in the Hierarchy, in experience, ability, forceful personality, character, independence, and sound practical judgement. He and Manning appreciated and liked each other, and a sort of growly friendship subsisted between them at all times; but there never was quite full confidence, and each often was displeased at the other's doings. Still, Ullathorne was Manning's chief and constant counsellor; and Manning knew and said that accord between them was the most potent factor in the ruling of the Catholic Church in England: but Manning's idea of accord between himself and another, was that the other should be in accord with him.

In 1867 their relations became strained, and in the autumn of that year their variance was at its greatest. The principal cause was the whole episode of the Oxford Oratory and the attacks on Newman, related in chapter XIII, Ullathorne considering his desire in a diocesan concern had been improperly thwarted by Manning through

his agents in Rome, Talbot and Herbert Vaughan; and in this he had the sympathy of certain of the bishops, as Goss of Liverpool, and Brown of Newport. Then in the August he had taken part in Oakeley's well-intentioned endeavour to bring Manning and Newman into concord,[1] resulting in the curious correspondence printed by Purcell (pp. 327-42). The Ward-Ryder controversy also took place at this time, and was a source of friction between Ullathorne and Manning (p. 43). And in addition to all this, there arose another dissatisfaction over the English College in Rome. The College was normally under the control of a Cardinal Protector, by preference an English Cardinal, if there was one resident in Rome. Early in 1867 Talbot was made Pro-protector, and he proceeded in concert with Manning, but without a word with the other English bishops, to bring about the supersession of the Rector, Dr Neve, one of the converts of 1845, a strong sympathizer with Newman in the current controversies, and the appointment of Fr O'Callaghan, one of Manning's Oblates, the superior of a small house of studies in Rome. The bishops, especially Ullathorne, Clifford, and Brown, not unnaturally resented this proceeding, in that they had been given no opportunity of expressing their sentiments as to the change of Rector, though their students, no less than those of Westminster, frequented the College; and they particularly objected to an Oblate and an Irishman being Rector of the old historic Roman College of the English secular clergy.[2] Manning concluded with a note of foreboding of coming difficulties the letter to Ullathorne of April 9, 1867, on the occasion of the *Weekly Register* attack on Newman:

> I write with a saddened feeling that we are entering upon a time in which the friendship and union which subsists between us may be tried. Nothing, by God's help, shall be wanting on my part to avert a diminution of our mutual confidence and regard.

Again, after the bishops' meeting over the Oxford question, he wrote, May 3:

[1] Purcell, p. 329; Ward, *Newman*, p. 181: Ullathorne approached them both as a conciliator.

[2] See Purcell, pp. 365-77.

I did not misunderstand you. My own meaning was, not that you had 'sacrificed anything in your course of conduct', but that you had so stated your case as to lay yourself open to protect Dr Newman. I was able to concur in the letter to Rome [Ullathorne's letter to Propaganda, July 30, 1866 (p. 15)], and I was resolved not to raise needless questions: but I felt that it was an understatement. As to humour, we were both feeling strongly, as we ought; but I did not feel in you, or towards you, a shade of anything but the truest friendship. I am most thankful for the last three days, as a pledge of our openness and confidence.

In September the crisis came and led to some plain talk on both sides. The subject that occasioned it is of no interest: the bishops had agreed that certain statistics of the different dioceses should be tabulated, apparently for transmission to Propaganda. The Table had been drawn up and comments or notes added, and it had been sent to the bishops by the archbishop's secretary. Certain features displeased several of the bishops, Ullathorne among them, and he became their mouthpiece in a remonstrance. The letters are characteristic of Manning, and still more of Ullathorne, and so are given almost in full, for this is a biography of Ullathorne. His first three letters were addressed to Dr Johnson, the secretary.

(September 3.) Whilst I thank you for your tabulated returns of the registers, you must allow me to say a word on the criticisms on the fourth page. The whole return of conversions, except those of Westminster, are inaccurate, simply because the clergy have not in many places kept returns. This was clear on the face of my returns. The conversions in this diocese, as correctly returned to myself, were, for last year, 720, in years previous they were somewhat more numerous. For example ten years ago they were 750. This I suspect does not always include the children of persons received. I should prefer my returns of conditional baptisms expunged, and that the remarks at least on the Birmingham diocese be also expunged as inaccurate. Were the document sent to Rome as it stands it would falsify my own official and accurate return, at least of the minimum of conversions in the diocese.

(September 17.) To let you see that I am not alone in my remarks upon the tabulation and its appendix, one bishop writes to me these words: 'The notes are not satisfactory.

They were not ordered, nor should they have been published without having been agreed upon. In my diocese there is no return generally of conditional baptisms, so that it would look as if there were no conversions, which is not true.' Another bishop writes: 'In my diocese the conditional baptism of converts is seldom entered. I don't see why the Archbishop should have said that it doubtless includes infants.' In this diocese infants, as intimated, are not included. Another bishop made remarks to me personally of like tenor with the above. As far as this diocese is concerned, the return of conditional baptisms in the schedule as they stood, would simply be a libel on the clergy. These kinds of things get to Rome, are industriously used there by a mischievous camarilla to pull down the bishops and clergy of this country, and some day these disgraceful proceedings, not yours but theirs, will produce an outburst of long suppressed feeling which will dispel their pleasant and self-complacent dreams.

Postscript.—I have returns of conversions for last year. But I have always discouraged the use of trumpets in this diocese. The returns were a necessity of the visitation and of the reports to Rome. I think a publication of relative conversions in the dioceses, which is sure to get out, would be odious in itself, and would arouse our enemies to fresh efforts against us.

(September 21.) Still to Johnson: What you appear to have failed to remark in drawing up the schedule, was that most of the dioceses gave but very partial returns, or none, of conditional baptisms, that is of conversions. And the result of this oversight was to leave the impression and put it on record, that there were few conversions made in England except in the archdiocese. Whereas *pro rata*, as judging from this diocese, conversions seem to be equally numerous in other parts of England.

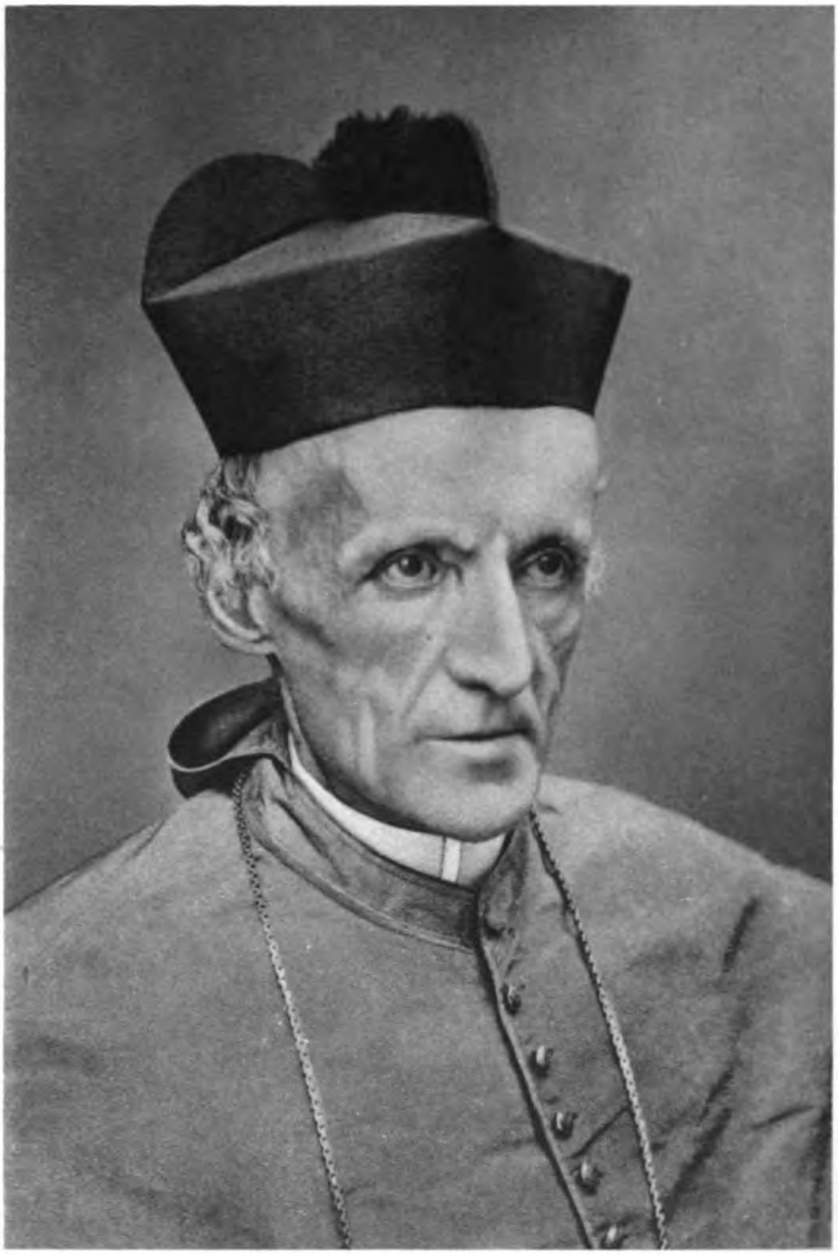
Manning unburdened himself to Grant, September 24:

I hope it is not oversensitive to look for some expression of regret at having written to my secretary, using my name, and that not justly. I do not know whether it is my duty to take no notice of this. Our future peace will be endangered if the Bishop of Birmingham does not put some restraint upon himself.

And to Talbot the next day:[1]

The Bishop of Birmingham is, I fear, likely to be to me what he was to the Cardinal, in the main at least. He is

[1] Purcell, 302.



HENRY EDWARD MANNING *c. 1870*

Archbishop of Westminster

evidently sore at the Oxford affair, in which he has been chiefly, almost only to blame.

The theological contention about Father Ryder I suspect also irritates him. I know that he is murmuring against Ward and, I believe, myself. And this I have no doubt goes to Rome, and Cardinal de Luca is the receiver of such things. . . .

Newman has just put out a circular privately to his friends, saying that he is not going to found an Oratory in Oxford, because he cannot go there in person. But ends, I *hear*, by saying that 'hereafter perhaps some change may come.' What?

I have not seen it, but the bishop communicates nothing to me.

Ullathorne on his side gave utterance to his dissatisfaction in a letter to his confidant, Dr Brown of Newport. The bishops were feeling that in many ways Manning was trying to bend them to his will, and were growing restive:

You must know that the bishops are being manipulated, and that we have all the elements at work of poor Cardinal Wiseman's time, but used with more subtlety and less blundering.

To Ullathorne Manning wrote:

(September 25.) Dr Johnson has asked me what course he is to pursue in respect to the Returns. I have desired him to strike out all notes, as not required by the resolution of the bishops, of which I enclose a copy: and to send to each of the bishops one copy of the return: which is in strict accordance with the resolution. May I without displeasing you say that I read your letters to Dr Johnson with regret. I think it would have been better if they had been written to me, especially as one of the bishops, as quoted by your Lordship, supposed me to have appended the notes to the tables; and as some of the topics appear to me rather to belong to our private confidence than to Dr Johnson. Also if I may say more, I do not know why the names of the bishops should not have been given: and if there be any remonstrance to be made, I think the brotherly union which has happily existed will be most surely cherished by its coming straight and openly to me. I feel confident that both you and I have seen and felt enough of the unhappiness which springs from separate action. Perhaps I do not feel this the less, in the personal instance, because I was supposed to

have drawn the notes, and perhaps to have drawn them with a purpose.

(Ullathorne, September 27.) Thanking you for your frank letter, I feel that it calls for a little explanation. The returns of conditional baptisms were evidently very partial as given from most of the dioceses. As the general returns stand in the schedule they remain a delusive record. . . . When I saw how they had been given, I must say that I was anything but gratified, though it did not enter my mind that they had been cooked for a purpose; yet I well knew how others might use them for a purpose. . . . The postscript to that letter was a real afterthought. It was a frank avowal of one reason why a document likely to get abroad might be used for mischievous purposes, nor did I speak from myself alone on that point, but from a considerable amount of knowledge of other people's sentiments. But I have sometimes thought of late that I am more frank with you than you quite like, and less formal. I wished the conditional baptisms as tabulated for this diocese to be expunged because, as put, they are fallacious. As we are on the way of explanations, let me say a word about the University question. You will remember that at Crawley's Hotel, I did not wish to put myself more forward in our general affairs than other bishops do. Well, I am trying to act upon that, and when I was asked to write a joint letter for all the bishops, I also felt that the bishops had not first been consulted as to whether we were to have a joint or separate letters; secondly, that the bishops had not first given their suffrages as to who should write, if any should write for the rest. Here then were two ample motives for declining the proposition. The instruction of the Holy See had been changed by an addition to what the bishops had recommended, and experience taught me how difficult it would be to settle the terms of a document which had undergone two modifications since our spring meeting as to its contemplated substance, without a conference enabling the absent bishops to comprehend what had passed in the interval. The senior bishop evidently feels the same, as he wrote to me and said he would write to you. Not that I have any personal desire for a meeting, but I know how difficult it will be to satisfy the minds of the bishops completely in any other way.

(Manning, September 28.) I beg to thank you for your friendly letter of yesterday which encourages me to write somewhat more fully. . . . I will endeavour as clearly as I can to express what I did observe with regret; and I hope,

my dear Lord, in doing so I shall not overpass the bounds of friendship and respect which I have ever cherished towards you. 1. The letters showed that you and three of the bishops were in correspondence or communication on the subject. The thoughts which arose in my mind were these: 'I hope we shall not see renewed the disunion and separate action of 1861. Did the Bishop of Birmingham write to these three bishops without writing to me? or did these bishops write to him without invitation? I should regret the latter even more than the former supposition.' 2. I all the more felt this because one of the bishops writes: 'I don't see why the Archbishop should have said', etc. My first thought was 'why should this be addressed to you instead of to me?' I could have answered this question, which it was impossible for you to do. 3. My regret was not lessened by your words that 'the result was to leave the impression that there were few conversions made in England except in the archdiocese.' And this regret was increased by the words of your postscript to the letter of September 17, 'I have always discouraged the use of trumpets in this diocese.' 4. I will not refer to the passage in the body of that letter respecting the 'mischievous camarilla' in Rome 'who pull down the bishops and clergy of this country', except to say that, if such exist, it appears to me to be a subject of grave but private correspondence between you and me: and this is one of the topics which I read with regret in a letter to Dr Johnson. 5. Finally, a single line from any of the bishops to me would have ascertained that I was in as complete ignorance of the compilation of the tables as themselves. And do not think me exacting if I say, that with such feelings existing in your mind and theirs, I think it was due to me: and in this I recognize the truth that the secretary and his chief are so far one that anything addressed to Dr Johnson really attaches to me.

My dear Lord, I cannot give you a better proof that I have never thought you too frank with me than by this frankness. In truth I remember saying in answer to a letter of yours in which you expressed your fear lest the subject of Oxford should cause a reserve between us, that I had already felt that reserve, as I had received no communication from you respecting the Rescript of last year.[1] My fear also has been that I have been too frank with you: but I believe that more depends upon a thorough understanding and perfect openness between you and me than perhaps any other of our

[1] I.e., the Rescript that caused the trouble over Newman's going to Oxford.

brethren, and I have been the more anxious to maintain it even at the cost of saying things adverse to your opinion. In respect to our pastorals on the Universities, I am perfectly indifferent; and shall gladly adhere to any prevalent wish of the bishops. If you will kindly refer again to my printed circular you will see that I did inquire whether or no they desired a common pastoral. I am now ascertaining whether it be the wish of the bishops that they should meet on the subject.

(Ullathorne, September 29.) I thank you for your letter, yet to speak plainly, it impresses me less with its frankness than by its tendency to throw me on defence and to put me to the question. Let the register question go, except the remark that the fact of trumpets having been habitually discouraged in this diocese helps to explain why there has been a certain indifference about counting conversions. It would have been strange indeed had I directed to your secretary in person reflections on yourself. There has been a correspondence amongst more than four bishops, but the allusion to the registers was but an accident of that correspondence. Of course bishops do correspond to obtain light from each other on a diversity of subjects. It is proper that they should do so. And it was precisely because I knew from long experience that it is rare for any bishop but myself to say what it is unpleasant to say at headquarters, that led me to conclude that you would hear nothing of that except from myself, and that you would conclude that I had set myself up as an exceptional complainant. Therefore I wrote what others had written to me, I now see unwisely. But experience is the great teacher. Far be it from me to be a spy upon my brother bishops; but it was this very reluctance of others to speak their minds plainly during Cardinal Wiseman's time, which put that odious office on me; and as I grow older, I am unwilling to continue in that odious office of acting as the common mouthpiece. This is one of those very motives which lead me to keep as much as possible, like other bishops, to the affairs of my own diocese. Many is the time that I have got the credit, both here and in Rome, of speaking on my own part only, when I was but the organ of the majority. Nor do I see that difficulties will be more easily solved because left to be smothered in silence. Still I have some right as an elderly man to consult now for my own peace.

The mischief done to bishops and clergy in England by irresponsible persons in Rome is no secret; it is notorious and is talked of by both bishops and clergy. It was your Grace

who wrote to me that you feared that our friendly relations might undergo a strain. And I was puzzled to understand at that time what it meant. It was not in a letter, but at our last conversation in London that you complained of my not sending to you a certain letter from Propaganda. And I then gave you the explanation, that I supposed as a matter of course that you had received a copy. At Dr Johnson's request I wrote to explain to the bishops how the tabulation and annotation of the registers was exclusively his own act, and how you were no more cognizant of it than they were. But it was quite natural that bishops should have assumed as a matter of course that it was not sent out before it had been submitted to yourself.

I do not know that there is anything else in your letter that calls for especial remark, but I wish to say that I am very far from wishing to sever that friendship which you have always given me and which I have always valued highly.

Manning's answer to this letter is not preserved; but a week later he gave vent to his displeasure to Talbot:[1]

The amount of murmuring here is endless on everything. I add in strict confidence that the centre of it is at Birmingham. Everything runs to this point—the Oxford question, Newman, Ward, the *Dublin Review*, English College, you, me, everything. The restless nature of that mind is reproducing what harassed the last years of the Cardinal.

Cordial relations were soon re-established, and from the beginning of 1868 we find them corresponding on the old footing. At this time a difficult subject came up, on which they were in full accord—the Fenian movement. Both men sympathized very genuinely with the misfortunes and wrongs of Ireland, recognized English misgovernment as their cause, and desired earnestly to see them righted; and they loved the Irish people. But they were both of them great Britishers, with scant sympathy for any kind of real Home Rule or any impairing of the integrity of the Empire;[2] and they had nothing but condemnation for all revolutionary agitation or appeal to force. Fenianism they both publicly condemned as a secret society, and so under the ban of the Church, in this associating themselves with Cardinal Cullen, a great Whig, and the Irish bishops. For this they incurred at the

[1] Purcell, p. 375. [2] Ibid., p. 579.

time no small unpopularity among Irish circles of London and Birmingham.

In 1868 Manning published a *Letter to Lord Grey* on the state of Ireland.[1] It was, for that date, an exceedingly outspoken and enlightened denunciation of the existing state of things in Ireland, with a call on the Government to introduce drastic legislation in the matter of land laws and of removing religious and educational disabilities and inequalities. It made no small stir, and Ullathorne was one of those who wrote to Manning his warm approval:

I wish to tell you how pleased we all are here with your letter to Lord Grey on Ireland. The exposition of the sentiments which animate the Irish bishops and clergy, and the rebuke to the cold and stolid tone of English depreciation of the Irish mind, are particularly happy. I am sure the letter will be very acceptable in Ireland, and will do good in more ways than one amongst the Irish Catholics in England.

Some years later, when the Home Rule movement had been launched, he wrote again to Manning:

That the Irish people should go in for federalism can surprise no one who hears the ordinary conversation of Englishmen about Ireland; for, consciously or unconsciously, they have but the one idea of the advantage or disadvantage of any line taken in Ireland or for Ireland, as it affects England and Englishmen.

The following words, written in 1881, lay the axe to the root of the Irish Question with a courage not shared by any politicians, English or Irish:[2]

What I have told English politicians is, that they will never understand the Irish question unless they study the Brehon laws, which incorporate the old Irish common law. I never understood it myself till I had seen the same thing in operation in New Zealand. There the land belonged to the tribe, originally one family.

Now turn to the invasion of Ireland. There was much the same tenure, every family occupying its own land and subdividing it as families grew. But the family had always the

[1] Purcell, p. 401; Leslie, p. 204; printed in Vol. I of Manning's *Miscellanies*.

[2] *Letters*, p. 405.

right of the land so long as the duty was done to the chief and the tribe. But by confiscation the land was passed to Englishmen and Scotchmen, who at once applied English law, and held it like English landlords, accounting the people on the land as mere tenants who hired the land from them, and turned them off as an English landlord does, either because the rent was not paid, or because they could get better tenants. Thus the old perpetual right to the land was utterly ignored. But the people stuck to their old perpetual right to live on the land of their ancestors, and never consented to the new order of things. They had nothing but the land to live on, and to turn them off it they looked upon as war, and acted accordingly.

This is the real point of the question and the key to the feelings of the Irish people; and until our legislators study and understand this, they will never know what they have to deal with.

Birmingham was one of the principal Fenian centres in England, and at the end of 1868 the bishop came into acute conflict with the advanced section of his Irish people. On December 30 he wrote to Manning:

We have a nest of Fenians here who are giving us some trouble. They have used the pretext of my last pastoral to try to alienate the people from me, and to put me in the same box with you; so at last we are fellows in misfortune. I hope to do without publicly noticing these men, whose persons and movements I know pretty well, as I do not want to feed their importance. But if I see the need arise, I shall come out sharply and mark them off.

The circumstances are more fully set forth to another correspondent a fortnight later:[1]

I am in hot water. For two years past there has been a Fenian conspiracy in this place to alienate the Irish people from me. Various schemes have been tried, and now they have taken advantage of my last pastoral, distorting a sentence in it, to keep up an attack on me ever since in a Fenian paper which is read by the poor people, and have tried to induce the people not to go to the Reunion at the Town Hall next Tuesday because I am to preside. They even proposed to ask me there and then if I retracted my pastoral, and if not to leave in a body. It is doing great

[1] *Letters*, p. 206.

mischief in alienating the poor flock from its shepherd, for they hear so many falsehoods told them, and all on the plea of their country's cause. However, the time has come for action. I must put out a pastoral both strong and striking, warning the poor people against these wolves; and that, of course, will bring more heat. But I have long forborne; and if I keep silence after yesterday's issue of the paper in question, I shall be guilty of a very grave laxity of duty.

The facts were these: the Advent pastoral of 1868 was an assertion of the duty of obedience to the civil authority and to law, in face of the revolutionary spirit rampant all the world over:

Europe is now undermined by the plots and machinations of unprincipled adventurers, heading numbers of dupes, and banded together with them in secret societies—Freemasonry, Carbonarism, Fenianism—and under other denominations, aiming, with anti-Christian fury, at the destruction of the Church, as the one great representative of all divine, as of all human authority and obedience.

These words gave deep offence to those of his people who sympathized with the Fenian movement; the Fenian organ in England, the *Universal News*, took the matter up, and week after week attacked the bishop, as having said that 'the Irish people' were the enemies of religion and were striving to subvert the Church. He felt it necessary to repel these attacks and put himself right with the Irish portion of his flock, very considerable in the great midland cities; and so he issued a special pastoral in January 1869, *On Fenianism*. He was not the man to be cowed by an agitation, and so at the outset he definitely declared Fenianism, as it existed in Birmingham, to be a secret society of the kind condemned by the Church, so that its members were debarred from the Sacraments. Though joining in the condemnation of abstract Fenianism, Manning had a better understanding of, and more sympathy for, the concrete Fenian than had Ullathorne. Manning had said in Birmingham two years before, 'Show me an Irish Catholic who has lost the Faith, and I will show you a Fenian.' Ullathorne now reversed it, 'Show me a Fenian and I will show you a bad Catholic.' But Manning would not have this. 'I do not believe the converse of my

words to be true. I feel sure that multitudes of good Catholics are misled by various causes into Fenianism.'

In the new pastoral, after pointing out that the words of his denunciation did not speak of 'the Irish people' but the Fenian leaders, Ullathorne turned to his Irish flock with a personal appeal to their hearts:

Does it really at this day require to be stated that for nearly forty years I have been the devoted servant of the Irish people? Can it be unknown that from the twenty-fourth to this present sixty-third year of my life, from my vigorous youth to my grey hairs, I have given my energies to the welfare of that people? No sooner did I receive the sacred priesthood than, leaving country and friends, sacrificing a life in the Religious Order to which I was attached, and that love of letters which was the one human pleasure left me, I became an exile, from free choice, in those remote penal colonies which at that time few free men knew anything about, or thought of, or cared for. And why did I thus freely become an exile, but for the sake of the most neglected and most suffering portion of the Irish race? I may know something of Ireland from books; I may know something of her people by living a good part of three years upon her very soil, and moving much with her bishops and clergy amongst her people; but I have had another way of access to the Irish people opened to me. From 1832 to 1840 I lived amongst the men transported for the affair of '98, amongst the men who, under all sorts of pretexts, were transported for O'Connell's famous Clare election, and amongst men transported from all parts of Ireland almost as often for political as for criminal causes. I conversed with these men, knew their inmost hearts as well as their histories, and they altogether represented some three-quarters of a century of the history of the Irish people. Those men were wont to say that if I looked like an Englishman I felt like an Irishman. It is not for me to say what I did to mitigate their material sufferings as well as to provide for their spiritual wants; what help I brought them from their own country in priests, Sisters of Charity and teachers; what I wrote in their defence; what share I had, and at what cost of suffering to myself, in bringing the horrible system of transportation itself to an end. Let it be enough to say that my strong constitution was broken down in the service of this Irish people, and that I spent the best years of my life in labouring to mitigate the evils, redress the wrongs, and soften the sorrows of 20,000 Irishmen, most of which had been brought about through the misgovernment of their country.

But if it was amongst the most suffering of Irishmen that I learned to fathom the mismanagement of Ireland, it was amongst them also that I learnt to understand the evil results of secret societies, and the harm the Irish people have ever done themselves when, turning a deaf ear to their bishops and clergy, and closing their eyes to the Church's condemnation, they have followed the ever-ready tempter, and broken themselves in scattered groups and against a united and irresistible strength. With the weight which experience amongst the victims of secret societies gives, let me ask if they have ever brought other results than failure, distress, and misery to those who engage in them?

When Ireland had a great leader, one of those colossal men who appear but rarely, it was neither by breaking the law of the Church nor that of the State that he accomplished his great objects. He was as vigorous in opposing all secret societies as he was in his efforts to redress his country's wrongs. O'Connell never wearied in repeating that he who breaks the law strengthens the enemy; and that nothing is worth having, nothing is blessed, that is gained by bloodshed.

Manning wrote: 'We owe you thanks for speaking out. I wish both in Ireland and England we had all done so together some time ago.' Ullathorne wrote to him again at the end of March:

The Fenian affair is not yet cooled down here, although on St Patrick's Day the clergy were successful in drawing the mass of the people to an entertainment, and reduced the opposition to about 130 men and women, including all they could bring in from the Black Country. It is now admitted in the *Universal News* that a sect is begun among them of Irish pagans who will no longer worship in churches. I have lectured against them in every church of Birmingham.

The irreconcilables spoke of a libel action against the bishop, but the affair talked itself out after some weeks.

During 1869 and 1870 the question of the primary schools and the setting up of the School Boards again brought Ullathorne into active correspondence with Manning. Manning took the line that it was best for Catholics to co-operate in carrying out the system (see letter of September 17, 1870, below); Ullathorne was in favour of standing aloof and keeping as many Catholic schools as possible free from the trammels of Government grants. On November 15, 1869, took

place a great Catholic meeting in the Birmingham Town Hall, at which the bishop delivered an *Address on Catholic Education*. The occasion was the initiation of the School Board system set up by the Education Bill of 1870. The foremost mover of the scheme was one of the Birmingham members of Parliament. He had framed a system of national education, the principles of which were that schools should be compulsory, merely secular, supported by a local rate, and managed by a board elected by the ratepayers. Existing denominational schools were to be allowed to go on, but without any aid of public money, and no more were to be established. In this form the proposal spelled the ultimate extinction of all primary schools in which definite religious instruction was given. A great congress in favour of these proposals had been held in Birmingham a short time before Ullathorne's Address. It was a vigorous assertion of the need of religion in education and of the evil effects of divorcing secular instruction from religious. The argument follows the lines of the pamphlet of 1850, summarized at I, 168. The new feature of the scheme of 1869 was the introduction of compulsion. Of this he says, 'It ought to be not the first but the last thing thought of, after every other resource has failed.' He concludes:

We are met here to proclaim that this secular system of education is one in which we can have no part; that the sacred and inviolable rights of our consciences are involved in this question; and that we protest with all the force of our moral and religious sense against being compelled to send our children to such schools, and with all our sense of justice against being compelled to pay rates for these schools, unless we have an equitable share of those rates for the support of our own Catholic schools conducted on our own Catholic principles. Of this let all men be assured: we will have nothing to do with schools in which our duty to God is not as much cared for as our duties to man.

The speech was printed in full in *The Times*, with a long leader:

The speech of Bishop Ullathorne at Birmingham on the scheme of the National Education League is in many ways worthy of being regarded as a model discourse from a Catho-

lic prelate on a question of public policy. It is able; it is plausible; it is suave even when stubborn in its opposition to the proposals against which it is levelled; it has a certain air of worldly candour rarely found in the speeches of the prelates and ministers of our own Church; and yet we cannot help feeling that it is affected throughout with some incurable vice. With all its apparent candour it lacks manliness. The Bishop does not take the trouble to state with perfect exactness the plan of his antagonists.

The *Spectator* also gave a leader to the speech.

It was unfortunate that this so vital question of primary education should have come on while the Catholic bishops were in Rome at the Council. Had they been at home and able to consult together and with leading Catholic laymen and members of Parliament, measures could in all probability have been concerted and a Catholic movement set on foot that might have secured something substantive for the Catholic schools, similar to the separate treatment that the Jews were able to secure for theirs.[1] As it was, the original scheme was modified and the 'dual' compromise adopted by Parliament, whereby denominational and board schools went on side by side, the latter fully financed out of public money, the former receiving grants wholly inadequate for full efficiency. Ullathorne disliked and mistrusted the whole thing, and wished Catholics to keep out of it. Manning's view is given in a letter to Ullathorne, September 17, 1870:

It seems to me that our best course is to co-operate to the utmost of our power, and thereby to obtain a share in the treatment of questions which may affect us. If they should offer to include our clergy in any Boards, I think we ought to accept it. We can but retire, if in conscience bound.

And a few days later, in response to one from Ullathorne pressing the opposite view:

The Boards may destroy our lesser schools by reporting them to be insufficient or inefficient. The effect of this in London would be to destroy one half of our schools. By opening negotiations with the Board, as I have with the Privy

[1] Purcell declares that Mr Forster, the author of the Bill, said as much (p. 493).

Council, I hope to save these. By standing aloof from the Boards we should be exposed to the danger of their hostility.

Manning used all his influence to bring the Catholic schools into the dual system. No doubt this policy was the more far-seeing, and, indeed, the only practical one, the chance of separate treatment having been lost. But he was greatly criticized by the extreme wing of his own extremists. One of them said of an article of his on education, 'Anything more simply anti-Christian I have never read.'[1] This was with a vengeance tarring him with his own, or with Ward's, brush. Of course, he had not thought of giving up the full Catholic character of the Catholic schools, the formation of which in London was the great work of his episcopate.

As the Provincial Synod of 1873 drew nigh, the correspondence on the preparations for it became active, and to Ullathorne Manning committed the drafting of most of the material to be brought before the Synod. There are a number of letters on the subject.

One of the issues of the Synod was the effort to establish a Catholic college for higher studies. At the bishops' next Low Week meeting, 1874, the question of a joint pastoral was considered, and in June Manning sent to Ullathorne for his criticisms a draft of such a pastoral. Ullathorne took him at his word, as he always did, and was intended to do, and sent a number of criticisms in detail, along with the general one:

It seems to me that in the present unsettled state of the scheme for the College of Higher Studies, with no system of government, studies, or control definitely arranged, it would be premature for the bishops to commit themselves to the joint pastoral we agreed to address to all the faithful in England.

However, Manning carried his point, and the joint pastoral was issued; and somehow or other, by what seems an almost incredible rush, the Kensington College was started that same autumn, October 1874. The story has been told at the end of ch. XIII. A year later the Rector was looking for a Vice-rector, and cast his eyes upon Rev. Walter Croke

[1] Purcell, pp. 492-5.

Robinson, a Winchester man and Fellow of New College, Oxford, a convert recently ordained for the Birmingham diocese; after ascertaining from himself that he would be willing to accept the post, the Rector broached the matter to Ullathorne, as Robinson's bishop. The procedure seems to have been quite proper, but Ullathorne was highly indignant at the overtures to Robinson without his knowledge, and wrote an angry letter to the Rector, charging him with 'attempting to turn Mr Robinson from his ecclesiastical allegiance'.

Somehow, in spite of Ullathorne's protest, Robinson did become Vice-rector in October 1875; and it seems that early in the next year Ullathorne definitely recalled him to work in Birmingham. Manning had to intervene. He well knew how to smooth the ruffled plumage, and his letter in March 1876, in lighter vein, is a pleasing sample of the easy relations between the two men:

Fr Robinson, who is ill, has sent me your Lordship's *epistola ipsismet saxis durior*. How can I soften your inexorable heart? If I were Orpheus, or could even play on the fiddle, I would try. But perhaps the sound of the Jew's harp may draw tears. What if we were to swop? If I cannot soften the *cor adamantinum* to give Fr Robinson to this work which the Holy Father has blessed, will you take in exchange a student at the English College, who may be ordained priest at once? By all the penitential austerities of Lent, I adjure you to be generous as you are strong.

Manning, as usual, got his way, and Fr Robinson went on as Vice-rector.

After the crash in the summer of 1878 Manning sought to get the bishops to take joint action in the attempt to reconstruct the college and in the appointment of a new Rector, so that the responsibility for the college should lie on all the bishops. Ullathorne, as usual, voiced their objections:

In reply to your circular requesting names from which to choose a President for the University College, I write to say that I feel myself incompetent to give names. I do not know who would be a proper person to undertake the arduous task.

My own opinion is still what it has always been, that the College will not succeed without any lay co-operation. I also

think, as I have always thought, that a joint responsibility in all the English bishops will not work satisfactorily. The College has hitherto been practically managed under the direction of your Eminence. Being in the archdiocese, it is proper that it should be so; but for this reason, I am still of opinion that where is the direction, there should be the responsibility, and that any attempt at a joint responsibility will ultimately lead to trouble and misunderstanding. It is therefore for the sake of peace that I have held off, and still hold off from all responsibility with respect to an institution which must of necessity be local in its management.

I therefore still think that the conclusion to which we came in the Provincial Synod is the sound one: that whatever bishop should establish such a college, the others would give it their moral support.

Manning, however, persisted, and sent Ullathorne the draft of a Report on the situation, intended to be submitted to the bishops and then circulated to the Catholic body. On August 19 Ullathorne wrote a long and elaborate criticism, some extracts from which will be of interest as illustrating the facts of a curious and little known episode:

I have delayed my remarks on the paper upon which your Eminence has requested them, partly owing to serious derangement of health, for which my doctor demands change and repose, partly because I am under the impression that some of my observations will not accord with your views, although with me they involve matters of grave responsibility.

After pointing out that at first, in 1874, a Senate had been appointed, on which two-thirds should be laymen, and that [after a single meeting, at which the laymen had furnished the necessary funds on a generous scale] this Senate had been quietly superseded, it being stated in an official document that the archbishop and bishops were the Senate, he goes on:

There is such a painful feeling still existing among the lay members of the Senate, that they were used and then set aside, that I cannot think it would be prudent to publish anything respecting them without first coming to an understanding with them. The members make no secret of their feelings about the way in which they consider they have been treated. One wrote to me: 'We felt we were quietly and finally ex-

tinguished.' It appears, therefore, to me that any authoritative document that should refer to the Senate before an understanding is established with it, will give rise to very unpleasant remarks in the Catholic body, if not even in the press.

[It is worth noting that the original setting up of a Senate with a predominant lay element had been due to Ullathorne.[1]]

I would also observe that, as a universal talk of the Catholic body is directed towards what is considered as the financial ruin of the college, the publication of a manifesto respecting it, without any reference to that part of the subject, however delicate it may be, would only increase what I may venture to call the agitation against the college and its supposed ill-management.

It likewise occurs to me as a grave point, that whilst the whole of the bishops are constantly put forward as the originators and responsible persons for the management, the real position of the bishops with reference to a college established in the archdiocese has never been defined; what are, or what are not, their functions with respect to that college has never been clearly made known, or even understood, among ourselves.

And much more, over nine pages foolscap. He concludes:

I have written these remarks at the cost of considerable effort, and against the absolute command of my medical adviser. But it was necessary that I should give my reasons in some measure, why I could not give my name to the document as it stands.

Manning replied:

I have to thank you for your letter. I am the more obliged to you for it because I see with what care you wrote it at a time when you were bid to refrain from all work. I will lay before the bishops your letter, in which there are many points which appear to me inaccurate, and some objections which I believe you will find not to be needed.

The upshot was that no attempt was made to reconstruct the college. Three or four of the staff held together for a couple of years, and continued to give instruction to a small remnant of the students.

[1] Purcell, pp. 496, 502.

Already by this time the case between the English Bishops and the Regulars was in progress in Rome, and Manning was in frequent correspondence with Ullathorne on that great issue, to be spoken of in the next chapter. It is the simple truth that throughout the twenty-five years of his episcopate Manning was in constant communication with Ullathorne. On every subject, public or private, great or small, he sought his counsel, sending the drafts of more important pastorals and of circular letters to the bishops; consulting him on the business to be brought forward at the bishops' meetings, on dealings with the Government, on the handling of difficult cases. Ullathorne had a standing invitation, often renewed, often accepted, to stay at Archbishop's House when in London, and Manning's visits to him at Birmingham were frequent. And how faithful and prudent a counsellor he proved is shown in Manning's letters, which usually begin with some such words as 'I thank you for your valuable letter.' Rubs there were, of course, inevitably, between the forceful and very diverse personalities of 'this strangely assorted pair,' to use Leslie's happy phrase, 'who for a quarter of a century guided the Church in England.' We may use also his summing up of their relations in the note prefixed to the 'Birmingham Bygones':[1]

The surviving letters refute the suggestion that Manning never took counsel of his fellow bishops, but ruled the Province in episcopal isolation. From Ullathorne he accepted not only counsel, but rebuke, and was fain more than once to turn his honest wrath by the kiss of peace. It is accurate enough to say that Ullathorne, as Newman's bishop, stood between Newman and Manning. Perhaps only a chip of the old Catholic block, one who had been a traveller and knew the children of men as it is seldom given to scholars to know them, and who withal in his industrious way was a writer of books, could have successfully interpreted the best sides of the two greatest converts of the age to one another. Manning loved the bluff old man, who boasted he was a bishop before Archdeacon Manning learnt his catechism, and took his scoldings with cheerful grace. The archaic accent, the old-fashioned manners, the rugged determination, and the fearless heart, all attracted and held the polished master of men.

[1] *Dublin Review*, April, 1920, p. 204.

I have from Ullathorne's close friend and successor, Archbishop Ilsley, the story that on the occasion of a heated discussion with Manning Ullathorne closed it with the crushing remark, 'My dear sir, allow me to say that I taught the catechism with the mitre on my 'ed when you were a 'eretic.' This anecdote reveals the fact that the bishop's alphabet entirely lacked the initial 'h'. This no doubt was a relic of the Yorkshire dialect of his childhood, and was probably unconscious. To the end, when he visited the place of his birth, he subsided quite naturally into his native Yorkshire dialect.[1] A hundred years ago the 'h' had not assumed its present importance as the hallmark of education and culture. It has been said that he persevered in dropping the 'h' as a deliberate eccentricity, but this is hardly credible, though he did affect certain peculiarities of pronunciation; for instance, 'choir' phonetically, 'koyre', not 'quire', and he would say 'power forth Thy grace into our hearts'. In writing, his 'h's' are quite correct; I have noticed only very occasional lapses in the great mass of manuscript material; and of course he did not wrongly insert an 'h'.

On one great topic, for a bishop the greatest of all, Ullathorne and Manning were in the most entire and wholehearted accord—the perfection of the state of the secular clergy. A striking utterance on this subject of predilection occurs in the original draft of the *Autobiography*, written in 1868:

As to the Secular Clergy, our Lord's own pastoral Order of His own divine foundation, I have thought more and more that their designation as *seculars* is a calamity for them; that it misleads the mind as to their true character as a sacred Order, to which our Lord said: 'Ye are not of the world, as I am not of the world.' I have thought that if they had been designated as the sacred Pastoral Order, and if the theory of their sacred vocation had been drawn out and kept before them with its spiritual laws and rules, as the Regular bodies have had their holy position and sacred obligations drawn out and epitomized in the formulary of their rules, it would have exercised a vast influence upon their sanctity as well as upon their spiritual influence. This has been attempted from time to time on select bodies of the clergy in individual dio-

[1] *Letters*, p. 494. In a recent volume of Yorkshire songs the warning is given that, though the aspirate is printed, it should not be spoken or sung.

ceses; but the result has been to convert those bodies into new religious Institutes, thus defeating the original intention of sanctifying the Secular Clergy. Only a general provision emanating from the Church's authority would meet the requirement.[1]

This might have been written by Manning; but when we find the same ideas adumbrated in Ullathorne's synodal address of 1864, we see that if either great pastor was beholden to the other for his inspiration, the debtor was Manning: 'Let me offer a passing comment', he said, 'on that word *secular*, as far as it applies to that great body of clergy whose title of ordination points to the cure of souls. Let me rub off the rust of ambiguity from that term, lest it dim the brightness of that Order of which our Lord Himself was the Founder.'[2] In 1872, in view of the coming Provincial Synod, Manning wrote: 'Do you remember our conversations in Birmingham and in Rome about the "pastoral clergy"? This ought to be the chief, if not the only, matter of the next Provincial Council, beginning with "Pastor Bonus". I hope you will work this up in the way you spoke of.'

With Manning's musings, aspirations, strivings in behalf of his pastoral clergy,[3] Ullathorne would have been in full sympathy; though, as a regular himself, he would not have attributed to the Holy Ghost, as did Manning writing to him in 1875, any declension of the religious Orders in number and perfection:

> For some time I have been afraid of saying all I think about the state of our clergy. They seem to me cowed, discouraged, depressed, weakened, by a tradition of later ages, that they need not be perfect, that they cannot be perfect; and that it is unreal and a sign of opposition to the 'religious' to speak of perfection anywhere outside of an 'Order'. The Holy Spirit seems to me to be vindicating His rights, and the rights of all souls, by the decline of all Orders either in number or in perfection.

With the positive side of Manning's teaching Ullathorne wholeheartedly agreed, and worked for it with all the energy

[1] Compare also Ullathorne's similar words to Brown, on the eve of the Vatican Council (p. 51).

[2] *Ecclesiastical Discourses*, p. 15.

[3] Purcell, pp. 783-9: one of the finest things in the book.

of his powerful being. Manning's great outstanding book, his legacy to his clergy and to all priests, translated into all the languages, *The Eternal Priesthood*, Ullathorne must have welcomed with delight. We wish the letter was extant which surely he wrote to Manning, thanking him for a book so greatly according to his own heart.

In 1883 Manning produced a companion book, *The Pastoral Office*, primarily as concerning bishops, but also the pastoral clergy. As usual, he asked Ullathorne to read it and criticize: 'The so-called secular clergy seem to me to be depressed, and, what is worse, to accept their depression. I have wished to show what our Lord made His priesthood to be, and to excite an aspiration.' Ullathorne wrote a long and careful letter criticizing freely many of the statements. The more substantive criticisms are reproduced:

(March 8.) MY DEAR CARDINAL: I have read the whole of your book, but limit my remarks to the two last chapters. You will accept or reject at will.

As you are treating in those chapters of the state of perfection in ecclesiastics, might it not be well to say in a few words something more definite on the state of religious men, who are mostly priests with us? I refer to this because, as you must know, there is a widely spread *praejudicium* that your bent is against religious privileges, and as the state of religious is barely touched upon, and as the book is a theological essay, it will be keenly scanned and criticized, and without something more definite on the state of religious perfection, it may, I think will, tend to increase the *praejudicium*.

P. 176: 'Whole episcopates immersed in the world.' Is not this too strong? There were generally good exceptions. I observe throughout that the passages on the episcopate are severe, especially the quotations, without sufficient explanation to show that this was in corrupt times, greatly occasioned by the close alliance of Church and State, when monarchs greatly influenced the appointment of bishops in the feudal times; and it is not sufficiently explained that the causes have ceased, and with them the resulting evils. We must frankly admit history, but not awaken scandal.

P. 202: The title of the chapter, 'The priesthood included in the state of the episcopate'. I look upon this title as objectionable on several grounds, some of which you have furnished in arguing the difference between the ordination of priests and the ordination of bishops, and between the state of priests

and the state of bishops. Having your attention drawn to it, perhaps you may think of some other title, such as 'The state of perfection in priests'—anything sufficient to separate the priesthood from the episcopate. For the state of perfection in the episcopate is higher than that of priests, because the bishop is the perfector, and is therefore assumed to possess what he gives. He has it in orders, and is assumed to have it in the spiritual life, which he forms in others.

I think the book very good as a whole for ecclesiastics, but whether equally so for lay people, I will not venture the same opinion, having some doubt of their being able to unravel the intricacies of the question of jurisdiction, and of their taking from some of the quotations a lower rather than a higher opinion of the ecclesiastical state, from incapacity to distinguish between principles and facts, as a rule, unless there is a little more explanation given, or a little softening applied. But all this, as the Oratorians say, when ending their cases at dinner before you, 'submitto judicio et decisioni Em^{tmi} et Rev^{dmi} Cardinalis Archiepiscopi nostri.'

Manning answered the next day with a striking letter:

I thank you heartily for your kind and valuable letter. No part of the book is yet struck off and I can make any correction. I will follow all your suggestions, for I accept them fully. The title of the Vth chapter shall be as you suggest. Finally, I am ready to print off a number of copies and not to publish the book. I would not willingly offend or pain any of our brethren, or anybody.

I know there is a *praejudicium* against me, and I will tell you my whole mind. Before I was in the Church all my sympathies were with the Regulars. For the first four years after I was strongly drawn to the Passionists and to the Jesuits. The strong desire for rule and community life took me to Bayswater. But I came to see the divine institution of the Pastoral Office, and that no regular Order can meet this. I saw also that the pastoral clergy were at a disadvantage, depressed, and lightly esteemed; but I saw that they were our Lord's own Order. I came to see that the chief need of the Church everywhere is that they should be what our Lord intended, and that all religious Orders united cannot fill their place or do their work. This has made me work for them. Regulars have authors, friends, preachers, books, prestige, tradition always working for their elevation. The pastoral clergy has none of these things. My book contains hard words about bishops, but not a hard word about regulars. It contains the teaching of our Lord,

the Fathers, and theologians as to the state, grace, and dignity of the pastoral clergy. I feel that our humble, hard-working, hard-worked, self-denying, unpretending, self-depressing pastoral clergy need and deserve to be encouraged, cheered, and told of their high and happy state. I confess that my heart is in the midst of them. They need what I can say and do for them. The Orders have no need. I love both and desire the perfection of both. I am truly thankful to you for what you have written.

Ullathorne responded, saying further: 'I think the quotation from St Bernard will be construed as a covert attack on the religious of this time and country.' On March 12 Manning wrote:

I thank you much for your kindness in writing again. I have made all your corrections but one, and I struck out St Bernard, though it was pain and grief to me. I will go on revising, and will write somewhat in the sense you desire. But if in the end it be thought better not to publish, I shall with joy only give a few copies to those who will read them as I have written them.

Ullathorne was duly edified by Manning's acceptance of the criticisms:[1]

His Eminence's reply to my close criticism of his book is so edifying that I am tempted to send it to you for your perusal. It is not a little thing for any man, or woman either, to have a book, over which much labour has been expended, taken to pieces, and yet to take it kindly, however considerately the operation may have been performed. And this book must have been long in hand, for questions bearing on it were sent to me more than a year ago.

In deference to Ullathorne's advice, *The Pastoral Office* was not published, but 'printed for private use', and so never was put on the market, but a great many copies are about. It is difficult to see, at least now, how any regulars could take umbrage at it; but sensibilities were more acute, and the atmosphere of old controversies was hotter, in the early 'eighties than now: we are a quieter and more tolerant people than our fathers. Manning's fifth chapter, 'The State of Perfection in the Priesthood', does not really go

[1] *Letters*, p. 434.

beyond what Ullathorne had preached ten years earlier in the opening sermon at the Fourth Provincial Synod of 1873.[1]

His subject was 'the law of sacerdotal holiness'. He saw three obstacles, in the shape of three preconceptions:

The first a misapprehension of the sense of the word *secular*, as applied to the diocesan or pastoral clergy;

The second a misapplication of theological light [i.e., of moral theology];

The third a misconception of the character of that sanctity which God calls for in the priestly order, the cause whereof is 'the want of clear, cogent, and definite teaching of the sense in which the Church regards the character of the priest, and what her great divines have said upon the sanctity which that character demands. In those earlier ages of the Church when, as a common rule, the monastical and sacerdotal states were separate, the priest was held up as a model to the monk, as belonging to the higher order of sanctity of the two.' The teaching of Fathers, of classic theologians and ecclesiastical writers, is urged, that the priest, as such, is in a state of greater dignity, calling for higher personal perfection, than the religious, as such; and that the pastoral clergy share in the state of perfection of the episcopate.

He concludes, after quoting from the Ordination service:

> Such, my brethren, is that type of sanctity which the Church looks for in her priests. And the more worldly the atmosphere in which their work is cast, the more they stand in need of that self-discipline which gives spiritual strength, to enable them to resist the world's influence. They need interior perfection to compensate them for what outwardly they sacrifice; they need it as a power to bring other souls to perfection of life. But perfection of life comes of desire, of effort, of combat, and of patient growth. We are not called without receiving the graces of our calling. God never fails us. When we fail Him, it is through departing from our interior, where light and the divine operation are left behind, and we wander abroad in extroversion of soul.

When this striking and uplifting discourse was first printed, it was dedicated to 'The Diocesan Clergy of the Province of Westminster, with whom I have laboured so long,

[1] *Ecclesiastical Discourses*, No. VI.

whom I have loved more than they have known, loved with all a Bishop's love, and with all a Bishop's thirst for the perfection of their life and labours.' That the diocesan clergy should be, in religious, in spiritual, and in intellectual formation and equipment, no whit inferior to the regulars, was one of the prime ideas and concerns of Ullathorne's, as of Manning's, episcopal life and work.

In the summer of 1885 Leo XIII issued to the French bishops, and to all bishops, an important manifesto enjoining moderation on Catholic writers in matters of politics. It seemed to call for a response, and the English bishops agreed to send a united letter of thanks from the Hierarchy. The drafting of the letter naturally fell to Manning, and he sent his draft to Ullathorne. In it was a laudatory reference to the English Catholic press, 'which seldom or never errs from the path of charity towards the brethren.' With recollections of the 'sixties and early 'seventies in mind, as also more recent offences, Ullathorne firmly refused to endorse these words. He wrote to Manning: 'To every other part of the letter I gladly give my name; but to this high commendation of our newspapers I could not conscientiously attach my name.'

The free flow of letters went on to the end, some surviving even from 1888. But it seems that in extreme old age Ullathorne somewhat lost his cautionary reserve and no longer 'kept the door of his lips', and used to speak out his mind freely about 'that Manning'; and he never got over the episode of Newman's cardinalate. All this appears in the highly interesting account, not yet printed, which Canon John Caswell wrote to a friend in 1908, of the last and very characteristic meeting of the two old friends. Ullathorne's evidently 'very own' summing up of Manning must be of interest: it is certainly not more outspoken or more unkind than Manning's summing up of Newman, made about the same time. It is to be remembered that on ceasing to be Bishop of Birmingham, Ullathorne became a titular archbishop.

His Eminence Cardinal Manning paid several visits to Archbishop Ullathorne at Oscott. On the last occasion of their meeting, in the absence of the President, the duty of entertaining the Cardinal devolved on me. His Eminence

of Westminster was much more genial and less repellent than on other occasions. Time had thawed him as it had thawed our venerable Archbishop and forced them in their declining years to lean on others.

On the afternoon of the Cardinal's departure, the Archbishop walked with me round the plantations. He was most anxious to unbosom his mind and have his say on certain points connected with His Eminence's visit. It took us nearly two hours to get round owing to the many stoppages to take snuff and descant in strong vigorous language on one or two phases of His Eminence's ecclesiastical policy.

The Archbishop considered His Eminence a magnificent ecclesiastic, who would stand his ground like St Thomas of Canterbury: a splendid figurehead, just the man for the place as things then were: a great social reformer, which rôle gave him singular prominence in the country. The Archbishop much admired His Eminence's humility in consulting *him* on points of canon law and Church discipline of which he acknowledged his ignorance. At the same time, the Archbishop was very severe upon His Eminence for what has been termed his 'intriguing interference in Church matters and his covert attempts to influence Rome to his own way of thinking.' I cannot, of course, give the Archbishop's words. I can only give the gist of the conversation, the impression of which lasts till now. This particular form of influence the Archbishop termed 'backstairs', and His Grace denounced it as decidedly un-English. It had tended to weaken Roman administration and affected deci sions which were prejudicial rather than beneficial in several ways in this country, through such onesided information. He humorously insinuated that His Eminence was a 'typical Jesuit'—no wonder His Eminence could not get on with Jesuits in his diocese. The Archbishop was annoyed with His Eminence for various such interferences and for exerting his influence and overriding the views of his suffragans; but most wroth for His Eminence's opposition to Dr Newman's cardinalate.

At a certain point in the plantation His Grace poured out not one but 'seven vials of wrath' upon His Eminence's conduct on this occasion. 'What do you think? He lectured me as though I had been a boy for suggesting Newman's promotion to the cardinalate, and urging it so strongly. Manning said to me: "You do not know Newman as I do. He simply twists you round his little finger; he bamboozles you with his carefully selected words, and plays so subtly with his logic that your simplicity is taken in. *You are no match for him*"!' This last sentence His

Grace repeated and said to me, 'What do you think of that?' I quietly, but wickedly, replied, 'I presume you have retaliated.' He smiled and took a long pinch of snuff. For His Grace to be told that he was no match for anyone, even though the 'anyone' be a Newman, was enough to rouse the British lion: *sed pungit cauda*—the sting was in the tail—that 'no match' His Grace could not forgive. The Archbishop then detailed to me the whole of the correspondence, etc., which ended in Newman's elevation, but which H.E. Cardinal Manning strongly opposed—at least, such was the conclusion to be gathered from this memorable talk. The Archbishop plainly told the Cardinal that it was he himself (Manning) who was no match for Newman. He distrusted Newman, whilst the Archbishop told him that there was no honester man on earth; that his only aim in this world was to advance the cause of religion; that his deep humility forced him to come to the surface to show his sincerity; that he was an avowed hater of all duplicity or intrigue; and much more to the purpose.

The Archbishop considered that Manning's act in this matter showed a great weakness in his character, and intimated that it was invariably the failing of men who travelled on such lines. By which he gave me to suppose that he thought Manning a man who aimed at 'Eminence' because he was a lover of power and of influencing others.

I am pressed for time, and I am afraid this is scrappy.

Three old men, all of them past eighty, two of whom had been quarrelling over the third for a quarter of century; and the last talk of these two developed into a heated argument over the long-standing bone of contention between them!

WILLIAM BERNARD ULLATHORNE

C. 1865

CHAPTER XVII

BISHOP

(*Second Period*, 1865—1880)

THE nine foregoing chapters have been taken up with Dr Ullathorne's part in a number of movements and controversies that were agitating the Catholic world, and in particular the English corner of it. But it is not as controversialist or as a leader and spokesman among the English Catholics, but as Diocesan Bishop, that Ullathorne's life will be judged. And judged by this standard it must be pronounced conspicuously successful. He was a great and good bishop. The story of the first period of his Birmingham episcopate, 1848 to 1865, up to the point when Manning succeeded Wiseman at Westminster, has been told in chapter VII; we have now to go back and pick up the threads of this, the most substantive side of his life, and in this chapter to carry on the story of his pastorate until 1880, when increasing infirmities compelled him to secure the help of an auxiliary bishop, into whose hands he entrusted more and more the active work of the diocese.

The almost perpetual wearying atmosphere of controversy in which these fifteen years were passed was not allowed really to interfere with routine administrative work, and the period was marked by a steady progress in the development and organization of the diocese.

In October 1866 he went to Ireland to preach at Belfast for the Dedication of the Church of St Peter, and preached the sermon, *The Rock of the Church*. He described the function:[1]

I returned from Belfast yesterday. Sunday was an extraordinary day. Cardinal Cullen and twelve bishops were at the opening. Three thousand tickets were taken for the

[1] *Letters*, p. 175.

morning service, £1,000 were paid, and £1,400 were collected after the sermon. The whole income of the day from tickets and collections was £2,569. There were 20,000 persons outside in the morning, and 50,000 in the evening. I have been much pleased with what I have seen.

This was the time, 1865-7, of the controversy with Pusey, and of the renewed and more seriously considered project of the Oxford Oratory. It was the time, too, of a succession of most distasteful, though unavoidable, controversies with Protestant protagonists of various types.

Mr C. Newdegate was one of those who in 1851 had endeavoured to bring about a statutory inspection of convents; this movement, and the public protest it called forth from Ullathorne, has been spoken of in chapter VII. The thing became a fixed idea with Newdegate, and he never let it drop. And so in March 1865 he moved in the House of Commons 'that a select committee be appointed to inquire into the existence, character, and increase of monastic or conventual establishments or societies in Great Britain.' He made a long speech, full of thrills; and though his motion was lost by 106 votes against 79, the speech was widely circulated. Newdegate was Member for North Warwick, where his residence was, and the 'cases' he brought forward were all of convents in his own neighbourhood, and consequently under Ullathorne's jurisdiction. And in the speech he brought in Ullathorne by name: he said that a nun who had 'escaped' from one of the convents, climbing over the wall, and had got to Birmingham, had been recaptured by the bishop and convoyed back heavily veiled to the convent by him. A correspondence ensued, afterwards printed.[1] The bishop wrote:

After carefully reading the report of your speech, I solemnly, and with full knowledge of the facts, declare that there is not a statement in it, so far as it concerns these convents, which is not substantially erroneous in what it directly or by implication alleges against them.

He deals with the underground cells, and bars, and chains, and starvings, and ill-treatment; the 15 cwt. of iron stan-

[1] *Monastic and Conventual Institutions: Speech and Correspondence*, 1866.

chions and bars fixed in the windows were the result of an attempted burglary; the chains heard clanking on the nuns as they walked about were the big rosaries they wore. Of the case of the 'escaped nun', in which he was implicated, he stated that the nun had asked permission to go to a stricter Order, and on his advising her to stay where she was, she came away without permission, unknown to the community, 'as anyone easily could', made her way to Birmingham and came to see him. He put it to her that she owed it to her family and the community not to leave in such a way, and that she should return, and he himself escorted her back; later on all was properly arranged for her transit to the stricter Order. Finally, he made an offer to Newdegate, that he might enter the convents in question accompanied by a Protestant nobleman of the neighbourhood and by Lord Edward Howard, the leading Catholic layman.

> Go over the whole of the establishments as much as you like, and converse with the members of the communities as much as you desire. . . . I put it to you, whether, supposing that what you have asserted before Parliament and the world respecting these convents and their inmates proves to be untrue, will it not follow, as a matter of course, that you have inflicted upon a number of innocent and accomplished ladies an amount of injury and wrong so grievous as to require all the reparation in your power.

Newdegate entirely refused the proposal: 'No, Reverend Sir, I will be no party to any such extrajudicial inquiry as you propose. Your letter, though bearing the semblance of fairness, is artistically written.' Another letter followed on each side, and leading Catholic laymen, with sisters in the convent in question, intervened, all the letters going to the press, and afterwards being published along with the speech by the Scottish Reformation Society.

The letters were printed day by day in *The Times*, and on March 14 there was a long leading article: 'A fair fight between a thorough-going Protestant and a real Roman Catholic bishop is a sight seldom to be witnessed. It must be confessed that the bishop has the best of it. Mr Newdegate clearly puts himself in the wrong by declining to verify his own statements.' It treats him in a chaffy way, as a

Protestant Don Quixote tilting at windmills; but it concludes that, though he has joined battle on a wrong issue, healthy English Protestant sentiment will agree that convents are 'pernicious institutions'.

At the beginning of 1867 the peace of the Midlands was seriously disturbed owing to the activities of emissaries of the Protestant Electoral Union, a society in London which sent out over the country Protestant lecturers of the lowest type to scatter broadcast offensive attacks on Catholicism and Ritualism. One of these lecturers named Murphy was particularly active in the towns of Staffordshire. The staple of his lecture was an obscene tract on the Confessional, so foul that it enraged the Catholics beyond control. At the end of February he came to Wolverhampton, and the magistrates deemed it necessary to summon two troops of hussars, to call out the yeomanry, and to swear in special constables, in order to keep the peace. It was well they did, because the lecture hall was besieged by a crowd of ten thousand excited Irish Catholics, and it was with difficulty that the lecturers were saved from falling into their hands. The town clerk warned Murphy that if he distributed the tract he would be summoned for spreading obscene literature. Towards the end of March it was announced that Murphy was coming to Walsall, and the bishop betook himself there and gave an address to the Catholics, *The Confessional*, printed as a penny tract, which ran to twelve editions. After an indignant denunciation of the prurient indecencies of the lectures, he made this appeal to his people:

It remains for me, my brethren, to give you that advice I promised at the beginning of this address, advice which you are too good Catholics not to follow. Whatever be the provocation you may have to encounter, whatever the slander upon those whose purity of heart you know so well, whatever the assaults committed against our faith and our sacraments, whatever the indignation enkindled within your breasts—and you see that I keep back nothing that you may have to suffer; however shamefully you may be wronged, or we may be wronged, that is no reason why you should do wrong, and especially any unlawful action. As children of God, as the members of Jesus Christ crucified, as good Catholics in a word, you are bound to follow His example

who 'when He was reviled, did not revile; when He was persecuted, He suffered it.'

I know how hard it is to flesh and blood when not your faith only, but all that you hold dear in connection with your faith, is held up to scorn and mockery before thoughtless multitudes, led blindfold they know not whither, through the cunning plots of men, who shoot forth their poisoned weapons from their secret places. But it is precisely because it is so hard to be patient and to endure these things, that you have received strength from God in the sacrament of Confirmation, to suffer through the grace of God the inflictions that you cannot endure through the strength of your own nature. Moral martyrdom if endured with meekness and fortitude is still martyrdom, even though your blood be not shed, and God will give you a hundredfold more of grace and benediction for all that you endure with patience for His sake. Excitement, anger, and indignation are not grounds or reasons for a good Christian to act upon. These trials are tests for your faith, occasions for the nobler virtues, and for giving proof to all men that you are the followers of Christ in very deed; of that Lord and Master of life who says: Take up your cross—that very cross which your adversaries have prepared for you—and follow Me. Not them—but Me.

Should these lectures, then, be given in this town, my advice is, that you keep away, that you go not near the scene of them. So you will be kept from danger, and from the temptation of being hurried beyond the limits of your patience. So you will shew your fellow townsmen that you are actuated by no vindictiveness, and you will induce many to reflect more truly concerning you. You will not contribute to the advertisement of this immoral proceeding. You will not provoke those to assemble or co-operate in this infamy, who otherwise would have kept away. You will moderate the evil in many ways through your absence, and will draw the good feeling of all well disposed persons on your side.

Such a course of conduct on your part is due to the magistrates of the town, who have done their best on your behalf. It is equally due to that large body of the most respectable inhabitants, who have signed a declaration of their intention to keep away themselves, and who invite you to follow their example. But above all is it due to your own principles, to your own self-respect, and to the Church of which you are the members, not to co-operate even by your presence in the precincts of the place, or to furnish the pretext for others to go because you are there.

My final advice to you is this. Should that shameful lecture be given on the Confessional, let the church doors be opened, let the Blessed Sacrament be exposed, and let the faithful have recourse to the churches, there to pray for the staying of this moral plague, and there to join your supplications with those of our Blessed Lord in expiation and atonement for the sins of His creatures.

The bishop's intervention had the desired effect at Walsall, as is shown by the following letter of April 5 to Ambrose Phillipps de Lisle:[1]

I send you a little pamphlet which has been drawn from me through a most scandalous course of lectures, etc., that has filled Staffordshire with an intense excitement, and spread a wide mischief of demoralization.

At Walsall, however, the plague has been stayed. The magistrates and leading inhabitants, to the number of 300, signed a declaration that they would not go near these lectures, the Catholics have filled their own churches during them, and the military and police were sent back to their places as not required. The reporters quitted the place in disgust.

Many towns are still threatened with this nuisance, but the right policy to be pursued is now understood, both by the Catholics and the authorities. I trust we shall not again have the spectacle of cavalry, volunteers, and police arrayed to the number of 1,000 men, protecting these wretched men against the fury of 10,000 Catholics, as recently at Wolverhampton.

Unfortunately the nuisance was not ended. Murphy was undaunted, and in June came to Birmingham itself. It was during the bishop's absence in Rome, but it may be doubted whether he could this time again have intervened effectively. The Mayor refused Murphy the Town Hall, but allowed the erection of a huge wooden 'tabernacle'. The scenes enacted at Wolverhampton were repeated on an aggravated scale: an enormous and angry crowd of Catholic Irish besieged the lecture hall, which had to be protected by police and military; on the second and third day the disturbances grew into veritable religious riots; a Protestant mob retaliated, raiding the Irish quarter, sacking and wrecking entire

[1] *Letters*, p. 184.

streets, marching up and down with trophies to the chorus, 'Glory, Glory, Hallelujah'; the Riot Act was read; the police had to use their cutlasses freely against both sides; pandemonium reigned for three days before order was restored.[1] The Mayor declared that he held Murphy and his associates, some of whom were respectable Protestant ministers of all sorts, morally, if not legally, responsible. But *The Times* held him responsible, in that he permitted such lectures at all, in view of what had happened elsewhere: it considered the tone of Murphy's lectures most reprehensible, and certainly the specimens it gives are foul and vulgar beyond words: as a sample of the style, he said he would not be stopped 'by Ullathorne or any other ragamuffins'.

But the unsavoury business did not end here. Part of the propaganda was an attack on the convents, and at the end of the same year a sensational 'nunnery scandal' obtained such notoriety that Ullathorne had to intervene as bishop to secure an investigation of the alleged facts. An anti-ritualistic lecturer in the Birmingham Town Hall, November 1867, told a story, as circumstantial as it was shocking, affecting 'a nunnery unnamed'. The lecturer was at once challenged by Canon Estcourt, the secretary, acting for the bishop, and the ensuing correspondence was printed in the papers. In a letter of December 13 to a Catholic magistrate of Birmingham, Ullathorne himself stated the case:

I thank you for your letter proposing a committee of enquiry into which you justly call 'the abominable charge'. However specific the details in which the alleged crime was depicted, no call upon his sense of justice has yet succeeded in inducing the lecturer to name the convent or the clergyman against whom the charge is brought, or to name the person who is their accuser. Meanwhile the charge in all its horrible distinctness as a picture of infamy is left hanging as an accusation over all the convents and convent chaplains in and around Birmingham generally, while it touches none of them individually. Although I am convinced that the charge has not a shadow of fact to rest upon, yet I think with you that it is but just and fair to the Catholics of Birmingham, as well as to our Protestant fellow townsmen, and

[1] See *Times*, June 17 to 22, 1867.

still more to the Catholic clergy and to the nuns, that if possible the charge should be brought to the test of investigation.

He suggested that the Mayor should be asked to form a committee, and he guaranteed the lecturer against any legal consequences.

The *Birmingham Daily Post* joined in pressing the need for the investigation thus called for by the representative Catholics, and after much fencing and hedging, the lecturer was brought to book and compelled to disclose to a committee of four magistrates, three Protestant, one Catholic, the names implicated and the sources of his story. After a full examination of the evidence the finding was:

That the whole statement is untrue, and without foundation in any one of its details, and that no effort was made by the lecturer to test any of the statements.[1]

Such proceedings brought about the inevitable reaction, so that at the parliamentary election the following year Ullathorne could write to Manning:

Our elections in Birmingham were admirably managed and with very good feeling to us: Irishmen put on all the Liberal committees—English fraternized with Irish—the priests treated with great respect. In New Street, where was the great press and excitement, quite good humoured, the cry of three cheers for the Pope of Rome was raised and responded to. One, however, of the Tory candidates, the man who backed that vile doctor in the convent slander, was hooted everywhere, and whilst the other Tory candidate was treated with electioneering fairness, he was not allowed to speak. The result of such overwhelming Liberal majorities has turned the tide against Murphyism. [The main issue of the election of 1868 was the Liberal measure to disestablish the Irish Church.]

To a particular convent that had suffered by the slanders Ullathorne wrote:[2]

Thank God the affair is over now; and as the trial has been for your perfection and the exercise of your patience, so

[1] The whole business was printed in a pamphlet, *The Alleged Nunnery Scandal.*

[2] *Letters*, p. 175.

I do believe it will turn out to be a source of good, and will only finally augment respect towards your religious character. So let it die out in thought and word, except to make you pray in great charity for its originators. May God bless and keep you, as He keeps His stars in heaven, serene and tranquil, bright and patient, as well as pure. The trial will do you all a great deal of good, and teach you to have a great compassion both for those who sin, and those who suffer.

He took advantage of the favourable ethos created by these episodes to give in February 1868 three homely, straightforward lectures on *The Conventual Life*, intended to expound in a popular way to non-Catholics the idea and the nature of the life of religious women, and the various works they do. Two editions were published at the time, and in 1910 there was a reprint as a Catholic Truth Society tract, and so the lectures still circulate. They make as good a simple instruction as can be found on the origin, the spirit, and the work of the conventual life of the nuns.

Pentecost, 1867, saw Ullathorne in Rome at the great assemblage of bishops for the centenary celebration of the martyrdom of SS. Peter and Paul. On return he and Manning were called on to give evidence before the Committee of the House of Commons on the repeal of the Ecclesiastical Titles Act of 1851[1] (see I, 193). It was, in fact, repealed in 1871. Ullathorne's examination was on July 26. A hundred and fifty questions were put to him, and his evidence covers fourteen pages of the blue book. This, it will be remembered, was the second time he faced the ordeal (see ch. IV); his account of the experience is interesting:[2]

My examination lasted two hours and a half. I am quite satisfied, though much that I wanted to bring out I had no opportunity of saying. The fact was I was taken up from the first by adverse members, who tried to get me into admissions that would tell against the removal of the law. But being alive to their object I was able to stand my ground. Everything was conducted in a very courteous and gentlemanly manner; only the Attorney General for Ireland was dogged and tenacious. The members sit round a table in the form of a horseshoe. You sit in the centre, and they

[1] Purcell, p. 519.

[2] *Letters*, p. 189.

round three sides of you, facing. The Parliamentary reporter sits at your table just before you. You have to keep turning in your chair on this side, and that, or to the front, according to the position of the member who pokes his question at you. But it is not like a trial; everything is courteous, and when the adversaries of the case try to draw the evidence on their side and to destroy the force of your evidence, it is all done with the velvet glove on. And the contest is in the sense of what is said, not in the manner (always excepting the Orange Attorney General). It is no joke, however, to have first one and then another of these practised men poking at you with all sorts of difficulties on canon and civil law, as well as on the doctrine and the constitution of the Church. But to say the truth, having been pretty well prepared, I rather enjoyed the conflict of wits. . . . And you have the advantage of fixed principles which they have not.

The question of the legal term 'Roman Catholic bishop' was raised, and in view of the stand Ullathorne was to take at the Vatican Council, his remarks are of interest:

(1039) I would observe that the phrase 'Roman Catholic', like many other phrases, never sprang from us; they are polemical phrases, and more or less are always accompanied with a certain amount of odium. In the next place I would observe that the phrase is quite inappropriate, and that will appear from its analysis. The Roman bishop is the Pope; there is but one bishop of the Church of Rome and that is the Pope. . . . Then, again, I would observe that it is a term to which Catholics are not accustomed, and which they would not adopt. It is a perfectly different thing to say 'Roman Catholic faith', because all Catholics consider the Roman faith as the standard, and that the Roman faith is indefectible; but we do not speak of a 'Roman Catholic bishop', except the Pope. We ourselves should not adopt the term 'Roman Catholic', because there is a certain inaccuracy in it, and it is not the language to which we are accustomed. . . .

(1064) If the Legislature gave us the title 'Roman Catholic' we should take care that it was used in legal documents, but we should say that it was an odious term, and that it was invented to limit us, and to deny our universality.

(1065) Then you would object to being designated as 'Roman Catholics'? Certainly. We have no power to alter the essential style of the Church, which has been invariable, as far as documents go.

(1066) Is there any way in which you could consistently designate yourself except as 'Bishop of Birmingham'? I do not see what other designation we could possibly use.

Manning's evidence on the same point, three days earlier, is of interest. He summarized it in a letter to Ullathorne before the latter's examination, to ensure substantial uniformity:

I gave evidence to-day, and on points on which there can be no divergence between us, except one.

They asked whether we would consent to prefix 'Roman Catholic' to our name. I answered:

1. That we should raise no objection if Parliament and the Courts of Law adopted that style in describing us, but
2. That *we* could not change the style fixed, traditional, and universal in the Catholic Church without direction from the Holy See.
3. That I could give no answer as to what Rome might say, but that I could not think it likely that it would alter its immemorial and universal usage.
4. That such a change would be anomalous in the Catholic Hierarchy; and would imply a recognition of claims and jurisdiction which the Church cannot recognize.
5. That it would create uncertainty, doubt, and mistrust among our people.

I suggested:

1. That *they* should so describe us in legal and public documents.
2. That we should be left alone in all our personal acts.

On May 11, 1868, died at Stone Mother Margaret Hallahan, the co-foundress with Ullathorne of the Congregation of Dominican nuns of the Third Order, whose head house is the convent at Stone. She has been spoken of above, in the chapter on Coventry and elsewhere. Hers was the closest friendship of Ullathorne's life. Newman was another of her intimate friends, and to him while she lay on her deathbed Ullathorne wrote:

Telegrams reached me in London from Stone informing me that Mother Margaret is rapidly sinking, and might barely last until to-morrow. I am on my way to Stone.

I ask you, as one whom she always regarded with great regard and affectionate esteem, as one who can appreciate her great soul and great work, to preach the funeral dis-

course. I ask now, because there would be so little time after her demise for preparation.

Newman: In your kindness you are wishing to put on me a sacred task to which I am quite unequal. I know what I can do, and what I cannot. I cannot do everything. I cannot do a thing because I wish it. I am a man for ordinary work, not extraordinary. Sometimes I have been forced to do what I knew I could not do, and, as I anticipated, have failed. I know I should fail in this, and how much it would distress me to fail on such an occasion. I entreat you not to think it any want of reverence towards dear Mother Margaret, or want of love towards her children, or disrespect towards your Lordship, or insensibility to the high honour done me, if I ask you most earnestly not to put on me a burden which my shoulders will not bear.

Ullathorne: Thank you for your kind, affectionate letter. I yield to your feelings, though I had set my heart on associating your mind and heart with the memory of the most remarkable religious woman of our age and country, with one who loved you much in God, and had so keen a feeling for all your interests.

He then wrote to Manning asking him to preach at the funeral. 'The greatest privilege of my life', he says in this letter, 'has been the twenty-six years of her friendship and confidence, of which I always felt myself unworthy.' Manning could not come; and so, as was most fitting, Ullathorne himself preached, for an hour and a half.

During 1868 and 1869 was put together the original *Autobiography*, ending with the year 1850. It was written at the request of Mother Imelda Poole, Mother Margaret's successor in the twofold capacity of superioress at Stone and recipient of Ullathorne's most confidential friendship; she was also, like Mother Margaret, one of Newman's special friends. The revision and shortening of the *Autobiography*, with the view of its posthumous publication, was the principal work of the last year of Ullathorne's life.

In June 1869 was held the fourth diocesan Synod, at which was delivered the address on Mixed Marriages, No. IV in the volume of *Ecclesiastical Discourses*.

While the bishops were at Rome for the Council there was stirred up a recrudescence of the agitation for the inspection

of convents, and this time, in spite of the efforts of the Gladstone Government, Newdegate's motion was carried. The pamphlet of 1866, with Newdegate's speech and the correspondence with Ullathorne, was reprinted and recirculated, with a letter prefixed, reasserting the sensational story of the 'escaped nun'. This drew forth from Ullathorne at Rome a letter to *The Times* (April 23), restating the actual facts. The setting up a committee of inquiry caused for a time no small anxiety to the nuns and to the bishops and the Catholic body; but it soon appeared that the terms of the Act imposed such restrictions on the working of the committee that the inquiry was rendered ineffectual. After two years Newdegate resigned from the committee in disgust. The measure seems not ever to have been put into execution.

Ullathorne returned from the Council at the end of July 1870. He was taken ill in London with the first attack of a painful malady that for the remainder of his life used periodically to cause him acute physical suffering; it was brought on, no doubt, by the undue strain of work during the eight months of the Council. This first attack laid him up for nearly two months, so that it was the middle of October before he issued the pastoral on the Council, so largely drawn upon in chapters XIV and XV. Restored to health, he lost no time in getting to work at the visitation of the diocese—no perfunctory ceremony, as is shown by a letter of November 29:[1]

I concluded a visitation yesterday at Z——, where things required a good deal of looking into. I concluded on Sunday night, *flogging them all round*, priests, men, and women. I don't know how it is, but things and persons require a stronger hand than they used to do; there is no governing with rose water in these days.

In spite of illness and work he was indefatigable with his pen, and in 1871 produced the booklet, *History of the Restoration of the Hierarchy;* it was an extract from the *Autobiography*, the documents being added. That summer, as we learn casually from a letter, he was sent by the Holy See on a special mission to Scotland.[2]

[1] *Letters*, p. 252. [2] Ibid., p. 258.

On June 21 that same year, 1871, came the first of the series of jubilees that were to punctuate so thickly the rest of his life. This time it was the half jubilee, twenty-five years, of his episcopal consecration, he being sixty-five years of age. The presentation was a costly pectoral cross and chain, with an address written by Newman:[1]

MY LORD: We, your Lordship's dutiful clergy, Secular and Regular, venture to address you on this day, the twenty-fifth anniversary of your consecration, in the belief that it will not be unwelcome to you to receive our united congratulations on what may be rightly called the Jubilee of the Diocese.

From the schools and cloister of St Benedict, through a rough time and hard struggle in the cause of the outcast and prisoner at the Antipodes, after some busy years of successful missionary work in this neighbourhood, you were brought on by God's good providence to that day, when, in a Church built by your own people, as a monument of your exertions among them, amid a large concourse of clergy, some of whom now address you, you were, by appointment of the Holy See, made one of its Vicars in this country, and submitted to that solemn rite which anointed and sealed you to take your place among the supreme rulers in the household of God.

For more than twenty years has your name been intimately connected with this great city; for twenty years and more have your prayers and efforts been directed to give a form and purpose and a steady prosperous growth to its nascent Church, which was committed to your tutelage.

Many nursing Fathers, as we humbly trust, will be given to this Church in long series, as time goes on; but it can have only one Parent and Founder; and it is your prerogative, my Lord, to have had the primary occupancy of a field of labour, large, multiform, and important, with its numerous clergy, its religious houses, its zealous Catholics in all ranks of the community, and the high office of moulding and welding them together into one whole, after that ecclesiastical model specially prescribed by the Apostles from the beginning.

The most personal passage is held over, to be the conclusion of this chapter. The bishop's reply was printed in the Birmingham papers; an extract is given below (p. 179). He was, naturally, greatly pleased, and that same evening wrote the impressions of the day:[2]

[1] For full text see *Oscotian*, 'Ullathorne number', 1886, pp. 64-7.

[2] *Letters*, p. 256.

Though the post is gone, I must write to you on this day. You will have heard, I doubt not, how well all has gone: how many clergy were here, how all were open-hearted and happy with me; how my table is piled with letters and my room filled with offerings. . . . The day was a great solemnity; nearly a hundred priests were in the Cathedral; the Mass *Pro Anniversario Consecrationis Episcopi* was chanted with full choir. The address, from the pen of Dr Newman, illuminated at Stone, was read, and a costly gold chain and cross presented from the clergy. The *Te Deum* was sung, and about eighty priests afterwards dined with me. . . . The sacrifices of the priests and the prayers of the Communities have been very numerous, and have been to me, and I hope to the diocese, a great spiritual blessing. I have been overwhelmed with kindness beyond all deserts; but it proves that there is the blessing of unity in the diocese.

On October 28, 1872, he preached at the consecration of Dr Herbert Vaughan as Bishop of Salford (No. V of the *Ecclesiastical Discourses*). The theme was, the Catholic Bishop in the nineteenth century, free from all entanglements, and strong in being a bishop and nothing else. 'What times are reserved for the devout and zealous bishop whom God has given to you, God alone knows. Armed with the spiritual strength of the episcopate, he is about to bless you for the first time. May he rise in pastoral vigour, whilst our arms grow feeble! And may he be to you a burning and a shining light when our eyes grow dim and our light is sinking from the world!'—words prophetic.

On July 21, 1873, he preached again on a public occasion at the opening of the Fourth Provincial Synod of Westminster, held this time at St Edmund's, Old Hall (No. VI of the *Ecclesiastical Discourses*): the theme, the sanctification of the secular clergy. It was looked on as the finest sermon he ever preached; it has been spoken of in the preceding chapter. The work of the Synod was, for the most part, the co-ordination and consolidation of that of the three earlier ones. Manning's ideas dominated the legislation: the formation of diocesan seminaries in all dioceses strong enough was pressed; the Catholic University was recognized as being as yet impracticable, but was asserted as the aim to be kept in view, and a temporary step was adumbrated, such as materialized in the Kensington College; education,

primary and secondary, was dealt with, especially, a scheme for safeguarding religious instruction in the schools; and elaborate regulations were enacted for setting up high standards of life for the clergy.

The religious struggle in Germany over the *Kulturkampf* was being waged, and the persecution of the Catholic bishops and priests was at its height, many being exiled or even imprisoned (among them some who had been leading Inopportunist bishops at the Council), and the sympathy of the Catholic world was centred on Germany. And so in January 1874 the Catholics of Birmingham organized a meeting of protest, at which the bishop spoke:

My object in rising before this resolution is put to the meeting is to express my satisfaction that such an expression of sympathy with our suffering brethren in Germany has been brought before you, and my gratification that it has originated with the laity; and I consider this address as rising into absolute importance when I reflect that on this very day a meeting is being held in London, originating with Earl Russell [the Lord John Russell of former times], and that the object of that meeting is to express sympathy with and to give moral support to the cruel persecution of our Catholic brethren—(hisses). It would seem by that meeting as if the genius of England were to forget the lessons of three hundred years, to go back some two centuries, to undo all that of recent times she has so happily done, and to applaud the oppressors of free Christian consciences and reserve her anathemas for them who suffer for conscience' sake. The moral of the old fable is to be turned round. We are to denounce the inoffensive Lamb for daring to trouble the waters, and to take the part of the ill-used wolf, who falsely accused and then devoured his victim. And what ground does Earl Russell allege for his meeting? In his letter to Sir John Murray, of the 19th of this month, the one single reason he gives is that Archbishop Manning has said that the Church decides for herself where her spiritual jurisdiction ends and where the civil authority begins. But that able paper the *Spectator* observes that every Church in existence, and every man's private conscience, when he belongs to no Church, makes the same claim for itself, and decides it after its own fashion. And is it not strange, I ask you, that a sentence of the Archbishop of Westminster should have been given as the one reason for a meeting to sympathize with the Emperor of Germany against his Catholic subjects, when

you consider that that sentence was not spoken until long after Earl Russell had called the meeting? He must have been in a prophetic rapture at the time to have foreseen that such an expression would, in its time, be uttered, and would require this manifestation—(laughter). Then he goes on to say that we in England have nothing to do with these German laws, whether they be just or harsh; but that 'the cause of the German Emperor is the cause of liberty, and the cause of the Pope is the cause of slavery.' But let us make an end of the author of the Durham Letter and of the Ecclesiastical Titles Act, and let us see whether it be not rather the Emperor who is trying to impose slavery on consciences, and the Pope who is contending for their liberty—(applause). Like the war against Denmark, like the war against Austria, and like the war against France—however foolish the Emperor Napoleon was in falling into the snare—this war against the Catholics was silently and craftily prepared. I charge not the Emperor with anything but weakness. It is his arch-deceiver, Prince Bismarck—(hisses)—who has driven the Emperor and his Council to these excesses. After offering the blood from half a million human bodies to the genius of Caesar, he contemplates the sacrifice of fourteen millions of Catholic souls to make his holocaust complete—(hisses).

The year 1874 witnessed another jubilee, the fifty years of clothing in the Benedictine habit, March 12, 1824. Three of his fellow novices still lived, and the feast was celebrated, first at Coughton, the seat of the Throckmortons, where one of the jubilarians served the mission, and then at Downside. The bishop composed a letter from the jubilarians to their old novice master, Archbishop Polding of Sydney. The event is to be spoken of in the next chapter.

The end of 1874 and beginning of 1875 were taken up with the Gladstone controversy, which stirred the Catholic body to its depth, and called forth Ullathorne as one of the Catholic protagonists (p. 90). At Easter, 1875, was held the fifth Diocesan Synod, when the bishop delivered an address on preaching (No. XI, *Ecclesiastical Discourses*); and during the latter half of the year were written to Lady Chatterton, wife of Mr Dering of Baddesley Clinton, the nine *Doctrinal Letters* that led to her reception into the Church a short time before her death.'[1]

[1] *Life of Lady Chatterton:* the letters are reprinted as a Catholic Truth Society tract.

Throughout Ullathorne's episcopate two predominant interests stand out as ever occupying his mind and as constant objects of his solicitude—the formation of his clergy and the care of his nuns. Of these we must speak at some length, as his bishop's heart was at all times wholly in these two great charges.

And first the nuns. We have seen how he stepped forth into the arena as their champion on occasions of public attacks either on particular convents or on the system. In regard to his pastoral care of his own nuns, when the Birmingham diocese was first formed in 1850, there were in it seven convents of women, five being enclosed or contemplative, but with girls' schools attached, and two of active institutes. Four of the former category were old English communities established abroad in the seventeenth century, three of Benedictine Dames and one of Dominicanesses, who, on their expulsion from France and the Low Countries at the Revolution, had after various wanderings found their homes in the Midlands. Besides these, there was a French Benedictine community driven to England by the Revolution, and Ullathorne himself in 1850 introduced from Belgium a community of Poor Clares. The Dominican nuns migrated to the Isle of Wight in 1858, and their house was occupied by a colony from one of the old Benedictine communities. This number of six strictly enclosed convents was not added to during Ullathorne's episcopate. But of Mother Margaret's two convents, at Stone and at Stoke, of Dominican Tertiary nuns, devoted to secondary education and other good works and not strictly enclosed, the bishop was co-founder. And the two convents of active institutes grew to thirty, of nine different institutes, devoted to primary education and to charitable works of all kinds.

All these convents, but more especially the enclosed, were the objects of his fatherly care, Stone, naturally as his own offspring, occupying the first place in his affections. His visits to his convents were constant and untiring on all such occasions as clothings, professions, jubilees, funerals, visitations, retreats. His conception of the bishop's duties to his nuns is well set forth in the reply to the half-jubilee address of 1871:

You have touchingly alluded to the special care I have devoted to the religious communities of this diocese. Here I confess you have touched a sensitive chord in my heart. If priests need both a firm and fatherly support from their bishops, how much more do those of the tender sex, who have left all things in this world for the love of God and the service of the poor, need such. They have no one to look to for protection and guidance except their bishop. And it is not everyone who can understand the requirements of a life so singular and so supernatural. The secret of comprehending it is only to be derived from a profound veneration for the religious character and self-devotedness with which their sublime vocation has endowed them. Hence you will find that the Church has in all ages attached the greatest importance to this function of the episcopal charge; and that the most saintly prelates of the Church (amongst whom I cannot be numbered) have been the most conspicuous in their solicitous care for the spouses of Christ.

To this ideal he very fully lived up. The number of letters of advice, encouragement, instruction to superiors, to novices, to the sick, was prodigious. Fully half the volume of *Letters* is made up of those to the nuns, and it is but a gleaning of what exists. The principal convents of the diocese have stores of these letters. Though free from any taint of softness or sentimentality, he had a great power of sympathy with women, above all with nuns, and an unusual gift of helping them in their difficulties, their troubles, and their aspirations. On occasion he could speak home truths. For example, to one of the old enclosed communities he wrote:

Almost every convent has had to mitigate its rule in recent days to secure observance. It is ignorance and folly to suppose that things can go on as they did a hundred years ago. But as a rule, religious women are so perversely and obstinately tenacious in such matters that it is disgusting to touch upon them.

No. X of the *Ecclesiastical Discourses* is an address on 'Counsel', full of sober wisdom, spoken to the Stone nuns at their first Provincial Chapter. It is recorded that on his deathbed he said slowly and solemnly: 'I have been thinking that if there is anything in my life that may induce God to have mercy on me, it is that I have never forgotten to take

care of His nuns.' This side of his episcopal life and work was brought out with special force by Bishop Hedley in the funeral sermon:

In speaking of his pastoral work, it would be wrong not to allude to his labour for religious women. But no more than an allusion can here be made. His grand object in all that he said and wrote for them was this: that the religious life of women, which is so holy and so fruitful, might be established by solid and prudent rule; that law might exclude whims and fancies; that principle might prevail, and not personality; and that the woman consecrated to God might walk at peace in the large and airy cloister of knowledge, rational obedience, and theological direction. There are no hearts that will mourn for him or pray for him to-day so faithfully as those dear and cherished nuns, from the contemplative of the Perpetual Adoration to the Sister of Mercy who 'goes about doing good', to whom the very choicest fruits of his spirit were given, even to the end. It was naturally in communication with interior souls, who had renounced the world and the flesh, that his own spiritual wisdom flowed most freely. His religious have, therefore, the truest picture of his character—his character, not as it came from nature, but as it was shaped, chastened, and lifted up by the work of the Holy Spirit. They could tell the world more than I can. They could tell what they have learnt from him. To them he was what he wanted *them* to be.

The formation of Tridentine Diocesan Seminaries in the dioceses strong enough to support such an institution had been urged on the English bishops by the Holy See from the time of the controversy at the Third Provincial Synod, 1859, concerning the government of the ecclesiastical colleges of the secular clergy. Ullathorne was one of the bishops who kept the idea ever before his mind whole-heartedly, as a thing to be aimed at and realized as soon as opportunity should serve, being in this matter entirely of one mind with Manning. One of the existing colleges, St Mary's, Oscott, was in his diocese, but it was a twofold institution. Besides the theological college wherein ecclesiastical students of Birmingham and three other dioceses went through their course of divinity, there was a high-class secondary school wherein were educated together boys who looked forward to the priesthood and boys intended for careers in the world.

The same dual system obtained at Old Hall and at Ushaw. Under Wiseman's presidency Oscott prospered greatly, and became probably the principal and most fashionable of the Catholic schools. Besides Oscott, there was at Sedgley Park, near Wolverhampton, a middle-class school established about 1750, where church boys and lay boys were similarly brought up together. Though it fell short of the full Tridentine seminary system, Ullathorne seems never to have thought of touching this arrangement that had existed in the English colleges abroad, by which the future priests and laymen grew up together in boyhood. But the idea of the separate seminary for those embarked on their clerical career and pursuing their theological course, held strong possession of his mind. So early as 1850 the subject was before him;[1] but the first practical reference known to me is in a letter to Manning in July 1865, welcoming him home to take up his duties of archbishop from the short holiday he allowed himself after consecration:

I am taking serious thought on the seminary question; but how can I separate the seminary element from Oscott, if three other bishops have permanent rights of ecclesiastical education in that house? If I begin a seminary of my own, it must be my own—that is, it must belong to the Church of Birmingham. It must be, to be that paternal institution which the Council of Trent contemplates, of my own family, and not of four families and of four fathers.

With the beginning of 1867 the project began to take shape. On New Years' Day he wrote:[2]

The seminary is the question which just now occupies my thoughts more than anything. But I find that most of those about me take a different view from mine. They think I ought to begin with a petit, not with a *grand séminaire;* with boys of twelve years, not with young men of eighteen, ready for their philosophy and theology. But if I begin with the very young I should never live to ordain any of them, and I should require a large establishment with many teachers. What I really want is to begin with the tonsure and the soutane, and to make them sound and right during their real ecclesiastical formation. I would begin with half a dozen such, and with two priests as superiors and professors, adding a few more a year after, and so on.

[1] *Letters*, p. 8. [2] Ibid., p. 178.

Just at this time died one of the canons, who bequeathed his private money to be the beginning of a fund for the seminary. And on the bishop's return from the celebrations at Rome that summer, the clergy of the diocese presented him with a testimonial and a collection of £2,700 for the seminary, as an object 'specially dear to his heart'. His reply expresses his ideas on the seminary:

You will now, my reverend brethren and my friends, perhaps yet more clearly understand why this testimonial, having this object in view, is so precious to me. And you have brought me a double gift. You have given me spontaneously the first resources towards this important work, whilst by expressing your unanimous opinion of its desirableness, you have brought me a moral strength on which to found it. I have waited, amongst other reasons, until the sense of the diocese chimed in from all sides with my own, in order that the work might have its proper foundation in our joint judgement and united feeling. That hour has dawned upon us even more happily than I could have anticipated. And when in Rome, amidst that great assemblage of the episcopate of the Church, amidst that army of priests, amidst those sublime functions, where the Holy Ghost presided from Heaven above, and that great Vicar of Christ on the earth beneath, when there I first heard of what the Chapter had originated, of what the assembled clergy had so enthusiastically seconded, of what the devout laity had responded to with such zeal, I felt a glow of happiness beyond description.

He said that on the day of his consecration three ideas took hold of him, the first two being the restoration of the Hierarchy and the formation of diocesan Chapters:

The third idea which took hold of my mind, and the third desire which arose in my heart, on that sacred day of my consecration, was that of seeing ecclesiastical seminaries established in our own country. And though far from the least important of the three, it is the only one that, for obvious reasons, has up to this time remained unrealized. Yet you, my reverend brethren, are my witnesses, how I have ceased not to inculcate this idea and this desire of a seminary, for these nineteen years that I have been amongst you. For not only did I feel that such an institution, freed from all secular intermixture, is of the utmost importance for harbouring and securing the vocations that God gives, and expects us to protect; but such isolation from the world as a seminary

affords is equally indispensable for imprinting the perfect form of the ecclesiastical character upon the souls of those who aspire to the priesthood.

I propose to begin from within, and not with a display from without. It is no exhibition of a day that we contemplate, but a seminary, or seed-bed for the growth of spiritual plants for all time to come. I would begin with a selected few, in a hired house, not too far from the Cathedral, as the Council requires, nor too far from the eyes of the bishop. The spirit of the little flock should be the first thing to be cared for. Their housing should be at first but as the chrysalis, to be changed when the growth of life demands a more suitable establishment to lodge and accommodate it. But it is of the utmost importance first to put the right spirit into a small body of seminarists; and after that spirit has advanced a certain way towards perfection, then to assimilate others into a spirit already making progress.

Let me thank you for the honour you have rendered to my episcopate, and for the grace you have added to my life. And let me return my gratitude for that affection which has so happily divined the inmost wish of my heart. My hope is, that what for so many years has been little better than an aspiration, may become the crowning of my episcopate and the consolation of my declining years.

From this time the thing began to shape itself in his mind. On August 18 he wrote:[1]

Of course the seminary is now a matter of much thought, though it cannot be begun till next year. As to its spirit and rules, I have an admirable book approved and commended in many letters by Pope Innocent XI: *The Rules of Seminaries, and of Secular Priests Living in Community without Vows*, by the Venerable Bartholomew Holzhauser. It once flourished in Germany. The book was printed for the bishops of France and in Rome; and the Bishop of Orleans has recently had these rules printed anew, together with a copious life of the author. Its object is to give those who conduct a seminary not only the spirit of the priesthood, but also that of common life, and to inspire the priests of the mission with the love of preparing youths for the seminary. They are considered the most solid and spiritual embodiment of the sanctity of the secular clergy that has ever been drawn up. Now what I feel is this, that if I can get one or two good priests to imbibe the maxims and rules of this admirable insti-

[1] *Letters*, p. 190.

tute, the seminary might have common life in a certain way, and so we should pave the way for the same thing where two or three priests live together. At all events, we should be training priests to be spiritual and self-sacrificing.

In due time further funds were got together, and a piece of land was purchased at Olton, five miles out of Birmingham. In May 1871 he wrote:[1] 'I am getting in earnest about the seminary, and think of calling in the architect to work out a plan with me, after fixing general ideas.' And so plans were prepared, the foundation-stone laid, a suitable unpretentious building erected; and at last, after six years' quiet preparation, St Bernard's Seminary was opened in September 1873, just after the Provincial Synod. Two letters speak of the beginnings:[2]

I have been engaged these two days at St Bernard's with the little staff of the seminary, settling rules and regulations. I am more than satisfied with their spirit. It will be common life and family life between superiors and students. They all feel, as I do, that this is one of the most important germs that can be planted in England, and they are not at all afraid of work. We have settled the horarium, the plan of studies, the chief principles of discipline, and the moral tone that is desirable. I insist much on manners, even the manner of doing the commonest things, such as going in and out of a room, saluting superiors, and even doing some manual work, such as keeping walks in order; all that will develop sense and conduct.

I gave the first instruction at St Bernard's Seminary on Sunday evening. They sang the Vespers strenuously, and like trained men. The spirit of all, both priests and students, is beyond all I could have hoped for. The place seems under a benediction. There is not only the right spirit, but solid learning and zeal to inculcate it. My object at present is to teach them how both philosophy and theology should contribute to spiritual formation, and blend their truths with the spiritual life. Scripture and Church history are likewise branches of study. And three times a week two hours are given exclusively to spirituals, besides the daily half-hour's meditation and the daily half-hour of spiritual reading. Of course, we have begun systematically, and the

[1] *Letters*, p. 255. [2] Ibid., p. 332.

Spiritual Combat, scientifically studied, is the initial book. It just comes to combine with the philosophical study of the powers of the soul.

Ullathorne had for Rector Fr Ilsley, who enjoyed his full confidence as a priest after his own heart, to whom was entrusted the religious and spiritual formation of the seminarists; and as principal teachers on the staff were such highly qualified men as Dr William Barry and Dr Schobel. Thus the religious and intellectual sides of the training imparted were well provided for. The bishop himself was constant in his visits, making a point of establishing personal contact with the young men. He used to give lectures with great frequency. The three discourses on 'Science and Wisdom' (*Ecclesiastical Discourses*) were given there in 1875; and the first volume of the trilogy on the Spiritual Life, *The Endowments of Man* (1880), took shape as lectures to the seminarists —very solid food as lectures, it must be confessed.

The seminary responded well to his efforts and desires, and continued to the end to be a source of perennial joy. In the summer of 1878 he wrote:[1]

We had a beautiful day yesterday at St Bernard's. The High Mass and choir were perfect in every respect, and I said a *Deo gratias* for so much recollection and edification. All those of St Bernard's from the missions were there, and the Birmingham clergy, and some lay friends. The President of Oscott gave an excellent sermon on the clerical spirit; and, of course, there was a dinner, and hours of strolling in the grounds, which have become quite beautiful. The heads of all the houses work in great cordiality together; and that was the theme on which I chiefly spoke, having them all before me. In short, the seminary, thank God, is going well, and is my consolation. All the good in it I attribute to Dr Ilsley.

Improved provision was made also for the education of the boys who were aspirants to the diocesan clergy, by the removal of the old school from Sedgley Park to more suitable and commodious quarters at Cotton Hall, Cheadle, near Stoke-on-Trent. This new departure took place about the same time as the opening of the seminary, 1873, and St

[1] *Letters*, p. 377.

Wilfrid's flourishes to this day as a school on the old lines, wherein church boys and lay boys are educated in common.

Manning had commenced his seminary at Hammersmith in 1869, moving thither the divinity students from St Edmund's, Old Hall. During the next fifteen years a sum approaching £40,000 was spent over the buildings. Like Ullathorne, Manning looked on his seminary as the principal achievement of his episcopate, and as the special object of his love. It is surely a tragic irony of fate that the first act of the successor of each of them, the man of his choice, was to close the seminary his predecessor had constructed with such care and pains, and at such cost. Snead-Cox explains the reasons that impelled Archbishop Vaughan to take this step.[1] No such reasons existed at Olton, which was functioning healthily and achieving its object well. One anomaly there was: the theological school was continued at Oscott also, where a number of the Birmingham students and those of other dioceses went through their course of preparation for the priesthood. The Olton seminary was in fact not capacious enough to hold all the students of the diocese. The duplication of the theological faculty was, evidently, a wasteful drain on the man-power and the finances of the diocese, and was probably the impelling motive that caused Bishop Ilsley, immediately on the old bishop's death, to take the drastic step of closing St Bernard's seminary at Olton, selling it to a religious Order, bringing all the divinity students together at Oscott, closing Oscott as a boys' school, and making it the diocesan seminary pure and simple. Of course a strong seminary was thus secured, and so far forth Ullathorne's idea was preserved. But it was at the cost of one of the best of the secondary Catholic schools, and one of the small number in the hands of the secular clergy. It may be doubted that Ullathorne would ever have sacrificed Oscott as a boys' school, open to and frequented by the leading Catholic families of England and Ireland. It is true that Oscott had, after the retirement of Dr Northcote from the presidency, fallen on evil days, for the Presidents appointed after him by Ullathorne proved incompetent. But there can be little

[1] *Life of Cardinal Vaughan*, II, ch. II.

doubt that all that was needed to restore Oscott to efficiency was the right President; and the man surely existed somewhere. The one who knew him most intimately at the end of his life, his devoted secretary, Rev. Joseph Parker, assures me that he had no knowledge of the idea of closing his seminary.

In 1877 Ullathorne was called on to play his part in the final settlement of the long-drawn controversy that had been in process in England for three hundred years, between the religious Orders and the secular clergy and bishops. Beginning in the reign of Elizabeth in the endeavours of the secular clergy to secure the appointment of bishops to rule the Catholic Church in England, endeavours thwarted for thirty years, until the first round ended in the appointment of a single bishop as Vicar Apostolic for all England, 1623; working up to a solution step by step, by the appointment of four vicars in 1685, by the gradual curtailment of the privileges of the regulars and the assertion of the common law in Challoner's time, and by the increase of the vicars to eight in 1840; finally, by the establishment of the Hierarchy, the old abnormalities were almost wholly swept away. Still, twenty-five years after the Hierarchy the relations of the regulars with the bishops were not yet fully settled, privileges counter to the common law still being claimed. These difficulties and controversies waxing greater and greater, the bishops at the Low Week meeting of 1877 determined to raise the whole question of the position of the regulars in face of the bishops, and to call on the Holy See to adjudicate and give a decision that would settle the thing once for all and bring to an end this three-century-long contest. Ullathorne and Clifford were deputed by the bishops to formulate the statement of their case, and each bishop was to send to Ullathorne the facts affecting his own diocese. The draft was prepared by Ullathorne before the end of April, and was put into shape by him and Clifford; and by the latter the case was opened at Rome in May. Twelve specific points were raised in the bishops' presentation of their case, on which decisions were asked. Ullathorne's personal active share in the contest ended with the drawing up of the document, and he took no part in fighting the case

at Rome. This was left principally to Clifford and Herbert Vaughan.

So full and so vivid, and even racy, a story of the contest at Rome, which lasted four years, has been told by Snead-Cox in the *Life of Cardinal Vaughan*,[1] that nothing will be said here; but a few words from a Memorandum by Bishop Clifford, there cited, must be reproduced as a tribute to Ullathorne's acumen and knowledge of canon law:[2]

> The ignorance which at this time reigned concerning the privileges of the Jesuits was wonderful. These claims met everywhere with tacit acceptance. Among the English bishops, Dr Ullathorne alone had some knowledge that these claims were unfounded. The other bishops took for granted that the Jesuits had extraordinary privileges; they suspected that they were strained, but nobody knew exactly what they were.

Though staying at home, Ullathorne was keenly interested in all the turns of the conflict. On January 1, 1879, he wrote urging Manning to go to Rome: 'I hear you are hesitating on the question of going. This you cannot do in conscience, if your health permits.' Throughout he was in active communication with Manning, Vaughan, and Clifford.[3] It was the older Orders principally that stood out for the privileges accorded in penal times, the Jesuits and the English Benedictines leading the opposition. 'They need reform, every one', wrote Manning from Rome to Ullathorne, 'except the Redemptorists, who are in England and here observant, humble, and laborious.' At last, in May 1881, the end came; the decision, embodied in the Bull *Romanos Pontifices*, was in favour of the bishops on all twelve counts save one, wherein they were legally right, but it was ruled that the old privilege should remain in force. This was the matter of 'exemption' of small non-conventual houses of regulars. After the victory Ullathorne wrote a congratulatory letter to Clifford:

> Thank you for your two interesting letters, the first of which I read to the assembled bishops in Low Week. The

[1] Vol. I, chs. XII and XIV; see also Leslie, ch. XVII.

[2] Op. cit., p. 275.

[3] See Leslie, pp. 304 ff; *Dublin Review*, April, 1920, pp. 218-20.

Papal Constitution is admirable; I read and re-read it with increased delight. Placed almost entirely on the foundations of common law, so clear in exposition, and so definite in decision, there is nothing left to be desired. The episcopal office is strengthened all through the document, and it gives a complete reply to the objection raised in the Vatican Council, that the infallibility would weaken the episcopate.

We all owe you a debt of gratitude for the patience and perseverance with which you have worked this cause, and for the vigilance with which you have protected it from hostile interventions. If it tends to bring our brethren of the religious Orders, and especially those of the Society, to a more modest estimation of their position it will be to them a great blessing, for nothing is more injurious to any religious body than a false tradition fostering the corporate pride of men who are individually humble. One valuable result will be to rectify certain vague and misty notions which prevailed quite as much in Rome as in England, if not more so.

What you say about the force given to our local legislation is very true, and of great value. Let us hope the good Fathers will be led to revise their whole position, and to adjust themselves to it. I have heard nothing of what they or others of the Orders feel about the Constitution. But among the secular clergy there is but one feeling of great satisfaction. The Birmingham Oratory has been with us through the whole case, and in complete sympathy with us.

The regulars, Jesuits, Benedictines and all, took their defeat in good part. Englishmen readily acquiesce in a definite decision on the part of lawful authority. The result of the bishops and the clergy coming into their own has been that the long-standing jealousies and antagonisms between seculars and regulars in England have quite died out, and the regulars now take their normal place as co-operators of the pastoral clergy in carrying out supplementary but important works, which their numbers and training and their freedom from parochial charges render them peculiarly able to undertake.

This was Ullathorne's last controversy. For fifty years he had been in almost uninterrupted controversy; from the moment he first set foot on Australian soil and undertook the defence of the Catholic religion against the ultra-Protestants of Sydney in 1833, until this great last battle of 1881, his biography has been in great measure the story of conflicts

with opponents, great and small, within the fold and without. Certainly his principal antagonists had been foemen worthy of his steel—Judge Burton in Sydney, Lord John Russell, Newdegate, Simpson and Acton, Littledale, Pusey, Gladstone. Now, at the age of seventy-five, he laid down his controversial pen and fought no more; but it was only that he might give himself up to the production of more permanent constructive works for many years in slow preparation.

Early in 1879, being now seventy-three years of age, and finding his power of active work hampered by the inroads of severe maladies, he sent a petition to the Holy See for permission to resign his episcopal charge. At the end of June came the reply that he must not resign, but might choose an auxiliary bishop. The letter was couched in terms calculated to gratify him exceedingly. Manning, being in Rome when the petition was put in, and doubtless consulted on it, may surely be looked on as the inspirer of the reason assigned for his continuance in office. Ullathorne wrote, July 4:[1]

I have had a most gracious letter from Propaganda, in which His Holiness desires me to be relieved of part of my office through an auxiliary, but wishes me to continue in the see (to use the words of the letter) as *Valde utile esse possit consilium tuum in episcoporum istius regionis conventibus, magnum lumen possit afferre* ['Your counsel may be of great use in the meetings of the bishops and may bring great light']. Further, which is quite unusual, I am requested to send *one name* for approval.

Acting on this permission he obtained as auxiliary bishop the Right Rev. Edward Ilsley, who enjoyed his highest confidence and was the man he had chosen as Rector of the beloved seminary. He consecrated him bishop in December of that same year. He continued Bishop of Birmingham eight years more, till 1888, the year before his death. But his health was greatly broken, and the external and administrative work of the diocese passed more and more into the hands of the auxiliary. There remained until the end an astonishing activity and vigour of mind, and the old bishop

[1] *Letters*, p. 386.

kept in his own hands the care of the nuns. And so, having reached the year 1880, when he practically withdrew into retirement, we may take stock of his long episcopate and judge him as Diocesan Bishop. I gather from priests who lived and worked under him that, while he had the name of being an exacting and severe bishop, to any priest in trouble he was always the kind, sympathetic, helpful Father—in both aspects like Manning. 'Not a single complaint was ever carried to Rome against his decisions—a fact which demonstrates the justice and moderation of his rule.'[1] In the farewell address to the clergy, 1888, he says that only once had he to have recourse to the extreme penalty of suspension, and then only for twenty-four hours.

As a Benedictine bishop, Ullathorne was, naturally, eaten up with the zeal of the House of God, and had a special solicitude for the dignified and decorous celebration of the liturgical and other church services. His care in this regard was primarily turned to his own Cathedral of St Chad:

> It has always been my desire, as becomes the episcopal office, that this Cathedral should be a school to the diocese of what is best, according to the spirit and law of the Church, in parochial administration, in rubrical law, and in ecclesiastical song. And such, I believe, it is generally recognized to be throughout the diocese.

These words are from a *Discourse on Church Music*, given in 1880, based on the legislation of Benedict XIV, and in spirit entirely conformable to the principles laid down years after in the *Motu proprio* of Pius X. From the beginning of his episcopate he had worked for the reform of the church music in the diocese. So early as 1855 he had written to Ambrose Phillips de Lisle, an enthusiast for plain chant as for many other good things: 'You will be glad to hear that congregational singing is among the most marked signs of progress which I find in the diocese. Plain chant at Benediction is another of the improvements which is spreading, and, generally, a graver order of music.'[2]

Manning consulted him on the music question in 1868, and he replied:

[1] *Oscotian*, 1886, 'Ullathorne number', p. 54. [2] *Letters*, p. 67.

Through the influence of the Cathedral, and certain steps I took, somewhat sternly humorous, years ago, the singing in the diocese is generally grave in character. The clergy know that there are two things that I am strongly opposed to—flash singing in churches and advertising church exhibitions in newspapers; and therefore we have not much of either.

But such offences did occur, and the rebuke called forth on one such occasion survives, and may be cited as showing the bishop as the stern disciplinarian he knew how to be:

DEAR MR ——: I very much regret to see an advertisement in this day's *Daily Post* in the following terms:

'(Such and such a church.) Next Sunday, being Mr ——'s fiftieth birthday, the music in the Mass at 11 o'clock, and in the evening service at 6.30, will be all his own composition, with full choir.'

This advertisement is a public scandal, which reflects on the Church. It is also open to the ludicrous comments of the public press. It is a direct contravention of the decree of the Fourth Provincial Synod of Westminster, which forbids the advertising of musical performances in churches, with the names of the musicians.

But this is more than advertising the name of the musician: it assigns a motive for the selection of the music which cannot be allowed without profanation, for the motive assigned is neither the honour of God nor the dignity of the festival, but the celebration in the public worship of the Church of the musician's birthday. To prevent this profanation, and lest my silence should seem to approve of this profanation of the church and divine service, I hereby prohibit the use of Mr ——'s compositions on the day advertised, *sub poena inobedientiae.*

To prevent such exhibitions of vanity for the future, I strongly recommend you, in accordance with the practice of all prudent rectors of churches, not to permit the organist or choir-leader to introduce his own compositions in the choir at the public services.

Wishing you every blessing, etc.

The statistics of the diocese tell their own tale of growth. Under Dr Ullathorne's rule forty-four new missions were founded, sixty-seven new churches built, more than a hundred new elementary schools provided; the number of priests grew from eighty-six to two hundred; the convents of women in-

creased from seven to thirty-six; and, most remarkable of all, instead of a single House of Mercy, as the one charitable institution of the diocese, there were two Houses of Mercy, seven orphanages, two asylums for the poor, two hospitals for incurables, and two homes for children under the Poor Law Board, these institutions being in almost every instance conducted by nuns.[1] We have spoken of the seminary he created, and the installation of the diocesan school in better quarters at Cotton Hall. We have spoken, too (ch. VII), of the long, slow process of restitution and consolidation of the finances of the diocese, a wearing anxiety in the early years, finally triumphantly overcome. Regularly every five or six years was held the Diocesan Synod, and the visitations of missions and convents alike were carried out punctually and with great care. The calls on him for retreats, conferences, lectures, sermons, often outside the diocese, were frequent and were responded to freely. And the pastorals to his flock were issued regularly three times a year, always full of sound, solid, enlightening instruction on some point of Catholic faith or practice.

One thing we miss: he seems to have taken no part in the civic life of Birmingham. The time had not yet come for Catholic bishops to be recognized as prominent citizens of their cathedral cities. This change was due to Manning. And so Ullathorne was not to be seen on public platforms at municipal or charitable functions. I have met no trace of his ever coming into relation, public or private, with his great Birmingham contemporary, John Bright. This seems a pity, for the two men would surely have found much to admire in each other, and could have been good friends working together in many a good cause. For all that, his presence in Birmingham was ever felt as an unseen powerful influence.

Ullathorne was surely a great bishop, the father of his clergy and people, a good pastor placed by the Holy Ghost to rule the Church of God. And he handed on to his successor his Diocese of Birmingham, second to none of the Catholic dioceses of England in organization, in equipment, in vigorous life, in corporate spirit and, above all, in its devoted body of clergy.

[1] *Oscotian*, 1886, pp. 56, 57.

Words of Newman in the address of 1871 may form a fitting ending of this appreciation of Ullathorne as Bishop:

My Lord, we come before you with this address, young and old; but whatever be our age, according to the years that we have had experience of your governance, we gratefully recognize in you a vigilant, unwearied Pastor; a tender Father; a Friend in need; an upright, wise, and equitable Ruler; a Superior who inspires confidence by bestowing it; the zealous Teacher of his people; the Champion by word and pen of Catholic interests, religious and social; the Defender of the defenceless; the Vindicator of our sacred ordinances amid the conflict of political parties and the violence of theological hostility; a faithful Servant of his Lord, who by his life and conduct claims that cheerful obedience which we hereby, with a full heart, offer to you.

WILLIAM BERNARD ULLATHORNE

1877

CHAPTER XVIII

MONK

UP to this point it is the public life of William Bernard Ullathorne that has mainly been before us, his action and reaction in contact with the men and movements of his time. But this public life was the manifestation in action of that inner or spiritual life that was the mainspring and the guide of his activities. We have now to study the outstanding features of this interior spirit.

And first, he was a great Catholic and a great Churchman. By birth and upbringing he was of the old English Catholic stock, an hereditary 'Challoner Catholic', who had reached full manhood before the new movements in Catholic life in England had set in under the twofold influences of the strong convert element, and of the coming into England of the foreign modern religious Orders with their continental ways and manners of devotion. Though his sympathies always ran with the old-fashioned solid ways of the English Catholics, still he was not narrow-minded in his attachment to the old, but ready to welcome what was really good and progressive in the new. And so he held on to a sober-minded middle course between the extremes, and in times of clash of opposing ideas, stood for that sort of reasonable fusion in which most educated English Catholics have now settled down.

But there can be no question that the most determining element in Ullathorne's character and life was his monasticism: he was throughout life a thorough and a great Monk. Seeing that he had spent only eight years in his monastery, and had sailed for Australia within a year of his ordination, it is remarkable how strongly the ideas and principles of the monastic life had gripped him, so that they continued throughout life to mould his character and his whole spiritual

and religious being. This must be attributed in great measure to the fact that at Downside in 1823 he fell into the hands of three remarkable men, good monks of forceful character and conspicuous ability, who impressed themselves powerfully and permanently upon him. The chief was Fr Polding, the novice-master, whom he brought out to Australia in 1834 as first Bishop of Sydney; but also Fr Brown, later Bishop of Newport; and behind them both the strong, yet gentle, personality of the Prior, Fr Barber, of whom Ullathorne has drawn so striking a word-picture.[1] But they had exceptional material to work upon. There is no doubt that Ullathorne in character, temperament, and tastes, was cast in a strong monastic mould.

He has told us in the account of his novice days, of the attraction that invaded him for the Trappist life, and the inclination he felt to leave Downside and become a Trappist; and how, finally, he yielded to the advice of his superiors, to make his profession at Downside, on the understanding that if the desire proved lasting, no obstacle would be placed in the way of his transference.[2] In the original *Autobiography* he says that the intellectual pursuits in which he was immersed on embarking on his ecclesiastical studies after profession, gradually wore out the attraction to La Trappe. Yet the Trappist life did at all times exercise a fascination, appealing to some of the deepest instincts of his nature. In the journey through the South of Ireland with Dr Polding in 1841 they visited the great Trappist monastery of Mount Melleray:[3]

> Here for the first time I found myself in a centre of that ascetical life to which I had once aspired. We assisted at the midnight office, and nothing to my heart was ever more impressive than the simple chant, the three notes ever alternating from side to side from the two choirs, in which the protracted office was sung, especially considering the recol-

[1] His character-sketch of Prior Barber is printed in *Downside Review*, 1891; his tribute to Frs Polding and Brown, and his indebtedness to them for religious and intellectual formation, are expressed in the *Autobiography*, pp. 32-52, and in the *Memorial* at the Jubilee of 1874 (reprinted in Fr Birt's *Pioneers*, II, 384-8). A summary of all is given in the Centenary Number of the *Downside Review*, 1914, pp. 28-36.

[2] *Autobiography*, cited above, I, 18.

[3] Ibid., p. 201.

lection of those long rows of white-robed monks. The slow sweet accents, with long inter-pause, of that never varying, yet never tiring, monotony of rise and fall, under which the rapidly varying sense of the psalmody advanced, in which also, without variation of a note, the lessons, responses and antiphons, were sung, seemed to express the acquirement of an unchangeable patience and peace in the soul; whilst the voices of that tranquil choir of mortal men seemed to shadow, in the sense, an ever varying sentiment, and in the tone in which that sense was chanted, an unchanging eternity. One seemed to have realized in a word that sentence of St Augustine: 'Join thyself to eternity, and thou shalt find rest.'[1]

In 1855 a retreat at the Trappist abbey of Mount St Bernard in Leicestershire renewed the impression made on him by the night office at Mount Melleray.[2] There can, I think, be no doubt that the Trappist observance was Ullathorne's First Love, and that deep down in his soul he always looked on it as the most authentic modern expression of monasticism. In one of the last letters he ever wrote, December 30, 1888, the idea crops out again with a tone almost of regret.[3] There was, too, a persistent subconscious longing for a return to the life of the monastery, which we have seen on various occasions emerge into conscious expression, noticeably when in Rome in 1862 he asked to be absolved from his episcopal charge and to be allowed to retire to a monastery. When, in the reply to the jubilee address of 1871, he spoke of himself as 'one who had had no ambition or desire beyond leading the life of a simple Benedictine monk', he may be taken as speaking the truth with all sincerity.

But the question does present itself: How can this be reconciled with the fact that in 1832, within a year of his ordination, he volunteered for the Australian Mission? For, though he went with the entire approval, encouragement, and blessing of his Benedictine superiors, and so surely in obedience, still, the work was not imposed on him by obedience, but was left to himself as a piece of pure volunteering. His gives his answer to this question in the original *Autobiography:*

[1] Cited as in the original draft. [2] *Letters*, p. 61.
[3] Ibid., p. 539; see below, p. 292.

I loved the monastic life, had imbibed much light from the divine office, especially during those years of my training, and the spirit of the office was deepened in me by the Gregorian chants and by the recurrence of the festivals which celebrated the mysteries of faith and the great saints of the Order. I loved to read the ascetical writings of the saints, and to muse upon the ways of the monastic saints who had sought God with all their soul. But the English Benedictines were not ascetic like the monks of La Trappe. They were destined to the work of education in the house, and were brought into that work a very few years after their profession. And the prospect before them was the English Mission, where they had not in those days the discipline of their Order, but lived rather after the manner of secular priests.

Thus a certain unsatisfaction, engendered by the old Trappist idea, was at the root of it; and on the positive side was the impression left by Fr Polding's advocacy in the novitiate of the urgent call of the convicts for labourers in the most desolate mission-field of the British dominions.[1] And so, seeing he was destined in any case to pass out of the monastery at no distant future, it is not surprising he should have seen in Australia a great door opened to him in the Lord, and should have embraced the offer of taking up a work that was a 'mission' in the most actual and highest sense of the word.

On the return from Australia he was for some months at Downside, but was soon sent to take charge of the mission at Coventry, November 1841, where he remained till becoming bishop five years later. He always looked back to the five years at Coventry as the happiest in his life; and as they were passed in the conditions of the 'English mission' that had seemed unsatisfying to him in 1832, it may be thought that here again is some inconsistency, or that he had changed his mind and come to see things differently after the ten years' experience of life and of men. Yet not so. In the forefront of the reasons he gives for his sorrow at the work at Coventry being broken off, was the belief that he was preparing the way for the initiation of a system of 'missionary priories', whereby the pastoral work of the English Benedictines should be carried on from small communities of

[1] See his words, above, I, 27.

monks saying the office in choir, and maintaining the essential features of Benedictine conventual life.[1] This idea first appears in a letter of February 1843, to the Prior of Downside, setting forth his plan for building such a priory at St Osburg's, Coventry.[2]

It appears also in a letter of the same time to a benefactress of the mission at Coventry, meeting criticisms that were being passed on the building of such a fine church at a place as small as Coventry then was:[3]

> The building will be a cheap one. But to comprehend the design it is necessary to have the key to my views. Coventry first arose out of a Benedictine priory. It is a Benedictine mission. The succession of Priors of Coventry has been kept up by our English Benedictine Congregation. This church, then, ought surely to be built with a view to a priory, and I hope to live to see one attached to it, however small the priory may be. It would be a first and a great step towards recovering the ancient glories and discipline of the most ancient Congregation of Benedictines now extant.

So that at Coventry he was not only exercising the pastoral ministry, but also, so he believed, was engaged on a scheme for promoting monastic life and observance.

How greatly this idea possessed him appears in a letter of January 1844 to Bishop Brown, Vicar Apostolic of Wales:

> Nothing do I long for more than to see amongst us a few missions served by convents, full of discipline, energy, and self-abnegation. If I had the right co-operators, by the grace of God and favour of superiors, I would soon show its practicability. What ample work would there be here for a small community of, say, six monks, priests and choir monks. What might we not do at Liverpool, at Bath, at Coventry, etc., without a farthing more than present expenses. Before two years were out I would have a model in operation, and evangelize all round the environs and vicinage of this city. When regulars on missions show exteriorly and interiorly the regular spirit and the print of the vows, there will be no want of vocations to the regular state.

Another preoccupation finds expression in a letter a year earlier to the same friend. Ullathorne had been preaching

[1] Cited, I, 133. [2] See I, 125. [3] *Letters*, p. 2.

at the erection of the Calvary by Ambrose Phillipps de Lisle, and he had heard all the latest news of the Oxford Movement; among other things, that many of the Tractarians, now facing as a foregone conclusion reception into the Catholic Church, would be seeking to enter religious Orders. Ullathorne said to Brown: 'It appears to me that the English Benedictines, with their descent from the old English establishments, is the very thing they would prefer, if our Order were made known to them, and we had a good house, with good cenobitical discipline in which to receive them; and that it becomes a point of policy to direct attention to this subject.' And he consults with Brown how the matter might be pressed on the attention of the Benedictine superiors. Unfortunately nothing came of this far-seeing proposal. The Benedictine monasteries had not properly emerged from the mentality of penal times, and they did not offer what the Oxford men looked for as Benedictine life. And so, while a number of the converts entered all the other Orders and Congregations, not one became a Benedictine.

If throughout life Ullathorne stands out as bearing the characteristic marks of a great monk, the reason must be sought primarily in the monastic bent of his character and the propension of his mind. But without doubt another reason lay in the kind of intellectual formation he gave himself. This formation was derived mainly from the assiduous reading of the Fathers, a practice he industriously cultivated from his earliest monastic days. Most of us who read the Fathers nowadays do so, not for the mere sake of reading them and imbibing their teaching as it unfolds itself to us, but for some ulterior object. We commonly treat them as the material for some study in scientific patristics, or history of dogma, or doctrinal investigation, or positive theology, or practical controversy. We seldom read them as mere Christian literature in the spacious leisurely way that Ullathorne did in his young days. But such reading of the Fathers for some three hours a day was precisely the kind of intellectual formation provided by St Benedict for his monks; and it is reasonable to attribute to this same practice that strong Benedictine impress on mind and character that was so noticeable in Ullathorne. His quite unusually wide and close

familiarity with the Fathers gives their special tone to his principal writings—a tone which, in great measure, may well be called Benedictine.

Similarly his ideas on monasticism and on the principles of the spiritual life were predominantly formed on his reading of Cassian and of the Fathers of the Desert, and bore a marked primitive tinge. There is no particular Benedictine school of spirituality or Benedictine method of prayer; but there is a spirituality and a prayer congenial to the Benedictine genius and life, and the natural outcome thereof; and that is the old-world spirituality and prayer of the Fathers of the Desert, to some extent systematized by Cassian. Of this earliest school of monastic spirituality Ullathorne was a disciple. This fact will appear in the next chapter, on his writings; and it appears also in the short luminous instructions on points of the spiritual life, on prayer, on mortification and detachment, to be found up and down in the volume of *Letters*. A piece in the original draft of the *Autobiography* is worthy of preservation:

I have always been disposed to look upon the early ascetic Fathers, the Fathers of the Desert, as having most thoroughly worked out the true maxims of the ascetical life, and as having reduced them to the most pithy maxims. Their life was so completely spent between themselves and God, and was so fenced in by seclusion, labour, and self-denial, God and the soul was so exclusively their aim, and their grace was so abundant, and their lives so simple, that they appear as the very prophets as well as the experts of the interior life. Upon their light and experience the great ascetic rules were drawn up, and such men as St Benedict, St Dominic and St Thomas expressly took them as their guide, as their doctrines are condensed in the Institutes and Conferences of Cassian; whilst Rodriguez, Alvarez de Paz, and the other chief spiritual writers of the Society of Jesus, have drawn their lights in copious streams from the same sources.

In studying the Religious Orders as spiritual schools, it has often occurred to me that whilst each has a characteristic temper and tone of its own, and a disposition to lean upon some individual quality or virtue, as distinctive of its life and work, this very tendency requires a guard against its running into some correlative defect. And for want of this guard being always vigilantly observed, Religious Orders are

mostly prone to deteriorate. Thus the temper of the Benedictine Order is largeness of spirit, or freedom, apt to degenerate into laxity. That of St Francis is poverty, apt to degenerate into sordidness. That of St Dominic is rigid law and science, apt to degenerate into the stiffness of the letter and pride of intellectual culture. That of St Francis of Sales is spiritual sweetness, apt to degenerate into spiritual softness. That of the Carmelites is contemplation, apt to degenerate into leaving our Lord's Life and Passion in abeyance. That of the Society of Jesus is the practical, apt to discard the contemplative spirit, and to degenerate into policy. Moreover, whenever an Order turns aside from the specific aim and scope of its Founder, and takes to other employments or pursuits, its spirit evaporates in proportion, and it acquires some new spirit that is not in accordance with that of its Founder.

To a niece who was entering a Benedictine convent, he wrote in 1877:

In St Benedict's rule you will have the most spiritual and profound of rules united with great prudence and knowledge of the human heart. It is based upon the most solid traditions of the monastic life from the Apostolic times to St Benedict's own day. There is no other rule so large and comprehensive, and yet so full and complete in whatever the soul requires. I have read all the great rules and know of what I am talking. But a rule like St Benedict's is like the Scriptures in this respect, that there is no getting to the root of its sense without meditating on it sentence by sentence, and practice is the best commentary in getting at its sense. When I was a novice we committed all its spiritual chapters to memory.

We have seen how his Benedictine enthusiasm overflowed at such Benedictine sanctuaries as Subiaco and the great Swiss abbey of Einsiedeln. But love of one's own house of profession and loyal attachment to it is the mark of a good Benedictine; and so it is right to bring out his relations with his monastery of Downside. While at Coventry in 1844 he made a retreat there, and expressed himself greatly pleased at the spirit and discipline he found prevailing.[1] It cannot be in doubt that but for his becoming bishop, he

[1] *Autobiography*, p. 234; in the first edition the letter is wrongly dated by forty years.

would have been prior of Downside at the first vacancy; when there was question, in 1842, of the then prior becoming bishop of Hobart Town, Ullathorne was the one pointed to by gossip as his likely successor at Downside. The loss to Downside, through the non-introduction at that date of the ideas and the vigorous personality of Ullathorne, is incalculable; it would have meant that the forward movement in monastery and school, which set in only in the 'seventies, would have begun in the 'forties, and Downside would have been spared the thirty years of 'marking time', deplored in the Centenary number of the *Downside Review*.

During the first half of his episcopal life his visits to Downside were rare; but from 1864 onwards he came there with a frequency that increased with advancing years. In 1864 was kept the jubilee of the community coming to Downside in 1814, and the three Downside bishops—Morris, Brown, and Ullathorne—were there to celebrate it. Again in September 1873 Bishops Brown and Ullathorne came for the laying of the foundation stones of the monastic church and new monastery. The next year, 1874, was that of Ullathorne's jubilee in the monastic habit, and it was the occasion of a more personal visit at Downside in April. His three surviving fellow novices were present with him; also Bishop Brown and others who had been fellow monks at Downside with Ullathorne fifty years before. Many of these old men were greatly affected, and many tears were shed during the speeches—not by the bishop. I remember the occasion very well, being a boy at the top of the school. The bishop preached a long sermon on the text: 'Who is this that cometh from Edom, with dyed garments from Bosra?' It is curious I should remember the text, for I remember nothing else, except that the bishop preached from the altar, and walked up and down from end to end while delivering the sermon. It was a full-dress oratorical sermon of the old style, and singularly inappropriate for an audience of schoolboys. A congratulatory address was read and the bishop replied in a speech not intended for us boys: but one of the monks told me that for them it was of great interest, the bishop unfolding his ideas on the life and work of the Benedictines in the new conditions of things Catholic

in England; no doubt he spoke on his favourite topic, the priories.

In the autumn of 1876 the new monastery at Downside was ready for habitation. It was felt to mark, as in truth it did mark, the beginning of a new phase in the life of the community, and Dr Ullathorne, as the outstanding representative of the early days of St Gregory's at Downside, and of the old spirit and old ideals of the house, was invited to give to the community a three days' retreat as the inauguration of the new era. That retreat made a lasting impression on those that heard it, some of whom have recorded their recollections. The burden of the message was that of the text: 'Trust not in lying words, saying, It is the Temple of the Lord, the Temple of the Lord';—a warning against pride and self-glorification in the mere monastic buildings, which would have no religious value except in so far as they should symbolize realities, a renovation of spirit and life; 'he dwelt upon the uselessness of expecting to do anything unless the foundation of humility was secure; of the need of true spirituality, that souls might be able to find the guides they needed; of the truly Benedictine studies of the Scriptures and Patrology, work that monks had ever particularly taken up, and which was congenial to their spirit.'[1] And he impressed on all that the future of the house, as a Benedictine monastery, would depend on the regularity of the community attendance in choir.

A short time after this Dom Aidan Gasquet became Prior and a beginning was made of the building of the monastic church; in July 1882 the first portion, the transepts, was opened with much solemnity, Ullathorne preaching on the occasion. The *Tablet* says it was 'a magnificent sermon', but did not report it. At the lunch his speech 'was of a most eloquent and feeling character': after depicting, as he seemed to see it, the de-Christianizing of modern civilization and its threatened break-up, he went on:

It seems as if the only hope of modern society lay in the restoration of those principles which had guided the Benedictines of old to their long-enduring success. The problem of Christianizing England was only to be solved by a close

[1] *Downside Review*, 1889, p. 79.

adherence to the great principle of stability, which St Benedict had introduced into monastic life; and if the people of England were to be brought into subjection to the true faith, they must be brought under the influence of religious Congregations wherein the three elements of Benedictine success, namely, centralization of strength and government, numerous communities, and strict discipline, were to be found. He said he hoped that the time was drawing near when the Benedictine Order, which had struggled so nobly to keep the torch of faith and learning alive among the English Catholics during the days of persecution, might return to the principles which had animated its members in the days of its greatest strength and glory, and that the monks of Downside might ever be foremost in the great work of Catholic life and education.

Once again did the veteran Gregorian, now in extreme old age, visit his Alma Mater, this time consciously for the farewell visit. In July 1884, Dom Gasquet still being prior, he spent ten days at Downside, in a sort of retreat, and he gave a spiritual conference to the community. The happy recollections of this last visit are uttered in a letter to a friend:[1]

I have been spending ten days at Downside in quietude and enjoyment: recalling old times, connecting them with times more recent, talking over the interests of the English Benedictines, examining their beautiful buildings more minutely, extracting from Albert the Great's one and twenty folios, and from Cajetan's Comments on St Thomas.

The rest of the letter shows his keen interest in the church and monastic buildings then in progress.

Though never visiting it more, he once again entered into contact with his monastery. On June 21, 1886, he kept his forty years of episcopate, and of course received congratulations innumerable, one from the prior and community of Downside. Two days later he wrote:[2]

MY DEAR FR PRIOR AND BRETHREN IN ST BENEDICT,

Among the numerous letters and telegrams heaped on my table during the last two days, your kind address and letters are among the first that claim my attention.

The mother is the last person that anyone can forget, and

[1] *Letters*, p. 453. [2] *Downside Review*, 1886, p. 286.

St Gregory's was a kind, affectionate, and cherishing mother to me. Although an alien for six and fifty years from those peaceful monastic walls, I have ever turned to them with affection and gratitude. Few things in this world could be more dear to me than to see God well served within them. [He refers to his consecration.]

We have unquestionably received great things to be grateful for during these forty years of expansion, both in England and in the regions of Australia, to both of which St Gregory's has largely contributed.

May her own external expansion be but the symbol of an internal enlargement of spirit, of observance, and of monastic study, that may make her a yet more fertile instrument for the service of God and of his Church. Please give my special thanks to Fr Peter Wilson for his kind message. He and I remain as monuments of the good old traditions that reigned at Downside when we were young.

I yesterday offered my Mass for all those who have been so good as to pray for me.

My dear Fr Prior and Brethren, I pray God to keep and sanctify you, and all your works, and to prosper the monastery, and always remain,

Your devoted friend and brother in St Benedict.

Happy and cordial as were at all times his relations with his own monastery, those with the English Benedictine Congregation were often somewhat strained. This was owing to the fact that from the days in Coventry, even before he was a bishop, he consistently urged that the time had come for the English Benedictines to give effect to the principle of community life, by a gradual withdrawal from the smaller missions or parishes they were serving, and concentration in priories or conventual houses, in which the pastoral office should be carried on by small communities keeping choir and the fundamental observances of Benedictine community life. His insistence on this idea earned for him in many English Benedictine quarters a suspicion of antagonism. Thus in 1849 Dr Davis, a Downside monk, Bishop of Maitland and coadjutor to Dr Polding, wrote to the Prior of Downside:[1] 'From letters from England I regret to hear that Bishop Ullathorne evinces little sympathy with his Benedictine brethren.' About the same

[1] Downside Archives.

date one of his own fellow novices wrote him a friendly letter, which called forth the following:[1]

I thank you much for the good opinion you have kept of me, notwithstanding appearances upon which good men might easily have been mistaken. I have always loved my Order, and have always had faith in Downside. I have been of opinion that the Order might become much greater in England by having small missionary communities in large towns, which would cost little and bring in a great deal, and feed the body in more ways than one.

There is no more thorough Gregorian outside or within the walls of Downside than myself, and I can no more repay what I owe to her than I can what I owe to my mother.

During the Vatican Council Ullathorne was called on to submit to Propaganda a report on the English Congregation, under the following circumstances. On January 20, 1870, he received from the Secretary a note saying that the President of the Congregation, in Rome for the Council, had been called on to submit the constitutions for revision, but had petitioned that the existing ones should be approved; whereas it seemed that this would be the opportunity of removing defects which had at various times been signalized to the Holy See by members of the Congregation, and of making a revision of the constitutions; and Ullathorne was asked to lay before Propaganda his views as to changes that might be desirable. He did not put in his report until July 15. It covers eight large foolscap pages. He began by representing that the General Chapter should be invited to consider the matter and lay its proposals before Propaganda. He gave an account of things as they existed in the Congregation at that date. He urged the view that a movement should be set on foot whereby, gradually but really, all non-conventual houses should be given up, by the formation of missionary priories. Finally he pointed out certain passages in the constitutions which he considered to represent a state of things that had passed away. In the matter of government, he thought the Provincials (superiors of the missions and missioners) would suffer natural extinction when the time came that there would be no houses except fully constituted monasteries, large and small.

[1] Downside Archives.

The like injunction to report was laid also on Bishop Brown of Newport. He wrote to Ullathorne in 1874, on the eve of departure for Rome for his Visitation *ad limina*, that he understood it was likely that the question of a Visitation of the Congregation might be raised while he was in Rome, and he asked if Ullathorne would be prepared to accept the office of Visitor, as a more acceptable person than himself. He was well known to share Ullathorne's views, and, as was characteristic, in a more accentuated way.

Ullathorne wrote back that press of work would make it impossible for him to undertake the office for a long time to come, and that in his judgement it would be far better, if there be a Visitor, that he should be one who is extern to the Congregation. No more was heard of it at the time; but in June 1881 came the long pending Visitation. It was a corollary of the contest that issued in the *Romanos Pontifices*, the Benedictines having been, along with the Jesuits, the principal litigants against the bishops, and had thus been brought greatly under the eye of Rome. Manning had coupled together the Jesuits and the Benedictines as the Orders 'who do not observe their rule', and were especially in need of reform.[1]

His letters from Rome to Ullathorne in 1880 disclose the fact that Manning, Ullathorne and Clifford were working conjointly to bring about an Apostolic Visitation of the Congregation. Ullathorne had written a letter, put into Italian and submitted to the Cardinal Prefect of Propaganda and to Leo himself. The burden of the letter was the same as that of the report of 1870: the enforcement of community life and the promotion of good ecclesiastical studies. At last, on June 1, 1881, just after the promulgation of *Romanos Pontifices*, Clifford, still in Rome, wrote to Ullathorne:

The Holy Father [Leo XIII] has crowned the work already done for religion in England by appointing a Visitor for the English Benedictine Congregation. He had last year your letter and Cardinal Manning's report, and I spoke to him several times and asked him to appoint a Visitor. He promised me that as soon as the greater question between the bishops and regulars was settled, he would give his

[1] *Dublin Review*, April, 1920, p. 220.

+ T. J. Brown

THOMAS JOSEPH BROWN

Bishop of Newport and Menevia

attention to the matter. Accordingly no sooner was our Bull published, than he took all the papers he had put by and gave them to the Cardinal Prefect of the Congregation of Bishops and Regulars, and the result is that the Pope has issued a decree appointing Fr Krug, the claustral Prior of Monte Cassino (who is a prudent and holy man, and speaks English perfectly), Apostolic Visitor.

It was unfortunate that the Visitation was sprung as a surprise on the Superiors of the Congregation, who heard of it first from a telegram in the *Tablet;* and on June 24 Ullathorne received from the President an alarmist letter:

Up to this moment I have been left completely in the dark as to what is the meaning of the step that has been taken. All I can gather is from an expression by the Cardinal Prefect in the letter in which His Eminence informs me of the appointment of the Apostolic Visitor: he says the appointment is made 'ad promovendum maiorem decorem Congregationis.' All this is a trial and we must make the best of it.

Ullathorne sent in reply a kindly and sensible letter of encouragement, of which the following is the pith:

There has been a converging of facts and events towards an Apostolic Visitation for a considerable time past. You will remember that at the Vatican Council I was called upon to write on the state of the Congregation by the then Cardinal Prefect of Propaganda. The late Bishop of Newport was called upon to do the same, and as he delayed doing so, he was again called upon to do so before he made his last visit to Rome. It is difficult for men living within a system to see the readjustments which time and change of circumstances require. What has chiefly been remarked is the weakness of the monasteries in matured men and earnest ecclesiastical studies. It is also thought that there is not much disposition on the Mission to tend towards concentrating from small missions, where there can be only one or two fathers, into larger missions, where there might be *vita communis*. The constitutions, drawn up under circumstances which have so completely changed, would seem also to require revision.

It would appear to me that this is a great and providential occasion offered through the supreme authority of the Church for thoroughly readjusting the machinery of the Congregation for its future position and work, and I trust that the Heads of the Congregation will rise to it. I can

therefore enter into the sentiments of the Cardinal Prefect of the Bishops and Regulars, that this Visit is opportune 'ad promovendum maiorem decorem Congregationis'. It will give strength to Superiors to promote the best reforms, and by cordially entering into the movement originating with the Pope, the happiest results may come out. How long might the episcopate of this country have remained in its provisional state, had not the establishment of the Hierarchy brought us to a normal state of which we see the great fruits. So, the Benedictine Congregation was projected in a provisional state, but the time seems to have come for looking to something more normal. After receiving so many statements, what the Pope desires is to know the reality, and to do what he can in the circumstances to benefit the Congregation.

These words, wise as the event proved, fell on deaf ears; had they been listened to, what took ten long years, indeed twenty, to carry out, might have been effected at once. The Visitor paid his first visit to Ullathorne, and heard his views and his lament that the Superiors had never listened to him when urging the return to community life, but rather had looked on him as an enemy. Ullathorne did not live to see any of the fruits he hoped for from the Visitation, dying a year before the Bull *Religiosus Ordo*. But it must have been a consolation to him to receive in August 1888, immediately after the General Chapter, the following letter from Dom Austin O'Neill, the newly elected President, afterwards Bishop of Port Louis, Mauritius:

I was sorry to find on arriving at Stanbrook that I had missed by only an hour or two the opportunity of paying my respects in person to your Grace. I hope to have the honour before very long. Meantime allow me to assure you of my sincere conviction that your Grace has ever been a true friend of our Congregation, and that, though your counsels have not always found ready listeners amongst us, they have been, nevertheless, given with a sincere desire to promote our true interests, and, as I myself believe, have been well calculated to attain their end. [This manifestly in view of the sermon of 1875, printed at the close of this chapter.]

Your Grace will be glad to hear that the General Chapter showed itself well-disposed to urge on the work of introducing some monastic observance in our mission residences. Before the election of the President came

on, I had the opportunity of declaring publicly my conviction that, as we contend in theory that religious priests profess a higher degree of perfection than the priest pure and simple, our missioners are bound to follow a stricter observance than their brethren of the pastoral clergy. And that, after that public declaration, the Chapter elected me President, I consider a sufficient proof that they accept that view, and would gladly see it carried out.

I will venture also, as President of the Congregation which gave your Grace to the Church, and which ought to be proud of all that you have done for it, to offer you my congratulations and thanks for the three solid and valuable works which you have, in the maturity of your age and experience, given to the English Catholics. I must confess for my own part, that what most encouraged me to accept, weak as I am, the heavy burden of the presidential office, was my recollection of the chapter on the Magnanimity of Humility.

This was a letter greatly gratifying to the old man, and he answered it in a long letter, of which the following are the salient points:

Your very kind letter has reached me here. It is a long time since I received a letter that has given me so much gratification. For I am truly solicitous for the peace and well-being of the English Benedictine Congregation.

[An account of his part in the affairs of the Congregation in 1870, 1874, 1881, already related.]

The President at the time of the Visitation came to me frequently for advice; but I felt obliged to say to him at last, that, although I was always glad to see him, yet I hoped that if he ever said at Rome that he consulted me, he would add that he had never in a single instance followed my advice. . . .

I commit these facts to your discretion, and I hope they show that I have not been indifferent to the interests of my religious brethren. It cannot be denied that the Congregation has been long in want of a firm, prudent, and judicious President, and your letter inspires me with hope for the future. . . .

The Benedictines in England ought to be strong in influence; they ought by their stability to be the counter-weight to the restless spirit of the times which unsettles everybody and everything. This I have always thought would be a healing to the times, if they will only realize their vocation in its true bearings. We want solid preachers and solid directors, which requires skill in the Scriptures and skill in

spiritual theology. I am glad to hear that something will be done in the direction of sanctifying the missionary life. . . .

I trust, and I pray God, that your insight and energy will greatly ameliorate the state of things throughout the Congregation, especially in conciliating the conflicting views that have done so much injury to the reputation of this old and venerable body.

With hearty good wishes and esteem I remain your faithful friend and servant.

Abbot O'Neill replied:

I cannot thank you sufficiently for your instructive and encouraging letter. At the present moment, entering as I am upon a new and difficult work, it is especially welcome. I am glad to say that many of our Fathers on the Mission, in both Provinces, are most desirous to adopt anything practicable in the way of monastic observance that Superiors may suggest. And I trust that before Christmas we shall have made a distinct step forward, wherever there are two or three residing together.

Ullathorne's deep interest in the new President and the movement that his election seemed to symbolize, is shown by a letter of the same date to the Prioress of Princethorpe, where he had just been staying:

I have had a most gratifying letter from the new President of the English Benedictines, and as I think you would like to see it after what I told you, I enclose it. I have now great hope of the future, and wrote him a long letter which I thought would be useful, and to which I enclose his reply.

The President went to Rome in the winter and returned to England in the early spring, bearing with him instructions that were to issue in the Bull *Religiosus Ordo* of November 1890. On his return the Archbishop was on his deathbed, but Abbot O'Neill sent him a message conveying the news. It reached him on March 19, two days before his death, and Fr Parker, his secretary and nurse, wrote:

On receipt of your letter I read it to him, first asking him if he remembered Fr O'Neill, the President of the Benedictines. He replied very decidedly that he did, and thanks you for your kind sympathy and prayers. He *was* pleased with

your *message*. He trusts that it is so, and sends you and it his parting fatherly blessing, promising his prayers for the same object before the throne of God. To show that he fully understood the import of the message, and that he meant what he said, he added: 'I have had to be very cautious and quiet in the matter, because so many eyes were upon me.'

This was the last important message he ever sent.

Once in his life did Dr Ullathorne make a full and formal pronouncement of his Benedictine creed This was the sermon on 'All Monks', preached November 13, 1875, in the Benedictine Church of St Anne, Edgehill, Liverpool (No. XII of the *Ecclesiastical Discourses*). I know no better analysis of St Benedict's Rule, and no clearer and truer exposition in short of Benedictine principle, spirit, life. And so the substantive parts are given here, as Ullathorne's teaching on the subject that interested him the most. The style is dignified too, and the language eloquent, and so it will serve as a sample of his preaching. The entire sermon will well repay reading.

The choirs of the Benedictine Order, my brethren, are celebrating the festival of all the saints who have borne the Benedictine name. Whether those saints be of the number known to general fame, or of those less known beyond the limits of their Order, or of that multitude which is only known to God and to Heaven, we celebrate them all, we give glory to God for His magnificent work in them all, and we call upon them to help us with their prayers. It is a vast theme for an hour's discourse, and a theme that must carry us beyond the track of ordinary sermons. . . .

With this preface I turn to the old and venerable Benedictine Order, of which I am an unworthy disciple. In happier times for religion, and those times were long, that great Order peopled the western world with saints, and founded works that were only less great than themselves.

The mere catalogue of these saints makes up a volume. Instead, therefore, of the impossible task of putting their lives before you, I must endeavour to find you a key to that spirit of the Order which made them saints. I wish, then, to put before you the character of that reform which St Benedict introduced into the monastic life; the position which he and his Order has held in the Church; and the reason why that Order superseded the older Orders of the West,

and for so long a time universally prevailed. To show how far the more recent Orders have drawn profit from the Benedictine Rule would demand a second discourse. . . .

The vast Roman Empire was breaking up through its own corruption, and dying in every limb. Every province of that blighted civilization was being trodden to death by wild pagan hordes, who in their barbarous strength and inexhaustible numbers rushed down, from almost unknown regions, on their destructive way. Then, for the time, sank the cause of Christ in many lands. Conversion had to be begun anew, and civilization to be re-established on a Christian basis. This mighty task was mainly committed by the Church to the monastic Orders.

Such was the state of things when in the year 480 St Benedict was born. Sprung of a notable family, in his fourteenth year he was placed in the Roman schools. There his devout and innocent mind came first in contact with examples of licentious vice, and horrified at the spectacle he fled away to the neighbouring mountains. In his first retreat the fame of sanctity gathered round the youth, to escape from which he pursued his lonely way until he reached a distance of forty miles from Rome, where he came upon the rugged and solitary mountains that close in upon the early course of the river Anio, where Nero had formed the lake of Subiaco. There he met a monk from a monastery that stood on the lofty hill above the chasm, who gave him a religious habit of skins, took him to a cave in the precipice below his monastery, kept his secret, and by a rope sent him down one-half of his daily allowance of food. There for long years the youthful Benedict dwelt with God alone. There, in solitude and privation, he strove by prayer and labour to gain abstraction of life from the outward senses, and to quell down his nature to a state of settled recollection and peace in God. The rude peasants mistook him in his garment of skins for a wild beast; but he brought them from their own wild life to the love of Christ. As he matured in the wisdom of sanctity his fame spread far and wide. Many persons came to him for spiritual counsel, and among them came the noble senators of Rome. Not a few were they who wished to share his mode of life; and for them he raised twelve monasteries one after another on the rugged flanks of the mountains looking down upon the lake. In each of these monasteries he placed twelve monks, and to each of them he gave an abbot. But persecution ever attends the saints, and when he accomplished his work at Subiaco, bitter persecution drove him to seek another abode and another work. He journeyed on until he

ascended the lofty summit of Mount Cassino. There he destroyed the pagan temple of Apollo, converted the inhabitants to Christ, and raised a great monastery on the site of the destroyed temple. In the valley below his sister St Scholastica, of whose gentle and loving firmness St Gregory has given us such an exquisite picture, trained the first community of Benedictine nuns under his direction. And to speak in the words of Pope Urban II, 'From this place there flowed out of the breast of St Benedict the spirit of monastical religion as from the fountain of Paradise.' Here he wrote his famous rule.

And now comes the question: What was there in that rule and form of life, that gave it vigour to supersede almost every other rule of the western Church, and that from the sixth or seventh to the thirteenth century? When, from the beginning of the thirteenth century, new Orders with new aims and purposes sprang up to meet the new requirements of the Church, what part of their strength did they derive from the old Benedictine Rule? In the third place, after many new Orders had arisen, by what inherent force did the old Benedictine Order still continue to hold its ground? The reply to these questions points the instruction of this discourse.

If we compare St Benedict's rule with the older rules, whether of the East or West, we shall see that most of the provisions of religious life are substantially the same in them as in that of St Benedict. The life of poverty, chastity, and obedience are in all these Orders alike. In the observance of abstinence, self-denial, and austerity, the older rules are generally more sharp and stern. The laws of silence, of labour, and of obedience on the instant, are in those older Orders fully as rigorous. I will go further, and state that some of the most important parts of St Benedict's rule are directly copied from the Institutes of Cassian. For example, the famous Twelve Degrees of Humility, which form the basis of the Benedictine spirit, are taken with some enlargement from Cassian's Ten Signs of Humility; yet St Benedict has imparted to them a certain depth of power to search the soul which is peculiarly his own. Again, his direction that the private prayer of the monks be 'brief and pure' is expressed in the words of Cassian. And it signifies not only that after the divine office it be not much prolonged, but that it be aspirative and contemplative, a form of prayer in which self finds but little account. It was the method of the Fathers of the Desert. Even his severe, but not too severe injunction, that murmurers and complainers shall be separated from the community and put alone, is to be found in all the re-

ligious rules before his time, from St Pachomius to St Columban. In these, as in most other provisions of the monastic life, St Benedict followed the founders before him. In his humility he calls his own the least of rules for beginners; for precepts of greater perfection of life recommending the Holy Scriptures, the writings of the Catholic Fathers, and especially the Conferences and Institutes of Cassian, and the Rule of St Basil.

In what, then, consists the superior excellence of St Benedict's Rule? What gave it so great a position in the Church of Christ? Chiefly two things: a certain reform which one single word expresses; and a certain spirit, or soul, that pervades the body of the Rule. His great reform is expressed by the single word STABILITY. By requiring stability of life in the monastery, the holy Patriarch gave a solid and permanent character to the whole religious life. Other founders had enjoined perseverance in the monastery until death, and especially St Basil; but St Benedict made it a solemn and essential part of the monastic vow and profession. But we shall best understand the value of enforcing the vow of stability after we have considered the spirit of the Rule.

I scarcely know how in a few words I can describe this spirit. The soul of every saint has a distinct and individual character that is almost as much his own as his personality. The soul of St Benedict has entered into his Rule, and, as St Gregory points out, its most conspicuous quality on the human side is luminous discretion. His knowledge of men, of their diverse temperaments, and of what in the service of God can be well done with them, is only second to his knowledge of God. He has the gift of ruling men in religion with a power that is divinely humane. The words of his Rule are brief and bracing; not sharp, but full of spiritual nerve. There is an essence of prudence in them, an oil of wisdom, an unction from the Holy One, which, far from relaxing, acts as a tonic to the soul. The great religious legislator is as firm in holding to God's claims upon the man as he is considerate towards the infirmities of human nature. And nowhere is his gift of discretion more conspicuous than in the two chapters of the Rule on the abbot and his government, and the chapter on calling the brethren into counsel. So notable are they for their wisdom that princes and generals have applied them to the conduct of states and armies.

Whatever religious observance exacts of the brethren that is hard to human nature, hard, that is to say, until fidelity to the grace of vocation makes it with time light and easy, comes from the provisions of the Rule; but in the breast of

the abbot, St Benedict has placed the kindly spirit of equity. The abbot is to bring his responsibility for each one of the brethren, with all his own actions, continually in review before the judgement-seat of God. Loving all under his charge with an equal charity, he must treat each one according to his spirit and intelligence; to enlighten the good and holy ones with his words, but by his actions to demonstrate the way of truth to them who are obdurate of heart or dull of comprehension. Knowing how arduous and difficult is the task of governing souls, and of adapting oneself to many temperaments and different dispositions, as persons and times require, must he now appeal to love, now to fear; at one time the strict master, at another the tender father. Severe to the proud and obstinate; to the meek, the humble, and the obedient, he is to be kind and persuasive; to one he is gentle and bland, another he rebukes, a third he advances by encouragement. So must the abbot be ever solicitous that the brethren suffer no deterioration, and that he may witness the joy of their progressive goodness. He is never to rub too hard, lest in the effort to cleanse he break the fragile vessel. He is to remember the words of Jacob: 'If I drive the flocks too fast or too far, they will all die in one day.' In taking counsel of the brethren he is to give particular attention to what the young ones say, because God often makes known to some younger one what is best to be done. And, to say the truth, their more open and simple minds are in many instances less likely to be pre-engaged with their own busy interests and foregone conclusions.

Writing the life of the holy patriarch from the lips of four of his chief disciples, Pope St Gregory the Great says, that the most authentic testimony to the life and actions of St Benedict is his Rule, for that such a man could never have lived in one way and written in another. To the admirable balance of discretion in the Rule the same great Pope bears witness; a discretion that carefully shuts the doors on the side of evil, and opens them freely on the side of charity. It is the wise proportioning of the divine counsels to the capacities of the brethren that has given to the Benedictine Order that spirit of largeness and freedom by which it has been always distinguished, and that easy pliancy to enter upon the great works which it has been raised up to accomplish.

But the spirit of largeness and freedom must of necessity run to dissipation and weaken the strength of the Order, unless it be firmly rooted upon a solid centre. And for this the holy Patriarch provides by the vow of stability. . . .

To prevent all such evils, and save the strength of the monk from being broken, St Benedict binds his monks by the vow of stability to an irrevocable life in community, and in the community that has witnessed his training and profession. The monk is to be always a cenobite, and ever a vital and inseparable part of the conventual body. That is to say, he is to live as he has vowed to live, in common with his brethren, as the Rule and its community life enjoin. If a monk is sent forth with a companion on any duty, they are to endeavour to time their reciting the divine office with that of the choir, and when the duty is accomplished they must return to the monastery without delay. Such is the Benedictine basis of 'stability in the monastery'. It has the centre of its life in the divine office of the choir, chaunted by the united brethren in the night and the seven hours of the day. This is called in the Rule 'the daily duty', and 'the divine work, to which nothing must be preferred.' The whole stability of the monastery gravitates round the stability of the choir, each duty of which is fixed to the moment The very heart of the Benedictine life was the prolonged praising of God by the united voices of all the brethren.

The three forces welded together on which St Benedict built the monastic life, as on an immovable foundation, are the vow binding the monk to his monastery, the choral office, and the common life. For the monk to part from any one of these is to depart from Benedictine strength, from the very mind of St Benedict, from the genius of the Order, and the spirit of its flourishing ages, when the Order converted whole nations to the Church. It is to slide from the rock of monastic solidity, and from that vigour of discipline in which numbers uphold each other. In the embattled army valour is contagious, and many are the men in the ranks who gather up a courage that, left to themselves, would sink into weakness.

To form saints, and to civilize mankind, have been the two great vocations of the Benedictine Order. Its stability accomplished the first of these vocations; its free spirit and large-heartedness achieved the second. With these two arms it was fitted to embrace the changeable conditions of the world of man.

From the time that St Benedict converted the peasants around his cave at Subiaco and on Mount Cassino, the Benedictine Order has been missionary as well as monastical. But until recent ages, and mostly in this country, the reason of which I will explain hereafter, its mission has rested on its communities, and has worked from its communities. To convert whole nations united in rude heathen life and

manners, it required compact bodies of Christian heroes. And the normal strength of the monk is a corporate strength, his solidity lies in his stability. He carries in him something beyond his individuality, something of the joint force of his community. So long as he lives in community, this corporate strength overshadows him, upholds him, protects him, and gives a vital animation to all his labours. Read, in short, the annals of the Order, and you will see in how many nations and provinces the monks in their corporate force broke the strength of the heathen, planted the Church on a firm foundation, brought saints to perfection, and drove barbarism away.

But a question has been waiting in your minds that I have promised to answer. The English Benedictine fathers, although trained in their monasteries to the whole conventual life, and belonging to those monasteries, are sent off from their communities to the missionary life like other missionary priests. This state of things has puzzled many persons, and especially those converts who are not versed in our past history. I proceed to explain. Critical times arise in certain portions of the Church, when that community life which in itself, as compared with life out of community, is the greater good, is made by the sovereign authority of the Church to give place to the greater good of the Church at large; and is made to yield in a special manner to the saving of souls that might otherwise perish. On this principle, in all ages, have individual monks been called from their monasteries by the Sovereign Pontiff to do works or execute commissions for which they had some special aptitude not so easily to be found elsewhere. And not merely on this principle, but on the theological ground that the episcopal is the most perfect spiritual state in the Church, have monks been often drawn from their monasteries to be placed on episcopal chairs, and from time to time on the throne of Peter. With this light I come to the point.

When England through unheard-of treacheries lost the Catholic faith, and the old parochial clergy were either fallen away or extinct, the Benedictine as well as the other English Orders had to establish their monasteries abroad. For nigh three hundred years a religious community could not exist upon our soil. But the salvation of the English people, defrauded as they had been of their Catholic faith after having possessed it for a thousand years, was dear to the Church. And many souls, still clinging to the faith under the greatest difficulties, cried out for priests, and priests were few. It was a critical time of most urgent need, when the salvation of souls, which is the great good of the

Church, demanded from many monks the sacrifice of the good of community life. The missionary spirit of the Benedictine Order had never died, and at the call of the Sovereign Pontiff the monks came as individual missionaries, where they could not live in monasteries. Concealing themselves as they best could, they accepted the perils of martyrdom in exchange for the happiness of life in the brotherhood. Strangely did some of their disguises strike the minds of their foreign brethren. . . . Often had these missionary monks to take to the lowest disguises, changed perhaps for the gaol or the gallows. For it had been made treason in England to say Mass, or to reconcile a soul to God in the religion of his ancestors. They toiled on to save the remnants of faith, to keep the lamp of the Church a-burning, and to prepare the way for better times. The reason of their long absence from community life is written in the Church preserved to us, in the centuries of toil and sufferings through which they worked to this result, and in the blood of the Benedictine martyrs. All which is the greater good.

But the change for which, with their brethren of other Orders, they toiled, is come. The Church in England has recovered her organization, and all things are hastening to recover their normal state. When their exceptional causes cease to exist, exceptional modes of action lose the reason for their existence. Wherefore the old English Orders are returning by degrees, as circumstances permit, to that conventual life which is prescribed to them by their Founders, their rules, and their traditions, as well as by the laws of the Church. And a great voice is heard speaking in accents like these: Well have you done in the past. But the past is the past: return, return, as occasion serves, return to community life. And I, from my long experience of the Church, of religion, and of the condition of the times, am moved to say: Let that common life be in missionary priories as well as in educational priories—and you will then exhibit the strength of Benedictine stability; you will then eliminate what is weaker than conventual force; you will then, when the normal character of Benedictine life is well and widely known, grow rich in vocations; you will then knit on more strongly to the succession of saints; you will then tell with tenfold force in the Church; when the whole solidity of Benedictine observance at all times embraces every member of the Order.

Meanwhile we celebrate the Saints who have made the Order great on earth and glorious in the Kingdom of Heaven. There you behold the blessed Rule written, not with ink on paper, but in characters of light, in the grace and celestial

vision of undying spirits. What is chief in the Rule is its sense in the souls of the saints, who read so much deeper into that sense than other men. How beautiful, how numerous, how various, are those living copies of one and the same law of life! All are so much alike, yet each is so different from the other! They are like one great family, living in the same spirit on the same maxims. Each differs from each, because each separate work of grace, like each separate work of nature, is distinct and individual. And it is in the diversity rather than in the repetition of His work that God displays His magnificence. As each angel of the myriad hosts is a species, so each saint that God has glorified hath a special character. For 'star differeth from star in glory'; and it is by the light of these Benedictine constellations that I must read the Rule if I am to pass with full light from its written text to its life-giving spirit. Its spiritual directions are the concentrated essence of the divine law, and the blessed counsels, in which our Lord Himself showed us the way to peace and beatitude. And what did the saints find in it but that very beatitude, worked out with wonderful patience and charity? Let me read the letter of the Rule indeed, and ponder it much and deeply in my heart; but to read it aright, let me read it through the souls of the Benedictine saints, beginning with St Benedict and St Scholastica. These saints were the simple-hearted monks or nuns of obedience. Or they rose to the elevation of ensanguined martyrs with golden wounds and glorious ignominies. Or they were fatherly abbots who led their conventual flocks towards Christ, or motherly abbesses presenting chaste virgins unto their Heavenly Spouse. Or they were bishops who still wore the scapular beneath the cope. Or pontiffs who in their hearts cherished the Benedictine Rule whilst devoted to the universal care. What work is there allotted to man, from the humblest labour to the highest mental exertion, from the love that binds up a wound with tenderness to the charity that brings thousands of souls to their salvation, that they did not exercise? Wherefore let me look to them as my guides on the Benedictine path to Heaven. Let me consider what they did when in positions most like to mine, and what now they would do in my position. And let me secure them as the patrons of my life before the throne of God.

CHAPTER XIX

WRITER AND TEACHER

EVEN at the risk of a somewhat dry chapter, though not a long one, it seems imperative that a biography of Ullathorne should include an estimation and appreciation of him as writer and teacher, this being one of the outstanding aspects of his long life. For wellnigh sixty years he was a prolific writer and a respected teacher, above all of spiritual lore, and his principal works still live, and sell, and circulate, and are read. His 'Bibliography' prefixed to the volume of *Characteristics*,[1] numbers some seventy items, great and small. The majority were occasional writings called for to meet passing crises or special celebrations. Most have been noticed in the foregoing pages as they appeared, and will not call for further mention. But a few stand out as contributions of lasting value.

Judged by the test of number, Ullathorne's most successful production was the Australian sermon, *The Drunkard*, which reached a circulation of some 80,000, and still is in request. Its story is told, and samples of its uncommonly vigorous language are given, at the end of chapter III.

Of the lesser writings two lay claim to a mention here as works of popular theology of permanent value, good pieces of vulgarization in theology. Ullathorne had never received a first-class theological training, nor had he ever had the opportunity of acquiring the aroma of scholarship. He was a self-made theologian, a student, widely read in Fathers and theologians, endowed with a vigorous thoughtful mind, highly intelligent, of prodigious industry; and he had the gift of a robust, clear, fresh English, often verging on real eloquence.

[1] *Characteristics from the Writings of Archbishop Ullathorne*, arranged by Rev. M. F. Glancey (now Auxiliary Bishop in Birmingham), 1889, pp. xxxvi, 342.

Of the two tractates in question the first in date is the little treatise, *The Immaculate Conception of the Mother of God, an Exposition*, prepared in the three months before the Definition and published just after it, 1855, in London and Baltimore, and translated at once into French and German. It received from Newman the following encomium in the *Letter to Dr Pusey*:[1] 'If anyone wishes to see our doctrine drawn out in a treatise of the present day, he should have recourse to Dr Ullathorne's Exposition of the Immaculate Conception, a work full of instruction and of the first authority.'

The characterization made in the *Dublin Review* of the time very well sums up its qualities:

> Without a particle of controversial character, it leaves no point of the dogmatic proof undeveloped; with equal force and clearness it removes every theological difficulty which might linger in the minds of unreflecting or uninstructed inquirers; without any of the professed characteristics of an ascetical treatise, it appeals insensibly, and without an effort, to every principle of natural feeling, and to every source of practical spirituality; it is drawn up in a style so simple, so unpretending, so undidactic . . . that while the most learned theologian may feel himself instructed by its learning, the least learned servant of the Mother of God may draw strength and comfort from its simple but eloquent explanations.

It is a small 24mo volume of 200 pp., and is probably to this day the best popular exposition of the doctrine in English; it is strange that it has never been reproduced, perhaps with curtailments.

Another good piece of popular theology is the Letter of 1866 on Dr Pusey's *Eirenicon* and the Reunion Movement then afoot for the first time. Its title is *The Anglican Theory of Union*, and the treatment is just as alive now as it was sixty years ago. Pusey's statement of the Branch Theory is still the principal foundation of the High Anglican position, and Ullathorne's reply was the only one that met his central argument direct, Newman's much more famous reply being on a side issue. Ullathorne's is a defence, moderate

[1] Op. cit., end of Note II.

but clear in language, and well documented with apposite texts from the Fathers, of the Catholic doctrine of the undivided visible unity of the Church of Christ. Here again, were the element of immediate controversy cut out, as easily it could be, the substantive portion of the tract would, in my judgement, be well worth reproducing as a contribution of value for the discussion of present-day tendencies.

Two of Ullathorne's smaller works have been reprinted by the Catholic Truth Society: the three lectures of 1868 on *The Conventual Life of the Nuns* (see p. 169), and a little volume of *Doctrinal Letters*, nine in number, written in 1875 to Lady Chatterton, and reprinted from her *Memoirs*. She had been for a long time an intimate friend of the bishop; she was not a Catholic, and the letters were written to answer her questions on difficulties that were withholding her from coming into the Catholic Church. They were successful in their object, and paved the way for her reception a short time before her death. Lady Chatterton was a highly educated intellectual woman, and her questions go to the root of the objections to Catholicism felt by non-Catholics of her type. And so the answers that removed the difficulties she felt are likely to be of permanent use. The Letters deal, among others, with such subjects as The Immaculate Conception and Devotion to the Blessed Virgin, The Holy Eucharist and Communion under One Kind, Ceremonial, The Rosary.

A review of these lesser works gives rise to the thought that a serviceable volume of minor theological works by Ullathorne might still be printed that would justify itself both intellectually and commercially.

The volume *Ecclesiastical Discourses* must be mentioned, as containing what Ullathorne himself looked on as being, up to 1876, the cream of his public religious teaching. Six of the twelve discourses were the sermons at Provincial and Diocesan Synods; the others were on various occasions, three being lectures at St Bernard's seminary. They give the bishop's thoughts on many great religious and spiritual themes, and of them he says: 'Although they are chiefly addressed to ecclesiastics, I trust there is that in them which may offer a solid instruction to thoughtful Catholic laymen.'

All through his episcopal life Dr Ullathorne exercised un-

ceasingly the function of spiritual teacher and guide by an ever-flowing output of spiritual letters of direction, advice, encouragement, to those who looked to him for guidance. Great stores of these letters are preserved at many convents, and such 'spiritual letters' make up perhaps half of the printed volume of *Letters*. They are scattered throughout its pages; but in certain places a number of them are brought together (see pp. 15-24, 125-30, 166-74, 275-323, 483-7). These letters very well repay perusal. They contain a body of doctrine on all the great aspects of the spiritual life: detachment, renunciation, mortification, austerities, prayer. The teaching is old-world, and it is exacting, as must be that of every true Christian teacher; but it is conspicuously sane, sound, sober, solid, and always uplifting; pre-eminently good is the teaching on interior prayer.

We now must approach the difficult task of attempting to describe and estimate the 'Trilogy' of big books on which depends Ullathorne's name as writer, and his abiding influence as religious teacher, 'those wise, grave books, so truly spiritual', as Bishop Hedley happily characterized them.[1]

This *magnum opus* was incubating for a quarter of a century. The original idea was a treatise on 'Humility'; the first mention is so early as 1857:[2]

> We want a book on the subject of humility, treating it both intellectually and spiritually; except the treatise in Rodriguez, we have nothing on the subject. I would try and show, not merely that it is the basis of faith, justice, and holiness, but *how* and for what reasons it is so. . . . It is the return of my mind to St Benedict's rule since I was at Subiaco, which has awakened these feelings; and I have long wished to write one spiritual book at least, as a balance to so many of a temporal nature, and because, by a book one is always preaching. And I have a sense of having something to say that God has given me; I wish to show that humility is *wisdom* as well as piety, and to give pictures of it for the mind to rest on, and practical rules for its exercise; and then to try and gain what I would depict.

It is referred to again the next year:[3]

[1] Funeral Sermon. [2] *Letters*, p. 83. [3] Ibid., p. 96.

The 'Book on Humility' is going quietly on. It appears to me the grandest, as well as the most instructive, of subjects for a creature to study. I cannot say how it grows on me, and what thoughts come to my mind that I never before dreamed of. I have got many holy souls to pray for its success. It completely takes me back to my first religious years, but with a light I never had before. I find wonderful things in the old Oriental ascetics; the old men make the new ones show like babies. It was never from themselves alone that they wrote, but from the hived-up wisdom and experience of generations of hermits and cenobites. They throw a light on the labours of active life as conducive to sanctity which you look for in vain among the direct founders of that life. This has struck me very much.

Again in 1863:[1] My *opus magnum*, the philosophical, theological, and ascetical treatise on the virtue of humility, has alas! been suspended for years, and I know not when I shall be able to resume it. I have the materials of nearly two volumes lying in a rough state, and how glad I should be if I could have six months of seclusion to complete it; but this is out of the question. . . .

And in 1871:[2] You will be glad to know that I have taken the mass of manuscripts for 'the book' with me to Oscott and made a start to-day, intending to go there and work at it from time to time. I wrote the title to-day, trimmed up the old dedication, and began the preface: *Qui incipit, dimidium facti habet.*

By the end of 1871 the thing had so far shaped itself and developed that he was facing a preliminary volume, that which appeared as *The Endowments of Man*. On October 27 he wrote:[3]

At intervals I am making studies to write, as a preliminary for 'the book', a first part, an analysis of the human soul, of its powers and relations with the senses and imagination. There must be chapters on the memory, the understanding, and the will, the imagination, and the passions, as necessary knowledge for those who really wish to understand themselves, to know God through themselves, and to facilitate self-management. Without something of this sort, to write on virtues and vices is like writing on a language without grammar or syntax. Still it must be simple, and tend to

[1] *Letters*, p. 131. [2] Ibid., p. 255. [3] Ibid., p. 259.

raise the mind to God. But constant interruptions won't let me get on, the materials are in the mind and out again. St Austin, St Thomas, St Bonaventure, Bossuet, and Fénelon, have all done this admirably, each in his own way; but the books are read and get shut up, and there is all to begin over again. Still, I hope some day to succeed and make it simple for ordinary readers who choose to think; and that it will be truly valuable for intelligent religious souls.

He worked at it off and on as occasions served; a letter of 1876 shows him at work, and also the way in which three of the chapters (I, V, VI) originated:[1]

I have been much engaged of late with correspondence. But in the intervals I have been working at introductory chapters to the book so long delayed. I have got into the subject once more, but unless I stick to it it will never be done. . . . What a world this is at this epoch! A new theory is now rife in Germany, has already been reviewed in England, and was adopted by the Internationalists in their recent meeting in Italy. Hartmann is the author's name; and it is to this effect: that man's Maker has committed a blunder in planting such a conscience in him that it contradicts his nature. It must be taken out, and a new one made, such as his nature suggests. What a testimony to the force of conscience! The subject is widely read in Germany, and we shall have to deal with it here. This has driven me to write two chapters on self and conscience, and one on the nature of man. There is nothing for it nowadays but going to the roots of things.

In December 1877 we find him in sight of the end of the first book, and looking forward to being able soon to get back to the original work, lying by in manuscript for so long:[2]

I have got to the 150th page of my book, and have now a magnificent and most instructive subject in hand: 'Why God did not make man perfect and sinless.' St Irenaeus, Titus of Bostra, St Basil, and St Augustine have all handled the subject magnificently. After thirty years of perplexity about it, I have at last fixed on a title: *The Grounds of the Fundamental Virtues*. The chapter on the nature and cause of evil is long, and has cost me labour; but it is, I think,

[1] *Letters*, p. 363. [2] Ibid., p. 367.

very instructive. I hope now soon to reach the old work so long left in manuscript, to which this is *manuductio*.

At last, at the end of 1879, *The Endowments of Man* was ready for press, but it was not published until October 1880. Its subject-matter may be understood from the titles of the principal chapters or lectures, as they are called: The Nature of Man, Creation and Providence, Self and Conscience, Evil and the Origin of Evil, Justice and Moral Evil, Why Man was not created Perfect, The Fall, The Restoration of Man.

There certainly was no lack of courage in grappling with the fundamental and solemn subjects that have been exercising the mind of man from the dawn of reflective thought; and Ullathorne's contribution lies not in any original attempt to find new ways of solving these age-long problems, but in a sustained exposition, thoughtful and often rising to eloquence, of the traditional treatment of these fundamental questions by the great Christian thinkers. *The Endowments of Man* is a curious book, not exactly philosophical, nor theological, nor spiritual, but something of all three. Its scope is defined in the Preface:

The first and chief object contemplated in the book is to fortify the Catholic mind against the errors respecting man and his endowments which so widely pervade the world of thought in our day, not so much by direct confutation of them, as by confronting them with the Catholic view of man, as revealed by God, and drawn out by Catholic thinkers through the long ages of Christianity. It has for some time been the fashion with the infidel school to leave God aside, to declare that the divine Author of their being is unknown to them, and is inaccessible to their knowledge. By thus confessing their mental and moral blindness, these men, who profess, notwithstanding, to be the enlighteners of their age, put themselves to shame before the common sense and conscience of mankind at large. Nevertheless, the poison of their writings makes its way into many unguarded minds; and whilst they profess not to have God in their knowledge, they are mischievously employed in endeavouring to pull man to pieces, and as far as the theories of the brain can destroy the facts of creation, to efface from him the testimonies of God, and the witnesses of his noble origin and sublime destination. What they endeavour to destroy is the subject of this book.

Though thus aiming at stemming the tide of materialistic and agnostic thought at that time running strong in England, the author in his method was not controversial; there is in the book little direct controversy. The very names of the leaders then so powerful in English schools of thought—Mill, Bain, Spencer, Tyndall, Darwin, even Huxley—are nowhere, I think, mentioned, nor is there discussion of their theories and principles. The book is from beginning to end a simple dignified assertion of traditional Christian Catholic teaching on the great issues at stake, as formulated in the writings of the Fathers and principal Christian thinkers.

Naturally such a book puzzled the reviewers. The *Scotsman*, for instance, wrote:

> It is quite an odd sensation which a reader feels in finding philosophical and theological discussion carried on without the slightest heed being given to modern argument and scientific difficulties, and on turning to a work on the Endowments of Man, written as if no criticism, no science, no research had ever raised a question about old theological views and scriptural positions. Yet Bishop Ullathorne has, with a quite touching simplicity, endeavoured in this way to 'fortify the Catholic mind'. Accordingly, we have here the statements, not of scientists, but of saints; and while society is reading Huxley, the author gives the testimony of St Hilary; while people are discussing Tyndall, the author quotes Tertullian. . . . The whole work is interesting as an intellectual phenomenon; as the work of a man of ability, who yet thrusts from him every view which may be supported by the clearest minds and the best thinkers of the day; and who prefers the opinions of St Bonaventure or Dionysius the Areopagite to any man in this nineteenth century.

Perhaps the passing over of the fashionable pronouncements of the science of the moment has been in great measure shown by the experience of half a century to have been wise.[1] The mythical theorizings then greatly in vogue, for neglecting which the reviewer particularly upbraided Ullathorne, are seldom heard of now. The wisdom of the ancients, and their answers to the great problems of life and of thought,

[1] *The Times Literary Supplement*, June 4, 1925, ends the review of a book on the most recent physics with the words that the materialistic philosophy is now 'a matter of purely historical interest'.

have by no means become foolish in the presence of modern thought. And another reviewer, non-Catholic, of the *Endowments*, recognized this very well:[1]

The book is most interesting, most full of acute thought, admirably put together, and expressed in pure, fluent, nervous English. Scarcely a page can be looked at which does not contain some well-turned sentence, brief and pointed as a good epigram, and yet not a sentence made for brilliancy alone, but a very clear link in a great argument. In the great conflict now begun between Christianity and Agnosticism and Positivism, would that we could show a Protestant champion worthy to stand and fight beside our author!

The reviewer thinks that the numerous citations of Fathers and doctors encumber the book: 'We are free to confess we like the bishop better when he is giving his own views than when he is confirming them by the quotation of authorities.' He makes an exception in favour of the numerous biblical texts: 'Bishop Ullathorne is a perfect master of the art of Bible quotation. Half the aptness which he shows in the selection of a word of St Paul, of Isaiah, of our Saviour Himself, would make the fortune of an Evangelical minister.'

Another non-Catholic, but sympathetic, review says:

The lectures are very lengthy, but contain passages of great power and eloquence. The system of thought built up is one in harmony with the citations made from ancient sources, and has a consistency and grandeur which will enable it to be considered with thankful attention, not only by those who are in closest spiritual kinship with the author, but also by many who are outwardly severed from him. . . . A book which so eloquently expounds such thoughts as these ought to find readers amongst the spiritually-minded everywhere.

It would be futile, and, indeed, impossible to attempt any analysis of the doctrine of this very solid volume of 400 pages, or even to give representative extracts from it, though some fine passages might be cited. Many such figure in the volume of *Characteristics* already alluded to.

Instead of this, as it may be suspected that there has been

[1] *Liverpool Daily Post.*

some over-enthusiastic and indiscriminate exaggeration in the various allusions made to the width and solidity of Ullathorne's reading of Fathers and ecclesiastical writers, a summary schedule will here be given of the references to their writings found in the notes to the thousand pages of the three books that were his great legacy to Christian thought and life.

The figure in brackets after a name shows the number of references, if more than one.

Of Latin Fathers, the following are quoted: Irenaeus (4), Tertullian (13), Cyprian (8), Hilary (4), Zeno (4), Pacian, Ambrose (8), Jerome (4), Augustine (103), Prosper (3), Cassian (7), Maximus (4), Leo (12), Peter Chrysologus, Caesarius of Arles (2), Benedict, Gregory the Great (28), Isidore, Bernard (24), Anselm (3).

The Greek Fathers were read in Latin: Origen (4), Athanasius (8), Basil (14), Gregory Nyssa (5), Gregory Nazianzen, John Chrysostom (16), Cyril Alex., Dionysius Areop. (8), Titus Bostrensis (4), Dorotheus (6), John Climacus (3), Macarius, Ephrem Syrus, Isaac, John Damascene, Theodore Studita.

Two things should be observed: that the references in the notes are far from being exhaustive of the references in the text; and that the references will be found distributed over the principal works of the great Fathers. This is so noticeable in the case of St Augustine, that it will be of interest to bring out the thoroughness and completeness of Ullathorne's familiarity with that Father's voluminous works. The following conspectus shows the distribution of the hundred citations over Augustine's works:

De Civitate Dei (12), *de Trinitate* (6), *Confessions* (3), *Retractations*, *de libero arbitrio* (5), *c. Julianum* (3), *opus imperf. c. Julianum* (4), *de natura boni* (5), *de Genesi ad lit.*, *Quaest. in Gen.*, *de gratia Christi et peccato orig.*, *de natura et gratia* (2), *Tractatus in Joan.* (5), *in Ep. Joan.*, *in Ep. ad Galatas*, *in Psalmos* (11), *Sermones* (7), *Epistolae* (11), *de div. quaest.* (3), *Quaest. Evang.*, *de moribus Eccl. Cath.* (3), *de catech. rud.* (3), *Enchiridion* (2), *de patientia* (2), *de s. virginitate* (2), *de bono viduitatis*, *de spiritu et anima*, *de gratia novi Testamenti*, *de magistro*, *de spiritu et littera*, *de doctrina Christiana*.

Of the older philosophers are freely used Plato, Aristotle, Cicero, Seneca, Marcus Aurelius, Boethius; and of the scholastics, Hugh and Richard of St Victor, Antoninus, Albertus Magnus, Bonaventure, and, above all, St Thomas. To him are some sixty references: *Summa theologica* (38), *c. Gentiles* (6), *de Malo* (9), *on Sentences*, *de veritate*, others. Later standard theologians: Roger Bacon, Gerson, Cajetan, Lessius, Petavius, Suarez, Thomassin, Billuart, Cornelius a Lapide. Writers on religion and mysticism: Hildegarde, Peter the Venerable, Peter Damian, Francis of Assisi, Anthony of Padua, Grosseteste, Angela of Foligno, Bernardine and Catherine of Siena, Catherine of Genoa, Mary Magdalen of Pazzi, Lawrence Justinian, Ruysbroeck, Tauler, Thomas à Kempis (not the *Imitation*, but one of the little known works), Blosius, Teresa, John of the Cross, Harphius, Francis de Sales, Bossuet, Rosmini, Lacordaire. Profane writers: Bacon's *Essays*, Dr Johnson's *Life of Pope*, Dryden's *Life of St Francis Xavier*, Silvio Pellico, Lecky's *Rationalism*, Lieben's *Manual of Political Ethics*.

No doubt some of this reading, for instance that of St Thomas, was made in view of the work in hand. But the vast majority of the texts, cited from so great a multitude of writers, could not by any possibility have been got together while the books were a-writing, nor hunted out as required. They can only have been the harvest of a lifelong reading that ranged far and wide over the works of Fathers and great ecclesiastical writers—a reading, too, that was no mere reading, but a close pen-in-hand reading, carefully noted, with appliances of slips, note-books of extracts and references, indexes. Of such apparatus Ullathorne must have amassed a great collection. The use which all this reading is made to serve in these final books bespeaks prodigious industry and systematic work, as well as a retentive well-stored memory. His knowledge of Augustine, embracing, it may well be said, all the works of the great doctor, would be enough to earn for most of us the reputation of a good Augustinian scholar.

The *Endowments of Man* was published in 1880; the *Groundwork of the Christian Virtues* followed two years later. It was the substantive work on 'Humility' that had been in preparation, off and on, for a quarter of a century,

and so had been in great part written before the *Endowments*. It is more definitely a religious or spiritual book, a treatise on Christian Ethics, the virtues, as considered to be based on and to flow from humility, rightly understood in its fullest and deepest sense. It is a great ascetical treatise, taking asceticism in its primary meaning of training in virtue. The whole range of the interior or spiritual life, in so far as it is concerned with self-discipline and self-conquest, is here made to gravitate round this virtue of humility.

After three lectures on Christian Virtue in general, in the fourth is undertaken the defining of humility. A number of definitions by standard spiritual writers and theologians are rehearsed and discussed; and then the following definition is adopted: 'Humility is the just and truthful expression in our thought, sense, and conduct, of our nature, our position, and our dependence as the subjects of God; it is the order arising out of that subjection and dependence' (p. 105). The following piece brings out the real nature of true humility:

> To conceal from our heart how good God is to us, is so far from fostering the sense of our unworthiness that what most proves our unworthiness and puts us to shame is His great goodness to us. Our danger is not from truth but from falsehood; not from the sight of God's divine gifts, but from taking them for our own merits. How are such virtues as hope, charity, trust in God, and gratitude to thrive with us, if we are not to think on the bounties and favours that our good God bestows on us? (p. 93).

The central teaching of the book is developed in lecture IX, 'Of Humility as the Receptive Foundation of the Divine Gifts and Virtues.' Lecture X, 'On the Magnanimous Character of Humility', insists that real humility makes us not shrink from, but undertake, the burdens and even honours that we may be called on to accept. Lecture XV, 'Schools of Humility', contains a paraphrase and commentary on St Benedict's Twelve Degrees. The final lecture shows that humility leads up to, and is the condition of, the perfect love of God.

The genesis of the third book, *Christian Patience*, is explained below, ch. XXI. It was an afterthought, growing out of the *Groundwork* as the result of criticisms, or, rather,

expressions of disappointment that the subject of Patience had not been dealt with. It was four years in the making, the work of an octogenarian. Of course, the raw materials were in great measure lying at hand, and the subject was a favourite one with Ullathorne in his retreats. It has proved the most popular of the three books, partly, perhaps, because he of set purpose made it a shorter book, 250 pages instead of 400, and partly because the subject is more attractive. If the book on Humility may be called Ullathorne's treatise on Asceticism, that on Patience may, in some measure, be called his treatise on Mysticism, for the last four lectures treat of prayer and contemplation. Lecture IX is on 'The Gifts of the Holy Ghost', for Ullathorne, as for St Thomas, the basis of Christian mysticism. The lectures on 'Prayer' and on 'Patience in Prayer' form an extremely good instruction on prayer and contemplation, founded largely on the teaching of St Gregory the Great. This I said in the book *Western Mysticism* is the only place known to me in the modern literature on mysticism, wherein St Gregory's fine passage on contemplation in the Homily on Ezechiel (II, ii) had been used, or St Gregory himself recognized as a great master of mystical theology.

Bishop Hedley well characterized Ullathorne's style:[1] 'Solid, large, learned, and picturesque, his style had a rugged force; it was the verbal utterance of genuine thought and honest ideas.' In the next chapter we shall hear R. H. Hutton saying that though 'the books are long and tedious reading, one is obliged to acknowledge that they have caught the secret of sweetness and light from the Fathers of the Church.' They certainly are no milk for babes, but very solid meat; and the wonder is that such books found, and still find, so wide a reading public. Their most convincing commendation is their circulation: the *Endowments of Man* is now in the fifth edition, the *Groundwork of the Christian Virtues* in the seventh, and *Christian Patience* in the eighth. That these three books should have had during forty years so steady a sale, shows that substantial books of solid, sober, enlightened spiritual teaching have not lost their power to attract, in spite of the profusion of little books of

[1] Funeral sermon.

devotions and pieties, too often sentimental and sugary. It shows that the public spiritual taste has not been vitiated, but that good matter always makes its way. In these books Dr Ullathorne still lives, and will long live on, as one of the recognized spiritual masters of English-speaking Catholics.

The pocket volume, *The Little Book of Humility and Patience* (120 pp.) should be mentioned. Those afraid to face the 650 pages of the two big books, would here find a compendium of their teaching in a series of carefully selected extracts. The sequence of chapters is preserved, each condensed to four or five pages; the text is disencumbered of the great mass of quotations, so that the residue is the pith and marrow of Dr Ullathorne's own thought. Thus is provided a short treatise on the fundamental principles of the spiritual life, that would make a serviceable basis of meditation during a retreat.

CHAPTER XX

MAN

WE have in these last foregoing chapters seen Dr Ullathorne as Bishop, as Monk, as Writer and Teacher; we have now to see him as the very human Man he was. It is a trite saying that a man reveals himself best in his letters; and Ullathorne was a prodigious letter-writer. He was a true Victorian in his love of letter-writing. This fact has stood out clearly enough in these pages; and yet the letters cited, and those printed in the big volume of *Letters*, are but a small selection of the voluminous correspondence of every period of his life. We should have supposed that the heavy press of strenuous work that fell upon him during the Vatican Council would have quenched his ardour for letter-writing. But not so. Chapter X of the *Letters* shows how, during the Council, he wrote regularly, describing the functions and recording his impressions of all he saw in Rome; and the printed letters are but a tithe of the output of those days. As a fact, he wrote two or three long letters each week, on everything that interested him while the Council was in progress that he was free to communicate. Letter-writing was even a joy to him. One letter, written during the time of acutest crisis in the Council, and in the summer heat, when 'all the world was sweltering and broiling', begins: 'My chief diversion here is writing these letters'; and there follow five closely-written pages of impressions evoked by Tennyson's Arthurian poems, which he had been reading in a Tauchnitz copy picked up in Rome.

The outstanding fact of the letters is that they show him as a man with a great capacity for friendships, deep, warm, and lasting. He had a wide circle of friends of many kinds, with whom he kept up a regular correspondence, writing on all the occasions of life, great and small. The corre-

spondence with Ambrose Phillipps de Lisle is a pleasing and characteristic example. Ullathorne's acquaintance with this remarkable, if somewhat eccentric, man, then Lisle Phillipps,[1] dated from January 1, 1843, when he went over from Coventry to preach at the erection of the first Calvary set up in England since the Reformation. It was on the Grace-Dieu Rocks in Charnwood Forest on de Lisle's property; and then began the friendship of thirty-five years, till de Lisle's death in 1878. The Ullathorne number of the *Oscotian*, 1886, gives in the selection of letters twenty of Ullathorne's to de Lisle, beginning from 1850, and ranging over topics of all kinds, impressions of books, outlook on social and political events as they touch religion, and, in particular, letters of condolence—six of these letters are to sympathize with the de Lisles on the deaths of children. And when de Lisle's own death came in 1878, Ullathorne sent this letter to Mrs de Lisle, a Clifford of Chudleigh:[2]

I said Mass for the soul of your dear departed husband on Saturday. After his long sufferings he has gone to his rest. He did a great work in his day, and did it with a simple and pure heart. One must look to his earliest days to see how religion took hold of him, and how family position and all else in the world were as nothing in his eyes when he heard in his soul the call of God. One must remember his early days when he threw himself with childlike fervour into the work of restoring monasticism, and of boldly bringing the Catholic religion into open view, at a time when others had not the courage or generosity of these things. One must remember what his example did in setting others to work to lift up the prostrate condition of the Faith in this land. One must recall the influence he exercised on the Oxford men at the time of the Tractarian Movement. One must recall the days when Dr Gentili was his co-operator in evangelizing the people, a work that fitted that remarkable man for breaking through the old and timid condition of missionary work, in his wonderful career as a missioner in all the churches. One must look at Mount St Bernard [the Trappist monastery] as well as at Grace-Dieu, at Loughborough, at Shepshed, at Whitwick [churches built by de Lisle], before we come to Garendon. One must recall his love of the chant, that solemn

[1] The *Life and Letters*, in two vols., is a work full of varied interest.
[2] *Oscotian*, p. 123.

song of the Church, and his popularizing St Elizabeth among us.

Through discouragement and failures and successes he went on the same from the beginning to the end. I know something of his sacrifices, to give life the taste of trial. I know also the blessing he found in his marriage, and how grateful he ever was for that blessing; the happiness he had in his family, and to whom next to God he ascribed it. My dear Mrs de Lisle, I know what you have lost, and I know what a brave heart you have. But such a union as yours, however holy, is not visibly broken without a great laceration of nature, and God alone can heal such wounds. Your happiness is to know that he lived for God and for religion before all things, and that God has care of His own. You know also that spirits which love each other are even more united when bodies are separated, and that they even know each other better, and in a more beautiful light; that there is, in fact, no separation with such spirits, which are always in God. And when it is well ended, and the eternal life well begun, what a subject is there for thanksgiving. To all the members of your family as to yourself, I offer the respectful and reverential condolence that exists in my heart, and I pray God to bless you and to strengthen you, and to console you and all your children.

The *Oscotian* and the volume of *Letters* show how faithful he was in writing to his friends words of consolation in bereavement.

His friendships were very real and affectionate, even with some remarkable nuns. We have seen how closely he was united in intimate friendship with Mother Margaret Hallahan and looked on her friendship as the great privilege of his life. After her death in 1868, he formed another great friendship with her successor at Stone, the second Mother Provincial of the Congregation, Mother Imelda Poole, another remarkable and very holy woman, a convert, highly educated and of great intellectual capacity, an intimate correspondent of Newman's also (see Index to Ward's *Newman*). Most of Ullathorne's letters from the Vatican Council were to her, and they all begin: 'Dearest Mother Provincial'. One ends: 'God bless you, my dear child, and God bless all who call you Mother. Your devoted spiritual Father.' And in another, when speculating on the probable date of his return

home, he says: 'My dear child, how glad I shall be to see you and talk with you.' She died unexpectedly in October 1881. After receiving news of her dangerous illness he wrote:

I offered the Holy Sacrifice for dearest Mother Provincial this morning, and never prayed more earnestly in my life. The whole Congregation will be in great solicitude for this dear soul, so precious to her children, and the friend of my life. I invoke the healing benediction of God, and the treasures of His grace to perfect its sanctification. God's Will be done; whatever He decides will be for her good and ours.

The news of her death came first thing the next morning.

I opened the telegram, and then went to offer the Holy Sacrifice for that most dear soul. I have lost my dearest friend in this world, but would not have kept her one moment from her reward. God bless and comfort you all, and give that dear soul rest with His Saints in eternal light.

Again: God has taken her to Himself, and I am content. Yet her dear image is always before me, and my eyes moisten with tears; but I would not have it otherwise.

Again: My eyes have been moist with feeling ever since the intelligence came.[1]

These strong warm friendships were not only for women: they were for men also. By such a friendship was he bound to Canon Estcourt, who had become his secretary at Prior Park in 1846, and came with him to Birmingham, where, till his death in 1884, he was the bishop's chief helper in the administration of the temporalities and finances of the diocese, and also the critic and censor of his writings. Ullathorne visited him on his deathbed:[2] 'On Tuesday I parted with my dear friend Canon Estcourt, who amidst much suffering is sinking out of this life. Our interview was very trying to both of us, for he has been my dearest and most devoted friend.'

The letter to the clergy announcing Estcourt's death, with its eulogy of his character,[3] as also the letter picturing Mother Imelda to one who had not known her,[4] and, still more, the

[1] *Letters*, pp. 410-17.
[2] Ibid., p. 449.
[3] Ibid., p. 450.
[4] Ibid., pp. 415-7.

letter on Bishop Grant's death,[1] illustrate another pleasing trait in Ullathorne's character, his generous and enthusiastic appreciation of his friends.

The very real, deep, warm affection of which he was capable, and to which he gave scope, an affection at once natural and supernatural, is a side of him that had to be brought out, because it would hardly be suspected that under the strong, restrained, somewhat rough exterior could lie hidden such a depth of tender affection.

He clung always closely to his family attachments. He was especially devoted to his mother, 'of whom he could never speak but in terms of most tender affection. He considered that he inherited from her a certain calmness of temperament, and that he owed still more to her early lessons of prudence and practical good sense, shown unceasingly in her example, and, at fitting seasons, in her words of advice.'[2] She died in 1860; he stood by her deathbed: 'She died as she had lived, thoughtful for everyone, patient, loving, and devout.' She was buried in the convent chapel at Stone: 'It will increase by one more sacred tie my attraction to that, more than to any other spot on earth.'[3] By Mrs Ullathorne were laid Mother Margaret and Mother Imelda, and, finally, with the three women whom he had loved most on earth, the bishop himself.

A bundle of his letters survives from the years 1880 to 1888, to his brother, sister-in-law, and their daughter; some pieces will be used in the next chapter. They show the constant and affectionate correspondence he kept up with his family, receiving and writing letters for Christmas, New Year, Easter, birthdays, and on his brother's illness and death in 1886: 'The last link of the old family circle is visibly broken, though not spiritually. I thank God for all the blessings which your father received in this mortal life, especially in your dear mother and in his children. He has gone in a good age, prepared by sufferings, and there is much to be grateful for.'

He had a great love of children. He used to write very pretty letters to young children, as in July 1855 to a niece:

[1] *Letters*, pp. 243-9. [2] *Oscotian*, 1886, p. 54.
[3] *Letters*, p. 106.

MY DEAR LITTLE NIECE: Your little letter pleased me very much. When a little girl has a good heart, and says what is good out of her heart, it always pleases everybody. But it pleased me very much. So you would like to go to Rome with me. But where could I put such a little jumping body, unless I were to put you in the top of my portmanteau, and then you would jump out when the Custom House officers came to open it, and then they would be astonished.

I will certainly get you a nice little Rosary at Rome and ask the Pope to bless it for you. And I have sent you a little medal of our Lady of La Salette.

Dear child, I will pray for you, as you have asked me so nicely to do. And so now you must study well in study-time, and jump and skip in play-time, and be a happy, merry child. My idea of a good child is that she never says in her heart, *I like* or *I don't like;* she never thinks in her heart, *I will* or *I won't*, but always loves and obeys her mistresses from her heart. God bless you, dear child.

Your affectionate uncle.

A Christmas letter, 1856, to the same:

MY DEAR LITTLE NIECE: It is very pleasant to have your wishes for a happy Christmas, and to know, even though you are obliged to tell me yourself, that you have received spiritual privileges; from which I must conclude that you are a good child, and have a merry Christmas in your heart.

A child of the angels must be a child of song, for they are always singing their happiness. So when you told me you were a child of the angels, I was not surprised to hear next that you had got something for your music. When I was a very little child I thought I knew something about the angels. Your uncle Owen and I begged our nurse to waken us to hear the carols sung on Christmas night; and when we were awakened and the music began,

> 'Christians, awake, salute the happy morn,
> Whereon the Saviour of the world was born',

my child's mind thought it saw quite plainly our little Lord on the ground, and all the way between heaven and earth was filled to my small eyes with most beautiful angels in white, with long, sharp-pointed blue wings, flying about amongst great white falling flakes of snow. And all between earth and heaven they were sweetly singing. As you are a child of the angels, have they told you if it is they who put such pleasant pictures of what they do into children's minds? May

God bless you, dear child, and keep you always a child of the angels; and continue to pray for your affectionate uncle.

On her passing into girlhood:

DEAR CHILD: Let your old grey-headed uncle say a word to your heart. A good heart is worth fifty heads, but a heart is only sound when the head agrees with it. God's voice is in the heart, and the head must listen and obey what He says through the heart. The head is made wise through the heart when the heart lives in the sight of God and feels His everlasting presence. If you study with your heart as well as with your head, and do one thing only at a time, just what is set you to do, and do it to please God, it will be very easy, and you will be a wise child; and the Scripture intimates that a wise child is the honour of her father. Then will the love of the hearts of all your friends find new matter in you to increase their love; and, what is very much more, God will love you more and keep you in His hand.

Another letter to a young child may be given. In 1849 he wrote to the little son of Charles Hansom, his Coventry architect, who himself became in time an architect of some note:

MY DEAR EDWARD: I have great pleasure in presenting to you your first catechism and your first prayer book. They will teach you your duty to Almighty God who made you to love Him. If you are good, my dear boy, and love to be taught to know Almighty God, and how much He loves you, and how Jesus Christ, our Lord, loves you and died so cruel a death that He might bring you to Heaven to see and know God, and to be always happy; if you love to be taught all this, and if you are a good boy and very obedient, God will make you very happy.

I shall pray that you may be a good boy, and that God would give you holy grace to be a good boy and to know and love God.

May God bless you and your good father and mother.

I remain your affectionate friend,

W. B. ULLATHORNE.

MASTER EDWARD HANSOM.

His dealings with children were sometimes in more playful vein. The children of his great friend and pillar of the Catholic cause in Birmingham, John Hardman, had a pet hedgehog, and the bishop one day went into the garden to

see it. 'What a funny 'edg'og you've got!' 'No', screamed the children, 'hedge-hog!' ''Edge'og, 'edge'og', repeated the bishop, laughing.

More than one priest has told me that as little children the old bishop would have them sitting on his knee.

As one more illustration of the affectionate side of Ullathorne's nature, may be cited a letter of 1857, thanking the community of Stone for their letters of congratulation on his feast day:[1]

MY DEAR CHILDREN IN CHRIST: The greetings you send me by the hands of a few, and the good prayers you offer for me on the feast of my patron, St Bernard, are very agreeable to my heart and refreshing to my spirit. Great gratitude and devotedness for very small services, are signs and significations beyond all doubt of grace, and of a loyal affection to your Superior, which has not its source from the earth, but from God. To be subject, and to rejoice to be subject; to look up to superiors and to reverence in their persons the authority of God; to see all and more than all that is commendable in them, but little of their deficiencies and failings, these are tokens of a good religious spirit, and the sure signs of unity, peace, and grace.

My dear children, as men grow older and more grey in authority, and as they experience more of the attachment and devotion of their subjects, they contract and draw in their severity, and expand their hearts with more love and confidence upon their spiritual children. This, I believe, is according to God, and it is the reverse of what happens in the world. With those in the world, suspicion and doubting and jealousy grow with age and with experience. But with the servants of God, who are truly such, whilst we are yet young and weak and unpractised, in a manner, in good things, in humility, patience, and fortitude, we prudently restrain what belongs to the feelings and stand upon what belongs to form and discipline. But as we grow familiar with the narrow way, and practised in its rude exigencies, then, as St Benedict so beautifully says in his Rule, the heart grows enlarged in the way of the commandments, and we are actuated by love rather than fear. And this is true with reference to the relations of superiors and subjects, as well as the relations of the soul with God.

And so, my dear children, as, after beating about the bush, the word must out, do I rejoice in you, as the joy of my heart

[1] *Letters*, p. 91.

and the crown of my life. I have failed in many things of which I am conscious during my anxious ministry; but I have never failed in devotedness to you, or you in devotedness to me. And as I have always been ready to do whatever God might require of me for your sakes—whether for your present good, or your final happiness, so I firmly believe that God in His mercy will overlook many things, many weaknesses, because I have cherished you to my best, and prayed for you my heartiest, in my earnest and constant desire to present you to Him as chaste spouses and valiant handmaids of His divine Son. I might suspect that all this had little merit, because it was easy through great affection; but I know that it is the gratuitous grace of God, not indeed so much grace for me, as gratuitous grace which is given for you, which has made it all, and always, so easy and so pleasant.

My children, accept this confession of your spiritual Father in return for your hearty greetings and your loyal devotedness; and always believe me, even if ever I seem stern to any one of you, that I am always animated with a father's affection and devotedness towards you.

Like nearly all Englishmen, Ullathorne was reserved in regard to his personal devotional life. Yet at times he breaks through this reserve, and allows the warm flow of simple piety that was in him to show itself. It was so in his letters to the nuns of Stone, written on the Christmas Day and the New Year's Day of the Vatican Council:

(Christmas Day, 1869.) The High Mass at St Peter's surpassed its usual grandeur owing to the presence of the Council in their silver copes and mitres of 'fine linen, which is the justification of the saints', as St John says. Amidst all this magnificent splendour one could only reflect that it symboled the glories which are destined to be the final issue of the Crib and the Cross. It was the Crib of our Lord that was glorified, and one went back to that bundle of old wood that is kept at St Mary Major's for the interpretation. Ah, my dear sisters, there are two bundles of old wood kept in Rome which are more priceless than all the splendour: one is at St Mary Major, the other at Santa Croce. Happiest are you who take your food at the old manger, and your support from the old cross. And, that the Mother and Mistress of all churches may not want its glory, close by St John Lateran is the Holy Stairs, on which Jesus and His persecutors alike

ascended, on which John followed Him, down which Peter came from the saddest of divine and human spectacles. The trumpets may entrance the kneeling multitude from the marvellous dome whilst the Vicar of Christ lifts up the God of heaven and earth in his mortal hands; but the crib, the stairs, the pillar and the cross explain it all. Happy the humble, the poor in spirit and the crucified, for as Cassian says, the most exhaustive crop that takes out the heart from the spiritual soil is the crop of human pride: nothing is there so desolating, nothing that so readily makes the human heart a desert of poisonous weeds and malaria. Christmas is the festival of our salvation through God's humility. And the lesson of the festival is, that whatever brings us the priceless gift of humility is God's medicine for the ills of our nature.

(January 1, 1870.) . . . I went with Bishop Vaughan to see once more the great relics at Santa Croce, which always does one a great deal of good—the true cross, the two thorns, the inscription of the cross, and the almost entire stem of the cross of the penitent thief, and the holy nail. They bring us so near Our Lord and his terrible humiliations, and pierce one through with the sense of the need of sacrifice to break up the old Adam with his pride and sensualism in one, to break us open for the possession of the New Man and the Holy Spirit. Then the holy crib looks so very much like the holy cross, as if it were part and parcel of the same instrument of sacrifice, relegated to different portions of one and the same life of abnegation and suffering, that coming in and going out of life by one common door of wonderful self-abasement. These are the great things of Rome, greater than the Coliseum, greater than St Peter's even, for they will shine in heaven at the last day when the great works of men have perished. Oh, my dear sisters, and joy of my heart, keep to the rude crib, keep to the rude cross, that sweeten the waters of salvation, that will shine in the heavens; that you may be known to belong to them; that you may be made like to them, like all the meek and humble of heart; that you may be made like to Him who had the one for the pillow of His divine infancy, the other for the pillow of His dying hours. You have it all in your rosaries, only fasten your hearts right on Our Lord, and keep them there, and let nothing induce you to take them off again. This is faith, this is love, to fasten your hearts firmly, come sorrow, come joy, come pain, come ease, ever fast and constant on our dear divine Lord, be He in the crib, or on the cross, or in the mystery of His local

presence in the church, or in your own breast, which is equally consecrated to be His Temple.

In the funeral sermon Bishop Hedley cited, as a manifestation of his interior life, a letter written while in Warwick Gaol to the Abbess of Stanbrook:[1]

I find that in a gaol, like a convent, everything helps recollection. Indeed, it is the world without that takes us from attention to God within. If we only look away from our own subjective existence, and look straight towards our Lord, who is always with us, even when we are not with Him, we shall find all places alike. For God is our true place. The real bane of our life is that low inward living on our own personal feelings; always and at all times searching the agreeable and shunning the disagreeable ones; sifting them in the sieve of our self-love, coiling ourselves up in our cherished sentiments and sensations, as the snail coils up his poor viscera within his shell; never fairly throwing ourselves out openly and faithfully to our Lord. How can He operate on such materials kept closed within the sensitive coil of nature by such a will?

One earnest look of the soul into our divine Lord's presence, an earnest listening to His few and simple words of infinite life and power, an earnest surrender of all our interior tendencies and feelings to His tranquil attraction—this is to find ourselves with our Lord and His eternal years at each moment of existence.

After an hour thus introverted, not into our own sense, but into our Lord's heart, of whose emotions, as the Man-God, the Psalms are the written exposition, return to ourselves, and the light which has been gathering and warming all this time will reveal layer beneath layer of pride and nothingness within the habitual life, of which the soul dreamed not. Then arises wonder upon wonder at the mystery of such an existence as ours, and at the goodness of God; and adoration, with the beginning of a true perception of the fact how God is all and we nothing, except as He operates divinely on our nothingness; and that by adhering with our will to Him and His operations we alone begin to live true life.

Bishop Hedley's comment was: 'These are the words of a spiritual man. They are a programme of his life.' The inner spiritual life of his soul is revealed very unmistakably

[1] *Letters*, p. 36.

in the numerous spiritual letters, spoken of in the preceding chapter.

The following prayer, composed for his seminary and still used at Oscott, shows the tone, warm yet sober, of his converse with God in prayer:

Act of Dedication of Saint Bernard's Seminary to the Sacred Heart of Jesus

O Lord Jesus Christ, son of God and Redeemer of mankind, whose Sacred Heart is both the symbol and the mercy-seat of that charity with which Thou hast given Thyself up to sorrow, suffering, and death for our sake; the mercy-seat of that charity with which Thou hast poured forth Thy Blood to cleanse us from sin and bring life to our souls; the mercy-seat of that charity with which Thou hast given Thy life to us anew in the Sacrament of Thy Body and Blood; the mercy seat of that charity by whose divine operation Thou hast made that same Sacred Heart of Thine an ever flowing fountain of grace and life to mankind; look down we beseech Thee, look down upon us, Thy sinful creatures, prostrate in Thy presence.

For behold, in adoring Thy Sacred Heart, we adore that infinite charity with which Thou hast loved us; we adore that divine patience with which Thou hast borne with us, and hast suffered for us; we adore that unspeakable humility with which Thou hast condescended to become like unto us in all things except our sin; we adore that tender compassion with which, having pity on us, Thou hast called us out of the world to follow Thee, to be the heralds of Thy word and the dispensers of Thy sacraments; that so being sanctified ourselves, we may sanctify, in Thy power, those souls redeemed in Thy precious Blood, who in the time to come shall be committed to our ministry.

Behold, O Lord, through Thy grace and love we consecrate our hearts to Thy most Sacred Heart and devote our lives to Thy service. Cleanse, then, our hearts from all evil, and from Thy most Sacred Heart fill ours with the grace and virtue of humility, of patience, of love, of generosity.

This house, which is the Seminary of living plants that Thou hast planted for Thy sanctuaries, with all that Thou hast deigned to bring within its walls, is Thine; and to Thy Sacred Heart do we offer its dedication anew. Do Thou, O Lord, defend it from all incursions of the enemy. Do Thou protect its inmates from all evil. Let Thine eyes and Thy heart rest always on this place with benign condescen-

sion, that in this Seminary Thou mayest be loved with a pure love, and served with a zealous service. Make our calling and election sure. May that obedience and submission which from Thy Sacred Heart Thou didst ever render to Thy Heavenly Father's Will, be at all times the example and the motive of our reverence and submission to them who represent Thee. And whomsoever in Thy love and mercy Thou shalt draw into this Seminary to be prepared for Thy sacred ministry, do Thou draw to Thy love and make devout to Thy Sacred Heart; that filled with Thy light and charity, they may become the loyal servants of Thy grace to draw souls to Thee, and to spread abroad the flame of Thy love.

Hear us, Sweet Jesus, hear us. Accept our humble supplications. And so keep us in Thy custody, and under the law of Thy discipline, that we may always abide in Thy love, and with Thy beloved disciple rest always on Thy Sacred Heart, who with the Father and the Holy Ghost livest and reignest for ever and ever. Amen.

Ullathorne was keenly alive to the affairs of this world and to the great currents of politics and social movements, above all in their bearings on religion.

His political views would probably now be called old-fashioned Tory; he had no sympathy with modern democratic ideas. Thus in 1887 he wrote:[1]

It is impossible to deny the rising tide of democracy. By governing with party strife, freedom of speech and of the press, aristocracy, on which crowns rest, has destroyed its own power. Party has fought party by appealing to the people, extending the suffrage, and making the popular voice and vote the ultimate power. Wisdom is of the few, and must always be of the few; but party strife has appealed to the instinct of the multitude to find out where wisdom dwells—a perilous experiment in old countries where wealth has become the leading influence. This, however, may come of it: all generous minds require something greater than themselves to look up to; this is the religiosity of man, and when that greater power and authority dealing with eternal things alone remains, unfettered by kings, it will become more conspicuous and attractive to generous minds, whilst the profane will be still more hostile.

And in 1888:[2]

[1] *Letters*, p. 511.

[2] Ibid., p. 535.

We had the Home Secretary [Henry Matthews (Lord Llandaff)] here yesterday for a short visit. I had some talk with him on the criminal department, but it is evident they are much hampered by the popular voice. I told him plainly that the last Reform Act had prepared the ruin of England.

His profound distrust of Mr Gladstone as a political leader crops up often: 'Gladstone is a man whom I can by no means admire, who in my mind is revolutionizing the country' (1886).[1]

The preceding chapter has shown how wide was the range of his reading over the field of ecclesiastical science, and how close was his knowledge of the Fathers and the classic theologians. But his interest in books was by no means limited to theology. All his life from childhood to old age he was a voracious and an omnivorous reader in all domains of literature—history, philosophy, poetry, novels; and he loved to give utterance in his letters to the strong likes and dislikes he took to the books he read, and their writers. His estimations will not always carry conviction, but they are always thoughtful and original, and his judgement of books is ever formed on what he conceived to be their religious tendency. The judgements on George Eliot are worth reading (*Letters*, pp. 467-71):

Since I wrote last I have read *Adam Bede*. That is a real book, full of the best of English life. There is as much heart in it as there is deficiency of heart in *Romola*. It shows to what a fearful extent the writer must have deteriorated through her association with infidels and Positivists. There is a keen sense of religion in *Adam Bede*, and a frightful desolation in *Romola*.

A list of the books of general literature mentioned in the printed letters of the nine last years of retirement, 1880-9, is of interest: it is to be remembered that during these years the big books, the *Groundwork* and *Christian Patience*, were produced. On the publication of the third edition, in 1881, of Newman's *Athanasius*, he wrote to thank him, saying he had read half the volume of 'Annotations': 'They strike me as combining clearness with brevity in an unusual

[1] *Letters*, p. 478; cf. p. 407.

degree, especially in matters which are often abstruse in their nature'—they are indeed, many of them, tough morsels of patristic theology. In the succeeding years he mentions as read the old Yorkshire Mystery Plays; St Thomas's Expositions on the Gospels; the cycle of biographical works on Carlyle, *Life and Reminiscences, Letters;* W. S. Lilly's *Ancient Religions and Modern Thought;* a translation of Tauler ('outrageous'); 'nearly all George Eliot's books'; 'Newman's books consecutively'; the Diary of the Emperor Frederick, as Crown Prince; Dom Aidan Gasquet's *Henry VIII and the Monasteries;* and finally, in January 1889, Mrs. Humphry Ward's *Robert Elsmere*, on which 'Gladstone has been foolish enough to write an article in the *Nineteenth Century*.'

Readers may be expecting in this place a selection from the cycle of anecdotes, humorous and other, current round the personality of Dr Ullathorne. I refrain, however, from reproducing any such stories, and for two reasons. These stories, detached from the personage and its peculiarities of manner, voice, accent, tone, would fall utterly flat on the ears of those—the vast majority now—who have no recollection of the man. Moreover, though some of the stories are authentic, many are not: it became the practice of his clergy to concoct characteristic stories of the bishop, with abundant droppings of 'h', so that he became the centre of a kind of 'mythus'. It is true that as he grew old he got a sense that he was expected to say and do striking things; but he was a real enough man, and a big enough man, to be able to carry this innocent foible.

One such anecdote, however, vouched for by himself in the *Autobiography* (p. 228) may be presented. He is speaking of his method of preaching at Coventry, homiletic discourses on passages of Scripture, going on from text to text, and expatiating freely on any point of doctrine or moral teaching that the text suggested, after the manner of the Fathers.

After I was removed to the See of Birmingham I adopted much the same method of Scriptural instruction in the Lenten evening lectures at the Cathedral. Some of the reverend clergy did not relish this revived method of instruction,

though the people delighted in it. As there was not a little twittering among them about it, I resolved to put an end to it. So on ascending the pulpit on Sunday evening, I said to the congregation: 'You, my brethren, who are of opinion that your bishop should instruct you according to his own judgement, and not according to the judgement of other persons, please to hold up your hands.' A thousand hands were lifted up, and I heard of no more objections.

Instead of a collection of anecdotes, there will here be given a few records of the impressions made on those outside. And first: at the time the sermon on the Benedictine Saints was preached, there was running in the *Liverpool Daily Post* a series of pen-and-ink sketches of 'Strangers in the Pulpit'—any remarkable outsiders who came to preach in Liverpool. Ullathorne is thus drawn:

Not always is it given to a preacher to present, or to a casual hearer to contemplate, in a single sermon a full revelation of mental and personal character. Bishop Ullathorne, however, in preaching about the Order of St Benedict, found a subject in which he could not but appear precisely what he is: a student; an ecclesiastical enthusiast; a man of much simple devoutness; a theorist full of historical and biographical inspirations; a speaker at once vigorous and venerable. The bishop appears to be somewhat under the middle height. He is of a solid build, has a substantial and yet somewhat timid-looking countenance, rendered peering and Thiers-like in expression by a pair of large spectacles. His voice is good, though hardly sharp enough for a large and pillared church. He speaks without any appearance of art, with the manner of an old gentleman full of knowledge and anxious to interest those who listen to him in some of his stores. His sermon is, of course, not read, and there is no appearance of its having been written. Occasionally there is a little, if not wandering, lingering—probably a result of old age as well as of that garrulity on their own subjects which men of the study often exhibit. But if the tongue expatiates, the wits are never asleep. The subject is not lost. Its aspects multiply but do not dissolve. The impression on the audience is deepened by the thorough absorption of the speaker, and if at any moment the discourse appears to have strayed away from questions necessary to be asked, a little patience only is needed: they come in sight presently, and are put with plainness and answered with power.

There is in this eminently interesting preacher no straining after telling expressions; but they come—fresh, profound, and pregnant. It is impossible to dip anything in so original a mind without finding it saturated with newness. This, for instance, was the feeling produced when Bishop Ullathorne insisted on the eminently practical mission of the monks of the Desert. Nothing can be less practical according to ordinary ideas; but the bishop drew in a sentence a picture of all the holy women at this moment engaged in works of devotion and humanity, and asked his audience if they had ever reflected that it is from the Fathers of the Desert—their meditations and other works—that all these holy women draw the sources of their spiritual strength. Spirited, too, though imperfect in its analogy, was his comparison of the monks of the Christian Church with the prophets of the Old Dispensation, and very suggestive his description of the wonderful sternness and not less marvellous tenderness which they learnt in their solitude, and his estimate of their great interior and mystical knowledge of divine things even now exercising such stimulating power throughout the Catholic world.

When he came to speak of St Benedict and his Order, to the keen insight of these general observations was added the energy of an intelligent and sympathetic *esprit de corps*, together with an appreciation of that grim humour which the preacher himself said was the best cure for diseased imagination. How he enjoyed describing the hospital which St Columban established for grumblers! How he appreciated Pope Gregory's tribute to St Benedict's luminousness and discretion! With what aptitude he described in his own language the 'essence or oil of wisdom' to be found in all St Benedict's utterances! How expressively he balanced whether the great monk had more considered the claims of God on his creatures, or the best way of bringing those claims within the range of human infirmities! What gentleness he imparted to the recital of St Benedict's dread lest he should drive his flock too fast or too far; what point to his admonition that in all assemblies of the monks particular attention should be paid to what the young ones said, because they had simple minds, unburdened with care and unbeset with much deceit! And how telling was the introduction of the extract from the Saint's exhortation to prayer—'the very words sound like the notes of the solemn bell in the lofty tower!'

Enough has been said to evidence the fertility and power of Bishop Ullathorne's historical excursus. To some it must have seemed a strange sermon, especially as it lasted for an

hour and a quarter. To any hearer worthy to listen to it, however, such a discourse, delivered with equal energy and deliberation, in a fairly rotund voice, by a preacher more than seventy years old, must have appeared not merely a fine display of intellectual power, but full of suggestion as to the capabilities of the pulpit. There was little direct application, indeed, and there were no fervid appeals. All was moderate in conception, rational in method, historical in statement. But the preacher wove once more with sure hands the charm of Church history and scholarship. He entangled the fancy in the gentle meshes of tradition. He enlisted wavering or lukewarm feelings under the banner of Church progress. He almost persuaded even the sceptical to turn aside from all other knowledge as less excellent than St Benedict's, and to believe that the keys of all modern history, learning, civilization, and improvement hung in the sixth century from the girdle of a monk. Such impressions may have been the result of that truest oratorical art which does not seem to be oratory. Or they may have been made by the simple earnestness of a truly venerable man. But in either case they could only have been produced by a gentleman, a scholar, a Christian, and a divine. There is one peculiarity of Bishop Ullathorne's pronunciation which cannot be named without hesitation in reference to so eminent a man, but which must be mentioned, because it would not pass unnoticed if the subject of the sketch were of lower standing. He never sounds an aspirate. The peculiarity may arise from his having been born and bred in a certain district and not having since mixed much with the world. With this exception, his orthoëpy is faultless, and his accent is at once manly and gentlemanly, with nothing in it of the mincing *précieux* and nothing either of affected roughness and familiarity. Indeed, he is in everything the most natural of men.

The 'somewhat timid-looking countenance' exposed the bishop to no small amount of amused raillery. He refers to it in a letter of the time to a friend:[1]

I send for your amusement a pen-and-ink portrait of the sermon and preacher, which only proves how little a man who only sees one once in the pulpit can judge his, I will not say sitter, but stander. As to the timidity of which the portrait writer speaks, I am afraid it sprang not so much from modest-mindedness as from shivering cold, espe-

[1] *Letters*, p. 347.

cially as certain windows of the large church, close behind the pulpit, being under repair were not glazed.

A likely contributory cause of any look of timidity may very well have been the consciousness that the practical purport of the sermon was displeasing to the audience.

The *Saturday Review* of September 3, 1887, had an article on the 'Retirement of Bishop Ullathorne'. It can hardly be in doubt that it was from the pen of H. N. Oxenham, one of the most brilliant of the converts, of the *Rambler* group, a member of the *Saturday* staff, to whom were committed Catholic topics. He was one whom Ullathorne highly disapproved of, but they knew one another; and so Oxenham writes from personal knowledge. Certain characteristic *Saturday* smartnesses are suppressed:

Dr Ullathorne, indeed, though he cannot be called a great scholar,—perhaps hardly a great theologian,—is just the kind of man Leo XIII would delight to honour. He is a man of considerable learning, of undoubted piety, of conspicuous energy and zeal, and he has devoted a long life with unwearied and laborious persistence to the service of his Church. Putting aside converts he has always been regarded as *facile princeps* among the leading ecclesiastics and divines of his communion in this country, with the exception of the late Cardinal Wiseman; and as an administrator and ruler of men Cardinal Wiseman was certainly not his equal. . . . Between Dr Newman and Bishop Ullathorne, though no two men could be more unlike in their antecedents and their general tone of mind and character, there has always, we believe, existed an unfeigned mutual friendship and respect. There is much no doubt in Cardinal Newman's intellectual and ethical personality which Bishop Ullathorne might scarcely be qualified to appreciate; but he had the discernment from the first to perceive and the good sense and generosity to recognize with what manner of man he had to do, and he felt it to be an honour to himself and to his diocese that such a man should have selected it for his chosen home.

Another estimation, by a name foremost in the 'eighties in the world of letters and journalism, will be read with interest, even if it be not based on personal knowledge, but on the reading of the *Autobiography* and *Letters;* for at a time when R. H. Hutton was editing almost single-handed

the *Spectator*, we may with some security take as his the characteristic article on the *Autobiography* in the issue of March 4, 1893:

Not only in the quality of straightforwardness, but in the whole cast of his mind and character, William Ullathorne was a typical Englishman. . . . Far more surprising than the knowledge of the Fathers and of theology was his spiritual influence. Here was a man of, in many ways, not the most delicate perceptions, who was far from being perfectly tactful, but endowed with a power that could move the most hardened convict, or become the greatest possible earthly help to contemplative intellectual women. We feel as we read that, had we met him at a Colonial official dinner in Australia, we should not have been attracted; but see him in the condemned criminal's cell, or on the scaffold, or, again, preaching to nuns or priests, or giving individual counsels as a confessor, and he was evidently almost irresistible.

We are convinced that this strong light which was shed from him was not realized by himself. There is something visible of a simple satisfaction in his own career and history: but the real humility which he had sought after prevented his seeing his own chief gift—his spiritual insight and influence. He will tell an anecdote as to his treatment of a peculiarly hardened convict with some glee at his cleverness and perception of character, but without any of the air of spiritual unction which must have been betrayed, if he had been conscious that it was his single-minded devotion to the man's soul which produced the result, rather than any amount of cleverness.

To the end of his life Dr Ullathorne remained in one sense an uneducated man, and his peculiarities were often jested at; but all those who came into contact with him knew that he could read the heart. His books are long and tedious reading, yet one is obliged to acknowledge that they have caught the secret of sweetness and light from the Fathers of the Church. Whether this is, on the whole, a winning character as portrayed by himself, or not, nobody could deny that it is a strong and powerful one. It seems to us to belong to a type that is, unfortunately for our country, getting rarer—the type of which Bright and Cobden were notable examples, uniting the matter-of-fact practical British character with enthusiasm for ideals and principles; only, whereas their ideals were ultimately practical, and held to the visible order of things, Bishop Ullathorne's were concentrated on the spiritual and unseen.

One more of these press appreciations, that of the Catholic *Weekly Register* on his death, written evidently by one who knew him well:

Full of days and honour, the Senior Bishop of the English Hierarchy has gone to his reward. Among the first of those appointed on its establishment, he has been the last to quit his post. To the rising generation of clergy and laity he was hardly more perhaps than a venerable name, but his important and characteristic volumes, published within the last few years, on *The Endowments of Man*, *The Groundwork of Christian Virtues*, and *Patience*, would not fail to draw attention once more to the powerful ascetic writer, who, in becoming a bishop, never ceased to be a student and a recluse. Not mixing in society and rarely seen in London, Dr Ullathorne took no pains to keep the world in mind of him. He lived a retired, and towards the end a somewhat lonely life; and none can have felt more deeply the truth of that saying in the *Imitation: cella continuata dulcescit.* He was before all things a man of the cloister and the library. Yet he achieved more practical and enduring work than falls to the lot of most busy men, even when their lives are prolonged to eighty-three. He was a link between the days of declining persecution and the age of School Boards. It was this, indeed, that lent a charm to the venerable figure and benignant thoughtful countenance of Bishop Ullathorne. He was a memory from the past in so many ways; his speech and bearing, his bent in devotions, his spirit of retirement, his love of books, his quaint unworldly fashions, might all, or nearly all, be traced to the influence of a world which knew nothing of steamboats and telegraphs. He was fond of praising the good old 'Garden of the Soul' piety; one may be permitted to say that he was a 'Garden of the Soul Bishop'.

And throughout the most pronounced individuality, full of odd and striking traits, William Bernard Ullathorne, whatever else he was, had little in him of the average or the commonplace. He looked a mediaeval bishop in the nineteenth century. . . . His character blended something of both *Pastor et Nauta*—a certain frank eccentricity with an admirable knowledge of what a good pastor should be, and a tone as unworldly as it is possible to imagine. . . . He had much of the downright abrupt manner which a genuine son of Yorkshire, one would say, affects, were it not so natural. But beneath the reserve there was a very kind heart, and anyone going to him in trouble might always be

sure of his help and sympathy. He was an omnivorous reader and a keen observer of men—like Coleridge he soliloquized and philosophized, or else on the whole was silent. He did not write for the popular ear. But the books which he has left behind him the devout Catholic will read with much profit. He must be reckoned among the conspicuous authors that have fashioned in these latter days the spirit of English religion, especially in houses of prayer and retreat. Living and dying, he was faithful to the monastic engagements that forbade him to possess the goods of this world. He was a bishop and still kept his vow of poverty. It must be said, in conclusion, that he is one more added to the roll of English Benedictines of whom Protestant England would be proud did it know them as it ought; and that he closes honourably the succession of Vicars Apostolic who kept the faith alive in a difficult and dreary time.

These may be called exterior estimations; in the sermon preached at the funeral obsequies in St Chad's, Bishop Hedley, the successor of Bishop Brown in the see of Newport, attempted, and successfully, the more difficult task of analyzing and portraying the interior. A Benedictine himself, and one who had known Ullathorne well for twenty years, he was in a special way fitted to make this estimation:

I have ventured to apply to him the words that were spoken of his Master: 'There shall rest upon him the Spirit of the Lord.' I have thought that there was no way to describe him better than to say he was a *spiritual man*. This Spirit of the Lord . . . is a true Spirit not knowing how to lie, without fiction and without guile, simple and straight; for it has only one object for all its aim and all its striving, and that object is the God whom man must finally possess, for whom his heart is made, and whom his heart must have, or be for ever desolate.

No one who knew William Bernard Ullathorne will fail to recognize his features here. He was a Christian, and a Catholic, and a religious, and a priest. Many virtues go to the making of a good man in every one of these respects. But there are good men who strike one chiefly as being spiritually wise. There are men who, in the spiritual field, as others in the arena of this world, think out ends, organize means and plan results; who try what is false and reject it; who are clearly conscious whither they are going, and whither other people ought to go. They reflect on the

problems of the world out of sight; they solve questions by spiritual principles; and as they clear their own path through the tangle and the peril of existence, so they become fitted and apt to guide other men. I judge from his books, from his letters, from his dealings with souls, from his views of human life and human suffering: he was a spiritual man.

I cannot give—perhaps no one could give—details of his hours of prayer and contemplation. He was a man who never spoke directly of his own devotional exercises. But I can give you three facts. First, his life was a retired and unworldly life; therefore he had abundant time for interior prayer. He moved about, it is true, from mission to mission, from convent to convent, as a bishop must; he appeared at the openings of churches, and at the funerals of his clergy; he was seen from time to time in the houses of some of those devoted laity who mourn his loss as deeply as any of us. But even on his journeys he lived a reserved and unworldly life: idle conversation, frivolous amusement, even the innocent recreation of walks or games—these things were not according to his spirit. He read much, but not light reading. Therefore, in spite of the task of administration, his time was free for the daily sacrifice of prayer, and his heart was never out of tune with worship, with union, with compunction. Next, we know how intensely his intellect (to say no more) realized the necessity of interior prayer. One reads that in the three last great books of his life. Now a man who was seen to live much in society and to be occupied with earthly business might be suspected to preach what he did not practise. Not so a man who lived in reserve, detachment, and ascetic severity. Then, thirdly, he must have prayed, because he was self-restrained, and because he was patient. No one who knew him can doubt that self-mastery and silent patience grew upon him as his life went on. Now this is a sure proof of habitual communing with God, and with our Blessed Saviour in His Passion. Therefore I believe that that room he occupied so long—that quiet room amid the dinginess and noise of Birmingham, where his books stood round him, and his papers lay about—was a cell and shrine of meditation. I believe that that dimly-lighted oratory where our Lord's real Presence dwelt was to him truly the House of God and the Gate of Heaven; the chamber where God was as a Friend who speaks and is spoken to; the threshold of that invisible world, which His servant ever strove to enter, ever strove to live in. I believe there was not a sanctuary in the diocese, whether of devout convent or of poor mission, where his spirit has not poured itself forth, at silent evening or in

early morning, in ardent, deep, and true, and lengthened prayer.

His spiritual character displayed itself externally in every branch of his duties, in all the details of his office. It was very marked in his dealings with his clergy. I venture to think they will agree with me that he was a wise, firm, and kind superior. I think they would say that his wisdom was spiritual wisdom, his firmness founded on the fear of God, and his kindness not the kindness which kills, but which builds up to our Lord. His manner, no doubt, had its drawbacks, as it had its advantages. He was always a little difficult of approach, unless he himself took the initiative; it was the effect of his determination to be genuine and straight. But I will dare boldly to assert that no man has ever seen him speak, or act, or command, or reprove, in temper, in self-assertion, or in bitterness. He was never small, nor mean, nor selfish. Those who came in contact with him felt that they had met a real man, rooted and founded in unmistakable solid earth—a man who might rebuff you, but would never pass you false coin. When he did speak freely he was copious in speech. All his life he was ready to write, whether on public matters or to his friends; and he would talk, sometimes subtly, sometimes learnedly, sometimes playfully, with a fluency and force which many can bear witness to.

It was certainly his beloved clergy who were nearest to his heart. He aimed at spiritualizing the hearts of his priests, rather than drilling their steps. He was not a man for many rules or many questions. If he could make a young heart realize its God—if he could touch a priest with the mission and message of his Lord—if he could get a labourer in the vineyard to listen to the love which speaks from the Cross—he was satisfied. The rest would come.

Willingly would I dwell, did opportunity allow, on his gift of counsel, his life-long devotion to the Holy See and to the Hierarchy of his own country. It was his way, in his numerous dealings with the Sovereign Pontiff and with the Roman Congregations, to take the greatest possible pains in the preparation of every document he set before them. For this purpose he constantly read widely in canon law and in general theology, and he devoted all the power of his acute mind to the orderly exposition of every principle and of every fact which bore upon the case in hand. It was therefore recognized that he was a counsellor who might be relied upon. There are those here present who know how Rome trusted him, how his brethren in the Hierarchy valued his learning and experience, how many delicate negotiations

in every part of the country were committed to him, and how many pilgrims used to come to Birmingham to ask his advice.

Besides the weight of a bishop's solicitude, his Lord and Master was to send him that which would draw him yet nearer to Himself. Suffering may harden the heart which has to encounter it. But suffering accepted, embraced, taken to the open heart which has studied the sufferings of Jesus—such suffering elevates the desires, purifies the passions, intensifies love, and gives divine charity a certain hue and character of the charity of the Sacred Heart itself. He learnt all this in many a week of solitary pain. And those who were nearest to him during his late severe and prolonged sicknesses, will tell you that he has written nothing in his books on patience and on union with God which he did not illustrate in his own carrying of the Cross of his Saviour; and moreover, that the spiritual principles of a lifetime, when the last strain was put upon them, grew into habits and instincts of nature itself; that his fine character discovered new depths, as the valleys are revealed when the sun gets low, and that a transformation seemed to be beginning which was only to be completed before the throne of the God whom he had chosen from his youth.

At my request Fr Joseph Parker, the bishop's secretary and close personal friend during the last fourteen years of his life, has written 'Reminiscences'. They are too long to be printed here *in extenso;* but a number of extracts illustrative of Ullathorne's character and ways shall be given.

Fr Parker received his education at the English College at Lisbon, and in July 1875 he came back to England, a newly ordained priest, aged twenty-three. He duly presented himself to the bishop and was temporarily placed at St Chad's. It was the bishop's custom when at home to have his meals with the clergy; and one day, some weeks later, he took Parker out for a walk and after some intimate conversation told him he would like him to be his secretary, and to think the thing over and give his answer in the morning. On his expressing his willingness, 'Then, my dear sir, you are my secretary', he said. Here surely was shown forth Ullathorne's power of judging character; for in that young priest he found not only the faithful secretary, but the friend who for the rest of his days served him and loved

him and cared for him with all the attachment of a son, and in his many illnesses was ever his devoted nurse.

Part of the secretary's duties was to read the bishop's writings in manuscript and say what he thought of them.

Although he never suggested such a thing to me, I knew that he expected me to be unhesitatingly frank and candid with him. Accordingly, when he had completed the *Endowments of Man*, and I was handing back to him the last chapter, he said to me: 'Well, what do you think of the book?' I replied: 'My Lord, the book is full of magnificent matter, but I feel that some of it is not expressed in language worthy of you.' He merely uttered a quiet 'Oh', without any note of admiration, still less of interrogation, and I quietly bowed myself out of the room for the night. On re-entering it the next morning, I found him standing, pen in hand, at the desk where he did all his writing at the foot of the Crucifix. Turning to me he said: 'I see what you mean. I have begun to rewrite it.' And he rewrote that book before the publisher ever saw it.

My own turn came later, when he was writing the *Groundwork*. Taking in to him one evening the chapter I had just revised, I remarked in reference to a particular passage: 'My Lord, I don't think you quite mean that word there.' He replied: 'My dear sir, I have been thinking over that word for the last forty years.'

About the same time he furnished me with a proof that the humility he depicted in print was but the expression of the humility felt in his soul and practised in his life. For some fifteen or sixteen years a good worthy priest had slaved for the souls of his flock in a murky mission in the Black Country. Against him a number of mischievous and malignant accusations were disseminated and laid before the bishop. Sending for the priest he unfolded one after another the long list of charges. The poor innocent man was so astounded, so wounded, so exasperated, that in his agitation he burst out with: 'But, my Lord, as a matter of common sense!' This outburst gave the bishop such a shock and for the moment so upset him, that he told the priest to leave the room at once. He asked for the bishop's blessing and withdrew. On his way out he called at the room of one of the curates on the ground floor and disclosed his agony of mind before leaving. The curate then hastened up to my room on the floor above the bishop's, and told me how heart-broken the poor man was. Shortly after I went to the bishop's room as usual for my final visit for

the day. The moment I entered he said: 'I have had Mr —— here, and I had to order him out of my room.' 'Yes, my Lord', I replied, 'and you have broken the poor fellow's heart.' 'Oh, I heard him go up to your room.' 'No, my Lord, I have not seen him, but I know that you have broken his heart. Remember, my Lord, you are a bishop, and for a bishop to treat any priest like that is enough to break his heart.' Not a single word did he utter in reply to such a stinging reproach, and with a 'Good-night, my Lord', 'Good-night', we parted. When I entered his room next morning he was evidently expecting me, and at once said: 'Oh, I have written to Mr—— and sent the letter off by the first post.' Such a sweet and touching apology did that letter embody that it healed and soothed and consoled that broken heart, till it even forgot how to ache.

One morning, on returning to the Bishop's House after my Mass in the Cathedral, I found a telegram awaiting me. It was from a priest who begged me to seize and destroy a letter posted by him on the previous evening, in which he urgently requested the bishop to allow him to resign his post as Vice-president of one of the colleges. Hastening to the bishop's room, I found him standing by the fireplace and actually reading the very letter. The telegram in my hand helped me to explain my intrusion at that moment; and with a graceful movement he flung the letter into the fire as he said: 'All right, my dear sir, I know nothing about it ; nor did he ever refer to it in any way.

Much has been made of the disagreements that at times arose between the bishop and Cardinal Manning. But 'many men, many minds'. When grave issues were at stake, and problems of importance were under discussion, it was only natural that men of such different training and experience should honestly differ in their views of the best policy to be adopted. Never can I forget the intense cordiality of their mutual bearing on the evening in July 1884, which they allowed the Cathedral clergy to spend in their company. Never in his last years did the bishop return from a Low Week meeting without describing to me in glowing terms his admiration for the Cardinal.

Fr Parker's final filial tribute should be placed on record:

During nearly fourteen years in which I had been closely associated with him, I had ample opportunities of seeing him, knowing him, and studying him at close range. And the more I saw of him, and learned of and from him, the

greater grew my admiration of him and my filial love for him. Never was he pretentious; yet was he ever prepared to meet the greatest on their own level. He loved to be *simpliciter simplex*, and readily made all classes of society feel at home with him. It was natural to him to be natural, and he was never artificial. He was supremely human in the best sense, and always a real man.

On the mental side, even to the very day of his death, I never discovered even the slightest sign or utterance that indicated a weakening of his brain-power or aroused a suspicion of the approach of a second childhood. On the moral side the wonder was still greater. In none of the pains and sufferings he had in his many and severe illnesses did so much as a word of irritability or a movement of impatience escape him. With my eyes and ears wide open during those fourteen years, never in his conduct did I discover a definite fault, and still less anything that I could characterize as a sin. And in the six-and-thirty years that have sped since he was laid to rest, I have had many opportunities of reviewing the situation without in the least altering my conclusion.

CHAPTER XXI

LAST YEARS: 1880 TO 1889

IN 1879 Bishop Ullathorne, having made application to the Holy See to be allowed to resign his bishopric, and received the answer that he should take an auxiliary bishop instead, in the December of that same year consecrated as his Auxiliary the Rt Rev. Edward Ilsley, the Rector of the seminary. He then removed from the Bishop's House by St Chad's in Birmingham to Oscott College, which was his residence for the rest of his life. The correspondence between him and Manning reveals his gravely impaired state of health ever since the Vatican Council: the eight months' overstrain of work during the Council and the intense summer heat of Rome caused a serious breakdown of health, which incapacitated him for several weeks after his return from the Council, and left him liable to oft-recurring bouts of serious and painful maladies that with increasing frequency invalided him during the last twenty years of his life. And so, from the appointment of the auxiliary he gave up more and more the active administrative work of the diocese and lived in semi-retirement at Oscott. But for eight years more, until his actual resignation in March 1888, he continued to rule the diocese.

Though years of inevitable physical decline, they were by no means years of decrepitude: the intellect and the mental vigour held out till the very end. They were indeed years of great productiveness, of unremitted reading and writing, and of redoubled letter-writing: the last hundred and fifty pages of the volume of *Letters* are from these nine years. The correspondence with Manning went on as actively as ever: there are nineteen of Manning's letters belonging to 1880, several being from Rome concerning the great case between the bishops and the regulars; Ulla-

WILLIAM BERNARD ULLATHORNE

C. 1880

thorne's answers are not forthcoming, but Manning's letters show that long and important letters were received from him.

Ullathorne was just seventy-four when he retired to Oscott; and the death that Easter, 1880, of his old master and friend, Bishop Brown of Newport, left him the doyen of the English Catholic Hierarchy, and the last of the fine old race of Vicars Apostolic, the sole surviving link with the Catholic past.

It was only during the winter months that he was closely confined to Oscott; during the summer we find him moving about freely. Thus in April 1880 he was present at Stone, at the celebration of the fifth centenary of St Catherine of Siena, and in May at a jubilee at Princethorpe; and then at Newnham Paddox, the seat of the Earl of Denbigh, in his diocese, he took part in the coming-of-age festivities of Lord Feilding, the present Earl.

The first volume of the 'trilogy', the *Endowments of Man*, was completed and sent to press in 1879, but not published until October 1880. He was at work on the proofs throughout the winter. On January 1, 1880, he wrote to his niece: 'I am busy preparing a book of 400 pages for publication, much too profound for your noddle.' On its appearance he wrote to his brother:

I have directed that my new book be sent to you, the greatest work I have yet written. So far it seems to be well received, but the critics have yet to try their hands on its contents. It takes an entirely new line, unknown to modern literature, and Cardinal Newman has called it 'a noble subject'. Arrangements are making for translating it into German.

He was keenly interested in it and its reception. It received due attention in the general press, and on the whole had an unexpectedly good welcome:[1]

The Protestant critics don't like so much of the old Fathers and divines. They want nothing but modern thought, and the old names disgust them. I am surprised, however, that the *Endowments* has been so widely accepted as a *spiritual* book. Of course, I am gratified, but that was scarcely the first intention.

[1] *Letters*, p. 398.

He at once set to work on the other book, the treatise on Humility, that had been in mind and hand, off and on, for more than a quarter of a century, and worked at it assiduously during the winter 1880-1, when kept almost wholly indoors. He speaks of the process of gestation in the letters of this winter:[1] to his brother: 'I have just begun the book promised in the preface to the last, and though I have considerable collections of materials, gathered twenty years ago, I expect it will be the work of years. These two works will be my legacy to English Catholic thought.' To friends: 'Materials gathered twenty years ago cover all my tables, after being so long buried out of sight.' 'I have a vast quantity of materials; the labour is to reduce them into form, that they may be made into solid bread for the intellect and heart.' At the end of January 1881: 'I have written half a volume of *matter*, but feel I want *form* in a subject not in itself attractive to human nature. *Matter* turns up without end; the subject is simply inexhaustible; but I am casting about for forms that loom, but won't come out in the clear.' At last the light came: 'Your letter has given me the impulse of decision. I shall abandon the method of parts and chapters, and take the freer method of lectures. I think now, health permitting, I can finish next year. I send my general plan'—the actual list of lectures as published.

Early in the year 1881 his brother had an attack of illness, apparently a slight stroke. On March 1 he wrote to his sister-in-law: 'My first impulse was a wish to come and see him, but this I knew was altogether impracticable, as I cannot safely leave my room, and have only once ventured out of doors on a very fine day for the last five months, though I am safe whilst shut up, but not without infirmity.'

That June the bishop held his sixth and last diocesan Synod, and gave the customary synodal discourse.

The principal interests in 1881 were the Bull 'Romanos Pontifices', and the Apostolic Visitation of the English Benedictines, events noted in chapters XVII and XVIII.

These last years were studded with jubilees, and on September 24, 1881, fell the golden jubilee, or fifty years, of priest-

[1] *Letters*, pp. 398-405.

hood. The celebration took place at Oscott, and the bishop was able to sing the Mass pontifically. Two days later he addressed the following letter to the diocese:[1]

REV. AND DEAR SIR: After my humble thanksgiving to God, who in His goodness has brought me to the fiftieth year of my priesthood, I take the earliest opportunity of expressing the gratitude which I deeply feel to all those who have offered their prayers to God for their Bishop, on an occasion to him so full of solemn memories. To the Rev. clergy, ever loyal to the pastoral staff; to the devoted religious women, who adorn the diocese with their virtues and good works; to the pious laity, many of whom have offered their supplications for me to the throne of God; and certainly not less to the children, whose simple-hearted petitions are always pleasing to God, I give all the thanks of which my heart is capable.

When it reached my ears that there was an intention of making a presentation from the diocese in honour of my sacerdotal jubilee, for reasons which I deemed prudent I took the liberty to suggest that, instead of a presentation, I might be allowed to ask for prayers. For prayers are indeed the most precious gifts one soul can offer to another. But I was not prepared for so general and fervid a response to this desire. Wishing for the retirement befitting the occasion, I sought it in this college. But when I stood at the altar in those pontifical ornaments which I had borne for five-and-thirty years, with the weight upon me of fifty years of responsibility in the sacred ministry, I was touched with tender emotion in beholding the whole college, even to its youngest members, approaching to receive the Holy Communion at my hands, that they might offer their supplications to God for me. And as I knew and felt that in every church of the diocese each priest was offering the Holy Sacrifice with me, and for me; that in every convent each religious was approaching the altar from the same motive; and that not a few of the pious laity and some of the schools of children were also offering their devotions to God on my behalf; I must indeed have been insensible not to have been deeply moved with gratitude to God, from whom every good and charitable inspiration comes, and largely grateful to those devout and generous souls who were pleading to Heaven for me. Beyond those prayers which I am bound in duty to offer continually for all under my pastoral care, the only return I can make will be to offer three times the

[1] *Oscotian*, 1886, p. 67.

Holy Sacrifice in a special manner for all those who have prayed on this solemn occasion for grace and blessings upon their Bishop.

I thank God for the happy peace and unity with which He has so long blessed this diocese, a unity which is always strengthened by our mutual prayers for each other, and by our charitable judgements of each other. Nor in this blessed unity are we an exception to other dioceses of England, whose clergy and people adhere faithfully to their bishops, as you to me. I also pour forth my gratitude to God for your loyalty and charity to him who has so long borne the mitre of spiritual government among you; that mitre which the learned Bishop Milner so long adorned with his wisdom and courage; that mitre which the meek Bishop Walsh bore with so much gentleness and generosity. I pray God to reward you a hundredfold for your goodness and charity to me, especially on this solemn occasion. And not only to the Rev. clergy, who are my right hand, but to the devoted religious, whom I regard with paternal affection, and to the pious laity, ever ready to respond to the call of their Bishop. I pray God, with all my heart, that He would grant to you and to them an abundance of those spiritual blessings which you have so piously invoked upon me.

Just after this occurred the death of Mother Imelda Poole of Stone, a great grief to the old man: it has been referred to in chapter XX. He then settled in for the winter at Oscott, and a Christmas letter to an old friend affords a pleasing glimpse of his manner of life:[1]

My work in this pleasant solitude is pen, pen, pen, from morning till night, of which I never tire, always excepting unpleasant letters, which will come to every ruler, though perhaps I have as few as most people in a similar position.

I expect to finish my next volume [the *Groundwork*] by Easter, except perhaps the tuning; for when you have made an instrument, the tuning is sometimes a tedious business. I have lost many friends this winter, and old friends cannot be replaced after the 76th year of life.

Your affectionate friend and bishop.

Through the spring of 1882 he worked away steadily at the book, and on April 4 was able to announce that he had just written the last line:[2] 'I like it because it has pro-

[1] Oscott.

[2] *Letters*, pp. 421, 424.

foundly instructed me; I don't like it because I see much more at the end than I did whilst writing. I like it because it is more the work of your prayers than of my pen; and I don't like it because of its defects. Still, I like it in the main. So you have the chief work on which I have ventured.' A few days later: 'Now the work is done, I feel as if I had lost a piece of myself, and had come down to very common things.'

The *Groundwork of the Christian Virtues* was published that summer; but contrary to expectations it proved at first not so good a 'seller' as the *Endowments*, which had a considerable circulation beyond the Catholic body.

July found him at Downside, preaching at the opening of the transept of the monastic church (p. 204). That autumn, 1882, he had a severe illness that at one time caused much anxiety and invalided him for some weeks. On October 23 he wrote:[1]

My first effort to write is addressed to you. I have had much suffering, but my illness has been a great grace and blessing to me. I am still a great invalid, and my recovery will be slow; but I have never had the feeling that my natural vitality was at all lessened, though so much strained.

By Christmas he was restored to fair health, and then was conceived the idea of the third big book, *Christian Patience*. A friend, thanking him for the *Groundwork*, expressed surprise that the matter of 'patience' had not been treated of. Ullathorne replied on Christmas Eve:[2]

I feel there *is* something wanting in it, and I think I at last see what it is. It might be remedied by a seventeenth lecture. What is wanting is to show how essentially interior patience forms a joint groundwork with humility. I have set to work on a seventeenth lecture to add in my new edition. I see my way through it, though it may take time to work it out.

The friend urged that a lecture would not be adequate treatment, the subject calling for a third volume like the other two. He accepted the proposal as 'worth thinking about', and thus originated *Christian Patience*, which was

[1] *Letters*, p. 427. [2] Ibid., p. 432.

to occupy his time and his thoughts for three and a half years. That such a work should have been conceived and planned at seventy-seven, and the materials brought together and sorted out and put into shape, and the work carried through in three years, and produced at eighty, must be set down as surely a remarkable achievement.

In March 1883 took place the correspondence with Manning concerning the latter's book, *The Pastoral Office* (p. 154).

The usual Christmas letter to his brother's family ran:

I wish you, my sister, and all your children the spiritual consolations of this festival, and a happy year to come. I have got through the winter thus far very well, and am engaged on another book, about half the size of the last, though it will be another year before it is ready for the printer. This will be my last, for age warns one to stop.

The Pope has sent me a very kind message by Cardinal Manning, just returned from Rome. His Holiness said: 'Tell the Bishop of Birmingham I send him my special blessing, with the hope that he will still live many years to serve the Church.'

I pray God to bless you, my sister, and all your children.

On the last day of the year he wrote:[1]

I have only just cleared off the last pile of Christmas letters. Somehow, the writing of complimentary letters is harder work even than writing pastorals, of which I always have a dread. I am not speaking of letters to you, but to other people; one would like to have a machine to write some of them. You can say nothing wise, and it does not do to write folly, and so I sit down with a blank brain and an empty sack.

Another letter, written the same day, belies this depreciatory estimate of his Christmas letters:[2]

Thanking you for your good wishes and prayers on this festival, I wish and pray for you a happy year to come. The secret of happiness is to rejoice in God and to fear oneself. The Psalms and Apostolic writings exhort us frequently to rejoice in God. It is the efflorescence of gratitude, and the death of sadness and selfishness. 'Rejoice in the Lord always', says St Paul, and 'again I say, Rejoice: the Lord is nigh.' We rejoice when the bright sun shines upon

[1] *Letters*, p. 443. [2] Ibid.

us; why should we not rejoice when the light of God shines upon us? We rejoice in beautiful flowers, especially when the light shines on them; why should we not rejoice in the beautiful flowers of grace with God's beautiful light upon them? We rejoice in beautiful presents when embalmed with the love of the donors; why should we not rejoice in the beautiful gifts of God embalmed in His love?

'Charity', says St Paul, 'rejoices in the truth.' This joy in God, not in ourselves, is the highest expression of faith, of hope, of charity, of gratitude. Neither sadness nor selfishness can live with it. It lightens all burdens, it brightens all good works. In this sense I wish you all a happy New Year to come, and I pray God to bless you.

During the Lent of 1884 he was engaged in drawing up the Diocesan Report to Rome, which he now found 'a very laborious work', and took as his 'Lenten penance'; and at Easter he lost the close friend of his whole episcopal life and great helper in the administration of temporalities, Canon Estcourt; how deeply he felt the loss has been seen (p. 239). In Low Week he took part in the bishops' meeting, and in the opening of the new church of the London Oratory; and in July he made the farewell visit of ten days at Downside, his monastery of profession (p. 205). And then, in September, he retired to Oscott for the winter, to take up again the composition of the book on Patience. He had said at Easter:[1] 'I have written my new book, but am not satisfied with it, and shall try it over again next winter. Having reached the beginning of my seventy-ninth year, there is no time to lose. If I fail next time in bringing out what is in my mind, I shall drop it without regret.'

And so he wrote in September:[2] 'I have returned to my solitude at Oscott, where I have one book more to complete, if age, infirmity, and the grace of God will enable me.' The work was, however, interrupted by a return of his chronic and painful malady, and for some time it was feared the end was at hand. On October 31 he wrote to Stone:[3]

I send you these, my first lines, from my sick-bed. God has been very good to me, and has not sent me extreme sufferings, but only moderate ones measured out to my infirmity, and they are diminishing. But these sufferings

[1] *Letters*, p. 452. [2] Ibid., p. 457. [3] Ibid.

are a great teaching and a great transformer of the soul when accompanied by the divine gift of patience from the Cross. For this divine gift keeps us above the region of sadness, and within the region of cheerfulness and gratitude.

It was yet a month before he could write, December 3:[1]

Yesterday my doctor pronounced that I might return to my ordinary diet, and expressed a hope that I should be able to say Mass in the course of a few days. Of course I am but just convalescent, and have to gather strength, although my general constitution has stood out well.

I shall be ever grateful to God for this sickness and for the spiritual good which has come with it. Mr Parker [Rev. J. Parker, his secretary] has been more than a son to me; and without his constant watchfulness, service of all kinds, and real skill as a nurse, I should scarcely have pulled through.

A day or two later:

MY DEAR BROTHER: I thank you and my sister for your joint and affectionate letter of congratulation on my recovery. The two months of illness through which I have passed have been dangerous and attended with several crises. I ascribe my recovery to the innumerable prayers which have been said for me throughout the diocese. Nor ought I to forget the great skill and assiduity of my physician and friend, who knows my constitution thoroughly. I have had a capital nurse in my secretary, the Rev. Mr Parker, who has attended me day and night.

Again: 'I am grateful to God for this dangerous sickness, which has brought me many lights and graces.' And on December 12: 'Everybody I see is surprised at the rapidity with which I am recovering strength and the usual habits of my life. It has all come since Tuesday week, the first day of real convalescence; and I ascribe it with confidence to the prayers of the diocese.'

Christmas Day found him at his Christmas letters again; to Stone on Christmas Eve:

During my long illness I thought of you all constantly, and often commended you to God. I even settled the brief

[1] The following series of thoughts on his sickness are in *Letters*, pp. 458-62.

sentence in which I should leave you my last advice in the event of a parting interview. But I confess I did not then realize how much you had taken the affair to heart. For when one goes, another comes; and no one is very much missed for long in this shifting world. I knew you would pray for me much; but I did not realize all the anxiety that such an old and almost useless bag of bones had occasioned. Well, I am now all the more grateful.

To find oneself so near the gates of eternity is a very searching thing for the soul. Still, I had the impression I should recover. So now a happy Christmas, and plenty of hearty joy. Mine will be a solitary one in this great already empty house, yet quite to my taste. Still, a great empty house is like a desert, unless a gale blows through it and turns it into a grand Aeolian harp. That I enjoy; the music of the winds is like the old notes of a tempestuous sea which always plucks up the spirits, except that it wants the rattle of the braces against the shrouds, which is not unlike bone music only on a grander scale, a weird and suggestive kind of music you will say. Even David found a likeness to the Almighty in the swelling floods of the sea.

On December 27:

The post yesterday reached here at 2 p.m. with such a heap of letters that it took almost till dark to read them, yours included. I thank you all anew for your prayers for me, as well as for your Christmas greetings. I did not think that people would trouble so much for this old bag of bones, and can only ascribe it to their charity. I have had such an influx of grapes that my room was hung like a vinehouse.

I can now do a day's desk-work without fatigue. I have resumed writing my book again from the beginning.

I am delighted to know you are all well and happy, though with your work that was to be expected. I pray God to bless you all and give you the sanctity which I delight to imagine in you. A happy Christmastide to all.

During this long and dangerous illness the canons were disturbed by rumours as to the bishop's resignation and the succession in the bishopric, and they sent one of their number to speak to him in their name; 'I told him to go back and tell them that *the Second Bishop of Birmingham is not found yet.*'

The early letters of 1885 are again concerned with the

book, at which he was working steadily, and at Easter he reported progress.[1]

I have finished my book, all but trimming, but am doubtful about its publication. There are few thinkers among us, and few who care for solid instructions by principles. They find such writing dry. Hence my last work [*Groundwork*] had not a demand for it at all equal with the first [*Endowments*]. There are few readers among us, and what they like are stories, novels, and newspapers.[2]

In July he sent it to a friend as censor, and on receipt of his criticisms and suggestions he wrote:[3]

By no phrase of mere form, but most heartily, do I thank you for your remarks on my manuscript. I was myself conscious of three things: (1) That it was the production of a sick old man; (2) that I have lost that power of imagination which is necessary to fuse and animate ideas; (3) that I was haunted and crippled all through with the desire of making a shorter book than either of the two former volumes. I will make another start in August, and make one more trial. I think I have a glimpse of what is wanted to animate the book and make it more palatable.

In September he had an attack of spitting of blood, which, though not dangerous, called for complete rest from writing and serious study. 'Having to sit perfectly quiet of late, I have amused myself by reading nearly all George Eliot's books.'[4]

To an authoress-friend who sent him a book he wrote:[5]

Charming is a word I habitually shun, and am habitually offended with; it is so hackneyed and abused by women for every trifle. But taking the masculine, and not the feminine sense of the word, your book is charming, and charmingly put forth. As I reached towards the end, tears dropped from my eyes.

In the Christmas letter to the Stone community he says:

I represent you to myself, after all the prayers are over, gathered in the community room in high gossip, with needles

[1] *Letters*, p. 464.

[2] As a fact, in the long run, the circulation of the two later books has exceeded that of the *Endowments*.

[3] *Letters*, p. 468. [4] Ibid., p. 470. [5] Ibid., p. 472.

and knitting-sticks in hand by way of pretence. That is a curious question, why nuns can never keep their fingers quiet. Is it for the sake of carrying off those scandals in silence that grow by nature so fast upon all devout female tongues? However it may be, my dear sisters, have it your own way, and enjoy yourselves. I pray God to bless you, love you, and make you saints. With true affection, your devoted Father in Christ.

In 1886 occurred two personal events, both celebrated with due circumstance, the eightieth birthday and the fortieth anniversary of episcopal consecration. The birthday, May 7, was kept privately, but in a manner peculiarly gratifying to the old bishop. It fell during the Low Week meeting of the bishops, and Ullathorne himself describes it the same day:[1]

ARCHBISHOP'S HOUSE,
WESTMINSTER,
May 7, 1886.

I think it may please you to know how I have spent this completion of my eightieth year. We have had a pleasant meeting, and have done some important work. The Cardinal and thirteen bishops were present, all most cordial and affectionate. Yesterday, after luncheon, one of the bishops came to me and told me that I was wanted in a certain room. I went there, and found the Cardinal and all the bishops standing in a semi-circle, who received me smiling and asked me to sit in a chair prepared in front of them. I laughed and sat down. The Cardinal then said: 'We all want to show you some practical mark of respect and affection on your eightieth birthday. We wish you to choose some particular book which you have not and might like to have, in as many folios as you choose, and we will write an inscription and present it to you.' The Cardinal had sent to the chief booksellers for their catalogues. I chose one in four volumes folio; it had got into the British Museum on approval, but it was sent for and proved to be a very fine copy. But they said, 'This is not enough; we know you would like a complete copy of Alvarez de Paz[2]; it is not in London, but we will have a copy sought for on the Continent, and will present it as well as the other.' Of course I had to make a little speech, and this morning when we met the congratulations were renewed. You know that I do not like public demonstra-

[1] *Letters*, p. 478.

[2] A standard writer on mystical theology, of the Society of Jesus, *c.* 1600, whose works in three folio volumes are rare and costly.

tions; but this is a singular and exceptional testimonial from all my brethren in the episcopate which I should be senseless not to appreciate.

The following note appeared in the *Tablet:*

Making him sit down in their midst, the Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster, in the name of all the bishops standing on either side of him, offered him their felicitations and cordial expressions of the confidence and reverent affection which they felt for him, accompanied with a little token in the shape of books connected with the special line of the studies and writings which he is still persevering in for the public good, though so well entitled to repose and rest from all further labours. The scene was private; for none were admitted but the members of the Hierarchy, but it was as touching as it was simple and unique. The tribute of admiration, confidence, and love, offered by the whole Hierarchy, will be most assuredly welcomed and applauded by the whole Church in England and Australia.

On June 21 the forty years of episcopate had run their course. While the celebration was in preparation Cardinal Newman associated himself with clergy and chapter by a letter of June 2:[1]

DEAR PROVOST NORTHCOTE: I do indeed with all my heart join in the address of congratulation, which I believe you are sending to the dear Bishop on the completion of the fortieth year of his episcopate, and I hope that the chapter and clergy will allow me to unite my name to theirs in this pleasant and dutiful act.

I recollect the day of consecration well. His Lordship had most kindly invited me and my intimate friends to the sacred rite, and after it he did me the special favour of making me acquainted with that holy woman, Mother Margaret Hallahan.

Not long after, the Oratory took its start in England, and special relations were created by the Holy Father's Brief between its Fathers and the Bishop of Birmingham; and the experience of the long series of years which have followed has filled me, as you may well understand, with the affectionate and grateful recollection which so holy and kind a superior could not fail to impress upon me.

This letter but feebly expresses what I would say, but I

[1] *Oscotian*, 1886, p. 61.

am losing the use of my fingers, and, strange to say, this confuses and impedes my use of words.

There seems to have been no formal presentation, but the bishop the following day described the function in a letter to Stone:[1]

Having about a hundred telegrams on the table received yesterday, I must be brief in answering yours. Numerous billets from all my convents overflow with affection and gratitude, and I should be a log indeed if they did not fill my soul with gratitude to God for all their goodness. And for the long list of prayers which you enclose, my exceeding gratitude is due. I said Mass this morning for all who have prayed for me. The city clergy dined with me yesterday. Convents sent the fruit and flowers that decorated the table, and the hilarity was copious. In my speech to them I was bold enough to tell them that I verily believed that, despite my faults and shortcomings, the prayers of my nuns would carry me to Heaven.

Cardinal Newman came to see me last week. He came alone, was very feeble, and glad of an arm along the gallery; but cheerful, gentle, and affectionate. I have dedicated my book to him, with which he is pleased.

Christian Patience was published at the end of the summer. The dedication ran thus:

To His Eminence the Most Illustrious and Most Reverend Cardinal Newman.

MY DEAR LORD CARDINAL: I do not forget that your first public appearance in the Catholic Church was at my consecration to the episcopate; and that, since that time, forty years of our lives have passed, during which you have honoured me with a friendship and confidence that have much enriched my life. Deeply sensible of the incalculable services which you have rendered to the Church at large by your writings, and to this diocese of your residence in particular by the high and complete character of your virtues, by your zeal for souls, and by the influence of your presence in the midst of us, I wish to convey to you the expression of my affection, veneration, and gratitude, by the dedication of this book to your name. It is the last work of any importance that I shall ever write, and I can only wish that it were more worthy of your patronage.

[1] *Letters*, p. 480.

I am ever, my dear Lord Cardinal, your devoted and affectionate servant in Christ.

The Cardinal answered:[1]

MY DEAR LORD: How good has God been to me in giving me such kind friends! It has been so all through my life. They have spared my mistakes, overlooked my defects, and found excuses for my faults. God reward you, my dear Lord, for your tenderness towards me, very conscious as I am of my great failings. You have ever been indulgent towards me; and now you show me an act of considerate charity, as great as you can, by placing my name at the beginning of the last work of your long life of service and sacrifice. It is a token of sympathy which, now in my extreme age, encourages me in prospect of the awful journey which lies close before me.

Begging your prayers, I am, my dear Lord,

Your affectionate servant,

JOHN H. CARD. NEWMAN.

Manning also thanked him:

On my return I found the book you have so kindly sent me, with your handwriting, for all of which I am grateful. The dedication to Cardinal Newman is very graceful and interesting. The book, like your earlier volumes, is a solid addition to our English Catholic literature; and the topics you have treated belong to a school of thought which, in these lax and easy days, is as rare as it is needed. I shall read it with great interest, and I am sure, benefit. I am sorry to hear you have been again ailing.

It was a placid old age, in the enjoyment of intellectual powers unbroken, cherished round about by the affectionate respect of a multitude of devoted friends, and marred only by the frequently recurring bouts of illness with severe physical pain—if indeed really marred it was by sufferings borne with Christian fortitude and patience.

Though the last book was written, the prolific pen was not allowed to rest. Memoirs were written of two old friends: of Bishop Grant, in the second edition of the *Life*, 1886; and in 1887, of Bishop Willson, whom he had in 1842 substituted for himself as first bishop of Hobart Town,

[1] *Letters*, p. 482.

in Tasmania, and who had died twenty years before. On February 25 he wrote:[1]

I have at last begun a memoir of Bishop Willson, and have a great many of his papers to go through. A very interesting book could be written about him. But I have been so lazy all this winter that I ought to have had a horse-whipping. I have been reading Newman's books consecutively, so as to trace the springing, growth, and direction of his mind. I shall be glad to get the article on Bishop Willson off my mind, as I have always felt that I owed it to his memory.

And a month later:

The examination of Bishop Willson's papers, which fill a box two feet and a half square, and include Government correspondence and evidence, shows what a wonderful man he was, and what prodigious reforms he effected in the convict system and lunatic asylums, and what immense influence he acquired over both the Imperial and Colonial authorities. Forty pages make a long review article, but the space straitens me terribly. It would require a volume of 350 pages to do him ordinary justice. I am sometimes obliged to introduce myself, which with the forms of a review is awkward; but the history cannot be made clear without it.

The article appeared in the *Dublin Review* of July 1887, and was afterwards reprinted as a pamphlet.

These were days full of accumulated infirmities and sufferings:[2]

One must and ought to have something, as years advance towards their close, to check and bring down the infirmities of the soul by those of the body. These are the good visitations of God. They make loop-holes in our mortality and dispose one to profound reflections. If they also dispose others to be very charitable to us, from this arises a double good—i.e., all the good it brings to us, and all the good it brings from God in reward to those charitable souls.

On June 21 was celebrated Queen Victoria's Jubilee, and in a letter to the diocese, ordering Mass and services of thanksgiving, Ullathorne said:

[1] *Letters*, p. 507. [2] Ibid., p. 508.

It is not our duty to speak to you here of the many events that have made her reign glorious, and have won for her as a sovereign the esteem of all the civilized nations of the world: nor is it necessary to mention those personal virtues that have surrounded her with one of the most moral Courts on the face of the earth. But we shall do well to remember that, during the fifty years she has been our Queen, she has ever shown a deep interest in the welfare of every class of her subjects, and that under her benignant rule we Catholics have especially to congratulate ourselves on having experienced the benefit of a great and practical development of the restoration of those equal rights of freedom which our fellow citizens enjoyed, but of which our forefathers had been so unjustly deprived. [Therefore the Service is ordered throughout the diocese] in thanksgiving to God for the blessings he has been pleased to bestow upon our Gracious Sovereign, and, at her hands, upon us her faithful and loyal subjects, during the fifty years that her glorious reign has lasted, and in humble supplication for a long continuance of the same.

At this time came the beginning of the end. On June 23, 1887, Ullathorne wrote from Stone to Manning:

MY DEAR LORD CARDINAL: I feel it my duty to communicate to you, in strict confidence, for it has been kept secret as a matter of prudence from the diocese, that in addition to my habitual infirmities, there came on gradually a month ago a certain amount of paralysis on my right side, not in feeling but in power of movement, which leaves me in a feeble state, so that with effort I write this letter. It is a well-known fact that *semel paralyticus semper paralyticus*. I shall no longer have either force of mind, energy of will, or capacity of motion to direct the affairs of the diocese. Of this I am fully conscious. It therefore becomes my conscientious duty at once to petition the Holy See for my retirement. For this diocese requires vigorous government, and I am no longer capable of directing that government even from my solitary chamber, as hitherto for some years, still less to move in it; and my state of health requires absolute repose, free from responsibility.

Having had great cares upon me ever since the year 1832, when I was sent out, a mere youth, to be Vicar General of Australia, where I had no bishop, and great difficulties to encounter beyond what is known, and having to lay the foundations out of which so much prosperity has sprung; having had to take the Western District of England when it

was utterly bankrupt; having had to take up the Midland District, when it was in a similar state of financial bankruptcy, although, thank God, its affairs are now much ameliorated: I do think that now, in my languid state of prostrate infirmity, I am entitled to the compassionate consideration of the Holy Father, and that this important diocese, with its many institutions, is entitled to grave consideration, that its government may be properly provided for.

What, therefore, I ask of your Eminence is, that in charity even more than in policy, you will kindly second my petition to the Holy See, that my few remaining days may be relieved from the burden I can no longer carry, and that this diocese may be provided with an efficient ruler.

With the sincerest affection and reverence, I remain, my dear Lord Cardinal,

Your devoted servant in Christ.

Manning, June 24: I have read your letter with true sorrow. I had hoped that for years to come we should have had the support of your experience and of your mind which is vigorous as ever. But God's will comes to us one by one, and to each in his turn. I make no comment on what you say; and whatsoever you bid me to do shall be done.

Your letter calls up the six-and-thirty years that we have known each other. They have been years of friendship and of confidence; and both have been matured and confirmed as we have drawn on towards the end. I have to thank you for many acts of kindness, and especially for those you showed me when I first came among you, as 'a dead man out of mind' to my former life. And it has been my consolation in the last two-and-twenty years to be in such full agreement with the old Vicars Apostolic, and especially with yourself.

I hope that any ailment you may have may be painless.

P.S.—I cannot forbear to add—Why not rest as you are and give the reins to your good auxiliary bishop?

(July 7.) MY DEAR LORD CARDINAL: Since I received your most kind letter, I have been prostrate with severe sickness, under which I still am labouring. But to-day I have mustered resolution to write my letter to the Cardinal Prefect of Propaganda, in which I have urged my petition for speedy deliverance from my responsibility. I am, in fact, a wreck, and no longer capable of duty. But the fact is still kept from the diocese, where it is only known that I am ill. It would be quite impossible for me to direct even in general any longer. I have stated to the Prefect of

Propaganda that I have communicated with your Eminence, and that you have most kindly promised what humanity requires. I did this, because when Bishop Amherst was in a similar state, he was advised to consult some of the senior bishops about his resignation, and to report their sense, which he did. But I have judged it more proper, as it is more in accordance with my feelings, to put myself in your hands, and that I do in confidence of your humanity towards me. If, therefore, in your great charity, you will say the kindest word you can for me either at Propaganda or to the Holy Father, I shall be eternally grateful.

(July 8.) MY DEAR LORD: I had been hoping that your silence implied only quiet, and I am grieved to hear its true cause. Your bidding is enough, and I will write both to Propaganda and to the Holy Father: and I hope that you will not let the thought of anxiety weigh upon you. Our Good Master, whom you have served so long and with so whole a heart, bids you to rest with peace and joy in His Presence. I hope that the gravity and dignity of your life as bishop may be impressed upon our episcopate, and that we may hand over the mind and spirit which we have received from you.

On July 31 the Cardinal Prefect of Propaganda wrote to Ullathorne that the Holy Father had acceded to his prayer, but required him to hold office until the appointment of his successor. Then, 'that due honour and thanks be given to your labours, the Supreme Pontiff in his benignity wishes you to be promoted to a titular archiepiscopal see.' A duplicate was sent to Manning, who wrote August 5:

A letter from Cardinal Simeoni, just received, tells me that on July 21 the Holy Father assented to your desire to resign your see, but enjoining you to continue its administration till a successor be appointed. Further the letter tells me that the Holy Father in recognition of your great merits has ordered that you shall be translated to a vacant archiepiscopal see.

Though I know that this has been directly communicated to you, I cannot deprive myself of the pleasure of writing it fully to you. It is a fitting testimony to the last of the Vicars Apostolic, whose hand was so effectual in the restoration of the Hierarchy.

I hope you are free from suffering.

The next day he wrote to Manning: 'Though I am slowly getting a little more strength, my right side is still feeble.' On August 9 was made the public announcement to the diocese:

In addition to the corporal infirmities under which I have laboured for years past, it has pleased God, in this eighty-second year of my age and forty-second of my episcopate, that I should be visited with another incapacitating infirmity, complete recovery from which is very unlikely. Conscious therefore that I was no longer able to bear the burden and responsibility of governing this important diocese, I deemed it my duty to present a humble petition to the Sovereign Pontiff, praying that he would deign to release me from the burden and provide the diocese with an efficient Pastor. In audience of the 21st of July, His Holiness was graciously pleased, in consideration of my age and broken health, to consent to my prayer. But he commands that I continue in office until my successor receives possession of the diocese. It behoves us, therefore, both clergy and laity, to offer prayers and supplications to God, that He would deign through the voice of His Vicar on earth to provide the diocese with a Pastor according to His own heart.

He was now sufficiently recovered to return from Stone to Birmingham, and his first act was to pay a visit to Cardinal Newman, when took place one of the most characteristic acts of Ullathorne's life. On August 18 he describes the visit:[1]

I have been visiting Cardinal Newman to-day. He is much wasted, but very cheerful. Yesterday he went to London to see an oculist. When he tries to read, black specks are before his eyes. But his oculist tells him there is nothing wrong but old age. We had a long and cheery talk, but as I was rising to leave, an action of his caused a scene I shall never forget, for its sublime lesson to myself. He said in low and humble accents, 'My dear Lord, will you do me a great favour?' 'What is it?' I asked. He glided down on his knees, bent down his venerable head and said, 'Give me your blessing.' What could I do with him before me in such a posture? I could not refuse without giving him great embarrassment. So I laid my hand

[1] *Letters*, p. 511.

on his head and said: 'My dear Lord Cardinal, notwithstanding all laws to the contrary, I pray God to bless you, and that His Holy Spirit may be full in your heart.' As I walked to the door, refusing to put on his biretta as he went with me, he said: 'I have been indoors all my life, whilst you have battled for the Church in the world.' I felt annihilated in his presence: there is a Saint in that man!

That autumn an old Pocklingtonian visited him, to chat over old memories of his birthplace, and left on record the impression made on him: 'He overflowed with humour and *bonhomie* that was very graceful.'[1]

He composed the Advent pastoral with great care, as a farewell to his flock, thinking it would be his last:

As we only hold the episcopal chair of the diocese until our successor is appointed, these are probably the last words that we shall address to you in that official capacity which has established a bond so sacred between us for the last forty years. So we gladly take the opportunity to offer you a few parting words of paternal advice.

The pastoral is a long one, on 'the meaning of life, and the value of the soul', words of practical wisdom and fervour, spoken from the old bishop's heart.

The usual Christmas letters were received and written: one to his niece:

I sit in my room in solitude, not being able to face the cold, and this great house is in solitude, for there are only two priests left in it. But I am fairly well, and always cheery. I have no end of Christmas letters before me, especially from the convents.

To the Prioress of Stone, the same day:

Thank you and all the dear sisters, who in the name of all have affectionately sent me their Christmas greetings and good wishes with their prayers. I like to get those little glimpses into the community which one or another sister gives, and their unity is always my joy.

'I am not speaking of you', as Mother Margaret used to say to me, when she made me an exception to all rules; but it would be very convenient if someone would invent a

[1] The account of the interview and the correspondence that arose out of it is interesting (*Letters*, pp. 492-8).

machine with which to answer Christmas letters in general. Put in the letter at one end, and bring out the answer at the other. But perhaps that might be a selfish Christmas, which is not always the happiest.

I do not expect to hear of my successor until the Jubilee festivities are over in Rome, and they will last some time.

Three nuns from Maryvale have come in for a Christmas visit, so I must shorten my letter. Nuns, nuns, nuns, when will there be an end of them!

My dear sisters, 'I don't mean you'! a happy Christmas-tide to you, and a prosperous New Year. I pray God to bless you all, and make you as good as I wish you, and more; and remain always,

Your devoted father in Christ.

The jubilee festivities in Rome were on the occasion of Leo XIII's fiftieth year of priesthood, which was celebrated with a worldwide acclaim. Consequently Ullathorne's release did not come until March, and he had to issue the two customary Lenten pastorals. On February 17 the bishop auxiliary, Right Rev. Edward Ilsley, was appointed to the See of Birmingham, but the news was not made public for a month. It was the appointment the old bishop was looking for, and he was greatly pleased. Immediately he received an Address from his clergy. On March 22 he replied, the following being the personal touch of the Reply:

In the Address with which you have honoured me, my brethren, I hear the farewell to the official relations that have so long existed between us. How I have desired your welfare has been very much the secret of my own breast. I have always been more thoughtful of your burdens than I have expressed, and have endeavoured to consult your legitimate feelings more by acts than by words. You have known little of those prolonged deliberations, and repeated consultations, that have preceded the changes that have affected your several positions. But for this you will give me credit, that I have always left you as much at freedom as my duty would permit. For how can a man work with confidence unless confidence is placed in him? As a rule, the earnest and instructed man will work best in his own way. It is also a grateful remembrance, that, during the long period of my episcopal administration, there has never been any painful necessity for using canonical censure, except once, when a suspension for twenty-four hours produced the desired effect.

And now, my Brethren, at this formal leave-taking, let me thank you all for your loyalty to your old Bishop, who still hopes for your friendship, still hopes for your prayers. I am a weak man by nature as others are; but in whatever through human frailty or infirmity I have failed in my duty towards you, for all that I humbly solicit your pardon, which in your generosity you will not refuse to grant me. For the blessing of God on the diocese, on its bishop, its clergy, its religious, and its faithful people, I shall never cease to pray as long as this enfeebled body remains to me.

Manning wrote on Good Friday:

I cannot say how much I was touched by your address of farewell to your clergy. It was in every way what it should be, and it must have drawn their hearts to you more closely than ever.

It is some time since I heard of you, and I hope you are in fair health, and enjoying the rest which you have well earned, and God has given you—both these are contained in 'deus nobis hoc otium fecit'. When He gives us rest, we have a right to it, and may revel in it. You have the great resource of interest in books, and in all things, and I hope no ailments come to hinder your enjoyment. We shall miss you much in Low Week, and we should be glad to see you as a *consiliarius natus*.

Ullathorne replied, Easter Sunday:

I thank you for your very kind letter, and salute you with *Gaudium Paschale*. It has pleased me much that you approve my address to the clergy, which seems to have been generally well received. I feel confident that under the new bishop this diocese will make steady progress on the lines already laid down.

He goes off to speak for two pages on the forty propositions from Rosmini's works recently censured at Rome, pointing out two further propositions which, in his judgement, ought to have been included. He says:

Five and forty years ago, whilst Rosmini was yet living, I warned his leading disciples in England, both by letter and voice, of these fundamental errors, and some of my letters were sent to Rosmini. . . . Yet for those who can distinguish, there are very fine things in his writings.

All the straps that bound on the load of responsibility are

flown, and I feel as light as a schoolboy turned out for his vacation. But the body with its infirmities is seldom long at ease, and requires both care and watching, which is a distraction. I should like to set to some steady mental work, but have not been equal to it this winter.

Another letter, written on Easter Eve to the Prioress of the Benedictine convent of Princethorpe, may be given; they had sent him a Paschal Lamb, decked out with ribbons and flowers:

How good of you to think of me so much. Gifts are valuable for the affections which they embalm. I thank you all for the lamb which you have sent me, symbolical of this sacred season, and especially for the kind and affectionate good wishes with which it is accompanied. May God give you all that *Gaudium Paschale* in all that sweetness and light which you wish your old bishop.

The ordinations are going on in the chapel, and here I am in my solitary room, become a useless and half helpless creature, all to the honour of God, who accepts weakness as well as strength.

One thing was weighing on his mind: 'I am at present a bishop at large, a sort of dowager, without a title.' In the letter of congratulation to Bishop Ilsley, he said: 'I want you in your letter of thanks to the Holy Father through the Cardinal Prefect of Propaganda, to ask for a title for me, who am now an untitled bishop.'

The brief translating him to the titular archiepiscopal see of Cabasa was duly sent to Manning, who forwarded it, May 16: 'I have much joy in being the first to salute you: and I hope you may have length of days in the midst of those who revere and love you.'

The old man took a childlike pleasure in his new dignity, and wrote to all his friends telling them about Cabasa. The very day on which he received the brief he had found all about it, and wrote to Bishop Ilsley:

I have received a brief to-day of date April 27, absolving me from the see of Birmingham and appointing me to the archiepiscopal see of Cabasa. Cabasa is the second metropolitan see of Lower Egypt, which has twelve sees subject to it since the fifth century, and is subject to the Patriarchate

of Alexandria. The bishop was at the Councils of Ephesus and Chalcedon. It is mentioned as a city by Ptolemy.

This business settled, he wrote: 'I shall be going out soon to pay a round of visits, and then return to steady work as far as my infirmities will allow.' The round of visits, it need hardly be said, were the farewell visits at his beloved convents. At the visit at Stone took place the parting with Newman. Just after Easter Newman had gone to see him at Oscott:[1]

To-day I have been honoured with a visit from Cardinal Newman, and never did he look more venerable, and show more feeling. He had fixed his mind all Lent to come and see me on Easter Monday. When that day came he was forbidden to leave the house. To-day was bright, and he came; he was brought to my room leaning on the arms of two priests, and we talked for an hour, after which he left. He can no longer read, and even if he tries to sign his name he cannot see what strokes he makes. But I was much touched by his conversation.

Of the last interview the following picture is drawn by the Prioress of Stone:[2]

On the 16th of July the community received an unexpected visit from the venerable Cardinal Newman, the last time they were ever to enjoy that privilege. His coming had been announced in the morning, and on his arrival he was met at the door by the Archbishop, who gave him his arm, and supported him to the community room, where he received the religious, saying a kind word to each whom he knew. He spoke of a visit he had lately made to London, and of the impression which the sight of the great metropolis had made on him, 'like a glimpse of the great Babylon. . . . It made me think of the words, "love not the world nor the things of the world." Perhaps, however, I am too severe, and only think in that way because I am an old man.' After a while he rose and blessed the community and returned to the guest room, still leaning on the Archbishop's arm. There he consented to rest for a short space and take some refreshment, the Archbishop pouring out tea for him and holding it to his lips.

To see these two venerable men thus together, one waiting on the other and supporting his feebleness, was a sight never

[1] *Letters*, p. 529. [2] Ibid., p. 533.

to be forgotten; and few who then saw them would have predicted that the elder, and more infirm of the two, would be the survivor.

The farewells to the convents cost him a great deal. One who remembers tells me that when the community came in he said: 'You see, the old man can't keep away from you', the tears flowing from his eyes. In the *Letters* (pp. 524-32) are given two addresses from the nuns of the diocese, the active and the contemplative, and the replies. In one he says that the first book he read after his 'conversion' as a youth at Memel was Marsolier's *Life of St Jane Frances Chantal:* 'and that book imprinted on my then fervid mind two perfect ideals like two immovable seals: the ideal of a bishop in the image of St Francis of Sales, and the ideal of a nun in the image of St Jane Frances. And however I may have fallen short in practice of the ideal of a perfect bishop, I have never since then lost sight of what belongs to the ideal of a perfect nun.'

In July a representative body of leading laymen of the diocese presented an address. He replied:

MY DEAR BRETHREN: The Address with which you have honoured me, on my retirement from the government of the diocese of Birmingham, is very gratifying to my feelings. I accept your kind words as placing a seal upon those relations of mutual duty and religious devotedness which have held us together in the bonds of charity for the last forty years.

You are pleased to refer to the works accomplished in the diocese during the period of my episcopate. But even with the co-operation of the reverend clergy, how could they have been effected without the moral support and material help of the laity, who have been ever ready to second our intentions, and to assist us in what we saw to be desirable? On this we relied, and in this we were never deceived.

The laity constitute the main body of the Church, whilst the priests are their spiritual guides. The laity protect the Church, as well as the bishops who direct its course. And that happy union of Pastor and Flock, which, through the blessing of God, has so long prevailed, and still prevails in the diocese, forms the strength of both Pastor and People, a strength derived from our unity in one divine faith, and in one cohesion of charity, which are gifts of God, and of which every member partakes in proportion to his or her fidelity.

But what the bishop is to his diocese, of which he is the centre of authority and bond of unity, that, in a much more exalted way, is the Vicar of Christ to the Universal Church of both Pastors and People. For it is through our communion with Christ's Vicar that we are all one in Christ. The Apostolic Pastor holds directly of Christ, the bishops hold of the Apostolic Pastor, the clergy hold of the bishop, the laity hold of the bishop with his clergy. Thus the power of unity runs in beautiful order from Christ the Supreme Fountain of Life, through the loving authority imparted to His Vicar, until it reaches every member of the divinely constituted co-operation, through which the Life of Grace perpetually flows.

It is not, therefore, the bishop alone, or the bishop with his clergy alone, but the bishop, clergy, and laity that, moved by one faith, and each contributing what his vocation gives him, combine their efforts to build up the Church, and to enrich her with good examples and good works.

In conclusion, allow me to express my firm belief, that, so long as the devoted laity continue with the clergy in the same happy unity with their bishop, which has hitherto blessed the diocese, the work of religion will make happy progress to the honour of God and the salvation of souls. And for my part, so long as I am able, I shall continue, as heretofore, to offer my humble supplication for that intention.

I pray God to bless and prosper you, and all the laity whom you represent, not forgetting your children, who are the coming hope of the flock. And I remain with deep respect and consideration for your long-tried goodness towards me,

Your devoted Servant in Christ.

On August 21 he was home again and wrote:

Worn out with my tour of two months and a half, I was glad to get back to the quiet of Oscott, and am slowly recovering the spring of my mind. All the convents have rivalled each other in their affectionate attention, and in their desire to get some word of advice from their old Father. [And to another at the same date:] I am essentially an infirm old man, and my paralysis does not diminish, but rather increases on the right side, which makes me slow in every act. But this is good discipline, and to be thankful for.

It must have been about this time that occurred Manning's last visit, described at the end of chapter XVI. The work to which Ullathorne now settled in, as the last work of his life,

was the revision of the *Autobiography*, with a view to posthumous publication. The original had been written twenty years before; in the revision now made it was much shortened, divided into chapters, and the style polished. The revised manuscript covers 245 closely written pages, breaking off abruptly at the Prior Park episode, 1846-7; the remainder of the printed volume, to 1851, was made up by the editor from the original form. As representing some six months' work of a man eighty-two years old and subject to chronic and painful infirmities, it is a wonderful monument of courageous industry and mental vigour: he speaks of it as 'a tedious job'.

So things went on till Christmas came round, and the last letter to Manning was written; he says:

I am slowly writing the history of my life up to 1851, where I stop after the establishment of the Hierarchy—not for publication, but for record. But there are so many curious and piquant things in it, especially connected with Australia, that it is pretty sure to get out after my time. I have heard of your Eminence's indisposition with some solicitude, but hope you are now getting strong again. Considering my infirmities, I am getting fairly through the winter. In anticipation I wish your Eminence a happy Christmas.

A letter written December 30 tells of the revival of some of the happiest recollections of the Australian days:[1]

To-morrow I celebrate a jubilee with a Congregation of the Irish Sisters of Charity (at their invitation), who are the breadth of the world away from me. The reason is this. It is fifty years since I landed the first five sisters in Sydney, after a voyage of five and a half months. Four of the five have gone to their reward. But they first grew in numbers, and are now 110 sisters, who have a large hospital in Sydney of 150 beds, another hospital at Parramatta, a young ladies' college, and an orphanage, and teach 3,000 children besides. They are just going to build a hospital at Melbourne. The good sister who survives is superioress of the convent and orphanage at Hobart, although eighty-nine years old. I had a letter from her last week. They were the first nuns in that new world, and that sister went out as a novice, and was the first professed in Australia. So this is a jubilee of gratitude for all that the Congregation has been able to do during the

[1] *Letters*, p. 538.

last fifty years. They were my first nuns, and their letters bring a glow to my heart.

His jubilee letter to the community is preserved in an Australian paper:

The letter just received from the representatives of that little band of Irish Sisters of Charity, which I planted at Parramatta fifty years ago, brings a glow upon my old heart. I have always loved and remembered them and their work at the old Factory at Parramatta. I look back with reverence to that first little convent, and thank God for all that has grown from it. Sometimes in your charity say a prayer for the old man, who in his younger days took such an affectionate care of your sisters, when, in those days of long voyages, they crossed the wide world of waters to Australia.

At the end of the letter of December 30 he speaks of himself:

Don't imagine I am solitary. I am never less alone than when alone. It is this peopled world that makes the solitude. I was made for a hermit, and tried hard when a novice to get leave to go to the French Trappists; but other people would not let me go. There is no greater pleasure in this world than being left alone. And as to low spirits, they have no business to exist, and need not exist if you will only have the pluck and patience to keep the soul above the animal senses.

So opened 1889, the Archbishop still writing and reading. A letter in January tells us he had just read Mrs Humphry Ward's new novel *Robert Elsmere*[1]; one of the beginning of February shows he had been studying the case of the Albigenses and their Manichaean tenets.[2] One more book he read in February, the last: the second volume of Dom Aidan Gasquet's *Henry VIII and the English Monasteries*, just published; beyond the interest of the subject, such a work responded in a special way to his life-long desire that ecclesiastical studies of the kind should be cultivated among his English Benedictine brethren. On February 27 he wrote:[3]

MY DEAR FR GASQUET: I thank you for the second volume of *Henry VIII*, which I have read with great interest. The exposure of what has been so long buried from sight is now complete, and the Catholics of this country owe you a great

[1] *Letters*, p. 540. [2] Ibid., p. 541. [3] *Downside Review*, 1889, p. 80.

deal, as well as the religious Orders. You have brought out Henry's character into a full blaze of light, especially in his letters about the rising in the North, and in his conduct to Robert Aske.

I had always been under the impressed (*sic*) that the greater monasteries had been supp——

At this point, what proved his last illness seized upon him, and the pen ceaselessly active for sixty years was laid down for ever.

For the first week no anxiety was felt; indeed, he said Mass, for the last time, on St Chad's Day, March 2. But fresh symptoms declared themselves, and on March 3 his doctor and friend told him there was no chance of recovery and that the end was near. 'Very well. Thank you, doctor. Then we must attend to the business of dying'; and looking at Fr Parker, he added significantly: 'There must be no *Cardinal Wiseman's Last Illness* about this.' 'Oh no, my Lord.' On the 10th the Last Sacraments were administered. On the 13th he told Fr Parker to send to Fr Gasquet the unfinished letter; in sending it Fr Parker wrote:[1]

From his death-bed our venerable old Father and Bishop bids me send this unfinished letter to you, with a last loving blessing. A grand old solid saint, in full possession of his faculties, he is humbly yet calmly and fearlessly awaiting the summons from the divine Master he has served so well. Always grand, he is grander than ever in the hour of his death: and to not a few will his noble example be a help when their own turn comes. It will be a comfort to his friends to know that he is dying from weakness of the heart's action, and not from what has been his cross for nineteen years.

Other reports of the last days are of the same tenor: 'Since the anointing there has been a gradual sinking and a long hard struggle between the disease and the vigorous constitution of the Archbishop. There has not been any acute suffering except at rare intervals; and at no time, except perhaps within the last few hours, has there been any loss of mental power.'

A number of characteristic sayings, of divers kinds, are

[1] *Downside Review*, 1889, p. 80.

recorded. To his doctor, with whom he had had many a philosophical chat, he said, with a smile: 'Well, doctor, now that the old limbs are falling to pieces, I feel that I am beginning to live in the land of metaphysics'; and added: 'You may think it presumptuous of me to say so, but my mind is completely tranquil.' His thoughts turned to the nuns: 'I have been thinking that if there is anything in my life that may induce God to have mercy on me, it is that I have never forgotten to take care of His nuns.' A special Papal blessing for the hour of death was obtained from Leo XIII, and Bishop Ilsley immediately on receipt of the document sent it out to Oscott by one of the priests: the dying Archbishop's words on receiving it were: 'Young man, you have been smoking a good cigar!' He had old-fashioned views on clerical smoking, though he was himself a great snuff-taker.

The long habits of personal piety, concealed during life, showed themselves in death, and when he thought himself unobserved he would pour forth his whole soul in ejaculatory prayers. Among the aspirations which flowed most constantly from his lips were some invocations of the Holy Name, which he repeated like a kind of litany: as 'Jesus Wisdom, Jesus Truth, Jesus Light, Jesus Mercy, have mercy on me; Jesus Mercy, supreme and infinite, have mercy on me.' Even when his head wandered it did but reveal more evidently the thoughts which occupied his mind and heart. His broken words were expressions of love and confidence in God, of prayer for the safety of the Church; whilst in the midst of these he would devoutly press his lips to the feet of the Crucifix.[1]

The night between March 18 and 19 was one of severe pain, and he was much exhausted. On March 20 the bulletin ran: He is declining slowly; he is conscious, playful at times, breathes with difficulty, but appears not to suffer acutely. That day he received a message from Bishop Hedley, answered by Fr Parker at 5.30.

The dear old Archbishop received your kind message with much pleasure. His reply was: 'Tell him I send him com-

[1] *Letters*, p. 542.

pletely my heart and my best desires.' With the exception of a slight wandering now and then, and even this is only a recounting of his dreams when dozing, his faculties are as sharp and clear as ever they were.

In all that even I have seen of him in fourteen years, I have never discovered the grandeur and nobility of his soul as I have seen them in the last few days. The valley of death has no terrors for him.

The message to Bishop Hedley was the last; soon after it he fell into his long agony. Fr Parker says he retained full consciousness and 'went before his God with his eyes open.' During it he said: 'The last of the Vicars Apostolic is passing.' And when the prayers of the dying were being recited, at the words 'from the snares of the devil deliver him, O Lord', he interjected, 'The devil's an ass!'[1]

On the turn of midnight one of the priests watching by his bed bent over him and told him that the Feast of St Benedict had now begun, and that his great patron would probably that day conduct him to Heaven. Then he uttered some words about the angels with St Benedict, giving the impression that he saw them. 'Do you *see* St Benedict and the angels?' he was asked; to which he replied distinctly: 'Yes, I see them.'[2]

At eight o'clock, Mass—the Mass of St Benedict—was said in his room, after which he remained quite conscious and constantly responding to the prayers that were recited. At a quarter past one of March 21, St Benedict's Day, he calmly and devoutly gave up his soul to God.

Cardinal Manning wrote to Bishop Ilsley:

He is the last of the old and great race, and we shall mourn his loss. He was always on the right and highest side, with the primitive instincts of a Catholic bishop. I feel his loss as a personal loss, for we have been friends of seven and thirty years, most intimate, and in true mutual confidence. We have worked together and taken counsel together, both in England and in Rome, on all matters, both the greatest and the least.

[1] This unexpected but characteristic comment is chronicled in the *Downside Review*, 1889, p. 136, and to my personal knowledge it was vouched for by two witnesses present at the time.

[2] *Letters*, p. 543.

Their differences, sometimes acute, inevitable between two men of such strong character, do not impugn the sincerity or the truth of this letter.

Manning's own age and infirmities prevented his venturing on the journey to Birmingham, but all the other bishops were at the Solemn Requiem Mass and funeral service at St Chad's, as was a great concourse of representative Catholic ecclesiastics and laymen. The Mass was celebrated by Bishop Ilsley, the sermon preached by Bishop Hedley. The preacher put into it his best, both of elevated penetrating thought and of graceful language; the burden is given in the title: 'A Spiritual Man'. It makes a fine characterization and a worthy tribute. Portions have been cited at the end of chapter XX.

Bishop Ullathorne was, in accordance with his own long-standing wish, buried in the chapel of Stone convent, beside his mother and near to Mother Margaret and Mother Imelda. His effigy is on the tomb, and round it the inscription:

HIC JACET CORPUS REVERENDISSIMI DOMINI GULIELMI BERNARDI ULLATHORNE EX ORDINE SANCTI BENEDICTI QUI ANNOS XXXVII PRIMUS EPISCOPUS BIRMINGHAMIENSIS SEDIT DEINDE IN ARCHIEPISCOPATUM CABASENSEM HONORIS CAUSA RELATUS SPIRITUM DEO REDDIDIT DIE FESTO SANCTI BENEDICTI ANNO DOMINI MDCCCLXXXIX

CUJUS ANIMAE PROPITIETUR DEUS

"At Rest"

CHAPTER XXII

LOOKING BACK

ULLATHORNE died on March 21, 1889; he was followed to the grave a year and a half later by Newman, August 11, 1890; and, after another year and a half, by Manning, January 14, 1892. Thus within a few months of each other passed away the three protagonists of the first forty years of the restored Catholic Hierarchy, and with their departure was closed a definite epoch in the life of the Catholic Church in England, an epoch with very marked characteristics of its own. It was a time of transition, of consolidation and growth; a time in which many problems were being faced, and by men of strong personality. And as this biography of Bishop Ullathorne is in effect a history of that period, it is proper to close it with a review of the men and things that went to make it up.

We have been concerned with England. But it is no more possible to isolate England from the rest of the world in things ecclesiastical than in things secular; the Catholic problems and movements that were working themselves out in England were in the main the problems and movements of the Catholic Church all the world over. Now the central figure of the Catholic Church during the period 1846 to 1878, the heart from which pulsated all movements of the Catholic body throughout the world, was the Pope, Pius IX. Just as for England this period was the Victorian Age, so for the Catholic Church was it the Age of Pio Nono.

A concatenation of circumstances gave him this position: his initial endeavour to establish a representative form of government for the States of the Church and to meet the desires of the popular and national elements in Italy; the revolutionary response to these endeavours, leading to the assassination of his Minister, to his own imprisonment in the Quirinal and escape from Rome, and to the setting up of the Roman Republic; on his restoration, the constant conspiracies

against his government; the betrayal of the Papal States to Piedmont by Louis Napoleon, whereby a free hand was given to annex all except Rome and the original Patrimony round Rome; the actual seizure by Piedmont in 1860 of these States in the process of the unification of Italy; the systematic anti-ecclesiastical and anti-religious legislation of most of the countries of Europe, often amounting to persecution, the offspring of the revolutionary tempests of '48 and the materialistic and irreligious tendencies of the time; finally, the seizure of Rome in 1870: all this made up a culmination of trials, conflicts, sorrows, that drew powerfully to the person of Pius the hearts and sympathies of the Catholic world.[1] And not of Catholics only: in 1848 *The Times* could write: 'Personally the deposed Pontiff has exhibited to the world no small share of evangelical virtues; the apparition of so benignant and conscientious a man on the papal throne in the midst of the turmoils of Europe, has forcibly struck the imagination and won the affection of the whole Roman Catholic population of the world.'

On the spoliation of the States of the Church in 1860 a great wave of indignant protest swept over the Catholic world. We have noted the public meeting of the Catholics of Birmingham, and Ullathorne's stirring speech (I, 185); similar meetings were held in all countries, and there was not a Catholic bishop but charged his flock in a pastoral of vehement protest.

Thus Pio Nono's misfortunes, added to the wonderful charm and magnetism of his personality, which was felt by all who came into contact with him, and to which we have heard Ullathorne bear witness (I, 184, 186, 230, 244, 246; II, 106), drew to him in an unprecedented measure the hearts of all Catholics; so that with him began what may well be called the modern Catholic devotion to the person of the Pope. At all times had the Pope been looked on as the Vicar of Christ and Head on earth of the Church; but it was a recognition of the office more than of the person. The great Popes of the Middle Ages, the Hildebrands and Innocents, in all their greatness, were not such as to kindle this personal devotion;

[1] All this is well brought out by W. Ward, *Life of Wiseman*, chs. XVI and XXVIII.

nor those of the Renaissance, or the Counter-Reformation; nor the uninspiring Popes of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Pius VI and Pius VII first called forth such feelings of personal devotion by their ill-treatment and sufferings at the hand of Napoleon; but it was towards Pius IX in his manifold misfortunes that the great outburst of passionate personal love and loyalty blazed up in Catholic hearts, and gave vent to that devotion to the person of the Holy Father that is one of the characteristics of present-day Catholicism.

On his death Newman, who spoke from personal experience, described the attraction exercised by Pio Nono:[1]

> His misfortunes had something to do with his popularity. The whole world felt that he was shamefully used as regards his temporal possessions; no foreign power had any right to seize upon his palaces, churches, and other possessions, and the injustice showed him created a wide interest in him; but the main cause of his popularity was the magic of his presence. His uncompromising faith, his courage, the graceful intermingling in him of the human and the divine, the humour, the wit, the playfulness with which he tempered his severity, his naturalness, and then his true eloquence, and the resources which he had at command for meeting with appropriate words the circumstances of the moment, overcame those who were least likely to be overcome.

Without this background of Pio Nono the Catholic history of the time, alike in England and elsewhere, is unintelligible.

To come now to England. From the restoration of the Hierarchy in 1850 until his death in 1865, the dominant figure among the English Catholics was Wiseman. After reading again and again, and maturely pondering over the materials collected for the Lives of the four great churchmen, Wiseman, Manning, Newman, Ullathorne, the impression finally and clearly graven on my mind is that, taken all in all, Wiseman stands out as the greatest. He was not the deep acute thinker that Newman was; nor the masterful resourceful man of affairs that Manning was; nor had he the sound practical grip of men and things that Ullathorne had: but in the combination of richly endowed nature, and attractive lovable personality, and well-balanced all-round charac-

[1] *Addresses by Cardinal Newman*, p. 242.

ter, and many-sided intellectual attainments, and successful achievement of a great life-work—in short, as a complete man, he surpassed them all.

This, of course, means Wiseman at his best, before the illnesses and infirmities and troubles of the last years of his life—the Wiseman up to 1855. From this date, when the conflicting influences symbolized by Errington and Manning began to play upon him, and the controversies with Chapter and suffragan bishops broke out, he was thrown into an atmosphere of conflict for which his temperament was little suited. It is easy to see how the differences with the bishops arose: Barnabò's diagnosis (I, 242) was very shrewd and very true. In the years before the Hierarchy and during the first years after it, Wiseman was, by standing and attainments and powerful personality, beyond all compare the outstanding figure among the bishops, and he naturally and without contradiction asserted his leadership, which grew, without his or the others being aware of it, into a kind of hegemony, and he became the One Man among the bishops and clergy. And so he became accustomed to lay down the law, and expected the bishops to accept his rulings and ideas without question: we have seen how he resented the idea that at their meetings questions should be settled by formal votings and majorities. But as the other bishops grew older in years and experience, they naturally, and properly, challenged this supremacy—and they were upheld by Rome.

At such a juncture neither Errington nor Manning was the best kind of adviser for Wiseman. Errington was too unsympathetic; Manning too akin in temperament to the autocratic mood into which Wiseman had insensibly grown. Manning encouraged him to fight every point uncompromisingly, with the result that he was involved in loss upon loss at Rome, and sorrow upon sorrow at home. A more moderate-minded confidant, who could take a sounder view of the real values of the issues at stake, would have been a better friend for Wiseman, and he could so have been spared much of the sorrow and sadness of his last years.

After Wiseman, Manning. It has to be recognized that Manning's weaker side has been in evidence in these pages. His failures, small and great, have stood out, rather than

his very real greatness. Ullathorne's characterization of the stronger side of him is very just: 'a magnificent ecclesiastic, who would have stood his ground like St Thomas of Canterbury' (p. 159). He was a great churchman. And he was a great diocesan bishop and devoted pastor of souls. This aspect, naturally, does not appear here, and should be sought in the biographies of him; but even there it is somewhat dwarfed by the magnitude of the part he played in public philanthropic and social reform movements. Always was he pre-eminently the Bishop of the Poor. He himself enumerates these three as the outstanding strivings of his episcopate:[1]

1. The education of the children in the Faith.
2. The saving of the people from intemperance.
3. The raising of the priesthood of the diocese.

At his first public speech, while only Archbishop-elect, he pleaded the cause of the 20,000 children of the Catholic poor in London, for whom there were not Catholic schools, and declared that to provide schools for them would be the first charge on his endeavours as bishop.[2] He was true to this promise: and not only did he provide schools, adequate according to the requirements of those times; he did more. In 1866 he set on foot a 'Diocesan Education Fund', which by dint of unflagging energizing he made to grow into a great sum, enabling him to cope with immediate needs, and to hand on to his successor a considerable fund. To all his great appeals, for schools, for seminary, for the ill-starred university college, the Catholic laity never failed to respond with generosity.

And not only towards the poor of his flock did Manning's heart go out, but to all the poor of London. One of the finest passages in the well-known 'Hindrances' is that wherein he appeals to Catholic priests 'to come out of the sacristy', and throw themselves into the national life, playing their part in all the philanthropic works afoot in London and throughout the country.[3] He longed to see Catholics, clergy and laity, taking their full share in promoting all good works, collaborating with men of good will of whatever religion; and he laments that so few Catholics were doing so. Manning's

[1] Purcell, p. 683. [2] Ibid., ch. xv. [3] Ibid., pp. 775, 781.

real claim to greatness lay in these wider issues. Earlier perhaps than most, he realized the inequalities and injustices of the actual modern social system, built up on industrialism, commercialism, machinery, unbridled competition, and the old-fashioned academic political economy; and he was one of the first to raise his voice in protest against the unchristian character of it all. His protest told not only in England but in Rome, and as one of the greatest achievements of his life must it be reckoned that he it was who, along with Cardinal Gibbons of Baltimore, encouraged Leo XIII to issue the great Encyclical of his Pontificate, the *Rerum Novarum*, on the Conditions of Labour, the formulation of Catholic teaching on the economic troubles that are vexing the world to-day.[1]

Manning's dream was that the Catholic religion should appeal to the working classes of England as a religion that recognized the injustice of the actual conditions in which their lot is cast; able and willing to sympathize with their claims and aspirations; able and willing to show them the way to better things. He wanted the Catholic religion to make a great appeal to the people. And in his own life and person he showed the way magnificently. It would be out of place here to enlarge on this topic. Purcell's *Life* is often criticized as belittling its subject: but surely on this, the greatest side of Manning's life, the chapter 'Philanthropist, Politician, Social Reformer', makes the great Cardinal stand out in his full stature, and a grand stature it is. The position he held in the public estimation of the working classes of England was one, it may safely be said, such as has not been held by any other ecclesiastic or religious leader of any religious body in England. And the fact came out at the wonderful funeral, the like of which has never quite been witnessed in London.[2]

More than once in his musings does he pray that his successor may be one to carry on this side of his life-work, and to press along through the door that has been opened for him, towards gaining the confidence of the working masses and winning them for Christianity and Catholicism. But it could

[1] A series of articles by S. Leslie in the *Dublin Review*, on special aspects of Manning's life, are of great interest. Anyone who would know Manning must read his retreat notes in preparation for consecration (1920, Jan.).

[2] Purcell, p. 813.

not be; the position was too personal a one to be inherited, and Manning's great public bid to win the workers could not be kept up by another.

Some words of Purcell's are worth quoting:[1]

> Cardinal Manning had in him all the stuff to make a successful philanthropist; tenacity of purpose, an unbending will, a horror of evil, not only in its consequences but in itself. Even his faults added new strength to his action. Persuaded in his own mind that his view of a question was the right view, there was no room or standing-place for doubt or hesitation. Such absolute certitude, and such reliance on his own judgement imparted directness and force to his action Against such an opponent, protected, like Ajax, by a sevenfold shield, composed of self-confidence, self-will, obstinacy, horror of sin, sympathy with its victims, indifference to hurt, contempt of blame, there was no fighting.

This, if forcibly put, is still, I think, a true picture. It is likely that Manning's very complex personality will exercise a perennial fascination on writers of character sketches and psychological studies, and I have no thought of entering into competition with the brilliant essayists who have made Manning their theme.[2] Still must something be said. Indeed, in various passages in these pages has the view found expression that a certain intellectual intransigence in his estimations of men and things and ideals marred Manning's high qualities of mind and spirit and will power. The view he embraced was for him the one absolute truth, and he suffered from an inability to see any other side, or to recognize that there could be another side. Every such view was for him a vital issue, and he was incapable of discriminating between things that really mattered and those that did not: we have seen that in his eyes each one of Wiseman's differences with the bishops was vital; and yet we now know that most of them did not matter much, and nearly all were decided adversely at Rome. We have had only too much painful

[1] P. 593.

[2] The most recent is A. Lunn, in *Roman Converts*. As a quite convincing protest against Strachey's wrong-headed and flippant presentation in *Eminent Victorians*, it is very welcome; but the thesis underlying it—that all religions being irrational, and Catholicism the most irrational of all, therefore the most intransigent expressions of Catholicism are the truest—will not readily be accepted by Catholics.

evidence of the hard uncharitable judgements on others into which he was pushed by such judgements of the intellect. All this was felt by the men of the time. There is a letter from Dr Northcote, President of Oscott, to Ullathorne in 1872: it may be remembered that a movement was then on foot to ask at Rome for a reopening of the University Question (see p. 35), and Manning undertook to send to Propaganda a Report setting forth the whole argument *pro* and *con*. Northcote, when he saw the Report, wrote to Ullathorne:

I hope it will not come under the head of 'speaking evil of dignities', if I say that I never read a document which so much disgusted me, from its palpable injustice, and even occasional falsehood; and that it goes very far in my mind towards justifying the hardest things that Newman has ever said of its author. I suppose it arises from sheer inability to take in any view of a subject which differs from his own.

But it was not a matter of psychology only; there was a theological background to this mentality. In quite an unusual measure was Manning possessed with the idea that he was under the guidance of the Holy Ghost. He was filled with this persuasion. At the end of his life he speaks of the Holy Ghost as 'the chief thought and devotion of my whole soul', 'to whom almost palpably I owe all things.'[1] In the retreat before consecration he accepted the position that he was in a quite special way placed in the archbishopric by the Holy Ghost.[2] And he held this not merely as a religious belief, but literally, and as an acting principle in the affairs of life. We have heard him declare that his unbending attitude on the University question was due to 'nothing less than the Holy Ghost' (p. 37); that the decline of the Religious Orders was the work of the Holy Ghost (p. 153); the action of the Westminster Chapter in opposing the Cardinal 'must displease God.'[3] This frame of mind was, no doubt, a relic of the evangelical influences that played so strongly on Manning in his younger days.

As the result of such a mentality, all reacting against his

[1] Purcell, p. 795. [2] *Dublin Review*, 1920, Jan., p. 12.

[3] Purcell, p. 101. Similarly the lay address to Newman in 1867 was, for Manning, 'a revelation of the absence of Catholic instinct' (Purcell, p. 316).

views was ascribed to low, worldly, unworthy motives. The almost incredible fanaticism with which certain dominant ideas were held comes out in the famous 'Hindrances to the Spread of the Catholic Church in England' (Purcell, ch. XXVII). Among many things which in so far as they are true, might well be looked on as real hindrances, and after passages of compelling religious force, it comes as a shock to find among minor hindrances such things as that the bishops drink wine and encourage theatricals in convent schools![1]

For all that, I am disposed to believe that in the domestic controversies among the English Catholics, Manning would have played a less uncompromising rôle had he been left to himself, had Ward not been at his elbow ever whispering, or rather ever shouting, in his ear counsels of intransigence. In particular, I think there is reason for believing that but for Ward, Manning's attitude to Newman would have been other, to the great benefit of the Catholic cause. In the matter of the Oxford Oratory, it is clear that Manning was willing to give, and did give, advice to Rome that led to the project being at first sanctioned, and this though believing that it implied Newman's residence in Oxford (p. 24). Ward, on the other hand, as we have heard him say (p. 27), looked on it as nothing less than a sacred cause to do all he could to frustrate the project.

The best characterization of W. G. Ward is the 'Psychological Study' by Baron Friedrich von Hügel, who knew him well.[2] And of course anyone who wishes to understand him—and he is in many ways worth understanding—should read Wilfrid Ward's two volumes of biography of his father and of history of the religious and intellectual movements in which he took part. In Ward's case also, it is the weak side of him that has been seen in these pages. His strength lay in the domain of abstract thought, of philosophy. He was a powerful and acute thinker in metaphysics, psychology, and ethics; and he was a recognized force in the English philosophical world of the 'sixties and 'seventies, the time when materialistic, sceptical, agnostic schools of thought were in the

[1] Purcell, p. 793.

[2] In *W. G. Ward and the Catholic Revival*, pp. 365-75; R. H. Hutton's 'Study' in the same place also is good.

ascendant, under such leaders as J. S. Mill, Bain, Spencer, Tyndall, Huxley. With all these Ward was in relation by correspondence or by public debate at the Metaphysical Society and in the magazines; and he was recognized by them as perhaps the most effective defender of the fundamental positions of the philosophy of Theism, such as necessary truth, causation, and free will. His articles on such subjects gave its prestige to the *Dublin Review* under his editorship, and helped to raise it to a high position among the quarterlies.

Ward's mind was constituted on extremely absolute lines. Suspension of judgement was a positive discomfort to him, and he could not understand or tolerate it as a state of mind to be acquiesced in by himself or others. He had a craving for logical completeness and clear-cut conclusions to be held with luminous intellectual certitude. For pure mathematics and for metaphysics such a habit of mind is no doubt helpful; but when applied to more concrete and more complex subject matters, Ward's intellectual absolutism led him to the extreme and extravagant views of things and persons that we have so often encountered in these pages. To disagree with him was to be absolutely wrong; and where matters of faith or religion were concerned, it was to be an 'unsound and disloyal' Catholic. And there was no mincing matters: he was constitutionally incapable of thinking or expressing himself in moderate language: he thought and wrote in superlatives—immeasurably, unthinkably, unspeakably, incalculably, alarmingly, and suchlike, were his adverbs of predilection, and they were scattered broadcast over every page of his writings. Yet was he by the testimony of his friends a singularly kind-hearted and lovable man. He seems to have been a sort of theological 'Lawrence Boythorn' in *Bleak House*, a lovable personality, who habitually expressed himself with extreme violence, breathing vengeance on everyone who differed from him.[1]

[1] 'We have been misdirected by a most abandoned ruffian who told us to take the turning to the right instead of to the left. He is the most intolerable scoundrel on the face of the earth. I would have that fellow shot without the least remorse. I have not the slightest doubt that the scoundrel has passed his whole existence in misdirecting travellers. I thought him the worst-looking dog I had ever beheld, when he was telling us to take the turning to the right.'

Ward's relations with Newman were a curious combination of reverential affection and strong intellectual disapproval. He never lost the old sense of discipleship of the Tractarian days; yet he pursued, we may say persecuted, Newman persistently for ten years and more both in England and in Rome. The reason was that his mind being constituted quite differently from Ward's, and loving moderation and balance, Newman would not accept Ward's dogmatic certitudes, and resisted what he looked on as the tyranny of imposing them on all as Catholic doctrine. For this Ward denounced him as 'minimizer', disloyal, unsound, anti-Catholic, and the whole gamut of epithets we have heard so often.

When at the time of his appointment to Westminster Manning showed a desire of establishing better relations with Newman, Ward wrote him a letter on the day of his consecration, to stiffen him in his attitude of opposition:[1]

> Is it not dangerous to speak of J. H. N. with *simple* sympathy? If it is true (and I for one have no doubt at all) that he is exercising a most powerful influence in favour of what is *in fact* (though he doesn't think so): (1) Disloyalty to the Vicar of Christ, and (2) worldliness—is not harm done by conveying the impression that there is no cause for distrust?

It will be noticed that these are the very notes, 'worldliness' and 'disloyalty', struck in Manning's letter to Talbot (I, 358), substantively, if less bluntly. I do not suggest that Ward did not find in Manning an apt pupil; Manning's mind was of the same absolutist cast as Ward's; but his undoubtedly great mental powers lay in the direction of the practical intellect—policy, organization, affairs—rather than in the direction of the speculative intellect. Ward supplied what may be called the theological brains of the Manning group of English extremists; it was he who laid down the principles which they asserted and on which they acted. I doubt that Manning would have taken up such extreme positions on many points, and I am sure that he would not have maintained them so consistently, had there not been this powerful uncompromising mind behind him, pressing every principle to the cracking-point, envisaging the most complex problems with complete mental clarity and cut and dried logical method,

[1] Purcell, p. 309.

such as most men leave behind on emerging from youth. This logical clearness of view and certitude no doubt struck a sympathetic chord in Manning's mind; but Manning, for all his positiveness, showed himself sometimes able to shift from a position once strongly held, without apparently being conscious of any change—witness his change of view in regard to the Temporal Power of the Popes.

Another who has not appeared attractively is Herbert Vaughan. We find it difficult to recognize the serene Cardinal, whom we knew and revered so greatly, in the truculent editor of the *Tablet*—'overbearing' is Snead-Cox's word.[1] It may be thought that, seeing his character and natural temperament and his enthusiasms, Manning and Ward were not the best friends for him in his young days. They tended to encourage rather than restrain the weaker unbalanced side of him. Not until he passed from under their immediate influence and dominance on going to Salford as bishop, had he the fair chance of self-determination, which enabled him to mature into the noble character he was in the last and greatest phase of his life. However, there is no chance of injustice being done to his memory in presence of the worthy monument erected to him by J. G. Snead-Cox in the *Life*.

Of all possible characterizations of Newman, 'worldly' must surely appear to us in our day the most strangely incongruous. For Catholics of the present generation his writings are a treasury of religious and spiritual teaching, no less than an armoury of effective weapons for apologetics and controversy. The volume of *Devotions and Meditations*, and the musings of so many of the spiritual diaries and intimate letters printed in the *Life*, as also, on the side of intellect, the Lectures on the *Idea of a University*, all make the idea of Newman's 'worldliness' appear to us as something comical. We find it hard to imagine what Herbert Vaughan found 'abhorrent' in the *Apologia* (I, 332), or Talbot 'detestable' in the *Letter to Pusey* (Purcell, p. 322). Stranger still: I once heard a well-known layman, a survivor of the inner group of Manning's adherents, tell, and with full-hearted agreement, that Dr Coffin used to say that all Newman's Catholic writings should be on the Index!

[1] *Life of Cardinal Vaughan*, I, 210.

It is not out of any love of scandal, or for the sake of raking up old controversies that such things are here recited: it is in order to illustrate a mentality very active in certain Catholic circles in the 'sixties in England and elsewhere, without a realization of which the Catholic controversies and movements of the time cannot be understood. The 'variance' of Manning and Newman is apt to be treated as a personal affair between the two men; but in reality it was much more: it was a symptom of a conflict of ideas working itself out in different ways and measures throughout the Catholic body of the whole world. This mentality, that in England found its chief expression in hostility to Newman, was in England limited to a comparatively small group, for the most part converts. The hereditary Catholics as a rule, bishops, clergy, laymen, felt no such disapproval or distrust of Newman. Dr Hedley was in every way as good a representative of the generation of hereditary Catholics that had grown up after the Hierarchy, as Ullathorne was of the older generation. He was a Benedictine monk of Ampleforth, brought up in the best tradition of the old Catholic school, a learned man and a good theologian, who in 1873 became auxiliary bishop to Dr Brown of Newport, and in 1878 succeeded Ward as editor of the *Dublin Review*. His letter of congratulation to Newman on the cardinalate is one of those printed by W. Ward:[1]

I can testify that the whole generation of Catholics with whom I have grown up have, to a very large extent indeed, formed themselves on your writings. We have longed for you to speak, we have devoured what you gave us, and we have all along looked to you with pride and confidence, as to a leader and a father.

And in the *Dublin* of that July, 1879, he devoted an article to Newman in which he said:

Speaking for the born-Catholics of a generation now no longer young, the writer can say with affectionate sincerity that they have grown up and thriven on the writings of John Henry Newman; their early years were brightened by his genius; their hearts were stirred in youth by his pictures of the holiness and majesty of God's Kingdom; their mature

[1] *Newman*, II, 580.

studies have been illuminated by his far-reaching thought; and they have looked up to him—and do now more than ever look up to him—as a leader and a father.[1]

Enough has appeared in these pages—especially at the close of chapters XI, XII, and XV—to show that Bishop Hedley here spoke the mind of the Catholic body in England, of the hereditary Catholics, and of the majority of the converts.

Manning's friends had a sense that he was the man raised up by God to purge and make new and uplift the English Catholic body. Shortly after his appointment Talbot wrote:[2]

The real motive why the Pope named you is because he thought you were the man to introduce a new spirit into the Church in England, which required it, as was seen by the conduct of the Chapter and the bishops.

On hearing of Wiseman's death, Herbert Vaughan wrote from South America, where he was on the great begging tour for his Mill Hill College for Foreign Missions:[3]

Who is to sit in his vacant place? Who is to put on his armour? Who is to continue the work of which he laid the foundations? It will require very delicate and prudent fingers to draw the threads which must bring into closer relationship the Church and the State; and above all it will need a very clear head and a very unfaltering hand, and the seven gifts of the Holy Ghost, to meet the disloyal Catholic intellect, which seems to be growing with the luxuriance and the strength of a weed. The only man I see is my Father Superior. The Holy Ghost has hard times of it with us English Catholics.[4]

Manning himself, without any doubt, had this sense of 'mission': his belief in the need of a great renovation in the spirit of English Catholicism has shown itself in many words cited in these pages. It is expressed in a letter to Ward on the eve of his elevation to the archbishopric, written in January 1865:[5]

[1] *Dublin Review*, July, 1879, p. 203. He adds: 'They have not always quite agreed with a phrase or a paragraph.'

[2] Purcell, p. 257. [3] *Life of Vaughan*, I, 141.

[4] Compare letter to Manning on hearing of the appointment, ibid., p. 148, and Purcell, p. 245: 'This power to carry out those noble aspirations for the Church in England of which we used to speak.'

[5] *W. G. Ward and the Catholic Revival*, p. 188.

The more I look at our position the more I seem to see that nine men in ten are going wrong from some of these causes:

1. Half-conversion to the Church.
2. Half-instruction in the catechism.
3. Want of all philosophy.
4. Anti-Catholic philosophy of Germany and Scotland.
5. The *reliquiae* of Anglicanism, religious, ethical, and social.
6. Mistrust of high truths, and of those who teach them, because of the cry of bigotry, etc.
7. Disloyalty, *pericula ex falsis fratribus.*
8. Fear, shame, and shrinking from the truth and the Cross in the face of the English world.

Thus in Manning's mind on becoming archbishop all the English Catholics, converts and old Catholics alike, were, for one reason or another, unsatisfactory and unsound, all but the little remnant of one-tenth that adhered to him.

After sixty years it can said that English Catholicism has not undergone any radical transformation; the stamp of Manning, Faber, Ward, has not been imprinted on it; no doubt their influence has told: but the old stock of English and Irish Catholicism, fire-tried in the long years of persecution and penal laws, has proved itself the strongest, and has maintained itself in its essential characteristics, and has come out 'dominant'; present-day Catholicism in England is more 'Ullathorne' than 'Manning'. On the devotional side there has been an infusion of the spirit and practices of Catholics abroad; but this would have come in any case by force of increased contact with Catholic countries, as it came under Ullathorne at Coventry before '45. Manning's special influence on the Catholic Church in England was exercised *ad extra;* by his personal relations with leading statesmen and public men, by his administrative ability, and by the part he played in great works of social reform, he brought the Catholic Church strongly into public knowledge and repute, and into the life of the nation, and lifted it up to a recognized place among the great religious institutions of the country: and all this in a measure which no one else could have achieved. But if our Catholicism be taken as just the religion of the Catholics of England, there is room for doubt whether it is much different now from what it would have

been, had Errington or Ullathorne or Clifford succeeded Wiseman.

It has become the fashion to speak of Newman as hypersensitive, a *souffre-douleur*. But when count is taken of the nature of the persistent campaign carried on against him in England and in Rome by Ward, Talbot, Coffin, Herbert Vaughan, and with Manning's assent; how such charges as unorthodoxy, unsoundness, disloyalty, worldliness, lowness of view, evil influence, Gallicanism were freely levelled against him during a period of ten years and more; and further when it is remembered that he knew quite well all the time all that was being spoken and whispered against him, so that he felt the cloud he was under: when all this is taken into consideration, it will be recognized that to possess his soul in peace and not to mind, he must needs have been not merely uncommonly thick-skinned, but even rhinoceros-hided.

But for the cardinalate at the end—like a radiant summer sunset after a dark and stormy day—Newman's Catholic life was, from the human point of view, a sad one. The trials were very real, and beyond the lot of most of us Not owing to his own oversensitiveness or temper, but to unaccountable failures and mishandlings on the part of the ecclesiastical authorities at whose call he embarked with zeal on enterprises of much magnitude, was he involved in vexation on vexation, disappointment on disappointment, failure on failure. This stands out big in the *Life*. The chief of these cases was the Catholic University in Ireland, which consumed six years of his prime of life.[1] Lesser cases of such troubles were the Achilli affair; the *Rambler* episode; the non-presenting at Rome of the letter thereon to Wiseman, with the consequent seven years of suspicion on the part of Rome; the Oxford Oratory; the attacks on him, in public and private, kept up

[1] It would be beyond the scope of this book to enter on the subject of the Catholic University; but as I never again shall have a chance of putting on record my father's estimate of the episode, I do so here. He was on the staff as professor of mathematics from beginning to end of Newman's rectorship, and for the first months he acted as working Vice-rector, and so was in close communion with Newman. His view was that Dr Cullen and the Irish bishops, not having themselves had a University education, did not properly understand what it was, and, with one or two exceptions, did not really want such a University as Newman had in mind; their idea was a glorified Seminary for the

without intermission for so long a time; the publication of the letter during the Vatican Council: all this and more made up a very real cup of bitterness.

But more bitter still was the abiding sense of powers wasting, of arms rusting, that might be used—he knew it well, and proved it on occasion, as in the *Apologia*—powerfully and effectively in the cause of religion, of dogmatic truth, of the Catholic Church, the great causes which at all times he had sought to serve. And the sense of impotence was made more poignant by the contrast with the past. The herald and chief teacher in a religious revival; the leader in setting on foot a religious movement that still went on after his leadership was withdrawn, and has been gathering force from that day to this; the object of the devoted loyalty, reverence, and love of an ever widening group of earnest and zealous disciples; and all this broken, given up, when the call became clear to recognize and accept the Roman Communion as the One Catholic Church of Christ: and then, in the eyes of the great world, no apparent recompense for the sacrifice, no adequate scope for his proved power of religious leadership. It was, from the standpoint of this world, a long-drawn tragedy. No wonder that Ullathorne once said to him that he was being led by the way of mortification.[1] It was indeed the way of the Obscure Night. The explanation of it all is to be found in the spiritual diaries and intimate letters reproduced by Ward: not insensibility, but acceptance, resignation, faith, trust, are the dominant notes. I call to mind only one note of querulousness, in a letter to Ullathorne, when he says, 'I really think no one has so many troubles as I, and I hope they are a proof of God's love to me.' Well earned were the words of the final public setting right of all that seemed so mysterious and wrong, unless in the light of the Cross:[2]

laity. He considered that Newman's being invited to be Rector was, in the circumstances, a misconception and mistake from the beginning, and had not a chance of succeeding. He was devoted to Newman. I think he would endorse W. Ward's presentation of the case. Ward had a long talk with him over it all in his old age, when writing the account. He asked my father to put in his hands the large dossier of Newman's letters which he still had; but he thought them too private, and burned them all.

[1] I cannot recover the passage, but it is in one of Newman's letters cited by Ward.

[2] Cardinal Nina's formal letter (Ward, *Newman*, II, 583).

The Holy Father, deeply appreciating the genius and learning which distinguish you, your piety, the zeal displayed by you in the exercise of the Holy Ministry, your devotion and filial attachment to the Holy Apostolic See, and the signal services you have for long years rendered to religion, has decided on giving you a public and solemn proof of his esteem and goodwill.

The thought rises to the mind, How different it would be now! What we now would give for an Oratory at Oxford, with a Newman at its head! What leadership in Catholic movements would be his! How gladly would his great powers be used to the utmost! What free scope would be given him in writing, preaching, lecturing, speaking! It all means a great change. Truly are we living in a new epoch. But no doubt our peace has been purchased at the cost of the conflicts of the 'sixties. Our Fathers strove and laboured, and we have entered on their labours. Yet in a way those were fine times to live in. The atmosphere of stress and controversy of the pre-Vatican years had a bracing effect on the Catholic body, and produced a number of keenly alert minds among both clergy and laity. Vital religious interests, intellectual and practical, were debated with great earnestness and great learning by a number of highly cultivated keen combatants. As reflected in the Catholic press, especially in the 'Correspondence' columns and 'Letters to the Editor', the Catholic mind now finds its interests on lower intellectual levels than in those days. We are living in a time of more practical activities, a time of organization, of federations and congresses and councils and societies and guilds. The change here noticed is not peculiar to the Catholic body; it is going on all around us and we are only taking part in the general movement. Meanwhile, though thankful that our lot is cast in quieter times, we should hold in grateful remembrance those more difficult days when strong men strove with one another.

It may seem that, just as Ullathorne himself was the recognized intermediary between Manning and Newman, so should it fall to his biographer to adjudicate on the rights and wrongs of the differences between them. But this has been done so judiciously and so fairly by Fr Ryder that I may be allowed to forgo the task. Ryder's article on Pur-

cell's *Life of Manning* was first written in response to an invitation from Cardinal Vaughan that he should review the book in the *Dublin Review;* but it was withheld by Ryder himself, and never saw the light until 1911, in the posthumous volume of Ryder's essays, edited by Fr F. J. Bacchus of the Birmingham Oratory. Ryder was bound to both Manning and Newman by unusually close ties, and his statement of the case between them is, to my mind, by far the best in its completeness and its judicial character; and it is also, in my judgement, the truest appreciation, of all those known to me, of Manning's mentality and character.

Needless to say, the 'variance' of Manning and Newman lay much deeper than the causes assigned in their correspondence of August 1867, or in Manning's note twenty years later;[1] they were rooted in differences in the natures of the two men, in character, temperament, temper, mentality, intellectual mould, gifts. When Manning said: 'If only we had stood side by side and spoken the same thing, the unity of Catholic truth would have been irresistible,'[2] he meant, 'if only Newman had taken up the same attitude as mine in all things'—a thing wholly impossible. Newman had a most appreciative sensitiveness and sympathetic understanding for intellectual difficulties; Manning treated intellectual difficulties as he treated persons who caused him difficulty—he simply swept them out of the way. Ryder speaks of his 'hopeless want of sympathy with intellectual difficulties'; but he goes on to say that this was counterbalanced by an immense sympathy with troubles of another order,—[3]

A charity not always prudent in its manifestations, but always heroic in its intensity, and most long suffering in the persistency with which it attached itself to the least attractive and the least deserving of its objects. To be afflicted was of itself to establish a claim upon Manning's tenderness of heart; to the cry of distress he was ever ready to respond with the frank injustice of a mother's love. Neither was it physical distress alone that appealed to him, or injured innocence, but the deeper and more difficult wretchedness of guilt. For many a heart that was hardening in its guilt from the sense that it was bankrupt in affection, has Manning's tenderness

[1] Purcell, pp. 327 ff., 350. [2] Ibid., p. 351.
[3] *Essays*, p. 298.

achieved what seemed impossible, and a way has been made for Him *qui convertit petram in stagna aquarum et rupem in fontes aquarum.*

The temptation is great to wander on, commenting on the men and things that have passed before our view in the foregoing pages; for the biographer's mind, naturally, is full of them, and full of thoughts about them. But what has just been said must be enough concerning the two greatest figures that have been before us. And concerning Ullathorne himself, I hope there is no need for any final estimation: if his person, his character, his powers, his limitations, his achievement, his place in the English Catholic history of his time, do not stand out beyond need of characterization, then has this Biography been written in vain. One sentence, however, may be added: it may be held that, better than Manning, better than Newman, better even than Wiseman, did Ullathorne stand for that progressive form of the old Challoner English Catholicism, that on the whole has maintained itself, and is still predominantly the Catholicism of the Catholics of England.

But there is a subject to which before concluding I ought to direct attention: the action of the Holy See in English Catholic affairs as it has manifested itself in these volumes.

I am persuaded that the careful and dispassionate reader cannot but have been impressed by the prudence and moderation and justice consistently displayed by Rome in all its multifarious dealings with the English Catholics in the troublous forty years of our period. Only in the supersession of Errington in 1860, and the appointment of Manning to Westminster in 1865, could the action of Pius IX be called strong action: and it was regarded as such at Rome, as being strong and unusual—*il colpo di stato di Dominiddio* Pius himself called it. And most will think that, on the whole, this act needs no justification. But in every other case that arose, we cannot but be impressed by the patient deliberate care with which the facts were collected, and the even-handed justice with which the decisions were given by the Roman courts. It will be pleasing to part with Talbot by citing some words, full of truth and sense, which he wrote to Manning in January 1860:[1]

[1] Purcell, p. 123.

Rome is properly called the Eternal City, because they never decide a question before they have heard all the *pros* and *cons*, which sometimes occupies much time. There is no place in the world where they are more impartial than in Rome. This I have repeatedly heard confessed by persons who have lost their cause, although it is the fashion in England to say that in Rome all is got by influence and favour. If you speak of decorations, trifling privileges, and honours, that may be the case sometimes; but in matters of importance nowhere do they give a more patient hearing to both sides of the question than in Rome.

The truth of this is illustrated abundantly in these pages. Wiseman, Manning, and Talbot, each one of them enjoyed in a very special manner the personal friendship and affection of Pio Nono. Yet neither this personal favour with the Pope, nor Wiseman's great position as Cardinal, nor Manning's diplomatic skill in the working of affairs, nor Talbot's curious 'backstair influence', were able, all of them together, to deflect by a hairbreadth the course of justice in the cases between the bishops and Wiseman; so that in case after case judgement was given against Wiseman.

It has stood out, too, how anxiously the Roman authorities ever sought to obtain the views of those on the spot, the English bishops. This appears especially in the chapter on the 'University Question': the bishops were again and again called on to speak their mind, collectively, or sometimes individually, when it was thought that Manning was exercising undue pressure on his colleagues. It cannot be doubted that if the majority of the bishops had so advised, the permission for Catholics to go to Oxford and Cambridge would have been given at Rome long before it was.

In its treatment of Newman, too, the moderation and good sense of Rome stand out conspicuously;[1] while heated theological controversies were being waged in England, the people in Rome just shrugged their shoulders, and said, 'Queer quarrelsome Inglesi' (p. 29).

It is all a good object-lesson of sobriety and sense and measure, such as may be looked for in courts with the traditions of a thousand years in dealing with cases and controversies and problems of the whole world.

[1] See pp. 12, 27, 29, 46, 102, 110, 121, 314.

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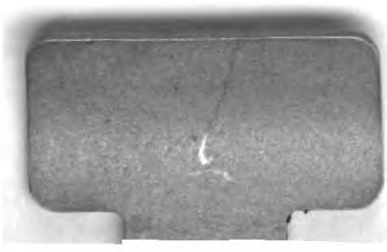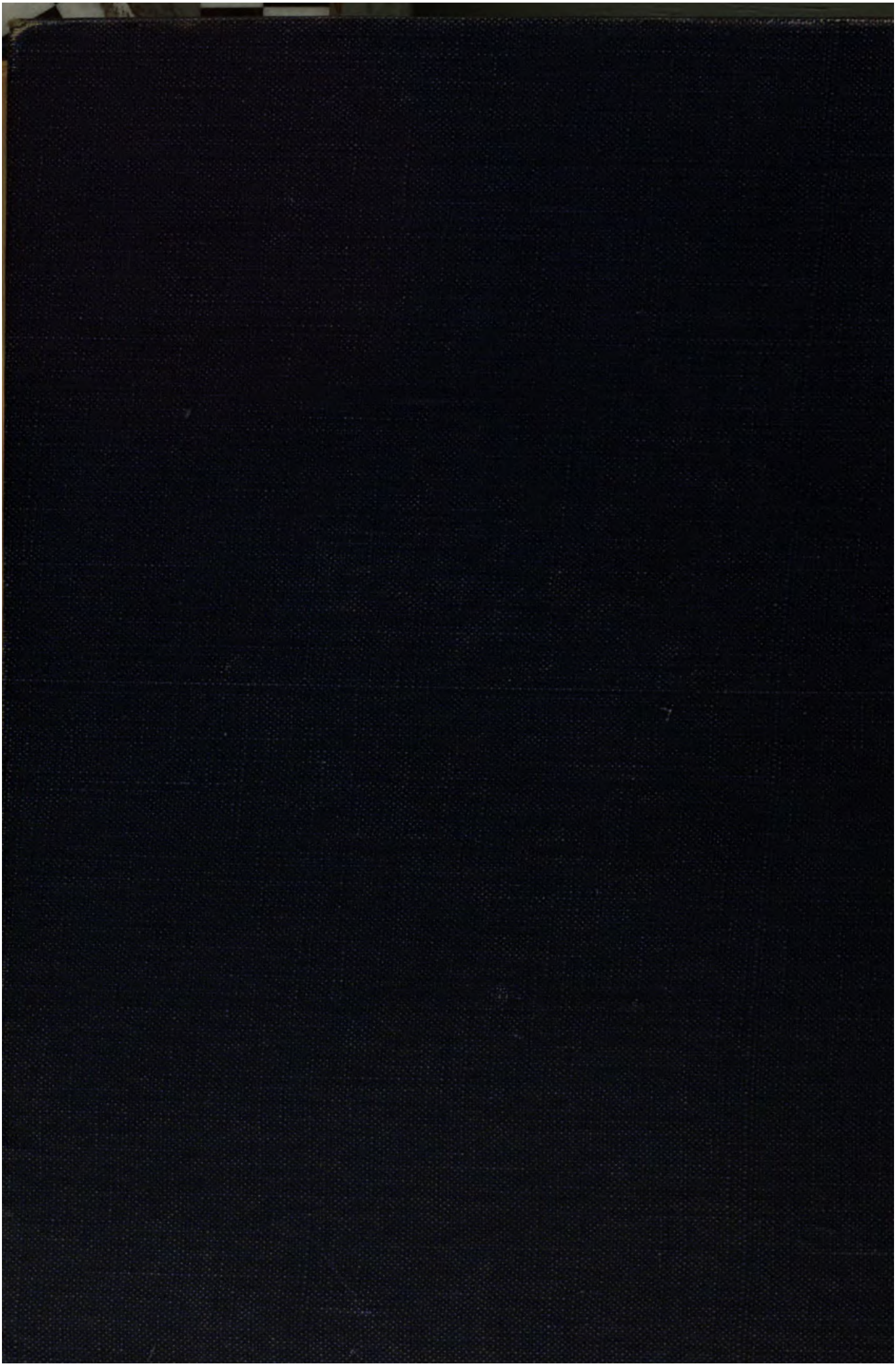
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