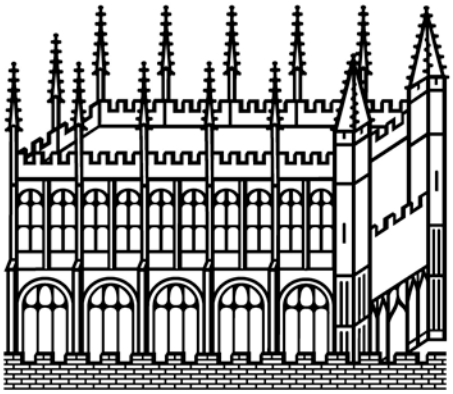

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THE intellectual movement in the Church of England, to which the name of Puseyism is frequently applied, has strengthened and widened itself sufficiently to attract the notice of practical men. It is no longer confined to theological schools or ecclesiastical circles, but has taken a place among those mental phenomena of our time which demand a stricter attention than the rude and unsettled gaze of public opinion can bestow. There are not wanting able expositions of these principles, nor vigorous attacks, nor energetic replies; yet a fair criticism, presupposing no opinions, and implicating no doctrines, and simply inquiring into the true meaning of the matter, its relations to the

past, its connexion with the present, and its tendencies for the future, may not readily be found, and it is the intention of the following pages in some degree to supply this deficiency.

The words "*Puseyism*" and "*Puseyite*" must be used under protest, and would not be used here at all, but for the anxious desire of the writer to state the case as broadly and clearly as possible, and to avoid even the appearance of subtle definition. For, as it is unwise, in general, to call any body of men by a name which they themselves deprecate, so, in this particular case, it has been a chief effort of all the leading agents of this movement to avert public attention from themselves to their system; and therefore to adopt seriously these personal designations is to prejudge the whole question, and assume that these views and principles are not those of the Church Catholic, but the devices and caprices of certain individual men, resident at Oxford at this moment of time.

There are three very distinct aspects

under which the Church of England shows itself to different minds:—the Evangelical, or Low-Church; the Church and State, or High-Church; the Puseyite, or Catholic; and the distinction is no where more remarkable than in the views of its History and nature as an Institution which these parties separately entertain.

The Evangelical section necessarily feels a very subordinate interest in any part of Church history, which is not of a purely spiritual nature. Accustomed to study the sacred records themselves in a passive mood, and being far less anxious to realise the historical events with critical care, than to discover in each passage some secondary and suggestive meaning applicable to some known state of mind in themselves or others, the Church of the Fathers, of the Middle Ages, and even of the English Reformation, is little more to them than any other social institution. If they do turn their attention that way, it is to follow out certain doctrines, or rather the single doctrine of Justification by

Faith, according to the prominence or obscurity of which the Church is held to be pure or polluted. The ministerial Functions and sacramental Ordinances of the Church are hardly necessary for the completeness of this religious system, which can with consistency only receive them as designating or exciting certain internal processes: neither can the ties of Church-membership be very strong where the chief sympathy is with spiritual experiences, without relation to external communion. The English Church appears, in truth, to such minds, but as a happy accident, a wise dispensation of Providence, showing forth, in a visible institution, the vital truth which is in the hearts of men. Thus with them the interest of the Reformation increases, the further it separates itself from the hierarchy of Rome, until it finds in Calvinism its complete exposition: thus too the early Puritan divines share, if they do not supersede, the attention given to the writings of the fathers of the English Reformation, and their favourite reading em-

braces a large range of subsequent dissent, from Nonconformity to Methodism. In this point of view, therefore, the Church of England is simply useful as a public recognition of Christian faith, as ordering and facilitating the public offices of Christianity, and perhaps as preventing some other absolutely injurious or dangerous shape of hierarchical authority from occupying its position in this country.

The High-Church party in England has always comprised two very discrepant elements; the one secular and political, the other philosophical and religious. The theory of the former is what is usually called Erastian: the Church is there the creature of the State—a high police, established by authority, and organized by law. Accepting as a fact the religious desires and wants of the community, it is requisite that some power should exist in every well-ordered society, which should provide at once for their satisfaction and discipline. In ancient Heathenism the State was in one sense the Church,

and the worship of Minerva of the Parthenon, and of Capitoline Jove, was the most solemn act of citizenship, as the hereditary assumption of the Pontificate was the principal form of the imperial usurpation over the Roman world. Christianity, however, being from its very nature the religion of baptized men of all nations, a national Christianity seemed almost a contradiction in terms, and the Church and State could only be identified under such conditions of universal empire as the Popes of the middle ages attempted to carry into effect. If there was to be a fusion of the temporal and spiritual authorities, then, the spiritual authority being Catholic, the temporal authority must be Catholic also, and kingdoms and principalities must be held by the same tenure as ecclesiastical dignities and trusts. This experiment failed: the will and wit of mankind were never directed to so mighty an object, and the struggle continued through a large tract of history with more or less purity of motive, and more or less proba-

bility of success; but the practical truth seems gradually to have worked itself out, that all union of Church and State implies the subordination of the former to the latter. The mere doctrine of the Papal supremacy had no power to prevent this consequence, although it has been the most clearly demonstrated in countries formally separated from the Roman see: the Spanish Inquisition was a State-tribunal, directing its violence towards political objects, such as the domination of the Spanish race over the Hebrew and the Moor, or the exclusion of those principles of individual freedom which the Reformation had aroused in Europe, far more than towards the preservation of doctrinal orthodoxy: in France the interests of the Church were generally but a veil for the supposed advantages of the State; the persecution of the Albigenses was carried on against the will of Innocent III., as the persecution of the Huguenots against the remonstrance of Innocent XI.; and the latter circumstance may remind the reader of the

Prince of Condé's saying, that "if Louis XIV. thought fit to go over to the Protestant Church, the clergy would be the first to follow him." To a political high-churchman there is nothing objectionable in this state of things: regarding the State, whether represented by a King or a Parliament, as the only legitimate source of power, he looks on all resistance to it on the part of the Church as a priestly usurpation, on Dunstan and Becket as ambitious agitators, on the Reformation as the epoch of the recognition of the full and just rights of the State over the Church, and of the consequent establishment by it of the Church of England, its powers and its privileges, according to the laws and customs of the nation. In this system it follows logically that the transmutation of the Church by Queen Mary, and its destruction later by the Parliament then supreme in England, were acts of exactly the same nature as its institution; and that any act of the legislature which has taken or may take place for altering, mutilating, or even anni-

hilating the Church, is just as authoritative as that which raised it into constitutional existence: what the State can do, the State can undo; where the State can bind, there can she loosen. In this system the Church of England stands in relation to other Christian bodies, as the one decided by the State to be the best and purest form of Christianity, and the doctrines of the Articles as selected to be the true exposition of Christian faith;—its origin is but little earlier than the Zuinglian community (which among other peculiarities rejected baptism as an idolatry) settled by permission of the same authority, in London, in the fourth year of Edward the Sixth [1]; its bishops are officials, which the State, in the person of Queen Elizabeth, might unfrock, or, in the person of King William, might deprive at pleasure, elected by a *congé d'elire* which makes the non-election misprision of treason, and consecrated at the absolute and undisguised command of the crown. Queen Elizabeth

[1] Under the ministry of John à Lasco.

put to death the Roman Catholics who refused to acknowledge her supremacy over the Church, as the Roman emperors martyred the Christians who refused to burn incense before their statues: in both cases, it was a refusal to recognise religious, on the part of those who acknowledged secular, authority. It was too in this theory of the Church of England, that the continental Protestants nicknamed it *Parliament-faith*, and that Melancthon mentions that the German Lutherans named those that had suffered for the reformed cause in England, *the Devil's Martyrs*.

Of what constitutes Church-membership in this view no very distinct account can be given. A Bishop in the last century went the length of saying, that "the Church of England included every man who believed in the divine mission of Christ;"—"a most expansive definition," remarks de Maistre, "seeing that it embraces the whole Mahometan world." But these principles would in strictness require some political conditions

as terms of communion, something analogous to the obligation of fealty to the Czar which the act of admission into the Russo-Greek Church imposes on all, whether infant or adult, native or alien. The use of the sacrament of the Eucharist as a test of political capacity was of this kind; but, now that that practice is relaxed, and that even adherence to the Roman Church debars any man from only two or three offices of state, it is hardly clear what constitutes a member of the Church of England. Yet, although foreigners can join its communion, without becoming naturalized (and it is evident from Archbishop Wake's Formula for the reception of such persons, that such cases were anticipated), the general feeling among men of this way of thinking is, that an Englishman is a member of the Church as he is a member of the State; that he pays his tithes and Church-rates as he pays his other taxes; that he attends the public worship as a profession as much of civic morality as religious duty; and that Church and State,

or Church and King, have at least co-ordinate claims on his devotional regard.

The practical atheism reconcileable with this system, and in fact reconciled with it by Hobbes, has naturally embarrassed many religious minds, who have taken refuge in the speculation of a State-conscience, of something in the State itself of a religious nature, and involving religious responsibilities. In this view, the State has duties to the Church which it must fulfil under penalty of national sin, and will consequently assist and co-operate with the Church instead of oppressing or hampering it. The idealization of the State in the ancient world, as the great object of patriotic devotion and personal sacrifice, contained much of this principle, and in those times we find the combination of Church and State in the same authority very practicable and successful. But the Conscience which Christianity deals with is of a character so much higher and finer, that the question becomes very complicated. The Christian requirement is of virtuous motives

as well as actions. Now a motive implies a will, and the State must have one clear and absolute will, before it can have a conscience. An absolute king, reigning of divine right, might, in some sense, represent the conscience of the nation which merely followed his bidding; for, if resistance to his authority were a crime, he must take on himself the responsibility of enforcing that authority, and thus his individual conscience would become the conscience of the State. But if an act of the State be nothing more than a result evolved from a number of discordant wills, by certain constitutional processes in which the wills of the minority are by mutual consent submitted to those of the majority, to regard the act as that of one intelligent responsible Will, is surely rather fanciful than philosophical. No possible process can give one pure and free Will as the sum total of a series of discrepant wills, or bring one simple Conscience out of a confusion of discordant consciences. In the present aspect of political affairs

throughout the Christian world, perhaps no doctrine could be started less practicable for the resolution of difficulties, or more beset with embarrassments, than this one of a State-conscience. Now that, without any recurrence to the foolish philanthropy of the French Revolution, the thoughtful youth of this generation are drawn together from many lands by a sympathy of civilization of which the old patriotism knew nothing; when excessive and exclusive nationality is no longer an object of admiration; when governments are at issue with all churches which they have not subdued, or from which they have not detached themselves; when men become daily more impatient of anomalous offices, irreconcileable duties, and dead-letter titles; when all political institutions, high and low, are matters of discussion and question; when the State has lost its great treasure of firmness and permanence, and no man can tell whether a State of to-morrow may be the same as a State of to-day;—to endow this State with a Con-

science is to vivify an abstraction with an unnatural life, and to confound the great problem of the just relations of spiritual and temporal authorities, which our age is in travail to resolve.

The Catholic, or, as it is now accidentally denominated, the Puseyite doctrine of the constitution and history of the Church of England, differs essentially from those already stated. It assumes that the Catholic Church is a special institution established by Christ and his Apostles, and transmitted by certain ordinances from one generation of mankind to another; that this institution is irrespective of all times and places, and can only contingently be connected with any political State or identified with any national interest; that to this institution is divinely committed the preservation of religious truth, and the care and regulation of the spiritual concerns of all men baptized into the Church of Christ, and any interference with this jurisdiction on the part of the secular power is a usurpation, which must be protested

against as unjust, and resisted by such means as are not out of character with the spiritual nature of the authority. The Church of England, thus regarded, does not date its origin from the lusts of Henry the Eighth, and the scepticism of his minister Cromwell, but becomes that portion of the Church of Christ which was established in England, whether under the authority of the Roman patriarchate or with some earlier independent constitution. The Reformation here takes a due place as an event in its history. Before that period, the encroachments it had had to resist were not from the Roman see, but from the secular power at home, and the struggle for spiritual independence (a cause which was to those times what political independence is to ours, or, still more, the strife of mind against matter), which paused, as it were for awe, at the martyrdom of Becket, continued, till the public attention was drawn away to, and at last absolutely fixed on, the usurpations of the court of Rome. The earnestness

which still remained in Christendom revolted against the hollowness and untruth that filled the professed throne of St. Peter, and many were gradually alienated from a power which extended its assumptions almost in proportion as it became less worthy of the love and honour of pious men. Moreover, the principle that the Episcopal authority was but a mere emanation from the Papal, had never been fully admitted, and was now more repugnant than ever to those who saw that on a free action of the episcopal energies rested the hopes of a religious revival in the Church; and it is very significant, that in the later sittings of the Council of Trent, the Spanish delegates insisted that episcopacy rested immediately on divine appointment, and that Paul IV. strongly censured the jealousy with which all sources of power and profit had been concentrated in Rome. These just motives, united to the desire of Princes to throw off the single check which the constitution of society laid on their unbridled wills, and to the rapacity of Nobili-

ties, who already scented the wealth of the Church, and to the hope of the deluded People that that property would be so applied that armies would be kept up without cost, and taxation be no more, brought on the separation from Rome, and that pillage from which the fear of the protecting power of the Holy See had so long kept off the hands of the unscrupulous and strong. When that separation was effected, it became the duty of the heads of the English Church to organize its new independence, and, at the same time, to exercise the discriminating authority which devolved upon them, after that of Rome was disallowed, as to the questions of doctrine which vexed and divided the Christian world. The difficulty was to determine, not what seemed to them right or wrong, politic or impolitic, in the matter, but what was the true Catholic doctrine, as distinct, on the one side, from those adaptations of it, and deductions from it, which the Pontificate had partly sanctioned, and partly overlooked, and, on the other, from all those

vagaries and caprices of interpretation of the Christian records which followed the licence of private judgment in continental Protestantism. No man's opinion is worth having, on this subject, who does not admit the extent of this difficulty, and admire the skill and prudence with which it was in part overcome. The English divines fixed their eyes firmly on the early fathers of the Church, they probed the oldest liturgies and formularies, they bent their hearts to discover what was, in very truth, Catholic, what was "semper et ubique et ab omnibus." If the Church of Rome, with all the apparatus of collateral learning, had drawn from the canon of Scripture some erroneous conclusions, and had not been prevented by possession of it from actively or passively sanctioning abuses repugnant to all holy feelings and moral perceptions, how was it to be expected that the comparatively ignorant people, excited to the untutored study of those writings by Luther, "the Bible-opener," would not be liable in their turn to fall into confusion and

error, unless provided with some authorized canon of interpretation? There was warning enough in the distracted course of the Reformation on the continent, in the indecent objurgations among its leaders, in the gross misapplication of the study of the Old Testament, then gradually subduing the Christian spirit to that Judaic element, more congenial to violent tempers and vulgar minds, which culminated so fatally in Puritanism. Calvin was making a religion of the philosophy of despair; Zuinglius had set the Christian mind on a course precipitately tending to the prosaic paganism of Socinus; the Roman Catholic world was looking on with a sneer or a smile, satisfied that the Reformation would soon fall to sleep upon the ruins it had made; while, through all this storm of passions and opinions, the reformers in England led on the Church, and brought her out at last safe in her Catholic doctrines, her special ordinances, her ancient formularies, and her legitimate claims. A Catholic Christian, therefore, would not be likely to disparage

the merit of the reformers of the Church of England; he could not indeed forget the sad intertexture of good and bad motives which historically accomplished the Reformation here as elsewhere; as a lover of truth, he would not hide from himself that there were many stains for the fire of martyrdom to purify, much unholy idolatry of the civil power, much unmanly vacillation of purpose, much intemperance in language and in action; but, after an honest consideration, he will assign to these men high places among the Fathers and Defenders of the Catholic Church; and although he may not feel himself so strongly bound by their authority as by that of other Fathers, who have delivered their opinions more independently and consistently than these were enabled to do, he will, nevertheless, be drawn to them by ties of natural affection and sympathy, analogous to the regard paid by countries in the communion of the Roman Church to local and national saints. The struggle between Catholic and Puritan principles during the reigns of

James I. and his son, was close and bitter. The superstition and intolerance which had disgusted many religious persons with the Church, seemed to have received a new birth in Puritanism. The idolatry of lifeless forms of holy men and things had never been more gross in any part of the Catholic world, than that of the dead letter of the Scripture was becoming in England. All historical meaning, all collateral information, was neglected, and each text was taken as a series of cabalistical words, capable of any separate meaning, and referable to any separate object: the material book was honoured as much as ever had been the material crucifix [1]; the very tone of reading it became that of an incantation. Neither were miracles wanting when required: Prynne solemnly relates that when Bastwick arrived at the Fort of Scilly, his appointed prison, thousands of redbreasts, birds

[1] There is still a custom, in parts of the South of England, for a peasant, on moving from one house to another, to take with him, as a good charm, a black cat, a bag of salt, and a Bible.

unknown to those islands, welcomed him with their melody, and within a day or two after took flight no man knew whither; and every minister had his special interpositions of Providence to display to his congregation. The redundant forms and special services of the unreformed Church were not got rid of, but, diverted from every national purpose, and emptied of all enjoyment, were concentrated into the stiff and gloomy Sabbath, in which no longer could be traced any sign of that day of which Tertullian wrote, "diem Solis lætitiæ indulgemus . . . die Solis lætitiam curamus:" nor did the care with which Luther, Melancthon, and Calvin most especially, had delivered their censure, avail to check, what the last in his Institutes calls "crassa carnalisque Sabbathismi superstitio," which from the first publication of the "Sabbath Doctrines" of Dr. Bound (in 1595) spread like a spiritual plague over the British mind. The means by which these influences were resisted on the part of the Church (though the rough temper of the times must not be allowed to be pleaded

only by the partizans of its antagonists) were clearly not blessed by Providence; and the Established Church, that had leant on the secular arm, fell with the secular power. The King, who pertinaciously refused that adhesion to the Scottish Covenant, which would probably have saved his throne, and certainly his life, but which would have amounted to a renunciation of his belief in the Catholic Church, has justly earned for himself the deep and lasting reverence of the English portion of it, although the peculiar notion of the royal character which obtained at that period throughout Europe gave what now seems an exaggerated colouring to the commemoration of his sacrifice.

The real worth of the vigour displayed in the Puritan republic is the most justly measured by the religious and moral atony which it left behind it. The recognized Church establishment had little strength to remedy the evil, and it is almost to be wondered at, that by the time of the Revolution of 1688 and its consequences, it had

regained so much of its elder and better nature, as to enable it to give the only evidences of the higher virtues which distinguish those times. The Revolution, politically brought about by the selfish energy of the few and the selfish indifference of the many, was preceded by the imprisonment of bishops, for their refusal to make the Church a party to the illegalities of one sovereign, and followed by the deprivation of bishops for their unwillingness to submit the Church to the authority of another, whom they regarded as a foreign Calvinist, violently assuming the monarchy of Britain. In those one-sided days the resistance to the wrong application of a principle in those who were ready to devote themselves in the cause of the principle itself, is, to say the least, remarkable, and not undeserving of the affectionate admiration of Churchmen. They, at least, will naturally dwell with especial interest on such characters as Bishop Ken, and consider imperfect any records of the Church of England which do not keep

these men in public and constant remembrance. When the State had once cast out the Non-jurors, it was not to be expected but that, at any rate, the more energetic part of them should take full advantage of the independence of their position. Their influence in the country and over the rest of the Church, would probably have been greater and more enduring had they not gone so far as to designate (with Dodwell) the supremacy of the crown as the Cranmerian or Henrician heresy, and to proclaim (with Hickes) the College of Bishops to be the Church-regent, and all Christian people to be bound to defend the Church against the State. Persecution enabled the Non-jurors to promulgate their principles with this violent distinctness, and a more moderate assertion of them might have sooner aroused public feeling against a Bishop of Bristol, at once lord privy seal and ambassador to Bavaria, or an Archbishop Blackburne, who congratulated Queen Caroline on being a wise woman, and not minding her hus-

band's having a mistress, or any other of those dignitaries, whose unclerical pursuits and latitudinarian doctrines, and in some cases indecent lives, at last provoked the Evangelical reaction which declared and extended itself under the guidance of Wesley, Whitfield, Lady Huntingdon, and Walker of Truro. Some other ideal of a Christian minister than a Parson Adams was now required, and altogether there was too much need of this party in the Church for it not to gain great weight and power: it soon collected within itself so much of the slumbering Puritanism that the Nonconformists had bequeathed to their posterity as had not taken an Unitarian bias, and thus was regarded with hostility by the Establishment, both as leading to dissent and disloyalty, and as an implied censure on their own defects and offences. The accusation brought about the crime, and Wesley, after the brave efforts of a long life to keep together his Churchmanship and what he believed to be his Evangelic mission, fell into an act of open

schism, which, notwithstanding his after-regret, and his death-bed profession, opened the door to his followers for their overt secession from the Church, a secession the more inexcusable, as ever since that time there has existed, in the formal communion of the Church, a body of men agreeing with themselves in all their principal views of doctrine and modes of interpretation. Looking, however, at the spiritual condition of the Church at that period—a condition far more revolting, to a pious mind, than that which provoked the early genius of Puritanism—a true Churchman will never deny to these persons the merit of a pure and generous zeal, or feel anything more than a deep regret that these new reformers did not take more warning from the effects that ultra-Protestantism had already produced on the civilized world. But the state of learning in the Church was not then such as to authorize it to press hard on the partial intelligence and neglect of knowledge shown by the Methodists: it could not hold up to

view the excellence of a body of really learned and devoted men, to contrast with the dangers of an unordained and partially self-chosen ministry; it could not call attention to the effects of the continuous solemnity, and profound associations, and historical consistency of its services, to compare with the spasmodic and uncertain results of extemporaneous utterances; it could not dwell emphatically on the blessings of its Eucharist, daily profaned as a political test; or on the worth of its Baptism, which seemed to involve no responsibilities. The Church of England had lost its own weapons, and had in fact to look for them in the armoury of its opponents. As the Roman Catholic Church derived some aid from the Reformation that broke it up, so did the Church of England gain by this dissent; but the ground of Church-principles was by degrees almost abandoned; the very Churchmen, shamed by the Dissenters, contented themselves with striving to emulate their personal piety, and shrunk from

the great work which lay ready for their hands, of energizing with this new life the forms and offices of the Church, and of bringing the internal exercise of strong religious emotion into harmony with the outer world of historical Christianity. Thus the Church paid the fullest penalty for her neglect and unbelief, both in the good men she lost, and in those she still preserved: Churchmen were almost ashamed of their profession; —there was decidedly more religion in the country than formerly, but the Church got no credit for any of it;—due praise was given to individual exertions, to Robert Hall, or Rowland Hill, or Newton, or Simeon, or Wilberforce; but the Church was never looked to as the fountain of religious truth, —it was well if it was allowed to be one of many channels.

Out of this state of things has arisen Puseyism.

Between the years 1820 and 1830, the general use, at Oxford, of Whately's works on Logic and Rhetoric tended to sharpen

and excite the minds of men, whom the assiduous study of Aristotle's Ethics and Butler's Evidences and Sermons had left dissatisfied with the religious teaching of the day. Jebb's Essay on the peculiar character of the Church of England directed this anxiety towards the divines of the sixteenth century and their distinctive dogmas, while the theosophy of Coleridge led it to search for truth in the depths of religious metaphysics. Then came the secular influences of the Reform agitation, —tithes and church-rates were resisted, and alterations in the Liturgy proposed. The wildest statements of the wealth and abuses of the Church were circulated; and in 1832, Mr. Rose started the British Magazine, to bring the truth of this matter before the public, and to supply the clergy with means of inter-communication. In December of the following year appeared the first number of the Tracts for the Times, a series of papers of doctrinal exposition and practical suggestions; and, soon after, Mr.

Newman's first volume of Sermons, of an entirely uncontroversial character, and explanatory of the temper of Christianity. The exercise of the authority of the State, in the appointment of Dr. Hampden in defiance of the opinion of the University, and the attempt of a large political party to abolish subscription to the Thirty-nine Articles, led back men's minds to the reasons of their faith, the principles of the Catholic Church in matters which could not be definitively settled by reference to Scripture, and the fair grounds on which the Church of England could assert its superiority over any other body of professing Christians in this country. The first fruits of this train of thought awakened at Oxford were Keble's Primitive Tradition and Pusey's Scriptural Views of Baptism, and to the opposition which assailed the latter work, the appellation of the principles of the party is probably due. This scheme was followed up:—the intellectual basis of an Anglican Theology, such as the learning and criticism of this age

would accept, was firmly laid; Mr. Newman in his Lectures on Romanism and Ultra-Protestantism, placed the landmarks of the English Church, distinctly showing how it was bounded on either frontier, and how it could with justice claim to be the purest fragment of the great Christianity.

A book was then boldly given to the world, faithfully reflecting the action of Church Principles on a young and vivid mind, amid all the doubts and temptations and difficulties of the present time,—the Remains of Mr. Froude. These volumes, with a hundred points open to misrepresentation and ridicule, and some superficially offensive to sense and refinement, yet won deep interest from all who read them in a just spirit, testing them by Whitfield's Journal and similar revelations of religious affections working on and with the extravagancies of undisciplined talents and a fresh imagination. The editors must have been pretty sure of gaining by such a comparison, to venture on publishing this practical exposition of their principles: and it was

perhaps an excess of candour on their part, for certainly the book offended more than it pleased, exactly in the proportion that its readers appreciated the zealous simplicity and hearty humour, or dwelt with disgust on the violence of detached phrases and the inconsistencies of divided feelings in a mind struggling into open truth. A little judicious tampering might have presented the life and death of their friend as that of an immaculate and purely spiritual being, but they preferred to give him as he was, in his labouring nature and pathetic humanity.

About this time Mr. Newman undertook the editorship of the British Critic, and its numbers have since contained a variety of articles on Ecclesiastical History, Religious Psychology, Christian Art, systematic Theology, and the applications of Religion to social and political affairs, combining more learning, sound sense, grace, and humour, than any other periodical of our day devoted to an especial purpose. Mr. Maitland's researches into the mediæval history of the Church in

the British Magazine have indicated how much lies there beneath a rugged surface, to delight and interest any student of the workings of Christianity in the hearts and minds of mankind, and "The Church of the Fathers" is a popular sacred history, from which most adult Churchmen may, it is to be feared, learn a great deal.

But the extension of these principles was not more remarkable in books than in men. Oxford now sent forth a body of young Clergy of a different stamp from any that the last generation had witnessed,—men of serious and cheerful temper, undistinguished from other well educated gentlemen by any peculiarities of manner or phraseology, yet commanding respect and regard,—learned and valuing learning as the necessary equipment of all who professed to teach, without making any pedantic demands on humble and simple minds,—sharing readily in moderate amusements, and at the same time striving to elevate the moral and intellectual tone of society,—judicious in the introduction and

application of sacred subjects, yet never shrinking from their discussion,—offensive to no good taste, repulsive to no good sense, but rather with a strong feeling for Art, and a sound reverence for Reason,—men, in fine, who were undeniably energetic and efficient ministers of the Gospel, although not what is usually termed Evangelical. These men preached, that the Church had of late times let fall unheeded some of its most precious privileges; that Church-membership had lost its value as a tie and bond among men, and that its place was sought to be filled by the coteries of the Religious World, and among more imaginative tempers, by such associations as the Irvingites and Plymouth-brethren; that the Christianity, which met with the greatest acceptance now-a-days, was a series of mental operations, all which would have the same effects on the soul of the believer, whether the facts on which he grounded his belief, were or were not historically true, leaving the Church, the enduring witness of those facts, disesteemed and uncherished; that, as the

ancient giant reinvigorated himself by touching the earth, so the Church might derive new life from every fresh contact with Heaven, and, while she is making use of all new weapons required for her daily contest with evil, ought ever and anon to fall back on the divine past of Catholic Christianity; that it might now be the business of the State to choose whether it would or would not sustain the Church as the best moral police, but it was not the duty of the Church to regard as surrendered those liberties which for meekness or peace' sake had been suspended; that, if the Church Establishment were swept away to-morrow, the Church of England would lose nothing more than certain means of usefulness and appliances of good, retaining all its characteristics as a Hierarchy, all its functions as a sacred Corporation; that, in the coming crisis of our political and social relations, it became every man distinctly to understand and express in what light he considered Christianity, whether as part and parcel of the law of the land, or

as an interesting series of spiritual operations, or as the especial system of the salvation of the souls of mankind, practically developed in the Society of which he is a member, a Society which has extended unbroken from Christ to himself through a succession of circumstances, that are to him like those of his own family, a Society to which he is bound by individual interest and the obligations of a communion extrinsic to rank or nation or race, a Society outside of which Christianity ceases to be a fact and becomes a speculation—the Society of the Catholic Church.

The controversies which this school of Theology has encountered have been violent and various: in the great point at issue between it and the evangelical party, the *truth* of the doctrines reciprocally maintained, these pages being professedly critical, can do no more than state the case on each side, and this has been implicitly done already. Two other charges fall more properly within their scope, —the one of intolerance and illiberality in-

congruous with the public opinion of these days, and unworthy of our state of civilization; the other of Popery, or at least of a tendency to revive the tyranny of Roman authority and the errors of Roman superstition.

Intolerance is rather a temper than a necessary consequence of any doctrinal system: as the forbearance of any individual depends far more on his own disposition than on the amount of provocation offered him, so the spirit in which members of any religious communion act towards others, is a much better test of tolerance than the looseness or strictness of their formula and practice. The Puritan with his Bible in hand, was surely no better in this respect than the Papist with his crucifix: Laud mutilated the Puritans, and the Puritans beheaded Laud. A little observation must show, that every thing that is a creed at all must contain something which any man earnestly believing himself, through the common sympathies of his nature, must wish others to believe too. The best and worst motives, pride and charity,

hatred and love, are here intertangled; and persecution was formerly considered just as justifiable as war, or any other alliance of right and force. Persecution defined the limits of orthodoxy; choice of opinion, that is, individual Opinion and Heresy are the same word: a Christian man was a citizen of the Church, and thus subject to its laws and penalties; and, if the proposition had ended here, every heretic would have had the option of submitting to the institution or being cast out of it; for, in the most tyrannous days, the Church never claimed jurisdiction over any but baptized persons, and excommunication was its extreme punishment. But here the State stepped in, declared heresy a crime, and punishable as treason,—pronounced excommunication to be equivalent to outlawry, and a man as incapable of abandoning his allegiance to the Church as to his country; the two facts of birth in the one, and baptism into the other, being regarded as involving just the same responsibilities as if they had been voluntary

actions. It is untrue to say that the Church made the State do its foul work for it; much rather did the Church submit to be the instrument of the oppressions and jealousies and passions and interests of the State, and paid the penalty by passing from servility to servitude. On this confusion of functions may be charged most of the persecution brought against the Roman Catholic Church, although much is generally attributed to the Papal claim of Infallibility. There has been much quibbling about this word, but a clear conception of the subject will show us that infallibility is nothing more or less than an attribute of absolute power, exercised in spiritual things. There is in every society some transcendant authority which holds the whole together, something which commands, and is not commanded, and without which it would not be a society at all: this power, *quoad* those who are submitted to it, is indisputable,—or, if you dispute it, you suffer whatever penalties it chooses to inflict; thus, in Russia, a ukase of the Czar,—in England,

an act of Parliament,—in America, an act of Congress,—is absolute and final. Apply this authority to doctrines and opinions instead of to overt actions, and you at once arrive at Infallibility. Thus the Infallibility of the Church of Rome necessarily followed from the doctrine of the absolute Papal supremacy over the minds of men; and when this jurisdiction was held to include all matters of Literature, Art, Science, and Philosophy, this tribunal not only condemned as erroneous whatever appeared to it irreconcileable with the Catholic faith, but punished the authors of the errors as guilty of a breach of those eternal laws of God and nature, of which it assumed to be the organ and interpreter. And here, as in the other case, the injustice arose, not from the authority itself, but from its exercise of heterogeneous functions. Let the Church only keep to its own province, to the preservation of Catholic doctrine and discipline, and, although it profess itself infallible, there is no fear of its persecutions.

Toleration, as distinguished from selfish indifference and cold infidelity, is the noblest produce of reason and civilization: it arises, not from a disregard of truth possessed, but from an enlarged consciousness of truth everywhere struggling with error; not from a carelessness of the souls of other men, but from an increased sympathy with man as man, with his weakness and his strength, with his temptations and resistances, with his lights and his darkness: it grows with the advancement of our knowledge of ourselves and others, with the improvement of our insight into different motives of action, different systems of thought, different grounds of judgment, different processes of imagination; it spreads with our distrust of the good in ourselves, and of the evil in others; it is the child of Hope, and Hope is the good Genius of our time.

There is nothing, be assured, in Catholic Christianity inconsistent with this high quality; there is no history that requires it more than that of the Church—so much admirable

in the worst parts of it, so much imperfect in the best! it is the history of all that is deepest in humanity, and therefore of all that is most vulnerable. Will not the man who has studied Christianity in its different influences on the men and nations, who have composed the world-wide Catholic Church, make more allowances for the difficulties of others in receiving it than he who only knows it in relation to his own mind, and those of others of his own way of thinking? Will not the man who has definite notions of the functions and privileges of Church-membership, be more likely to act freely in other matters with men that differ from him in this, than one who is thirsting for religious communion with all men on all occasions? Does not the sober comfort which characterises the spirit of the good Churchman, incline him to mingle more familiarly in the usual pursuits of others, and appreciate their merits more fairly than can a man who is always striving to infect others with his own disquietude, and measuring their

mental state and spiritual welfare by a standard of his own? Is it not a fact that Catholic Churchmen *are* more tolerant than Erastians, or Evangelicals, or Dissenters, inasmuch as the past of the Church has taught them that persecution defeats its own objects, and that the best chance of getting others into a fit temper to receive the truth is to show them how well it enables you to sympathize with them in all the wants and feelings of your common mortality? Perhaps too one other cause of the superior tolerance of Churchmen is the feeling that the truth they hold is not of their own finding, that the attainment of it has not been an act of the reason or the will, or of any of those mental elements in which pride delights to dwell, but that they must possess it in gratitude and humility, like any other good gift of Providence: it would thus be just as absurd to reproach any man with wanting this blessing, as with a deficiency of health or wealth: all you can do in such a case is to offer the sufferer the means of improve-

ment, and press them heartily upon him, and in case of his refusal, of his determination to remain idle or self-indulgent, to leave him to himself, in the hope that some other sources of good may be given him. The Churchman need not look upon other Christians, nor even upon Heathens, as in a state of perdition (as has often been imputed to those doctrines), but as being persons with whose spiritual state he has nothing whatever to do: the covenant of Christianity must, in some sense or other, be a special one; it must include some, and exclude others, and he believes that it embraces only the members of the visible and historical Church; and, therefore, that however infinite are the mercies of God, besides those specially covenanted to the Church of Christ, he cannot take upon himself to declare the certain *salvation* of any one out of the pale of that Church, at least in the sense which the Church attaches to that word. But, while he depreciates the assumption of religious communion, he will, if he be worthy

of his name, only be more strongly conscious of the obligations of human fraternity; and, remembering what the union of varied ability and knowledge with religious enthusiasm in the Church has done for the education of the poor, the promotion of learning, and the mitigation of suffering, in the annals of the past, reflect how much her character has suffered, and her usefulness been impaired, from a partial ministration of those offices which, from their very nature, admit of no other limitation than that of possibility.

The charge of Popery, brought against the Oxford Catholic writers, may be very differently understood. It is probably seldom meant to infer that those persons are, in point of fact, disguised members of the Church of Rome professing to be members of the Church of England, although this supposition would be hardly less extraordinary than some that have been lately ventured on the machinations of the Jesuits in Ireland. The act of communion with the Roman Church is as distinct and peculiar

as that of membership of any secular corporation; and no man can, in strictness of language, be called a Romanist before he has been formally admitted into that part of the Church, which is subordinated to the Roman see, any more than he can be called a member of Parliament before the returning officer pronounces him duly elected. The accusation, however, may loosely mean that these doctrines are likely to lead men away from the Church of England to the Church of Rome, and to induce them to renounce one allegiance, and accept another. An examination of the history of opinions would rather lead to a contrary conclusion. Notwithstanding the enormous counter-pressure of Puritanism on the Church, and the probability of any refuge being acceptable from its growing violence, it will not be found that any body of men took, what seems to some, the small step that separated the Catholicism of Laud from the Roman system: again, notwithstanding the expulsion of the Nonjurors from their national

Church, they were contented to remain unconnected Catholics, and did not seek any compensation for the loss of what they believed a communion of perfect truth, in what they had been accustomed to consider as a communion of partial error: how much less then should an English Catholic, in these days, be inclined to the Church of Rome, when he has not only his own Church, safe and strong, to adhere to, but the prospect of helping, by his preaching and practice, to remedy what seem to him its defects and shortcomings, when an apostacy could only give him what he believes to have got already, and must injure the cause he has most at heart?

An Englishman becoming a Roman Catholic, either knows nothing about or despairs of the Church of England. The former is the more common alternative; a man joins the Roman Catholic Church, because he does not know that he may be a good Catholic in the Church of England: Catholic principles, Catholic practices, Catholic uses of the imagination and affections,

are matters of spiritual necessity for his well-being; show him only that he can hold those principles and enjoy those practices, and exercise his imagination and affections in religious matters, in the Church of England, and it is very unlikely that he will adopt the resolution (which at any time must be most painful to his feelings as a citizen) of formally abjuring the national religion, and attaching himself to a communion which must always wear for him a foreign aspect and uncongenial colouring. And the fact is here as elsewhere in history; there have *not* been conversions from Puseyism to Romanism, while there have been conversions, and numerous ones, to Romanism from ultra-Protestantism: there are noted instances of men of excitable temper, who, after the intemperate assertions and unchristian bearing of no-popery zealots, have, from sheer disgust at the unfairness with which the Church of Rome was treated, thrown themselves passionately on her bosom and clung to her as their own: and there are still

more frequent examples of minds all but absorbed by the magnificence of the Roman system, by the nobility of that theocratic idea before which princes trembled and the wild passion of multitudes became still, by the comprehension of that theology, which has ranged through every tract of intellect, imagination, and affection, and given to each its province and employment, and by the infinite variety of those symbols, in which the Church has complied with the conditions of our shaded nature, and attempted to give to spiritual truth an external world of its own, —but they have caught in time the solemn voices of those who warned them, that all of this which was in truth *religious* dwelt in the Church of England, if they would only look for it there, and that they had no more right to renounce their obligations to her, for the sake of the accessorial luxuries which Romanism offered to their fancy and thought, than to violate any other duty for the gratification of the senses.

As a mere nickname, the word Papist or

Romanist is neither better nor worse than that of Protestant: the former epithet indeed implies that the object of it believes in something, at least in so much of Christianity as the circumstance of the existence of the Roman authority requires; but the term Protestant is absolutely negative, and supposes necessarily no belief at all: a Jew or an infidel protests not only against the abuses of a certain system of Christianity, but against Christianity itself. That name is surely defective which predicates nothing of an opinion maintained, but simply of the rejection of some other opinion. In serious speech or writing, the word can have no other legitimate meaning than what refers to the Protestation of the German princes, against the decree of the diet at Spier in 1529, and the Augsbourg Confession which followed it.

But the Catholic party in the Church of England have never for one moment disavowed their belief that the light in which Romanism is popularly regarded in England is both historically and theologically untrue.

Perhaps all strong popular impressions on religious subjects carry much alloy along with them, and thus the fanaticism of a Church is never half so dangerous as the fanaticism of a People. Yet would no wise and good man purposely affront the no-popery feeling in this country. It is one of those traditionary sentiments which has deeply seated itself, and twisted its roots into the crevices of many wrongs. To judge from the facility with which the rough hand of the Reformation in England did its work, it seems unlikely that Romanism, in its distinctive peculiarities, had ever heartily engaged the popular heart and imagination. Heylin can only give the instance of one man killed by the peasants in Cornwall in attempting to despoil a church: and the successful resistance offered by parishioners in arms to Somerset's scheme of demolishing the parish church of Westminster, to build his palace (after he had been disappointed of his design on the Abbey) was unfortunately a singular case. It is intelligible too that the Puritanism of the first

Revolution should have had something in the form of it attractive to the popular mind: it had at least a theoretic connexion with civil liberty: it professed to break the chains of Prelacy, as the Reformation had done those of Popery; and it is no new spectacle to see a people rejoicing in their freedom from one set of fetters, unconscious that the liberating hand has riveted on them the pledges of a still sharper bondage. Henceforth too in English history, Dissent has always claimed to itself an alliance with the principles of civil freedom: Prelacy and Popery have never indeed since that time been identified in public opinion, but it is not difficult to trace the Puritan principle as the foundation of that terror of Romanism which is still to be found intertwined with a great deal of what is deepest and truest in the piety of the nation. The only mode in which a just perception of the relations of the case can be substituted for this indefinite sense of repulsion, is, not abstractedly to defend, or show that there is any-

thing defensible in, the peculiarities of Romanism, but to force upon the conviction that there is truth common to the two Churches, that there are associations of common interest between them, that there is a common ground from which they must both start to come to any satisfactory conclusion, that it is a source of humble gratitude, not of pride, that we have retrieved the true principles of the Church without the abuses to which Romanism has been subject, and that, in these days of doubt and difficulty, to separate ourselves utterly from the sympathies of those other Churches which constitute the integral mass of the Christian world, is to perpetuate instead of counteract the accidental evils of the Reformation, and reduce the Church of England to the position of one sect among many. When the violence of the French revolution had thrown on our hospitable shores so many exiles of the Gallican clergy, the feeling of Christian fraternity broke through the national prejudice; and, although the especial Church, of which

they were ministers, had sunk to a low depth of dishonour and dependence, yet the public voice, audible in the sermons of Horsley and other leading divines, and in the general expressions of sympathy, showed that every thing was forgotten in the consciousness that those men were our brothers-in-arms against the insanity of Atheism, which was loose for destruction in their native land. When again, by the chief agency of English power, the struggle was terminated, and the Pope restored to his ancient home, the satisfaction at the prospect of general peace does not seem to have been diminished in England by any scruples of conscience or prognostications of evil at having re-established an authority which was considered conducive to the interest of social order in Europe. But, notwithstanding these occasional repressions, there is no denying that the no-popery sentiment remained, and is still vivid and active in a large portion of the English community (to say nothing of the stronger case of Scotland); and if Great Britain had been polled

on the question of Catholic Emancipation, it is all but certain that those claims would not have been acknowledged. The only reasonable hope, as has been before stated, of restricting this feeling within the bounds of historical truth and theological justice, lies in the assertion and expansion of Church principles, in the substitution of a large and clear view for a vague and narrow one, in the application of improving popular intelligence to Catholic history, Catholic spirit, and Catholic aspirations.

It is needless to state with what additional force all these remarks apply to the present state of Ireland. The attempt at the Reformation of the Roman Catholic Church in that country has indisputably failed. The endowments of the state and the labours of zealous men have been alike fruitless in this work, and the English Church remains, as it began, the Church of the Irish proprietors, not of the Irish people. Now that the payment of the Church falls on the landowner alone, who is very rarely Roman-Catholic, the political

grievance is altogether removed; but there still remains the phenomenon of the unprogressive character of the purer faith, for which the historical relations of England and Ireland are hardly satisfactory reasons. If the means that have been employed had been the right means, it is hardly conjecturable that the Roman Church in Ireland would not at least have been affected by the influence of the English, or could have remained so little uninfluenced by the intellectual and moral progress of the world. Dean Swift, who saw as far as most men, always speaks of Popery as all but extinguished in Ireland; the present priests he represents as dying off, states that of course no fresh ones will be licensed, and that, for want of open ministrations, the faith itself must rapidly perish:—the event is somewhat different from his expectations, and the Roman Catholic clergy of Ireland remain, in their tone of mind and measure of intelligence, a huge fragment, as it were, which the stream of the Middle Ages has there left behind it, and which no machinery of ours can get out

of the way. Alexander Knox (in a letter to Wilberforce on the Roman-Catholic Church in Ireland) says, "having before us a per-"fectly organized Church, whose formation "at the first, and, still more, its sustenance "to this hour, never could be the result of "human will, and whose dissolution we, at "least, have no means of achieving, why "should we not set ourselves as much as "possible to meliorate what in fact we can-"not destroy?" This is the method of reformation consistent with Catholic principles, and hence arises the intense interest to us of the question, what are those distinctive points in the Church of England which exclude members of the Church of Rome, and what prospect of the possible union of the Churches a faithful son of the Church of England can admit. Since the first energies of the Reformation were spent, the progress of Protestantism has been slow indeed: not by their own strength, but by a schism in the bosom of Catholicism itself, were the continental Protestants saved from reabsorp-

tion into the Roman Catholic Church in the 17th century; and, terrible as has been the trial to which Romanism has been subjected by the French Revolution and its consequences, it has shown a vitality which mere Protestantism can never expect to destroy. If the Roman Church is to be reformed in Ireland or elsewhere, it must be by some process different from what has been hitherto tried. Even without this experience we might have suspected that the conditions of the question would be so changed by the progress of three centuries, as to require some other treatment than what was then effectual: the abuses to be rectified are, in themselves, not the same as what were then prominent; and even if they were so, it would not follow that what were then sufficient remedies are so now. Points which, then taken in a literal signification, were injurious and immoral, may now be so explained as to seem satisfactory, or at least innocent. The scholastic philosophy, the storehouse of Roman error, no longer forces on the mind

the pitiless deductions of its universal logic, while theology is every day opening out new interpretations and confirmations of Catholic truth: a Roman-Catholic philosopher of southern Germany finds his orthodoxy no barrier to his widest metaphysical speculations, and partiality in the treatment of ecclesiastical history is no longer a peculiarity of Roman-Catholic historians. The temporal power of the Papacy, reduced to a very modest principality, itself too large in the eyes of those pious Romanists, who feel that its retention implicates their spiritual Head in mean diplomatic intrigues and hampers the free moral developement of his authority, can no longer be declaimed against as dangerous to human liberality: as a conservative power, as a check to the revolutionary movement, the influence of Rome is still perceived throughout the continent,—but this is rather the necessary effect of the principles of social order and self-restraint implied in Church-government, than any exercise of especial power. It has

required a long and sad series of political incongruities to drive the Roman Catholics of the British empire into an alliance with the desires of change and the intentions of resistance.

It is also now understood that the evils which the Reformation had at heart to remedy lie far deeper in human nature than was contemplated by the spiritual physicians of the time: the English Church detects in itself, and labours to correct many of the very errors which the reformers protested against in the Roman. The practice of habitual Confession is discontinued; but, the worst part of it, the morbid habit of mind superinduced by continual introspection, the restless comparison of one's own spiritual state with that of others, the dwelling upon and realizing, as it were, bad thoughts and evil imaginations, those demoniac shadows which may flit across the brightest spirit, and the consequent absence of the cheerful and trustful faith which should distinguish a child of the Church,—all

this is still amongst us, to be reproved and relieved. Pictures and Statues are no longer objects of religious reverence, but Words, which also are images of thought and sensible representations of ideas, are our common and unsuspected idols;—the dead letter of the Scripture receives the same unintelligent regard that was paid to the dead wood and stone; prayers are uttered without a corresponding internal consciousness, just as crucifixes or scapulæ were unmeaningly worn: and the Liturgy of the Church of England is listened to by the majority of every congregation with as little appreciation of its connection of parts, of the mutual bearing of its selections, of the separation or interfusion of Christian doctrine and Judaic history, with as little knowledge of and insight into the real thought expressed, and as little intellectual sympathy, as ever was the Latin mass by the Romanist people. The sacerdotal influence no longer authoritatively interferes with the sacred relations of private life; but the favourite Minister is frequently as care-

less of the high and separate functions of his office, as ready to be the flatterer, or class-leader, or spoiled child, or anything but the Pastor of the individuals composing his congregation, as ever could be the intriguing Confessor or sensual Priest. In these and other points we too want our Reformation. These weaknesses of our own should facilitate the right understanding of the difficulties of others; contemplation of them should lead to that spirit of humility and forbearance by which alone we can hope to give effect to any attempt at reforming other Churches: it is not by filching a member from them here and there, it is not by disturbing the faith in one view of the Church, where we cannot be sure of substituting another which we believe to be better, it is not by appeals to past abuses, which it only requires a certain amount of information and cleverness for others to recriminate on ourselves, that we can in any way better the condition of the Church of Rome and its members: the hopes of this work rest on

the true application of Catholic principles, admitting freely all that is historically true and theologically fair, refusing earnestly all that is partial, local, and accidental, when it claims to be universal, and showing that we value aright their great, though we think unsuccessful, care, in preserving purity of doctrine, inasmuch as we, for the sake of that purity, have sacrificed the advantages and comforts of the visible Catholic unity. "Religious changes," writes Mr. Newman, "to be beneficial, should be the act of the whole body; they are worth little if they are the mere act of a majority. No good can come of any change which is not heartfelt; a development of feelings springing up freely and calmly within the bosom of the whole body itself."

This passage occurs in the introduction to No. 90 of the "Tracts for the Times," an essay which has attracted more attention and excited more hostility than could have been the case, had the questions of which it treats been better understood by reli-

gious communities in England. There are indeed some who, knowing or suspecting that the subject of the legitimate interpretation of the Articles admits of a good deal of dispute, dislike to see it mooted at all, and would be very glad that the subscription should go on in as quiet and latitudinarian a way as possible. But the great objection to this is, that the liberty here is all on one side; —a man may believe less than the framers of the Articles did, but he must take care not to believe more, for in that case he must not subscribe them: Calvinist and Arminian may find room and range enough within them, but any one feeling with Laud on Ceremonies, or with Hooker on Transubstantiation, or with Hammond on the Infallibility of Councils, must look elsewhere for a religious communion and home. Now it is a plain indisputable truth, that a Catholic tone of feeling has arisen very generally in England, especially among younger men: whether the opportunities they have had of witnessing the developments of Catholic feeling on the Con-

tinent, in art and literature, in public institutions, and historical associations, have had this effect, or whether it arises from some subtle and interior action of the spirit of the time, is of no importance: the *fact* is before us, and shows itself in a thousand ways: it appears in the enjoyment of mediæval literature, the appreciation of the early painters and musical composers[1], the interest in ecclesiastical architecture, the anxiety about questions of Church government and discipline, and, above all, in the yearning for something which their own hands have not made, nor their own hearts imagined, for something which comprehends the memories of the past, the energies of the present, and the aspirations of the future, for something which shall be indeed binding upon them—a Religion, not a Philosophy,—for something which shall give to the mind that full area of freedom which cannot coexist with the restrictions of continual doubt

[1] The establishment of the Motett Society for the cultivation of the music of Palestrina and his contemporaries is certainly in this spirit.

and danger, for some certain and palpable barrier, on which to lean and rest, when, sick and weary, they reach the frontier of possible speculation. This train of feeling will probably lead any man to the consideration of the Catholic Church: he will regard with deep individual interest that historical miracle of permanence and power, sustaining itself through all the tempests of time, with kingdoms and empires, and even nations, in ruin about it, and bearing much the same relation to other institutions that the spiritual does to the natural world: he will see the principle of succession therein developed, if not in literal completeness, at least so much more perfectly than history can show elsewhere, and calling into play all the reverential sentiments of legitimacy, right, and property, by which the present becomes the solemn point of confluence between the past and future; and thus he will be compelled to dwell more on the series of events as a whole than on any particular or local portion of them. Such a condition of mind implies a

desire to embrace within its Christian scheme as much as it can of the universal action of Christianity on mankind, and will with pain altogether eliminate all or any of the media, through which this principle has passed, in its long course of operations. If ancient Rome be a due object of regard as the mother of civility and law, surely the influences of modern Rome are not less valuable and important, nor can the violences of the one nor the corruptions of the other annul the justice of their claims. If the effects of the love and contemplation of Art be ennobling and purifying, is it likely that they will be less so, when the subjects to which Art is applied are of the most sacred and affecting character; and should not one of Raphael's Madonnas deserve better of a Christian man than a Venus by Titian, or a Village-dance by Teniers? If all men are allowed to entertain a retrospective sympathy for those who have given proof of their earnest conviction of the truths which they themselves hold, if young minds are directed to what are called

classical examples of virtue, if the blankest and bleakest philosophy has its heroes, and even atheism its saints, a Christian may assuredly be very unwilling to break off from that chain of association with the martyrs and confessors and men of signal holiness, which has been kept extended, link by link, through ecclesiastical history, and may desire to realise that idea of communion which supersedes the conditions of time and space, and gives to the local habitation and name of the Church something of the inexpressible nature of eternity.

These samples of feeling are sufficient for the purpose of showing, that, from the frequent reaction against the sceptical character of this period of thought, there will arise cases of conscience with regard to the principles of the Church of England, which, according to the rubric, any "discreet and learned minister of God's word" may be called on to decide, and on the decision of which will depend the continuance in, or exclusion from, the communion of the

Church of England of the persons interested. The relaxation of the practice of excommunication does not at all change the conditions of the question: every Church is bound to resolve difficulties of conscience, as to whether the holding certain doctrines and certain opinions does or does not exclude the holder from its terms of communion, just as much as any magistrate is bound to inform any person asking of him whether a certain act be or be not contrary to law. It cannot be said that casuistry is a dead science: as long as men have scruples of conscience, and as long as there is a Church which takes cognizance of any matters of conscience, so long must casuistry be studied and required. The extent to which it was carried in the Roman Church, an extent which went to coarsen, if not to destroy, that divine tact of right and wrong which is the very spirit of holiness and purity, "the light that lighteth every man that cometh into the world," and to divert mental attention from motives to actions, was owing rather to the fatal passion

[illegible]

These samples of feeling are sufficient for the purpose of showing, that, from the frequent reaction against the sceptical character of this period of thought, there will arise cases of conscience with regard to the principles of the Church of England, which, according to the rubric, any "discreet and learned minister of God's word" may be called on to decide, and [illegible] of which will determine [illegible] or exclusion [illegible]

Church of England of the persons interested. The relaxation of the practice of excommunication does not at all change the conditions of the question: every Church is bound to resolve difficulties of conscience, as to whether the holding certain doctrines and certain opinions does or does not exclude the holder from its terms of communion, just as much as any magistrate is bound to inform any person asking of him whether a certain act be or be not contrary to law. It cannot be said that casuistry is a dead science: as long as men have scruples of conscience, and as long as there is a Church which takes cognizance of any matters of conscience, so long must casuistry be studied and required. The extent to which it was carried in the Roman Church, an extent which went to coarsen, if not to destroy, that divine tact [illegible] and wrong which is the very spirit of [illegible] and purity, "the light that lighteth [illegible] that cometh into the world," and [illegible] attention from motives to [illegible] rather to the sole passion

of system and the morbid anatomy of the scholastic morality, than to the mere exercise of Confession, though it was there that the evil was especially displayed. Men, chilled and hardened against sensual impressions by an education which began with infancy and lasted through life, placed above or apart from others by the omnipotence of unbroken habits, analysed passions and appetites as closely and impartially as if they were dealing with chemical properties, probably quite unconscious that they were thus bringing out into distinct and formal life those baser portions of humanity which gain strength by their very utterance, and which should be left to moulder away in silence and shame. On the danger of these refinements in doctrinal matters Pascal has said all that is just, and perhaps something more; but the case with which the Church of England has here to deal requires rather accuracy of knowledge than subtlety of distinction. In deciding whether or not men of these Catholic feelings and inclinations

can conscientiously remain in her communion, the sense and authority of the Articles will be the first point of inquiry. Now it is equally certain that the framers of the Articles had no decidedly anti-Catholic intentions in drawing up the Articles, and that during the first years of Elizabeth's reign, a large body of Catholics outwardly conformed to the Church of England without any formal separation from that of Rome. It is also clear that there are in the Articles statements of fact at variance with indisputable historical truth, and enunciations of opinion difficult to reconcile with the Prayer-book and Homilies. If then the increased knowledge and purified reasoning of this intellectual period should bring men to the conviction that certain propositions of the Articles are absolutely anti-Catholic, and attributable to and explicable by the accidental circumstances under which they were drawn up,—to compel the renunciation of such a conviction, in the absence of Convocation, or any competent tribunal, to pronounce *ex cathedrâ* on the question, is

just the same thing as the Church of Rome's insisting on adherence to the palpable errors of the Vulgate.

If, for instance, a man believes that he can trace all through the history of the Church a certain deference, less or greater, to the Roman See,—if he finds faithful members of the Church of England, and even such a one as King James the First, who assuredly had sufficient regard for his royal independence, offering to recognize the Roman Patriarchate,—if he thinks that some central authority, without being absolute, would be conducive to good discipline and unity in the Church, and if a recognition of this power appears to him to give an integrity and full meaning to the history of the world, making the brute forces of ancient Rome a necessary preface to the spiritual influences of the modern empire,—is, or is not, this speculative opinion sufficient to exclude a conscientious man from the Church of England, because the Article states the single fact, "that the

Bishop of Rome hath no jurisdiction in this realm of England," a fact which he has no intention whatever of denying, and which he well knows cannot fairly be denied?

To take another case:—the twenty-second Article declares the futility and inanity and unscripturalness of the Romish doctrine concerning purgatory, pardons, worshipping of images and relics, and invocation of saints: does this forbid an Anglo-Catholic to have any opinions whatever on these subjects? The phrase in the original Article of 1552, was "the doctrine of the Scholastics," and Hey, Norrisian professor at Cambridge, in his Lectures published 1798, writes, that "if the old expression had continued, the Romanists might have said, we do not defend the doctrines of the school-men in every particular; the present expression confines all dispute to the doctrines which the Romanists professed, whatever those were, and it denotes the degree of each actually existing: so that it would not avail

for the Romanists to defend *some* regard for sacred painting or sculpture, *some* respect for real relics, except they could defend what actually appeared in Popish countries relating to one or the other, *when the Article was made*[1]." It would not therefore appear that the Church of England has pronounced its opinion dogmatically in denial of an Intermediate state, but has merely declared that particular notion of Purgatory, "which had become the Indies to the Pope," to be a vain belief and untrue. On the subject of Images and Relics, a sound reasoner will feel the great importance of keeping distinct the two propositions, the thing represented, and the mode in which the representation is regarded. The unlawfulness of any sensible representation at all of sacred things, and even of the human form, as being in part divine, has ever been a strong religious feeling in the eastern part of the world: among the stricter Jews, and afterwards among the larger part of the disciples

[1] Book IV. art. xxii. sec. 8.

of Mahomet, it was a point of faith, and its operation has been successful in suppressing all Art, wherever it has obtained. Early Christianity would naturally partake of this impression, although there must have been a great division of feeling on the subject between the Jewish and Grecian or Roman converts. The imagination of the latter must have sought for those sensible representations, in which invisible things had always been figured forth to them; and the attempt to realize, by Symbols and Art, the person and events of the life of Christ, must have been early made[1]. A western Christian, about to die for his refusal to worship the national gods, would have pressed to his lips and heart in thankful energy any image or sensible remembrance of that Lord for whom he was suffering, in the same way as one, who had seen and heard Him upon earth, would recal every such circumstance to sustain him through his trial. The differ-

[1] As, for example, in the Roman Catacombs.

ence of sentiment on this subject, however, burst out into open strife under the rule of Leo the Isaurian, who, educated by a Jewish mother, and stimulated by the example of the Caliph Jezid, who had just destroyed all the images in Syria, determined to conform the usages of the Christian world to his Hebrew model. It is not surprising that this man should have seen no distinction between the Idols or fanciful representations of false gods, and the Images or Symbols of the Person and Life of the true, when, in a period of history so much further advanced, the iconoclast spirit of the Reformation applied all the denunciations of the Old Testament against the idol-gods of the heathen, to every visible or audible medium by which the worship of Christ was facilitated and promoted. If Leo had succeeded in his object, Christian Art, with its gracious and civilizing influences, would never have existed: and when we look at the religious, social, and political state of that part of Christendom which yielded to this notion, it is impossible to say

how much of their backwardness and degradation the Greek and Russo-Greek Churches, and the countries under their spiritual authority, owe to their contempt for the sense of the Beautiful; and it must not be here forgotten, that the blindest adoration of outward form is to be found in those very Churches which have most condemned the appliances of Art to Religion. It may be said, with much truth, that the English mind is unapt for the reception of strong impressions from outward objects, that our thoughtful nature cannot derive the same benefit from the suggestions of sense that is felt by the livelier spirit of the South. And this peculiarity, whatever be its loss, has this advantage,—that there can be no fear of the English people attaching too much value to external form. Such ignorant brutality, as threw down statues and demolished shrines, and broke painted windows, and made stables of cathedrals in the Puritan Revolution,—or such indecent legislation, as that Act of the third

year of James I., by which any Crucifix or other Relic was to be defaced in open court at the sessions and then restored to its owner, can therefore be freely and candidly condemned by an Anglo-Catholic, without any fear of bad consequences on the minds of the ignorant; yet, were it not for the historical explanation of the Article above alluded to, it might seem that a member of the Church of England was unauthorized to show any respect whatever to, or feel any interest whatever in, the outward representation or symbol of any person or thing, however fit and orthodox an object of pious veneration or holy sympathy. The legitimate action and discipline of these feelings will of course depend much more on the power of imagination in the individual and its regulation, than on any precise doctrinal position, and their due subordination to more purely spiritual principles is well provided for in the character as well of the age as of the nation: there is no fear of the strong realities, among which we now live, giving

way before any imaginative or sentimental delusions: regard to these sensible media of devotion will, at the most, do no more than revive the taste of Christian Art among us, as has been done in the schools of Munich and Dusseldorf,—prevent our Cathedrals from falling into decay, or, what is as bad, from being closed on the people and left powerless for all those indirect influences of good, which Art in architecture, as in other provinces, exercises over the common mind, —encourage our upper classes in the reasonable ambition of leaving behind them some such great artistic memorials as attest the dignity of their ancestors, instead of frittering away their wealth in unsystematic liberality,—and preserve our new ecclesiastical edifices from a shapeless and offensive nakedness, or, what is still worse, from inappropriate and unseemly decoration [1].

The Catholic direction given by Puseyism

[1] The only edifice raised in England of late years, that can at all claim the name of a Cathedral, is that lately erected in Leeds by the exertions of Dr. Hook.

to historical study, will produce effects of much the same nature and extent: the original languages of the Holy Writings will be more largely and critically understood,—Germany will no more be permitted to reign absolute over ecclesiastical as over other literature, and there will be a true, as there is a false, neology,—the great treasures of continental Biblical criticism will be no longer held contraband in a system of divinity which, accepting the Scriptures as the gift of the Church, is averse to no inquiry into their true interpretation and natural meaning, and does not permit the truth or falsehood of a doctrine to depend on the veracity or tenor of any single one or more particular paragraphs.

A few more observations, of a similar tenor, on the tendencies of Puseyism will fitly conclude this essay. A fear has been expressed that the direction of the religious mind to historical and external circumstances will generate a spirit of formalism, and check the free flow of inner earnestness, which is the life-blood of piety. What-

ever danger there may be on this score, it is hardly greater than that already incurred in the Evangelical system, which is surely not without its strict formalism, and that one not of those forms which experience and the wisdom of ages have pronounced to be fit moulds for the Christian feeling to be cast in, but of any which are invented and insisted on by the fashion or fancy of the serious world. If the peril has been escaped in the one case, it will in the other, and perhaps in neither is it so great as might at first sight appear.

Our age has been frequently accused of Indifferentism, and if this were true, a pedantry of forms would be its natural accompaniment; but this charge will not bear examination. Compare this our generation with that on which the French Revolution fell, compare the whole tone of thought, the whole temper of inquiry: words have so grown in meaning, that they are hardly recognised by those who knew them of old; some indeed have utterly changed their sense with

that of the idea they represented, and others which served for the vaguest generalities are tied down to a precision unattainable before. We rather run the risk of being over-earnest, of treading down the graces of civilisation, of treating as hollow all things we have not weighed in our own balance, of plucking away too rudely the mask of folly and falsehood, and affrightening more susceptible natures by the strange physiognomies revealed. We are born despisers of the past, sons of the future, and it is only by influences similar to Puseyism that we can poise ourselves on the present, as becomes reasoning men, looking before and after, and this not in Religion alone, but also in Science and Literature, in Politics and Philosophy.

There are too many countervailing forces at work to make Puseyism ever dangerous to the intellectual liberty of the people of England. One of its first demonstrations will be the removal of religious interference from matters of a purely secular nature, such as elementary education, and the distribution

of charity. No Churchman of these days will ever pretend to exclude others, not Churchmen, from the advantage of reading or writing, or to make any selection of them in his charitable donations; yet he will not assent to any other religious teaching but that which he believes to be true, and thus that confused and indeterminate intrusion of religious matters into circumstances, where they only derange and embitter, will, as far as he is able, be discouraged and avoided.

The use of these clear distinctions in questions of the relations of Church and State is undeniable: a high-Churchman will protest to his utmost against the interference of the State in ecclesiastical rights and arrangements, but will readily admit of State-authority in the disposition and distribution of such temporalities as the State has conferred, as far as the State has a legitimate hold over any corporate property. In arguing these subjects he will constantly keep in mind that the Church, of which he is politically speaking, is a political institu-

tion, liable to political vicissitudes, and amenable to political authority; but that the Catholic Church of Christ, of which this Church is but an outward and visible sign, remains unaffected by such changes and chances, and preserves through all of them its apostolic power and its universal tradition. Keeping these things separate, he will in Parliament advocate the claims of the Established Church on grounds rather moral than religious; he will dwell on the superiority of her organization, on the advantages of her discipline, on the dignity of her social position, on the intellectual claims of her ministers, and the reasonable character of her ministrations. But to a religious audience he will put forth the real pretensions of the Church of England to be what she is, the sole just grounds of her predominance over other Christian bodies, the only tenable foundation on which she can really meet and grapple with Dissent, the assertion that she has something which they have not and cannot have, that she can confer on her

members spiritual benefits which they cannot on theirs; that there is a plain positive difference of fact between her and them, namely, that they are voluntary and accidental societies, and she the Apostolic and Catholic Church.

They who hesitate to declare themselves partakers of these views, would do well to consider whether the Church of England can go on any longer without some system of theology that rests on a scientific basis, and maintains itself by at least probable arguments. Are our formularies to be consistently understood? Are we to be left to schools of doctrine, clearly heterogeneous and arbitrary, without rule of faith to guide, or method of interpretation to follow, content to adopt one dogma, and to reject its necessary consequent? Are we not required to give logical and clear-headed men reasons why they should rather be Churchmen than Dissenters? Are we to attempt to systematize and complete the Anglican theology as we have received it from the Fathers of our

Church, or to give up the task altogether as hopeless, and confining ourselves to pressing practical duties, leave all articles of doctrine and speculation to the hazards of public opinion and the general dispensation of Providence? The sea of discussion on which we are afloat is certainly wide, but is that a reason why we should throw ourselves overboard?

Without doubt the revival of Catholic principles in England will be abused by weak or evil minds; there are those who will distil from them only violence and hate, ignorance and restriction; there are those who will find in them only sources of gratification to puerile vanity or personal caprice; there are those who will pervert sacred authority into an unholy domination, by accepting the powers they confer without feeling the responsibilities they impose: and therefore it is well that these principles contain an element of unconditional submission to ecclesiastical rule which will effectually check any extravagant excursions of indi-

vidual fancy and any illegitimate assumptions of individual will. How safe are they from these perils, how secure of a sane and practical course, when the expression of the desire of a single Bishop is sufficient to arrest at once that series of "Tracts for the Times," which has been the chief literary agent in the Catholic movement, because a single number has somewhat affronted the prejudices and passions of the hour, and when it is left to an undistinguished and unconnected layman to offer apologetically to public notice this one Tract more!

THE END.

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