

Zeitschrift: Revue internationale de théologie = Internationale theologische Zeitschrift = International theological review
Band: 2 (1894)
Heft: 7

Artikel: Pusey
Autor: Lias, J.J.
DOI: <https://doi.org/10.5169/seals-403289>

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PUSEY.

Life of Edward Bouverie Pusey, D. D., Canon of Christ Church, Regius Professor of Hebrew in the University of Oxford. By Henry Parry LIDDON, D. D., D. C. L., late Canon and Chancellor of St Paul's. Edited and prepared for publication by the Rev. J. O. JOHNSTONE, Vicar of All Saints, Oxford, and the Rev. R. J. WILSON, Warden of Keble College, Oxford.

It would be a serious loss to the cause of Catholic Reunion if the *Revue Internationale* were to fail to introduce this most important book to its readers. It is most important as regards its subject. Dr Pusey has most justly been styled by Père Hyacinthe "le vrai réformateur de l'Eglise d'Angleterre". It is also most important as regards its author. Our Continental friends, it is to be feared, are almost as much in the dark about the inner life of the Church of England as we are about their affairs. But surely *some* information must have leaked out among them about the most commanding personality, by far, of which the Church of England has been able to boast, since Dr Pusey and Dr Wilberforce, Bishop of Oxford and afterwards of Winchester, were taken hence. No English preacher for generations has exercised the influence which Canon Liddon exercised during the last fifteen or twenty years of his life. No English preacher so much resembled the great preachers of the Church of Rome. No English preacher of note was so free from English insularity, so uncompromisingly and un-deviatingly Catholic, in the truest sense of the word, as Canon Liddon. A celibate; a student, and somewhat of a recluse; trained after the models of the best French Catholic preachers; a thinker and speaker whose language and the arrangement of whose matter were transparently clear: an orator of such power that Sunday after Sunday, during a long course of years, he could attract four thousand people to hear him under the

dome of St Paul's Cathedral—it is a wonder that his fame did not attract more attention on the Continent than it has done. We have here, then, the life of a great man told by a great man. And when we add that one of these great men was the devoted disciple and the trusted literary executor of the other, we can hardly exaggerate the value and importance of this contribution to the history of the Church.

For the movement of which Dr Pusey was the life and soul was the greatest stride towards Catholic Reunion which has taken place since the sad schisms in which the Reformation resulted. In England, when that movement arose, the Church was in a most unsatisfactory condition. Not, indeed, so bad as the reader of Dr von Döllinger's *Church and the Churches* would imagine. That was a gross caricature of the truth only to be excused by the fact that the great Old Catholic leader had not as yet realized the untrustworthiness of the portraits of their adversaries which we owe to Roman Catholic artists. Old Catholics, since the time when the work in question was written, have had abundant opportunity in their own persons, of testing the fidelity of such representations, and will be ready to rate them at their true worth. Yet though the Church of England was not in so bad a state as Dr von Döllinger has represented it to have been, its condition was deplorable enough. The Catholic teaching of earlier years was under an eclipse. Here and there admirable representatives of the older Catholic spirit were to be found. But as a rule the tendency of the High Church party was towards Erastianism and secular politics, and its representatives were more distinguished by the love of luxury and refined ease than by zeal. Zeal was the special characteristic of the Evangelical party. But in their case, it was zeal without knowledge. The theological opinions of that party were a kind of modified Calvinism. Theology as a science was decried, and the uncritical study of the Bible, or rather of certain selected parts of the Bible, took its place. The Broad Church party could then hardly be said to have had any existence. Latitudinarian theologians, indeed, there were, but they were suspected, justly or unjustly, of entertaining a prejudice against revealed religion altogether. The voice of the clergy, in happier times expressed through their Convocations, had been silenced for a century. The Church was unpopular

in the country. The Bishops and clergy were regarded as hostile to the movement for Parliamentary Reform which assumed so formidable an aspect in 1831 that the Crown and House of Lords were compelled to succumb to it. The Liberal Government which came into power after the passing of the Reform Bill had begun to suppress Bishoprics in Ireland, and the adoption of a general policy of disendowment seemed imminent. As to the teaching of the clergy, at the time, it was thus described by a clergyman named Sikes. "Wherever I go about the country I see amongst the clergy a number of very amiable and estimable men, many of them much in earnest, and wishing to do good. But I have observed one universal want in their teaching: the uniform suppression of one great truth. There is no account given anywhere, as far as I see, of the Holy Catholic Church."

It was under these circumstances that a movement for the revival of forgotten doctrines seemed imperatively demanded. The key-note was struck by Keble's sermon before the University of Oxford in 1833, which denounced the secularisation of Church property in Ireland as the first step in the direction of "National Apostasy". The idea of the issue of a series of tracts to arouse Churchmen to a sense of their duty and a proper comprehension of their principles seems to have originated with Hugh James Rose, a Cambridge theologian. But it was at Oxford that the proposition was taken up, and the ninety tracts which were issued from the press between 1833 and 1841 gave the name of "Tractarian" to the movement. The aim of that movement was to awaken once more in men's minds those Catholic ideas which, though they were contained in our Creeds and enshrined in our formularies, had become obscured by the defective teaching so long in fashion. The fact that this obscuration was merely superficial is shown by the immediate success of the movement. Supported as it was by men such as Pusey, Newman, Keble, Sir W. Palmer, Isaac Williams, and other writers and thinkers of scarcely inferior note, it spread to the remotest corners of the kingdom, and was taken up with equal enthusiasm in the country parsonages, and by young laymen of earnestness and promise, of whom Mr Gladstone is the last left to us.

Dr Pusey was one of the last to join the movement.

Cardinal Newman, in his *Apologia*, has a vivid passage in which he depicts the delight they felt when so great a scholar and so holy a man threw in his lot with the tract writers. "I used to call him", says the Cardinal, "ὁ μέγας". Unfortunately the very slowness and apparent hesitation which is characteristic of men of judgement and humility like Dr Pusey threw the leadership into the hands of the more impulsive and mercurial Newman. Other characteristics combined to force the latter to the front. His temperament was more magnetic and impressionable than that of the other leaders, and he rapidly gathered round him a body of sympathizers among the younger members of the University who made him their idol, though, strange to say, the instinct of the English mind seems to have divined from the first who was really the guiding spirit of the movement, by calling its supporters not Newmanites, but Puseyites.

Newman's judgement, as it soon became manifest, was often at fault. He was impatient of contradiction, and often guided rather by feeling than by judgement. I must refer my readers to the *Life* for details, as well as to the narratives of events in Keble's *Life*, to Isaac Williams' *Reminiscences*¹⁾, and to Sir W. Palmer's *Narrative of Events connected with the Tracts for the Times*²⁾. Suffice it to say that some of the leaders themselves grew uneasy, and many of the wisest among their followers sent remonstrances to Dr Pusey himself. The publication of the celebrated Tract 90, in 1841, in which the lawfulness of maintaining in the Church of England many doctrines popularly identified with the Church of Rome added to the ferment. Sir W. Palmer did not hesitate to express his dissatisfaction in the plainest terms, in the work just mentioned; and Isaac Williams also gave private expression to his apprehensions. Meanwhile Dr Pusey himself had published, in 1843, a sermon on the Holy Eucharist, which had brought him under the censure of the University authorities. And a younger school of Tractarians was moreover springing up, less learned and stable than the original authors of the movement, more sentimental and excitable. Among these were Ward, Faber, Oakley, Dodsworth and others, who alarmed the Church of England at

¹⁾ A notice of this book appeared in this *Revue* in April 1893.

²⁾ Published in 1843.

large, and even the graver members of their own party, by eccentricities of utterance and displays of sentiment which indicated a far greater sympathy with Rome than with their own communion. Oxford was convulsed by the publication of Ward's *Ideal of a Christian Church*, which was only saved from the public condemnation of the University by the refusal of the Proctors to concur in it. The situation was still further aggravated by a proposal on the part of the Government to set up an Anglican Bishopric at Jerusalem in conjunction with the German Lutherans. Against this proposition Newman energetically protested, and the Tractarian leaders supported his action. But they did not carry their protests to the same length that he did. They contented themselves with protesting; Newman resigned the Vicarage of St Mary's, Oxford, and retired to a sort of *quasi* monastery he had established in the immediate neighbourhood of that city.

Dr Pusey continued to hope against hope that Newman's services would still be retained for the Church of his baptism. He refused to see that a barrier had grown up between them, and with a chivalry which he certainly carried to a fault, he defended many expressions and actions which were contrary to his own better judgement. In 1845 the crisis came which many had predicted, and many feared, and for which not a few, in the Church of England as well as in the Church of Rome, had hoped. In 1845 Newman joined the Roman Communion, and was followed by Ward, Faber, Oakley, Dodsworth, Maskell, and many other clergy of lesser note. It is here that the narrative at present leaves us. The blow fell just as the Church of St Saviour's, Leeds, a Church intended to embody the yearnings after Catholic antiquity and mediaeval aestheticism, felt by the Tractarian school¹⁾, was to be consecrated. Nothing can be more characteristic of Pusey's wonderful steadfastness and faith in his mission than his conduct at that moment. An imperishable monument of the spirit which actuated the men who still retained their faith in the Church of their fathers still exists in the noble volume of sermons by Pusey, Keble, Isaac Williams, Charles Marriott and others,

¹⁾ Not so much, as his life shews, by Dr Pusey as by some of his disciples, in regard to the latter.

preached at the consecration of St Saviour's. No publication breathing a spirit of firmer faith, more profound humility, and more exquisite gentleness, in an hour of the most cruel anxiety and most unmerited reproach, has ever been written. The annals of the saints may be ransacked in vain to find utterances more saintly. Abandoned by their dearest friends, fiercely and unsparingly attacked by their enemies, suspected not unnaturally as traitors by the world at large, and taunted with the fulfilment of predictions in regard to the Romeward tendency of their teaching, which they nevertheless knew to be unjust; these saints of our Church maintained their ground, persisted in their teaching, uttered not a single uncharitable word, and instead of blaming others, meekly accepted what they regarded as a Divine chastisement for their own shortcomings and sins. "Nothing", says the *Church Quarterly Review* in its article on the *Life*, "could have made a better *Apologia* for the Church of England, and for Pusey himself, than that Leeds week."

It is in truth a fit period at which to pause. The first chapter of the Tractarian movement, under the direction of Newman had now closed. It was a chapter of brilliant achievements, ending in disaster and failure. The story of the second chapter of that movement, under the leadership of Pusey, is less exciting, but in reality more interesting. That story has yet to be told. When it is told, we shall see with what wariness and patience the new leader, succeeding to his inheritance immediately after a great defeat, rallied his forces, inspired new courage into them, and led them to final victory. It would of course be absurd to pretend that in the subsequent career of Dr Pusey there were no mistakes, or that his theological teaching is absolutely unquestioned in our Church. But it is undoubtedly the dominant school of theology among us. And even among its antagonists no one now ventures to question principles which were allowed to remain dormant, or were fiercely assailed, at the time the *Tracts* appeared. Such are the doctrines of the continuity of the visible society known as the Catholic Church of Christ; the value of the Sacraments as means of communion between the soul and God; the duty of expressing suitably in public worship our sense of God's greatness, and all we owe to Him. The doctrine of the Incarnation

is once more recognized as the fundamental doctrine of the Christian faith, and the object of Christ's coming is no longer supposed to be propitiation for sin alone, but the restoration of the union between God and the soul, lost or imperilled by sin. It is perhaps too early for the history of this great religious movement of the 19th century in England to be written as a whole. But the life of its gifted and saintly leader is practically a history of it. I trust that this most brief and inadequate sketch of what is after all the least important part of the life of the leader, if not of the movement itself, may stimulate theologians on the Continent to enter on the study of a period of Church history inferior to none in interest. Such a study will enable them to form a better idea of the actual condition of a Church which in consequence of its isolation from the rest of Christendom for three hundred and fifty years, is at present but imperfectly comprehended by other branches of the Church of Christ.

J. J. LIAS.
