

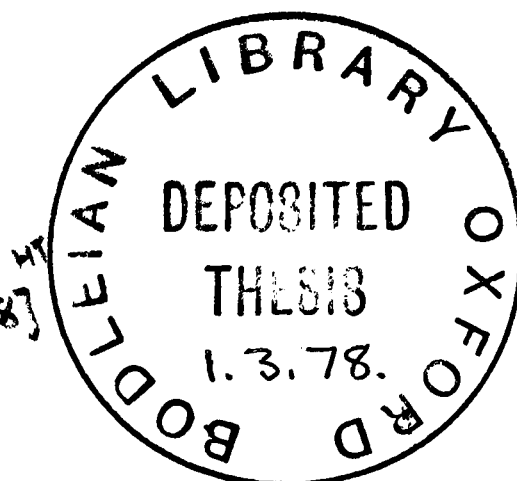
A STUDY OF MARK PATTISON'S RELIGIOUS
EXPERIENCE 1813 - 1850

A Thesis submitted for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy
in the University of Oxford

by

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Lincoln College

"It is my opinion . . . that there never was a more truly human being than he, and he would have been lost without the love and kindly feeling of those who were close to him."

Benjamin Jowett, in John Sparrow.
Mark Pattison and the Idea of a
University (Cambridge, 1967), p. 61.

For my parents, Robert and Carmel Nolan

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ABBREVIATIONS

MSP.: MSS Pattison, Bodleian Library, Oxford

MSS. Lincoln College: 'Mark Pattison's Letters', Lincoln College, Oxford

MSS. Sparrow: Letters in the possession of Mr John Sparrow, All Souls
College, Oxford

DNB.: Dictionary of National Biography

INTRODUCTION

Mark Pattison (1813 - 1884), Rector of Lincoln College, Oxford, was a most remarkable man. He was immensely and thoroughly learned. He had a keen and penetrating intelligence that was admired by the knowledgeable and feared by the unwary. By his contemporaries--persons of the stature of John Henry Newman, George Eliot, and John Ruskin--he was regarded as one of the finest scholars, humanists, and intellectuals of his day. When he died in 1884, his reputation for learning was unequalled.

Although he loved the retirement that belongs to a life of scholarship, Mark Pattison was no recluse. On the contrary, he is to be found at the centre of some of the most important religious and intellectual controversies of Victorian England. He was a prominent figure in the Oxford Movement in the 1840s, one of the seven essayists of the celebrated Essays and Reviews of 1860, and a vigorous proponent of radical reform of the universities in the 1870s. For over forty years he contributed significant, substantial, and often controversial articles on philosophy, literature, history, scholarship, theology, and education to the leading reviews of the day. He wrote, among other things, a life of Milton that went through numerous editions, published editions of Pope's Essay on Man and of his Satires and Epistles that have been republished since numerous times, and wrote an outstanding biography of the Renaissance scholar, Isaac Casaubon. Before his last illness, he was preparing what would have been the culmination of more than thirty years of painstaking research, the definitive biography of the great sixteenth century scholar and humanist, Joseph Scaliger.

Surprising though it may seem, Mark Pattison has been all but ignored by students of the Victorian period. Only two sustained studies of him have been published. Both are of relatively recent date. V. H. H. Green has published a careful account of Pattison's long connection with Lincoln College in his Oxford Common Room: A Study of Lincoln College and Mark Pattison (London, 1957). John Sparrow has given an admirably humane and sympathetic account of Pattison's life in the Clark Lectures for 1965, published as Mark Pattison and the Idea of a University (Cambridge, 1967). There are other more recent studies in which Pattison has figured more or less prominently. Betty Askwith's Lady Dilke (London, 1969), a biography of Pattison's wife, Francis Pattison (who became, after her husband's death, the wife of Sir Charles Dilke), has a good deal to say about the curious and unhappy relationship between Pattison and his wife. Jo Manton's Sister Dora: The Life of Dorothy Pattison (London, 1971) describes the relationship between Pattison and the youngest of his ten sisters and gives an extensive and detailed account of life in the Rectory at Hauxwell where Mark's father ruled with an iron hand. Besides these published accounts, there are three extended but unpublished studies of Pattison. Joyce M. Hoare's 'Mark Pattison 1813 - 1844: A Bibliography of his Published Works' (unpublished dissertation, University of London, 1953) is a useful, if incomplete, bibliography. Michael Pasko's 'Mark Pattison's Course through the Oxford Movement' (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Illinois, 1964) is, within its limits, a thorough and conscientious study. The author, however, was unable to draw on all the relevant manuscripts available in the Bodleian Library and was not aware of manuscripts in other libraries in Oxford. Donald Sniegowski's 'The Early Career of Mark Pattison'

(unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Yale University, 1966) is accurate and concise. Again, however, it does not draw on all the relevant manuscripts. Finally, there is as yet no biography of Pattison.

The present study is an account of Mark Pattison's religious experience up to the year 1850. It tells the story of Pattison's intellectual and personal development during the most crucial period of his life, of his close connection with Newman and the leaders of the Oxford Movement and, finally, of his rejection of religious orthodoxy and the growth in him of a religious agnosticism and intellectual scepticism.

Pattison attempted to tell this story himself in his Memoirs, published posthumously in 1885. But the story he tells is by no means complete. Besides, it is frequently inaccurate in matters of fact and often seriously misinterprets events. Further, he has great difficulty (as he readily admits) in understanding the exact state of his mind at important stages in his development, and his account is tinged not a little with anger and bitterness. Finally, the impression conveyed by the Memoirs (as John Sparrow remarks in the Clark Lectures) is that they are being dictated by a "disembodied intellect".

The present study attempts to reincarnate Mark Pattison. He is seen as a man of flesh and blood participating actively in the great movement of his day at Oxford and in almost constant companionship with its leaders. The inaccuracies and misinterpretations of the Memoirs are corrected. The story is filled out and given a perspective. It is told not from the point of view of a disappointed and frustrated man on his deathbed, but from the diaries, notebooks, and letters of the young Pattison, contemporaneous with the events. The most significant information

and much of the rest is entirely new. It brings to light an unusual perspective on the personalities, events, and influence of the Oxford Movement. Finally, it throws new light on Pattison himself. For, instead of the embittered old man who did his memory so much harm in the Memoirs, we discover a much younger Pattison, a man who is shy but, at the same time, eager, passionate, enthusiastic, and hopeful, and a complete and thorough idealist. The difference between the two portraits is such that the Pattison of the Memoirs has been referred to throughout this study as "Pattison" merely; and the Pattison that emerges from the notebooks, letters, and diaries is called simply "Mark".

Before he died in 1884, Pattison left a collection of thousands of pages of manuscript letters, diaries, and notebooks to the Bodleian Library at Oxford. Since his death a number of additions have been made to that collection. The collection as a whole is a mine of information for scholars interested in the Victorian period. None of the manuscripts, however, has been edited and only brief extracts from them have been published in the studies referred to above. The present study is based mainly on that collection. Much, if not most, of the material from the collection presented in this study has never been published. Two letters, in particular, from two of Pattison's more famous correspondents, John Henry Newman and E. B. Pusey, appear here for the first time. Much of the correspondence and many of the entries in Pattison's notebooks and diaries are undated. By cross references made to the various manuscripts during the preparation of this study and from internal evidence in the manuscripts themselves, it was possible to arrive at the correct or at least proximate date in most cases. The dates so provided are indicated by square brackets in the

footnotes. By the same method of investigation, the authors of a number of unsigned letters have been identified.

In May 1934, Pattison's niece, Lady de Saumerez, presented to Lincoln College a collection of some ninety letters from Mark Pattison to his sisters. Extracts from some of those letters were published by F. C. Montague in the John Rylands Library Bulletin in 1934 (see below, p. 462). Shortly thereafter the entire collection disappeared. It was re-discovered at Lincoln College in somewhat amusing and unusual circumstances in 1971. It is the source for much of the material that appears in this study for the first time. Again, a number of the letters, written between 1836 and 1852, are not dated. The correct or proximate date has been arrived at by cross references to other letters in the collection and to the Bodleian manuscripts, and from internal evidence in the letters themselves. The dates so provided are indicated by square brackets in the footnotes.

A third and private collection of letters, made available to the author by the generosity of Mr John Sparrow, is also an important source for this study. This is a collection of sixty-six letters from Mark Pattison to his father, written between 1832 and 1841. They tell, in large measure, the story of the unique and difficult relationship that existed between Mark and his father, the unpredictable and tyrannical Rector of Hauxwell in Yorkshire. The vicissitudes of that relationship played a significant role in shaping the course of Pattison's early life. The letters have never been published. Most of them are dated. Where possible, missing dates have been supplied by the method and in the manner described above.

Finally, there is a small collection of miscellaneous papers in the

archives of Oriel College which has not before been made known. It consists of two undergraduate essays by Mark Pattison and the examiners' reports on Pattison's candidacy in the Oriel election of 1838. The author spent several hours in the archives examining the dust covered contents of a chest of miscellaneous papers in order to come up with the examiners' reports. In the course of his investigation, he uncovered what may be an important letter pertaining to the candidacy of R. W. Church, who was eventually elected. The letter is presented in Chapter III of this study. It has never before been made public.

This study ends at 1850. It covers the most crucial period of Pattison's intellectual development and leaves him with a new found sense of freedom and a career that is already well on the way to success. In 1851, Pattison was regarded generally as the most outstanding candidate in the election for the new Rector of Lincoln College. He was defeated. The consequences of that defeat were very nearly catastrophic. In 1861, he was at last elected Rector of his College. Shortly thereafter he married Emilia Francis Strong, a vivacious and sophisticated young woman some twenty-seven years his junior. The marriage was a failure. Pattison was embittered. By many it was thought that his bitterness grew out of his loss of religious faith. "Let not my last days be like his!" his wife wrote to a friend as she listened to her husband's cries of pain and waited for him to die. "The moral ruin is awful", she added.¹ Henry Sidgwick, when he had read Pattison's Memoirs, observed: "I cannot but admit that his life is a moral fiasco, which the orthodox have a right to point to

¹Green, Oxford Common Room, p. 323.

as a warning against infidelity".² We make no such judgment, however, being loath to assume a prerogative that is properly divine. The present study, we think, reveals a Pattison who has been largely unknown before now. We are content to wait until further research on the Pattison manuscripts shall uncover the rest of the story. The conclusions then will reveal themselves.

²Arthur Sidgwick and Mrs E. N. Sidgwick, Henry Sidgwick: A Memoir (London, 1906), p. 404.

CHAPTER I

Hauxwell: The Inheritance

"My father must have cared for me then . . .".
Mark Pattison¹

Mark Pattison's parents were Evangelical Anglicans. That is to say, they professed a form of Christianity that took shape in the Church of England towards the end of the eighteenth century of a kind that had an extraordinary influence not only on the Anglican Church, but on the nation generally. The tenets of Evangelicalism were adopted and domesticated in full measure in the Pattison household at Hauxwell, a tiny and remote village in Wensleydale, on the edge of the Yorkshire moors. Mark's father, Mark James Pattison, was Rector of Hauxwell. In the pulpit of the little church that stands at the bottom of the steep lane leading from the village and the Rectory (now demolished), Mr. Pattison preached stern Evangelical doctrines to the tiny congregation that assembled for the services twice on Sundays. In the pulpit, he reigned supreme; there was no one to gainsay him. At home, by his wife most of all, he was revered and feared as God's anointed ruler of the household. There, in the home of Mark's boyhood, and with a quiet but unyielding determination, Jane Pattison compelled her children to

¹Mark Pattison, Memoirs (London, 1885), p. 12.

practise on weekdays what their father preached on Sundays.²

Pattison tells us in his Memoirs that, as a boy, he had been brought up "in sentiments of profound, I may say abject, piety".³ Many an eminent Victorian might have echoed those words. The list of the sons and daughters of Evangelicals who abandoned the creed of their parents to become "High" Anglican or Roman Catholic or agnostic is a long one. George Eliot and Elizabeth Barrett are to be found on it; so, too, Charlotte, Emily, and Ann Brontë; Samuel Butler, Benjamin Jowett, Charles Kingsley, John Ruskin, Macauley, Gladstone, the future cardinal Henry Manning; and, most ironically, William, Robert, Samuel and Henry Wilberforce, the four sons of the great Evangelical leader and propagandist, William Wilberforce. Not one remained an Evangelical, yet none would deny the formative influence of that early religion. Some, indeed, have written about it. Mark Pattison, unfortunately, was not one of them. There is scarcely anything in his Memoirs about the religion of his boyhood at Hauxwell. We know, at least (for he tells us so), that the only religious books available to him at home were of "an evangelical colour"; "second-rate stuff", he says.⁴ Elsewhere, in the unpublished "MS. Notes for Autobiography", he has this to say:

²Mark was the eldest of twelve children. He had ten sisters and a brother, Frank (the youngest child). John Sparrow remarks: "The house was a small one. I visited it more than once before it was pulled down a year or two ago, and I found it hard to believe that the Rectory could ever have accommodated a family of fourteen, with all its servants". Mark Pattison and the Idea of a University (Cambridge, 1967), p. 33.

³Memoirs, p. 172.

⁴Memoirs, p. 173.

When I was young, I was very religious. This did me a great deal of harm, stunting my intellectual growth, and perverting my moral sensibility. The efforts I made to reconcile the doctrine of original sin with the moral law gave a twist to my intellect. I gained a Denyer prize [at Oxford] on the subject of Or[iginal] Sin, wh[ich] I defended--but I could not help, after all my curiosity, having doubts whether, after all, the Pelagians had not the best of the argument.⁵

Those words show what a deep impression had been made on Mark's young mind by one of the chief tenets of Evangelical doctrine. The doctrine of man's original sin against God and its dire consequences for mankind, a doctrine held generally by Christians, was fundamental to the Evangelical Christian's conception of himself, and to his idea of the nature of the relationship between himself and God and the rest of men. Evangelical writers and preachers drove that doctrine home in no uncertain terms, and none did so with more conviction than the great Wilberforce himself.

William Wilberforce is famous chiefly for the success of his campaign to abolish the slave trade. That campaign brought him high honour both at home and abroad. He acquired immense prestige in Parliament, which came to look upon him as a kind of moral arbiter. Outside Parliament he was one of an association of wealthy and influential Evangelical laymen called the "Clapham sect" (from the London borough in which many of them lived) that initiated and directed, not unnaturally with an Evangelical bias, great national movements of moral, religious, and social reform. The zeal of these Evangelicals, their good intentions, and the obvious and apparently good effects of their influence made them

⁵MSP. 138, ff. 3-4.

a force to be reckoned with in almost every sphere of English life during the first three decades of the nineteenth century. True to the title by which they were known, the Evangelicals were not shy about their beliefs, Wilberforce least of all. In 1797 he published an exposition of his views that went through numerous editions in succeeding decades and became a classic work of Evangelical piety and doctrine. It was called, A Practical View Of The Prevailing Religious System of Professed Christians, In The Higher And Middle Classes In This Country, Contrasted With Real Christianity.

In his Practical View Wilberforce set out deliberately to alarm his readers, indeed, to shock them, if need be. His intention was to strike deep at the heart of the religious apathy and moral complacency that prevailed among those classes in society who, in his view, were chiefly responsible for the direction of English life and manners. The "Higher and Middle Classes" (as he called them) had no right, he said, to think of themselves as Christian at all. Their religion was a show--impoverished, superficial, complacent. It was, in fact, no religion. Certainly, it was not Christianity. But if Wilberforce expected to awaken his readers to their real condition merely by what he said, he was mistaken. There was nothing new in it. The Methodists had been preaching a similar message for years, but to deaf ears in all but the "lower" classes. The "Higher and Middle Classes" generally regarded the Methodists with contempt. Wilberforce, however, could not be treated in a similar fashion. The novelty of his book lay not so much in what was said in it, but in the person saying it. For Wilberforce was respectable, wealthy, distinguished, no mere Methodist preacher or

popular enthusiast. He had to be listened to. Real Christianity, he said, was rarely to be found in the middle and upper reaches of English society. (By "real" Christianity, Wilberforce and every other Evangelical writer meant, of course, Evangelical Christianity.) To begin with, it rejects outright the comforting notion that man is naturally pure and virtuous. "The bulk of professed Christians", he said, "are used to speak of man as of a being, who, naturally pure, and inclined to all virtue, is sometimes, almost involuntarily, drawn out of the right course, or is overpowered by the violence of temptation".⁶ The "real" Christian knows better. He will not shrink from the truth. "Far different is the humiliating language of Christianity", Wilberforce continues,

From it we learn that man is an apostate creature, fallen from his high original, degraded in his nature, and depraved in his faculties; indisposed to good, and disposed to evil; prone to vice, it is natural and easy to him; disinclined to virtue, it is difficult and laborious; that he is tainted with sin, not slightly and superficially, but radically and to the very core.⁷

That notion of a human nature corrupt "radically and to the very core" was fundamental to all Evangelical preaching. As Wilberforce says himself: "We should not go too far if we were to assert that it lies at the very root of all true Religion, and still more, that it is eminently the basis and groundwork of Christianity".⁸ But mere assent to that fundamental doctrine is not enough, he went on. It must be "firmly seated in our understandings, and radically worked into our hearts". One

⁶William Wilberforce, A Practical View, etc., 2nd Edition (London, 1797), p. 26.

⁷A Practical View, etc., pp. 26-27.

⁸A Practical View, etc., p. 24.

must "feel it strongly", and habit alone can make that possible. "Let us accustom ourselves", he exhorts his readers,

to refer to our natural depravity as to their primary cause, the sad instances of vice and folly of which we read, or which we see around us, or to which we feel the propensities in our own bosoms; ever vigilant and distrustful of ourselves, and looking with an eye of kindness and pity on the faults and infirmities of others, whom we should learn to regard with the same tender concern as that with which the sick are used to sympathize with those who are suffering under the same distemper as themselves.⁹

That doctrine, so stern and humiliating, was worked into the fabric of of life at Hauxwell. Mark Pattison's parents accepted it without question, and brought up their children to believe that from the beginning of thier young lives, they too were corrupt by nature, "radically and to the very core". Not for the Pattisons the sentimental notion of an innocent childhood: children, like adults, were depraved and must be "converted". The great Wilberforce had said so himself and he was by no means alone in his conviction. "Innocent young women! Good hearted young men!", he had exclaimed,

Wherein does this goodness of heart and this innocence appear? Remember that we are fallen creatures, born in sin, and naturally depraved. Christianity recognizes no innocence or goodness of heart, but in the remission of sin, and in the effects of the operation of divine grace.¹⁰

Such stern and uncompromising doctrines make it appear as though Wilberforce and his associates were without warmth or compassion. In fact, the very opposite was the case. Wilberforce was no ogre. He was

⁹ A Practical View, etc., pp. 51-52.

¹⁰ A Practical View, etc., p. 436.

a lively, sociable, immensely likeable man who deserved and enjoyed the esteem and affection of family and friends alike.¹¹ Zeal, love, warmth, gratitude, hope, trust, and joy were rightfully, he said, part of Evangelical Christianity, and he laid claim to those virtues against all those persons who objected to the enthusiastic exhibitions of the Methodists, against all those in whom true love as "an ardent, and an active principle" was not to be found. Be that as it may, the God that emerged from the Evangelicals' way of thinking was scarcely a loveable God, no matter how loving He was said to be. Rather, He was a God to be respected, feared, and appeased. Why this should be is not difficult to see. For if man be as depraved by nature as the Evangelicals believed him to be, he must incur the just wrath of an all-just God. Hence, a God to be feared; hence a dire need to appease him, to alter his attitude not alone towards a corrupt mankind, but especially, and most urgently, towards one's own self. Where, then, to look for the instrument of this dramatic change? Where else but in the sacrificial death of Jesus Christ, the one and only possible reconciliation between an angry God and sinful man, the one atonement to which man owed everything and contributed nothing? No act in life, then, could be so important to the Evangelical as personally to participate in this historic reconciliation between God and man. To do so was to be "converted". To refuse to participate was to put oneself beyond the pale. The responsibility was the individual's alone: he must decide for or against. If he said "Yes", he did so by

¹¹T. Mozley gives a rather alarming picture of "the four young Wilberforces stretching out their necks one in advance of the other, to catch every word of the father's conversation, and note every change in his most expressive countenance". Reminiscences, 2 vols (London, 1882), I, p. 110.

an act of faith in Christ. His own merit counted for nothing. If he said "No", he put himself at once in dreadful peril. He must know that the opportunity to say "Yes" might not come again. It was a gift from God; once rejected, there was no guarantee that it would be offered again. It was essential, then, for one's eternal peace to recognize the nature of the offer and to accept it. Children, especially, must be made aware of the necessity for "conversion". The religious training of an Evangelical household was directed entirely to that end, as we may see in the following account of an early Victorian Evangelical family:

First and foremost, we were taught "the Gospel plan," which was, briefly, that all mankind were utterly sinful, and therefore in danger of Hell; that God had provided deliverance in the atoning Death of Christ; and that, if only we would accept the offer of salvation so made, we were forgiven, reconciled, and safe. That acceptance was "Conversion." . . . The word was constantly in use. "A converted character" was one who had "closed with the offer." An unconverted character was one who had not; and that was the vital difference which divided the whole human family into two groups.¹²

We do not know whether Mark Pattison ever, in that strikingly mercantile phrase, "closed with the offer" in the sense of having had a direct experience of conversion as Newman and other Evangelicals had, so vividly that they could date it precisely. Had it been so in Pattison's case no doubt he would have mentioned it. The "experience" was not essential, however much desired as a sign of God's certain favour and one's own acceptability. What was essential was a deep conviction of one's own hopeless state and an unconditional acceptance of Christ's death as the only saving act of reconciliation. That was conversion.

¹²George W. E. Russell, A Short History of the Evangelical Movement (London, 1915), pp. 140-141.

In that sense, from the little he has told us of it, we can say that Pattison had indeed "closed with the offer". At Hauxwell, closeted in a remote village rectory with fervent Evangelical parents, there was little chance that he would do otherwise. He was "very religious", he has said, and his piety was "profound" and "abject". Everyone could rest assured: in the eyes of the converted, Mark Pattison would be considered "safe".

Conversion, however, was not the end, but the beginning of a lifetime of personal sanctification. One's sense of sin was overwhelming -- "humiliating", as Wilberforce had put it. Hence, one's gratitude for God's mercy must be constant and equally as powerful. Virtuous acts, called "good works", were proof now of one's converted or "justified" state, whereas before they had been worthless in the sight of God. One's life must be orderly, "serious", "earnest", "pious", industrious, but not gloomy: there was a place for "innocent amusements". Nor need one's life be uncomfortable: industry, after all, brought its own rewards. Sunday worship was important and one must be faithful to it. As at Hauxwell, two services and two sermons on a Sunday (one attended both services) was a common practice. Prayer and Bible reading were essential, of course, the Bible being regarded as the inspired word of God in every syllable. At Hauxwell, Pattison's father led his family and the servants in morning and evening prayers and the Bible played a large part in the daily religious life of the household. With all that this meant to the Evangelical, and all that was expected of him--in all things anxiously watching, testing, regulating himself, aware of the serious contest in which he was engaged, the issue at stake, and the great mercy shown him

in the grace of conversion--what must have been his feeling towards one who betrayed that divine mercy, abandoned that holy way of life, and took up instead another way, however Christian that new way was said to be? To the sincere Evangelical it could only be the way of the unconverted, and he would regard that apostate in dismay and, more often than not, in horror.

Even so, there were those, Pattison among them, who by abandoning the paths of the converted to take another course, had the courage to risk incurring the divine judgment so easily prophesied in such cases; to risk, too, what might have been a greater deterrent, the judgment of family, friends, and co-religionists. Why did they take such risks? The reasons are as various as the persons, but in every instance when man or woman acted out of conviction, the cause lay largely in the characteristic weaknesses of the Evangelical tradition they left behind them. These weaknesses bred in not a few persons a kind of discontent or "murmuring against the Spirit", as it was called and condemned by those not so afflicted.

A modern critic, L. E. Elliott-Binns (1885-1963), a liberal and convinced Evangelical Anglican, biblical scholar and church historian of distinction, has found fault with Victorian Evangelicalism on several counts. It was narrow-minded, he says; it bred in its adherents a spirit of distrust and suspicion; it allowed too much to introspection and self-centredness, and undervalued art, learning, scholarship, and the world of culture generally. These are serious charges. Elliott-Binns claims that they are not primarily his own, "but are notorious".¹³

¹³ Leonard Elliott-Binns, The Evangelical Movement in the English Church (London, 1928), pp. 77-81. The author later changed his name to Leonard Elliott Elliott-Binns.

The narrow-mindedness, he says, arose from the Evangelicals' intense concern for individual souls. They did not take sufficient account of the larger world and failed to produce enough leaders "with a wide and statesmanlike quality of mind" and a policy that extended beyond care for the individual. A narrow outlook tended to make them suspicious of others' motives and methods, even of those of their fellow Churchmen. "Lack of trust and a spirit of suspicion", he claims, "has been one of the gravest faults of Evangelicals throughout the whole history of the Movement".¹⁴ Preoccupation with individual souls meant, too, that Evangelicals were much exercised about the state of their own. Motives had to be unfeignedly pure; hence, carefully examined; hence, often, introspection was carried to a degree of morbidity that gave rise to a painful scrupulosity. As Elliott-Binns remarks:

The weary efforts spent in the unwholesome task of unravelling "the subtle filaments" of which all motives are compounded, the anxious inquiries, the over-scrupulous self-questioning, the petty faults discovered and lamented--all this is calculated to disgust any healthy-minded person, and is entirely far from the mind of Christ.¹⁵

Of course, there were exceptions to the rule; but the rule prevailed.

"As a result," Elliott-Binns comments in 1928, "Evangelicalism has never made any deep impression on the higher intellects of the nation. In the vehemence of their passion for individual souls the Evangelicals forgot much else."¹⁶

¹⁴The Evangelical Movement in the English Church, p. 79.

¹⁵The Evangelical Movement in the English Church, p. 80.

¹⁶The Evangelical Movement in the English Church, p. 81.

It is not difficult, of course, to find fault. To be sure, Victorian Evangelicalism had its strengths: its historian has enumerated them too. But its strengths do not dispel the sense that is so strongly conveyed by the literature of the period that there were serious weaknesses inherent in the Evangelicalism of Victorian England. As we remarked earlier, Mark Pattison has said virtually nothing in his Memoirs about the Evangelical religion of the Rectory at Hauxwell. He may have wished to reserve his thoughts on the matter for an account of his early years that he promised as a sequel to his Memoirs.¹⁷ We shall never know, for death intervened and the account was never written. But there is a source for those years that has not been given its due. The heart and soul of the Pattisons' religious life at Hauxwell is preserved in the diaries and commonplace books of Pattison's mother. Why Pattison kept them is a mystery. He grew to despise the old Hauxwell religion; it had warped his intellect, he said. But his mother's diaries, filled with religious outpourings, are among his papers in the Bodleian Library. They tell us what the religion of Hauxwell was really like.

Jane Pattison is said to have been a timid creature. Every account of the Pattisons makes her appear ineffectual and pathetic. She is said to have been cold and unemotional, to have had a deep but arid religious faith, and to have stood in awe of her husband as God's anointed minister at Hauxwell and divinely appointed lord of the Pattison household. Certainly, although sometimes she objected mildly to her husband's arbitrary rulings, she was absolutely and intensely loyal to

¹⁷See Memoirs, p. 1.

him and demanded the same measure of loyalty and obedience to him from all her children. For that quality, a combination of love, perhaps, fear certainly, and religious loyalty, her children (Mark included) despised her afterwards and eventually pitied her. Once only, when the battle lines were drawn and her husband was bent on having his way, did she refuse to yield to him. It was the last act of her life. She was on her death-bed and paid what must have been for her a terrible penalty. When her husband demanded that she change her will to give him control of her estate, she refused in order to protect her children. He flew into a rage and told her that she could not have the Sacrament unless she yielded. She would not yield; neither would he. Mark Pattison's mother died unabsolved by her religion and unconsolated by her husband.

In fact, contrary to the impression given by other accounts of the Pattisons, Jane Pattison played no minor role at Hauxwell. Beneath that apparent timidity, in those things which counted most with her, loyalty to faith and to husband (the two were rarely separate in her mind), there was an exceptionally tenacious and stubborn will. Jane Pattison, not her husband, set and maintained the tone of the religious life of the household. The Rector's was the public part. He preached stern, condemnatory sermons, and believed what he preached, no doubt of it. But outside the pulpit he was lazy, and careless of his religious and parochial duties. Jane Pattison's was the private part, the day-to-day conduct of an Evangelical family. In fear of God and often of her husband, she went about her duties quietly, with grim and unassailable determination. When not in the pulpit, her husband spent most of his time by the fireside in the Rectory dreaming of high preferment in the

Church and of a time when he had been on intimate terms with the lords of the land. Success in the great world beyond the remote and insignificant village of Hauxwell was his chief desire. At Hauxwell he felt neglected and forgotten. By contrast, his wife was utterly unworldly. Mrs. Pattison had her heart fixed on an unseen world. She looked for glory in a life beyond death and created a similar longing in her children's hearts. Wilberforce's dictum that women had been designed by Providence as "the medium of our intercourse with the heavenly world, the faithful repositories of the religious principle, for the benefit both of the present and the rising generation",¹⁸ Jane Pattison made her own. She did not question it. Criticism was foreign to her mind and bordered on treason. Devotion, piety, and a deep and private religious emotion were all of life to her. It is plain to see, then, that when Mark Pattison speaks of the "profound, I may say abject, piety" of his youth, he is recalling the Evangelical piety that was fostered not by his father, but by his mother. Her influence was profound; and the nature of the piety that she fostered in Mark, and in all her children, is plain from her diaries and notebooks.

Jane Pattison thought that she was corrupt, that her corruption was aggravated by daily faults, and that only conversion and a holy life could save her from the wrath of God and an everlasting void. She married Mark's father at the age of nineteen. At twenty-five she began a private record of her religious life and opened it on New Year's Day 1819 with this forbidding quotation: "All flesh is as grass and all the glory of

¹⁸A Practical View, p. 435.

man as the flower of grass". That conviction underlay her religious belief. She never wavered from it and tried constantly to instil it in her children's minds and hearts. When she wrote to her son she was sure to remind him of it in one of several variations, especially when he suffered a reverse, or failed to win a coveted scholastic honour or election to a fellowship. As he grew older and more experienced, Mark was less able to bear patiently with his mother's consolations. But she would not give them up. Nothing could convince her that the aims, activities, rewards, and disappointments of this world were not trifling in comparison to that other world upon which she had fixed her gaze. This unalterable conviction, aided by sheer tenacity and a stubborn will, enabled her to bear patiently sufferings that might have broken a less stoical woman.

The world is a wicked and hopeless place and one's only recourse is that loving but angry God of Evangelical doctrine: so it appears in the diaries of Mark's mother. "Wait on thy GOD continually", she tells herself, underlining the last word over and over. The fear, the power, the judgment of God; the iniquity of man, the strait and narrow, the shortness of time, the reaping of wickedness: all appear repeatedly in her notebooks. No wonder Mark Pattison called his boyhood piety "abject". His mother's mind was wearied by those harmless lapses that plagued the mind of the conscientious Evangelical. She examined her conscience regularly, looking for the slightest sign of what she called "backsliding". The results were rarely encouraging. "I am filled with grief and shame", she wrote in 1821, "I am a poor, polluted sinner, unworthy of the least

of thy mercies, yet daily receiving the greatest".¹⁹ Her children scarcely ever saw her give way to emotion, yet she would pour out her "whole heart" in private prayer. That was the only regular emotional release she seems to have allowed herself, for she distrusted human affection. When she lay dying, her daughter Jane wrote this to Mark at Oxford: 'She told me one day "this has been a dark day with me my child[;] come here and give me your hand"--then lying on her bed she took hold of it and instantly unclasping said "No that is trusting too much to an arm of flesh I will trust in my God alone". . .'.²⁰ Yet in earlier and happier days she had prayed fervently and with an open heart for her husband's well-being and her eternal happiness with him in another world. "May thy Servant be daily growing in holiness," she had written in her commonplace book, "may he devote himself to his master's business, and oh be thou with him, and make him the humble instrument of turning many from the error of their ways. And oh may we be heirs together of eternal life . . .". And remembering her young children and her duty to bring them up in the "fear of the Lord", she had added:

Be with us O Lord in the education of our dear children, and whilst we endeavour to fit them for useful members of society, let our first our chief concern be to to [sic] teach them that the fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom. Shed thine Holy Spirit abroad upon their infant hearts and may they all be thy children by adoption and grace.²¹

¹⁹MSP. 67, f. 27.

²⁰MSP. 53, f. 319. Mrs. Pattison died on 4 October 1860. The correspondent is Jane Pattison, not Dorothy, as in Jo Manton, Sister Dora (London, 1971), pp. 123-124.

²¹MSP. 67, f. 27.

She composed that prayer on New Year's Day, 1821. Mark Pattison, her first born child, was seven years of age.

In Jane Pattison's diaries, then, is to be found in the content, tone, and feeling of the religion of Hauxwell. Given the nature of that religion, given his father's profession as a ^{minister}~~priest~~ of the Church, and the strength of his mother's convictions about her children's religious upbringing, it is no wonder that Pattison was, as he says, "very religious" in youth. His parents' religious principles were accepted by him without question, naturally, as a matter of course. There was no reason why it should be otherwise. No one with whom he was acquainted would think of questioning those beliefs, much less of contradicting them. His father's circle was small, confined to a "few like-minded evangelical clergy of the neighbourhood". At the age of sixteen Mark visited London for the first time. But his parents, he says, could show him "nothing of London but what country cousins see". He complains: "They knew no one but a few methodistical clergymen; and their chief curiosity was about some preachings, where the 'Gospel' was to be heard".²² Everything else, except what he could glimpse by the way in that vast and teeming metropolis, was virtually ignored. Nothing novel or different was shown to him there in the way of ideas, not even of religious ideas; and at Hauxwell there was no book that had anything to do with religion that was not, as he says, "of an evangelical colour". The wonder, then, is not that Mark Pattison was so very religious, but that he was able ever to escape from the close embrace of his home religion. The irony is,

²²Memoirs, p. 10.

that in the first instance, he owed the means of his escape to his father. Early in Mark's life the Rector of Hauxwell planted in his son's mind the seed of an idea that was to germinate and grow in a remarkable way. But he did not reckon upon one of the fruits of that idea: that his son would abandon the religion he had been brought up in. When that happened, a long dark struggle developed between father and son that embittered them both for the rest of their lives.

In 1830, when Mark was nearly seventeen, his father took him to a specialist in London to have his eyes examined. The Rector was anxious because the boy's eyes had become inflamed and the condition had persisted for some months. The specialist pronounced him to be perfectly healthy. His eyes were suffering from overstrain, no more. Upon hearing the verdict, Mark's father "burst into tears of excitement". Many years later, Pattison reflected: "My father must have cared for me then".²³

The poignancy of the remark is unmistakable. But the remainder of the sentence is missing: it was censored by Francis Pattison, who edited and published the Memoirs in the year of her husband's death.²⁴ Almost certainly, the missing words were a bitter complaint against the elder Pattison who behaved cruelly in later life towards his wife and children. There can be no doubt, however, that in the early years Mark's father really did care for him. The Rector was immensely proud of his son. He educated him by himself, and conceived a remarkably single-minded ambition for him: Mark was to go to Oxford, become Fellow of a

²³Memoirs, p. 12.

²⁴Another instance of Mrs. Pattison's censorship of remarks concerning the Rector of Hauxwell occurs in the Memoirs at p. 107.

College, and spend the rest of his life in the pursuit of learning. As Pattison tells it in the Memoirs,

There never was any question as to my destination. It was assumed from the cradle upwards that I was to go to Oxford, and to be a Fellow of a college. From about 1825 onwards [when he was twelve years old] a Fellowship of Oriel was held up to me as the ideal prize to which I was to aspire. I was never diverted or distracted from this goal of ambition by any alternative career being proposed to me. I was to go to Oriel, of course as a commoner,--there were no scholars in those days,--and then it would depend upon what talents I might give proof of whether a fellowship of Oriel were within my reach or not.²⁵

Upon reflection many years later, Pattison thought that his father's consuming ambition for his son's success betrayed an ulterior motive. The Rector wished to rise in the world's esteem. His father had "the instinct of good society", Pattison says, "and liked to live with gentlemen, and to know what was going on in the upper world".²⁶ To have it known that his eldest son was Fellow of Oriel could do nothing but good for his own reputation and prospects. In fact, by the time Mark was ready to go to Oxford, his father's reputation did not reach much farther than the bounds of his little parish and what prospects he had were negligible. In his younger days, however, when he was first married and served as a curate at Hornby in Wensleydale, not five miles from Hauxwell, the future had looked very bright. The church at Hornby was situated on the Duke of Leeds' estate. Mark's father became the Duke's chaplain, dining at his table and conversing on equal terms with

²⁵Memoirs, p. 8.

²⁶Memoirs, p. 24.

"good society". When the Duke was away, the young curate managed the estates and was gratified to be nicknamed "Chancellor" by the Duke himself.²⁷ Naturally, he had hopes of preferment. But nothing was offered to him and he was obliged to accept the remote and undistinguished living of Hauxwell. No longer could he cut a figure in society. Those from whose power or influence he had expected much, cared nothing for his ambition and quite forgot about him. Even so, he could not forget them. He continued to hope, and would sit by the fireside in the Rectory dreaming of past glory and what might have been. "He would sit hours reading the 'obituaries' in an old volume of the Gentleman's Magazine", Pattison recalls. "His acquaintance with the peerage was accurate; he must have read Debrett at that time more than the Bible."²⁸ But the Rector's efforts were wasted. No peer returned his interest; no patron materialized who might remove him forever from the remoteness of Hauxwell. Still, there was one course open to him. He resolved to educate his son without help from anyone, to send him to Oriel, and see him elected Fellow of his College. He might then bask in reflected glory. It was a foolish vanity, and cost him dearly in the end.

Nevertheless, there was another more laudable side to the Rector's ambition for Mark. Although his father was not a well-read man, Pattison says, he had taken "some pains to extend his knowledge, and had read some of the best books in English literature".²⁹ He liked to read aloud to his family of an evening in the Rectory, and he read well. During

²⁷ Memoirs, p. 19.

²⁸ Memoirs, pp. 33; 24.

²⁹ Memoirs, p. 7.

the winter of 1829-30, for example, he read aloud the whole of Paradise Lost, and Pattison laments that "it is a measure of my undeveloped intelligence [at sixteen] that it made slight impression on me".³⁰ What did impress itself indelibly on the boy's mind, however, was the value that his father set on intellect. As an undergraduate at Brasenose College, Oxford, his father had acquired a real esteem for intellectual excellence. "He really wanted me to learn; to get a good education, not so much with the idea of making my way in the world, as from the value which he had learned to set upon intellect", Pattison says. He continues:

Himself a man of vigorous powers, but totally undisciplined, he regretted his own want of thorough education, and in his unselfish hours wished to secure for me what he had missed himself. He was fond of repeating the sentence in the Eton Latin grammar-- "Concessi Cantabrigiam ad capiendum ingenii cultum . . .".³¹ This was the proverb which presided over my whole college life. Though often dimmed, it was never lost sight of, and . . . I think no other sentence of any book has had so large a share in moulding my mind and character as that one.³²

From the first, the Rector took sole charge of his son's education. He would not engage a tutor or send the boy to school because he wished to be able to boast that he had sent Mark to Oriel "wholly from his own tuition".³³ He relented once only in this respect, when, in 1831, he employed a tutor to read mathematics with Mark. The engagement lasted two months. For his own part, the Rector appears to have been an unduly

³⁰Memoirs, p. 11.

³¹"I withdrew to Cambridge to improve my mind".

³²Memoirs, p. 22.

³³Memoirs, p. 39.

severe teacher. "The injustice of my punishments raised up in me the same revolt as in Rousseau", Pattison recalls in an unpublished note for his autobiography.³⁴ But in spite of his severity, the Rector aroused in the boy's mind a passion for knowledge that was real and permanent. "I read enormously . . .", Pattison remembers. "I read ten times as much as I remembered; what is more odd, I read far more than I ever took in the sense of as I read it. I think the mechanical act of perusal must have given me a sort of pleasure. Books, as books, irrespective of their contents, were my delight."³⁵ Even fifty years afterwards he could remember vividly the excitement with which he anticipated the arrival of a new book at the Rectory. "The arrival of a new book in the house was the event of the week", he says:

I took in the Magazine of Natural History; the anticipation of the first of the month, and the reception of the parcel from the Richmond bookseller, were an excitement that I can remember to this day. I walked up and down in the lane waiting for the butcher's cart, which acted as a carrier for the village, to come, snatched up Bell's parcel, and rushed in with it. I was already marked out for the life of a student, yet little that was in the books I read seemed to find its way into my mind. There was no mind there!³⁶

"There was no mind there!" The exclamation is typically Pattisonian in its self-depreciation. But, if there was "no mind there" as yet, the seed of it was there, and that was his father's real and generous gift. Ironically, it was that very gift which enabled Pattison afterwards to

³⁴MSP. 138, f. 3.

³⁵Memoirs, pp. 37-38.

³⁶Memoirs, p. 38.

escape the embrace of his father's religion. If later the Rector felt that he had been betrayed by his eldest son, there was some foundation for that feeling, albeit in a confused and twisted logic.

In May 1830, father and son paid a memorable visit to Oxford: "I was intoxicated with delight, and my father was as pleased as a child".³⁷ Mark's name was entered in the Provost's book at Oriel College, but his father was informed by the Provost, Edward Hawkins, that the College would have no vacancy until October 1832. However, he was promised the offer "of any chance vacancy" before that date. In the spring of 1832, a vacancy occurred and the Provost remembered young Pattison. "One Saturday evening, 31st March", the Pattison's farm man returned from Richmond with a letter addressed to the Rector. The postmark was "Oxford". "All was joy and astonishment and perturbation", Pattison recalls:

I remember that I was in a remote corner of the garden, where I cultivated a special plot called my garden. It was dusk. My father appeared in the distance, agitated with delight, holding up the letter which had just been put into his hands with the Oxford postmark, before he opened it.³⁸

The letter from the Provost said that Mark was to proceed to Oxford on the following Monday to be matriculated. The waiting was over. At last, he thought, he would be "free, independent, launched upon the world which I knew nothing of, but which seemed from the glimpse I had of it to be full of promise and charm". What he pictured to himself was a fantasy:

³⁷ Memoirs, p. 14.

³⁸ Memoirs, p. 40.

"A boy's, a child's world . . . but my ignorance and inexperience gave a zest to my expectation, like the appetite of a savage".³⁹

Two years earlier, when Mark's name had been entered in the Provost's book at Oriel, father and son had left Oxford, Pattison says, "in innocent ignorance of all that was brewing beneath the surface-- never having so much as heard the name of Keble, or the Christian Year".⁴⁰ Soon the names of Keble and Newman and Froude and Pusey would be household words in the Rectory at Hauxwell, and all the Pattisons would be affected in ways that were never intended when the Rector first destined his eldest son for Oriel.

³⁹Memoirs, pp. 30-31.

⁴⁰Memoirs, p. 30.

CHAPTER II

Undergraduate at Oriel 1832 - 1836

"I must have cut a laughably boorish figure that Thursday evening, marching up the High Street, in an old brown greatcoat of my father's . . .".

Mark Pattison¹

In 1830 Oriel College was pre-eminent among the Oxford Colleges. Its undergraduates distinguished themselves time after time in the University examinations. Its Common Room was the centre of all that was most vital and energetic in the intellectual life of the University. To be "Fellow of Oriel" was a mark of distinction. At Oxford, and in the world at large, Oriel's reputation was unrivalled.

In 1832, when Mark Pattison went up to Oriel, the College's reputation was undiminished. But in the interval between his first visit in 1830 and his entering into residence two years later, a quiet but dramatic change had taken place. The Provost, Edward Hawkins, had dismissed the three most outstanding of the College's four tutors: John Henry Newman, Richard Hurrell Froude, and Robert Wilberforce.² He communicated his decision to Newman in June 1830, just a few weeks

¹Memoirs, pp. 42-43.

²There were four tutors in 1830, not three, as Pattison has it (Memoirs, p. 85). Joseph Dornford was the fourth and senior tutor. For an extended account of the dispute that led to the dismissal of the three tutors, see Newman's 'Autobiographical Memoir' in Letters and Correspondence of John Henry Newman, edited by Anne Mozley, 2 vols (London, 1891), I, 147-160.

after Mark's name had been entered in his book.³ Unable to find tutors as skilled as those he had dismissed, he was obliged to appoint in their place men of inferior acquirements. Fifty years later Pattison dated the decline of Oriel from the Provost's dismissal of the three tutors.⁴ However, when he arrived at Oriel in May 1832, he did not know that the rot had already set in. Marching up the High Street to the College in his father's old brown greatcoat, he was full of excited anticipation.

"Latest News. Sat[urda]y 1/2 past 1".⁵ The words convey the excitement in Mark's first letter from Oxford to his father at Hauxwell. He gives a complete account of the long journey from the north with particulars of the first two days in Oxford. As his father is to be given "every particular at first", the letters that follow are filled with information about fellow undergraduates, lectures and lecturers, books to be read, a sermon at St. Mary's (the University Church), and bits and pieces of University news and gossip. His rooms are "the worst in the whole College, not room to stir in them . . . they go, proverbially, by the name of the garret, or Black-hole".⁶ He has "a thousand things to say", but the time is forever short, his page forever full, and the post forever going. There will be much to tell them at Hauxwell when the term is ended. Meanwhile, he assures his father that

³Letters and Correspondence of John Henry Newman, I, 156.

⁴Memoirs, p. 88. The year Pattison has given (1831) is not correct.

⁵MSS. Sparrow, 5 May 1832.

⁶MSS. Sparrow, 7 May 1832.

he reads "on an average . . . 6 hours a day". The weather is lovely in this summer term and every afternoon finds him on the river, reading in a skiff by himself, and often again in the evening, "as steersman in some Oriel boat, or some wherry".⁷ Once he heard Newman preach at St. Mary's, but came in late, "so could not write any Sermon Notes, and hardly escaped an imposition--I had one set Last Week [sic] for letting some one copy my theme, but got off it".⁸ At the term's end, bursting with excitement at what he has seen and heard, he is anxious to be off and at Hauxwell again. He has much to think about and much to discuss with his father, not least the wholly unexpected state of affairs that had met him at Oriel.

Pattison tells us in the Memoirs that soon after he entered Oriel, he was "staggered" by the contrast between his expectations and the reality of life in the College. "I had come up all eagerness to learn," he says:

Having had next to no teaching at home, I exaggerated in imagination what a teacher could do for me. I thought that now at last I should be in the company of an ardent band of fellow-students, only desirous of rivalling each other in the initiation which the tutors were to lead into the mysteries of scholarship, of composition, of rhetoric, logic, and all the arts of literature.⁹

He was "soon disillusioned". The first signs of it show up in the early letters to his father. "This morning I went to my first lecture at 9",

⁷MSS. Sparrow, 28 May 1832.

⁸MSS. Sparrow, 28 May 1832. Undergraduates were obliged to hear the sermon at St. Mary's, the University Church, and to write notes upon it from memory. These were given to the theological censor of the College. For the incident alluded to, see Memoirs, p. 45.

⁹Memoirs, p. 53.

he writes within days of his arrival at Oriel, "and so far from not being put on, had most to do of any body, the others not knowing a word of it".

Of another lecture he remarks: "What little metres I had done with you was here a great help to me, for no one else could scan a line".¹⁰

Within two weeks he knew that no longer could Oriel be counted upon to live up to its reputation as the first College in the University. The discovery was a sad blow to his expectations. His father would find it scarcely credible, but he had to be told. Three weeks after his arrival in Oxford, Mark at last broke the news of his disappointment. "I go on the water every day", he told his father,

for I have hardly anything to do, now Dornford is ill, the other Lectures are so easy. Indeed in the Classics I am in the lowest class, with the other freshmen, but in Maths I am up with many of the Senior men, and that Lecture takes some getting up, for the Dean [i.e. Dornford] only knows it like a Parrot, as it is in the book. There is expected to be one double first (Rogers) from Oriel, and 1 second (Strickland), nor need you be surprized at this small number, for in "quod ad Classes pertinet" the College is very much gone down, there is scarce any one who reads; (the majority are not at the trouble to get up the Lectures)[;] all those whom I have met with are just of that condition and character that you expected,¹¹ except in this one point, their idleness, which is common to the whole College. All that spirit of getting honours, which once (and that not long ago) characterized this College is worn away and indeed I do not know where it is to be found now, in the University except perhaps in Balliol.

"Do not let this make you uncomfortable", Mark continues, endeavouring to assure his father; "there is no occasion for me do to like the rest,

¹⁰ MSS. Sparrow, 7 May 1832. For an expanded account of this lecture, see Memoirs, pp. 64-66.

¹¹ One of the Rector's ambitions had been "to be able to say that his son was at a fashionable college, the resort of gentlemen of old family . . .". Memoirs, p. 25.

and I shall not be singular, there are some who do read".¹²

These were Mark's first impressions of the intellectual condition of Oriel when he went up in 1832. They were lasting impressions, for nothing occurred to dispel them during the whole of his four years as an undergraduate at the College. The general character of the tuition did not improve, nor did it inspire enthusiasm in himself or in his fellow undergraduates. As he tells us in the Memoirs, he had come to Oxford expecting to be guided in the ways of learning. For the most part he was met with ignorance, apathy, and carelessness. Sometimes there was a gleam of light: R. D. Hampden's lectures in mathematics in the autumn of 1832, for instance;¹³ or the coaching he was given, beginning in February 1833, by C. P. Eden, a Fellow of Oriel, whom he engaged at his father's urging.¹⁴ Mainly, however, he was forced to depend on his own intuition and on the limited knowledge and experience that he possessed, to tell him how best to prepare for the final examinations three years distant, in November 1835. The Memoirs record his painful stumbling through those years, the long hours of reading, the weeks and sometimes months of needlessly exhaustive study of books that were not relevant to the examinations, and, finally, the inevitable result: his failure, after putting off for a year, to get more than a second-class in the Examination Schools. His thoroughness was astonishing,

¹² MSS. Sparrow, 21 May 1832.

¹³ MSS. Sparrow, 23 October 1832.

¹⁴ MSS. Sparrow, 30 January 1833, and 5 February 1833 (where he nicknames his tutor "Paradise"). Later (Memoirs, pp. 138-140), Pattison could not be sure when he had engaged Eden. He appears to have done so twice, in fact, in 1833 and in 1835.

his dedication beyond praise. But he was inexpert. When he discovered his mistake, it was too late. Yet, the energy he had expended was not all loss, for something wonderful came of it at last.

From as early as he could remember, Mark had wished to devote his life entirely to learning. What such a life might mean dawned upon him for the first time in the summer of 1833, one year after he had gone up to Oriel. "Hitherto", he recalls,

I had had no mind, properly so called, merely a boy's intelligence, receptive of anything I read or heard. I now awoke to the new idea of finding the reason of things; I began to suspect I might have much to unlearn as well as to learn, and that I must clear my mind of much current opinion which had lodged there.¹⁵

That "new idea of finding the reason of things" he conceived during the summer vacation (the Oxford "Long Vacation") at Hauxwell in 1833. Soon after he arrived from Oxford, he drew up a plan of reading. It was to act as a guide in preparing him for the final examinations two years hence. But the plan was so comprehensive that it defeated its own object. It was a scheme of self-education to last a life-time. Behind it, however, was a remarkable conception that was to shape the entire life of the young undergraduate. For the first time, Mark perceived that the intellect has a reality and a life of its own, that the intellect might be valued and cultivated for its own sake. In the Memoirs, he described that perception as the "dawn of intellect" in him. "I may say", he remarks, "that I have been all my life occupied in carrying out and developing the ideal that I conceived in July 1833".¹⁶ At the time, he

¹⁵Memoirs, pp. 120-121.

¹⁶Memoirs, p. 120.

was less precise, but no less aware that something important had happened in his life. On New Year's Eve 1833, he reflected in his diary that it was during the past year that he "first began to have correct views of the use and end of all study, as well as of each part of it". He continues: "since July this y[ea]r . . . I have been making advances, (though very slow,) yet I feel myself to be somewhat advanced".¹⁷ Many years later, he would recognize the crucial point: that "the principle of rationalism was born in me, and once born it was sure to grow, and to become the master-idea of the whole process of self-education, on which I was from this time forward embarked".¹⁸ In the life of Mark Pattison, July 1833 was an historic moment.

That the intellect was something to be valued and cultivated purely for its own sake was an idea still only in its infancy in Mark's mind in 1833. What he needed now was the advice of a skillful guide who knew from experience what was helpful, and what not, to a student so eager to learn. He found no such guide at Oriel. By his own efforts he had conceived the idea; by his own efforts, too, it seemed that he would have to nurture it. As his diary indicates, he was aware now for the first time that, "Knowledge does not consist in the number of new ideas gained, but in the number of different relations that one establish[es] in the mind between those we have already."¹⁹ But how was he to discern those relationships? It was no easy matter. Try as he might, it was

¹⁷ MSP. 115, ff. 9-10. 31 December 1833.

¹⁸ Memoirs, p. 121.

¹⁹ MSP. 115, ff. 2-3. 24 July 1833.

only after long wearying effort that he could work out anything that seemed to be at all original. He began to fear that the years of what he called "promiscuous reading" (that is to say, reading without reflection), had really hurt his mind's capacity for original thought, "so difficult do I find it", he said, "to bring myself to think for myself".²⁰ He was often uncertain, fearful, depressed, and doubtful of the strength of his abilities. But no one who has read his notebooks and diaries for those years could fail to be moved by the tenacity and courage with which he pursued his goal. He was not yet twenty years of age, but already he had dedicated himself unreservedly to an intellectual life. His introspection grew. It was a habit already ingrained by the religious atmosphere of Hauxwell. Now it became extreme and it was not relieved by the down-to-earth criticism of a flesh and blood tutor. With no one to turn to at Oriel, he looked elsewhere and, characteristically, found his guide in a book, Gibbon's Autobiography. He "devoured" the Autobiography, he says in the Memoirs, read it again and again until he had whole paragraphs by heart. "Gibbon, in fact, supplied the place of a college tutor; he not only found me advice, but secretly inspired me with the enthusiasm to follow it".²¹ At the time of this discovery, in the autumn of 1833, he wrote enthusiastically in his diary that Gibbon's was "the most candid piece of autobiography that ever was written". But he was dismayed by the contrast between the barrenness of his own mind and the fecundity of Gibbon's. "When I read of the variety and abundance of his ideas, and

²⁰MSP. 115, ff. 2-3. 24 July 1833.

²¹Memoirs, p. 130.

his reflexions upon what he read, how alive does it make me to the barrenness of my own mind . . .", he observed sadly:

I have scarce two ideas of my own, even in the widest field for thought. So true it is that extensive reading without reflexion weakens the powers of the mind; but when we have acquired the habit of thinking for ourselves, we may read any book, on any subject, without injury.²²

Plainly, just one month after his twentieth birthday, Mark knew what he had to do. His difficulty was that he did not know how to go about it. Gibbon's Autobiography showed him the way, but the great historian was dead and gone. He could not answer the many questions his young admirer would like to ask him.

After two years of College lectures, but mainly of self-reliance, Mark engaged a private tutor (C. P. Eden again), in the spring term of 1835. His purpose was to get help in "getting up" his books for the final examinations in the autumn. On 1 April (in a diary he could not locate when writing the Memoirs),²³ he reviewed the work of the term just ended. He had been "fairly diligent", he thought, but there was still "much room for improvement". However, that did not trouble him so much as the experience of being under the close supervision of a tutor. He was disturbed because he had lost his cherished independence. He had had to "get up Aristotle", a way of learning that went against the grain. He did not like to find, either, that he had been "leaning upon a tutor" rather than finding out for himself by a careful and thorough examination what it was that Aristotle meant.²⁴ Had he been wiser in the ways of

²²MSP. 115, ff. 7-8. 8 November 1833.

²³Memoirs, p. 138.

²⁴MSP. 2, p. 16. 1 April 1835.

education at Oxford in his day, he would have known that the function of the private tutor was to cram his pupils, not to educate them. He would have known, too, that his own system of wide and careful reading was both too slow and utterly unsuited to a system that demanded a sure and exact knowledge (in those reading for honours) of a very narrow range of set books. Mark was ignorant of these things. He believed, not unjustifiably, that he had struck upon the only way to true learning. He was so convinced of it by 1835, three years after he had gone up to Oriel, that he was impatient of the ways of a private tutor. For all that, he was aware that he needed advice. On 25 April, some three weeks after his original complaints about loss of independence, he felt the need of a tutor again. "At the end of the term I felt very strongly the injury I was doing myself by reading with a Tutor", he remarks in his diary:

I had thought in his trains, till I had lost for the time my own independence, and manner of thinking; now I have had three weeks to myself, and have quite recovered that; and begin again to feel the want of assistance. I am now too well satisfied with myself, and look back instead of looking forward; I want to be shown how little I know.²⁵

There was no private tutor at Oxford, however, who could both supply the wants of this wonderfully awakening intellect in Mark Pattison and still be sensitive enough to respect its integrity. At least, if there were such a person in the little world of Oxford in those days, Mark was unfortunate not to have known him.

Next to initiation into the ways of learning, Mark wished most of all to be initiated into the society of companions of his own age

²⁵MSP. 2, p. 17. 25 April 1835.

and interests. "Comradeship", Pattison says, "was the thing I had most longed for, and what, next to help in my reading, I had most missed in my Hauxwell life".²⁶ He had left Hauxwell totally unselfconscious, a "mere child of nature", he says. He knew nothing of society, nor of the easy manners and self-possession of boys who had been to a public school. He had not been to a school of any kind, and was dismally ignorant of even the rudiments of social etiquette. Outside the Rectory at Hauxwell, his only companions, and then only infrequently, had been the local farmers and uneducated country boys. The result had been that, when not in the company of the numerous brood of his younger sisters, he had spent most of his free time in solitary explorations of the moors above and beyond the village, or fishing by himself for hours on the banks of the Swale and of other rivers and streams in Swaledale and Wensleydale. He loved intensely the countryside around and about Hauxwell and knew every detail of its flora and fauna. But he knew next to nothing about the society of men.

In the letters to Hauxwell, he told his father nearly everything that touched upon his life at Oxford. Books, bills, tutors, lectures, College and University gossip, and the sorry condition of the tuition at Oriel were all reported to his old tutor who fed eagerly on the news, gave advice and instructions, and reminisced by the fireside in the "book room" at Hauxwell on his own happy days at Oxford, thinking the while of the glory to come if only his son be made Fellow of Oriel. Mark sent the names of his fellow undergraduates so that the Rector might

²⁶Memoirs, pp. 45-46.

look them up in the Oxford Calendar and be assured that his son really was among the sons of gentlemen. Not once, however, did he allude to the real state of affairs or say to his father that he felt himself to be both morally and socially inferior to his fellows at Oriel. No doubt he was right to be reticent. His father despised any sign of what he called "weakness" in his son. He had placed Mark in a good College, in the society of young men "of good family". It was up to Mark to make the most of the opportunity.

When the future historian and biographer of Carlyle, James Anthony Froude, entered Oriel College as a freshman in June 1836, it was as though he became a free man for the first time in his life. "I, who had been always snubbed and kept down, found myself suddenly free, surrounded by an agreeable society which was well disposed to be friendly to me", he recalls in his autobiography. "Something of this sort, I suppose, passed through me, though I did not put it into words: At least I am like other people and am treated like a human being".²⁷ Mark's experience was quite the reverse. For the first time he became aware that he was much unlike other people. He did not know how to make his way about in a society of young men because there seemed to be an insuperable barrier between himself and them. He had expected them to be intellectual and studious. Instead, he found that the tastes and interests of his new companions were very far from his own. He was dismayed by the crude worldliness and often raucous barbarities of undergraduate life. "If I was lazy, selfish, greedy, and rapacious,

²⁷Waldo Hilary Dunn, James Anthony Froude: A Biography, 2 vols (Oxford, 1961), I, 47.

these youths were so to a degree which disgusted me", he says.²⁸ He did not drink or smoke at a time when nearly every undergraduate did at Oxford, not infrequently to excess. He was not interested in talk about boating and boxing and dogs and horses. He had not expected Oriel undergraduates to be interested in such talk either. "My secret aspirations went for an intellectual sympathy, for a cultivated literary circle, and I could not find my way to either", he says. He could find no friend, no "set" at Oriel "into the bosom of which I could pour my crude notions about poetry, about morals, about all that was working in one's own inner consciousness".²⁹ Puzzled, inexperienced, humiliated, he tried in every way to find a common ground between himself and the other young men. He tried, for example, a wine-party in his second term. It was a disaster. "Oh, the icy coldness, the dreary Egyptian blankness of that 'wine'", he exclaims in the Memoirs. "The guests were formally received by me in a cold sweat, so nervous that the few ideas I had fled, and left my brain a blank". He could scarcely utter a word in conversation. Gradually, his guests made excuses and slipped away one by one, leaving their embarrassed host with a "handsome dessert" untouched. "I thought I was ostracised, black-balled, expelled from society", he remembers; "I reflected hopelessly on the causes of the breakdown, ascribing it to every cause except the simple one--clownishness and want of usage du monde".³⁰

²⁸Memoirs, p. 46.

²⁹Memoirs, p. 147.

³⁰Memoirs, pp. 143; 144.

In succeeding months the hapless undergraduate tried repeatedly to establish himself on a socially equal footing with his fellows. But one false step followed another until at last, he says, he came to the conclusion "that the fault or defect, whatever it might be, was in me. They could not be all wrong, and they seemed to have no difficulty in getting on with each other".³¹

He could not have come to a worse conclusion. What ought to have been attributed merely to inexperience became in his mind evidence of a serious defect in character. The notion alarmed him. If the fault lay in himself, he did not know how to cope with it. The best recourse seemed to be to withdraw. His confidence in himself diminished and he became more and more self-conscious and self-effacing. "Any rough, rude, self-confident fellow, who spoke out what he thought and felt", he says,

cowed me, and I yielded to him, and even assented to him, not with that yielding which gives way for peace sake, secretly thinking itself right, but with a surrender of the conscience and convictions to his mode of thinking, as being better than my own, more like men, more like the world. My unlikeness to others alarmed me; I wanted to be rid of it, and tried to be so by conformity to whatever came close to me from time to time.³²

Self-assertion gave way to impersonation: "dressing the window for the customers", he calls it. He became mortally anxious as to what others thought of him; an anxiety, he says, that became "a yoke of moral tyranny . . . fastened round my neck". "I cannot dwell enough on this", he continues, "as it became the governing law of my words and

³¹Memoirs, p. 47.

³²Memoirs, pp. 48-49.

actions. How I struggled and prayed against my weakness, but in vain!".³³ He was often in "unspeakable misery". His behaviour was insincere and affected, but he was helpless to do anything about it. At the time, he says, it was "indispensable to my existence as a member of society". But it lasted a long time, "till very late in life". "When at last got rid of", he says, "it gave way, not to the ordinary social friction, but to the substantial development of the real self, which had been all the while dormant within me".³⁴ He paid a high price even so, too high for the social embarrassments of an undergraduate existence and a mere want of usage du monde. For he says in the Memoirs: "A morbid self-consciousness was in a fair way to darken my life, and to paralyse my intellect".³⁵

There was one place only where Mark felt completely at ease during his undergraduate years. That place was Hauxwell. When term ended he liked to be off as quickly as possible for home. At Hauxwell at least, if not at Oxford, he might be himself. He liked the solitude of the place. He liked also the security and intimacy of family life in the Rectory and the real affection and whole-hearted admiration of his sisters. Most of all he liked to be able to discuss Oxford affairs with his father and to hear his opinion. For he genuinely loved his father and was anxious for his affection and respect. The Rector, too, was well aware that he had been the most important person in Mark's life. He wished to remain so. But Mark had entered a larger world

³³Memoirs, p. 60.

³⁴Memoirs, p. 56.

³⁵Memoirs, p. 50.

than Hauxwell. Inevitably, his ideas and attitudes would change. He would be subject to new influences to which his old tutor would have to accommodate himself. Would the Rector be broadminded enough to do so? The question had not even occurred to him. Hence, in the course of time, when a difference of opinion arose between father and son and Mark refused to accept his father's view, the Rector was outraged. So it occurred at Hauxwell in the Easter vacation of 1833, at the end of Mark's third term at Oriel: the Rector was so angry that he sent Mark back to Oxford at the end of the vacation with the express injunction not to write to him.³⁶ Mark was terribly shocked. He could not imagine a whole term's silence between himself and his father. As soon as he reached Oxford he decided to disobey his instructions and to write at once to Hauxwell. In that letter, pleading with the Rector to reconsider his decision, one may see how greatly dependent Mark was on the knowledge of his father's affection. This, in part, is what he wrote:

Oxford April 24th

My dear Father

I am afraid that when you see this letter you will be inclined to take it amiss, that I have, as it might seem, taken the first opportunity of disobeying you. But I hope that you will not consider it so; if you will read it, it will be some satisfaction to me. I cannot bear to be a whole term here without writing to, or hearing from you; to whom else should I write but you. Let me only hear from you that you are not displeased with this letter, at least do not deny me to write again to you.--I do not wish to apologise for myself, or to attempt it, for I know I cannot, but only that you should know how grieved I am at what has happened; all I can do now is to assure you of this by word, I should be very

³⁶The date does not coincide with what Pattison remembers as the date of their first dispute, which occurred (he says) in the Long Vacation of 1832. Memoirs, pp. 111-113.

glad if I could in any way shew it by deed. I shall have a sufficient punishment in reflecting on what is past; besides which, this term, which I might have spent happily and profitably by my own folly I have ruined; Do not then let me have to look forward to what is more miserable, let me have some hope of returning home once more to a comfortable home and a kind parent.

You know how I have always regarded you, how I have looked up to you in every doubt or difficulty, and if I am cut off from you to whom else can I turn? Consider how comfortably and happily we were going on and do not now for one short letter, for one word, prevent those happy times from again returning. My constant prayer and only wish it is that I may have the opportunity and grace given me to repair, as far as lays in my power, what I have so foolishly so thoughtlessly done; for which I would once more assure you of my real sorrow. . . .

I send my best love to my Mother and Sisters, and hope that you too will think of me sometimes as your affectionate and repenting Son

M. Pattison.³⁷

But he pleaded in vain. Brooding in stubborn isolation at Hauxwell and magnifying his wrongs with every passing hour, the Rector refused to heal the breach. Mark wrote again and again during the term, but could elicit no sign of forgiveness. As another vacation approached, he appealed to his father for their old friendship to be restored: "Let these four months be spent by your side in peace and happiness as of old", he pleaded.³⁸ At last, the Rector showed faint signs of relenting and when Mark returned to Hauxwell for the long vacation, he was able to soothe his father's wounded feelings. Harmony returned once more and the summer proved to be a happy and profitable one. It was then (as we have seen pp. 30-31) that Mark discovered the purpose and

³⁷MSS. Sparrow, 24 April 1833.

³⁸MSS. Sparrow, 17 June 1833.

end of all study, an insight that he described later as the "dawn of intellect" within him.

A year later, however, after a dramatic turn of events at Hauxwell, the unique relationship between father and son was ruined irretrievably. In September 1834, Mark and his father were visiting friends at Minskip near Boroughbridge in Yorkshire, when the Rector was taken suddenly and violently ill. When she heard of it, his widowed sister, Mark's aunt, Mary Meadows, wrote confidently to her nephew that her brother's illness was certainly a "bilious attack". "He has all the attendant symptoms", she remarked confidently, "which I can easily conceive, partaking somewhat of the same nature!!--Bilious attacks are very obstinate . . .".³⁹ The truth of the matter was much worse. The Rector had become angry for some reason not apparent, and his anger had given way to a rage so terrifyingly violent that he had to be forcibly restrained. The local doctors were consulted and decided that the case was so serious that the Rector ought to be sent to York for proper treatment. Mark agreed to accompany his father. On the way the Rector gave vent to another prolonged outburst of violent anger. He could not be controlled, and Mark was obliged to stand by as a hefty sedan-chairman forcibly restrained his father by sitting on him.⁴⁰ The Rector never forgot the indignity nor forgave it, nor the more dreadful humiliations that were soon to follow. At York he was consigned against his will to Acomb House, a private institution for the care of the mentally ill. He remained there

³⁹MSP. 59, f. 28. 15 September 1834.

⁴⁰MSP. 61, f. 50. 28 November 1834.

for more than a month, in semi-barbarous conditions, and subject to ignorant and humiliating attempts at a cure. He suffered greatly at Acomb House, chiefly from humiliation and the shock of the event. His letters to Hauxwell are filled with angry protests at his treatment, charges of betrayal against his wife, and tearful pleadings to be let out. But there could be no doubt about the medical verdict. The Rector had suffered an attack of insanity. The years of frustrated hopes and unfulfilled ambition, of deep resentment at an undeserved misfortune, and constant brooding on it, had finally taken their toll. From this time forward, every member of the Pattison household would be made to pay dearly for the Rector's unhappiness.

The Pattisons were stunned by the blow. Grief, incomprehension, and a dreadful fear gripped them all. Mark was not immune. Responsibility was suddenly thrust upon him. Never before had he seen his father incapable of a sensible judgment or decisive action. At Minskip he had heard the doctors' verdict and at York he had been obliged to look on as, vociferously protesting his sanity, his father was committed to a hospital for the mentally ill. Now Mark was the first person to whom his mother turned for support. At York, mother and son spent many hours together pacing the "top walk", trying to determine what was best to be done, and what was in store for all of them.⁴¹ In fact, there was nothing any one of them could do but wait. Mark returned to Oxford in October and noted quietly in his diary that he had probably spent his last summer of peace and tranquility at Hauxwell.⁴² At Oxford there was

⁴¹MSP. 43, ff. 50; 70. 25 October 1834; 15 January 1835.

⁴²MSP. 115, f. 24. 19 October 1834.

no one he could talk to about his father's condition. In those days, mental illness was much feared and could bring disgrace on a family. It was best to keep the dreadful secret to oneself.

Meanwhile, Jane Pattison consulted him about everything: about doctors, treatment, her husband's progress, her own distress, the future for all of them, and even the appointment of a curate to take the Rector's place at Hauxwell. "Oh how I did long for you, my dear Mark, to counsel, to assist me", she wrote; "you were always inexpressibly dear to me".⁴³ For his part, Mark was desperately anxious to hear every detail about his father's health. Only his mother could tell him, and he pestered her unceasingly for information. Facts, he said impatiently, not her opinions and feelings, were what he wanted. What had his father to say about him? Were there any messages for him, enquiries after him? Had his name been mentioned? He remonstrated with her, told her unkindly that her letters were "ambiguous", "reserved", or "careless". He wanted to know "every particular". She replied sharply that she could do no more; nor could he, she said: "You would not do to be with him at present-- I asked this--so rest happy that you are not neglecting him".⁴⁴ But Mark could not rest. When his father did not write and sent no word through Hauxwell, he complained petulantly that the Rector did not love him. "You have sisters Mark who love you dearly", his mother reminded him, "and with me to tell you so".⁴⁵

⁴³MSP. 43, f. 51. 25 October 1834

⁴⁴MSP. 61, f. 39. 8 November 1834.

⁴⁵MSP. 43, f. 58. 12 November 1834.

Shortly before the end of the Oxford Michaelmas term in December 1834, the Rector of Hauxwell had recovered sufficiently to be released from Acomb House and to move into a cottage in York. He was not yet well enough to be sent home. At York he lived alone, accompanied only by a servant from Hauxwell. Mark went directly to York from Oxford to spend the whole of the Christmas vacation with his father.⁴⁶ For part of the time he was joined by his aunt and cousin, Mary and Philippa Meadows. Mary Meadows still had her own ideas about the real nature of her brother's illness and was confident of her ability to alleviate it. Her daughter Philippa was a remarkable young woman, thoroughly intellectual, and extraordinarily well-read. She was the only person in the region of Hauxwell with whom Mark could freely discuss books and ideas of every kind. She was three years older than Mark and much in advance of him in knowledge. For years their conversations had been almost exclusively about their reading. In fact, the earliest letter to Mark Pattison preserved in the Bodleian is from Philippa Meadows. It is a note enclosing the sum of nine shillings owed to Mark for two books, Autumn in Italy and Bacon's Advancement of Learning. Its date is 16 January 1830, when Mark was sixteen years of age.⁴⁷

The Meadows's departed after Christmas and Mark was left alone with his father for the rest of the vacation. He made the best of his time, spending seven to eight hours a day reading, writing, and practising

⁴⁶Pattison's account of this vacation was removed from the Memoirs by his widow, as were all references to his father's illness. See Memoirs, p. 138.

⁴⁷MSP. 43, f. 3. See also: Memoirs, pp. 223-225.

his Latin composition and style in preparation for the final Examination Schools in the autumn. At the end of January 1835 he returned to Oxford for the new term.⁴⁸ Shortly afterwards the Rector was permitted to return home, but by a circuitous route. He was to approach Hauxwell gradually so as not to arouse the old sense of frustration and blighted hope. Accompanied by his wife, he went first to Ainderby near Hauxwell, where his mother lived with Mary and Philippa Meadows. After a short convalescence there, he was driven home to the Rectory, where he was given a warm but anxious welcome by his children and servants. When Mark heard of the return, he wrote to his father at once a kind, gentle, but cautious letter of welcome; cautious, because his father's temper could not now be trusted. Already, for the sake of peace, and under medical advice, Jane Pattison had decided that none of her children would be permitted to ruffle the Rector's feelings. From now on, his characteristic ill-temper, wilfulness, and high-handedness were to be tolerated, and every arbitrary whim submitted to in stoical silence. Well-intentioned though it might be, that policy was to bring untold trouble on the Pattison family. For the Rector became used to it, and Jane Pattison stuck to it with characteristic determination and inflexibility as the only way to prevent a recurrence of the terrible events they had all just been through.

Mark acquiesced in his mother's policy. There was nothing better anyone, even the Rector's doctors, could think of. He was anxious,

⁴⁸ John Sparrow errs when he says that "Mark gave up the whole of the Lent Term in 1835 in order to be with his father". Mark Pattison and the Idea of a University (Cambridge, 1967), p. 35.

however, to restore the old relationship he had had with his father, and to console him in his unhappiness. His letter of welcome is touching in its simplicity and gentleness. "My dear Father", he writes:

I have put off writing to you so long, in the hopes of getting a letter from yourself, but hearing this morning from my Mother that you had returned home, I could not help writing to express, from a distance, those feelings of pleasure and thankfulness, which all around you must feel at the event. I hope you experience them both, and that you will find yourself able in a great degree to resume former habits and occupations, and to forget, except the pleasure of restored health all the pain of the past. When our whole life here is but a dream to look back upon, so small a portion of it must be even less. Even I, who am so many years younger than you, though the realities of life seldom allow me not to feel them, yet have moments when I can seriously contemplate this scene as transient and momentary, and when I can almost catch a glimpse of the feeling of an eternity.--But I rejoice to hear that you are once more at Hawxwell [sic], and wish that I was with you there; but as that will not be yet for some time, I must be content with hearing that you are comfortable, and employed, and suited in your Curate, whom I wonder you have been so long getting. I do not hope to prevail with you to follow my Mother's advice and to come up here for a short time this spring--as you took no notice of my last entreaties on that point; and however much I may wish it, if you can adopt regular, comfortable and fixed habits, and some useful mental employment, in your own home--I am sure you will reap as much benefit. This latter I have always considered the most beneficial and as such ventured to recommend it when I was with you, but it will not become pleasant before it is tried, nor will it be begun without effort. I was very much surprized and grieved not to have heard from yourself an account of your return; but among the many feelings and thoughts of various kinds which must have been called out by the event I did not enough consider how really insignificant I and at such a distance must have been--and I must be content silently to share in the gratitude and satisfaction I suppose you all to feel for it. My thoughts whenever they are free always turn homewards, but indeed, I find it the only means of securing anything like I will not say happiness but peace of mind to give them some constant employment of a better kind, and I have not a moment from morning to night that has not its proper employment. With nothing to do but amuse myself this place, and I believe, every other, would be wretched.--

I wonder at your not selling the mare who is lame; I think riding would be useful for you--though I am sure you would find the little black mare as gentle and pleasant as any other you could get; at any rate I hope you will take plenty of exercise of some sort, now you have the opportunity you wished for. My best love to my Mother, your affectionate Son,

M. Pattison.⁴⁹

No one is willing to give up hope in such cases. All the Pattisons hoped that given time and occupation the Rector of Hauxwell would recover fully. That hope diminished as time went by and was replaced by fear, and anger, and a deep and lasting resentment in the Pattison children. For the Rector continued to rule the household at Hauxwell in the old arbitrary way. Only now his moods were unpredictable. He did not take his son's advice to find "some useful mental employment". Hauxwell brought home to him once more the fact of his frustrated hopes, and he took to brooding again beside the fire in the "book room". Fortunately, however, the occasions of obviously serious mental disturbance were punctuated by long periods of relative calm. But the household was under constant strain. The Rector's bouts of moroseness and gloom were watched anxiously for signs of the fierce anger that was sure to follow. When it came, everyone suffered. But because fewer and fewer obstacles were put in his way, his rule in the household, in health and out of it, became more absolute and arbitrary. He put no restraint on his demands, and his wife would brook no opposition to his wishes. Gradually, pity and tolerance on the part of his children gave way to bitterness and anger at the harsh rule to which they were continually subject, and even

⁴⁹MSS. Sparrow, 2 March 1835.

occasionally to contempt for the woman who abetted it. In the end, Mark and his sisters came to the conclusion that their father was really morally culpable. In such a case, indeed, it is not always clear where the line is to be drawn between wilful moral irresponsibility and mental illness. For most of the time, the Rector was perfectly lucid. He was courteous with strangers and could be generous if he felt like it. But he liked always to keep a close rein on his family and was extremely jealous of any interference in the exercise of his authority. He could make life pleasant at Hauxwell if he chose to do so; or he could transform it into what seemed like a living hell. All too often it looked as though he wilfully chose the latter; and rarely could his children say beyond doubt that he did so only because he was ill.

In some respects, Mark suffered more cruelly from the Rector's periodic outbursts than did any of his ten sisters. He was closer to his father than they were, had learned more from him, owed more to him, and from as early as he could remember, had entered unreservedly into his father's ambition that he be a man of learning and Fellow of a College at Oxford. After the events of September and October 1834, the Rector's attitude towards his son began to change, as it did also towards his wife and daughters. He distrusted their affection for him and regarded any opposition to his wishes, or even a difference of opinion, as tantamount to treachery. The sarcasms and rebukes directed at Mark especially became more and more frequent and severe. Once he began to notice Mark's growing influence with his sisters, he became jealous and resentful, and launched brutally abusive verbal attacks against his son. Mark could not be impervious to them. He was deeply hurt and scarred by his father's

antagonism--how deeply is plain in the Memoirs, where Pattison's comments on his father (those not excised by his widow) are tinged with bitterness.

Fortunately, the Rector's mental disturbances were punctuated by periods--often long periods--of relative calm. This was the case particularly in the early years following the initial attack. In the spring of 1835, for instance, Mark continued to ask and to receive his father's advice on academic matters, mainly about the wisdom of trying for scholarships at other Colleges. Not having been at a school, Mark had never yet had the opportunity to try his knowledge and abilities against those of other students. He was eager to do so. He was to enter the final examinations in the Schools at the end of the year, and the experience he would gain by being examined for a scholarship, quite apart from the distinction of winning it, would be invaluable as a prelude to the Schools. But the Rector was opposed to a move from Oriel after the trouble he had gone to to get Mark into the College in the first place. He was persuaded, however, to let Mark try at Worcester in the spring of 1835. In the event, the attempt was unsuccessful. Mark returned to Hauxwell in June to spend the summer and autumn preparing for the final examinations in November. But as the time drew near, he grew desperate when he realized for the first time that his method of studying had left him unprepared for a close examination on the narrow range of books set by the University. He had utterly misconceived the nature of the examination and the really narrow extent of the knowledge required. He had not even read some of the required books, as he told the Dean of his College, W. J. Copleston, when he wrote in October to

plead for more time. The College allowed him to put off until the following Easter.⁵⁰ Meanwhile, he remained at Hauxwell to save expense. In February 1836 he returned to Oxford to begin a four months' hard grind for the examinations. But none of his fellow undergraduates knew then, nor does he mention the fact in the Memoirs, that during those four months, and even during the examinations, Mark was under severe strain not only because of the ordeal that faced him at Oxford, but because of an extraordinary decision which his father had made at Hauxwell with respect to his son's entire future course.

Pattison says in the Memoirs that he might have postponed his examination yet again had he not received a "disagreeable epistle" from his father. Upon receipt of it, he rushed unprepared into the Schools because, he says, his father "seemed to impute it to me as a serious fault that I had not taken my degree at the earliest time I could".⁵¹ Although Pattison says that he has kept all his father's letters from the first, there appears to be no trace of any such letter among the Pattison manuscripts. He must be mistaken. In fact, father and son did not write to each other for the whole four months preceding the examinations. There had been a serious disagreement at Hauxwell, beginning in the previous November.⁵² When Mark returned to Oxford, each was too

⁵⁰ Copleston complimented him on his appeal: "The matter of your letter received this morning deserves notice: you plead with method, clearness and judgment[.] We will hope that you will display the same qualities when you come before the Examiners". MSP. 43, f. 107. 22 October 1835.

⁵¹ Memoirs, p. 155.

⁵² MSS. Lincoln College, N, November 1842.

angry to make any conciliatory move towards the other. For the Rector had unaccountably changed his mind about Mark's future: his son was to look no longer to a Fellowship and a life of study at Oxford. He was to give up that dream and instead prepare himself for the Bar. When Mark had protested, the Rector had been adamant. Mark would be allowed to finish his degree, but afterwards he must read for the Bar.

The ultimatum could not have come at a worse time. Mark was already thoroughly discouraged because he thought that he was in grave danger of failing in the Schools, thereby blighting his hopes for a Fellowship and disgracing himself in the University. His father's change of heart made matters so much worse; for, even were he to save himself in the Schools, he would still not be allowed to pursue the great dream of his life. But he did not give up hope. While preparing anxiously for the examinations, he negotiated with his father for a period of grace at Oxford to enable him at least to try for a Fellowship. Even so, father and son were so angry that neither would write to the other. The negotiations had to be carried on through the medium of Mark's mother. She was not impartial, however, and reminded Mark sternly in every letter that it was his duty to be kind to his father. "You are the greatest enemy to yourself", she told him early in the correspondence,

for I am grieved to say that your letter appeared sincerely to grieve him, he was naturally hurt that no mention was made of him and that the circumstances under which you left home were not spoken of with a greater degree of sorrow and regret

Nevertheless, she did approach her husband with Mark's request to be allowed to remain at Oxford. The response she got was not encouraging:

"the answer, if so it can be called, was--Oh!", she reported.⁵³ Repeated attempts brought no more hopeful results. Finally, his mother told Mark that he must apply directly to his father. This he would not do. On the first day of the examinations (16 May 1836), she wrote to say that the Rector's wishes had always pointed to the Bar. She asked Mark to send her a list of the probable expense, to be communicated to his father. By this time, Mark was desperate. He could scarcely think clearly, and wrote to his mother to say that he would leave Oxford altogether after the examinations, without waiting even to take his degree. He would take an "usher-ship", an assistant-master's position, at a school somewhere and sell all of his books. His mother replied that he was to do nothing of the sort. He must take his degree and above all, she said, "Do not sell y[ou]r books now, and on no acc[oun]t under any circumstances dispose of one belonging to y[ou]r Father".⁵⁴ The latter injunction was typical of her. Blindly loyal to her husband, she was peculiarly insensitive to her children's troubles. The Rector's reaction was different. When he heard that Mark meant to leave Oxford for a school, he told his wife in hurt tones: "I placed him in the situation of a gentleman, I have never refused him the means of maintaining it, and if he throws this away, I can only lament it".⁵⁵ Then, at last, remembering that his son was in the midst of the ordeal of final examinations, he sent him a sympathetic message through his wife:

"Tell him from me", were his words, "I wish him to take his degree, and had I a proper stamp in the House would

⁵³MSP. 43, f. 114. 10 March 1836.

⁵⁴MSP. 43, f. 26. 16 May [1836].

⁵⁵MSP. 43, f. 126. 19 May 1836.

send the 15£ necessary for it--I also hope he will stay in Oxford until the class papers come out or a little longer, and enjoy some boating or other recreation--it will be pleasanter than being here--and he will need it--I also hope he will not think of selling his books".⁵⁶

Had Mark received that message sooner, he might have gone into the Schools a far less anxious man. However, for all his father's belated kindness, there was no sign that he had changed his mind about the Bar. That hurdle was still to be overcome.

Mark's ordeal in the Schools ended on or about 21 May 1836. When the class list came out, he learned that he had been awarded a second class. He was fortunate in fact. In the Memoirs he recalls that he "just saved" his class--"only just, I believe, for on the logic day, which, I think, was the first day, my head refused to work, and I must have sent in an almost blank paper".⁵⁷ William Tuckwell heard a slightly different version in one of his long conversations with Pattison when the latter was Rector of Lincoln College, for he gives the following account of Pattison's narrow escape: "The Examiners had doomed him to a Third, when one of them, Hayward Cox, drew attention to his answers in the Logic and Moral Science Papers, which were gems of thought; and prevailed upon his colleagues to place him in the Second Class".⁵⁸ "Gems of thought", however, could not save Mark from the humiliation he felt at his poor showing. He believed, overwrought as he was, that he had disgraced

⁵⁶MSP. 43, f. 127. 19 May 1836.

⁵⁷Memoirs, p. 155.

⁵⁸W. Tuckwell, Reminiscences of Oxford, second edition (London, 1907), pp. 253-254.

himself before the University; for his fellow undergraduates at Oriel had expected a first from him, and knew that he had aimed at a first. Indeed, when one remembers that the viva voce for honours candidates, after the week's paper work had been completed, was not then a private examination, but an examination of the most public kind, one may understand Mark's embarrassment. Thomas Hughes has described the scene as it was in the 1840s. The candidates for honours, he says, "go in, in alphabetical order, four a day, for one more day's work, the hardest of all, and then there is nothing more to do but wait patiently for the class list". "On these days", he continues,

there is a good attendance in the enclosed space to which the public are admitted. The front seats are often occupied by the private tutors of the candidates, who are there, like Newmarket trainers, to see the performance of their stables, marking how each colt bears pressing, and comports himself when the pinch comes. They watch the examiners too, carefully, to see what line they take, whether science, or history, or scholarship is likely to tell most, that they may handle the rest of their starters accordingly. Behind them, for the most part, on the hindermost benches of the flight of raised steps, anxious younger brothers and friends sit, for a few minutes at a time, flitting in and out in much unrest, and making the objects of their solicitude more nervous than ever by their sympathy.⁵⁹

Before this large and critical assembly Mark was made to display his ignorance. There, too, he was made to feel it so acutely by one of the examiners that he bore a grudge against him for the rest of his life. The examiner's name was Travers Twiss.⁶⁰

⁵⁹ [Thomas Hughes], Tom Brown at Oxford, 3 vols (Cambridge, 1861), II, 135.

⁶⁰ Readers of the Memoirs will remember the scorn which Pattison heaps on "that astute lawyer" Travers Twiss, Fellow of University College (Memoirs, pp. 176-177). The origin of his resentment is alluded to in MSS. Sparrow, 18 November 1836, where, while preparing for a Fellowship examination at University College, Mark observes: "I am anxious to do well

The debacle of the Schools, combined with his father's change of heart, fell upon Mark as a double blow. He was utterly dismayed and thoroughly dejected. He had failed to get the all-important first class that was thought ^{by some} to be the prerequisite in anyone aspiring to a Fellowship. Added to this, his father had decided against his continuing at Oxford and wanted him to read for the Bar. Mark's "darling dream" of a life of study was fast turning to ashes. But the fact of his having got only a poor second class in the Schools was not necessarily a bar to a Fellowship. Newman had fared even worse in the Schools and been elected at Oriel. What was really important was his father's attitude. For Mark could not remain at Oxford to try for a Fellowship without his father's support. That was why he had fought so desperately at Hauxwell since November 1835, and at Oxford since his return the following February, to convince the Rector that he should change his mind about the law as a career for his son. But the Rector had not changed his mind. At the end of May when Mark left Oxford for Hauxwell, it was not certain that he would ever return to his beloved University.

While Mark was still in the cradle, his father had decided that one career, and one only, would be opened to his son: he would be elected Fellow of a College and spend the rest of his life at Oxford. Never had he allowed anyone or anything to distract Mark from that noble ambition. Never had another career been suggested to Mark, never, that is to say, until November 1835 when the Rector himself had made an extraordinary volte-face. What had brought it about? The answer is

in the examination--particularly as Twiss will thus have a second time to sit in judgment on my performance".

devastatingly simple: Mark's father took exception to changes in his son's religious views since he had gone up to Oriel, and to his laxity in observing his religious obligations. He decided that Mark was not fit to take Holy Orders in the Church. Hence, he thought, Mark had no right to hope for a Fellowship at Oxford. For without orders, he could not hold a Fellowship permanently. It made sense, therefore (he thought), that Mark should settle for a career that did not carry the obligation of orders. He decided instead that Mark must read for the Bar. He told him so in November 1835, and that was the cause of their bitter quarrel. Mark had rejected his father's conclusion that he ought to abandon his dream of a Fellowship merely because he differed with his father on some points of doctrine, and because he had yet to decide on the question of orders. But during the negotiations that followed his return to Oxford in February 1836 to prepare for the Schools, his father had refused to budge from his position. He had said to his wife: "that poor boy of ours is perhaps not aware that a fellowship will not avail much unless he takes orders--otherwise he cannot hold it more than seven years".⁶¹ His wife had assured him that Mark was well aware of the obligation, although she could not say what his intentions about orders might be. "I had never heard your opinion on that subject", she told Mark.⁶² When the Rector had still refused to listen to his son's pleas for support, Jane Pattison had warned Mark not to let his need influence him in a

⁶¹MSP. 43, f. 114. 10 March 1836.

⁶²MSP. 43, f. 115. 10 March 1836.

decision about orders: "as you value your future p[1]ease let no pecuniary consideration induce you to do it", she said.⁶³ She tried instead to persuade him to consider the Bar: "there are so many things and places for which a barrister is eligible--a clergyman for none", she wrote.⁶⁴ She did not understand, however, what Oxford meant to Mark Pattison.

The Rector of Hauxwell and his wife had had good reason to be concerned about their son. They had sent Mark to Oriel from a deeply pious Evangelical home. They had expected him to be loyal to that faith, and to see it increase and mature with the years. They were not prepared to see it decline. In the Memoirs, Pattison says that undergraduate life rubbed his home piety "off the surface". He remembers that his father had remonstrated with him at Hauxwell because he was "slack in attending church, and seldom put in an appearance at the morning exercise, having been out in the fields probably since six o'clock". "But this", he says, "was all on the surface".⁶⁵ Even so, it was enough to cause anxiety at Hauxwell. There were signs that Mark was becoming less pious, more liberal, and less Evangelical. In his third term at Oriel, for instance, he told his father that he had written a theme on "Party Spirit".⁶⁶ That essay is one of two of his undergraduate essays preserved in the Oriel College archives.⁶⁷ It is an early attempt, but it indicates

⁶³MSP. 43, f. 118. 18 April [1836].

⁶⁴MSP. 43, f. 123. 4 May 1836.

⁶⁵Memoirs, p. 172.

⁶⁶MSS. Sparrow, 5 February 1833.

⁶⁷The fact of their existence has not before been made public.

how Mark's views were changing. In it he says that party spirit of any sort is cramping and confining, but that religious party spirit is "far more violent and implacable" than any other. Religious disputes, he says, are more obstinate and acrimonious than disputes in other spheres, and contests "for trifling points of doctrine" have cost innumerable lives. Those observations would probably have passed off without much trouble at Hauxwell. But the next would not have escaped so easily: "All religious sects are persuaded of their own infallibility", he continues confidently; "each cherishes the unhappy opinion that among many creeds there is only one which is pure and uncorrupt, each despises the rest, each accuses the other of blindness and obstinacy".⁶⁸

Now, the Rector and his wife were convinced that theirs was the pure and uncorrupted truth of "real" Christianity. They were not prepared to be told that it was not, or to have it implied that the complete confidence they placed in their particular religious views was unfounded or blind. Theirs was "real" Christianity; the rest was a sham that had to be borne with until true conversion of heart was the experience of every "nominal" Christian. Mark's broadmindedness, then, was disturbing. The Rector began to fear that the sceptical temper of the liberal school of theology at Oxford, represented by the Oriel "Noetics", was having a bad effect on his son. He noticed that Mark's religious outlook was changing. Finally, in May 1834, just two years after Mark had matriculated at Oriel, the Rector could restrain himself no longer. Mark had asked him to read the Greek New Testament with him

⁶⁸Oriel Papers KM: College Exercises 1833.

during the summer; "it would be of great service to me if you would", he wrote.⁶⁹ But the Rector's reply was sarcastic. His own theology, he told Mark, could not "(as I imagine), consort, with [the] system fashionable amongst you". His indignation rose as he continued:

The Whateleys [sic] and [the] Powells of 1834 will pluck a scion from the school of 1808--In those days of darkness and ignorance we regarded all Scripture as given by inspiration of GOD--and we used to think, (sillily enough to be sure)--that if a Man would not hear Moses and the Prophets--neither would he be persuaded though one rose from the dead.⁷⁰

There was no arguing with the Rector. He told Mark that he would not debate theological questions with him because, he said, "We should be debating to no profit when our heads and our hear[ts] should be bowing in humble and thankful adoration". He warned Mark that he was "rushing into misery" by persisting in his liberal views. For that reason, he would not read the Greek Testament with him during the long vacation. He would not do so, he said, because

I should be contributing my aid to a measure of which I do not approve--your undertaking without [the] direct call of The Spirit of GOD--[the] office of a minister--a sin wh[ich] if you commit--I can tell you from bitter experience you will never cease to deplore thro' your whole life ⁷¹

Mark was utterly taken aback, both by the illogicality of his father's reasoning and by an idea that had never entered his head, that his destiny

⁶⁹MSS. Sparrow, 21 May 1834

⁷⁰MSP. 61, f. 35. No date [May 1834]. Richard Whately (1787-1863), Fellow of Oriel (1813), had been Archbishop of Dublin since 1831. Baden Powell (1796-1860), was Savilian Professor of Geometry. He was much interested in theological controversy and contributed an essay on miracles to Essays and Reviews (1860).

⁷¹MSP. 61, f. 35.

was to be a minister in the Church. "To come to the last topic of the letter", he replied to his father,

what can possess you so strongly that you take up the idea of my future destination being the Church? You speak as if it was settled; when I myself have never had one definitive idea about it. I shall be very glad to have the opportunity of talking to you on the subject.⁷²

Mark ought to have thought about it, for the obligation of orders went with a Fellowship. But the Rector himself would not have become concerned about his son's intentions had Mark not shown signs of deviating from the religious norm of Hauxwell. Only then did he raise an objection to his continuing on the course set down so many years before. Not for another eighteen months, however, in November 1835, would father and son try to settle the issue between them. Meanwhile, the Rector's illness intervened.

Although the most obvious signs of Mark's Evangelicalism were "rubbed off" (as he says in the Memoirs) by undergraduate life at Oriel, that did not mean that he lost interest in religion or ceased to take it seriously. By no means. For in his day, Oxford was an ecclesiastical foundation confined exclusively to members of the Established Church, and religion was as much a part of the ordinary curriculum as the Greek and Roman classics. Undergraduates were obliged to subscribe formally to the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England before proceeding to the degree. They were to take the Sacrament at specified times to show that they were in communion with the Church and loyal to its beliefs

⁷²MSS. Sparrow, 6 June 1834.

and practices. Daily attendance at College chapel was compulsory. On Sundays Mark and his fellow undergraduates were obliged to attend the University Church of St. Mary the Virgin, and afterwards, on pain of imposition, to hand a written summary of the sermon to the College Dean. As part of the ordinary course of studies, Mark studied the Bible, the Thirty-nine Articles, and the works of the English divines. At Hauxwell in the long vacation of 1834, for example, he read, besides other works, several books of the Old Testament, and drew up a "sketch of heads for an essay on [the] Pentateuch".⁷³ At Oxford in October, he began Bishop Butler's Analogy of Religion (one of the most important works in the entire curriculum) and took "a great deal of pains with the Chapter on Necessity in the first part". He read Archbishop King's sermon on predestination, made "a tolerably careful Analysis of Burnet on the Articles", and read John Henry Newman and David Hume on miracles. He found Newman unsatisfactory, "though perhaps it was my own fault", he remarks, because Newman's article "did not . . . give me those clear, and satisfactory views on the subject, which I sought for".⁷⁴ The following summer (1835) finds him immersed in the prophets. Isaiah's poetry is "sublime", but much of the work is "so obscure as to be unintelligible to me". The Book of Daniel is altogether an extraordinary work; he does not know what to make of it. He concludes, however, that in both works, "the prophecies that respect Our Saviour are too clear to be mistaken".⁷⁵ He was not, then, despite his father's fears, so very

⁷³MSP. 2, Supplementary leaves "13-16", f. 15. July 1834.

⁷⁴MSP. 2, pp. 5-7. 7 and 23 November 1834; 15 December 1834.

⁷⁵MSP. 2, pp. 20-21. 12 July 1835.

unorthodox.

Still, there had been a change in his religious outlook. He had become less strict in attending to his religious obligations and more liberal in attitude. But he was not unaware of the change, and there are signs that it made him uneasy. He was concerned enough to discuss the matter with a fellow undergraduate and Evangelical, John Sutton Utterton. In the Memoirs, Utterton is dismissed scornfully as a man with "a wholly prosaic and practical mind, fettered by a narrow type of evangelicalism".⁷⁶ At the time, however, both men were having similar difficulties with the religious tradition they had inherited and Mark was not loath to discuss them. "I can speak plainly to you", Utterton writes in September 1834, "because I think we have done so together before, and have equally deplored that restless spirit which showed that the peace of God was not with us". But Utterton was a staunch Evangelical; his difficulties were short-lived. Mark's were not; and the fact that his friend was not getting over them gave Utterton cause for concern. That was what provoked him to write to Mark at Hauxwell. His purpose was not to discuss their mutual difficulties, but to bring Mark back into the fold of "real" Christianity. Why is it, he wonders, that neither of them finds pleasure in religion? The question is merely rhetorical, for he answers at once: "If our hearts have been indisposed for the service of God and found no pleasure in religion, we know from God's own mouth that this is the state of every man's heart by nature". He concludes from this that there is only one course for both of them (meaning Mark)

⁷⁶Memoirs, p. 145. He became afterwards suffragan Bishop of Guildford.

to take. "Surely", he says, "we had better put away our false reasonings and foolish shame and seek to use those means of Grace which are now here, but for how long, we know not". And then, with an unctuousness that (unfortunately) was too common in Evangelical approaches of this kind, he assures Mark that he has written only to ease his own mind, "and from the best motives towards yourself".⁷⁷ His appeal, however, was the wrong one to make and it came at the wrong time. In September 1834 Mark's thoughts were with his father, who had suffered his first mental breakdown some two weeks before Utterton's letter arrived at Hauxwell. More important, however, was the weakness in Utterton's argument. For Mark could not be persuaded to put aside questions and doubts as "false reasonings". No argument founded on that premise would convince him. There is no sign that the discussion with Utterton was continued.

At Oxford, however, after 1833, Evangelicalism was no longer the most conspicuous answer to one's deep religious yearnings and difficulties. Taking shape at Oriel under the auspices of John Keble, John Henry Newman, and Hurrell Froude was a religious movement that demanded serious answers to serious questions. Its appeal was intellectual as well as moral; its leaders were men of unquestionable integrity and outstanding ability; but its principles appeared to be both religiously and politically conservative. Mark, on the other hand, like many Evangelicals, was a liberal in politics. At Oriel, indeed, he was known to his friends not only as a Whig but as one who generally

⁷⁷MSP. 43, ff. 44-45. 23 September 1834.

supported the radical cause in Parliament.⁷⁸ This made him something of a curiosity in the University where the prevailing view was conservative. However, the new religious movement taking shape at Oxford showed that there were other answers to one's questions about Christianity than those provided by the Evangelicals. In fact, no thinking man in the University, whatever his predilections, could ignore what was happening. For John Keble, John Henry Newman, and Hurrell Froude had something to say. Sooner or later, Mark was bound to listen.

In fact, it was later rather than sooner. For Tractarianism (as it came to be called), did not significantly affect Mark's views during his undergraduate years. The Tractarians, indeed, were not interested in converting undergraduates to their cause and Newman, especially, was scrupulously careful not to sway them to his own views. Even so, Mark was not unknown to Newman after 1833. In July of that year, Newman returned to his rooms at Oriel after his now famous Mediterranean voyage. When the Michaelmas term began in October, his nearest neighbour was young Pattison, whose rooms were opposite to his on the same staircase. Soon afterwards Newman was made Dean of the College, and a strict and demanding Dean he proved to be, as Pattison relates in the Memoirs.⁷⁹ He reprimanded Mark twice in 1834, once for failing to re-write an essay according to his instructions, and a second time (not alluded to in the

⁷⁸ Even the Whig Prime Minister, Lord Melbourne, regarded the radicals in Parliament with contempt. He told the young Queen Victoria in 1839 that they had "neither ability, honesty, nor numbers". Sir Llewellyn Woodward, The Age of Reform 1815-1870, second edition (Oxford, 1962), p. 96.

⁷⁹ Memoirs, pp. 168-169.

Memoirs), for his part in an extraordinarily unruly scene in the streets of Oxford. The undergraduates (Mark amongst them) had taken to the streets to demonstrate against the behaviour of an unpopular Proctor, J. H. Dyer of Trinity College. On 8 May 1834 Mark wrote an excited account for his father of the goings-on at Oxford and of his own part in them. On the previous Sunday night, he said,

a number of men in their Cap and Gowns, followed him [the Proctor] as he took his rounds, by way of bullying him, but that night went no further; Monday night the same was repeated, which so enraged the proctor that he siezed [sic] some of the nearest men, and without any specific reason set them impositions. Tuesday night half the University turned out; on the other side, the proctors and all their forces, bulldogs [i.e. University constables], Marshals police etc, and all the Dons; we paraded the High Street in lines of four abreast, on the flags, the townsmen on the pavement, at each end we gave 'three cheers' for Harding, 'three groans' for Dyer; They attempted to sieze [sic] some men, three several times we rescued them; in one skirmish at Trinity Gate I lost my cap, and was instantly laid hold of by Newman; the Proctors remained in possession of the field ⁸⁰

Newman, as Dean of the College, had Mark up before him and disciplined him, how severely we do not know. The reprimand is not likely to have been severe: an imposition, perhaps, and a caution. But the incident brought a lecture from Hauxwell. The Rector wrote that he was "grieved" that Mark's behaviour had been such "as to bring you in contact with your Dean". He thought the consequences might be serious for Mark's future at Oxford. "I am anticipating what the Provost will say at Collections", he wrote, "and what the Provost will think upon another occasion of more moment--both to you and to me--and looking still further forward--[what]

⁸⁰MSS. Sparrow, 8 May 1934.

you yourself will think of it some twenty or thirty years hence . . .".⁸¹

The lecture over, however, the Rector assured his son that he was satisfied in all other respects with his conduct at Oxford. But Mark must have felt that so far he had made anything but a favourable impression on Newman. He may have been recollecting that feeling when he says in the Memoirs: "I am sure that up to April, 1838, the only sentiment Newman can have entertained towards me was one of antipathy".⁸²

For the next two years, between 1834 and 1836, there was no significant change in the pattern of Mark's religious life. He was aware of Tractarian ideas, heard Newman preach several times, and even took to learning a hymn on Sundays from Keble's Christian Year. But he was outside the Tractarian circle which did not look for its support among the undergraduates. There were no more brushes with Newman, and Mark showed no inclination to espouse Tractarian ideals. Indeed, early in 1836, in the furore over the liberal R. D. Hampden's appointment as Regius Professor of Divinity, Mark sided openly and defiantly with Hampden's supporters in opposition to Newman and the Tractarian party who had accused Hampden of heresy. But contrary to the impression he gives in the Memoirs, his support of Hampden had very little to do either with his own or Hampden's theology, and much more to do with his political liberalism and the undergraduate's traditional opposition to the powers-that-be. For the undergraduates generally sided with Hampden in the controversy; and the Tractarians were only the most recognizable, cohesive,

⁸¹MSP. 61, f. 32. 13 May 1834.

⁸²Memoirs, p. 171.

and articulate body in a much larger body of opinion in the University that was hostile to Hampden's appointment, but did not otherwise adhere to Tractarian views. However, because they had been so prominent in the controversy, the Tractarians emerged from it the acknowledged victors, and for the next five years, the most powerful and influential party in the University. Hampden got his appointment as Regius Professor of Divinity, but it was hedged round by such restrictions that he was humiliated. From that day he harboured his resentment until opportunity offered for revenge.

Mark attended the new Professor's inaugural lecture on 17 March 1836. The same evening he spoke for the first time at the Oxford Union, where he led the opposing side to a decisive defeat. On 19 May, however (surprisingly in the midst of his final examinations in the Schools), he spoke again, this time leading his side to victory.⁸³ On neither occasion was religion an issue. Neither publicly nor privately was Mark regarded as being especially religious. He was known as an exceptionally conscientious student with unusually liberal political views. In his own mind, the intellectual life was everything. He was not irreligious, by any means, but what there was of religion in him by 1836 was mainly either academic "divinity" (a necessary prerequisite for the Schools), or the residue of what he had brought with him from Hauxwell: a religion unconsidered for the most part, and habitual and conventional. So that at the end of May 1836, when Mark left Oxford after his shattering defeat in the School, deeply dejected because

⁸³Proceedings of the Oxford Union Society (Oxford, 1841), p. 164.

of his father's change of heart, there was no sign of the "fanaticism" (as he calls it in the Memoirs) that was soon to lay its "deadly grip" upon him. Newman and Tractarianism were very far from his mind.

CHAPTER III

Metamorphosis 1836-39

"The whole man moves".¹
J. H. Newman

The journey north was a harrowing experience. For the first time (and, apparently, for the last), Mark went by sea, from London to Hull and thence to Hauxwell. Although he says in the Memoirs that the fare (a mere five shillings) was what impelled him to go by sea (it was "as much as a wretched second class ought to pay for his fare to Yorkshire"),² no doubt it occurred to him also that a sea-voyage might do much to calm his nerves. But a terrifying storm left him in a worse condition than before. He arrived at the Rectory in a state near to collapse. Fortunately, he was met kindly by his father, told to renounce a summer tutorship in Dorset to which he had rashly engaged himself after his humiliation in the Schools, and advised to spend the summer reading at Hauxwell. The Rector reminded him that there were others who had fared as badly or even worse than Mark in the Schools and had still been elected to Fellowships. Did that mean, then, that his father had changed his mind after all? To judge by the Memoirs, it would appear that he had. He advised Mark, the Memoirs say, "to spend the summer at Hauxwell in

¹John Henry Cardinal Newman, Apologia Pro Vita Sua, edited by Martin J. Svaglic (Oxford, 1967), p. 110.

²Memoirs, pp. 155-156.

reading for a fellowship".³

But Pattison does not tell the whole story in the Memoirs. At Hauxwell, he says, he found that his father "rather seemed to want me to go to the bar, for which I had a great aversion; I acquiesced, however, on the understanding that I was to remain for a year in Oxford and try to get on the foundation of some college". His father's reason for choosing the Bar as a career for his son, he says, was that, "as the pursuit of fellowships was but a precarious one it was necessary to choose a profession".⁴ He does not say that his father had, in fact, already decided on the Bar for his son's career; nor does he say anything about the bitter quarrel between them on the subject, or give the true reason for the Rector's change of heart: that he considered Mark unfit to take orders in the Church. He may have forgotten what the reason was, which seems unlikely; or he may have been sensitive on the point at a time (1884) when it was generally known that he no longer believed the fundamental doctrines of Christianity, yet continued to act as an ordained minister of the Church of England.⁵ In any case, it is clear from the contemporary evidence that his father had not changed his mind about the Bar. Shortly after his return to Hauxwell, Mark wrote to

³Memoirs, p. 157.

⁴Memoirs, p. 159.

⁵"He acknowledged to Thorold Rogers, who had abandoned the Anglican ministry, his own disbelief in what those who hold them call the fundamental verities of Christianity; but said that as a young man he had adopted in good faith the doctrines of the English Church, had shaped his life to meet its demands, was too old now to make a change injurious to himself." Tuckwell, Reminiscences of Oxford, p. 255.

inform his friends Arthur Kensington and J. H. Sheppard that he had given up his summer tutorship and would read law. They congratulated him on both counts. "Accept, dear Pat my hearty congratulations . . .", said Kensington; "it gives me great pleasure to anticipate your future success in the profession which you have chosen". And Sheppard asked innocently: "do you intend to reside any more in Oxford, or shall you leave in consequence?".⁶ Meanwhile, even late in the summer, Mark consoled himself at Hauxwell with the biography of the distinguished oriental scholar and jurist, Sir William Jones (1746-1794), who also had had to give up literature for the law, but who had hoped that, in old age, he might return again to the pleasures of a literary life. "So should every man resolve who would enjoy them thoroughly", Mark reflected, "and so must those resolve whose bread is to be earned by their own labours". And he recalled Coleridge's dictum that no man ought to make literature his only pursuit, but that every man ought to enter a profession.⁷

In the course of the summer, however, father and son reached a compromise. It was agreed between them that Mark might return to Oxford to try for a Fellowship but only on the condition that the Bar, not Oxford, was to be Mark's goal. At least, it gave Mark a breathing space, but only just, for his father still had misgivings. After his son's departure in October to take his degree, the Rector encountered William Glaister, Fellow of University College, whose home was in the neighbourhood

⁶MSP. 43, ff. 132-133; 135. 11 June 1836; 16 July 1836.

⁷MSP. 4, f. 18 [August 1836]. Sir William Jones, elected Fellow of University College (1766) and of the Royal Society (1772), and called to the Bar at the Middle Temple in 1774, was the first English scholar to master Sanskrit. DNB, X, 1062-1065.

of Richmond. Glaister told him that a Yorkshire Fellowship would soon be vacant at the College, that Mark was eligible for it, and that he ought now to be thinking about it; "and he said all this so significantly", the Rector told Mark, "that I was for letting you know it by that night's post--and so I shou[ld]d if it had not been coupled with this--what shall I call it--drawback--the man that gets it must take Orders!!" He had waited several days to overcome his scruples before giving Mark the news; and then he thought fit to end with a stern warning: "Men who do not betake themselves to Church--had better not take to the Church".⁸

At Oxford, meanwhile, Mark was thoroughly unhappy. He thought that he had forfeited the right to be there, and he was inordinately sensitive to the "mortification" (as he described it) of his class: "it is not only brought before me daily by seeing those I have looked down upon, now looked up to while I am nothing--all successful some this way, some that, while I am obliged to remain a dead weight upon home", he complained to his father on 25 October, "but my eyes are very painfully opened to my own want of ability, which so long escaped me--it stares me in the face wherever I look". In spite of his dejection, however, he still hoped to find some way of remaining permanently at Oxford, and he tried tactfully to let his father know that he was unhappy with the agreement reached during the summer. "I despair of ever doing anything at the Bar", he wrote; "not indeed that I am growing averse to entering that profession--on the contrary my views have become so fixed in that

⁸MSP. 61, ff. 67-68. 9 November 1836. Mark had been aware of the vacancy but had thought that he would not be eligible. See MSP. 61, f. 67; also MSS. Sparrow, 18 November 1836.

direction that I should be loath to have to turn them now in any other-- besides that I see nothing else that does not offer an equally unpromising prospect".⁹ But the Rector was astute enough to recognise his son's real intention. The agreement had been made, he replied; he was unwilling to discuss it again. He was ready to help, but Mark must be strong-willed: "you must engage in whatever profession you adopt *toto corde*", he said.¹⁰ There seemed to be no point in further discussion and Mark dropped the subject for the time being. Then, six weeks later (on 7 December 1836), he decided to speak freely to his father. The matter was urgent, he said. If he did decide finally for the law, he would "put aside all other studies, and stick to that one". But he was "very disinclined" to read for the Bar and could see no chance of succeeding at it. A life of study was his only wish. "I am to say the truth very happy and I fancy more in my element in a quiet, retired, studious life", he explained. He went on:

I have lived such a life more uninterruptedly than I in a thousand for the whole of my past life, and it is not easy to me to change now so entirely--to fit myself for a life of active business of dealings with men. I am more suited for "the contemplative" than "the practical"--to think and to write, than to talk and to do. I do not mean a life of idleness, than which nothing is more disagreeable, there is an activity and employment of the mind far higher and more vigorous, than even the business of the Law calls out. I should prefer, to anything else I know some settlement in this place; as long as you can conveniently give the means of trying for that settlement and I can continue without making it too late to have recourse to anything else as a last resource, I shall

⁹ MSS. Sparrow, 25 October 1836.

¹⁰ MSP. 61, f. 67. 9 November 1836.

[resolve] to stay. As one of the very small class who like and can truly appreciate the opportunities and advantages of Oxford--it will be very hard if I cannot get in somewhere.¹¹

The Rector gave in completely to this moving appeal. "I clearly perceive", he replied within the week, "that no other arrangement can be made for you than one which shall embrace a residence in Oxford in some shape or other within its circle--I mean--to your own entire satisfaction". He gave his hearty concurrence to Mark's remaining in Oxford and promised him enough money to meet his needs.¹² The long struggle was over. The Rector of Hauxwell had capitulated. Mark could once again dream his "darling dream" of a life devoted to learning.

Mark's appeal to his father was certainly eloquent. It would be a hard-hearted parent indeed who would not be moved by it. But the Rector had not decided against his son's continuing at Oxford merely on a whim. After all, it was he who had put the idea of a life devoted to learning into Mark's head in the first place. He had objected to Mark's continuing pursuit of this idea because he thought (and his wife agreed with him) that Mark's growing irreligiousness since he had gone up to Oriel precluded him from ever taking orders. Had he, then, been moved by his son's eloquence to overcome his scruples on this point? Could it be that Mark had never pleaded his case so strongly before in the whole year-long struggle with his father? It hardly seems likely in either case. Yet the Rector of Hauxwell had capitulated. Had Mark merely

¹¹MSS. Sparrow, 7 December 1836.

¹²MSP. 61, f. 69. 13 December 1836.

stuck to his guns, or had he changed in some way so as to satisfy his father that there was no longer any reason to suspect him of irreligion? The truth is, that he had so changed; and that that was the reason for the Rector's capitulation.

What had happened was this: the Rector's decision that Mark was not to continue at Oxford because he was unfit for orders in the Church had made Mark consider more seriously than ever before what his religion meant to him; and whether it was indeed true, as his father had said, that he had become irreligious. He had decided, in the summer of 1836, to examine the question thoroughly and systematically. On 1 June 1836, just a few days after his return to Hauxwell following the calamity of the Schools, he took out a notebook, prayed earnestly for guidance, and laid out carefully what he describes in the Memoirs as "one of those ambitious schemes of reading which many people have formed, and hardly any one, except Gibbon, carried out".¹³ At the head of it, after "general improvement", he put "religion and morals". He resolved to pay careful attention to this subject so as "to gain more clear views of what happiness consists in, and to find sound and steady principles for practical application in life".¹⁴ The rest of the summer he spent trying to put his plan of reading into practice. In October he reviewed his progress. He had taken a "considerable step", he thought, in his intellectual life. But he was especially thankful for the solitude of

¹³Memoirs, p. 161. Pattison errs here in giving the date of this scheme as the summer of 1837, i.e. a year later.

¹⁴MSP. 4, f. 2. 1 June 1836.

Hauxwell which had enabled him to feel "those aspirations after good, those 'longings after immortality', which must be felt at such seasons even by those who have no Christian hopes of attaining it". He had experienced what he called a "spiritual enthusiasm". But it had been difficult to sustain it, and he decided that he was not yet "perfectly disciplined" for solitude: "the very loneliness, my chief enjoyment and delight, was at times a source of discomfort and alas! of discontent". Sadly he concluded that "Man, since the fall, has been incapable of long-continued communion with his God". He consoled himself with the thought that, after all, a "lofty contemplative existence" might not even be consistent with the Christian's duty.¹⁵

These are undoubtedly the first signs of a re-awakened religious feeling in Mark Pattison. They occur nearly two years before the date (1838) given for that re-awakening in the Memoirs. There Pattison says that he "began from within". "The fonds de piétisme", he says, "lay too deep to have been so quickly lost. The Diary of 1838 is evidence that this piétisme was slowly recovering its ascendancy over me".¹⁶ He does not say, however, why this should have happened, or indeed, when it began to happen. As in so much else that has to do with his religious experience, the Memoirs give only vague and unsatisfactory answers to such questions. However, with the aid of the diaries, we are able to establish what impelled Mark Pattison to begin seriously to consider his

¹⁵MSP. 4, f. 23. [October 1836.]

¹⁶Memoirs, p. 172.

religious ideas, and the religious heritage that had been given him at Hauxwell. It was the threat to his "darling dream" of a life of study represented by his father's decision that he must prepare for the Bar. That was the original impetus. Once re-born, however, as a consequence of continued reflection in the solitude of Hauxwell, the old Evangelical piétisme did rapidly regain its hold upon him; so that at the end of the year (on 31 December 1836), there is this rather gloomy observation to be found in the diary:

Religious feeling, self-denial[,] industry, power of attention, memory, to particularize no more, my intellectual powers seem deadened, my mental energy extinguished, the senses regaining that supremacy, the sensual impressions that importance from which it has been my anxiety to dethrone them.¹⁷

Already in those words may be seen the chief characteristics of Mark's religious experience as it was to develop henceforth: the asceticism, verging sometimes on an almost Cistercian severity; the distrust of the reality of sense impressions which, in spite of his deeply emotional nature and real yearning for affection, handicapped him throughout his life in relationships with other people, such that whenever he met a reverse, he would withdraw to his cell and his books as the only reality worth holding to; and, finally, implied merely in this extract from his diary, but vividly apparent in many places in his notebooks, the deep-seated need that underlay both his religious and intellectual aspirations, to touch the unknown, the ideal, to be, as he put it in October 1836, in "long-continued communion with his God", or, as he would say in his

¹⁷MSP. 4, f. 27.

death-bed apologia, to welcome "the momentary visitations of being".

"There is no such joy as this", he would say then; "hold it if you once have seen your way to it, keep it fast".¹⁸

At Hauxwell, Mark's growing religiousness had not gone unnoticed. Because of it, his father had agreed finally to drop the idea of the Bar and to allow Mark to stay on at Oxford. But if the Rector and his wife were pleased by Mark's new seriousness about his religion, they were astonished soon afterwards by an unexpected turn of events. "You at a conservative dinner!!! what shall we hear next?", Jane Pattison exclaimed in a letter of 23 January 1837. She might well be astonished. Everyone who knew Mark knew him for a thorough-going liberal, even it was thought, a radical. What was he doing at a "conservative dinner" at which Newman was also present? She knew enough about Newman to remind Mark that his first religious allegiance lay not with the new Tractarianism of Oxford, but with the old Evangelicalism of Hauxwell. Apparently alluding to a famous contemporary preacher known as, "James Parsons of York" (whom the Dictionary of National Biography describes as "the most remarkable pulpit orator of his time"), she warns Mark that he cannot be loyal at once to two such different forms of Christianity as those represented by Newman and Parsons. "Newman and Parsons", she says, "must be very different, from what I have read of their writings it does not appear to me that they unfold the same [Chris]tian truths and that however you may respect the men or admire the eloquence of both you cannot cordially

¹⁸ Sparrow, Mark Pattison and the Idea of a University, p. 131.

approve the doctrines of both so as to be equally edified by their discourses".¹⁹ That warning from his mother is the first sign anywhere that Mark Pattison had begun to be seriously interested in the Tractarian movement.

By 1837 the religious movement started at Oxford by Keble, Froude, and Newman had spread throughout the country. It had been nearly four years growing by the time Mark began to take a serious interest in it, and it behoves us now to say something about it.

For Newman, the Oxford Movement began when John Keble ascended the pulpit of the University Church of St. Mary the Virgin on 14 July 1833 to deliver the Assizes Sermon on the theme, 'National Apostasy'. No one present on that occasion would dismiss Keble's theme as an idle one. Forty-four years earlier, to the very day, the unthinkable had happened: the Bastille had been overthrown, and soon the world had awakened to the "national apostasy" of France, the eldest and once the most faithful daughter of the Catholic Church. To the magistrates and Churchmen assembled in St. Mary's to hear Keble on that July day in 1833, and to Anglicans all over England, the events of recent years seemed to bear out Keble's warning that England too was in danger of national apostasy from the Christian religion. The day of reckoning kept at bay since the French Revolution seemed at last to be coming upon them. The Reform Bill of the previous year was only its most recent, fearful,

¹⁹MSP. 43, f. 154. 23 January 1837. James Parsons (1799-1877) was the Congregational minister of, successively, Lendal and Salem Chapels at York, between 1822 and 1870. His sermons, collected and published under various titles, went through numerous editions. DNB, XV, 404-406.

and obvious sign. The repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts had preceded it in 1828. Roman Catholic emancipation had followed in 1829 ("the fatal year 1829", William Palmer called it later in his Narrative of Events of the Oxford Movement),²⁰ and 1830 saw a new French revolution with sympathetic overtones in England. The ordinary thinking man, both Churchman and Dissenter, wanted reform in the Established Church as well as in Parliament. But to many Churchmen especially, those who were most vociferous in the vanguard of reform appeared to be fearfully extreme in their demands and to be imperilling the Church, even to be seeking its complete and utter annihilation. Reform certainly there would have to be; how much of it was another matter. In 1831, however, the Archbishop of Canterbury had only exacerbated the Church's predicament when he introduced into the House of Lords two very modest Bills for reform. The first of them was regarded as offensively inadequate, and failed; the second passed through Parliament to a chorus of ridicule in the reforming press.²¹ Soon, the occasion arrived that was to provoke Keble's Assizes Sermon at Oxford. Supported by Daniel O'Connell--"The Liberator" as he was known in Ireland--the Whigs proposed the abolition of ten of the twenty-two sees of the Anglican Church in Ireland and planned to re-organize the collection and administration of Irish ecclesiastical revenues. Not unexpectedly, the Irish welcomed these proposals as the

²⁰ William Palmer, A Narrative of Events Connected with the Publication of the Tracts for the Times (Oxford, 1843), p. 2. Palmer (of Worcester College) is not to be confused with his contemporary, William Palmer (1811-1879) of Magdalen College, who became a Roman Catholic in 1855 and lived in Rome for the rest of his life.

²¹ Owen Chadwick, The Victorian Church, Part I, third edition (London, 1971), p. 39.

easing of a long and intolerable burden. But in England, in the eyes of many English Churchmen watching anxiously for the next flanking attack in what appeared to be a general assault, the Whig government's proposals simply to abolish ten of the Church's sees were viewed as an unpardonable affront to the constitution, historic character, and divine nature of the Church of England. Nowhere was this affront felt more keenly than at Oxford, where a number of idealistic young dons gathered with Newman and Hurrell Froude in the Oriel common room to discuss what ought to be done.²² Within a fortnight of Keble's sermon, three of them, Richard Hurrell Froude, Arthur Perceval, and William Palmer of Worcester College, began a series of meetings at Hadleigh in Suffolk, in the house of the Rector, Hugh James Rose, a Cambridge man and founder of the British Magazine. The result of those meetings was the decision to launch a series of pamphlets called Tracts for the Times.²³

To many persons, the weapons chosen with which to launch a counter-attack against what were then regarded as the forces of infidelity, must have seemed ludicrously inadequate. Tracts, used by the early Evangelicals as instruments of religious conversion, had fallen into disrepute and, among the worldly-wise, were matter for derision. "The pertinacity of good ladies who pressed them on chance strangers, and who extolled their efficacy as if it was that of a quack medicine, had lowered the general respect for them", Dean Church observes.²⁴ But the Oriel men had known

²² Palmer, A Narrative of Events, p. 3.

²³ Charles Edward Mallet, A History of the University of Oxford, 3 vols (London, 1927), III, 246-247.

²⁴ R. W. Church, The Oxford Movement: Twelve Years 1833-45, edited by Geoffrey Best (Chicago and London, 1970), p. 79.

what they were about. They intended to write short papers, mere notes sometimes, on the great religious questions of the day, and thus to obtain for their views the widest possible circulation. "The early Tracts were intended to startle the world," Church says, "and they succeeded in doing so". "Their very form, as short earnest leaflets, was perplexing", he continues:

for they came, not from the class of religionists who usually deal in such productions, but from distinguished University scholars, picked men of a picked college; and from men, too, who as a school were the representatives of soberness and self-control in religious feeling and language, and whose usual style of writing was specially marked by its severe avoidance of excitement and novelty; the school from which had lately come the Christian Year, with its memorable motto "In quietness and confidence shall be your strength".²⁵

Certain of the rightness of their cause and confident of its ultimate success, the Oxford writers set out to re-vivify the English Church, and to stem what seemed to them a growing tidal wave of radical unbelief. "To these men", says Church, "religion meant the most awful and seriously personal thing on earth".²⁶ They intended to bring to the fore great questions of religious principle and doctrine. Above all, they meant to have every Christian realize the truth of what he believed in his everyday life; for this movement was to touch the heart as well as the mind. "Seriousness, reverence, the fear of insincere words and unsound professions, were essential in the character, which alone it would tolerate in those who made common cause with it", Church remarks.²⁷ Its leaders

²⁵ Church, The Oxford Movement, pp. 85-86.

²⁶ Church, The Oxford Movement, p. 21.

²⁷ Church, The Oxford Movement, p. 134.

were young men: in 1833 Keble, the eldest, was forty-one; Hurrell Froude, thirty; Newman, thirty-two; and E. B. Pusey, who joined them in 1834-35, thirty-three. But they were men who really believed their creed. They were convinced that every man should know that there was a God who loved him, who had intervened in history on his behalf, who had given men a Church to be his true and authentic representative on earth, and that the true and authentic descendant of that original foundation was the Church of England herself. This movement, then, was to be no mere conservative reaction. Its intention was to re-awaken the Church of England to its original purpose, and to its true nature and constitution. It meant to probe to the heart of the Church, and to discover behind the accretions of the ages, the real vitality that would ensure the Church's survival.

The Tracts were an astonishing success. "Nine or ten men were now doing their best to out-talk, and out-write and out-manoeuver the world", writes Thomas Mozley, who helped deliver Tracts in country districts.²⁸ They were sent out from Oxford unsigned, the work of men who agreed in principle but not in detail. The solitary exception was E. B. Pusey's tract on Baptism, to which he appended his initials. It was mainly owing to this circumstance that the Oxford writers, who could not escape being looked upon now as a party, were denominated "Puseyites". They were known generally also as "Tractarians", and in Oxford were called often "Newmanites".²⁹ By 1836 the Tracts had grown to treatises, some of

²⁸ Mozley, Reminiscences, I, 340.

²⁹ Wilfred Ward, The Life of John Henry Cardinal Newman, 2 vols (London, 1912), I, 57.

them unwieldy, taking a long time to write and sometimes even longer to read. But the demand for them continued to grow. By January 1839, for instance, Newman was writing to Frederic Rogers: "The Tracts are selling faster than they can print them"; and in June 1839, to J. W. Bowden: "We sold above 60,000 tracts altogether last year. My new volume of Sermons has come to a second edition in half a year. Nothing of mine has been so quick before".³⁰ Ironically, even as he wrote, the storm clouds had begun to gather. Yet the Church of England had sprung to life just at a time when it had seemed most ready to die; and if a few men at Oxford could do so much, anyone, be he Court chaplain or country curate, might take a hand. "Sermons were preached everywhere, even in the Chapel Royal, but mostly in country places, and published with long introductions and copious appendices", Mozley recalls in his Reminiscences. "High and Low Church stood by amazed", he continues:

and very doubtful what it would come to; but meanwhile equally pleased to see life in the Church, which the House of Commons seemed to think incapable of thought, will, or action. The correspondence grew. Oxford resumed its historic place as the centre of religious activity. This was the golden age of the movement, and men talked rather gaily. Some readily accepted the charge of conspiracy, and were far from prompt to disavow that there was more in the background.³¹

There would come a time, however, when such men would be made to regret their early imprudence.

Together, Keble, Froude, and Newman had instigated the Oxford

³⁰ Letters and Correspondence of John Henry Newman, II, 279, 283.
22 January, 22 June 1839.

³¹ Mozley, Reminiscences, I, 340-341.

Movement. But by force of circumstance and the extraordinary effect of his sermons at St. Mary's (of which he was Vicar), Newman soon emerged as the movement's natural leader and inspiration.³² "I do not believe that there has been anything like his influence in Oxford, when it was at its height, since Abelard lectured in Paris", Gladstone remarked at a dinner-party one night forty years later; "I myself, in my undergraduate days, saw just the commencement of it. It was beginning to be the custom to go and hear him on Sunday afternoon at St. Mary's".³³ Hurrell Froude's brother, James Anthony Froude who, like Mark Pattison, abandoned the Tractarian ideal in the end, remembered to the end of his life the effect of Newman's sermons. "No one who heard his sermons in those days can ever forget them", he writes in 'The Oxford Counter-Reformation'. "They were seldom directly theological", he says:

We had theology enough and to spare from the select preachers before the university. Newman, taking some Scripture character for a text, spoke to us about ourselves, our temptations, our experiences. His illustrations were inexhaustible. He seemed to be addressing the most secret consciousness of each of us--as the eyes of a portrait appear to look at every person in a room. He never exaggerated; he was never unreal. A sermon from him was a poem, formed on a distinct idea, fascinating by its subtlety, welcome--how welcome!--from its sincerity, interesting from its originality, even to those who were careless of

³²Keble lived at Hursley in Wiltshire, in relative seclusion from events. Hurrell Froude left Oxford late in 1833 for Barbados, where he hoped to cure the tuberculosis from which he suffered. He died on 28 February 1836, in Devonshire, nine months after his return to England.

³³Stephen Dessain, John Henry Newman (London, 1966), p. 43. Gladstone left Oxford in January 1832, having taken his degree on 20 January and hearing "a very able sermon indeed from Newman at St. Mary's". John Morley, The Life of William Ewart Gladstone, 3 vols (London, 1903), I, 86.

religion; and to others who wished to be religious, but had found religion dry and wearisome, it was like the springing of a fountain out of a rock.³⁴

Froude remembered vividly a moment in one of those sermons when, after he had described closely some incidents of Jesus' suffering, Newman had paused. "For a few moments there was a breathless silence", Froude says:

in a low, clear voice, of which the faintest vibration was audible in the farthest corner of St. Mary's, he said, 'Now, I bid you recollect that He to whom these things were done was Almighty God.' It was as if an electric stroke had gone through the church, as if every person present understood for the first time the meaning of what he had all his life been saying. I suppose it was an epoch in the mental history of more than one of my Oxford contemporaries.³⁵

Outside the pulpit Newman was equally impressive. Froude and others³⁶ say that in the company of undergraduates he avoided theological questions, although these were naturally in the air and were talked about among the undergraduates themselves. When he met them, he spoke about subjects of the day, literature, public affairs, about "everything which was generally interesting". "He seemed always to be better informed on common topics of conversation than anyone else who was present", Froude says. "He was never condescending with us, never didactic or authoritative; but what he said carried conviction along with it. When we were wrong he knew why we were wrong, and excused our mistakes to ourselves while he set us right".³⁷ R. W. Church, who, as an undergraduate at

³⁴ James Anthony Froude, 'The Oxford Counter-Reformation', in Short Studies on Great Subjects, new edition, 4 vols (London, 1897), IV, 231-360 (pp. 283-284).

³⁵ Froude, Short Studies on Great Subjects, IV, 286.

³⁶ See: Letters and Correspondence of John Henry Newman, II, 225.

³⁷ Froude, Short Studies on Great Subjects, IV, 282.

Wadham, first met Keble and Newman in 1835, and upon whom Newman's sermons had had a profound effect, recalls how demanding personal acquaintance with Newman could be. He did not proselytise, Church says, but he was accessible if men came to him, and went more than half way to meet them. "But courteous, affable, easy as he was, he was a keen trier of character", he continues; "he gauged, and men felt that he gauged, their motives, their reality and soundness of purpose; he let them see, if they at all came into his intimacy, that if they were not, he, at any rate, was in the deepest earnest".³⁸ For that reason, perhaps, Mark Pattison and others were a little afraid of Newman. Once in his presence at an Oriel common-room party, Mark offered some flippant remark on a subject of conversation he did not fully understand. "Newman", he says, "turned round and deposited upon me one of those ponderous and icy 'very likelies'; after which you were expected to sit down in a corner, and think over amending your conduct". Mark never forgot the incident. His vanity must have been deeply wounded, he says, but it was just the sort of rebuke he needed at the time to warn him "against the dangers of conceit and egotism".³⁹ We shall see later how eager he became for Newman's good opinion, and how anxious he was to retain it long after he had ceased to have any sympathy with Newman's religious ideals. Indeed, it seemed to some persons in later years to be the only link left in a once common bond between the master and his disciple.

Beginning in February 1837, Newman held a tea-party every Monday

³⁸ Church, The Oxford Movement, pp. 129-130.

³⁹ Memoirs, p. 171.

evening in term in the Common Room at Oriel. "He was very hospitable to all the college", Pattison recalls, "and invited any one he thought would like to come".⁴⁰ Mark was now a resident B.A. at Oxford and Newman sent him occasional invitations to these Monday evening parties throughout the year. It was fortunate for him that Newman did so, for the contact with the cream of young Oxford to be met at these parties, encouraged Mark at what was otherwise a disheartening time in the first few months of 1837. He had tried to get the Fellowship his father had so reluctantly informed him of at University College the previous December; but he had failed--as he had expected to. In February there was to be another election at the same College, but William Glaister (his father's friend and Fellow of University) had discouraged him from trying, saying that the College was sure to elect F. W. Faber.⁴¹ In March and April he was laid up in his rooms by a severe sprain that, owing to the ineptitude of "an ignorant apothecary", forced him to withdraw from an attempt on the Latin prize essay, a distinction, had he won it, that might have made up a little for that albatross about his neck, his "unfortunate" second class. In spite of these reverses, however, he remained cheerful, and noted in review (in April 1837) that he had passed the time "most

⁴⁰Memoirs, p. 170.

⁴¹Pattison errs in his account of the University election of 1836 (Memoirs, p. 160). He did not lose to F. W. Faber. Faber was elected in February 1837. William Glaister advised Mark against standing in that election because "They would elect Faber, unless some Candidate should start up whose County claims they could not get over". See MSS. Sparrow, 29 January 1837.

pleasantly". He attributed his enjoyment to reading and to "intellectual society". He thought that he had become more fluent in conversation and, on the whole, was now "more like other people--less misanthropical--though still fond of being alone". He decided that he had been getting "too cynical", especially towards the end of the previous year, "partly from indolence and selfishness", he said, "partly from a contempt and disgust with myself, because I was not what I wanted to be; a vain ambition to lead and dictate in society--when I had yet to learn the very first rudiments of the Art of Conversation".⁴² Newman's parties, then, were beginning to tell. They had introduced Mark to the sort of society he had yearned for, but had not found, throughout the whole course of his undergraduate career. For Newman himself his admiration was growing constantly. "He is truly indefatigable", he wrote to Hauxwell in March. And in April, in a "very amusing" letter to R. G. Young (a friend from undergraduate days),⁴³ he spoke with such admiration for what Newman and his friends were engaged in at Oxford, that Young concluded that Mark now regarded himself as a Tractarian. Young could not resist twitting him about it, especially at a time when a move to reform the University of Oxford, a scheme that ought to have been dear to his radical friend's heart, had been quashed by a powerful conservative reaction. "I hope as you profess to have joined the movement party", he wrote to Mark, "you like the idea of the proposed Oxford commission of enquiry being quashed

⁴²MSP. 4, ff. 37-38. [April 1837.]

⁴³See: Memoirs, p. 103.

as it has been; not but what I myself think there are sundry iniquities which would bear alteration very well".⁴⁴ Contrary to what Young believed, however, Mark had not yet given himself so completely to Newman's and the Tractarian view of the Church of England. His Evangelical heritage still held some sway over him and it was to the Evangelical writer Thomas Scott (1747-1821) that he turned first in the spring of 1837. But when Newman's new book, The Prophetical Office of the Church, came out in March, Mark turned to it at once. He read "the greater part of it", he observes in his diary in April, when reviewing the work of the term; "and what I did read, I read with care". He was much impressed by the book. It was the "most important", he said, of all the books he had read that term, including even Gibbon's Decline and Fall (at one point, the "pièce de résistance" of his reading) and Thomas Scott's Force of Truth. From Newman, he said, he had drawn "many new and useful ideas on the true doctrine of the Eng[li]sh Church--but they are not yet made my own; I am undecided--must examine and think, and above all pray".⁴⁵ That thinking, examination, and prayer took place at Hauxwell during the following summer. It was then that Mark Pattison turned away once and for all from the Evangelical tradition of his home life, to the historical tradition of the English Church that was being rediscovered at Oxford.

⁴⁴MSP. 43, f. 172. 14 April 1837. Lord Radnor had proposed that Parliament establish a commission to investigate the statutes and administration of the University. "Lord Radnor's Bill, if ever it be carried into effect, will lead to a search which to the affrighted Imagination of the Heads, Principals etc. appears as awful and sacrilegious". Philippa Meadows to Mark Pattison, MSP. 43, f. 174. 25 April 1837.

⁴⁵MSP. 4, f. 37. [April 1837.]

Mark returned to Hauxwell in May 1837; and in June, recognizing that the scheme of reading he had drawn up the previous summer was so vast in scope that it might, as he said, "stand for my life", he modified it and got down to work. In the Memoirs he says: "I conceive this summer's study to have been one of the most useful periods of my youth".⁴⁶ But he says nothing about what was in fact his chief preoccupation that summer: namely, religion. Newman's book had set him thinking and he began the summer by re-reading the Scottish philosopher Dugald Stewart's Dissertation on the Progress of Metaphysical Philosophy and Thomas Scott's Force of Truth. Although he had been "enchanted" by Stewart the previous summer, on re-reading he was less satisfied. He decided that Stewart lacked depth. However, he made an abstract of the first part of the Dissertation, but ignored the second as "metaphysical" and "not so immediately practical".⁴⁷ Then he turned to Thomas Scott. In the Force of Truth (1779), which is Scott's account of his progress from Unitarianism to Evangelicalism, he hoped to find a guide to "practical Christianity". But here, too, he was disappointed. He decided that Scott would not do for his purposes. However, as the history of a mind, he thought, the Force of Truth would always be interesting; and he decided to keep it by him as a guide to arguments both for and against Christian doctrines. But as an argument for Calvinism, he decided, Scott's theory

⁴⁶ Memoirs, p. 161.

⁴⁷ MSP. 5, ff. 4-5. 26 June 1837. The diary here contradicts the Memoirs in two respects: Mark first read the Dissertation (published in two parts: the first in 1815, the second in 1821) in 1836, not (as in Memoirs, p. 161) in 1837; and he was disenchanted by his second reading of it in 1837, not "enchanted" (as in Memoirs, p. 161).

had no intellectual weight. His "Ultra-protestant assumption" that Christian doctrine may be gathered from the Scriptures alone, independent of the Church's testimony and tradition, is untenable, he says. Weak human reason cannot depend upon itself, he continues; it must have the authoritative testimony of the Church: "desert the decision of the Church to decide for oneself, and it becomes 'quot homines tot sententiae'".⁴⁸

Scott, then, would not serve; nor would any argument now for religious belief that did not take into account the authoritative teaching of the Church. That said, Mark had stepped straight into the historic difficulty about the relationship between reason and authority, and the nature and extent of one's obligation to either. He resolved it quite simply, in the summer of 1837, by dismissing the tradition of Evangelical Protestantism which opposed private judgment to ecclesiastical tradition and authority, and by drawing back also from his own tendency to an incipient rationalism. He became instead more and more convinced as the summer went on of the rightness of Newman's historical approach to the "true doctrine of the Eng[li]sh Church". The appeal of that approach was initially and primarily intellectual; its cogency made good sense when compared to the religious tradition Mark had been used to. Yet, as understood and adopted by him, the theory that the Church's authority is to be sought and accepted in religious matters above, and even in spite of, the conclusions of his own reason, ran counter to the principles that

⁴⁸MSP. 5, f. 7. [July/August 1837.] Newman, on the other hand, admired Scott's "simplicity and unworldliness". He was "the writer who made a deeper impression on my mind than any other, and to whom (humanly speaking) I almost owe my soul". Apologia, pp. 40; 18.

had guided his intellectual life up to that point. He did not notice that fact at the time; but there is no doubt that he had sown the seeds of future trouble.

Once started on this new line, Mark set to with a will. He read an article in the British Critic, a High Church periodical and chief organ of the Tractarian party, on the necessity for studying the Fathers of the Anglican Church, and spent five and a half pages of enthusiastic commentary on it in his notebook. It must be by Newman, he thought; or if not by him, then by someone who admired and loved those pious men "whose characters and learning adorned and defended the Church of England in her golden days". His imagination was stirred by the vision. "Who can read it without sympathizing with the writer, without admiring and loving them too!" he exclaims; "without feeling a sense of greatness and nobleness, while contemplating them--and of littleness and frivolity on turning to our modern theologians".⁴⁹ But, excited as he was by these new ideas, he was not unthinking in his enthusiasm. Never one to forsake a position without good cause and without knowing precisely why, he continued throughout the summer to search for a reasoned defence of Evangelical doctrines. He could find none that was satisfactory. The Remains of Kirke White (1785-1806) were evidence that the writer was a man of high moral and religious principle, he thought, but his intellect and judgment were inferior. Thomas Scott's Remarks on the Refutation of Calvinism by G. Tomline disgusted him by its method and reasoning. Two

⁴⁹MSP. 5, f. 8. [July/August 1837.]

volumes of another work, the Letters to a Friend by O. G. Gregory (1774-1841), drew from him strong criticisms of the Evangelical party as a whole. "There is [in Gregory], I regret to observe, the stain that marks the whole class", he says gravely, "viz. the bitterness and want of temper with wh[ich] they speak of all that [are] opposed to them wh[ich] is both bad taste--in a worldly point of view and unchristian in a religious". Besides, he says, Gregory seems to enjoy "a low species of triumph in exulting over the heathen philosophers", whereas the ancients are men "before whom we ought to hide ourselves in shame". In spite of these faults, however, Gregory had given him something at least: "several new views", and a clearer idea of the most common arguments for and against Evangelicalism. He had also given him a rude awakening, the nature of which shows how quickly Mark was being drawn into the Tractarian "whirlpool".⁵⁰

"I was surprized and schocked [sic]", he says, summing up his comments on Gregory's Letters, "to find how nearly I had, gradually sliding from one point to another, rested in Socinian views, and without the least suspicion that they were such".⁵¹ Now, the Socinians, later called "Unitarians", were thought to be unorthodox in their Christianity. They rejected the doctrine of the Trinity and criticized the orthodox doctrines

⁵⁰MSP. 5, f. 13. [September 1837.] The Remains of Henry Kirke White, edited (with an account of his life) by Robert Southey, 2 vols (London, 1807); Thomas Scott, Remarks on the Refutation of Calvinism by G. Tomline . . . Bishop of Lincoln, 2 vols (London, 1811); Olinthus Gilbert Gregory, Letters to a Friend on the Evidences, Doctrines, and Duties of the Christian Religion, 2 vols (London, 1812).

⁵¹MSP. 5, f. 12. [September 1837.]

of the Fall, the Atonement, and eternal punishment. At first, they had based their teaching on Scriptural authority; later, especially in the nineteenth century under the influence of James Martineau (1805-1900) in England, their teaching moved from a Biblical to a rational foundation, with reason and conscience as the sole criteria of belief.⁵² From the beginning, however, Socinianism, thought by orthodox Christians to be approaching very nearly to infidelity, had been regarded by them with repugnance, and even with horror. Hence, Mark's dismay when he discovered how very like Socinianism his own views had become. Gregory's book had shown him that on the main points, at least, the Trinity and the Atonement, he had held firm; but on other points "no less practically momentous" (such as providence, prayer, the influence of the Holy Spirit, and "my general principles of Scripture Interpretation"), he had been well on the way "to the full adoption of the Socinian system". In other words, he had been on the verge of rationalism and scepticism in matters of religious belief. That, indeed, is not difficult to understand from what we have seen already of the bent of his mind. Following this discovery, however, Mark resolved to do away with what he saw as a dangerous tendency in his thinking, and deliberately to turn his mind in another direction. From this time forward, he said, he would hold it as a general principle,

that whatever is plainly stated in Scripture is to be believed however contradictory it may be to the conclusions of reason--that abstract difficulties are nothing if the New Test[amen]t declares a truth

⁵² See: The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church, second edition, edited by F. L. Cross and E. A. Livingstone (London, 1974), pp. 1408-1409.

--and that abstract and a priori reasoning--though beautiful and convincing when superadded [and] appended to the declarations of revelation--are totally wrong ground for an enquirer to set out from.

God had spoken in the Bible, he declared; therefore, "the declarations of that Bible I would receive unhesitatingly--whatever their mysteriousness or difficulty".⁵³ Once again, he was setting himself, without noticing it, against the real tendency of his mind, and abandoning, in religious matters at least, the mental habits ingrained by years of experience of private intellectual effort. What was it that made him turn in a direction so contrary to what he had been used to, and, as a Tractarian, so unnecessarily too? "The whole man moves", Newman declares in the Apologia.⁵⁴ The cause of Mark's moving is not to be found merely in logic, in the rational processes of his intellect, but mainly elsewhere: in an influence that in the summer of 1837 had become almost as powerful and attractive as the life of the intellect had ever been, that is to say, in the old piétisme of Hauxwell that had been ingrained in him since boyhood.

By the end of the summer of 1837, Mark was aware that "something greater" had been added to the real pleasure and delight he had had in reading for its own sake. That something was religion. It had given him two things, he said: a new sense of the true value of everything, and a new principle of thought and action. He had been led "to a lively sense

⁵³MSP. 5, ff. 12-13. [September 1837.]

⁵⁴Apologia, p. 110.

of the worthlessness of every pursuit but that of the great business of life, the preparation for another state, and of every quality and acquirement but faith in the Saviour, love to God and man, and righteousness".⁵⁵ In those words, clearly, are echoes of the severe piety that was preached at Hauxwell and that was practised at the Rectory by no one more faithfully or more stringently (as we have seen from her diaries), than by Mark's mother. Indeed, it is not easy to see what other tradition of religious devotion Mark might have turned to, if not to Hauxwell's. The Rectory's severe and self-abasing piety was his religious heritage. He had been imbued with it since boyhood; he breathed its atmosphere whenever he returned for vacations; and however lax his father might be, he had a living model of it in his mother. It is no surprise, then, that as his intellectual interest in religious questions increased, he should turn to satisfy the emotional needs aroused by it to the one source he was most familiar with, the form of Evangelical piety fostered at Hauxwell. Ironically, even as he rejected Evangelical arguments on the grounds of their intellectual feebleness, he had become more and more a prey to the real strength of the Evangelical approach, its depth of feeling. What was happening now was the welling-up of the fonds de piétisme that he refers to in the Memoirs; and it happened, too, more than a year earlier that he recollected in that book.

One characteristic of this return of religious feeling in full force in the summer of 1837, was Mark's adoption of a principle, and

⁵⁵MSP. 5, f. 11. [September 1837.]

belief in a doctrine, that was to play no small part in his subsequent religious experience. That was the doctrine of obedience to the will of God. He decided to make it "the great principle" of his life, "to make it my rule of life, to govern my actions and my thoughts by it, and to pray daily for divine assistance to do this, and to make me to grow both in grace and in knowledge".⁵⁶ Mark's mother, too, had made that doctrine her guiding principle; and she ruled her life, and eventually ruined it, by a severe and slavish interpretation of it. For his part, Mark does not say at the time what exactly he means by it, nor how he intends to discover the will of God. But in the months after what he calls in the Memoirs, the "catastrophe of 1845",⁵⁷ he would spend hours upon hours trying to discover what the will of God might be for him, and wondering whether, when once he had discovered it, he could bring himself to heed it. For the present, however, he viewed his adoption of the principle of absolute obedience to the will of God as of paramount importance in his life. It gave him at last a sense of integrity, of completeness, and (he wrote), "a sort of command, a hold, over the whole field of knowledge I never knew before". Now books and life could be considered "in one and a new point of view". This was more than knowledge, he decided; it was true wisdom. "How true is it that true wisdom includes and comprehends all knowledge", he exclaims, "how the acknowledgement (i.e. habitually in the heart) of God and the primary truths of Christianity, throw light

⁵⁶MSP. 5, f. 11. [September 1837.]

⁵⁷Memoirs, p. 185.

and clearness over the whole field of moral enquiry[,] over subjects apparently most remote!".⁵⁸ He felt, now, more sure of himself: "what prejudices vanish, what confidence and certainty seem imparted to the mind, what consistency to the view and the character". He was certain, now, that he had gained a new insight into the relationship that ought really to exist between his will and his understanding: "I have learnt more in this last week", he wrote in September 1837, "of that influence of the heart, the moral character upon the intellect, than in years that I have assented to and explained and written upon that principle".⁵⁹

The summer of 1837, then, was a watershed in Mark Pattison's religious experience. By the end of it, he had established the three principles by which heart and mind would henceforth be governed: the authority of the Church Catholic in matters of religious belief, even when the expression of that authority appeared to run counter to the conclusions of his reason; the authority of the Bible, "however contradictory it may be to the conclusions of reason"; and absolute obedience to the will of God as the supreme guide in every aspect of his life. His adoption of these principles had grown out of a process of thought and emotion that had begun at Hauxwell the summer before. The initial impetus had been given by the Rector's change of heart about his son's future at Oxford. Mark had had to examine his father's objection that he was unfit to take orders in the Church by reason of his increasingly

⁵⁸MSP. 5, f. 12. [September 1837.]

⁵⁹MSP. 5, f. 12.

unorthodox views and his continuing laxity in the practice of his religion. At first, the impulse had been intellectual: the curiosity of a restless, questing intellect to know what the foundation of religion and morals might be, and what conclusions might be drawn for practical life. But the nature of the question, and a long and serious meditation upon it in the solitude and peace of Hauxwell in the summer of 1836, had evoked an emotional response also, and given rise in Mark to a new religious feeling. At Oxford in 1836-37, this new development had coincided with the rapidly growing phenomenon of the Tractarian revival, which was just then beginning to reach the apex of its influence under Newman's leadership. At Hauxwell again in the summer of 1837, Mark had spent another long period in reading and quiet reflection. By the end of that summer he was a Tractarian in all but name.

Early in November 1837, he returned to Oxford. Almost his first act was to attend a meeting of the Theological Society in E. B. Pusey's rooms at Christ Church, where Newman read a paper on "The Appollinarian heresy" and Charles Marriott another on "The connexion of Church and state in the time of Constantine".⁶⁰ Shortly afterwards he was at Christ Church again to hear Pusey preach "in his usual style and subject".⁶¹ Meanwhile, Hauxwell had not been unaffected by the changes in his views. Church history was now their favourite subject at the Rectory, his mother reported in December; and from Ainderby nearby, Philippa Meadows wrote

⁶⁰MSS. Sparrow, 19 November 1837.

⁶¹MSS. Sparrow, 19 November 1837.

that theology was now the "grand subject" of her thoughts.⁶² In December, too, Mark announced to his parents that he had decided to prepare for orders. His father raised no objection; but his mother, in spite of her son's obviously growing religiousness, still suspected him of not having seriously examined his motives. She warned him that the step would be irrevocable, and pleaded with him to consider it carefully. "Again and again I would endeavour, in the most earnest and affectionate manner", she said,

to press upon you the necessity of an attentive, a searching investigation of the reasons and motives which induce you to think of taking orders--if indeed you do truly think that to his service you could dedicate your whole heart, talents, and life, and gladly proclaim the glad tidings of a crucified and risen Saviour, then I shall joyfully hail your entrance into the ministry and rejoice in such an honour.⁶³

Mark replied at once that she had no cause to be anxious. He had taken the phrase, "Give God thy heart", as his life's motto. But his mother was not easily convinced: "that is a solemn resolve, my dear Mark; I am often inclined to say the same, but to carry it out requires more than human resolves".⁶⁴ At Oxford, meanwhile, other men were making up their minds whether to accept Tractarianism. R. W. Church of Wadham College was much in advance of Mark in his acceptance of it, and had begun already to translate St. Cyril of Jerusalem for Pusey's Library of

⁶²MSP. 43, ff. 189-190; 191-192. 11-13 December; [20 December] 1837.

⁶³MSP. 43, ff. 189-190. 11-13 December 1837.

⁶⁴MSP. 43, f. 194. 27-28 December 1837.

the Fathers.⁶⁵ A. P. Stanley of Balliol (Thomas Arnold's former pupil at Rugby and his future biographer), was still undecided. But Newman, who "had his eyes everywhere", Pattison says in the Memoirs, had remarked already to Frederick Rogers in July that "Stanley attends Sacrament in St. Mary's now".⁶⁶ All the best minds in young Oxford, it seemed, were turning to Tractarianism.

With the opening of the new year 1838, Mark's thoughts were chiefly on his chances of being elected to a Fellowship. Not since February 1837 (when F. W. Faber was elected at University), had a vacancy occurred for which he might be eligible at any of the Colleges. But the new year 1838 offered a brighter prospect: elections at Oriel in April, at University in June, and at Balliol in November. Mark had been hoping for just such an opportunity. So too, however, had been R. W. Church and A. P. Stanley, and numerous lesser lights among recent graduates. If Mark's life-long desire had been to be elected a Fellow of Oriel, Church also had his heart set on the same object. Stanley's ambition, on the other hand, was to be a Fellow of Balliol. For his own part, Mark would be happy to be elected at any one of the three Colleges. He had not, after all, like many of his competitors, that golden key: a first class. Indeed, as the months passed and the contests drew nearer, this aspect of the thing began to tell on him. His "wretched second class" doomed his chances, he thought. Already in January he was

⁶⁵ Life and Letters of Dean Church, edited by his daughter, Mary C. Church (London, 1894), pp. 16-17.

⁶⁶ Letters and Correspondence of John Henry Newman, II, 240. 5 July 1837.

in noticeably low spirits. His depression increased in February and March, and by April he was sure that he would fail at Oriel. His father tried to rally him. He reminded him of a promise he had made to him at Hornby, even before the family had moved to Hauxwell (when Mark could not have been more than six or seven years old), that were he to be elected at Oriel, his father would give him the princely sum of five hundred pounds. However, even were he to fail at Oriel, as it seemed he might, University would suffice. "I tremble most for the £500", the Rector wrote in March, "the old Hornby promise which I will most scrupulously fulfill--If it should be only U[niversity]". "I shall perhaps take that into consideration", he added (being careful to deduct expenses), "as you will want rooms furniture etc".⁶⁷ However, when Mark continued in low spirits, the Rector lost patience. He reminded him early in April that he was expected to enter the Oriel examination with, he said,

an honest and manly confidence in the support of Heaven and not crawl into it with that childish and unreasonable depreciation of yourself ["prepossession" is added above the line] which leads to the conclusion that all men who are in the First Class forsooth must ex necessitate rei be superior to you and may not be competed with.⁶⁸

That is strong language; it is no wonder that Pattison omitted the passage when he quoted his father's letter in the Memoirs.⁶⁹ In the meantime, while Mark struggled with anxiety and deepening depression at Oxford, the Rector awaited the outcome at Hauxwell, spending his time, Mark's sister

⁶⁷ MSP. 61, f. 71. 17 March 1838.

⁶⁸ MSP. 61, f. 74. 2 April 1838.

⁶⁹ Memoirs, pp. 179-180.

Eleanor reported, in 'continued reveries and silent moods ending in "Dear fellow, I cannot help thinking there is a chance after all, and my poor boy will be Fellow of Oriel at last"'; which shows, said Eleanor, "that he is certain of the fulfillment of his Hornby dreams".⁷⁰

The Oriel examinations were held in Easter week, 1838, and lasted four days, Monday to Thursday. There were two vacancies to be filled. Eight others besides Mark competed for the honour of election. The two chosen were R. W. Church of Wadham and J. C. Prichard of Trinity. "I have always looked upon Church as the type of Oriel fellow", Pattison comments in the Memoirs. He quotes a well-known Fellow of Lincoln at the time, Richard Michell, who said: "There was such a moral beauty about Church, that they could not help taking him".⁷¹ Pattison takes it for granted that Church was Newman's candidate, "though so accomplished a scholar as the Dean need not have required any party push", he says. He was quite unprepared, therefore, to receive a message from Newman on the day of the election to say 'that there were some who thought "that I had done the best"'.⁷² It was a thoughtful gesture on Newman's part and just the sort of tonic that Mark needed at the time. Nor was Newman's praise undeserved. The examiners' comments on the candidates' papers are still preserved at Oriel College.⁷³ Mark's English essay, the examiners say,

⁷⁰MSP. 59, ff. 53-54. 12 April [1838].

⁷¹Memoirs, p. 163. Church had heard of Michell as "a great tutor" and had gone to him for private tuition. See: Life and Letters of Dean Church, pp. 11, 15.

⁷²Memoirs, pp. 163-164.

⁷³They had been neglected until I discovered them in a chest in the College archives.

is "very ingenious, and often very good--on the whole highly respectable. (some good observations upon the improper value attached to Literature and to Intellectual pursuit.)". Church's essay, they say however, is "the best hitherto". Of the Latin letters which candidates were obliged to send to the Fellows of the College, the examiners observe that Mark's first is "Short, but pretty well"; his second, "very well, to the purpose . . . yet somewhat odd"; but his Latin essay has "only respectable Latinity in fair Essay". On the whole, then, there was good reason for some to think that Mark "had done the best". He had not expected so much, and Newman's compliment helped to restore his confidence.⁷⁴

Mark's next trial was at University College two months later, in June 1838. "There was at this time no formidable in-college candidate", he recalls in the Memoirs; "the others were seconds and thirds, and otherwise undistinguished like myself". Accordingly, with hopes raised

⁷⁴Oriel College archives, Oriel KV, "Candidatorum Epistolae, etc. 1838". Among the papers I discovered in these archives is a confidential letter from John Griffiths, Sub-Warden of Wadham College, to Edward Hawkins, the Provost of Oriel. Griffiths, a vociferous opponent of the Tractarians, warns Hawkins of a dangerous tendency in one of the candidates in the Oriel election, none other than R. W. Church, a graduate of Griffith's own College. On 19 April 1838 he writes to the Provost:

My dear Sir,

It was impossible of the Warden [i.e. Benjamin Symons] to speak too highly of Mr. Church.

He brought with him to Oxford some extremely low Church opinions, which he has gradually abandoned; and I trust he has not gone into excess on the other side, but I do not know whether this is so or not. Perhaps however it would be wrong in me not to tell you that Mr. Marriott of Oriel is one of his greatest friends, and that at his earnest solicitation (as I believe) he has undertaken to supply a translation of a short tract for the Library of the Fathers.

Very sincerely yours, John Griffiths.

Fortunately, Church survived this poisoning of the wells by the Sub-Warden of his own College, and was elected.

high due to his unexpectedly strong showing at Oriel, he went into the examination fully expecting to succeed. "I sat down to the table", he remembers, "and after reading over the questions, raised my eyes to scan the candidates. What was my amazement to see among them the well-known figure of A. P. Stanley. It was impossible--Stanley was not eligible by the statutes. The fellowship was confined by the founder to the 'parts nearest Durham'".⁷⁵ He guessed at once that Stanley had been invited to stand with the private assurance that he would be elected, "as he was at that time the most brilliant figure in the University". "What then", he asks with justifiable indignation, "was the purpose of submitting five or six men, backed by a county claim, to a three days' examination, when the fellowship was already settled?" In fact, he guessed correctly the reason for Stanley's unexpected presence. Stanley's biographer, R. E. Prothero (afterwards, Lord Ernle) says that "overtures" had indeed been made to Stanley, but he skips lightly over their propriety by saying (without supporting evidence) that the usual interpretation of the statutes "had been authoritatively decided to be erroneous; and on the present occasion the Master and Fellows determined to set aside any such limitation".⁷⁶ Stanley's election at University was duly announced on 4 July 1838. Mark never held it against him; but in what ought to have been a purely formal Latin letter to the Fellows of University announcing his candidature, he inserted a quotation which hinted at his suspicions

⁷⁵Memoirs, p. 175.

⁷⁶Rowland E. Prothero, Life and Correspondence of Arthur Penrhyn Stanley, D.D., 2 vols (London, 1893), I, 198.

of impropriety in the election.⁷⁷ It was "an étourderie to do it", he says in the Memoirs, and it enraged the man whom he regarded as an old enemy, Travers Twiss. Twiss complained to the Provost of Oriel, Edward Hawkins, who sent for Mark and "remonstrated" with him. That might have been the end of it had not the affair become a cause célèbre within a few months in Durham and North Yorkshire. "Mr. Faber a barrister at Northallerton informed the people there that the U[niversity] was a scandalous job and you were shamefully used", Mark's mother reported the following November; "and had he been in y[ou]r place he w[oul]d have appealed to the Visitor".⁷⁸ No one at Hauxwell then knew, however, of Mark's indiscreet letter to the Fellows of University. They heard about it (probably through William Glaister) only in January 1839, that is to say, six months after the event. Mark's mother disapproved of what he had done, but the Rector was sympathetic. "It is rumoured here that the only candidate, at the University election last summer, who approached [i.e. came near to doing as well as] Stanley wrote a letter to the College which gave great offence to some of the members . . . ", Jane Pattison wrote to her son on 4 January 1839; 'it is considered to have been very natural for a young man suffering from so unjust an act . . . y[ou]r Father says, "I cannot blame it, at 25 I should have done the same"'.⁷⁹

⁷⁷The sequence of events is not clear at this point in the Memoirs (pp. 176-177). Candidates must have been permitted to send in the formal announcement of their candidature after the examination.

⁷⁸MSP. 43, f. 221. 1-22 November, 1838.

⁷⁹MSP. 43, f. 236. 4 January 1839.

There is, in fact, a remarkable irony underlying the whole affair which has not been noticed hitherto, not even by Pattison. Stanley would never have offered himself at University College had he been certain that there was a good chance of his being elected at Balliol the following November. But the Tractarian party at Balliol, led by Frederick Oakeley, had let it be known that they were opposed to Stanley's election, "on the grounds of my supposed theological opinions", Stanley explained to his father. Their opposition was founded on the conviction that, because he was a fervent admirer of Thomas Arnold of Rugby, Stanley's theology could not be trusted. Had there been no such opposition at Balliol, however, Stanley would not have been persuaded to stand at University, and Mark Pattison's election, not Stanley's, would have been announced on 4 July 1838. As it turned out, Mark was obliged instead to try at Balliol in November. He knew he had no chance; "it was an act of despair, not of hope", the Memoirs say.⁸⁰ With that, the campaign that was to have found him the means of a literary life at Oxford seemed to have ended. There was nothing for it by the end of 1838 but to turn his thoughts in another direction.

Meanwhile, even as the Fellowship campaign had been uppermost in his thoughts, Mark had not lost interest in what the Tractarians were up to at Oxford. In fact, early in 1838 he had begun to cement his connection with the movement. He was to be found very often in the company of Newman's younger followers, especially R. W. Church and James Mozley, and

⁸⁰ Memoirs, pp. 177-178.

took a keen interest in all the activities and controversies that the Tractarian leaders, especially Newman, engaged in. But the time when this close association between Mark and the Tractarians began was also a time when the movement first struck the wall of hostility that had been building up against it. 1838 was the year when the Tractarian tide was stopped, and when it first began to turn. In January of that year, Newman published the Remains (that is to say, the diaries and private speculations) of his friend Hurrell Froude, who had died two years previously. He had expected trouble initially, but had trusted (naïvely, as it proved) in the reading public's ability to appreciate the essential quality of Froude's mind, and to tolerate on that account the less congenial aspects of his private religious life: his asceticism, Catholic piety, and open hostility to the Reformation. But there had always been a suspicion among a large segment of the public that the Tractarians really hankered secretly after the Roman Catholic Church and were bent really on subverting their own Church to that end. Not unexpectedly, as the influence of the movement had grown, this suspicion, harboured by the movement's most obstinate and prejudiced critics, had deepened. When Froude's Remains appeared, these suspicions were (it seemed) fully confirmed. The cry of "Romanism!" was raised against the Tractarians, and by mid-summer the hunt was in full swing, with questions in Parliament, and uproar everywhere. At Hauxwell, Jane Pattison had read a review of the book soon after it was published, and her suspicions were aroused at once: "if that article is a fair specimen of their opinions", she said, "the charge that they are almost Papists does not appear so ill-founded".⁸¹ "What is your opinion? do

⁸¹MSP. 43, f. 200. 19 January 1838.

you think they are verging to Romanism or not?", she asked Mark three weeks later, hoping at the same time that he would be preserved from the errors of those otherwise "excellent holy men".⁸² Mark tried to calm her fears, but she could not be got to modify the opinion she had formed already: "there does seem to be a decided leaning to that Church from which we have always considered it a blessing to be separated", she told him.⁸³ The Rector, however, perhaps pleased to find his son in the company of men as famous as Newman and Pusey, and not so quick as his wife to stand on principle, was eager to have Newman's opinion on a small difficulty of his own. "If you have any mollia tempora with Newman", he wrote to Mark, "I wish you would ask him what he thinks the practice of the primitive Ch[urch] [was] with respect to the administration of the Lord[']s Supper in Lent[.] My Good Friday Sacr[amen]t has for years been a gangrene in my conscience".⁸⁴

Nothing that Mark was told about Hurrell Froude, or about the supposedly Rome-ward direction of Newman's and Pusey's intentions, disinclined him to support the Tractarian cause. The leaders of the movement had denied the charge. Newman, especially, was positively certain that nothing in his ideas or writing could be found to substantiate it. Indeed, Froude himself had once scolded Newman for his "cursing and swearing" against Rome, and in time to come Newman himself would feel obliged to retract publicly various hard sayings of his against the Roman

⁸²MSP. 43, f. 205. 9 February 1838.

⁸³MSP. 43, f. 211. 12 March 1838.

⁸⁴MSP. 61, f. 71. 17 March 1838.

Catholic Church which he recognized had been unjustified. Now, however, he was supremely confident and at the height of his influence. His certainty of the integrity of his intellectual position and his skill in defending it gave the movement a remarkable cohesion and strength in the face of stiffening opposition. Meanwhile, Newman had got an idea for a scheme by which he would take a house in Oxford and fill it with a number of young B.A.'s without Fellowships, "but who wished to stay up in the University". He described the plan to James Mozley (brother to Thomas Mozley, and one of the most ardent of the younger Tractarians) in November 1837.⁸⁵ In January 1838 he thanked an old friend, J. W. Bowden, for a generous offering "towards the young monks" (the future inhabitants of his house), but told him that nothing had been settled yet. The scheme was sure to create a stir in the now hostile climate of Oxford and he did not wish to imperil the prospects that any of his young friends had of getting Fellowships. "We should begin next term", he told Bowden in January:

but since, however secret one may wish to keep it, things get out, we do not yet wish to commit young men to anything which may hurt their chance of success at any college, in standing for a fellowship. After Easter will be a better time so far as this, that there may be some eligible men among those who stood for our fellowships [i.e. at Oriel] unsuccessfully.⁸⁶

By April 1838 Mozley was ensconced as the director of a house Newman had taken in St. Aldate's. It was organized now along definite lines, Mozley

⁸⁵ Letters of the Rev. J. B. Mozley, D.D., edited by his sister [Anne Mozley] (London, 1885), p. 69. Although Pattison says that the house had been taken by Pusey, it seems certain that the scheme was Newman's. See: Letters of the Rev. J. B. Mozley, pp. 69, 75-76, 78.

⁸⁶ Newman, Letters and Correspondence, II, 249. 17 January 1838.

told his sister, as "a reading and collating establishment, to help in editing the Fathers". But for the time being, Mozley was the only occupant. Others were willing enough to join him but they were afraid that by doing so, they would jeopardize their chances in upcoming elections to Fellowships. "And P[attison], who stood at Oriel, and passed a very good examination--the best, as some thought--has a Fellowship at University in prospect, which would be interfered with by joining us, for we shall of course be marked men", Mozley wrote at the end of April. "It would, I have no doubt", he continued, "seriously injure any one's chance at any College now being connected so openly with Newman and Pusey".⁸⁷ He knew from his own experience the truth of what he said. A few months earlier (in November 1837) he had been rejected in an election to a Fellowship by the fervently anti-Tractarian Fellows of Lincoln College on the grounds (unstated, of course) of his known Tractarian sympathies. Newman had been indignant at the result. "The Lincoln men seem to have thought James Mozley a Puseyite", he told Frederick Rogers. "They confessed he was the best man, and elected instead a nephew of Arnold's, which, to their horror, they discovered too late". Of Mozley he said that he was "the first confessor in the cause".⁸⁸ More likely, Mozley's fate was a lesson to other hopeful young men that if they wished to succeed in elections to Fellowships, they had better keep their Tractarian sympathies to themselves.

⁸⁷ Letters of the Rev. J. B. Mozley, p. 78. 27 April 1838.

⁸⁸ Letters and Correspondence of John Henry Newman, II, 247. [29 November] 1837. Letters of the Rev. J. B. Mozley, p. 66.

After the University election in June 1838, Mark had returned to Hauxwell for the summer. But in spite of the fact that he had failed to be elected at both Oriel and University, he was not cast down. On the contrary, he was elated by the results of the winter's work. "I have passed from the deepest depression and self-depreciation, to an overweening confidence", he observed in his diary on 16 July; "I feel as if I could do anything".⁸⁹ Gone was that "oppressive sense of inferiority" that had afflicted him for so long. His mind was invigorated; his confidence in his abilities had been restored. "In short, I stand now on pretty much the same ground as the generality of well educated men--a ground to which I so long despaired of ever attaining", he said, "and with a willingness to work, I am willing to flatter myself[,] greater than the generality".⁹⁰ The credit for this remarkable and uncharacteristic display of self-confidence must be given to Newman. The compliment he had paid Mark after the Oriel election, which had done much to restore Mark's reputation at Oxford (see Mozley's comment above, p. 112), combined with the offer of a place in the house in St. Aldate's, showed that Newman, at least, had recognized something really worthwhile in the young B.A. of Oriel. Such recognition was not only entirely new to Mark's experience, but coming from the most brilliant intellect in the University, it was exhilarating. His admiration for Newman increased day by day.

Shortly after the Balliol election in November 1838, Mark took up the offer Newman had made him and moved into the house in St. Aldate's.

⁸⁹MSP. 6, f. 3. 16 July 1838.

⁹⁰MSP. 6, ff. 3-4. 16 July 1838.

There, in addition to his own reading, he set to work collating manuscripts in the Bodleian for Pusey's Library of the Fathers. On 9 December Newman entrusted him with two tasks: the first was to collate manuscripts for a volume of St. Cyprian, and the second, to translate, from the Latin, a part of Thomas Aquinas's Catena Aurea on the Gospels. Mark was taken by surprise. He had not expected to be given responsibility for such important work: "miror et timeo", he commented nervously in his diary. He thought that Newman was testing him, perhaps, to see what he could do, or else that Newman was merely short-handed.⁹¹ He could not quite believe that Newman had decided that he was really competent for the task. But a month later, the volume of Cyprian was ready for publication. On 9 January 1839, Newman wrote to his sister, Mrs. John Mozley, that it would be out "in a day or two", and assured her that "The treatises on 'Mortality,' on 'Patience,' on 'Envy,' to 'Demetrianus,' and on the 'Lord's Prayer,' are especially touching".⁹² He did not mention Mark's work in collating the manuscripts. Nevertheless, Mark had begun to see more of Newman than ever before; for Newman kept a close eye on Mark's work and visited the house frequently. Mark breakfasted and dined with him, attended his tea-parties regularly at Oriel, and took on extra work when Newman was pressed for time. He heard him preach at St. Mary's, and besides attending services nearly every morning at St. Mary's or Oriel College chapel, he went again sometimes to St. Mary's for the afternoon prayers

⁹¹MSP. 6, f. 62. 9 December 1838.

⁹²Letters and Correspondence of John Henry Newman, II, 278. 9 January 1839.

which Newman had introduced there early in the New Year (on 7 January 1839). Mark, then, was kept busy by the work and activities of the house in St. Aldate's. But there was time and opportunity, too, to pursue interests of his own. He began to learn Hebrew and Italian and to prepare for attempts at the Latin, English, and theological prize essays; and he kept up his reading in Shakespeare, Coleridge, Bishop Berkeley, and Francis Bacon, in poetry of various kinds, and in the current magazines and reviews to be found at the Union. By the end of March he was at work on the second of the two tasks Newman had set him, Aquinas' Catena Aurea on the Gospels. At first he had agreed to undertake two of the commentaries, but soon discovered that the commentary on Matthew was quite enough work in itself and passed on the second (Mark) to another hand. The Catena on Matthew was his first attempt at a work of scholarship for publication. He had to translate Aquinas's commentary, check his numerous citations from the early Fathers, and prepare the whole, with notes, for the press. Looking back on the translation some forty years later, Pattison could see that it wanted revision. But he concluded that the real value of the work had been in acquainting him with "the whole range of patristic bibliography". "Aquinas never gives chapter and verse for his citations; only the name of the Father, sometimes also of the particular work", he observes in the Memoirs. "I hunted up the whereabouts of all the quotations in each case in the best edition of the Fathers", he recalls:

I spent hours and days over the work in the Bodleian, and would not be beat. By the end of 1839 or 1840 I had established quite a Bodleian reputation for finding my way about among the writings of the Fathers, genuine and supposititious. Even Jacobson would come and ask me for

a suggestion.⁹³

Again, Newman kept a close eye on the work (which took nearly the whole of 1839 to complete), but only in the early stages of it; for he soon recognized that Mark had the translation well in hand. Afterwards Pattison recollected with satisfaction that he had been "very much noticed by Newman, who thought I translated better than most".⁹⁴

Mark's residence in the "House" or "Hall" or "monastery", as it was variously called by Mozley and others, was never conceived of as permanent; it was merely a "temporary expedient", the Memoirs say.⁹⁵ Newman's offer of a place in the house had enabled Mark to spend one year more at Oxford at minimum expense to his father. Something had to be done, however, about the future; for he could not go on as he had done, depending on his father's purse and the generosity of such as Newman to maintain him. There seemed to be no chance of a Fellowship, and the law, as a career, was utterly repugnant to him. There was nothing for it but to turn his thoughts elsewhere. So it was that in the spring of 1839 he resigned himself (like so many of his contemporaries) to becoming a country clergyman. "In my present [i.e. religious] frame of mind the idea of pastoral duty was agreeable to me", he recalls in the Memoirs,

⁹³Memoirs, p. 181. William Jacobson (1803-1884), Fellow of Exeter College (1829), had recently published (1838) an edition of the 'Patres Apostolici' (Clement of Rome, Ignatius, and Polycarp) which the DNB calls "a work of great learning". Jacobson was made Regius Professor of Divinity in 1848. DNB, X, 561-562.

⁹⁴Memoirs, p. 182.

⁹⁵Memoirs, p. 180.

"but I was not without a side-glance at the many learned clergymen whom the annals of the Church of England can show as having led a life of study and obscurity in the by-ways of England". Besides, he says, "Being a clergyman's son I knew well the routine of a country clergyman's life".⁹⁶ As he had made up his mind anyway, a year or so before, to take orders, a clergyman's life seemed the natural course to take in the light of his failure to get anything suitable at Oxford. But he thought also of trying to get a position at a school, rather than of simply removing himself to an obscure country curacy. "Is the school at Hereford a good thing . . .?", his mother asked early in April when he had mentioned it in a letter to Hauxwell. She reported that they had been hoping for a suitable schoolmastership at Richmond to become vacant, but the incumbent had decided to stay after all.⁹⁷ Nothing further appeared on the horizon by the time Mark left Oxford for Hauxwell at the end of May. His sisters greeted his home-coming with trepidation because, for some reason not entirely clear, the Rector had become decidedly cool in his attitude to Mark over the past few months. The reason may have been the continuing uncertainty about Mark's future and the consequent drain on his father's purse. At Hauxwell, however, the thing was decided. Mark must be ordained and take a curacy somewhere, but preferably in Yorkshire where his father's connections might be of some use. Mark, in turn, promised his timid but adoring sister Fanny that she might act as his

⁹⁶Memoirs, p. 179.

⁹⁷MSP. 43, f. 246. 3 April 1839.

housekeeper when he had established himself as a curate. At Hauxwell it was thought that Bellerby offered the most likely prospect of an opening. On the edge of Bellerby Moor, not three miles from Hauxwell, Bellerby might as well have been in another world, so remote was it from Mark's beloved University. But to Bellerby it seemed he must go.

Mark returned to Oxford in September 1839 to prepared for ordination. About the middle of October, he left the house in St. Aldate's and took lodgings elsewhere in Oxford. In the Memoirs he says that he had decided to "secede" because he was "discontented with one or two of the inmates".⁹⁸ Mozley, however, had known for some time that Mark would be leaving, and there is no sign that he thought Mark had been discontented.⁹⁹ Besides, the other occupants were leaving also, for a variety of reasons, and by the end of November Mozley was left in sole occupancy. Mark, meanwhile, continued his work for Newman on the Catena Aurea and worked away at Hebrew. On the morning of 4 November, "while I was deep in the Fathers", he was surprised by the sudden appearance at his door of two excited friends: James Mozley, and John Ashworth (of Brasenose), who had rushed round early to his lodgings with the news: "didn't I know that there was a Yorkshire Fellowship at Lincoln, for which the names were to be handed in that very day; several candidates, but none thought formidable".¹⁰⁰ Mark had known, in fact; but, surprisingly,

⁹⁸ Memoirs, p. 182.

⁹⁹ MSP. 59, ff. 78-79.

¹⁰⁰ MSS. Lincoln College, no number, 10 November 1839; Memoirs p. 182.

had done nothing about it--a circumstance he fails to explain, or even to mention, in the Memoirs. "I had hardly read the Advertisement which had appeared in the Herald once or twice", he tells his sister Eleanor, "and I remember mentioning it at home in a slighting sort of way, I hardly can tell now why, but I suppose because I thought it not worth having if I could get it, and that it was most certain they would never elect me".¹⁰¹ Lincoln's reputation was very low in the University in 1839, but he was scarcely in a position to pick and choose among Colleges when the only alternative was a curacy at Bellerby. The thing that probably best explains his otherwise astonishing indifference to the vacancy is that Lincoln was well known as a rigidly anti-Tractarian College. As we have seen above, Mozley had been rejected there in the election of 1837 for his Tractarian sympathies. Mark, who had lived for nearly a year in the same house with Mozley in St. Aldate's would know the circumstances of that election, and the prejudices of the Lincoln Fellows, and would (no doubt) draw his own conclusions about his chances. He had not even discussed the vacancy with Mozley however, assuming, apparently, that his defeat at Lincoln would be a foregone conclusion. Mozley, however, had thought otherwise: together with Ashworth, he convinced Mark "both of the goodness of the thing itself, and the probability of my getting it".¹⁰² Mark did not take long to make up his mind. His diary says that he went off at once to see Newman, and then to the Provost of Oriel to get the

¹⁰¹ MSS. Lincoln College, no number, 10 November 1839.

¹⁰² MSS. Lincoln College, no number, 10 November 1839.

necessary testimonials. While they were being prepared, he walked around Magdalen College grounds with Mozley and another of the younger Tractarians, Charles Seager. At half past four, he handed in his testimonials to the Rector of Lincoln College. He was a candidate certainly, an undeniably strong one; but also, one who was totally unprepared for an examination, and worst of all, a known follower of Newman and Pusey. Fortunately, however, Fellows of Colleges, and especially of Lincoln College, did not often keep up with the doings of the generation that was eventually to replace them. Mark besides, was not in private lodgings, and his address did not arouse suspicion. As for being unprepared, there was little he could do about it. However, as soon as he had handed in his testimonials (he tells Eleanor),

I could do nothing but go home and get up everything which I thought would prove useful; the examination began the next day at 10 and on entering the hall I found to my surprise seven other candidates besides myself--It lasted three days, not very hard in comparison with Balliol--the main part being two English Essays--An Historical one on 'The influence of the discovery of the New World on the state of the Old at the time'--and a Theological one on 'Prophecy'. I had fully made up my mind to be floored again, as I did not think they would have elected me even though I should have passed the best examination--However on Friday morning notwithstanding my resolution, I could not help being horribly nervous all Chapel, and afterwards Mozley and Ryder went to L[incoln] to await the decision which is always made about IX--I could not summon courage to go with them, and so came back to my lodgings ¹⁰³

The diary entry for that momentous day reads in part: "At IX 1/4

Mozley came up to tell me I was elected at Lincoln.--Sanctissime Trinitati

¹⁰³ MSS. Lincoln College, no number, 10 November 1839.

gratiae!".¹⁰⁴ Many years later, Pattison could still recall with delight the simple joy with which he had greeted, shortly afterwards, the formal announcement of his election: "No moment in all my life has ever been so sweet as that Friday morning, 8th November, when Radford's servant came in to announce my election, and to claim his five shillings for doing so", he says; "I had seen with the despair of an excluded Peri all the gates of all the colleges shut against me, and here, in the most unlikely quarter of Oxford, I had really got the thing I had so eagerly desired, I was quite off my head for two or three days . . .".¹⁰⁵

At Hauxwell, where the thing was wholly unexpected, and there had been no time for the weighing-up of odds and the calculation of votes that Mark's father and sisters liked to indulge in, the joy at the news equalled his own. "He wept with joy when he read your letter and I did not know till then how much he loved you in heart", Eleanor said of her father's reaction.¹⁰⁶ A print of Lincoln was "hoisted up" in the dining-room, and the Rector wrote in a flood of generosity and delight, promising to pay all the expenses of rooms and furniture on his son's taking up residence as a Fellow of Lincoln. Had he to go through life again, he said, "and were left to my own choice[,] it is the Career upon which I would enter".¹⁰⁷ His daughters, less nostalgic than their father, were wider awake to the fate Mark had escaped so narrowly: "Farewell to

¹⁰⁴MSP. 7, p. 53. 8 November 1839.

¹⁰⁵Memoirs, p. 183.

¹⁰⁶MSP. 43, f. 264. 12 November 1839.

¹⁰⁷MSP. 61, f. 82. 2 December 1839.

being buried alive, washing at home and Bellerby!" Eleanor exclaimed. "Farewell to Latin grammar brats and a curacy. Farewell a long farewell to melancholy and care".¹⁰⁸ Fanny realized that her brother would not now need her as a housekeeper, and gladly gave up the plan; and Eleanor prophesied that one day Mark would be Rector of his College and would raise it to the level of "one of the best Colleges in the University". She noticed also that there were no Tractarians at Lincoln ("none of 'the leaven' as the B[ritish] C[ritic] would call it--of 'the heresy' as the Record would call it"), and predicted that at his new College, her brother would have to stand alone.¹⁰⁹

After the customary month's probation, Mark was admitted formally as a full Fellow of Lincoln College at noon on Thursday, 5 December 1839.¹¹⁰ Afterwards he went to Oriel College to see the Provost and to take his name off the books. Meanwhile, the Lincoln Fellows discovered that they had made a mistake in choosing their new Fellow, although there was nothing now they could do about it. James Mozley, who had had good reason to feel chagrined at Lincoln's treatment of himself, now took a keen delight in the College's embarrassment at Mark's election. "The Lincoln Fellows are beginning to find out that they have done a precipitate thing", he told his sister, Anne Mozley, a fortnight after the election; "and say that they had no idea of electing a theologian, for which assurance one can give them ample credit, as perhaps it never entered into any of their

¹⁰⁸ MSP. 43, f. 265. 18 November 1839.

¹⁰⁹ MSP. 43, ff. 263, 265. 12 November, 18 November 1839.

¹¹⁰ MSP. 7, pp. 53-54.

heads that Colleges were founded at all for theological purposes".¹¹¹

Newman was particularly pleased. Pattison "would not have stayed up in Oxford but for the House", he told S. F. Wood two days after the election; and in January 1840, he told J. W. Bowden how Lincoln had been "taken in" by Pattison:

To return to Lincoln, after rejecting James Mozley for a fellowship two years since for his opinions, they have been taken in by Pattison this last term, an inmate of the Coenobitium. He happened to stand very suddenly and they had no time to inquire. They now stare in amazement at their feat.¹¹²

Nevertheless, the deed had been done. There was no going back on it; and for good or ill, Mark was launched at last.

¹¹¹Letters of the Rev. J. B. Mozley, p. 94. 24 November 1839.

¹¹²Correspondence of John Henry Newman with John Keble and Others . . . 1839-45, edited at the Birmingham Oratory (London, 1917), pp. 39; 52-53. 10 November 1839; 8 January 1840.

CHAPTER IV

Tractarian at Lincoln 1839-1841

"Talk carries off a good deal of irritation; but
how to make innocent talk?"

J. H. Newman to John Keble¹

On 1 November 1839, three days before Mozley and Ashworth appeared at his door to urge him to stand at Lincoln, Mark had taken up the August issue of the Dublin Review to read an article by Dr. Nicholas Wiseman on 'The Anglican Claim of Apostolical Succession'.² In that article Wiseman drew an analogy between the Donatists of the fourth century and the Anglicans of the nineteenth. He argued that both Donatists and Anglicans, while claiming to be the true inheritors of the Apostolic tradition, had in fact separated themselves from the body of the universal Church and had been rightly judged as schismatic by the whole Church. That judgment could not be controverted, he said, because the question was one of fact and not of right. He claimed that the early Fathers had settled the question for all time during the controversy with the Donatists, when they had concurred in the opinion that "the very circumstance of one particular Church being out of the aggregation of the other Churches, constituted these judges over the other, and left no room for questioning the justice of the condemnation".³

¹Letters and Correspondence of John Henry Newman, II, 347. 23 July, 1841.

²Dublin Review, 7 (1839), 139-180.

³Dublin Review, 7 (1839), p. 153.

Mark read the article through, but made no comment on it in his diary--a sure sign that Wiseman's argument did not impress him. The next day he called on Newman.⁴ But Aquinas, not Wiseman, was the object of the visit. Newman said nothing about the article in the Dublin Review, and Mark did not raise the subject. Together, the two men went over the work on the Catena. Two days later, on 4 November 1839, Mark was in the thick of preparations for the Lincoln Fellowship and for the next few weeks until he left for Hauxwell his mind was preoccupied with the sudden and exciting turn of events in his own life. He paid scarcely any attention to a vague rumour going around at Oxford that Wiseman's article in the Dublin Review had done what nothing had been able to do before. "Newman has had a shake", people said.⁵

That rumour was well-founded. In fact, Newman had been deeply shaken not once, but twice during the summer of 1839. From early in June until the end of August he had immersed himself in a favourite study: the early history of Christian doctrine, particularly in the history of the Monophysite controversy of the fifth century. "It was during this course of reading", he says in the *Apologia*, "that for the first time a doubt came upon me of the tenableness of Anglicanism". All at once it had seemed to him that he saw reflected in the fifth century the fragmented Christendom of the Reformation, and of his own time. "I saw my face in that mirror", he says, "and I was a Monophysite". The position of the Church of England in the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries

⁴MSP. 7, p. 50. 2 November 1839.

⁵Frederick Oakeley, 'Historical Notes of the Tractarian Movement' (in five parts), Dublin Review, new series, 1-3 (1863-65). 1, 494-508 (p. 498).

was analogous to that of the Monophysites in the fifth, whereas "Rome was, where she now is; and the Protestants were the Eutychians".⁶ A few weeks later, "about the middle of September", Robert Williams ("an anxiously religious man") brought him Wiseman's article in the Dublin Review. Newman read it, but "did not see much in it". He knew the history of the Donatists and did not think that a true parallel could be drawn between their case and that of the Anglican Church. He concluded that Wiseman's analogy was unsound. But Robert Williams pointed out to him certain words in a quotation from St. Augustine which Wiseman had used to support his case. "'Securus judicat orbis terrarum'", Augustine had said. Williams, Newman says, "repeated these words again and again, and when he had gone, they kept ringing in my ears". Suddenly, he saw that the ground upon which he had rested his theory of the Church of England was untenable. Antiquity was not alone sufficient for a claim to catholicity once a Church had separated itself from the universal Church. Augustine's words gave a cogency to Wiseman's argument that he had not noticed before. They "decided ecclesiastical questions on a simpler rule than that of Antiquity", he thought, namely, "that the deliberate judgment, in which the whole Church at length rests and acquiesces, is an infallible prescription and a final sentence against such portions of it as protest and secede". "'Securus judicat orbis terrarum!'", he exclaims. "By those great words of the ancient Father, interpreting and summing up the long and varied course of ecclesiastical history, the theory of the Via Media was

⁶ Apologia, p. 108. It is not the doctrines themselves, of course, that Newman is referring to, but the ecclesiastical status of the different parties.

absolutely pulverized".⁷

Shortly afterwards Newman left Oxford on a round of visits to friends. Only a very few heard confidentially what had happened. On 22 September he wrote to Frederic Rogers that Wiseman's article was "the first real hit from Romanism which has happened to me".⁸ Henry Wilberforce heard about it on a walk with Newman in the New Forest, a few days later. He recognized at once the implications of his friend's thinking, and a great fear came upon him "like a thunderstroke". He turned to Newman and said to him in utter simplicity that he hoped Newman "might die rather than take such a step". And Newman replied, "with deep earnestness, that he had thought, if ever the time should come when he was in serious danger, of asking his friends to pray that, if it was not indeed the will of God, he might be taken away before he did it".⁹ "To these men", R. W. Church wrote many years later, "religion really meant the most awful and the most serious personal thing on earth".¹⁰ Newman returned to Oxford and, as he says, "grew calm again". "The heavens had opened and closed again", he writes. "The thought for the moment had been, 'The Church of Rome will be found right after all'; and then it had vanished. My old convictions remained as before". Not quite as before, however; for as he says himself, "He who has seen a ghost, cannot be as if he had never seen it".¹¹

⁷Apologia, pp. 110-111.

⁸Letters and Correspondence of John Henry Newman, II, 286.

⁹Letters and Correspondence of John Henry Newman, II, 287.

¹⁰Church, The Oxford Movement, p. 21

¹¹Apologia, p. 111.

At Oxford again, Newman found himself at the centre of a scandal. The cause of it was a well-known Oxford character and Fellow of Exeter College, John Brande Morris. Morris belonged to the new, younger generation in the Tractarian movement "who knew nothing", Newman says, "about the Via Media, but had heard much about Rome". He was openly enthusiastic about all things Roman and frankly critical of everything Anglican. He was devoid of tact and careless of the consequences of his avowals, both for himself and for others. But he was congenial, exuberant, thoroughly likeable, and a good, if eccentric, scholar. He had agreed very readily to take the services at St. Mary's in Newman's absence. Why Newman chose him is a mystery, because he knew what Morris was like and what he was likely to do. But he had contented himself with a caution, and thought no more about it. However, upon his return to Oxford, he realized at once that he had made a mistake. The Vice-Chancellor of the University was in high dudgeon at what he had heard in the University pulpit in Newman's absence, and without a word to Newman (who was the Vicar of St. Mary's), he had withdrawn his family from attendance at the services. For, on two successive occasions, Morris had taken advantage of his position to air his own theories about Christian doctrine before a captive audience of the Vice-Chancellor and Heads of Houses. "What does he do on St. Michael's day [29 September]", Newman tells J. W. Bowden in November, shortly after his return to Oxford,

but preach a sermon, not simply on angels, but on his one subject, for which he has a monomania, of fasting; nay, and say that it was a good thing, whereas angels feasted on festivals, to make the brute creation fast on fast days: so I am told. May he (salvis ossibus suis) have a fasting horse the next time he goes steeples-chasing. Well, this was not all. You may conceive how

the Heads of Houses, Cardwell, Gilbert, &c. fretted under this; but the next Sunday he gave them a more extended exhibition, si quid possit. He preached to them, totidem verbis, the Roman doctrine of the Mass; and, not content with that, added, in energetic terms, that every one was an unbeliever, carnal, and so forth, who did not hold it. To this he added other speculations of his own still more objectionable.¹²

There is something to smile at in all of this. But no one was amused, for Morris was not alone in the views he espoused and neither Newman nor Pusey on the one hand, nor the University authorities on the other, quite knew what to do about this new phenomenon. The younger generation of Tractarians was taking the direction of the movement out of the hands of the older. Such men as William George Ward, Frederick Oakeley, Frederick Faber, John Dobrée Dalgairns, J. B. Morris himself, and the equally eccentric Charles Seager, seemed to have made up their minds already about the course the movement ought to follow. They waited impatiently for Newman to give the lead. If he were slow to act upon the logical consequences of his thinking, which they seemed to have decided already could lead nowhere if not to Rome, they would urge him on. Failing that, they would take the reins into their own hands. That is why Newman had even more reason to be anxious about the effect of Wiseman's article on his thinking. Should it become known that he had had "a shake" and had thought for an instant that Rome would "be found right after all", there would be no restraining the more eager and less prudent younger generation among the Tractarians. "It does certainly come upon one that we are not at the bottom of things", he had told Frederic Rogers (afterwards, Lord

¹²Letters and Correspondence of John Henry Newman, II, 291.

Blachford) in September, when confiding to him the effect Augustine's words had had on him. "At this moment we have sprung a leak; and the worst of it is that those sharp fellows, Ward, Stanley, and Co. will not let me go to sleep upon it".¹³ His judgment was correct, as events were to show. Ward especially (for Stanley soon left Oxford for Germany and Greece) delighted to pounce on any new development in Newman's thinking that seemed to confirm his own view that the movement must lead by an inherent logic to union with Rome. The knowledge that Newman had lost confidence, even for a moment, in the theory of the Via Media would be enough to give Ward his head. Newman was aware of the danger, but aware also that his own doubts made him less able to deal with it. "Nothing was clearer concerning them", he writes of the new generation in the movement, "than that they needed to be kept in order; and on me who had had so much to do with the making of them, that duty was as clearly incumbent; and it is equally clear . . . that I was just the person, above all others, who could not undertake it".¹⁴ These, however, were the men--Ward, Morris, Seager, Dalgairns, and Oakeley--in whose company Mark Pattison would be found most often during the next six years. Their thinking was avowedly "Romanist" in its tendencies; their activities would sow confusion in the ranks of the movement, raise a growing clamour in Oxford and out of it, and cause the original leaders, Newman, Pusey, and Keble, no little trouble and anxiety. Already, in November 1839, Newman had begun to prepare his friends for the trouble ahead. "People are getting stronger you see without knowing it", he told S. F. Wood on 10

¹³ Letters and Correspondence of John Henry Newman, II, 286. 22 September 1839.

¹⁴ Apologia, p. 151.

November. "Soon they will be swimming in hot water--and it will do no good to say 'Take me out,' when parboiled".¹⁵ "The prospect is gloomy", he wrote to his sister, Mrs. John Mozley, a few days later. "The Heads of Houses are getting more and more uneasy. I should not wonder if the Bishop got uneasy, in which case I suppose I should resign the living; and I expect the country clergy will be getting uneasy". Moreover, the edition of the Fathers was another source of anxiety. "For certain persons will not find them just what they expected", he wrote. "People seem to have thought they contained nothing but doctrines of Baptismal Regeneration, Apostolical Succession, Canonicity of Scripture, and the like. Hence many have embraced the principle of appeal to them with this view. Now they are beginning to be undeceived".¹⁶ Such then, in Newman's view, was the state of things within the Tractarian movement on 17 November 1839, nine days after Mark's election as the new Fellow of Lincoln College.

That election took Oxford by surprise. No one had expected that the Lincoln Fellows would elect a known follower of Newman and Pusey to their Common Room. But Mark's friends were delighted. "Cards, notes, and shakes by the hand have flowed in an uninterrupted stream since Friday, hardly now exhausted", he wrote to Eleanor on 10 November; "and even among the rascally cooks and scouts etc. there are some whose pleasure partakes, I am sure, of something more than the prospect of a bottle of wine to drink my health in".¹⁷ For all the rejoicing, however, Mark knew that he had

¹⁵ Correspondence of John Henry Newman with John Keble and Others, p. 39.

¹⁶ Letters and Correspondence of John Henry Newman, II, 292.

¹⁷ MSS. Lincoln College, no number, 10 November 1839.

not got in at a good College. Lincoln's reputation was very low in 1839. Its only distinction seemed to be that Richard Michell was an outstanding tutor. Mark was optimistic, however. "And if I have not got into one of the most brilliant Colleges in the University", he told Eleanor, "there will be the more room for me to exert myself for it's [sic] benefit-- and to strive if the place does not do honour to me that I may do honour to the place".¹⁸ But he would have his work cut out for him, if we are to judge by the description of the Lincoln Common Room that he gave to Eleanor two days after his election. "Every College has it's [sic] peculiar character distinct enough to those who have seen, but impossible to convey by words", he told her:

If you divide the Oxford Common Rooms into three classes, the first containing those whose members are Scholars and Divines--the second, which are fashionable, aristocratically inclined men of the world--the third unfashionable good homely squires, barristers, and country parsons--Oriel may be the instance of the first--Merton or All Souls of the second--and Lincoln will represent the third--To be more particular--The corporeal stature of the Fellows is large--their intellectual small--with the exception of Mitchell [Michell], the new Professor of Logic, one of the first men in the University according to Oxford estimate of men--also one or two of the Junior Fellows, who have been elected since strict examinations came up. But the studies and thoughts of the older ones are rather those of the good old days of 'Tory ascendancy', than of the reform era--the days of O'Connell, Mr. Frost¹⁹ and Newman. They are of the Port and Prejudice school--better read in Hawker on Shooting, Burn's Justice, or 'Every Man his own Butler,' than in Hooker or St. Augustine. To explain the Gilbert Act, to get near partridges in January, to effect a tithe Composition and to choose a pipe of wine, to anathematize L[or]d Melbourne and Co, none surpass them. A competent knowledge of (at least English) history, and a moderate taste for antiquities are general accomplishments--and the Rector's collection of Engravings is the first in Oxford--a praise which is extended

¹⁸ MSS. Lincoln College, no number, 10 November 1839.

¹⁹ John Frost, the Chartist, one of the leaders of the Newport rebellion of 4 November 1839.

with still greater unanimity to his stock of wines. However I never was inclined (and am less so now than ever) to think all men fools who are not philosophers--Let those study and theorize who have the turn for it--but the world must be carried on, and mere intellect is accordingly justly rated in the world as a qualification very secondary to those of station, fortune, knowledge of the world, businesslike habits, power of conversation etc. They have been very civil and good natured to me though with the exception of two or three Junior Fellows, they are all so much older than I am, that I cannot look forward to their being much of companions for me--and this is of less consequence, as my long sojourn in Oxford has provided me with a large circle of acquaintance throughout the University. However, I hope by falling into their ways, and entering into their business and their fun, to get in course of time an influence which I may use for the benefit of the College.²⁰

These were Mark's thoughts about the Lincoln Common Room on 10 November 1839, two days after his election. They are an instance of a remarkable perspicacity that we have noticed before, such that he was able to discern almost at once the strengths and weaknesses of his new College, as he had done in 1832 when he had been able to give his father an accurate assessment of the intellectual condition of Oriel College on a mere fortnight's acquaintance.

Mark left Oxford for Hauxwell at the end of the Michaelmas term, early in December 1839. One may imagine the excitement that greeted his arrival at the Rectory, where a print of Lincoln College had been "hoisted up" in the dining room and the Rector could talk of scarcely anything but his "dear, dear boy" who, at last, was really Fellow of an Oxford College. There is no record, however, of what passed at Hauxwell during that Christmas vacation. Certainly, it must have been a happy time, if we are

²⁰ MSS. Lincoln College, no number, 10 November 1839. Quoted (in part) in V. H. H. Green, A History of Oxford University (London, 1974), p. 164.

to judge by Mark's letters to his father upon his return to Lincoln at the end of January 1840. 'Hoping "the pigs is well the cows is well, and the boys is bobbish"', is the lively conclusion to one letter.²¹ "I suppose you took it for granted that the jollity of the Christmas Vacation would bring me down again at Easter", he writes on 8 April; "if so, I am sorry to have disappointed the yearnings of your paternal bowels for the company of your firstborn, but however you will not have to be unhappy on that score long". He cannot be at Hauxwell for Easter, but he will surely be there for the summer.²² There was one pressing matter, however, that had to be attended to. The College statutes required that he be ordained within the year if he were to retain his Fellowship. "I am absolutely bound to be ordained this summer", he told his father on 16 March, "the statutes being so strict upon this subject, that unless lawful cause is shewn to the contrary--there is no alternative but immediate ordination or deprivation".²³ There was no objection from Hauxwell to ordination. All scruples had vanished, it seems, in the light of Mark's new and obvious seriousness about his religion. Mark urged his father to arrange without delay for a dispensation, for he wished to be ordained at Richmond, in Yorkshire, rather than at Oxford. The matter was soon settled. At the end of term in May, he went to London to meet the Bishop of ^{Ripon}~~Richmond~~ for a preliminary examination, and was ordained deacon at Richmond in mid-July.²⁴ He passed

²¹MSS. Sparrow, undated [winter/spring 1840].

²²MSS. Sparrow, 8 April [1840].

²³MSS. Sparrow, 16 March [1840].

²⁴MSS. Sparrow, 16 March [1840], 8 April [1840].

the remainder of the summer at Hauxwell and in September returned to Lincoln. All had gone well at Hauxwell and at Lincoln he settled in to begin his second year, now feeling secure in his Fellowship. That year, however, was to be a turning point in his relationship with the Tractarian movement. For it was during that year (1840-41) that he began to meet regularly and often with that younger party in the movement that had begun to take over the reins from Newman.

"Our young anti-Anglicans", Newman called them in a letter to J. W. Bowden on 6 November 1840.²⁵ They were keenly interested in Continental Roman Catholicism and in making contact with Roman Catholics in England. Newman was not interested in such things. "I do not think anything great of the Continental churches, as you seem to think, or of the Roman Catholics at home", he told Bowden in the same letter. But his younger disciples, such as William George Ward, Frederick Oakeley, J. B. ("Jack") Morris, Charles Seager, and J. R. Bloxam had developed a strong admiration for the Continental Churches. They were eager to make contact with Roman Catholics in France, Belgium, and Italy. Bloxam, especially, had been cultivating Roman Catholic clergy in Belgium and France. The response he met with had been generally favourable and sometimes enthusiastic. The "Puseyistas" (as they were known in Italy)²⁶ had aroused a keen interest

²⁵ Letters and Correspondence of John Henry Newman, II, 315.

²⁶ "Catholicus es?" said the priest [at Milan] to one of the travellers. "Utique, Domine, sum Catholicus." "Catholicus, non Romanus?" said the priest in evident surprise. Then . . . he exclaimed, as if having hit the point, "Ah, Puseyista forsan!". Oakeley, 'Historical Notes of the Tractarian Movement', Dublin Review, new series, 2 (1864), 164-179 (p. 173).

on the Continent in developments at Oxford. Bloxam kept his friends, such as Ward, Oakeley, and Morris, and Newman also, well informed about what was thought about their movement abroad. Such widespread interest and encouragement must mean that what they were engaged in was really worthwhile. It was the sort of thing that made it even more difficult for Newman to exert a restraining influence when and where it was needed.

These men, then, led chiefly by Ward at Oxford, and with the enthusiastic encouragement of Ward's friend Oakeley in London, went along more or less on their own steam, acknowledging generally Newman's leadership, using his ideas to support their own conclusions, but on the whole impatient of restraint. They "cut into the original Movement at an angle", Newman says, "fell across its line of thought, and then set about turning that line in its own direction".²⁷ The implication is plain. What they discovered was a clear and congenial tendency in Newman's thinking in the direction of Rome, almost, it may be said, before Newman himself had become aware of it. And because it was Newman's thinking, after all, that was the foundation of their own, they could fairly claim Newman's authority for the conclusions at which they arrived, as a result of a consistent and logical development based on Newman's premises. Ward, especially, who cared nothing for history and was devoted to logic, asked only that he be allowed to take Newman's premises to their fullest logical consequences. He questioned Newman persistently at every new step in his own thinking, and at a time, too, when Newman, because of his doubts, was especially vulnerable. When, as it often happened, Newman could not but

²⁷ Apologia, p. 151.

assent to the logic of Ward's arguments, Ward broadcast the news at once that he had Newman's authority for his latest declarations. So it came to pass that Ward and his party, and not Newman, took the initiatives at Oxford; and, because they were his disciples, Newman, not Ward, was largely blamed, by Tractarian and non-Tractarian alike, for the consequences. "I was in great perplexity", Newman says, "and hardly knew where I stood; I took their part; and, when I wanted to be in peace and silence, I had to speak out, and I incurred the charge of weakness from some men, and of mysteriousness, shuffling, and underhand dealing from the majority".²⁸

Ward and his friends met very often in Morris's rooms in the tower at Exeter College, next door to Lincoln. They were a lively group and fine company of an evening. On 13 October 1840, shortly after his return to Oxford from Hauxwell, Mark tells Eleanor: "I have just come back (8 1/2) from a very pleasant party in Exeter--I do not remember when I have laughed so much Indeed the good stories I have heard tonight would fill several sheets, if I had time to write them".²⁹ On the thirty-first of the same month, R. W. Church wrote an account of one of those parties for Frederic Rogers. Church had not been present on the occasion, but he visited the Tower often and knew well the sort of thing that went on there. The information he gives Rogers he has by report. "Jack Morris had invited the rest of the 'Mountain' (Newman's name for them) i.e. Ward, Bloxam, and Bowyer,³⁰ to dine with him in the Tower and 'talk strong'" he tells Rogers;

²⁸ Apologia, p. 152.

²⁹ MSS. Lincoln College, EE, 13 October [1840].

³⁰ (Sir) George Bowyer (1811-1883), who became a distinguished barrister and jurist, a Roman Catholic in 1850, and a lifelong friend to Newman. DNB, II, 989-990.

and to their delight Bloxam brought Pugin as his umbra. Ward is said to have repeatedly jumped up and almost screamed in ecstasy at what was said, and Bowyer and Pugin had a fight about Gothic and Italian architecture; but what else took place I know not These theological συμποσίου[symposia] up in the Tower, where they "talk strong," as Morris says, and laugh till their heads are dizzy, are ticklish things. I met Gooch³¹ up there yesterday, and had to defend myself for thinking Hooker not merely a respectable person, but a Catholic divine, and entitled to be looked up to as a teacher ³²

Unlike Church, Mark seemed to have no qualms about the exuberant discussions that were carried on in the tower. He enjoyed the fun. In fact, he was in such good spirits throughout the term that he decided to forego the Christmas trip to Hauxwell and to remain in College. He explained to a disappointed Eleanor that besides the attraction of solitude during the vacation, "the long unbroken mornings, and the still solitary evenings when one can wrap oneself in visions of past times and of great and good men", he had much to keep him occupied.³³ There was the printing of the Catena, now underway, to be watched over, and a number of audits and dinners in College at which he should like to be present. The fact is, however, that he was happy at Oxford and liked to be among his friends. He wished also to become familiar with the routine and duties of a Fellow's life at Lincoln. Early in December, for example, he went with John Calcott, a senior Fellow and chaplain of St. Michael's Church, to a churchwarden's Christmas dinner. "It was very good fun", he told Eleanor, "and the worthies enjoyed it very well too, for we did not break up till 11".³⁴

³¹ Apparently, Frederick Gooch (1804-1887), Fellow of All Souls (1828-1854).

³² Life and Letters of Dean Church, pp. 27-28.

³³ MSS. Lincoln College, A, [December 1840].

³⁴ MSS. Lincoln College, A, [December 1840].

With James Thompson, another senior Fellow, he went through the market "to see the [Christ]mas beef", and twice dined on oysters in Thompson's rooms.³⁵ He read prayers and preached at St. Michael's and at All Saints Churches, went skating often on the Cherwell, on Worcester College pond, and on the Isis, which (perhaps because it was "most unpoetically thronged with cads"),³⁶ made him long for the winter's solitude of Hauxwell: "I thought the whole time of New-found-England Pond, and the enjoyment I had in skating there one whole day last winter alone with the wild-ducks and pine-trees".³⁷ Meanwhile, besides looking over the Catena, he worked on an essay for the Denyer Theological Prize, and, just before Christmas, received from Charles Meredith, the Bursar of Lincoln College, the grand sum of nine pounds and fifteen shillings, "the first fruits of my Fel[lowship]".³⁸ On Christmas Eve he went to Magdalen at Bloxam's invitation to join in the revels that Bloxam had organized there. The next morning he assisted Newman at the Communion in St. Mary's, went to Queen's College in the afternoon to see "the ceremony of the Boar's Head", and ended the day quietly with a traditional Christmas dinner in the company of his colleagues in the Lincoln Common Room.³⁹ Little did he know then, that it was to be his last happy Christmas for many years.

Since September 1840 Mark had spent a great deal of time in the

³⁵MSP. 7, pp. 65, 67-68.

³⁶MSS. Lincoln College, A, [December 1840].

³⁷MSS. Lincoln College, A, [December 1840], B [28 December 1840].

³⁸MSP. 7, p. 67. 23 December 1840.

³⁹MSS. Lincoln College, B, [28 December 1840].

company of men such as Ward, Morris, and Bloxam, but this did not mean that he shared their views with respect to the outcome of the movement. Unlike his friends, Mark was not what was called a "Romanist" in 1840, nor even for the most part of 1841.⁴⁰ His position was thoroughly within the Anglican tradition as that tradition had been expounded by the Tractarians for the past seven years. That is to say, he held to the view that the Church of England was truly one with the Catholic Church of ancient times, that the Anglican divines had carried on the tradition handed down from the Fathers, and that the Church of Rome was guilty of having corrupted that tradition by diluting it, or diverting it, or adding to it for its own fixed purposes. In other words, he maintained the theory that the Church of England was the true "Via Media" between the Church of Rome and outright Protestantism. He was not aware that the theory, in Newman's mind at least, had been "absolutely pulverized" a year since by Augustine's "palmary words". In December 1840 Mark was still soundly Anglican. There can be no doubt that this was the case. The fact is plain enough from a letter he wrote to Eleanor in December 1840 in reply to a query she had put to him. She wanted to know what she was to understand by the Church, and how she was to be guided in reading the Scriptures. Mark was delighted by her interest: "if anything could have shaken my resolution or made me regret by choice [of Oxford for the Christmas vacation] it was the thought of the interest you seem to be taking in the Church of the Fathers", he told her. But what was the Church, and where was its voice? "Clearly not this or that minister, the Rev[eren]d A. B. or C. wh[ich] seems to be y[ou]r

⁴⁰The impression given by the Memoirs (pp. 184-185) is misleading. He did not give way to a "fury of zeal" at this time, nor was he "loudly prominent" in Tractarian "demonstrations" during 1840 and 1841.

difficulty", he wrote. She was to look for "a general uniformity of view, a consistent body of doctrine, existing both in the books of the Fathers, and in the minds of the members of the Church--no one article of wh[ich] perhaps has not at some time or other been questioned by some one--but which in it's [sic] main outlines, in it's [sic] general character is clearly Catholic". "You can be at no loss to trace this through the Church in all ages", he told her, "and to mark off the diverging lines of what in it's [sic] general tone is uncatholic". He urged her, then, to commit herself--"heart and soul . . . in faith--not standing carping and enquiring at the door, waiting till you have all made plain and smooth to your footsteps--wh[ich] will never be"--to the Catholic tradition as represented by the Anglican divines. "Cast in your lot with Nelson, Kettlewell, Ken, Patrick, Taylor, Hooker[,] Sanderson", he tells her,

with the great mass of the English clergy under the Stewarts, whose sentiments there is no doubt about--as to their general tone--though perhaps there may be endless diversities between them in particulars. And embracing heartily, and with fixed purpose of practising accordingly this system, go to the N[ew] T[estament]--and there, and to such a mind, (and to such only) Scripture ceases to have that character of vagueness and ambiguity wh[ich] seems to belong to it.⁴¹

Mark had already recognized a real intellectual ability in Eleanor and had taken a close interest in her education. She, on her part, had submitted eagerly to his advice and had made real progress under his tutoring. It is no surprise, then, that she was influenced also by his views on religion.

⁴¹MSS. Lincoln College, A, [December 1840]. Robert Nelson (1656-1715), John Kettlewell (1653-1695), Thomas Ken (1637-1711), Simon Patrick (1625-1707), Jeremy Taylor (1613-1667), Richard Hooker (1553-1600), Robert Sanderson (1587-1663). Nelson, Kettlewell, and Ken were Nonjurors, although Nelson conformed in 1710.

She took his advice to heart and by the beginning of 1841 was as fervent a Tractarian as any to be found at Oxford. Her sisters followed her example; and so it was that the Oxford Movement came in full measure to the traditionally Evangelical household at Hauxwell. The consequences of its arrival we shall see presently.

The first six months or so of 1841 passed off quietly for Mark Pattison. In January and February, for example, he was busy supervising the printing of the Catena, going over the proofs in the Bodleian, with Newman also, and checking the notes. Meanwhile, he kept up his own reading, continued to work on the essay for the Denyer prize, and carried out various clerical duties that were assigned to him: reading prayers and preaching at All Saints, for instance, and conducting his first christening there on 7 January. The notes he made on his reading during the first few months of 1841, however, show that a change was occurring in his outlook. As the year progressed he became more and more interested in the history of the Middle Ages. It was an interest he shared with a growing number of the younger members of the movement and with Newman also. But Mark's idea of what constituted the Middle Ages, the so called "ages of faith", was a naive and romantic one. Those characteristics, too, he shared with his friends. He remarks at one point in his diary that as a "Churchman", he had looked "with wonder and veneration to the chivalry of the nobles and the piety of the clergy and the religious feeling of the laity in the middle ages".⁴² Had he known them better, however, he would have realized

⁴²MSP. 6, f. 97. 19 January 1841.

that the Middle Ages was as controversial, as perplexing, and in some ways as sceptical a period as his own. But in 1841 it is not to be expected that Mark should view the Middle Ages in the light that has since been thrown on them by the industry and insights of modern scholars. In 1841, in spite of what the novels of Sir Walter Scott had done to arouse an interest in the period, the Middle Ages were still widely regarded as a time of darkness and superstition. What is significant, then, is Mark's veneration of the period as a time when the Christian Church most nearly approached the ideal at every level of society. Clearly, there is something in that attitude which implies a criticism of the Reformation. For, in the popular view of 1841, the Reformation had been undertaken to rid Christianity forever of what was called "medieval" superstition and claptrap. In the popular mind (and that includes the minds of many persons at Oxford, even of such as the Heads of Houses), the Church of Rome alone in the West had withstood a just and true Reformation, and had been conducting itself since that time much as it had ever done. For a long time, Newman and the Tractarians generally had held that view also. For them, the primitive Church (that is to say, the Church of the Fathers), was the true and uncorrupted Church from which the Church of England was legitimately and lineally descended--even though, according to the Tractarians, it had forgotten for a time that essential fact of its own history. Even after 1839, when Newman first began to doubt whether the claims he had made for Anglicanism were historically and doctrinally sound, he still regarded the Church of Rome as having been, and being still, guilty of corrupted doctrines and practices. Not for another three and a half years would he feel free to retract his "hard sayings" against Rome. Mark Pattison's

growing fascination with the Middle Ages, then, is a significant step in the course of his religious experience. For it shows not only that he was becoming critical of the Reformation, and therefore less "Protestant" and even less Anglican, but (more importantly) that he was being influenced in his thinking by the company he was keeping. He had begun to lean towards the view espoused by his "Romanizing" friends that the Reformation had been a disaster for the Church Catholic, not the heroic cleansing he had been brought up to view it as, because it had destroyed the great and noble flowering of the Catholic ideal that was to be discovered now, only in the history of the Middle Ages. As yet, however, he had not wholly adopted this new view of European history. But during the first six months of 1841, as he read more deeply in the history of the medieval period, his fascination with it grew and his attitude changed steadily. By the end of the summer of 1841, and after long deliberation, he had become an ardent admirer of the medieval Church.

On Saturday, 27 February 1841, Newman published the last and most famous of the Oxford Tracts, Tract No. 90, an essay on the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England. It had been ready for the press for more than a month and was dated ("rather ominously", Frederick Oakeley said afterwards)⁴³ on 25 January 1841, the feast of the Conversion of St. Paul. Newman had thought that the new Tract would be received without any trouble, but Tract 90 caused a sensation. Newman was condemned out of hand in the press and at public meetings. The series of Tracts that had given the movement its name was brought abruptly to an end. By the end of the

⁴³Oakeley, 'Historical Notes of the Tractarian Movement', Dublin Review, new series, I (1863), 494-508 (p. 502).

year bishop after bishop had pronounced against the Tract and Newman had lost nearly every hope of his being able in conscience to continue as a priest of the Church of England. Tract 90 had been his undoing.

We do not know what Mark Pattison thought of the most famous of the Oxford Tracts. The Memoirs are silent on the subject, there is nothing about it in his diaries and notebooks, and in March 1841, in one of his letters to Eleanor, only a brief reference to the controversy that followed its publication. He tells her merely that the Heads of Houses have formally condemned the Tract.⁴⁴ There is nothing more; no air of crisis, no sense that he had anything at stake in the controversy, none of the excitement to be found in a Ward or an Oakeley, or in a host of other persons both in and out of Oxford, Tractarian and non-Tractarian alike, at this time. In fact, all Oxford was seething with controversy. "If, during the month which followed [the Tract's] appearance you had happened to enter any common room in Oxford between the hours of six and nine in the evening, you would have been safe to hear some ten or twenty voices eloquent on the subject of Tract 90", Oakeley recalls some twenty years after the event. "If you had happened to pass two heads of houses", he continues, "or tutors of colleges, strolling down High Street in the afternoon, or returning from their walk over Magdalen Bridge, a thousand to one but you would have caught the words 'Newman' and 'Tract 90'".⁴⁵ He is not exaggerating; the picture he gives is very nearly the true one. James Mozley, for example, reported to his sister that a hundred copies

⁴⁴MSS. Lincoln College, no number [March 1841].

⁴⁵Oakeley, 'Historical Notes on the Tractarian Movement', Dublin Review, new series, I (1863), 494-508 (p. 502).

of the Tract were sold at Oxford on the first day of publication. The word had spread like wild-fire. Edition after edition of the Tract was called for within days rather than weeks or months. For Newman's essay on the Thirty-nine Articles had frightened and infuriated not only those who had all along been suspicious of Tractarian motives, but the University authorities also. "Those who have always thought the Articles ultra Protestant, and been accustomed to think so ever since they were born", Mozley observed on 13 March 1841, two weeks after the Tract's appearance,

are naturally horrified at the idea that even their stronghold does not protect them, and that the wolf may come in and devour them any day. The Heads have accordingly met, and very furious they were. The first day, I hear on good authority, some of them could not condescend even to a regular discussion of the question, so entirely had their vague apprehensions overpowered their faculties.⁴⁶

Yet, in spite of the fuss and the engagement of his friends in the controversy, Mark Pattison appears to have been quite unaffected by it all. In his letter to Eleanor he mentioned only in passing the condemnation of the Tract by the Heads of Houses. He goes on then to say that he cannot be at Hauxwell for Easter, to ask after his mother's health, and to report the illness of one of his friends, Charles Marriott. He ends the letter with a short account of a run in a wherry down the Isis in the company of two other Oxford acquaintances: "fancy us laying [sic] on the grass, inhaling the divine weed, and inbibing much 'Rhein-wein'" he says "and producing the most ingenious extravagances in the way of talk that our imaginations could suffest".⁴⁷ There is not a hint, however, that Tract 90

⁴⁶ Letters of the Rev. J. B. Mozley, p. 113.

⁴⁷ MSS. Lincoln College, no number [March 1841].

formed any part of their conversations.

It is not like Mark to ignore matters of such great moment at Oxford as the controversy over Newman's Tract. There must be some explanation. There is, in fact, but it is not apparent at once. In the first place, there can be no doubt that he was well aware of all the issues in the controversy and of the measures being taken at Oxford to deal with Newman. In the second place, although it is clear from his diary that he wrote often to Eleanor during the winter and spring of 1841, only one of those letters seems to have survived, that dated March 1841 and referred to above several times. Likewise, for the same period there is only one letter extant from Mark to his father. That was written on 12 February 1841, two weeks before the appearance of Tract 90. It is safe to assume, then, that a number of Mark's letters to Hauxwell have not survived from this period. However, one may not conclude from this that those letters were largely concerned with the subject of Tract 90. In the first place, the fact that Mark makes no reference to the controversy in his diaries and notebooks for this period suggests that he did not feel that he was personally concerned with the outcome, strange as that feeling might seem to those who are aware of his connection with Newman. In the second place, there is a clue, not a large one, but an important one nevertheless, in the one letter to Eleanor that has survived. It would seem to support the view that in the first six months or so of 1841, when the uproar at Oxford was at its height, Mark really did regard the controversy with something like detachment. "My dear E[leanor]", he writes two to three weeks after the appearance of Tract 90,

You have probably seen by the papers the stir that
No. 90. has made in the world, so you may like to know

the issue as far as the University is concerned--the [undecipherable] of Golgotha has fallen at last--a formal condemnation by the board of heads of the mode of interpretation of the Articles inculcated in their Tract.⁴⁸

The clue is the one word "their". He does not speak of "Newman's Tract", or "our Tract", or even "the Tract", but "their Tract". The inference is plain. The dispute over Tract 90 is "their" dispute, that is to say, Newman's and Ward's and Oakeley's and of others like them. The charge against the Tract is that it has attempted to put a "Romanist" and anti-Protestant interpretation on the Articles, and that the writer has done so in a devious and underhanded fashion. Mark's views were not Romanist at the time of the appearance of Tract 90. Ward's and Oakeley's and Morris's were. They loudly praised the Tract at every opportunity. For the moment, however, Mark stayed on the sidelines. He sympathized with his friends but did not espouse their views. He needed time to consider and to reflect. Ward might proclaim to all and sundry that No. 90 supported what Ward had been saying all along; the Heads might condemn the Tract for saying what it did not say; but Mark would wait until he had made up his own mind. It was a habit that was born of years of self-education and self-criticism. For the time being, then, Tract 90 was "their Tract".

Meanwhile, the controversy over Tract 90 became, as Alice (that child of Oxford) might say, "furiouser and furiouser". Newman had known that, in testing the Articles to see how much they would bear by way of a Catholic interpretation, he was engaging in a risky venture. "I know it is a hazardous experiment,--like proving cannon", he had written to Keble

⁴⁸MSS. Lincoln College, no number [March 1841]. "Golgotha" was University slang for the meeting place of the Heads of Houses.

in the previous October. "Yet we must not take it for granted that the metal will burst in the operation. It has borne at various times, not to say at this time, a great infusion of Catholic truth without damage".⁴⁹ But this time the cannon had burst, and Newman, unlike Ward, had been totally unprepared for the explosion. What he had wished to show in Tract 90, what he believed for his own sake and the sake of others he had to show, was that the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England would bear a Catholic interpretation; and not only that, but that, in response to an historical necessity, they had been purposely framed so as to bear just such an interpretation from the beginning; and that such an interpretation was legitimate, and was within the authentic tradition of Catholic teaching that stretched back to the Church of the Fathers, from which the Church of England claimed to derive her legitimacy and authority. What he found instead was that the Church of England in his day was not patient of such a Catholic interpretation of the Articles. There was a "sudden storm of indignation", he writes.⁵⁰ "Popery", it was said, was finally unmasked at Oxford. The Tract's argument was forced, its critics said; and not only that, but deliberately ambiguous and disingenuous. Newman was accused of dishonesty. He was said to have concealed his real meaning in the Tract under a veil of rhetoric, skillfully woven. Shiftiness, duplicity, double-dealing were all charges laid at his doorstep. The reasoning behind the Tract's argument was largely ignored. The attacks were levelled at Newman personally. His argument was subtle: that alone was enough to arouse

⁴⁹Apologia, pp. 126-127.

⁵⁰Apologia, p. 87

suspicion in a nation that prided itself on the supposed national virtues of truthfulness, frankness, openness, and honesty. Subtlety of thought was something very nearly dishonest and not unlike lying. And so the charge against Newman stuck. "Whether wilful or self-deceived, these men are Jesuits", said the young Charles Kingsley in a letter to his mother, "taking the oath to the Articles with moral reservations which allow them to explain them away in senses utterly different from those of their authors. All the worst doctrinal features of Popery Mr. Newman professes to believe in".⁵¹ Not for another twenty-three years, when Kingsley himself publicly accused Newman of deceit and equivocation, and the ensuing dispute became a cause célèbre, was Newman able finally to clear himself of all such imputations in the Apologia Pro Vita Sua.

Tract 90, however, had not been intended primarily for the Kingsleys of this world, nor indeed for the Heads of Houses, nor for the C. P. Golightlys who set about so assiduously to stir up the hornet's nest at Oxford. The Tract was addressed primarily to those in the second generation of the Oxford Movement who were in doubt about their position with respect to the Articles, who had made their doubts known to Newman and who, as it seemed to him, might take it into their heads to abandon their Church for the Church of Rome were something not done, and done quickly, to answer their doubts and difficulties. Such men--Ward, Oakeley, Morris, Seager, and their like--were (like Hurrell Froude before them) strongly critical of the Reformation and wished to be assured that the Church of England was not a child of that great epoch, but a constant and faithful daughter of

⁵¹Apologia, p. viii, quoted by the editor, Martin J. Svaglic, from The Life and Works of Charles Kingsley, 19 vols (London, 1902), I, 59.

the Church of the Fathers. Failing that assurance, the likelihood was that they would turn to the Roman Catholic Church as the only true descendant in the West of the early Church. It was imperative, then, that Newman be able to show that the Articles could be interpreted in a Catholic sense and that the framers of the Articles had designed them in such a way as to allow for such an interpretation. The danger, of course, was that if Newman's thesis were to be rejected by the established authorities of the Church, there would be no holding the Romanists among the Tractarians. They could not be got now to accept the official interpretation of the Articles. A rejection of Newman's Catholic interpretation would see them flocking to Rome. Besides, Newman's own confidence would be sapped. He would be obliged to retire and to reconsider his position within the Church of England.

The thesis of Tract 90 was rejected virtually out of hand. On 16 March 1841, without waiting for a letter of explanation from Newman, which they had been told was forthcoming, the Heads of Houses issued a formal condemnation on behalf of the University. By mid-summer it was the Bishops' turn: they began to condemn the Tract in charges to their dioceses. From mid-summer through the rest of the year, and on into 1842, the charges followed each other one by one. Newman's case was hopeless. The Bishops of the Church had spoken out against him. It was the most serious blow to have befallen him so far. "I saw indeed clearly that my place in the Movement was lost; public confidence was at an end; my occupation was gone", he writes in the Apologia:

It was simply an impossibility that I could say anything henceforth to good effect, when I had been posted up by the marshall on the buttery-hatch of every College of my

University, after the manner of discomfited pastry-cooks, and when in every part of the country and every class of society, through every organ and opportunity of opinion, in newspapers, in periodicals, at meetings, in pulpits, at dinner-tables, in coffee-rooms, in railway carriages, I was denounced as a traitor who had laid his train and was detected in the very act of firing it against the time-honoured Establishment.⁵²

At Oxford, however, there were others who were not so despondent. Ward, Oakeley, Morris, and the other "anti-Anglicans" (as Newman had called them) were revelling in the commotion the Tract had caused. On 10 April 1841, Ward entered the fray with characteristic zest by publishing a pamphlet called 'A Few Words in Support of No. 90'. On 21 May he published another, 'A Few More Words in Support of No. 90', and on 21 June yet another, 'Appendix to a Few More Words in Support of No. 90, in Answer to Mr. Lowe's Pamphlet'. In all of these he elaborated on Newman's argument in the Tract.⁵³ "He says tremendously strong things against the Reformation and the English Church, so far as it has been influenced by it", James Mozley reported of the first of these pamphlets; "but there is nothing which authorities can lay hold upon, as he does not meddle with formularies. It is, in short, a kind of strong interpretation of No. XC.; just as Pusey's, which is also coming out at the same time, is a mollifying one, proving that No. XC. says nothing but what our divines have said before".⁵⁴ Meanwhile, shortly after Ward's third pamphlet, Mozley's elder

⁵² Apologia, p. 88.

⁵³ Henry Parry Liddon, Life of Edward Bouverie Pusey, edited by J. O. Johnston and Robert J. Wilson, fourth edition, 4 vols (London, 1894), II, 217, note 2.

⁵⁴ Letters of the Rev. J. B. Mozley, pp. 118-119.

brother Tom Mozley, in his new capacity as editor of the Tractarian organ, the British Critic, published in the July issue an article by Frederick Oakeley, on Bishop Jewel and the Reformers, which showed clearly which direction the new party in the movement meant to take. "We cannot stand where we are", Oakeley said. "We must go backwards or forwards, and it will surely be the latter".⁵⁵ Pusey read those words on a visit to Ireland during the summer of 1841. He was greatly perturbed by them. "Oakeley's writings are very painful to me", he told Newman. "He speaks", he said, ". . . as if all which had been hitherto gained since the Tracts commenced were nothing, not sufficient to justify 'the breach of peace and charity' which has taken place".⁵⁶ He foresaw a breaking-up of the movement and disunion ahead. "It makes one heavy-hearted and think that one's office is done", he wrote.⁵⁷ Indeed, he was utterly perplexed by recent developments. He had not kept pace either with Newman's thinking or with the thinking of their younger disciples since his wife's death two years before, an event that had had a marked effect on the style and conduct of his life. He had largely withdrawn into the seclusion of his rooms at Christ Church. Now he could only lament his helplessness in the face of events. "Things are so altered, and so much beyond me", he wrote to Newman, "that I feel to have neither opinion nor judgment: so do not be influenced by anything which I have ever expressed".⁵⁸ Newman assured him in reply

⁵⁵Quoted in Liddon, Pusey, II, 218.

⁵⁶Liddon, Pusey, II, 221, 218. 27 July, 20 July 1841.

⁵⁷Liddon, Pusey, II, 219. 20 July 1841.

⁵⁸Liddon, Pusey, II, 222. 27 July 1841.

that he would try to moderate the tone of the British Critic. But there was little he could do, he said; he had made a great effort already to make it into a literary and scientific journal, but he had failed. "But I fear I must say that, if it is to be theological, it will to a certainty take a (so-called) ultra tone, if clever men are to write for it", he warned Pusey. "Clever men will not content themselves with defending theories which they feel in their hearts to be indefensible". But he assured Pusey that he would do all he could to turn the British Critic into "the literary channel, and if my will has its way, I will put a stop to all attacks on the Reformers".⁵⁹ But Newman, too, was being outrun by events. His influence over his younger disciples was diminishing. Besides, he was already too far gone in sympathy with their objectives to be able to act effectively. So, in 1841, the British Critic fell into the hands of the new party at Oxford; and, from being the organ of the larger movement, it became the mouthpiece of a small and active party that, henceforth, would chart its own course and set its own pace.

Mark, meanwhile, had left Oxford to spend the summer in the peace and seclusion of Hauxwell. There is very little in his diary or notebooks to show how he passed his days during that vacation, but it is not difficult to imagine the pattern of them from accounts of earlier summers given both in the Memoirs and in this study. We know that he read a great deal, that he preached from his father's pulpit to the tiny congregation gathered in Hauxwell Church,⁶⁰ and that he spent many hours in conversation with his

⁵⁹Liddon, Pusey, II, 222-223. 30 July 1841.

⁶⁰MSP. 71, f. 3.

sisters. He talked to them about Oxford and the great world beyond Hauxwell, but, more than anything else, about what was uppermost in his mind, his and their religious welfare. His concern made a strong impression on them. Eleanor in particular showed promise of going much farther with Mark than any of her sisters, and listened avidly to everything he had to say. He responded to her questions, encouraged her at every opportunity, and directed her thinking generally along the lines of his own. For a long time afterwards, Eleanor remembered fondly this summer with Mark, and the evenings when she used to sit on a footstool at his feet to read to him.⁶¹ For his own part, Mark took his role as tutor and spiritual guide to all his sisters very seriously. On his last Sunday at Hauxwell, for instance, he gathered them about him for a long discussion about their religious beliefs and duties. What he said made a deep impression; for, nearly two months later, his sister Mary writes that she and Eleanor have been discussing yet again the import of Mark's words on that occasion, especially about the true doctrine of "justification".⁶²

By the end of the summer of 1841, then, Mark's sway over his sisters' thinking was nearly complete. They looked to him for advice on almost every question. He was their tutor and guide par excellence. But there were two people besides who might be expected to have had something to say about the dramatic change in their daughters' religious ideas. The Rector and his wife were thoroughly Evangelical. There was never any question of their being brought to view their religion in any other light.

⁶¹MSP. 44, f. 175. [27 October 1842.]

⁶²MSP. 44, f. 42. 24 October [1841].

What would they say to the wholesale desertion by their children of the Evangelical tradition in which they had been brought up? And this too in the very Rectory of Hauxwell? Unfortunately, the information is scanty for this period and we are forced to imagine largely what their reaction must have been from what it became subsequently.

The Rector was fond of University news and gossip. He would know of the uproar over Tract 90. He would have heard of the "Protest of the Four Tutors"⁶³ that had encouraged the Heads of Houses to censure the Tract. He would be keenly interested in what the Bishops had to say about Newman's argument, and, most of all, in the fact that by mid-summer (when Mark was at Hauxwell) the Bishops had begun to charge against the Tract. It is not credible, therefore, that no word passed between father and son, or between mother and son, on these matters. Mark's mother especially had been suspicious of the Tractarian movement from the earliest days of her son's connection with it. Indeed, she had been the only one at Hauxwell to warn him of the dangers inherent in the ideas of these otherwise "excellent holy men", Newman and Pusey.⁶⁴ And when there were no such direct warnings, there was a steady stream of pious platitudes intended by implication to remind Mark that he must not be disloyal to his home religion. At times, indeed, Mark had lost patience with his mother and was even scornful of her efforts. On 10 October 1840, for instance, he had "sporting" himself a birthday present (he was twenty-seven) of a ten volume edition of Lockhart's Life of Scott, with a frontispiece to one of the volumes of

⁶³ A. C. Tait of Balliol, H. B. Wilson of St. John's, J. Griffiths of Wadham, T. T. Churton of Brasenose.

⁶⁴ MSP. 43, f. 205. 9 February 1838.

a portrait of Scott's wife. On the same day, he had received a birthday letter from his mother. "Frightfully odious", he remarked to Eleanor on Lady Scott's portrait; "her look puts me in mind of the letter I got from my Mother on Sat[urday] quite in the old way--enough to make one sick upon the spot; but I really think it was meant to be kind, so what can I do?"⁶⁵ The Rector, meanwhile, was not greatly concerned about the colour of Mark's religious views, so long as he was serious about them and they were not opposed to his own. He had even allowed Mark to preach in his pulpit at Hauxwell Church on 20 June 1841, soon after he had returned from Oxford. On that occasion, Mark had taken his text from 1 John 3.3: "Every man that hath this hope in him, purifieth himself even as he is pure". It was a serious and thoughtful sermon, but otherwise unremarkable. There was nothing in it that savoured of Tractarianism, nothing to offend his parents' Evangelical sensibilities. His sermon was a call to purity of heart, to repentance for past and present wrong-doing, and to a careful regulation of thought and action. It would go down very well at Hauxwell.⁶⁶

As the summer progressed, however, and the furore over Tract 90, instead of dying down, spread across the country, the Rector and his wife must have begun to be anxious. Mark would be questioned about Tract 90, about Newman, and especially about his friends Ward and Oakeley who seemed to be fanning the flames of controversy. There would be no convincing the Rector's wife that all was as it should be. She had made up her mind already

⁶⁵ MSS. Lincoln College, EE, 13 October [1840].

⁶⁶ MSP. 71, ff. 4-13. It was preached, in all, sixteen times between 1841 and 1854. See MSP. 71, f. 3.

about the dangerous tendencies in the Tractarian movement. For a long time she had been convinced that it was veering in the direction of Rome, that Church, as she had said three years before, "from which we have always considered it a blessing to be separated".⁶⁷ The Rector, less suspicious in this regard than his wife, and pleased to see Mark in the company of famous men, would gradually awaken, nevertheless, to the notion that there were real divergencies of view between Mark and himself with respect to the nature and role of the Church, and even with respect to the sacred character of the Reformation. He may even have been encouraged to examine Mark's views more closely by the continuing suspicions of his wife. Certainly, he would not ignore what was being said about Newman's real motives, nor what the Heads had said about the Tract, nor, more importantly, what the Bishops were beginning to say about it. Mark would be obliged to defend Newman, and the Tract, and his friends, against the abuse being hurled at them in the press and at public meetings. By having to defend them, he would be made to take sides, whether or not he was quite ready to do so. No doubt there must have been moments of impatience on both sides at Hauxwell that summer, moments of tension, and perhaps also of anger. However, from the evidence available, there is no sign that a strong and open antagonism developed between father and son during the summer of 1841, or that there was a serious confrontation between them. On the other hand, it is fair to say, on the evidence of subsequent events, that there was trouble brewing at Hauxwell that summer. For the Rector would have noticed not merely that Mark had departed very far from the Evangelical tradition

⁶⁷ MSP. 43, f. 211. 12 March 1838.

of Hauxwell, but that he had gained a remarkable influence over his ~~ten~~ sisters, such that they consulted him on almost every matter of consequence. He guided them in their reading and their education generally, and to him they went for religious instruction as to their supreme and only guide. The Rector of Hauxwell, ordained to the ministry of the Church, and, in his wife's eyes at least, God's anointed ruler of the household, was being shunted aside. He had had that experience once before, only in the larger world, when his hopes for preferment had been disappointed and he was forced to endure being hidden away at Hauxwell. Never before, however, had his authority been questioned in his own house. Implicitly his children were doing just that by rejecting their father's Evangelicalism and adopting Mark's Tractarian views. The Rector had lots of time to think about this new development and a fertile imagination. Mark had wronged him by subverting his authority in his own house; the Rector's resentment would grow. He must have begun to brood upon it soon after Mark left Hauxwell for Oxford in September; for, just over two months later, the storm of his anger burst over Hauxwell.

At Oxford that autumn, Mark was a changed man. The summer's reading and the opportunity for quiet reflection, the long conversations with his sisters, the knowledge of their admiration for him and of their complete confidence in his ideas, purpose, and direction, gave him a self-assurance that we have not seen in him before. Moreover, he seems to have made up his mind, at some point during the summer, to take sides in the battle over Tract 90. For he speaks freely now of "our party", rather than of "their Tract". "Our party", he tells his sisters, "is very weak at Balliol--and it would be a great lift to them to get such a clever

fellow as Chretien".⁶⁸ One of his first acts on his return to Oxford is to invite some of his friends to dine in the Lincoln Common Room: "a snug party of six", he tells his sisters, "Mozley, Marriott, Ryder, Dalgairns, Morris who brought with him a friend of his, a Mr. Ballasyse [sic], a barrister, who is come here to be at the celebration tomorrow".⁶⁹ The next day was the anniversary of the consecration of Newman's Chapel at Littlemore, in 1836. The date, 22 September, had become a traditional holiday for the Tractarians. "About 30 of us are mustered to go out there tomorrow", Mark tells his sisters. "I breakfast with Ryder in Oriel thence we walk out to Lit[tlemore]--for 11 oclock--full service--i.e. Communion--lunch at N[ewman]'s house, and dine at VI divided into two parties[,] one at Trinity with Copeland and one at O[riel] with N[ewman] and Marriott".⁷⁰ In October, at the Oriel College Gaudy, Mark is delighted to be given the chance to sit next to Newman at dinner. They had "a very nice snug talk--for nothing is so snug as a large dinner party--about Athanasius[,] The Benedictines and id genus", he tells his sisters.⁷¹ In October, too, just three weeks or so after his return to Oxford, he seizes an opportunity to embarrass one of Newman's most energetic and vociferous opponents, C. P. Golightly--the man who had done most at Oxford to stir up opposition to Tract 90. Golightly had made a grammatical blunder in his use of French in one of his many letters to the Oxford Herald. Mark did not let him get away with it.

⁶⁸ MSS. Lincoln College, BBB, 25 November [1841]. C. P. Chretien of Oriel.

⁶⁹ MSS. Lincoln College, W, [21 September 1841]. Edward Bellasis (1800-1873).

⁷⁰ MSS. Lincoln College, W, [21 September 1841].

⁷¹ MSS. Lincoln College, SS, [17 October 1841].

"Observe Golightly's notion of French in the O[xford] H[erald]", he tells his sisters in high glee on 17 October:

The blunder struck me when I first read it at breakfast, but I had no one the whole day to tell it to--and so was obliged to bottle it up all day at the risk of bursting every now and then in a roar of laughter while engaged upon my work--till I went to S. Mary's at 4 when I laid hold of Dalgairns, and he and I went about together telling it to those who we thought would enjoy it. At dinner Eden attacked 'Golly' about it--and his answer was 'The truth was, I was in a very great hurry'--but the real truth is he knew no better.⁷²

Not content with these efforts, however, he pressed home the attack. He wished to make Golightly's embarrassment complete. He sent a note to someone at Oriel, he does not say to whom (perhaps to C. P. Eden or to R. W. Church), setting out the ridiculousness of Golightly's error. "My note took effect in the right place", he tells Eleanor on 31 October. "'Golly' ('my friend' as you facetiously call him) was hit hard, and has suffered martyrdom in the O[riel] Common Room ever since, as I hear by a private hand".⁷³ A week or so later, with Golightly still trying furiously to stir up every conceivable opposition to Newman and his followers, Mark looks on in amusement at his antics. "Poor Golly is almost distracted with excitement", he tells Eleanor:

you will see in the O[xford] H[erald] his letter bringing a charge of popery against 10 members [of Convocation]--he has sent up 12 names--but I have not heard more than one[;] we are all curious to know who [sic] he has pitched upon. If they appear in the Standard it will make a great row here. The reason why he was so long sending them up, is because he had so many applications from men ambitious of the honour

⁷²MSS. Lincoln College, SS, [17 October 1841].

⁷³MSS. Lincoln College, Q, [31 October 1841].

of martyrdom that he had great difficulty in deciding among conflicting claims.⁷⁴

Clearly, Mark is enjoying himself. He likes the scent of battle now that he is committed to one side. His cause is right and just, he thinks, and will surely win out. The Golightlys of this world may scuttle about as they like; they can do him no harm. Meanwhile, he has work to do in another sphere. His own College needs reforming.

From the beginning, Mark had known that Lincoln was not to be counted in the first rank of the Oxford Colleges. But he had hoped in the course of time to be able to ingratiate himself with the Lincoln Fellows so as to gain an influence which, as he told Eleanor two days after his election, "I may use for the benefit of the College".⁷⁵ For two years, then, from November 1839 until the autumn of 1841, he made no direct move to initiate a fundamental change in the conduct of affairs at Lincoln. Nevertheless, he did associate himself with a party in the Lincoln Common Room that wished to see changes made in the College. They wished especially to diminish the power and influence of the old oligarchy that had ruled Lincoln undisturbed for many years. But Mark's purpose was not merely to raise the College in the ranks and esteem of the University, nor merely to set it on a par in the eyes of the world with Oriel and Balliol. He wished to create at Lincoln, in its Common Room and in its undergraduates, something like what was characteristic of the Oxford Movement as a whole, a religious sensibility, intellectual earnestness, and moral seriousness.

⁷⁴MSS. Lincoln College, FF, [7 November 1841].

⁷⁵MSS. Lincoln College, no number, 10 November 1839.

It pleased him greatly, then, to discover in some, at least, of his students, religious views not unlike his own. At the same time, he was especially concerned because nothing like his own religious outlook was to be found in the Lincoln Common Room. On one occasion, indeed, his concern extended even to the wife of one of his colleagues, Richard Michell. In October 1841, Lincoln's renowned tutor returned to Oxford a married man. Mark and his sisters were intensely curious about the new Mrs. Michell. Not until November, however, was Mark able to make her acquaintance and to satisfy his curiosity about many things. "I had a long walk into the country with 'Emily' yesterday--and it was very pleasant", he wrote to Eleanor on 7 November; "she is very pretty, and has a very fine eye, and, as you may suppose, good sense, manner, taste, and all that you would expect in M[ichell]'s wife--but, as you would also suppose, the tone of her mind and taste is not what we should like".⁷⁶ Pretty she might be, and with good sense, manner, and taste, but Mark's sisters would know at once what was meant by their brother's last remark. Emily Michell, like her husband, would not be one of the "leaven" at Lincoln College. She was "not what we should like".

The reforming party at Lincoln College, "La Jeune Lincoln" (as Mark called it in letters to Hauxwell) was made up for the most part of the younger Fellows, men such as Martin Green, William Kay (Junior), John Hannah, George Perry and Mark himself. These men, the Memoirs say, formed an opposition in the College "contending for discipline, decency, order,

⁷⁶MSS. Lincoln College, FF, [7 November 1841].

and religion (outward)".⁷⁷ Outside the College they could call on a non-resident Fellow and barrister, J. L. Kettle, to come up from London to support them when his vote was needed. But there was one man in the College who had a greater influence on the conduct of affairs than all of "La Jeune Lincoln" put together. That man was Richard Michell, Tutor of Lincoln, Professor of Logic in the University, scholar of note, and one of the best "cram" coaches at Oxford. Michell was an energetic man, somewhat pompous and very ambitious, whose religious views tended towards Evangelicalism. Almost from the first, Mark disliked him. He distrusted his ambition and regarded his motives in College affairs with suspicion. His aversion for Michell became so strong, in fact, that by 1841 there was "a kind of standing feud" between them.⁷⁸ Why this should be is not easy to explain. Religion was not the cause of it. Mark worked well with the younger William Kay who was a strict and fervent Evangelical. Religion, however, may have been a contributing factor. Even long afterwards, Pattison charged Michell (unfairly, it would seem)⁷⁹ with having cared nothing for discipline, decency, order, and religion in the College. Probably, the cause of his antipathy is to be found elsewhere. In his early days at Lincoln, Mark was not forthcoming. He was shy and retiring, and only gradually gaining in self-confidence. He may have found the great Tutor overbearing and impatient of Mark's suggestions for reform. He may

⁷⁷ Memoirs, p. 218. Pattison does not include Hannah in the group, but see V. H. H. Green, Oxford Common Room: A Study of Lincoln College and Mark Pattison (London, 1957), p. 132.

⁷⁸ Memoirs, p. 264.

⁷⁹ See Green, Oxford Common Room, p. 130.

even have been humiliated in the face of Michell's pomposity. For whatever reason, the two men had become enemies by 1841. Their antipathy never diminished, although Michell generally supported "La Jeune Lincoln" in its efforts to reform the College. Richard Michell, Pattison concedes grudgingly in the Memoirs, "was loyal to us with his vote, but having a low type of intellect and moral, was not helpful in some of the main points".⁸⁰

Some idea of the extent of Michell's power and influence may be gathered from the peculiar arrangement the College consented to upon Michell's marriage. Ordinarily, a Fellow forfeited his Fellowship and gave up his College offices when he married; for celibacy was still the rule at Oxford, except for Heads of Houses. Lincoln, however, wished to retain Michell's services because he attracted students. Accordingly, Michell made his own terms. He gave up the Fellowship and other offices in the College, but retained his office as Tutor, and even his vote in elections to College offices, although not in elections to Fellowships. Obviously, he was to have his cake and to eat it too. His influence would be, in practice, undiminished, although Mark thought otherwise. "I cannot feel much resentment against Michell, for retaining his place on the Terms he has chosen", he wrote to his father on 10 October 1841, "for, in the first place it gives us all the good of him without the bad--i.e. He fills the College, and his influence (evil in my opinion) in elections,⁸¹ and other College business is removed. And, secondly, I do not covet to be his successor, certainly not in his rooms--and very little in his place".

⁸⁰Memoirs, pp. 218-219.

⁸¹Only in elections to Fellowships, however. See below p. 166.

He would soon realize, however, that Michell's influence was as strong as it had ever been. That fact was to become another source of aggravation between them. Besides, he really would have liked to succeed Michell as Tutor. His very next words in the letter to his father make that desire plain enough. "The duties of Tutor, as I should feel bound to discharge them, are not only onerous[,] but would withdraw me from those studies and thoughts to which I get every day more attached", he wrote to his father. "Still, if offered it, I think I should accept, because, it would be good for me to be forced into a new channel of occupation because it gives income and influence in the University, and because I might do good in the College".⁸² There could be no doubt of it: Mark, too, was ambitious.

For the moment, however, there were more exciting things to attend to. Mark threw himself into College politics. On Saturday, 6 November, the College's Chapter Day, a new Bursar was to be elected in Michell's place, and a new Subrector also. Here was the chance "La Jeune Lincoln" had been waiting for! Mark was filled with excitement. "Next week comes on our grand fight with the old oligarchy", he wrote to his father on 30 October. "I anticipate a signal victory--as we have got Michell on our side--which is not only so much positive gain of his vote and influence--but looks as if he thought we were the strongest--Friday night next is the real tug of war--the voting is in Chapel on Sat[urday] morning".⁸³ The week was filled with manoeuvrings as the reformers tried to make sure of

⁸²MSS. Sparrow, 10 October 1841.

⁸³MSS. Sparrow, 30 October [1841].

their votes. Nothing was certain. All knew that the issue would be decided not in the voting on Saturday, but in the bartering and compromises of the night before. By Tuesday Mark began to feel "very anxious" about the outcome.⁸⁴ Meanwhile, Hauxwell had been caught up in the excitement. The Rector wrote to ask about Mark's strategy and the reformers' chances of success. On Thursday Mark replied, saying that they hoped to have one of their number, Martin Green, elected to the influential post of Subrector, and to leave the Bursarship to the old guard, "since anybody", he said, "would make as good a Bursar as another, or indeed one of them would make a better than one of us".⁸⁵ On Friday, when "the real tug of war" was to take place, Mark's "plot" (as his sisters called it) was all the talk at Hauxwell. "We talked of you and your plot all yesterday", Eleanor wrote, "fancying to ourselves that it was even then in action--we shall be glad to hear of your success and that the barrier of oligarchy is once and forever destroyed".⁸⁶ But the "plot" failed. "They have beat us, and carried the point--the Subrectorship", Mark told his father after the voting. John Calcott became the new Subrector, and, in a reversal of the reformers' original intention, Martin Green was elected Bursar. Despite the defeat, however, Mark was not cast down. They had won at least a moral victory, he thought, and gained an important College office, and, at last, were being taken seriously by the old guard. Besides, he had thoroughly enjoyed the contest. "I cannot convey to you any idea of the row and

⁸⁴ MSS. Lincoln College, GG, 2 November [1841].

⁸⁵ MSS. Sparrow, 4 November 1841.

⁸⁶ MSP. 44, f. 88. [6 November 1841.]

excitement--the 'certaminis gaudia' which have attended this revolution of the 6th Vindemiaire as I term it", he wrote to his father on the day of the election, even while the College was still meeting. "You may laugh at my making so much of an insignificant College squabble and remind me of the Proverb 'the puddle in a storm'", he went on, "but though the object is trifling, the diplomatic ingenuity, and still more the human feeling called into play on such an occasion are as real as if the prize fought for had been the Premiership".⁸⁷ At one point, indeed, on the Friday afternoon, Mark and John Hannah had thought of taking a chaise to Rugby School to bring back a non-resident Fellow, John Penrose. With his vote and J. L. Kettle's (who was to come up from London), they calculated that they would have sufficient votes to take both College offices, rather than the one they had counted upon. But Michell had intervened. The older party, he told them, was set on having one of its own (Calcott) as Subrector and for the sake of peace, Pattison and Hannah ought to leave well enough alone. Their scheme for getting Penrose was "too violent", he said. Mark had objected at first. Later, however, he recognized the wisdom of Michell's intervention. "I am now very glad that he prevented it", he told his father, "as it is all amicably settled, and harmony perfectly restored, though the debate last night was not a little acrimonious . . .".⁸⁸ Upon further reflection, Mark was less proud of his own part in the proceedings. He was even more grateful that Michell's "sober judgment" had prevailed, and he began to take a more tolerant view

⁸⁷ MSS. Sparrow, 6 November 1841.

⁸⁸ MSS. Sparrow, 6 November 1841.

of his older colleagues. He had learned something about the political give and take of successful College life. On Sunday, 7 November, he confided his feelings to Eleanor. "My dear E[leanor]", he wrote,

Now that our battle is over, I feel all the reaction, and relaxation of spirit consequent upon victory, for such I think this is, although we lost the actual point for which we contended--We dined altogether yesterday, and the usual speeches etc occurred, when the older party showed so much more good feeling than I gave them credit for, that I have been repentant ever since for having done so much, and I am most thankful that we were hindered by Michell's sober judgment from bringing up Penrose, and taking by assault, what we have now gained by capitulation. But though the means at present displease me, the result, I think, will be very good--In the first place we shall be most cruelly civil to one another for some time to come--and Johnny [Calcott] will be roused to a little more activity than he usually shews, in order to prove himself fit for his place. I was consoled by Kay Sen[io]r, who is an indifferent spectator, saying 'It's only the old game over again, we did the same when we came in first.' But however all this must be very tedious to you, though I dare say you are glad at the result.⁸⁹

Tedious to Eleanor it was not. She was delighted to hear that as one result of the proceedings at Lincoln, Mark had had new "dignities" conferred upon him.⁹⁰ John Radford, the Rector of Lincoln, had appointed Mark Greek Lecturer in place of Calcott, "the requirements of which magnificent Title", Mark had reported ironically, "are a Lecture in Hall twice a week, with the monstrous salary of £18.0.0 per annum attached".⁹¹ The honour was not, of course, as great as if he had been made Tutor of his College. But his

⁸⁹ MSS. Lincoln College, FF, [7 November 1841].

⁹⁰ MSP. 44, f. 90. [November 1841.]

⁹¹ MSS. Sparrow, 6 November 1841.

loyal sisters were impressed nonetheless.⁹²

Meanwhile, in Oxford, beyond the walls that bounded the little world of Lincoln, events went on apace. "Things here are in a very strange position, hanging on a thread", A. P. Stanley wrote anxiously in October 1841. "I should not be surprised either at an almost immediate revolution or at a protracted struggle".⁹³ He had returned to University College in June after a year on the Continent, in Germany, Greece, and Italy. The state of affairs that met him at Oxford had been a profound shock. His friends W. G. Ward and A. C. Tait were divided between two parties, Ward at the head of one, and Tait at the head of another. Already Ward had resigned his two lecturships at Balliol,⁹⁴ R. W. Church had offered his resignation as Tutor of Oriel,⁹⁵ and the pamphlet war was in full swing. "I dread the result", Stanley wrote shortly after his return,

because I think it is the proclamation of war to the knife, which will advance from turning out of tutorships into keeping out of fellowships, and then will come the terrible evils of each particular party, and college, setting up a test, at its own discretion, besides the University test, and it will become of such practical importance, that young men will be driven to hasty decisions about Newmanism before they have time properly to make up their minds.

⁹²Mark's sympathy for the older party at Lincoln did not last long. A month later he tells Eleanor: "At the College meeting I mentioned on Friday . . . we perpetrated one of the most unjust acts that ever a despotic oligarchy was guilty of--rusticating one man, and giving a heavy punishment to another, for nothing in the world--but because some person or persons unknown had lately been making rows in College which it was necessary to put a stop to--and as Johnny [Calcott--the new Subrector] was too inactive to find the real author, he settled matters by knocking in the head two who happened to be near him". MSS. Lincoln College, EE, [5 December 1841].

⁹³Prothero, Life and Correspondence, I, 305.

⁹⁴Prothero, Life and Correspondence, I, 296.

⁹⁵Life and Letters of Dean Church, p. 39.

"For the first time", he had said, "I begin to despair of Oxford".⁹⁶ Now, in the autumn of 1841, the controversy over Tract 90 had taken on new life with the beginning of the new term. Bishop after Bishop condemned the Tract, and W. G. Ward, heedless of consequences, or, rather, relishing the thought of them, had published the first of a series of eight articles in the British Critic in which he elaborated on the argument of Tract 90, and expounded the new Tractarianism which, to the ears of an established authority, sounded so abhorrently Roman.⁹⁷ Meanwhile, Stanley became more and more depressed, and even thought for a time of abandoning Oxford altogether.⁹⁸ Instead, however, he tried to divert the attention of the University from theological controversy by founding a literary journal devoted to philosophy and the classics. Its title, it seems, was to be the New Review.⁹⁹ Mark welcomed the scheme, but he did not think much of Stanley's reasons for setting about it. "There is a project on foot among a set of neuter gender men here to start a Quarterly on literary principles --to take men's minds off theology!", he exclaims in a letter to his sisters on 21 November. "To this scheme, though not on this ground, some of the ablest men going have promised help--and I dare say you will see it announced soon. Stanley is to be Editor. I have no doubt it will be very interesting". From a reference to Stanley's scheme in an earlier letter, however, Mark's sisters had concluded that their brother was helping Stanley to promote the New Review. Mark soon disabused them of the notion.

⁹⁶ Prothero, Life and Correspondence, I, 298.

⁹⁷ Wilfrid Ward, William George Ward and the Oxford Movement, second edition (London, 1890), p. 218.

⁹⁸ Prothero, Life and Correspondence, I, 306-307.

⁹⁹ MSS. Lincoln College, FF, [7 November 1841].

"I do not send you any Prospectuses", he wrote, "because I am afraid you have been mixing up my name with it--wh[ich] I wish to avoid. Get any body to buy the Catena and you will do me some good".¹⁰⁰ In the event, the scheme was dropped. The first issue was to have appeared on 1 January 1842.¹⁰¹ But Oxford, it seems, was too divided by theological controversy to give serious thought to anything else. Indeed, it is a sign of the times that in November 1841 Mark thinks nothing of classifying Stanley as a "neuter gender" man. Clearly, the lines between contending parties were being drawn more broadly and crudely than ever.

As though the continuing furore and the succession of Bishops' charges provoked by Tract 90 were not enough for Newman to contend with, there was another event in October 1841 which caused a sensation at Oxford and made it look as though the fat were really in the fire. R. W. Sibthorp, a Fellow of Magdalen College and friend of J. R. Bloxam (one of the frequenters of Morris's symposia in the tower at Exeter), suddenly took it into his head to become a Roman Catholic. Newman was disgusted. He held it as a principle that a person who was considering such a step ought to take two years at least before deciding upon it. Sibthorp had gone to visit the Roman Catholic College at Oscott, near Birmingham, and within two days of his arrival had been received into the Roman Catholic Church by Monsignor (later Cardinal) Nicholas Wiseman. Newman, a keen judge of character, had warned Sibthorp to be careful at Oscott. "Take care they

¹⁰⁰ MSS. Lincoln College, R, [21 November 1841].

¹⁰¹ MSS. Lincoln College, FF, [7 November 1841].

do not keep you there", he had said to him. When Sibthorp returned to Oxford, Newman called on Bloxam and, says Bloxam, warned him "against monkeys who had lost their tails and wished every one to lose theirs. He always said that Sibthorp went over on Wesleyan principles . . .".¹⁰² Newman was not far from the truth: two years later Sibthorp recovered his tail and returned to the Church of England.

To those unsympathetic to the Tractarian cause, however, Sibthorp's conversion seemed to bear out what Newman's most hostile critics had been saying all along: Tractarianism was sure to lead its adherents into the Church of Rome. No matter that Sibthorp had acted not out of conviction but in response to a sudden powerful emotion. Distinctions of that kind merely evaporated in the heat of argument and controversy. Nevertheless, there was probably more truth now than ever before to the charge that the Tractarians, those at least who made up the new and most vigorous wing of the party, would end as Roman Catholics. Ward, for one, was not loath to accept the charge. He told a friend of Golightly's, knowing very well that it would get back to that inveterate foe of all Tractarians, that "a certain party in this place might now be considered to be divided into disciples of Mr. Newman and disciples of Dr. Pusey--the latter opposed, the former no longer opposed, to Rome". Golightly, of course, spread the word at once.¹⁰³ Ward might have his fun; he had no particular responsibility for anyone but himself. But Newman felt keenly his obligations towards

¹⁰²Ward, William George Ward, p. 193.

¹⁰³Liddon, Pusey, II, 229, from: Correspondence illustrative of the actual state of Oxford (Oxford, 1842), p. 9. No editor cited.

those who had cooperated with him since the early days of the movement, and especially towards those younger men who had taken his word at a later date and were now working out the implications of what he had taught them. They were eager and idealistic young men, full of enthusiasm, and, after Tract 90, thirsting for battle. "I fear to close the safety-valves", Newman had written to Keble in July. "Talk carries off a good deal of irritation; but how to make innocent talk?"¹⁰⁴ At the time he had just convinced Robert Williams not to publish a translation of the Roman Breviary. "But men will be doing something", he told Keble. "I fear that poor ---- is going to Rome, but one is apt to anticipate the worst. I have just stopped a man (not one you know), i.e., for the time, and other friends have stopped another. This in great confidence".¹⁰⁵ How aggravating it must have been, then, to hear that a man like Sibthorp, after a two day's elopement to Oscott, had become a Roman Catholic--and on all the wrong principles!

Newman's anxiety on behalf of his young friends was as nothing, however, to his anxiety now on his own account. For between July and November in 1841 fell the three blows which, as he says, finally "broke me". The summer's reading had resurrected the old trouble of 1839. In the history of the Arian controversy he had found again a parallel with the Anglican Via Media in the position of the semi-Arians. And again it seemed to him that "Rome now was as it was then", the upholder of orthodoxy. "The ghost had come a second time . . .", he says. "The truth lay, not with the Via Media, but with what was called 'the extreme

¹⁰⁴ Letters and Correspondence of John Henry Newman, II, 347. 23 July 1841.

¹⁰⁵ Letters and Correspondence of John Henry Newman, II, 347-348. 23 July 1841.

party'".¹⁰⁶ Added to the "misery of this new unsettlement", were the Bishops' charges, which were coming now in regular succession. Tract 90 was rejected by the hierarchy of the Church of England. The rejection left Newman helpless. "I recognized it as a condemnation", he says; "it was the only one that was in their power. At first I intended to protest; but I gave up the thought in despair".¹⁰⁷ To Pusey he exclaimed: "Oh, Pusey! we have leant on the Bishops, and they have broken down under us!"¹⁰⁸ The final blow was the establishment by Act of Parliament of 5 October 1841 of a Bishopric of Jerusalem. The scheme, which had political as well as religious implications, had been conceived apparently by Frederick William IV of Prussia and his minister plenipotentiary to the Court of St James, Baron Christian C. J. Bunsen (1791-1860). According to Michael Svaglic, the editor of Newman's Apologia, the new Bishop was "to have jurisdiction over Protestant congregations which desired such an arrangement, and was even empowered to exercise jurisdiction over congregations in Syria, Chaldea, Egypt, and Abyssinia, where ancient schisms and heresies such as Monophysitism and Nestorianism were still prevalent". The idea, he says, was "to give the Protestants a centre in the Holy Land and to inaugurate a great Protestant world movement".¹⁰⁹ Bunsen, an astute politician and diplomat, and a scholar and theologian with a deep hatred of Roman

¹⁰⁶ Apologia, p. 130.

¹⁰⁷ Apologia, p. 130.

¹⁰⁸ Liddon, Pusey, II, 237.

¹⁰⁹ Apologia, 'Editor's Notes', p. 549.

Catholicism,¹¹⁰ had convinced the Archbishop of Canterbury to support the scheme, and had received strong support for it from the Evangelicals, led by Anthony Ashley Cooper, the future Lord Shaftesbury. By agreement, England and Prussia were to nominate to the new see in turn. Newman was appalled. The Jerusalem scheme flew in the face of what he understood to be the true nature, history, and constitution of the Church of England. "The Anglican Church might have the Apostolical succession, as had the Monophysites", he writes in the Apologia, recalling his state of mind at the time; "but such acts as were in progress led me to the gravest suspicion, not that it would soon cease to be a Church, but that, since the 16th century, it had never been a Church all along".¹¹¹ He entered a solemn protest against the measure in a letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury, and wrote privately to friends that he suspected Bunsen's motives. "I distrust Bunsen without limit", he told Keble; and to J. R. Hope he said: "I distrust Bunsen indefinitely. I could fancy even he had ambitious views of reforming our Church".¹¹² But the damage was done. Newman had lost

¹¹⁰ Bunsen "read us one night Petrarch's famous sonnets against Rome, and described how, on the last night before he (B.) left his house on the Capitol, he took out his two eldest boys on the balcony, and, like Hannibal, made them look towards St. Peter's, and swear eternal enmity, and learn by heart these two sonnets". Prothero, Life and Correspondence, I, 261. Bunsen was Prussia's representative to the Holy See from 1823 to 1839.

¹¹¹ Apologia, p. 133.

¹¹² Letters and Correspondence of John Henry Newman, II, 360, 358. W. E. Gladstone, however, took a more tolerant view of Bunsen's efforts. In a letter to Mrs. Maxwell Scott, he says of the Prussian plenipotentiary: "He had, beyond all men I ever knew, the faculty of persuading himself that he had reconciled opposites; and this persuasion he entertained with such fervour that it became contagious". Correspondence on Church and Religion of William Ewart Gladstone, edited by D. C. Lathbury, 2 vols (London, 1910), I, 228.

confidence in the Church of England. "From the end of 1841", he writes, "I was on my death-bed as regards my membership with the Anglican Church, though at the time I became aware of it only by degrees".¹¹³

For Mark, too, the end of 1841 was the end of an era, for it was then that his father turned against him. "December the 5th 1841 was the memorable day on which Papa first opened out upon us", Eleanor recalled a year later, on the anniversary of the occasion.¹¹⁴ She never forgot the day. For on Sunday, 5 December, the Rector's pent-up resentment burst suddenly over Mark's sisters' heads in a torrent of bitterness, anger, and hatred. He inveighed against Mark, and denounced his daughters for subverting the religion of the household. The violence of the attack shocked them all, and Eleanor in particular; for, as Mark's most ardent disciple at Hauxwell, she was made to bear the brunt of the Rector's abuse. Her father charged her with carrying on a crusade against true Christianity in his house and with attempting to convert the younger children. Mark he denounced as a papist. When he learned that his son wished to direct the younger children's reading of the Latin Vulgate Bible, he forbade it at once. "Who could ever have suspected that a 'Psalmus Davidis' was merely a mask for the Pope of Rome", Eleanor exclaimed in a letter to Mark the next day, "while Watts['] Hymns is the angels['] own manual".¹¹⁵

Mark had not expected trouble at first. He had wished very much to be with his sisters again for Christmas, but had cautioned them against

¹¹³Apologia, p. 137. It is an irony of history that Hurrell Froude drew the motto for the Lyra Apostolica, "They shall know the difference now", from a copy of Homer which Newman and Froude borrowed from Bunsen at Rome in 1833. Apologia, p. 42.

¹¹⁴MSP. 44, f. 210. 5 December 1842.

¹¹⁵MSP. 44, f. 80. 6 December [1841]. Isaac Watts (1674-1748), Hymns (London, 1707; second edition, 1709).

feeling certain he would come. "I have carefully abstained from saying anything about it that I might not raise your hopes and then disappoint them as last year", he had written in November; "I wish to come and intend to--but it is possible I may be kept here".¹¹⁶ On 25 November he writes that he is tempted to remain in Oxford over Christmas, "as it was a very pleasant time last year". But the summer at Hauxwell had been pleasant too, "very much so--and I think that this winter would be still more so--at H[auxwell]".¹¹⁷ This seems like teasing, but indeed it was not meant to be. For Mark was really torn between love of his books and solitary reading at Oxford, and love of his sisters' company at Hauxwell. When he is well, he tells them, he wishes to be at work; when in low spirits, however, he thinks at once of Hauxwell: "my purpose varies according to the degree of seediness which oppresses me--last week I had made up my mind to come--but I am better this week, and almost feel resolution enough to stay". Plainly, however, his resolution is too weak, and the attraction of Hauxwell too strong. "I do not think, if I do come, that you will have much time for working your patterns", he tells them, "unless you can do them mechanically enough to be able to talk all the time".¹¹⁸ His sisters were sure he would come. The younger children were preparing a play for him, and Eleanor wrote delightedly: "you will bring comedy in your train, and laughter love and merriment".¹¹⁹ Then, a few days later, Mark received a letter from his father.

¹¹⁶ MSS. Lincoln College, R, [21 November 1841].

¹¹⁷ MSS. Lincoln College, BBB, 25 November [1841].

¹¹⁸ MSS. Lincoln College, BBB, 25 November [1841].

¹¹⁹ MSP. 44, f. 69. 25 November 1841.

On 10 November, in an otherwise friendly letter, the Rector had remarked in passing on his son's Tractarian principles, "many of which", he had said, "I w[oul]d were mine--Tho' not all" (the last word heavily underlined).¹²⁰ Mark had not risen to the bait, but had kept subsequent letters to his father merely cheerful, chatty, and brief. On 24 November, however, he alluded briefly to a new controversy at Oxford between the Tractarians and their opponents. A contest had begun to decide who was to succeed John Keble as Professor of Poetry. Isaac Williams, owing to his reputation as a poet, had been the obvious choice. But he happened also to be one of the most prominent among the older generation of the Tractarians. That was enough to rouse the opposition. The anti-Tractarian forces put up their own candidate, James Garbett. The ensuing contest became a trial of strength between the Tractarians and their opponents in the University, the purpose of the Chair being altogether forgotten. At Hauxwell, meanwhile, the Rector must have been following the contest closely in the newspapers, because Mark had only to allude to it to provoke a full reply. At some time between 25 November and 1 December the Rector wrote to say that he should be "very loath" to appear before his son "in false colours" and, for that reason, he rejoiced that he would be unable to vote in the election for the Professorship of Poetry, "as it would have given me real pain to appear . . . [illegible] opposed to any wish you individually had at heart". On the other hand, he tells Mark, it is time that the University stood up to the Tractarians and let both the Church and the world know that the University of Oxford is "no longer identified

¹²⁰MSP. 44, f. 64. 10 November 1841.

with the doctrines maintained by your friends--mind--I say the doctrines--the Practice in some points I think beyond all praise of mine". Then, with varelly concealed bitterness, he suggests that were there a party at Oxford that espoused his own religious views and conducted itself in the same manner as the Tractarians did now, Mark would certainly oppose it and condemn it on the same ground that his father took now against the Tractarians. "I am sure you would have thought and said the same", he writes, "had we old Antiquated dames of the Twaddle Sect, as you call us, started one of ours--with a view of continuing a system which we believe right but which you condemn". Having said so much, he remarks that he has "not much interest in the matter either way". He observes that Garbett is not the best person the opponents of Isaac Williams might have chosen as their candidate, and assures Mark of his goodwill: "Don[']t let this prevent your writing about any matter that may interest you", he concludes.¹²¹

Mark was not deceived. He sensed trouble at once, and lay awake one night wondering what to do, "balancing the question of my coming down", as he put it in a letter to his sisters on 2 December. Finally, he decided to go to Hauxwell and to risk the consequences, because (as he told his sisters),

our enjoyment of our vacations has for several times past depended so entirely upon ourselves, and been so independent of the storms which agitate the higher circles, that there is no reason against our being equally proof against all such disturbance this Christmas--You will not expect that I shall be entirely idle--I have two or three little subjects, for the joint prosecution of which with you, I shall come armed--and what between the Fathers Froissart, The Lost Brooch, Homer, and the Jan[uarly] B[ritish] C[ritic,] skaiting [sic], acting, and above all

¹²¹MSP. 44, ff. 106-107. [no date: about 30 November 1841.]

talking, I have no doubt that we shall spend a happy, profitable and Christian 'merrie Christmas in the olden time.' Order the Lost Brooch at Bell's[;] it will save me bringing it down. Above all tell none of my numerous country acquaintance of my coming, for I come entirely to spend my Christmas at home and not in gadding about to see people I don[']t care about; I leave that for the Long Vacation.¹²²

Mark's letter arrived at Hauxwell two days later, on Saturday, 4 December. His sisters were overjoyed at the news, and especially glad of it the next day when their father let his anger suddenly burst upon them. "Welcome, most welcome will you be to us all", Eleanor wrote on the Monday in a flood of gratitude. "On Saturday I was glad when your letter containing the happy intelligence arrived and all that happened yesterday makes me long still more for your arrival". "We shall have very much to talk about", she tells him,

and you must bring all sorts of good talk and good advice and love and comfort--and again I repeat how very, very welcome you will be to your sister's [sic] hearts--we want your direction, and encouragement and love and affection--in short we want all that we enjoyed in your society last summer--all that a brother could be to his sisters--What you will be I know and can only hope that you will find answering hearts--open, trusting, confiding . . . we will read, and talk yes and laugh too--and be as happy and merry as the nights are long . . .¹²³

That letter crossed in the post with another from Mark, written to Eleanor on the very day upon which the Rector had "opened out" against his daughters. Little suspecting what was taking place at Hauxwell even as he wrote, Mark had observed to Eleanor that he hoped she was "in good trim for a Christmas campaign with Homer".¹²⁴ Their campaign, however was to be of a different

¹²²MSS. Lincoln College, C, 2 December 1841. [Mrs. Harriet Mozley], The Lost Brooch; or, the history of another month: a tale for young people, 2 vols (London, 1841).

¹²³MSP. 44, ff. 79-80. 6 December [1841].

¹²⁴MSS. Lincoln College, EE, [5December 1841].

kind. Eleanor's letter of 6 December containing the news of the previous Sunday's outrage, reached Mark just before he left Oxford. When he arrived at Northallerton on the north mail from Euston Square at nine on the following Saturday morning,¹²⁵ and looked for the carriage from Hauxwell that was to be sent to meet him, he must have wondered what kind of reception his father had prepared for him. For the Rector no longer regarded Mark as his "dear, dear boy". His son was now a viper in the nest who had poisoned his children's minds against him.

¹²⁵ MSS. Lincoln College, C, 2 December 1841.

CHAPTER V

Romeward 1842-1843

"To that dear holy young man, give my love and blessing; I trust that he will come right at last for he is a good young man".

Mark Pattison's grandmother, on her deathbed.¹

We do not know what, precisely, happened at Hauxwell between Mark and his father during the Christmas vacation of 1841. There is no contemporary record of what passed between them.² From allusions in his sisters' letters almost a year later, however, it is clear that Mark defended his sisters against the Rector's abuse. "Never ought we to look back upon this time last year without a feeling of much gratitude to you for all you went through for us", Fanny writes in December 1842.³ Eleanor, who had had to bear the brunt of her father's earlier attacks and who had waited eagerly for Mark's arrival, was deeply distressed by the outcome of her brother's visit. She was afraid that Mark had been hurt by what had passed and that he might now regret having come home at all. She thought, indeed, that she had added to his troubles by vexing him with her own "stupidity", and apologized humbly for it. "I can only hope that I may make some reparation", she wrote on 21 January 1842, "by

¹MSP. 45, f. 234. [April 1843.]

²In her recent and interesting biography of Mark's sister, Dorothy Pattison, Miss Manton's account of what happened at Christmas in 1841 is highly inaccurate. Not only have events of a later date been transferred to 1841, but there are numerous errors in transcription and dating throughout her account of the years 1837 to 1845. Jo Manton, Sister Dora: The Life of Dorothy Pattison (London, 1971), pp. 46-61.

³MSP. 44, f. 235. [20 December 1842.]

giving you the satisfaction of knowing that you comforted me and have removed that heartache as well as many others". She had noticed his "sad looks" on his departure from Hauxwell, and tried now to console him. His sisters, at least, loved him, she said: "only think of Hauxwell Rectory as containing many fond hearts who look to you as their dearest friend, their only earthly adviser, comforter and protector".⁴ Mark had not long gone, however, before the Rector launched a new round of invective against his daughters. At one point, he ordered them to pack their bags and leave the house. They might enter a convent and become nuns, he said; or, better still, march off to join the Jesuits at Stonyhurst. Needless to say, his daughters held their ground and waited for the storm to pass. For herself, Eleanor could think of nothing better than "to remain patient and passive, not too desirous and forward to act but hoping and praying for better days and endeavouring to exhibit Catholic principles in deeds not in words".⁵ That proved to be both a vain hope and a fruitless policy. For the Rector took as much offence at the reproach implied in his daughter's silent example as though she had conveyed that reproach in words.

But, in spite of their troubles, Mark and his sisters had been able to share some memorably happy hours during his visit. They remembered long afterwards how he had led them in games and plays and readings, and how, on one occasion, he had concocted a lively punch that made them all very merry. "This day last year", Eleanor recalls in December 1842, "we read our first stories and caroused together over that nondescript stuff

⁴MSP. 44, ff. 111, 110.

⁵MSP. 44, ff. 110-111. 21 January 1842.

which you composed for us in the punch bowl, the drinking of which made us laugh so".⁶ And Fanny, in her untidy fashion, recalls how they had all spent together "many pleasant hours . . . reading Sheridan's play[,] hearing poor little Piggy making Conundrums[,] skaiting [sic], throwing snowball[s] etc".⁷ But over all their games and play that Christmas had loomed the shadow of the Rector's anger. Every hour that Mark spent in his sisters' company made his father more bitter. Brooding by the fire in the "bookroom", and hearing the excitement and activity of his children in the rooms above, he thought of nothing but the wrongs which he imagined had been done to him by his once "dear boy". His son, indeed, had become his enemy. When Mark returned to Lincoln in January, his father let it be known that he would not be welcomed at the Rectory again. He was banished from Hauxwell. From that time, there are no more letters between father and son.

At Oxford, meanwhile, Mark was in better spirits. Here, too, of course, a struggle was in progress; but it was a conflict of ideas and emotions without the fear and the unpredictable violence that was characteristic of Hauxwell. Still, it was a bitter struggle, for a time of testing had come to the University. The contest to decide who would succeed Keble as Professor of Poetry would reveal once and for all whether the Tractarians were really as powerful in the University as they appeared to be. So it was that the year 1842 "opened with war", as R. W. Church

⁶MSP. 44, f. 249.

⁷MSP. 44, f. 235. [20 December 1842.]

says.⁸ Oxford was rent by rivalry, suspicion, and party strife. "In the heat of those days", he writes,

there were few Tractarians who did not think Dr. Wynter [the Vice-Chancellor], Dr. Faussett [the Margaret Professor of Divinity], and Dr. Symons [the Warden of Wadham College] heretics in theology and persecutors in temper, despisers of Christian devotion and self-denial. There were few of the party of the Heads who did not think every Tractarian a dishonest and perjured traitor, equivocating about his most solemn engagements, the ignorant slave of childish superstitions which he was conspiring to bring back.

"It was the day of the violent on both sides", Church continues; "the courtesies of life were forgotten; men were afraid of being weak in their censures, their dislike, and their opposition; old friendships were broken up, and men believed the worst of those whom a few years back they had loved and honoured".⁹ The atmosphere was so filled with bitterness that supporters of the two candidates to succeed Keble met on 20 January 1842 to see whether the contest could be resolved without forcing the issue to a vote in Convocation. They compared the number of votes pledged to their respective candidates and Williams, it was clear, would be defeated. Garbett had nine hundred and twenty-one votes pledged to him, Williams, six hundred and twenty-three. Garbett's majority was two hundred and ninety-eight. The result was decisive, and Isaac Williams withdrew from the contest the same day. Mark, who was not present at the meeting, read a report of it in the newspapers the following morning, and wrote at once to his sisters with the result. "I can tell you no particulars about it as I have not seen any authority on the subject", he added; "one

⁸Church, The Oxford Movement, p. 215.

⁹Church, The Oxford Movement, p. 203.

thing is proved--that is, the astonishing fact, that 621 members of convocation (as Hannah says) have common sense". He was not discouraged by the result. The issue had been brought to a peaceful resolution and, for the moment at least, he was not aware of its future implications. He contented himself with passing on a delightful rumour going the rounds at Oxford, that would be sure to amuse his sisters at Hauxwell. "Perhaps you don't know that the Pope has sent 50,000£. to Oxford and promised 50,000£ more if his man got in", he writes.¹⁰ Although it seems impossible to think so, that was the sort of thing that was given credence in those days, at least in some quarters of Oxford. Mark, however, could still see the humour of it.

"I have been always against Williams standing, but I cannot say that he ought lightly to give up now", Newman had written to Keble in the previous November.¹¹ He had dreaded the verdict of Convocation in bringing things to a crisis if the contest between Williams and Garbett were allowed to come to a formal vote. The informal resolution of the issue, and Williams' withdrawal, seemed for a time to augur peace. A few days after the result became known, Bishop Bagot of Oxford took the opportunity to warn Pusey, in a firm but friendly letter, that something had to be done to moderate the excesses of the younger men in the movement. "Let us now hope that the termination of the contest will tend at least to peace", he told Pusey:

but, my dear Sir, there will not be peace or any general right understanding, [as to] where you yourselves would

¹⁰ MSS. Lincoln College, DDD, 21 January [1842].

¹¹ Letters and Correspondence of John Henry Newman, II, 357. 6 November 1841.

lead us, if you cannot restrain those younger men, who, professing to be your followers, run into extremes, but who, in fact, cease to follow any persons who do not go to the same extent they themselves judge to be right.¹²

His letter is an admirably succinct statement of the plight the Bishop, and all who wished to give the Tractarians the benefit of the doubt, felt themselves to be in when they observed what seemed to them to be indiscipline in the movement, but what was really its fragmentation. Bishop Bagot's appeal was in vain. Pusey could do nothing to restrain the likes of Ward, Oakeley, and Morris because he had lost his influence over them. Newman was nearly as helpless. "I am almost in despair of keeping men together", he had written to J. R. Hope on 3 January. "The only possible way is a monastery. Men want an outlet for their devotional and penitential feelings, and if we do not grant it, to a dead certainty they will go where they can find it. This is the beginning and end of the matter. Yet the clamour is so great, and will be so much greater, that if I persist, I expect . . . that I shall be stopped".¹³ In February, he made preparations to leave Oxford for good, and to retire to Littlemore, a village about two miles from Oxford. Three months later he placed the University Church of St. Mary's in the hands of a curate and, on 19 April, took up permanent residence in what he described as his "parsonage house" in the village of Littlemore. At Oxford, however, the house was already known as Newman's "monastery". For a while, Newman lived there alone; but it was not long before he was joined by others, young men chiefly.

¹²Liddon, Pusey, II, 268. 28 January 1842. Liddon's square brackets.

¹³Liddon, Pusey, II, 268.

Soon, the Littlemore "monastery" became a place of retreat, as Newman had hoped it would, for many of the younger Tractarians at Oxford. Mark Pattison, for example, made a two weeks' retreat there in October 1843, and R. W. Church spent a fortnight at Littlemore in July and August 1842 before going on a pilgrimage to Thomas à Beckett's shrine at Canterbury.¹⁴ However, we shall have more to say about the Littlemore "monastery" in our next chapter.

Mark's first published essay, 'Earliest English Poetry', appeared in the January 1842 number of the British Critic.¹⁵ It was not, however, his first published work. His translation of Aquinas's Catena Aurea on St. Matthew had come out in two volumes in 1841, the first early in the summer, the second in November.¹⁶ In a review of recent books, the July 1841 number of the British Critic had praised his introduction to the Catena (in volume one) as "a very luminous account of the history of the Catenas generally, and the characteristics of St. Thomas's in particular".¹⁷ Mark had sent a prospectus to Bell, the Richmond (Yorks.) bookseller, and his sisters had proudly put themselves at the head of what they had hoped would be a long list of subscribers. But a chain (however golden) of commentaries on the Gospels, collected from the early Fathers by St.

¹⁴"Church is living out at the monastery". MSS. Lincoln College, L, 31 July [1842]. See also MSS. Lincoln College. [no number], 3 September 1842.

¹⁵'Earliest English Poetry', British Critic, 31 (1842), 1-36.

¹⁶MSS. Lincoln College, BBB, 25 November [1841]. Catena Aurea: Commentary on the Four Gospels, collected out of the Works of the Fathers by S. Thomas Aquinas, 4 vols (Oxford, 1841-45).

¹⁷'Catena Aurea of St. Thomas', British Critic, 30 (1841), 197-214 (p. 203).

Thomas Aquinas, was not the sort of thing to attract attention in the neighbourhood of Richmond. Early in November 1841, Eleanor had reported to Mark: "we still stand in solitary grandeur at the head of [Bell's] list of subscribers".¹⁸ December, however, had seen the addition of another name, that of the bookseller himself. "I could not help laughing yesterday at the list in Bell[']s", Eleanor had written on 3 December. "Mr Bell as a sort of dernier resort has put down his name to swell the list--it looked so absurd: it makes me laugh now to think about it--although the thing is vexatious enough".¹⁹ In spite of Bell's noble efforts, however, Richmond could not be got to take any notice of the first essai in scholarship of one of its offspring. Nevertheless, Mark's sisters were confident that, sooner or later, their brother's literary efforts would catch the world's eye. They had high hopes for his next production, his essay on 'Earliest English Poetry'. Mark, fortunately, had no illusions. "In asking how mine 'was received'", he tells his sisters in February 1842, "Mary forgets that men in the world don't read carefully and dwell upon one book or review as we do over the country fireside". His first appearance in the British Critic would not make him famous. "I know no reason that my Article should be distinguished above any other item of that unceasing stream of newspapers, pamphlets, magazines, and reviews, which is continually passing before the eyes, read one day and in oblivion the next".²⁰ No doubt, his sisters would accept this salutary reminder. But

¹⁸MSP. 44, f. 61. 8 November 1841.

¹⁹MSP. 44, f. 78. 3 December [1841].

²⁰MSS. Lincoln College, AAA, [February 1842].

they would remain convinced that if the world had not yet acknowledged their brother's abilities, it most certainly ought to.

In the Memoirs, Pattison calls his first published essay an "elaborate article", and says that he spent "months of study" in preparation for it and "got to know all that was then known on the subject".²¹ But 'Earliest English Poetry' is not what it appears to be from its title, that is to say, merely a discussion of the salient features of the earliest poetry in the language with a review of the current scholarship. For he is careful to delineate what appears to him to be the most striking feature of early English poetry, and of the medieval period generally: its "Catholicity". "Catholicity is stamped upon everything they did or said, everything they have left behind them", he says of the early poets.²² Further, it becomes clear from what he says elsewhere in the article, that he wishes that "Catholicity" were once again the distinguishing characteristic of English poetry. He laments the "heathen" spirit of the poetry of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and wonders that a Christian people could produce a body of poetry so largely secular in tone. "That so much of our poetry should be tainted with the spirit of this world, would be, one should think, matter of unmingled regret to all serious minds", he observes gravely. He calls such poetry the "inheritance of the heathen", and says that while Christians may use it "in their own way, and convert it to their own purposes", they ought no longer to continue "to foster and approve it as we now do . . . much less to encourage that literary feeling,

²¹Memoirs, p. 186.

²²British Critic, 31 (1842), 1-36 (p. 5).

whose chief aim it is to exclude religion from thought or writing, as a thing which interferes with true taste and liberality of mind". "At the present time especially", he warns readers of the British Critic, "when great religious principles are become matters of general agitation, a serious mind cannot hope to find a refuge, and a relief from the responsibility of taking his side, in the puerilities of mere literature". This is not the time, he suggests, for learned discussions about the finer points of medieval scholarship. The "antiquarian spirit" must give way to a deeper religious spirit in the approach to medieval literature, to a spirit that is called for by the needs of the times and that demands now to be satisfied. "A few men of highly cultivated minds may succeed in abstracting themselves from the discussion in progress", he writes (at a time when the arguments about Tract 90 and the Professorship of Poetry are waxing in fury),

but if once the popular heart can be touched upon that its deepest chord, its religious feeling, and roused to a sense of its spiritual wants, it will refuse to be filled with the husks of human lore until his higher appetites are first satisfied. The literature, prior to the Reformation, has been handled too much in this antiquarian spirit, to the neglect of that which furnishes the true key to its interpretation--a sympathy with its pious feeling.²³

There is truth, of course, in what he says. One cannot understand and faithfully interpret the literature of the Middle Ages in ignorance of the spirit out of which that literature grew. Surely, however, that principle applies also to the literature of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. But Mark is out of patience now with anything that does not breathe a medieval "Catholicity". Indeed, the "puerilities of mere

²³British Critic, 31 (1842), 1-36 (p. 35).

literature" are to take second place, now, to what is far more urgent: the defence of a body of specific religious doctrines within the Church and the University. But he cannot, it seems, come to the defence of his religious convictions without denigrating what, in earlier days, had been his first love: literature.

And, yet, there is some evidence, even in 'Earliest English Poetry', that Mark is not entirely at ease in his new role as promoter of a cause. In his assertions of the need for a return to the Catholic spirit of the Middle Ages in the Church of England and in English life generally, he is at one, certainly, with the leading writers in the British Critic at this time. For, under Tom Mozley's editorship (1841-1843), the British Critic had embarked on a crusade to convince an increasingly hostile readership that the work of the Reformation ought to be undone, and that the Church of England ought to be restored to her original Catholic character. Ward had begun a series of eight articles in the October number in 1841 to just that effect.²⁴ However, in his own essay, Mark seems to fall between two stools when he tries to answer the not infrequent criticism of his day that what he calls "the Catholic system" had produced no great poet. He admits on the one hand that "Catholic discipline" would appear to be inimical to the production of great poetry, but argues on the other that, after all, the "best system is not that which forces a few brilliant geniuses, but that which ensures a regular crop of average ability". The assertion is startling, coming from Mark Pattison. His entire life has been dedicated to excellence; never before has he condoned a system either

²⁴Ward, William George Ward, pp. 219-238.

of education or of religion that would devote itself to mediocrity. Indeed, although honest in its intention, his argument is very much contorted; for it is meant not to elucidate a principle that has been clearly thought out and is founded on conviction, but to serve a cause, and to support one side in a controversy. As a glimpse, however, into a mind pulled two ways at once and yet unconscious of the tug-of-war, it deserves to be quoted:

. . . it is sometimes urged as a defect in the Catholic system that it has produced no great poet. If this were so--and it is admitted there is some show of truth in the objection,--it would be only what we might expect when we look to the circumstances necessary to make a great poet. We may say broadly, that to heat a human spirit to the intensity, the fiery emphasis, and concentration of purpose necessary to the production of high poetry, ordinarily requires some such overpowering impulse as the bitter struggle of an undisciplined spirit with adversity, as in Tasso or Burns, or the equally undisciplined exuberance of joy in human power, in the fair face of heaven, and the glories of the world of sense, as in Aristophanes, and the comic poets generally, which hides from sight the sorrow and suffering which are the real lot of humanity. In proportion then as a mind is submitted to Catholic discipline will it lose some, and perhaps the most common and powerful, exciting causes of poetry;--while at the same time a school is provided, out of which might be expected to spring a great number of minds of moderate poetical powers,--suffering, but resignedly, from the evil, thankful, but in chastened measure, for the good of this life. For our religious education is in this respect an exact parallel to our intellectual education. The best system is not that which forces a few brilliant geniuses, but that which ensures a regular crop of average ability. Both in the moral and animal world extraordinary size argues some internal disease and disorganization. If again we are to consider poetry as the gift of Heaven, it would naturally be bestowed, as we have had occasion to point out once before,²⁵ rather on the Church as a body, than on one or two individuals in it.

The Christian economy also, it must be considered, while

²⁵ 'Life and Writings of Sir Walter Scott', British Critic, 24 (1838), 423-483 (p. 483). The article is not by Mark Pattison.

it raises the mind of the whole, seems to subdue the powers and restrict the opportunities of individuals. As by its universal reign, it bridles the conqueror and limits earthly empire; by its immutable laws of justice and mercy it overawes the devices of human policy; and by its declaration of a ruling Providence it abashes the speculations of the philosopher; so by its manifestation of heavenly realities it checks the flights of invention; and so also by the inspired beauties of Scripture, and the living poetry of the Church, it humbles the poet into a just subordination, in order that no Christian Homer shall rise up in holy ground, and become the Bible or the Church of those whose birthright it is, that they are "taught of God".

We say it would be only what we should expect if there were no great Catholic poet. But this objection could only come from those whose reading was confined to English poetry. The great poet of middle-age Catholicity came from the Church's own land.²⁶

Contrary, no doubt, to Mark's intention, the impression that remains with the reader is, indubitably, that Dante was a great poet not because of his "Catholicity", but in spite of it. Further, one might be forgiven for thinking that the "Catholic discipline" that Mark is propounding is not, in fact, as attractive to him as appears at first sight, but that, fundamentally, he sides with those so-called "undisciplined" poets of the past. In short, his argument is not convincing because he is not fully convinced of it himself. Yet, one is bound to remember that Mark was a wholly committed partisan in the Tractarian cause. He had no doubt that his way was the right way. What here appears as an unresolved and even unrecognized contradiction in his thinking, does not imply an inner conflict. It shows, merely, the emergence of opposites. Recognition would come later.

Meanwhile, Mark went on unperturbed by events through the winter

²⁶ British Critic, 31 (1842), 1-36 (pp. 6-7).

and spring of 1842. Besides his lecture in Greek at Lincoln, he took on one or two private pupils (the exact number is not certain), set about another attempt at the Denyer Prize in theology, agreed to see through the press the work of the other contributors to the edition of Aquinas's Catena on the Gospels, and attended Dr. Thomas Arnold's lectures in modern history. As if that were not enough to occupy him, he thought in March that he might contribute a pamphlet of his own on the "state of things" at Oxford following the rows over Tract 90 and the Poetry Professorship. "I am thinking of writing a pamphlet on the state of things if I can get anyone to publish it . . .", he told Eleanor in confidence. "Hannah has made a perfect collection of the No. 90 Pamphlets from the beginning of the Row--bound in 7 vols.--And among them all is not the sort of one I want to see". But he thought better of it almost as soon as he had conceived the idea: "I do not know after all that I shall make any hand of it", he reflects.²⁷ In any case, the Catena was taking up most of his spare time, up to four hours a day, in fact, during March.²⁸ However, on 1 March (the deadline) he had sent in his second attempt on the Denyer Prize, getting it in just on time. Time had run so short, indeed, that "not a little of [the essay] was written once only in the actual copy sent it", he told his sisters three months later.²⁹ Still, he was pleased with the work. "I have sent in an Essay on 'Orig[inal] Sin etc'--a good one I think--more substance in it than in my last year's--though perhaps hardly

²⁷ MSS. Lincoln College, KK [March 1842].

²⁸ MSS. Lincoln College, KK [March 1842].

²⁹ MSS. Lincoln College, CCC, 31 May [1842].

so argumentative and to the point", he remarked to Eleanor, who was the only one, either at Oxford or Hauxwell, to whom he confided the secret of his second attempt. "But the more I look at the Calendar (the only authority I have access to on the point) the more convinced I am that it is not open to me to try for again", he wrote. Be that as it may, it had been worth the effort: "my pains will not be thrown away", he assured Eleanor, "as I have gone into the subject--a most important one--very thoroughly, and have got up the Pelagian Controversies--In fact I cannot read except to write, I cannot do without the stimulus".³⁰ In the event, he won again. "What do you think of my having got the Denyer a second time?", he asked his sisters. "I am the first who ever got it twice".³¹ His sisters were highly delighted, and flooded him with congratulations. "My dear Children", he wrote in reply (in the fatherly tone that he often assumed when he addressed them together), "Your most welcome letters of yesterday were received this morning . . . I did not know half the pleasure of success till I got them. I only wish that we could be together to share our joy".³² From the Rector of Hauxwell, however, there was no word of congratulation.

At Oxford during the winter and spring of 1842, when most people had had to decide for one side or the other in the continuing warfare between the Tractarians and their opponents, there was one point on which everyone, with a few exceptions, seemed to be able to agree:

³⁰ MSS. Lincoln College, KK, [March 1842].

³¹ MSS. Lincoln College, CCC, 31 May [1842].

³² MSS. Lincoln College, S, 4 June [1842].

that the lectures being given by the new Regius Professor of History were a remarkable success. From the first, Dr. Thomas Arnold had made a great impression. "I have just come from one of the most interesting scenes I have seen for some time--Arnold's inaugural lecture", Mark had written to his sisters on 2 December. "The attendance promised was so great", he continued, "that it was obliged to be adjourned from the Clarendon room to the Theatre--and the area of that was nearly filled, so great was the expectation excited--and A[rnold] did not disappoint it--his Lecture was highly interesting, and well delivered and in many places eloquent".³³

A. P. Stanley, Arnold's devoted pupil and admirer, was less reserved: he thought that the inaugural lecture had been a triumph. At long last, he believed, Arnold was being given his due. When the new Professor continued to draw three to four hundred people at a time to his lectures in the new year, Stanley interpreted the response as a sign of a general reaction beginning among the junior ranks of the University to Newman's ideas, and to the religious controversies of the past eight years.³⁴ Arnold, indeed, was no friend to the Tractarians, nor they to him. Newman had once wondered aloud (in a private conversation, it is true) whether Arnold was even a Christian.³⁵ For his part, Arnold had launched a scathing attack against the Tractarian leaders over the Hampden affair in 1836, in an intemperate article in the Edinburgh Review entitled (by the editor), 'The Oxford Malignants'. Even now, although Arnold and Newman did not engage

³³MSS. Lincoln College, 3, 2 December 1841.

³⁴Prothero, Life and Correspondence, I, 308.

³⁵Apologia, p. 42.

each other in controversy, W. G. Ward, (who liked Arnold personally) did not lose the opportunity to attack Arnold's religious views in the British Critic.³⁶ Mark, however, did not think that Ward treated Arnold altogether fairly. He went faithfully to hear Arnold lecture throughout the term, and was favourably impressed, although not as uncritical in his response as Stanley was. "The most interesting thing doing here is Arnold's Lectures which are going on, and which I like very much", he reported to his sisters late in January or early in February (the date is uncertain). "The views are perhaps superficial", he continues:

the matter of the Lect[ure]s might not do to study, but to hear once[.] I have not listened to anyone for a long time with so much pleasure. He is about the sort of man you may imagine Guizot³⁷ to be--or to have been, when he lectured, before he acquired rank and importance by having held office--wise, clever and well-informed; always clear, and eloquent when needful--In speaking of early periods of modern history, he mentioned the difficulty of the miracles wh[ich] recur in every page, and this he discussed in a most admirable way--altogether--though I think Ward's specific charges against him just--yet the general impression his Article [in the British Critic] leaves on one's mind seems to me now to be unjust to A[rnold]. He is something better than the Socinian, one must consider him as that Art[icle] represents him.³⁸

Stanley would have rejoiced to hear those words from one of the leading members of a party that had always regarded Arnold with deep suspicion, and had vehemently opposed his views. He thought, indeed, that given time and an opportunity to become better acquainted, Newman and Arnold would recognize a common ground that neither suspected even existed

³⁶ See Ward, William George Ward, pp. 86-91.

³⁷ Francois Pierre Guillaume Guizot (1787-1874).

³⁸ MSS. Lincoln College, AAA, [February 1842].

between them. In truth, there is no telling what influence for good Arnold might have exerted on the younger generation at Oxford, and even on the younger generation of Tractarians, on such as Mark Pattison, for instance, had he been given time. But he was not given time. He died suddenly on 12 June 1842, at Rugby, barely four months after he had sat by Newman, "for the first time in his life" (Stanley had reported) in the Oriel Common Room.³⁹

Once before Arnold had defended Hampden; and once before, the University, led by the Tractarians, had censured Hampden for his religious unorthodoxies, and had deprived him of certain privileges pertaining to his Chair as Regius Professor of Divinity. But the times had changed since 1836 and the Tractarians, not Hampden, were (as Stanley remarked in February 1842) the "now persecuted" party at Oxford.⁴⁰ Believing that the Tractarian tide had been stemmed, that they had been beaten decisively, in fact, in the contest for the Professorship of Poetry, the Heads of Houses decided to strike while the iron was hot. They proposed that Convocation should repeal the censure of 1836 against Dr. Hampden. Not surprisingly, the Tractarians began at once to gather their forces to fight the repeal. But the Hebdomadal Board had forgotten that the Tractarians were not the only members of the University to have supported the original censure. The large body of conservative opinion at Oxford had been equally antagonistic to Hampden's appointment, the same body of opinion that had since turned against Newman. The fires of a new and bitter controversy only waited to

³⁹ Prothero, Life and Correspondence, I, 308. It was not, in fact, Newman's first meeting with Arnold. See Letters and Correspondence of John Henry Newman, II, 440-442.

⁴⁰ Prothero, Life and Correspondence, I, 308.

be kindled. It was thought (and Mark was not above the suspicion) that the Heads of Houses had evolved a deep conspiracy against orthodoxy in the University. To his credit, however, in a time of so much heat and prejudice, A. P. Stanley did not accuse the Heads of conspiracy, but thought that they were honestly bent on removing the stigma that had been attached to Hampden. "It is an honest confession on their parts, either that they were wrong before, or that he [Hampden] has so behaved himself since as to take away cause for suspicion", he writes in May 1842, as the voting approaches in Convocation. "But, of course, to the original movers of the great feud in 1836 he is as obnoxious as ever, and they are preparing for war. The chief assailants will be Tractarians, and it will be curious to see how far the large body who vote against all innovations will be able to move their fury from Newman to Hampden".⁴¹ Stanley himself would vote for repeal.

Poor Hampden! He was not a very likeable person, nor the most open-hearted or tactful of men. He did not even want the question brought up again, it seems.⁴² At stake, however, certainly in the eyes of the Tractarians, and in the eyes of others also, was the character and purpose of the University of Oxford. If the University were to remain a creature of the Church, the seminary of her ministers, and the guardian of her teaching, a man with Hampden's unorthodox views as Regius Professor of Divinity was a danger to the Church itself; so believed those, at least, Tractarians and others, who were concerned for the orthodoxy of the Church's

⁴¹Prothero, Life and Correspondence, I, 310.

⁴²Prothero, Life and Correspondence, I, 310.

teaching. Once allow currency to the unorthodoxies of such as Hampden and give them official sanction, once abandon what Newman would call "the dogmatic principle", and the University itself must assume a different character. Inevitably, given the spirit and the needs of the times, the character of the University did change, because it was very necessary that it should. But in the 1830s and 1840s the University of Oxford was not a national institution of the kind proposed by Mark Pattison two decades later.⁴³ Oxford was an ecclesiastical University, wholly Anglican. For Newman, then, the issue was always clear. Because the fundamental principle of his religion was dogma (that is to say, not an authoritarian, but an authoritative teaching)--"I know no other religion; I cannot enter into the idea of any other sort of religion; religion, as a mere sentiment, is to me a dream and a mockery", he says in the Apologia--any sort of relativism in religion, any train of thinking that seemed to obscure that fundamental principle in religion, was to him, and to the Tractarians generally, abhorrent. "My battle was with liberalism", Newman says; "by liberalism I mean the anti-dogmatic principle and its developments. This was the first point on which I was certain".⁴⁴ But it proved to be a losing battle; and Newman saw that he had lost it in the uproar over Tract 90. His resignation of St. Mary's in 1843 would be a concession of defeat. "I found no fault with the Liberals", he writes, concerning that event; "they had beaten me in a fair field". The Bishops, however, were another

⁴³ See Mark Pattison, Suggestions on Academical Organization (Oxford, 1868); also John Sparrow, Mark Pattison and the Idea of a University, pp. 105-149.

⁴⁴ Apologia, p. 54.

matter. "As to the act of the Bishops [in condemning Tract 90], I thought, to borrow a Scriptural image from Walter Scott, that they had 'seethed the kid in his mother's milk'".⁴⁵

In 1842, Mark had yet to recognize the inevitable. Contrary to his opinion, and to his position, in the Hampden affair in 1836, he believed now that the University had to protect itself from the heretical opinions of its Professor of Divinity, and he bent all his efforts in concert with his fellow Tractarians to that end. This time, Newman and Pusey stayed aloof from the opposition being organized against the proposal of the Hebdomadal Board. They did so not because they had changed their minds about Hampden, but for fear that any activity on their part would break up the temporary coalition between the Tractarians and the large body of conservative opinion in the University that was as opposed to Newman as it was to Hampden; so Mark told his sisters in an urgent letter written on 29 May, the Sunday following the announcement of the proposal to repeal.⁴⁶ He describes in that letter the activities of the previous week as Tractarians and others opposed to the measure, gathered to plan a concerted action to defeat the repeal when it was brought to a vote in Convocation on 7 June. He encloses, besides, a letter signed by himself and forty-one other resident members of Convocation which has been sent out from Oxford urging all who can be, to be present for the voting. The crucial paragraph of that letter, dated at Oxford on 28 May 1842, puts the matter in a nutshell:

⁴⁵ Apologia, p. 193.

⁴⁶ See also, Letters and Correspondence of John Henry Newman, II, 397-398.

We, the Undersigned Resident Members of Convocation, considering that the Regius Professor has never hitherto recalled the statements of doctrine that gave occasion to such Censure, and that consequently the character of the University both for consistency and for orthodoxy is at stake, most earnestly entreat all our fellow Members of Convocation to attend on the day appointed, and assist in endeavouring to avert the mischief with which we are threatened.⁴⁷

For a full account of the events that led up to that petition, and as an illustration of the spirit and mentality with which Mark set about opposing the repeal, we cannot do better than to quote his letter in full. He is so anxious in the matter, and poses it in such dramatic terms, that it is not difficult to understand how his sisters, who led such uneventful lives (apart from their father's ragings) in the isolation of Hauxwell, should have been caught up in the fortunes and vicissitudes of the Oxford Movement.

"M y dear Children", he begins, on Sunday 29 May:

I subjoin to this circular such an account of the agitating events of the last 3 days, as may render it intelligible. On Monday evening came out a notice from the Board of Heads that the repeal of the censure passed upon Hampden in 1836 was to be proposed in Convocation. No reason was given, but the animus of the measure is obvious, at the present moment. On Thursday then a meeting of those who were supposed likely to oppose the repeal was got together in the Hall of Magdalen, and after much debate, a petition was signed and sent to the Vice Chancellor [Dr Wynter] praying him to withdraw the proposed statute, and the meeting was adjourned till the V.C's answer could be received. He summoned an extraordinary meeting of the Board of Heads, who refused the prayer of the petition, and this answer was communicated to the meeting which was again assembled on Friday at 2. It then became matter of great difficulty to decide upon what was to be done; for there were two parties in the meeting--those who were supposed to be Tractarians, and those who, though strongly opposed to Dr. H[ampden]'s doctrines, were yet still more afraid of the Tractarians. After two hours vain debate, the meeting separated without agreeing on any

⁴⁷MSS. Lincoln College, no number, 29 May [1842]. See Appendix A for the full statement.

measure. Next morning a few, more anxious on the subject, met in Mozley's rooms, and the following circular, to be sent round to the non-resident M.A.s was the result. It is yet being handed round the Colleges to receive the signatures of such residents as choose. How the country will receive the appeal to them, I have not the slightest idea; but in my eyes victory or defeat are unimportant in comparison of the lodging the protest in vindication of Catholic truth against this deepest and subtlest heresy of our day. The number of signatures was about 65 or 70, a majority of the resident M.A.s--but had it been only two--nay had it been 'Athanasius contra mundum' there would have been the witness to 'the Faith once for all delivered to the Saints,' to which the Church in time to come might have appealed in proof that the succession of doctrine was never totally broken off. It is a sad thing that our peace should be so soon disturbed again, but the burden of that must lie with the Heads of Houses, some of whom, to use the V.C.'s own expression, (who himself is against the measure) 'are so reckless that they don't care what they do.' Newman and Pusey, the main leaders of the original censure, were obliged to keep aloof to avoid giving the appearance of a party proceeding, and scaring away such men as being neither one thing or the other, find themselves between two fires and know not which way to turn. One cannot but be very sorry that those, who must feel the strongest on the subject, should be thus precluded from even joining in the necessary means of defence. Meanwhile pray God give such issue to our endeavours as shall be good for our Church and University. Y]ou]rs aff[ectionate]ly M.P.⁴⁸

James Mozley, in whose rooms at Magdalen Mark and his allies has gathered to draw up their petition, revelled in the excitement of the affair. "You cannot imagine the state of bustle and activity we have been in", he wrote from Oxford. "The last week has been a complete dream,--of interminable plannings, devisings, machinatings, talkings, walkings, writings, printings, letters for the post, wafers, sealing-wax &c. . . . The new statute is expected to be thrown out by a large majority. Nobody sticks up a moment for the Heads of Houses."⁴⁹ On 7 June, when the vote was taken in

⁴⁸ MSS. Lincoln College, no number, 29 May [1842].

⁴⁹ Letters and Correspondence of the Rev. J. B. Mozley, p. 132.

Convocation, Hampden lost again, although the majority this time was considerably smaller than in 1836. Understandably, he was greatly affronted; and one offence inducing another, he attempted to take his revenge on a man well known for his staunch Tractarian views, R. G. Macmullen, who came up to dispute in the Divinity School for his B.D. The litigation that resulted lasted several years.⁵⁰

After the excitement of Convocation, the summer of 1842 passed in comparative quiet for Mark Pattison, who spent most of the time at Lincoln. He showed no anxiety for the future of the movement, nor betrayed any doubt of the rightness of his cause. Meanwhile, he continued to exhort his sisters to Catholic ideals and was unshaken by his father's opposition. But at Hauxwell his sisters' lives were subject to constant storms. The Rector still raged against Mark, venting his spleen (as Eleanor wrote in April) against his daughters.⁵¹ A public controversy in which the Tractarians were involved was sure to make him more fierce than ever. They lived from "meal to meal", Eleanor reported in June, at the time of the Hampden controversy; "we cannot, it is impossible[,] go on in this manner much longer: in process of time we must sink or get to land".⁵² But there was no end in sight. The Rector rarely lost an opportunity to make his daughters' lives as unhappy as possible. When they were invited out to dine, for instance (a rare treat), he would send the horses away with a servant, and leave his daughters to make their own way. He was sure to

⁵⁰ Church, Oxford Movement, p. 219.

⁵¹ MSP. 44, ff. 118-119. 26 April 1842.

⁵² MSP. 44, f. 131. [29 June 1842.]

be waiting for them upon their return, and to berate them. At last they took to prolonging their return until after he had gone to bed, so as to avoid his frightening outbursts of anger. When visitors came, however, he was a model of decorum; when they departed, the storms began afresh and more fiercely, it seemed, for the interval of peace. In August 1842, the Evangelical Rector of Richmond⁵³ and his wife, Mr and Mrs Meek, spent several days at Hauxwell. The Rector of Hauxwell set about winning his guests' sympathy and did it so effectively that Mark's sisters could not dispel the impression he made on the Meeks that he was a grievously injured man. The injury, he said, had been done him by his ungrateful son at Oxford. He played on his guests' anti-Tractarian bias and shortly appeared in their eyes as a man broken down with grief at the wrongs he had suffered. Mark was greatly distressed and angered when he heard of the slanders being committed against him at Hauxwell. He urged his sisters to make the whole truth about their father's behaviour known to the Meeks. They tried, on long walks with Mrs Meek in the garden; but they did not like to tell her everything, fearing to lose respectability for the household.⁵⁴ Mark became impatient. His reputation was being destroyed; and his anger at his father, at the Meeks for being such willing listeners to his father's slanders, and at his sisters for their reticence, boiled over in one of his letters. "I am quite satisfied now as to the nature of the slander--but not quite sure you have taken ample steps to remove it from Mrs. M[EEK]'s mind", he told his sisters on 23 August:

⁵³MSP. 44, ff. 180-181. [31 October 1842.]

⁵⁴MSP. 44, ff. 141-142. 15 August 1842.

--indeed you only say that her eyes were being a little opened. I am afraid of your shirking, close ways wh[ich] you delight in when I am with you. Truth indeed will out in the end--but it is often a long time first, and after great misery has been produced. Mrs. M[EEK] should know that all that afflicting appearance of grief and sorrow is so much pure acting--assumed from beginning to end for the purpose of imposing upon her. This I think you might tell her. Could she but hear one of the sermons at H[auxwell] (when he didn't know she was to be there) I would be content to rest it all upon her judgment of that. But I am sure that the M[EEK]s hate the Ch[urch] and it's [sic] principles so much, that they will gladly use your case as an illustration of the evils of Puseyism[;] and are dishonest enough (Mr. Meek at least is) to do this while keeping up appearances of friendship with you.⁵⁵

His anger seems to have had no effect, however. Mrs Meek, especially, remained on good terms with his father, who (we may safely assume) continued to complain of Mark. But she took an interest also in Mark's sisters. Whether out of curiosity or really friendly motives is not clear.⁵⁶ Mark, however, distrusted her completely. He accused her in his letters of affectation and insincerity in her religious professions. He was angry that she would continue a friendship "with one who was capable of such deliberate wickedness and cruelty" as his own father.⁵⁷ His reaction is understandable. He was unable to defend himself and there was no one at Hauxwell, it seemed, who was capable enough to speak on his behalf.

Hauxwell aside, there was only one other event that disturbed the tranquility of Mark's summer at Lincoln College. In June it became

⁵⁵ MSS. Lincoln College, K, 23 August [1842].

⁵⁶ MSP. 44, ff. 180-181. [31 October 1842.]

⁵⁷ MSS. Lincoln College, 11, 7 January 1843.

to on his own account during the summer, especially a new study, indeed a new way of life, which had begun to attract his attention and which, by the end of the summer, thoroughly engrossed him.

From the beginning among Christians, there have been men and women who have wished to give themselves to what is called a life of "religious perfection", that is to say, a life of prayer, contemplation, and self-denial sometimes in absolute seclusion from their fellow men, more often in the company of others of like mind and purpose. That is what Newman had in mind when he left Oxford for Littlemore early in 1842; and something of the sort is what occurred to the minds of not a few of his disciples who watched him go. Indeed, to the more fervent among the younger Tractarians, fired by the challenge to holiness presented them in Newman's sermons, and by the unique example of his own life, the idea of a life dedicated to the pursuit of religious perfection was powerfully attractive. It was especially attractive to Mark Pattison. That it should be so is not surprising. By character and disposition he was peculiarly suited to such a life. His piety, contemplative habits, love of solitude and study, and the depth of his religious convictions all inclined him towards the life of prayer, contemplation, and self-denial that he knew Newman was already embarked upon in the "monastery" at Littlemore. It is probably no coincidence that the first real signs of Mark's interest in what has been termed the "religious" life, as opposed to the "secular" life, appear in the summer of 1842, scarcely three months after Newman's departure for Littlemore. Before that time, the idea seems hardly to have entered his head. When it did, it was as a phenomenon of historical interest, edifying, but with no special reference to himself. In the summer of 1842, however, in the

solitude of his rooms at Lincoln, Mark began to study the lives and times of the monks and hermits of the early Church. Characteristically (for he was nothing if not thorough), he began at the beginning, and, no doubt, meant to make a study of the "religious life" up to his own day. Part of that study, he would undertake on his visit to French Roman Catholic seminaries in 1843. For the present, however, he began with the ancient monks, as he told Eleanor in January 1843 when giving her an account of his reading over the Christmas vacation. "Reviewed great part of the subject of Asceticism and Monachism in the IVth Cent[ury]", he wrote, "the whole of which I went through in the summer, and which includes pieces of an infinity of books more than I can remember or have time to write-- chiefly their lives in Tillemont".⁶¹

Now, the tone of this letter, in its briskness, does not reveal the really profound effect Mark's reading had had on him during the summer of 1842, not on his ideas merely, but on his attitude also towards other people. What is called "worldliness" is certainly one of the great temptations of the ascetic, understandably so, because he has deliberately turned his back on the worldly and the secular to concentrate all his energies on the spiritual and the eternal. He is in constant battle, then, against the world, and in danger from it--to say nothing besides of "the flesh" and "the Devil". The theme is a frequent and familiar one in the literature of asceticism. On Mark's lips, too, it becomes a familiar refrain during and after his summer's reading in what he described as

⁶¹MSS. Lincoln College, NN, [January 1843]. Le Nain de Tillemont, Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire ecclésiastique des six premiers siècles justifiés par les citations des auteurs originaux, 16 tomes (Paris, 1701-1712).

"the subject of Asceticism and Monachism". He feared Michell's "worldliness" at Lincoln College, for instance, not his power or his influence in themselves, but the fact that he was a "worldly" man, hence (in Mark's view), not a good man. Indeed, "worldliness" is the great fault that Mark begins to find in colleagues and friends alike when he emerges from his summer's solitary study of the monks and hermits of the early Church. Already during the summer, he had boycotted the dinner hour in the Lincoln Common Room to show his disapproval of his senior colleagues' lazy and ^{self-indulgent} ~~luxurious~~ habits. He had dined instead, separately and frugally, with William Kay (Junior), both of them abstaining from wine.⁶² At the beginning of September, John Hannah returned from the Long Vacation and announced his forthcoming marriage and his intention to leave Oxford by Christmas. Mark had been on cordial terms with Hannah for some time past, but instead of congratulating him on his engagement and rejoicing at the news (Hannah's fiancée had been ill--a factor that had prevented an earlier engagement), Mark is irritated at Hannah's intrusion on his solitary life at Lincoln, and annoyed that Hannah should be so taken up with the vanities of the world (as Mark regards them). "I have been going on so happily in the eremetical life this last fortnight, that I don't feel at all glad at his coming", he tells his sisters; "it breaks in upon the train of my solitary reflections wh[ich] have been lately directed to the early times of monasticism, S. Antony [sic], S. Martin etc. This last

⁶²MSS. Lincoln College, P, [24 June 1842]. Kay, who was a fervent Evangelical, did not espouse Mark's Tractarianism, but did join in his opposition to "worldliness".

month too (notwithstanding my illness)⁶³ I had got more into the way of steady reading and serious reflection, and self-inspection, than I have enjoyed for some time past--and I really hope that I have benefited by this summer's residence here". The result of that reading, reflection, and self-inspection was that Hannah, with his plans for marriage, and his necessary preoccupation with domestic arrangements, seemed far less spiritual and far more worldly than at all suited Mark in his new ascetical and "eremetical" mood. As he tells his sisters: "It is not therefore want of sociality that makes me so little ready to welcome H[annah] it is knowing that he cannot sympathize with my present feelings". That is the crux of the matter, and the essence of what Mark means by "worldliness". Hannah is accused of a lack of religious sensibility or feeling, not of unorthodoxy. "We agree cordially in intellectual opinions", Mark explains,

but not, I fear, in what is much more important, in feeling. His heart and thoughts are all with the world--he has no notion of practical piety or devotion--having been behind the scenes, he knows that many who make the loudest pretensions to it, have it not, and thence concludes that there is no such thing. To me the greatest solace I have is my share in the little congregation of S. Mary's, morning and evening so that I feel, when I miss, quite put out. Besides this H[annah] bores me with that vile Little King, of which I am altogether thoroughly sick. I don't mean, however, to let him put me out; I shall go on in my old way, and make the most I can of him.⁶⁴

With that, Mark began to put a distance between himself and his colleague, and erstwhile friend, John Hannah. Never again were they to be on such

⁶³ See MSP. 44, ff. 143-144. 22 August 1842.

⁶⁴ MSS. Lincoln College, 6, 3 September 1842. The "vile Little King" refers to John Hannah's edition of Poems and Psalms by H[enry] K[ing] (Oxford, 1843).

terms as they had been before the summer of 1842. Mark came to distrust the friendship of a worthy man who might have been a true friend and staunch ally in the years to come. But John Hannah's heart and thoughts were "all with the world". His friendship was not for a man whose models now were the monks and hermits of the early Church.

That Mark really meant to go on in the "old way", by which he meant the new way of asceticism, and not let Hannah's supposed worldliness, or anyone else's for that matter, divert him from it, is clear from the entries in his notebooks and diaries in the ensuing months. Certainly, he was not the only one among the Tractarians to be so attracted by the ascetical ideal at this period. For, at the end of October, Newman felt obliged to warn his followers in a sermon at St. Mary's against too enthusiastic an indulgence in ascetical practices. He reminded them that an ascetical life was not easy and that ascetical disciplines ought not to be adopted lightly, and in most cases, better not at all. Mark heard this sermon and was much impressed by it. He noted specifically Newman's warning that the practice of making private vows was a dangerous one when undertaken without competent advice. There is no evidence that he ever embarked on such a course, however; but, in his present mood, it is not inconceivable that he may have considered it. If so, Newman's warning was salutary, and seems to have been heeded. Indeed, Mark agrees with him that it is imprudent and unwise to rely on oneself in matters of religious discipline, and that one ought to seek competent direction. "There cannot be any fixedness or uniformity of religious principle among the community with us, until we admit this", he reflects, echoing in part Newman's words, "and learn to submit our spirits in religious things to the guidance of

those who have knowledge and experience".⁶⁵ There is no sign, however, that he went to Newman or to anyone else (to Pusey, for example) for direction at this period. Rather, we find him continuing on his own, shunning everything that savoured of "worldliness", critical of those who (as he believed) were tainted with it, and even, like Thomas à Kempis, doubting the real value of learning. "We should abandon all forms of learning", says an entry in his commonplace book at the end of 1842; "we should deport ourselves here, as children or slaves who do not dare to speak in presence of their parents or masters; we should submit our whole being to the guidance of God".⁶⁶ The words are not his; but he must have approved the sentiment to have entered them at all--an extraordinary about-face for such a one as Mark Pattison.

In the midst of these sombre reflections on the vanity of the world and of all earthly endeavour, Mark was appointed Tutor of Lincoln College. The appointment was made necessary in October 1842 (not in 1843, as the Memoirs say)⁶⁷ by the elder William Kay's having "quitted College for good", as Mark put it in a letter to his sisters.⁶⁸ No doubt, he was happy that one of the "old fogies" of the College was at last removed.⁶⁹ The Rector, John Radford, decided to divide Kay's responsibilities between two of the Junior Fellows, Pattison and William Kay (Junior). The stipend also was to be shared between them. Mark was to take the tuition in Classics, Kay

⁶⁵MSP. 6, f. 118. 30 October [1842].

⁶⁶MSP. 6, f. 119. [December 1842.]

⁶⁷Memoirs, p. 186.

⁶⁸MSS. Lincoln College, 8, 12 October 1842.

⁶⁹MSS. Lincoln College, P, [24 June 1842].

in mathematics, and Mark might retain his post as Greek Lecturer. There was only one drawback. Mark and the younger Kay were to share equally the responsibility for the College's tuition with Richard Michell, but the income from the tuition was to be divided unequally, by far the larger share going to Michell. Mark protested the terms of the appointment, but Radford was adamant. On 15 October 1842, three days after the announcement of the new arrangements, he wrote to Mark to say that he could do nothing about the large proportion of the income that was to go to Richard Michell, but that the new Tutors could rest assured that they would be placed "on an equally independent footing with Michell".⁷⁰ In effect, for fear of losing undergraduates, the College was paying for Michell's reputation. But the unfairness of the arrangement only contributed to Mark's already strong dislike of Michell, and to his desire to see Michell's power destroyed forever at Lincoln College.

In the Memoirs Pattison says that his appointment as Tutor of his College was a crucial factor in his not following Newman in 1845. The Tutorship, he writes, "contributed powerfully to save me". It cost him "some very hard steady work", he says, and gave him "a serious object in life, beyond holding up one of the banners of the Puseyite party". He concludes, therefore, that it was "chiefly owing to this that when the crash came in 1845 I did not follow Newman. Not that my belief in the necessity of finding and joining the Catholic Church was as yet shaken, but I would take time to examine my conscience a little further".⁷¹

⁷⁰MSP. 60, ff. 8-9. 15 October 1842.

⁷¹Memoirs, pp. 186-187.

There is truth in what he says, but it is by no means the whole truth. Not for a long time after his appointment in 1842 is there any sign that his new career influenced Mark's considerations about whether or not to follow Newman into the Roman Catholic Church. Initially, certainly, his new responsibilities did not cool his religious ardour. If anything, he became more ascetical after his appointment than before, and looked, with the rest of the younger party at Oxford, more determinedly to union with Rome as the point towards which all their efforts, personal and public, were to be directed. This is not to say, however, that he was unconscious of the distinction that had been conferred upon him. He was very much aware of it, as is made clear in the letter in which he gave the news of his appointment to his sisters at Hauxwell. "This is a great step for me (as far as this world goes)--the greatest I have made yet", he tells them on 12 October 1842:

but it's [sic] honour and emolument are of course attended with a proportionate increase of labour and responsibility. I shall have very much less time for my own reading--but still less attention and energy for it, when there is such a demand upon these in another direction--especially at first while new to the work. In this respect the G[reek] Lecture has been of great advantage in preparing me for the place of Tutor--I am not new to men, nor they to me.⁷²

As one would expect, he set to work with a will, and prepared his lectures thoroughly and conscientiously. Later in the term, at two o'clock one Friday afternoon when he had finished his last lecture and had a few hours to spare in his busy schedule, he sat down at his desk to give his sisters an account of his duties at Lincoln and his manner of going about them.

⁷²MSS. Lincoln College, 8, 12 October 1842.

"I must write by to day's post--though but a few lines", he begins:

I am a happy man at present--for a few hours--I don't think I told you that by a new arrangement of the hours, I have 3 hours one day and only 1 the other--and on Sat[urday] none at all--so that from 2 oclock on Friday till 10 I am at peace--i.e. barring a private drive tomorrow for an hour--and Hussey's Lecture.⁷³ It was to enable Kay and myself to attend Hussey that the alteration was made--and I do not dislike the plan. Hussey is reading Eusebius with us--we do not construe, but he catechises us pretty closely--so much so as to put one in a considerable funk when the question comes round. Thus I have quite as much as I can do--what with lecturing and being lectured. . . . I have seen so little of my books latterly that I have regularly to get up both the Sophocles and the Herodotus, and work at it like an Undergraduate--so that besides the hours of actual Lecture much time is taken up in preparation. Add to this--a Private Pupil--having to see men to advise, or row, or look over Latin, or work them for Little-go--in the Evening--and then the Eusebius for Hussey--and you may guess that I have no time for anything else. In order to keep up to the work I have to take a walk of two hours at least every day--and I never go to bed, if I can possibly help it, later than 12. It is a very great treat if I can steal 1/2 an hour in the Ev[enin]g for Newman's Essay on Miracles wh[ich] I have been reading ever since Term began, and have not got half through yet. Don't think from this, that I want to make myself out as an overworked man--many here are doing much more than I--and I have nothing but what I can well get through and time and practice will enable me to do it with less exertion than I can at present. If you have Froude's Remains, look at his letter when he first started as College Tutor--it exactly expresses my condition and feelings.⁷⁴

Nothing in what he says suggests that he had either time or inclination to think of anything besides his work as Greek Lecturer and the College's new Tutor in Classics. Yet it was during this period, in the autumn of 1842, that he was endeavouring in his private life to emulate the style and tone of the early monks, criticizing friends and colleagues for their unworldliness, and so far agreeing with a religious writer that learning

⁷³ Robert Hussey (1801-1856), Regius Professor of Ecclesiastical History.

⁷⁴ MSS. Lincoln College, no number [October/November 1842].

ought to be abandoned for an unthinking submission "to the guidance of God", as to enter her advice in his commonplace book. Not for a long time indeed would his new responsibilities begin to impinge on his religious idealism. More: he took a new interest in the undergraduates, looking now not merely for intellectual ability, but for some sign of a developed or developing religious sensibility. He was most scrupulous (as Newman was also) not to influence his students directly; but he could not help doing so indirectly as when, lecturing on the Greek New Testament, he "could not give the heretical interpretation of the Text". Evidence of intellectual ability and a love of reading in an undergraduate made him happy. He rejoiced most of all, however, when he found unexpected signs that Tractarianism had penetrated even Lincoln's hostile domain. In January 1843 he tells Eleanor how pleasantly surprised he was to discover that "the infection of Puseyism" was to be found even among Lincoln undergraduates. "One of our Scholars has been up [a] good part of the Vacation", he writes,

Smith--you must have heard me speak of him as our crack man (i.e. to be a double first etc.[et]c) and I am rejoiced to say that, from all appearances, he is advancing in a really religious course. To my surprize, he has been a regular attendant at daily prayers and the early comm[unio]n all the Vacation--at Chapel, during Term he has always been so; but that might have been out of obedience to Coll[ege] discipline. This has given me a great deal of pleasure--for though I knew that the infection of Puseyism had lately penetrated even into L[incoln] and that there was a knot of our Undergraduates more or less well-inclined, I had never seen much evidence of it's [sic] having really laid hold of their minds and lives--I have never in any way encouraged them, and have most scrupulously abstained from mentioning the subject in conversation with them. To be sure in a Greek Test[ament] Lect[ure] I could not give the heretical interpretation of the Text--but even there I have acted with the utmost possible

extent of Reserve--so that nothing of it is owing directly to me.⁷⁵

Not directly, perhaps; but in the Oxford of the mid-1840s where party lines were so clearly, if crudely, drawn, the Lincoln undergraduates would be sure to know to which party Mr Pattison belonged. Lincoln was a small College where everyone knew everyone else. Mark's example would be sure to tell. And if anyone were to wish to follow his example, and to go as far as he had gone by the end of 1842, such a person would need to abandon all thought of the Church of England as properly Catholic, and to fix his eyes on union with Rome as the proper end of all who wished to belong to a Church that was both Catholic and Apostolic. For such, by the end of 1842, was Mark Pattison's true belief. There can be no doubt that this was so; for he says it plainly in a letter to Eleanor at the end of December in which he gives his opinion of the latest scandal to touch upon Newman's name and reputation.

On 15 December 1842, a young clergyman (and former Fellow of Magdalen) named Bernard Smith became a Roman Catholic. That did not scandalize Oxford so much as the rumour that Newman had been in constant touch with Smith before his conversion. He had encouraged him (it was said) to remain at his post even after he had become a Roman Catholic so as to subvert his parishioners and to lead as many of them as he could into the Church of Rome. The story was a fiction, of course. Newman denied it outright. But very few believed him. Golightly made a great sensation out of it in the Oxford Herald, and Pusey was told that Bernard Smith's Bishop, Bishop Kaye of Lincoln, on being shown Newman's printed denial, remarked:

⁷⁵ MSS. Lincoln College, NN, [January 1843].

"Ah, these Oxford men are disingenuous".⁷⁶ Mark had known Bernard Smith as an undergraduate at Oriel, but had not kept up the acquaintance after Smith had been elected to a Demyship at Magdalen.⁷⁷ He liked Smith (a "most amiable fellow", he calls him in his letter to Eleanor), and he was not scandalized by his conversion. But he was very put out all the same. He thought that the Oxford Herald had been "tolerably correct" in its description of Smith as not very strong-minded. What annoyed Mark, however, was not that Smith had become a Roman Catholic, but that he should have done so on his own initiative. Smith ought to have waited for his confederates in the movement, Mark thought, for they ought all to go to Rome not individually, but in a body. "As to the action itself I have nothing to say", he tells Eleanor on 31 December:

Every person of religious views must naturally prefer the acknowledged Fellowship of the Saints to our, at best, dubious position--but it is time and circumstance that are so annoying. There seems to me something so selfish in thus providing for oneself, and leaving one's friends (who are quite as fully alive to their critical condition) to shift for themselves--besides the additional embarrassment occasioned to them by the newspaper outcry upon the occasion. Every fresh convert too strengthens the belief that all that is to come of the whole business is a number of individual conversions. And to go to Oscott too! It wouldn't be so bad if they did it at Rome--but English Catholics are a shabby set, I think.⁷⁸

Smith's only fault, then, was that he had shifted for himself. He had not waited to go with his friends. For in Mark's scheme of things, there

⁷⁶ Meriol Trevor, Newman: The Pillar of the Cloud (London, 1962), p. 286.

⁷⁷ MSS. Lincoln College, 10, 31 December 1842.

⁷⁸ MSS. Lincoln College, 10, 31 December 1842.

were to be no individual conversions. If the Tractarians were to go to Rome at all (and, clearly, he believes that they must do so at some point), they would go to Rome in a body. And literally to Rome too, it seems; there would be no going to shabby little Oscott (where, in fact, Newman went after his reception as a Roman Catholic). Preferably, they would all go to Rome together, to the feet of the Pope himself, perhaps, and there submit. What an impression that would make! However, the truth had not yet dawned on Mark, or on his friends (for there were a number of others who thought in a similar vein),⁷⁹ that if there was to be any "going over" to Rome, it would be a long and hard and lonely journey, and unheroic too--at least, to outward appearances. Contrary, therefore, to what Mark thought at the time, Bernard Smith's way was the way by which all must go, and would go, who were intent on becoming Roman Catholics. Mark's way was a fantasy merely.

Eager as he was, then, by the end of 1842, for all things Roman, it is clear that he had not yet considered or even begun to understand the real implications of his thinking. There was, however, one moment early in 1843 when he seemed to hesitate about the direction he was taking. But it was only for a moment. The pressure of external events, both at Oxford and at Hauxwell, soon dispelled his doubts. Brief as it was, however, that moment of hesitation is significant. Just for an instant, Mark seems to perceive that there is something fundamentally inconsistent in his thinking and that that inconsistency has very large implications.

Sometime during the spring of 1843 he began to ponder the nature

⁷⁹ See Oakeley, 'Historical Notes of the Tractarian Movement,' I (1863), 494-508 (pp. 507-508).

of Church history. If there be only one true Church, he thought, there can be only one true history of the Church. It followed, then, that not only must he seek the one true Church, but he must also seek what must be the one true history of the Church. "But where is this to be found?", he asked himself in his diary. "Is it possible to trace one uniform, pervading theory in the Chronicles of the ages when the Church was one?" If it were so possible, and if such a theory could be discovered, then (he thought) "our business in reading history should be to draw out this view, not to frame new and fine theories of our own". However, when he examined the Church's past in search of such a theory, he could see only a chaos of inconsistency where nothing pointed reliably to the truth. "In all the disputes, quarrels, and questions agitated in the Church, was there ever a time when one party was not in the right, was not fighting 'in causa Dei'", he asked himself in his frustration:

Is the scene of human affairs to be looked on as one where men struggle blindly and erringly, as a matter of course, where a Christian can never thoroughly sympathize with any party--Is the hopeless and uncomfortable doctrine true, that no party is a just representative of its own principles? If it is the Visible Church becomes a shadow--our union is one not of Persons, but of thoughts.⁸⁰

That reflection, if supported, followed through, and made into a consistent theory, must have undermined Mark's entire religious position, and led him to break his ties with Newman and the Oxford Movement much sooner than he did. For, if the "Visible Church" were merely a shadow, or even an illusion, what could be the point of conversions and submissions, of distinctions between Rome and Canterbury, of all the disputes about doctrine, discipline,

⁸⁰MSP. 6, ff. 124-125. [March/April 1843.]

and devotion? Mark did not go that far in his thinking, however. A doubt had risen to the surface of his mind. He had examined it anxiously for an instant, and then dropped it; and it sank again without a trace. Life and thought went on as before, undisturbed. His confidence in the ideal he had chosen to serve was still strong and unshaken and nothing, it seemed, would deflect him from it, not the denunciation of his party's opponents at Oxford and in the public press, nor his father's fulminations at Hauxwell, far away in Yorkshire.

At Hauxwell, indeed, the state of affairs was as bad, if not worse than ever. The Rector's war against Mark and his sisters had been carried on without respite for a full ten months after Mark's Christmas visit in 1841. Then had come what Fanny called a "very transient sunshine", a period of relative calm for a month or so.⁸¹ Late in November 1842, Eleanor began a family paper which she called the Hauxwell Chronicle. It was designed chiefly for the amusement and instruction of her younger sisters. Mark received the first number late in November, and the second a week or so later.⁸² He approved of the project ("your approval in anything is worth working for", Eleanor responded),⁸³ but warned his sister that the Hauxwell Chronicle might cause an explosion in the Rectory. Eleanor, however, was optimistic. The children enjoyed having it read to them, and the Rector had not demurred. "Papa listens but never comments", she reported on 2 December, "as indeed he never does upon word, look or action

⁸¹MSP. 44, f. 222. [9 December 1842.]

⁸²MSP. 44, ff. 202, 208. 24 November, 2 December 1842.

⁸³MSP. 44, f. 206. [30 November 1842.]

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⁸²MSP. 44, ff. 202, 208. 24 November, 2 December 1842.

⁸³MSP. 44, f. 206. [30 November 1842.]

of mine no more than if I were not here".⁸⁴ Two days later, on the eve of the anniversary of the Rector's first explosion of rage against his daughters, there were ominous signs of a coming storm. "[Y]esterday aft[ernoon]" wrote Eleanor on 5 December, "I happened like a fool as I was to take out my book [apparently, a volume of Kenelm Digby's Mores Catholici]⁸⁵ to read whilst Papa was asleep as I thought in the great chair, when suddenly he came upon me again with a string of all the old charges--a crusade against Christianity etc--and an attempt to convert the children".⁸⁶ Eleanor remained silent as far as possible in the face of this onslaught and made herself scarce for the rest of the evening. She hoped that what had happened did not bode further trouble. But her birthday was on 8 December, four days later. On that day a year previously the Rector had launched one of his most abusive tirades against her. Her sisters wondered anxiously whether the same would happen again. At Hauxwell, Eleanor was in "enemies [sic] country", Fanny reported from the safety of her aunt's home at Ainderby.⁸⁷ The Rector did not forget. He turned on Eleanor in a rage even more savage and terrible than the previous year's. "For a few minutes we were all in bodily fear", Eleanor reported the next day. "What will become of us God only knows".⁸⁸ Mark wrote at once to console her, and warned her to give his father as

⁸⁴MSP. 44, f. 208.

⁸⁵See MSP. 44, ff. 208-209, 212-213. 2 December, 5 December 1842. [Kenelm H. Digby], Mores Catholici: or, Ages of Faith, 11 vols (London, 1831-1842).

⁸⁶MSP. 44, f. 210.

⁸⁷MSP. 44, ff. 216-217. 8 December [1842].

⁸⁸MSP. 44, f. 218. 9 December [1842].

little opportunity as possible to take offence at her conduct. His sisters were deeply touched by his sympathy, and Eleanor replied gratefully: "My dear Brother, It is a great comfort in all our troubles to have you to run to and a still greater to receive letters so full of true comfort and true advice".⁸⁹ Her father, she reported, had singled her out as the chief object of his anger. He refused to look at her or speak to her, or even talk while she was in the room. Mark he described as her "father confessor".⁹⁰ Soon, a pall of gloom and depression began to settle over the Rectory. Christmas was approaching, but the Rector would not even allow the word to be mentioned in his hearing because its ending, he said, was "Papist".⁹¹ Eleanor was obliged to give up the Hauxwell Chronicle, and the sisters feared that they would have to end their subscription to the British Critic. "Should Papa hear or see that we had it, I could not ensure our lives one moment", Eleanor wrote to Mark. "The loss would be incalculable--like your remaining away[,] but I fear only necessary".⁹² Christmas Day passed off in unexpected peace, however, but the next day saw the storms begin afresh. The Rector, in bed with a cold, ordered Eleanor and Rachel to bring breakfast to his room. Eleanor tells what happened next:

. . . as soon as I had put it down, he sent Rachel away and began talking to me at first quietly and complainingly till by degrees he had worked himself up into a fume and got shockingly excited--I was alone and felt rather afraid but I mustered all my courage, looked as steady as I could

⁸⁹MSP. 44, ff. 224, 234-235. 13 December, [20 December] 1842.

⁹⁰MSP. 44, f. 224. 13 December 1842.

⁹¹MSP. 44, ff. 228-229. 16 December 1842.

⁹²MSP. 44, f. 230. 19 December 1842.

and spoke up--in the end he got calm again so I thought that perhaps it was best vented . . . I was sorry on reflection that I had not said more for you even at the risk of enraging him--I told him that I thought you had given sufficient proof of your feelings towards him . . . that it was hard to recollect your offences whatever they were of 10 years standing, as he did . . . he said he was not the only one to dislike your Popery--I--that you were not the only one to hold it . . . and in this manner we went on till near 11 o'clock when he let me off to get my breakfast ⁹³

Ten days or so later, Eleanor encountered her father unexpectedly in the lane leading down from the Rectory. He turned on her at once, "cursed me, spit in my face several times and used most horrid language", she reported to Mark. She was terrified, and ran off down the lane with her father in pursuit. Fortunately his heavy clogs hindered him and she escaped. He returned to the house, stormed about frightening everyone, took what money there was, and decamped--only to appear again several hours later.⁹⁴ Within days, he had banished Eleanor to a room upstairs and threatened to destroy all his daughters' books. But Mark's sisters managed to conceal their Tractarian books under a bed. They feared, however, that some harm would come to themselves, and especially to Eleanor. Mary became convinced that the Rector was ill. Eleanor, she reported on 9 January 1843, had just prevented him from striking his wife. She began to fear that he would hurt, or even murder, one of the family. Fanny, on the other hand, decided that it was not illness, but the Rector's gross ill nature that was the cause of their troubles. She, too, however, feared for Eleanor's

⁹³MSP. 44, f. 242. [26 December 1842.]

⁹⁴MSP. 45, f. 5. [6 January] 1843.

safety.⁹⁵ They both asked for Mark's advice. What could he do? He advised them, it seems, to consult Dr. Simpson at York who had taken his father's case in 1834. But the Rector retired to the "bookroom" at the end of January, and quiet was restored. Then, suddenly, he was at it again, denouncing his family in the pulpit of Hauxwell Church, and threatening to seek a separation from his wife because, he said, she was a "Papist".⁹⁶ At this point Mark's aunt, Mary Meadows, wrote an urgent letter to say that something had to be done if no harm was to come to his mother and sisters. But the Rector's wife thought differently. "Is a Minister[']s preaching, a minister[']s conduct in his parish to be pronounced wrong and he be considered unfit for his office because some young persons in his flock do not think him right?", she asked her daughters. She hoped Eleanor's physical safety could be ensured, she told them, but she could not be certain of it.⁹⁷ Meanwhile, she went about in complete submission to her husband's every whim, even when he humiliated her. At the slightest sign of attention from him, she was grateful. She looked "quite proud of his restored notice and privileges (so called)", Eleanor reported on one occasion; and on another, when the Rector had preached a sermon against his wife to the little congregation in Hauxwell Church, she remarked: "If Mama will lick his hand whenever it is raised to strike her, what can we do?".⁹⁸ Mark's mother refused to take her daughters' part against her husband, and

⁹⁵ MSP. 45, ff. 13-14, 15-16. 9, 13 January 1843.

⁹⁶ MSP. 45, ff. 25-26, 30-31. [30 January, 2 February 1843.]

⁹⁷ MSP. 45, f. 35. 4 February [1843].

⁹⁸ MSP. 45, ff. 26, 64. [30 January], 20 March [1843].

pleaded with them to follow her example and to soothe the Rector's wounded feelings. But her daughters could only wonder at what seemed to them a complete lack of self-respect in their mother.⁹⁹

At the beginning of March 1843, Mark and his sisters made plans for the Lenten period that would soon be upon them. At Oxford Mark had taken to following the canonical hours of the Roman Breviary. His sisters decided to follow his example. They rose at five in the morning to begin the day with Matins, although, strictly speaking, Fanny reported they felt that the proper time for Matins was an hour earlier.¹⁰⁰ During the day they paused in work or study to recite the Psalms and readings set down for each of the hours of Prime, Terce, Sext, None and Vespers, and ended with Compline in the evening. They fasted, also, and abstained from meat, but were careful at Mark's urging not to injure their health. He reminded them, however, that self-sacrifice was an essential part of what he called "religious living". "Those who have never been told of the 'mysterious joys of self-sacrifice' may be excusable", he wrote, "but those who are able to admire, are self-condemned if they do not attempt to practise, religious living. I write this not to you only, but to impress it by the act of writing, on myself--I have done wrong in this respect myself".¹⁰¹ Of course, this semi-monastic regimen did not go unnoticed. The Rector threatened to disgrace them all, Eleanor reported, by saying to guests: "Will you join the Papists in the dining room or be content to partake the

⁹⁹ MSP. 45, f. 26. [30 January 1843.]

¹⁰⁰ MSP. 45, ff. 90-91. 12 April 1843.

¹⁰¹ MSS. Lincoln College, XX, [March/April 1843.]

fare of the poor solitary persecuted Protestant here[?]"¹⁰² The sisters began to dread the approach of Easter (16 April) and the storm that was sure to burst upon them.¹⁰³ The Rector, however, did not wait for Easter. About the middle of March, Mark received an urgent letter from his mother to say that he must vindicate himself at once (she was sure that he would be able to, otherwise she would not ask) of "a most awful charge" that the Rector had made against him. He says repeatedly, she wrote, that his son had put a curse upon him.¹⁰⁴ One can imagine the shock and disgust with which Mark greeted such tidings. He replied angrily to her letter, complaining of her treatment of him and refusing to vindicate himself. But she could not comprehend the reasons for his anger, and was only hurt by it.¹⁰⁵ Meanwhile, the Rector had become much worse by the end of March and went about shouting and crying out in a manner that terrified them all; "he walks about quivering in every limb, and his mouth quite white with foam", Eleanor reported.¹⁰⁶ Mark had already advised his mother to consult Dr. Simpson at York. At last, she did write to him (Eleanor sent a copy of the letter to her brother), but, in the meantime, went to Richmond to see the family physician, old Dr Bowes. He had called at the Rectory in February, but had only exacerbated matters by recalling that his daughter, too, had once been on the verge of becoming a Roman Catholic. The only

¹⁰² MSP. 45, f. 225. [March] 1843.

¹⁰³ MSP. 45, ff. 55-56. 10 March [1843].

¹⁰⁴ MSP. 45, ff. 60-61. 11 March 1843.

¹⁰⁵ MSP. 45, ff. 70-71. 24 [March 1843].

¹⁰⁶ MSP. 45, f. 68. 24 March [1843].

thing to be done, he had said, was to soothe the Rector's feelings. This time, however, he suggested a stronger remedy: "put down Tractarianism", he said.¹⁰⁷ Dr Simpson's remedy was no more helpful. He prescribed leeches and powders and advised conciliation.¹⁰⁸ Mark's advice was more to the point. He urged Eleanor, the chief source at Hauxwell of his father's aggravation, to leave the house. "[Y]ou say that if I had had spirit and sense I should not have endured this so long", Eleanor responded in April. "I feel it so myself", she admitted, "and feel that if I did not suffer myself to be so weakly and I must say it foolishly guided by those who have got a right to control me I should not have been here. I should have decamped long ago".¹⁰⁹ In other words, Eleanor was her mother's true daughter. She subscribed to the same code of obedience to an authority vested in her father that her mother subscribed to, and that had made Mrs Pattison virtually a slave to her husband's whims. Mark could not persuade Eleanor to remove herself from the scene. At Hauxwell, his mother constantly impressed it upon her daughters that the Rector's behaviour did not excuse them from the loyalty and obedience that were owed to him. All Mark could do was to console and encourage his sisters; to enter into their troubles and distract their attention from their sufferings by giving them other things to think about; and to foster a religious ideal by which he believed trouble and suffering might be made to have some point in their lives and not appear to be entirely void of sense or purpose.

¹⁰⁷ MSP. 45, ff. 32-33, 72. 4 February, 25 March [1843].

¹⁰⁸ A copy of his letter in Eleanor's hand is MSP. 45, f. 76. 29 March 1843.

¹⁰⁹ MSP. 45, ff. 227-228. [April 1843.]

In another sphere, too, and that not far from Hauxwell, Mark's ideas were leading to some unexpected and uncontrollable results. At Ainderby, Philippa Meadows had been led by Mark's enthusiasm, and by her own characteristically intense curiosity about any new development in the world of ideas, to follow her cousin into the Oxford Movement. It was to be expected that she should do so, because for years Mark and Philippa had carried on a lively and strenuous correspondence in which they had discussed everything of an intellectual interest that touched upon either of them. In fact, one of Mark's chief pleasures on a visit to Hauxwell was to spend a few days at Ainderby with his cousin, aunt, and grandmother. He did so more than anything for the sake of Philippa's conversation. Not, indeed, that he could say much on his own account, for Philippa, who was endowed with a powerful and vigorous intellect and a remarkably retentive memory, read widely and deeply, and talked incessantly. Mark's sisters were rather intimidated by her because her conversation was so intellectually demanding and because they were liable to have Philippa's favourite books thrust at them to be read and pondered over by their next visit. But Mark was invigorated by his visits to Ainderby, the more so as he grew older and became better read so that each could approach the other on a more nearly equal footing. Unfortunately, however, only one side remains (so far as is known) of the Mark Pattison-Philippa Meadows correspondence. Philippa's letters are preserved among the Pattison manuscripts in the Bodleian Library. What she did with Mark's letters we cannot say. She may have destroyed them; for these two remarkable people, who knew and respected each other's abilities, would shortly find themselves in conflict on the very subject upon which they were now both agreed, their religious

convictions.

It was not until about the middle of 1842 that it became apparent that Philippa's interest in the Oxford Movement had become an obsession that was taking her further and faster than her cousin at Oxford was prepared to go. Fiercely partisan by nature (whether it be in politics, philosophy, theology, or literature), vehement in argument, intolerant of error or stupidity, and not easily given to forgiveness of past or present wrongs, Philippa had decided after a characteristically thorough investigation of the subject (within the limits of the material that was available to her) that the Church of England was not merely in a "dubious position" (as Mark had put it to Eleanor at the end of 1842),¹¹⁰ but was a thoroughly "wicked system". She had come to that conclusion as early as September 1841, but had still believed that all was not yet hopeless.¹¹¹ By the end of 1842, however, she could scarcely bring herself to attend the services at her parish church, so repugnant did she find them. On Christmas Day she returned from the communion service so agitated by the offence done to her Church principles (as Mary reported), that not even her devoted mother, Mary Meadows, could calm her. Mary wrote in shocked tones that Philippa had gone so far as to call down what seemed like a curse on her own head: "all she hoped was she should not be here another Christmas day--not by leaving the Communion but by leaving the world".¹¹²

By that time, Mark had begun to suspect that something was amiss.

¹¹⁰See above p. 222.

¹¹¹MSP. 44, f. 13. 29 September [1841].

¹¹²MSP. 44, f. 244. [28 December 1842.]

He took advantage of a prolonged Christmas visit that Fanny paid to Ainderby with her sister Mary, to ask her for an opinion of his cousin. Fanny, a naturally timid young woman, was rather frightened of Philippa, but she was a perceptive observer all the same. She knew, also, that Mark held Philippa in high regard and she reported her observations with considerable tact. "I do consider her very much altered lately and that for the better", she told her brother, "she seems much milder, more attentive to others, less inclined to find fault and squabble etc than formerly, but I cannot discover upon what principle she reconciles her behaviour to Grandmama".¹¹³ "Grandmama" was Philippa's and Mark's grandmother, Mrs Pattison, mother of the Rector of Hauxwell and his sister, Mary Meadows. Philippa's behaviour towards her was a puzzle to everyone. She refused to forgive her grandmother for some offence long past, and could not be got to speak a word to her or to take the slightest notice of her existence, although they had lived together in the same house for many years. Late in 1842, when Mrs Pattison became seriously ill and was not expected to live, Fanny reported that Philippa seemed "never to have relaxed her silence towards her nor to have gone near her".¹¹⁴ For her own part, as the holiday wore on, Fanny began to find her cousin's company very trying and Philippa herself becoming more and more vehement in the expression of her views. Philippa would not tolerate small talk, she reported; there were to be no Christmas tales, none of the fireside chats that Fanny loved. Philippa,

¹¹³MSP. 44, f. 223. 12 December [1842].

¹¹⁴MSP. 44, f. 223. 12 December [1842].

she says deferentially, is very clever as Mark knows; but she cares only for a listener: "she is quite satisfied if you only understand her meaning". She agrees that her cousin is very sure of her ground: "She does as you say see her way most clearly". But she tempers that agreement with her own observations. Philippa, she tells Mark, "is very hearty in all that she says and does; Strength, is one great feature in her character. Strong feelings, strong affections, strong hatreds, etc.". What she could do with, Fanny suggests, is a degree of tolerance; for, in spite of her cleverness, she has one serious failing: "that exceeding bitterness towards every one who differs from her".¹¹⁵ Mary, too, found Philippa's vehemence distressing, especially her extreme hatred of Anglicanism. Her cousin, she said in some wonderment, had "without any external aids besides her books worked her way out, and thrown aside the trammel of education and early bias, and now holds as high Catholic views as if she had lived in the tenth century". "Perhaps it is 'our good Cousin' has arrived by a spring or short cut to the position that many will come [to] in a longer period", she added prophetically. For the time being, however, she thought that Philippa's fierce hatred of Anglicanism made her judgment suspect.¹¹⁶ Mark may have been inclined to agree. However, he knew Philippa well and was used to her vehemence. Fanny's and Mary's observations did not hinder him from continuing to write to Philippa or from receiving her letters in return. They were agreed, after all, on the main points, and many of the minor ones, of their religious

¹¹⁵MSP. 44, ff. 245-246. 29 December 1842.

¹¹⁶MSP. 44, ff. 287-288. [December 1842.]

convictions. They even agreed about the nature of the Rector's insanity. "I agree with your view of insanity of this kind in general", Philippa wrote with her habitually strong emphasis, "that is[,] the moral character even in the worst cases of this disease". What she went on to say next, however, ought to have given her cousin pause. The treatment of insanity, she thought, is generally so profane that she would not recommend it for a fellow Christian. Doctors and hospitals were not the answer to the Rector's difficulties. The trouble was easy to see. "He has no Exorcist", she said emphatically.¹¹⁷

On 23 April 1843, Mark's grandmother died at Ainderby. She was a remarkably cheerful and lively old lady who, to everyone's astonishment, had taken to writing poetry in her old age. She had always had a special affection for Mark, as he did also for her. "I give you a carteblanche to give my love to Granny every time I write", he tells his sisters on one occasion, "indeed every day whether I write or not--[she] likes those little superseded attentions".¹¹⁸ On her deathbed, she directed that a last message be sent to her grandson at Oxford. "To that dear holy young man, give my love and blessing", she said. "I trust that he will come right at last for he is a good young man--I hope that he is not affronted with me for such advice as I have given him but tell him always to love and live worthy of the name of Mark Pattison".¹¹⁹ Her last act on behalf of her grandson was to try to effect a reconciliation between Mark and his father.

¹¹⁷ MSP. 45, f. 198. [March/April 1843.]

¹¹⁸ MSS. Lincoln College, W, [21 September 1841].

¹¹⁹ MSP. 45, f. 234. [April 1843.]

She called her son, Mark's father, to her bedside and asked him to allow Mark to conduct the services at her funeral. The Rector refused her at once. But his mother insisted that he was to consent to her wishes. When he still refused, she told him that unless he consented, he would not receive her last blessing. Reluctantly, he gave in. His wife wrote to Mark to say that his father wished him to come home to conduct the services. "My poor boy, I will never forget his love to my mother", she quoted him as saying.¹²⁰ It was Eleanor, however, who told the real story behind his father's request.¹²¹ Two days later, word came that the Rector had changed his mind. It would not be proper, he said, that Mark should officiate. His wife, however, hoped that Mark would make the journey in any case.¹²² But Mark knew from bitter experience what to expect. He decided to remain at Oxford.¹²³ At Ainderby, meanwhile, Philippa showed no sorrow at her grandmother's passing; on the contrary, Fanny reported that she seemed relieved. To the last she had refused either to see or to speak to the dying woman, and refused also to attend the funeral.¹²⁴ But, before a month was out, she had persuaded her mother that they ought to leave Ainderby for good and move south to Hursley in ^{Hampshire} ~~Wiltshire~~, where they could be near John Keble. At least at Hursley, she thought, they would be

¹²⁰ MSP. 45, f. 100. [23 April 1843.]

¹²¹ MSP. 45, ff. 102-103. [23 April 1843.]

¹²² MSP. 45, ff. 104-105. 25 April [1843].

¹²³ MSP. 45, ff. 106-107. 27 April [1843].

¹²⁴ MSP. 45, ff. 118-119. 12 May [1843].

in a truly Catholic milieu. She meant to give the Church of England just one more chance.

At Oxford, meanwhile, Mark had been making plans of his own. On 13 March Newman had asked him to draw up a catalogue of English and Irish saints from sources in the Bodleian Library.¹²⁵ Ten days later, on 23 March, Mark walked out to Littlemore with R. W. Church to see Newman, who wished to discuss with them a scheme to publish a series of lives of the saints of the British Isles. Mark was enthusiastic. When Newman suggested that they might choose which saints and centuries to work on, Church picked Anselm and the twelfth century, and Mark "seized" upon the thirteenth, his favourite century, as he told his sisters. He set to work at once. Medieval history, especially that of the thirteenth century, had formed a significant part of his reading for the past eighteen months, since he had first begun to work on 'Earliest English Poetry' for the British Critic. Now, a new purpose and direction had been given to his reading. Even more gratifying, however, was the fact that Newman had asked him to collaborate on the new scheme. Mark felt it as an honour. It showed that Newman regarded him with greater esteem than he could ever have expected or hoped for. "If there was one occupation more than other dear to me it was this", he remarked of his now "favourite study", medieval history; "and to be engaged in it in such circumstances, in such company, and under such superintendence [sic], is an honour and gratification beyond any expectation I could have ever formed". The new work had seized upon his imagination at once. "It is a long time since I have felt so eager in any subject of

¹²⁵ MSP. 45, f. 57.

study as I do at this present in this", he wrote to his sisters. "I have thought of nothing else since Thursday", he continued:

Before the last pupil has shut the door in his exit, I snatch up my book and leave Herodotus at a bound for William of Malmesbury, or Radulphus de Diceto--or some of those monastic looking names which you will see scattered along the foot of Lingard through the Hist[ory] of the 12th and 13th Centuries. A walk with Church after such a morning of intense study, brings to mind that enthusiastic description in Thierry's [Preface?] to his 'Dix Ans etc['] of his disburdenings to his friend Savigny, of the wrongs of the Saxons, after his mornings in the Library at the Arsenal. But he was only busied with political and military details, and I am permitted, by God's goodness, to trace through the same scenes, the workings of his grace and Providence. How unworthy I am of so great mercies.¹²⁶

What Mark did not know at the time was that Newman had another motive for asking him to do the work besides an appreciation of his abilities. He explains what that motive was in a letter to Keble on 18 May 1843, in which he lists Mark as one of twenty-nine collaborators in the series of Lives of the English Saints. "I thought", Newman says, referring to the new scheme,

that it would be useful, as employing the minds of persons who were in danger of running wild, and bringing them from doctrine to history, from speculation to fact; again, as giving them an interest in the English soil and English Church, and keeping them from seeking sympathy in Rome as she is; and further, as tending to promote the spread of right views.¹²⁷

The Lives of the English Saints, then, were not intended merely to inform an ignorant public about the holy men and women of the ages before the

¹²⁶ MSS. Lincoln College, 13, 25 March 1843. Augustin Thierry, Dix ans d'études historiques (Paris, 1834).

¹²⁷ Correspondence of John Henry Newman with John Keble and Others, p. 228.

Reformation. Newman hoped that by giving his more ardent followers some serious work of scholarship to spend their energies upon, their enthusiasms might be checked, and their ardour cooled. Mark Pattison, it seemed, was to be regarded as one of those younger men at Oxford "who were in danger of running wild". For Rome was in his eye. Already, about the time of Newman's letter to Keble, he had made up his mind to visit France during the Long Vacation. He wished to see for himself what the Roman Catholic Church was really like. He was convinced, like his friends Ward and Bloxam, that in France at least, the country that the Popes liked to call "the eldest daughter of the Church", he would find a Church that was unquestionably Catholic and truly Apostolic, in spite even of the ravages of the Revolution. He fixed his departure from Oxford for the end of June. In the meantime, he read everything he could lay his hands on about French history, manners, customs, and religion.

Pattison tells us in the Memoirs that his visit to France in the summer of 1843 was a disillusioning experience. "I took Catholic introductions", he says, "as I had a notion that foreign Catholics, not being converts, might be of a better mental stamp than these neo-Catholics that I had to do with at home. In a very few weeks I was undeceived". He goes on:

I saw Kenelm Digby, the author of the Mores Catholici-- fine monument of learning and industry. But I found there was no mind underneath; it was all accumulation in support of Catholic dogma. I found also rife in Parisian Catholic circles a spirit of credulity so vulgar that it could not have existed had it ever been brought into the light of day. The religious people lived among themselves; they believed every miraculous story that was brought in, and simply because it was miraculous; their mental habit had become so inexact that the idea of truth seemed to have perished from among them. The question was,

Does this alleged fact redound to the glory of the Church?
 If it does it is not to be questioned; if it is against
 the Church it is a fiction of the Voltairians.¹²⁸

That account of Mark's visit to France in 1843 is wholly at odds with the facts. In the first place, there is no sign that before he left for Paris, he was dissatisfied with the intellectual calibre of his "neo-Catholic" friends at Oxford, men such as Ward, Morris, Oakeley, Bloxam, and Seager. In the second place, he knew no one in France in 1843 and was glad to have a letter of introduction from Bloxam to the Superior of the Sulpicien Seminary in Paris. There is no sign that he had any other purpose in mind. Thirdly, he did not meet Kenelm Digby in 1843, or find him out, as it were. He met the author of the Mores Catholici for the first time two years later, when he was introduced to him in Paris by Charles Seager. Fourthly, he was not introduced to "Parisian Catholic circles" in 1843. He met no one at Paris outside the rather narrow circle of priests and students at the Seminary of St Sulpice. Finally, he was not disillusioned by his visit, or "undeceived", as he claims to have been. He returned to England as convinced as ever, if not more so, that the end of all his endeavours at Oxford must be union with the Church of Rome. How that union was to be achieved, and when, he could not say; but he was sure that it must come some day, and the sooner the better. Why, then, do the Memoirs give such an erroneous impression of Mark's first visit to France? The likeliest explanation would seem to be that Pattison's memory failed him and that impressions acquired on subsequent visits were conflated in his mind. That being the case, his judgment on the Catholic circles of Paris may be open to

¹²⁸Memoirs, pp. 211-212.

question, and one is entitled to ask whether later antipathy did not inform and colour recollection. Certainly, the account he gives of his visit to Paris in 1843 is not the true one. What really happened is as follows.

He left Oxford for Southampton on Monday 26 June, took the overnight ferry to Le Havre, and met on board two former Oxford men, one, H. L. Prior, formerly scholar of Trinity College and now a Master at Winchester, and the other, S. B. Stewart, a scholar of Brasenose. The three went together to Rouen where after a brief visit, Mark went on alone to Paris, the chief object of his journey. Prior and Stewart joined him two days later and the three Englishmen spent the rest of the week walking about the streets of the city "looking at the outsides of places and getting a knowledge of the locale, the mode of living etc". Prior left Paris on the Friday, and on the Sunday Mark slipped away from Stewart to set about (as he told his sisters) "the chief object of my journey". He went first to the Church of St Sulpice to attend the High Mass there. It was "a great occasion", he wrote, for on that day the Mass was celebrated with even greater splendour and ceremony than usual, in honour of Saints Peter and Paul, whose feast-day had fallen on the previous Thursday. After the ceremony, Mark called at the Seminary nearby with a letter of introduction from Bloxam to "one of the superiors", the Abbé Faillon. The Abbé, he reported to Hauxwell,

received me most cordially, and introduced me to one of the Professors of the Seminary Mr. Lehir, who speaks English--and to an English student who is there preparing for the English mission--Mr. Parkinson, a Lancashire man--After an hour[']s talk with them I took leave having been invited to go with them on Wednesday to Issy, a country house, or succursale, of the Seminary, to spend the day.¹²⁹

¹²⁹MSS. Lincoln College, I, 3-7 July [1843].

This, then, was Mark's introduction to "Parisian Catholic circles" in 1843. It was the only circle with which he was to become acquainted on that visit. It is worth noting, too, that it was a very limited circle, made up entirely of priests and students at the Seminary of St Sulpice, and limited even then chiefly to those among them who could speak English, namely one French priest and one English student. For his inability to speak French fluently and to understand others when they spoke it to him, proved to be a considerable barrier to conversation on this, his first visit to France. He was able to read French with ease, even took lessons in speaking the language every day while he was in Paris, and could make himself understood in simple things without much difficulty ("they are so quick at catching one's meaning"). But he was "vastly disappointed" at not being able to understand a word that was said to him. "With Mr. Faillon and the other Superiors I could have but little conversation owing to my want of French", he told his sisters, "and Latin is less useful than one would think, owing to our different pronunciation of it". The problem was all the more unexpected because he had no difficulty with the written word; "indeed in conversation it is not that I do not know the words", he explained to his sisters,

but I cannot catch them, I do not recognize the commonest word in a French mouth--for the moment that they are written down I understand what has been said perhaps 1/2 a dozen times without my getting it. Indeed, so entirely different seems to me the mechanism of their mouths that I am almost as much at a loss to understand them when they speak English.¹³⁰

He was limited, then, in his ability to ask questions and to comprehend

¹³⁰ MSS. Lincoln College, I, 3-7 July [1843].

what was being said around him. He had to depend on those who could speak to him in English, on Parkinson, for instance, or on M. Lehir. There was Stewart, of course, who did not leave Paris until the end of Mark's second week there, but Stewart was not a Roman Catholic.

For two days after his visit to St Sulpice Mark was confined to his lodgings by illness. On the Wednesday morning, however, he was at the Seminary doors promptly at nine. M. Lehir, the Professor of Oriental Languages, met him as arranged and showed him the library, after which they set off to spend the day at Issy. "Every Wed[nesday] is a holiday and the students go out to recreate themselves there for the whole day", he explains to his sisters. "The grounds are very extensive, laid out in the Louis XIV style", he continues:

and at every turn you come upon some object of piety, a chapel, a crucifix, a statue of the B.V.M. [Blessed Virgin Mary] or some Saint, with most likely 3 or 4 Students kneeling before it engaged in prayer or meditation. We dined in the Hall at 1 all the students in ecclesiastical dress to the number of about 200--ecclesiastics serving. After dinner we all adjourned to the Chapel of Loretta [sic],--an exact copy in size and every other respect of the famous one in Italy--for the Angelus--and then strolled about the grounds conversing. I got much information about the French Clergy, and was able in return to give them a correct version of the case of Docteur Pusey's sermon,¹³¹ about wh[ich] however they were not very curious. At the proper time I joined Mr. Lehir and Parkinson in saying Vespers--the Paris Breviary is very little different from the Roman--in a Spiritual Exercise of 1/2 an hour, which in compliment to me was selected from B[ishop] Hayes, a Scotch (Catholic) B[ishop] and then took my leave.

He had been immensely impressed. "I cannot tell you how much I was edified by this day's visit--or the number of things I heard and saw", he wrote to

¹³¹ 'The Holy Eucharist a Comfort to the Penitent', preached at Christ Church on 14 May 1843, which resulted in Pusey's being suspended for two years from preaching in the University. See Liddon, Pusey, II, pp. 306-369.

his sisters. For students and priests alike he had nothing but praise:

The pious, devotional spirit which seems to animate them--the total disconnection from the world, from which they have nothing to look for, and the continual turning of the soul to God in every word and action is a sight to rejoice the heart. I never saw the Christian life so realized before. Mr. Lehir especially, though not a man of much intellect, seems animated with a most deep religious spirit--he seems to have but one thought--the saving of his own soul, and those entrusted to him. What a contrast between this seminary and one of our Colleges! even taking the best of them--between our short and badly attended Prayers, and their almost hourly solemn and serious worship.¹³²

For the next two days Mark was again confined to his lodgings by illness and by bad weather. Stewart left him for Geneva at the end of the week, and it may have been the combination of illness, bad weather, and loneliness that put Mark into a melancholy mood, for by the end of his second week in Paris he wished to be rid of the city. "Walking this evening in the Garden of the Tuileries I felt very strongly how melancholy an object is this city with all it's [sic] gaiety and splendour, or rather because of that very gaiety", he reflected in a letter to his sisters on 8 July. "Surely it is not without danger that one mixes oneself, though but corporeally, with it's [sic] most ungodly population". He goes on to catalogue for them the great evils that have befallen France as a result of the Revolution: the royal family, "once the noblest and most regal in the world, now but one step above the President of the U[nited] States"; its "glorious palaces . . . now turned into old curiosity shops for the Sunday's rabble"; the King confined to a small chateau; the country once

¹³² MSS. Lincoln College, I, 3-7 July [1843].

regarded as the eldest daughter of the Church, "now not even Catholic in name--Louis Philippe dare not go to mass on account of the ridicule it would excite". "The atrocities of the Revolution are not only not repented of", he laments, "but made a glory and a boast--the hateful tricolor meets the eye everywhere, and the Pillar on the Place Bastille asserts the palpable lie that it was for the liberties of their country that the citizens fought and bled on July 30".¹³³

These are melancholy reflections for a young man, not yet turned thirty, as he walks about on a summer's evening on his first visit to Paris. But, for all that, they are in keeping with the attitude that Mark had taken towards "the world" since the previous summer, when he had immersed himself in his rooms at Lincoln in a study of the ancient monks and hermits. For Mark's point of view is not so much political as religious when he reflects upon the condition of Paris and of France in the summer of 1843. Religious, indeed, in a peculiar way, for he did not regard the world as a religious layman, or even a cleric might. His point of view is that of the strict ascetic, of the monk who has withdrawn from the world of everyday concerns to devote himself with single-minded intensity to working out his eternal salvation. Of course, in Mark Pattison there was neither that severe asceticism nor complete withdrawal, nor even the single-mindedness that he had discovered and admired in the ancient anchorites. But he still aspired to that ascetical ideal. He had fostered something like it in his sisters at Hauxwell and admired it in the discipline and devotion of the

¹³³MSS. Lincoln College, QQ, 8-[10] July [1843]. Mark appears to have in mind the Revolutions both of 1789 and of July 1830.

Sulpiciens at Issy. Indeed, in Mark's mind and imagination at this time, two ideas seem to have fused: the ideal to which every Christian was supposed to aspire, of a life informed in every sphere by his religious convictions; and the ideal to which only a few chose to aspire, the monastic ideal of a life conducted apart from the world, and even in spite of it, for the purpose of a complete and undistracted devotion to the service of God. The point is not insignificant, for it has a bearing on what was to come shortly after Mark's return from France.

However, even to a would-be monk walking the world and lamenting its worldliness, there were some rays of hope in the general darkness. He remarked gravely to his sisters that although "to a careless observer Paris might seem little less heathen than London, the Babylon of modern times . . . under the surface there is yet some warmth of heavenly fire". Away from the "noisy hubbub of the streets", one finds in the Churches (he said) "gathered round the side altar, or in the Lady Chapel . . . a few faithful kneeling in prayer, or sitting in contemplation, uninterrupted by that party of English who stand at a little distance talking up loud, and quizzing the 'benighted state of the poor people'". There were hopeful signs, too, he thought, of a revitalized Catholicism. "In the Fauborg S. Germain", he reports (no doubt getting the information from his friends at St Sulpice), "there is a society chiefly of young men of good family, to the number of about 1,000 formed for the purpose of binding themselves to observe all the ordinances of the Church, and lead a Christian life". The Queen is said to be of "most pious habits", and the clergy believe, he says, that the King attends Mass secretly, though he dare not let it be known yet". On the whole, however, he had to conclude that "really the mass of the

population is less religious than during the time of the Revolution".¹³⁴

It was a melancholy thought on that Saturday evening in July 1843 in Paris as he finished his letter to his sisters. No doubt it made him think once again of the Sulpiciens and of Issy.

As though he had divined what Mark was thinking, the Abbé Faillon appeared unexpectedly at his door the next afternoon. "He had walked all the way down from S. Sulpice here across the water and found his way up au troisieme [sic]", Mark told his sisters. "I was quite ashamed at his having taken so much trouble about me".¹³⁵ They conversed for half an hour or so and Mark concluded that the Abbé was both "a well-informed and well-read man". They had had an "interesting conversation", he told his sisters. But, how informative it was is difficult to tell: the Abbé did not speak English. Nevertheless, he took Mark through the Palais de Justice and La Sainte Chapelle, and concluded the tour at St Sulpice. Mark attended the afternoon service, heard the Curé preach in a "thundering voice" without understanding a word ("for wh[ich] I was very sorry as they told me afterwards that it was very metaphysical"),¹³⁶ watched the seminarians in procession, and called afterwards at the Seminary to greet his new acquaintances there. Two days later he returned, as promised, to take leave of his friends before quitting Paris. He was surprised at the warmth of their farewells. 'M. Lehir took quite an affectionate leave of me', he noted in his diary, 'saying, as he shook my hand, " I hope we may soon be brothers"'. "I hope

¹³⁴ MSS. Lincoln College, QQ, 8-[10] July [1843].

¹³⁵ MSS. Lincoln College, QQ, 8-[10] July [1843].

¹³⁶ MSP. 135, f. 4. 10 July 1843.

so too", Mark added in his diary, "but how I know not--it is entirely in God's hand! Deal thou, O Lord, with thy servant according to thy will--but, oh, that my life might be as innocent, and as well-spent at this man's!"¹³⁷ With that, he packed his bags for Orléans, where, again, his first and only call was on the diocesan Seminary. The Rector there he judged to be "a shrewd clever business-like man, but inferior in manners and information to his Paris brethren". He was very hospitable, however, and pressed Mark to remain at Orléans for a gathering of the neighbouring clergy "for the purposes of prayer, conference and other spiritual exercises in common, which was to last a week". When, for want of time, Mark was obliged to decline, the Rector offered him introductions to other Seminaries along his route, but again Mark declined "as I cannot make stay enough in each place to make the acquaintance of any use", he explained in his diary.¹³⁸ That evening (14 July), he left Orléans by boat along the Loire, and spent the remainder of his time travelling through the south-west of France, dropping in at quiet country churches along the way. Everything he saw about the Roman Catholic Church in France impressed him, and nothing so much as the piety of the ordinary religious people and the devotion and discipline of the clergy. He was not, then, "undeceived", as he claims to have been, by his visit to France in 1843. On the contrary, his desire for a union between the English and the Roman Catholics was enhanced, even though he did not know how that union was to be effected. At Paris, meanwhile, M Lehir had been impressed by the young English clergyman and

¹³⁷MSP. 135, f. 8 [12 July 1843].

¹³⁸MSP. 135, ff. 9-10. [14 July 1843.]

thought that he was nearly ready for conversion. He meant to keep in touch. And at Oxford things were coming to a crisis. Newman had decided to give the world a sign to show which way he meant to go. For the first time, Mark would be made to pause and to take stock. When that happened, he would begin to be uncertain.

CHAPTER VI

Second Thoughts 1843 - 1844

"I have perhaps been too hasty I have let my conclusions outrun my practice and my knowledge."

Mark Pattison, 25 October 1843.¹

No one could fail to understand what Newman meant to tell the world when, suddenly, on 7 September 1843, he resigned his office as Vicar of St. Mary's. By his action he showed that he had lost confidence in the Church of England. There could be no doubt now what his next step would be. The world only waited for him to take it.

By the end of September Newman had performed his last public offices as a priest of the Church of England. From that time forward he lived in lay communion in the seclusion of his "monastery" at Littlemore. He had reached his decision to resign only after months of reflection. As early as April 1843, he had asked Keble whether he ought not to resign even then. But Keble had advised him to wait because he thought that the circumstances did not warrant what would surely be regarded as the most dramatic move in the direction of Rome that Newman had yet taken. As the months passed, however, Newman had become anxious for the fate of those who depended upon his leadership and who looked to him for advice. He could not mislead them, he had thought, and he was unable to advise them. He could only give them a sign as to the probable outcome of his own course. He had decided that he would resign as Vicar of St. Mary's at the end of the summer.²

¹MSP. 128, f. 23.

²Apologia, pp. 190-191.

Meanwhile, it was becoming even more clear that he ought to act. In July, Ambrose St. John, a friend of Henry Wilberforce, had written to Newman in great perplexity about his own course. Newman was equally perplexed as to how best to reply to his letter. "It is no good my attempting to offer advice when perhaps I might raise difficulties instead of removing them", he said gently. "It seems to me quite a case in which you should, as far as may be, make up your mind for yourself". All he could offer was the hospitality of Littlemore. "Come to Littlemore by all means--we shall all rejoice in your company", he told St. John, "and if quiet and retirement are able, as they very likely will be, to reconcile you to things as they are, you shall have your fill of them". His final words, however, show to what a pass the once hopeful and united Tractarian movement had come by the summer of 1843: "How distressed poor Henry [Wilberforce] must be that he cannot offer to discuss with you!", he tells St. John. "Knowing how he values you, I feel for him--but alas! he has his own position, and every one else has his own, and the misery of it is that no two of us have exactly the same".³

Even at Littlemore, however, all was not as it ought to have been. Newman had taken into the "monastery" a number of young men who had come to him in a state of perplexity similar to St. John's. One of these young men, William Lockhart, of Exeter College, had promised Newman, when Newman had agreed to take him in, to wait three years before deciding whether to become a Roman Catholic. Lockhart, however, had waited just a year. He had become convinced that Newman was unsure of his own position and had

³ Correspondence of John Henry Newman with John Keble and Others,
p. 242. 16 July 1843.

decided that there was no longer any need for delay. Early in August 1843, without telling Newman, he went off to see Dr. Gentili at Loughborough and was received into the Roman Catholic Church.⁴ "You may fancy how sick it makes me", Newman wrote to Keble, soon after he had heard from Lockhart.⁵ He knew that Lockhart's conversion would cause a fresh scandal. The time had come, then, to resign his offices in the Church and to retire into seclusion until he could decide finally for himself. But even as he was preparing his letter of resignation to Bishop Bagot, he had word that his brother-in-law, Tom Mozley, had rushed home from Normandy in a state of great excitement and was bent on becoming a Roman Catholic at once.⁶ France had swept him off his feet, it seemed. Newman had to put down his pen and go off to Cholderton to persuade Tom Mozley to re-consider. He got him to agree to wait two years before making a decision. Mozley, however, cooled off in the end and never left the Church of England. Newman returned to Oxford, sent his resignation to Bishop Bagot, and, at the Bishop's request, went to London eleven days later to draw up the legal instrument "before a Notary".⁷ His public life in the Church of England was over.

Such an event was bound to have repercussions. Among the leaders of the movement one, especially, was shocked and distressed: "Pusey had

⁴Luigi Gentili (1801-1848), born in Rome, had opened a house of the Rosminian Order of Charity at Loughborough in 1842. DNB VII, 1006.

⁵Letters and Correspondence of John Henry Newman, II, 417. 25 August 1843.

⁶Trevor, Newman: The Pillar of the Cloud, pp. 300-301.

⁷Letters and Correspondence of John Henry Newman, II, 424.

endeavoured to act on the maxim of hoping against hope in Newman's case so successfully", his biographer writes, "that he had up to this point been blind to what was going on in Newman's mind, and still more to what was, humanly speaking, inevitable".⁸ Keble, on the contrary, had known that Newman would resign St. Mary's sooner or later. He had been privy to Newman's thoughts on the matter for months past. Wilfred Ward does not say what his father thought about the resignation. One may be certain, however, that William George Ward took the news in stride not only as the logical and happy outcome of Newman's line of thinking, but as a clear reinforcement of his own. Others, however, were less content. James Mozley, who had been "at the bottom of everything that is going on" just three months before, was uncertain what the future held in store.⁹ He assured his friends, however, that he did "not despair". "We must all comfort one another as well as we can", he wrote to one friend. He would not give up hope for the Church of England, he said, "whatever individuals might leave her".¹⁰ Those of like mind, he thought, ought now to assert themselves. "Things are looking melancholy now, my dear Church", he wrote to R. W. Church four days after Newman's resignation, "and you and I and all of us who can act together must be bestirring ourselves".¹¹ Church, too, was distressed by the news. He knew Newman well, much better, in fact, than Mark ever did, and was recognized as one of the most distinguished of the

⁸Liddon, Pusey, II, 371.

⁹Letters of the Rev. J. B. Mozley, pp. 142-143.

¹⁰Letters of the Rev. J. B. Mozley, p. 147.

¹¹Letters of the Rev. J. B. Mozley, p. 146.

younger Tractarians. But he did not belong to Ward's and Oakeley's group, as Mark did, and did not espouse their views. He did not think that it was necessary to abandon England for Rome. So, at least, he assured his mother when she inquired anxiously about his position after she had heard the news of Newman's resignation. "There is no use despairing till the last chance is lost", he told her, "which is not yet by a good deal".¹² At about the same time, however, he was warned by the Head of his College, Provost Hawkins of Oriel, that were he to ask for testimonials for priest's orders, they might not be forthcoming "in the present condition of affairs".¹³ Everyone, it seemed, was to be tarred with the same brush.

Newman's resignation, then, put each man to the test, no matter to which party in the movement or to which shade of opinion he belonged. The chief fact that emerged was that Newman was not to be looked to for leadership. He had abdicated. There would be no going to Rome in a body, some time in the future, with Newman at the head. It became perfectly clear that the course to be followed for those who wished to press on towards Rome was the path of individual and private conversions. To some, such as Mark Pattison, that realization came as a rude awakening. He had been critical of Bernard Smith just a year before for going it alone. Smith ought to have waited, he had thought then, until his friends were ready to go with him. Individual conversion, he had remarked to his sisters, was a "selfish" solution, a way of providing for oneself without regard for the difficult position in which one's friends found themselves. There had been

¹²Life and Letters of Dean Church, p. 52. 1 November 1843.

¹³Life and Letters of Dean Church, p. 50.

no doubt, however, that even they must all end up sooner or later in union with Rome. The difficulty was to know when, and especially how, that union was to be effected. At St. Sulpice in July, when M. Lehir had expressed the hope that he and Mark would "soon be brothers", Mark had reflected in his diary that he shared that wish, and as fervently as M. Lehir. But he did not know how their mutual hope was to be made real. It did not occur to him, apparently, that M. Lehir was not thinking of a general movement towards union with Rome, but of Mark's individual and independent conversion.

At Oxford, Mark had got himself into a position where it was expected that if there were to be conversions to Rome among the Tractarians, he would be one of the first to go. For, with Ward, Morris, Seager, Oakeley and others, he was looked upon as a "Romanizer" at Oxford. It was thought (not unjustifiably) that for such people the attractions of Roman Catholicism would prove too strong. The Church of England had shown that, so far at least, it was not ready to espouse what was called "Roman doctrine". Inevitably, the "Romanizers" must leave her for Rome. To such as Ward, Morris, Seager, and Oakeley, that prospect was not unwelcome. When the time came, they would not hesitate to act. They would act now, indeed, if necessary. In fact, one of them did. Within a month or so of Newman's resignation, Charles Seager, perhaps the most "Roman" of them all, threw up his Hebrew lectureship under Pusey and became a Roman Catholic. No one was surprised. At least, he was being consistent.¹⁴ Shortly afterwards,

¹⁴Liddon, Pusey, II, 377. Later, in November 1843, Mark got the "full story" of Seager's conversion from a "Mrs Lloyd" of Oxford. Seager's

on 22 October 1843, Jack Morris told Mark that he had devised a new motto for the British Critic: "'Urbem quam condimus, Roma erit'". He told him also, with evident relish, that the "Warden of Merton has given out that they mean to exterminate the Puseyites".¹⁵ He was not anxious for himself, however. His convictions were unshakeable and he would live with the consequences. He, too, was being consistent. Even Lockhart had been consistent, as Newman was the first to admit. On a prolonged visit to Littlemore in October, Mark heard Newman say that "though [Lockhart] ought not to have done it in the way he has, yet he has been consistent enough". Lockhart's wish, Newman went on, "was always to be employed in charitable visiting etc and finding the Ch[urch] of E[ngland] could not so employ him was his first ground for wishing to leave it--and now he has gone at once and enrolled himself in an order with the view of being useful in that way--He has more energy in him than many might think".¹⁶ If Lockhart could

wife, he learned, was greatly distressed. Seager himself, the diary reads, "had for some time given up attending the Ch[urch] service--for two years past he was mainly kept back by the case of the kingdom of Israel after the separation of the kingdoms. His plan now is to get employment from booksellers. . . . One of his pupils continued on with him this Term--he coached him in the Scripture proofs of the 39 Art[icle]s. He cannot be ordained Priest unless his wife will join the Ch[urch] of R[ome] and take a vow (?) Mr. Spencer the instrument of his conversion, which was after a dinner at O[scott] at which he met all the new converts". MSP. 128, ff. 31-32. 19[?] November 1843. George Spencer had become a Roman Catholic in 1830. In 1840 he had visited Oxford to ask Anglicans to join him in his plans of prayers for the union of the Anglican and Roman Catholic Churches. Letters and Diaries of John Henry Newman, edited . . . by Charles Stephen Dessain (London, 1961-), XI, 357.

¹⁵MSP. 128, f. 22.

¹⁶MSP. 128, f. 12. 5 October 1843. This passage is omitted from the account of the visit transcribed from the diary and published in the Memoirs, pp. 190-207.

do so much, and Seager also, and if such as Morris, Oakeley, and Ward were willing to take the risk should the need arise, could Mark do less?

Newman had resigned as Vicar of St. Mary's just three weeks after Mark returned to Oxford from France. One would expect that Mark should have had something to say about the implications of the resignation, for even his sisters, far away at Hauxwell, had recognized at once what Newman's act must mean. Four days after Newman had sent his letter of resignation to Bishop Bagot, Eleanor wrote that the news had come to Hauxwell "like a thunderclap startling in its suddenness". Newman's departure from St. Mary's, she said, "looks like total withdrawal as if he quite despaired of the safety of our unhappy Church". What, then, were his followers to do? What, she asked, "is to become of those who have been looking up to him and who were trusting in his superior abilities to lead them forward in the fight?".¹⁷ What, indeed, was to become of Mark's sisters? For at Hauxwell the fighting had been very real and very violent. They were dismayed, Eleanor reported. Under Newman's name they had felt protected, but now that shelter had been taken away from them. Even the British Critic, they heard, had been let go, for Tom Mozley had resigned the editorship and the future of the review was in doubt. What were they to do? Without something like the British Critic to sustain them, Eleanor reported, they did not know what would become of them. And Mark--what was his position at Oxford now that Newman had resigned? Her aunt, Mary Meadows, she reported, was sure that Mark would suffer in some way.¹⁸

¹⁷MSP. 45, ff. 139-140. 11 September 1843.

¹⁸MSP. 45, ff. 139-140. 11 September 1843.

But Mark at Oxford kept his counsel. He replied to Eleanor's letter on Sunday, 17 September, to say merely that he could add nothing yet, "more than you seem to know about this very important event". She had speculated that Lockhart's "desertion" had moved Newman to resign, but Mark assured her that he had had "nothing to do" with Newman's decision. He kept silent about his own position, however. Instead, he turned to the subject of Newman's successor at St. Mary's. On that topic he let his feelings show without reserve. C. P. Eden was sure to be appointed in Newman's place, he said, and that was "one of the worst parts of the business". He continued scornfully:

Eden is a clever active man, personally opposed to N[ewman] --but what is worse, opposed to the Church--a glaring, and offensive selfishness, so obtrusive as to make him even unpopular, is hidden from himself by a conscientiousness in some points of conduct, and a standard of action considerably higher than that of the world at large. I am able to say this much confidently from a ten years acquaintance with him--part of the time as his private pupil--a connection which allows more glimpses of disposition than many may imagine.¹⁹

So much energy expended on Eden and so little on "this very important event" of Newman's resignation: it is a tell-tale sign. For Mark, in fact, did not know what to think after 7 September 1843. Unlike Ward and his allies, who took the news in stride, Mark Pattison had been stopped in his tracks.

What had stopped him was this: he had not expected that he would have to become a Roman Catholic. That is to say, the idea of his going off like Bernard Smith or William Lockhart to be received into the Roman Catholic Church at Oscott, or Loughborough, or some other insignificant

¹⁹ MSS. Lincoln College, 14. 17 September 1843.

place, had never presented itself seriously to his mind. He had not believed that all that was to come of the Oxford Movement was a number (however many) of individual conversions to Roman Catholicism. He had looked for a union between the Catholics of the Church of England and the Catholics of the Church of Rome. Because Rome was undubitably Catholic and England hostile to Catholicism, he had expected that at some undetermined date and by some means equally undetermined, the Catholics of England, with Newman at their head, would submit in a body to the authority of Rome. It had never crossed his mind that that submission and that union would come by way of individual conversion. But Newman's resignation of St. Mary's and retirement into lay communion had changed everything. There was to be no going to Rome in a body, no public act of submission, no proclamation of union, only a number of private submissions before individual Roman Catholic priests in England. Newman himself, it was clear, was preparing just such a course of action. Mark, too, would have to decide whether or not to become a Roman Catholic. Never before had he had to face that question in such stark and simple terms. When it came, he was unprepared for it.

He did not know, indeed, what to think. Ought he to go on as before, ardent in support of the "Romanist" cause? If not, what ought he to do? He did not know. He felt obliged to be true to the convictions he had so recently expressed. In consistency, he ought indeed, to be true to them. What reason had he to change? He was known all over Oxford as one of Ward's and Oakeley's and Morris's party. They saw no reason to hesitate, why should he? The fact was, however, that he was not, like Ward and his friends, bent on Rome at any cost; that he had hesitated when faced with

the implications of Newman's resignation; and that now he did not know which way to turn. He also did not know what to say to his friends. "Walk with Foulkes", he recorded in his dairy on 19 September, the day after Newman had signed the legal instrument of his resignation in London: "He thinking extravagant way of talking of some men here the great evil at present. I answered (but not so earnestly as I should have done) 'that zeal was too rare a quality to be found fault with'".²⁰ The next day he sat down with his diary before him to think things over. "When I think of the state of my soul it fills me with concern and alarm", he wrote. "I am living outwardly a regular, moral, and even religious life, attending public prayer and communion, at home industrious, temperate--Yet, I fear, I have not even begun to live the spiritual life. I have even very little wish to do so". What was really bothering him becomes clear from what he says next. "I shrink from the sacrifice of all earthly things", he writes. "I dread the necessity (which I acknowledge) of giving my whole heart to God. And I am very ignorant of the way of salvation--ignorant of God's will--at 30 years of age I am without principles. I cannot guide myself".²¹ What he means, in fact, is that he dreads the necessity of having to become a Roman Catholic, that he has no desire to become one, and does not know what he ought to do. For conversion would indeed mean the sacrifice of "all earthly things", of friends, family, career, and most of all, of Oxford. He is in a quandary. "When I am most anxious to do what is right", he continues, "I feel like a child, lost, helpless. Yet with all this I talk and act, and thrust myself forward as though I was

²⁰MSP. 128, f. 2. J. J. Foulkes of Jesus College.

²¹MSP. 128, f. 1. 20 September 1843.

[sic] perfect, and able to guide others. My whole system is one of deception--of keeping up appearances".²² There, indeed, is the heart of his future difficulties, for Mark really is at a loss to know, not only what to do for himself but what to say to his friends. How, without appearing inconsistent, was he to tell them that Newman's resignation had caused him to have second thoughts about his own future? What would they make of him, notorious "Romanist" that he was? He hardly knew, indeed, what to make of himself. But he must do something. He decided to draw up new resolutions by which to regulate his life more carefully than ever. He did not consider, however, that by so doing he might be aggravating his doubts rather than curing them. "Resolved therefore", he wrote,

with earnest aspiration to God for his blessing, and help, to endeavour, from this day, after the spiritual life, and a strict regulation of all my actions. To live as in the presence of God--to weigh all I do, or say by reference to his will, and to cut off entirely all ambition of other people's good opinion, all consideration of self. To put myself under stricter rules as to food, sleep, relaxation. To give more time to devotion, to prayer, and to meditation. O my God, may I not only have the garb of religion but the inward life also!²³

He meant every word of that resolution and prayer. But resolutions were not the answer to his difficulties. He did not know how deeply he had been shaken by Newman's decision nor how quickly his own uncertainty had taken root. He soon found out, however, that in spite of his resolutions he was not recovering his former zeal. In the days that followed he tried "prayer and recollection" in the privacy of his rooms at Lincoln, but in

²²MSP. 128, f. 1. 20 September 1843.

²³MSP. 128, f. 1. 20 September 1843.

vain. Meditation, prayer, the "stricter rules" that were meant to remind him to conduct his daily life as though he were living "in the presence of God": none of these things seemed to enliven the dying embers of his old fervour. Indeed, by the following Sunday morning, not even a week after he had drawn up his resolutions, he was so weary of them that he lay in bed rather than get up for the Communion--this in a man who had been going to the services at St. Mary's twice daily for months past. He confesses in his diary that it is "wrong" of him not to go, but that he has no enthusiasm for it. In fact, he finds now that when he does go to the services he cannot attend to them. He goes "so habitually . . . as a mere form", he says, "that I never go with pleasure, to come away with satisfaction".²⁴ He prays "daily", he adds, to be edified by the services he attends, "but nothing comes of it". On Sunday, 24 September, he went to the afternoon service at St. Mary's. Newman was there: he conducted the service and preached. But Mark scarcely noticed: "very inattentive during prayers", he says, "and drowsy during sermon--J. H. N. very inaudible, and very small congregation".²⁵ He was so wrapped up in his own thoughts that he failed to realize the significance of the occasion. For that sermon was the very last that Newman gave from the pulpit of St. Mary's Church.

The next day, Monday 25 September, was the anniversary of the consecration of Newman's church at Littlemore. The anniversary had always been made a great occasion and was celebrated as a Tractarian holiday. This time, however, the occasion was to be especially memorable for everyone

²⁴MSP. 128, f. 6. 24 September 1843.

²⁵MSP. 128, f. 6. 24 September 1843.

knew that it would be the last time that Newman would address his friends as a priest of the Church of England. Tractarians flocked to Littlemore from Oxford and beyond. The church was crowded, and Newman gave what was perhaps the most moving sermon of his entire career at Oxford. He called it 'The Parting of Friends'. "Few who were present could restrain from tears", Liddon says. "Pusey, who was the celebrant, was quite unable to control himself".²⁶ Afterwards, when he had returned to Christ Church, he gave his brother, William Pusey, an account of the impression that Newman's sermon had made. "I am just returned, half broken-hearted, from the commemoration at Littlemore", he wrote:

The sermon was like one of Newman's, in which self was altogether repressed, yet it showed the more how deeply he felt all the misconception of himself. It implied, rather than said, Farewell. People sobbed audibly, and I, who officiated at the altar, could hardly help mingling sorrow with even that Feast.²⁷

In the evening when R. W. Church and others returned from Littlemore to dine at Oriel, they found Mark Pattison there. He had not been at Littlemore. When they expressed surprise at his absence, he offered the lame excuse that he had "thought it would be melancholy"; "but Church says" (the diary continues) "[that] he never saw so many there, and Newman's sermon most remarkable, to be published at end of new vol[um]e".²⁸ The diary does not say so, but it seems certain that Mark was embarrassed that he had not been present at the Littlemore commemoration, because the next day he tried to

²⁶Liddon, Pusey, II, 375.

²⁷Liddon, Pusey, II, 375.

²⁸MSP. 128, f. 6. 25 September 1843.

make amends. He had been so preoccupied by his own thoughts following Newman's resignation that he had neglected to consider what the act of resigning must have meant to Newman himself. On the Sunday he had paid but scant attention to Newman's last sermon at St. Mary's; on the Monday he had not bothered even to be present at what everyone had known would be Newman's farewell to friends and followers alike. On the day, then, after the Littlemore commemoration, Mark went to see Church at Oriel College to propose that Newman be given a present of books from his friends in Oxford. But both Mark and his proposal were given an unexpectedly cool reception. Church was "very backward", the diary says, in the matter of the books, "and disinclined to act in it, though not refusing to contribute".²⁹ The reason for his reluctance soon became clear. Church was trying to find his own feet in the wake of Newman's resignation. He did not wish to play a leading role in any scheme that would make it appear as though he were associated with the party of Ward, Oakeley, and Pattison. He would subscribe to the present for Newman, but would do no more. "Said that he desired the Union of the Churches", Mark records in his diary, "but didn't at all feel that the P[useyites] had any claim on his allegiance or regard him as the centre of Unity. He promised to mention about the books to Marriott".³⁰ Clearly, he wished to put as great a distance as possible between himself and the extreme party in the movement. Naturally, however, Mark was hurt by the rebuff. He returned to Lincoln in low spirits, which were revived somewhat by a note from Church the next day: "note from

²⁹MSP. 128, f. 7. 26 September 1843.

³⁰MSP. 128, f. 7. 26 September 1843.

Church shadowy enough", the diary says, "but conscious of his chilliness yesterday. He has mentioned scheme both to Marriott and Copeland, who approve".³¹ Nevertheless, the incident must have brought home to Mark yet again the speed with which the movement was breaking up following Newman's resignation. Clearly, the number of those who could act together was becoming smaller and smaller. Then, too, because of his past association with the extreme party in the movement, Mark's position at Oxford was becoming more and more isolated and difficult. For no one could doubt where Pattison stood. Nothing could be more certain, surely, than that Pattison, with his friends, Ward, Oakeley, and Morris, would one day end up in the Church of Rome. But, in fact, nothing could be less certain. For behind the mask that Mark continued to wear in public was a man deeply troubled about the future, and less and less sure what to do about it.

From 30 September to 14 October it had been arranged that Mark would spend a fortnight in retreat at Littlemore. There appears to be no evidence to indicate when that arrangement was made. Pattison says in the Memoirs that he went to Littlemore by Newman's invitation.³² The invitation may have come before Mark left for France at the end of June, or shortly after his return in August, but, in any case, before Newman's resignation of St. Mary's. For Mark was so shaken by that event that it is scarcely conceivable that he would have accepted an invitation after he knew of Newman's resignation. Indeed, as the time for his visit approached, he seems to have wished that there were some way by which he could get out of

³¹MSP. 128, f. 8. 27 September 1843.

³²Memoirs, p. 190.

going to Littlemore. Certainly, he did not wish it to be known that he was to spend two weeks in the "monastery" so soon after Newman's resignation. For instance, on the evening of the Littlemore commemoration, just five days before he was due to enter the "monastery", he had dined at Oriel in the company of Mr Blandy of Reading who had pressed Mark to visit him within the next fortnight. Mark, however, turned down the invitation "both clumsily and falsely", the diary says, "the real reason being that I was going to L[ittlemore]--which I did not tell, but ought to".³³ The contrast is striking indeed, between the new Mark and the old. Before Newman's resignation on 7 September, he had been in fighting trim. He had not been embarrassed to proclaim, before all and sundry, on whose side he might be found. "Athanasius contra mundum" had been his watchword. Now, however, he is reluctant to broadcast his connection with Newman. He does not want people to think that he, too, must, of necessity, become a Roman Catholic. At the same time, he does not wish to appear to be disloyal to Newman. And he is anxious in case Newman should think less of him for being in doubt.

Late on the evening of Saturday, 30 September 1843, in his room over the library at Littlemore, Mark began a record (published in the Memoirs) of his fortnight's retreat in Newman's "monastery" with the following observation: "Newman kinder, but not perfectly so". It was his first thought as he reflected on the day's events, and it shows what was uppermost in his mind. How anxious he was, and what a depressed state he had got himself into, is pathetically clear from what follows immediately after

³³ MSP. 128, f. 7. 25 September 1843. Probably F. J. Blandy, son of John Blandy of Reading, and Vicar of Netheravon, Wilts. (1838-1869). See: Joseph Foster, Alumni Oxonienses: The Members of the University of Oxford, 1715-1886 (Oxford [1888]), p. 121.

the initial observation. "Vespers at eight. Compline at nine", the diary reads, "How low, mean, selfish, my mind has been to-day; all my good [seems] vanished; grovelling, sensual, animalish; I am not indeed worthy to come under this roof".³⁴ The next morning he was roused early (at 5:30) by Ambrose St. John and went to the chapel for an hour and a half's recitation of Matins, Lauds, and Prime from the Roman Breviary. For Littlemore followed a monastic routine. Prayer, "recollection", meals, study, recreation and conversation all had their designated times throughout the day. For the most part, however, Mark's diary of the two weeks he spent with Newman and his friends at Littlemore is a record of the conversations that went on around him. Naturally, Newman is the centre of interest. Mark is a somewhat timid observer who ventures an opinion or a question only infrequently, but who is anxious even so to be taken notice of. He is sensitive to the slightest sign that all may not be as it should be between himself and Newman. On the sixth day of his visit, for instance, this comment appears in the diary:

How uncomfortable have I made myself all this evening by a childish fancy that once got into my head--I could not get out of it--a weak jealousy of N[ewman]'s good opinion. Oh, my God! take from me this petty pride; set me free from this idle slavery to opinion; fix my affections on things eternal.³⁵

The next morning he feels "much better", but his mind is "still disturbed by the bad feelings of yesterday". Not, indeed, until much later in the day

³⁴Memoirs, p. 190. Omissions and errors in transcription in the version published in the Memoirs have been corrected from the manuscript (MSP. 128, ff. 8-20) in these and subsequent quotations. The corrections are indicated by square brackets. The punctuation remains as it appears in the Memoirs.

³⁵Memoirs, p. 195.

when he has come back re-assured after a walk to Sandford with Newman and R. A. Coffin (another visitor to Littlemore and Vicar of St. Mary Magdalen's, Oxford), does he feel able to say, "More comfortable in mind to-day".³⁶ But there is some way to go yet, before he will feel entirely at ease. Newman, however, was a shrewd observer of what went on around him. He was sure to notice that Mark was uncomfortable. The next day, therefore, he tried to put his guest at ease. He made a point of bringing Mark a specimen of the Lives of the English Saints, just arrived from the printer's, so that they might go over it together. They discussed the format of the volume, and compared the number of lines per page with the number in a volume of Lardner's Cyclopaedia.³⁷ Nothing of importance passed between them, but Newman's attentiveness to his guest seems to have relieved Mark's troubled mind. At the end of the day we find him no longer anxious about his relationship with Newman and intent now on the original purpose of his visit to Littlemore, his religious "reformation".

The next day, the eighth of Mark's visit, and a Sunday, Newman and the residents of his coenobitium spent many hours in conversation. In the morning, Newman gave his friends a long and detailed account of how he had come to take over as editor of the British Critic in 1838. In the afternoon they sat with him again until it was time for Vespers and (Mark records) "had a long and interesting conversation about the state of the Univ[ersity]". Mark had enough confidence now to venture an opinion. "I stated my impression of the restless emulation which the classes and open

³⁶ Memoirs, p. 196.

³⁷ Memoirs, p. 197.

scholarships produce among the undergrad[uate]s", he says, "and of the ambition and preferment hunting among the M.A.'s". But Newman "took a more cheerful view; defended the class system as having done so much to rouse the Univ[ersity]", and went on to discuss the history and implications of the dispute between Provost Hawkins of Oriel and his three tutors, Newman, Hurrell Froude, and Robert Wilberforce in 1830.³⁸ Ordinarily, Mark would have taken even such a mild correction from Newman as a serious rebuff, and brooded upon it for days. But Newman's attentiveness the day before had allayed his fears that he was not still high in Newman's regard. No doubt, a person less sensitive to criticism than Mark Pattison was, would think nothing of a mere difference of opinion even with Newman. But, since his first entry into the society of Oriel as an undergraduate in 1836, and the humiliating rebuffs he had received owing to his ignorance of usage du monde, Mark had been highly sensitive to what others thought of him. He was even more so now at Littlemore in October 1843 because, by reason of his doubts about his present and future course, he feared to lose Newman's good opinion. What he needed was an opportunity to talk things over with Newman and to know that, in spite of his doubts, Newman would still think well of him.

The opportunity arrived the next morning. "Another interesting talk with N[ewman]", the diary says, but this time, they were "alone". The two men talked about "the present prospects of the Ch[urch] in England".³⁹ It was just the topic, surely, to provide Mark with the opening he needed.

³⁸ Memoirs, pp. 201-202.

³⁹ Memoirs, p. 204.

Newman, indeed, seemed to perceive that something was troubling the younger man. But it is clear from the course of their conversation that he had no idea what was at the root of Mark's anxiety. However, he cannot be faulted for his ignorance because, when it came to the crunch, Mark was unable to open his mind freely to the man he regarded ever afterwards as his "master".⁴⁰ The result was that, through no fault of his own, Newman's encouragement and advice were misdirected, and Mark was left in as great a quandary as before. For he allowed Newman to think what was not the case, that his real difficulty was how to remain a faithful and zealous Catholic within the Church of England and to avoid the temptation of going to Rome. Owing, no doubt, to his deep perplexity about the real state of his mind and intentions, he did not tell Newman that, in fact, he had lost much of his former zeal since Newman's resignation and was reluctant to follow Newman any further on his present course. Newman, however, thought that Mark's difficulty was how to retain any hope in the Church of England and to avoid abandoning it at once for Rome. Always scrupulous not to sway anyone's thinking on such a vital question, he tried to answer Mark's difficulty indirectly by suggesting a course of action that might suit his case: "he thought", the diary says, "[that] persons in lay communion, and thus not bound by the art[icle]s and p[rayer] book, remaining in the Eng[lish] Ch[urch] and advocating Catholic views, would be irresistible". He admitted, however, that he had "as little hope as possible himself" that such a course would bear fruit, "but thinks it [perhaps] wrong to be

⁴⁰See Sparrow, Mark Pattison and the Idea of a University, p. 59.

without hope".⁴¹ Indeed, from his letters at this time it is clear that Newman had no hope at all. Still, he was concerned lest his followers become Roman Catholics for the wrong reasons. R. W. Sibthorpe's sudden conversion in 1841 was a case in point. Even while Mark was at Littlemore, rumour had it--and the rumour would prove to be true--that Sibthorpe was on his way back to the Church of England. Newman was anxious, then, that Mark and others of like mind (as he supposed) should know precisely what they were getting into, and why; and above all, that no one should act precipitately. "What persons in authority want", he told Mark, "is to get [quietly] rid of the Tractarians".⁴² Newman "is afraid men may be impatient", the diary adds, "and yield to the force of opinion and to temptation, and go to Rome".⁴³ The implication is clear: Mark ought to proceed with caution and to resist the temptation to become a Roman Catholic.

Not even at this point in their conversation, however, did Mark enlighten Newman. Instead, he diverted their discussion to another consideration: namely, how, as a known Puseyite, and in the present hostile climate, was he to exert any influence for good upon the course of events at Oxford. What concerned him was the fact that his having been "tarred with the Puseyite brush" (as he put it afterwards in the Memoirs)⁴⁴ was making his position at Oxford more isolated and more difficult. For he was known not merely as a Puseyite, but as an extreme Puseyite. As such, he

⁴¹Memoirs, p. 204.

⁴²Memoirs, p. 204.

⁴³Memoirs, p. 204.

⁴⁴Memoirs, p. 183.

was looked upon with suspicion not only from outside the movement, but even from within it. R. W. Church's rebuff, just a few days before Mark had left for Littlemore, had made him acutely conscious that a line was being drawn between those, like himself, who were sure to "go over" to Rome, and those, like Church, who would remain in the Church of England in spite of their adherence to Tractarian views. What he means to tell Newman, then, is that, for a number of reasons, he is uncomfortable in his present position and would like to withdraw from it. Moreover, he would like Newman's reassurance that were he to withdraw, he would not be lowered in Newman's estimation. No doubt, had he spoken openly and frankly to Newman about his doubts, he would have received that assurance. But he was unable to speak openly to Newman. The result was that Newman's response missed the main point. He thought that Mark was being too pessimistic, "too gloomy about influence in Oxford", as the diary puts it. He encouraged his guest to take heart. Mark ought not to lose hope, Newman said, that in spite of his known views, and even because of them, he should continue to have an influence on the course of events at Oxford. "[W]hen a man can be set down as a Puseyite he loses influence [perhaps] with one class of persons", he observed, "but not with others, and those the most worthy". "But even with the opposite party", he said, "however they may talk, there are times when they are, in spite of themselves, obliged to pay deference to conscientious men--they mistrust their own principles".⁴⁵ Had Mark been unshaken still in his convictions, no doubt Newman's encouragement would have helped him. The fact was, however, that Mark,

⁴⁵Memoirs, p. 205.

too, mistrusted his principles. Moreover, by not being frank with Newman, he did nothing to resolve his own doubts. Indeed, he got himself into an even worse quandary than before. For, if he could be sure now of Newman's good opinion, what would Newman think when one day Mark should show himself in his true colours? In the long term, then, the conversation that ought to have cleared the air between master and disciple had failed in its purpose.

The next day, 10 October 1843, was Mark's thirtieth birthday. In the diary his reflections are melancholy. Clearly, Newman's words of encouragement have not had the desired effect. "Thirty years old to-day; ripe and mature in age, but only beginning, if, indeed, I am beginning, Christian life", the diary reads. "A child in knowledge and judgment. When I ought to be able to teach, guide, and influence others I am still only a learner". Characteristically, he tries to restore his confidence and zeal by two hours of "devotion and self-examination". The result is not unsatisfactory: "at least I have felt more peace and calm through the day than I have known for some time past", he remarks.⁴⁶ Four days later, on Saturday 14 October, his retreat at Littlemore came to an end. He left a parting gift for Newman (who thanked him for it in a note the next day)⁴⁷ and made a summary in the diary of what he thought he had gained by his

⁴⁶Memoirs, p. 205.

⁴⁷"My dear Pattison", Newman wrote, "I am very much obliged to you for your kind present--which is very acceptable in itself, and doubly so as coming in the way it does. Some time or other you must write in it how I came by it[.] Yours very sincerely[,] John H Newman". MSP. 45, f. 143. 15 October 1843.

visit. "On a review of the whole time I am thankful for much, much happiness", he wrote:

I felt lifted more into the world of spirit than ever before; thought I had more faith, but how much evil was mixed up with this in my heart; thought so much of little mortifications, yet talked as if they were familiar to me; felt so anxious for N[ewman]'s good opinion, and suffered my mind to wander miserably in prayers.⁴⁸

Really, however, Littlemore had not been much more than a respite. He had been happy for a time, but nothing had been resolved. He could be sure now of Newman's continuing regard, yet he had not been frank with Newman. And, at bottom, he is no more certain than before what course to follow in the wake of Newman's resignation.

On the Monday following his departure from Littlemore, Mark left Oxford for Ainderby, in Yorkshire, where he was to meet his aunt and cousin, Mary and Philippa Meadows. He made the journey in secret, telling his sisters of it only after he had returned to Oxford with the Meadows's (who were on the first stage of their move from Ainderby to Hursley). Apparently, he did not wish to rouse the Rector's ire by letting it be known that for the first time in two years his son was in the neighbourhood of Hauxwell. The Rector would only have vented his anger in yet another rampage against Mark's sisters. At Oxford, meanwhile, Mark spent the best part of a week in his aunt's and cousin's company. Philippa and her mother had anticipated great things of Oxford, the city and University that had been at the centre of their thoughts (of Philippa's especially) for the past five years. What they found, however, was anti-climactic.

⁴⁸Memoirs, pp. 206-207.

Newman's voice was to be heard no more in the pulpit of St. Mary's, his followers were divided among themselves, Mark seemed to be strangely undecided with respect to his own future, and reluctant even to give the sort of advice and encouragement that they had come to expect of him. Philippa, of course, had decided already what she must do. Hursley and Keble were to be her last resort in the Church of England. If they failed her, she would join the Church of Rome. Mark, she believed, must be thinking in a similar vein, for no sooner had he got to Ainderby than she had started in on her favourite subject. Surrounded by "those old Boxes" being made ready for the movers (as she reminded him many months later) they had discussed "the best kind of conversion to the Catholic Church".⁴⁹ "Discussed" is not, perhaps, the right word, for Philippa's conversations were invariably monologues. Mark, however, seems to have borne with her passionate arguments in favour of Rome and said nothing about the state of his own mind. At Oxford, however, his patience finally gave way. On the very first day of the Meadows's visit, the cousins quarrelled. Philippa's criticisms of the Church of England, and of relatives also whom she did not like, were "very violent", the diary says. Mark became angry. He took his cousin to task for her vehemence and implied that she did not know her own mind. Philippa, unused to such criticism, especially from Mark, was stung by his attack and retreated. "She calmed down and (slightly) contrite afterwards", the diary says. "Avowed that her attraction to Cath[olic] views was a compound of taste and imagination".⁵⁰ But she was more deeply distressed

⁴⁹MSP. 63, f. 259. 29 July [1844].

⁵⁰MSP. 128, f. 21. 19 October 1843.

by her cousin's hostility than Mark imagined. "Some music coming below the window, she was much affected, and cried", the diary observes, "but the tune unknown to me, or my aunt".⁵¹ Philippa, however, admired Mark too much to resent his criticisms for long. She thought, indeed, that he was entitled to make them, because he was much farther advanced on the road to religious perfection than she was. "I shall never forget your friendship, and present loneliness probably makes it be felt more acutely", she wrote to him some weeks later from Millbrook, near Winchester, where she had taken up residence with her mother while they waited for a house to be found for them at Hursley. "Those hours we spent in your rooms, I now begin to look back on with pleasure and regret as having withdrawn me so completely from ills past and future which now return with renewed force".⁵² She did not yet know, however, that the ground of her cousin's convictions had been shaken by Newman's resignation, and that he was no longer on a course parallel to her own, determined as she was, one way or the other and rather sooner than later, on a union with the Church of Rome. Not until eight months or so later, in the summer of 1844, would it begin to dawn on Philippa Meadows that all was not as it appeared to be with her cousin at Oxford.

While Mark was at Littlemore with Newman during the first two weeks of October 1843, one of those who had been associated with the Tractarians in the early days of the movement, William Palmer of Worcester College, was bringing to a close a short and indignant history of the

⁵¹MSP. 128, f. 21. 19 October 1843.

⁵²MSP. 46, ff. 222-223. [Autumn 1843.]

Oxford Movement, entitled A Narrative of Events connected with the publication of the Tracts for the Times (Oxford, 1843). Palmer's Narrative was published within days of the Meadows's departure from Oxford, that is to say, in the last week of October. Two days after his aunt and cousin left him for Millbrook, Mark got a copy of Palmer's book and read it through.⁵³ In the Memoirs he calls it a "dreary" book, in a tone that shows he has only contempt for the writer.⁵⁴ But at the time, Palmer's argument affected him in a way that one would not suspect from a reading of the Memoirs. For it caused him to consider yet again whether he had really thought out the implications of the course he had set for himself over the past two years, during which he had become so deeply involved with the aims and ideas of such men as Ward, Oakeley, and Morris.

Pattison could not be closer to the truth when he says in the Memoirs that Palmer's Narrative is "dreary" reading. It is indeed dreary reading. William Palmer of Worcester College (to be distinguished from William Palmer of Magdalen) was a died-in-the-wool conservative, of the kind that is fearful of change of any sort. Any suggestion of reform, any attempt to change what he regarded as the fixed order of things, be it in the political or the ecclesiastical spheres, he interpreted invariably as the death-knell of civilized society. He lamented Roman Catholic Emancipation in 1829, for instance ("the fatal year 1829", he calls it), as a measure which "scattered to the winds public principle, public morality, public confidence, and dispersed a party which . . .

⁵³MSP. 128, f. 23. 25 October 1843.

⁵⁴Memoirs, p. 172.

would have stemmed the torrent of revolution, and averted the awful crisis which was at hand". Again, he regarded the Reform Bill of 1832 as "a just retribution for the offence of the Tory aristocracy in forsaking the Church of England by yielding to Catholic emancipation".⁵⁵ "Order and religion" is a phrase that occurs frequently in his Narrative. And just to show exactly where he stands in 1843, in those dangerous times for Tractarians, he states categorically that he wrote none of the Tracts, save for a few notes to No. 15 ('On the Apostolical Succession in the English Church'). So far was he, indeed, from being an enthusiastic adherent of the movement that, when objections were raised to some of the early Tracts, he says, he wanted the series suspended at once. But when his protests were to no avail, he ceased, he says, to take an active interest in the Tracts. His purpose in writing a history of the movement, then, is to make a clear distinction between those, like himself, who had been connected with the movement in its early years but who had never associated themselves with any party or tendency to Romanism, and those, like the writers in the British Critic who, he says, are blatantly "Romanist". For it is the British Critic under Tom Mozley's editorship, and especially Ward's series of eight articles published in the review between 1841 and 1843, that is the focus of Palmer's attack. As he sees it, the purpose of his Narrative is to set the record straight and, clearly, to isolate the "Romanists" from the rest of the Tractarian party. He rejoices, then, to hear that Mozley has recently resigned the editorship of the British Critic, and hopes that the review will soon be placed in the hands of a reliable editor. He is

⁵⁵ Palmer, A Narrative of Events, p. 2.

pessimistic even so, he says, for great harm to "Church principles" has already been done. It cannot be undone, he thinks. The writers in the British Critic bear a heavy responsibility. "The continual cry of the 'British Critic' for 'development,' 'progress,' 'chance,' 'expansion of ideas,'" he complains, "the actual and fearfully rapid progress of individual minds, the unsettlement of principles and notions openly avowed; all is calculated to create a very serious uneasiness and alarm. Such impetuosity and recklessness seem better fitted to revolutionize than to reform".⁵⁶ He thinks, indeed, that "a permanent evil" has been done. "Henceforward", he complains, "every advocate of the Church of England will be involved in most serious difficulties; his Romist opponents will always be able to quote against him the concessions and doctrines of this periodical".⁵⁷ "Romanism", he says, is growing stronger by the hour: "intimacies are formed with Romanists, and visits are paid to Romish monasteries, colleges, and houses of worship".⁵⁸ Something would have to be done. Something was done. When Francis Rivington (1805-1885), the publisher of the British Critic, could find no agreement on a new editor for the review, he dropped it altogether with a sigh of relief. A new review, the Christian Remembrancer, was started up in its place. Oxford was happy that the extreme party among the Tractarians had at last lost its mouthpiece. Palmer was happiest of all. But William George Ward was not about to let the author of A Narrative of Events get off so lightly. As soon as he had read Palmer's book, he contemplated a pamphlet of his

⁵⁶ Palmer, A Narrative of Events, p. ix.

⁵⁷ Palmer, A Narrative of Events, p. ix.

⁵⁸ Palmer, A Narrative of Events, p. 45.

own by way of riposte. But, as Ward worked at it in the months ahead, the pamphlet grew into a book, and when it came out in the summer of 1844, it created almost as great a sensation as had Tract 90, three years before.

Not all of Mark's friends among the "Romanizing" party at Oxford reacted as strenuously to Palmer's Narrative as Ward did, nor were they so eager to take up the gauntlet that Palmer scarcely realized he had thrown down. But there were many among them who were severely critical of what Palmer had had to say. Jack Morris, for instance, on a walk with Mark one afternoon in November 1843, gave it as his opinion that "Palmer in his pamphlet appears quite careless of truth on [the] one hand, and of Christian life on the other and appears only anxious to shew that a string of barren propositions have [sic] a claim on our acceptance, careless whether or no these propositions are true, or profitable".⁵⁹ Mark, who had read Palmer's Narrative by this time also, refrained from comment. For his own response to the book had been very different from the responses of either Ward or Morris. Palmer's Narrative, in fact, seemed to show him for the first time the real weakness of his own position. He put it succinctly in his diary: "I have let my conclusions outrun my practice and my knowledge". He decided that he would have to go over again the whole ground of his present position. This, then, is what he wrote in his diary on the evening of 25 October 1843, when he had finished reading Palmer's book:

Struck this evening after reading Palmer that I have perhaps been too hasty in coming so completely to give up the Ch[urch] of E[ngland] theory as I have done.

⁵⁹MSP. 128, f. 30. [November 1843.]

No new arguments, or impressions in favour of Anglicanism have been brought before me, but a general fear that I have let my conclusions outrun my practice and my knowledge. Hence a resolution to go over again, with prayer and in a religious frame, the whole case as far as I know it of the right of a national Ch[urch] to be independent, to reform itself, to differ from other branches, especially from all the rest of Christendom and yet remain a true branch of the U[niversal] Ch[urch]--and till I have completed a thoughtful review of this question as far as I have the means, not to allow myself in talking, or thinking, as I have done of late, to set aside the Ch[urch] of E[ngland] theory as untenable etc. O merciful God I am a child, tossed to and fro with every wind of doctrine, save me or I perish!⁶⁰

Mark's resolution to go over the old ground once more is a worthy one, no doubt, but scarcely realistic. For, after all this time, how was he to become convinced again of arguments that he had rejected long since for the validity of the Anglican claim to Catholicity? They had lost their hold a long time ago on both his intellect and his imagination. It hardly seems credible, indeed, that he should think seriously of taking them up again. What is really at the root of his anxiety, then, is not a fear that he had neglected to appreciate some part of the argument for the traditional Anglican position on Catholicity, but "a general fear" of the logical consequences of a course of thought and action to which he had committed himself up to the time of Newman's resignation. In other words, he felt that, in consistency, he was bound to become a Roman Catholic. The trouble was that he did not wish to become a Roman Catholic and had never intended to become one. He was trapped by the necessity of a logic which he had never clearly examined or made his own. Only now, after he had read Palmer, does he admit openly what we know was implied

⁶⁰MSP. 128, f. 23. 25 October 1843.

in his reluctance to be straightforward with Newman and with his friends: that he had accepted his conclusions before rightly thinking his way to them. Face to face, now, with their logical consequences, he is appalled, and cannot take the next step forward. What, then, is he to do? Palmer's Narrative has shown him where he has outrun his conclusions. Ought he not, then, to backtrack? There seems to be no alternative to either going forward into the Church of Rome or stepping backward into Anglicanism. However, in spite of his resolution to re-examine the old ground of the Anglican claims, it soon becomes clear that a retreat into Anglicanism will not satisfy him. On Sunday 5 November, for example, less than a fortnight after he had read Palmer, he debates with himself whether to attend service in the College Chapel. What troubles him is not the manner in which the service was usually conducted at Lincoln (he had complained often about it in his diaries and letters), nor even the fact that it was Guy Fawkes' Day, a traditionally anti-Roman Catholic festival, but the mere fact that the service would be taken from the Book of Common Prayer. "Very doubtful what to do", he wrote afterwards in his diary,

but acted at last on the notion that so much else to be got over in P[rayer] Book that not worth while to stick at one service more, so went to Chapel, but did not join in any part of the Service, only standing up and kneeling down when the rest did. Uncomfortable this morn[in]g (and same last night all time of supper) from not having been able to act up to any design of living to God, and finding myself thrown back again into my old common-place worldly habits.⁶¹

⁶¹MSP. 128, f. 27. Later that day, Mark went to hear the sermon delivered at St. Mary's by Archdeacon Henry Manning in commemoration of the Gunpowder Plot. But he was so disappointed by Manning's intemperate denunciations of "Popery" that he resolved never to hear him preach again. Yet, he wondered how to meet Manning's argument that the futility of all

This, then, is Mark Pattison reluctant to commit himself to Rome, wondering whether he has not overlooked the virtues and claims of Anglicanism, yet reluctant to go to a service of the Church of England because of what William Palmer would call "Romish" objections to the doctrines of the Book of Common Prayer. Plainly, Mark has not realized yet that for him there can be no going back. He must go forward on the strength of the beliefs he had professed so confidently before Newman's resignation, or he must find another way. The first must lead inevitably to Rome; but that he feared. The second would lead who knew where; that he had not even begun to consider because he had not yet stumbled across its path. For the moment, then, it seemed to him that the choice was between Rome and Anglicanism, whether to go forward or backward.

A choice between two such clear alternatives presents itself very neatly in a theoretical shape. Practically, in the world of the everyday, it is an untidy business. Mark tried hard in this period to live up to the ideals he professed to believe in, but time after time he found that

attempts to restore England to the Pope showed which side Providence was on (MSP. 128, f. 27). This was the sermon that so offended Newman, who had taken Manning into his confidence, that (according to J. A. Froude) he refused to see Manning when he called at Littlemore the next day. 'Mark Pattison and I were sitting with Newman when he was told that Manning had come. Newman said to me, "You must go and tell him, Froude, that I will not see him." I went and told Manning, who was greatly distressed, and I walked along the road some way to give him what comfort I could'. Quoted in Correspondence of John Henry Newman with John Keble and Others, p. 280, from The Recollections of the Very Rev. G. B. Boyle (London, 1895), p. 238. There is no record, however, of any such incident in Mark Pattison's diary. Meriol Trevor (in Newman: The Pillar of the Cloud, p. 310) does not believe, for several reasons, that the incident actually took place. It is difficult to believe, however, that Froude could have invented it. On the other hand, Froude is not an accurate historian of the Oxford Movement (see, for example, 'The Oxford Counter-Reformation' in Short Studies on Great Subjects, IV, 310-311), and he is by no means an unprejudiced one.

they had lost their savour. During October, November, and December of 1843 there are frequent references in his diary to the failure of his resolutions: "Did not get up to Comm[unio]n this morning--find myself gradually slipping away from strictness and spiritual thoughts", he writes sadly at the end of October.⁶² On walks with students he fails to keep before his mind "the duty of leading to good".⁶³ When, in November, he invites four Lincoln scholars to dine with him, the evening is "pleasant enough", but he is "unsuccessful in leading conversation to profitable subjects--indeed I am quite out of tune for heavenly things, I am filled with the world from morning to night".⁶⁴ He is embarrassed one morning to be caught by his fellow ascetic, William Kay Junior, enjoying a "sumptuous breakfast". "Annoyed this morn[ing] because K[ay] came up and found me making a 'lautus jentaculum'", he remarks on 19 November, "then annoyed at having been annoyed at such a thing".⁶⁵ After a walk with Robert Ornsby, he is "vexed", he says, that he "could not draw strongly enough the claims of the Roman Ch[urch] on our reverence". He concludes from this that his spiritual condition is serious: "altogether I seem to have broken from my moorings and to have lost sight altogether of all that I thought I saw and felt so clearly and strongly".⁶⁶ A week later, at the end of November, he sums up his predicament very well. "What can be wrong

⁶²MSP. 128, f. 25. 29 October 1843.

⁶³MSP. 128, f. 26. 4 November 1843.

⁶⁴MSP. 128, f. 30. 12 November 1843.

⁶⁵MSP. 128, f. 32. 19 November 1843.

⁶⁶MSP. 128, f. 32. 19 November 1843.

with me?", he asks:

surely there must be some other way to Christian life than that never-ending always-beginning struggling after principles that wearies my mind, and leaves me always where it found me! Why sh[oul]d I be so perpetually reviewing my own state, and making estimates of what I am --ought I not to say "in manus tuas, Domine, commendo spiritum meum," and be satisfied with doing what conscience on each occasion suggests--all my case seems to be for consistency or completeness of character--a selfish, ambitious aim--not a devotedness to God's service. I am quite lost.⁶⁷

In the Memoirs Pattison claims that his appointment as Tutor of Lincoln College in 1843 was a factor that "contributed powerfully" to save him from the perils of Roman Catholicism when "the crash" came in 1845. As we have seen, however, that claim cannot be substantiated. It is a hit in the dark that misses the truth. His appointment as Tutor was in 1842, not 1843. It made no impression upon his religious attitudes. His enthusiasm had continued unchecked, and even increased. He had had complete confidence in the integrity of his religious position and his visit to France in the summer of 1843 had only reinforced his convictions. There was no doubt in his mind that all those in the Church of England who professed to be Catholic in their beliefs must some day find themselves in communion with the Church of Rome. The only question had been how that great event was to be effected. There had been no doubt that it ought to be. But Newman's resignation from St. Mary's, with all that that portended, had shaken Mark to the roots of his convictions. Thereafter, as we have seen, his mind had filled with doubts and his unhappiness began. In the midst of it all, on 4 November 1843, he was made, not Tutor, but Bursar of

⁶⁷MSP. 128, f. 34. 27 November 1843.

his College. It was an important position. He was responsible for the College's financial affairs and was obliged at times to inspect the College estates, even as far away at Yorkshire. "Think of me setting fines, and gravely pronouncing on the propriety of increasing reserved rents!", he wrote to Eleanor on his election.⁶⁸ Added to the responsibilities of the tuition which, as a conscientious man, he did not look upon lightly, the position of Bursar of the College drew heavily upon his time and energy. Further, it meant that he was committed more than ever to the welfare of his College, a fact that was now beginning to be important in his mind as he wondered what to do in the light of Newman's resignation.

To become a Roman Catholic meant that one's career in the University of Oxford was at an end. That was a simple fact that Mark had not had to face before, because he had been so taken up with the idea of an eventual union between the Anglicans and the Roman Catholics. Again, he had not known how such a union was to be effected, but he had thought in the end that it must be, and had fully expected that it would come before long, that is to say, certainly within his own lifetime. Newman's resignation of St. Mary's had shown him how impracticable that idea of union was in his day and, further, that if there were to be a union, it would have to be by individual conversion to Roman Catholicism and an abandonment altogether of the Church of England. Mark had not been prepared for such a step. He had been prepared to submit himself with others of like mind to the authority of the Church of Rome, provided they were recognized together for what they believed themselves to be, the true Catholic Church in England.

⁶⁸ MSS. Lincoln College, PP, [12 November 1843].

He had even been prepared (as it would seem from the direction in which his religious idealism had been taking him since 1842) to commit himself to some sort of ascetical life, perhaps even to a formally regulated and celibate religious life in common with other zealous Tractarians who had similar aspirations, if such a mode of living could be established in England. Philippa Meadows had something of the same sort in mind when she had persuaded her mother to move south to be near Keble. According to Eleanor, Philippa intended to found a "female Littlemore" at Hursley. And for some time, too, Eleanor told Mark, it had been her own "highest ambition" to become a nun.⁶⁹ But Mark, like his cousin and sister, had not really considered what it would be like to live according to a formal rule of religious life, nor whether such a life were practicable in the circumstances, even though he had submitted himself for the past year or so to a kind of religious discipline and order that was clearly monastic in tone. But, that private ascetical rule had been an imitation merely. When, after Newman's resignation, he was confronted with the choice of becoming really, as a Roman Catholic, what before he had only aspired to, he drew back. For again, he recognized for the first time that his zeal had run away with him and that he had not examined thoroughly what he was about. Almost immediately, as we have seen, the ascetical life had begun to lose its savour and he found himself not only in an intellectual quandary, but in an emotional quandary as well. Strange to say, however, it was not until late in the day that Mark began to think of what must be for him the most serious consequence of his continuing on his original

⁶⁹ MSP. 45, f. 149. 17 November [1843].

course. To go with Newman to Rome when that day should come (as it surely would) meant that he must leave his beloved Oxford forever. The University might tolerate a man with Catholic views and Catholic sympathies who yet remained a member of the Church of England. It would not tolerate an apostate, a "pervert" (as converts were often called), to Roman Catholicism. Oxford would have to be abandoned, Lincoln given over, College offices, tuition, Fellowship, rooms, career--all would have to be forsaken for something unfamiliar, strange, even foreign; just at a time, too, when he seemed to be making some headway in the reformation of his College.

For at Lincoln there were signs that the tide might be about to turn in favour of reform. The Rector and senior Fellows would rather that things remained as they were. They liked the comfortable and placid routine of their lives and had resisted stubbornly all attempts to change it. But the reformers' persistent efforts to raise the moral and intellectual tone of the Common Room had been gaining the grudging respect of some, at least, among their opponents. The Rector and senior Fellows had begun to recognize that the party of reform made up of their junior colleagues acted consistently on worthier motives than those of mere comfort and convenience. Even so, the reformers had lost many battles and won few, especially in the all-important elections of new Fellows; but they were gaining a moral, if not a numerical ascendancy in the Common Room. After one election, for instance (William Bousfield's, in November 1843), in which the reformers had lost yet again, Mark was not downcast, but even elated when he looked to the future. Only two candidates had put themselves forward, he told Eleanor, "both very incompetent, but the cleverest of the two, of very doubtful character, being a commoner of our own--just

the materials to make another Thompson out of". He went on to give her an excited account of the battle in the Common Room and of the "moral victory" that the reformers had won. "On Thursday Evening [sic] the Rector, by appointment, met us in the C[ommon] R[oom] and we had a grand fight", he tells Eleanor:

and, of course, when it came to voting, we were well beaten--but when it is considered that what we contended for viz. a vote of non-habilis, wh[ich] would have rejected them both, and so in fact opened the F[ellowship] to the Diocese [i.e. of Lincoln], was a measure of which there had no precedent occurred in the Rector's time (i.e. 50 years) and that this strong step was not only not put down by unanimous acclamation on the part of the Seniors, but was only ventured to be met by an indirect argument, and was boldly and unqualifiedly called for by us, and that we almost extorted from them a pledge to do it next time; and moreover that we now occupy the position of very ill-used persons, as having had a disagreeable associate forced on us by a tyrant-majority, who as being Senior hav[e]n't half the interest in the character of a junior Fellow that his Fellow Juniors [sic] have,--when all this is considered; and also the impression made by our arguments, they having nothing to help them, but T[hompson]'s blusterings--I really think we gained a moral victory--and let Thompson tell what story he likes to Bousfield (the new Fellow) in order to secure him on the score of gratitude, it will be quite out of the order of nature if he doesn't fall off to the juniors the very first time we want his vote.⁷⁰

At Lincoln, then, Mark Pattison together with J. L. Kettle, William Kay (Junior), John Hannah, and George G. Perry, formed a minority of five in favour of reform at the College. But, of the five, it was Mark, it seems, who was the most urgent and energetic on the question of reform. The junior Fellows generally voted with him, but he could never wholly rely on their support, and was constantly on guard lest they should falter.

⁷⁰ MSS. Lincoln College, PP, [12 November 1843].

Bousfield's election is a case in point. The minority of five had voted non-habilis when Bousfield's name was put before them on the evening before the actual election. They passed the same judgment on the other candidate. That is to say, in their opinion, neither candidate was fit to be elected Fellow of Lincoln College and the election ought to be thrown open to a wider selection. But they had been overruled. The actual election was to take place the next morning (Friday, 10 November) in the College Chapel.⁷¹ Two of the five, Kettle and Perry, failed to appear, "thinking, I suppose", Mark reflects in the diary, "it was no use to get up where there was such a clear majority against, but had they appeared, I think (with Kay) there was still a bare chance that the Rector would have been shaken".⁷² The next day, Mark went to see Kay to make sure of his continuing support. Their relationship had been strained in recent months, but this time Mark spent an hour with him and all went well. "Besides my going to sit with him after having avoided it for some time", the diary notes, "told him plainly that I approved of his conduct in the affair of the election. I never saw him act with more earnestness or put so much restraint on his vanity".⁷³ Mark came away convinced that he had made an impression. Still, it was left to him to make the running. On 22 December, for instance, at the College's last meeting of the year, he was the only one to question his colleagues' motives in donating fifty pounds to the Church Building Society. The reason that had been adduced for the donation ("that all

⁷¹MSP. 128, f. 28. 9 November 1843.

⁷²Green, Oxford Common Room, p. 133.

⁷³MSP. 128, f. 29. 11 November 1843.

other Colleges had given"), he told the Rector and assembled Fellows, was really unworthy of the College. It was an attempt, he said, merely "to recover our character" in the University. "The R[ector] very well-behaved and frank", the diary continues:

owned that that motive did weigh with him (and yet he does subscribe out of his private purse) and rebuked me lightly, when I proposed (in joke) that it should be entered in the book as 'subscribed towards buying the the College a character' by saying, [']well you know we must bear and forbear;' and as we came out spoke very kindly to me, ending by saying 'in societies like this we must take not what we would have, but what we can get.'⁷⁴

The advice was practical, respectful, and fatherly. Mark was touched by the Rector's kindly tone. It was a sign, surely, that if the Rector and Fellows found his manner sometimes abrasive and his criticisms not infrequently distressing, nevertheless they had come to respect him and were beginning to listen to what he had to say. In other words, Mark was acquiring an influence in the Common Room that he might yet be able to exert for the real good of the College. When all else was deeply uncertain in his life, the knowledge that he had begun to make progress in the one sphere that had always mattered to him, was bound to influence his thinking on the question of whether or not to follow Newman any further on the path to Rome.

In the three months, then, since Newman's resignation of St. Mary's on 7 September 1843, Mark's mind, so wonderfully certain before, had become a chaos of doubt. He did not know which way to turn or whom to go to for advice. He was pulled this way and that by the conflicting claims

⁷⁴MSP. 128, f. 40. 22 December 1843.

of conscience, desire, and inclination, by the obligation to be consistent, and, above all, by a sense of the loyalty he owed to Newman. He could tell no one of his state of mind partly because he scarcely knew how to explain it, and partly because as a once fervid "Romanist", he did not now wish to be accused of inconsistency, or to appear foolish, or even, perhaps, cowardly. The fact was, however, that he no longer knew his own mind and that his state of doubt seemed to paralyse him. The only alternatives that presented themselves to him were on the one hand, to go forward to Rome, and on the other, to retreat into the Anglicanism he had long abandoned. There seemed to be no third way. Even the possibility that one existed had not yet crossed his mind.

In spite of his anxiety, however, he began the new year, 1844, in better spirits. The cause can probably be best attributed to a new sense of confidence about the eventual success of his efforts at Lincoln, for there was little else to encourage him. Once again he had not been permitted to spend Christmas at Hauxwell, although he had told his sisters of his desire to be with them.⁷⁵ He had not, certainly, resolved his doubts, and, to complicate matters, Newman had withdrawn even from the editorship of the Lives of the English Saints early in December. Mark had pledged himself to contribute at least two lives to the series, the lives of St. Edmund and of Stephen Langton.⁷⁶ In fact, he had already started to work upon the latter, which was to be the longer of the two. But, if he wished to continue the work, he would have to do so on his own

⁷⁵ MSP. 45, ff. 160-161. 1 December [1843].

⁷⁶ Both were published in 1845 as, respectively, The Life of Stephen Langton (pp. 129) and The Life of St. Edmund (pp. iv, 91).

responsibility. For Newman had written to J. R. Hope on 16 December, "The work is now left to the unpledged zeal of individuals".⁷⁷ His withdrawal was yet another sign, if one were needed, that the movement was breaking up and that each man would have to decide his future for himself. Only at Lincoln, it must have seemed to Mark, was there the possibility now of a common endeavour in pursuit of a worthy object. But that must be in another sphere.

For whatever reason, then, Mark began the new year, 1844, in better spirits. But the respite was a brief one. At about the middle of January he received an urgent letter from an unexpected quarter. It pressed him to become a Roman Catholic at once. It reminded him that his duty was to enquire about the only Church established by Christ and to save his soul by joining it. "My dear Sir, My dear Friend, if you allow me to use that term as an expression of my sentimente [sic], and a remembrance of our intimate intercourse at Issy", the writer went on, there must be no "dissimulation in matters of faith". Mark ought openly to declare his position, for it was perilous voluntarily to live and die outside the pale of the only true Catholic Church.⁷⁸ No doubt, M. Lehir (for so it was) meant well. Mark had sent him a book of Newman's as a gift to the library of St. Sulpice. In responding, Lehir decided to take the opportunity that offered. For, to his mind, it really was important for his friend's eternal happiness that he should decide to become a Roman Catholic. Mark, after all, could not plead what was called "invincible ignorance". At

⁷⁷ Correspondence of John Henry Newman with John Keble and Others, pp. 288-289.

⁷⁸ MSP. 46, ff. 7-8. [6 January] 1844.

Paris in the summer it had been plain to Lehir that the young Englishman was all but in name a Roman Catholic. What he needed was to be encouraged to take the final step and a salutary reminder, perhaps, of the dire consequences for his eternal happiness if he were tempted to pull back. He did not know, however, that Mark had not been thinking of individual conversion when he had parted from Lehir at St. Sulpice in the hope, as Lehir had expressed it, that they would "soon be brothers". Nor was Lehir aware of the effect that Newman's resignation had had on Mark's thinking. To Lehir, Newman's act would mean simply that Newman and all his followers would soon become Roman Catholics. His approach, then, in his letter to Mark was the worst possible one. It did not resolve Mark's hesitation, or help him to peace of mind, or to Roman Catholicism. It did depress him immeasurably and left him in greater perplexity than ever. For, by condemning "dissimulation in matters of faith" and urging Mark to declare himself openly, Lehir touched a sensitive nerve. He meant that Mark should declare himself for what he was, a Roman Catholic at heart. But Mark was not keeping that truth from the world, because it was simply not the truth. He was afraid, however, to declare his doubts. He could rightly be accused, then, of "dissimulation in matters of faith". Might he not also be accused of insincerity, and of misleading those who had put their trust in him? But what could he do? He could not declare himself openly, as Lehir had suggested, simply because he did not know precisely what he could declare to. The prospect was dispiriting.

For the next four or five months, then, Mark was in a state of deep dejection. He did not know what was the matter. He believed at first that he was ill, but could not describe his illness or cure it.

"For the last ten days I have felt very unwell without having had anything distinctly the matter with me", he wrote in his diary on 1 February 1844:

a lassitude or lethargy which had disabled me from all study, and made me shun society--I take interest in nothing, and have been contented to sit an hour together over the fire doing nothing, and thinking of nothing--all my high resolves, and hopes of progress are vanished. I made several strong efforts to go on with St[ephen] Langton, but could not bring myself to it at all. . . .⁷⁹

Three weeks later, he is no better: "all that temperance, regularity, air and exercise, and physic--all sorts except blue pill--can do I have tried", he writes on 20 February.⁸⁰ The "blue pill", however, would not have helped either, for his disorder was chiefly mental and emotional. Nevertheless, by the end of February there are signs of a revival. "Better in health and spirits than I have been for these 2 months", he writes on 27 February.⁸¹ On 9 March he took a long walk alone "round by Bullingdon", and came home "in as high and buoyant spirits as I ever remember". The next day, Sunday, he went to the early Communion "and felt lighter and happier than for some time past". That evening, however, "going to dine with [James] Mozley at Magd[alen] my thoughts too full of myself, I got uncomfortable; thought Church avoided me--and came home in wretched spirits".⁸² The old trouble had risen to meet him again. Once before, R. W. Church had made it clear to Mark that he did not wish to be associated with the "Romanists" at Oxford. He meant to keep at a safe distance from them. He

⁷⁹MSP. 128, f. 43. 1 February 1844.

⁸⁰MSP. 128, f. 43.

⁸¹MSP. 128, f. 45.

⁸²MSP. 128, ff. 46-47.

did not know, however, that Mark had had second thoughts and was no longer so eager for union with Rome. For Mark, of course, had told no one. Again, by his reticence, Mark was conveying the wrong impression of what his real thoughts were, and all because he was unable to say that he had changed his mind. The second rebuff from Church only showed him what a difficult predicament he had got himself into. He became depressed again. "How unaccountable are my variations of feeling, and how miserably dependant [sic] I am on state of body, of weather, or casual words or even looks of others", he laments two days after the dinner at Magdalen.⁸³

Previously, when he had been in low spirits and his mind was filled with doubts and uncertainties, Mark's remedy had been to make new resolutions to lead a more strictly religious and disciplined life. This time was no exception. Lent, especially (it began on 21 February ^{that year} ~~with Ash~~ ~~Wednesday~~), seemed to provide an ideal opportunity for the recovery of his religious equilibrium. He made the usual resolutions about fasting, abstinence, prayer, and meditation. On the whole, however, he did not view the prospect of Lent with much enthusiasm. "My dear E[leanor] writes that 'the approach of Lent is a comfort to her heart'", he remarks in his diary on 20 February (Shrove Tuesday); "how differently does it look to me! blank and dreary--and yet nothing can have been more joyless than my last month. I cannot even seek God when he slays me!"⁸⁴ He was still determined, however, to be as rigorous as possible in his fasts and abstinences: "Determined to limit myself to the very minimum of meat that I can bear

⁸³MSP. 128, ff. 46-47. 12 March 1844.

⁸⁴MSP. 128, f. 44.

and in the morn[ing] a piece of bread, with a cup of gruel only if necessary".⁸⁵ The next day, Ash Wednesday, he felt better: "Very wandering during service--but afterwards prayed with some warmth and comfort", the dairy says.⁸⁶ But on the day following he is, "Very low and miserable still".⁸⁷ On 12 March the newly converted Charles Seager called on him, and Mark made a note of their conversation in his diary:

Seager called this morn[ing]--didn't stay above an hour, and I got some information worth having out of him--He tried, as an experiment once and succeeded, without inconvenience, in fasting Frid[ay] and Sat[urday] entirely, till Sunday morning--His practice at present to take a collation at 4 or 5 and his meal (pea-soup, which he prepares himself) at 8.⁸⁸

What is curious here is the obvious fascination that fasting has for the two men. It is as though it were an end in itself, and the religious purpose of it is forgotten, at least in large measure. Mark, indeed, seems to have taken to his Lenten regimen in 1844 as though to a panacea for all his ills, rather than as a means of freeing himself for a greater devotion to prayer and meditation. In fact, neither in his diaries nor letters of the period is to be found the deep religious devotion that characterized his Lenten observances of just a year before, that is to say, in 1843, before Newman resigned as Vicar of St. Mary's. By the Lent of 1844 Mark has lost a great deal of his old ascetical fervour. In the event, his rigorous Lenten observances, so stoically carried through, do him no good.

⁸⁵MSP. 128, f. 44. 20 February 1844.

⁸⁶MSP. 128, f. 44. 21 February 1844.

⁸⁷MSP. 128, f. 45. 22 February 1844.

⁸⁸MSP. 128, f. 47.

He continues in his depressed state and finds relief only in occasional brief holidays away from Oxford, in April and May, for example, when he visited his aunt and cousin at Millbrook. Indeed, he discovered on these trips that when he left Oxford his spirits rose at once, but on returning, he became depressed again: "no sooner am I returned than without any assignable cause I am quite out of order", he remarks in his diary on 25 April.⁸⁹ He wondered whether the Oxford air, perhaps, was not the cause of his low spirits and ill health. More than likely, however, it was not the air, but the over-heated intellectual atmosphere of Oxford that was responsible for his trouble. For no sooner had he returned from one of his brief excursions, than he was caught up once more in the seemingly endless round of speculation, theological discussion, and ecclesiastical gossip. At a dinner party in David Lewis's rooms at Jesus College, for example, the theological controversies of the hour were the staple of the conversation, with a few anecdotes about Oxford characters thrown in by way of relief.⁹⁰ And in May, when Mark read a paper to the Moral Philosophy Society, theology was again the chief subject for consideration. As he told Eleanor, his paper was on "rather a delicate subject, on Morality depending on the Will of God".⁹¹ At least it had

⁸⁹ MSP. 128, f. 47.

⁹⁰ MSP. 128, f. 47. 25 April 1844. One of those anecdotes was the following: "Newman's account of Jelf, when Ward asked him what Jelf's views were--'He has no meaning, you can't talk of his views, he has none, mere words'". MSP. 128, ff. 48-49. Nevertheless, Dr. Richard Jelf (1798-1871) was a useful fixture at Oxford in the thirties and forties because he had a reputation for impartiality. As a result, both sides in a controversy were accustomed to address public letters of explanation to him. Newman and Pusey used this device in the Tract 90 controversy. No one, however, paid any attention to Jelf's own views.

⁹¹ MSS. Lincoln College, 15, 23 May [1844]. I have not come across a copy of this paper.

made him think, he said, "a habit I am in some danger of losing--I feel [myself] getting more stupid and humdrum every day". He did not know how well the paper had been received, however: "I took a great deal of pains with it--the society mustered so much stronger than I expected, that I was horribly nervous in reading it--what they thought of it I don't know". He had been glad, nevertheless, of "an opportunity of going quite over a question that has long interested me, and I think I am clearer on it than I was before". Even so, the paper had provided no more than a momentary respite from his general despondency. "I have no satisfaction in what I do", he remarked to Eleanor in the same letter.⁹²

There is something else, however, that ought to be considered as a contributing factor to Mark's depression during the first five months or so of 1844. He does not mention it in his diaries, but to judge from his sisters' letters, it was certainly in his thoughts and must have been the subject of a number of his own letters that have not survived. The state of affairs at Hauxwell was as bad, and perhaps even worse than before during the first six months of 1844. Mark at Oxford was helpless to do anything for his sisters, and at Hauxwell he was forbidden the house. All he could offer was encouragement and advice. The encouragement was welcomed; but the advice, especially when any serious measure was proposed, was not often heeded. Mark had advised Eleanor, for instance, in April 1843 to leave her father's house for good. But she had declined, not on the grounds that she had no place to go to and no means of support, but because she believed that she owed obedience to her parents, to those, as

⁹²MSS. Lincoln College, 15, 23 May [1844].

she said, "who have got a right to control me".⁹³ Again, in May 1844, when the Rector's rages had become almost unendurable, Mark urged his sisters to leave Hauxwell and to fend for themselves. But Mary replied that they could not leave Hauxwell because they had no way to support themselves.⁹⁴ That excuse had at least the merit of common sense. Earlier, in November, it had seemed that Eleanor might change her mind about leaving home when she wrote that for some time her "highest ambition" had been to become a nun.⁹⁵ Mark, however, did not take her seriously, or even trouble to discuss it with her. He knew his sister well, well enough, it seems, to realize that Eleanor was being carried away in her enthusiasm for Philippa's scheme of a "female Littlemore" at Hursley. However, his sister Fanny (Frances Pattison) was another matter. Of all his sisters, she was the most devoted to him, and remained so, indeed, until his death.⁹⁶ When it had looked as though he would never get a Fellowship at Oxford and was destined merely for a country parish like his father, Fanny had pledged to be his housekeeper, and he had accepted that pledge. But, had it come to pass, their association would have been a most unlikely one. For Fanny was not an especially intelligent or well-read young woman. She was wholly unlike Eleanor in that regard. Her letters are affectionate, gossipy, disjointed, sometimes frivolous, and often trivial. She was thoroughly

⁹³MSP. 45, ff. 227-228. [April] 1843.

⁹⁴MSP. 46, f. 48. 8 May [1844].

⁹⁵MSP. 45, f. 149. 17 November 1843.

⁹⁶See Sparrow, Mark Pattison and the Idea of a University, p. 55.

devout and entirely uncritical in her religion. But if Mark paid no heed to Eleanor's wish to be a nun, he did not hesitate, in the spring of 1844, to suggest just that prospect to his sister Fanny.⁹⁷ He had hinted at it often before, Fanny reminded him in reply, but never had he put the question quite so distinctly. She, too, had often thought about it, but had given up the idea. Mark, however, wrote again on the subject.⁹⁸ She was encouraged, thought about it, and decided that she would like such a life. When Mark asked Mary for her opinion, she, too, thought that Fanny would like the life and was, in fact, well suited to it.⁹⁹ But where, Fanny wondered, ought she to apply? There were no convents as of old in England, except among the Roman Catholics. At that point the discussion closed. Mark could not resolve Fanny's difficulty. Besides, the attention of everyone had been diverted to a greater drama being enacted at Hauxwell, the death of Mark's sister Grace. It was not for another nineteen years, in fact, that Fanny found, almost by accident, what she was seeking, and what Mark had proposed to her in 1844. In 1863 she was accepted as a novice in the Christ Church Sisterhood, an order of Anglican nuns founded in 1858 at Coatham, near Middlesborough in Yorkshire. Shortly afterwards she was joined by Mark's youngest sister Dorothy, later to become famous as Sister Dora.¹⁰⁰

Grace Pattison died on 27 March 1844. The circumstances of her

⁹⁷MSP. 46, f. 250. [March 1844.]

⁹⁸MSP. 46, ff. 274-277. [March 1844.]

⁹⁹MSP. 46, ff. 313-314. [March 1844.]

¹⁰⁰Manton, Sister Dora, pp. 150-153.

death are extraordinary as much for her sisters' behaviour as for her father's terrifying outbursts. Mark was not permitted either to visit her or to attend her funeral. Like Fanny, she was a timid, introspective young woman easily wounded and often depressed. She contracted pneumonia early in 1844 and it developed quickly into what the family physician, Dr. Bowes, described as "consumption". Grace submitted to her fate without a fight. She became apathetic, rarely talked to her sisters or responded to their questions, and was firmly convinced from the start that she would not recover. Her sisters were devotedly attentive. When at last they told her that she was dying, she shocked them by an apparent indifference to the significance of that "awful hour", as Mark's mother referred to it in a letter to her son. Grace was entirely unmoved by the approach of death, Mrs Pattison reported, even though they kept the subject constantly before her. She did not, she said, seem to realize that repentance was essential.¹⁰¹ Eleanor, too, was very anxious on her sister's account. Grace must be made aware of the full significance of her approaching death, Eleanor thought, but she had failed to respond to her sisters' attempts to awaken her to the solemnity of the occasion. Together, therefore, they decided to prepare Grace for death. Frivolous conversation was forbidden in the bedroom. A suitably solemn and religious atmosphere was maintained at all times about Grace's bedside, and (as Eleanor reported to Mark) her sisters endeavoured to keep "one leading idea" before Grace's mind each day. Towards the end, Grace asked that her father pray with her. He refused absolutely. She died fully conscious and crying bitterly, terrified

¹⁰¹MSP. 46, ff. 289-290. [March 1844.]

that her father might burst into the room in one of his rages. Her mother and sisters stood about her bedside, praying.¹⁰² After the funeral, Eleanor sent Mark a letter filled with morbid reflections on death's appearance in the house, and reminded her brother that Grace's death gave them all a "connection with the unseen world".¹⁰³

As he had done in previous years, the Rector of Hauxwell had taken the opportunity of Lent's approach to open out again in violent ragings against his daughters' "popish practices". On Ash Wednesday, for instance, as the Lenten observances began in the dying Grace's room, he had stormed and raged outside the door and in the "bookroom" directly below. Grace's helpless terror during these outbursts was unutterably distressing to her sisters. Meanwhile, Rachel, in the "bookroom" below, once had a mug of hot water thrown into her face,¹⁰⁴ and the Rector's wife, although subjected to hourly humiliation, submitted to it stoically. But, when Mark advised his sisters to leave the Rectory, his mother reminded them all of their obligations to their father. She would brook no revolt on the part of her daughters against her husband's authority, meanwhile slavishly submitting to it herself. Mark was disgusted. "Her way of going on excites so much indignation in me", he wrote to Eleanor, "that I find it hard to feel for her at all--so much she might prevent if she chose".¹⁰⁵ To his mother he

¹⁰²MSP. 46, ff. 11-32, 238-250, 260-261, 268-269, 289-290, 295-296, 315-318, 327. February, March, April 1844.

¹⁰³MSP. 46, f. 28. [9 April 1844.]

¹⁰⁴MSP. 46, ff. 317-318. [March 1844.]

¹⁰⁵MSS. Lincoln College, 23 May [1844].

wrote an angry letter, charging her (she says in her reply) with "cold neglect" of her children. He said that she "refused them comfort and protection" when they needed it and was guilty of "heartless treachery" towards her own daughters. Mrs Pattison was deeply angered and hurt by her son's charges, but her defence of herself against them shows that they had no other effect on her. She remained as doctrinaire and as inflexible as ever in her view of the duty owed to their tyrannical father and pastor by her twelve children. She had impressed upon her children, she reminded Mark yet again, that nothing whatsoever could release them from the duty of their obligation towards their father. Trials, she tells him, are permitted by God for a wise purpose. It is our duty to bear them out. She reminds him of her own position, that she has no one to defend her, and remarks that while she admires Mark's loyalty towards his sisters and his love for them, he, too, must remember his obligations as his father's son.¹⁰⁶

Mark's anger was impotent in the face of such adamant resolution, even though his mother was subjected daily to greater humiliations. At night she was driven downstairs in a torrent of abuse, but went back again to her husband as soon as it abated, in spite of her daughter's pleas.¹⁰⁷ At last, a separation was thought to be the only answer. Mark's sisters broached the possibility to their mother. She loathed the idea, Mary reported, because she still loved her husband.¹⁰⁸ But things came to such a pass, that, on 22 May, Mrs Pattison herself wrote to Mark asking him to

¹⁰⁶ MSP. 46, ff. 285-286. [May/June 1844.]

¹⁰⁷ MSP. 46, ff. 53-54. 17 May 1844.

¹⁰⁸ MSP. 46, ff. 48-49. 8 May 1844.

name a referee. He did so at once, offering the name of a London solicitor.¹⁰⁹ In the meantime, after a terrible row during which he abused every member of his household, the Rector left the house and disappeared. Nearly a week later they heard from him. He was visiting friends and relations in London and Cheltenham, Mark's godfather J. LeMesurier in London, and Mark's uncle and cousins, the Swards, at Cheltenham. With everyone he was most friendly and affable. A letter even to his wife was full of kind words. It was all most provoking, Mary told Mark.¹¹⁰ Suddenly, he appeared at Hauxwell, but no sooner did he catch sight of his children, than he put his hands over his eyes and refused to look at them. The rounds of abuse began again. Then, without warning, he bundled his wife into a carriage and fled south once more, not to reappear for another week. On his return, he announced that he, too, wanted a separation. Mark received another letter from his mother asking for advice. She was against a separation now, she said, doubted that it would bring peace, and feared especially that it would destroy the "character" and "respectability" of herself and her daughters. She was torn, she said, between her duty to her husband and her duty to her daughters. What she meant was that, if her husband wished it, her duty to him would oblige her to agree but, at the same time, she thought also that, for the sake of her daughters, she ought not to agree to a separation.¹¹¹ Mark could do nothing in the face of such a twisted logic. So far, neither advice nor stricture of his had had any effect on the appalling state of affairs at Hauxwell. He was helpless, it seemed,

¹⁰⁹MSP. 46, ff. 67-68. 31 May 1844.

¹¹⁰MSP. 46, ff. 74-75. 3 June 1844.

¹¹¹MSP. 46, ff. 78-79. 12 June [1844].

to do anything for his sisters.

Unsure of himself, therefore, dissatisfied with his work, and in the knowledge that the situation at Hauxwell was worse than ever, Mark left Oxford about the second week in June for five weeks in Belgium and Germany. Belgium at that time was a favourite resort of those Tractarians who were eager to establish contact with Roman Catholics on the Continent.¹¹² At Brussels, then, Mark's first and, it appears, only calls were on Roman Catholic clergy. What he did in Germany we cannot say. We know only that he was at Cologne by the end of June and returned to Oxford by the middle of July.¹¹³ He did send an account of his travels in some sixteen letters to Hauxwell.¹¹⁴ These letters were sent on by his sisters to his cousin Philippa at Millbrook in Hampshire, but they are not to be found among the Pattison papers known to have survived. We do know, however, that he expressed dissatisfaction with Continental Roman Catholicism in these letters, because after his return, Philippa Meadows wrote to ask what it was that so dissatisfied him. Was it the Roman ritual, she wondered? If so, she could understand his displeasure were he comparing the modern ritual with "old standards". She assured him, however, that in such matters the Roman Catholics were sure to know best: "surely you would feel that if the City of Solemnities exist on Earth, it is in the form exhibited by the Latins". What he needed, she thought, was to live more among Roman

¹¹² See Oakeley, 'Historical Notes of the Tractarian Movement', Dublin Review, new series, 2 (1864), 164-179 (pp. 173-174).

¹¹³ MSP. 135, f. 33.

¹¹⁴ MSP. 46, f. 93. 23 July [1844].

Catholics so as to be better able to appreciate the spirit of their communion.¹¹⁵

What Mark found fault with, however, was not the spirit or the piety or the liturgy of Roman Catholicism, but the intellectual pretensions of contemporary Roman Catholic writers in France, Germany, and Italy whose aim it was to restore to the Church the prestige and, especially, the political influence it had once enjoyed in those countries, and whose every argument seemed to be fashioned to that end. Since his return from France the previous year, he had become a frequent reader of the Continental Roman Catholic press, especially of the French paper, L'Univers. What he had found there had disappointed him and he had given it as his opinion to W. G. Ward the previous September that Roman Catholic writing on the Continent left a great deal to be desired. Ward had passed on his criticisms to a French acquaintance, a M. Renoux. Renoux had responded to the criticisms by sending Mark, via Ward, a list, merely, of the Roman Catholic writers of France, Germany, and Italy. But Mark had noted in his diary that the list was not an answer to his criticisms, "which concerned quality and not number".¹¹⁶ Later, in March 1844, he had been given a pamphlet written by Alexandre de Saint-Cheron on the state and prospects of the Church in France.¹¹⁷ The pamphlet, Mark noted, was filled with statistics

¹¹⁵ MSP. 46, ff. 92-95. 23 July [1844].

¹¹⁶ MSP. 128, ff. 4-5. 21 September 1843.

¹¹⁷ No title is given in the diary. The pamphlet referred to is most probably Saint-Cheron's L'Eglise, son autorité, ses institutions et l'Ordre des Jésuites, défendus contre les attaques et les calomnies de leurs ennemis . . . documents recueillis, annotés, augmentés d'une introduction et d'une conclusion, par un homme d'État (Paris, 1844).

"all pointed towards what seems the single aim of French Catholics[,] that of awing Government by a parade of their numbers and growing political importance". The diary continues:

I fear the writer of this pamphlet with all his pretensions to learning as the translator of Hurter, too much justifies the contemptuous shrug with which MM. Quinet, Michelet, etc. turn from the intellectual pretensions of the Catholic party. The force this party can bring to bear upon politics is in itself inconsiderable, and if it were really of the importance they want to have it thought, the true strength of the Church does not lie in such marshalling of worldly forces.¹¹⁸

At Brussels, however, Mark had not come into contact (so far as we know) with any of those politically motivated Roman Catholics whose pretensions he despised. As on his first visit to the Continent in 1843, he had taken letters of introduction, again apparently from J. R. Bloxam, to members of the clergy only. All he met were very favourably impressed by the young English clergyman. He had "won golden opinions in Belgium", Bloxam told him enthusiastically some three months later.¹¹⁹ One of those "golden opinions" came from the Abbé Donnet, a priest with whom Mark had spent a number of hours in conversation on long walks through Brussels. Like M. Lehir at Paris, Donnet decided that his young friend was plainly on the verge of becoming a Roman Catholic. In September, he sent Mark the first

¹¹⁸ MSP. 6, ff. 144-145. 31 March 1844. Jules Michelet (1798-1874) and Edgar Quinet (1803-1875). Quinet's attacks on the Jesuits and the supporters of Ultramontaniam had become so violent by 1842 that François Guizot had obliged him to suspend his lectures at the Collège de France. "Hurter" is Friederich Emmanuel von Hurter-Ammann. Saint-Cheron translated the second edition of his history of the reign of Pope Innocent III, published as Histoire du Pape Innocent III et des ses contemporains, traduite de l'allemand sur la seconde édition, par A. de Saint-Cheron et J. B. Haiber, 3 tomes (Paris, 1838).

¹¹⁹ MSP. 128, f. 72. 5 October 1844.

of several letters urging him, for his soul's sake, to act without delay. Another Brussels acquaintance, an English student named George Mann, was so impressed by what he had seen and heard of Mark that, upon his return to the Roman Catholic College of St. Mary at Oscott, he decided to speak to Dr Wiseman about him. On 13 August 1844, he wrote to Mark with an invitation to visit Oscott. "Dr. Wiseman is quite interested about you since I spoke to him of our conversations together in Belgium", he said, "you will be hospitably received by all here".¹²⁰ Mark did not go, however. An invitation to Oscott to speak to Dr Wiseman was the last thing that he needed in the summer of 1844. He went instead to Hursley. There, at last, a house had been found for his aunt and cousin. On 1 July they had taken up residence in the one place in all England where, according to Philippa, there was any hope left for a Catholic in the Church of England. But, as Mark learned soon after his return from the Continent, within three weeks of moving to Hursley Philippa had become thoroughly disillusioned with what she found there.

On 8 June 1844, shortly before Mark's departure for Belgium and Germany, Newman had opened a long and important letter to Keble with the following message: "My dear Keble", he had written,

Pattison wishes me to tell you that friends of his, a lady and daughter, are going into your Parish. So far you must know--at least you know them, and have been civil to them already--but what you do not know, and he wishes you to know, is, that they have come to Hursley to be 'under your superintendence.' I do not know what the phrase means, but when he and I had repeated it several times, and no light seemed thrown upon it, I dropped the subject. Perhaps he does not know either. If you wish I can inquire.¹²¹

¹²⁰ MSP. 46, f. 118.

¹²¹ Correspondence of John Henry Newman with John Keble and Others, p. 313.

Newman was probably correct in his estimation of Mark's knowledge of his cousin's intentions. It was difficult to tell, indeed, exactly what Philippa wanted, easier to say what she did not want. She did not want, certainly, what she found at Hursley. "The scene if I may so speak, for it is nothing more to me[,] sickens me", she told her cousin in an account of a visit she had paid to the Kebles not three weeks after her arrival. "Mrs K[eble]", she continued, "is an elegant woman[;] this quality she infuses into every part of her domain--in a way quite indescribable--It is one with which I never was smitten--It repels me of itself--I have neither inclination nor ability to cultivate it". The atmosphere of the Vicarage was oppressive, she thought. In the presence of Keble's wife and sister, "Any view tending to discussion of any kind on any subject drops to the ground". Keble, "of course", knew nothing of her dissatisfaction. He was "the accomplished scholar and excellent poetical Philosopher". The ladies of the Vicarage, however, were suspicious of her, she thought, and jealous of her "miscellaneous reading". The result was that, at Hursley, she was more solitary in mind than ever. Her disappointment, she told Mark, was "sufficient to dispel for ever the dream, that either my heart or mind can ever repose in the Church of England".¹²²

To Mark it must have seemed that Philippa was about to take another precipitate step and abandon both Keble and Hursley at once for Rome. Apparently, he complained of her rashness, for in her next letter she writes that he has misinterpreted her intentions in going to Hursley. She had had no "anticipations of improvement", she says--a statement that surely

¹²²MSP. 46, ff. 92-95. 23 July [1844].

puzzled him. She went on to explain the change in her religious ideas:

I think that somewhere about /39-40 this place would have been very satisfactory to me--I was then in a sort of Antipuritanic temper[,] took an interest in Church Building and enjoyed little discussions on Rubrics in the British Mag[azine]: that stage of thought I past [sic] through and out of without any appropriate probation but Books--and I caught a glimpse of something more divine--on that 'Idea' I will try to rest though it elude my grasp ever so often.¹²³

She was impatient, then, with the sort of people to be found at Hursley who were not possessed of the aggressive idealism that was characteristic of her own religious outlook. "People here seem to think all the world as good Church people as themselves", she told her cousin; "to be the maintainers of a system which if it be anything at all must be aggressive now never seems to enter their heads". She would never be able to come to terms with that sort of complacency. What astonished her, however, was that her cousin, with whom she had so often found herself in agreement, seemed to be entirely untroubled by a state of affairs that so exasperated her. What could be his secret? "It is very wonderful to me", she wrote,

that you who do not feel any real love as far as I can see to things as they are, nor adequate objects of love and admiration in them[,] do yet not seem to mind living on without as I do--you do not vex yourself as I do[,] though I am sure you agree in many things with me. Whence is this? you have some internal support with wh[ich] you are satisfied from day to day and I have not[,] nor ever had.¹²⁴

Philippa, however, could not have been further from the truth. Mark had no such "internal support". He was deeply troubled about what course to take, unlike his cousin whose mind had been made up already for some time.

¹²³MSP. 63, f. 259. 29 July [1844].

¹²⁴MSP. 63, f. 259. 29 July [1844].

Philippa was merely exasperated by the frustrations to her idealism at Hursley. What made Mark appear so calm in the face of what his cousin believed must be similar frustrations to his equally aggressive idealism, was not some secret strength, but a reticence and hesitation that disguised his inner uncertainty. The appearance was misleading, of course, but Mark seemed to be incapable of full disclosure. As for his relationship with his cousin: he went down to Hursley upon receipt of Philippa's second letter. He found her, the diary says, "violent against the place, and the K[eble]s--nothing they do pleases her". They called on Keble at the Vicarage and saw Miss Keble and a Mrs Young. "Poor P[hilippa] could not get on at all with the ladies", Mark observed, "though in her way, inclined to have done so, but not in her nature--she is so totally unfeminine. I said, in the course of the day, some very harsh things to her, which she bore with great equanimity, and wh[ich] put us on a better footing, and at least checked her complaints". But Mark said nothing apparently, about the state of his own mind.¹²⁵

The distressing news about the state of things at Hauxwell had added to Mark's general anxiety throughout the first six months of 1844. But in August, shortly after his visit to Hursley, he was given an

¹²⁵MSP. 128, ff. 55-56. 1 August 1844. Even Newman, however, had begun to be irritated with what he thought of as Keble's complacency. He revealed his irritation when Mark called at Littlmore shortly after his return from Hursley. "When I mentioned to N[ewman] that Keble was pleased with the Bishop's conduct at the confirmation, he said--'Yes they are pleased at anything, they are pleased if they are not kicked--like the man who boasted that the K[ing] of France had spoken to him--why what did he say?--he told me to get out of the way[']". MSP. 128, ff. 56-57. 8 August 1844.

opportunity to see for himself how his mother and sisters were faring. As Bursar of the College, he was obliged to inspect College properties at Smeaton, near Pontefract in Yorkshire. By a happy coincidence and some uncharacteristically skillful manoeuvring, Mrs Pattison had arranged a much needed holiday for herself and daughters by the sea at Tynemouth. The Rector was left in sole possession of the house at Hauxwell. Unknown to his father, Mark joined his mother and sisters for three weeks at their lodgings. His sisters were overjoyed to see him and spent many hours conversing with him on long walks by the shore. But as the time passed, Mark found that he was less at ease with his sisters than he had been hitherto. With Eleanor especially, he was reserved, a circumstance that distressed her.¹²⁶ The reason for his uneasiness is not difficult to understand. Brother and sisters had not enjoyed each other's society for nearly three years. Meanwhile, Mark's outlook had changed. He was no longer the staunch Tractarian who had defended Tract 90 before his father at Christmas in 1841, a defence that had led subsequently to his banishment from Hauxwell. He was now uncertain of his position, no longer an ardent "Romanist", yet finding no proper sphere for his Catholicism within the Church of England. His sisters, by contrast, could not allow themselves the luxury of second thoughts. They had been engaged in a perpetual warfare merely to maintain the religious principles they had imbibed from their brother. Their fervour was undiminished. They looked to Mark for the support and guidance they had come to expect from him. At least, he did not disappoint them on that score. On his last day at Tynemouth, for

¹²⁶MSP. 46, ff. 140-141. 13 September [1844].

instance, he sat with his sisters on a sandhill by the beach and spoke to them earnestly about the conduct of their lives. His sisters listened with wrapt attention. Mary spoke of it afterwards as a memorable afternoon in the holiday.¹²⁷ Mark, however, had been in a dilemma during the whole time. His sisters' religion was their chief support at Hauxwell. He could not tell them, especially while he was so uncertain about the real reason for his disaffection, that he had lost his taste for the prayers, meditations, readings from the Roman Breviary, and fasts and abstinences that meant so much in his sisters' lives. He could not so cruelly undermine their faith either in himself or in the principles he had taught them, principles which he was convinced he still believed in, even while his mind was plagued by doubt. He had wanted as much as ever the devoted regard of his sisters, yet, at Tynemouth, had often been provoked by them to impatience and fretfulness. But they were still too fervent in their enthusiasm for all things Tractarian to perceive what was happening below the surface of their brother's mind. Afterwards, Mark took most of the blame for the failure of the holiday to come up to his expectations. "How much I see to regret in my conduct while there", he comments in his diary:

Impatience, inconsiderate speeches, want of exerting myself to please and benefit my sisters, a petty vanity in talking about myself, and a fretfulness that they did not think enough of me, with much more of the same sort abounded to such a degree as to have greatly diminished the pleasure of the retrospect. To my poor Mother too, I was far from being as kind as I could wish, and yet how probable it is that I may never spend 3 weeks more in her society. I must allow however that they were all, in many things, very provoking--but I much more so.¹²⁸

¹²⁷MSP. 46, f. 147. 15 September [1844].

¹²⁸MSP. 128, ff. 61-62. [12?] September 1844. Upon his return to Oxford, Mark wrote to his mother to apologize for his unkindnesses to her at Tynemouth. She replied that she remembered none and reminded him that "it is the manner more than the word or intention that gives offence". MSP. 46, ff. 144-145. 14 September [1844].

At Oxford again Mark tried to revive his enthusiasm for the religious routine and discipline that had characterized his life for the past seven years. But his attempts were sporadic and dispirited. He was unmoved by the services at St. Mary's and at Christ Church, and yet scandalized by the slipshod conduct of the services in his own College Chapel. Everything, indeed, seemed to conspire against his regaining that consistency of thought and peace of mind which he had known from the time when he had first become connected with the Tractarian movement until Newman's resignation of St. Mary's. "In a walk with Ornsby today[,] he led the conversation as usual to theological matters", he observes two days after his return from Tynemouth, "and I quite unable to answer the objections he put on points which I had thought I had well considered; all my own fabric of opinion seemed scattered to dust by a commonsense and commonplace statement".¹²⁹ The next day, Sunday 15 September, he went to a service at St. Mary's. But, as he listened to the sermon by Newman's successor, C. P. Eden, he had a most uncomfortable feeling that Eden was preaching directly at him. "Eden gave a very good sermon on 'The world is crucified to me'", he wrote afterwards in his diary. "I should like to know", he reflected however, "whether his allusion to 'the tongue being tied' was written or suggested to him by the sight of me. Judging by the feeling that the allusion first called up in me, I am confirmed in thinking that preaching at individual errors in your congregation is a mistake".¹³⁰ No doubt it is; and there is no better illustration of the truth of what

¹²⁹ MSP. 128, f. 62. 14 September 1844.

¹³⁰ MSP. 128, f. 63.

we have been saying in this chapter than that account of Mark's embarrassment in St. Mary's. For he was indeed tongue-tied when it seemed to him that he ought to speak out, not as his friends would expect, by declaring his allegiance to Rome, but by making known the true state of his mind and intentions. At Oxford, however, there was no need for anyone to ask him to declare himself. Almost certainly, Eden was innocent of any such intention. For no one could tell that Mark had begun to change his mind. He was still to be seen frequently, after all, in the company of Jack Morris. He called on Newman at Littlemore, dined with Dalgairns, met Ward and Bloxam occasionally and had long conversations with them, and, in Lent, had received the converted Charles Seager in his rooms at Lincoln College. In October 1844, he even demonstrated his sympathies publicly by voting on the Tractarian side against B. P. Symonds's nomination as Vice-Chancellor. The result of the voting, a devastating defeat for the Tractarians, did send Mark out on a long walk by himself during which he reflected sombrely on what had passed.¹³¹ But no one at Oxford had any reason to suspect that he was not as fervently committed to the Tractarian cause as ever. And Mark, who feared that his behaviour was really insincere, did not know what he could do to change it, or how to convey his inner difficulties to those who expected him to act in a manner consistent with his old convictions, but now repugnant to him.

There is another side, however, to Mark's discontent in 1843 and 1844 that ought to be taken into account, for it is not unrelated to his sudden veering away from the path that had been leading him inexorably to

¹³¹MSP. 128, ff. 72-73. 8 October 1844.

Rome. During the full flood of his Tractarianism, between 1841 and 1843, Mark's life had taken on a strongly ascetical tone. His models had been those monks and hermits of the early Church who had forsaken the world of the everyday for the pursuit of their eternal salvation in solitary communion with their God. For a time, Mark had conducted his life at Lincoln as though he, too, were a monk of sorts who had given up the concerns of the world for a life of self-sacrifice and of dedication to a religious perfection. His ideal of the perfect Christian life had been subsumed by the ascetical ideal so that the two had become virtually indistinguishable. But there was another idea also that was bound up with his ideal of a life of religious perfection and that derived from his asceticism. The idea was the idea of celibacy.

Mark was not alone in being attracted to the idea of a celibate life. W. G. Ward had been a strong advocate of celibacy in the articles he wrote for the British Critic between 1841 and 1843. Newman, it was clear to everyone, was religiously dedicated to celibacy, and there were many among his most earnest disciples who were similarly inclined. In fact, R. W. Church tells us, the belief and profession of celibacy "formed a test, understood if not avowed, by which the more advanced or resolute members of the party were distinguished from the rest".¹³² By these people, however, celibacy was not conceived of as merely utilitarian, that is to say, as a convenience by which a man might be made freer to do the work of his life. At Oxford, Church remembers, the idea of celibacy "was in the highest degree a religious and romantic one". He continues:

¹³² Church, The Oxford Movement, p. 248.

The hold which it had on the leader of the movement made itself felt, though little was directly said. To shrink from it was a mark of want of strength of intelligence, of an unmanly preference for English home life, of insensibility to the generous devotion and purity of the saints. It cannot be doubted that at this period of the movement the power of this idea over imagination and conscience was one of the strongest forces in the direction of Rome.¹³³

Mark, too, as one of those "more advanced or resolute members of the party", had been drawn to a life of religious celibacy. However, as soon as the attractiveness of Rome began to wear off after Newman's resignation of St. Mary's in 1843, the attractiveness of the celibate life began to diminish also. It was not long, indeed, before he was in difficulties. On 1 November 1843, All Saints Day, and some six weeks after Newman's announcement, he stayed in bed rather than get up for the services. "Began the day badly by lying in bed till 9", the diary says, "And bad thoughts and thoughts of self filled my head in consequence all day".¹³⁴ Two weeks later the following entry occurs: "O my God forgive the sin of this morning and give me grace to offer atonement for it". Whatever it was, it was a most serious sin, he thought, and he did penance for it all that day and the next.¹³⁵ But there are no further entries of that kind in the diary until the following summer when he returned from his travels in Belgium and Germany. Then, suddenly, without explanation, the following entry appears in the diary: "Oh! merciful Saviour save me from sin and from sinful thoughts!".¹³⁶ Again, on 15 September 1844, the diary reads:

¹³³ Church, The Oxford Movement, p. 248.

¹³⁴ MSP. 128, ff. 25-26.

¹³⁵ MSP. 128, f. 30. 14 November 1843.

¹³⁶ MSP. 128, f. 53. 19 July 1844.

"Allowed myself in sinful thoughts this morning and have hardly had any compunction, though I said the pen[itential] psalms twice. 'Viam iniquitatis amove a me Domine!'"¹³⁷ The next day, however, he was afflicted again: "Began this day ill with sinful thoughts", the diary reads.¹³⁸ By the end of September he was in great distress: "Averte faciem tuam a peccatis meis!", he cries, "Unhappy all this day long--dared not face my sin".¹³⁹ His distress continued for several days. Finally, in October, he observes in his commonplace book that "as religious continence is the nurse of the saintly virtues", so marriage is to be understood as the "safeguard of the ordinary and social virtues". "[I]n our English society", he reflects, "there is not a more selfish or dissolute animal than the bachelor of from 30 to 50".¹⁴⁰ In October 1844, Mark had just turned thirty-one.

Mark Pattison did not marry until he was enabled to do so by his election as Rector of Lincoln College in 1861. In the event, his marriage was a most unhappy one. The irony, sad irony indeed, is that Mark had had to remain a celibate until he became Rector of his College. Marriage was permitted to Heads of Houses but not to Fellows. Were he to have married, he would have had to have given up his Fellowship and taken a living somewhere away from Oxford; in other words, to have accepted something like the fate that awaited him were he to have become a Roman Catholic. In either case, he would not have been able to realize his "darling dream"

¹³⁷MSP. 128, f. 64.

¹³⁸MSP. 128, f. 64. 16 September 1844.

¹³⁹MSP. 128, f. 70. 27 September 1844.

¹⁴⁰MSP. 6, f. 153. [October] 1844.

of a life of study in an Oxford College. But, during those eighteen years between the breaking down of his religious idealism following Newman's resignation of St. Mary's in 1843 and his surprisingly swift marriage upon election to the Rectorship in 1861, Mark Pattison was compelled to endure a celibacy that was neither religious nor romantic. There is something in that fact, so far unappreciated and even unnoticed in other studies of Mark Pattison, that may go no little distance to explain the streak of bitterness that runs through Pattison's later life.

On the evening of 28 November 1844, James Anthony Froude walked over from Exeter College to dine with Mark at Lincoln. At the high table, he sat next to Mark's old rival, Richard Michell, "and made him talk famously", the diary says, "said way to do it was to flatter him".¹⁴¹ Afterwards Mark and his guest played chess and talked long into the evening. Mark was delighted by the conversation: "never felt so much pleasure in conversing for a long time", the diary says, "no decisive result in way of doctrine, but general elevation of sentiment--he very sanguine--thinks world in general, and the younger generation of England in particular advancing fast towards good principles". Mark learned also that Froude, who was a contributor to the Lives of the English Saints, had no sympathy for such eccentrics (saints though they be) as Simeon Stylites, and that he had written to Newman "to say that he wasn't prepared to give up the Irish Ch[urch]--and to know if he was free to express his own opinion in

¹⁴¹The diary continues: "[Froude] was M[ichell]'s pupil--says he learnt something from him--had all his theories ready cut and dried--and gave them as formulae saying [']Keep that in your mind and you'll find ideas gradually cluster round it[']". MSP. 128, f. 81.

this and in some other points--because if not he had rather have nothing to do with the Lives". Newman had replied to this--ultimatum--to say that he was no longer the editor of the series, "that he only looked at Froude's and one or two others as having engaged them at the first--that he would send F[roude]'s letter to Toovey, begging Toovey to correspond directly with F[roude] himself".¹⁴² However, in his notes on their conversation, Mark does not say what he thought of all these ideas and opinions of Froude's, except to observe at the end: "In one opinion we were agreed--that the Ch[urch] of Rome had not met the power of the press in the true way--that censorship was idle".¹⁴³ It does not seem, however, that he objected much to everything else that Froude had had to say.

Just two months earlier, on 22 September 1844, Mark had dined at Exeter not with Froude, but with his "old crony",¹⁴⁴ Jack Morris and with Morris's other guest, John Dalgairns. He learned there something about the controversy surrounding Froude's recently published life of St. Neot in the series of Lives of the English Saints. For Froude (who had entitled the life, A Legend of St. Neot), had made it clear that he was not happy with an historical method that accepted at face value, or even for purposes of edification, the pious legends that had accumulated about the lives of various saints of whom otherwise next to nothing was known. Froude's view, however, had scandalized many persons at Oxford. "The Rector of E[xeter]",

¹⁴²MSP. 128, ff. 81-82. James Toovey, a London bookseller, succeeded Newman as editor of the series. See Apologia, p. 559. The editor of the Apologia, M. J. Svaglic, adds, incorrectly, that "Mark Pattison and J. A. Froude emerged from the project well on the road to scepticism in reaction against working seriously on material in large part legendary".

¹⁴³MSP. 128, f. 82. 28 November 1844.

¹⁴⁴Memoirs, p. 222.

Mark learned when he dined with Morris, "[has] been lecturing Froude about S. Neot not being orthodox".¹⁴⁵ Elsewhere in Oxford questions were being asked about Froude himself. "Very sad suspicions were entertained", Mozley recalls in his Reminiscences.¹⁴⁶ Scepticism in religious matters had been suggested by not a few as one possible result of the demands made upon conscience and belief by the Tractarian movement. Newman himself was well aware of the danger. But he believed that it would arise not from any inherent characteristics of the movement, but chiefly from his own failure to act and from the restraints he had put on those who desired to submit themselves to the authority of the Church of Rome. The moment of their desire might pass, he thought, and they would turn away from Catholicism into scepticism and indifference. "I am quite sure there is this danger", he had written to Keble in June, "I dread it in particular persons. The time may even come, when I shall beg them to join the Church of Rome and they will refuse. Indeed I sometimes feel uncomfortable about myself--a sceptical, unrealizing temper is far from unnatural to me--and I may be suffered to relapse into it as a judgment".¹⁴⁷ Just four days later, in another letter to Keble, he remarks: "Since I began this letter Church came into the room, and began to talk on what he and others fear in Oxford, the growth of scepticism. He gave me instances. It seems to me

¹⁴⁵ MSP. 128, f.69. 22 September 1844.

¹⁴⁶ Mozley, Reminiscences, II, 35.

¹⁴⁷ Correspondence of John Henry Newman with John Keble and Others, p. 317. 8 June 1844.

certainly likely to be more and more a pressing evil".¹⁴⁸

Very likely, James Anthony Froude was one of those instances of scepticism about which R. W. Church spoke to Newman. It is highly improbable, however, that he mentioned Mark's name, for he had no reason to suspect that Mark Pattison was not the ardent "Romanist" he had always been. As if to confirm, then, the truth of what was widely believed about him, Mark made an announcement in letters to his mother and sisters at the end of December that confirmed his mother's worst fears and brought a mixed reaction from his sisters. He announced that if events were to continue on their present course at Oxford, he had no choice but to become a Roman Catholic. He wrote to warn them, merely, of what seemed now to be inevitable. He said nothing to his father, nor did his mother and sisters. But they all knew that if Mark were ever to take such a step, his career at Oxford would be finished.

¹⁴⁸ Letters and Correspondence of John Henry Newman, II, 434. 12
June 1844.

CHAPTER VII

The Crash 1845

". . . when the crash came in 1845 I did not follow Newman."

Mark Pattison¹

"We expected him to become a Roman Catholic the earliest of all."

E. B. Pusey²

Scarcely had Newman retired from St. Mary's in September 1843, before R. Bullock-Marsham, the Warden of Merton College, had let it be known that the Heads of Houses meant to "exterminate the Puseyites".³ Just over a year later the Heads took the bit between their teeth. On 13 December 1844, they gave notice in the University of three propositions to be submitted two months later to Convocation. Two of those propositions were intended to deal with what the Heads regarded as a present emergency. The third convinced Mark Pattison that he would have to become a Roman Catholic. For the third proposition was designed deliberately to weed out every resident member of the University who could conceivably be regarded as Tractarian in his views or sympathies and to compel him to conform to what the Heads of Houses understood to be the true doctrine of the Church of England. There could be no mistake: Tractarianism was to be put down

¹Memoirs, p. 187.

²J. B. Atlay, Memoir of Sir H. W. Acland (London, 1903), pp. 415-416. Quoted in Sparrow, Mark Pattison and the Idea of a University, p. 76.

³MSP. 128, f. 22. 22 October 1843.

once and for all in the University of Oxford.

No one had expected a measure so impolitic, so clumsy, and so insensitive, not even from such as the Heads of Houses, a body notorious at Oxford for its obtuseness in matters of theology. The Hebdomadal Board, however, had decided to put a stop to the continuing controversy about the intentions of the framers of the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England, and about the meaning of the Articles themselves, by the apparently simple expedient of imposing on the University the Board's own interpretation of what the Articles said and were meant to say. By proposing such a measure to Convocation, however, the Heads of Houses exposed not merely their own prejudices, but their nearly complete ignorance of the nature of the debate that had been conducted in the University for the past ten years or so. For their third proposition to Convocation was that the Vice-Chancellor be empowered to require at any time of a member of the University, be he layman or cleric, "who might hereafter be suspected of unsound opinions", that he prove his orthodoxy by subscribing the Thirty-nine Articles in the sense in which "they were both first published and were now imposed by the University". The penalty for refusing to subscribe in that sense, and if the refusal were to be repeated three times, was to be nothing less than expulsion from the University.⁴

What the proposal of the Heads meant in practice, however, was that a member of the University would be obliged to subscribe the Articles in the sense in which they were understood not by the University, but by the Vice-Chancellor. Now, the Vice-Chancellor in December 1844 was the newly

⁴Church, The Oxford Movement, p. 253. See also Life and Letters of Dean Church, p. 61; Liddon, Pusey, II, 416.

elected B. P. Symons, the Warden of Wadham College, an inveterate foe of all things Tractarian and a determined Evangelical. He would be sure to pull the noose of subscription very tight. Nothing, it was certain, that savoured of Tractarianism would be allowed to slip through. For the Heads intended that subscription should be on the basis of a strictly Protestant interpretation of the Articles. Mark Pattison's cause, then, and the cause of others like him, was hopeless. To subscribe the Articles according to the terms of the proposed new statute would mean that he would be obliged publicly to repudiate religious convictions which he still firmly held. He could not go back to the old Evangelical Anglicanism of his boyhood, or even to the High Church doctrines he had passed through on his way into Tractarianism. To be true to his beliefs, he would have to be allowed to subscribe the Articles according to a Catholic (though not necessarily Roman) interpretation of them. For Mark had his own view of the latitude that subscription allowed to those of Tractarian sympathies who could not accept the Articles in their conventional sense. In a conversation with W. G. Ward the previous September, he had suggested that subscription might be regarded as "only a general declaration of adherence to the E[nglish] Ch[urch] as believing it to be the Catholic body in E[ngland]".⁵ Ward, of course, had rejected even that idea. In his view, if the Articles were to be subscribed at all, they were to be subscribed only in the Roman sense. Equally, however, Mark's interpretation of the meaning of subscription would be wholly unacceptable to the Vice-Chancellor and the Heads of Houses. For, in their view, the Articles were to be

⁵MSP. 128, ff. 67-68. 22 September 1844.

subscribed in anything but the Roman sense and, in the eyes of the Vice-Chancellor, Mark's interpretation would appear just about as Roman as Ward's. If the mode of subscription proposed by the Hebdomadal Board were to be passed by Convocation, then, Mark would have no choice but to refuse to take the new test. Refusal, three times repeated, would mean expulsion from the University. Had he made up his mind already, however, to become a Roman Catholic, the threat of expulsion would not have bothered him. As a Roman Catholic he would not be permitted in any case to remain a member of the University. The irony, then, was that, just at a time when he had already become disenchanted with the direction in which the Tractarian movement had been taking him, the University seemed to be about to thrust him, unwilling as he was, into the arms of Rome. For he would not subscribe the Articles in the sense proposed. To do so would be to repudiate publicly and unambiguously religious convictions which he still firmly held. Catholic he was, Roman he was not; but neither Catholic nor Roman would be permitted at Oxford according to the intention of the proposed statute. He had no choice, then; he would have to go where both were permitted. He would have to become a Roman Catholic.

Mark told no one what he had concluded, with the exception of his mother and sisters and his aunt and cousin, Mary and Philippa Meadows. The news was kept from his father. Predictably, Mark's mother was distressed by the announcement, but his sisters were not greatly surprised. Mary, however, had some slight reservations. She told him that his decision was what she had feared as a result of his connection with the Tractarians, how "the movement at Oxford would affect you personally", she said. She was not happy to see him go. She would prefer, she said, to see a

movement of the entire English Church towards Rome rather than individual conversions.⁶ That, indeed, was precisely the position that her brother had taken at the time of Bernard Smith's conversion two years earlier. Time and circumstance had changed many things, however, some of them even yet unknown to Mark's sisters at Hauxwell. Fanny, on the other hand, reported that all Mark's sisters were happy that their brother's course was at last "approaching towards Rome". She, too, had some reservations, however. "I am sorry for the sacrifice you must make, just as you appeared to become settled in your College and probably might have been of use", she wrote, touching shrewdly on a crucial point. "I do see clearly", she continued, "how it is quite impossible for you to sign the Articles in the sense now proposed, Dr. P[usey] says the same for himself and there must be many others who cannot do so".⁷ Mark's mother, however, was most unhappy at the news. At Tynemouth in August, she told him, she had noticed that he was "painfully estranged from the English Church". But she had thought, she said, that "the day of your actual separation from it was far distant, and hoped, even against hope, that it might even be averted". She could only "mourn" his present state and the destruction of his "earthly prospects". She warned him, however, not to give in to "party feeling", but to let conscience be his guide. Finally, she reminded him tactfully, but with perfect frankness, of the serious practical consequences of his conversion to Roman Catholicism. "The step you contemplate, once taken, will I fear leave you penniless in every way", she writes:

⁶MSP. 62, ff. 212-213. [27 December 1844.]

⁷MSP. 62, ff. 210-211. [27 December 1844.]

for you know how y[ou]r Father will feel--and by our marriage settlement my property is settled upon my children, share and share alike, which distribution can only be altered by the joint act of the parents . . . I do not say this to influence you in any way, (for the world's wealth is not to be placed in the balance with peace of conscience) but I thought it right at such a time to treat you with perfect confidence and as far as I am concerned to tell you y[ou]r future prospects--which are little indeed.⁸

In other words, even if she wished to assist her Roman Catholic son from her own means by re-adjusting the terms of her marriage settlement, her husband would never permit it. Not only would Mark have to resign his Fellowship at Lincoln, but he could expect no help from Hauxwell. He would certainly be penniless, for he would have no income whatsoever.

Nevertheless, what disturbed Mark most of all was not the loss of his income, but the loss that would ensue of Oxford itself were he to become a Roman Catholic. For Oxford and all it represented had been ever his first love. He was prepared to become a Roman Catholic if he were left no other choice, but to leave Oxford for good would be a hard and painful sacrifice. The thought of it, indeed, depressed him. However, when he mentioned his trouble to Philippa Meadows, the one person who could surely be expected to understand how much Oxford meant to him, he got no sympathy in return. "I cannot profess to enter into y[ou]r present feelings", Philippa wrote with her customary heavy emphasis on 4 January 1845, "in truth I do not think they will last--if once you begin to act in the direction you allude to, they will clear off, and you must have something to lose for as far as I can see Oxford is all at present you think". She

⁸MSP. 62, ff. 207-209. 26 December [1844].

conceded, at least, that it was "a great all as to this world certainly", the implication being, however, that Mark ought to fix his eyes not on this, but on another world. She was puzzled, however, that one so close to taking the final step into Roman Catholicism should still hesitate. As she put it in her letter: "you retain your hold on that which O[xford] claims to represent and seem disposed to give another example tho' in humbler station and form, of that inexplicable state of mind which made Laud, come near enough to be offered a Cardinal's Hat", and yet, she said, draw back from it. "But you seem to have a deeper feeling", she told her cousin, "for although you indeed have made the worldly loss very clear and prominent from the first, I do not hold you in such a light as to believe or even surmise that the fellowship in itself detains you--Did I so think, rely upon it you should know it".⁹ No doubt, he should, for Philippa could be expected to be perfectly frank. But her advice in the present crisis was not helpful. She did not know, after all, the real state of her cousin's mind on the question of his conversion to Roman Catholicism. Nevertheless, she recognized very well the implications for all the Tractarians at Oxford of the proposed new statute. "Your position, all of you, will be most, extraordinary is a weak word--prodigious, if you can maintain your ground of communion long", she said. "I place much confidence, in the prayers of your Belgian friends", she told Mark, "but who can say how they will be answered, they are perhaps answering now".¹⁰ In other words, even the crisis provoked by the Hebdomadal Board's third

⁹MSP. 63, f. 277. 4 January 1845.

¹⁰MSP. 63, f. 279. 4 January 1845.

proposition to Convocation could be regarded as a providential act by which all those who were supposed to be wavering on the verge of going to Rome might be encouraged to take that final step. Philippa could wish for no better outcome, even if it did mean that Mark would have to abandon Oxford for good and all.

A crisis of these proportions for so many persons at Oxford, however, must have had something more to bring it on than mere prejudice on the part of the Heads of Houses. After all, the Hebdomadal Board had had other confrontations with the Tractarians without deciding to make a clean sweep of them throughout the University. Tract 90 had been condemned by the Heads in 1841 and by the Bishops, also, since then. But no move had been made to have Newman subscribe the Articles anew according to a formula which the Heads regarded as orthodox, nor had there been any attempt to drum Newman out of the University for his mode of interpreting the Articles. Pusey had been suspended for two years in 1843 from preaching in the University. The Heads had not given him a fair hearing, it is true, but neither had they threatened him with expulsion for not conforming to the Hebdomadal Board's vague and foggy notions of Anglican orthodoxy. A greater provocation than either Newman's or Pusey's must have been given them in 1844 to make them act with what was, even for them, such an extraordinary degree of recklessness. Such a provocation had indeed been given them. It had come from none other than Mark Pattison's irrepressible and reckless ally, William George Ward.

Ward's Ideal of a Christian Church, considered in Comparison with Existing Practice, had been published in June 1844.¹¹ The book was Ward's

¹¹W. G. Ward, Ideal of a Christian Church, considered in Comparison with Existing Practice (London, 1844).

answer to Palmer's Narrative of Events, which had been published some six weeks after Newman's resignation of St. Mary's in 1843. Originally, the Ideal was to have been a pamphlet, but in Ward's hands it grew to be an unwieldy volume of some six hundred pages.¹² It did more than answer Palmer. Ward intended (as he told a Roman Catholic acquaintance) that it should "bring matters to an issue".¹³ That it did in no uncertain terms. For Ward asserted that only the Roman Catholic Church could be said to correspond to the ideal of what the Christian Church might be expected to be. The Church of England failed entirely to correspond to that ideal, he said. Hence, it must find the remedy for its sorry condition in full and complete submission to the authority of the Church of Rome. Of itself, that might have been enough to induce the Heads to take the action they finally decided upon against both Ward and the Tractarians. On the other hand, Ward's assertion differed only in degree from the sort of thing he had been expounding in the British Critic between 1841 and 1843, and that Palmer's Narrative had been intended to counteract. In fact, the real sting of Ward's book lay elsewhere. "Three years have passed since I said plainly that in subscribing the Articles I renounce no Roman doctrine", he wrote in his most deliberately provocative manner, "yet I retain my fellowship which I hold on the tenure of subscription, and have received no ecclesiastical censure in any shape".¹⁴ With those words, William George

¹²J. B. Morris reported the following anecdote to Mark Pattison on 27 November 1844: "One of the Balliol undergraduates asked Herbert, Ward's scout, [']How long Mr. W[ard] had been in writing his book?' About 6 months, says the scout. 'Why, Herbert, I couldn't have written such a book in 12 months!' was the man's answer". MSP. 128, ff. 80-81.

¹³Ward, William George Ward, p. 241.

¹⁴W. G. Ward, Ideal of a Christian Church, p. 567.

Ward challenged the authorities of the University of Oxford either to accept his interpretation of the Articles as just and true or to remove him from his Fellowship. "The defiance was so loud, so insulting, so explicit", Tom Mozley said afterwards, "the shame of not meeting it so great and so inevitable, that the other side had no choice but to quit themselves like men".¹⁵

The Long Vacation is a quiet time in Oxford. No action against Ward could be expected until the new term began in October 1844. It was generally supposed, however, that some action would certainly be taken against him then. Nevertheless, on 22 September when, coming out of St. Mary Magdalen's Church after prayers, Mark met Ward in the street and had an hour's talk with him, Ward showed not the least sign of being perturbed by the excitement he had caused in throwing down his challenge to the Heads. On the contrary, he was full of ideas and enthusiasm and told Mark that he was contemplating an answer to a review of the Ideal by Wiseman in the Dublin Review "to prove that one may hold Roman doctrine and yet sign the Articles".¹⁶ That really was throwing the fat into the fire. Mark, however, does not say what he thought of this new venture by the irrepressible Ward, nor even what he thought of the Ideal. We know only that he was

¹⁵Ward, William George Ward, p. 248. Newman was not pleased with the book. "It won't do", he told Dalgairns. (Ward, William George Ward, p. 296.) To Keble, he wrote: "I mean, I think it shocks common sense to say that the Articles are compatible with a maintenance of the whole circle of Roman doctrine. . . . And further, I think he would go beyond my 'Sermons on the Day,' thus;--that he would deny that we are at all part of the Catholic Church". Correspondence of John Henry Newman with John Keble and Others, p. 363. 29 December 1844.

¹⁶MSP. 128, ff. 67-68.

reading Ward's book on 5 October.¹⁷ On 8 October (as we saw in the last chapter), the Tractarians suffered a crushing defeat in the election of B. P. Symons as Vice-Chancellor. Soon after that event, the Heads of Houses formed a committee to look into Ward's book. At a dinner-party in David Lewis's rooms at Jesus College on 14 November, Mark learned that it was at Archbishop Whately's insistence that the Heads had acted so promptly. The committee was already at work, the diary notes, "in consequence of a letter from Whately saying that if steps were not taken to put down these doctrines he should not allow a single Oxford clergyman to come into his diocese".¹⁸ The Heads, however, had not been loath to act. The decisive defeat inflicted on the Tractarian party just five weeks earlier had convinced them that they had the power now to rid the University altogether of both Ward and Tractarianism.

Still, what measures could they take against Ward that would answer once and for all his challenge to the authority of the Vice-Chancellor and the Heads of Houses? In fact, Ward knew very well what was in their power. On a "very entertaining walk with Morris" on Wednesday 27 November 1844, Mark learned that Ward had consulted Roundell Palmer, one of the best living experts in the law, who told him that the Vice-Chancellor had the power to expel him from the University.¹⁹ "W[ard] doesn't know whether they are aware of their own power", Morris confided, "but says 'they are

¹⁷MSP. 128, f. 72.

¹⁸MSP. 128, ff. 76-77. Confirmation of the existence of this letter is to be found in Church, The Oxford Movement, p. 252.

¹⁹Roundell Palmer (1812-1895), afterwards Lord Chancellor and first Earl of Selborne, had been a contemporary of Ward, as of Anthony Trollope, at Winchester. He supported the Tractarians and had been an occasional contributor to the British Critic on classical subjects. DNB, XV, 150-154.

great fools if they don't do it'".²⁰ No one knew, of course, what measures the committee would decide upon. They were to have communicated their decision to the Vice-Chancellor and the Heads of Houses on Monday, 25 November. The decision was to be published on the following Friday. On the Wednesday, however, during his walk with Morris, Mark heard of a most remarkable act of fate which, but for the integrity of the person concerned, might have spoiled the scheme of the Hebdomadal Board. "One most singular occurrence I wish to make a special note of", he writes in the diary upon his return to Lincoln:

Bloxam received Monday morning among his letters a packet of papers open--but tied with tape--they had not come by post, but had evidently got among the post letters by some mistake; and had probably been sent to B[loxam] by the post office because one of his letters that morning happened to be tied with red tape. This packet, however it got there, was nothing less than a complete set of the minutes of the committee now sitting on Ward's book, which reported their decision to the Board only on Monday, but wh[ich] decision is not to be published till Friday. B[loxam] having read the papers to endeavour to find some clue to the writer of them, took them to the Warden of Wadham, who recognized the hand-writing, and told him that they were not the general minutes of the whole committee, but the private notes of one member of it. Bloxam reveals none of their contents --he told the President [M. J. Routh, of Magdalen] what he had done who said he had acted right in restoring them.²¹

Three days later, on Saturday 30 November, Mark ran into Morris again, this time in Parker's bookshop. They set off for a walk around the University Parks and on their way encountered Ward. He gave them a full account of the latest developments. "Met Ward", the diary says,

²⁰MSP. 128, ff. 80-81.

²¹MSP. 128, ff. 79-80. 27 November 1844. See also, S. L. Ollard, A Short History of the Oxford Movement (London, 1915), p. 103 following.

who said he had been had up before the V[ice]-C[hancellor] the 4 pro V[ice]-C[hancellors] and the Proctors--and had a string of paragraphs out of his book read to him, and was asked If [sic] he adhered to these statements--He requested time to consult his friends as to whether he should answer the question--he proposed till Tuesday--the V[ice]-C[hancellor] said he had better take more time--and he got a week--Said he had great difficulty to refrain from bursting out laughing while they were being read by the V[ice]-C[hancellor].²²

Ward, however, did not wait the week. On Tuesday, 3 December, he appeared before the Vice-Chancellor to inform him that, under legal advice, he would refuse to answer any question put to him until he knew what course of action the University authorities intended to take against him. Ten days later the Hebdomadal Board gave its answer: notice of the three propositions to be submitted to Convocation. The third of those propositions, the institution by the University of a new test of orthodoxy, we have seen already. The first two applied directly and specifically to Ward. By the first proposition his book was to be formally condemned by the University; by the second, he would be "degraded", that is to say, stripped of his Fellowship and all his degrees and reduced to the status of commoner, in statu pupillare, in the University.

Fortunately for Mark, however, and for the rest of the Tractarian party at Oxford, there were others besides Tractarians who felt that the third proposition to be put to Convocation would be a noose around their necks also. The small liberal party, for instance, represented most notably by A. P. Stanley and Benjamin Jowett, would not be able to subscribe the Articles in the restricted sense proposed by the Heads of Houses. Even

²²MSP. 128, f. 83.

A. C. Tait, one of the signatories to the 'Protest of the Four Tutors' against Tract 90 in 1841, was thoroughly alarmed by the new development. From Rugby School (where he had succeeded Thomas Arnold as Headmaster) he publicly admonished the Heads for their foolhardiness in proposing the new test. "The Heads are one and all furious at your advice, 'My dear Mr. Vice-Chancellor' one of the most so", Tait was informed shortly afterwards. "You have indeed, most prudent of men, put your foot into it. I would not be you at your next visit".²³ At Oxford, meanwhile, opposition to the new test had been growing. "I trust and think that the Liberal Party will rise all through the country", Stanley wrote to his sister. Jowett busied himself writing letters to every person whom he thought might help to arouse opposition to the test. Pusey announced publicly that he could not, "without a feeling of dishonesty", subscribe the Articles in the sense proposed, and therefore would refuse to submit to the test.²⁴ Finally, J. B. Mozley put the matter in a nutshell. "The Test is the thing we are concerned with", he told his sister, "Ward can defend himself".²⁵ The pressure to withdraw the proposition became so great, in fact, that at a meeting on 13 January 1845 the Hebdomadal Board decided to abandon the scheme. But their decision was not made public at once. Ten days later, the University was informed by a discreet notice that the proposition for a test had been withdrawn. Everyone breathed a sigh of relief. Ward,

²³ Randall Thomas Davidson and William Benham, Life of Archibald Campbell Tait, 2 vols (London 1891), I, 128.

²⁴ Evelyn Abbott and Lewis Campbell, The Life and Letters of Benjamin Jowett, 2 vols (London, 1897), I, 96-97; Liddon, Pusey, II, 419.

²⁵ Letters of the Rev. J. B. Mozley, p. 158.

however, was to be left to his fate. The propositions against him still stood and there was no general movement to have them withdrawn also. But another movement soon began. The Tractarian party's opponents petitioned the Hebdomadal Board to propose, in place of the test, that Tract 90 be condemned by Convocation. On 4 February Mark's diary notes: "Heads at 2d. meeting today decided to propose censure of No. 90--450 signatures to requisition to do so. Eden who had been din[in]g at Magd[alen] and in company with Dr. Ellerton said they were making fun of him [i.e. Ellerton] and the requisition, asking 'if they were all genuine?'"²⁶ The great issue of 1841 was to be resurrected, and Newman, who had retired from the field some eighteen months before, was to be brought forward again to have his heresies condemned. There was little doubt that the majority in Convocation would be persuaded to adopt the censure of Tract 90. The measure proposed, however, was certainly unnecessary and looked very much like spite. Something, it was thought, had to be done to prevent it. At ten o'clock on the evening of 4 February, therefore, Mark went to a meeting in Charles Marriott's rooms at Oriel to decide what was to be done about the new proposition. J. A. Froude was present also, but Mark found him, for some reason, "not very cordial". The meeting quickly decided on a course of action: "the Proctors to be sounded", the diary says, "whether they will veto--if they will not circular to be sent out begging such M.A.s as will come up to oppose censure to send up their names".²⁷ Mark,

²⁶MSP. 128, f. 93. Dr. Edward Ellerton (1770-1851), of Magdalen College, was a confederate of C. P. Golightly in the new movement to censure Tract 90. (See Liddon, Pusey, II, 425.) The circular inviting signatures for the requisition, however, was issued over the names of Dr. Fausset, the Margaret Professor of Divinity, and Dr. Ellerton. Church, The Oxford Movement, p. 254.

²⁷MSP. 128, ff. 93-94. 4 February 1845.

however, decided not to wait for the Proctors' decision. He sent out his circulars the next day. But unknown, apparently, to those who had met in Marriott's rooms, the junior Proctor, R. W. Church, had already made up his mind to veto the proposition and intended to persuade his senior H. P. Guillemard of Trinity College, to follow suit.²⁸ Six days later, on 10 February 1845, the Proctors announced that they would veto the proposition of the Hebdomadal Board to censure Tract 90. Their decision came just three days before the proceedings of Convocation were to open in the Sheldonian Theatre at Oxford.

On 13 February 1845 William George Ward was "tried" by Convocation and found guilty of heresy. His book was formally condemned according to the resolution proposed to Convocation by the Hebdomadal Board of the University and Ward was stripped of his degrees. The proposition to censure Tract 90 was vetoed by the Proctors. Three days later Mark wrote a long and thoughtful account of the proceedings for his sister Eleanor. It is presented here in full for the first time:

Sunday. Feb[ruary] 16.

My dear E[leanor].

I was surprized to find your notes of this morn[in]g quite alive to Thursday's doings, and I was therefore grieved to think that I had said nothing about them in my Friday's notes--But really I had not the least idea that you knew what was going on, or even that you knew that anything was to be done on the 13th--I had never mentioned it to you, that I remember, nor you to me, before--however I will try to make up by giving you some account of all. On Tuesday²⁹ the Proctors decided on putting their veto on the Censure of No. 90. But as this, by itself, would have been merely an act of force, which would have aggravated

²⁸Life and Letters of Dean Church, p. 62.

²⁹Therefore, on 11 February. Church, however, says that the announcement was made on 10 February. The Oxford Movement, p. 255.

people, without doing any real good, it was to be backed up by an Address of thanks to them for so doing which was to be put about for signature. Well, you remember what a morning Thursday was! Nothing to be seen for snow drifting through the streets--Yet through all this 1,000 M.As had found their way from all remote parts--Mr. Clayton e.g. from Newcastle--Elder from Durham--with many more who could ill afford it--to Oxford by 1 o'clock, and long before that time the streets leading to the Theatre were well trodden by the stream of gowns of all colours and shades which the lumber closets of tailors and scouts had turned out for the occasion--some even, made their way into the Theatre without, and were obliged to borrow of their neighbour for the act of voting. None were admitted into the enclosure of the Schools but members of Convocation. These alone filled the area, the ladies gallery, and left a good sprinkling for the Undergraduates['] gallery. Well, no time was lost in preliminaries, but to it they went at once--Ward posted in the rostrum from which the English verse is usually recited, with Oakley sitting behind him, went through the form of asking leave to speak in English, and began his Address--The ordinary value of speeches before a deliberative assembly may be estimated very low--rarely is a vote either gained or lost by them--But much more weight was attached in men's expectation to what Ward might have to say--partly, because, however the majority might have come up with a party design, pledged to vote one way or the other, there was a sort of vague feeling that we were a jury, met to judge a brother M.A., and not a deliberative chamber--and partly the whole theory was so novel, the mass of country clergy were so ignorant of the state of the question--the really strong technical ground on which Ward took his stand was quite a surprise to them. Feeling how much then depended on how Ward might acquit himself, I was on thorns the whole time (about 3/4 of an hour, or an hour, with two short pauses) from anxiety as to the impression he was making, not having the least wish myself to hear a word from him--as it would have been almost a miracle if he could have argued one new argument after all the pamphlets that had appeared. And first I very much missed anything like the tone of an address, or even of a debate--he spoke to the assembly as if we had been sitting the round [sic] the fire after dinner--and did not even attempt to connect what he had to say--but seemed to bring out one topic after another as they occurred to him. I should not say he maintained even this colloquial style well--he was fluent enough--but he repeated himself, and was not very cautious in some expressions--He began by protesting against the jurisdiction of the Convocation, in

the case, and entered a formal protest against their decision whatever it might be--He then rested the whole weight of his defence on "My pamphlet"--wh[ich] he said was his case--and he therefore hoped that no one w[oul]d be unfair enough to vote against him who had not read it--he did not intend to go over again viva voce the argument of that--but stated the ground he took, and referred to the pamphlet for the argument by which his ground was vindicated. His ground is, (as you remember) that the Framers of the Art[icle]s designedly included persons holding Roman Catholic opinions, provided they w[oul]d conform to the new Liturgy and ritual, tolerating the absence from the Art[icle]s of any real protest against Roman doctrines provided they were allowed to retain an apparent one. The rest of his arguments were drawn from temporary and other circumstances, all that was theological, being supposed to be developed in the pamphlet. He repeated several times his full acquiescence in and acceptance of "every Roman doctrine." There were several faint incipient cheers while he was speaking, Dr. Hook setting the example first, but they were checked by W[ard] himself at once--in a very decided way. While we were proceeding to the voting, which was done by the 2 Proctors posting themselves one at each door under the rostra, the voters passing through one by one giving their placet or non-p[lacet] as they past [sic], I was much reassured by finding that his Address had made a very favourable impression, indeed as it turned out, a much more favourable one than I could have ventured to hope. It was not to be expected that it sh[oul]d affect many votes --yet several instances even of this came to my own knowledge --but it created a strong moral impression in our favour. Several M.A.s then delivered protests against the proceedings --one made a short speech--(all in Latin) you have had the numbers [;] however I repeat them here.

On Prop[osition] 1.

on Prop[osition] 2.

Placet 777

Placet 569

Non-p[lace]t 386

Non p[lace]t 511

so that this [Ward's degradation], which was the important point of the day, was only carried by a majority of 58. The 3d proposition--about No. 90--was then put pro forma, and vetoed by the Proctors--and the whole affair was ended by 5 oclock. W[ard] went out as soon as he had said his say, while the voting was going on--he was received with loud cheers by the crowd of undergraduates who had collected round the exterior gate, while the V[ice] C[hancellor] was, very decorously, but very unmistakeably hissed--one impudent dog even going so far as to hurl a snow-ball at the red sleeves.--The Address of thanks to the Proctors had gone forward rapidly, indeed it soon became quite the popular thing to sign it, so that even the most cowardly ventured

so far to 'commit themselves.' It must not however be supposed that all those who have signed it 'approve' of No. 90--many would do it on grounds of peace etc.³⁰

There is a sidelight to the proceedings against Ward. Nearly everyone at Oxford knew that Mark Pattison belonged to Ward's wing of the Tractarian party. No one, however, except two or three persons, was aware at the time of Ward's trial that Mark had a more particular interest in the fate of Ward and his book than was apparent merely by his presence, and votes against the propositions, in the Theatre. The fact is that Mark had contributed, although in a relatively small way, to the Ideal of a Christian Church. That fact has never before been made public, for the simple reason that Pattison did not wish, apparently, to have it known. Not even his sisters were told about it. There is no reference to it in his diaries, or in the letters we have seen, and he says nothing about it in the Memoirs. Indeed, we should know nothing at all about it were it not that Philippa Meadows let it slip in a discussion of Ward's book with Keble and his wife, one afternoon over tea at Hursley, and then felt obliged to apologize to her cousin for the indiscretion.³¹ The tone of her letter suggests that Mark had taken her into his confidence and that she had betrayed it in the excitement of the moment. Once the secret was out, however, there was nothing to be done about it. She was greatly reassured, however, when Mark told her that he thought no great harm would come of the revelation.³² No doubt, he was right. His contribution, in the form of

³⁰ MSS. Lincoln College, D, 16 February [1845]. Selections from this letter were published by F. C. Montague in 'Some Early Letters of Mark Pattison', John Rylands Library Bulletin, 18 (1934), 156-157 (pp. 167-169).

³¹ MSP. 63, f. 266. 5 September 1844.

³² MSP. 63, ff. 268-271. [21 September 1844.]

an anonymous letter to Ward, is tucked away at the back of the Ideal, together with three other anonymous letters.³³ What it is, is an account of Mark's first visit to France in 1843 and of his impressions of the Roman Catholic Church in that country. It follows pretty much the pattern of the accounts to be found in his letters and diaries at the time of the visit and from which we have already quoted extensively. There is one difference, however. In several places he criticizes sharply the Catholic intelligentsia of Paris whose Catholicism, he thinks, is more fashionable than true. As we explained in a previous chapter, however (Chapter IV), Mark could not have formed his judgment on the basis of personal acquaintance with Catholic intellectual circles in Paris because (contrary to what he has said in the Memoirs) he was introduced to no such circles in 1843. His acquaintance was limited to the Seminary of St. Sulpice. The account that appears in Ward's Ideal, then, was written some six to eight months after his visit, probably in the spring of 1844. His criticisms of the fashionably Catholic intelligentsia of Paris are based, in fact, on his reading of the French Catholic press, of L'Univers in particular, after his return to Oxford. They come, too, some months after Newman's resignation of St. Mary's, an event that had shaken Mark's confidence in the whole course of the Tractarian movement.

Mark, however, had not volunteered the letter. Ward had asked for it. He wished to have it to illustrate by example his argument that the Church of Rome was the true model of the Christian Church and that it ought to be recognized as such by the Church of England. In the third chapter

³³W. G. Ward, Ideal of a Christian Church, pp. 593-595. The letter may be found as 'Appendix B' of the present study.

of the Ideal, in a section entitled, 'On what account is the Church of Rome to be considered our fitting model', he refers explicitly to the four letters in the Appendix and describes his purpose in including them. "Indeed it must not be supposed that the English are always unfavourably impressed with what they see abroad", he tells his readers. "And I have put down in an appendix several accounts, given by acquaintances of my own, of their personal experience, that it may be seen how much there is which presents itself even to Englishmen in a favourable light".³⁴ Little did Mark know, however, when he handed over the letter to Ward to be published in the Ideal that the author of that book, his ally in the Tractarian party at Oxford, would suffer a fate that very few have suffered in the whole history of the University of Oxford. No doubt, once he recognized the nature and seriousness of the challenge that Ward had thrown down before the Vice-Chancellor and Heads of Houses, he wished to keep very quiet about his own contribution to the book. After the trial, there was no sense broadcasting the fact, for Ward had been drummed out of Convocation, the Heads had won, and who knew where they might turn for their next victim. So it is that the fact of Mark Pattison's contribution to a book that provoked the wrath and condemnation of the University of Oxford and resulted in one of the most remarkable episodes in the University's history, has never before been made public.

"The events of February were a great shock", Dean Church tells us. The Tractarians were seen to be beaten fully and finally. "It was more than a defeat, it was a rout, in which they were driven and chased head-

³⁴W. G. Ward, Ideal of a Christian Church, pp. 82-83.

long from the field; a wreck in which their boasts and hopes of the last few years met the fate which wise men had always anticipated. Oxford repudiated them."³⁵ The question was, what to do next? All eyes turned to Littlemore where Newman had maintained a steady silence. The signs were none the less unmistakeable. He would be gone by Christmas. He told Pusey so in March and J. B. Mozley in April. Mozley was not surprised. He had been expecting Newman to go for some time. "I have got used to the idea in a way. But it is something like being used to being hanged", he told William Scott.³⁶ Pusey was harder to convince, however. He still hoped that Newman might be persuaded to stay, but, at last, had to recognize the inevitable. The consequences, he thought, of "that terrible shock awaiting us" would be fearful. "Besides those already unsettled, hundreds will be carried from us, mistrusting themselves to stay when he goes", he wrote to a friend in March.³⁷ "There was a widespread feeling of insecurity", Church writes. "Friends did not know of friends, how their minds were working, how they might go. Anxious letters passed, the writers not daring to say too much, or reveal too much alarm".³⁸ In Church's case, however, and in Mozley's, there was no cause for alarm. They had no intention of following Newman.³⁹ About Pusey, there could be no doubt. He had never

³⁵ Church, The Oxford Movement, pp. 258; 260.

³⁶ Letters of the Rev. J. B. Mozley, pp. 167-168. 14 May 1845. William Scott (1813-1872) was joint editor with Mozley of the Christian Remembrancer.

³⁷ Liddon, Pusey, II, 452.

³⁸ Church, The Oxford Movement, p. 259.

³⁹ Life and Letters of Dean Church, p. 67; Letters of the Rev. J. B. Mozley, p. 168.

been able to understand quite what it was that made Newman wish to abandon the Church of England for Rome. He consoled himself, however, with the thought that Newman's course was providentially directed "that he may be an instrument to restore the Roman Church, since our own knows not how to employ him. His energy and gifts are wasted among us".⁴⁰ Meanwhile, Oxford waited for the inevitable. "It was no secret what was coming", Church observes. "But men lingered. It was not till the summer that the first drops of the storm began to fall. Then through the autumn and the next year, friends, whose names and forms were familiar in Oxford, one by one disappeared and were lost to it. Fellowships, livings, curacies, intended careers, were given up".⁴¹ The movement at Oxford disintegrated.

At first, Mark Pattison was downcast by the outcome of the proceedings in the Theatre, even though the result had been entirely predictable. No one had doubted that Ward's fate was sealed. A day or so after these events, then, on 14 or 15 February 1845, Mark walked out to Littlemore with G. D. Ryder to see Newman. There is no record of what passed between master and disciple, but it is clear that Newman was moved by Mark's general despondency. He did not remark upon it at the time, but, thoughtfully, sent a note of sympathy a day or two later:

Littlemore. Feb[ruary] 17/45

My dear Pattison,

It might be fancy, but still candid fancy, and I hope you will not think me rude in saying so, that you were sadly downcast the other day when you came with Ryder. I really hope it is not so--though it is plain that I can say

⁴⁰Liddon, Pusey, II, 451.

⁴¹Church, The Oxford Movement, p. 264.

nothing to make your anxiety, whatever it is, less, if you have any. Unless indeed the very expression of sympathy on the part of others may do so--and I assure you, you have that, as of others, so of

Yours very sincerely
John H. Newman⁴²

Mark's despondency did not last long, however. Soon it gave way to relief as the tension of the preceding weeks disappeared. He does not say so in his diaries, but it must have begun to dawn upon him that the threat of his position both in the University and the Church had receded. There would be no new test. Tract 90 had not been censured. Only the propositions against Ward had succeeded. There was room to breathe again. Almost at once he did the sensible thing. He put Oxford and its troubles behind him and went to spend Easter in Paris, where he stayed a full month, one of the happiest he remembered. "A most delightful and successful excursion it has been altogether", he told his sisters a week after his return, "everything seems to have gone well with me to an extent I do not think I ever experienced on a similar occasion--I have had good health, beautiful weather, most kind friends, and no accidents or misfortunes of any kind. How little do I deserve such enjoyment!"⁴³ At Paris he spent much of his time with Charles Seager and his wife, who were now in residence there.⁴⁴ "Nothing can exceed the kindness and friendliness of the Seagers", he told his sisters, "I can never repay them for it. I used to go there every

⁴²MSP. 60, f. 12. The letter is published here for the first time.

⁴³MSS. Lincoln College, U, [March 1845].

⁴⁴Mrs Seager had at last followed her husband into Roman Catholicism on 1 November 1844. Soon afterwards the Seagers left Oxford for Paris, where Seager became tutor to Kenelm Digby's children. MSP. 128, f. 75.

evening--and the only complaint they made was that they saw so little of me! It was almost wholly through Seager that I saw most of those whom I most wished to see". Seager introduced him to prominent figures in the Catholic circles of Paris: to Kenelm Digby, the author of the Mores Catholici; to the liberal Catholic politician and historian, the Count de Montalembert (1810-1870); to one of the most prominent Jesuits of the day in France, the popular pulpit orator and preacher of retreats, Gustave François Xavier de Ravignan (1795-1858); and to the Archbishop of Paris, "with many others whose names would not be known to you".⁴⁵ "Of course I was at Issy--two Wednesdays", he writes, "and also saw again the Curé of S. Jacques, who you may remember was here [i.e. at Oxford] in 1843". The letter is lively and cheerful. Mark had been thoroughly at ease in Paris, away from the oppressive atmosphere of worry and controversy at Oxford. "Very sorry I was when the day of leaving came", he tells his sisters.⁴⁶

At Oxford again, Mark appears to have continued in good spirits for the next month or so. He was busy not only with College lectures, but with work for the Christian Remembrancer, a review edited jointly by James Mozley and William Scott that had largely taken the place of the defunct British Critic. Religious in tone and outlook, it did not expouse, however, the fervent Tractarian line of the British Critic. In its July 1844 number the Christian Remembrancer had published a review essay on 'Miss Bremer's Novels' by Mark Pattison, and another in January 1845 on 'Gregory of Tours'.⁴⁷ In March or early April, Mark sent in another essay on

⁴⁵ MSS. Lincoln College, U, March 1845.

⁴⁶ MSS. Lincoln College, U, [March 1845].

⁴⁷ Christian Remembrancer, 8 (1844), pp. 13-25; 9 (1845), pp. 66-85. Frederica Bremer (1801-1865) was a Swedish novelist. 'Gregory of Tours' was reprinted in Pattison's Essays, edited by Henry Nettleship, 2 vols (Oxford, 1889), pp. 1-29.

'Foreign Travel'. Scott returned it on 7 April with apologies, saying that the editors had been obliged to "cut short" the current issue of the review, and because Pattison's article was the shortest, they had decided to drop it altogether. That observation led him to another. Everyone connected with the review is pleased with Pattison's articles, he says, except as regards their length: "Each of them might well be doubled. As somebody said--a fact--the impression is that all our type must be exhausted, you pull up so suddenly--and You [sic] bring your readers into a delightful country--and then presto! the scene closes as soon as opened".⁴⁸ The criticism is not unjustified. Readers of Pattison's Essays will have noticed a tendency to abruptness in the conclusions of some of even the best of them. Criticism aside, however, Scott is eager to have further contributions from Mark. He looks for an essay soon on Victor Cousin and commissions a review article on L. A. Thiers' History of the Consulate and Empire.⁴⁹ Later in the summer he will want another on the Cambridge scholar, Christopher Wordsworth, a review of his Diary in France.⁵⁰ With respect to Wordsworth, however, he warns Mark in August to be especially careful: "his brothers, indeed the set, which even Christopher W[ordsworth] represents we cannot afford to alarm or offend, i.e. without grave cause". He continues: "We are getting rather a bad name--though I am sure we don't

⁴⁸MSP. 47, f. 6. 7 April 1845.

⁴⁹The essay on Thiers appeared in July 1845. Christian Remembrancer, 10 (1845), pp. 105-132. There appears to be no essay on the French philosopher, Victor Cousin (1792-1867).

⁵⁰It appeared in October. 'Wordsworth's Diary in France', Christian Remembrancer, 10 (1845), pp. 356-76.

deserve it.--poor innocents that we are".⁵¹

The preparation of these articles and his duties at Lincoln College occupied Mark's attention until the early summer. Then a new source of anxiety appeared on the horizon. There was no compulsion now on the part of the University authorities to make him choose between Oxford and Rome, but a more insidious pressure developed as it became plain to everyone that many of the Tractarians were about to convert to Roman Catholicism. This time the pressure would be harder to bear because, in the first place, more prolonged, and in the second, more personal in the direction from which it came. For many of those "going over" were Mark's friends and acquaintances at Oxford. They would expect him, too, to become a Roman Catholic. In fact, it was widely thought that he would be one of the first to go. "We expected him to become a Roman Catholic the earliest of all", Pusey was to observe many years later.⁵² No one, indeed, had the least reason to suspect that Mark's convictions had changed about the necessity for union, one way or the other, with the Church of Rome. We know now, however, that they had changed, abruptly, after Newman's resignation of St. Mary's in 1843 when Mark had realized for the first time that union with Rome meant conversion to Roman Catholicism, purely and simply. But he had told no one about the change in his convictions. Unable, indeed, fully to comprehend in what respect he had changed his mind, Mark

⁵¹MSP. 47, ff. 7-8. 7 April 1845. Christopher Wordsworth (1807-1885), afterwards Bishop of Lincoln, was known, especially in his early career, for his marked anti-Roman Catholic attitude. His brother Charles became Bishop of St. Andrews. His father, also Christopher Wordsworth (1774-1846), became Master of Trinity College, Cambridge, in 1822. DNB, XXI, 924-926.

⁵²See note 2 above.

had been reluctant to expose his intellectual confusion and contradictory feelings to those friends and acquaintances who had not been similarly affected and who continued on their way certain of their course and fully consistent in their convictions. Mark had felt too much the vulnerability of his position after Newman's resignation to expose himself to what would surely be the persistent questioning and insistent argument of the likes of a Jack Morris or a William George Ward. The example of what had been done to A. H. Clough, Ward's pupil, when he could not make up his mind would be warning enough. 'The current comment in Oxford', Wilfred Ward says, 'when Clough and Ward were seen walking constantly together, was: "There goes Ward mystifying poor Clough, and persuading him that he must either believe nothing or accept the whole of Church doctrine"'.⁵³ For nearly two years, then, Mark had worn a mask. Now it appeared that he could hide behind it no longer, for conversions were imminent. Everyone would be obliged to show himself in his true colours. But Mark was confused. He did not wish to become a Roman Catholic, but felt that he was obliged to. As spring passed into summer and the number of conversions grew, the pressure on him increased. His dilemma preyed on his mind and he became more and more depressed. He was at a loss what to do. Finally, he decided to escape from Oxford once again by going on a two months' tour of the Continent. But if he thought that this time, as at Easter, he could leave his troubles behind him, he was much mistaken. Like Christian in The Pilgrim's Progress, he departed on his journey with a bundle on his back.

Mark had always prepared thoroughly for his previous travels abroad.

⁵³Ward, William George Ward, p. 107.

He had planned his itineraries meticulously and well in advance, read up on the countries and places he intended to visit, got letters of introduction when he had thought they would be useful, and carefully calculated his expenses. It is a measure of the anxious state of his mind, then, that this time he left Oxford in haste and in considerable disarray. He had not even fully decided where on the Continent he should go. "Arrived in London last night at 9", the travel diary begins on 1 June 1845:

There was something ominous about the commencement of this journey that did not bode well--I managed none of the arrangements for it well--forgot several things I ought to have done, and to have brought with me--did not ascertain the times of sailing--brought too little money--and many other little things of this sort--my mind wandered and my spirits low--I had not even fully decided where I should go. All this was very different from Easter last.⁵⁴

The next morning, Sunday, finds him at the services in Margaret Street Chapel, where Frederick Oakeley had established the London centre of the Oxford Movement. "Oak[e]ley only read the Epistle", Mark noted, "takes no interest in the services, or anything else--if Richards consults him as to what he shall do, he is at a loss for an answer".⁵⁵ Indeed, Oakeley, too, had his own troubles. Mark had seen him last sitting behind Ward in the English rostrum in the Sheldonian Theatre. Following his friend's degradation, Oakeley had sent a letter to the Vice-Chancellor to say that he, too, held all Roman doctrine in subscribing the Articles, although he did not claim to teach it. He had sent another letter to the same effect

⁵⁴ MSP. 135, f. 18.

⁵⁵ MSP. 135, f. 18. 1 June 1845. William Upton Richards (1811-1873), a Tractarian, became Vicar of All Saints, Margaret Street in 1849. Newman, Letters and Diaries, XI, 354; DNB, XVI, 1107.

to Bishop Blomfield of London. The Bishop had replied by asking Oakeley to resign his licence at Margaret Street, failing which he would withdraw the licence himself. Oakeley had sought Pusey's and Keble's support, but had found that it would not be forthcoming. By the time of Mark's visit to Margaret Street, then, Oakeley was in considerable difficulties. Bishop Blomfield, fearing unforeseen legal hurdles, had withdrawn his request for Oakeley's resignation, but just eight days after Mark's visit, proceedings were to be opened against Oakeley in the Court of Arches.⁵⁶ Clearly, the uncertain and gloomy atmosphere of Margaret Street was not the sort of thing that Mark needed if his own spirits were to revive. He left the service early, not waiting even for the Communion. But, just as he was coming out of the Chapel, he encountered none other than William George Ward. With Ward was the new Mrs Ward. For Ward, among all the Tractarians at Oxford the most open and enthusiastic advocate of clerical celibacy, had announced his engagement in a letter to the Times on 1 March 1845, just two weeks after his degradation in the Sheldonian Theatre. Needless to say, the announcement had caused no little amusement. Ward, however, characteristically impervious to embarrassment, had married within weeks of the announcement on 31 March 1845. On the steps of Margaret Street Chapel, he introduced his friend and ally, Mark Pattison, to his new bride.⁵⁷ Mark does not say, however, what he thought of her. Perhaps he envied Ward who, unlike Mark, obviously had the means, although he had lost both Fellowship and career at Oxford, to marry and settle down in a

⁵⁶Liddon, Pusey, II, 438-440; Ward, William George Ward, pp. 353-357.

⁵⁷MSP. 135, f. 18. 1 June 1845.

cottage on Rose Hill just twenty minutes' walk from Bodley.

Mark's spirits did not revive, in fact, until he had put Oxford and Margaret Street behind him and crossed the Channel: "by the time I got to Boulogne I was roused again and got on tolerably well".⁵⁸ At Paris he went at once to the Seagers, and, in the company of Charles Seager, dined with Kenelm Digby and his family several times during the course of the next week. Again, in Seager's company he visited the Chamber of Peers to listen to an unimpressive debate on the fortifications of Paris. Afterwards, at dinner, the two friends discussed the prospects of those who would become Roman Catholics. Seager's account of his own difficulties was not encouraging. "We talked about what [is] to be done for a living after the change", the diary says. "Mr. Digby gives him [Seager] £150. a year--but they have also sent them all their wood, and nearly all their butchers' meat. Dr. Pusey sent Mrs. Seager £50 since S[eager]'s conversion".⁵⁹ The next day, Mark left Paris in the company of William Kay, Junior, who also happened to be visiting the city. Kay was a staunch Evangelical and at this time when there was so much uncertainty in his own mind, Mark could not abide to be with him. He thought, however, that it would be "unkind" not to call on him when they were both at Paris. He found Kay, the diary says, "rather less disagreeable, softened by so much novelty around him--but still barely endurable".⁶⁰ At Fontainebleau ("few things I have seen

⁵⁸MSP. 135, f. 18. 1 June 1845.

⁵⁹MSP. 135, f. 20. 10 June 1845.

⁶⁰MSP. 135, f. 21. 11 June 1845.

have given me more pleasure than this"), he gave Kay the slip, went off to the public library and fell asleep over a book. Kay had gone on by the time he returned to his hotel and Mark was left happily alone again. From Fontainebleau he went to Lyons where, after a disappointing exploration of the city in oppressive heat, he reflected morbidly, "This day last year I was at Brussels--where shall I be, if on earth, this day next year?"⁶¹ Plainly, his mind was still afflicted by the anxieties of Oxford. Next, at Geneva, he was struck by the beauty of the city, and no less so by what he perceived to be striking differences between the French and Genevan women he had seen. He did not allow these thoughts to distract him, however, from an old Oxford occupation. At Geneva, he spent two hours in the public library collating a manuscript of St. John Crysostom on the Acts of the Apostles. It was as though he were in the Bodleian again in the early days of his connection with the Tractarians, collating manuscripts for Newman's 'Library of the Fathers'. After two days in Geneva, he went on to Lausanne where he made sure to stay in the Hotel Gibbon, named after the great historian and true mentor of his undergraduate days at Oxford. "Gibbon, Voltaire etc understood life were it only shewn in the choice of residence", he reflected. "The wall of the Hotel Gibbon (where I stopped) is on Gibbon's acacia walk. The evening most lovely, saw the moon rise over the Alps--and could hardly bear to go to bed and leave it".⁶² The next afternoon, however, he was caught in a sudden thunderstorm on a look-out point above the city, and it brought with it a very different mood. "Had thoughts how unfit I was to

⁶¹MSP. 135, f. 24. 18 June 1845.

⁶²MSP. 135, f. 26. 21 June 1845.

die, and what a dangerous state I was in--and yet I deliberately continue in it", the diary says.⁶³ The following evening finds him in the St. Bernard Pass, making the long climb up to the Hospice of St. Bernard: "Got to the Hospice at 9--the monks all in bed--dark the last 1/2 hour, and the track very faintly marked in the snow--began to be afraid I had lost my way when I found myself brought up by the walls of the Convent".⁶⁴ He was hospitably received and spent the night there, but slept in next morning and so "missed seeing the fraternity assembled" at the 7 o'clock mass. However, one of the monks brought him coffee and sat with him while he drank it. Afterwards, he showed Mark the chapel and other parts of the monastery. It was the first time that Mark had been in a true monastery--St. Sulpice was merely a seminary--and seen what it meant to live fully the kind of ascetical life that he had tried to emulate in the privacy of his rooms at Lincoln in 1842-43. The ^{Augustinian} ~~Carthusian~~ monks were kind and friendly. He was invited to stay the day and to dine with them. But instead of accepting the invitation with the pleasure to be expected in one who had once taken such an interest in the monastic life, Mark took fright and bolted. "I felt such a horror of the place that I was only anxious to quit it as soon as I could", he wrote afterwards in his diary:

The cold was very severe on getting up--I felt the whole time as though it was a foretaste of one of the pains of purgatory. It was not that the actual cold was more painful than that of our winter--it was quite as much so as that of a severe winter morning--but the aspect of all around, so hopeless and cheerless--struck

⁶³MSP. 135, f. 27. 22 June 1845.

⁶⁴MSP. 135, f. 28. 23 June 1845.

to my heart with a feeling of desolation which I could not shake off till I had descended many miles into the sunny valley. The brother I saw had a most fresh and healthy look--but very few of them can support it many years--Consumption, and liver complaints, attack them--apoplexy is a common death.⁶⁵

The fear of catching his death by consumption, however, or a liver complaint, or even "apoplexy", is not what evoked such a horror of the Hospice of St. Bernard in Mark Pattison and made him bolt. At another time, in 1842 for instance, or in 1843 before Newman's resignation of St. Mary's, when Mark's ascetical fancies were being given free rein, the rigorous life of the ^{Augustinian} ~~Carthusian~~ monks would have appealed to his imagination. Now, however, even in the present confusion of his thoughts and desires, Mark knew that he had put those fancies behind him. They no longer appealed to him. They were part of the dream he had been living in before he had been jolted into reality by Newman's resignation. To have the old imaginings rise up suddenly before him, then, not now as fancies but really and actually in the example of the ^{Augustinian} ~~Carthusian~~ monks high up in the St. Bernard Pass, was truly horrifying. For associated with the memory of his old ascetical ideal was the present sense of obligation to be true to that ideal, to become a Roman Catholic as his friends expected of him, to be consistent with what he had so strongly professed to believe in, and to be loyal not only to the aims of the movement and to his friends, but to the one person whose respect and confidence he desired to retain most of all, to Newman himself. It was not, indeed, the cold or the fear of consumption that drove Mark from the Hospice of St. Bernard.

⁶⁵MSP. 135, ff. 28-29. 24 June 1845.

It was the feeling of guilt and disloyalty that had come over him in the thunderstorm on the hill above Geneva and that was reflected now in "the aspect of all around, so hopeless and cheerless" in the monastery atop the St. Bernard Pass, that so "struck" his heart with "a feeling of desolation" that he could not shake it off. The visit to the home of the gentle and hospitable monks had been like a nightmare in which the doubts and fears of the past two years had risen up to transform what, to another traveller, would have appeared as just what it was, a severely simple but hospitable and kindly stopping place. Indeed, in what follows immediately in the diary there is a most striking and suggestive contrast which indicates how far Mark had put his ascetical idealism behind him. At Geneva he had not failed to remark (as we have mentioned) on the physical characteristics of the women he had seen there. In the diary entry that follows immediately upon the account of his visit to the Carthusian monks, and on the day of his departure from the monastery, he takes up that theme once more. "The Genevese women have prettier faces than the French", he remarks,

but they want their grace and charming form--they are short and thick--The face is a smiling fat round Devonshire face and is seen to great advantage under the large round hat. The Vallais face is not pretty, nor intelligent, but there is a look of rigorous health, settled, orderly, and peaceful mind.⁶⁶

The tone is objective and detached, but the interest that has stimulated such an observation is undeniable. There are no comparable assessments of the menfolk he has met. Plainly, Mark was never intended for celibacy,

⁶⁶MSP. 135, f. 29. 24 June 1845.

a fact that he had become aware of only recently in his life and which he was still shy to admit, even in his diaries, except in indirect ways.

Throughout the next few weeks of his tour, or as it really was, his uncharacteristically purposeless wandering through France, Switzerland and Italy, there are no further examples in his diary of the sort of anxiety that had afflicted him up to the time of his visit with the Carthusian monks. Now and then he is unwell and remarks on one of those days: "at such times I am tempted to think that my appetite for wandering is but the result of a discontented spirit".⁶⁷ Nevertheless, he continued on into Italy by way of Ossola, the Sardinian customs post in the Simplon Pass.⁶⁸ At Ossola he was obliged to have his bags searched. What the puzzled customs officer found in one of them may be seen now as curiously symbolic of the two directions between which Mark was finding it impossible to choose in 1845. Side by side in the bag were two books: "the first he took out was a Paris Brev[iary]", the diary says, "the next a life of Voltaire wh[ich] he looked at doubtingly but at last let pass".⁶⁹ Once he got into Italy, however, Mark's anxieties left him. His spirits rose "to the pitch of enthusiasm almost--now so rare an event", at the thought of being in Italy for the first time.⁷⁰ But this, his first visit, was to be a brief one only. He reached Milan at the end of June, spent four days

⁶⁷MSP. 135, ff. 30-31. 26 June 1845.

⁶⁸The north-western part of Italy was part of the Kingdom of Sardinia from 1815 to 1861.

⁶⁹MSP. 135, f. 32. 26 June 1845.

⁷⁰MSP. 135, f. 32.

there, and then turned north again to Zurich and Lucerne. On the way he became ill. On 6 July he was "very unwell" and by 12 July began to turn his steps towards home.⁷¹ Two weeks later, he was back in his rooms at Lincoln College. He had recovered from his illness and was in good health and strength and spirits. "[T]hree painful thoughts", however, had served to "chasten [the] gratification" of the tour, the diary says: "1. The sufferings of my poor sisters. 2. The thought that this was in all probability to be my last Tour. 3. A sense of distance from God, and that I was leading a sensual life, devoted to my bodily comforts, and running away, as though for a respite, from religious thoughts".⁷² The last thought was certainly correct--he had, indeed, been seeking a respite from religious anxieties. The second "painful thought" was very possible: were he to give in to the pressure of example and become a Roman Catholic, he would be, as his mother had said, "penniless". There would be no more foreign tours. The first thought, however, was perhaps the truest of all. His sisters suffered now; they would suffer even more if he were to become a Roman Catholic;⁷³ and would suffer no less if he were to reveal to them his deep misgivings about the way into which he had led them and for which they had endured so much abuse from his father. In spite, then, of his "running away" on a foreign tour, nothing had been resolved. Unlike Christian, he still carried the bundle on his back.

At Oxford again, Mark was soon caught up in the anxious preoccupations of his friends. Everyone knew that the Tractarian movement was finished.

⁷¹MSP. 135, f. 39.

⁷²MSP. 128, f. 95. 29 July 1845.

⁷³Mark once hinted as much to Robert Ormsby in 1845. See MSP. 47, f. 78. 5 August 1847.

The question was, what to do now? For some, like Mark, that question had no answer. For others, however, the answer was not hard to find, for the conversions to Rome increased in number day by day. At Littlemore, too, the pattern of the future was becoming clearer. On 30 July, two days after his return from the Continent, Mark went out to Littlemore Church to read prayers for William Copeland. He met Ward there and walked down to the "monastery" with him. "Went in with Ward for a minute or two on my way back", the diary comments, "but he was so impatient to get rid of me, I didn't stay. Newman working very hard at his book".⁷⁴ That book was Newman's Essay on the Development of Christian Doctrine. It was to be his last work as an Anglican. The next day Mark went out to Littlemore again, this time to dine at Newman's invitation. He spent "two very pleasant hours there", the diary says, and learned that J. D. Dalgairns had decided to prepare for the Roman Catholic priesthood at Langres in Belgium.⁷⁵ Dalgairns, then, had made up his mind to become a Roman Catholic. His decision was not unexpected, however, and Mark shows no surprise. Three days later, on an evening walk out to Iffley, he was advised as to his own course of action by J. J. Foulkes of Jesus College. "F[oulkes] exhorted me to give up my Tutorship", the diary says, "and to devote myself to theology for the purpose of deciding on the controverted points".⁷⁶ As usual, however, Mark kept his own counsel. Yet, in his own mind, the

⁷⁴MSP. 128, f. 96. "I am not the only one whom Ward has so unceremoniously dismissed--also his rudeness to Copeland", the diary comments two weeks later. MSP. 128, f. 101. 17 August 1845.

⁷⁵MSP. 128, f. 96. 31 July 1845.

⁷⁶MSP. 128, f. 97. 3 August 1845.

debate continued. He tried to see the issues clearly. Was his antipathy towards the Church of England really justified? "I am surely greatly influenced in my present feeling towards the Ch[urch] of England by her practical corruptions, and the character of her Bishops", he admitted in one of his notebooks for this period. "Yet this is a very bad argument", he continues, "or rather is nothing at all to the merits of the question. It is the very ground on which Luther was first moved to leave the Ch[urch] of Rome. And there is nothing here so bad as Sixtus IV and Alexander VI".⁷⁷ On those grounds, then, he would not be justified in leaving England for Rome. On the other hand, was he not obliged on the grounds of his adherence to doctrines condemned nearly universally in his own Church to go where those doctrines were recognized and accepted as true to the tradition and belief of Christianity? Mark could see no way out of the impasse. Something in him could find no satisfaction in either of the choices presented to him. What that something was he had yet to discover. Until he did so, he could go neither forward nor backward.

Meanwhile, events were taking their course. Frederick Oakeley had resigned his licence at Margaret Street Chapel shortly after Mark's visit in June and had gone to live with the Wards at Rose Hill. On 5 September Ward and his wife were received into the Roman Catholic Church by Father Brownbill in the Jesuit Chapel at Bolton Street in London.⁷⁸ Oakeley's reception would follow at Oxford six weeks later.⁷⁹ Two days

⁷⁷MSP. 6, f. 172. [August 1845.]

⁷⁸Newman, Letters and Diaries, XI, 359; Ward, William George Ward, pp. 366-367.

⁷⁹Newman, Letters and Diaries, XI, 350.

after the Wards' reception, on Sunday 7 September 1845, Mark went out to Littlemore again to take the duty for Copeland and spent "a very pleasant day" in the company of Newman and his friends. He heard "much worth remembering", the diary says, for no one at Littlemore was shy of speaking openly in his presence. After all, he too was expected to "go over" and perhaps rather sooner than later. The diary, then, contains a fairly complete record of what Mark heard at Littlemore that Sunday, one month almost to the day before Newman himself was received into the Roman Catholic Church. Indeed, there is scarcely to be found anywhere a better illustration of the kind of atmosphere that prevailed at Littlemore during the closing weeks of its existence as a sort of Anglican monastery than is to be found in the diary. Like most of the material in this study that has been taken from Pattison's diaries and letters, it is presented here for the first time. The diary reads as follows:

S[unday] 7 [September]. To Littlemore to take Copeland's duty--administered the Sacrament in the morn[in]g and Sermon only in aft[er]n[oon].--Walk with St. John and J. H. N. between churches, and staid to dinner, and so spent a very pleasant day--though no comfort in the Comm[unio]n--but heard much worth remembering. Oak[e]ley and Estcourt⁸⁰ came to din[er]. Ward gone to a Jesuit Priest of the name of Brownbill--of whom he speaks highly--on the score of intelligence etc. Jesuits building a church in London--3 of them in Bolton St. Picadilly--only lately admitted into the Diocese of London--Griffiths⁸¹ having been shy of them--Tickell⁸² at a seminary in

⁸⁰Edgar Edmund Estcourt (1816-1884), became a Roman Catholic three months later, in December 1845. He was a graduate of Exeter College. Newman, Letters and Diaries, XI, 339.

⁸¹Thomas Griffiths (1791-1847), Vicar Apostolic of the London District since 1833. Newman once said of him that he "was the only Bishop who did not cordially welcome me" into the Roman Catholic Church. Newman, Letters and Diaries, XI, 342.

⁸²George Tickell (1815-1893), formerly Fellow of University College 1837-1840), had been Oakeley's curate at Margaret Street. He had become a Roman Catholic in 1844 and entered the Jesuit novitiate (not seminary)

Derbyshire--a sort of succursale to Stonyhurst--To come out in 4 years--Oak[e]ley spoke of his recovery as almost miraculous--used to be subject to hysterical fits--once a week and latterly often once a day--wh[ich] he has never had since. O[akeley] mentioned a Mr. Smith a clergyman--who after conversion experienced a trial of extreme desolation--two days he was much alone--at Oscott--and suffered much--they [at Oscott] said it was not uncommon--but it went off and has not returned.--Where persons can prove their baptism they are not conditionally baptized again [i.e. upon their conversion to Roman Catholicism]--this was the case with a person who had been baptized by Dr Pusey--and with a boy 10 years old of the name of Lee whose father certified it for him. 'Aqua odorata' forbidden in the Rom[an] Rub[ric]--and not uncommon for rich people in London etc to use rose water.--Capes⁸³ mathematical Prof[essor] at Prior Park--they have given him a house wh[ich] is to be his salary. He might legally have kept the Ch[urch] at Bridgwater--Mr. Ruscombe Poole and his wife gone over⁸⁴--but they are to have nothing to do with the mission to be established there as it might hurt the business! . . . [sic] Father Dominick [sic] the Passionist's --saying--The Ch[urch] of E[ngland] when it broke loose from the ark of the Ch[urch] caught hold of a rope and a plank--the rope was Apostolical Succession--the plank, the Creeds--Interesting conversation too in walking home with Estcourt. Says that the secret of the resting place of S. Cuthbert's body is confided to 3 persons--the late B[isho]p Baines was one⁸⁵--he was succeeded by a Benedictine at Prior Park [sic] N[ewman] talked of the G[ree]k Church and when I spoke of the comparative smallness in the world of the Cath[olic] Ch[urch] said it was never numbers or extent that made strength. e.g. Judaea, and Greece having been the teachers of the world.--Said there seemed a natural limit to a person's power of using wealth--the people in the

at Hodder, near Stonyhurst, in 1845. Newman, Letters and Diaries, XI, 358.

⁸³ John Moore Capes (1812-1889) had been received into the Roman Catholic Church by Wiseman at Oscott on 27 June. He had given up the church which he had built with a large part of his own fortune at Eastover, Bridgwater, Somerset. He rejoined the Church of England in 1870, but became a Roman Catholic again in 1889. Newman, Letters and Diaries, XI, 335-336.

⁸⁴ Several members of this Bridgwater family became Roman Catholics in September 1845. See Newman, Letters and Diaries, XI, 332, 352-353.

⁸⁵ Peter Augustine Baines (1787-1843), Vicar Apostolic of the Western District, who had bought Prior Park, near Bath, with the intention of turning it into a Roman Catholic seminary. Newman, Letters and Diaries, XI, 332.

neighbourhood of P[hilip] Pusey,⁸⁶ where he gives away a great deal of money, got a notion that he is bound by the tenure of his property to do it--Compare with this the notions of the Coombe people about Dr. Hutchins' fund.⁸⁷ I was surprized to hear Oak[e]ley take so large a share in the conversation--even lead it sometimes--and to find that he knew so much about people.⁸⁸

On the Sunday following his visit to Littlemore Mark dined at Magdalen with J. B. Mozley and Mozley's other guest, David Lewis of Jesus College. At the end of the evening, the diary says, he had a long conversation with Lewis "about prospects". It was a conversation "more unreserved than I ever had with him"; the diary continues, "we walked out beyond Magd[alen] turnpike in the lovely moonlight--and I was much comforted on the whole. I feel that I am further on my way to R[ome] than he is".⁸⁹ Whatever it was that comforted Mark in that conversation with Lewis, we cannot say. It may have been simply the fact that Lewis was even farther away than Mark was from reaching a decision about whether or not to go to Rome. At a time when so many others among Mark's friends and acquaintances seemed already to have made up their minds, such indecision on the part of one of them would have been comforting at least. But, as the time passed and more and more of his friends made up their minds, and as it became clear that it was now only a matter of weeks, perhaps even days, before Newman himself would take the final step, Mark

⁸⁶ Eldest brother of E. B. Pusey.

⁸⁷ Coombe was a living ^{appropriated} attached to Lincoln College. Mark had become familiar with its affairs in his role as College Bursar.

⁸⁸ MSP. 128, ff. 108-110. 7 September 1845.

⁸⁹ MSP. 128, f. 111. 14 September 1845.

felt the pressure to decide one way or the other increase day by day. But "the great question" (as he calls it in the diary)⁹⁰ seemed, in his case, to have no answer. Yet, he could not escape it, for the "great question", whether to follow Newman or to stay, was the nearly constant topic of conversation wherever Tractarians met in Oxford. By the beginning of October, then, Mark was in low spirits. He began to fear that his indecision was really the result of moral weakness, that is to say, that he lacked the courage to do what he knew to be right. On 3 October he reflects dejectedly in his diary that his mind is "dissatisfied with it's [sic] own occupation, yet too weak to dare what it knows is it's [sic] proper calling". He even begins to wonder whether the confusion in his thoughts is not a sign that he is "under Diabolical influences".⁹¹ Fortunately, however, he was given an opportunity two days later to view the whole thing in a less morbid light. On Sunday 5 October he went to dine with Manuel Johnson at the Observatory and found there two other guests, R. A. Coffin, the Vicar of St. Mary Magdalen's, and C. H. Collyns, Coffin's curate. Later in the evening, A. P. Forbes and William Copeland joined the party.⁹² "A great deal of fun", the diary says. The fun was mostly owing to Johnson, however, who had a lively sense of humour. He told them all that he was proposing

⁹⁰MSP. 128, f. 113. 24 September 1845.

⁹¹MSP. 7^x, p. 1. 3 October 1845.

⁹²Collyns became a Roman Catholic three weeks later, Coffin three months later. Collyns joined the Jesuits in 1847, but left both the Jesuits and the Church in 1858. Coffin was made Bishop of Southwark in 1882. Newman, Letters and Diaries, XI, 336, 337. Alexander Penrose Forbes (1817-1875), friend and follower of Pusey, became afterwards Bishop of Brechin. DNB, VII, 378-379.

to write "the secret history of absquatulation" (i.e. of "decampment") and had even asked Charles Marriott "for a theory". But Marriott had taken him seriously and had answered solemnly, "We are in a state of appeal--appeal to a General Council". "When this was repeated to Lewis", the diary goes on, "he said, 'Didn't M[arriott] know that an appeal must be lodged within 20 days?'".⁹³ Still, for all the much needed lightheartedness, there was also a serious side to the evening's conversation. Attempting, no doubt, to draw something hopeful out of the general disarray in which the Tractarian party now found itself at Oxford, Mark observed at one point that "Newman's proceeding was [being] received in respectful silence[,] no one blaming". Coffin, however (the diary says) mentioned Thomas Chamberlain, the Vicar of St. Thomas's Church, "as talking everywhere against N[ewman's] honesty in putting out the theory contained in his 4 last Sermons, 'he didn't believe it when he wrote it--' and he 'wouldn't trust his judgment in anything'".⁹⁴ As Pattison says in the Memoirs when remarking upon these slanders, there must always be someone at such a time to play the part of the devil's advocate.⁹⁵

The party at the Observatory did cheer him up, however, and later in the week, on Wednesday 8 October, he was able to enter into the spirit of things at another party at Lincoln College. The College's guests on that occasion were the Rector of Exeter, the President of Corpus, and the Registrar of the University, Dr Philip Bliss "the most gentlemanly, and

⁹³MSP. 128, f. 114. 5 October 1845.

⁹⁴MSP. 128, f. 114. 5 October 1845.

⁹⁵Memoirs, p. 213.

best talker of the lot", the diary says. The conversation, however, was not inspiring: "coarsely commercial", the diary notes, "sharp practice in leasing, and knowing dodges with tenants being its staple". Ordinarily, Mark would have refused to have taken any part in it, because it was just the sort of thing that he found most reprehensible in the conversations of his senior colleagues at Lincoln. This time, however, he unbent a little. "Instead of sitting silent in disgust", he writes, "I joined in as well as I could, and rather enjoyed the scene".⁹⁶ Outside, meanwhile, the October evening was wet and cold. The rain poured down. And in the High Street, not two hundred yards away from the Lincoln Common Room, John Dalgairns waited patiently for a coach to arrive in Oxford. When, at last, it pulled in very late in the evening and hours overdue, Father Dominic Barberi, the Italian peasant priest who had been convinced, almost from the time of his ordination some twenty-seven years before, that there was a special work for him to do in England, climbed down from the box. He was thoroughly soaked. Dalgairns told him that Newman wished to be received into the Roman Catholic Church. "God be praised", said the priest simply, after which both men remained silent until they reached Littlemore by chaise late that night. Father Dominic was shown at once to the room reserved for him. While he was attempting to warm himself by the fire, the door opened and Newman entered. At sight of Father Dominic he went down on his knees and asked quietly to be received into the Roman Catholic Church. "And there by the fire he began his general confession with extraordinary humility and devotion", Father Dominic reported later

⁹⁶MSP. 128, f. 115. 8 October 1845.

to his religious superiors.⁹⁷ Newman completed his general confession the next morning, and at six o'clock that evening, 9 October 1845, in the little oratory where Mark had prayed so anxiously and so earnestly during his retreat at Littlemore exactly two years before, John Henry Newman made his profession of faith and was received into the Roman Catholic Church. The waiting was over. The last step had been taken. At once, a wide gulf opened between master and disciple, between Newman the Roman Catholic and Mark Pattison the nominally Anglican, who hardly knew yet what to call himself or where to turn.

⁹⁷ Trevor, Newman: The Pillar of the Cloud, pp. 358-359; Ward, Newman, I, 93-95.

CHAPTER VIII

Aftermath 1845 - 1850

"Thank you for referring to my friend, Mr Pattison. Forty years ago he was on the point of becoming a Catholic. Stopping short of it, his mind was too logical to have faith in any other Creed."

Cardinal Newman (1884)¹

On the morning of Thursday 9 October 1845, just as Newman had completed his general confession before Father Dominic, Mark left Lincoln College to walk out to Littlemore Church where he was to read prayers at eleven o'clock in place of William Copeland. Either at Littlemore, or on his way back, he met Frederick Oakeley, who was staying with the Wards at Rose Hill. "Saw Oak[e]ley", the diary says, "who said Newman had resigned his Fellowship.--St. John gone over already".² Neither Mark nor Oakeley knew, however, that Father Dominic was even then at the "monastery" and that Newman would be received that very evening. But both men recognized that Newman's resignation of his Fellowship meant that his conversion could come at any moment. Mark thought at once of the party at Lincoln the evening before. "What a contrast last night's scene to all this!", he exclaimed in the diary, "Eating and drinking, marrying and being given in marriage--as before the flood!"³

¹Newman, Letters and Diaries, XXX, 394.

²Newman had resigned his Fellowship on 3 October 1845. Ambrose St. John was received at the Catholic College at Prior Park, near Bath, on 2 October. Newman, Letters and Diaries, XI, 3, n.2.

³MSP. 128, f. 115. 9 October 1845.

Word of Newman's conversion reached Oxford the next day. Mark heard it from R. W. Church, who showed him a letter that Newman had written to him, as to many others, on the evening of 8 October while he was awaiting the arrival of Father Dominic. Newman had asked Church to show the letter to all who inquired about him at Oxford.⁴ Many years later, Pattison could still remember very clearly the effect produced generally by the news of Newman's "perversion", as he liked then (in 1884) to call it. "It is impossible to describe the enormous effect produced in the academical and clerical world, I may say throughout England, by one man's changing his religion", he says. "But it was not consternation; it was a lull--a sense that the past agitation of twelve years was extinguished by this simple act; and perhaps a lull of expectation to see how many he would draw with him".⁵ Of the effect on himself, he says this: that in the two years (1846 and 1847) following Newman's conversion, he was "evidently in a very depressed state, both of body and mind". He denies, however, that this depression was to be attributed (as friends believed at the time) either to "the painful severance which had taken place from Newman and others", or "to an intellectual conflict going on within me". "Both of these [explanations] were wrong", he claims. "I was neither so close to Newman personally as to miss him as a friend, nor had his perversion, so long looked for, and therefore mentally discounted, at all fallen upon me like a blow. Up to nearly the end of 1847 I see no trace in the Diary of anything

⁴Newman, Letters and Diaries, XI, 6. The letter was not sent until after Newman's reception.

⁵Memoirs, pp. 212-213.

like internal struggle".⁶

How, then, does he explain his depression during the two years following Newman's conversion? In the Memoirs, Pattison's answer is vague and unsatisfactory. He describes "very strenuous efforts" to make his share of the tuition in the College "real and influential". He writes of "other college difficulties", such as the antagonism of his senior colleagues to reforms in the College. He confesses to feeling intellectually inferior to his "passionately anti-Puseyite" colleague, William Kay (Junior). Lastly, he speaks of the "religious fanaticism" of his cousin Philippa Meadows which made her, with her mother, convert to Roman Catholicism less than a year after Newman, an act, he says, that gave him "an additional shake".⁷ None of these things, however, is new. Philippa Meadows was already well on the way to Roman Catholicism before Newman's conversion. Mark, as we have seen, had been fully aware of her intentions and had even upbraided her on more than one occasion for her vehement anti-Anglicanism. The rivalry with William Kay had been continuing for some time, but after 1846 (as we shall see) it had another basis than the intellectual one. In any case, Kay's confident and strenuous Evangelicalism had been, for some time past, as great an irritant to Mark as the intellectual vigour which Kay displayed, especially at a time when Mark had been less and less certain of the strength of his own religious position. College "difficulties", also, were no greater after Newman's conversion than before. Indeed, as we have seen, Mark and his party of reformers had been making some headway. The

⁶Memoirs, pp. 214-215.

⁷Memoirs, pp. 216-227.

tide of reform had been setting in at Lincoln and there was no stopping it, in spite of temporary setbacks. In fact, shortly after Newman's conversion, one of the reforming party, none other than Mark himself, was placed by his colleagues in a position that allowed him to have a considerable influence on the affairs of the College. College "difficulties", then, will not do as an explanation for what Pattison calls in the Memoirs his "very depressed state" during 1846 and 1847. Very "strenuous efforts" to make his share of the College tuition "real and influential" will not serve either. For by the time of Newman's conversion, Mark had been three years Tutor of Lincoln (not two, as the Memoirs indicate),⁸ time enough for him to get a grip on a large part of the work, even in spite of the cumbersome system by which a Tutor was obliged to teach everything (in a very limited curriculum) that was taught in the College. By 1846 and 1847, however, Mark was well established at Lincoln and the possessor of a growing reputation.

It is clear, then, that the explanation Pattison offers in the Memoirs for his "very depressed state" after Newman's conversion is not good enough. In fact, as he has said elsewhere in the Memoirs, he does not know what to make of the state of his mind and feelings during the whole four years between 1843 and 1847. The truth of the matter is that his friends and acquaintances were correct when they concluded that Mark's depression was owing to "the painful severance" from Newman and from others at Oxford who followed Newman into Roman Catholicism, and to an "intellectual conflict" going on within him. But his friends were not wholly right.

⁸Memoirs, p. 186.

Mark was indeed cast down by the departure of Newman and so many others. There was, in fact, in spite of what he says in the Memoirs, an "intellectual conflict" going on within him. But that conflict was not something that began after Newman's secession. As we have seen, its origin is to be found two years earlier, at the time of Newman's resignation of St. Mary's in 1843. That conflict continued after Newman "went over" in 1845 and was not entirely resolved for another two years or so. Mark's friends believed that the cause of his depression was that he could not make up his mind to follow Newman into Roman Catholicism. The root of the difficulty, however, was really something else. For Mark was faced with two alternatives in 1845: to go forward with Newman into Roman Catholicism or to fall back into the Tractarian Anglicanism that satisfied such men as Pusey, James Mozley, and R. W. Church. He could not fall back. He had become too "Roman" in his ideas and enthusiasm, and too antagonistic to the Church of England, to take up again the milder Tractarianism of those who, like Church, Mozley, and Pusey, had never lost confidence in Anglicanism and who were willing to wait until time should make the Church tolerant of their present position. Yet he could not go forward either. He had not expected that the Tractarian movement would end in individual conversions to Roman Catholicism. A union of the Churches he had looked for and hoped for. He had expected it to come, probably in his own lifetime. Indeed, the rapid growth of the movement had seemed to justify those expectations. But Newman's resignation of St. Mary's had awakened him to reality. There was to be no union of the Churches, only individual submissions to a Church that was then foreign in England. Quite apart, however, from the loss of friends that would result from his conversion to Roman Catholicism in a country in which bigotry

and prejudice against that Church were then widespread, quite apart, also, from the loss of position, career, income, and of Oxford itself that would follow his conversion, the very idea of submitting himself to a body that claimed to exercise a rightful authority in matters of belief was repugnant to him, and became more so every day. In 1843 he had been stopped in his tracks by the implications of Newman's resignation. But at the end of 1844, he had been very nearly driven into Roman Catholicism by the proposition to institute a new test of Anglican orthodoxy in the University on lines antagonistic to his own convictions. When that proposition was withdrawn, he had been left free again to choose. Yet, he had only two alternatives, Anglicanism and Roman Catholicism, to choose from. Either alternative demanded submission to authority in one form or another in matters of belief. But one of the two, it seemed, he would have to choose. However, he did not wish to become a Roman Catholic and he could not return to Anglicanism. He was caught on the horns of a dilemma. What he needed was another way by which he might avoid the necessity for submission to ecclesiastical authority and yet retain his Catholicism in full measure. He did not know it yet, but, in fact, his mind had already begun to fashion just such an escape even before Newman's conversion. The nature of it, however, would not reveal itself to him for some time yet. Meanwhile, he had to contend with a spate of rumours about him, going the rounds at Oxford.

There was a story that grew up in the months following Newman's conversion that Mark did not follow Newman into Roman Catholicism only because he had missed a particular train and had changed his mind the next day. The story is apocryphal. Yet it gained currency at Oxford and

persisted for many years. "It was said that he escaped secession only by missing a train", Goldwin Smith remarks in his Reminiscences.⁹ "The popular theory is that you made up your mind to become a R[oman] C[atholic] but that you lost a particular train, and next day you changed your mind!" Meta Bradley wrote to Pattison in 1882. "My own idea is that that religion would never have suited your character".¹⁰ How, and when precisely, that story originated is not certain. Mark's behaviour, however, immediately following the announcement of Newman's reception by Father Dominic, may have given rise to it. For he left Oxford the morning after that announcement and did not return for a week. Those who were expecting him to "go over" no doubt thought that he had gone off to be received at Oscott by Dr. Wiseman. Indeed, Mark was seen by no less a person than Henry Manning not far from Oscott, hovering, as it were, on Wiseman's doorstep. In fact, however, his journey was perfectly innocent. He had arranged some time previously to spend the week with Morton Shaw at Barcheston, near Shipston-on-Stour, a few miles from Stratford.¹¹ He was to assist Shaw with first Communion on Sunday 11 October, after which the two friends would spend several days visiting in the region. Far, indeed, from being greatly shaken by the news of Newman's reception or from being encouraged to follow his example and rush off to Oscott, the diary shows that Mark received the

⁹Goldwin Smith, Reminiscences, edited by Arnold Haultain (New York, 1910), p. 84.

¹⁰Green, Oxford Common Room, p. 114. For the relationship between Mark Pattison and Meta Bradley, see pp. 312-318; also, Sparrow, Mark Pattison and the Idea of a University, pp. 47-60.

¹¹MSP. 47, f. 16. [9 October 1845.] Morton Shaw was a graduate of Brasenose College (B.A. 1842, M.A. 1846) and curate at Barcheston (1845-46). He was enrolled as M.A. at Cambridge in 1847. J. A. Venn, Alumni Cantabrigiensis (Cambridge, 1953), II, 481.

news with great calmness. As Pattison says in the Memoirs, the effect generally of the news was "not consternation; it was a lull". That was the immediate effect on Mark also. In the diary for 11 October, there is this remarkably laconic entry: "Last night Church shewed me a note from J.H.N. to him announcing his approaching reception by Father Dominic. Started at 11.1/2 for Shipston--arrived at 2.1/4 and went with Shaw to prayers at 3".¹² There is nothing further that day about Newman or the next day either. Two days later, on Monday 14 October, Mark went with Shaw to Stratford, Leamington, and Kenilworth. Several times on their journey they encountered Henry Manning. "Had not heard of J.H.N. till we told him", the diary says.¹³ But it says nothing about what Manning, who had so offended Newman by his 5 November sermon in 1843, thought now of Newman's proceeding. The next afternoon they called on Francis Demainbray, the Rector of Barcheston and a friend of the Tractarians. Demainbray, who, at the time of Mark's visit, was in bed gravely ill (he died less than six months later, on 2 April 1846), did not approve of Newman's becoming a Roman Catholic and, a fortnight after Mark's visit, wrote to Newman urging him to return to the Church of England.¹⁴ At the time of his visit to Demainbray, however, Mark was reluctant to speak of the events at Littlemore just six days earlier. But he was compelled to give his opinion. "Shaw led to controversy", the diary says, "and forced me to speak--D[emainbray] was surprized, I think, and sorry, to find I did not take

¹²MSP. 128, f. 116.

¹³MSP. 128, f. 116. 14 October 1845.

¹⁴See Newman, Letters and Diaries, XI, 22, 339. Francis Demainbray (1795-1846) had been Fellow of Pembroke from 1814 to 1827.

their views".¹⁵ In the evening, he visited a friend of Demainbray's, a Mr Findon, who treated him to an amusing specimen of the current gossip about Newman. "Din[ed] with Mr. Findon", the diary says:

Their opinion of Newman--Mr. F[indon] takes it for granted his head is deranged. When D[emainbray] went to O[xford] to vote, a year ago, he met N[ewman] in the theatre, and said to him [']They tell me you never go to Church'--N[ewman]'s answer was [']They'll tell you next I'm of no religion at all'--D[emainbray] came back full of admiration of this 'noble answer.' 'Noble answer!['] says Mr. Findon, 'Gad, I never heard a more Jesuitical one.'¹⁶

There is no sign in the diary that Mark defended Newman in the face of these charges. Perhaps, given the ludicrous nature of them and the invincible prejudice they betrayed, he was wise to keep his own counsel.

At Oxford again, Mark soon found that he was an object of great interest. The rumour was that he would soon follow Newman. Indeed, his conversion was expected daily. On 23 October, for instance, just two weeks after Newman's reception at Littlemore, he was summoned into the presence of Mrs Tidman, "wife to the Revd. Mr. Tidman, an Independent Preacher" and (Mark told Eleanor) "mother to one of our boys". Mark, however, did not have much respect for young Arthur Tidman. "'Dear Arthur'", he tells Eleanor,

came and entered himself one fine morning at Oxford--which Mr. T[idman] and Mr. T[idman]'s friends call apostatizing--while Mrs. T[idman] and Mrs. T[idman]'s friends call it devotion to the work of the ministry--but my observation of the youth's character for 12 months obliges me to ascribe it to his perception that a much finer field is open to his (very great) ambition, in the Establishment, than in his 'hereditary religion'--and that he well understands the difference between Oxford and Hoxton.¹⁷

¹⁵MSP. 128, ff. 116-117. 15 October 1845.

¹⁶MSP. 128, f. 117. 15 October 1845.

¹⁷MSS. Lincoln College, Z, 23 October [1845].

Be that as it may, Mrs Tidman had a very high regard for Mark Pattison.

"She considers me the only person in the Coll[ege] who has any notion 'of spiritual religion'", he told Eleanor; "as for 'poor Mr. Michell I never talk of religion to him'" (she said). She would be "under the deepest obligation", she told Mark, for even "one word from him" to her son, for "she tells me no one has so much influence with Arthur as myself . . . and so on, till really, what with flattery to me, and affection for her boy, and all this from a woman not bad looking; and with a manner which would not disgrace Mrs. Malaprop, I am quite taken by storm and began to think I had judged hardly of Arthur". But Mrs Tidman was not concerned for Arthur alone. She had heard the rumours about her son's Tutor that were going the rounds at Oxford. "She had heard she said, that I was about to go over to R[ome]", Mark tells Eleanor:

(How oddly one gets to hear what is said about oneself!)
She hoped I wouldn't leave 'us'!, as I had an opportunity of doing so much good--where I was--but she was very liberal--she believed that true spirituality of heart was found in all creeds--had been in Paris last advent, and been charmed with Ravignan's sermons--thought no one could deny the good that was to be found among R[oman] Catholics--etc.¹⁸

Mark observes that he was "strongly tempted to tell her that I had at that moment in my room, the man who was to . . ."--but the remainder of the sentence is lost with the remainder of the letter. No doubt, he was tempted to introduce her to a French priest in his room, the Abbé de Moligny, who had also come to call on Mark, with a letter from Newman, the same day. Mrs Tidman would be sure to draw her own conclusions and

¹⁸MSS. Lincoln College, Z, 23 October [1845]. See, also, MSP. 128, f. 120 for another, but similar, account of the same interview.

to make them known, no doubt, elsewhere in Oxford.

Mark had not seen or spoken to Newman since the events of 9 October at Littlemore. He tried once, we know, a day or so after he had returned from his visit to Shaw, to see Newman at Littlemore. "Pattison called, when we were out", Newman's diary says on 18 October.¹⁹ From that time until February 1846, however, when Newman departed finally from Oxford, it would appear that Mark had occasion to speak to Newman once only, on the night before his departure. For it was now very difficult to catch Newman at Littlemore. "He was travelling to and fro all through November, in December, and again in January", Meriol Trevor writes.²⁰ But before he left Littlemore at the end of October to be confirmed by Dr. Wiseman at Oscott, he sent Mark a note asking him to "lionize" the Abbé de Moligny.²¹ The fact that he chose Mark rather than, say, R. W. Church, is perhaps suggestive. For it would appear that he still regarded Mark as one of that small circle of friends of Littlemore who would one day follow him into Roman Catholicism. Church (he must have known) would not, for Church had been making his position quite clear to friends.²² For his part, Mark was pleased to do what Newman asked of him. The Abbé had come with a letter of introduction to Dalgairns, but Dalgairns had left Littlemore for Belgium the same day, calling on Mark to bid farewell on his way. "Think of his being a Priest in a year's time!" Mark exclaimed.²³ As for the

¹⁹Newman, Letters and Diaries, XI, 17.

²⁰Newman: The Pillar of the Cloud, p. 365.

²¹MSP. 60, f. 36.

²²See above, p. 381.

²³MSS. Lincoln College, Z, 23 October [1845].

Abbé de Moligny: "He seems a good man", he said, "but not one of much information". The Abbé was a royalist, he continued, "and one of the old school--so our notions of French affairs did not agree--but this never hinders one from getting on with a Priest--as whatever they may be, everything with them is secondary to the Faith". Unlike Mrs Tidman, however, the Abbé was tactful and diplomatic. "Like all emigrants he was cautious", Mark writes, "and expressed no opinions whatever on our affairs--but his coming so far merely to see Newman, must be taken for some indication of what they are".²⁴

If what Pattison says in the Memoirs is to be believed, then it is a pity that many of his friends who became Roman Catholics were not gifted with a tact and reserve similar to that possessed by the Abbé de Moligny. For Pattison says that the converts never left him alone: "they were always at you like Christian's conscience in the Pilgrim's Progress, urging you to flee from the wrath to come".²⁵ The Memoirs on this point, however, are not to be believed. Pattison exaggerates. We can say with confidence (for he kept nearly every letter that was ever sent to him) that there were only three people from whom Mark received letters of the sort described in the Memoirs, and only two of those people were converts. The three were Charles Seager, Jack Morris, and the Abbé Donnet in Brussels. A fourth, Robert Ornsby, is in a different category because the letters that passed between Mark and Ornsby between 1845 and 1847 were in the nature of a continuing discussion about their respective views on the duty of conversion to Roman Catholicism. Ornsby of course, was not a convert

²⁴MSS. Lincoln College, Z, 23 October [1845]. See, also, MSP. 128, f. 119.

²⁵Memoirs, pp. 221-222.

for most of that time. Even those converts who did write in an attempt to persuade Mark to become a Roman Catholic wrote very few letters indeed. Charles Seager wrote one only and Jack Morris two only. When one considers that all those who became Roman Catholics had to leave Oxford to find employment elsewhere, in other words, that the converts were not continually knocking on Mark's door at Lincoln, and that only two of them bothered to write, and that the sum total of their letters amounts to three in the course of two years, it is not difficult to see how the Memoirs distort the facts. Even the Abbé Donnet wrote only two letters, one in February 1846 and the other in April, after which the correspondence lapsed. In other words, the converts were not always "at" Mark Pattison. From the evidence available, it seems that, with the exception of Seager and Morris, they left him pretty much alone.

Seager's and Morris's letters (three in all) are exactly the sort of thing one would expect from such single-minded and eccentric men. One may read their letters now with amusement. Both men were well-intentioned, however. They were Mark's good friends and did not wish to see him endanger, as they thought, his eternal well-being. But their urgings, albeit so very infrequent, were not, perhaps, what was called for in the circumstances, nor of a kind best suited to Mark's unsettled state of mind. Seager, for instance, wrote "in haste" as soon as he had heard the news of Newman's conversion. His letter, written at Boulogne on 13 October 1845, is effusive, insistent rather than persuasive, and heavily underlined. "I need not say much to satisfy you of the extreme pleasure which the last news from Littlemore has given us", he tells Mark, "nor how earnestly we pant to see your name also added to the happy band . . .". Mark, he says,

ought to decide now so as to avoid the "fearful danger of making shipwreck of faith". "O that you may without delay be of the happy number of those who have escaped the danger of the lion roaring without, that goes about seeking whom he may devour", he writes. "Faith is the gift of God, by Him kept good: in the Church it is the natural air: outside it is preserved at all only by a miracle".²⁶ Morris's first letter, although written also on an impulse, is less effusive than Seager's and more deliberate, but equally insistent. Pattison published it in the Memoirs as a "specimen" of the sort of thing he claims to have been receiving constantly from converts.²⁷ He may not have remembered that Morris wrote the letter in the first flush of his excitement at having resolved the "great question" for himself. For the day before, on 16 January 1846, he had been received into the Roman Catholic Church.²⁸ Not unnaturally, he urges his friend to follow his example. The probability is greatest, he says, that the Roman Catholic Church is the true Catholic Church. Mark ought to act, then, on the grounds of probability whether he feels "inclined to do so or not". Not to act, he warns, will be to endanger his faith. "You seemed to me to be getting quite towards scepticism last time I had a talk with you and that is one reason I urge you not to delay."²⁹ What Mark's reply was, or whether he made any to this letter, we do not know. We do know that Morris did not follow his first letter with another, not, at least, for another year.

²⁶MSP. 47, f. 17. 13 October 1845.

²⁷Memoirs, pp. 222-223.

²⁸Newman, Letters and Diaries, XI, 347.

²⁹MSP. 60, ff. 20-21. 17 January 1846.

However, Mark had scarcely time to digest the contents of Morris's letter, when another to the same effect was handed to him from the Abbé Donnet. The Abbé was one of those from whom Mark had won "golden opinions" (as Bloxam had put it) on his visit to Brussels in the summer of 1844. Like M. Lehir at St. Sulpice, the Abbé was certain that all Mark needed to turn Roman Catholic was to be pushed a little. When he heard, then, of Newman's conversion, and of the others that followed it, and did not see Mark's name in the growing list, he decided to act. A year earlier, Mark had written to say that his feelings had not changed with respect to the right of the Catholic Church to his submission, but that he could not bring himself to "go over". "I shrink from the step", he said. "N'y a en hier une année", Donnet exclaims, "que vous m'adressiez ces lignes et vous êtes encore tremblant en presence de ce sacrifice que Dieu demande de vous". The time has come, he thinks, to be firm with Mark. Christ died "pour vous", suffered "pour vous", he says. The hour is set when Mark will be called by God. Christ will come like a thief in the night; "pour vous" is implied. Nothing, then, ought to be allowed to stand in the way of Mark's acting at once, not even the fears that Mark once alluded to, of losing friends and fortune both. "Jésus Christ vous tend la main, ne refusez pas de la saisir". Donnet wishes sincerely, he says, for his friend's happiness, his eternal happiness most of all. He hopes, that his letter will relieve "l'agitation qui tourmente votre coeur".³⁰ But Mark's reply (sometime between February and April 1846) left Donnet feeling less certain of the real state of his friend's convictions. "Je vous

³⁰MSP. 47, ff. 19-21. [2 February 1846.]

remercie mille fois de la sincérité avec laquelle vous me parlez", he writes from Brussels on 16 April 1846. "Vous comprenez donc comme vous le dites vous-même que l'Eglise Catholique (ou Romaine ce qui la même chose), a droit d'exiger votre obéissance". There is no real difficulty, then, in the way of Mark's submission. Only human motives ("misérables motifs humains") prevent him, Donnet thinks. Yet, there is something in Mark's letter that makes him uneasy, that urges him to assert at one point that if his friend is not a heretic, he is at least a schismatic. Only "la bonne foi", he tells Mark, can save a person in either one of those states, "mais cette bonne foi évidemment ne se trouve pas chez vous, vos convictions le prouvent assez".³¹ What makes Donnet uneasy is what had attracted Morris's attention also, a new tendency in Mark's thinking towards what Morris had described as "scepticism". That tendency is not an insignificant development.

In the Memoirs Pattison draws on an entry in his diary for 14 October 1847 which, he says, "negatives the idea of anything like what they call scepticism having consciously arisen within me".³² We shall come to that diary entry a little later and shall see then that it is capable of bearing a somewhat different interpretation. For the moment, we have the evidence of two persons, namely J. B. Morris and the Abbé Donnet, who noticed early in 1846 that Mark's views had been shifting towards what Morris calls frankly, "Scepticism", and Donnet an absence of "la bonne foi". There is even firmer evidence, however, earlier than 1846, that Mark's thinking had begun to shift into a new direction. That

³¹MSP. 47, ff. 27-28. 16 April 1846.

³²Memoirs, p. 215.

evidence is to be found in the rough draft of an untitled essay located in a collection of essays and miscellaneous papers among the Pattison manuscripts in the Bodleian. No date is attached to the manuscript, but the watermark reads "1845". The essay is unfinished. It is evidently a very early draft. There is no sign that a final draft was made and published.

The subject of this unfinished essay is, roughly, the causes that may be educed for the diversity of opinion. The fact that Mark did not finish the essay may indicate that his uncertain state of mind at the time did not enable him to do so. The most interesting part of the manuscript, however, is not the body of the essay itself but a separate page of reflections that is appended to the essay. These reflections are exceptionally interesting in the first place, because they are penetrated by an intimate familiarity with the life of the mind and a love of it for its own sake, and in the second, because they provide an insight into the intellectual dilemma in which Mark found himself at the end of 1845. The heart of that dilemma lay not in loyalty to Newman, but in the nature and activity of the intellect itself and in the age old question of the relationship of faith and reason, that is to say, whether they may be understood as complementary or antagonistic. The starting point, however, is the character of the intellect itself or, as Mark puts it, "the positive tendency of the intellectual activity to divide[,] to individualize". He continues:

Even if exercised under ever such wholesome restraints, it is while speculating or exercising the reason that all one's Personality is most keenly felt, insomuch that a common effect is we begin to suspect no one can see a point exactly as we do--and the more this is dwelt on, the more the mind shrinks from contact and participation,

lest it's [sic] cherished thought should be misunderstood, or it's [sic] clearly seen distinctions confounded--lest the subject and our arrangement of it should be spoiled by any other human mind handling it.

The tendency of the affections on the other hand is to merge distinctions, to draw beings to each other; waiving, at last, if possible their very individuality. And this may be either the result of love of each other--or of joint love and admiration of some common object. I am not now speaking of those who seek in knowledge only the means of influence, who enter readily into the ideas of others without sympathizing with them--who would understand in order to govern--but those who have engaged in enquiry from a desire to obtain something like positive truth, must have felt this tendency of speculation to isolation; the mind comes to reject all other persons['] statements as inadequate expressions of that type of truth which it has been building up within it. To symbolize seems impossible. . . . A subtle self enters into all intellectual exercises which are worthy of the name; we can believe alike, but we can never be sure that we think exactly alike. Not that the human reason is mere evil--but a disease of which we see neither the beginning nor the end; and we are obliged to draw on Faith for the Postulate which might, if granted, serve to right the point of view.³³

Those reflections, attached to an unpublished essay and tucked away among a miscellany of his papers in the Bodleian, say a great deal about Mark Pattison at this critical juncture in his life. In effect, he tries to speak at once from two points of view, although he is obliged to draw antagonistic conclusions. From the one point of view, the intellectual life is seen to be supreme because "it is while speculating or exercising the reason that all one's Personality is most keenly felt". Mark knows the truth of that statement from personal experience. From the other point of view, however, where he takes the stance of one who shares in a community of believers, the unrestrained activity of the intellect is not to be trusted. For, by its nature, it is actively subversive. It is "a

³³MSP. 74, f. 104.

disease" that is harmful to the faith shared by the community. That, too, he is aware of from his own experience, for he has found that the tendency of the intellect is to distinguish, to isolate, and to individualize, so that "the mind comes to reject all other persons['] statements as inadequate expressions of that type of truth which it has been building up within it". How, then, is Mark Pattison to continue on the one hand, to be loyal to that ideal of the intellectual life pure and simple which he had conceived and made his own so many years ago and to which he had dedicated his life; and on the other, to an ideal and a way of life which of its nature is to be shared with other individuals and which, for the protection of the common bond, must necessarily (it seems) put some restraint on the intellect, a creature admittedly so divisive that, if unchecked, it will surely destroy cohesion? Mark has no certain answer. If one is to continue to pursue the intellectual life and, at the same time, to continue to belong to a religious community, faith, he suggests, will have to be taken as the postulate for all intellectual activity. But it is only a suggestion. He is not sure, in fact, that faith will be adequate to what is demanded of it. It "might" (only), "if granted", he says, "serve to right the point of view". That conditional clause is significant. So far, Mark Pattison clings to a religious belief which he shares with others and to which, under the influence of Newman's example, he is deeply loyal. But the attraction of his own private ideal is immensely powerful. Nothing so engages his whole personality as when he yields to that attraction and begins to pursue that ideal. To resist that attraction, then, and to commit himself less than fully to the ideal he had conceived so many years before, of the intellectual life as something

to be pursued purely and simply for its own sake, would be nothing less than an act of betrayal of the highest conception of which he was capable. That is what he began to believe by the end of 1845. Eventually, what it came down to was a matter of integrity. But he did not view the matter in that light for some time. On the surface his mind was still wrestling with the "great question", whether or not to follow Newman. Beneath, however, it was searching really for a way out of the impasse. At heart, he did not wish to become a Roman Catholic. But his closest friends among the Tractarians believed that he ought to become a Roman Catholic; he believed also that he ought to become a Roman Catholic; and all those who knew him, be they friendly or unfriendly, did not doubt for a moment that Mark Pattison, the friend of Ward and Oakeley and Seager and Morris, must end, like them, in the Church of Rome. Indeed, Mark, when he considered the question, as he did many times after Newman's conversion, could see no other end for himself but as a Roman Catholic. He was still groping towards the real alternative.

Then, just two days before Jack Morris's reception as a Roman Catholic, and three before Morris wrote warning him against the danger of scepticism, it dawned upon Mark Pattison that there might be another way altogether of viewing "the great question". An idea occurred to him which shocked him at first, but which soon looked very much like the opening of a way out of the impasse in which he found himself. On the evening of 14 January 1846, he wrote out in his commonplace book a full statement of the case for his becoming a Roman Catholic. Then, he set down what he called, "the most subtle argument against Rome I have yet thought of". That evening's work would prove to be a turning point in the course of his

religious experience. For this is what he wrote, first the argument for his becoming a Roman Catholic, and then the argument against:

Notwithstanding my wavering and difficulties in action, I have never yet felt any real, serious difficulties of opinion--every fact, ancient or modern that comes to my knowledge confirms my belief in Rome, every book of controversy I read, does something to build up and advance my faith and knowledge in one direction without any drawback. It becomes then a grave consideration whether I am not tempting God by delay, and trifling with his grace. There is now a struggle going on within me between love of the world and conviction--but how much more dreadful would not the struggle be should my mind enter on a new phase, and any serious doubts arise of the claims of the church. Were such to be the case whether before or after submission, nothing that could befall me could be more dreadful--The most subtle argument against Rome I have yet thought of, stole into my mind tonight (Jan[uar]y. 14. 1846) and I do not think it right to suppress it--but may God keep me from harm while I write it--Suppose the theory of tradition and development true and granted, suppose the Ch[urch] of Rome to be the true genuine representative of the Ch[urch] of the 1st Cent[ury] and the claims of the Protestants as against her to be unfounded--all that is proved is that here is a consistent growth and body of opinion directly springing from the apostles--but what then? Is the all-comprehensive Being, the Father of all, to be tied and limited by any system, however harmonious, consistent, ancient and apostolic? And if he has given to any individuals the powers of mind to embrace, and the moral nature to rest in, a mental system more comprehensive than this dogmatic one, may he not have intended that system for such persons, just as he has intended the Roman system for those who find in it all they want.³⁴

Mark thought that this new idea had stolen upon him unawares. But ideas are not born ex nihilo. Morris had already noticed in him a tendency towards scepticism. We, too, recall that, shortly before Newman's reception, Mark had tried out a rudimentary form of that "subtle argument against Rome" in a conversation with Newman at Littlemore. But Newman had dismissed his

³⁴MSP. 7^x, pp. 39-41. 14 January 1846.

observation on the "comparative smallness of the Cath[olic] Ch[urch]" by responding that "it was never numbers or extent that made strength".³⁵ Nevertheless, Mark had retained the impression of that earlier idea. Four months later, his first rudimentary notion had assumed much more significant proportions. Now it was no longer a case merely of the comparative smallness of the Catholic Church with respect to the great mass of humanity. The next step had occurred to him. It would not be necessary for his eternal salvation, he thought, that he should submit to the authority of such a Church. For a Church which claimed to possess the only true revelation from God to man but which affected such a comparatively small proportion of the human race could not claim (so he reasoned) that failure to submit to its authority was to put oneself in danger of perdition. He was free, then, to go his own way, to adopt what he described as a "mental system" of religion which did away with authority altogether in religion and made reason the sole judge on all questions of religious belief. But he was a religious man. He did not like to adopt his new system without the assurance, or at least a high probability, that it had God's blessing upon it. For his "mental system" of religion ran directly contrary to the doctrine he had espoused, and taught, over the past eight years, namely, that every Christian was obliged to seek out the true inheritor of the Church of the Fathers, the Church Catholic and Apostolic, and when he had found it, to submit to it as possessing a legitimate and God-given right to command obedience on all questions of religious belief. Newman had become convinced that only the Roman Catholic Church could be regarded as possessing in full measure both the doctrine and the authority of the

³⁵ See above, p. 366.

Church Catholic. He had done what his conscience had urged him to do and become a Roman Catholic. Many others among his friends and disciples had followed his example. Others, not so convinced of the Roman claim, had remained where they were, in the Church of England. Mark, however, was proposing to himself a radically different course. He wished to be able to make real in his life the ideal he had caught sight of some twelve years before (when he was an undergraduate at Oriel) of an intellectual life pursued purely and simply for its own sake and without let or hindrance. For (as he had written in the unfinished essay quoted above) it was while reasoning and speculating that he felt most like himself. The activity of the intellect, he said, engaged his whole personality. It became a matter of integrity, then, to find a way of pursuing that activity without restraint and yet of continuing to be faithful to the religious convictions he had formerly espoused without, of course, giving in on the one point of submission to authority. Yet, to refuse to submit, seemed at first like wilful disobedience of both God and conscience. That is why he entered the new theory so fearfully in his commonplace book. On the other hand, his "mental system" of religion seemed to be the only answer to the dilemma of providing at one and the same time for the requirements of an unrestrained intellectual activity and of his religious aspirations. Providence, surely, must have provided for persons in just his dilemma. He speculated that, in fact, Providence had so provided. His "mental system" of religion, therefore, would have the one thing needful, the blessing of God upon it. But it also made of him someone special, one of the "elect", as it were. For, by the same line of reasoning, "a mental system more comprehensive than this dogmatic [Roman] one" must be intended by God

only for those exceptional persons who have "the powers of mind to embrace [it], and the moral nature to rest in [it] . . . just as he had intended the Roman system for those who find in it all they want". Election and blessing all at once--the theory would prove, in the long run, to be irresistible. What he did not realize at the time, however, was that his new theory would so transform his attitude to religious questions generally that, before long, the idea of God also would be transformed in his mind, and Providence disappear, and that in the end he would be left not with a religious faith in a God who has revealed Himself in time, but with a sense merely of "that Unseen Power whose pressure [the human spirit] feels, but whose motives are a riddle".³⁶

Six weeks after that evening in January which was the turning point in Mark's religious experience, Newman took his last farewell of Littlemore. At four o'clock on the afternoon of Sunday 22 February 1846, a one-horse hackney carriage, called a "fly", pulled up outside the "monastery". Newman, who had been expecting it, came out, closed the door behind him "for good and all", and mounted the carriage. "I came into this house by myself--I quit it by myself", he had written to Henry Wilberforce the day before. "Very happy times I have had here, (though in such doubt)--and I am loth to leave it. Perhaps I shall never have quiet again--Shall I ever see Littlemore again?".³⁷ The fly drove into Oxford to the Observatory where it had been arranged that Newman would spend the night. In the evening he dined there with Manuel Johnson and a few friends. Later in

³⁶ Memoirs, p. 328.

³⁷ Newman, Letters and Diaries, XI, 125.

the evening, R. W. Church and Mark Pattison called to say farewell. Newman went out briefly to take leave of his old private tutor and friend, Dr. James Ogle, and "late at night", his diary says, "Pusey came up to Johnson's . . . to see me".³⁸ Early the next morning, Newman was gone. He did not see his beloved Oxford again for another thirty-two years. A few days after his arrival at Oscott he received a note from Pusey which assured him of his continuing affection. But from Mark Pattison he did not hear again for a full ten years, and from R. W. Church not for fourteen years. Mark did not even record in his diary the occasion of his parting from the man who, of all those whom he had encountered at Oxford, had had the most profound influence on his life and thinking. It is as though he was already aware that he had broken with Newman, that the gap between them was widening, and that their parting was now merely a matter of form. There would be no following Newman to Oscott. Mark had gone too far already in another direction. But it was to be some time yet before he would be able to see his way to a full and deliberate decision, and before all those who knew him, with the exception of Jack Morris, would begin to perceive the true direction of his thoughts.

For those who stayed behind, it was not a happy time. No one congratulated them on having declined to follow Newman. On the contrary, they were regarded with suspicion and hostility. They were Tractarians. Their leader had left them and gone over to Rome. Many had gone with him. The rest could not be trusted. As R. W. Church put it to the Warden of Keble College (E. S. Talbot) forty years later: "it was not they who went,

³⁸Newman, Letters and Diaries, XI, 125.

but we who stayed, who were voted imposters".³⁹ The strain was too much for Pusey. He fell dangerously ill at Tenby (in Pembrokeshire) in mid-summer, recovered briefly, then suffered a relapse after a surprise visit from an anxious Newman, who had heard that he was dying.⁴⁰ By the autumn he was better physically, but was suffering from a deep mental depression. Much to Keble's distress, Pusey became dependent upon him in a most pathetic manner, begging him as his spiritual adviser, to impose a strict penitential rule upon him, and to hear his general confession, which Keble did reluctantly on 1 December 1846, Pusey spending a month in a painfully scrupulous self-examination in preparation for the event.⁴¹ But between Pusey and Newman all correspondence ceased for the next seven years.

The younger men, meanwhile, did not know what to do. The movement was finished at Oxford. It would see a fresh development later under Pusey's and Keble's leadership in the country and in London. But Oxford had turned its back upon it. What was to happen, then, to those, the cream of young Oxford in the 1830s, who had given themselves wholly to the aims of the movement but who had balked at going to Rome? "We sat glumly at our breakfasts every morning, and then some one came in with news of something disagreeable--some one gone, some one sure to go", Church recalled in 1886. "We read, we worked at articles for the Christian Remembrancer and Guardian", he continues,

³⁹Life and Letters of Dean Church, pp. 387-388.

⁴⁰Newman, Letters and Diaries, XI, 219-220.

⁴¹Liddon, Pusey, III, 100-111.

--et voilà tout. The only two 'facts' of the time were that Pusey and Keble did not move, and that James Mozley showed that there was one strong mind and soul still left in Oxford. All the rest were the recurring tales, each more sickening than the other, of the 'goings over'; stories, often incredible, of the break-up of character for the moment' mixtures of tragic pathos with broad farce, of real self-sacrifice with determined indulgence in the pleasure of satisfying one mastering craving; of blundering trickery and a conscience like a compass which has lost its magnetism, with undoubted and most serious earnestness.⁴²

Meanwhile, Oxford turned to other things. Theology no longer interested the University. Controversy died out. Oxford had had its fill of it. The new excitement was caused by something more mundane. The railway mania seized the University in 1846 and both layman and cleric fell a prey to it. "Instead of High Church, Low Church, or Broad Church, they talked of high embankments, the broad guage, and low dividends", writes G. V. Cox in his Recollections. "Brunel and Stevenson were in men's mouths instead of Dr. Pusey or Mr. Golightly; Mr. Hudson was in the ascendant instead of Dr. Faussett; and speculative theology gave way to speculations in railway shares".⁴³ Not many persons gave a thought to the anxious young men who seemed to have been left behind by the course of events and who were at a loss now to know what to make of their lives.

On 24 January 1846--ten days after the idea of taking refuge in a purely "mental system" had first entered his head, and just a month before he was to bid farewell to Newman at the Observatory--Mark wrote to Dublin

⁴²Life and Letters of Dean Church, pp. 387-388. The Guardian was a weekly founded by Church and others late in 1845. It appeared first in January 1846.

⁴³G. V. Cox, Recollections of Oxford (London, 1868), p. 338.

to enquire about an appointment to a professorship at one of the new University Colleges (the "Queen's Colleges") being established in Ireland.⁴⁴ He may have got the idea from Anthony Froude, or at least discussed it with him, for Froude also applied at about this time. He, too, was in low spirits, but for different reasons. He wished to get away from Oxford to study medicine at London. But both law and medicine were closed to him because he was in deacon's orders and could not be dispensed from them. A professorship at an Irish College seemed to be the only recourse. But, he says, "I do not recollect that my application was even noticed".⁴⁵ His friend at Lincoln fared no better. Mark was informed in a letter from Dublin on 31 January that the new College did not accept applications, but that a candidate might apply directly to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland "with such evidence of Capability as the Candidate may wish to put forward".⁴⁶ He sent off his "memorial" on 1 March, together with two letters of recommendation, one from Radford, the Rector of his College, and the second from none other than Richard Michell, Professor of Logic in the University of Oxford, and Mark's arch-rival in the struggle for power at Lincoln. In a letter accompanying the application, Mark informed the Lord Lieutenant that he wished to be appointed to a professorship of history, "General History, or Modern History in particular".⁴⁷ Nothing was to come of his application, however. Like Froude's, it does not seem that it was even

⁴⁴See MSP. 60, f. 22. 31 January 1846.

⁴⁵James Anthony Froude: A Biography, I, 95.

⁴⁶MSP. 60, f. 22.

⁴⁷MSS. Lincoln College, no number, 1 March 1846.

noticed. But, at Hauxwell, Eleanor continued to hope. She was exceptionally anxious about her brother's fate in Ireland and pressed him for information. Finally, on 2 April, Mark's patience wore thin. "I wish you would exercise your commonsense", he told his sister,

and believe 1st that it is very improbable that any appointments will be made for many months yet--and 2ly. that it is in the highest degree improbable that I shall ever hear anything more of it, or that any notice will be taken of my name--an Englishman, a Clergyman, and above all without any interest. I have long ceased to think of it--so pray don't keep on poking it at me.⁴⁸

It is difficult to believe that Mark really wished to leave Oxford for one of the new University Colleges in Ireland. No doubt his irritation at Eleanor's persistent curiosity was stimulated in part by a secret desire to put away from his mind the possibility of his ever leaving Oxford. In the uncertain climate of the time, however, there was no knowing what would happen to those disciples of Newman who remained at Oxford after the master's departure. How would they be treated by their Colleges? How were they to regain the confidence of the University? Careers were at stake. It was best to make provision for the future.

Even so, it was at Oxford, in the undergraduates of his College, that Mark found the chief source of his consolation during the early months of 1846. At Lincoln, a number of the undergraduates, a half dozen or so, had taken seriously to Tractarian views. Mark first became aware of this phenomenon, in what had always been regarded as a staunchly anti-Tractarian College, in 1843. But he had made no move to influence any of those affected. Nevertheless, as V. H. H. Green has rightly observed, Mark's example and

⁴⁸MSS. Lincoln College, WW, 2 April [1846].

his known views must have influenced some, at least, of those with whom he came in contact in the small and closed society of the College.⁴⁹ At the time, however, Mark seems to have been unconscious of his influence. But in 1846 he did what he had never done before: he turned to this small knot of undergraduates at Lincoln as to his only friends. Alone among all his Tractarian acquaintances, these young men appeared to be quite unshaken by the turn events had taken in the movement. They were in no doubt that they could hold Tractarian views without a thought of going to Rome and they carried on their meetings and religious exercises as if the great events of the past year were irrelevant to the work they had in hand. Moreover, they made no demands upon Mark and were grateful for his attention. He could be at ease in their company.

The first sign that he had begun to take an active interest in this small group of Tractarian undergraduates at Lincoln College occurs in the spring of 1846 when he joined them in their observance of Lent. He fasted and prayed with them and in Holy Week, the week preceding Easter Sunday, recited the Office with them from the Breviary, accompanied by his close friend (and Fellow of Trinity), Robert Ornsby.⁵⁰ Mark made a deep impression on these young men. One of them, E. C. Lowe, who became afterwards Headmaster of Hurstpierpoint College, wrote affectionately in 1850: "I have often had you in mind this Lent--and the recollection of our secret services--and the apricot jam on a Tuesday even[ing]".⁵¹ Another, Frederic

⁴⁹Green, Oxford Common Room, pp. 108-109.

⁵⁰MSS. Lincoln College, WW, 2 April [1846]. See, also, MSP. 47, f. 119. 15 November 1847.

⁵¹MSP. 48, f. 40. [26 March 1850].

Guy, remembered "the little tribe of men who used to be flitting about quad at the unearthly hours of 7 and 4 instead of behaving like other Christian folk!".⁵² For his part, Mark was exceptionally happy. "My boys", he called his young friends. "How can I help thinking that it is God who has sent me these souls for my comfort just at the time when I was throwing up all in despair", he wrote to Eleanor.⁵³ And in another letter he exclaimed: "What never happened to me in my life till now--for 6 weeks past I have been in such a state of mental happiness as sometimes almost to alarm me".⁵⁴ Yet not everyone approved of Mark's connection with these young men. Pusey, for one, doubted the wisdom of it. When the Lincoln Tractarians formed themselves into a religious brotherhood in November 1846 and consulted Pusey for advice about a rule of life that would be appropriate to their society, they asked him also whether they might invite Pattison to act as "Director of Studies". Pusey, V. H. H. Green says, "disapproved of Pattison's nomination".⁵⁵ Green, however, does not say why. The reason may be that Pusey feared that Mark's known "Romanist" views would have a dangerous influence on these young Tractarians. After all, Pusey had advised them against even taking the title of St. Catherine for their society, "presumably", Green says, "because of its possible Roman associations".⁵⁶ However, had Pusey known the new direction

⁵²MSP. 47, f. 311. [c. 9 March 1849].

⁵³MSS. Lincoln College, MM, 26 March [1846].

⁵⁴MSS. Lincoln College, WW, 2 April [1846].

⁵⁵Green, Oxford Common Room, p. 111; and pp. 109-111 for a full account of the brotherhood's activities.

⁵⁶Green, Oxford Common Room, p. 109.

which Mark's thinking had begun to take in 1846, he would have had reason to be anxious on quite another score.

When Lent was over and the Easter vacation arrived, Mark left Oxford for a two weeks' "run" in the country, part of which he spent at Clifton, near Bristol, with his aunt and cousin. For it seems from the scanty evidence available, that Philippa and her mother had at last become Roman Catholics and had removed themselves from Hursley.⁵⁷ Their decision was not unexpected and did not greatly disturb Mark. But at Hauxwell it raised a storm of controversy. The Rector once again vented his anger against his son in furiously abusive attacks on Eleanor. She bore them as best she could, but once considered making a formal complaint to the Bishop when her father threatened to make a public spectacle of her by refusing her the Easter communion at Hauxwell Church.⁵⁸ The abuse continued throughout the spring and early summer, with a two-week respite in June when the Rector disappeared from Hauxwell. In July, Jane Pattison once again took her daughters to a resort by the sea, as she had done in 1844 and 1845. Mark, however, had been allowed to visit his sisters on only one of those occasions, the first, in 1844. In 1845, his mother had written begging him to stay away from Tynemouth, and again to the same effect in 1846. No doubt she feared that the Rector would get wind of his son's secret visits and would ban the annual excursions altogether. Mark was deeply hurt, but he complied with his mother's requests.⁵⁹ He did not know yet,

⁵⁷ See Memoirs, p. 227; MSS. Lincoln College, MM, 26 March [1846]; WW, 2 April [1846].

⁵⁸ MSS. Lincoln College, MM, 26 March [1846].

⁵⁹ MSP. 128, ff. 120-121.

however, that his father would soon launch a campaign at closer quarters, in an attempt to destroy Mark's reputation in Oxford itself.

At Lincoln, meanwhile, during the spring and summer of 1846, Mark was fully occupied with College business and in writing articles for the Christian Remembrancer. 'The Oxford Bede', appeared in the review in April 1846 and 'Slave Grown Sugar' in October.⁶⁰ The titles alone are enough to show that his interests were becoming more secular. However, in the earlier article, he did take notice of the accounts of miracles that medieval chronicles had attributed to Bede, only to find on publication that that portion of his essay had been censored by James Mozley, one of the co-editors. Mark was annoyed. He had not been consulted before the cuts were made and he asked for an explanation. R. W. Church was to say forty years later that one of the certainties of that uncertain time after Newman's conversion was that "James Mozley showed that there was one strong mind and soul still left in Oxford".⁶¹ Mozley had already made up his mind about his own future in the Church of England. He had never been tempted by Rome, but had decided that his mission was to safeguard and strengthen the Church of England in both doctrine and discipline.⁶² There would be no Romanizing in his review. Most certainly he had an explanation for the cuts in Mark's article. In fact, he subjected Mark to a friendly but serious lecture on what was to be expected in a writer for the Christian Remembrancer. Miracles, for instance, were out. People were "very touchy" about the subject "partly from vague feelings wh[ich] they do not understand", he

⁶⁰The Christian Remembrancer, 11 (April 1846), 331-346; 12 (October 1846), 325-376.

⁶¹See above, p. 398.

⁶²See above, p. 255.

said, "partly from a sort of notion that to acknowledge miracles in R[oman] C[atholic] times is to cast off the later Church altogether". In that respect, Mark's essay on Gregory of Tours published in the January 1845 issue, had given "great offense [sic] in some quarters", he complained, "and then all the onus falls on the Editor, and letters come and complaints. This is not pleasant of course for the unfortunate E[ditor]". If Mark wished to go into the subject of miracles, he said, he ought to write a book on the subject. A review was not the place for it. A review such as the Christian Remembrancer, he said, was for "taking up and putting forward, the new views of the day", not for "originating" new views. "Its function", he said, "is to reflect rising thought more than to create it".⁶³ To Mark, this policy must have seemed rather tame after what he had been used to as a writer for the British Critic. In fact, Mozley and his colleagues were not content merely to reflect "rising thought" in their review. It had to be consonant with their own views and preconceptions. In 1847, for instance, when the Christian Remembrancer accepted an article by Robert Ornsby, William Palmer (the author of the book that had provoked Ward's Ideal) undertook to correct the proofs. In every instance where Ornsby used the adjective "Catholic" for the pre-Reformation Church, Palmer, without consulting the author, inserted inverted commas, thus ensuring that readers of the Christian Remembrancer would have no doubt as to the ground upon which the review took its stand. Ornsby reacted angrily to this subtle censorship and, in a letter to Mark, called it an act of "meanness".⁶⁴

⁶³MSP. 47, ff. 24-26. [14 April 1846.]

⁶⁴MSP. 47, ff. 43-44. 15-23 March 1847.

On the whole, the summer of 1846 passed off peacefully for Mark Pattison. The possibility of his leaving Oxford either for Rome or for Dublin slipped quietly to the back of his mind and stayed there. By his friends, he was still expected to "go over". But he was able to resist remarkably well the moral pressure exerted by his knowledge of these expectations and by the news of new conversions during the summer. The reason for his calmness may be that he spent a month's holiday in Paris in mid-summer.⁶⁵ There appears to be no record of that holiday extant. However, we do know that he returned to Oxford at the end of July. On his way back, he breakfasted in London with one of the summer's converts, David Lewis, the Vice-Principal of Jesus, and with Frederick Oakeley, the latter, the diary says, "kindly inviting me to S. Edmund's--and saying they wished to see me".⁶⁶ Mark did not take up the invitation. He knew, well-intentioned although Oakeley was, what must have been at the back of his mind. What is surprising, however, is the matter-of-fact tone in which both the meeting with Lewis and Oakeley and the invitation to St Edmund's College, the Roman Catholic seminary in London, are recorded in his diary. There is none of the anxious self-questioning that we have come to expect from him when he is confronted by the fact that others have made up their minds about following Newman and he has not. At a dinner party at Oxford a few days later, with R. W. Church, James Mozley, J. J. Foulkes, and some others, he learned of the consternation and resentment at Jesus caused by

⁶⁵MSP. 135, f. 40.

⁶⁶MSP. 128, f. 120. 29 July 1846.

Lewis's defection.⁶⁷ And when he went up to the Observatory the next day to call on Manuel Johnson, he found that Johnson was so angry at Lewis for his sudden defection "he would hardly hear Lewis' name mentioned--but kept on saying 'he is a deep fellow'".⁶⁸ But Mark's tranquility was undisturbed. A week later, he was in the Union when W. G. Ward came in: "had not seen him for some time, and was quite frightened to see how stout he was grown", the diary says. They spoke briefly. Mark learned that the Wards were to leave Rose Hill and the vicinity of Oxford for good that very day. When they parted, the two former allies "shook hands in a friendly way".⁶⁹ Again, there are no misgivings, no signs that Mark feels that he too ought to be making up his mind to take the step that Ward, Oakeley, Morris, Seager, and Lewis had taken. In fact, throughout the month of August there is very little reference made to religious subjects in the diary and none to the "great question". On walks with friends the subject is avoided, as though by tacit agreement. Mark's reading is mainly secular and literary. Most of the entries in the diary have to do with University and social and political news. He is even beginning to show an interest in investments, in both domestic and foreign stocks and bonds.

Nevertheless, at the beginning of September his mood changes. The reason for the change is not absolutely clear. There are two circumstances, however, which are probably chiefly responsible for it. The frequent meetings with a group that constituted the remnant of the movement at

⁶⁷MSP. 128, f. 122. 4 August 1846.

⁶⁸MSP. 128, f. 122. 5 August 1846.

⁶⁹MSP. 128, f. 124. 12 August 1846.

Oxford could not fail in time to have an effect upon him, and the approach of the first anniversary of Newman's reception brought home to him the fact that he had still not made up his mind. On the first day of September, we find this entry in his diary: "This evening in a frame of mind and conviction in which I could have gone over had it been a month later--but all such dispositions transient, and I fall back into my old doubts and misgivings".⁷⁰ It is a curious reflection. Why might he have "gone over" had it been a month later? The only reason that comes to mind is that he has been thinking of the anniversary of Newman's conversion. In any case, the reservation makes little sense. What it shows, however, is that the moments when Mark is certain that he ought to follow Newman into Roman Catholicism are now just that, moments only.

As the month progresses, however, and the anniversary of Newman's reception draws nearer, Mark becomes increasingly anxious about what he should do. The last week of September finds him in such a state that he can scarcely keep his mind on everyday matters. On Sunday 20 September, he dines as usual at the Observatory with Manuel Johnson and a few friends. One of those friends, Lewis Gilbertson, perhaps, like Mark, feeling the significance of the approaching anniversary, "led the way", the diary says, "to something more like confidential talk on religion when we were together for a few minutes outside than anyone has attempted with me for a long time, but it did not come to much".⁷¹ It did, however, provoke in Mark some serious reflections on the ambiguities of his position. Two days after

⁷⁰MSP. 128, f. 134.

⁷¹MSP. 128, ff. 138-139. Lewis Gilbertson, Fellow of Jesus College (1840-1871).

the dinner at Johnson's, he set out for Littlemore to talk to William Copeland, Newman's former curate who had stayed on there. What he learned at Littlemore "disconcerted" him, the diary says. Copeland told him about the dissension at the Roman Catholic College of Prior Park which had resulted in the resignation from the College of Bishop Ullathorne and a number of the faculty, including the Oxford converts.⁷² Such strife between the old and the new English Roman Catholics did not make matters easier for one who was trying to decide whether to become a Roman Catholic in the first place. The news was depressing and made him reflect gloomily on his growing isolation at Oxford. Three men, Owen, Copeland, and Johnson "are almost the only men left now, with whom I can speak freely", he observed sadly on 25 September after a visit from Owen.⁷³ A few days later, he set out from Lincoln again, this time with a volume of poetry in his pocket, "intending to have a long saunter in Nuneham Park".⁷⁴ But, on the way, he had to pass William Copeland's lodgings at Littlemore and could not resist the temptation to "look in for a few minutes". "Gilbertson was there", the diary says; "we had some general conversation . . . Gilbertson went away and C[opeland] and I then talked over things". It was "a long and confidential conversation", Mark notes, "in it's [sic] consequences important to me".⁷⁵ The two men discussed the state of things in the

⁷²MSP. 128, f. 139. 22 September 1846. See Newman, Letters and Diaries, XI, 228, 237, 260, 263.

⁷³MSP. 128, ff. 139-140. 25 September 1846. "Owen" is most likely Brisco Owen, Fellow of Jesus, and Rector of Remenham, Berkshire (1841-1864).

⁷⁴MSP. 128, f. 141. 29 September 1846.

⁷⁵MSP. 128, ff. 141-142.

Church and in the University. Mark was not hopeful that the situation of those who had stayed behind after Newman's departure would improve. Ought they not to follow Newman and submit themselves to Rome? "I told him plainly how I felt," he says, "that hope I had none and that I was in continual fear that we were proudly and stiffneckedly refusing submission wh[ich] was the important point". Copeland, however, was optimistic:

He said he had great hopes--that he saw a number of good young men coming forward, and met with so much sympathy for those who were gone, and that even in the most unlikely quarters--e.g. the President [James Ingram of Trinity] who said to him lately in talking of J. H. N. [']we who knew him, know that he must have been looking on all around him with indignation.' He also offered C[opeland] the Vice-Presidentship. . . .⁷⁶

But assurances of this kind were not enough to satisfy Mark Pattison. For his unhappiness stemmed from a deeper uneasiness than Copeland could be aware of, or that Mark was even willing to express. Yet, merely to be able to speak plainly, to some extent at least, about his trouble was enough to put his mind at ease for a time. It also helped him to a decision of sorts. As the diary puts it:

C[opeland] said nothing to convince me, nothing even to weigh with me, and mentioned no fact which could even comfort me, and yet the result of this conversation was my deciding to stay over another Term, and the putting an end (for the present) to the doubts and perplexities of the last few days. . . . Went home lighter in mind at having come to a decision, and very much relieved at not having the moving to do, and purposed taking a run for refreshment sake till the beginning of Term.⁷⁷

So great had been his anxiety during the past week, that it had even

⁷⁶MSP. 128, ff. 141-142.

⁷⁷MSP. 128, ff. 141-142.

comprehended the difficulties he would face in having to move his belongings out of Lincoln to Oscott, or St. Edmund's or some other Roman Catholic College! Now, however, he put it all out of his mind and went off for a post-decision holiday to Ramsgate and Margate and Dover. Those two weeks away from Oxford were enough to carry him over the anniversary period. But even then he could not get away from Newman. On 9 October, the first anniversary of Newman's conversion, Mark was unexpectedly reminded of Newman and of what seemed at the time to be his own obligation to follow him, when he encountered an Oxford man, Richard [?] Champernowne, in Canterbury Cathedral. Champernowne, who had just returned from the Continent, had seen Newman and Ambrose St. John at Mass in the Cathedral at Milan. St John had recognized him, Champernowne told Mark, but added: "'I couldn't speak to him'". He reported also, the diary says, that "N[ewman]'s devotion [was] so unusual as to attract the notice of the persons present".⁷⁸ Mark, however, refrained from comment.

At Oxford again, after his fortnight's run to the Channel coast, Mark was soon caught up in the business of the new term. Soon, however, there was an unexpected turn of events. At a meeting of the College on 6 November 1846, he was elected to the College's highest ranking office after the Rectorship itself. He became Sub-Rector. At first, however, he did not realize that his new position was one of potentially great influence in the College. Two days after his election, he reported the news almost casually to Eleanor. The duties of the office, he told her, were "not very onerous". He had to preside in Hall and Common Room in the

⁷⁸MSP. 128, f. 144. Either Richard Champernowne of Christ Church, (afterwards Rector of Dartington in Devon) or his elder brother, Henry (afterwards High Sheriff of Devon). Most likely, the person of whom the diary speaks is Richard.

Rector's absence, to present candidates for degrees, and to be responsible for the "entire regulation of the discipline". There were even some drawbacks to the office: "The emoluments are very trifling, and the office brings with it some additional expense in entertainments etc.[]] also I shall be under the necessity of appearing oftener in C[ommon] R[oom] than I have done lately".⁷⁹ Gradually, however, he began to be aware that his new position gave him a greater opportunity than ever before to influence the conduct of affairs at Lincoln. Two weeks after his election, the following entry appears in his diary: "The last fortnight a time of much intellectual excitement--not less happy on the whole than the seasons of retirement and thought--but only gone through in the full resolution that it is to be but for a time."⁸⁰ The afterthought is significant. The excitement of his new position at Lincoln had made him forget for a moment the resolution he had made after his conversation with William Copeland at the end of September. He had decided then to put off a decision on the "great question" until the end of the Michaelmas term. In the first flush of his excitement at being elevated to his new position in the College, the end of term still seemed a long way off. In the meantime, he set about putting things in good order at Lincoln in so far as it was in his power to do so. The laxity shown by his colleagues in their attitude towards the conduct of the services in the College Chapel, for instance, had always been a bone of contention with him. Now, as the person charged with regulating the discipline of the College, he took the matter into his

⁷⁹MSS. Lincoln College, 18, 8 November 1846.

⁸⁰MSP. 128, ff. 153-154. 20 November 1846.

own hands. The morning service was compulsory for the undergraduates. The Fellows were now made to realize that they, too, were expected to attend. Mark even continued the service beyond term time and into the vacation, "res inaudita in Lincoln annals at least since Hutchins' time", he remarked to his sister Fanny.⁸¹ One of the first to feel the effects of the new order beginning at Lincoln was the Rector himself. The "poor R[ector]", Mark called him. "I really have pitied him", he said:

to have to crawl out and sit there every morn[in]g--and I did not force it on him, but led it on so gradually that he seemed to be doing it himself--and I think he considers himself to have got off easily by stopping today--when he might have had some secret fears that he was in for it the whole vacation.⁸²

"Today" was Christmas Eve. Not for nearly a century had the services been kept up in the Chapel at Lincoln so far into the vacation. A new broom was indeed at work in the College. Nevertheless, the Lincoln Fellows, by electing him their Sub-Rector, had demonstrated their confidence in Mark's abilities and judgement. What neither they nor Mark realized at first, however, was that the Rector's long and frequent absences from the College, and his general inattentiveness to College affairs, left the way open for the new Sub-Rector to take over most of the responsibilities that would ordinarily belong to the Rector. Soon Mark began to see a new opening for his energies and zeal at Lincoln. The idea that he should give up everything to follow Newman seemed less and less plausible. But that idea was not so implausible to Mark's father. He was angry at the conversion of his sister

⁸¹MSS. Lincoln College, 20, 24 December 1846. Richard Hutchins (1698-1781), Rector of Lincoln (1755-1781).

⁸²MSS. Lincoln College, 20, 24 December 1846.

and niece to Roman Catholicism and he meant to embarrass Mark at Oxford.

The Rector of Hauxwell had resisted all his son's early attempts, during Mark's undergraduate days at Oriel, to persuade him to visit Oxford. He had not set foot in the streets of the city since 1832 when he had answered the Provost's summons to bring his son to Oriel to be matriculated. He had been near Oxford several times, at London and with relatives (the Swards) at Cheltenham, and must have passed by the city when travelling between those two places. Not once, however, in all those years had he made any attempt to call on Mark. Then, suddenly, one day in mid-November 1846 (the exact date is uncertain), he turned up in Oxford. In appearance he was quiet and correct, a respectable graduate of Brasenose College and the worthy Rector of a country parish. His intentions, however, were anything but friendly.

Where he stayed in Oxford and for how long we do not know. It would seem, however, that his visit to the city was brief. It would seem, also, that he did not call on Mark. But he did call on several of Mark's colleagues. He meant to take advantage of the currently hostile attitude at Oxford towards those who had gone over to Roman Catholicism or who were thought to be on the verge of going over. Mark, of course was counted in the latter category. His father seemed to be well aware of the fact. For he went to a number of Mark's colleagues and charged his son not only with having been the agent of his sister's (Mark's aunt, Mary Meadows) conversion to Roman Catholicism, but with having acted, and with acting still, in a deceitful and hypocritical manner. "He . . . published here the whole of my Aunt's case in his own version", Mark told his sisters:

One night he went up to Green⁸³ in 'great distress' (how often we have seen him in that part!) about my Aunt[']s perversion to Romanism--'but what he chiefly regretted in the matter was not her joining the R[oman] C[atholic] communion, but that it should have been brought about by the arguments furnished by her father-confessor--his own son.' [A]nd that it was my moral dishonesty in making converts of other people without going over myself, that afflicted him. What proofs of bad cunning in the skill with which he adapted his arguments to the different parties.⁸⁴

These charges put Mark in a very embarrassing position because he was unable to offer a credible defence against them. He could not say that, because he was a loyal son of the Church of England, he had not and would not persuade his aunt to leave it. No one would believe him. He had been a critic of Anglicanism for far too long. Besides, he was known as a "Romanist", the friend of Ward, Oakeley, Morris, and Seager, and of Newman himself, all now Roman Catholics. His conversion at some point in the near future would surprise no one. "I think but for this one point the cause would be rightly decided by my friends in Lincoln", he told his sisters. However, he went on,

with the possibility that I may one day change my religion, it would require a degree of candour wh[ich] to say the least is very rare, to be impartially judged. If I was simply a Puseyite, the blind prejudice against that school is so well understood in Oxford, that nothing could be waged against me with any effect on that ground--as things stand at present, any amount of Puseyism is indulged to a man, provided it is understood he is firm in his position, and not likely to go over--and now the first shock is over which made everybody suspected, a line is beginning to be drawn between sure men, and shaking--and among the very few of the latter class I know that I am reckoned. Thus you see I am debarred

⁸³ Martin Green, Fellow of Lincoln and Mark's predecessor as Sub-Rector.

⁸⁴ MSS. Lincoln College, JJ, 27 November [1846].

from what would so materially contribute to my defence in my cause, viz. an explicit assertion of my attachment to the Ch[urch] of E[ngland] on Tractarian grounds. So shifting is this sublunary scene that such an avowal which would not help you with your circle [because the Rector of Hauxwell was still violently opposed to Tractarianism], would be enough to vindicate me in mine--my case would thus be added to that large class of persecuted Tractarian sons. But as I cannot make any such assertion of 'churchmanship,' the endeavour to confound my family case with the charge Romanism is a very plausible one, and I cannot blame any one who is taken in by it. But if the suspicion of Romanism is enough to cause me to be condemned in this unhappy suit, what would it be should this suspicion be realized? In a word, should I ever go over, will not all my friends here condemn me of a double delinquency--over and above all the hard names they give all the converts, I shall have to bear the additional onus of having been wrong ab initio in my family matter.⁸⁵

The Rector of Hauxwell was not to be underestimated. He had made a fair start at destroying Mark's reputation at Lincoln and, given the opportunity, he meant, upon his return to Hauxwell, to continue to stir up trouble. But what opportunity had he of being able to do so? What, indeed, had induced him to come to Oxford in the first place?

The truth is that one of Mark's colleagues, no less, had encouraged the Rector of Hauxwell to believe that he would be welcomed at Lincoln. William Kay (Junior) had visited Hauxwell at some point during the summer. Why he should have thought it necessary to call at the Rectory we cannot say. No doubt he was aware that there had been trouble between Mark and his father. Being a good-hearted man, although a trifle officious and over-confident, he may have thought that he could act as a mediator between father and son and so, at least, bring peace between them. He was also, as Pattison says in the Memoirs, a man "of strong evangelical sentiments

⁸⁵ MSS. Lincoln College, JJ, 27 November [1846].

and passionately anti-Puseyite".⁸⁶ The Rector of Hauxwell could ask for no one better. Kay was wooed and soon won by him. For Mark's father was perfectly capable of convincing strangers that it was he who was the aggrieved and innocent party in the dispute with his son. He was also able to convince Kay that the whole trouble was religious. When Kay returned to Lincoln, he at once offered his services to Mark as a mediator. Mark tried to dissuade him, and insisted that it would do no good. But much to his annoyance, Kay persisted in his efforts. He maintained a steady correspondence with the Rector, who responded readily to his initiative. "My father's letter was jocose and rather courting the continuance of the correspondence", Mark says of one letter Kay showed to him after his father's visit; "the receiver could little imagine the scene of the previous Friday--and the mean revenge then plotting against poor Wright".⁸⁷ Probably as a result of this correspondence, the Rector decided to visit Oxford. He may have thought that he had an ally at last in his war against Mark. For his part, Kay was disposed to continue his efforts even after the Rector had returned to Hauxwell. At last, when he came up to Mark's rooms one night with a letter from Hauxwell, Mark decided to make the real state of the case known to him. When he left, Mark sat down at once to write to his sisters. The account of his conversation with Kay is dignified and restrained, but his words cannot conceal the bitterness that underlies now all his thoughts about his father. "My dear Sisters", he begins:

⁸⁶ Memoirs, p. 219.

⁸⁷ MSS. Lincoln College, JJ, 27 November [1846]. "Wright" is Jane Wright, a parlourmaid at Hauxwell. See Manton, Sister Dora, p. 35.

I have just had a (almost) complete eclclaircissement [sic] with our indefatigible friend K[ay] and I will give you some account of it while it is fresh in my memory. I thought the subject was dropt between us, and that all had been said that could be said about it. But tonight he came up to tell me that he had had an answer to his last letter from H[auxwell] dated the 21st. and after much manouvering [sic] we plunged in medias res. Finding that he knew, and had done all along, very much more than I thought, I told him my own view of the case, wh[ich] I had never even hinted at before, assuring him that any attempt to treat it as a family quarrel, or religious disagreement was founded in error and could produce no effect, and that he would lose all his influence over my Father's mind the moment he ceased to adopt the view which my Father wished to insinuate--and I added that all the 'expressions of affection' on which K[ay] so much insisted, were all directed towards producing this impression, and that to know my Father's real sentiments towards me, he needed to be hid in a closet, when his presence was not known of. He, of course, was on his guard against believing too much of my statement, though as you may suppose it fell short of the truth, rather than went beyond it--but he saw it's [sic] medical probability. My Father's disclosures to him were far beyond what I ever suspected.⁸⁸

Kay's officiousness had forced Mark to do what he had not done during the whole twelve years since his father's first breakdown in 1834: reveal the fact that his father suffered from a mental illness. Kay was not ordinarily on such friendly terms with Mark that he could expect to be taken so much into his colleague's confidence. Indeed, for the past year or so, Mark had become increasingly impatient of his company. Kay's strong and fervent Evangelicalism at a time when Mark was uncertain of his own religious position was not easy to bear with. His meddling now in the long-standing dispute between Mark and his father could only increase Mark's distrust of him, a distrust that was to become in the end a settled dislike.⁸⁹

⁸⁸MSS. Lincoln College, JJ, 27 November [1846]. See, also, MSP. 128, f. 151.

⁸⁹See Memoirs, p. 220.

In September 1846, after a long conversation with William Copeland at Littlemore, Mark had decided to wait another term in Oxford before bringing things to a crisis in his own life. In November he had been elected Sub-Rector by his colleagues at Lincoln. The weeks following that election had been a time of "much intellectual excitement", as he had noted in his diary. But at the back of his mind had been the decision he had made in September: his stay at Oxford would be only a temporary one. As he observed in the diary, he yielded to the excitement of the new term and his new office only "in the full resolution that it is to be but for a time".⁹⁰ But what was to be done when the term ended? He did not think about it, half hoping, it seems, that the necessity for a decision would not arise. It did arise, of course, and on 23 December we find this entry in his diary: "My dissatisfaction and unhappiness now at their acme--most unreasonable, but most inevitable".⁹¹ At the end of term, he is completely depressed, cannot get down to any sustained work, and drifts from day to day. Parties, friends, conversation rarely satisfy him. His mind is preoccupied with the necessity for making a decision, one way or the other, on the "great question".

In January 1846 the thought had occurred suddenly to Mark that there might be what he described at the time as a "mental system" of religion which was suited to persons in his intellectual condition who found it difficult and even impossible to submit to the "dogmatic system" of the Roman Catholic Church. At first he had been alarmed by the idea.

⁹⁰MSP. 128, ff. 153-154. 20 November 1846.

⁹¹MSP. 128, f. 157.

It was the "most subtle argument against Rome" that he had yet thought of and he had entered it in his notebook with the prayer, "may God keep me from harm while I write it". For Mark still professed at that time to believe every Roman doctrine. He had thought that he must, therefore, be bound in conscience to submit to the authority of the Church of Rome and become a Roman Catholic. To conceive of another system of religion, a "mental system", might mean that he was flying in the face of both God and conscience, a possibility that was shocking in itself. But the idea of a "mental system" of religion, a system devoid of the necessity for submitting to any authority whatsoever in matters of religious belief, was made even more seductive when he reflected that such a system might even have been intended by Providence for those, like himself, who (as he thought) had "the powers of mind to embrace, and the moral nature to rest in, a mental system more comprehensive than this dogmatic [Roman] one". In other words, it might even be the will of God (which he must be sure of) that he not become a Roman Catholic. If that should indeed be the case, and if he were able to convince himself of it, then his troubles would be over. He would not have to submit to an authority which would tell him what to believe. He might believe as he liked. He might even retain as much of Roman doctrine as he wished to in his own private "mental system", even all of it, if he so desired. But he would have gained the crucial point: no one would tell him what to believe or what not to believe.

Mark's first response, as we have said, to this idea of a purely "mental system" of religion had been alarm. Only the thought that Providence may have intended such a system (so called) for persons of his intellectual proclivities consoled him. Indeed, the idea of a purely

"mental system" seemed to be so radically different to what he had been accustomed to believe that for the next several months, for nearly a year in fact, he put the idea out of his head. So, at least, it would appear if we are to judge by his letters and diaries. Yet, it is scarcely credible that he should have let nearly a whole year go by without meditating on the notion whose first appearance in his thoughts in January 1846 had so startled him. For the idea of a purely "mental system" of religion, a system without the constraints of authority, so nearly suited his needs, desires, and temperament that we may say without fear of contradiction that it was born out of his subconscious awareness of those needs and desires. On the other hand, the strength of his feeling that he was obliged in conscience to become a Roman Catholic ought not to be underestimated. He had Newman's example before him and the example of many of his friends in the movement. His own religious convictions were thoroughly Roman. The only thing at which he balked was the necessity for submission to an authority that claimed the right to say what he must and must not believe in matters of religious doctrine. So it was, then, that throughout the year 1846 the "great question" revolved in his mind with greater or lesser degrees of urgency, in spite of the idea he had conceived early in the new year. But that idea had been gaining ground the whole time. There was everything, in Mark's view, to be said for it, both on the theoretical and practical planes. Were he to adopt the "mental system" he had conceived of, he would not have to become a Roman Catholic and yet he might remain as Roman in theory as he liked. Moreover, he would not have to abandon Oxford. The combination was overwhelmingly appealing. The intellectual and the practical difficulties alike would be resolved. So it was, then,

that late in the year, as his new theory continued to gain ground, he was able to view the question of submission to the Church of Rome with greater detachment than he had been capable of hitherto. "Conversion to the Ch[urch] of Rome, at the present day at least", he observes in his commonplace book,

does not consist in conviction of the truth of it's [sic] doctrines either one by one, or as a system, but in the one point of submission to it's [sic] claim of dictating belief. Where that submission is, everything else follows; where it is not, conviction of the truth of all her doctrines is not enough. But is no one to become a R[oman] C[atholic] who does not satisfy his reason of the rectitude of this claim? Is it reason alone that acts up to this point, and does the province of faith not begin till this is established? or must there be some exercise of faith in the sense in which it acts without reason in the very act of accepting this fundamental?⁹²

Mark was unable to answer the question. Before long, however, he would not bother even to ask it, so far would his thinking have taken him in another direction. That direction was even now beginning to be apparent. It shows itself in his observations on a work published early in 1845 but not read by him until late in 1846, namely, the autobiography of Blanco White. His comments on the autobiography are significant for two reasons: they reveal the real bent of Mark's mind and they are nearly diametrically opposed to Newman's judgment of the same work.⁹³

Joseph Blanco White (1775-1841), born in Spain of Irish and Spanish ancestry, had been ordained as a young man to the Roman Catholic priesthood. After a brief and turbulent career in Spanish politics, he had

⁹²MSP. 7^x, pp. 78-79. No date.

⁹³Joseph Blanco White, The Life of the Rev. Joseph Blanco White, Written by Himself; with Portions of His Correspondence, edited by John Hamilton Thom, 3 vols (London, 1845).

abandoned both Spain and the priesthood and come to England where he was ordained to the Anglican ministry. He was virulently anti-Catholic. In 1825 he published a work entitled Evidences against Catholicism and shortly thereafter was made M.A. by the University of Oxford. He was made, also, a member of the Oriel College Common Room. There he attached himself to the party of liberal Fellows denominated "Noetics". When Whately was made Archbishop of Dublin in 1831, White went with him as tutor to his son. But his increasingly orthodox views led him to return to England in 1835 and to join the Unitarians at Liverpool. He died six years later, an avowed sceptic in religion.

Newman had known Blanco White in the 1820s when White was a member of the Oriel Common Room. They had even played the violin together. But, when he read Blanco White's autobiography soon after it was published early in 1845, he was shocked. He described the autobiography as "the most dismal possible work I ever saw". "He dies a Pantheist", he says of Blanco White,

denying that there is an Ultramundane God, apparently denying a particular Providence, doubting, to say the least, the personal immortality of the soul, meditating from Marcus Antoninus, and considering that St. Paul's Epistles are taken from the Stoic philosophy. As to Christianity he seems thoroughly to agree with Strauss,⁹⁴ and rejects the Gospels as historical documents. . . . Blanco White gives up religion (by name) altogether. He says that Christianity is not a religion, and that this is one of the great mistakes which has led to corruptions. . . . Here is Blanco White sincere and honest. He gives up his country, and then his second home,--Spain, Oxford, Whately's family,--all for an idea of truth, or rather for liberty of thought.⁹⁵

⁹⁴David Frederick Strauss (1808-1874), German theologian, who, in his Leben Jesu (1835-1836), denied the historical foundation of all supernatural elements in the Gospels. See The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church, pp. 1313-1314.

Mark did not read Blanco White's autobiography until late in 1846. When he did read it, it did not scandalize or distress him. On the contrary, he admired the work and wrote out several passages from it in his commonplace book. Indeed, the fact that he was so unperturbed both by the nature and the outcome of Blanco White's speculations may be taken as a measure of the distance that he had put between his own and Newman's positions by the end of 1846. That is not to say, however, that he agreed with Blanco White's conclusions. No, indeed. But the mere fact that he was not scandalized by them speaks volumes. What he admired most about the autobiography, however, was something that Newman had only touched upon: the fact that Blanco White had forsaken everything (as Newman had put it) "all for an idea of truth, or rather for liberty of thought". Mark was fascinated. He ignored the questions raised by Blanco White's speculations on Christianity. Rather, he fixed his attention on White's intellectual history. For it was as a "story of mental development" (in the phrase which he used to describe his own Memoirs forty years later) that the autobiography most interested him. Indeed, the summary of that development which he entered in his commonplace book could be taken as, in large measure, a summary of his own intellectual history. It is the story of the Memoirs seen and understood for the first time in the history of another man's life. That summary shows, too, that at the end of 1846, Mark felt more at ease with Blanco White's intellectual outlook than with Newman's. For those two reasons, then, it deserves to be quoted at some length.

"B[lanco] White's Journals are indeed the history of a mind, not of a man", Mark begins. He continues:

We have in them not the workings of the same mind on the external world,--such is the autob[iograph]y of Gibbon e.g[.]--but the progress and development of a mind, the same and yet increasingly growing. . . . Of his honesty no man can have any doubt, his life was a martyrdom in the cause of freedom of thought--He worked out consistently and practically, the principle laid down by Whately and Hampden that belief ought in every case to be proportional to the evidence. But then his whole mind and time were spent in weighing the evidence; he never had leisure for exercising the belief. Yet in his later years he speaks of the firmness and satisfaction of his convictions--what does he mean by this? Simply, I think, that he had at last eradicated every implanted or accidental belief, and that there was no more struggle between his understanding and his tenets. His was almost wholly a destructive process--he found himself, when he began the process, with the usual amount of opinion formed on uncertain grounds and of various origin, and he made it his business to root them out; he was almost to the last searching his mind, and nothing gives him so much pleasure as discovering a shred of the old creation to be discarded. As the work advances we have a sort of pleasure in seeing the unflinching consistency with which he carried out the work of rejection; we feel his views are enlarging, that we have to do with one in whom the free play of the intellect is unclouded by those secular influences that so hamper the majority of even thinking men.⁹⁶

Those who know the Memoirs will recognize, in the passage quoted above, a familiar ring. "All my energy was directed upon one end", Pattison says in the opening pages of his own autobiography, "to improve myself, to form my own mind, to sound things thoroughly, to free myself from the bondage of unreason, and the traditional prejudices which, when I began first to think, constituted the whole of my intellectual fabric".⁹⁷ Mark Pattison and Blanco White never met. Had they been able to meet late in 1846, however, when Mark seemed to be about to set out on a journey similar in many respects to that which Blanco White had taken before him, one wonders

⁹⁶MSP. 7^x, pp. 87-89.

⁹⁷Memoirs, pp. 1-2.

what they might have said to each other, and whether either man would have recognized a kindred spirit in the other. As it happened, however, it was Newman's spirit, the very opposite of Blanco White's, that had encountered and, for a time, conquered Mark's own. But that time was now approaching an end.

As we have said, in September 1846 Mark had decided to wait another term before making a decision about his future. However, when the term ended he could not make up his mind. He could not even bring himself to the point of deciding that he ought to have another term's grace to think it over. The trouble was, of course, that in spite of the radical shift that had taken place in his thinking, and of his slow but steady veering away from Roman Catholicism towards that "mental system", the idea of which had first occurred to him in January, he still felt a strong obligation in conscience to do what Newman and others had done before him, and to become a Roman Catholic. That feeling would gradually and inevitably be overcome in the growing strength of his conviction that a system of religion free from the dictates of authority on any and every question of belief was preferable in his case to what he called the "dogmatic system" of Roman Catholicism. For the time being, however, he was thoroughly perplexed and more than ever discouraged at his inability to arrive at a clear and definite decision. To become a Roman Catholic was out of the question. It went too much against the grain. But he was afraid, now, to decide definitely and finally that he would not become a Roman Catholic, because such a decision seemed even yet to go against the dictates of conscience. Undecided, then, he drifted into the new term in 1847, and then into the next, and the Long Vacation, and the term following, until a whole year had passed by without

the decision that his friends and acquaintances waited for. All the time he was deeply unhappy. The movement to which he had given his heart and mind for nearly a decade at Oxford was finished. Newman was gone. A great many of Mark's friends had gone with him. Others were going even yet. There were no new friends to replace those he had lost and nothing to replace the excitement and fervent idealism he had known in the days of the movement. It seemed, indeed, as though a vacuum had been created in his life and he was at a loss to know how to fill it. The entries in the diary reflect his aimlessness, dissatisfaction, and uncertainty. At the beginning of the year there are a few jottings merely, then nothing more for five months. Not until the end of May 1847 does he begin again to keep a regular account of his activities. But that account begins with a lament. "My heart is now on the world entirely", he writes on 27 May, "not by it's [sic] own choice, but because it seems to have nothing else left to look to".⁹⁸ The remaining entries are not, for the most part, of much consequence. There are brief notes, for example, about money, politics, and a Brazilian diamond mine, together with bits and pieces of University news and social gossip, miscellaneous information that he has got from conversations with an assortment of friends and acquaintances. But all references to the "great question" have virtually disappeared from the diary. It is as though the issue had been decided once and for all. In fact, however, there has been no decision. Mark is drifting, in a particular direction, to be sure, but drifting all the same. In the meantime, he is deeply unhappy, so

⁹⁸MSP. 128, f. 159.

unhappy, in fact, that he was to say afterwards in the Memoirs that the year 1847 "was the zero of [his] moral and physical depression".⁹⁹ It did not help matters either when Robert Ornsby, his true friend and confidant, decided at last to become a Roman Catholic.

Ornsby and Pattison had been friends since 1842, when Ornsby was still only an undergraduate at Lincoln. Their friendship had ripened during the course of the next three years, during which, in 1843, Ornsby was elected to a Fellowship at Trinity. Like Mark, he was a Tractarian, a very fervent one, although not prominent in the movement. But he had thought as early even as 1842 of becoming a Roman Catholic.¹⁰⁰ In August 1845, he left Oxford to take a curacy in Chichester, where Manning was Archdeacon. He retained his Fellowship at Trinity, however, and visited Oxford occasionally. But Mark felt his absence keenly. He complained of it to Eleanor: "for the last two years we have been on very intimate terms", he wrote. "I could hold with him a certain sort of conversation which I can with no one else. He was so liberal minded; and had none of those prejudices which spoil so many even of the good here--and so well-informed he knew all history, and all literature".¹⁰¹ He also knew Mark's mother and sisters. (He had met them in 1844 at Tynemouth.) Almost certainly he had met Mark's father also, for he called at Hauxwell on his way south to Oxford in August 1845.¹⁰² Unlike William Kay, however, he did not succumb to the

⁹⁹Memoirs, p. 228.

¹⁰⁰See MSP. 47, ff. 43-44. 15-23 March 1847.

¹⁰¹MSS. Lincoln College, E, [August 1845].

¹⁰²MSS. Lincoln College, E, [August 1845].

Rector's blandishments nor attempt to interfere in the dispute between father and son.

At Chichester, Ornsby was soon dissatisfied. On 4 September 1845, just a month before Newman's conversion at Littlemore, he wrote to Mark with an account of his first ten days in his new parish. The state of affairs was discouraging, he reported. "There are not more than a couple of clergymen here that you would call good specimens even of Anglicanism". The two chief "evils" he had to contend with, he said, were the Evangelical clergy of the neighbourhood and a regiment of soldiers. What preyed on his mind most of all, however, was the "coming crisis" of Newman's conversion to Roman Catholicism. Yet, at Chichester, no one seemed to be concerned about the implications of that proximate event. The complacency of the clergy irritated him intensely. They seem, he said, "to acquiesce with perfect calmness in the coming crisis, quite ready to acknowledge the existence of any difficulties you may choose to suggest, but pleading that it is more reverent to say nothing about them".¹⁰³ As for himself, he wrote: "It would be absurd for me to expect to be happy anywhere, when the only people I have ever looked up to, are going to leave us, but one may be contented wherever one is right". Mark, he thought, was more certain of his own course, implying thereby that Mark was sure to follow Newman into Rome. Ornsby, on the other hand, was being pulled two ways at once. "You, I think, see your way more clearly", he told Mark, "but I know nothing like the extraordinary mixture of fear and love that Rome excites with me in different humours".¹⁰⁴ Little did he know then that the way

¹⁰³MSP. 47, f. 10. 4 September 1845.

¹⁰⁴MSP. 47, f. 11. 4 September 1845.

was no more clear to Mark than to himself, nor that the outcome of the long correspondence they were to engage in would be so very different for both of them.

A year later, in August 1846, Ornsby married Elizabeth Dalgairns, John Dalgairns' sister. Shortly before his marriage, he asked to see Mark, apparently to go over once again the pros and cons of the "great question". But the two friends could reach no decision on their own future and Ornsby returned to Chichester with his bride. In November Mark informed him that he had decided to put off any decision until the end of term. Ornsby was delighted to hear from him, even though, he said, "your example does not encourage me in expecting a speedy removal of my own doubts". He too, however, had reached a decision of sorts. "Singularly enough", he wrote, "a while before your letter came, I had made a similar resolution myself of finally deciding for life, in a few months; for this state of things cannot be right or any way intended for us".¹⁰⁵ To all appearances, then, Mark Pattison and Robert Ornsby were, at the end of 1846, at the same stage in the process of making a decision whether or not to follow Newman. But appearances were deceptive. Nearly twelve months earlier, Mark had conceived the idea of a purely "mental system" of religion that would release him eventually from the obligation that he still felt, although to a steadily diminishing degree, to become a Roman Catholic. Ornsby, however, was not aware that any change had taken place in his friend's thinking. In his view, Mark was even farther on the road to Roman Catholicism than he was. He looked to him, therefore, for advice. "You are absolutely the

¹⁰⁵MSP. 47, f. 34. 24 November 1846.

only person to whom I can either speak or write on the subject, except John Dalgairns", he confessed. "I naturally therefore have difficulty in speaking to you about anything else".¹⁰⁶ He was not prepared, however, for what he was to hear during the course of the next few months. For Robert Ornsby was the first person to learn what Mark really thought about the presumption that it was necessary to become a Roman Catholic.

Unfortunately, only one side of the Pattison-Ornsby correspondence has been preserved. Ornsby's letters are among the Pattison manuscripts in the Bodleian. But our efforts to discover the whereabouts of Pattison's letters to Ornsby have proved fruitless so far. They would be very useful as direct evidence of Mark's thinking in 1847, when there is so little other evidence for that time available. However, Ornsby's letters by themselves are informative. They confirm our view, for instance, that even with his closest friends, Mark was shy of revealing his innermost thoughts and feelings, so that, not infrequently, friends and acquaintances were misled into thinking that he shared an opinion or a sentiment with themselves. Ornsby made such an assumption at the outset of their correspondence. "I am not silly enough to deny half my views might be traced to you", he writes in November 1846, "still even that shows there is so far a similarity in our minds that a decision which is right and true for the one, is likely to be such also for the other. For my own sake, therefore, as well as your own, I hope and pray you may be led right at last".¹⁰⁷ Mark, however, was reluctant at first to disabuse his friend of the notion that they thought alike. He did drop a hint here and there, but so slight were they that

¹⁰⁶MSP. 47, f. 34. 24 November 1846.

¹⁰⁷MSP. 47, f. 35. 24 November 1846.

Ornsby would have had to be very alert, as alert as Jack Morris had been, perhaps, to catch the drift of what Mark was alluding to. He reminded Ornsby, for instance, that neither of them could claim "a greater interest in truth than many of the good Anglicans have". Ornsby replied that he fully shared that sentiment, "though I doubt if it is a feeling that ought to sway one much".¹⁰⁸ He asked Ornsby whether he could be happy as a Roman Catholic. "I don[']t know--perhaps I don[']t desire to be", was the reply, with the reminder to Mark that the question he had asked was irrelevant. The real question was to know what God intended Ornsby--and Mark--to do.¹⁰⁹ When Mark suggested to him that the "solid good sense" of the man of the world ought to have a bearing on decisions of such moment, Ornsby replied heatedly, "I must have a religion--An Anglican I am not--and I will not be a Pantheist, nor yet a comfortable man of the world. Your apparent preference or leaning to their 'solid good sense' I should contend against, simply as a temptation of Satan".¹¹⁰ Mark's next letter shocked him. "I thought you cannot be right in adopting such open Rationalism", he replied. "However you may be sure I will do my best to commend you to God. I have no wish to argue about the faith. It is enough for me to receive on the authority of the Church. But I hope you will let me hear from you as usual". In the same letter he announced his own conversion to Roman Catholicism.¹¹¹

¹⁰⁸MSP. 47, f. 44. 15-23 March 1847.

¹⁰⁹MSP. 47, f. 51. 30 April 1847.

¹¹⁰MSP. 47, f. 50. 30 April 1847.

¹¹¹MSP. 47, f. 57. 31 May 1847.

If Ornsby were scandalized at the revelation of Mark's "open Rationalism", he had only himself to blame for provoking it. For he had denigrated what to Mark was most sacred. On 23 April he had argued that if the "system" of the Roman Catholic Church, including (he said) "the humbling of one's will and intellect--and all the whole system of things afforded us in the Ch[urch] do furnish means of being holy, beyond what in the Eng[lish] Ch[urch] most people could even comprehend--why then we ought to join it". What Ornsby meant by "humbling" the will and the intellect, however, was more than it might at first appear. "The intellect as well as the will ought to be sacrificed", he said. The important thing was to be a good man and to save one's soul. It is the only thing "worth a moment's thought", he asserted. "Intellect-philosophy-national greatness-comfort--are not worth one [iota] in comparison".¹¹² In his next letter a week later he took up the theme again, with even greater determination. "I cannot well be more unhappy there [in the Roman Catholic Church] than here", he writes. "If I do go, it will be with a determination to sacrifice my intellect to authority, as I am told to do".¹¹³ That was the kind of thinking, an improper view of the function of authority together with a grave misunderstanding of what was owed to reason and conscience, that later was to lead many of the English Roman Catholics into extreme Ultramontaniam. At the time, Mark was scandalized by what Ornsby had written to him. He replied to his friend's letter with a defence of the intellect. What he said precisely we do not know, for his letter is not

¹¹²MSP. 47, f. 47. 23 April 1847.

¹¹³MSP. 47, f. 51. 30 April 1847.

extant. But he said enough to have Ornsby reply with the charge of "open Rationalism".

Ornsby's next letter, dated 30 June 1847, is filled with an account of his activities in the month since his conversion. He is responding to a letter from Mark (dated 8 June) which he has just received at his mother's home at Darlington in Yorkshire. Clearly, Ornsby's news had depressed Mark. He thought that it must mean that their friendship was finished. Ornsby, as a Roman Catholic, would not wish to continue it. But Ornsby was astonished. "What could put it into you head I was disposed to cut you or anybody", he asked. "A convert is much too liable to be cut himself, to afford to spare anybody who is still ready to regard him with affection".¹¹⁴ He hinted, however, that Mark ought not to be long about making up his own mind. He had left it too long himself, he said. Catholicism had to be sought now as the only refuge from rationalism. "It is what, if you remember, F[aber] predicted, that those who persisted in Catholic doctrines, if they did not act on their convictions soon, would end in rationalism. . . . I felt this temptation most strongly, and am now quite sure, nothing but Catholicity could possibly have saved me". "I will remember you constantly", he said, "and I trust you won[']t be moping, which no one need do, who intends to do right, as soon as he can see his way".¹¹⁵ By doing what was "right", Ornsby meant that his friend ought to become a Roman Catholic. In June 1847, however, Mark was in no mood for conversion. He was not, as Ornsby thought, trying to "see his way" to Roman Catholicism.

¹¹⁴MSP. 47, f. 64.

¹¹⁵MSP. 47, f. 65.

Rather, he was trying to reconcile his new rationalism with his old religious convictions and to overcome the feeling that he was obliged in conscience to become a Roman Catholic. Ornsby, who had been alarmed at earlier signs of rationalism in his friend, had yet to realize how deeply Mark was imbued with it.

There was another person, however, who thought he knew what was happening to Mark Pattison and who thought, also, that he ought to do something about it. Early in July, Jack Morris turned up suddenly in Oxford. He went up to Mark's rooms at Lincoln, determined to have a heart-to-heart talk with his old friend. But he had come unannounced and Mark was out. However, as soon as he arrived at St. Wilfrid's, Cotton, where Frederick Faber had established a community of "Brothers of the Will of God" (the "Wilfridians", for short), Morris sat down to write a serious letter to Mark at Oxford. "My dear Pattison", he began in a great scrawling hand:

I am very sorry I just missed you when I was in Oxford, but feel sure I have to thank myself for it, as I ought to have written and told you I was coming. I meant, had opportunity offered to try to persuade you that it was not so hard a step to join the Church as you imagine. . . . I fancy rightly or wrongly that the artifice Satan uses to keep you out of the Church is that of persuading you that unless you are prepared to become a monk it is useless for you to think of it. Perhaps were you to see thro' this artifice, he would try and persuade you that you were not joining it on worthy motives and so not fit. The truth is that it does not matter what motives lead a person into the way of grace, unless they are motives of positive gain. I don[']t say you will be a gainer in the world's sense of gain, but not such a loser of all comforts whatever as you may fancy.

But there is gain of another kind, wh[ich] it seems almost absurd and pedantic for me to remind you of. I dare to affirm that the state you are in now (as far as I can make out) is one consistent with no scheme but that of Atheism. You have told me you don[']t feel sure that any Church is left. . . . If you doubt about the existence of a Church, you ought in consistency to doubt ab[ou]t the foresight and goodness of God[;] and I am not without my fears that you will ere long come to doubt of these also.

He invited Mark to visit him, either at St Wilfrid's or at Oscott, to "talk things over", adding that "some of our old friends seem afraid to come near us, as if we had any spell ag[ain]st them but prayers". "But forgive me", he said, "if I remind you that at the last [conscience] must speak, if any one is a coward in listening for it now, then it will speak so strongly that he must hear". "If you act upon this letter", he concluded, "I am sure you [will] thank me for it, and our past friendship will be renewed under brighter auspices".¹¹⁶

Not surprisingly, Morris's letter merely antagonized Mark Pattison. He complained to Ornsby without (it appears) mentioning Morris's name. Ornsby tried to soothe him. "As it appears to me", he wrote, "the strong violent language that disgusts you in some converts, arises from an attempt to get at deeper and more zealous convictions than they really can have at first, and partly to [sic] mere human fret and vexation at the contempt and enmity of the world".¹¹⁷ The explanation was not altogether convincing, particularly if it were meant to apply to the likes of the well-intentioned, but tactless, Jack Morris. On the other hand, Mark could still rely on Ornsby's tact and considerateness. "Don[']t let us have that horrid condition of suppressing the subject, and only mentioning weather and railways", Ornsby wrote at the beginning of August, "but at the same time don[']t mention it unless it occurs to you to say something in which a grain of sympathy would do you any good".¹¹⁸ Mark took him at his word and

¹¹⁶MSP. 47, ff. 68-69. 11 July 1847.

¹¹⁷MSP. 47, f. 77. 2 August 1847.

¹¹⁸MSP. 47, f. 77. 2 August 1847.

brought up "the subject" again when he wrote a day or so later. He had heard a report, he said, that Newman was "uncomfortable" in the Church of Rome. Ornsby replied at once. "I had heard nothing about J. H. N.'s being uncomfortable", he said. "The report is very inconsistent with a letter I had from Dalgairns, shortly after N[ewman] was ordained priest, in which he said that he (Newman) was so affected at celebrating his first mass, that after the consecration, he had to be told what to do, all along". Mark was taking, surely, "too painful and gloomy [a] view of the question and its difficulties". He thought that Newman's return from the Continent in three or four months' time might help his friend to see things in a better light. "I can[']t help hoping when Newman and the others come back", he wrote, "[that] you will renew your old friendship with them, and circumstances may arise to bring you safely into port".¹¹⁹

By this time, it seems, Mark thought that he had better make another try at letting Ornsby see that he was not inclined to become a Roman Catholic. The last time he had attempted to explain his position, he had been met by the charge of "open Rationalism". This time, he took another tack. He feared, he said (to judge, as we must, from Ornsby's reply), that by becoming a Roman Catholic he would be going against the spirit of the age. But Ornsby was even more scandalized by this explanation than he had been by the first. He rebuked Mark severely. "You remind me of Burke's republican friends he talks about in the Essay on the Fr[ench] revolution, who ended in being the most thorough-faced courtiers", he said.¹²⁰ Mark

¹¹⁹MSP. 47, ff. 78-79. 5 August 1847.

¹²⁰MSP. 47, f. 83. 30 August 1847.

could not possibly be convinced of what he was saying. He could not, surely, be serious. But, if he were serious (Ornsby thought), he was certainly playing with fire. "I am certain there is an immense deal of εἰρωνεία in your mode of speaking on these things", Ornsby wrote, "which is surely--you must confess it--likely to be dangerous". "I mean", he continued, warming to his subject,

that to avow in a sort of ironical manner, principles or sentiments one in one's heart dislikes and despises, and on which one would not deliberately act, cannot but lead to mischief. A man is in danger really to end in what at first he only pretended. If one always affected profligate language, the chance is one would really end in adopting such ideas. And as to being in a minority, or against one's age--I believe truth or the sense of truth [g]enerally is--[E]ven in Catholic times, the true reformers had to fight a hard battle--All the saints that ever lived were in a minority throughout a great part of their lives, and decidedly opposed to the spirit of their age, which is only the spirit of comfort and respectability. It is half amusing, half-painful to hear such a ground stated, because nobody you yourself would love, would even think it worth considering.

I can see that Pantheistic views are a real and dangerous opponent to Catholic ideas, but there is one consideration that serves me as a firm basis, viz. that Catholicism does for man all he wants, and contains within itself what all other religions attempt, but do not fully or truly attain to. It is the highest law that can come to the knowledge of any one calling himself Christian, and as such conscience, not to say faith, would lead one to submit to it, and to believe that it is dangerous not to submit to it.

I am quite certain you would sooner gain real happiness, by not sporting sentiments you in your heart despise. When you tell me you wish to think like other peoples [sic], like our respectable friends all round us, and settle down comfortably--why, all I can say is--you are not one of those fat respectabilities--you know better, and I am quite certain will end better, if you don[']t affect their horrid, deplorable way of thinking and speaking.

If you are offended at this, I should be truly sorry, for I am not such a fool as to think I see into things better than you do, since in fact, as I have often said, I got most of my ideas from you.¹²¹

¹²¹MSP. 47, ff. 83-84. 30 August 1847.

Once before, Robert Ornsby had written a letter in which he had taken Mark to task. The subject then was Mark's "open Rationalism". On that occasion, however, he had not sent the letter, fearing, as he had told Mark afterwards, "that some remarks might pain you".¹²² This time, however, Mark's condition seemed to Ornsby to be so serious that he did not hesitate to speak frankly. But he spoke without anger or resentment. What he said was uttered out of a real conviction of its truth and out of real friendship and respect for Mark. Self-righteousness was not a part of Ornsby's character. Indeed, his letter closes on a note of good humour. "There now", he says, "I have fixed you for coming to see me in town--for if you don[']t come, then I shall think you are in a rage with me for speaking my mind".¹²³ That, in fact, may have been Mark's initial reaction to his friend's letter. For nearly three weeks Ornsby heard nothing from him. He wrote to Mark again on 19 September. "I wish you would come, that we might talk over matters", he said. "I wish it the more, as I dare say my letters sometimes give you pain". He reminded Mark, however, that all he had attacked "was the putting on of the mental attitude of a set of men, whether rationalistic or worldly, from whom in reality you are most abhorrent". "I spoke", he said, "at the risk of lessening what I value very highly indeed, as you know, and you must therefore give me credit for good intention".¹²⁴

A week later, on his way to Brighton for a brief vacation, Mark

¹²²MSP. 47, f. 57. 31 May 1847.

¹²³MSP. 47, f. 84. 30 August 1847.

¹²⁴MSP. 47, f. 93. 19 September 1847.

called on Ornsby and stayed overnight in his rooms in Bloomsbury. "Went to Ornsby's", the diary says, "and in [the] evening to Meeting of the [C]atholic inhabitants of Marylebone--heard Ward speak".¹²⁵ The next morning the two friends breakfasted together "and talked matters over". But nothing Ornsby said weighed with Mark. On the contrary, Mark thought that his friend had suffered by his conversion. "He appears to have lost some of his acuteness and certainly not to have gained in knowledge by his change", the diary observes.¹²⁶ On his return from Brighton, however, he spent two more days with Ornsby in London. They walked about and talked much and this time Mark was deeply troubled by what Ornsby had to say to him. "Lord teach us to number our days!", the diary reads on 10 October 1847, Mark's thirty-fourth birthday. "O[ornsby]'s conversation yesterday shook me--though I thought his arguments weak--only mine were worse still".¹²⁷ What distressed Mark, however, were not so much the arguments that Ornsby had put to him, nearly all of which he must have heard before, but the knowledge of his friend's great suffering since his conversion. Indeed, had Mark needed an object lesson of what could happen to those who decided to become Roman Catholic, he needed to look for it no farther than in the misfortunes that had befallen Robert Ornsby.

For Ornsby had lost everything--wife, child, home, career, prospects. "I know I am ruined", he had written to Mark in May, when informing him of his conversion. "The Church has exacted of me, friends, prospects, settled

¹²⁵ MSP. 128, f. 164. 27 September 1847.

¹²⁶ MSP. 128, ff. 164-165. 28 September 1847.

¹²⁷ MSP. 128, f. 171.

life, even the uncontrolled exercise of the intellect, but depend upon it, she will make up for all this in good time. I had suffered my full share of mental torture, and now at last rest is given me".¹²⁸ He did not know then, however, the full extent of his ruin. He had known for some time that his wife would not go with him into the Roman Catholic Church. Indeed, the nearer he approached to conversion, the farther she seemed to draw away from it in hostility and suspicion. "I may tell you", he had written confidentially to Mark, "that I shall not have the consolation even of my wife's thinking with me--From various causes, chiefly, I think, from an agonizing fear of losing her friends, she has become completely Protestant. . . . Three years ago, she went further than I did".¹²⁹ Shortly before her husband's conversion, and just eight months after their wedding, Elizabeth Ornsby left him to return to her parents in Guernsey. She was expecting her first child and announced that she would wait with her parents until her husband had got a secure source of income. But at Guernsey under the influence of her parents, and especially (it would appear) of her mother (Mrs Dalgairns), she became even more hostile to everything that savoured of either Tractarianism or Roman Catholicism. Ornsby could not persuade her to return to him. On 9 October, while Mark was with him in Bloomsbury, Ornsby had received a letter from Guernsey (Mark noted in his diary) "about the christening of the child that is expected--sneering and unkind and vexed O[rnsby] much--They determined on bringing it up Protestant--and O[rnsby] though having the right, yet so circumstanced as to be almost

¹²⁸MSP. 47, f. 57. 31 May 1847.

¹²⁹MSP. 47, f. 43. 15-23 March 1847.

unable to enforce it--his hopes in John Dalgairns' return".¹³⁰ In November, his wife gave birth to a daughter. Her husband was overjoyed, but he was forbidden by his mother-in-law even to visit his wife and child. Mrs Dalgairns took the baby and had it baptized in the Church of England. Ornsby was not consulted. "I think you will allow, old bachelor as you are", he wrote to Mark, "that these sort of things are rather a bitter pill to swallow".¹³¹ He still hoped that John Dalgairns' return from Belgium would help to mend matters. In Ornsby's mind, the main point now was to have the child baptized conditionally as a Roman Catholic. It was not an action that would endear him to his wife's family, but he was as set on having the child brought up a Roman Catholic as they were on having it brought up a Protestant. Somehow, Dalgairns arranged to have the child re-baptized, as Mark found out on another visit in January 1848.¹³² But there was no reconciliation between husband and wife. "There really is an alienation in my sister's mind from her husband, a rooted aversion to Catholicism and a most rigorous determination to bring up her child a Protestant", John Dalgairns wrote to Newman on 29 November 1847, five days after Newman's return to England. Newman, however, already knew the general facts of the case. He had seen Ornsby in London a few days earlier.¹³³ There was nothing to be done. The Dalgairns's were adamant. Ornsby, meanwhile, had been scraping together a meagre income as an editorial assistant for James

¹³⁰MSP. 128, f. 171.

¹³¹MSP. 47, f. 121. 22 November 1847.

¹³²MSP. 129, f. 11. 3 January 1848.

¹³³Newman, Letters and Diaries, XII, 143.

Burns, the founder of the Roman Catholic publishing house of Burns and Oates. In December, he became Sub-Editor of The Tablet (at a salary of £150 a year)¹³⁴ and afterwards moved with the review to Dublin. But he never gave up hope of one day being able to see his daughter and even of being reconciled to the wife who had left him after only eight months of marriage.¹³⁵ The story is told in his letters to Mark Pattison. It is a sad story, one of the private tragedies of the Oxford Movement, and is recounted here for the first time. It gave Mark a great deal to think about. He knew very well the theoretical difficulties in the way of his becoming a Roman Catholic. Ornsby's misfortunes, however, were a vivid example of the practical difficulties attendant also upon conversion. If the Dalgairns family had treated Ornsby so unjustly, what might Mark expect from his own father, and what would happen to his sisters? At the same time, distressed as he was by Ornsby's unhappy history, he was farther than he had ever been from becoming a Roman Catholic. The theoretical difficulties, not the practical, had held him back.

In the Memoirs, Pattison quotes an extract from his diary for October 1847 which, he says, "negatives the idea of anything like what they call scepticism having consciously arisen within me".¹³⁶ On 14 October, he had

¹³⁴MSP. 129, f. 11. 3 January 1848.

¹³⁵See also MSP. 48, ff. 303-304; MSP. 49, ff. 53-54. 20 December [1850]; 18 March 1851. C. S. Dessain errs in saying that Elizabeth Ornsby became a Roman Catholic in 1848 (Newman, Letters and Diaries, XII, 436). See MSP. 47, f. 504, [1849], where Ornsby tells Mark Pattison: "I received a letter from my wife, finally refusing to return to me, except the child's religion was conceded. The child they kidnap as long as they can".

¹³⁶Memoirs, p. 215.

walked over to Exeter College to speak to Anthony Froude. The extract in the Memoirs, corrected from the diary, is as follows: "Went up to Froude and had a long talk with him with something of confidence on both sides-- though no satisfactory result--a sincere desire on my part to sympathize with his scepticism for the purpose of helping him through it". Froude (the diary says) was "engaged in writing a novel to expound his views".¹³⁷ That novel, The Nemesis of Faith, was completed the following summer and published in February 1849. It created a storm of controversy. William Sewell, the senior Tutor in Froude's own College, took it upon himself to burn the book publicly before the assembled undergraduates. The Rector of Exeter demanded that Froude resign his Fellowship.¹³⁸ The point to notice, however, in Mark's account of his conversation with Froude is that he did, in fact, sympathize with Froude's scepticism. That he had done so "for the purpose of helping him through it" is a nod, merely, in the direction of conscience. For, contrary to what Pattison says in the Memoirs, he was very much aware at the time of his increasingly sceptical temper. Indeed, he had been getting anxious about it. For he had begun to realize that his "mental system" of religion, while enabling him to circumvent the necessity for submission to the discipline of Roman Catholicism, had nothing in it which of necessity committed him to the full cycle of Roman doctrine which he had formerly espoused. He might, therefore, think as he pleased and believe as much or as little as he wished to believe. Soon enough, his conviction of the truth, not merely of individual doctrines, but of Christianity

¹³⁷MSP. 128, f. 173; Memoirs, p. 215.

¹³⁸James Anthony Froude: A Biography, I, 147.

generally, began to weaken. His faith diminished. Jack Morris had noticed what was happening early in 1846, and had warned Mark. Ornsby had become aware of the change in the summer of 1847. He, too, had warned Mark. But by that time, it was too late. Mark's scepticism, in spite of what the Memoirs say, was well-advanced. Still, it made him uneasy. He had not anticipated what in fact was happening. His "mental system" had been adopted merely as a way of getting around the demands of dogma. He had not expected that it would weaken his conviction of the truth of doctrines he already espoused, nor that it would diminish his piety and fervour. But that, in fact, is what had been happening. He became anxious and decided to talk the matter over with Pusey. He did so three weeks before he called on Froude. The interview did not go well. Mark noted in his diary that he was glad when it was interrupted by the arrival of William Copeland, for it "had got into the way wh[ich] led to nothing".¹³⁹ But he did not realize until he returned to Oxford a fortnight later, that what he had said had made a deep impression on Pusey. Pusey had even taken the trouble to put his thoughts into a letter.

Pusey was shocked. He could scarcely believe what he had heard. He did not wish to believe it. For if Mark were really convinced of what he had told him, the only conclusion that Pusey could come to was that Mark was very far advanced on the road to complete scepticism in religion. Indeed, his speculations seemed to be taking him altogether out of the sphere of Christianity. For he questioned the very foundation of religious belief. He held that one ought to believe only in so far as the object of

¹³⁹MSP. 128, f. 164. 24 September 1847.

belief was capable of being comprehended by the intellect. He seemed to think of God not (as He had revealed Himself) as Love, but as pure Intellect, or Infinite Mind. He seemed to be abandoning revelation entirely for philosophy. So, indeed, Pusey thought after Mark had left him. The thought distressed him deeply. He was even more distressed when he considered that he had not answered Mark as he ought to have been answered. He had been taken by surprise. He had not expected that, of all people, Mark Pattison, one of the most prominent "Romanists" at Oxford, would turn sceptic. It was as though he had been confronted by a Ward or an Oakeley, or even by his former lecturer in Hebrew, Charles Seager, and been told that either one of them had begun seriously to doubt the fundamental verities of Christianity. The idea was unthinkable. Pattison must be exaggerating his condition. He would write to him. His letter, however, shows how deeply anxious he was even as he attempted to convince Mark that his scepticism was only temporary and might be regarded as a trial of faith rather than as a sign of its disappearance. His letter shows also how far Mark's "mental system" of religion had undermined his religious convictions by the autumn of 1847, just two years after Newman's conversion to Roman Catholicism. It deserves to be quoted (for the first time anywhere) at some length both for the sake of its argument and the insight it gives into Mark's thinking, and because it is the last serious and sustained attempt that anyone was to make to convince Mark Pattison that the course he had set for himself would lead in the end to the destruction of his religious convictions and even of his capacity for religious belief. Soon after Mark left him, then, Pusey sat down to write his letter. He took great pains with it and corrected it carefully before sending it off to Lincoln when he learned of

Mark's return from Brighton. "My dear Pattison", he begins:

In the sorrowful conversation this morning I was partly taken by surprise, partly I did not and do not believe that your mind was really wrecked for the time, God forbid! Indeed, you seemed to me yourself so to speak that it was not. For you spoke of having had a faith and perception of Divine things wh[ich] was withdrawn. It was not then, that you (God forbid) really doubted of the Verities of the Faith, or, (I can hardly write the words even in denying it of you) disbelieved what had hitherto been the Object of y[ou]r faith, but that you had been brought into a certain state of mind, in wh[ich] the unbelieving theory appeared to you to be clear, belief a mist. And it was as looking upon you as in a diseased state of mind, that I spoke as I did. I could not argue with you as supposing that you were really sceptical, or needed proofs, as if you had your very faith to grow anew. I do not believe this is so. I am persuaded that yours is only a temptation not uncommon in wh[ich] every thing of this world comes before the mind as real[,] every thing spiritual as unreal. Persons have been thrown into this state for a time. It is a very different state from that in which faith is really gone. It is a withdrawal of the vividness of the perception of things unseen[,] not of faith. A person cannot realize, and so is tempted to think that he does not believe. But it is not so. It m[us]t be a very fearful thing for a person to continue to give himself over to that state; if he resists and prays ag[ain]st it, it will be trial only.

What I wished to say comes to this 1) That it is a known fact that Satan has power to vest doubts with the mind 2) That faith, being the gift of God, was upheld by him and so, that in many states of mind, belief was not a question at all of argument, but of a moral probation[.]

Now it is no argument ag[ain]st this, as you said, that a Gymnosophist [Hindu contemplative] might maintain his faith in the same way. For it is not the question between a true and a false faith (i.e. one in part false) but between faith and unbelief[.] A Gymn[osophist] or a Mohammedan have in part a true faith in that they believe in God; they are better off than if they disbelieved altogether; they have part of the original faith revealed to Adam. They too m[igh]t be tempted and many Brahmins do fall into entire unbelief. But belief is implanted by God in every human soul[.] "Whom ye ignorantly worship, Him declare I unto you" St Paul says. If then they used this method to maintain their faith they would do rightly. Surely clear-minded as you are, you were confusing this with something quite distinct, the holding to the untrue part of this religious system ag[ain]st the Truth. Their error would be

not in holding what they do hold, but in rejecting the truth when it was brought before them, in not receiving the truth, with which the truth which they held was allied[.]

Surely again, there is nothing unreasonable in the supposition that belief may depend very mainly upon the affections. I think I said that it falls in with what, [indubitably?], God reveals of Himself to us not chiefly as a Being of Infinite Power, Wisdom etc, not as pure Intellect or "Mens," . . . [indecipherable], etc but as "Love". If God were (to speak reverently) Infinite Mind (essentially) as the Philosopher thought, it w[oul]d correspond with this, that He should be comprehended by Intellect; our Intellect w[oul]d correspond with That Which God would be. But since H[ol]y Scripture reveals to us, that God is "Love", it corresponds with this, that it is [in] this love that we know God; the affections in us are what are most allied to What God Is. According to that great saying of Pascal, "To love man, one must know him; to know God, one must love Him".

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Now surely it w[oul]d be very arbitrary and presumptuous in us, living in such a corner of the creation and seeing so little as we do, to object to the constitution of our being, that belief sh[oul]d depend more on the moral character than on the intellect. We are surely not judges as to what is best for us. Our moral being is far higher than our intellect. Intellect without love, even to us, w[oul]d be the more hateful, the more acute it is. If we are on a moral trial at all, why s[houl]d not the trial as to our faith be moral also[.] It seems more in keeping that the same trial s[houl]d run thro[ugh] every thing. We s[houl]d not be free agents as to our faith if it did not in some degree depend upon our will. There is nothing, no principle of morality, upon which persons have not in certain states of mind or moral character, been tempted to doubt; or again, of the existence of the material world, and even of themselves. If, as H[ol]y Scr[ipture] tells us and we find in ourselves, we are in an imperfect, decayed, state, and there is one who can suggest evil thoughts to us, this is what we sh[oul]d expect. People often feel that the doubts come from without and, again, when they are in a certain spiritual condition; e.g. if they have been self-indulgent. They feel a sort of mist come over their mind. And again, it disappears[.]

In such times, the will, for the time, holds the mind together. It refuses, while under such a cloud, to part with what on good ground it held. So a jaundicial man wills to believe that things are not yellow, altho[ugh] thro[ugh] disease they seem so; or when one has looked too

long on the strong light, that the colo[u]rs one sees elsewhere are not there; or, in morals, a person wills not to receive a wrong suspicion, whereas if he does receive it in any degree he, like Othello, cannot shake it off. And yet it was wrong [.]

I really hardly know whether I am writing to the purpose but it may help to renew the subject, if you w[oul]d speak to me on it.¹⁴⁰

Pusey had done his best. He had even added a postscript in which he said that he would be "most glad" to talk over the matter with Mark again. But Mark would not be convinced that his scepticism was a moral and not an intellectual condition. In fact, Pusey was probably the last person he ought to have gone to for guidance. For, invariably, Pusey met cases of scepticism, whether it be of the claims of the Church of England when confronted by those of Rome, or scepticism of the truth of Christianity generally, as instances of moral probation. There are a number of examples. One of them is Robert Ornsby. He had written to Pusey in April 1847 about his own difficulties. Pusey had met them not on the intellectual plane, as Ornsby had hoped he would, but on the moral one. As Ornsby had observed in a letter to Mark: "one cannot walk upon air--moral arguments are good to a certain extent, but without a satisfactory intellectual view of our position . . . it would be absolutely wrong to be content".¹⁴¹ No doubt, Mark, too, felt something of the sort when he read Pusey's letter. But he did Pusey the courtesy of going to see him, on 28 October 1847, two weeks after he had been to see Froude. The interview this time was no more satisfactory than the last. "Had talk with Pusey", the diary says, "tried to express to him the difficulty I used to experience in attempting to

¹⁴⁰MSP. 47, ff. 134-137. [24 September 1847].

¹⁴¹MSP. 47, f. 50. 30 April 1847. See, also, Liddon, Pusey, II, 154, Oakeley, 'Historical Notes of the Tractarian Movement', Dublin Review, new series, 1 (1863), 494-508 (pp. 504-505).

unite religious contemplation with the business of life--and that I thought I had succeeded better in the latter by giving up the former altogether--he offered nothing new or useful on the subject".¹⁴² He did not (it would appear) seek Pusey's advice again.

Needless to say, the fact that Mark was becoming steadily more sceptical in religion does not mean that he threw up religion altogether. By no means. The "system" he had embarked on of a Christianity founded solely on rationalistic principles would mean in the end the death of his Christianity and the triumph of his rationalism. For the time being, however, he was still pious, in spite of his growing scepticism. He prayed often, and fervently when he was able to. He tried to lead a good and religious life and he encouraged others, his pupils, for example, to do likewise. In sermons in the College Chapel, he warned the Lincoln undergraduates to beware of the "Spirit of the World" and reminded them, in words that reflect his own more recent interpretation of the Christian religion, that "Christianity is not an obedience to this or that command, much less a belief that this or that event occurred on this earth 1800 years ago but a principle of supernatural virtue, an aiming at conformity with purity with holiness and wisdom[,] in short conformity with the Divine nature".¹⁴³ Occasionally, during 1848, he officiated for C. P. Eden at St Mary's, but soon, it seems, gave up the practice. There are no instances of it in the the diary for 1849 and 1850. Indeed, he had gone to St Mary's in 1848, only when he could not get out of it. "I had to go . . .", he remarks on one

¹⁴²MSP. 128, ff. 177-178.

¹⁴³MSP. 71, ff. 30-31. 5 March 1848. See, also, MSP. 71, ff. 37-52. 25 June 1848.

of those occasions; "a wretched, and I have still good feeling enough to see[,] disgusting piece of mummery--O God forgive me for participating in it--I sh[oul]d not have gone but that I was obliged".¹⁴⁴ He became, too, from 1848 on, increasingly and severely critical of the Puseyite party both at Oxford and in the country. His friends were puzzled at first. "At one time I used to hope you w[oul]d ere long be one with us", E. C. Lowe (one of the Puseyite "Brotherhood" at Lincoln) wrote to him in March 1848. "Now I fear we hardly understand your opinions well enough to unite with you in a closer bond than that firm friendship wh[ich] exists already between yourself and some of us".¹⁴⁵ Mark, in reply, explained his position. Lowe responded: "It does grieve me to think that my suspicions are confirmed--and that on the very matter which we both hold dearest we are intrinsically opposed".¹⁴⁶ He did not take offence, however, when in succeeding letters, Mark roundly criticized the Puseyites for shallowness in thinking and for going against the spirit of the age. Lowe stuck to his guns and the two men remained friends.

When Mark had last seen Pusey he had said to him that he had given up "religious contemplation" altogether so as to be better able to get on with the "business of life". By the end of 1847, the business of Mark's life revolved mainly about Lincoln College. His chief concern was the degree of his effectiveness as one of the College's three Tutors. He sensed, however, that his reputation was growing. "I have certainly been

¹⁴⁴MSP. 129, f. 12. 13 January 1848.

¹⁴⁵MSP. 47, f. 155. 29 March 1848.

¹⁴⁶MSP. 47, f. 167. 10 May 1848.

conscious of a steady gain in this respect for the last two or three years", he wrote to Eleanor at the end of 1847, "and bit by bit K[ay] and I have slowly encroached on M[ichell]'s monopoly of the Senior Classes". The undergraduates respected him: "I can tell pretty well by the way in which they listen to me that I have got their ear on certain subjects--the most important certainly--such as relate to conduct moral and religious--but I have yet to find out how far I could get them to depend on me intellectually".¹⁴⁷ But over all his activities, and Kay's too, loomed the shadow of Richard Michell. The two younger men resented his influence because it stood in the way of reform and, more particularly, because Michell, who, as Mark told Eleanor, "did less than 1/3d of the work", was being given half the income. Still, Mark felt that with Kay's cooperation, he had made good progress in raising the standard of intellectual attainment and moral discipline in the College. Indeed, by the end of 1847, he was able to tell Eleanor confidently that "the only thing wanted to make us complete [is] to get rid of Michell".¹⁴⁸ Suddenly, to his great surprise, his wish was granted. On 29 December, Michell came to his rooms to tell him that he had been offered the Vice-Principalship of Magdalen Hall, with an income of £900 a year. He had accepted the offer at once. He would be leaving Lincoln in consequence.

The news filled Mark with excitement. He could think of only one thing, that at long last the College would be rid of what he called Michell's "evil" influence. The two Tutors who remained would have everything their

¹⁴⁷MSS. Lincoln College, 24, 29 December 1847.

¹⁴⁸MSS. Lincoln College, 24, 29 December 1847.

own way. He wondered, however, what effect the news would have on Kay.

"We have come, after years of fighting, to a tolerably good understanding on the present basis", he remarked to Eleanor. "How will that stand on the new footing?"¹⁴⁹

But another surprise awaited him to turn his thoughts into a new direction. On 6 January 1848, just a week after Michell's announcement, Martin Green (in his capacity as Proctor) offered Mark the position of Public Examiner in the University. The offer was a mark of distinction and totally unexpected. He "accepted summarily", the diary says.¹⁵⁰

The Memoirs tell us how he entered the Schools as Examiner for the first time five months later in great trepidation lest he be unequal to the task, and how he emerged at the end in triumph, with his reputation made.¹⁵¹

At Lincoln, too, Mark's influence and reputation were advancing rapidly. Michell's departure had not seen a decline in the College's standing in the University. Rather, Lincoln men stood higher than ever in the class lists. Mark was given the credit for their success. "Lincoln is becoming quite great in reputation", one of Mark's old pupils (Frederick Guy) wrote at the end of 1849. "It must be a great comfort, to you to see your labours so well rewarded, for you have the credit of it".¹⁵² No doubt, it might be said that Kay ought to have been given some of the credit also. But by that time Kay had left Lincoln to become Principal of Bishop's

¹⁴⁹ MSS. Lincoln College, 24, 29 December 1847.

¹⁵⁰ MSP. 129, ff. 11-12. 6 January 1848,

¹⁵¹ Memoirs, pp. 230-234.

¹⁵² MSP. 47, f. 476. 7 December [1849].

College in Calcutta. Mark, then, was in full possession of the field. At the end of 1849, he was re-elected Sub-Rector. The affairs of the College were almost entirely in his hands. By the end of 1850 his position at Lincoln seemed secure. The fact was generally acknowledged that he had brought the College to an eminence unknown even in Michell's time. Furthermore, it was plain that the Rector of Lincoln was becoming old and feeble. But no one had to look far for the person eminently qualified to succeed him. Mark, however, did not speculate, either with friends or privately, in his diaries. The day-to-day affairs of the College pre-occupied him to the exclusion of any thought for the future.

Meanwhile, at Hauxwell, his sisters continued to write to him. They took as keen an interest as ever in their brother's career. But there was one subject, religion, that virtually disappeared from the letters which passed between Oxford and Hauxwell after about the middle of 1848. Mark did not bring it up and his sisters seemed to be aware that a change had come over him: they did not bring up the subject either. Even with Eleanor, Mark avoided religious discussion and attempted to direct her attention to other spheres. But he was as fond of Eleanor and of all his sisters as he had ever been. He may even have been too fond. For, in the autumn of 1848, when Eleanor confided to him that she had fallen in love for the first time in her life, with a young man from the neighbourhood who had visited the Rectory, Mark reacted as though he had been stung. He objected strenuously to the "affair" (which was tame indeed, since the young man showed no sign of reciprocating Eleanor's interest), would not allow her to take it seriously, or to discuss it, poured scorn on her infatuation, and demanded that she end it at once. She did not have to. It died a

natural and (for Eleanor) painful death. It also resulted in a cooling of the friendship between brother and sister. In the years to come, Eleanor would maintain her religious position, but she would also set an independent course for her life, in spite of her brother's objections.

Meanwhile, the Rector of Hauxwell ruled his domain as absolutely and as arbitrarily as ever. His war against both son and daughters had been carried on unremittingly since his banishment of Mark from Hauxwell at the beginning of 1842. In 1846 he had descended upon Oxford with the fixed purpose of destroying his son's reputation for honesty and integrity. In September 1847 he had launched another of his vicious attacks on Eleanor. Then, suddenly (it seems), the attacks stopped. His anger cooled. He even permitted his wife and daughter (Fanny) to visit their relations (the Swards) at Cheltenham. They took advantage of the opportunity to make a brief visit to Mark at Oxford. Did the Rector hear of it? We cannot say. But if he did, the knowledge did not provoke him to renew his attacks on Mark. In fact, he permitted Fanny to spend Christmas with her brother at Lincoln College in 1848. Then, early the next year, he let it be known that the ban against Mark's visiting Hauxwell was lifted. Mark left Oxford for Hauxwell almost as soon as he heard the news. He spent Easter at the Rectory in 1849, and nearly the whole of the Long Vacation, and Christmas also. He returned again in 1850 at Easter and for part of July. It looked as though the old pattern of visits to Hauxwell for part or all of the Oxford vacations would be re-established. For the Rector raised no objections to his son's visits. He had no need to, indeed. For Mark no longer threatened his authority at Hauxwell. The Rector's children, now, could not combine against him. They were divided on the main point, their

religion. Mark, it was obvious, was in no danger of going to Rome. He was not a "Romanist". He was not even a Tractarian. He could scarcely be brought to discuss religion with his sisters, although, in his own way, he was still religious. His sisters, now, would have to depend on their own resources if they were to maintain their religious position at Hauxwell. For they had lost their Oxford ally. He had retreated to neutral ground from which he watched his sisters struggle, against their father's continuing hostility, to keep their Tractarianism alive. But he could not combine with them. For conviction had left him. The Rector, therefore, could afford to mitigate his anger against his son. He could even afford to lift the ban and to allow Mark to enter the house once again. For the Rector of Hauxwell no longer feared his eldest son.

At the end of 1850, Mark's future appeared to be very bright indeed. He had established himself in the University, his position at Lincoln was unrivalled, and he was welcome again in his father's house. Most of all, he believed that he had broken through the constraints imposed upon his intellectual life both by the religious tradition he had inherited from Hauxwell and the religious idealism to which he had given himself at Oxford. He was free to pursue the one ideal than which he could conceive no higher: the intellectual life lived unreservedly and solely for its own sake. For Mark Pattison, that was the supreme value in human existence and the most noble object of ambition. In 1850, nothing seemed to stand in the way of his realizing that ambition. Twelve months later, however, his hopes, his happiness, his successes, and his ambition lay in ruins at his feet. Disaster came suddenly upon him. It prostrated him and marked him for life.

But that story belongs to the next stage in the life of Mark Pattison. It is now out of our purview.

APPENDIX A

The Hebdomadal Board having given notice of a Statute to be submitted to Convocation on Tuesday the 7th of June next, for the abrogation of the Censure passed by the University against the present Regius Professor of Divinity in 1836, and having declined acceding to a request made to them from a large body of Resident Members of Convocation, praying for the withdrawal of the proposed Statute:

We the Undersigned Resident Members of Convocation, considering that the Regius Professor has never hitherto recalled the statements of doctrine that gave occasion to such Censure, and that consequently the character of the University both for consistency and for orthodoxy is at stake, most earnestly entreat all our fellow Members of Convocation to attend on the day appointed, and assist in endeavouring to avert the mischief with which we are threatened.

J. A. Ashworth, M.A. Fellow of Brasenose Coll.
W. F. Audland, M.A. Fellow of Queen's Coll.
C. Balston, B.D. Fellow of Corpus Christi Coll.
F. R. Barker, M.A. Oriel Coll.
John Barrow, M.A. Queen's Coll.
J. R. Bloxam, M.A. Fellow of Magdalen Coll.
James Bullock, M.A. Fellow of Worcester Coll..
Thomas Chaffers, M.A. Fellow and Tutor of Brasenose Coll.
R. W. Church, M.A. Fellow of Oriel Coll.
J. A. Dale, M.A. Balliol Coll.
C. Daman, M.A. Fellow and Tutor of Oriel Coll.
C. P. Eden, M.A. Fellow of Oriel Coll.
Francis Atkinson Faber, B.D. Vice-President of Magdalen Coll.
J. B. Frowd, D.D. Fellow of Corpus Christi Coll.
M. J. Green, M.A. Fellow of Lincoln Coll.
R. Greswell, B.D. Tutor of Worcester Coll.
H. P. Guillemard, M.A. Fellow of Trinity Coll.
A. W. Haddan, M.A. Fellow and Tutor of Trinity Coll.
E. H. Hansell, M.A. Demy and Tutor of Magdalen Coll.
Edward Hill, M.A. Student and Mathematical Lecturer of Ch. Ch.
C. H. Hutton, B.D. Fellow of Magdalen Coll.
D. Lewis, M.A. Fellow of Jesus Coll.
R. G. Macmullen, M.A. Fellow of Corpus Christi Coll.
C. Marriott, M.A. Fellow of Oriel Coll.
T. Meyrick, M.A. Scholar of Corpus Christi Coll.
Thomas E. Morris, M.A. Student and Tutor of Ch. Ch.
J. B. Morris, M.A. Fellow of Exeter Coll.
J. B. Mozley, M.A. Fellow of Magdalen Coll.
R. Muckleston, M.A. Fellow and Tutor of Worcester Coll.
W. Palmer, M.A. Fellow and Tutor of Magdalen Coll.
M. Pattison, M.A. Fellow of Lincoln Coll.
Theophilus Pelly, M.A. Fellow of Corpus Christi Coll.

Nicholas Pocock, M.A. Michel Fellow of Queen's Coll.
S. Reay, B.D. Laud. Prof. of Arabic
W. Sawell, M.A. Magdalen Coll.
C. Seager, M.A. Worcester Coll.
W. Sewell, B.D. Fellow and Tutor of Exeter Coll.
J. E. Sewell, M.A. Fellow and Tutor of New Coll.
H. Wall, M.A. Fellow of Balliol Coll.
Isaac Williams, B.D. Fellow and Tutor of Trinity Coll.
Jonn P. Wilson, M.A. Fellow of Magdalen Coll.
E. C. Woollcombe, M.A. Fellow and Tutor of Balliol Coll.

See p. 204.

APPENDIX B

LETTER II

MY DEAR WARD,

One of the first things that struck me in France, indeed it is obvious to any one--was the behaviour of the people in the Churches. There was something which one saw at once to be quite of another kind from that correct demeanour which a sense of propriety dictates. A general sense of the purpose for which we go to Church, and due consideration for others, will lead to a regulated and attentive conduct when there. But an attitude of active devotion cannot be mistaken for this; and to see, as you never fail to do on entering any Church, large or small, in France, many of the lowest class wrapt in that visible absorption of mind which shews at once that a real communication is going on between the soul and God, is indeed a cheering sight,--a spirit of prayer and supplication is seen to belong as much now as ever to the body of the Christian people. Often the posture of the worshipper is careless, and would little meet the taste of those who dwell with rapture on the forms of middle-age art, or whose ideas of prayer are formed on such representations as in the offensive archaeological jargon are called "a S. Francis nimbed"--the regulations of the churches may be thought irreverential, the system of chairs introduces a continual traffic, and the never-ending circuits of a noisy beadle rattling the money he is collecting sadly breaks up the ideas some are apt to form of the still and solemn ceremonial,--with all this, there is that in the appearance of the people which shews at once that they come there not from curiosity, from habit, or from fashion, but for a definite act to join heart and soul at the great sacrifice in communion with the faithful living and dead. Fashion may carry the French to sermons, but not to mass or to private prayer in the Church. The theory of Catholicism may be fashionable, but submission to its rules in practice is very far from being. It is not many years since a priest could not appear in his habit in the streets of Paris without risk of insult--and the king himself, though suspected of going privately, durst not go publicly to mass, for fear of losing his character for good sense. The increase of popularity of the clergy, the crowds of intellectual young men, lawyers, and students of the University, who flocked to Notre Dame in Advent last to hear Lacordaire--signs of a change of feeling in the public which the French Catholic press is never tired of proclaiming,--these are the mere ebb and flow on the surface--far more valuable is that genuine old Christian leaven deep in the heart of the country population, which even the Revolution could not root out, quite distinguishable from that fickle patronage which the present generation is disposed to hold out to a visionary middle-age theory. I felt much less satisfaction in seeing a crowded audience in Paris listening to a favourite preacher, than in entering early in the morning a village

Church in a distant province and seeing the country people drop in before going to work for a few minutes of private devotion. This was the genuine product of the religion--the harvest where S. Martin had sown.

The same practical air was visible where I least expected it. I had fancied a procession as merely ornamental; a poetical portion of the ceremonial intended to aid and captivate the imagination. I was struck therefore with the business-like air it wore. Those engaged in it seemed performing a real act of devotion, to which they were given up, the assembly accompanying them with their prayers--the one party not thinking of admiring, the other not aiming at effect.

Every one notices the subdued, regulated manner almost universal in foreign priests. This arises from their habitual consideration of the Divine Presence. It must be a very superficial observer who can think it accounted for by the constraint of the peculiar habit. But it is not any matter of surprise that they should be able to preserve this, when one sees the education they go through for the Priesthood. The Seminary of S. Sulpice is the principal establishment for this purpose. Many persons are offended at continually recurring comparisons between our own institutions, and the corresponding Catholic ones, and attribute such to a fretful, captious spirit. But they should remember that it is only the natural process of the mind to judge of the unknown by the known, of the new by the familiar. Open any book of travels, and whether he is describing the shape of a wheel, or a mode of harnessing a horse, the writer's first impulse is to compare it with the fashion of his own country. It was impossible for me to see S. Sulpice without comparing it with the education we give our clergy. There the world was shut out, not because it was unknown, but because it was understood that the process of hardening by exposure to it is one incompatible with the innocence which is the required foundation for a religious character. Here I understood for the first time what it was to make religion the one business of life--not merely a handmaid, a means towards living well and happily. There was no cant of language, no affectation of discarding the customs of common society, but religion reigned without effort in the whole system. A young man bringing up for the priesthood where the Church is scantily paid by the State, knows that he resigns the common objects of ambition. Hard work and contempt is what he must expect. There is, as might be expected, a strong esprit du corps, which gives great offence to the world, which they vent in the epithet, 'narrow-minded.' But even were it so, habits of devotion, and a bracing religious discipline, would be cheaply purchased at a greater sacrifice than this. An occasional religious service introduced into a day the whole of which is given to secular studies, secular conversation, and secular amusements, is an irksome formality. But where the whole day's business is made one religious service, interposed, as it were, between the hours of prayer, the mind must either openly revolt, or be raised to partake of the pervading tone. I was edified to see many of the students taking the brief space allowed to recreation after dinner, for retirement to some shrine or image (with which the grounds were filled) for prayer or recollection. It was not considered necessary to avoid intruding on them--they were taught to form the habit of abstraction from what was

going on about them.

The professors (though without any Gallican bias) did not at all share in that eagerness for the visible triumph of the Church which the L'Univers is so anxious for. There was among them no active sympathy with any political party--and that in a country where, much more than with us, every one is a politician.

The Priests are, in general, shy of strangers, of the English in particular. Hence the accounts of travellers of a Protestant bias must be read backwards. If such a person falls in with a Priest more lax than others, who is willing to converse on the topics of the day with him, he entertains a better opinion of him as 'superior to the prejudices of his order,'--but exactly in proportion as he observes earnestness of devotion and exclusiveness, the traveller's anger is roused at the bigotry, intolerance, hypocrisy, &c., of the 'poor creatures.'

Yours very truly,

[Mark Pattison]

W. G. Ward, Ideal of a Christian Church, pp. 593-595.

See pp. 344-346.

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ABSTRACT

A Study of Mark Pattison's Religious Experience 1813 - 1850

This study is an account of Mark Pattison's religious experience up to the year 1850. It tells the story of Pattison's intellectual and personal development during the most crucial period of his life, of his close connection with Newman and the leaders of the Oxford Movement and, finally, of his rejection of religious orthodoxy and the growth in him of a religious agnosticism and intellectual scepticism.

Pattison attempted to tell this story himself in his Memoirs, published posthumously in 1885. But the story he tells is by no means complete. Besides, it is frequently inaccurate in matters of fact and often seriously misinterprets events. Further, he has great difficulty (as he readily admits) in understanding the exact state of his mind at important stages in his development, and his account is tinged not a little with anger and bitterness. Finally, the impression conveyed by the Memoirs (as John Sparrow remarks in the Clark Lectures of 1965) is that they are being dictated by a "disembodied intellect".

The present study attempts to reincarnate Mark Pattison. He is seen as a man of flesh and blood participating actively in the great movement of his day at Oxford. The inaccuracies and misinterpretations of the Memoirs are corrected. The story, based on the collections of Pattison manuscripts in the Bodleian Library and in other libraries and in private hands at Oxford, is filled out and given a perspective. It is told not from the point of view of a disappointed and frustrated man

on his deathbed, but from the diaries, notebooks, and letters of the young Pattison, contemporaneous with the events. The most significant information and much of the rest is entirely new. It brings to light an unusual perspective on the personalities, events, and influence of the Oxford Movement. Finally it throws new light on Pattison himself. For, instead of an embittered old man, we discover a much younger Pattison, a man who is shy but, at the same time, eager, passionate, enthusiastic, and hopeful, and a complete and thorough idealist.