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Newman's Idea of Beauty:
The Nature, Importance and Role of Beauty in John Henry Newman's Life and Work

Thesis for the Degree of D. Phil

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Shorter abstract

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Newman’s 'idea' of beauty subsists in the power of sensible and intellectual harmony and order which we perceive in the world, to draw us towards its perfect fullness in God. Seeing natural beauty in this world as the 'shadows and images' of a greater, spiritual reality in heaven, beyond the concealing veil of matter, he also identified in 'unearthly' personal holiness a participation in God's perfection. Both holiness and the beauty of nature evoke memories of Eden, lost by sin. His understanding of the 'mysterious' connection between this world and heaven was deepened when he adopted the sacramental idea, in which the material world becomes a vehicle for the revelation of the spiritual, and earthly worship an image of the eternal worship of heaven.

In music he identified the outpourings of eternal harmony in the medium of created sound, recognized from its emotive power as coming to us as echoes from our true home. His use and understanding of art and architecture in the service of religion demonstrate his love of 'frugality' expressed nonetheless through rich effects to create a foretaste of beauty in heaven.

He recognized the need for a hermeneutic to distinguish false and misleading forms of beauty from that which is 'true', i.e. of God. Hence he identified a teleological purpose in beauty, which, interpreted in the light of revelation, draws humanity towards its destiny of the beatific vision of God's infinite perfections and an eternal share in God's glory. His priestly apostolate consisted in guiding souls to heavenly truth,

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Abstract

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This thesis examines Newman's understanding and use of aesthetics in his life, thought and apostolate. From his early years Newman believed in the superiority of the invisible, spiritual world over the visible, material world. The first chapter explores Newman's experience of beauty in nature and holiness particularly as he expressed it in his verses and preaching. The natural beauty of the visible world he saw as an imitation of, and a sign pointing to, the greater beauty of heaven which is hidden from us by the veil of matter. He was struck by the beauty of holiness he perceived in certain persons, notably his sister Mary, whose sudden premature death was a great loss to him. Thereafter he often found that intense natural beauty reminded him of her whom he had 'lost awhile', in an experience so tinged with pain that he identified it with the primeval loss of the beauty of Eden, as a result of sin. In his early verses he explored the sense of longing which earthly beauty inspired in him to recover the lost beauty of Eden, as something which will only be fully experienced when we share in God's holiness and glory in heaven.

Newman's voice was heard by many as beautiful and melodious, and he used it to great effect particularly in preaching. This offset his general avoidance of rhetorical effects in the texts and the straightforward mode of delivery which he employed in his sermons. Such practices were alien to his method of exercising a personal influence. He preferred to speak the truth clearly, with sincerity and restraint, in order to communicate

from his own heart to the hearts of his congregation. Many witnesses attest to the attractive and penetrating force of his preaching. Thus, to many who heard him, he personified the bond he himself recognized between holiness and true beauty.

The second chapter examines the origins and development of a specifically religious aesthetic in Newman's Anglican years. Newman's early religious upbringing, based largely on Bible reading, did not apparently greatly influence his aesthetic sensibility. It was his adoption of the principle of sacramentality, whereby matter becomes the vehicle for the operation of hidden grace, that led him to see that in this way earthly beauty can be a participation, albeit imperfect, in God's infinite beauty, and a means of imparting grace. Therefore, as a leading Tractarian he was closely associated with Hurrell Froude and John Keble in the development of an ethos characterized by the restrained use of external beauty in worship, and by the use of poetry as a means of expressing religious truths through the beauty of language and thought. For the Tractarians, reverence was the fitting response of the believer to the awesomeness of the divine presence mediated by a sober beauty expressed in worship and sacramental rites. From what he called his 'Cardinal Point' in 1836, Newman took an ever greater interest in the externals of worship as shadows and images of heavenly worship, and developed a theology of ritual, music and architecture in worship as a foretaste of heaven. From the time he built the new church at Littlemore, church buildings and furniture increasingly became images of divine glory in his preaching, and instruments of religious teaching.

It was in music especially that Newman found 'the expression of ideas greater and more profound than any in the visible world.' For this reason, on account of the unique place which it occupied in Newman's life and in his aesthetics, the third chapter

is devoted entirely to music. Our experience of music as intelligible, as shown by our describing it in the language of thought and ideas, even though falling far short of the real profundity of music itself, suggested to him parallels with the language of theology, which can correctly convey profound truths even as they surpass and transcend it. Similarly music, a 'wonderful creation of sublimity and beauty', was described by Newman as the outpourings of eternal harmony in the limited form of created sound. Thus he described the synthetic power of the mind to gather up a succession of notes into the expression of a whole, and call it a melody. He recognised the affective power of music as a sign of its divine origin, and saw in harmony a metaphor for heavenly order and splendour, and another convincing indication of its origin as 'echoes from our Home'. Hence he further explored the idea of music as the language of heaven, and used this imagery to great effect in his poem 'The Dream of Gerontius', in which demonic ugliness and discord is contrasted with, and overcome by the grand, majestic harmonies of the angelic choirs.

Newman's choice of vocation as an Oratorian suggests points of continuity with, and further development of, his own aesthetic, liturgical and pastoral practice from his Anglican career. The fourth chapter examines the principal importance of beauty in the tradition of the Oratory and in Newman's adaptation of it to his own and contemporary English Catholic circumstances. The centrality of the beauty of holiness in the Oratorian ethos was illustrated by its founder, St. Philip Neri, and was expressed in the pastoral programme of the promotion of prayer and the life of the sacraments through the use of sacred music and visual beauty both in devotional practices and in the sacred liturgy of the Church, performed with all care and excellence. Following the Oratorian tradition of popular devotional music represented by the Florentine *laudi*

spirituali, Newman devoted great care to his search for a musical language that would arouse and express devotion and joy, even composing or selecting some popular tunes which neither he as an Anglican, nor some of his Catholic contemporaries, would have judged fitting for such use. In the liturgy, he insisted that the ritual should be carried out with care and reverence, and enhanced by the best liturgical music that could be performed with the forces available. To that end he combined frugality with taste, jealously guarding against extravagance, yet recognizing the need for judicious expenditure on musical forces to achieve the most satisfactory results. However, he recognised the danger of the most developed forms of music, which he called 'scientific', as in danger of overwhelming the sacred liturgy because of its highly developed structures and powers of expression, even when used by the most religious composers. He feared that, on account of their placing the principles and methods of their art before the liturgy it was meant to serve, musicians who employed modern forms and instruments would be difficult to control.

Where the visual arts were concerned, Newman saw a certain similarity with music. Although he called the visual arts 'high ministers of the Beautiful and Noble', he also feared their tendency to forget their proper place in the service of religion. Art which takes only nature as its pattern pursues a purely natural end, and insofar as it becomes more accurately imitative of nature it promotes only an ideal natural beauty, and thereby fails to evoke the beauty of heaven which transcends it. He was, therefore, attracted to the work of the Nazarenes, the movement of German artists who expressed their religious sincerity and adherence to the tenets of the Catholic faith through the medium of their painting. Among their English imitators, Newman found a congenial collaborator in John Pollen, whom he invited to assist him in designing and

embellishing his University Church in Dublin. Here he was able to put into effect the principles of richness of decoration drawn eclectically from Byzantine and ancient Roman traditions of sacred art and architecture, employing form and colour as constitutive elements of visual attraction, so as to create a 'porta caeli' in visible architectural and decorative forms.

Newman's view of architecture united his emotional attachment to the Classical style which was characterized by 'brightness, grace and simplicity', with his rational analysis of the Gothic style as 'endowed with a profound and a commanding beauty' which the Church 'will not see surpassed till it attain to the Celestial City.' He recognized that the Classical style was formally limited in being incapable of indefinite expansion without losing the beauty of proportion, whereas Gothic can be indefinitely varied and elaborated in its parts. It was for this reason that he saw Gothic as symbolic or proleptic of the harmonious ordered spiritual 'architecture' of angels and glorified saints worshipping God in heaven.

Yet he was wary of what he saw as 'unreal' and excessive views, such as those of A. W. Pugin, whom he accused of sacrificing the principles of worship and liturgy to his own aesthetic principles. Newman, on the other hand, understood the need for restraint in *a priori* arguments concerning artistic styles and taste if these threatened to overwhelm and dictate to the principles of religion itself. For instance, he defended the principle of the visibility of the altar against Pugin's campaign for rood screens, as an expression of the current needs of the liturgy and devotional practices of the contemporary Church against the idealized view of a supposed aesthetically perfect past. Newman aimed rather to promote such beauty in art and architecture as would enhance

the involvement of the Christian people in the liturgy, in which he saw taking a devout and intelligent role by the faithful as a preparation for, and participation in, the worship of heaven. A church building should therefore engage a worshipper's imagination, and act as the ideal setting for the richness and diversity of the liturgy.

The final chapter is a closer examination of the philosophical and theological underpinning of Newman's view of beauty, and of the purpose which he perceived in it, which he made a key element of his priestly work and mission. Newman's aesthetic of devotion was based on the principle that it should subjectively inflame the heart and rouse the imagination, and thus complement the objective beauty of the liturgy. Hence his love of the Roman Breviary was to him not only a beautiful collection of the devotion of the saints, but the sanctification of time by prayer expressed in devotional language and ideas. So, too, his love of the celebration of Mass was an outward expression of his inner sense of wonder at the awesome sacred action which parted the veil separating earth from heaven. The inscription he composed for his memorial stone, 'ex umbris et imaginibus', unites both his aesthetics and epistemology once more. For in the leaving behind of this world of shadows and images, the soul becomes fully cognisant both of the glory and beauty of the transcendent heavens, and of the ultimate

Abbrevations of Newman's Works referred to in this Thesis.

Apo.	*Apologia Pro Vita Sua,* ed. Martin J. Svaglic (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967)
AW	*John Henry Newman: Autobiographical Writings,* ed. Henry Tristram (London and New York: Sheed and Ward, 1956)
Call.	*Callista, A Tale of the Third Century.* (London: Burns and Oates, 1855)
Campaign	*My Campaign in Ireland, Part I,* ed. W. Neville (privately printed, 1896)
DA	*Discussions and Arguments on Various Subjects.* (London: Basil Montagu Pickering, 1872)
Dev.	*An Essay on the Development of Christian Doctrine.* (London: Longmans, Green and Co, 1890)
Diff. i, ii	*Certain Difficulties felt by Anglicans in Catholic Teaching Considered,* 2 vols. *(*London: Longmans, Green and Co, 1890)
Ess. i, ii	*Essays Critical and Historical,* 2 vols. (London: Basil Montagu Pickering, 1872)
GA	*An Essay in Aid of a Grammar of Assent.* ed. I. T. Ker, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985)
HS i, ii, iii	*Historical Sketches,* 3 vols. *(*London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1891)
Idea	*The Idea of a University, Defined and Illustrated.* (London: Longmans, Green and Co, 1889)
Jfc.	*Lectures on Justification*. Second Edition. (London and Oxford: J.G.F. & J. Rivington and J.H. Parker, 1840)
LD	*The Letters and Diaries of John Henry Newman,* ed. Charles Stephen Dessain, et al., (32 volumes). vols i-x, (Oxford: Clarendon Press 1978-2006), vols xi-xxii, (London: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1961-1972), vols xxiii-xxxi, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1973-1977), vol xxxii, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2008)
LG	*Loss and Gain, The Story of a Convert,* Tenth Edition. (London: Longmans, Green and Co, 1891)
MD	*Meditations and Devotions of the late Cardinal Newman.* (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1893)
Mix.	*Discourses Addressed to Mixed Congregations.* (London: Longmans, Green and Co, 1892)

Moz. i, ii	*Letters and Correspondence of John Henry Newman during his Life in the English Church, 2 Volumes,* ed. Anne Mozley *(*London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1891)
NO	*Newman the Oratorian. His Unpublished Oratory Papers, edited with an Introductory Study on the continuity between his Anglican and Catholic ministry,* ed. Placid Murray, OSB (Dublin: Gill and MacMillan, 1969)
OS	*Sermons Preached on Various Occasions. (*London: Burns & Oates, 1881)
PS i-viii	*Parochial and Plain Sermons,* 8 vols. (London: Longmans, Green and Co, 1891)
Phil. N. i, ii	*The Philosophical Notebook of John Henry Newman,* (2 volumes). Edward Sillem (ed.), revised A. J. Boekraad (Louvain: Nauwelaerts, 1970)
Prepos.	*Lectures on the Present Position of Catholics in England Addressed to the Brothers of the Oratory in the Summer of 1851,* ed. Andrew Nash. (Leominster: Gracewing, 2000)
Remains	*Remains of the Late Reverend Richard Hurrell Froude, M.A. Fellow of Oriel College, Oxford.* 2 vols. (each vol. in two parts), ed. Newman, J.H. and Keble, J., (London: Rivington, 1838-1839)
SD	*Sermons Bearing on Subjects of the Day.* (London, Oxford and Cambridge: Rivingtons, 1869)
Ser. i-v	*John Henry Newman, Sermons 1824-1843;* 5 vols. vol i, ed. Placid Murray, OSB, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991) vol ii, ed. Vincent Ferrer Blehl, SJ, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993) vol iii, ed. Francis J. McGrath, FMS, and Placid Murray, OSB, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2010) vols iv and v, ed. Francis J. McGrath, FMS, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2011-12)
SN	*Sermon Notes of John Henry Cardinal Newman, 1849-1878,* Edited by Fathers of the Birmingham Oratory, 1913; reissued with an Introduction and Notes by James Tolhurst, DD, (Hereford: Gracewing, 2000)
US	*Fifteen Sermons preached before the University of Oxford, between A.D. 1826 and 1843.* Third Edition, 1872, with an Introduction by Mary Katherine Tillman, (Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 1997)
VM i, ii	*The Via Media of the Anglican Church. Illustrated in Lectures, Letters, and Tracts Written between 1830 and 1841,* (2 volumes). (London: Basil Montagu Pickering, 1877)
VV	*Verses on Various Occasions.* (London: Burns, Oates and Co., 1868)

Introduction

This is the first comprehensive and detailed study of Newman's idea of beauty. In Newman's thought, an 'idea' is a mental view formed by the analytical process of surveying, and by the synthetic process defined by Newman as the 'coalition' or the resolution of many aspects of a particular object, such that 'in proportion to the variety of aspects under which it presents itself to various minds is its force and depth, and the argument for its reality.'[1] The idea of beauty, therefore, which I explore and present in this thesis, is one which results from the treatment of various categories of beauty in Newman's writings and in his life, by considering them separately and by bringing them together to form a single view, which stands at the heart of his understanding of truth and 'reality'.

I bring together the various aspects under which Newman either experienced or created instances of what he called 'beautifulness',[2] and especially to explore the reasons for which he sought to find and make use of it especially in his priestly ministry. It should be recognized from the outset that the resultant idea is 'very complex', and therefore, I take advantage of the permission Newman offers, and 'for the sake of convenience...consider its distinct aspects as if separate ideas.'[3] My aim is to show that throughout and within Newman's many aesthetic tastes and views, there is a consistent unifying thread which can be rightly called Newman's 'idea of beauty'.

1 *Dev*. pp. 34-35
2 *GA*, p. 64
3 *Dev*. p. 35

Although drawing on the work of earlier scholars and writers, this thesis both builds on their insights and brings them together synthetically. This study therefore examines not only the nature of beauty in Newman's thought, but also its different forms in his life: in music, art, architecture and in their application particularly to liturgy, in which Newman believes that these forms serve to bring us closer to the transcendence of God through the sacramental signs embodied in His Church on earth.

Newman's early poetry manifests both his understanding that earthly beauty is a sign of the Creator's beauty, and his conviction that it is a signpost towards a state of primitive holiness, the condition of that Eden lost through the Fall of Adam and Eve. I show that there is a consistent theme in Newman's treatment of beauty throughout his life, identifying it with the beauty of the Creator, towards which we are drawn in this life by the various signs of beauty in nature and holiness. The task facing us in this life is to seek the 'Eden' that sin has lost for us, by endeavouring to grow in holiness, which will in turn deepen our appreciation of the reality of transcendent beauty 'beyond the veil.'

Newman's own aesthetic sensitivity is manifested particularly in his musicianship and in his analysis of the phenomenon of music. Newman leaves many clues to the importance of music in his own life in his Letters and Diaries. Yet these are of their nature incomplete as a summary of his musical activity. The first and most nearly comprehensive account of Newman as a musician, which has been the main source of all subsequent comment on this subject, was made by his young protégé, Edward Bellasis, who had been a boy at Newman's school in

Edgbaston, and who had two brothers in Newman's Oratorian community. Bellasis first wrote an account, 'Cardinal Newman as a Musician', as an article in the periodical *The Month*, in 1891,[4] and subsequently reworked it as the first chapter of *Coram Cardinali*, a collection of his biographical articles about the Cardinal published in 1917.[5]

Bellasis's essay remains the most comprehensive eye-witness account of Newman's musical tastes and interests, especially from his old age, when Bellasis was frequently in the Cardinal's company. Bellasis was a musician himself and so understood many of the finer points of musical appreciation and criticism which he picked up from Newman. His account remains seminal because he relayed significant details which would otherwise have passed into oblivion, and provides some vital clues concerning Newman's attitude to music, all of which require both analysis and 'coalition' with other musical themes and ideas in order to produce a well focussed view of the place of music within Newman's aesthetic idea.

Other writers have drawn on Bellasis from time to time, though generally reproducing his views and statements without much critical examination. One of the fullest accounts of Newman's musicianship made in recent times, while owing much to Bellasis, and adding to it by examination of Newman's surviving musical manuscripts, is Percy Young's 1995 study, *Newman, Elgar and The Dream of Gerontius; In the Tradition of English Catholicism*.[6]

4 Edward Bellasis, 'Cardinal Newman as a Musician'. Reprinted (with Additions and Musical Examples) from *'The Month'*, September 1891, London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner, and Co., 1892.

5 Edward Bellasis, *Coram Cardinali*, London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1917

6 Percy M. Young, *Elgar, Newman and* The Dream of Gerontius *In the Tradition of English Catholicism*, Aldershot:

Young places Newman in the context of Catholic 19th century church music, seeing him as an important link between the musicians of the London embassy chapels of the early post-emancipation period, and the later Victorian period when the young Elgar was a church musician in Worcester. Young is the first scholar to pay serious attention to Newman's collection of hymn tunes, now largely forgotten, but which provide a fascinating insight into Newman's views on popular religious singing. This study expands that of Young, which, though largely original, was necessarily sketchy, given that the principal focus of his attention was the music of Elgar.

I show that Newman's essays in liturgical music and popular hymn singing were not only original contributions to nineteenth century English Catholic church music, but were in continuity with the tradition of popular *laudi* as the foundation of the Oratorian musical tradition established by St Philip Neri and his Roman followers from the sixteenth century onwards. Necessarily, however, constraints of space prevent a full account of the earlier history of the Oratorian traditions of music and liturgy, which will therefore only be referred to briefly where essential for the argument of the thesis.

As a priest, Newman's attitude to the liturgy has occasionally been noted, as one of the less prominent areas of his ministry. Two major studies have helped to bring out the importance of the liturgy in Newman's life, both of them dealing especially with the development of his understanding and love of the liturgy during his later Anglican years. The first of these, *Newman the Oratorian*,

Scolar Press, 1995.

first published in 1969 by the Irish Benedictine scholar, Placid Murray, shows how Newman's preaching in the 1830's became progressively more concerned with liturgical matters and expounded liturgical themes, which would continue to bear fruit in his Oratorian vocation.[7] Murray's introductory study concentrates on showing the continuity between Newman's Anglican and Catholic ministries, particularly as shown in his preaching. My intention is to show that Newman's Oratorian vocation, though initially somewhat slow in taking shape after his reception into the Catholic Church, was the ideal home for the liturgical development of his musical gifts and the fruit of his aesthetic understanding of the hidden beauty of heaven.

Donald Withey's monograph on *John Henry Newman: the Liturgy and the Breviary; Their influence on his Life as an Anglican*, was published in 1992.[8] As the title suggests, this detailed study is limited to Newman's Anglican years and only makes occasional references forward to his Catholic life. Nevertheless, it is of importance in showing how Newman's growing attraction to Catholicism was channelled through his reliance on the Roman Breviary as a structured foundation for daily and seasonal prayer in union with the whole Church. I extend Withey's insights into Newman's apprehension of the Breviary by demonstrating how it underpins liturgical and devotional prayer in Newman's Oratorian ministry.

Newman's use of music in education was touched upon by Paul Shrimpton in his important 2005 study of Newman's boys' school in Edgbaston, *A*

7 Placid Murray, OSB (ed.), *Newman the Oratorian. His Unpublished Oratory Papers, edited with an Introductory Study on the continuity between his Anglican and Catholic ministry,* Dublin: Gill and MacMillan, 1969. (*NO*)

8 Donald A. Withey, *John Henry Newman: the Liturgy and the Breviary; Their influence on his life as an Anglican,* London: Sheed and Ward, 1992.

Catholic Eton? Newman's Oratory School.[9] Newman had much earlier made important use of music in the late 1830's at Littlemore when he found himself obliged to take on the instruction of the village children personally. There Newman explored the attractive power of music on the minds of children, and of the interrelationship between sacred and secular music in winning and holding their attention, thereby aiming positively to enhance their experience both of learning and of worship. His appreciation of the positive role of music in teaching and learning was therefore already well developed before he embarked on the formation of his public school in the 1860's. This study investigates those early experiments in detail and connects them with Newman's later educational schemes and with his love of music in general.

Newman's interest in architecture, although less central to his aesthetics than his love of music, is nonetheless of significance for understanding the role of beauty in his theology, precisely because of its relation to worship and liturgy. I explore the formation of Newman's appreciation of architectural style in his early years' experience in London and Oxford, and to show how he put it into effect in his first building project at Littlemore, where he took pains over the design and construction of the chapel in which he ministered to his parishioners. I also show how he developed a theology of architectural beauty in his sermons preached in Littlemore chapel. This appreciation of the aesthetics of architecture in the service of religion was further deepened in his experiences as a newly converted Catholic in Milan and Rome. To assess accurately this aspect of Newman's aesthetics, I draw attention to the role of John Hungerford Pollen, the

9 Paul Shrimpton, *A Catholic Eton? Newman's Oratory School,* Leominster: Gracewing, 2005.

architect and artist who collaborated most with Newman in Dublin and Birmingham, in order to understand the interaction between them, which has not previously been examined closely, and to include an examination of Newman's attitude to the work and polemics of Augustus Welby Pugin and their implications for his unfolding views on architecture and liturgy as an Oratorian priest.

Newman's interest in pictorial art is also considered here. His aim to found a school of art as a specifically Oratorian project has not been examined, nor has his employment of artists to work on his church and house in Birmingham. I explore Newman's sending of one of the younger members of his Oratorian community to Dublin to study with Pollen, and subsequently to Rome to study with Ferdinand von Platner, a collaborator of Johann Friedrich Overbeck, of the German Nazarene School, with the intention of founding an Oratorian school of art, supported by papal brief. Because the proposed Birmingham school never materialised, it has hardly been noticed before, yet the scheme indicates Newman's interest in, and awareness of, the importance of sacred art in the Oratorian apostolate, and his approval of the Romantic reaction to the principles of the Enlightenment, and against the overreaching of the arts in religious contexts, which he expounded in his lectures to the Catholic University in Dublin.

Finally, I give an account of the philosophical principles which underlie Newman's various encounters with forms and expressions of 'beautifulness'. Some of Newman's most important and arresting aesthetic *obiter dicta* are to be found in his two novels and his long poem *The Dream of Gerontius*, where he was free to examine ideas imaginatively through the lens of

fictional characters, who express and explore Newman's own ideas and arguments. It is particularly in *Callista* that Newman explores the idea of beauty as attractive towards the truth, and in *Gerontius* that he explores the idea of truth as the fullness of beauty in music, architecture and, above all, the vision of God.

Chapter one

Unearthly Beauty

In Search of Eden

Introduction

By his own account, John Henry Newman was no 'aesthetic', as he commented in 1846 when describing, albeit with some degree of aesthetic appreciation, Augustus Welby Pugin's magnificent new church at Cheadle, Staffordshire. 'It is a most splendid place, though I am no aesthetic I say it – a spire 200 ft high – the whole stencilled within with the richest colours – the windows all stained'.[1]

Newman had in reality a very profound sense of beauty, but it tends to transcend the realms of this-worldly aesthetics and point towards the spiritual world. If Newman shows himself to be reticent in speaking about beauty, it is because he does not want to be misunderstood precisely as an 'aesthetic', as one interested in beauty which 'leads to nothing beyond itself'.[2] On one level, of course, Newman could not help being affected by his own perception and judgement of what he found 'beautiful', and of this he speaks at certain times very penetratingly.

Newman's poetry and his musical prowess as a violinist bear witness to

1 *LD* xi, p. 227
2 *Idea*, p. 122

his aesthetic sensitivity. It is noteworthy that he shows the greatest flights of poetic inspiration when he is affected profoundly by the beauties of nature. Many of his best poems come from a concentrated burst of creativity during his Mediterranean cruise in 1832 to 1833. Yet even earlier than then he made it clear that he was more moved by the beauties of nature than by those of man's making. In 'Nature and Art', written while he was staying in Kent in the summer of 1826, he seems to sneer at human creativity when placed alongside the beauties of nature, for nature is alive, where man's creations are but 'dull art', at best lamely imitating nature:

By arch and spire, by tower-girt heights,
[man] would his boast fulfil;
By marble births and mimic lights,-
Yet lacks one secret still;
Where is the master-hand shall give
To breathe, to move, to speak, to live?

'O take away this shade of might,
The puny toil of man,
And let rich nature in my sight
Unfold her varied plan;
I cannot bear those sullen walls,
Those eyeless towers, those tongueless halls.[3]

But principally, it is because Nature is alive that it points beyond itself towards its Creator, the 'Master-hand' hidden behind or within. It is in the Creator that beauty itself originates. Thus, beauty could best be described for him as that power of God to attract the human person to Himself; a power with which He had also endowed His creation, so that through the appreciation of created beauty, human persons made in His image and likeness might thereby be drawn both to love Him and, what is no less important to Newman, to be drawn to be ever more

3 *VV,* no. iv

like Him. In other words, beauty is principally to be located within that essentially divine quality we recognize as holiness.

Impressions of Newman's Voice and Preaching

Although we can read his works and his letters and appreciate for ourselves their beauty of Newman's language and expression, we cannot now hear him since no recording of his voice was ever made. Yet of all his personal characteristics, the one which most frequently is cited with admiration is the extraordinary beauty of his voice.[4] 'Musicality' was a quality frequently ascribed to Newman's voice, and it was that which most struck those who heard him or met him as expressing the heart and beauty of his character. Referring specifically to his reading in church, Aubrey de Vere recollects that it was 'beautiful, a sort of melodious, plaintive and rather quick half-chaunt.'[5] This kind of description, perhaps unsurprisingly, is especially associated with his preaching. Yet there are interesting references throughout his life to the 'silvery' and 'harmonious' tones of his voice. In the account of his recollection of the Achilli trial, Coleridge also noted 'Oh! What a sweet musical, almost unearthly voice it was, so unlike any other we had heard.'[6] In these instances, one notes the same effect on the hearers of the incomparable and inexpressible sweetness and strangeness of that unearthly voice.

4 For a thorough treatment of this aspect of Newman's impression on others, see '"“O Unforgotten Voice”; The Memory of Newman in the Nineteenth Century', David J. DeLaura; in *Sources for Reinterpretation: The Use of Nineteenth Century Literary Documents; Essays in Honor of C.L.Cline*,' University of Texas at Austin, 1975, pp. 25-55

5 Wilfrid Ward, *The Life of John Henry Cardinal Newman Based on his Private Journals and Correspondence*, 2 volumes, London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1912, vol. i, p. 32

6 Bernard Lord Coleridge, *This for Remembrance*, London: T. Fisher Unwin Ltd., 1925, p. 86

Newman's voice was never more powerfully employed than in preaching. Anne Mozley recounts an anonymous recollection which she describes as emanating from 'a vivid and loving memory', concerning

> the whole manner and delivery of the preacher. What that something was we utterly despair of giving even a faint idea of to any man who did not witness it. To those who are justly penetrated by the force and beauty of these printed sermons, we can only say with Aeschines, "What if you had heard himself pronounce it?"[7]

One who heard him pronounce from the pulpit of St. Chad's Cathedral in his early Catholic days was the young future Archbishop of Canterbury, Edward White Benson, who remarked the 'angelic eloquence' of his voice which was 'very sweet' and 'awful', uttering 'sweet, flowing, unlaboured language in short...and very pithy and touching sentences'.[8]

Many such descriptions of his preaching have come down to us.[9] As with visual impressions of Newman, these accounts of his preaching naturally vary according to the subjective sensitivity and taste of the individuals. Rhetorically, as befits a former Professor of Poetry, Matthew Arnold asks:

> Who could resist the charm of that spiritual apparition, gliding in the dim afternoon light through the aisles of St Mary's, rising into the pulpit, and then, in the most entrancing of voices, breaking the silence with words and thoughts which were a religious music – subtle, sweet, mournful?[10]

Although Arnold captures the ethereal quality of Newman's movements and

7 *Moz ii*, p. 219, (quoting the *Dublin Review* of 1869)
8 See I. T. Ker, *John Henry Newman: A Biography*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988, p. 337
9 See e.g. *Moz ii*, p. 219, and Edward Bellasis, *Coram Cardinali*, Longmans, Green and Co. London, 1917, p. 71
10 Sheridan Gilley, *Newman and his Age*, London, 1990, p. 126 (quoting *Philistinism in England and America*, by Matthew Arnold)

speech, Sheridan Gilley rightly observes that 'this description suggests Newman's grace, but not his strength.'[11] By the time he wrote this recollection, Arnold was no longer a believer. Hence he did not understand, or at least accept, the source of that beauty which Newman sought to communicate from his own heart to the hearts of his hearers. From Arnold one might almost assume that Newman indulged in sentimental pathos. Such a distortion bedevilled Newman's reputation long after, as Vincent Reade commented in 1945:

> A well-known and valuable English Catholic writer used of Newman (especially, it is true, of the early Newman) the words 'yearning and wistful', and although this writer himself saw further, we have heard the words quoted picked out as a happy delineation. And is not this notion of sentimentality suggested by the word 'beautiful' so often, and perhaps so shallowly, used of one who was so much more?[12]

Newman was certainly not 'sentimental'. There was indeed a dramatic interpretation of Newman's preaching style, which one finds in the same anonymous description already quoted: 'the sermon began in a calm, musical voice, the key slightly rising as it went on', until 'it seemed as if his very soul and body glowed with suppressed emotion'.[13] Others, too, witnessed the musical voice and the expression of powerful emotion, but also something far deeper. For all that his natural gifts help to explain Newman's ability to thrill those who heard him, there was far more than those external qualities that accounted for that power: there was the living person to whom these attributes gave expressive power.

11 Gilley, op. cit. p. 126
12 see Francis Vincent Reade, “The Sentimental Myth”, in *Newman Centenary Essays* ed. Tristram; Burns, Oates and Washbourne, London, 1945 p. 139
13 *Moz ii*, p. 219, (quoting the *Dublin Review* of 1869)

Yet, of course, not all those who were so struck by Newman were necessarily drawn to his holiness. Anthony Froude at a time when, like Arnold, he had become an unbeliever, similarly recalled Newman's power to penetrate the minds and hearts of his audience: '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.'[14] Yet this was despite the fact that Newman never strove for any artificially rhetorical affect. This, too, was noted by many. Whereas many preachers of the day did adopt an emotionally charged style of preaching to add urgency or drama to their words, Newman's power was paradoxically exercised through restraint. That restraint could be interpreted in various ways as is illustrated in the case of a 'militant sectarian preacher from Philadelphia, John Alonzo Clark, on the alert for the cloven hoof of Popery,' who 'found Newman in 1838 “a thin, sallow-looking man, cold in the pulpit as an icicle,” and his sermon “exceedingly dull and uninteresting.”'[15] Dean Lake tells us that 'there was the style, always simple, refined and unpretending, and without a touch of anything which could be called rhetoric, but always marked by a depth of feeling, which evidently sprang from the heart and experience of the speaker.'[16] Despite the deliberate lack of rhetoric which Lake refers to, even he recognized that his words were 'penetrated by a suppressed vein of the poetry which was so strong a feature in Newman's mind, and which appealed at once to the hearts and highest feelings of his hearers.'[17] This 'poetical' nature of Newman's sermons is similarly attested

14 See James Anthony Froude, M.A., *Short Studies on Great Subjects*, 4 vols., Longmans, Green and Co., London, 1894, vol. 4, p. 283

15 David DeLaura, op. cit. p. 25

16 See R.D. Middleton, “The Vicar of St Mary's”, in *Newman Centenary Essays*, p.132 (quoting *Memorials of William Charles Lake Dean of Durham*, by Katharine Lake)

17 Middleton, op. cit., p. 132

by Anthony Froude.[18] Some of those who recalled Newman's preaching also gave witness to a sense of the unworldliness of his presence, recalling not only that 'the voice was powerful, yet melodious', but also that 'he stood in the pulpit a frail thin form as one who had stepped forth from another world.'[19]

Newman was not unaware that he had, and could exercise, such power. In the famous peroration of his final Anglican sermon, “The Parting of Friends”, preached at Littlemore in 1843, he addressed his congregation:

> O my brethren, O kind and affectionate hearts, O loving friends, should you know any one whose lot it has been, by writing or by word of mouth, in some degree to help you thus to act; if he has ever told you what you knew about yourselves, or what you did not know; has read to you your wants or feelings, and comforted you by the very reading; has made you feel that there was a higher life than this daily one, and a brighter world than that you see; or encouraged you, or sobered you, or opened a way to the enquiring, or soothed the perplexed; if what he has said or done has ever made you take interest in him, and feel well inclined towards him; remember such a one in time to come, though you hear him not....[20]

Several essential ingredients of Newman's preaching can be identified here. Note, for instance, the rhetorical repetitions of the vocative “O”, followed by the oblique reference to himself in the third person as 'one whose lot it has been to help you'. Yet he makes no assertion that he is such a person, but only haltingly and with great reticence suggests what their attitude might be *should* they know of one 'having told them what they knew or did not know about themselves'. But most of all Newman sums up his entire purpose in preaching in the next phrase: if he 'has made you feel that there was a higher life than this daily one, and a

18 J. A. Froude op. cit. vol. 4, pp. 283-4
19 Middleton, op. cit. p. 130
20 *SD* no. xxvi, p. 409

brighter world than that you see', thus pointing away from this world to a world whence the preacher draws his strength of purpose and, by implication, towards which he is constantly looking himself; a brighter, and therefore more beautiful world. It is perfectly understandable that preaching like this reduced his congregation to tears. Yet this was no mere sentimental discourse. For those who had ears to hear, it was a call to recognize and embrace other-worldly beauty, the 'beauty of holiness', as he himself had constantly sought it, and in praying 'for him, that in all things he may know God's will, and at all times be ready to fulfil it,' they should be prepared to do the same.

In the Preface to his friend Hurrell Froude's *Remains*, Newman enunciated a fundamental principle of aesthetics which is seen in his own writing too, that beauty 'in nature and art' does not of itself lead the one who is attracted to it directly and simply to the Author of beauty, but should indeed be treated with caution verging on suspicion:

> ...if there be any, who have an eye for all that is exquisite and beautiful in nature and art, yet gladly turn away from all to admire any plain downright specimen of self-denial and obedience in the little ones of Jesus Christ...that is the sort of reader to whose judgment, if to any human, the Editors of these Remains would appeal from the prejudices, religious, and political, of the day.[21]

Newman himself turned to poetry to express those deeper feelings of reverence and awe which ought not to be examined clinically, or lightly. This motive suggested to Newman the idea that he and his friends should compose the poems which were eventually published as the *Lyra Apostolica*, to expound the

21 *Remains of the Late Reverend Richard Hurrell Froude, M.A. Fellow of Oriel College, Oxford.* 2 vols.(each vol. in two parts), eds. J .H. Newman and J. Keble, London: Rivington, 1838-1839, vol. ii, p. xxxv

truths of religion by producing 'shadows of high things if not the high things themselves.'[22] From beauty in nature and art, which is the 'shadow' of reality, the beholder must be prepared 'gladly [to] turn away' so that he may then be set free inwardly to admire the 'high things' which constitute the reality which art, being but a 'shadow', can only imitate.

Newman's poetry therefore stands somewhat in contrast to his preaching. If his preaching was direct and even prosaic in its manner of presentation, his poetry was musical and allusive. For instance, one of his earliest poems dating from 1827, which he called 'Introduction', and is subtitled 'to an Album', is replete with musical metaphors referring to himself:

> I AM a harp of many chords, and each
> Strung by a separate hand; - most musical
> My notes, discoursing with the mental sense,
> Not the outward ear....

He concludes with an invitation to the one whom he is addressing to become part of the musical metaphor:

> Come, add a string to my assort of sounds;
> Widen the compass of my harmony;
> And join thyself in fellowship of name
> With those whose courteous labour and fair gifts
> Have given me voice, and made me what I am.[23]

This poem also furnishes us with an example of another way in which Newman uses poetry in contrast to preaching and scholarly writing. For whereas

22 *LD* iii, p 121 Newman wrote to his gifted young protégé, Frederic Rogers on December 1st 1832, asking him to write verses for Hugh Rose's *British Magazine*: 'we have hopes of making an effective quasi-political engine, without every contribution being of that character. Do not stirring times bring out poets? Do they not give opportunity for the rhetoric of poetry, and the persuasion? And may we not at least produce shadows of high things if not the high things themselves?'

23 *VV*, no. v.

sermons and academic writing are addressed to a wide audience, poetry allows him to address himself to an individual, whether that be some identifiable person as, for instance, his brother or his sisters, or as in this case to the reader. It even allows him to speak in another's voice as in 'A Voice from afar' in which his dead sister Mary speaks consolingly to her grieving family.[24]

Newman's allusive use of poetry is well illustrated by another poem from 1827 entitled 'Snapdragon' which is given two subtitles: first 'A Riddle', and secondly 'For a Flower Book'. It is in one sense hardly a riddle at all since Newman has already given us in the title the identity of the mysterious voice which is heard in the poem. Yet the heart of the riddle lies in the secret significance of the subject to Newman himself. It was many years later in the *Apologia* that Newman was to reveal the special symbolism which the snapdragon held for him, when he described his sadness at leaving Oxford by the metaphor of the enduring presence of snapdragon in Trinity College: 'There used to be much snapdragon growing on the walls opposite my freshman's rooms there, and I had for years taken it as the emblem of my own perpetual residence even unto death in my own University.'[25] The depth of Newman's feeling is expressed here through the repeated reference in the *Apologia* to *my* rooms, *my own* perpetual residence, and *my own* University, not just for life but *even unto death*. It indicates retrospectively the allusive significance of the 1827 poem's closing lines:

> May it be! Then well might I
> In College cloister live and die.[26]

24 *VV*, no. iii, p. 8, addressed to Frank Newman; no. viii, p. 22, and no. xvi, p. 48, both addressed to his dead sister Mary; see also no. xii, p. 36 'A Voice from Afar', in which Newman speaks in Mary's voice.
25 *Apo*. p. 213
26 *VV*, no. vi, p. 17

Whilst we can see from these examples how Newman turned to poetry to express his most intimate feelings, we can also see another stratagem employed in the poems he wrote from 1832 onwards for the collection known as *Lyra Apostolica*. As he explained to Hugh Rose, for whose magazine *British Review* he originally wrote the poems, 'Our object is, to bring out certain truths and facts, moral, ecclesiastical, and religious, simply and forcibly, with greater freedom, and clearness than in the Christian Year'.[27] Newman's *Lyra* poems came about directly as a result of Newman's growing sense of his vocation to save the Church of England from what he called 'liberalism'.[28] His attraction to poetry as one of the means of doing so was connected in his mind with Southey's 'beautiful poem of Thalaba, for which I had an immense liking' and which 'came forcibly to my mind'.[29] The 'beauty' which Newman here ascribes to the poem he elsewhere identifies with its 'moral' tone, by which he specifically means that it ends 'not with a marriage, but with death and future glory'.[30] Such a contrast neatly encapsulates the difference between earthly and unearthly beauty for Newman. For marriage here is seen as primarily of this world and life, whereas future glory can only follow death to be found beyond the limits of this world.

It would seem in any case to be clear that at the point where he was planning the *Lyra* series, Newman identified poetry on the one hand and his

27 *LD* iii, p. 120. *Christian Year* refers to Keble's already very popular collection of poetry of that name first published in 1827

28 see *Apo*. p. 32, where Newman describes the role of Hugh Rose in commissioning an article on the First Council of Nicea which would become the book entitled *The Arians of the Fourth Century*. It was for Rose's *British Magazine* that Newman and his friends were to compose the poems under the collective title *Lyra Apostolica.*

29 *Apo*. pp. 42-43.

30 *LD* xiii, p. 449, Newman wrote to J. M. Capes on March 22nd, 1850: 'Thalaba has ever been to my feelings the most sublime of English Poems — I don't know Spenser — I mean *morally* sublime.' (Newman's emphasis)

academic study of the early Church and Fathers on the other as two complementary weapons of beauty and historical truth respectively, to be wielded against the prevailing 'this-worldliness' of the religion of the day which he was to follow Keble in calling 'National Apostasy'.[31]

Beauty and Holiness

Just as others so often noted the mysterious 'otherworldliness' of that which they found beautiful in Newman's character, voice and preaching, so too Newman's own idea of beauty was rooted in things unearthly, a beauty which nevertheless both underlies and transcends mere appearances. Insofar as physical beauty, whether of persons or of the world of nature, is of this world, Newman himself generally speaks of 'beauty' and whatever is 'beautiful' sparingly. This should not mislead anyone into believing that beauty failed to concern or interest him. It is rather that in its regard he exercised a certain reticence. Nevertheless, there is one important exception to Newman's normal rule of reticence in speaking of the beauty of nature, and it is to be found above all in his letters home from Sicily in 1833. It is therefore not without significance that much of Newman's poetry which touches on natural beauty, stems from his experiences on that journey. As his letters, poems and journal entries concerning his Mediterranean voyage show, Newman treats beauty as mysteriously recalling the lost state of happiness which he identifies with Eden.[32] Beauty is to be treated with caution and reverence rather than with a mere superficial sense of aesthetic pleasure.

31 'National Apostasy' was the title Keble gave to his Assize Sermon on July 14th 1833, which Newman himself identified as the beginning of the Tractarian Movement. See *Apo*. p. 43

32 See, e.g., *LD* iii, p. 292; *VV* no. xxxix, 'The Haven'; *AW*, p. 123.

It is difficult to arrive at an appreciation of the 'beauty of holiness', says Newman, because the sense of sin occludes it. This in turn makes religious knowledge peculiarly difficult to attain. No amount of mental labour and intensive research can reach it unless enlightened by humility, meekness and purity. Because he was drawn to the 'beauty of holiness', Newman realised the profound connection between earthly beauty on the one hand and the beauty of heaven and of God on the other. Or. more correctly, he understood that earthly beauty is a veiled form of the hidden beauty of God and should, when rightly perceived, draw us on to God. Yet it is also important to understand that Newman came to realise that the kind of beauty which comes nearest to God in this world is not mere natural beauty, but a kind which surpasses natural beauty by reason of that nearness to God which is holiness. This kind can therefore be found only in persons, and in them it is seen to remove them from the limits of this world, and especially from its imperfections and sinfulness. Such beauty is authentic because it is, in Newman's terminology, 'real', being directly dependent on a person's fidelity to God and to seeking God's will.

There were those who were able to recognise and be attracted to this 'beauty of holiness' in the young Newman.[33] There was something unearthly about him which was described as beauty, something that was suggestive of a hidden reality beyond the visible veil. Insofar as that beauty was discernible, so far did it seem not only to belong to another world, the world of heaven and of God, but

33 e.g. Charlotte Pearson; see *LD* i, p. 172, n. 1

also to possess the power to attract others both to its earthly form and to the mysterious hidden, heavenly quality that was discernible within the veil.

That the true beauty of a person is to be found beyond that of physical attractiveness or admirable facility in arts or in the mind in was nowhere more vividly exemplified for Newman than in his relationship with youngest sister, Mary. He was deeply attached to Mary from her earliest years and recognised in her a profound beauty born of personal holiness. Newman identified this beauty above all in her unassuming innocence and unworldliness. In loving these signs of holiness he recognised that he was drawn thereby to love God who manifested Himself through these qualities in her. It was not only God that Newman loved, therefore, but Mary, too, and all the more for what he perceived as her close resemblance to God.

It seems that it was precisely because Newman recognised Mary's beauty as belonging to another world that he anticipated that she would not remain long in this one.[34] So powerfully was the intensity of his affection for Mary coupled with his sense of her personal beauty and innocence, that Newman wrote to his friend Robert Wilberforce a few days after the event, 'our sorrow at her loss is borne down by the remembrance of what she was to us, our joy and delight...we know her mind to have been rare indeed and intensely beautiful.'[35] This beauty was characterised for Newman by her 'singular sweetness and affectionateness of temper' which Newman ascribed to her living 'in an ideal

34 See *AW*, p. 213
35 *LD* ii, pp. 49-50

world of happiness' which she was able to communicate with others so powerfully that 'the very sight...made others happy.'

In August 1828, less than two years after her death, Newman wrote a poem entitled 'A Picture',[36] which is an eloquent testimony to the depth of his devotion to his lost sister. He headed the poem with the words of Jesus at the bedside of Jairus's daughter: 'The maiden is not dead, but sleepeth.' (Mk 5: 39) and begins: 'She is not gone;...' At the end of the autograph he wrote many years afterwards, in 1877, 'I have as vivid feelings of love, tenderness and sorrow, when I think of dear Mary, as ever I had since her death.' This intertwining of joy and sorrow is eloquently explored in the poem:

> The thrilling voice, I ne'er could hear
> But felt a joy and pain;
> - A pride that she was ours, a fear
> Ours she might not remain.

Newman thus contrasts two most interesting reflections: first, that Mary's beauty seemed to belong to the other world rather than to this one, and secondly, that he even thought that he lost his sister because he loved her 'too well'. It is noteworthy, too, that Newman remembers her 'thrilling voice' just as so many others would recall his own. He continues in his letter to Wilberforce, 'all persons (almost) she loved and delighted in – and thus, having lived in this world as if it were heaven, before she discovered (as she must in time) that it was not so, she has been translated into the real and substantial heaven of God.'[37] The beauty of this world is but a frail token of the hidden and true world of God, to which we

36 *VV* no. ix, p, 25
37 *LD* ii, pp. 49-50

are all called, to the reality and permanence of which Mary had already been taken so early.

After Mary's death, Newman was reminded of her by places he associated with her, as for instance when he speaks of having taken 'a delight in showing her [Oxford] – and every building, every tree, seems to speak of her'.[38] Yet what is striking is the fact that Newman could also be put vividly in mind of Mary in strange places he and she had never known before, which on account of their intense beauty alone brought her powerfully to mind.

The most arresting instance of his being reminded of Mary in a wholly strange place occurred in Sicily in 1833. He had briefly seen it with the Froudes on the way to Rome in February and despite the danger of travelling in a strange country without friends, he was smitten with an overwhelming desire to revisit Sicily and described himself as being drawn thither 'by a strange love... to gaze upon its cities and mountains'.[39] The nature of what he called this 'irresistible attraction' to Sicily was probably not completely clear to him at the time, though he began to write about it in his letters as putting him in mind of Eden, a world of lost innocence and beauty. Thus he wrote to J. F. Christie:

> Next Tuesday we go our separate ways; the Froudes homeward, I drawn by an irresistible attraction to the fair levels and richly verdured heights of Sicily. What a country it is! a shadow of Eden, so as at once to enrapture and to make one melancholy.[40]

The idea of Eden also begins to appear in Newman's poems at this time.

38 *AW,* p. 213
39 *LD* iii p. 282
40 *LD* iii p. 277

The closing lines of 'Wanderings' written at Gibraltar bemoan the cloying joys of this world:

> Since Adam lost for one fierce joy
> His Eden's sacred shade.[41]

Just a few days later in 'The Haven', Newman identifies in the concluding lines the relative tranquillity of Gibraltar after the storms at sea:

> Sinner! Thou has in this rare guest
> Of Adam's gift a figure blest
> 'Tis Eden seen, though not possess'd
> Which cherub-flames still keep.[42]

Sicily's natural beauty seemed perfectly to encapsulate the oxymoron that earthly beauty inspires both joy and melancholy, reminding us of a greater beauty lost through sin, the beauty of Eden, which can be glimpsed only as it can be seen beyond the barrier of the flaming sword wielded by the angel. Yet Eden also appears as the sign of future restoration to God's favour. At the end of 'Hope', composed in Malta in February 1833, Newman writes of stepping off the boat as though leaving 'Noe's' ark:

> So, while the gross earth melts, for judgment ripe,
> Ne'er with its haughty turrets to emerge,
> We shall mount up to Eden's long-lost gate.[43]

It was surely this paradoxical conjunction of rapture and melancholy which, on the one hand, made Newman describe the countryside near Aderno as being like Eden:

> the scene was most beautiful – hills thrown about on all sides, &

41 *VV*, no. xxxii, p. 71, December 8th, 1832
42 *VV*, no. xxxix, p. 82, December 16th, 1832. n.b. The word “gift” which is in the original version sent by post to Mrs Newman, was subsequently altered in *VV* to “peace”.
43 *VV*, no. lxvii, p. 122, February 5th, 1833

> covered with green corn, in all variety of shades, relieving [sic] by the light (raw sienna) stone of the hills. The whole day the scene was like the Garden of Eden most exquisitely beautiful, though varying, sometimes with deep valleys on the side, & many trees, high hills with towns on the top as S. Filippo d'Argyro – Etna behind us, Castro Juan [Giovanni] before in the distance.[44]

Yet on the other hand Newman also saw a hidden connection between the unfamiliar beauties of Sicily and his dead sister, as he goes on to say that he '...fell to tears thinking of dear Mary as I looked at the beautiful prospect.' [45] The reference to the Garden of Eden is most telling in that it recalls that primitive state of bliss and beauty unbesmirched by the Fall. In fact, in many places in his poems Newman seems to find himself drawn to the idea of Eden in connection with the state of rest enjoyed by those who await the resurrection. In his poem 'Waiting for the Morning'[46], which begins 'They are at rest,' he forbids mourning for the dead, saying that:

> We may not stir the heaven of their repose
> With loud-voiced grief, or passionate request,
> Or selfish plaint for those
> Who in the mountain grots of Eden lie...

Hence it is most illuminating that in beholding the 'exquisitely beautiful' scenery of Sicily, Newman was reminded of the state of blessedness mankind had lost through sin, and on that account also of Mary. It was as though his memory of her innocence inexorably drew his mind and affections heavenward, to the state in which the blessed peacefully await the resurrection.

So while the visual apprehension of great natural beauty instinctively

44 *AW*, p. 123
45 *AW*, p. 123
46 *VV*, no. cxxi p. 206

brought Mary, as it were, unbidden to Newman's mind, his reflections on its impact upon him are characteristically expressed in poetry. As well as the poem 'A Picture', already mentioned, Newman had also written 'Consolations in Bereavement'[47] in April 1828, in which he sees Mary's sudden death as a sign that she was in a way protected from the bitterness of death which belongs to our sinful state:

Thou wast not made to taste Death's bitterness,
Decline's slow-wasting charm, or fever's fierce distress.

Nor was it Mary's person alone which was preserved from the slow-wasting decline or fierce fever, but so also was her image, as it was impressed on her loved ones' hearts and memories, for

Death came and went; - that so thy image might
Our yearning hearts possess,
Associate with all pleasant thoughts and bright,
With youth and loveliness;

and so her family might remember her only in the bloom and beauty of her youth.

Another sensory image, that of smell or fragrance, completes the picture of consolation Newman draws as he concludes this poem with the words:

Dearest thou art enshrined
In all thy fragrance in our memories;
For we must ever find
Bare thought of thee
Freshen this weary life, while weary life shall be.

In his novel *Loss and Gain*, Newman even associates the notion of scents with Eden, calling them 'relics...of Eden's bowers', and his semi-

47 *VV* no. viii, p. 22

autobiographical character Charles Reding characterizes scents, along with sounds, as 'more ethereal, less material' than other sensible qualities, and compares them to angels, in their not having shape.[48] In one exotic passage where Newman preached about the sensible beauties of nature as the 'poorest and dimmest glimmerings of [God's] glory', he invited his congregation to 'drink in the fragrant air' and to 'think of the almost mysterious influence upon the mind of particular scents'.[49]

In 'Epiphany-Eve. A Birthday Offering' of 1830,[50] Newman treats the anniversary of Mary's death as her new birthday, an entry into a new life and world of which we can know so little, as he says: 'Dearest, gentlest, purest, best!/ Deep is thy mysterious rest,' and not knowing what this means for her awareness of what goes on in the life she has left behind he asks her, 'Thinkest of us, dearest, ever?' Yet always he is conscious of the fact that where Mary is gone, we must all eventually follow, 'Loveliest, meekest, blithest, kindest!/ Lead! We seek the home thou findest!' For it is Newman's trust that 'home' is indeed where Mary is, in 'thine own God's abode' and though he is grieved at losing her, yet he trusts that it is better not only for her but for him, too, that she has left him. Moreover, so that Mary's special role may now be to guide those who long to be reunited with her, he eagerly cries out, 'Go! We would not have thee here.' He takes up the Epiphany theme of the light guiding the Magi through the dark night to the presence of the infant Christ, and urges Mary to be that star for him as he seeks to follow where she has gone before: 'Lead, a guiding beacon bright/ To travellers on the Eve of

48 *LG*, p. 97
49 *Mix.* no. xiv, p. 296
50 *VV*, no. xvi, p. 48

Light.'

In 'A Voice from Afar'[51], Newman does not explicitly refer to Mary, yet there can be little doubt that the voice whose words he writes is hers, especially as he was writing for Maria Giberne,[52] who had been staying with the Newman family at the time of Mary's death.[53] The voice begins, 'Weep not for me;' and gives the reason for this command in that 'I still am near; - / Watching the smiles I prized on earth'. Newman imagines Mary telling him that, placed by the glassy sea which is spread before God's throne,

> We, on its shore,
> Share, in the bosom of our rest,
> God's knowledge, and are blest.

Thus he surmises that Mary's present knowledge of the affairs of her loved ones on earth may be a participation in God's own divine knowledge. Though it was of such great consequence for Newman's reflection on the unearthly nature of spiritual beauty, Mary's death was not the first one that had deeply affected Newman. The first dead body he ever saw had been his father's in 1824, on the sight of which he commented that 'he looked beautiful, such calmness, sweetness, composure and majesty were in the countenance.'[54] The beauty of his dead father's face seemed to suggest the majesty of God into whose presence he had passed. Beauty and majesty here below were but the sign of a greater reality beyond death itself.

51 *VV,* no. xii, p. 36. This poem is no liii in *Lyra Apostolica,* where it is named 'Knowledge'.
52 See diary notes for September 28th and 29th 1829, *LD* ii, p. 168, and footnotes.
53 See *LD* xxx, p. 50
54 *AW,* p. 203

Another life and death would have profound effects upon Newman some years later. His closest friend for ten years was Richard Hurrell Froude, who was, like Newman himself, a Fellow of Oriel College. Froude did not enjoy good health and it was in order to convalesce that he and his Father, Archdeacon Froude, decided to travel in the Mediterranean in 1832-3 and invited Newman to join them. Hurrell's health, however, did not recover for long and he passed his final days in his father's home in Devon, where he died on 28th February 1836.

As soon as he heard from Archdeacon Froude that his son was dead, Newman wrote to Samuel Rickards,

> I have this day heard tidings sadder to me on the whole than I ever can hear – i.e. more intimately and permanently trying, Froude's death. I never can have such a loss, for no one is there else in the whole world but he whom I could look forward to as a contabernalis for my whole life.[55]

The idea conveyed by the unusual word 'contabernalis'[56] is more than that of a companion. It suggests one who shares one's home, one's place of refreshment and comfort. Newman himself expands this idea in a letter to another friend who merited the title 'contabernalis', his old Trinity friend, Bowden:

> [Froude] has been so very dear to me, that it is an effort to me to reflect on my own thoughts about him. I can never have a greater loss, looking on for the whole of life – for he was to me, and he was likely to be ever, in the same degree of continual familiarity which I enjoyed with yourself in our Undergraduate days.[57]

Newman's description of his friend's 'bright' effect upon him was

55 *LD* v, p. 247
56 *Vere* 'contubernalis'. see Lewis and Short s.q. Is this Newman's own variation on the word? Newman uses the form 'contubernalis' in a draft inscription commemorating Froude which he intended to erect in Littlemore church. See *LD* vii, p. 263, n. 2
57 *LD* v, p. 249

strikingly similar to that of his sister Mary: 'every thing was so bright and beautiful about him, that to think of him must always be a comfort.'[58] There is also a close resemblance between his reflections on Hurrell and those he had made on Mary, as he writes to Maria Giberne on March 20th:

> I cannot speak of [Froude] consistently with my own deep feelings about him, though they are all bright and pleasant...I love to think and muse upon one who had the most angelic mind of any person I ever fell in with – the most unearthly, the most gifted. I have no painful thoughts in speaking of him, though I cannot trust myself to speak of him to many, but I feel the longer I live, the more I shall miss him.[59]

It is paradoxical that Newman can say here both that he feels he will miss his friend ever more deeply, and yet 'that one cannot retain on one's memory, all one wishes to keep there and as year passes after year, the image of him will be fainter and fainter.'[60] Hence his gratitude to Maria Giberne for the gift of a sketch of his dead friend, 'You do me a most exceeding kindness in giving me your sketch of him.'[61] When Newman wrote to Keble that 'we have indeed had an irreparable loss – but I for years have expected it',[62] there may be an echo here of his reflections about Mary. As he had reflected that Mary had died because she was too good for this world, so also he seems to have thought about Hurrell, bearing also in mind that the very sight of both Mary and Hurrell cheered those who saw them.

Moreover, just as he had grieved for Mary by writing verse, so too did he turn to verse at one point to express his grief for Hurrell. The poem 'Separation

58 *LD* v, p. 249
59 *LD* v, p. 263
60 *LD* v, p. 249
61 *LD* v, p. 263
62 *LD* v, p. 253

of Friends'[63] dates in its original form from June 27th 1833, when Newman was at Marseilles on his way home soon after his illness in Sicily. In its original form the poem speaks of the separation of friends 'who 'neath the Altar wait / Until their second birth' during the intermediate state between death and resurrection. So it is interesting to note that in this poem, too, there is a reference to Eden in the context of those awaiting the resurrection. Without doubt, the title must have suggested further thoughts to Newman after Hurrell's death, for he composed twelve new lines at some later date with Hurrell in mind, as a footnote makes clear.[64] Newman adds to the original poem words which vividly recall the effect Froude had on his friends:

> Ah! Dearest, with a word he could dispel
> All questioning, and raise
> Our hearts to rapture, whispering all was well,
> And turning prayer to praise.

The beauty of Mary and Hurrell is inextricably linked in Newman's mind and heart to a sense of longing and loss. He uses the description 'angelic' to denote not only their purity but also their inaccessibility to those, like himself, who are 'earth-stain'd'.

In the first published version of the sonnet entitled 'Guardian Angels'[65], Newman begins with the question, 'Are these the tracks of some unearthly friend?' In the later version of this poem, published in *Verses on Various Occasions* in 1867, he altered two of the final three lines to strengthen the contrast between the

63 *VV,* no. cx, pp. 186-7
64 *VV,* no. cx, p. 187
65 *VV,* no. xxx, p. 69. Written in December 1832, 'Guardian Angels', as it is called in *Lyra Apostolica* (1836). was titled anew in *VV* as 'Angelic Guidance'.

unearthly and the 'earth-stain'd' states:

> Were I Christ's own, then fitly might I call
> That vision real; for to the thoughtful mind
> That walks with Him, He half unveils His face;
> But when on earth-stain'd souls such tokens fall,
> These dare not claim as theirs what there they find,
> Yet, not all hopeless, eye his boundless grace.[66]

The profoundest beauty which is perceptible in this world has, for Newman, also the quality of ultimate unattainability in this life. It is unearthly as belonging to a state incompatible with the fallen condition of earth after Eden was lost through sin. When leaving Rome in 1833 Newman was able to describe in straightforward terms his new-found love of the city, 'it is a delightful place, so calm and quiet, so dignified and beautiful, that I know nothing like it but Oxford.'[67] This genuine praise does, however, strike one as almost prosaic when set alongside his appreciation of the beauties of Sicily, to which he admitted that he was drawn by an 'irresistible attraction'. He was now about to immerse himself in the 'strange' world where, he anticipated, he would be brought into the presence of the 'beautiful veil' through which God reveals a glimpse of that lost beauty of Eden which will once again be found in heaven. He looked forward to being alone to experience the rapture and melancholy of such beauty knowing, as he did, that, as years before Provost Copleston of Oriel had observed of him, he would be 'numquam minus solus quam cum solus'.[68]

66 The two penultimate lines 'But when on earth-stain'd souls....what there they find,' were altered from the earlier version which Newman wrote in a letter to his mother dated 16th December 1832:

> 'But when on common men such shadows fall,
> Unapt are these to claim the gifts they find...'

67 *LD* iii p. 277

68 *Apo*. p. 27. 'Never less alone than when alone' is an inexact quotation from Cicero's 'De Officiis', III, 1

It is surely as significant as it is poignant that Newman made one of his most penetrating evocations of the evanescence of earthly beauty many years later, soon after the sudden and premature death of his Oratorian 'contubernalis', Fr. Ambrose St. John, in a letter to Helen, the daughter of an old Oxford friend. Helen and her sisters had sent Newman a copy of Lewis Carroll's recently published *The Hunting of the Snark* as an Easter present. Newman, now three-quarters of a century old,[69] wrote that the second of the book's two 'pleasant prefixes' entitled 'An Easter Greeting to every child who loved “Alice”',

> is likely to touch the hearts of old men more than of those for whom it is intended. I recollect well my own thoughts and feelings, such as the author describes, as I lay in my crib in the early spring, with outdoor scents, sounds and sights wakening me up, and especially the cheerful ring of the mower's scythe on the lawn, which Milton long before me had noted; - and how in coming down stairs slowly, for I brought down both feet on each step, I said to myself “This is June!”[70]

The clarity with which he recalls and describes those sights, sounds, scents and emotions from so many years before is indicative of the depth of emotion which they arouse within him. Whilst asking the sisters if they can recollect anything of the same kind, he wonders whether, since they are still so young, they 'may not think so much of it as I do now?'

Newman's childhood recollection here is noteworthy also on account of its barely suppressed nostalgia for a time long past, so remote from all the sufferings the intervening years had brought him. Here, as frequently in Newman,

69 See *LD* xxviii, p. 31, as Newman observes in two letters: one to his sister-in-law Maria (nee Kennaway) and the other to Alfred Plummer, Master of University College, Durham.

70 *LD* xxviii, p. 52, n. 3. It would seem likely that Newman had this memory in mind when the wrote the following passage in his 1839 sermon, 'Difficulty of Realizing Sacred Privileges', coincidentally written for Easter Day: 'This is Easter Day. Let us say this again and again to ourselves with fear and great joy. As children say to themselves, “This is the spring”, or “This is the sea”, trying to grasp the thought, and not let it go.' (*PS* vi, no. 8, pp. 102-3)

it is in his letters to female friends and correspondents that he makes his most acutely sensitive observations. Later in the same month he sent Easter greetings to Anne Mozley, enquiring if the signs of spring were about her,

> If not, you are losing this year one of the charms, or rather the one charm of our year – for which nothing can make up. Indeed it is too intense in its nature, to be unaccompanied with pain, I may say, great pain. So at least I feel it, and now especially as life is waning, and friends dropping away, the extreme beauty of the ever-recurring triumphant spring seems to have something of young mockery in it.[71]

This sounds like the natural, backward-looking nostalgia of an old man who has seen, and lost, earthly joy. But despite its wistful tone, the elderly Newman's reminiscences to Anne Mozley are not primarily backward-looking for a very important reason. The pain of bereavement and old age of which the beauty of spring seems like a 'young mockery' is real enough. Yet it is followed by the recollection that 'that beauty is an image and a promise of something more sweet and more lasting than itself.'[72] If such beauty is a promise yet to be fulfilled, it is not to be fulfilled in this world, but in that other world to come, of which supernatural Easter, rather than natural Spring, is the promise. In his letter to the Church sisters already quoted, the implied chasm between his recollection of the sweetness of distant childhood and their present unreflective enjoyment of their own youth is dissolved in his anticipation of a future happiness in a most beautifully and simply crafted prayer with which he concludes the letter and so unites the young girls with the old man whose recollections seem at first so remote from their youthfulness: 'May the day come for all of us, of which Easter is the promise, when that first spring, may return to us, and a sweetness which

71 *LD* xxviii, p. 55
72 *LD* xxviii, p. 55

cannot die may gladden our garden'.[73] The pang of an old man's memories of a happy childhood and a beautiful summer's day nearly three quarters of a century earlier of which he writes in his letter to the Church sisters is outweighed by the hope of a future happiness such as to restore the days of our youth and surpass them in sweetness and joy. As a prayer, it recalls the ending of his sermon 'Wisdom and Innocence' so many years before, suggestive of a garden at close of day when 'the shades lengthen, and the evening comes, and the busy world is hushed, and the fever of life is over, and our work is done!'[74]

It is because Newman had such a lively hope in the brighter and more beautiful world of the eternal heaven, not merely as a future reality, but as a present one awaiting its unveiling, that it was possible for the eighty-six year old Cardinal to be, as Francis Palgrave observed, 'not only as bright as ever, but with the cheerfulness and humour of youth.'[75] Eden, that garden in which those were waiting whom he had 'loved long since, and lost awhile',[76] was ever closer beyond the veil as the 'fever' of his earthly life drew towards its end.

73 *LD* xxviii, p. 53
74 *SD*, no. xx, p. 307, preached February, 1843.
75 *LD* xxxi, p. 184, n.3
76 *VV*, no. lxxxvi, p. 149

Chapter Two

Shadows and Images:

Beauty in Worship in Newman's Anglican Years

1. The Liturgical Background to Newman's Anglican upbringing.

'The Bible and the Bible alone is the religion of Protestants'[1] probably sums up the basic belief and practice of Newman's religious upbringing. Newman tells us in the Apologia that he was 'brought up from a child to take great delight in reading the Bible.'[2] The dominant religious characteristic of what he was to call the 'National Church'[3] would seem to have been, at least for Newman and his family in his early years, of a mainly domestic nature.

We know something the kind of services Newman would have been likely to experience in any of the London churches.[4] The almost universal norm for Sundays was quite early on established as mattins, litany and ante-communion, and evensong in the afternoon.'[5] An important element in the celebration of the liturgy, at least in some places, was music. Although Newman does not tell us what kind of music he heard in church services in his early years, it is unlikely that he will have encountered very much before he arrived in Oxford. From the time of

1 *Apo,*. p. 34
2 *Apo*., p. 15
3 *Diff.*, i, passim.
4 W. Jeffery, *London Parishes.* See Bibliography for details of this 1824 gazetteer of London churches and parishes, which gives a comparative account of the sizes of parish and the times and days of all the various divine services celebrated in each of the 111 parish churches in London and its immediate suburbs.
5 George Guiver CR, *Company of Voices; Daily Prayer and the People of God*, Revised Edition, The Canterbury Press, Norwich, 2001, p. 115

the Reformation onwards the principle of the audibility of God's word was paramount in shaping the forms of liturgy and the use of music in parishes. Consequently, music played a subsidiary role in liturgical celebrations, especially wherever evangelical principles were upheld, as would more likely be true of the more 'observant' parish churches and of the clergy who served them in the early 19th century.[6] Even texts that are naturally intended to be sung, like hymns and psalms, might preferably be read in order to be more profitable. 'Hymns' here means such non-metrical and freely-composed texts as the *Te Deum*, since, apart from the *Veni Creator*, metrical hymns other than paraphrases of the psalms, formed no part of the Prayer Book Liturgy, and were not to appear regularly in Anglican Services until well into the 19th century.[7]

Many of the London churches, including St. Benet Fink, had been designed in the seventeenth century by Sir Christopher Wren. Wren was arguably responsible for establishing what would become the quintessentially Anglican architectural style in London and beyond, which would hold sway for over a century. Yet his classicism owed much to continental Catholic Europe, and especially to the Roman Baroque.[8] In later years Newman would vigorously declare his own preference for the Classical style of architecture, and although he was more interested in the Church of the first millennium than in that of the Middle Ages, it is still possible that his early experience of so many London churches designed by Wren may have played a part in forming his preference for the Classical over the Gothic, and may account for the ease with which he felt at

6 Guiver, op. cit., p. 122

7 For a general overview of the introduction of hymnody to Anglican worship, see J. R. Watson, *The English Hymn: A Critical and Historical Study*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1934

8 G.W.O. Addleshaw and Frederick Etchells, *The Architectural Setting of Anglican Worship*, pp. 57-58.

home in the classical churches of Italy after he had become a Catholic.

Wren's aim in designing a church was to produce a building in which all the congregation could conveniently see and hear the minister, and describes this as the 'auditory' principle, and such churches as 'auditories'.[9] Such a description, emphasising what was heard over what could be seen, might at first imply a very plain, unadorned building, like a non-conformist chapel. However, Wren designed churches which incorporated classical features throughout, and embellished not simply for decoration's sake, but to beautify, and so enhance the congregation's participation in, Anglican worship. Addleshaw and Etchells observe that '[a] Wren or an eighteenth century church...is a well-proportioned room, conveying a sense of balance and repose, like the churches of the Italian Renaissance.'[10]

The principles on which Wren conceived the liturgical arrangements of his churches differed in some important ways from European Baroque and Catholic practice. The altar which in the Catholic world was the most imposing focal point in the building, was not so 'dramatic' or majestic in the Anglican, but simply represented its so-called 'ministerial' role and purpose.[11] This seemed best suited to the temper and liturgy of the Church of England, especially in its lack of mystery and lack of appeal to the religious emotions. It represents very accurately the 'restrained and fastidious beauty'[12] which characterized a certain approach to the Anglican liturgy of the eighteenth and early nineteenth

9 Addleshaw and Etchells, op. cit., p. 54
10 Addleshaw and Etchells, op. cit., pp. 57-58
11 For a full discussion of this point, see Addleshaw and Etchells, op. cit. pp. 200-201
12 See Guiver, op. cit. p. 117

centuries, especially in cathedrals and the universities.

Finally, it is interesting to note that in the *Apologia* Newman did recount a brief, though nonetheless telling memory of attending a Catholic Mass as a boy, precisely in order to emphasize how different this was from his normal experience. He had gone to the Warwick Street Chapel, a former chapel of the Bavarian embassy, where a fairly opulent form of Catholic liturgy had been openly celebrated for the benefit of London's Catholic population since the penal times.[13] Newman believed that his father had decided to go to the chapel specifically to 'hear some piece of music'. It was not only the exotic sight of a 'boy swinging a censer' that he bore away from the visit, but even 'the recollection of a pulpit and a preacher'.[14]

2. Newman at Trinity College, Oxford

Newman arrived at Trinity College, Oxford, in 1817. In his final months at school he had fallen 'under the influence of an excellent man, the Revd. Walter Mayers...from whom he had received deep religious impressions, at the time Calvinistic in character, which were to him the beginning of a new life.'[15] This influence did not, of course, imply any difference to his attending the Anglican church and chapel services. Mayers wrote to Newman shortly after his arrival in Oxford to explain the appropriate attitude of an Evangelical to taking communion.[16]

[13] *Apo*. p. 16
[14] *Apo*. p. 16
[15] *AW* p. 29
[16] *LD* i, p. 32

Newman would certainly have followed Mayers's guidance for taking part with fitting reverence in the liturgy. For instance, in June 1819, by the time he had made his first Communion, Newman wrote to Mayers, telling him how deeply scandalized he was by the lack of respect shown to the Sacrament by his fellow students when celebrating corporate Communion at the time of the college Gaudy: '[a]n habitual negligence of the awfulness of the Holy Communion is introduced.'[17] The word 'awfulness' is significant. The concept of 'awe' recurs constantly in Newman's vocabulary of religious perceptions and feelings, expressing a sense of wonder and fear, befitting those taking part in divine worship. At this time, however, the use of such a word cannot have implied for Newman acceptance of a 'real' hidden divine presence in the liturgy, as it would certainly come to do in later years, yet it is noteworthy that he already uses it of what he sees to be the right reaction of the worshipper to the liturgy.

Newman received his first Communion in Trinity College Chapel in November 1817. His only account of this event (apart from a very brief notice in his journal)[18] dates from some sixty years later when, in his *Philosophical Notebook*, he soliloquized, while contemplating a picture of Trinity Chapel and exercising his analytical powers on his memory of the occasion:

> Do you love, my dear Self, or don't you, your active abidance time past in the Church of England? E.g. you have a photograph of Trinity Chapel before your eyes daily, & you love to look at it. Yes – and it is in a great measure an abstract – yet it is not the Church of England that I love – but it is that very assemblage, in its individuals concrete, which I remember so well – the times and the places – the scenes, occurrences – my own thoughts, feelings, and acts. I look at the communion table, & recollect with what feelings I went up to it in November 1817 for my first communion – how I was in mourning for

[17] *LD* i, p. 66
[18] *AW*, p. 156

> the Princess Charlotte, and had silk black gloves – and the glove would not come off when I had to receive the Bread, and I had to tear it off and spoil it in my flurry – but the Church of England as such, does not come into my memories.[19]

Newman is here conducting an aesthetic exploration of his current feelings as a Catholic, looking back on his earlier feelings as an Anglican. It is notable that his recollection bypasses the Church of England as such. Moreover, the specific 'feelings' which he is exploring are those of *love,* not love for the Church of England as such, but the entire assemblage of 'times and places, scenes, occurrences – [his] own thoughts, feelings, and acts' as they continue to live within his memory, and possibly even as they prefigure his attitude to liturgy as a Catholic, at the time of writing.

The young Newman believed that attendance at Church and chapel services should not be merely a duty but, ideally, a pleasure. He wrote a long letter in November 1822 for publication in the Evangelical *Christian Observer,* arguing that '[t]here cannot be conceived a more delightful break of the daily toil of a religious student than [chapel] services might be made.'[20] Newman makes a clear distinction between the service and those who take part in it. The service itself 'excellent as it is', is not at fault, but rather it is human 'indifference and coldness' presumably both in those who conduct and those who take part in the service, which can fatally bring about a merely 'formal and heartless' prayer, devoid of delightful feelings. Newman seems specifically to encourage the fostering of a certain kind of liturgical *aesthesis,* a positive *feeling* capable of appreciating the *force* of *devotional* words, a state which is the antithesis of a mechanical formalism:

[19] *Phil. N*. ii, pp. 195, 197
[20] *LD* i, pp. 150-154

> Let him earnestly pray and strive against the first approaches of indifference and formality; for bitterly will he have cause to mourn if he once allow the words of devotion to become so trite that he repeats them without feeling their force.[21]

Newman has begun by encouraging the proper and spiritually fruitful participation in public services of prayer in general, but he moves on further to make a yet more important point. When one considers the 'restrained and fastidious' character of the contemporary Anglican service, Newman's use here of terms such as 'awful' and 'mysteries' is proleptic of the numinous language found in his Tractarian descriptions of the liturgy:

> It is with pain I proceed to observe, that the deadness of soul which steals on the collegian in his public worship, even extends to the most awful of the Christian mysteries, the communion of the body and blood of Christ; especially when, in addition to his own deficiency of spiritual appetite, he sees around him countenances embarrassed from conscious unfitness, or cold from unconcern, or settled into a more awful expression of pride and carelessness.[22]

Newman here not only encourages a full and actual entering into the liturgical action, but also maintains that this cannot be done in total isolation. If others around are unfit or unconcerned or marred by pride and carelessness, then their detachment from, or even disgust with, the liturgical rite must adversely affect even those who would enter more fully into it.

In this important letter Newman also commends a principle of prayer which he judges to be of great practical importance: not to leave all prayers until one is too tired at the end of the day, when the student's 'powers...exhausted by study...will generally be cold and spiritless.' In the case of the student, 'who has the regulation of his time at his own command,' he ought not to defer 'his

[21] *LD* i, p. 152
[22] *LD* i, p. 153

devotions to the extreme verge of the day', for it is not 'very reverent to set apart for heavenly things, a time in which the mind is languid and worn out with the labours of the day.'

Newman makes as yet no explicit comment on his taste in religious architecture, though, as we have already noticed, in later life he did leave significant traces of his early feelings. Trinity College chapel remained for him an ideal of a devotional space. Rather against the trend of the nineteenth century he decidedly preferred the Classical to the Gothic style, despite the strong associations of the latter with the Romantic movement. This is significant because Newman was attracted to Romanticism in the literary arts, represented especially by the novels of Walter Scott. Yet though he shared the love of many of his contemporaries for Scott, Newman's true heroes were the Fathers, such as Ambrose and Augustine, of whom he read in Joseph Milner's Church History.[23] While the appreciation of medieval Gothic architecture seemed to men like Augustus Pugin and, arguably the most influential of his Oriel friends, Hurrell Froude, to be a natural corollary of Romanticism, Newman did not share it, since 'the first centuries were his *beau idéal* of Christianity.'[24]

It was not until 1846, soon after he had become a Catholic, that he began to express his views on architectural style, writing to Wilberforce that 'I loved Trinity Chapel at Oxford more than any other building.'[25] He drives home his reasons by piling together positive qualities to explain his preference: '[t]here is in the Italian style such a simplicity, purity, elegance, beauty, brightness, which I

[23] *Apo*., p. 20, and *AW*, p. 83
[24] *AW*, p. 83
[25] *LD* xi, 252

suppose the word “classical” implies, that it seems to befit the notion of an angel or a saint.'[26] To some it might seem that the Classical, or 'Grecian' style as Newman also calls it interchangeably, is the more rational, and the Gothic more emotionally charged. Yet for Newman it is exactly the other way round: however much 'my *reason* may go with the Gothic,' he says, 'my *heart* has ever gone with Grecian.'[27] Perhaps that is why he seems to be groping for the right words to describe its effect on him and *feeling* his way towards a rational account. More succinctly he assigns a spiritual metaphor for the classical style, claiming that it expresses 'the lightness, grace, and sweet cheerfulness of the elect'. This association of light and grace with 'the elect' is even reminiscent of Newman's evangelical and Calvinistic doctrinal views at the much earlier time when he was regularly worshipping in Trinity Chapel.

3. **Newman at Oriel College: the Early Influences**

Newman was elected a Fellow of Oriel College in 1822 and was to live there until he moved to Littlemore in 1842. The religious character of Oriel in the 1820's was unlike anything that Newman had yet experienced. He wrote in his Autobiographical Memoir that 'the atmosphere of Oriel Common Room was...remarkable for the complexion of [its members'] theology... In religion they were neither high Church nor low Church, but had become a new school...which was characterized by its spirit of moderation and comprehension.'[28] These men, known collectively as the 'Noetics', were not evangelicals, while Newman, at the

[26] *LD* xi, 252
[27] *LD* xi, 252, (n.b. my emphases)
[28] *AW*, p. 73

time he was elected a Fellow, 'owed much to evangelical teaching'.[29]

Thus Newman was open to significant influence over his theological views especially from a man like Copleston, the Provost, who was seen by those whom Newman identified as the Evangelical party at large as a fellow-traveller in their conflict with the 'old unspiritual high-and-dry party',[30] who dominated Oxford beyond Oriel. So, as Newman puts it, '[w]hat a large number of the Evangelical party then felt, Mr Newman, as one of them, felt also; and thus he was drawn in heart to his Oriel associates in proportion as he came to be intimate with them.'[31] Newman's reason and his heart ever worked closely together. He was influenced intellectually by these men precisely insofar he was drawn by his affections towards them.

Newman was, however, extremely shy and the older Fellows asked Richard Whately, a great logician, but also 'a great talker' who was 'free and easy in manners...but singularly gracious to undergraduates and young masters' to take him on as a project.[32] Whately's influence on Newman was to last for the next four years and Newman ascribes to Whately his coming to accept a most important theological truth with profound implications for his future ecclesiology and liturgiology: that 'one momentous truth of revelation...that was the idea of the Christian Church, as a divine appointment, and as a substantive visible body, independent of the State, and endowed with rights, prerogatives, and powers of its

[29] *AW*, p. 79.
[30] *AW*, p. 73
[31] *AW*, p. 74
[32] *AW*, p. 66

own.'[33] This was Newman's first adoption of a High Anglican theological position.

Newman was ordained deacon at Christ Church Cathedral on June 13th, 1824. As the day approached, he recorded in his journal that he felt 'more and more happy.'[34] His subsequent recollection of his feelings on the day itself was somewhat less exuberant. He seemed to himself 'quite dizzy' and his heart 'shuddered' within him when the bishop laid his hands on him. In contrast with these trepidations, it was the singing of the hymn to the Holy Spirit that gave him the only positive reaction that he records, as he felt his 'heart burnt' within him, 'particularly', as he records, 'during the singing of the Veni Creator'.[35] This is the first occasion on which Newman describes the effect upon his emotions of church music and its power to change them positively. The reflection he committed to his journal immediately after his priestly ordination spoke of far greater and unmixed joy than a year earlier: 'What a divine service is that of Ordination! The whole has a fragrance in it; and to think of it is soothing and delightful.'[36]

Yet another change was brought about in Newman's thought at this time by his reading the work of an Oriel Fellow from the previous century, Bishop Butler's *Analogy of Religion, Natural and Revealed*. Among many influential ideas which he drew from Butler, especially noteworthy is the analogy between God and His works which, as Newman summarises it,

33 *AW*, p. 69
34 *AW*, p. 200
35 *AW*, p. 200 The *Veni Creator* was the only metrical hymn which officially formed part of the Anglican Liturgy. Both in its original Latin form, composed in the 9th century by Rabanus Maurus, and in either Thomas Cranmer's or John Cosin's translations, it was sung to versions of one and the same ancient 'Gregorian' Chant.
36 *AW*, p. 205

> leads to the conclusion that the system which is of less importance is economically or sacramentally connected with the more momentous system, and of this conclusion the theory, to which I was inclined as a boy, viz. the unreality of material phenomena, is an ultimate resolution.[37]

This realization therefore gave intellectual and religious shape to a conviction he had instinctively held from boyhood, that the invisible, incorporeal world is more real, and therefore more important, than the visible, material one. This has consequences first of all for Newman's view of beauty, which he understood to be greater in the invisible world than in the material world. The hiatus between the visible and the invisible might seem also, at first sight, to lend credence to the evangelical exclusion of the merely visible from the invisible Church. But the crucial difference that Butler introduced with his treatment of analogy, was the *connection* by analogy between the visible and the invisible. It was this connection which would have profound consequences for Newman's understanding and acceptance of the principle of sacramentality – the idea that the invisible world can be not only *represented by* the material world in symbols perceived by the senses, but can even *act through* the material world. This, too, marks a departure from the Calvinistic views on the sacraments which he had held hitherto, and a considerable refinement of his appreciation of the role of externals in the rites of religion.[38]

Another fellow of Oriel already in post at the time of Newman's election who was to have a direct and enduring influence on his theology and his aesthetic sensibility was John Keble, around ten years his senior. Newman claimed

[37] *Apo.*, p. 23
[38] See, e.g. *Apo*. pp. 29 and 37

that Keble supplied the personal witness to the same truths that he had found in reading Butler's *Analogy*, especially concerning the Sacramental system, though 'recast in the creative mind of my new master'.[39]

Piers Brendon concisely defines the essence of sacramentalism as that which 'relates the material to the spiritual and [which] teaches a reverence for the former as an index of the latter.'[40] Thus Newman began to understand that the shadows and images of the immaterial truth and reality were to be found in the material world, especially in the sacraments, and increasingly to expound this view in his sermons during his Tractarian period.

Furthermore, as well as having a common interest in the Romantic Movement, Keble shared with Newman an interest in poetry. Keble published *The Christian Year* in 1827. Of this poetical cycle Newman wrote that 'Keble struck an original note and woke up in the hearts of thousands a new music, the music of a school, long unknown in England.'[41] This 'new music', according to Newman, was the sense of the sacramental system as the teaching of a theological school, rather than as a merely personal feeling. Moreover, Newman's musical metaphor suggests how he understood Keble to be using created beauty as the vehicle for teaching religious truth. This positive attitude to beauty and feelings was something of a novelty from such a representative of the High Church spirit, and would come to be a major factor in the appeal of Tractarianism. As Peter Nockles says,

> [t]he harnessing of the force of Romanticism by the future Tractarian

[39] *Apo*. p. 29
[40] Piers Brendon, *Hurrell Froude and the Oxford Movement*, London: Paul Elek, 1974. p. 45
[41] *Apo*. p. 29

> John Keble in his *Christian Year,* (1827) can be viewed as spiritually liberating for High Churchmanship. … the result was that High Churchmanship imbued with Keble's Romantic colouring and note of moral seriousness would have had an appeal for the rising generation, especially those from Evangelical households, which it might otherwise have lacked.[42]

The very concept of the cycle is also original, in making the liturgical year the foundation and hermeneutical key to the whole work. It seems probable that Newman imbibed from Keble's arrangement of poems, grounded as it was in the succession of seasons and feasts of the liturgical year, the idea of the sanctification of time which he would eventually find fully worked out in the Roman Breviary.

Newman expounded his own views about poetry in an article entitled 'Poetry, with reference to Aristotle's Poetics',[43] published in 1829 shortly after the appearance of *The Christian Year*. Poetry, he says, is a product of the mind which selects and harmonizes at will, a process which is the essence of fiction. The opposite to fiction is fidelity to facts, which is, of course, essential to history and biography. For Newman, fiction here does not mean falsehood, but a way of organizing and presenting the truth distinct from the constraints of factualness. Thus '[i]t follows that the poetical mind is one full of the eternal forms of beauty and perfection; these are its material of thought, its instrument and medium of observation, - these colour each object to which it directs its view.'[44]

Such views describe the exercise of his own poetical voice as he had developed it from early years. Later on he would put it to use particularly in the

[42] Peter B. Nockles, *The Oxford Movement in Context*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994, p. 197
[43] *Ess.* i, pp. 1-29.
[44] *Ess.* i. p. 10

Lyra Apostolica project of the early 1830's, in which he would demonstrate his view that '[r]evealed Religion should be especially poetical – and it is so in fact', and for which he urged his friends to do likewise since 'a poetical view of things is a duty, - we are bid to colour all things with hues of faith, to see a Divine meaning in every event.'[45] The *Lyra* project was very much Newman's own idea, and in his mind was connected with the need to defend and inculcate good religious principles and truth through the medium of poetry.[46] He had seen what Keble had achieved in *The Christian Year* and hoped to extend its influence through a new approach to Revealed Religion through the *Lyra*. Poetry could also teach truth through shadows and images. Encouraging his friend Frederic Rogers to contribute to the series, Newman asked him rhetorically, '[d]o not stirring times bring out poets?... And may we not at least produce shadows of high things if not the high things themselves?'[47] Newman thus understood his *Lyra* project to have a religious motive and character rather than a merely aesthetic one.

4. **Hurrell Froude and the Shaping of the Tractarian 'Ethos'**

Froude was, arguably, the greatest single catalyst for Newman's gradual conversion to high Church doctrines who would also draw Newman and Keble together. This friendship was the means of bringing about a profound and radical development in Newman's approach to theology and liturgy, especially as they were to shape the ethos and practice of the Tractarian Movement to which both men were important contributors. Newman was to draw an extraordinarily warm

[45] *Ess. i.* p. 23
[46] *LD* iii, p. 120, where he writes: 'Our object is, to bring out certain truths and facts, moral, ecclesiastical, and religious, simply and forcibly, with greater freedom, and clearness than in the Christian Year. I will not go on to say, with greater poetry.'
[47] *LD* iii, p. 121

and appreciative character-portrait of Froude in the *Apologia*[48] which demonstrates how he was captivated by the wonderful gift for friendship of such a man who opened his heart in order to draw others in to share its warmth and gracefulness. Newman had felt his own heart open in response, and thereby came to be influenced by the extraordinarily independent, clear and lively mind which expressed itself through his tenderness and playfulness. Given the strength of his personal charisma, Froude's fearless and original thinking was sure to be highly influential over those who warmed to him. Piers Brendon says that it was 'the catalytic nature of his bright and beautiful personality – in a word, his ethos, which were to be his most essential contributions to the [Oxford] Movement.'[49]

Even though the beginning of their friendship was delayed by Newman's attachment to Whately and his related gradual drifting towards theological liberalism, the two had certain fundamental ideas in common, which were to help bring them gradually closer. First of all, Newman and Froude were both already committed to the quest for holiness, acquired by the exercise of rigorous self-denial, serious self-examination and fearlessness in the search for truth. Secondly, they both believed in the primacy of the spiritual world over that of matter. Thirdly, they mistrusted reason alone as an alternative to faith and obedience.[50]

As Newman grew in intimacy with Froude and some other Oriel fellows, especially Keble, Wilberforce and Rickards, a word which came to express and symbolize their common culture was 'ethos'. From the frequency with

[48] *Apo*. p. 33
[49] Brendon, op. cit., p. 37
[50] Brendon, op. cit., p. 91

which it appears, it can be deduced that 'ethos' was a central concept among its leaders, for their entire movement embodied not only principles and doctrines of an intellectual nature, but also a prevailing character and tendency based on their interpersonal relations, which described their mode of behaviour and expressed the aesthetic implications of their ideas. 'Ethos' was thus used by these friends to distinguish moral from intellectual characteristics, whether of an individual, or of a movement or idea, and in contrast to the Noetics, they held it to be superior to intellect alone.[51]

'Ethos' denotes, not a person's ideas, but his character or moral standing. In contrast with a 'principle', which is based on an idea, doctrine or 'system', an 'ethos' refers to the overall impression that a person or system gives of itself. Newman significantly remarked to Pusey that 'it has struck me that *gloom* as connected with Monastic rule came in with the Gothic ἦθος'.[52] Associating Gothic with gloom was more typical of Newman's aesthetics than of Froude's.

As Piers Brendon explains, Froude also instinctively shared the strong Romantic attraction to natural beauty that was dominant in early nineteenth century culture, describing it as the 'focus of irradiated perfection'. Yet he also took himself to task for admiring any instances of beauty in nature in their own right, rather than as 'simply physical reflections of metaphysical truths.'[53] Froude nonetheless shared with Newman a strong conviction that the natural world was only a shadow of the hidden beauty of the invisible world. Piers Brendon

[51] For a detailed examination of the idea of 'ethos' among the Tractarians, see James Pereiro, *Ethos and the Oxford Movement, Oxford,* Oxford University Press, 2008

[52] *LD* v, p. 198

[53] Brendon, op. cit., p.33

encapsulates Froude's complex aesthetic sense thus: 'what fascinated [him] were the romantic aspects of nature and art, with the power to stir the imagination and to produce, when harnessed to the will, revolutionary practical results. The aesthetic quality of beauty was less important than its catalytic power.'[54] This matches precisely Newman's criterion in conceiving the *Lyra* project as more instructive than merely aesthetic.

5. Newman and the Tractarian Aesthetic of Liturgical Prayer

Despite their quite distinctive views on theology and asceticism, Newman and his Tractarian companions were not, at least at first, revolutionary when it came to liturgical matters. After all, the purpose of the Movement as it began in 1833 was above all to strengthen the spiritual, intellectual and devotional life of the clergy, so as the more effectively to defend the Anglican establishment against politically motivated secular reform.

There were also calls for changes that were not principally doctrinal in nature, but devotional. Froude addressed a growing clamour for shortening the Church Services in *Tract 9*, written in October 1833. The matter under investigation in this Tract was simply those 'Services of the Church' which originate with what in ancient times Christians knew as the 'Horae Canonicae' and 'Nocturns', consisting of Hymns and Psalms allocated to regularly spaced hours of the day and night time, and based on the psalm text 'seven times a day do I praise thee' and St Paul's exhortation to 'pray always'.[55]

[54] Brendon, op. cit., p. 100
[55] *Tract 9*, p. 1

Though he states that these forms of prayer were at first effectively private meditations, Froude claims that 'afterwards, when Religious Societies were formed, and persons who had withdrawn from secular business lived together for purposes of devotion, chanting was introduced, and they were arranged for congregational worship.'[56] Without any intimation of disapproval, he shows awareness of the current state of the Roman Catholic services consisting in these same forms of worship which 'continue in use, with only a few modern interpolations, even to this day.'[57]

The Tractarians were at first hoping to recover something that had been lost rather than to create something altogether new, and to encourage the clergy to restore practices that were in fact enjoined by the Book of Common Prayer. Newman himself inaugurated the daily public celebration of the Prayer Book Offices in St. Mary's in June, 1834.[58] This in turn was followed in November by his delivery of the sermon 'The Daily Service' which gave a theological, historical and pastoral rationale to explain and justify what he was doing, and encouraged others to do likewise. In this sermon not only did Newman illustrate the connection between certain forms of prayer and the liturgical seasons which can be found in the Book of Common Prayer, but even transcended the limitation of the Prayer Book to services of Morning and Evening Prayer, by giving an account of the sanctification of the day by early Christians in the 'canonical hours'.[59] He characterized these 'canonical hours' by reference to the scriptural events which

56 *Tract 9*, p. 2
57 *Tract 9*, p. 2
58 *LD* iv, pp. 289-290
59 *PS* iii, no. 21, p. 308, November 2nd, 1834.

they recall, just as they were still enshrined in their respective Office hymns of the Roman Breviary. Since at this time Newman had no personal acquaintance with the Breviary it is probable that he wrote this passage out of conversations with his friends who were already more familiar with it.

Perhaps because of this connection between ancient Christian liturgy and current Roman practice, whether or not he perceived it quite so clearly in 1834, Newman acknowledged the attractive power which 'Popery' was able to exercise through its liturgy. In November of that same year Newman bemoaned the fate of those 'whom the Church stints of the gifts of grace' through the 'neglect of the daily service, the desecration of festivals, the Eucharist scantily administered', which on the one hand gave encouragement to varieties of non-conformity, but on the other drove souls thus deprived 'to the solemn and captivating services by which Popery gains its proselytes.'[60] Newman wrote this passage only a year after he had experienced something of the Catholic liturgy in Rome, so his memory of the 'solemn and captivating services' was still relatively fresh.[61]

At exactly the same time, Newman praised those who, like Mary of Bethany at the Saviour's feet (Lk. 10: 41-2), are 'adorning and beautifying His worship' while 'their brethren fight'.[62] He subsequently wrote to Mrs William Wilberforce, who had been struck by the 'force and influence' of Roman

60 *Advertisement* for the *Tracts*, All Saints (November 1st) 1834, p. iv

61 Although Newman later claimed that he had 'studiously abstained from all services etc.' while he was in Rome, (see *LD* xi, p. 253), his diary for 1833 records that he at least attended Vespers in St. Peter's (see *LD* iv, p. 241) and the notable service of Tenebrae in the Sistine Chapel on Maundy Thursday and Good Friday. (see *LD* iv, p. 272) He writes to Harriett: 'I have heard the famous Miserere...I am not disappointed, for I thought it would be difficult music, - but was not at all carried away by it. I have no doubt it is extremely fine. The voices are wonderful.' (*LD* iv, p. 275).

62 *PS* iii, no. 22, p. 326, 'The Good Part of Mary', preached October 26th, 1834.

Catholicism, that 'I admire the lofty character, the beauty, the sweetness and the tenderness of its services',[63] which indicates how susceptible he already was to the attractive power of Roman liturgy. At this stage, however, he was not drawn to adopt or imitate features of Roman Catholic worship, although he certainly wanted to see some of the same characteristics exhibited in Anglican services by the edifying and spiritually enriching celebration of the Prayer Book Services.

In May 1834, Newman published *Tract 34*, entitled 'Rites and Customs of the Church', in which he argued that there is a close connection between visible forms of worship on earth and those in heaven that are more glorious though not open to the senses. Although the unseen world is far superior to the world of sense, nonetheless, Newman believed that these two worlds are not merely connected, but even come into a close relation with each other especially in the liturgy.

Newman's attitude to externals in worship became more explicit as the Tractarian movement grew in influence. In February, 1835, he preached a sermon significantly entitled 'Religious Worship a Remedy for Excitements'. It was a defence of the Church's liturgy against Dissenters who rejected its 'peculiar sobriety'[64] in favour of more 'exciting' forms of worship. Newman called upon his congregation to attend 'more frequent Services of praise and prayer, more truly Catholic plans for honouring God' and exhibiting 'the nobler and more beautiful forms of Christian devotedness'.[65]

63 *LD* iv, p. 367
64 A phrase used by Newman to describe the character of the Anglican Church. See *VM,* ii, 4
65 *PS* iii, no. 23, p. 347

In 'Reverence in Worship', preached on October 30th, 1836, he argued from scripture that 'forms of worship – such as bowing the knee, taking off the shoes, keeping silence, a prescribed dress, and the like – are considered as necessary for a due approach to God.'[66] Shortcomings there may be in the earthly liturgy, but it still remains an approximation to the heavenly liturgy, which in turn ought to determine our acceptance of the Church's liturgy, and encourage us both to seek to beautify it and to see its uniformity and familiarity as a sign of its connection with the worship of heaven:

> It is the delight of all holy beings, who stand around the throne, to use one and the same form of worship; they are not tired...but surely all those persons would soon be tired of hearing them, instead of taking part in their glorious chant, who are wearied of Church now, and seek for something more attractive and rousing.[67]

What may seem more attractive and rousing is by no means necessarily more beautiful, says Newman, since the characteristic of beauty is form and harmony, which are to be found rather in tranquillity than in excitement. He seems to suggest that whatever is 'rousing' in worship may not bear the test of constant repetition as well as the 'one and the same form of worship' characteristic both of heaven and of the Church's liturgy on earth.

6. 1836: Newman's 'Cardinal Point' and the *Via Media*

1836 was, according to a memorandum he wrote at a later time, a 'cardinal point of time' in Newman's life, out of which a 'new scene gradually opened.'[68] Two of the nine headings he wrote down in this memorandum were

66 *PS* viii, no. 1, p. 5
67 *PS* viii, no. 1, p. 11
68 See the Memorandum Newman wrote concerning March, 1836: *LD* v, pp. 246-7

personal: first of all in February he lost his closest friend and collaborator, Hurrell Froude, and in May his mother died. Not only were these were life-changing events in themselves, but they were also virtually simultaneous with two other significant events which he also noted as 'cardinal', and which were both not only religious, but specifically liturgical: first, Newman's adoption of Froude's Roman Breviary as a keepsake, followed by his 'knowing and using' it and, secondly, the completion and consecration of the new Chapel at Littlemore on September 22nd.

a. 'Knowing and Using the Breviary'

It is noteworthy that Newman's name never appears in connection with any interest in, much less use of, the Breviary until after Froude's death in 1836. For him, as his *Tracts* and sermons until after this time show, the Anglican service books were for him the authentic expression of English liturgical prayer. Even his coming into possession of the Breviary was an 'apparent accident'. Having been invited by Archdeacon Froude to take a keepsake from Hurrell's library, Newman found his first choice was taken, whereupon his former pupil Frederic Rogers, by then also a Fellow of Oriel, suggested that he take the Breviary. This introduced him to what he called 'the knowledge of that most wonderful and most attractive monument of the devotion of saints.'[69] It is of the greatest importance that Newman did not simply revere it as a memento of his friend, but now began both to study it in great detail and to use it.

The intensity of the study which Newman now embarked upon can be

[69] *Apo*., p. 76

deduced from the fact that between March 12th, when he first acquired Froude's Breviary, and June 24th, he researched, wrote and published a 148 page-long *Tract, On the Roman Breviary as embodying the devotional services of the Church Catholic*.[70] His opening comments are revealing of the new-found admiration he had for the Breviary: '[t]here is so much of excellence and beauty in the service of the Breviary', thereby immediately setting before the reader the claim that this is no arid piece of historical research, but the revelation of something *beautiful* and *excellent*. In writing *Tract 75* Newman used Froude's notes, left unfinished at his death. Therefore, even though the finished *Tract* is Newman's own work, it is also a tribute to his dead friend's continuing influence upon him.

In *Tract 75*, Newman returned to, and expanded, his exposition of the meaning of the canonical hours which he had adumbrated in his sermon 'The Daily Service' some three years earlier. Here he was at pains to explain, first, that the Breviary embodies the Apostolical tradition of prayer at regular intervals of the day and night,[71] and, secondly, that aside from certain non-scriptural additions such as 'invocations to the Virgin and other saints',[72] introduced in the Middle Ages and later, the Breviary is predominantly a prayer-book comprising psalms and an extensive programme of scripture readings, so designed as to sanctify and characterize both the passage of the day and night hours, and the seasons of the liturgical year. Whence he argued that the Breviary should be accepted as an authentic expression of Anglican devotion no less than of Roman. Newman also noted the radical scheme of breviary reform proposed by Cardinal 'Quignonius'

[70] *Tract 75*, first published on June 24th, 1836, proved to Newman's 'astonishment' to be so popular that it soon ran to several editions. Newman also later expanded it to some 207 pages. See *LD* vi, p. 9
[71] *Tract 75*, pp. 3-6
[72] *Tract 75*, p. 9

(Quiñonez) in the 16th century, making the interesting observation that

> The Cardinal's Breviary...showed...but a deficient sense of what is improperly called the *imaginative* part of religion. His object was to adapt the Devotions of the Church for private reading, rather than chanting in choir, and so to encourage something higher than that almost theatrical style of worship, which, when reverence is away, will prevail, alternately with a slovenly and hurried performance, in the performance of Church Music.[73]

The deficiency which Newman identified in what he says is 'improperly called the *imaginative* part of religion' would appear to be the Cardinal's recasting of the common 'Devotions of the Church for private reading'. Although Newman here was promoting the use of the Breviary precisely as 'private reading' for Anglicans, he was also drawing attention to the fact that the Breviary was not only a 'Book of Common Prayer' from an earlier tradition than that of the Anglican Reformers, but that inasmuch as it was public, it was also intended for singing. Despite his deprecating an 'almost theatrical style of worship' which is constantly in danger of destroying the prayerful purpose of Church music, Newman did not want his readers to dismiss out of hand the musical and public celebration of the canonical hours of prayer. Here again he may have drawn on his personal experience of hearing the Office sung in Rome. The public celebration of the Office has, after all, the power to affect the senses and the imagination in a way that a private recitation does not attempt to do.

Finally, Newman presented some portions of the Breviary Offices, translated by himself, in order to allow his readers to appreciate not only the structure, but also 'the *harmony* of the Breviary'.[74] To this end he added some daily offices for certain seasons and feast days, and, in order to emphasize the suitability

[73] *Tract 75*, p. 13 (Newman's emphasis)
[74] *Tract 75*, p. 16 (my emphasis)

of the Breviary for use by Anglicans, a newly composed office in honour of the Anglican Bishop Ken, whom Newman approvingly described as 'a burning and shining light, *bringing back primitive times*.'[75] Years later, as an Oratorian priest, Newman would re-apply this highly appreciative allusion to 'primitive times' to the founder of the Oratorians, St. Philip Neri, in the Litany he wrote in his honour.[76]

For Newman at this time it was axiomatic that the era of the Church which he characterizes as 'primitive' was not simply to be admired in the past, but was being brought back to life in the Anglican Church. His understanding of the current state of Christianity was founded on the belief that both Roman Catholicism and Anglicanism were authentically descended from the ancient, undivided Christian Church. 'Romanism', however, had suffered corruptions in its belief and practice from the Middle Ages onwards, in place of which the Protestant reformers had imposed their interpretation of primitive observance and theology. Anglicanism, on the other hand, as informed by such historical figures as Bishop Ken, had been stripped of 'Roman' corruptions in the Reformation era, and having avoided the opposite errors of the continental Reformers, represented a 'Middle Way', or *Via Media*, between the extremes of Romanism and Protestantism, by reason of which it should therefore be considered an authentically 'primitive' Church. Newman hoped to introduce the Breviary to Anglican use because he understood this to be the recovery of what had always belonged to Anglicanism by nature, and certainly not the adoption of a foreign and corrupt prayer book. It is testimony to the interest it aroused that *Tract 75* sold 750

[75] *Tract 75*, p. 142 (my emphasis)
[76] *MD*, p. 120, where Newman calls St Philip Neri 'man of primitive times' (vir prisci temporis)

copies in only six months.[77] This interest was to inspire three attempts to produce a complete translation of the Roman Breviary into English, none of which was Newman's initiative, although he was to a certain extent involved in them all.[78]

As he became more familiar with the Breviary in his private prayer, Newman was clearly increasingly captivated by it. He even began in February 1837 to note in his diary some particular occasions when he either recited or missed portions of the daily Office. In March he wrote to Henry Wilberforce, who had been among the early enthusiasts for the Breviary, long before Newman, that 'I like [the Breviary Offices] uncommonly. They are very unexciting, grave and simple.'[79] This is typical of Newman's taste in matters devotional, and would continue to be so throughout his life. Since Wilberforce already knew about the Breviary, Newman's reason for writing to him in detail about it can only have been to let him know how much the experience of using it was pleasing to him. Thus, Newman also comments that praying in Latin is, for him a great advantage because 'Latin devotions are majestic and austere... The great advantage of a dead language is that it keeps one sober.'

Another peculiarity of the Breviary which he praises 'is that the bulk and stress of the Service is in the morning – viz when our time is more our own and our mind most fresh. To leave the body of our prayers for night, is like putting off religion to a deathbed.' In this he echoes what he had said in 1822 about the desirability of devoting the early part of the day to prayer to avoid exhaustion and

77 *LD* vi, p. 9

78 For a full account of the different Roman Breviary translation projects, see Donald Withey, *John Henry Newman; the Liturgy and the Breviary. Their Influence on his Life as an Anglican*, London: Sheed and Ward, 1992, chs. 4 & 5, pp. 25-66

79 *LD* vi, pp. 46-48. N.b. The following quotations are taken from the same letter.

languidness. Furthermore, he notes that while the morning services are indeed longer, so as, he says, to '*secure* the day's devotion...' the evening services he qualifies as '*peculiar'*, in that 'they are made exciting, in order to answer.'[80] Thus, the Services 'simplify as the day proceeds' until the evening service, which is designed to lift the spirits at the end of the day's labours, in contrast with the 'sober' character of the far longer morning service.

Newman even identifies 'something beautiful' in the shortness of the prayers, which contrasts with the long prayers which Froude had claimed came in at the Reformation. Whereas Froude had learned from Blanco White that the time required for the daily recitation of the Breviary averaged three hours a day throughout the year, Newman states here that the 'Breviary Devotions' take up between three and four hours a day. The implication is that he was not only spending a considerable part of the morning on them, but quite probably reciting them more slowly than Blanco White had used to do. Newman thus found ways in which the Breviary perfectly corresponded with those patterns of prayer which he had already established in his own life, and found them beautiful and satisfying in ways which he had not even encountered in the Book of Common Prayer, in which, for instance, Matins and Evensong are of substantially the same length and share a similar structure. For Newman, as he said in *Tract 75*, it was the Breviary's harmony which he found beautiful and satisfying, and its harmony is found in both its substance and form, i.e. the characteristic arrangement of the psalms, scripture readings and hymns.[81]

[80] n.b. Newman's emphases
[81] See *Tract 75*, p. 16

Newman's continuing interest in the Breviary manifested itself in two important and complementary ways. First, he produced more translations of the Office hymns as a continuation of those he had made for *Tract 75*. Although he did this by way of contributing to the first English Breviary scheme by two younger Oriel Tractarians, Samuel Wood and Robert Williams, it is likely that the translations were motivated by his own interest in the Breviary hymns. Not only was Newman fascinated by the art of writing poetry, but he was also exercised by the complete absence of office hymns in the Book of Common Prayer. He sought to fill this lacuna by contributing translations of the Breviary hymns for liturgical use.[82]

Yet Newman was not satisfied with translating only the hymns of the Roman Breviary, since he immediately went on to publish a further collection of translations of Latin hymns from the Parisian Breviary, mainly of seventeenth century origin. In the preface to this second collection,[83] Newman expands his view of hymns to state that, while there are 'difficulties which beset [their] composition', especially compared with the 'unapproachable excellence' of scriptural psalms and songs, they can nonetheless, 'being of the nature of praises', aim to 'express affection with a pure heart' whilst also remaining 'subdued and sober while we rejoice'.

[82] Withey, op. cit., produces in an appendix the prefaces written by Newman to two volumes of 'Hymni Ecclesiae', published by J.H. Parker of Oxford in 1838. (Appendix 3; pp. 146-152). In the first of these prefaces Newman writes: 'Nam, cum statutum esset, ut cultus divinus, eo usque in Latino idiomate absolutus, transiret in vernaculam, quis daret, ut qui posset in rebus reformandis, ii in poetica florerent simul, verba autem in versum et quaestiones ad veritatis normam, pari solertia redigerent?' (p. 147) (For when it was decided that divine worship which had hitherto been entirely in Latin should be translated into the vernacular, who were there able to do anything with the texts to be reformed who were at the same time flourishing poets and might with equal carefulness render words into verse and relate their researches to the norm of truth?)

[83] Withey, op. cit. pp. 149-152

Newman's translations seem to reflect his characterization of the different hours of the office, for he uses the 'common metre', never encountered in Latin hymnody, for nearly all his translations of all the daily matins hymns, whilst for the daily hymns at lauds and vespers he varies the metres considerably.[84] This suggests that Newman was seeking to create a correspondence on the one hand between the sobriety of the longer, early office of Matins whose hymns are all written in a plain metre, and on the other hand between the gradually shorter offices as the day passes, whose hymns are written in various, sometimes even exotic metres, designed, one may surmise, to cheer and refresh the soul wearied by the day's labours.

Newman noted the inauguration of the daily common recitation of the Breviary at Littlemore on St. Mark's Day, 25th April, 1842 and mentioned it in letters to Bloxam and Henry Wilberforce.[85] In keeping with the austerity of the house and its daily routine, the celebration of the office was not elaborate. It was usually recited in Latin, both because all the members of the household were familiar with the language, and because there was as yet no complete translation available for use. If there were visitors present who had no knowledge of Latin, then it was customary to recite Compline in English,[86] and it seems possible that the single fascicle of the translated English breviary that had been published in July 1841 was in use at least some time at Littlemore.[87]

[84] For Newman's translations of the Breviary hymns, see *VV*, pp. 203 ff. In passing it should be noted that although they could be recited in common, not all these translations could be sung easily on account of frequent irregularities of metre. It therefore remains an open question whether Newman intended all of them to be sung as part of a liturgical celebration.

[85] *LD* viii, pp. 510-512

[86] Withey, op. cit. p. 80

[87] A copy of the fascicle, 192 pages long, which is preserved among the Ollard Papers at Pusey House, Oxford, and covers the period from the 1st to the 4th Sunday of Advent, is supposed to have been used at Littlemore, according to an anonymous note written on it. It appears to have been quite heavily used and there are pieces of plain paper

There seems little likelihood of any of the offices being sung, nor even of any part thereof, since there is no reference to singing in any of the reminiscences of those who lived at Littlemore during the years 1842-1845. Because Newman's translations of the hymns in this surviving English fascicle were metrically regular, they could have been sung. But it is more likely that Newman saw the common recitation of the offices as an extension of his own established private use of the Breviary, rather than as a substitute for the Prayer Book Services which he continued to celebrate in the church at Littlemore until his resignation as vicar in September 1843. Furthermore, at this time neither Newman nor any of the other Tractarians would have had a significant opportunity to experience the offices as sung, for instance, by monastic communities abroad.

The importance of the breviary in particular for Newman's developing sense of liturgical devotion cannot be overstated. Donald Withey is surely correct when he states that Newman was 'almost captivated by this book and could not put it aside', and that 'despite his painful realisation that it was drawing him towards Rome, he continued to pray the offices.'[88] In the difficult transitional years between Tract 90 and his reception into the Catholic Church, the Breviary was undoubtedly a constant source of spiritual solace, and yet it was 'with anguish' that he came 'to identify the church which had given birth to this prayer book as the Church of the Apostles', because 'Rome for all its outward defects had retained...a fully developed liturgy.'[89]

pasted over the Marian antiphon and invocations to the saints, indicating that the fascicle was in use at a time when these elements were still eschewed as 'Romish' corruptions. Withey says that 'it is possible, though not certain, that use was made of the translated section of the Breviary'. (Withey, op. cit., p. 80)

88 Withey, op. cit., p. 110

89 Withey, op. cit., p. 111

b. 'The Visible Temple': the Imagery of Church Buildings

In his early sermons, the newly ordained Newman was concerned with specifically spiritual aspects of faith and morals, and not with the theology of the visible Church, nor *a fortiori* with church architecture. His definition of the 'visible church of Christ' in a sermon preached in December 1824 quotes the 19th of the Thirty Nine Articles verbatim as 'a congregation of faithful men, in which the pure Word of God is preached and the Sacraments be duly administered'.[90] A year later he preached a sermon, significantly entitled: 'on the *use* of the visible church'.[91] In this sermon he contrasted the visible with the invisible church of the saints, saying that these two 'ought to be one and the same, i.e. all *should* be spiritual children of God who are called so'.[92]

The ideas which helped to transform Newman's understanding of the Church were its independent doctrinal authority and the administration of the sacraments. His early Calvinistic tendencies gave way to a deeper understanding of the sacramental principle through his reading of Bishop Butler, and his understanding of the Church benefited from the criticism of colleagues like Whately and Hawkins.[93] Newman thus gradually came to understand not only how the invisible world substantially and instrumentally interacts with the visible Church, but in particular how the invisible world is operative in the ministrations

90 *Ser.* iv, no.1 'On the Church (on attending the ordinances of grace)', preached on December 12th, 1824. pp. 5-6
91 n.b. my emphasis
92 *Ser.* iv, no. 3 'On the Church (on the use of the visible church)', preached on December 4th, 1825, p. 28
93 *AW,* p. 69 and *Apo*. p. 21

and actions of the Church's sacred rites. Consequently, by 1827 Newman's approach to the sacraments had taken this powerful turn away from evangelicalism:

> For we take not baptism or the eucharist, for bare resemblances or memorials of things absent, neither for naked signs and testimonies assuring us of grace received before, but (as they are indeed and in verity) for means effectual, whereby God, when we take the sacraments, delivereth into our hands that grace available unto eternal life, which grace the sacraments represent or signify.[94]

By the beginning of the Tractarian era in 1833, Newman's view of the visible Church had become much firmer under the influence of Froude, Keble and Pusey in particular. It was not only a society founded by Christ, but was more subtly connected with the invisible Church than he had held a few years earlier, both by signifying the Church invisible and by fulfilling an eschatological role in pointing towards the end of things. He neatly encapsulated this typically Tractarian ecclesiology in one sentence: '[t]he Church of Christ, as Scripture teaches, is a visible body, invested with, or (I may say) existing in invisible privileges.'[95]

This growth in the individual Christian's reflection of God's image, Newman argues, must also depend on the suitable participation of each one in visible forms of worship. Newman describes unhealthy excitements, such as those characteristic of religious dissenters, as 'the indisposition of the mind', a term which suggests a lack of mental harmony and order, and claims that 'the services

[94] *Ser.* iv, no. 2 'on The Church (on the communion of Saints)', p. 15. This text belongs to the sermon as it was first preached by Newman on August 26th, 1827. This sermon was preached in various forms on six occasions between 1825 and 1841.

[95] *PS* iii, no 16, 'The Church Visible and Invisible', preached on October 25th 1835, p. 224

of divine worship' in the Church 'are the proper antidotes'[96] to such excitements. Such forms of worship can be interpreted as encounters with God, as Newman also argues from the appearance of Moses to the Israelites after meeting God face to face: 'his face quite shone and dazzled the people... Such is the effect of God's grace on those who come to Church in faith and love.'[97]

The Church's worship of God on earth is capable of such a profound effect because it shares, however imperfectly, in the worship of God in heaven as Newman explains:

> All holy creatures are praising God continually – we hear them not, still they are praising Him and praying to Him. All the Angels, the glorious company of the Apostles, the goodly fellowship of the Prophets, the noble army of Martyrs, the Holy Church universal, all good men all over the earth, all the spirits and souls of the righteous, all our friends who have died in God's faith and fear, all are praising and praying to God: we come to Church to join them; our voices are very feeble, our hearts are very earthly, our faith is very weak.[98]

This is, as Newman tells his congregation, a *hidden* reality. Yet we can bring it to mind in simple, practical ways, as he suggests:

> These are the thoughts with which we should come to Church; and if we come a little before the Service begins, and want something to think about, we may look... at the building itself, which will remind us of many good things; or we may look into the Prayer Book for such passages as the 84th Psalm, which runs thus: “O how amiable are Thy dwellings, Thou Lord of hosts! My soul hath a desire and longing to enter into the Courts of the Lord: my heart and my flesh rejoice in the Living God.”[99]

Here, just over one month after the consecration of his new church at Littlemore in 1836, Newman describes the building which houses divine worship as an image

96 *PS* iii, no. 23, 'Religious Worship a Remedy for Excitements', preached on February 8th, 1835, p. 337
97 *PS* viii, no. 1, 'Reverence in Worship', preached on October 30th 1836, p. 13
98 *PS* viii, no. 1, p. 12
99 *PS* viii, no. 1, p. 12

of the heavenly courts, and not as a mere edifice for the congregation to meet in.

It is entirely typical of Newman that his interest in the symbolism and imagery of church buildings should eventually be aroused by the practical necessity of building a church. Newman, motivated solely by pastoral concern for the souls of his flock in the outlying hamlet of Littlemore, conceived the idea of providing a church for them. On May 31st, 1835, Newman preached an appeal sermon for funds at the Mother Church, St. Mary's.[100] It is effectively a short theological treatise on the holiness of the Christian church building in relation to the sacred rites celebrated within. Referring to the Temple in Jerusalem as the most sacred building of the Old Covenant, which 'the visible glory of God inhabited', he goes much further by stating that 'every Christian Church is a more sacred, more awful and fearful place than even the Temple in Jerusalem.'[101] This claim is based on the principle that 'by building churches … in a certain sense we realize the unseen world and bring down heaven upon earth.'[102] It is the hidden presence of heavenly mysteries where God 'works his marvels' that makes a Church 'holy ground', and where 'the invisible glory of God is poured around us'. The metaphor of glory 'poured around us' suggests the action of sacramental grace in the water of baptism, which Newman describes as 'a sensible miracle' to the believer, and is 'only apprehended by *faith*.'[103]

Yet there is a greater wonder still than baptism, imbued with 'awfulness and mystery', which is the Eucharist, 'that gracious ordinance which Christ so

[100] *Ser.* iv, no. 9, 'On the Sanctity of Churches (for Littlemore Chapel)', pp. 87-97
[101] *Ser.* iv, no. 9, p. 88
[102] *Ser.* iv, no. 9, p. 93
[103] *Ser.* iv, no. 9, p. 89 (Newman's emphasis)

impressively ordained and so minutely *performed*'.[104] Through the celebration in it of such a sacred rite, 'what a solemn place must a Church necessarily be!' Whence, Newman asks, 'is there not something very overpowering in the thought? - and if so, what are we to think of that place *where* He so manifests Himself, not indeed carnally and visibly, but to the soul?'[105] But just as the Eucharist is the holiest rite that is conducted in a church, so the altar is the holiest place within a church, 'because [Christ] works his holiest wonder there.' Moreover, although nothing that is by nature invisible is there for the eye to see, 'we love to have that Holy Table in our sight … and *faith* sees and adores His invisible presence … for we rest upon nothing sensible, but urge our minds [hearts] forward to apprehend and appropriate what is unseen.'[106]

In the event, Littlemore Church was not especially splendid, either in its form or in its furnishings, because Newman was anxious to build it as quickly and frugally as possible. On the occasion of the laying of the first stone, on July 21st, Newman told his parishioners at Littlemore that '[w]e are indeed beginning a very humble work, not to be compared to the building of the Temple.'[107] Yet, as we can infer from his sermon two months earlier on 'the Sanctity of Churches', this statement was not meant to belittle the sacred worth of Littlemore Church, but to reassure the parishioners that the simplicity of their new church would be as acceptable to God as was the widow's mite offered to the Temple treasury (Mk. 12:41-44).

[104] *Ser.* iv, no. 9, p. 89 (Newman's emphasis)
[105] *Ser.* iv, no. 9, p. 90 (Newman's emphasis)
[106] *Ser.* iv, no. 9, pp. 93-94 (Newman's emphasis)
[107] *LD* v, p. 105: 'Address to Littlemore Parishioners'.

What it generally lacked in outward splendour was made up for in other ways, notably in the Sanctuary. As Newman had already said in the sermon on 'the Sanctity of Churches', the East end of a church is the most important part, because it is the holiest part, on account of the altar being there. He had also there emphasised the visibility of the 'Holy Table' so as to urge us forward 'to apprehend and appropriate what is unseen'. This he achieved in Littlemore, making the interior East end a frame to enhance the presence and visibility of the altar as the principal focal point within the church. The architectural style of the church is basically Gothic in its elements, though of a very austere kind. As built by Newman it was a plain rectangle, aisleless and towerless. The windows were either lancets without tracery or were of the very simplest 'plate' tracery.[108]

In the sermon he preached at the consecration of the Church on September 22nd 1836, Newman refers frequently to God's 'glory' and 'glories',[109] made present, though still invisible, wherever a church is established on earth. Even the Temple in Jerusalem, 'a magnificent building made of the finest wood, over laid with gold, and ornamented with various linen of the brightest and richest colours'[110] was wanting. For despite all the splendour, there was a veil, 'a curtain which divided off the glories of the Temple, the Ark and the Divine Presence upon it, from the rest of the building … which signified that as yet heaven was shut up from the earth.'[111] But since the veil of the Temple was rent asunder at the death of Christ upon the cross, that glory, once hidden, now dwells upon the earth.

[108] The church was significantly altered only two years after Newman left Littlemore, by the addition of a chancel, including sedilia and separated from the nave by a screen, and a tower which replaced the original single bell-cote. The interior east wall of the new chancel, however, was retained as it had been designed by Newman.
[109] *Ser.* iv, no. 26, e.g. pp.228 and 230 passim
[110] *Ser.* iv, no. 26, p. 229
[111] *Ser.* iv, no. 26, p. 230

Newman sees in the Christian church the fulfilment 'in a true and sufficient sense', of the words of St. John in the Apocalypse, describing the vision of the 'Holy city, new Jerusalem, coming down out of heaven prepared as a bride adorned for her husband', as revealed by the voice proclaiming: ' Behold, the tabernacle of God is with men – and He shall dwell with them.' (Rev. 21: 2-3)[112] The tabernacle of the New Testament becomes the visible dwelling place of the divine glory 'which descended on earth when the veil of the Temple was rent in twain. … which has now come down from heaven though unseen by our bodily eyes.'[113] And so, says Newman, it is a great blessing

> [t]o be allowed to bring the presence of God into this small hamlet; to be able (through God's inexpressible grace) to bring his heavenly court, Mount Zion, the city of the living God, the heavenly Jerusalem, an innumerable company of Angels, and the Spirits of the just made perfect, and above all (if the words may be used) to bring our Lord Jesus Christ the Mediator and His precious atoning blood into this very place.[114]

At the consecration ceremony Newman had explained the general sense of the sacredness of the Christian church building. A month later he preached about the specific symbolism of the detailed parts of the new church.[115] He began with an account of Moses' 'glorious vision of heaven' and the command that he 'make the worship of God below somehow answer to this … or what is called typify it.' Hence, Newman explains, '[a]s God is worshipped in a glorious Temple in heaven, so did [Moses] make a tabernacle or Temple below as a resemblance.'[116] Christians, 'in like manner', have ever since the Apostles

[112] *Ser.* iv, no. 26, p. 231
[113] *Ser.* iv, no. 26, p. 232
[114] *Ser.* iv, no. 26, pp. 233-234
[115] *Ser.* iv, no. 27, pp. 236 ff., preached on October 16th, 1836
[116] *Ser.* iv, no. 27, p. 237

'endeavoured to build their churches and form their customs after the pattern of what Christ has revealed to us concerning heaven.'[117] So Newman explains how he has striven to symbolize, or typify, hidden truths in the design and arrangement of his new church.

He begins, not with the altar itself, but with the three windows above the altar symbolizing the Holy Trinity. Next Newman turns to the doctrine of the Redemption by the Incarnate Son of God, 'represented by the Cross, cut out in stone, which you see over the Altar.'[118] This important and visually striking detail was also somewhat daring. The attitude of Newman's Anglican contemporaries towards any depictions of persons or even the cross itself was generally at least suspicious of tendencies towards what was condemned as Romish idolatry. This is why Newman was at pains to explain that the imagery in his church was meant to call certain doctrines and mysteries to mind and, because they are unseen, to make them present in a visible form to those who could see them illuminated by faith.

However, the final section of the sermon is most unusual in that it is a defence of his decision to install the pre-Reformation font which Hawkins had replaced in St. Mary's in Oxford. Newman claims boldly that 'old things are always better than new while they last – all new things in religion are bad'[119] and that this font should be honoured 'for the sake of those who first provided it in its splendour', and asks rhetorically 'does it not seem a very unfeeling thing to cast away an instrument which God has so much honoured?'[120] For Newman there was

[117] *Ser.* iv, no. 27, p. 238
[118] *Ser.* iv, no. 27, p. 239
[119] *Ser.* iv, no. 27, p. 241
[120] *Ser.* iv, no. 27, p. 242

still a beauty in such a physically defaced object, sacred because of its long usage, which more than justified its reuse in the new church.

Having explained some of the symbolism of the church building, Newman next turned to some of the postures and attitudes adopted during worship.[121] He recounts at some length the reason for the diverse directions the minister faces during services, facing East when addressing God, and facing the congregation when addressing them.[122] He draws attention to the fact that most churches are built facing East, and that this has been the practice for Christians since early times, 'and we do so, because they did so – it is not clear why – many reasons may be assigned, all instructive ones, when we come to know them.'[123]

The building of Littlemore church proved to be a catalyst in Newman's thinking about the practical aspects of religion, worship and architecture. From then onwards he continued to develop his understanding of beauty in this context in several notable sermons. In 'The Gospel Palaces', preached shortly after the consecration of Littlemore church, Newman acknowledged that although Scripture says so little about religious buildings, nevertheless 'it is right and pious to make them enduring, and stately, and magnificent, and ornamental'.[124] Newman suggested that '[s]tability and permanence are, perhaps, the especial ideas which a Church brings before the mind. It represents, indeed, the beauty, loftiness, the calmness, the mystery, and the sanctity of religion.'[125]

[121] *Ser.* iv, no. 28, pp. 244 ff., preached on October 23rd, 1836
[122] *Ser.* iv, no. 28, p. 249
[123] *Ser.* iv, no. 28, p. 249
[124] *PS* vi, no. 19, p. 271, preached November 13th, 1836
[125] *PS* vi, no. 19, p. 273

Moreover, these very elements can also suggest another idea that is not necessarily foremost in the human mind, for 'more than all these, [a Church] represents to us eternity.'[126] A Church is therefore a symbol of that end to which all those who enter it and worship in it are called: 'What a visible, palpable specimen this, of the communion of saints!'[127] For '[i]n heaven is the substance, of which here below we are vouchsafed the image.'[128] This orientation towards heaven is what gives the true purpose to the beautifying of churches, whose 'simplicity, grandeur, solidity, elevation, grace, and exuberance of ornament'[129] are not for mere sensual gratification, but to edify and inspire the heart to deepen its attachment to the invisible world.

Yet whilst Newman acknowledges that things of wealth and beauty, even though they may be desirable, are not absolutely necessary for the worship of God, he is also aware of a danger in refusing them altogether. For to deny the use of created beauty in worshipping God would effectively indicate a kind of dualism. It would be tantamount to declaring that created beauty is not of God and therefore cannot draw us towards the Creator. '[N]o one can deny', he says, 'that a great object of Christ's coming was to subdue the world, to claim it as His own, to assert His rights as its Master.'[130] In these strong verbs, 'subdue', 'claim', and 'assert', Newman indicates the source of the problem that some may feel about created beauty in divine worship. For such beauty has often been distorted from its true origin and made to serve a false god. Christ came 'to absorb this world into Himself; that, as He was light, so it might be light also... He came to make

[126] *PS* vi, no. 19, p. 273
[127] *PS* vi, no. 19, p. 274
[128] *PS* vi, no. 19, p. 279
[129] *PS* vi, no. 19, p. 278
[130] *PS* vi, no. 20, p. 283

Himself a home, to make Himself houses, to fashion for Himself a glorious dwelling out of this world, which the powers of evil had taken captive.'[131]

In token of this purpose, which is at the heart of the doctrine of the Incarnation, 'in omen of the future, even in His cradle, the rich and wise of the earth seek Him with gold, and frankincense, and myrrh, as an offering.'[132] In the gifts of the Magi (Mt. 2:11) Newman saw the principle of human application of natural things of beauty to God's worship ratified by the Gospel. Nor are such naturally occurring materials to be presented simply as they are found, says Newman, but are to be subjected to human creativity and ingenuity wherever 'the skill of man is put to task to use whatever nature furnishes', so that 'all that is rarest and most wonderful in nature or art has been consecrated to Him'.[133]

Newman sees that this process of the transformation of the creation into the worship of the Creator by human agency also involves the transformation of human nature itself. Not only material things, but human faculties can be brought into this project of creativity and art, particularly the faculty of speech and musical expression. So, therefore,

> Our tongues must preach Him, and our voices sing of Him... And hence arise joint worship, forms of prayer, ceremonies of devotion, orders of ministers, holy vestments, solemn music, and other things of a like nature, all of which are, as it were, the incoming into this world of the Invisible Kingdom of Christ, the fruit of its influence, the sample of its power, the earnest of its victories, the means of its manifestation.[134]

If these are the human means of making manifest what is hidden, then surely the

[131] *PS* vi, no. 20, p. 284
[132] *PS* vi, no. 20, p. 285
[133] *PS* vi, no. 20, pp. 285-6
[134] *PS* vi, no. 20, pp. 287-8

opposite effect can be expected from their neglect, as Newman asks his congregation to reflect on the question:

> when we go into certain Churches, and see the neglected state in which they are left, the font cast aside, or, if not, used as a place to keep any sort of litter in; and the Holy Table mean and unsightly, with a miserable covering, and the pavement defiled and broken, and the whole building in a state of neglect... I say, when these and such sights meet us, perhaps, for an instant, we are tempted to say, Can Christ be here? Can the holy Spirit deign to sanctify water for the washing away of sins, brought in, as it is, with such irreverence of manner, and in so mean a vessel? Or, can the life-giving Presence and the sacrificial power of Christ be upon that Altar, which is so wretched to look upon?[135]

Newman is effectively arguing that, even if it is not strictly necessary, such outward orderliness and harmony of beauty is highly desirable so that the human mind and heart may thereby be drawn to acknowledge the hidden presence of God in His visible temples. Nevertheless, he does not fail to recognize the danger of the kind of false aestheticism that is restricted to a mere concern for externals, and therefore he prays that God may 'in His mercy grant that our outward show does not outstrip our inward progress; that whatever gift, rare or beautiful, we introduce here, may be but a figure of inward beauty and unseen sanctity ornamenting our hearts!'[136]

Nevertheless, Newman does emphasise that though the glories of the Christian churches were not to be any 'less outward and visible...they were to be more spiritual also.'[137] He is aware of the opinion among many that 'the more homely and familiar their worship is, the more spiritual it becomes, and who 'argue that to aim at external beauty in the service of the Sanctuary, is to be like

[135] *PS* vi, no. 20, p. 292
[136] *PS* vi, no. 20, p. 294
[137] *PS* vi, no. 21, p. 297

the Pharisees, to be fair without and hollow within', to which he poses these questions:

> did our Saviour say that magnificence in worshipping God, magnificence in His house, in its furniture, and in its decorations, is wrong, wrong since He has come into the world? Does He discourage us from building handsome Churches, or beautifying the ceremonial of religion? Did He exhort us to niggardness? did He put a slight on architectural skill? did He imply that we should please Him the more, the less study and trouble we gave to the externals of worship?[138]

Newman outlines two defences of his position. He argues first, from the point of view of Christ as evidenced from the Scriptures, that 'He condemned the show of great attention to outward things, *while* inward things, which were more important, were neglected', and secondly, from the point of view of human sensitivity, that 'as is neatness and decency in an individual, such is decoration in a Church, and as we should be offended at slovenliness in an individual, so we ought to be offended at disorder and neglect in our Churches.'[139]

Once again he bases his defence of beauty in architecture and worship on the principle of the goodness of all creation, and the danger of, at least implicitly, rejecting material creation as unworthy of the Creator, as is professed in the Creed: 'Persons who put aside gravity and comeliness in the worship of God, that they may pray more spiritually, forget that God is a Maker of *all* things, *visible* as well as invisible; that He is the Lord of our bodies as well as of our souls.'[140] The principle that salvation embraces the human body as well as the soul, and that both were taken by the Son of God in His Incarnation, remain firmly at the centre of this formulation of the place of bodily and material beauty in

[138] *PS* vi, no. 21, pp. 298-9
[139] *PS* vi, no. 21, pp. 301-2 (n.b. Newman's emphasis in the former quotation.)
[140] *PS* vi, no. 21, p. 304 (n.b. Newman's emphases)

worship. For

> to adorn the worship of God our Saviour, to be curious in architecture, and reverent in ceremonies, all this external religion is a sort of profession and confession; it is nothing but what is natural, nothing but what is consistent, in those who are cultivating the life of religion within.[141]

The outward expression of the inward life of religion is not only natural, but in a sense, necessary, for '[t]he light of Divine truth, when in the heart, ought to beam forth outwardly.'[142]

The use of beauty in church architecture and worship can also be a means of attracting others to share in this great purpose of praise of God. Whenever a church is an authentic and sincere expression of human devotion to God and of gratitude for the gift of salvation, it will be charged with power to draw others to share in that devotion and gratitude. For he says that

> They who rejoice *with* their brethren...and desire to worship together, *build a place* to worship in, and they build it as the *expression* of their feelings, of their mutual love, of their common reverence. They build a building which will, as it were, speak...They will build what may tell out their deepest and most sacred thoughts, which they dare not utter in word: not a mis-shapen building, not a sordid building, but a noble dwelling, a palace all-glorious within; unfit, indeed, for God's high Majesty, whom even the heavens cannot contain, but fit to express the feelings of the builders...which may show how they desire to praise, bless, and glorify their eternal Benefactor; how they desire to get others to praise Him also; a Temple which may cry out to all passers-by, “Oh, magnify the Lord our God, and fall down before His footstool, for He is holy! Oh, magnify the Lord our God, and worship upon His holy hill, for the Lord our God is holy!”[143]

Newman points out that we willingly adorn our own bodies with 'God's wonderful works', with 'precious stones, gold and silver, and fine linen'. Yet surely, he asks, rather than 'dress up our bodies in silk and jewels', would it not be better, 'to

[141] *PS* vi, no. 21, p. 304
[142] *PS* vi, no. 21, p. 303
[143] *PS* vi, no. 21, pp.305-6 (n.b. Newman's emphases)

ornament therewith God's house and God's ritual?'[144]

He also appeals to a sense of natural religion, to the human ability to recognise the Creator through the works of creation, and from that recognition he argues that it is right to apply natural beauty, just as we recognise it, to God's worship. Indeed, he goes further by claiming that the natural world, in a sense, 'speak[s] in praise of God', and asks: 'do not all rich and beautiful substances every where witness of Him who made them? Are they not His work, His token, His glory? Are they not a portion of a vast natural Temple, the heavens, earth, and sea[?]' He continues this metaphor of the natural world as a 'temple' by appropriating it also to a cosmic act of worship in which God Himself is the High Priest and the Redeemer who has regained possession of it from the power of the evil one. He asks whether the entire natural world is not 'a vast Cathedral for the Bishop of our souls, the All-sufficient Priest, who first created all things, and then again, became, by purchase, their Possessor?'[145]

By the climax of the Tractarian Movement around 1840, Newman had thus developed a powerful aesthetic of architecture and worship based on Scripture, on human sensibility and reason, on the implementation of public worship at St. Mary's and on his own experience in designing and furnishing his new church at Littlemore. Although he was forced by circumstances to retire to the austere surroundings of the College, in which, as it was merely a converted stable block, the outward manifestation of beauty was, if not entirely absent, then certainly minimal, nevertheless he had developed the principles which he would

[144] *PS* vi, no. 21, p. 308
[145] *PS* vi, no. 21, pp. 308-9

put to good effect in his future churches in Birmingham and Dublin.

Chapter Three

'Echoes from our Home':

Music in Newman's Life

1. Music in the Newman Family

Of all the arts, that to which Newman devoted most attention throughout his life, with the possible exception of literature, was music. The Newman family as a whole seem to have had a great love for music. Thomas Mozley, who was married to Newman's sister Harriett, tells us that their father 'had an hereditary taste for music, of which he had a practical and scientific knowledge, together with much general culture.'[1] Newman's brother, Francis, refers to their father's amazement at 'a little opera written by my premature brother, who must then have been under the age of ten',[2] which suggests that John Henry manifested very early the interest and ability in music which led to his beginning violin lessons at school just after his tenth birthday. Since Francis was writing about events almost eighty years earlier, such precociousness as he implies here may be exaggerated. Anne Mozley, Newman's sister-in-law, who was chosen by himself in later life to edit his early letters, may be taken to correct Francis Newman's account from John Henry's own records:

> In those early days [the Newman family] could get up performances among themselves, operatic or simply dramatic. Thus ... [John Henry] writes: 'In the year 1812 I think I wrote a mock drama of some kind...Again I wrote a

1 T. Mozley M.A, *Reminiscences Chiefly of Oriel College and the Oxford Movement.* London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1882, p. 13

2 Francis William Newman, *Contributions chiefly to the Early History of the late Cardinal Newman*, London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner, 1891, p. 3

burlesque opera in 1815, composing tunes for the songs.'[3]

It seems likely, therefore, that Newman would not have composed any tunes at least until he had learned the rudiments of musical notation. Since neither Newman nor any of the other family witnesses mentions whether their father played an instrument, it seems unlikely that he did so, and maybe this was why he encouraged the mastery of musical instruments by his children, just as he encouraged them towards a level of educational attainment far exceeding his own.

Only five days after his tenth birthday, Newman noted in his diary: '*began* Music', to which brief entry he added years later the explanatory note: '(i.e. *the Violin*)'.[4] In the succeeding weeks he recorded several times 'had lesson of Music', and by the end of March he 'began a tune' and 'began themes'. On April 21st he 'began duets',[5] thus beginning a lifelong love of making music with others. He took his lessons seriously and practised well, as he frequently noted in his diary. His book of 'Country Dances etc.' dates from this time, and contains 25 melodies for violin solo written in his own hand, demonstrating an early and confident grasp in the writing of music and time and key signatures.[6] He noted a year after beginning the violin that his bowing had improved, and by November 1815 he was being encouraged by his father to acquire a new 'Cremona' violin, which indicates that he must have made sufficient progress to warrant buying what is likely to have been a reasonably costly instrument for a young player.[7]

3 *Moz. i*, p. 19
4 *LD* i, p. 9, February 26th 1811 (Newman's emphasis)
5 *LD* i, p. 9
6 MS in the Newman Archive at the Birmingham Oratory. (in an unnumbered folder containing collected musical manuscripts under the general heading: *Giovanni Enrico Neandrini)*
7 *LD* i, p. 17. Cremona was the principal Italian centre of violin making. In 1865, when he had been given a new violin by old friends, Newman commented: 'I had got a very beautiful fiddle – such as I had never had before. Think of my not having a good one till I was between sixty and seventy – and beginning to learn it when I was ten!'

At home, the Newman family played a variety of instruments. Jemima and Mary were both pianists. On the basis of his private conversations in the last twenty years of Newman's life, Edward Bellasis reported that his brothers Frank and Charles 'used to accompany him in trios, Frank playing “the bass”.'[8] A folder of miscellaneous music manuscripts in Newman's hand survives at the Birmingham Oratory, which contains sets of parts for varying combinations of instruments, all apparently arranged by Newman. One of the earliest extant pieces is unnamed, possibly composed by Newman himself, dated October 1st 1816, of which only parts for *violino primo* and *flauto* survive, indicating that there was at least another violin part, now missing. Which of the family played the flute, unfortunately, we do not know, though Bellasis mentions that 'the Cardinal at Oxford possessed a flute which he lent in exchange for a Foster viola'[9], so it is possible that Newman himself occasionally played it in family ensembles.

After Newman had gone to Oxford, he continued to arrange music for family performances in the vacations. Whilst staying with his family at Alton in 1818, he seems to have been especially active,[10] arranging the Overture to *Lodoïska* by Cherubini for violin duet, Handel's Overture to *Samson* for four hands on one piano, and 'Music in Macbeth', an arrangement, probably by Newman himself, of music by Matthew Locke.[11] There are a few remaining parts of an even more ambitious suite of movements, though of an uncertain date, arranged by Newman from various works by

8 Edward Bellasis, *Coram Cardinali*, London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1917, p. 5
9 Bellasis, op. cit., p. 119
10 This can be deduced from the fact that the following manuscripts are dated 'Alton 1818'.
11 The presence of this 17th century music in the collection attests to its continuing popularity. There were editions of it published in London as late as the end of the 18th century.

Handel[12] for piano duet, two violins and flute. There are also four surviving pages of the second violin part in his hand of an arrangement of an Overture by Romberg, and of both the *Clemenza di Tito* and *Zauberflöte* Overtures by Mozart.[13] Given the fragmentary nature of much of what survives,[14] we can reasonably assume that much more of a similar kind once existed, indicating the richness and range of talents of the family's domestic music-making.

As well as making music at home, the Newman family also attended concerts. His mother wrote to Newman at school in 1816, telling him that 'we were at the Concert, and fascinated with the *Dutchman,* thought of you and your musical party frequently'.[15] Newman later wrote a gloss on this to explain that the 'Dutchman' was his playful name for Beethoven, on account of the 'van' in his name. Beethoven was already Newman's favourite composer,[16] and a contemporary and somewhat revolutionary musical force at that time, whose music was only just beginning to be known in England.[17] In the same letter, as well as referring to his 'musical party', Mrs Newman demonstrates that she shared a certain level of musical appreciation with her son, commenting that the violinist Paolo Spagnoletti led the orchestra 'very nicely, but I think not so firmly as Weichsell'. She told him that the programme also included music by Haydn, Cherubini and Mozart.

12 Newman's title page also refers to Corelli, but there is no music by him in the surviving parts. The movements which survive are all by Handel: the Overture to the Organ Concerto op. 4 no.2 in Bb major, the Gavotte from 'Otho', and the Andante from the Organ Concerto Op. 4 no. 4 in F.

13 Only the second violin part appears to have survived. The arrangement is undated.

14 See Newman's memorandum on the breaking up of the family music collection, in *LD* i, pp. 27-28, and below, pp. 112-113

15 *LD* i p. 19

16 Bellasis, op. cit. p. 16: 'The "Dutchman," with his force and depth, his tenderness and sweetness, was the Cardinal's prime favourite.'

17 Percy M. Young, *Elgar, Newman and* The Dream of Gerontius *In the Tradition of English Catholicism,* Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1995, pp. 69-70

By 1816 the music of Haydn and Mozart was well established in London. Haydn's two visits to London in the 1790's had resulted in the growing popularity of contemporary, European music over that of Handel and his English followers. In the light of this, Newman's frequent use of Handel's music in his arrangements for his family to perform, and the presence of the theme from the slow movement of Haydn's 'Surprise' symphony towards the end of his private book of 'Country Dances etc', seems entirely in keeping with the taste of the age. Moreover, not only the composers but also the genres of music began to change. Large-scale orchestral concerts became fashionable. Domestic music-making turned away from glee-singing to instrumental chamber music.[18] Such was the musical milieu in which Newman was raised at home.

2. Music at Oxford in Newman's Time

Newman's arrival in Oxford coincided with a time of considerable musical activity there. Apart from the colleges, particularly the larger and better endowed ones, and the various churches, which employed organists to direct their music, the Holywell Music Room had been founded in 1748 solely for the performance of concerts. As in London until the dawn of the nineteenth century, so still in Oxford Handel remained the most popular composer. As Susan Wollenberg says, 'the early nineteenth-century Holywell programmes retained partly the spirit of the eighteenth century. Handel's music... remained a staple element in this and other Oxford contexts.'[19] The importance accorded by the University authorities to music some time before Newman's arrival can

18 Young, op. cit., p. 69

19 Susan Wollenberg, *Music at Oxford in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2001, p. 146

be judged from the visit to Oxford by Haydn, who had performed in the Holywell Music Room in the early 1790's on receiving an honorary doctorate in music, from which time his music was more frequently performed in Oxford.

At around the beginning of Newman's time in Oxford, concerts were given weekly at Holywell, at least during term, and consisted of excerpts from larger works such as Oratorios, mingled with instrumental pieces, or even whole works in 'Choral Nights' held once a term. Those involved in performances occasionally included the Professor of Music in the University, Dr. William Crotch, especially in performances of Oratorios by Handel and Haydn, and members of musical families resident in the city, including the Reinagles, father and son, who were to become friends of Newman's. 'The best singers and instrumentalists of their day' were engaged for particular occasions from London, and frequently advertised as having operatic connections.[20]

Operatic music was accordingly included more frequently in the concert programmes during the early 1800's, Mozart being especially popular, and Rossini beginning to appear from 1819 onwards. As far as orchestral music was concerned, where Haydn had 'previously reigned supreme', 'Mozart and now also Beethoven took their place beside him'.[21] When Beethoven's *Prometheus* Overture was performed in 1817 and again in 1819, Newman may have heard either or both of these performances.[22] Nor did the programmes always consist solely of 'modern' music, but revivals of much older music seem to have been attempted. As Wollenberg observes:

20 Wollenberg, op. cit. p. 150
21 Wollenberg, op. cit. p. 155
22 *LD* i, p. 48, December 8th, 1817: 'I went to one of the concerts last week'; and p. 64, March 23rd, 1819: 'in the midst of three books of Thucydides... I am going to Concerts!'

'Certain fashions can be perceived, e.g. a Purcellian phase lasted the first two decades of the 19th century.'[23] A programme mixing instrumental and sung items such as that in the London concert which Mrs Newman attended in 1816 was clearly the most popular format at the time.

However, as can be seen from certain events in Newman's Oxford life, music was looked down on in some University quarters. The academics, such as the Oriel Noetics, thought it unfit for those dedicated to intellectual pursuits, while the hearty undergraduates despised it as unmanly. Mozley says that 'the traditions of the place were against it; to be musical was bad form.'[24]

3. Newman's Music-Making in Oxford

Newman attended concerts in Holywell frequently from the time he arrived in Oxford, noting in a memorandum summing up his 'Expenses' for May 1818 that he had spent the considerable sum of £1.14.6 on 'Tickets and Books for Music'.[25] On coming into residence during the Long Vacation in June 1817, when he was obliged to spend a great deal of time at work alone, Newman wrote to his mother that he had hired a violin, since his own was apparently being repaired, and that he did 'not like to play on it unless in the evening'.[26] Yet it would seem that, even so, music was not merely a recreational activity to him, since he had a few days previously written a laudatory poem 'On Music', in which he identified the transcendent quality and power of music to move those who

23 Wollenberg, op. cit. p. 157.
24 Mozley, op. cit., p. 70
25 *LD* i, p. 55
26 *LD* i, p. 40

hear it with its intimations of the heavenly world from which it originates.[27]

Newman's enthusiasm for music made him at first something of a butt of others' humour. He recounted in his journal an early event in his Oxford life which took place in November 1817. He had been invited by another undergraduate of his college to bring his violin to a wine evening at which he had reason to suppose others would also be bringing their own instruments, for he had heard flutes being played in the college at that time. He was surprised on entering the room to 'hear a smothered laugh on my conductor's announcing “Mr Newman and his fiddle.”' He quickly realised that he was expected to drink before playing, which would be in all likelihood become the occasion of some mirth, even mockery, and so he remained determinedly abstemious, drinking only as much as was requisite for politeness' sake. Newman's firmness of demeanour in the face of some provocation won him some admiration, if not friendship, from among his would-be tormentors.[28] He not only continued to play his violin but also sought out companions with whom he could explore chamber music as he had done at home and at school with his 'musical party'. One of these companions was his first close undergraduate friend, John Bowden, who was a 'cellist.

Newman's first explicit reference to being a member of a quartet had come when he wrote to his sister Harriett in June 1820, a few months before taking his degree that an elderly Don had invited him to play chamber music one evening, but that 'through his enthusiasm I was kept playing quartets on a heavy tenor from 7 till 12!'[29] Newman, who tended to retire early, felt the strain of staying up unusually late on this

27 See below, pp. 123-4 for a detailed consideration of this poem.
28 *AW*, pp. 156-7
29 *LD* i, p. 75; n.b. 'tenor' was then the usual designation of a viola, and remained Newman's own usual name for it.

occasion, and doubtless it was this that triggered a complaint that the Don was 'too fond of Music'. Clearly Newman was beginning to be known around Oxford as a useful and efficient player. He had already joined a music club in St. John's College which was giving private concerts in the Holywell Music Room.[30] He kept up his membership of St. John's Music Club for some time, at least until May of the following year, when he recorded in his diary that 'I still belonged to the Music Club – and was constant at the public concerts in the Music Room.' At the same time he wrote to his sister Harriett that he 'went to the Rs to play the difficult first violin to Haydn, Mozart etc.' The fact that here he was playing the first violin part in such demanding works allows us to glimpse Newman's growing prestige as a violinist.[31]

Not only did Newman play music and attend concerts, but he even had ambitions to compose as well. It would seem that his attendance at the Holywell concerts, and his membership of the St John's Music Club, stimulated a creative vein as he wrote to Jemima that

> the first symphony of Haydn is reechoing in my ears, and distracts my attention by its beauties – I have brought home for my amusement the original Greek of Aeschylus and have begun learning his Choruses by heart; I have some thoughts of setting one or two of them to Music; then I have to compose a concerto.[32]

This certainly suggests that he not only wanted to compose, but to do so on a quite ambitious scale. He must have spoken about this urge quite often, since he subsequently

30 *LD* i, p. 72

31 *LD* i, p. 106. Who were the 'Rs' referred to so familiarly here? They must have been sufficiently well known to Harriett to be recognised from the first letter of their name alone. Unfortunately there is no other reference to them by which securely to confirm this identification. It is possible that they may have been Joseph Reinagle (1762-1834), 'cellist, and his son Alexander Robert Reinagle (1799-1877), an overture by whom had already been performed at Holywell Music Room twice in June, 1819 (Wollenberg, op.cit. p. 162). But on the other hand, there seems to be no explicit reference to the Reinagles in Newman's diaries until 1829, and then by their full name, not by an initial. For the Reinagle family, see *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, vol. 21, pp. 152-3

32 *LD* i, p. 97

wrote on a letter his mother had written him at the same time: 'I used to say “when I have taken degree [sic],” I would do many things – one was to compose a piece of music for instruments.'[33]

After he had eventually taken his degree, time allowed him many opportunities which he had not indulged before. Composing music was one of these. In March 1821 he wrote to his mother that 'Signor Giovanni Enrico Neandrini has finished his first *Obiettamento*. The melody is light and airy, and is well supported by the harmony.' The use of the rather unusual Italian term 'obiettamento', meaning 'object' or 'purpose', was complemented by the flourish of a musical *nom de plume*, an Italianized version of his own name.[34]

He was, on reflection, rather less satisfied with his achievement, for although he wrote a few days later to his sister Jemima that he had the 'satisfaction' of announcing to her and Mary that his 'famous piece of music' was finished, he sounded a more cautious note in continuing that, while they had already seen the first of its two movements,

> – The second I cannot well judge of, since I have not heard it – I told my Mother in a letter to her the other day, that the melodies were light and airy (I did it in a jocular critique) now unfortunately it is said very ironically, for they are, as all my attempts at melody, very heavy – the harmony however I hope is pretty free from such gross faults as consecutive fifths (octaves I will allow).[35]

He asked Jemima to tell Mary that he hoped to have the 'gratification' of hearing them

33 *LD* i, p. 96
34 The surname 'Neandrini', a Greek translation (in Italian guise) of the name 'Newman', recalls the Hellenized forms popular with some learned Italian artists of an earlier generation such as the great librettist of *opera seria*, Trapassi, who wrote under the Hellenized translation of his name: 'Metastasio'.
35 *LD* i, p. 101

play the piano part, '*supposing the piece to be approved of,*' but admitted that he had got 'very tired' of it before he reached the conclusion, and that 'consequently the triumphant rattle at the end is a complete anticlimax.'[36] Following on from the 'jocular critique' a few days earlier, this was possibly the severest criticism which Newman ever applied to any of his own music, and it tells us incidentally what some of his criteria were in identifying musical excellence: 'light and airy' melody and supportive harmony, free from 'gross faults' of musical grammar, culminating in a climactic ending. Newman was searching for a personal style of composition with which to express his musical ideas.

After he was elected a Fellow of Oriel in April 1822, there are no further references to composition. Yet there are a few survivals of compositions from just after that time, dating from his summer vacations at home with his family. His playing continued to occupy his time and the attention of others. Even while he was preparing hard for a month before the Fellowship examination, he was still in demand as a player, attending two music parties and a dance in a single week, and playing Haydn symphonies at his college President's house. He clearly delighted in the story he 'used to relate' of the manner in which his election as a Fellow of Oriel was announced to him by the Provost's Butler, who found him playing the violin at his lodgings.[37] 'This in itself disconcerted the messenger,who did not associate such an accomplishment with a candidateship for the Oriel Common Room.' The Butler's 'perplexity was increased'

36 *LD* i, p. 101, March 31st, 1821, (Newman's emphasis). Young refers to this piece as 'a two-movement work for violin and piano, which has not survived.' (op. cit. p. 70). There may be some confusion here. The first 'Obiettamento' of which Newman writes on March 31st survives, albeit incomplete. Moreover, Newman's elaborate title page states that it is written not for violin and piano, but for piano duet and three stringed instruments. There are two movements: *Grave* and *Allegro assai*. The piano duet part is very fragmentary. The violin part, also incomplete, contains more material than the piano duet parts. The other string parts are presumably lost. There is, however, a fragmentary sketch in score of five parts based on material which otherwise only survives in the second movement of the violin part. There are no traces of any other 'Obiettamenti' to justify the plural form on the title page.

37 *AW*, p. 62

when his announcement of what was, 'he feared, disagreeable news' was met with a curt 'Very well' from Newman, who simply 'went on fiddling'. It was only after the hapless servant had left him that Newman in his eagerness 'flung down his instrument, and dashed down stairs with all speed to Oriel College.' Nowhere else would one find Newman treating a violin with such thoughtless abandon, and he obviously meant thereby to illustrate as graphically and dramatically as he could the excitement which overwhelmed him at 'the turning point of his life, and of all days most memorable.'[38]

His entrance into the academically prestigious world of the Oriel Senior Common Room brought Newman's musical pastimes to an end for a while, though he intended that the new state into which he was being inducted should not be permanently deprived of music, as he wrote to Harriett on June 22nd: 'Alas, I find I have no time...yet'[39] for music. Moreover, Hawkins, who was to become Provost in a few years' time, apparently despised music as 'a sign of an effeminate (or frivolous) mind'.[40] Nevertheless, Newman seems once again to have taken up music after another year had passed, though this may at first have been restricted to vacation time. He spent six weeks with his family in London from July 3rd 1823, during which time he composed at least two quite ambitious sonatas for violin, piano and 'cello, of which substantial fragments, mainly written in Newman's hand, survive at the Birmingham Oratory. The following year he was also playing once again in Oxford in the long vacation with old friends like Dr Silver, with whom he played at St. John's in August 1824 and a year later in June 1825. The following October, on vacation in the Isle of Wight, he wrote to his

38 *AW*, p. 63
39 *LD* i, p. 142
40 Bellasis, op. cit., p. 7

mother that 'we have had music almost every evening,'[41] where he was playing with his old Trinity friends, Bowden and Kinsey.

But the event which seems to have changed the place of music in Oriel was the arrival of Joseph Blanco White as a member of the Senior Common Room in 1826. Blanco White was an accomplished violinist who, according to Newman, 'has an exquisite ear'.[42] Newman in later years recalled that he knew no one who played Beethoven better, but 'he would seem to have inherited a tradition as to the method of playing him.'[43] His manner of playing, like his personality, was eager and intense, quite different from Newman's. Thomas Mozley recorded his impression of the two men playing together, contrasting 'Blanco White's excited and indeed agitated countenance with Newman's sphinx-like immobility, as the latter drew long rich notes with a steady hand.'[44] This suggests that Newman, though deeply responsive to the emotional power of music, was nonetheless profoundly controlled in his manner of execution. Of Newman's playing Mozley also observed, though perhaps with a touch of hyperbole, that Newman 'attained such a proficiency on the violin that, had he not become a Doctor of the Church, he would have been a Paganini.'[45]

Blanco White was already playing quartets with professionals[46] two years before Newman first noted that he himself was playing 'music *quartett* with Bl White –

41 *LD* i, p. 261
42 *LD* i, p. 308
43 Bellasis, op. cit. p.8
44 Mozley, op. cit., pp. 247-8
45 Mozley, op. cit. pp. 14-15
46 See Wollenberg, op. cit. p. 183, quoting a diary entry by John Egerton of New College in May 1827: 'I engaged to get up a Quartette for Blanco White. He dined with me and afterwards in S[enior] C[ommon] Room he joined Sharp, Reinagle & Aldrich of Exeter [College], who is very musical – he played the Tenor this Ev[ening] – very well indeed. Several Pieces from Haydn, Beethoven, Pleyel, & Mozart went beautifully – Blanco plays very well & has a beautiful toned Amati – He seemed much pleased.'

two professionals Reinagle and Jackson assisting.'[47] The word 'assisting' does not necessarily imply a musically subordinate role, but rather that the professionals were drafted in to complete Blanco White's 'Quartette' party. The quartet was clearly a success, since they met at least five times between July and October 1829. From this time onwards, musical evenings feature frequently in Newman's diaries, and especially in the summer outside the academic year.[48] It is noteworthy that each period of frequent playing is prefaced by the hiring of a violin,[49] which suggests that not only did Newman not keep his own violin in his rooms at Oriel, but that he only played there if someone lent him an instrument, as on occasion Blanco White seems to have done.[50]

Certainly, music remained a solace when Oxford was virtually empty, and Newman was pleased to rediscover his talent had not wasted away for lack of use as he explained to Hurrell Froude on October 4th, 1832:

> I have been entirely idle the last month. The Violin has been my only care. - and tho' I have not practised or progressed much, yet I see that I could easily play better than I ever did, and with *regular* attention might do what I pleased.[51]

Nor did the family music making end, for he and Blanco White, accompanied by Jemima, played at Brighton where Mrs Newman and his sisters were staying for Christmas, 1828.[52] When his mother and sisters regularly came to stay near Oxford for

47 *LD* ii, p. 153, Newman's emphasis.
48 *LD* ii records 'music in evening' in 1831 on September 14, 15, 16, 17, October 29, with Reinagle and Jackson, November 5, 12, 19, 26, December 3, 10, 17, 24, 31, and in 1832, January 7, 14, 21, after which he notes that there was no music when Blanco White was ill, nor thereafter for a while.
49 Newman notes the hire of a violin on: September 2, 1824, see *LD* i, p. 190; July 5, 1828, see *LD* ii p. 81; September 14, 1831, see *LD* ii, p. 359. He mentions to Jemima his intention of hiring one on August 27, 1832, whilst simultaneously asking her to get his own put in good order (presumably his 'Cremona', for which see above, p. 84), and is playing one by October 4th. See *LD* iii, p. 83.
50 e.g. *LD* ii, p. 152, July 5th, 1829: 'B. White has lent me a violin'.
51 *LD* iii, p. 99
52 *LD* ii, p. 110

the summer, Newman often joined them. He must have looked forward to these times of intimacy and recreation, to judge from a letter to Jemima a few years later anticipating the vacation with his family: 'I hope to have five or six weeks at Rose Hill before the beginning of term – and I mean to be perfectly idle … and shall hire a violin, or get mine put in order ... and I shall be very musical.'[53]

4. The European Tour 1832-33

Newman's first journey abroad gave him a few opportunities for musical recreation. After the long years of tutoring, preaching and pastoral care had virtually restricted music to the brief summer vacations, the unusual degree of leisure now allowed Newman to turn to music and the writing of verses as a recreation. Newman indicated that he was in a creative mode, if only to while away the boredom of Christmas Day in quarantine in Malta, telling Harriett that 'I shall write, and, if the vein takes me, compose.'[54] He even hired a violin, which, he told Jemima, 'sounds grand (bad as it is) in such spacious halls.'[55]

The climax of the tour was the visit to Rome in March and April 1833, which was to prove seminal for Newman in many ways. Newman recorded in his diary that he had attended several concerts, which suggests that these were in some way significant occasions. He did not record where these concerts took place, or what music was performed, though these would doubtless have been religious concerts, almost certainly oratorios, since they took place during Lent.

53 *LD* iii, p. 83
54 *LD* iii, p. 165
55 *LD* iii, p. 189

He attended Vespers in St. Peter's on March 8th, and went to the Sistine Chapel on Maundy Thursday and Good Friday to hear 'the Service and Miserere' (*Tenebrae*) sung by the papal choir. He was very struck by the experience of *Tenebrae* in the Sistine Chapel, as can be ascertained from the subtlety of his analysis of what he heard:

> This last week we have heard the celebrated Miserere, or rather the two Misereres – for there are two compositions by Allegri[56] and Baii[57], so like each other that the performers themselves can scarcely tell the difference between them – one is performed on the Thursday and the other on Good Friday – The voices are certainly very surprising – there is no instrument to support them – but they have the art of continuing their notes so long and equably, that the effect is as if an organ were playing, or rather an organ of violin strings, for the notes are clearer, more subtle, and piercing, and more impassioned (so to say) than those of an organ. - The music itself is doubtless very fine as everyone says, but I found myself unable to understand all parts of it – here and there it was extremely fine – but it is impossible to understand such a composition on once or twice hearing – in it's [sic] style it is more like Corelli's music than any other I know (though very different too) and this is not wonderfull [sic], as Corelli was Master of the Pope's Chapel;[58] and so, educated in the school of Allegri, Palestrina, and the rest.[59]

Needless to say, this was liturgical music of a very different order from any Anglican music with which he was familiar. Newman was captured not only by the unusual manner of voice production, but also by the rhetorical style and language of such unfamiliar music, and by its structure, all of which he found difficult to understand on hearing it for the very first time.

Newman took the opportunity to seek guidance concerning Gregorian chant,

56 Gregorio Allegri (1582-1652) who is buried in the Oratorian church in Rome, the *Chiesa Nuova.*
57 Tommaso Baii was maestro of the Capella Giulia from 1713 until his death in 1714. See *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians,* vol. 2, p. 499
58 Corelli never held the position of papal choirmaster.
59 *LD* iii, p. 279

which was just beginning to arouse interest not only among contemporary Catholic musicians in England, but also among certain Anglicans. Newman's friend and string quartet partner, Alexander Reinagle may have suggested that it would be of some practical value for Newman to make enquiries about plain chant whilst he was in Rome. Since Reinagle was the first Anglican to include Gregorian music in a chant book which he published some years later in 1839, it is possible that he benefited from Newman's researches in Rome in 1833.[60] Newman made the acquaintance of the greatest Roman authority of the day on church music, Fortunato Santini,[61] who also introduced Newman to the Vatican Librarian, Angelo Mai. As Newman told Samuel Wood, one of his recent pupils at Oriel:

> I am making some attempt, while here, to inquire into the history of the Gregorian Chants, but fear it will come to nothing. The greater part of the Music can be got in England, and as for dates and changes I suspect the Italians know little or nothing about them. I am to see Angelo Mai[62] (March 18) this morning, and learn from him if any books in the Vatican throw light on the subject. And I have got acquainted with an abbe, a very agreeable wellinformed man who has great hoards of old music[63]. I feel very much my want of knowledge on the subject – for tho' I am very fond of music, I am very unlearned in it, having had little opportunity to become acquainted with it as a language.[64]

Newman's self-deprecatory attitude concerning his knowledge of the science of music was not new. He had refused Blanco White's request for an essay on music as a companion piece to that on poetry on the grounds that he knew too little about music.[65] The contact with Santini seems to have been cordial and was renewed when Newman

60 See Bennett Zon, 'Plainchant in nineteenth-century England: a review of some major publications of the period', in *Plainsong and Medieval Music*, Volume 6, Part 1, April 1997 (Cambridge University Press, 1997), p. 62

61 i.e. the Abbate Santini. See *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, vol. 22, p. 258

62 Mai was Vatican Librarian from 1819, and a Cardinal from 1838

63 i.e. Santini, whose extensive library was also admired by Mendelssohn in 1830, writing that 'Santini is a delightful acquaintance; his library of old Italian music is most complete'.

64 *LD* iii, p. 255

65 See *Ess. i*, no. 1, 'Poetry with Reference to Aristotole's Poetics' (1828)

returned to Rome in 1847.[66] Although Newman played down the significance of what he learned from Santini when he mentioned it years later in the *Apologia*,[67] this later reference was made in the context of his denying any unusual degree of interest in things Roman Catholic before his conversion in 1845. But in fact, very soon after his return to England Newman was writing to Hurrell Froude suggesting that 'if I go on, there will be a chapter on the Gregorian Chants, if possible',[68] although nothing ever came of this proposal.

On returning to Oxford, Newman's musical life resumed. Though since there are fewer references in the diaries to music from this point, it would hardly be surprising if his parties were less frequent on account of the considerable increase in work which the Tractarian Movement brought upon him. One of Newman's pupils, Frederic Rogers, was elected a fellow of Oriel in 1833, as Newman learned to his great joy while he was abroad. Rogers was a 'cellist who not only regularly joined the music parties, but even on occasion introduced his sister to play the piano with them.[69] It seems quite frequently the case that in the celibate male world of the Oxford Colleges, not only were the dons' sisters often the females most frequently encountered, but also that they were often the pianists in music making.

Whilst visiting Tunbridge Wells in October 1834, Newman wrote to Jemima to tell her of his delight in playing with a lady whose touch on the keyboard he greatly admired:

66 *LD* xii, p. 130
67 *Apo.* p. 41: 'I knew the Abbate Santini, at Rome, who did no more than copy for me the Gregorian tones.'
68 *LD* iv, p 32
69 *LD* v, p. 96

> There is a lady here who plays most beautifully – I think I never heard such a touch – why I cannot make out, for she has not long fingers. Your touch is very good, but I thought it required long fingers to be brilliant; so you must set yourself to rival her... It would be interesting to *examine* the causes of expression, which you might easily do. *Strength* of finger is one thing certainly. This lady is not brilliant in the common sense, i.e. smart and rattling – but every note is so fulltoned, so perfect, that one requires nothing beyond itself – this in Beethoven's effective passages produces a surprising effect.[70]

Jemima especially loved playing Beethoven with her brother, and sometimes held out to Newman the prospect of playing his sonatas as an allurement.[71] Rogers, too, probably used Beethoven as bait with which to lure Newman, as he wrote from his home during the long vacation of 1839, 'I wish you would come here for a day or two – though I do not know that I have much to attract you – my playing sister is away, so you would not have any Beethoven'.[72]

Rogers continued to be one of Newman's main musical companions in Oxford. In November 1839 he set up a series of private concerts together with William Donkin of St Edmund Hall.[73] Newman himself hosted one of these 'quartette meetings' in Oriel Common Room in May the following year,[74] and recorded in his diary another such meeting in Oriel in June,[75] together with Rogers and R. W. Church, who had been elected a Fellow of Oriel in 1838 and who was to be a lifelong friend. There were no fewer than three other meetings that month, all of which Rogers hosted. Alexander Reinagle also took part in one of these meetings.[76]

70 *LD* iv, p. 337
71 Bellasis, op. cit. p. 7
72 *LD* vii, p. 152
73 *LD* vii, p. 152
74 *LD* vii, p. 332
75 *LD* vii, p. 339
76 *LD* vii, p. 346

5. Music at Littlemore

In 1836, Newman's 'Cardinal point'[77] brought great changes to his life when Hurrell Froude and Mrs Newman died, and both Newman's sisters Jemima and Harriett married two of the Mozley brothers. In September and October 1836 Newman stayed with the recently married John and Jemima Mozley at their home in Derby to take part in the celebrations for Harriett's wedding to Tom. They were joined by other Oxford friends including Samuel Rickards and his wife, who was a musician. Newman mentions that there was music on several evenings, including a 'quartette' and 'Beethoven etc'.[78] Although Newman's family home at Rose Hill was broken up quite suddenly, music of a high quality still featured at their occasional reunions.

Much of Newman's energy from this time onwards was being expended on Littlemore. In March 1840 he moved out of Oxford to keep Lent in the village and immediately became involved in teaching in the school, finding teaching a congenial occupation and pastorally fruitful. A very significant part of his teaching was musical. He had previously helped prepare the village children to sing for the dedication of the new church in 1836. Now, as he undertook the task with characteristic thoroughness, he even got hold of the schoolmaster's violin, which had obviously not been used for some time, since he had to restring it.[79] With this aid he set about practising regularly, even daily, with the children.

Having already taken with him Reinagle's recently published *Collection of*

77 See ch. 2, pp. 58ff.
78 *LD* v, pp. 363-4
79 *LD* vii, p. 277

Psalm and Hymn Tunes to Littlemore,[80] he wrote to his former pupil Samuel Wood, and asked him for 'any hint about music and psalmody'.[81] Wood replied immediately that '"Turner's Manual" will give you all needful instruction as to Psalmody.'[82] This *Manual* offered a comprehensive programme of vocal instruction for children, especially aiming at accuracy of pitch and clarity of tone, principally with the intention of bringing about an improvement in congregational singing, but also directed towards extending children's musical skill beyond what may be required for the mere purposes of church singing.

Newman's enthusiasm was aroused by this activity, as he wrote to his curate Bloxam that although 'every thing is so cold at St Mary's', yet at Littlemore,

> the children are vastly improved in singing – and now that the organ is mute, their voices are so thrilling as to make one sick with love. You will think I am in a rapture. I fear I am writing hyperbolically.[83]

After a week of intensive rehearsing Newman wrote again to Bloxam:

> I am trying to bring the children on in singing – have tuned a violin, and practise them by it – and, to complete the thing, (only fancy!) lead them in Church, Whitman being thrown out by the new tunes. We learned three new tunes last week – and I am ambitious of teaching them a Gregorian Chant this week.[84]

On April 1st he wrote to Jemima in that slightly self-mocking tone he often used when writing to her:

> The children are improving in their singing. I have had the audacity to lead

80 *A Collection of Psalm and Hymn Tunes* was published in 1839 by Newman's quartet companion, Alexander Reinagle, and was the first Anglican compilation of its kind to contain Gregorian music. See Bennet Zon, 'Plainchant in nineteenth century England', in *Plainsong and Medieval Music*, Vol, 6, part 1, Cambridge University Press, April 1997, p.62

81 *LD* vii, pp. 252-3

82 *A Manual of Instruction in Vocal Music, chiefly with a View to Psalmody. With an Historical Introduction*, John Turner, London 1833, 2nd ed. 1835

83 *LD* vii, p. 261. The organ was 'mute' on account of Lent.

84 *LD* vii, p. 282. Whitman was the schoolmaster, whose violin Newman had restrung.

> them and to teach them some new tunes. Also I have... begun to *lead* ... a party of between 20 and 30, great and little, in the schoolroom. Moreover, I have just begun chanting – and by way of experiment, a Gregorian Chant, which the children seem to take to, though they have not learned it yet – for, I see, it makes them smile – though that may be at me.[85]

But not all the music he introduced to the Littlemore children was liturgical. Following Turner's *Manual* he also aimed at the extension of their musical skill beyond what was required for church, as he explained to another musical friend, Mrs Rickards:

> I am doing what I can to get the children to sing, and really they come on surprisingly. And they are very fond of it, which, I suppose, most children are. Why should they not be taught to sing other tunes and songs besides those which are directly sacred? A taste for music would be a great resource to the poor.[86]

Clearly Newman did not think that non-religious music was merely a concession to children's likely boredom if presented with a purely religious diet. Rather, he thought, singing was in itself a desirable conduit for their energies and a worthy occupation of their time and resources. Music was a suitable antidote to that great curse of so many of his parishioners, idleness. As he wrote to Bloxam, 'The truth is, I feel very much the mischief to the poor people of long Summer evenings – so much idleness etc goes on – and if I could get young people of both sexes and children to come and sing, I might have *this* on Sunday evenings.'[87] Musical progress continued to be made, for Newman proudly recorded in his diary that at the anniversary of the consecration of the church on September 22nd, 1841, there was 'chanting throughout by children for [the]

85 *LD* vii, p. 285

86 *LD* vii, pp. 304-5, where Newman also reports that he consulted 'some books' of William Edward Hickson, philanthropist and ardent promoter of educational interests, who was also a keen exponent of popular musical culture. Newman commented that 'there is a great deal in what he says.' See *The Singing Master: containing Instructions for teaching Singing to Schools and Families...,* London , 1836 and *The Use of Singing as a Part of the Moral Discipline of Schools. A Lecture delivered on the 29th of May, 1838...on the Introduction of Vocal Music as a Branch of National Education,* London, 1838.

87 *LD* vii, p. 282

first time.'[88]

Newman gradually increased the amount of time he spent in Littlemore, moving there permanently in February 1843. Yet even in the austerity of his life there, music was still a source of comfort and inspiration. Jemima wrote in December 1842 to tell him that she had been 'practising hard lately' and that she wished he could come to visit, 'that I might turn my practice to good account', for she supposed that he was 'able to make use of your violin again now you are in Littlemore.'[89] That she still missed her brother and the music they had enjoyed together over the years can be judged from her heartfelt plea to him the following July to come to visit them.

William Lockhart, who lived at Littlemore between July 1842 and August 1843, not only remembered Newman as 'an excellent violin player', but recalled long afterwards how 'he would sometimes bring his violin into the library after dinner and entertain us with exquisite sonatas of Beethoven.'[90] Newman himself recorded in his Journal on 1st August 1843 that he spent half an hour in the morning putting two strings on his violin before playing a Beethoven sonata after dinner.[91] Nor did Newman stop seeking out useful hints and guidance from various sources which he could make use of in the parish school. Even as late as 1843 he was subscribing to a new journal which was launched that year, the *English Journal of Education.* Since many of the pages of this journal remained uncut on publication, it is possible to deduce from those pages

88 *LD* viii, p. 276
89 *Moz. ii*, p. 405
90 Willliam Lockhart, *Cardinal Newman. Reminiscences of Fifty Years Since by One of his Oldest Living Disciples,To which is added, an Essay on a more recent phase of the Oxford Movement*, London: Burns & Oates, Limited, 1891, p. 13
91 *AW*, p. 242

which Newman did cut that the articles which interested him most concerned, among others, the teaching of music in schools.[92]

Soon after he had been received into the Catholic Church on October 9th, 1845, Newman wrote an account of the St Cecilia Day celebrations he witnessed at Oscott College on November 22nd, which shows both that he was in good spirits and that he seems to have been pleasantly surprised by the high standard of the Oscott students' singing and instrumental playing: 'The concert was capital, the voices remarkably good, and the instruments played with great spirit'.[93]

He returned to Littlemore to be joined by some of his companions. There must have been a festal spirit about the group, as can be gleaned from Newman's observing on December 10th that 'we have just got a piano for Walker, and I have been tuning my violin.'[94] Walker himself remembered that together they played 'delightful duets of Beethoven and Haydn'.[95]

6. Chamber Music and Concerts in Newman's Later Years

The place of music in Newman's life for the next twenty years differed considerably from what it had been before. During his time in Rome, first in preparation for his ordination, then in his Oratorian novitiate, there was little opportunity for recreational music making. After he founded the Oratory in Birmingham and while he

92 See James Arthur and Guy Nicholls, *John Henry Newman,* Continuum Library of Educational Thought, Volume 8, London: Continuum, 2007, p. 28. The fascicles Newman consulted are preserved at the Birmingham Oratory.
93 *LD* xi, p. 43, n.b. Newman's emphases.
94 *LD* xi, p. 58
95 Bellasis, op. cit. p. 9

was heavily committed to the University in Dublin, he did not play the violin for some sixteen years.[96]

His resumption of the violin in 1865 was inspired by the boys of his school adopting stringed instruments and his buying music for them. From the conversations which followed this revival of an old talent we can learn something about Newman's desiderata in a violin. He wrote to tell Jemima:

> I have just taken up my violin, after 16 years of utter and absolute separation from it – and I find I can play Viotti's duetts at least as well as I did 50 years ago, when I first had them; - and my violin is the same which I have had 50 years next 3rd or 4th of November – but, though it is quite what it ever was, I have got so fastidious that, did I go on playing, I should treat myself with one easier to play upon, and sweeter.[97]

Shortly afterwards Newman stayed with his old friend Rogers, where he also met R. W. Church, who, like Rogers, had often played in quartets with Newman at Oxford. Newman mentioned that he was playing the violin once again and presumably that he was finding the touch difficult, so Rogers and Church together conceived the idea of buying him a fine instrument. Newman was 'ashamed of having mentioned my want and intention to you – for it is making me particeps criminis vestri',[98] and was concerned about the possible cost to his friends. Yet since he was not unwilling to find a new instrument Rogers identified a dealer. Newman told Rogers that 'I fear he thinks I want a tip top instrument – but I can't spend money on a hobby. All I want is a fiddle which will make a noise, yet not require severe finger-pressing in order that it may be a

96 However, it should be noted that Newman recorded at least one occasion when there was recreational music at Maryvale, as when 'Walker came to dinner and for music' on 21st May, 1848. (see *LD* xii, p. 207)

97 *LD* xxi, p. 454

98 *LD* xxi, p. 496. Newman was confessing to being 'a partner in [their] crime.'

sweet noise.'[99]

When several violins arrived for him to select one, Newman immediately took them off for a week to his country retreat at Rednal, writing to thank Rogers once he had made his mind up, 'I have chosen a violin – and, in choosing it, have gone merely by what seemed to be its easiness for my fingers. I think I shall like it very much... It seems a very sweet toned one, and not too loud, and I thank you and Church for it very much.'[100] Of course, from a purely practical point of view, Newman needed time to reacquaint himself with playing the violin, but he also found the experience wholly entrancing. He confided to Rogers that 'I only fear that I may give time to it more than I ought to spare. I could find solace in music from week to week's end.' Despite this protestation of guilt at his playing the violin too much, Newman spent much of the following weeks playing his new violin, making 'the Rednal wilderness resound with solitary strains',[101] then returning to Birmingham and 'taking part in the boys' concerts'.[102] He was so full of the violin that he took it out again to Rednal after the first of these concerts. The intensity of the experience was such that Newman now wrote to Church as well to renew his thanks for such a magnificent gift, incidentally renewing his admiration for the music of Beethoven:

> I have delayed thanking you for your great kindness in uniting with Rogers in giving me a fiddle, till I could report upon the fiddle itself... I chose with trepidation, as fearing I was hardly up to choosing well. And then my fingers have been in such a state, as being cut by the strings, that up to Saturday last I had sticking plaster upon their ends – and therefore was in no condition to bring out a good tune from the strings and so to return good for evil. But on Saturday I had a good bout at Beethoven's Quartetts – which I used to play with poor Blanco White – and thought them more exquisite than ever – so

99 *LD* xxi, p. 494
100 *LD* xxi, p. 502
101 *LD* xxi, p. 503
102 *LD* xxii, p. 3

> that I was obliged to lay down the instrument and literally cry out with delight. However, what is more to the point, I was able to ascertain that I had got a very beautiful fiddle – such as I had never had before. Think of my not having a good one till I was between sixty and seventy – and beginning to learn it when I was ten![103]

Even when he was staying on the Isle of Wight for a holiday that year, he regretted leaving behind his violin, writing wistfully to St. John: 'Here I am, very comfortable and, if I had my dear fiddle with me, I might sing and play recubans sub tegmine fagi in full content.'[104]

The demand among the boys at school to learn the violin was nothing less than a 'furore'[105] according to Newman. Back in July he had already begun to take part in the boys' concerts, generally taking the second violin part, so as to encourage both a sense of modesty and an acuter awareness of what other players were doing. As he explained to his old friend Serjeant Edward Bellasis whose sons were at the school: 'A boy who is always first fiddle is in danger of artistic faults parallel to those which are implied in the metaphorical sense of the words.'[106]

When he returned to Edgbaston in October, he found some pieces by Corelli waiting for him which his sister Jemima had sent him. When he wrote to thank her, he added that he 'should be afraid to play with Charles Mozley – for he is a practised player, and I play no better than a boy.'[107] Although contact with Jemima had not entirely failed since his conversion twenty years previously, their correspondence had been intermittent. Jemima had visited Newman in Edgbaston in 1853, but it was not an

103 *LD* xxii, p. 9
104 *LD* xxii, p. 51. The quotation is from Virgil's 1st Eclogue: 'reclining under the protection of a beech-tree'.
105 *LD* xxi, p. 502
106 *LD* xxii, p. 42
107 *LD* xxii, p. 77. Charles was Jemima's brother-in-law.

easy meeting.[108] Therefore it was a sign of a real thaw in their relationship which came at this time in the wake of the *Apologia*, that they began once again to speak about music.

After years during which he had never seen any of Jemima's children, her fourth son, Frank, came to visit his uncle. Newman wrote afterwards to Jemima that Frank had told him that his mother still kept up her music 'which I was surprised and glad to hear.'[109] This visit was followed a year later by one from another of Jemima's sons, Harry. Once again Newman wrote about the visit to Jemima, noting how the advance of years was having an effect on both of them musically:

> Harry...gave me a good account of your health, and said you played the piano again just as well as you used to do. He had some doubt, however, whether you played at sight so well, but I attribute that to that weakness of sight, of which I was sorry to find you complaining. I feel it in playing the violin – my eye cannot follow the notes so quickly, and besides that my head gets a little confused, and I find it difficult to recollect the key I am playing in, when modulations are frequent, or the continuation thro' the bar of accidental sharps and flats.[110]

Again another year passed, and in May 1867 Jemima at last called on her brother in Birmingham together with her daughter Jane. This visit must have been a success since within a month Jemima arranged to visit Newman yet again, bringing both Jane and her husband, John Mozley. The letter which Newman wrote in anticipation of their next visit proposed arrangements for music-making, indicating that there must have been some conversation about this at the earlier meeting. His letter seems to refer back to Harry Mozley's comments about Jemima's sight-reading, which they had probably discussed, and recognises Jane's competence as a pianist. It would also seem

108 *LD* xv, p. 504
109 *LD* xxii, p. 82
110 *LD* xxii, p. 296

likely from what Newman says in this letter that Jemima had dismissed her son's doubts about her sight-reading:

> I will tomorrow borrow all Beethoven's duets for Piano and Violin, and, if I can, look them through. Thus I shall be able to try your power of reading at sight, if you like – for I dare say it is as good as it was after all. Also, Janie can choose one, which she *knows*, if *she* likes. I only know, or knew rather, six, - three Salieri – and three which I used to play with Marian Rogers and perhaps with Maria Mozley, dedicated to Emiliani, or, as other editions say, to the Emperor of Russia. I attempted one of them (Salieri) the other day with a lady who was staying for a while close by, but otherwise have not played them these thirty years.[111]

This also confirms Newman's familiarity with Beethoven's early violin sonatas, which had survived even thirty years without his playing them.

The next day Newman wrote to Jemima to express his thanks and enthusiasm for the visit and the music. He told her that her playing had made a great impression on Mrs Wootten and on another eavesdropper.[112] He had doubts about his own playing, as he wrote again several days later: 'I have no doubt I began that sonata too fast, out of nervousness. The one in 3 flats is the grandest.'[113] His nervousness was probably due to the excitement of playing with his sister after such a long time, rather than to any sense of 'rustiness' about his technique.

For some reason which is not made clear, Newman had presumably been playing on his original violin when Jemima visited, as he wrote to her that 'I am glad you like my violin – yet I think the one which Rogers and Church gave me two years

111 *LD* xxiii, p. 252
112 *LD* xxiii, p. 255
113 *LD* xxiii, p. 258. There are two sonatas by Beethoven in key signatures of 3 flats to which this comment could refer: no. 3 in Eb major, from the set of three dedicated to Salieri, and no. 7 in C minor, from the set of three dedicated to the Emperor of Russia. Newman seems to have played sonatas from both sets with Jemima and Jane during their visit.

ago is a much better one – and, if I came to you, I should bring *it*.'[114] At the beginning of July Newman went out to his beloved rural retreat at Rednal and took his new violin, writing to Church that '[y]our violin improves continually; I cannot desire a better one.'[115]

Although he does not mention his violin during the next few years, it seems likely that Newman had by this time re-established a habit of playing it regularly which required no special further mention. This is implied by Edward Bellasis's report of an occasion, curiously reminiscent of the famous announcement of his fellowship at Oriel, when

> two Oratory boys went up to [Newman's] room to make a complaint, and hearing only “fiddling” the other side of the door, made bold to enter, but their visit was ill-timed. “Every Englishmans's house is his castle,” was the greeting they got, and he “went on fiddling”.[116]

Moreover, in order to emphasise to Jemima in January 1870 that he had 'rarely gone through so much labour' as he had expended in writing his most difficult work, the *Grammar*, he could think of no more powerful indication to her of such single-minded concentration than to tell her that 'I have not had my violin on my shoulder all that time'.[117]

On one occasion the unexpected arrival of a book of music aroused some

114 *LD* xxiii, p. 258
115 *LD* xxiii, p. 262
116 Bellasis, op. cit. p. 10. Bellasis ascribes this undated event to some time between 1860-70, which corresponds exactly with his time as a pupil at the Oratory School, but it must postdate 1865, when Newman had resumed playing the violin for the first time in nearly 20 years.
117 *LD* xxv, p. 12. The mention of having his violin 'on his shoulder' is interesting. Newman's custom of playing the violin in the old-fashioned way against his chest 'instead of under the chin in the modern fashion' was remembered by Bellasis (see Bellasis, op. cit. p. 9). Does this passing comment to Jemima imply that Newman experimented with the 'modern way', holding the violin on his shoulder, around the time he resumed playing in 1865?

painful recollections. In July 1871 a family friend had given him a volume of violin music signed by himself and dated 1817. The friend had acquired it from an auctioneer, and was naturally curious to know why it was not still in Newman's possession. Newman was embarrassed. Its estrangement had come about as a result of an event which he had long wished to forget, and even tried to expunge from his memory. When his father's bank had failed in 1821, bailiffs had taken some property from the family home, including this book of music. Newman was ashamed that he had failed to take the book away to safety when explicitly warned beforehand of the danger by his father. It was this sense of shame that seems to have suppressed his memory of the event.[118] The chance recovery of this book over fifty years later brought the memory flooding back, and he realised that he had forgotten even the music itself. Not being able to bring himself to explain how the music had been lost, he 'was obliged to shuffle', but he unburdened himself to Jemima:

> The poor book is like a voice from the grave... What surprises me is my utter forgetfulness of the greater part of its contents. There is a set of duetts by Viotti, which I bought lately – but did not dream that I had ever seen before – yet, I recollect, some melodies seemed familiar to me, when I tried them. There are pieces by Vaccari and Spagnoletti, whose names I had all but forgotten.[119]

Was Newman's memory playing him false? Despite his assertion that he did not dream he had ever seen Viotti's duets before acquiring them lately, he had in fact happily found himself as capable of playing them in 1865 as he recalled being able to do fifty years earlier.[120] Spagnoletti and his music had figured in concerts when he was a boy, as Mrs

118 Newman wrote a memorandum in 1874 on the subject of his father's 'misfortunes' which had led to his premature death, and stated that he wished the episode of the family's residence at Alton to be forgotten in any future account of his life. The memorandum is in *LD* i, pp. 27-8

119 *LD* xxv, p. 351.

120 *LD* xxi, p. 455 For Viotti, see *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, vol. 26, pp. 766-771; for Vaccari (*vere* Vaccai), see *New Grove*, vol. 26, p. 190

Newman had recounted to him while he was at school.[121]

Gradually, however, his playing days were drawing to a close. Rogers, who had been created Lord Blachford in 1871, visited him together with Church in June, 1874 and Newman wrote to Church a month or so later, 'I have not got over my refusal to play the fiddle to you and Blachford – I think I should have played had I the time – but we felt we had not a minute to spare, and I could not screw up my courage as I could my pegs, that is, all at once.'[122] Maybe he was already beginning to feel that he was no longer able to get the best out of his instrument. Only a few years later, in 1878, he wrote to Miss Holmes, 'I am glad you have got a piano – which must be a great solace to you. I have given up music altogether, except the hearing of it.'[123] So it was that on one occasion a visitor to the Oratory wrote that there was music going on, probably played by the schoolboys, and that Newman 'appeared to enjoy it intensely.'[124]

In 1883 he wrote Church a valedictory note to the violin he and Rogers had given him: 'You gave it me in 1865 – and I had constant use and pleasure in the use till lately – but I find now I have no command of it; nay, strange to say, I cannot count or keep time. This is a trouble to me; one gets an affection for a fiddle, and I should not like to go without getting it a good master or mistress.'[125] Church's daughter Helen was marrying, and Newman wished to give her mother, Mary, this 'beautiful instrument', especially since he heard 'much of her proficiency', and as compensation for the loss of her daughter's company. He doubted not that Mary already had a violin, 'but this would

121 *LD* i, p. 19. See above, p. 121
122 *LD* xxvii, p. 91
123 *LD* xxviii, p. 361
124 *LD* xxvii, p. 238 n. 1
125 *LD* xxx, p. 197

come with associations in its history.' Apart from his affection for the donors, he was concerned to ensure that such a fine instrument should go to a good home where it would be properly appreciated.

Newman's custom of going to concerts to hear various kinds of music was to remain of great importance to the end of his life. He first mentioned attending the Birmingham Triennial Festival in 1861,[126] though without specifying what he heard. The Triennial Festival had been an important musical event in the town since 1768 and was frequently the showcase for new works, especially large-scale choral works commissioned by the Festival committee.[127] In the earlier half of the 19th century the Festival had enjoyed Mendelssohn's participation on two occasions, on the second of which, in 1846, he conducted the first performance of his *Elijah*, commissioned for the Festival and performed at every subsequent festival. Newman recorded in his diary in 1867 that he 'went to the Town Hall Concert **(***as in 1861*) Elijah, with Wm'.[128]

Thereafter, Newman refers to the Birmingham Festival at least once in each successive season. By the time of the 1879 festival Newman was a cardinal and a local celebrity. Accordingly, tickets were offered to him and his guests, probably other members of the Oratory community, by William Stockley, the Festival Chorus Master. Edward Bellasis recalled the Cardinal's saying that 'I shall go once, and I choose *Mosé in Egitto'*,[129] by Rossini. Bellasis comments that 'he was fond of operatic music, and

126 *LD* xx, p. 40
127 See J. Sutcliffe Smith, *The Story of Music in Birmingham*, Birmingham: Cornish Brothers Limited, 1945, ch 3, pp. 23ff.
128 *LD* xxiii, p. 323 'Wm' was Fr William Neville.
129 Bellasis, op. cit. p. 23.

heard very little of it.'[130]

Newman wrote appreciatively to thank Stockley for obtaining the tickets on his behalf: 'we received high gratification from the magnificent compositions of the great Masters who were selected for the concerts on those two days.'[131] For despite his stated intention to go only once, Newman in fact not only attended the performance of Rossini's opera on August 27th, but also heard Handel's *Messiah* and Cherubini's *Requiem in C minor* on August 29th. The *Requiem* so impressed Newman that he had it performed liturgically at the Oratory twice in November 1886.[132]

In 1882 Newman attended a performance of Beethoven's *Christ on the Mount of Olives* with Edward Stuart Talbot, the first Warden of Keble College, Oxford. According to Bellasis, Talbot thought the work 'more dramatic than reverent'.[133] This was in all probability a common reaction among religious-minded persons, given that it was still unusual at this time for Christ to be represented in a performing role on stage in England, and performances of Beethoven's Oratorio earlier in the century had even eliminated the role out of a sense of reverence.[134] Newman, however, 'said little or nothing at the time, but his affection for Beethoven came out later. “When you come to Beethoven, I don't say anything about good taste, but he has such wonderful bits here and there.”'[135]

130 Bellasis, op. cit. p. 23
131 *LD* xxix, p. 174
132 Bellasis, op. cit. p. 21
133 Bellasis, op. cit. p. 13
134 Howard E. Smither, *A History of the Oratorio*, volume 4, *The Oratorio in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*, Chapel Hill, London: University of North Carolina Press, 1977-2000, p. 594
135 Bellasis, op. cit. p. 13

By 1887, the Cardinal was so well known as a supporter of the Birmingham Triennial Festival that the Chairman of the Festival Committee felt confident in approaching him to ask the Duke of Norfolk to attend the Festival the following year. Newman's letter to the Duke is revealing, in that it also shows his willingness to promote the Festival. For the Duke's acceptance would 'continue and increase the good will already felt towards us by the local musical world, which is a special power in Birmingham, and with which through our two Fathers Bellasis we are on excellent terms.'[136] Not only did Newman succeed in winning the Duke's patronage, but was himself present at the Town Hall on no fewer than three occasions. It was remarkable that he was still able to attend so often despite his great frailty.

Newman's love of hearing music at home did not in any way abate. Sometime in April 1886, Edward Bellasis records that he and his two priest brothers played on the violin and 'cello and sang for Newman the tune written by John Bacchus Dykes known as *Lux benigna* set to the words of *Lead, kindly light* which he had written in 1833. Newman 'seemed rather surprised at its very quiet, hymn-like quality'.[137] The tradition was passed down thereafter in the Oratory that this was Newman's preferred tune to those popular words which had already been set by so many musicians.[138] Written in a lilting triple metre, it is certainly similar in character to the kind of hymn tune melodies which Newman favoured in his Oratory Hymn Book in the early 1850's.[139]

When he was recovering from a serious fall in October 1888, he asked for

136 *LD* xxxi, p. 181
137 Bellasis, op. cit. p. 46.
138 Bellasis lists no fewer than 43 distinct tunes to *Lead, kindly Light* known to himself on pp. 117-8
139 See ch. 4, pp.177ff. for a detailed consideration of this subject. See also the chapter: 'Lead, Kindly Light' in Owen Chadwick, *The Spirit of the Oxford Movement: Tractarian Essays,* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990.

music to be played for him. Edward Bellasis recounts the occasion beginning with Newman's request, which implies that the Oratory fathers around him had already offered to play his *Lead, kindly Light*:

> "Fr Faber wrote the hymn *Eternal Years*. I have always had the greatest affection for it – in connection with Fr Faber, and I always used to think that when I came to die, I should like to have it sung to me: and I want you to play it for me." … So ... a harmonium was put in the passage between his two rooms... Fr Pollen and Fr Bellasis, one with a violoncello, played and sang the *Eternal Years*.
>
> "Some people," he then said, "have liked my *Lead, kindly Light*, and it is the voice of one in darkness, asking for help from our Lord. But this is quite different; this is one with full light, rejoicing in suffering with our Lord, so that mine compares unfavourably with it. This is what those who like *Lead, kindly Light* have got to come to – they have to learn it." Then they played and sang it over again. And he said at the end: "I thank you with all my heart. God bless you. I pray that when you go to Heaven, you may hear the Angels singing with the genius that God has endowed them with."[140]

The music to which *Eternal Years* was set was unusual. It was part of a light-hearted section from the trio of Beethoven's *Serenade* op. 25 from 1802, at first sight a strange fit for F. W. Faber's words, full of dread at the thought of eternity. Yet the marriage of music and text, made by Newman himself, was characteristic of Newman's reading of Beethoven's spirit, which he had likened to 'a great bird singing'.[141]

Yet despite the expectations of many, Newman recovered, and on his 88th birthday, February 21st, 1889, a High Mass was celebrated in his presence at which the choir sang his favourite Mozart Mass.[142] Finally, in July 1890, only a month before Newman's death, the celebrations took place in church for the newly-beatified Oratorian Bishop, Juvenal Ancina. By that time the Cardinal was so infirm that he had to be

140 Bellasis, op. cit. pp. 47-8
141 Bellasis, op. cit., p. 13
142 Meriol Trevor, *Newman: Light in Winter*, New York: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1963, p. 639. I am unable to identify which Mass is meant.

carried downstairs in order to sit at the door connecting the church with the chapel of St. Philip, so that he could hear the music at High Mass. It could surely only have been on account of his own determination not to miss the music that such a course of action was resorted to at all. It is a sure sign of the vital importance music had for him right to the very end of his life.

7. Newman the Violinist

Newman was able to play some of the most demanding music written for the violin. Even though there were long periods in which he did not play, he was sufficiently well grounded to be able to pick it up again and play with ease. Naturally more modest about his abilities than many others who heard him play, he still was able to say that even without much opportunity to practise, he 'might do what [he] pleased.'[143] Nevertheless, as he confessed to the father of one of his schoolboys at Edgbaston, 'I see boys in our school, who have begun at 13 or 14, playing as well in two years, as I did at the end of 6 or 7. I used to find practice very dull work.'[144]

Of Newman's technique we have already encountered the witness of Tom Mozley, who recalled his 'immobility' as a player. A later witness, Edward Bellasis, gave an account from Newman's later life, when he had resumed his playing with the schoolboys of the Oratory School. Bellasis wrote that Newman's earlier

> alleged “sphinx-like immobility” had made way for an ever-varying expression as strains alternated between grave and gay... bending forward, and holding his violin against his chest, instead of under the chin in the

143 *LD* iii, p. 99
144 *LD* xxii, p. 144

> modern fashion. Most particular about his instrument being in perfect tune, in execution awkward, yet vigorous, painstaking rather than brilliant.[145]

Both in his manner of playing the violin and in his musical tastes, Newman was decidedly old-fashioned by the end of his life in the estimation even of younger admirers like Edward Bellasis.

Newman experienced difficulties from time to time with his instruments, writing to Jemima that 'I have *ever* been puzzled by violins – they *suddenly* go harsh. I think it must be from the temperature, yet I cannot reduce it to rule. For weeks they will be as easy as possible to play upon – then, you do not know why, you cannot bring out a note. The effect is, as if the fingerboard gave way a bit, and the strings were at an impossible distance from the wood'.[146] This difficulty, which he felt especially on returning to his 'Cremona' violin in 1865, led to his acquisition of the fine new instrument through the kindness of Rogers and Church. Yet he was also struck by his experience of the variability of sound of even an individual violin at different times.[147] So much more, then, must be the distinctiveness in tone that a capable violinist could discern when playing different instruments, lending them a quasi-personal character, and therefore also inspiring affection of a quasi-personal nature. Furthermore, he thought that even a good violin could improve, just as a player can, with continual use.[148]

He made several telling observations about the expressive power of the violin

145 Bellasis, op. cit. p. 9
146 *LD* xxiii, p. 258
147 *LD* xxiii, p. 258
148 *LD* xxiii, p. 262

in later life. First, he pointed out that 'the violin is the most perfect of instruments, as depending for its notes, not on keys or pipes or holes, but upon the finger of the player,'[149] suggesting that he held that the superiority of the violin lay in its more intimate connection with the player's own hand. This perfection he ascribed to the peculiar intimacy between the violinist and his instrument, which is borne out by his observation to R. W. Church on playing the violin which Church and Frederic Rogers had given him, that 'there must be some electric current passing from the strings through the fingers and down the spinal marrow'.[150] Yet Newman was not merely profoundly delighted by the experience of playing the violin, but felt somehow invigorated by it: 'I really think it will add to the power of working, and the length of my life.'[151]

Nevertheless, he was not always easy in his conscience about playing the violin so much. He confessed to Frederic Rogers that:

> I only fear that I may give time to it more than I ought to spare. I could find solace in music from week to week's end. It will be curious, if I get a qualm of conscience for indulging in it, and as a set off, write a book. I declare I think it is more likely to do so than anything else – I am so lazy … it strikes me that, in penance for the violin, I suddenly may rush into work in a fit of contrition.[152]

Is there a hint of hyperbole in this confession of laziness? He was conscious that music occupied him so intensely, that on leaving off, he felt that playing had excluded all else. He even seems not to have rated at all highly the contribution of playing the violin to the formation of the intellect, or to education. In the *Idea* he dismissively placed the playing of stringed instruments on the same level as taxidermy: 'Stuffing birds or playing stringed instruments is an elegant pastime, and a resource to the idle, but it is

149 *LD* xxvii, p. 103
150 *LD* xxii, p. 9
151 *LD* xxii, p. 9
152 *LD* xxi, p. 502

not education; it does not form or cultivate the intellect.'[153] Yet since he admitted to the benefit he experienced from it in his writing and sleeping better, it was also surely more than a mere elegant pastime. Newman's guilt at playing the violin which he confessed to Rogers may well have been transformed by his experience of the positive good he was finding in it by the time he wrote to Church a month later that 'I never wrote more than when I played the fiddle. I always sleep better after music...Perhaps thought is music.[154]

Newman especially appreciated music which displayed the character of his own instrument. In an eloquent passage in Discourse VII of the *Idea*, whilst extolling the 'genius, passion, intellect, conscience, [and] power' of Man, he briefly surveys the vast scale on which these human characteristics are capable of being expressed:

> He creates vast ideas, and influences many generations... He pours out his fervid soul in poetry; he sways to and fro, he soars, he dives, in his restless speculations; his lips drop eloquence; he touches the canvas, and it glows with beauty; he sweeps the strings, and they thrill with an ecstatic meaning.[155]

The image of 'sweeping the strings' conveys the energy and expressive power of the Romantic era in music, its sense of immersion in the human condition, and its celebration of the range of human emotions, which make music 'thrill with an ecstatic meaning'. This is not the only indication that Newman associated stringed instruments in particular with the human condition. In 1877, at the blessing of a new organ in the Oratory Church, he suggested that 'the sound of strings might be taken as more fitted to express the varying emotions of man's state here on earth.'[156] One of the distinctive characteristics of music in the Romantic era was its emphasis on human emotions. In

153 *Idea*, p. 144
154 *LD* xxii, p. 9
155 *Idea*, pp. 229-230
156 Bellasis, op. cit. p. 27

Loss and Gain, the central character, Charles Reding, often seems to voice Newman's own ideas. One may therefore be hearing Newman himself in Reding's opinion that 'I have always understood... modern music did not come into existence till after the powers of the violin became known. Corelli himself, who wrote not two hundred years ago, hardly ventures on the shift.'[157]

Newman's opinion that the sound of stringed instruments was particularly 'fitted to express the varying emotions of man's state here on earth',[158] seems especially appropriate for one who was profoundly sympathetic to the desires, fears, joys and sorrows of the human condition in this life. Hence, the association of the violin, as the pre-eminent stringed instrument, with 'modern music', was connatural for Newman. Yet whilst the strings suggested to him the broad variety of human emotions, he was probably thinking of the more tragic and painful of them which belong to this life, than of the joyful or triumphant ones which we hope to find in the world to come.

8. **Newman on the Affective Power of Music**

Newman powerfully evokes the emotional effect of listening to music: 'think of...the emotion which some gentle, peaceful strain excites in us, or how soul and body are rapt and carried away captive by the concord of musical sounds, when the ear is open to their power'.[159] Whence came this extraordinary power? From his early days, Newman already sensed a divine origin in musical sounds. The verse 'On Music – A

157 *LG*, p. 284
158 Bellasis, op. cit. p. 27, quoting a report in *The Tablet* (August 25th, 1877) of Newman's address at the Dedication of a new organ in the Oratory Church on August 19th.
159 *Mix.* no.14,'The Mystery of Divine Condescension'; p. 296

Fragment',[160] written in June 1817, opens with an evocation of the visible splendour with which the Creator endowed his work, referring to the 'heavenly lustre', with 'glories [that] meet the Seraph's eye', before asking 'Was there nought besides this joyous sight / To kindle rapture in the Sons of light?' thereby to move the heavenly chorus 'to praise their great Creator and to love' him. Newman's answer begins with a reference to 'their ravished *ears*', implying that the faculty of hearing requires an object to correspond to it. He continues with a reference to Job 38:7, 'Yes! For the morning stars together sang,/ And angels joined the strain and heaven with Music rang.' Upon this newly created world 'Glory on glory shone throughout the whole,/ And bliss on bliss was poured from pole to pole'. 'Glory' above all applies here to that which is *visible*, to which Newman goes on to add another, *audible,* element 'worthily to crown' God's blessings, namely 'Music', God's 'sweetest gift', and the 'harmonious force [which] / Restrains all nature in its proper course.' This 'proper course' is directed by the '*Music* of the spheres',[161] which, being the 'harmonious force', thereby manifests the order and control which characterize the movements of the celestial bodies. Newman seems to suggest that order in movement is at least analogous to harmony in music; a rationally discernible unity which underpins the diversity of creation.

Newman developed this idea of music's being intimately related to the harmony of the created order and thence deriving its emotional power, in the last of his *University Sermons* on 'The Theory of Developments in Religious Doctrine', in which he speaks of the 'wonderful creation of sublimity and beauty' which a great master of music can invent as a kind of 'new world', and which comes from the basic material of

160 *LD* i, pp. 38-9
161 Newman's emphasis

merely seven or fourteen notes.[162] If, then, music is composed from such 'a slender outfit for so vast an enterprise', how can its extraordinary emotive power be explained except by its somehow transcending the 'poor elements' that are provided for it in those few notes? Newman asks if it is really possible that 'all this exuberant inventiveness is a mere ingenuity or trick of art, like some game or fashion of the day, without reality, without meaning?' Music cannot be a mere 'trick of art', he answers, precisely because its 'reality' is manifested in its great emotive and expressive power. As well as possessing such power, music also has 'meaning', for which Newman is unwilling to allow a 'wonderful creation of such sublimity and beauty' to be dismissed as a kind of deceit. Moreover, this 'reality' and 'meaning' imply that, despite its sound passing away, music is somehow not evanescent, but substantial. Music's emotive power over us lies in its origin from the 'outpourings of eternal harmony'. The 'created sound' of music is capable of arousing such powerful reactions in us because we recognise these 'echoes from our Home' in what we can hear, albeit in a way which transcends our powers fully to comprehend, much less to explain them.

A particular kind of musical sound that is not 'composed', though of human origin, which elicited a profound emotional response in him was that of bells. He first recorded his feelings on hearing them in his journal one Sunday evening in 1819. The passage shows his growing interest in analysing his reactions to the emotive force of a particular sound, and its puzzling suggestion of something remote:

162 *US* no. xv, p. 346. Newman himself says: 'there are seven notes in the scale; make them fourteen', thereby to demonstrate 'what a slender outfit for so vast an enterprise' as music. Of course, there are seven notes in the usual diatonic scale of an octave (not including the octave itself which is the same note but at a higher or lower pitch), and when the intervening semitones are added, the number of notes in the scale rises to twelve, not fourteen. Newman realised his error immediately and told Jemima 'on reading it over I saw the absurdity. I have a great dislike to publishing hot bread, and this is one proof of the inconvenience.' (*LD* ix, p. 295). Although he corrected the error in the second edition of April 1844, for some unknown reason the original erroneous text was restored in the third edition of 1872, and retained subsequently.

> Bells pealing. The pleasure of hearing them. It leads the mind to a longing after some thing I know not what. It does not bring past years to remembrance. It does not bring any thing. What does it do? We have a kind of longing after something dear to us and well known to us, very soothing. Such is my feeling at this minute, as I hear them.[163]

This fascination with bells occasionally resurfaced at various times in his life. He even ascribed a 'magic power' to them.[164] All his life he had associated the sound of bells pealing with the announcement of a feast day and the summons to church. During the Mediterranean tour he was deeply affected by the constant ringing of the bells on Christmas morning in Malta. He wrote to Harriett, 'the bells are beautiful here (as they were at Gibraltar and Cadiz) deep and sonorous – and they have been going all morning, to me in a most painful way.' Several pages later in the same long letter he wrote, 'Ah those sad bells, there they go again.'[165] Sad, that is, because he was unable to respond to their summons. He was so struck by this that he wrote a verse which was subsequently published in the *Lyra Apostolica*, entitled 'Christmas without Christ', in which he said. 'I hear the tuneful bells around...A stranger on a foreign ground, they peal a fast for me.'[166] Years later, when he returned to Italy as a Catholic, his experience was quite different. Recollecting that earlier visit he wrote to Jemima in 1847 that 'it is miserable to travel and to hear bells to which you may not respond...and I have my reward now.'[167]

Given his account of the emotional effect they had had upon him as a young man in 1819, it is possible that the apparent 'sadness' of the sound of bells may be ascribed to their harmonics being based on a minor triad. Newman had a particular love

163 *AW*, pp. 160-161
164 *LD* xxvii p. 54
165 *LD* iii, pp. 165-6
166 *VV*, no. xlviii, December 25th, 1832.
167 *LD* xii, p. 82

for the minor key on account of its emotional effect on him. Edward Bellasis recalled conversations in which Newman had made interesting comments about the character of the minor mode. First, Newman 'observed that he missed the minor key in Palestrina, and on my adding that perhaps Mendelssohn had too much of it, he went on, “It cuts me to the heart that minor”.'[168] Secondly, Newman was 'much affected by the slow movements in Beethoven's ninth quartet and C minor Symphony, and the *Allegretto* of the Symphony in A', all of which are in a minor key.[169] Sometimes the effect was so intense that he could not analyse it. After playing Beethoven's piano and violin sonata opus 23, Newman wrote to Jemima, 'the Sonata in A minor had, and has had since, an effect on me I can't describe. Often Beethoven transports me, but I cannot express, or analyze, the strange effect which its first movement had on me. I could hardly go on playing.'[170] In *Loss and Gain* also, Newman seems to allude to the melancholy effect which some of Beethoven's music inspired in him. The hero, Charles Reding, is talking with two of his sisters, the favourite of whom is, like Newman's own favourite sister, named Mary. What is 'melancholy' for Mary is 'beautiful' for Charles:

> “Come, Mary,” he said, “give us some music, now the urn has gone away. Play me the beautiful air of Beethoven, the one I call 'The voice of the dead.'” “O Charles, you do give such melancholy names to things!” cried Mary.”'[171]

Even in the matter of 'natural' music, i.e., of music encountered in nature, he found significances which evoked in him a strong response, especially those he perceived as being in a 'minor' modality. In the same passage from *Loss and Gain*, Charles Reding is said to have considered the 'natural' sound of the Eolian harp

168 Bellasis, op. cit. p. 13
169 Bellasis, op. cit. p. 13. n.b. The 9th String Quartet is the 3rd of the 'Rasoumovsky' set. The Symphonies in c minor and A major are the 5th and 7th respectively.
170 *LD* xxiii, p. 255
171 *LG*, pp. 248-9

'remorseful.'[172] Mozley recollected similar conversations with Newman about musical sounds in nature, which are recorded nowhere else:

> I several times heard him notice that the sounds of nature - the wind, the water, the poor beasts and even the birds, were all in the minor key; as too, age itself in comparison with youth. Energy, contest, glory and triumph were in the major key.[173]

Here a distinction may be observed between natural sounds suggestive of a certain passivity on the one hand, such as the sounds both of inanimate nature and of the animals which were characterised for Newman by the minor modality, and on the other hand the major modality suggested to him by certain strong, positive and abstract ideas, associated with human endeavour.

Newman also described an analogous effect to that of the minor mode in music when he came to reflect on his preferences among the Greek tragedians. Bellasis reports Newman as opining that 'there was just that human element about [the minor key], so “deeply pathetic,” which in the same way made him prefer Euripides to Sophocles, for all the latter's “sweet composure, melodious fulness, majesty, and grace”.'[174] Thus the minor key seems to have suggested to Newman a more tragic aspect of the human condition than did the major.

His especial love for the minor key can be seen in his attitude to plainchant. The psalm tone known as *Tonus Peregrinus* is unusual among Gregorian tones since, when it is harmonised rather than sung *a capella*, it can be interpreted as oscillating

172 *LG*, p. 249
173 Mozley, op. cit., p. 213
174 Bellasis, op. cit. p. 14

between major and minor keys.[175] Although in the chant repertory it is fairly infrequently encountered as the tone set for psalms, the *Tonus Peregrinus* was familiar to Newman as the one sung week by week for most of the year to the long 5th psalm at Sunday Vespers.[176] He mentioned an attachment to it on several occasions, notably one year at Easter when Bellasis relays an anonymous account, probably from one of his brothers who were priests in the Oratory community:

> The Cardinal, however, liked the *modus peregrinus* to the *In exitu Israel* ... and I remember once he seemed put out because once we followed the Rubrics in Easter week when the *In exitu* is used by having all the Psalms to one tone.[177] For a moment it seemed as if he would contradict himself in his strict rule of going by authority against what he liked, and would change the tones so as to have the *peregrinus*.[178]

Although it is clear that the rubric was indeed dutifully observed, Newman's disappointment at having to forgo singing his favourite psalm tone was sufficiently striking to warrant being remembered by posterity. Since he held that 'harmony is the life of music',[179] it is clear that it was the addition of major and minor harmonies through the use of organ accompaniment that made the *Tonus Peregrinus* so pleasing to Newman's ear. Similarly, when once asked whether the plainchant litany for the Corpus Christi procession should be harmonised, Newman replied, 'I am anything but averse to harmony here. I like it better *with*.'[180]

175 A Gregorian psalm-tone is constructed in two halves, corresponding to the two halves of a single verse of Hebrew psalmody. Most of these tones are 'heard' to be in a single key or mode and each half is based upon the same reciting note, but the 'Tonus Peregrinus' not only has its first half apparently in a major key, but the reciting note in the second half is a full tone lower and it has a cadence apparently in the minor mode. This unusual tonal instability may account for its name 'peregrinus', the 'pilgrim' or 'wanderer' tone.

176 Ps. 113 (AV:114/115) 'In exitu Israel de Aegypto', which is the longest of the Sunday Vesper psalms with 29 verses (including the doxology which concludes all the psalms), has plenty of time to impress itself upon the memory, especially through weekly repetition.

177 There is a slight inaccuracy here: the rubric to which the writer alludes concerns the tones sung not just in Easter *week*, but on the following five Sundays of Easter*tide* until the Ascension. Even then, in Newman's lifetime, the *tonus peregrinus* would still not have returned to use, on account of several intervening feast days, for yet another five weeks.

178 Bellasis, op. cit. p. 39

179 *LD* xi, p. 260

180 *LD* xviii, p. 53

When harmonized, the chant became more palatable to one who was so thoroughly imbued with 'modern' music in the diatonic scale as Newman. He even regarded the modal scales of Gregorian chant as too ancient to be regarded as proper music at all, saying that 'I think... that what is called Gregorian is but a *style* of music – viz. before the fixing of the diatonic scale, and the various keys as rising out of it.'[181] He thought that it was very likely that at least some of the characteristic modes of plainchant had their origin in Jewish music and worship, even if they were known by 'pagan' names.[182] These 'pagan', primitive modes gave rise to characteristic intervals which he heard as 'dissonances'. Worse than Gregorian chant in this respect, Newman thought, was Ambrosian or Milanese, which had not even been altered to suit 16th century diatonic scales, as had the Gregorian. During his stay in Milan in 1847 he observed on hearing it sung that 'I cannot say that it pleases my ears ... when all sorts of dissonances, sharp fourths and flat sevenths, are introduced, my ears suffer.'[183]

Newman also found Gregorian chant to be too unvarying in its effect, and moreover difficult to sing well. He observed that

> The whole difficulty, I suppose, lies in this, that the most ecclesiastical music is the most difficult. Take Gregorian itself – give us some twenty strong Italian bass voices, and the rumble they produce will be really overpowering.[184]

This seems to fit with another contemporary description of the mid-19th century singing of Gregorian chant in a 'drawling, heavy and slow manner'.[185] It must not be forgotten,

181 *LD* xiv, p. 186, (Newman's emphasis).
182 *LD* xiv, p. 186
183 *LD* xi, p. 260
184 *LD* xv, p. 451
185 See T.E. Muir, *Roman Catholic Church Music in England, 1791-1914: A handmaid of the Liturgy?* Aldershot and

that Gregorian chant was yet to undergo one of its most extraordinary reforms and revivals in history, whose fruits would not reach the liturgy until after Newman's death. Painstaking monastic scholarship would thoroughly overhaul the shape and sound of the chant in the later nineteenth century.[186] Far from the protracted delivery and simplified modality of the chant with which Newman was familiar,[187] the monks of Solesmes Abbey were to recreate the flowing rhythm and subtle, varied modality of the chant as their researches led them to understand it to have been in the remote past. It is unfortunate that Newman never lived to hear the results of this transformation, and so we cannot know what he would have made aesthetically of the Gregorian chants and modes as they were subsequently to be promulgated.

Bellasis also quotes another unnamed contemporary who claimed, '*speaking more positively than I am able to do*', that 'in Gregorian music Newman could see no beauty whatever – none, at any rate, in the usual antiphons and 'tones'.'[188] However, Newman had said more positively of chant that its '*only fault'* is that it 'admits of no change' throughout the year.[189]

Bellasis, therefore, is more measured than these other witnesses in his ascription of views concerning chant to Newman, and insisted that:

> an exception must be made in favour of those familiar chants occurring during the Mass... I recollect his telling me, after we had heard one of

Burlington VT: Ashgate, 2008, p. 102

186 See Mary Berry: 'Gregorian Chant: The Restoration of the Chant and Seventy-Five Years of Recording', *Early Music*, Vol. 7, No. 2 (April, 1979), London: Oxford University Press, 1979, pp. 197-217

187 For the standard appearance of chant notation as Newman knew it before the Solesmes reforms, see e.g. *Ordinarium Missae e Graduali Romano, Typis Plantinianis Anno 1599 Edito Depromptum. Editio Altera. Accesserunt Hymni et Cantica Maxime Usitata.* Mechliniae, P. J. Hanicq, Summi Pontificis, S. Congregationis de Propaganda Fide et Archiep. Mechl. Typographus, 1845.

188 Bellasis, op. cit. p. 38, (my emphasis)

189 *LD* xv, p. 451 (my emphasis).

> Cherubini's Masses admirably performed at a Birmingham Festival, that the music, though beautiful, needed the interspersing of those quaint old chants to make it really devotional.[190]

Moreover, the word 'quaint' need not be interpreted pejoratively. Newman uses the word in the sense of qualifying something old-fashioned as nonetheless curiously interesting. Furthermore, if the desired affect of introducing chant were to be the making of newer music 'more devotional', then that is hardly a negative factor. If Bellasis's reticence is to be trusted, then it seems exaggerated to claim that Newman had such a dislike for the chant as some of the Oratorians over-confidently ascribed to him. Moreover, one passing comment in late life may indicate how on occasions chant might have struck Newman differently. Writing to the new Bishop of Northampton in August 1883, he mentioned the Bishop's predecessor, Francis Amherst, whom Newman had 'thought of … with interest and affection since I heard him sing the 'Exultet' (sic) in Oscott Chapel in 1846.'[191] Newman had probably no more potent reason to remember, nearly forty years later, one who had then been a mere deacon, than the powerful affect that unaccompanied Easter chant had had on him on hearing it for the first time as a Catholic.

Being highly susceptible to the emotional power of music, Newman saw that it was necessary for Religion to 'be alive and on the defensive' lest through music 'a potent enchantment will steal over it.'[192] How did Newman himself understand this enchantment to work? He saw the danger that 'a great master in this mysterious science...throws himself on his own gift, trusts its inspirations, and absorbs himself in

190 Bellasis, op. cit. p. 38. Newman had heard Cherubini's Mass in C in 1882.
191 *LD* xxx, p. 250. The 'Exsultet', (as the word is correctly spelled in Latin), is the long and elaborate chant by which the deacon announces the Resurrection and thus inaugurates the celebration of Easter at the end of Holy Week.
192 *Idea*, p. 80

those thoughts which...belong to things above nature'.[193] Thus the tools at a musical master's command will overwhelm religion itself, and subdue its substance to its own purposes. It was this danger that he saw already fulfilled in some religious music he heard in the concert hall. Bellasis reports that Newman, 'while loving some of the modern Church music, was sensitive over people setting to work upon the liturgy.'[194] He had already foreseen this danger in the *Idea* and excoriated its effect on religion, while also admiring the musical effect so created, considered, as it were, absolutely:

> Rising in his strength, [the composer] will break through the trammels of words, he will scatter human voices, even the sweetest, to the winds; he will be borne upon nothing less than the fullest flood of sounds which art has enabled him to draw from mechanical contrivances; he will go forth as a giant, as far as ever his instruments can reach, starting from their secret depths fresh and fresh elements of beauty and grandeur as he goes, and pouring them together into still more marvellous and rapturous combinations; - and well indeed and lawfully, while he keeps to that line which is his own; but, should he happen to be attracted, as he well may, by the sublimity, so congenial to him, of the Catholic doctrine and ritual, should he engage in sacred themes, should he resolve by means of his art to do honour to the Mass, or the Divine Office, - (he cannot have a more pious, a better purpose, and Religion will gracefully accept what he gracefully offers; but) – is it not certain, from the circumstances of the case, that he will be carried on rather to use Religion than to minister to it, unless Religion is strong on its own ground, and reminds him that, if he would do honour to the highest of subjects, he must make himself its scholar, must humbly follow the thoughts given him, and must aim at the glory, not of his own gift, but of the Great Giver?[195]

It is difficult not to see Newman's love of Beethoven behind these words, so full of admiration as well as of warning, particularly in the reference to the composer as a 'giant'. Bellasis had once observed to Newman that the *allegretto* of Beethoven's 8th Symphony was 'like a giant at play', possibly even recalling Newman's words in the passage from the *Idea* above. Newman replied that '[i]t is curious you should say that. I

193 *Idea*, p. 81
194 Bellasis, op. cit. p 14
195 *Idea*, p. 81

used to call him the gigantic nightingale. He is like a great bird singing.' Bellasis comments that 'although he betrayed a little doubt as to Beethoven's tone being essentially religious, he was unwilling to hear anything said against him because he liked him.'[196] Thus, when Fr Edward Caswall 'half humourously vented his wrath' after celebrating a Mass at which Beethoven's Mass in C had been sung, he said that he thought that was 'a damnable *Credo'*. Newman's rejoinder was simply: 'I rather liked it'.'[197] Newman's reply could hardly have been convincing to Caswall, whose objection to the piece is not explained, yet it may be guessed that he found it disproportionate in length, or too powerful for that role in the liturgy. Newman's personal fondness for Beethoven was perhaps too strong openly to admit his faults as a composer of liturgical music on this occasion. Yet on another occasion he directly criticised Haydn's and Beethoven's Masses, as being too 'instrumental' and 'scientific'. Although he admitted that he was 'as fond of scientific music as anyone', he nonetheless expressed a doubt that

> a thorough *instrumental* composer will ever compose good *sacred* music. I mean, he will consider spiritum propter instrumenta, not instrumenta propter spiritum. As scientific music is...like Gothic architecture, so is the temptation it occasions its professors. Architects sacrifice the rites of the Mass, and musicians the words.[198]

These references to 'scientific music' are unique in Newman. The association of musicians with architects suggests that 'scientific' refers to such abstract, symphonic forms and structures which effectively dictate the treatment that classical composers accorded to sacred texts.

The 'affective power' of music on Newman was not restricted only to the

196 Bellasis, op. cit. pp. 12-13
197 Bellasis, op. cit. p. 13. see also p. 116 above for Newman's response to criticism of Beethoven by Edward Talbot.
198 *LD* xiv, p. 282, (Newman's emphases).

range and depth of emotional responses it aroused in him, but also to its effect upon his mind and thought. He experienced a close connection between music and his intellectual work. As he told Richard Church about his playing the violin, 'I really think it will add to the power of working, and the length of my life. I never wrote more than when I played the fiddle.'[199] Although the connections between writing and music may seem at first remote, Newman would seem to be alluding to the power of music to create a sense of order which can be discerned not only in the sounds created, but in the harmony of form which it reveals. The invigorating power of music he likens to an electric current which effectively unites the player with his instrument, together producing the music as something not reducible to mere sound, but conveyed by sound itself to the understanding. Newman certainly believed that the connection between music and thought was so close as to imply that they were, in a sense, identical: 'Perhaps thought is music.'[200] This fascinating suggestion also implies that thought does not depend upon words only, but upon certain primary elements of music: melody, harmony and form.

We can perceive a similarity here to what he had said in the second of his lectures at Dublin on the subject of Literature:

> Thought and speech are inseparable from each other. Matter and expression are parts of one: style is a thinking out into language. This is what I have been laying down, and this is literature; not *things*, not the verbal symbols of things; not on the other hand mere *words*; but thoughts expressed in language.[201]

So he continues by making the connection between *logos* and language; since logos

199 *LD* xxii, p. 9
200 *LD* xxii, p. 9
201 *Idea*, p. 276, (Newman's emphases).

'stands both for *reason* and for *speech*, and it is difficult to say which it means more properly...because really they cannot be divided, - because they are in a true sense one.'[202] A composer, according to this understanding, can be said to be as capable of embodying and conveying *logos* in his music, as can a writer in words. Newman's observations on the individuality of style in writers can be equally applied to composers, especially to great composers who use the same raw materials as lesser musicians but with vastly more powerful effect. Doubtless he might have said exactly this about Beethoven:

> while the many use language as they find it, the man of genius uses it indeed, but subjects it withal to his own peculiarities. The throng and succession of ideas, thoughts, feelings, imaginations, aspirations, which pass within him... the exercises of his wit, of his humour, of his depth, of his sagacity, all these innumerable and incessant creations, the very pulsating and throbbing of his intellect, does he image forth, to all does he give utterance, in a corresponding language, which is as multiform as this inward mental action itself and analogous to it, the faithful expression of his intense personality, attending on his own inward world of thought as its very shadow: so that we might as well say that one man's shadow is another's as that the style of a really gifted mind can belong to any but himself. It follows him about *as* a shadow. His thought and feeling are personal, and so his language is personal.[203]

This passage suggests that Newman thought about music in linguistic terms, and similarly recognized a musical aspect to language and literature. 'Musical' was a complimentary epithet in Newman's vocabulary when applied to poetry, notably in his later years when he thanked his friends and correspondents for their verses.[204] Of the great representatives of Latin literature he praised Virgil's rhythm as 'most musical',[205]

202 *Idea*, pp. 276-7, (Newman's emphasis).
203 *Idea*, p. 276, (Newman's emphasis).
204 See, for example: *LD* xxiv, pp. 237, 263; *LD* xxvii, p. 226; *LD* xxix, pp. 108, 418; *LD* xxx, pp. 86, 114, 217, 287; *LD* xxxi, p. 291
205 *LD* xxix, p. 304

and Cicero's 'copious, majestic, musical flow of language'.[206]

9. Newman on Composers

Newman's repertoire was dominated by German and Austrian composers from the eighteenth century onwards. As early as 1819 he had asked the rhetorical question in a memorandum, 'Why do the Germans excel in Music?'[207] Of all the Germans, it was Beethoven who in Newman's judgement stood at the apex. Just as the strings, among all the musical instruments, most eloquently represented the human condition to Newman, so too did Beethoven among composers. His 'force and depth, his tenderness and sweetness'[208] summarised Newman's assessment of the range of Beethoven's expressive power, which Newman found unique and unmistakable. Listening to the performance of the *scherzo* and *finale* of Beethoven's Second Symphony at the school Latin play in 1876, Newman observed that 'they tell me that these first two symphonies of Beethoven are not in his style; to me they are Beethoven all over.'[209] Writing to Jemima from Rome in 1847, Newman struck an interesting analogy between the vastness of the views from Monte Cavo, the highest point in the Castelli Romani, and Beethoven's music:

> Beautiful as Tivoli is, I think we all preferred Monte Cavi [sic] to it - For myself I like an extensive view, with tracts bold and barren in it, such as Beethoven's music seems to represent, whereas Tivoli, (at least all one can see in the *expedition of a few hours*) is a wonderful vale, exuberant in foliage, with the celebrated waterfalls. Besides, Monte Cavi reminds one of exertion and toil, though in the service of ambition, and of religion though a false one – it is the memorial of the early and honorable [sic] times of Rome

206 *Idea*, p. 281
207 *AW*, p. 161
208 Bellasis, op. cit. p. 12
209 Bellasis, op. cit. p. 12. Bellasis does not tell us who the critics were to whom Newman refers.

– but Tivoli, alas, was debased into the retreat of infidelity and luxury.[210]

The 'boldness' of Beethoven's music was therefore, as far as Newman was concerned, characterized by an honourable spirit not debased by 'infidelity and luxury'. He did not agree with Edward Talbot's criticism of Beethoven's Oratorio *Christ on the Mount of Olives* as 'more dramatic than reverent'.[211] While Bellasis does report that Newman 'betrayed a little doubt as to Beethoven's tone being essentially religious,' he unfortunately does not tell us what Newman actually said to have given him that impression. Although the 'Promethean' character of Beethoven's music may seem to express his revolutionary views, even to the point of suggesting defiance of God's authority, and notwithstanding such views being utterly remote from Newman's own, Newman sensed a profound sympathy with Beethoven's humanity. Beethoven's characteristic striving against adversity with ever-returning hope may have found a resonance within Newman's own constantly renewed trust in God in the face of all his troubles. The vastness of the scale of Beethoven's range of expression and the extraordinary originality of his treatment of form suggest a likeness to the 'extensive view with tracts bold and barren'[212] that fascinated Newman in Italy. Such a boldness characterises Beethoven's treatment 'of *cadenza* and variation [in which Newman] deemed him to be without an equal.'[213] Newman also held Beethoven in high regard as combining boldness of scale with sweetness of melody, to judge from his characterisation of him as 'the gigantic nightingale' and 'a great bird singing.'[214] Just as Newman found Beethoven's music in a minor key intensely moving, as he observed for

210 *LD* xii, p. 82
211 Bellasis, op. cit. p. 13
212 *LD* xii, p. 82
213 Bellasis, op. cit. p. 13
214 Bellasis, op. cit. p. 13

instance of the A minor sonata opus 23, so also Beethoven could move him with exhilaration and delight, as he told his friend Church: 'I had a good bout at Beethoven's Quartetts ... and thought them more exquisite than ever – so that I was obliged to lay down the instrument and literally cry out with delight.'[215]

Not that Newman held Beethoven to be perfect. On the subject of the Oratorio *Christ on the Mount of Olives*, although he may not have gone as far as Edward Talbot's criticism of it as too dramatic, he could not altogether defend the work as a sufficiently reverent treatment of such a sacred subject.[216] In fact, it was probably Beethoven's imperfections which helped to convince Newman of his humanity. Bellasis reports him as saying that '[a] true and natural feeling, whether displayed by the author of the *Bacchae*, or the composer of *Fidelio*, almost atoned, in his estimation, for every deficiency.'[217] Considering Beethoven's mastery of melody, Newman did not place him on his own, but judged him to be one of three unsurpassed masters, asking 'what can be more beautiful and natural than Handel's, Mozart's, and Beethoven's melodies?'[218] Yet in the *Grammar*, Newman demonstrates the impossibility of conveying the character of melody or harmony to one who has not heard them, by singling out, not Beethoven, but Mozart: 'if I said that Mozart's melodies were as a summer sky or as the breath of a Zephyr, I should be better understood by those who knew Mozart than by those who did not.'[219] If, as seems likely, Newman chose Mozart's music here on account of its ethereal and delicate quality, this is probably because Beethoven's music, on the other hand, seemed to him more redolent of human 'exertion and toil'.

215 *LD* xxii, p. 9
216 Bellasis, op. cit. p. 13
217 Bellasis, op. cit. p. 14
218 *LD* xxv, p. 295
219 *GA*, p. 28

In his 1826 essay on poetry, Newman had praised 'the genius of Euripides – not breathing the sweet composure, the melodious fulness, the majesty and grace of Sophocles; nor rudely and overpoweringly tragic as Aeschylus; but brilliant, versatile, imaginative, as well as deeply pathetic.'[220] Bellasis bore witness not only to the persistence of Newman's early view of the tragedians, but also its applicability to Beethoven at least, in an account of a conversation he had with Newman only a few months before he died, when 'he expressed himself as keenly and eagerly as ever about the merits of Euripides, and at a loss to understand the critics invariably preferring Sophocles.'[221]

Although a clear parallel in Newman's taste between Euripides and Beethoven is discernible here, it cannot be asserted with equal certainty that it was Mozart that held a place in his estimation analogous to that held by Sophocles. However, other composers may have done so. Although in 1820 he spoke warmly of Haydn's first symphony 'reechoing in my ears,' and distracting his 'attention by its beauties',[222] by 1865 he could say that 'I recollect how slow I was as a boy to like the school of music which afterwards so possessed me that I have come to think Haydn, in spite of his genius, almost vulgar.'[223]

Newman must have been referring to Beethoven as the sole representative of that 'school of music' which afterwards possessed him, yet he does not explain why this

220 *Ess. i.* p. 7
221 Bellasis, op. cit. p. 14
222 *LD* i, p. 97
223 *LD* xxii, p. 42

was, nor what eventually brought about the change in him. The young Newman may have found Beethoven's music difficult to understand, and its modernity initially uncongenial to him. It is possible that Newman himself associated the avant-garde elements of Beethoven's music in the early years of the 19th century with the piano, a modern instrument, rather than with the violin, if this opinion of the hero of *Loss and Gain*, Charles Reding, can be ascribed to Newman himself: 'the piano...I have heard, has almost given birth to Beethoven.'[224] Yet one must be cautious here, for although Reding is in many ways an almost autobiographical figure, he may sometimes simply be voicing opinions to be found commonly in Newman's Oxford, as is indeed suggested by the tentative way in which Reding expresses this opinion. On one occasion, at least, Newman commented on the 'surprising effect' of Beethoven's writing for piano, though this can hardly be taken for disapproval.[225]

The sense of the modernity of Beethoven's music may well have been associated with the recent invention and development of the pianoforte, whose sonority and tonal power Beethoven had greatly extended in his compositions, whereas the tonal character of the violin had already reached a level of development beyond which there was no room for improvement long before Beethoven's time. It is worth reflecting further on this matter of modernity, for it affects Newman's attitude to composers in general. There are two aspects to developments in music to which Newman refers: the capacity of musical instruments to express ideas, and the forms in which musical ideas are expressed. In *Loss and Gain*, Newman imagines a conversation in which music and architecture are discussed as parallel cases of development, form and expression. One

224 *LG*, p. 284
225 *LD* iv, p. 337

interlocutor states that 'both the old music and the old architecture were inartificial and limited, as methods of exhibiting their respective arts. You can't have a large Grecian temple; you can't have a long Gregorian Gloria.'[226] Here the ancient forms are said to be limited in the sense that they cannot admit of any further development of scale and proportion. No later architect or musician can take the idea contained in those forms any further, and continue it in a new development. Thus 'primitive architecture and primitive music … soon come to their limit; they soon are exhausted, and can do nothing more. If you attempt more, it is like taxing a musical instrument beyond its powers', and, 'this is literally true as regards Gregorian music... instruments did not exist in primitive times which could execute any other.'[227]

Yet, although some forms are inherently incapable of further development, others are like ideas which are open to such development. As Charles Reding observes, 'when people who are not musicians have accused Handel and Beethoven of not being *simple*, I have always said, “Is Gothic architecture *simple*?” A cathedral expresses one idea, but it is indefinitely varied and elaborated in all its parts; so is a symphony or quartette of Beethoven.' Ancient forms of architecture and music might be 'inchoate', and either have reached a point beyond which development was not possible, as with Gregorian chant, or be such as could be open to later developments, especially when 'genius has breathed upon their natural elements, and has developed them into what I may call intellectual powers.'[228]

Bellasis records some surprising musical judgements on Newman's part. After

226 *LG*, p. 283
227 *LG*, p. 284
228 *Idea*, p. 79

hearing a string quartet by Schubert he commented that it was 'very harmonious and clever, but it does not touch the heart.'[229] Whatever the objective merit of such a judgement about Schubert, the perceived absence of that essential element of 'speaking to the heart' was crucial to Newman's judgement about his music. Mendelssohn, on the other hand, won some approval on account of his extensive use of the minor key,[230] and Bellasis reports that Newman came to 'know fairly well' the 'Canzonet' quartet.[231] Yet on hearing *Elijah* he thought it too long, and commented, 'I was very much disappointed... not to meet with a beautiful melody from beginning to end.'[232]

The comments which Newman is reported to have made after attending concerts is revealing of his rather conservative attitude. For although he can justifiably be seen even as avant-garde himself in his early years on account of his love of the revolutionary music of Beethoven, he rarely added new names in later years to those whose music he admired. The list of composers whose music he favoured towards the end of his life is virtually identical with the names of those whose music graced the Newman family performances sixty or more years beforehand. As Edward Bellasis recalled:

> He had in early days found time and opportunity to comprehend certain masters, Corelli, Handel, Haydn, Romberg, Mozart, and Beethoven, but Schubert, Schumann, Wagner ("I cannot recollect all the fellows' names"); who were these strangers, intruding somewhat late in the evening upon a dear old family party?[233]

But he was not, for all that, prejudiced against more recent composers, but rather he felt

229 Bellasis, op. cit. p. 11. Unfortunately, Bellasis does not tell us which of Schubert's quartets provoked this reaction.
230 Bellasis, op. cit. p. 13
231 Bellasis, op. cit. p. 21. This reference would seem to be to Mendelssohn's first string quartet, op. 12, in Eb major. The second movement, entitled 'Canzonetta', is an Allegretto in G minor.
232 Bellasis, op. cit. pp. 17-18
233 Bellasis, op. cit. p. 17

that he had not the time to get to know their work properly. From this image of a 'family party' one can deduce that the composers whose music Newman loved he had not only come to know early in life, but regarded them as friends. Bellasis recalls 'no musical works heard by [Newman] for the first time in late life making any particular impression on him'.[234] Here again we must recall that in the age before recorded music, concerts provided the only opportunities to hear music which one could not make at home, or could only experience in arrangements for piano or a small ensemble. Again, Bellasis tells us that 'holding, as he did, that no good work could be adequately adjudged without a thorough knowledge of it, he was disinclined to be introduced to fresh musical names at all, on the bare chance, that might never occur, of what had been a casual acquaintanceship ripening into intimate friendship'.[235]

Typical of his attitude to most later composers is his comment on Wagner's *Liebesmahl,* a dramatic re-enactment of Pentecost which was, according to Edward Bellasis, judged by Newman to be 'sound and fury'.[236] Similarly, when he heard Brahms's *Triumphlied,* written in 1870 to celebrate the German victory in the Franco-Prussian war, Bellasis recalled that the performance was disrupted for them by a woman talking loudly throughout the preceding performance of Mozart's 40th Symphony, but 'when the din of the *Triumphlied* came on, her voice was drowned, and the Cardinal whispered: “Brahms is a match for her”.'[237] Although he leaves us no direct reference to Newman's view of Brahms's work, it is quite in keeping with Bellasis's allusive style to use a word like 'din' without attribution, though in fact conveying an actual comment of

234 Bellasis, op. cit. p. 20
235 Bellasis, op. cit. p. 17
236 Bellasis, op. cit. p. 20. Bellasis mistakenly dates this comment of Newman's to 1879.
237 Bellasis, op. cit. p. 20

Newman's.

When Newman heard Gounod conduct the first performance of his Oratorio *La Rédemption,* Bellasis recorded that his reaction was not favourable, yet tinged with ironic humour. Newman could not

> be got to say anything about it by way of a compliment. “As the work of a man of genius, one does not like to criticize it,” he let fall, and was rather troubled by its “March to Calvary,” which he likened in private to “the bombardment of Alexandria”.[238]

Nor was he convinced by Gounod's Oratorio *Mors et Vita*, on the subject of the Last Judgement. Bellasis reported that Newman objected not for aesthetic reasons but on the theological grounds that Gounod had taken liberties with liturgical texts. Bellasis suggests that Newman explicitly criticized the interpolation of the text *O felix culpa*, taken from the *Exsultet* at the Easter Vigil, into the *Dies Irae* of the Requiem Mass.[239] This is entirely consistent with Newman's view of the danger of art overstepping its proper limits.[240] He did not think it good that musicians, however well intentioned, should alter the words of Scripture or of the liturgy in order to gratify their own schemes, but should respect the Roman proverb he often quoted: 'ne sutor ultra crepidam'.[241]

In the list of composers whose works Newman heard favourably in later life,

238 Bellasis, op. cit. p. 20

239 Bellasis, op. cit. p. 14

240 *Idea*, p. 78. See also Newman's comment to Richard Stanton in 1851: 'I am as fond of scientific music as any one – but if any music is theatrical, theirs is such, judging by what I heard. I doubt whether a thorough *instrumental* composer will ever compose good *sacred* music. I mean, he will consider spiritum propter instrumenta, not instrumenta propter spiritum. As scientific music is, (as I have 'elsewhere' said,) like Gothic architecture, so is the temptation it occasions its professors. Architects sacrifice the rites of the Mass, and musicians the words.' (*LD* xiv, p. 282) see below, ch. 4, pp. 192ff. for a fuller discussion of this point.

241 e.g. *HS iii*, p. 66, and *Idea* p. 59, where Newman uses the adage to condemn those who would make their 'particular craft usurp and occupy the universe.' It also appears in *Select Treatises of St.Athanasius ii*, and five times in *LD*.

appear some of the names of those whose music he had played in youth. This includes Cherubini, for although Newman only heard his two Requiems in later life, he had arranged the Overture to *Lodoïska* for family music making in 1818. Newman's companion at a performance of Cherubini's first *Requiem* in C minor in 1879 was Edward Bellasis's younger brother, Henry, who wrote his brother an account of Newman's reaction to the work:

> The Father [Newman] was quite overcome by it, and that is the fact. He kept on saying, 'beautiful, wonderful,' and such-like exclamations. At the *Mors stupebit* he was shaking his head in his solemn way, and muttering, 'beautiful, beautiful'. He admired the fugue *Quam olim* very much, but the part which struck him most by far, and which he spoke of afterwards as we drove home, is the ending of the *Agnus Dei* – he could not get over it – the lovely note C which keeps recurring as the 'requiem' approaches eternity.[242]

He was no less struck by it when it was performed liturgically twice at Requiem Masses in the Oratory Church in November 1886. Edward Bellasis recorded him saying afterwards that it was 'magnificent music' and 'a beautiful Mass', adding with a touch of pathos, “but when you get as old as I am, it comes rather too home.”[243] This testimony suggests that the beauty of the composition in Newman's mind was directly related to its evocation of eternity, and of the world as yet unseen to which we are called at our death. Newman also thought that Cherubini's second *Requiem* in D minor for men's voices and orchestra was both 'beautiful and devotional' when he heard it sung at the Oratory in 1885.[244]

9. **Newman as a Composer**

242 Bellasis, op. cit. p. 21
243 Bellasis, op. cit. p. 21
244 Bellasis, op. cit. p. 22

Newman's surviving essays in musical composition belong, apart from some hymn tunes, to his years at home and as a young student at Oxford. His experience of arranging music for the family ensemble gave him a grasp of the principles of writing for different instruments, especially for the strings and piano. Even at the age of fifteen Newman was already writing ambitious music for the violin. His earliest composition still extant is a set of six duets for 2 violins, dated April 6th, 1816, of which, unfortunately, only the first violin part survives.[245] These pieces are quite varied in key, tempo, time signature and form, though variation form dominates the set. Altogether there are seven pages of music of sixteen staves per page, a considerable amount of music.

Most noteworthy among the remains of Newman's compositions is a single movement sonata entitled 'Solo for the Violin', written out neatly in his hand, which dates from March 19th 1818. It is very large in scale, being 170 bars long, divided into two parts, both of which have repeat signs, according to the rules of classic sonata form. It is also technically demanding. The grand theme which opens the work and returns periodically requires triple-stopping, and there are frequent occurrences of double-stopping and extensive passages of triplet quavers and semiquavers. This composition is unusual also in being for a solo violin, since there seem to be no models of this kind among the music which he was playing at the time. However, Beethoven's 'Kreutzer' Sonata for violin and piano of 1803, with its extensive use of double-stopping and its dramatic, slow introductory bars for the violin alone, may have provided the inspiration for this piece.

245 In the Birmingham Oratory archives.

Although Newman was principally a violinist, he also began composing for the piano, not as a solo instrument, but as part of an ensemble. Their demanding nature suggests that the piano parts were written for his sister Jemima to play, probably to be joined in the duets by her sister Mary. Any refinements concerning piano technique and what was possible to play will presumably have been suggested by Jemima. Between graduation and election to an Oriel Fellowship, Newman conceived and expressed a desire to compose quite substantial pieces of music.[246] The *Obiettamento* for four hands on the piano and string trio, of March 1821,[247] whose parts are, unfortunately, incomplete, shows signs of Newman's ambitions, right from the flourish of the title page, *Obiettamenti* (the plural form implying that there were more to come), written in a grand manner and carrying in large letters an italianized form of the composer's name: *Giovanni Enrico Neandrini*.

This flurry of composition did not end with his election to Oriel in April, 1822, for there are also fragments of two 'sonatas' for piano and string trio dated July 8th, 1823 when he was at home with his family. The second of these sonatas is in a minor key, which seems to accord with Newman's great love for the minor mode.[248] It also shows signs of substantial revision, the piano part being incomplete and bearing many crossings out. Only the 'cello part is marked by Newman himself: 'this seems the corrected copy.' However, after this date, no further compositions of Newman's survive except a song for voice and piano: 'To my sister Harriett', of September, 1832. Bellasis mentions instrumental trios composed by Newman, presumably for violin, 'cello and

246 *LD* i, pp. 96, 97. See above pp. 91-3
247 *LD* i, pp. 100, 101
248 See above, pp.. 126-9

piano, and performed at Littlemore. According to Frederick Bowles, who was one of the players, these were 'most pleasant', but even Bellasis knew nothing of their whereabouts in 1891.[249]

Although Newman valued melody above all in music, harmony was only marginally less important in his estimation, as his comments to Jemima on his own 1821 *Obiettamenti* illustrate.[250] He encouraged an understanding of harmony in his students who showed a flair from composition. When Edward Bellasis, while still a schoolboy, showed Newman a setting he had made of *The Haven,*[251] Newman 'pointed to the second chord, exclaiming, “Ah, a diminished seventh!”'[252] Newman later expanded on this observation, giving Bellasis some useful advice on the relations concerning the primacy of melody and the supportive role of harmony as he saw them:

> Every beginner deals in diminished sevenths. At least I did as a boy. I first learned the Chord from the Overture to Zauberflotte [sic]; and henceforth it figured with powerful effect in my compositions. You must try to make a melody. Without it you cannot compose. Perhaps, however, it is that which makes a musical genius.[253]

Bellasis recounts an instruction which, although he does not attribute it to Newman, seems to be in accordance with his views on harmony, and suggests that Newman thought the use of the diminished seventh could be a cynical subterfuge to cover for a lack of true musical inventiveness in the area of melody: 'If, in fact, you have no ideas, go in, *con amore,* for the chord of the diminished seventh.'[254]

249 Bellasis, op. cit. p. 25
250 See above, pp. 92-3. See also his comments on harmony to correspondents in *LD* xxiv, p. 199 and *LD* xxviii, p. 227
251 *VV*, xxxix
252 Bellasis, op. cit. p. 25
253 *LD* xxv, p. 295, and Bellasis, op. cit. p. 25
254 Bellasis, op. cit. p. 25

Newman recognized harmony as the grammar of music, and even called it music's 'life'.[255] In 1821 he had written to Jemima that 'all my attempts at melody, [are] very heavy – the harmony however I hope is pretty free from such gross faults as consecutive fifths (octaves I will allow).'[256] The neatly written-out 1818 'Solo for the Violin' clearly contains the 'gross fault' of consecutive fifths as well as of octaves, which suggests that he had at that time either not recognized or not yet adopted the rules of harmonic grammar which he was later to commend to others. Yet apparently he was not any more consistent in himself avoiding these grammatical errors in later life than he had been when young. Edward Bellasis recounts an event which took place some time in the 1850's, when Newman had composed both the melody and harmony for a new hymn for the Oratory Hymn Book. He showed this to the Oratory organist, who

> unaware of the authorship...corrected some of the chords. [Newman] asked why he had made the changes. The organist proceeded to advert to some consecutive fifths. “But,” urged the Father, “Beethoven and others make use of them.” “Ah,” came the answer, “it's all very well for those great men to do as they like, but that don't make it right for ordinary folk to do as they like.” So Dr. Newman learnt that, musically, he was an “ordinary folk”, and would have been the first to laugh down the notion that he was aught else.[257]

Bellasis also sent Newman a recently composed march in 1873, which elicited a reaction from Newman implying that he recognised that musical 'grammar' might have developed so as to allow a greater use of dissonance since the days of his own essays in composition: 'On reading it I thought I had found some grammatical faults – but perhaps more is discovered in the province of discords, concords, and co-incidence of notes than when I was a boy.'[258]

255 *LD* xi, p. 260
256 *LD* i, p. 101. And see above, pp. 92-3
257 Bellasis, op. cit. p. 26
258 *LD* xxvi, p. 337

Newman seems to have been regarded counterpoint as purely academic and devoid of the power necessary to affect the emotions as deeply as melody and harmony. At least this is implied, when he stated that 'harmony is the life of music,' by the clarification that 'I do not mean *mere* chords or counterpoint'.[259] It seems likely that this dismissal of counterpoint as one of the elements of musical structure which belongs with melody and harmony may also account for the remarkable absence throughout Newman's entire writings of any reference to J. S. Bach, who was highly regarded by composers Newman especially revered: Beethoven, Mozart and Haydn. However, Bach was principally known and appreciated even by them as the contrapuntal composer *par excellence*.

10. **Newman as a Teacher of Music**

Although music was not part of the curriculum as such at Ealing, learning to read music and to play the violin was a significant part of his life at school. It was a skill which he was happy to share. At Oriel he gave violin lessons to his colleague, Charles Marriott.[260] At Littlemore, he taught the schoolchildren to sing with the help of a violin, recognising the positive power of music and of singing.

When Newman founded the Oratory School, he reproduced the enjoyable and stimulating non-curricular activities of his own school days. So, for instance, he made the performance of plays by Terence and Plautus an annual celebration leading up to the

259 *LD* xi, p. 260 (n.b. My emphasis)
260 *LD* xxiv, p. 84

patronal feast of St. Philip Neri at the climactic point of the school year in late May, just as he had used to take part in at Ealing.[261] These performances were the occasion of much music-making. Shrimpton also states that a 'considerable amount of music-making, both choral and instrumental, took place at the school; much of it...employed, in true Oratorian fashion, in divine worship.'[262] Tuition in the playing of musical instruments, however, was offered only to boys who showed any proficiency in it. Newman thought that two unfortunate consequences were likely to follow if music were made compulsory: the parents' money would be wasted if the boy did not practise; and if he was forced to learn music against his will, his studies might suffer. He wrote to one parent:

> We have musical instruction but we certainly do discountenance music (except singing) for little boys. It is so difficult to make them *practise* and it is money thrown away without it and it interferes with more important matters. Early teaching, as your son's, would not be ultimately thrown away if he has a taste for it.[263]

The fear of parents incurring a wasted extra expense for music lessons also inspired Newman to make a rule, as he explained to another parent:

> so many parents *against our judgement* have music lessons for their boys, that I think we must put in force our Rule, that the Prefect of Studies must be the judge, or else the music becomes an extra. I suppose we pay near £50 a year on music lessons, which we consider *thrown away* on the boys.[264]

Some parents were still not convinced of the wisdom or necessity of this restrictive policy, and Newman found that he had to expound its rationale more fully. He wrote a long and detailed letter to Francis Wegg-Prosser in 1866, in which he showed his understanding of, and sympathy for, the schoolboy mind when faced with music as a

261 See Paul Shrimpton, *A Catholic Eton? Newman's Oratory School*, Leominster: Gracewing, 2005, p. 199
262 Shrimpton, op. cit., p. 200
263 *LD* xx, p. 511
264 *LD* xx, p. 419. (n.b. Newman's emphases)

task rather than a pastime:

> No one is a greater advocate for music than I am – but also all my experience goes to make me think that it is a mistake to devote any portion of a boy's time to music without the loss of important elementary lessons in other things – He commonly gets discontented, if his music lesson is his play time – and is still more put out when he is set to practise, and that in play time too – and without regular practice, what is the use of his music lesson? Then again, who is to see that he practises? Masters and Tutors like their play time as well as the boys and do not relish having to superintend practice. When boys are older, if they have an ear, they take to music readily, and are only tempted to give too much time to it.[265]

Six years later Newman found that so many parents were still demanding music lessons for their reluctant sons he was obliged to send a circular letter to them:

> Your son shows such little interest in his music, and gives such little time to practice – that we feel we are obliged in his case to act upon the notice contained in our Prospectus, which places music lessons, when not an extra, 'entirely at the discretion of the Father Prefect.' … music lessons and practice are such an encroachment upon school work, and are felt, except by a very few boys, to be such a grievance when taken out of play time, that we hope you will not insist upon them even on this condition.[266]

Of course, if a boy showed aptitude and willingness to practise, then Newman was firmly in favour of his having lessons. He wrote to Lady Thynne mentioning her son's progress in playing the violin, and urging him to carry on practising, 'Give [Charlie] my love, and tell him I hope he will go on with the violin, in which he is making so good a beginning. The last time I saw him was with the fiddle on his shoulder – and his bow arm promised to be a very good one.'[267] Incidentally this shows that the boys were being taught to hold the violin in the modern way, on the shoulder, and not in the old-fashioned way that Newman maintained, on his chest. Similarly, he complimented his friend Serjeant Bellasis on the very satisfactory musical progress his

265 *LD* xxii, p. 144
266 *LD* xxvi, p. 143
267 *LD* xxii, p. 10

son Richard was making at school: 'What pleased me especially in Richard was that the music had not interfered with his studies. I was very jealous as to the chance of it.'[268]

As he had found in his own experience, music is so absorbing that it takes one's mind off all else, and although this may not always be desirable, it can have advantages under certain circumstances:

> It is often a great point for a boy to escape from himself; and music enables him. He cannot be playing difficult passages on the violin, and thinking of any thing else... Now since he has not [been neglecting his proper studies], his music is all gain – and I may without reluctance say that he has made a good start in it.

Again Newman speaks from his rich personal experience to explain how advantageous music is in many circumstances throughout life:

> To my mind music ... is a great resource when they are thrown on the world – it is a social amusement – perfectly innocent – and what is so great a point employs their thoughts. Drawing does not do this.

Newman concludes with some important reflections on the nature of true musicianship and its relation to technical accomplishment, observing that Richard

> plays *fluently*, so to say – by fluency I mean in time, in tune, and with execution. This is stage one – stage two is eloquence – by which I mean grace, delicacy and expression. To gain this, nothing is better than to accompany his sisters.

Feeling, grace, delicacy and expression were the qualities that were required for true musicality by Newman, and were the qualities that he principally sought to inculcate in the musically able boys, and as he had found himself by experience, were best acquired through playing with others.

Newman was excited to discover a really good violinist in the making. He

268 *LD* xxii, p. 42. The following quotations come from the same letter.

wrote to Rogers that 'we have a schoolboy here ... who is an extraordinary violin player, and I wanted you to hear my fiddle well played.'[269] It is clear that this boy combined technical proficiency and quality of sound with musicianship and feeling, in order to have impressed Newman at all. Despite his opinion that it was the 'most perfect' instrument, Newman identified two drawbacks in the violin which affected his approach to teaching it. The first was a certain 'inconvenience as regards its combination with the piano – that its sounds are so much more keen than those of the latter instrument, that the player cannot hear it sufficiently – and therefore he is likely to play out of tune, or at least discordantly, whether with piano or organ.' This he believed to be the case because 'a violinist hears another *violinist*.'[270] Secondly, he went on to say that 'if I judge by myself, (and I really think it is the case with amateurs,) what a player *likes* is to *bring out the tone of his instrument* – and delights not in his own performance, but in the perfection of his bass or fiddle.'[271] This distinction was important in Newman's training of young musicians. He recognised and cultivated two stages in mastery of the violin: *fluency*, by which he meant 'in time, in tune, and with execution', and *eloquence*, by which he meant 'grace, delicacy and expression'.[272] Newman's criticism of the tendency of violinists only to hear other violinists may also explain his preference for the 'quieter' instrument given him by Rogers and Church. This would allow a violinist to listen to other players more easily, both string players and other instrumentalists, and corresponds with Newman's self-effacing tendency to choose the second violin part in ensembles at school, for which a quieter instrument would surely be more suitable. In his view, technical proficiency was no substitute for musicianship. Bellasis recalls that:

269 *LD* xxviii p. 433
270 *LD* xxvii, p. 103
271 *LD* xxvii, p. 103 (n.b. Newman's emphasis)
272 *LD* xxii, p. 42

> With mere fiddling, a fluency void of expression, he had little patience, and when, at a term “break-up”, a youth's bow cleverly capered about on a violoncello, he uttered no compliment when the boy had concluded. It was only display for executive skill, without feeling.[273]

It was, rather, essential for Newman that a performance should 'touch the heart' to be truly musical.

Newman had been pleased to report in 1865 that 'there is a furore in the school to learn the violin – not my doing – but I cannot be sorry, for it is so pleasant an amusement for long evenings and for idle people.'[274] This stimulated him into buying copies of quintets by Haydn for the boys to play together,[275] and he even took to playing with them during their recitals.[276] Newman maintained a kind of 'cursus' in the musical development of the boys' ensemble. Bellasis explains that

> They might start with Corelli, and go on to Romberg, Haydn and Mozart; their ultimate goal was Beethoven, and round would come 'Father Superior' with his ancient copies of the quintet version of the celebrated septet, and arrangements from the symphonies; nor were the first ten quartets, the instrumental trios, the violin sonatas, and the overtures forgotten.'[277]

The Beethoven symphonies mentioned by Bellasis as having been played in 1876 and 1877 are likely to have been according to those arrangements.

The annual feast of *Corpus Christi* in the early summer was marked by a procession around the school grounds which was accompanied by a 'band'.[278] Newman

273 Bellasis, op. cit. p. 10
274 *LD* xxi, p. 502
275 *LD* xxi, p. 454. As Haydn left no string quintets, these 'quintets' are probably the arrangements by Salomon of Haydn's symphonies for string quintet, which survive in the music library at the Birmingham Oratory.
276 Shrimpton, op. cit., p. 200
277 Bellasis, op. cit. p. 12
278 Shrimpton, op. cit., p.182. The composition of such a band is not specified, but until recently there was kept at the Birmingham Oratory a miniature 'cello fastened around the player's neck by a ribbon, which was designed for use in such processions. So it is quite likely that a band comprising string instruments was used to accompany the singing

also devised 'spiritual entertainments' according to the Oratorian tradition, and suited to the boys' ages and circumstances, in which readings and short sermons were interspersed with sung and instrumental music.[279] In this he was acting on his conviction that 'youths need a masculine religion, if it is to carry their restless imaginations, and their wild intellects, as well as to touch their susceptible hearts'.[280] Newman had characterised such a 'masculine' religion suited to boys many years before, identifying a dangerous connection between 'unmanliness' and 'excited religious feeling', in which music could be a snare. Here was a sign of the continuance in Newman of the principle of 'reserve' in religious feelings and worship which had been a notable characteristic of the Tractarian ethos.[281] Hence he warned that

> poetry and music...are especially likely to make us unmanly, if we are not on our guard, as exciting emotions without insuring correspondent practice, and so destroying the connexion between feeling and acting; for here I mean by unmanliness the inability to do with ourselves what we wish, - the saying fine things and yet lying slothfully on our couch, as if we could not get up, though we ever so much wished it.[282]

11. **Music: Learning the Language of Heaven**

In 'The Mystery of Divine Condescension',[283] Newman invited his audience to 'think of the...emotion which some gentle, peaceful strain excites in us, or how soul and body are rapt and carried away by the concord of musical sounds, when the ear is open to their power.'[284] When, as a consequence, 'your heart kindles and your voice is

on these occasions.

279 Shrimpton, op.cit., pp. 182-3

280 *OS*, no. 1, 'Intellect the Instrument of Religious Training', p. 14.

281 See, for instance, the quotation from *Tract 75* on pp. 60-61, encouraging 'something higher than that almost theatrical style of worship' which the Tractarians saw as endangering the prayerful purpose of Church music.

282 *PS* ii, no. 30, 'The Danger of Accomplishments', pp. 373-4

283 *Mix*. no. xiv, pp. 284ff.

284 *Mix*. no. xiv, p. 296

full of praise and worship', then 'reflect – not that they tell you nothing of their Maker, - but that they are the poorest and dimmest glimmerings of His glory.' Beautiful as these aural phenomena are, they are nothing 'compared with Him who made them', who is 'the Creator in His Eternal Uncreated Beauty'.[285]

When we describe earthly music, whether natural or man-made, as 'beautiful', Newman says that we refer to its power to excite, enrapture and captivate us,[286] and he recognizes that this beauty is a quality which, though we perceive it as inhering in the objects of our senses here below, draws its attractive power from its sharing in the invisible, infinite glory of the Creator, whom he calls the 'All-beautiful'.[287]

Newman briefly digressed into the subject of music, and of its extraordinary power to communicate emotions in his university sermon 'The Theory of Developments in Religious Doctrine'.[288] 'Let us take another instance,' he says, 'of an outward and earthly form, or economy, under which great wonders unknown seem to be typified; I mean musical sounds, as they are exhibited most perfectly in instrumental harmony.'[289] He then asks rhetorically, 'Can it be that those mysterious stirrings of heart and keen emotions, and strange yearnings after we know not what, and awful impressions from we know not whence, should be wrought in us by what is insubstantial, and comes and goes, and begins and ends in itself?' Of course, the answer is clear to him: 'It is not so; it cannot be.'[290]

285 *Mix*. no. xiv, pp. 296-7
286 cf. *Mix*. no. xiv, p. 296
287 *Mix*. no. xiv, p. 297
288 *US* no. xv, pp. 312 ff.
289 *US* no. xv, p. 346
290 *US* no. xv, p. 347

The reason why Newman was so sure of the answer is itself the purpose for which he included this digression on music in this sermon. Music is created out of 'such poor elements' as the few notes which prove 'a slender outfit for so vast an enterprise' for 'some great master in it [to] create his new world'; but if music were a 'mere ingenuity or trick of art', then likewise, 'perhaps, we shall also account the science of theology to be a matter of words.'[291] Newman cannot accept either that music is a trick, or that theology is mere words. Music is replete with meaning, presenting itself as a 'wonderful creation of sublimity and beauty', and 'the views it opens upon us' are so vast and compelling in the impressions which they leave upon us, that Newman cannot accept that it is 'insubstantial', despite the fact that its sounds die away.

Newman similarly used the image of the 'veil' to convey the contrast between the sound which 'is gone and perishes' and the lasting powerful effects of those transient sounds. Thus he wrote that 'I think of musical sounds and their combinations – they are momentary – but is it not some momentary opening and closing of the Veil which hangs between the worlds of spirit and sense?'[292] Those sounds are 'something...besides themselves which we cannot compass, which we cannot utter', their substance is real and replete with meaning, yet that substance transcends the sounds in which it is embodied.

In this passage Newman identifies a fact about music itself: that although we hear it through the medium of created sounds, music cannot be reduced to the

291 *US* no. xv, p. 346
292 *LD* xix, p. 415

phenomenon of sound, without being reduced to empty noise. It is the 'meaning' that we perceive in music which points to its substantial reality. The evidences of this reality are those keen emotions and strange yearnings which can be collectively called music's 'powerful effects' on us. Newman has used this example of the mysterious influence of music precisely because of this paradox: that music exhibits undeniable power over us while not directly revealing to us the sources of its power. Yet the very power inherent in these effects and their transcendence of the medium in which they come to us, nevertheless suggest to us their origin, says Newman. Since they have meaning, and they open views to us, they must be substantial. And therefore, since they are substantial, despite inhering in sounds which pass away, they must transcend that in which we hear them. Because musical sounds neither begin nor end in themselves, they must 'have escaped from some higher sphere.'[293]

It is at this point in his argument that Newman answers the question with which he began, asking whence these powerful effects come and whither they draw us. First, he says that 'they are the outpourings of eternal harmony in the medium of created sound.'[294] The central place of harmony in Newman's musical appreciation has already been established. Here he takes it back to its divine origins. For insofar as harmony is 'eternal', it is an attribute of the Trinity, and is shared in by creation through participation. As harmony in creation is associated with orderliness and peace, and opposed by discord,[295] so harmony in music is opposed by dissonance.

293 *US* no. xv, p. 347
294 *US* no. xv, p. 347
295 See, e.g. *VM i*, 'The Prophetical Office of the Church', Lecture 1, pp. 26-27, where Newman opposes 'discord' to peace, and *Ess ii*, no. 14: 'Private Judgment', p. 337, where he associates 'discord' with 'disorder, insubordination, changeableness...and division'.

There is a twofold significance to be noted in Newman's reference to discord and dissonance. First, it can be seen as the total and unharmonious rejection of God's harmony and beauty. Thus, in *The Dream of Gerontius,* Newman sharply contrasts the 'sour and uncouth dissonance' of the Demons with the 'grand, mysterious harmony'[296] of the Angelical Choir. Secondly, there is another, more subtle suggestion of the characteristic use of dissonance in music as a necessary preliminary to a harmonious resolution. In 'The Cross of Christ the Measure of the World', Newman employs a musical metaphor to illustrate how he sees that the Cross exercises just such a role in eternity, as 'the tone into which all the strains of this world's music are to be resolved.'[297]

By the term 'outpourings', Newman suggests that music is in some sense an overflow from an abundance of heavenly harmony into this world. This image, too, is recalled in the *Dream* by the reference to the 'harmony/... [which] floods me like the deep and solemn sound/ Of many waters.'[298] Here on earth we can experience, at best, a partial or fragmentary effect of something incomparably more vast beyond the veil that separates the world of matter and sense in which we live from the world of the spirit whence these outpourings reach us. The implication is that once we too, like Gerontius, have passed beyond the 'veil', these impressions will become vastly more powerful.

Secondly, these effects are described as 'echoes from our Home'.[299] This important image contains *in nuce* Newman's understanding of the true relationship between this life and the next for mortal man. The use of the capital letter in 'Home' is

296 *VV,* p. 351
297 *PS* v, no. 7, p. 85
298 *VV*, p. 351
299 *US* no. xv, p. 347

significant; not only is the 'Home' to which he refers here not an earthly place, it is 'Home' in a definitive way, which nowhere on earth can claim to be. Yet we cannot know our true 'Home' yet, or at best know it only partially. Hence arises the paradox of our recognizing the emotional power of music while not being able to say exactly whence it comes or whither it draws us. Newman fills out this imagery of 'Home' as that from which comes to us 'the voice of Angels, or the Magnificat of Saints.' Music therefore has power over us because in it we can, without being fully aware of it, witness the harmonious praises of God which are the song of those who dwell in our 'Home', the Angels and those men and women who have reached their destination after this life, the Saints.

The idea of music as the 'language' of heaven lies behind what Newman says in this passage from the fifteenth University Sermon. He speaks of the powerful effects of music not only as transcending the limited duration of the sounds in which we experience them, but as 'something besides themselves, which we cannot compass, which we cannot utter.'[300] Even if we can recognize music to be a language, we cannot fully comprehend it, because it deals with realities to which we presently have very limited access.

Newman proposes that music on earth, especially in worship, should be seen as a preparation for taking part in heavenly worship: 'we say and sing Psalms and Hymns, to come as near to heaven as we can.'[301] Nor is the approach only in one direction from earth to heaven, for on certain very exceptional occasions the veil

300 *US* no. xv, p. 347
301 *PS* vii, no. 13, p. 189

separating the hidden spiritual world is parted so that angels may make men on earth aware of their own heavenly music. For instance, Newman reminds us that 'at the time of the Nativity', the shepherds 'heard the voices of those blessed spirits who praise God day and night'.[302] Though such experiences of hearing the angels' heavenly singing are exceedingly rare, Newman nevertheless claims that they allow us 'in our lower state of being' to 'copy and assist' them.'[303] Earthly worship can therefore be understood to be a learning to share in the worship of the angels, and to discern those 'echoes from our Home' which is heaven.[304]

In *The Dream of Gerontius*, Newman significantly made use of musical imagery in describing the soul's transition from the world of sense to the world of the spirit, from death to Purgatory, the antechamber of heaven. Immediately after his death, Gerontius is not yet able to perceive what his new condition is. All the familiar bodily signals are absent. Suddenly, and very importantly, it is a musical experience which is the first sign from outside of himself that he is not utterly alone: 'And hark! I hear a singing...' But this is a strange and puzzling phenomenon for the disembodied soul, since:

> in sooth
> I cannot of that music rightly say
> Whether I hear, or touch, or taste the tones.[305]

But more important still than his wondering *how* he can hear, is the emotional *effect* of this singing upon him: 'Oh, what a heart-subduing melody!' Newman underlines the connection between Gerontius's new appreciation of music and his new state as he

302 *PS* iv, no. 13: 'The Invisible World', p. 205
303 *PS* iv, no. 13, p. 205
304 *US* no. xv, p. 347
305 *VV*, p. 325

responds to his Guardian Angel's song of thankfulness at fulfilling his task:

> Now know I surely that I am at length
> Out of the body; had I part with earth,
> I never could have drunk those accents in,
> And not have worshipp'd as a god the voice
> That was so musical...'[306]

Already he knows not only that he can 'hear', but that he is able to 'hear' things which would not have been audible to him in the body. His spiritual 'ear' is gradually becoming attuned to the music of his Angel's voice, of one who is a citizen of heaven. He even hears the 'uncouth dissonance' of the Demons mocking the liturgical music on earth of 'psalm-droners/ And canting groaners'.[307]

The Angel explains to Gerontius that the term 'musical' is now in his new state symbolic, with which he is trying to express novel experiences by analogy, using language drawn from the earthly state.[308] Therefore the Angel must teach him how to hear and understand anew: 'Hark to those sounds!/ they come from tender beings angelical...'[309] Gerontius also struggles to find a way of expressing what he is experiencing of the angelical singing, and draws most eloquently from his earthly experience of the sounds of nature, recalling Newman's appreciation of the musicality of natural sounds:

> The sound is like the rushing of the wind –
> The summer wind – among the lofty pines;
> Swelling and dying, echoing round about,
> Now here, now distant, wild and beautiful...[310]

As he prepares to approach God's throne, Gerontius hears 'a grand mysterious harmony'

306 *VV*, p. 329
307 *VV*, p. 335
308 *VV*, p. 341
309 *VV*, p. 344
310 *VV*, p. 347

which, the Angel explains, emanates from 'A band of mighty Angels [who] keep the way/ On either side, and hymn the Incarnate God.'[311]

Immediately before Gerontius goes before his Judge, the Angel explains that he can now hear

> ...the voice of friends around thy bed,
> Who say the “Subvenite” with the priest.
> Hither the echoes come...[312]

Now his state is reversed; for whereas on earth he heard music as 'echoes from our Home' in heaven, now it is earth's music and voices which he hears as an echo in his new state. Finally, having been 'Consumed, yet quicken'd, by the glance of God,'[313] Gerontius prepares to sing at last himself, albeit the song of a soul willingly about to enter Purgatory:

> There will I sing my sad perpetual strain...
> There will I sing, and soothe my stricken breast...
> There will I sing my absent Lord and Love...[314]

The last musical reference in the poem comes from the Angel, who prays:

> Now let the golden prison ope its gates,
> Making sweet music, as each fold revolves
> Upon its ready hinge.[315]

The sweetness of that music is a reminder that, despite the pains of Purgatory, it is a joyful state of preparation for the 'beauty and harmony of heavenly contemplation' of 'the eternal order of things and the music of the spheres'[316] for which the soul of Gerontius is destined when it has reached its perfected state.

311 *VV*, p. 351
312 *VV*, p. 356
313 *VV*, p. 357
314 *VV*, p. 358
315 *VV*, p. 358
316 *Idea*, p. 139

In the last year of his life, Newman thanked his friends who sang and played music for him with these valedictory words: 'I pray that when you go to Heaven, you may hear the Angels singing with the genius that God has endowed them with.'[317] His prayer was that, like Gerontius, they would hear music no longer as echoes from heaven, but would at last experience directly the music of their true Home.

317 Bellasis, op. cit. p. 48

Chapter four

To ‘Cultivate the Beautiful with Frugality’

Newman's Aesthetic Vision in the English Oratory

Introduction: Newman's Assimilation of the 'Genius of the Oratory'

The idea of joining the Oratory had already been discussed by Newman and his companions at Littlemore after Wiseman had first suggested it to him.[1] Yet at first Newman was uncertain about his future calling. Among several possibilities which he considered, he found the Rosminians attractive on account of a certain 'handsomeness' about their character, and the quasi-domestic scale of the community also pleased him. During a short visit to Lockhart in his Rosminian novitiate at Ratcliffe in January 1846, Newman commented with obvious approval that 'this is a very handsome building – and the whole ceremonial is handsome. It is small.'[2] Although this idea did not take root, it gives an important clue to the kind of 'ethos' Newman was looking for.

A few months later, in June 1846, he sketched out a plan to found his own order, the 'Congregatio de SS Trinitate'.[3] Although he had effectively abandoned this proposal after another month,[4] it is of interest in showing not only what Newman was thinking about the intellectual apostolate, but also about the liturgical ethos that such an institute might adopt. He laid down the principle that 'as to music, no choir service ordinarily, but on festivals vespers, besides High Mass.'[5] Therefore, although 'choir service', i.e. sung offices other than Mass, would not dominate the day-to-day work of the Congregation, Newman desired, or at least expected, a certain degree of liturgical

1 *LD* xii, p. 19, in which Newman tells Wiseman that he and his companions in Rome have 'come round to your Lordship's original idea' to become Oratorians.
2 *LD* xi, p. 85
3 *NO*, pp. 149-150
4 *LD* xi, p. 196,
5 *NO*, p. 150

richness involving music and ceremonial on greater days, including Sundays.

The account he gave to Dalgairns of his first proper visit to the Roman Oratory on December 26th 1846, is therefore of great significance, even though he probably did not immediately realise the implications of what he had seen. Newman's description of the house shows that he was impressed and drawn to it, though his attraction was moderated by a pang that it was simply too attractive for his own good: 'The casa is the most beautiful thing of the kind that we have seen in Rome – rather too comfortable, i.e. fine galleries for walking in summer, splendid orange trees. etc etc.'[6] Nevertheless, he found himself musing that 'If I wished to follow my bent, I should join them, if I joined any'. He noted some significant resemblances not merely with his past Oxford and Littlemore life, but with desiderata he had worked out for the intended apostolate based at Maryvale: 'They have a good library, and handsome sets of rooms apparently.' In contrast with all the religious orders he had so far considered, '[i]t is like a College with hardly any rule. They keep their own property, and furnish their own rooms.' It exhibited all the qualities of the life which they already shared, and could be summed up in the idea of 'home'.

However, his first experience of the Oratory's characteristic pastoral work was less positive than the first visit to the house. Two weeks later, on January 10th, Newman and St John went to see one of the evening Oratory devotions. But they 'were very much disappointed to find it a *simple concert*, with hardly any thing religious about it – a short sermon – a few prayers, people sitting the while.'[7] The religious genius of the Oratory seemed at first to be obscured by its musical component.

6 *LD* xi, p. 305. The following quotations in this paragraph are from the same letter.
7 *LD* xii, p. 7 (n.b. Newman's emphasis). Ambrose St John gives an almost identical account, (see Bellasis, op. cit., p. 19) adding the fact that one of the sermons was given, in the Philippine tradition, by a young boy.

Nevertheless, Newman studied the 'Rule' of the Oratory.[8] In the opening chapter entitled 'Of the Oratory and the Prayers', he found it stated that those who take part in the life of the Institute 'are excited to the contemplation of celestial things, not only by the usual prayers, but also by a familiar exhortation, *and by musical harmony*.'[9] The Rule expressed what had by then already been firmly established as the practice of the Oratory since Philip's time and so demonstrated not only the importance of music in the devotional life of the Oratory, but its *raison d'être*. To aid the 'contemplation of celestial things' was the primary purpose of music in the Oratory.

Despite the initial discouragement, therefore, Newman began to see the possibilities of adapting the Oratorian rule to his needs and apostolate in England. The real question, he thought, was 'how would it *suit* us to be Oratorians?'[10] Perhaps further reflection on that first disappointing encounter with a Roman Oratory devotion might have offered Newman a glimpse of possible future developments in England. He wished 'at any rate the Oratory to include the functions of a Mechanics' Institute among its duties',[11] yet he did not envisage this being as prosaic and dull as that term at first implied, because its meetings would be enriched and enlivened in various ways proper to the Oratorian character for, as he proposed, 'first there would come music...'[12] Even at this early stage, Newman could foresee something of the aesthetic contribution that the Oratory could bring to the intellectual and missionary work that was already entrusted to

8 The *Constitutions of the Oratory*, (hereafter referred to as the *Rule*) dating in their final form from 1612, were first drafted in 1565. The *Constitutions* represent a description of existing custom, rather than a later prescriptive imposition. For this reason it is possible to be confident that they largely follow the provisions of St. Philip Neri himself. The first translation into English was made by Abraham Woodhead, an English Oratorian of the reign of James II, and published in Oxford by Obadiah Walker in 1687, a copy of which was used by Newman at Littlemore, and possibly even earlier, as Murray notes in *NO* p. 22. The version used here is that published in 2012 by Jerome Bertram, who states that he has 'modernized the spelling and punctuation, and replaced or rearranged occasional words that are obsolete or misleading to a modern reader.' See Jerome Bertram, *Traditions of the Oratory*, Lulu.com, 2012

9 *Rule*, Chapter 1, n.b. My translation and emphasis. The original text reads thus, 'Musico concentu excitantur ad coelestia contemplanda.' Bertram translates 'musico concentu' as 'by a concert of music'.

10 *LD* xii, p. 16

11 *LD* xii, p. 17

12 *LD* xii, p. 17

them, represented by the idea of a 'Mechanics' Institute' enhanced with music.

Looking to recruit associates in this venture, therefore, he told one of his companions presently studying in France that 'the kind of person who could be of use, [is] a person who could SING – he need not understand English for this – or a good musician generally – an organ player. Music is so great a part of the Oratory.'[13] When pondering his possible foundation of a 'Congregatio de Trinitate', he had foreseen a place for music there in liturgical terms only. Now he was considering an extra-liturgical role for music as well. As the idea of the Oratory took deeper root, he foresaw more clearly that they would 'want to argue, to preach, *to sing and play*, and to train young people.'[14]

A long, formal letter addressed in elegant Latin by Newman to Cardinal Fransoni[15] and dated February 14th 1847, marked the point at which the Oratory Scheme was finally adopted. It is significant that in the course of this letter, in which Newman sketched out the broad outline of the character and work of an English version of the Oratory, he included in the description of proposed exercises the phrase 'datur … musicorum peritis cantus'.[16] The mention of *periti* (experts) implied more than what was merely sufficient for the musical support of a congregation. That Newman's aim was to promote religious culture and beauty in the way of conveying religious truth was neatly summed up in his comment to Wiseman that, '[a]s to the Oratory itself … It must be a building for preaching and music'.[17]

13 *LD* xii, p. 36
14 *LD* xii, p. 45 (n.b. my emphasis)
15 Fransoni was the Cardinal Prefect of the Congregation *de Propaganda Fide*, and as such held authority for 'mission' territories without proper local hierarchical rule, which at that time included England.
16 *LD* xii, p. 39. i.e. those who are skilled in music are entrusted with singing.
17 *LD* xii, p. 52

Long afterwards, Newman recorded his gratitude to Wiseman for having guided him finally to follow such a 'bright and beautiful' saint as Philip Neri, by dedicating the *Discourses Addressed to Mixed Congregations* to him. Newman wrote that in Rome 'it was my blessedness to be allowed to offer myself, with the condescending approval of the Holy Father, to the service of St Philip, of whom I had so often heard you speak before I left England, and whose bright and beautiful character had won my devotion, even when I was a Protestant.'[18] It is noteworthy that Newman here conjoins the ideas of 'brightness' and 'beauty' in his assessment of the attractiveness of St Philip Neri. The aesthetic ethos of the Oratory was the natural development of the founder's own character.

Newman also identified that the salient characteristic of the Philippine 'spirit is to conceal seriousness under great cheerfulness, simplicity, modesty and humour.'[19] For on a visit to a Jesuit house he was struck by 'the sight of so many tranquil, devotional faces', yet he took exception to the sight as 'rather graver than I like'.[20] At first sight, the gravity of the Jesuits would seem to have been more congenial to the serious ex-Oxford don, but it was Newman, no less, who had been 'musing over our need of companions who have a good deal of fun in them – for that will especially be wanted in an Oratory', and even mused that he 'should like a regular good mimic' to keep up their spirits, since 'if we have not spirit, it will be like bottled beer with the cork out.'[21] Nothing could demonstrate more effectively than this the latent playfulness and good humour of Newman's character, which the example and character of St Philip may perhaps be said to have liberated in Newman once he became attached to him.

18 *Mix*. pp. v-vi.
19 *LD* xii, p. 113
20 *LD* xii, p. 117
21 *LD* xii, p. 54-55

Newman would later sum this up in a chapter address to his new community in January 1848, praying that 'the Santo Padre himself...bind us together in that his own spirit of love and gentleness, which is better than all vows, and adorn us with his own beauty of holiness and amiableness of word and deed, which is an influence stronger, wider, surer, than the most cunningly organised association.'[22] One might say that the genius of the Oratory was manifested most of all in St Philip's capacity for personal influence, always so valued by Newman as the best means of drawing souls to embrace the truth, and the attractive force of the beauty of personal holiness.

St Philip Neri's Oratory emerged from his vocation to use every means available to bring souls to love God and to find God in the sacraments and in prayer practised in informal meetings in a room rather than in a church.[23] Philip 'was profoundly convinced that there is in music and in song a mysterious and mighty power to stir the heart with high and noble emotion, and an especial fitness to raise it above sense to the love of heavenly things.'[24] To this end he adopted from his native Florence the custom of vernacular *Laudi* sung to simple and strongly rhythmical melodies.[25] They were not in any way connected with the liturgy. They were ideally suited to processions and other outdoor devotions where communal singing was popular, and were also popularly sung at home. As professional musicians began to be drawn to take part in his spiritual exercises Philip also admitted vocal and instrumental music, not tied to the setting and interpretation of sacred texts.[26] So it is that the author of the *Pregi, (*i.e. 'Excellencies' of the Oratory), refers to the fundamental simplicity of Philip's programme in that he 'arranged that even this little austerity should be tempered by

22 *NO*, p. 171
23 Louis Ponnelle and Louis Bordet, *St. Philip Neri and the Roman Society of His Times (1515-1595)*, London: Sheed and Ward, 1932, p. 265, explains the informal, non-liturgical nature of these meetings.
24 Alfonso, Cardinal Capecelatro, trans. Thomas Alder Pope; *The Life of Saint Philip Neri Apostle of Rome*, London: Burns Oates & Washbourne Ltd., 1926, p. 371
25 Ponnelle and Bordet, op. cit., p. 266
26 Ponnelle and Bordet, op. cit., pp. 201-2

devout music.'[27] It was from this relatively simple origin that the entire musical development of the Oratory took place in the following centuries.[28] This was the tradition Newman encountered during his formative period as an Oratorian novice.[29]

Newman and St John travelled back to England during the month of December, reaching London on Christmas Eve. Immediately he learned from Wiseman of an important development which was to affect his plans profoundly: F. W. Faber, by now a convert to the Catholic faith, was proposing to unite his religious community with Newman's under the Oratorian rule. This elicited a brief reflection, which Newman noted in his diary that day, that Faber 'is much more *poetical* in the largest sense of the word than the Oratorians.'[30] He went on to specify the categories in which this 'poetical' character was manifested: 'in devotions, in asceticism, in obedience, in dress, in names etc.' In the light of this he wrote to Faber:

> I am anxious you should [try] if you have fully mastered *what* Oratorianism is. In many respects it differs from what you are at present. It is not near so ascetic – indeed it is *not* ascetic. It is not poetical – it is not very devotional.[31]

This sequence of thoughts reveals that while Newman's grasp of the Oratorian ethos was leading him further away from the more ascetical extremes of his life at Littlemore, it was not inclining him towards contemporary Italianate devotions. Newman also noted that the author of the *Pregi* had described the Oratorian way of life as 'a gentle way, and one of holy and loving liberty' where 'there is no place...for the terror of sin, but for the attractiveness of Duty and of Goodness'.[32]

27 Frederick Ignatius Antrobus (trans.), *The Excellences of the Congregation of the Oratory of Saint Philip Neri, by Father Francesco Antonio Agnelli of the Congregation of Savigliano in Piedmont, Translated from the Italian and Abridged*, London: Burns and Oates, 1881, *(Pregi)*, p. 20
28 Smither, op. cit., vol. 3, p. 13
29 Smither, op. cit., vol. 3, p. 11
30 *LD* xii, p. 137
31 *LD* xii, p. 140
32 *NO*, pp. 400-401: 'Via dolce, e di santa ed amorosa libertà...Qui non ha luogo il terror del Peccato, ma l'allettamento del dovere e del buono.'

Newman set about preparations for the setting up of the English Oratory, composing addresses in which he would expound the history and characteristics of the institute to his fledgling community in those earliest months of its existence. In these short treatises Newman would reflect on his assimilation of Oratorian history to distil some of the characteristics which he saw as typical of, and necessary for, the development of a sound Oratorian ethos and apostolate.

In one of those addresses Newman examines the idea of 'gentlemanlikeness', which he identifies as a sort of refinement of individual character, education and manner which characterizes the Oratory as a whole.[33] He did not consider such a refinement to be of value for an Oratorian unless it were added to a 'high religious perfection'. But at the same time 'it does not follow', he says, 'because refinement is worthless without saintliness, that it is needless and useless with it.'[34] By way of illustration he drew a parallel with the art of rhetoric: 'a bad speaker may be as firm a believer as the most accomplished of orators; yet the gift of words is necessary to be able to persuade; and so the gift of manners may be necessary to win.'[35] Newman argued that the acquisition of learning and culture could be an effective means whereby to draw others, and could make the religious message itself more attractive, and thereby more convincing, to them. Newman clearly recognized this as part of a distinctly Oratorian ethos, explaining that in an Oratory

> The Church is to be handsome, the functions are to be performed with accuracy, and (if possible) with splendour, the music is to be attractive, the Sacristy is to be large and well furnished with vestments, the Refectory is in its way not to be inferior to the sacred buildings, and the table is to be abundant and respectable. Meanness, poverty, austerity, forlornness, sternness, are words unknown in an Oratorian House.[36]

Just as refinement is worthless without saintliness, yet is capable of 'setting off' an

33 *NO*, pp. 189ff.
34 *NO*, p. 189
35 *NO*, p. 190
36 *NO*, p. 192

interior holiness, so the splendour and magnificence of an Oratory church with its ceremonies, and a house with its fine rooms and furnishings, which without holiness would be worthless, can be powerfully attractive when seen as characteristic of a community of saintly men. In this way, Newman seems to suggest that although such splendour might be found accidentally, and work effectively, in other institutes, they belong to the Oratory in a way that is almost intrinsic to its very identity.

In another early address, Newman described the cultivation of those virtues particularly associated with liberal education and refinement of character, such as 'gentle demeanour, consideration, delicacy, elasticity of mind and the like'[37] as of their nature necessary for the conduct of Oratorian community life, in which members typically act spontaneously, motivated by self-control. Such virtues, though not necessarily Christian, 'are Christian *in* a Christian...they are sanctified by their possessor, and become the instruments of spiritual good.'[38] For a community regulated solely by the bond of charity, suggests Newman, the forbearance and understanding which are required for its flourishing cannot be achieved without a profound cultivation of learning and the fruits of civilization among its members.

Versed in the Classics as he and his companions were, Newman was able to refer frequently to the well-known contrast between the character, government and ethos of the Athenians and Spartans, as put into the mouth of Pericles by Thucydides.[39] Even though he likened the Oratorians to the Athenians and the Jesuits to the Spartans, Newman was making no claim of superiority for his own institute as such. He acknowledged the influence and effectiveness of the Jesuits 'whose renown is far higher

37 *NO*, p. 214
38 *NO*, p. 213-4
39 Thucydides, *Peloponnesian War,* II, 35-46.

than that of the humble Oratory'.[40] Yet he wanted to show in what way the genius of the Oratory, despite its far smaller numbers and influence when set alongside the Jesuits, was nonetheless eminently suited to men of a certain education and refinement, and on that account arguably enjoyed a dignity and effectiveness out of proportion to their numbers. For, like the Spartans, the 'Jesuit Fathers are part of a whole, but each Oratorian stands by himself and is a whole, promoting and effecting by his own proper acts the wellbeing of the community.'[41] This contrast is summed up in the final paragraph of Pericles' speech which Newman chooses to quote:

> And hence we cultivate the beautiful with frugality, and philosophy without effeminacy...And we have the power of being at once critical and original... It is our peculiarity at once to calculate yet to dare: but to others to be without instruction makes men rash, and to premeditate makes them backward...whereas we have individually the versatility to present ourselves to the most various kinds of action, and to be graceful in doing so.[42]

There is in this contrast not only a moral distinction between Oratorian and Jesuit motivation, but an aesthetic one. Moreover, it is noteworthy how Newman praises versatility enhanced by gracefulness as characteristic of the Oratorian genius. Specifically, Newman cites the place of music as an example of the contrasting roles of high culture in the Oratorian and Jesuit systems, stating that 'music is *necessarily* a study in the Oratory; and its softening effect is notorious' to the point of exercising 'a medicinal virtue in those who are subject to its sweet influence.'[43] This is the nearest Newman comes to claiming that music is not simply an adornment of Oratorian life, but an essential component and protective element of its ethos; whereas on the other hand, 'music is pointedly excluded from the occupations of the Jesuit.'[44]

40 *NO*, p. 210
41 *NO*, p. 210
42 *NO*, p. 211. And see Thucydides, *Peloponnesian War*, II, 35-46, for the passage quoted at length here by Newman. The opening phrase, 'And hence we cultivate the beautiful with frugality', is a translation (by Newman himself?) of the first words of II, 40: “Φιλοκαλοῦμέν τε γὰρ μετ' εὐτελείας□
43 *NO*, p. 214 (n.b., my emphasis)
44 *NO*, p. 214

At the same time, Newman echoes Pericles' caution in extolling the cultivation of beauty, by qualifying it with 'frugality' (*euteleia*). What Pericles would have had in mind was the importance of the Athenians' avoiding what they saw as the alleged 'effeminacy' of the Persians and Orientals in general, which was lacking in the virtues of manliness. In using Pericles' qualification of philosophizing 'without softness' (*aneu malakias*), Newman also counteracted any possible accusation of, or tendency towards, the kind of 'softness' which comparisons of Oratorian life to family life and the Oratorian's love of his 'nido' or home might suggest to an unwary outsider.[45] Newman saw the Oratorian idea of beauty, especially in music, as a natural expression of its inner harmony and attractive joyfulness according to the model of St Philip. Others might employ beauty in their apostolate, as the Jesuits had done particularly in the seventeenth century, but Newman believed that it was not in fact connatural to the expression of the genius of their order as it was for that of the Oratorians.[46] Moreover, by 'frugality' Newman was probably also referring elliptically to the chaste and graceful beauty of the 'primitive ages', whose attractiveness to St Philip he shared, in contrast with 'mediaeval grandeur',[47] whose revival in the visual arts was the enthusiastic passion of his contemporary, A. W. Pugin.

1. Developing an English Oratorian Musical Style

Newman's return to Maryvale was followed by the setting up of the Oratory on February 1st 1848. The Oratory was to be an entirely novel introduction into the relative backwater, culturally speaking, of contemporary English Catholicism. Music in

45 *NO*, p. 215

46 Arnaldo Morelli: 'Il suono e l'immagine. La committenza musicale degli Oratoriani e dei Gesuiti: un parallelo', *Arte organaria e musica per organo nell'età moderna. L'Umbria nel quadro europeo,* ed. Erika Bellini, Perugia, Deputazione di Storia Patria, 2008, (Bollettino della Deputazione di Storia Patria per l'Umbria, CV/2, pp. 207-216. (Morelli, 'Il suono e l'immagine') pp. 214-5

47 *VO* no. 12:'The Mission of St. Philip', *part 2,* p. 223

most English Catholic churches in the early years of the nineteenth century was far from elaborate. For nearly three centuries Catholics had been obliged either by periods of direct persecution or at least by grave social disadvantages to conduct their worship in a hidden and somewhat hurried manner, generally without singing of any kind.[48] Only in London did the Embassy chapels of the Catholic powers provide the freedom from legal prohibition which allowed a grander public celebration of the Catholic liturgy.[49] In those relatively privileged circumstances English Catholic musicians were able to perform music for choir and organ of their own composition or arranged by them from works by continental Catholic composers like Haydn and Mozart, or even more recent compositions by Beethoven, Hummel and Weber.[50]

With the Emancipation Act of 1829, Catholics were finally freed from their last remaining legal disabilities. Some of the English Catholic composers, like Novello, were publishers by trade as well as practising musicians, and were able to publish a significant amount of liturgical music.[51] However, it would take some time before suitable resources such as well-equipped churches, and the necessary musical education would enhance the music of the liturgy throughout the land.

1.2 The Oratory Hymn Book and Congregational Singing

Much of the music published by English Catholic musicians consisted of settings of Mass texts in Latin for organ and choir, and there does not seem to have been a great expectation of, or particular provision for, congregational singing anywhere. This

48 For a full treatment of recusant worship, see J.D.Crichton, *Worship in a Hidden Church*, Columba Press, Dublin 1988

49 Newman had attended one such Mass in his boyhood with his father, 'who...wanted to hear some piece of music', as he relates in the *Apo.*, p. 16

50 This period is treated at length in T. E. Muir, *Roman Catholic Church Music in England, 1791-1914: A Handmaid of the Liturgy?* See especially ch. 4, pp. 75 ff.

51 Muir, op. cit., p.22 In addition to Novello, other contemporary Catholic publishers include Boosey, Richardson, Burns, Lambert and Cary.

lacuna in popular Catholic music was a matter of particular concern to Newman, and one of his earliest campaigns as a Catholic was to foster and develop a repertory and a style of congregational devotional singing in accordance with the Philippine tradition of the *laudi spirituali.* Newman's interest in popular singing had, of course, long preceded his entry into the Catholic Church. At about the same time he had been giving musical lessons to the children at Littlemore, he had also written an essay in the form of a dialogue for the Tractarian-minded journal *The British Magazine,* in which the lack of popular attraction in Anglican services was said to be driving congregations to the dissenters with their more 'enthusiastic' style of worship and music.[52]

Reflecting on what he saw to be the current Anglican neglect of ancient sung rites which had been replaced by inferior forms devoid of singing, he identified one of the 'most striking illustrations' of this observation as

> the existing practice and feeling about psalmody: - formerly great part [sic] of the public service was sung; part of this, as the Te Deum, being an exhibition of the peculiar gospel doctrines. We let this practice go out; then, feeling the want of singing, we introduce it between the separate portions of the services. There is no objection to this, so far; it has primitive sanction. But observe, - we have only time for one or two verses, which cannot show the drift and spirit of the Psalm, and are often altogether unintelligible, or grammatically defective. Next, a complaint arises, that no *Christian* hymns constitute part of the singing; so, having relinquished the Te Deum, we have recourse to the rhymes of Watts, Newton, and Wesley.[53]

Nor did Newman only point the finger at the *content* of what was sung, but decried the unattractive and displeasing *manner* in which it was sung: 'Moreover, we sing as slow as if singing were a penitential exercise. Consider how the Easter hymn affects a congregation, and you will see their natural congeniality to musical services of a more animated, quicker, and more continued measure.' In the matter of religious song the dissenters had discovered something that people found undeniably attractive 'in their adoption of objectionable secular tunes, or of religious tunes of a *cantabile* character;

52 *DA* no. 1: 'How to Accomplish It', pp. 1-43 (March 1836).
53 *DA*, p. 38

our slow airs seem to answer no purpose, except that of painfully exhausting the breath – they will never allure a congregation to sing.'[54]

Thus, in his Tractarian days Newman had already identified a principle which he was to adopt as an Oratorian, that of using bright and fast-moving tuneful (*cantabile*) melodies, alluring both the voice and the ear. It is noteworthy that he here used the word 'allure' of the desirability of attractive music, which is also the most appropriate translation for the term 'invaghirsi' used by St Philip Neri's disciple, Giovenale Ancina, to describe the power and purpose of music in Oratorian devotions.[55] Yet whereas the Anglican Newman had been concerned with music for the liturgy only, as a Catholic and Oratorian Newman was engaged with two different kinds of religious music: liturgical and devotional. These two spheres, though interrelated, were actually quite distinct in character as in context. Liturgical music was conceived and performed by specialists according to strict codes and texts, all in Latin, whereas devotional music was of its nature freer in conception and expression, and could be performed by ordinary congregations and either in Latin, or, more frequently, in the vernacular tongue. It was in the area of devotional music and singing that Newman sought to make a significant new contribution to Catholic religious life. It was here that he drew inspiration from the tradition adapted by St Philip from the Florentine *laudi*, as developed by Ancina and others.

Towards the end of January 1849 Newman moved to a poor and populous district in Birmingham. Here there was a parochial mission to run, which gave him the opportunity and impetus to search for words and music that would suit the needs of such a congregation. Immediately he was looking for suitable hymns and melodies to set

54 *DA*, p. 38

55 Giovanni Giovenale Ancina, *Tempio armonico della Beatissima Vergine N. S. fabbricatole per opera del P. Giovenale Ancina Parte 1. a tre voci stampata in Roma da Nicolò Mutii 1599.*

them to, and turned to two lay converts for assistance in this task: John Capes, who was a musician and Edward Caswall, a poet who had recently published *Lyra Catholica*, a translation of Latin hymns largely from the Breviary.

He commented to Capes that Caswall's hymns 'are very well done – but I am sceptical about the Breviary hymns, as a whole, ever being popular.'[56] Newman had, of course, made his own translations of many Breviary hymns at Oxford, but probably thought that such hymns were in general too cerebral in tone and language, even in translation, to appeal to an unlearned congregation. He did, however, have a clear idea of just the kind of words he thought would meet the need for popular appeal. He explained to Capes that he had identified another hymn which he had acquired from Burns, the Catholic publisher: 'It begins 'Hail, Jesus, hail.' ...We have no music for it...If you can find a tune, I will send the words from St Wilfrid's, if Burns has them not.' The first verse of this hymn gives an indication of its warm, devotional tone:

> Hail, Jesus! Hail! Who for my sake
> Sweet Blood from Mary's veins didst take,
> And shed it all for me:
> O blessed be my Saviour's Blood,
> My life, my light, my only good,
> To all eternity.[57]

Curiously, Newman makes no reference in this letter to the fact that these words were by F. W. Faber who was about to go to London to found the Oratory there. Eventually a tune was provided by Vincent Novello, and Newman recorded its opening bars in a thematic catalogue of hymn tunes he compiled between 1850 and 1853, including several from an earlier publication by Burns.[58]

This collection of tunes, after undergoing some revisions and provided with

56 *LD* xiii, p. 46
57 'Hail, Jesus, Hail!', no. 10 in *Hymns for the Use of the Birmingham Oratory*, James Duffy, Dublin, 1854, pp. 15-16
58 MS A5.2 in the Oratory Archives. Newman dates one of the tunes 'June 1850' and adds a comment on another tune: 'Decide on this June 30 1853'.

rudimentary keyboard accompaniments, was eventually printed in 1860. It is designed for use with *Hymns for the Use of the Birmingham Oratory,* originally published in 1854 and has the same number of hymns. A 'Notice' which acts as a preface, and was presumably written by Newman himself, explains that '[n]either the following Tunes themselves, nor the Hymns to which they belong, have been brought together on any one principle of selection'.[59] The hymns themselves are arranged thematically for use in various devotions through the course of the year and in connection with the sacraments of penance and the Eucharist, and the majority are by Newman, Faber and Caswall.

There is one unexplained curiosity: at some time between 1854 and 1860, Faber's version of *Viva, viva Gesù* quoted above was replaced in Birmingham by Caswall's translation, *Glory be to Jesus.* For purposes of comparison here are the opening two stanzas of Caswall's translation corresponding to the first of Faber's quoted above:

Glory be to Jesus,
Who, in bitter pains,
Shed for me the Life-blood
From His sacred veins.

Grace and life eternal
In that Blood I find;
Blest be His compassion
Infinitely kind.

This substitution may have been connected with Caswall's becoming a member of the Birmingham Oratory in the meantime. But there is another possibility. The contrast between the two translators is, arguably, illustrative of the different tempers of the two Oratorian houses that began to grow apart at this time. Faber's London Oratory was from the outset more florid in its temper, and openly Italianate in its devotional style, whilst Newman's was more sober and restrained. By 1860 Newman may well have come to the

59 From the 'Notice', prefacing *Hymn Tunes of the Oratory. Accompaniments*. Birmingham, 1860.

conclusion that Caswall's style was more congenial to the reserved English religious character than was Faber's.

The collection of tunes which Newman put together throughout the 1850's was highly eclectic, and it is worth surveying them in general before considering some of them in detail. In the first place, Newman never acknowledged his sources, making it difficult to be sure of the origin of many of these tunes. Newman used some pre-existing melodies, acquiring them as often as not from Burns the publisher, as in the case of the Novello tune mentioned above. Some other pre-existing tunes were, however, printed with varying degrees of accompaniment provided. Those with more fully harmonised accompaniments most probably came from earlier sources, since it seems to have been Newman's custom to provide only a bass line, or a pianistic chordal accompaniment. All of these were uniformly straightforward melodies, generally among those popularised by such Catholic musicians as Samuel Webbe the elder, and easily recognised as belonging to the genre of metrical hymn tunes familiar from most later hymnals, such as *Hymns Ancient and Modern* and *The English Hymnal*.[60] One significant way in which the notation of these hymns differs from many later hymnals is in the adoption of shorter note-values, which suggests that Newman was deliberately encouraging a faster tempo, just as he had proposed in 'How to Accomplish it'.[61]

The origin of many of the remaining tunes in the 1860 book is not readily ascertainable, and it is sometimes difficult to be sure whether they have been composed by Newman himself or simply borrowed. Although it is significant that forty four of

60 For instance, the tune given in the 1860 collection *Hymn Tunes of the Oratory: Accompaniments* for no. 11, which is the translation of St. Thomas Aquinas's eucharistic hymn *Pange lingua gloriosi Corporis mysterium* was already in common use and is ascribed to Michael Haydn, for which see *Crown of Jesus Music*, no. 210; and the tune for no. 13, Caswall's *All ye who seek a certain cure*, is that known as 'Richmond', an adaptation by S. Webbe the younger of a melody by Thomas Haweis, for which see *The English Hymnal*, no. 375. For the development of English Catholic hymnody in this period following the appearance of the early Oratorian hymnals, and the complex interaction between Catholic and Protestant hymnody, see the comprehensive survey in Muir, op. cit., chapter 7, pp. 137ff.

61 *DA*, p. 38

these other tunes are marked 'copyright', this does not mean that Newman wrote them. They are, however, at the very least his own arrangements, because the earlier manuscript sketches of these tunes in Newman's hand overwhelmingly show the same accompaniment as in the printed version.[62] These accompaniments are unusual in their 'thinness' of texture, consisting frequently of only two lines of music. Moreover, they occasionally demonstrate a tendency to such harmonic grammatical errors as consecutive fifths and octaves.[63] Not surprisingly, these sometimes highly idiosyncratic accompaniments were a cause of amusement, not least to the publishers, to judge from an observation made by Bellasis in 1892,[64] which, significantly, he dropped from *Coram Cardinali* in 1917. Only in the earlier essay does he tell us that the Oratory hymn tune book 'came, nevertheless, as a surprise to Messrs. Burns and Westlake, who made merry over the occasional simplicity, not to say meagreness of the harmonies.' The texture of the hymn book accompaniments marked 'copyright' resembles so much Newman's pianistic writing for his siblings at home that they can be confidently attributed to him personally. It also indicates that these tunes can only have been intended to be sung either in unison, as would be normal for congregational singing, or possibly as solos.

There are two principal categories among the 'copyright' tunes: those composed by Newman, and those adapted by him. Among the former are several setting hymns to St Philip, although even Bellasis is unable to confirm Newman's authorship in every case.[65] Those that can be confidently ascribed to Newman are hardly hymn-like. They are more similar to popular ballads of the day. Percy Young refers to 'a robust

62 Birmingham Oratory Archives, Box A 5.2: not all the sketches are dated, but several are dated '1853'.
63 See Ch. 3, pp. 149-150
64 Edward Bellasis; *Cardinal Newman as a Musician. Reprinted (with Additions and Musical Examples) from 'The Month' of September 1891*, London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner, and Co., 1892
65 Bellasis, *Coram Cardinali*, pp. 31ff. n.b. Although the term 'copyright' is, taken by itself, not a certain indication of Newman's authorship, its absence is surely a positive sign that such a tune is not by Newman. Thus, the Sapphic metre tune for Newman's hymn to St. Philip, 'This is the Saint', though often popularly attributed to him, is most unlikely to be his composition, since it is not marked 'copyright' in the 1860 book, nor, being so obviously a hymn-tune and written in longer note values, does it in fact resemble any other known tune by Newman.

music-hall idiom' as showing 'unexpected facets of his personality'.[66] This taste for such a light popular idiom even elicited a cautionary note from at least one of Newman's confrères. When he wrote to Robert Coffin to ask that the London Oratory organist, William Pitts, should 'be so good as to send me the music of the Old Arm Chair, and some other St Wilfrid's airs', Coffin warned him that 'you must be careful of introducing the very popular airs such as “Old Arm Chair” for Mother of Mercy, and “Lily of Lorraine” for “Joy of my heart” should you find that the people are familiar with them or that the organs play them in the streets – you know they are mere ballad tunes.'[67] Yet Newman was unrepentant. The tune set to 'Joy of my heart' in the 1860 book may well be *Lily of Lorraine*, for it is most definitely in the same idiom as many mid-Victorian ballads.[68]

The month after this exchange with Coffin, Mary Holmes told Newman of Pugin's condemnation of the *Rambler,* the journal edited by J. M. Capes, for advocating the use of 'operatic music'.[69] The fastidious Pugin was appalled, seeing in this kind of music a degradation which matched what he saw as the Oratorians' depraved taste in architecture.[70] Pugin denounced 'the doggrel [sic] rhymes and poetical effusions' of those 'whose tendencies and principles should have led them to Geneva' rather than to the Catholic Church, where they used 'the ancient liturgy as a mere vehicle for the display of their methodism.'[71] But it was not only ballad-tunes which appealed to Newman. Over a year later, at Christmas 1850 he wrote to Miss Holmes to ask: 'Have you any striking air to recommend me which will do for some of our Oratory hymns? I have got two beautiful ones of Mendleshom (I don't spell his name right) – I dare say

66 Percy M.Young, *Elgar, Newman and* The Dream of Gerontius *In the Tradition of English Catholicism,* Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1995, p. 92
67 *LD* xiii, p. 122
68 The tune for 'Joy of my Heart' is no. 30 in the 1860 Tune Book. 'Lily of Lorraine' dates from 1846, and so its music represents an entirely 'up-to-date' and very secular idiom.
69 *LD* xiii, p. 460
70 See below, pp. 226 ff.
71 *LD* xiv, p. 259, n.1

there are more of his if I could find them.'[72] The word 'striking' offers a clue to the kind of tunes Newman was actively seeking; not necessarily of any particular style, but definitely nothing insipid or uninspiring.

Because Newman never gave the attributions of any of the tunes he arranged, many of the more obscure ones remain unidentified except for some accident. For instance, we know from Bellasis that the tune for his Marian hymn 'Green are the leaves' was taken by Newman from a German operetta, *Lagienka*.[73] Other tunes are more easily recognised since they are drawn from far better-known, yet no less surprisingly secular origins. For instance, there is a barely-altered version of Figaro's ironical aria 'se vuol ballare' from Mozart's opera *Le Nozze di Figaro*, set to Caswall's 'Hail Queen of the heavens'. Although by 1906 the Figaro tune had been replaced at the Oratory with a standard hymn tune, the *Lagienka* tune survives in use there.[74] It therefore seems that, despite Newman's abhorrence as an Anglican in 1836 of 'objectionable, secular tunes',[75] his choice of operatic tunes represents a particular movement in contemporary Catholic culture. Newman may even have been a pioneer in this way. For instance, one of two other Mozart melodies which appear in the Oratory collection later appeared in the *Crown of Jesus Music* set to other words.[76]

Sometimes, indeed, Newman was so taken with a tune that he seems to have gone to almost any length to make use of it. This seems to be particularly the case with some of his choices from Beethoven, which, it must be said, pose great difficulties to singers, both in their range and in their technical demands. In the same letter to Mary

72 *LD* xiv, p. 177
73 Bellasis, op. cit., p. 116. 'Green are the leaves' is no. 32 in the 1860 tune book. The original melody of 'Denkst du daran, mein tapfrer Lagienka' is given at abcnotation.com
74 *Hymn Tunes for the Use of the Birmingham Oratory*, privately printed, 1906.
75 *DA*, p. 36
76 Henri F. Hemy, (ed.), *Crown of Jesus Music*, London and Derby: Thomas Richardson and Son, 1862, no. 103, p. 112. This melody is taken from the middle section of the slow movement of the e minor sonata for violin and piano (K.304)

Holmes already quoted Newman had commented that 'Beethoven does not condescend to be easy enough for vocal music, or compact enough for a four line hymn', but some time later he wrote on the autograph of this letter that he had changed his mind about this.[77] It seems likely, therefore, that many of the themes from Beethoven which appear in Newman's hymn tune sketches at this time, and were to be incorporated in the published collection of 1860, must date from the period soon after this. The choice of the *Alla danza tedesca* from the string quartet op. 130 for hymn no. 4 is both tuneful and singable. Yet, if one takes the examples of the Beethoven tunes he arranged for three hymns in particular, one may conclude that his first thoughts about the difficulty of Beethoven's music were correct, and that in these others he was carried away by his enthusiasm for his favourite composer.[78] Whilst it is not possible to ascertain exactly how Newman intended these melodies to be sung, they are indicative of his conviction that Beethoven's music was the most expressive, and therefore came naturally to his mind as an interpretative key to, or enhancement of, the drama of certain religious poems.

Newman wrote several tunes of his own, whose authorship is confirmed by Bellasis, and there are others which, to judge from their similarity of style, are in all probability his compositions. In them Newman was clearly influenced by Beethoven's strong rhythmic drive, and symmetrical, balanced motifs covering a wide vocal range. For instance, there is a strong resemblance in time-signature, key and opening motif, between the *Alla danza tedesca* theme and the tune attributed by Bellasis to Newman himself for his own translation of the evening hymn from the breviary, *Iam sol recedit*

77 *LD* xiv, p. 177

78 In the 1860 Hymn Book the melodies of nos. 72 and 74 are taken from the string quartets op. 132 and op. 59, no. 2 ('Razumovsky') respectively, both of which are, significantly, in minor keys. The tune for no. 78 is ascribed to Beethoven by Bellasis (op. cit., p. 117), though its provenance is unclear and its range surely makes it impossible to sing.

igneus.[79] Bellasis commented that although 'this tune...has been irreverently referred to as “just like an old sailor's song,” the same critic extolled its effect, and said how he loved to sing its long note at eventide.'[80] This curious comment gives us a rare glimpse of the way in which Newman's tunes were received and appreciated by at least some of those who sang them.

Regarding the general reception of Newman's tunes by the congregation in Birmingham, we can perhaps detect some changes in taste over time, by comparing what Bellasis said in the 1892 version of *Cardinal Newman as a Musician*, and comparing it with the version he revised for publication in *Coram Cardinali* in 1917. In the earlier essay he invited the reader to:

> Take up then the Father's [viz. Newman's] book, hear the people at the May devotions sing such winning songs as [he enumerates several of the hymns with tunes by Newman] and we conclude that, as with the Saint [Philip], so with his distinguished son, it has been his “aim to make sacred music popular”; and may we not further say that the Cardinal, without any parade whatever, but in the simplest fashion, has somehow succeeded at Birmingham in his aim?'[81]

In 1917 Bellasis altered the final part of the sentence following the semicolon to read: 'and if the tunes be open to occasional adverse comment in detail, many have been successful in their aim.'[82] The kind of 'adverse comment' which Bellasis mentions at this later date included, first of all, a questioning of Newman's taste, reporting the (unascribed) view that the use of the Razumovsky tune is 'weird', and that the Figaro tune is 'no less unsuitable, however intrinsically appropriate, looking to the associations it might arouse.'[83] Other negative judgements which Bellasis reports apply to Newman's grasp of harmony and to a 'strange want of unity', or 'the notes being...all over the

79 No. 81 in the 1860 tune book.
80 Bellasis, op. cit., pp. 32-33. Bellasis does not reveal the identity of the 'critic'.
81 Bellasis, (1892), pp. 30-31
82 Bellasis, op. cit., (1917) p. 37
83 Bellasis, op. cit., p. 37

keyboard.'[84] Neither Newman's tunes nor his harmonies were held to be above criticism even in his own day, and all of them were altered in later years, either by being reharmonized, or entirely replaced with more conventional hymn tunes.

In summary, one can see that, although he was not selecting music according to any one principle, and given that he was also enlisting the assistance of his friends and not relying purely on his own choice, Newman was seeking a contemporary equivalent of the Philippine tradition of *laudi* in a popular idiom, that is, one suited to an English congregation, whether as singers or as audience, and one which would be cast 'in a simpler and more popular and stirring style of music',[85] and imbued with 'an indescribable brightness, [and] a radiant cheerfulness',[86] redolent of the character of St Philip Neri himself. Bellasis may have innocently put his finger on the reason why they may still be sung at Birmingham when he says that 'it has been found possible, *if only for the sake of old association*, to retain to the present day many of the original tunes.'[87] Hence, although the words of many of the early Oratorian hymns have survived, it is perhaps only local *pietas* in his own Oratory that has saved the last few surviving Newman tunes from complete oblivion.

1.3 Liturgy and Music in Newman's Oratory

Newman laid down a principle that '[e]ach Oratory must have singers or musicians'.[88] Singers were needed as cantors in the liturgy as well as for devotional hymns and songs. The need for musicians other than singers implied those whose expertise was not so much the ability to sing as either to play instruments, especially the

84 Bellasis, op. cit., p. 37
85 Bellasis, op. cit., p. 37
86 Bellasis, (1892), p. 30
87 Bellasis, op. cit., p. 35. n.b., my emphasis.
88 *LD* xiii, p. 67

organ, or to direct choirs. It was important for Newman, as the founder of the English Oratory who had been especially entrusted with the responsibility of its formation by Pope Pius IX, to impress its central and indispensable characteristics upon those who were about to inaugurate what would soon become an independent branch of the institute. A month after the opening of the London Oratory church in May 1849, Newman wrote to one of his erstwhile companions both in Littlemore and Rome, J. B. Dalgairns, who was now at the London Oratory, to encourage him not to take too narrow a view of the character and activities of the Oratory. Newman gently pointed out to him that the ethos of the Oratory was broader, not only intellectually, but liturgically and aesthetically, than Dalgairns had realised: 'the singing department is necessary to the Oratory, and the ceremonial; and my view of the Oratory is more literary than yours, as it is more musical and more ritual.'[89] Thus Newman was not only thinking about music in general, as in the devotions of the *Little Oratory*, but also in terms of the 'ritual' or liturgy – the sung Mass and the sung Offices. Moreover, he needed to drive home another important message, that this conception was not simply a private preference, but 'the idea I gained in Rome … that a father of the O. [Oratory] is to be a superiorly educated priest, and to imbue literature, the fine arts etc with a Christian spirit.'[90]

From the outset, Newman's conception of the Oratory's cultural milieu and its liturgical life was formed out of his Roman experience. By being 'superiorly educated', Newman meant that the powers shaped by the kind of liberal education they had received in Oxford, supplemented by a year in Rome, must be used to sanctify culture. These powers would then become the tools to draw souls to God through beauty both in the arts and in the liturgy after the example and spirit of the early Oratorians. Newman had already described the specifically Oratorian liturgical ethos as, 'if possible',

89 *LD* xiii, p. 178
90 *LD* xiii, p. 179

embodying handsomeness and splendour.[91] Writing these words at Maryvale, Newman was constrained to add the words 'if possible', not because he considered it to be an optional addition to his conception, but because there was hardly any room for splendour in the diminutive chapel there, nor would there be much more in the converted factory in Alcester Street where they moved in February 1849.

Just as the setting for the liturgy at Alcester Street was basic and rather poor, so too, at least in the earliest days, was the music that adorned it. After six months there Newman wrote that 'our choir is not as it should be – some of our convert girls are our best singers – as unpromising persons, when they first came, as they well could be.'[92] Notwithstanding any such misgivings he may have had, Newman was in enterprising spirit as he was 'beginning Compline for the first time this evening, with the Psalms in *English*'.[93] This experiment with a vernacular version of a Breviary office was, in effect, a form of devotion, since it could not officially count as 'liturgical' if it were sung in any other tongue than Latin. Sadly, there is no indication how this experiment in vernacular quasi-liturgy was received, although Newman was seemingly either amused or irritated by the very literal translation of the Latin psalms they were using, commenting that he was starting off 'in spite of “the *business* which walketh in darkness and the noon day *devil.*”'[94] In summary he commented that 'we must take things as they are and make the best of them.' It was significant, nonetheless, as a revival of a practice of praying some of the hours of the Breviary in common (and singing them) which he had first established at Littlemore.

If Newman's choir was 'not as it should be' at that early stage, he was more

91 *NO*, p. 192
92 *LD* xiii, p. 239
93 *LD* xiii, p. 239
94 *LD* xiii, p. 239; Newman's emphases. The verse is from Ps.90,6: 'a *negotio* perambulante in tenebris, ...et a *daemonio* meridiano.'

concerned about what Faber was doing in London two years later. There the Fathers were laying out considerable sums to hire a choir to sing at High Mass thereby intending to draw a greater and more appreciative congregation to their services, but were finding that they were not able to recoup the expenditure. Newman was not in principle opposed to what he called a 'crack choir', but thought it no good 'if the said congregation won't pay for their amusement.'[95] Instead, he suggested that '[i]t seems to me unlucky you cannot get any one like Capes or Burns to hit it off with you, who might drill an amateur, unprofessional choir, or one semi-such.' Capes had composed a Mass for the opening of the London Oratory chapel in 1849. Sadly, no copy of this music has been traced, but it may be indicative of its character that Pugin directed his criticism at those he identified as his opponents, represented especially by the London Oratorians, who 'require great excitement in the way of lively, jocular and amatory tunes at divine service,' and try to realise 'a somewhat Italian atmosphere.'[96]

The London fathers proposed to Newman a very different solution to the problem of their insufficient funds; they suggested that to save money they should have only six High Masses a year, hiring an orchestra to add splendour to each celebration. Newman was unhappy with such a plan. He posed two important objections: first, that 'it is important that all members of the Congregation [i.e. the Fathers] should have a familiar acquaintance with the sacred Functions, which they cannot be if they are seldom' and, secondly, that the Rule 'looks for weekly etc High Mass'.[97] Hence Newman was not concerned with merely fulfilling the letter of the Rule, but with a real, practical danger in dispensing with it: ignorance of the liturgical ceremonies among the Fathers. Both knowledge and practice of the ritual were essential to the Oratorian ethos, and the Rule protected them. Instead of abandoning weekly High Mass, Newman wondered

95 *LD* xiv, p. 224
96 *LD* xiv, p. 259, n.2
97 *LD* xiv, pp. 264-5, and see also p. 265, n.1

whether 'Mass with second best Music is not a sufficient fulfilment of [the Rule]'. He recommended that the London fathers pull in their horns and be satisfied with simpler music from a less skilled choir rather than abandon the weekly High Mass.

Newman understood the Rule not as a straitjacket imposing awkward demands or restrictions upon the members of the Oratory, but as the guardian of its true ethos and pastoral purpose. As he explained to Antony Hutchison, 'The Orat. Parv. [Little Oratory[98]] is intended as a *recreation* – ... Hence Music has so much to do with it. It is I think, an outbidding of the world – in all ways a doing what the world does, on Christian principles.'[99] This crucial principle, of using the attractions of the world to outdo the world at its own game, is fundamentally the same as that espoused by Ancina.[100] Newman's principle not only explains his rather idiosyncratic approach to devotional tunes and hymns, but also shows how far he had moved away from the somewhat drier devotional atmosphere of his Tractarian days.

While Newman applied this principle to the style and content of non-liturgical music with great freedom, he did not approve the same degree of freedom when it came to music in the liturgy, especially in the celebration of Mass. Less than a month after he had written to Faber recommending that he sacrifice the paid choir rather than abandon the weekly celebration of High Mass, he wrote to another London Oratorian, Richard Stanton, to congratulate him on making financial savings, and to tell him that he was not sorry 'the Choir is going', and even suggested that this was not merely a matter of

98 The *Oratorium Parvum* is the principal activity for which the Congregation of the Oratory was founded. It consists of a relatively informal sequence of prayers, meditations, sermons and music and is mainly intended for the edification of laymen, who are enrolled as 'Brothers of the Little Oratory'.

99 *LD* xiv, p. 275

100 See the introduction to Giovanni Giovenale Ancina, *Tempio armonico*, Roma, 1599, where Ancina praises 'the work of those who strive determinedly to draw persons who are immersed in vain and deadly sensual delights back to their pristine high state by presenting them with poems and music, so that they may not only simply find pleasure in them, but also be delighted at finding themselves raised up to the pure and fervent love of God, who is above all things loveable and gentle, and thus to fall in love with divine beauty, so that touched by unfamiliar devotion they may experience a wonderful and most sweet taste of Paradise.'

financial prudence, since he was 'not at all clear St Philip is not knocking it up.'[101] He had come to that view because the music which they sang was too 'theatrical', though he later qualified this by saying that he did not 'see why you should prescribe [proscribe?] *composers*, but compositions. E.g. Mozart may write things which are not theatrical.'[102] The danger lay not necessarily in the composers themselves, but only in certain of their works which seemed ill suited to the liturgy.

Admittedly, the true liturgical spirit in music, as Newman saw it, was hard to find. Haydn, Mozart and Beethoven for all their various degrees of adherence to Catholicism, were less than successful in applying their art to the service of the Church's ritual. Two years later he exchanged further thoughts on the subject with Faber in London. Faber began by reflecting back to Newman his earlier thoughts, saying that he had begun for some time past nearly two years, to be 'dissatisfied with our music, as coarse, vulgar and *too* theatrical. This change came about 1st of all by my getting tired of it, 2 by a hint or two you once gave me, 3 by finding more and more in Marciano that it was unoratorian, and 4 by discovering it was not the *present* style either of [the] Chiesa Nuova or Naples.'[103] Newman was not too surprised that Faber had come to this view, and replied that 'highly ornamental music always, as the ordinary thing, tires'. But Faber had implicitly posed an important question: is there such a thing as true Oratorian liturgical music, and if so, what kind (or kinds) of music would be included in it? Faber dropped a possible hint of his own emerging view in his final statement: 'the Jesuits have changed to Palestrina'.

Newman realised the complexity of the issue, replying a week later that it was

101 *LD* xiv, p. 282
102 *LD* xiv, p. 294 (Newman's emphasis)
103 *LD* xv, p. 491. Giovanni Marciano was the Oratorian author of the five volume *Memorie historiche della Congregazione dell'Oratorio*, Naples, 1693-1703

as though Faber had just asked him 'to square the circle or to cure a man of his leprosy.'[104] He put his finger firmly on the problem, however, by identifying as the 'whole difficulty', that 'the most ecclesiastical music is the most difficult.' Despite their theatricality, the composers of modern 'scientific' music were easier to perform than the music which he identified as 'ecclesiastical', or more suited to the spirit of the liturgy, presumably because that 'scientific' style was more familiar to the singers. The singers therefore posed a problem in skewing the music by the criterion of what they either *could* sing, or *preferred* to sing. This, according to Newman, constituted the 'main difficulty', that '[s]ingers *will* sing for effect and show – and, since they know vastly more about their art, than the Priest does, they will have their own way and succeed.'[105] Singers thus posed a problem similar to that presented by composers who 'carried on rather to use Religion than to minister to it'[106] Consequently, Newman counselled Faber, 'whatever your music be, your Father Prefect must keep a tight hand over the singers.'[107]

By the time Newman had exchanged these thoughts with Faber, the Birmingham Oratory had settled into its new home in Edgbaston. The new chapel was opened with Solemn Mass sung by Bishop Ullathorne on November 22nd 1853, which was the feast of the patroness of music, St. Cecilia, much revered by the Roman Oratorians.[108] The following month, just before Christmas, Newman engaged a Mr Wood as choirmaster to take charge of the music for a fee of £50 a year.[109] His duties were to direct the music at High Mass and Vespers every Sunday, and on twenty two other days, being holydays and days of special devotion at the Oratory. In addition, Newman specified that Wood should 'practice the boys' one evening in every week, and

104 *LD* xv, p. 491
105 *LD* xv, p. 492
106 *Idea*, p. 81
107 *LD* xv, p. 492
108 *LD* xv, p. 482
109 *LD* xv, pp. 498-499

devote another evening each week to the rehearsal of Vespers music, and one evening in every fortnight to rehearsing music for High Mass. This was quite a serious commitment of money, time and effort and demonstrates how determined Newman was to ensure that the newly opened Oratory was served with regular and well-ordered liturgical music from the outset.

It was not long before problems began to emerge, principally connected with the expense of finding competent singers and being able to pay them the kind of fee which reflected their vocal prowess and musicianship. Newman wrote from Dublin to Frederick Bowles, who was the Father Prefect of music in Birmingham, and one of the more accomplished musicians in the community, 'I am very anxious about the choir', because it was costing so much for Wood to engage what Newman called 'Boss singers',[110] who were presumably the soloists and the most expensive to hire. Newman was worried about getting value for money and feared he had given Wood terms that were too generous, emphasising that he should 'certainly not renew them at the year's end, unless he has done a good deal in it.' Clearly it was all costing a great deal more money than Newman felt they could afford, unless it could be shown that they were getting value for money.

At the end of that year finances were so stretched that Newman seriously contemplated disbanding the choir and privately wondered what could be done to compensate for its loss, without altogether losing the musical element intrinsic to the solemn liturgy. He wrote tentatively and confidentially to Bishop Ullathorne early in 1855 seeking his advice and exploring his attitude, as the diocesan bishop, to the possibility of replacing High Mass with Low Mass accompanied by congregational

110 *LD* xvi, p. 92

singing in the vernacular.[111] He reminded Ullathorne that, when a year previously he had raised the matter in conversation with him, he 'did not see any difficulty in *English* words being used at such a *Low* Mass.'

Ullathorne was sympathetic to Newman's plight, but he urged caution. Although the practice of vernacular singing at Mass had been widespread in Germany for many centuries, he understood that it was the current view of the Roman authorities that this practice had in recent times encouraged a movement for the entire liturgy to be celebrated there 'in *lingua vulgari*', which was not to their liking.[112] He also observed that even though in rural French parishes 'cantiques are certainly sung, at some of the Masses...the Holy See has always been anxious to see France a little more attentive to its Congregational Decrees.' Consequently he thought that at Rome they would not like 'the Oratory to set the example of singing at the Principle [sic] Mass in the vernacular, even though it were a low Mass,' and wondered instead whether a few persons might 'be induced to sing for the love of God' as an unpaid choir.

Even before Ullathorne's reply had reached him in Dublin, Newman wrote to Edward Caswall back in Birmingham and explained the dilemma they faced because they were 'not in circumstances just now to have high mass and Vespers as public Services – for no one will come to hear voices without instruments – unless they are superlatively good.'[113] One of the main reasons for the choice of accompanied music for the liturgy was therefore quite practical. Unaccompanied singing was simply too difficult for amateur choirs to bring off successfully. As Newman had already observed to Faber a year earlier, 'I have heard of Palestrina... that his music is most difficult as music, requiring the most accurate performance... It seems a paradox, but we are driven

111 *LD* xvi, p. 367
112 *LD* xvi, p. 368
113 *LD* xvi, p. 375

to Mozart and Company, because they are easier.'[114] Now even 'Mozart and Company' were apparently no longer possible. Newman therefore proposed to Caswall that, since they could no longer either find the funds necessary for maintaining the music as it had been, or persuade one of the fathers to 'take up the music and make himself responsible for it', a Low Mass with congregational singing might now replace High Mass.[115] This was only a suggestion, he said, as he was 'not strong about the plan...if anyone will think of any other', nor was he acting precipitately in making such a recommendation, since he was waiting for guidance from the Bishop. He added tentatively that 'perhaps we might be even allowed to sing vernacular, as in Germany'. In the event that such permission might not be forthcoming, Newman was confident that there were many Latin hymns which the congregation could manage.

Even in what he recognized were severely straitened financial circumstances, Newman was determined that music should not disappear altogether from the liturgy, even though it still required payment for the use of the organ, an organist and a singer. Some contribution to the organist's salary could legitimately come from the Congregation,[116] that is the Oratorian community's domestic budget, since Mr Jewsbury, the organist, was 'doing work *in the house.*'[117] In this way the burden of the cost of music which the meagre weekly offertory in church had to bear could be eased. Furthermore, and still 'by way of keeping the rule', he proposed that 'as to the *Oratory* services, if we choose to have mass and vespers as private services... we should have as voices Frs Frederic, Stanislas, Nicholas, Robert, and your own, any of whom might be cantors – and besides Fr Ambrose and myself to sing High Mass.' Although it is clear that Newman was prepared to go to great lengths to protect the music of the liturgy, and

114 *LD* xv, p. 491
115 *LD* xvi, p. 375-6
116 Technically, 'Congregation' here refers to the canonically established body of priests who form the Oratory community, rather than to the body of laity attending a church service.
117 *LD* xvi, p. 376

that he was fortunate enough to depend on the musical skills of so many in his community, nevertheless he was yet more keenly watchful over the financial implications of employing professional musicians. He wrote urgently from Dublin in March 1856 that '*I protest I will be no party whatever to any debt for Music'*, yet further underlining this by stating '*[n]ow, please, let this be most* seriously understood at the [community] Audit.'[118]

Apart from the matter of expense, it was a constant difficulty to identify suitable music for the liturgy which was both ecclesiastical and practical. Newman was still keen to ascertain what kinds of liturgical music were most appropriate in the Oratory. There were two principal categories of music which he identified as truly 'ecclesiastical music'. First, Gregorian chant, and taking Faber's hint, secondly he named Palestrina, not as the only such composer of good liturgical music, but as the principal representative of a certain style, and of whom he said 'not simply that his music is most difficult as music, requiring the most accurate performance, but that the voices for some parts simply cannot be found in England.'[119] It is possible that this reference to unusual voices was prompted by Newman's memory of hearing choral singing of music by Allegri and Baii in Holy Week in Rome in 1833.[120] He undoubtedly judged that this was not an effect that most English voices could recreate at that time. Therefore he suggested to Faber that even if Palestrina is too difficult, and that '[i]t would not do to attempt Palestrina, unless he were really *done'*, nevertheless 'there is a Palestrina *style*, which I suppose is easier, and may be the ordinary style.' By 'style' Newman was referring to the tradition of *a capella* unaccompanied music which had remained in favour in Roman ecclesiastical circles long after it had been superseded elsewhere by the later Baroque and Classical styles which eventually led to 'Mozart and Company'. Newman's

118 *LD* xii, pp. 175-6 (Newman's emphasis)
119 *LD* xv, p. 492
120 *LD* iii, p. 279. See also ch. 3, pp. 97-98

conclusion to this reflection was to return to Faber's own proposal and confirm it: 'what you propose yourself seems best – writers like Casali for common days, and Mozart and the like for great occasions.'[121]

Alongside all of this music, and indeed underlying a great deal of it, at least thematically, was the great corpus of plainchant, or, as Newman often referred to it, 'Gregorians'. After the Council of Trent, Palestrina's particularly successful synthesis of chant and polyphony had become the predominant 'Palestrina style' referred to by Newman.[122] Plainchant had continually been subjected to occasional campaigns to restore it to whatever was judged at the time to be its pristine character. Just such a process of restoration had been separately conducted in the sixteenth century by two musicians with significant Oratory connections: Palestrina and Felice Anerio.[123] These projects indicate that Oratorian musicians were not only at the forefront of contemporary musical developments, but were also in the vanguard of the restoration and reform of ancient liturgical music in the post-Tridentine era.

Although these post-Tridentine reforms of plainchant had remained in use in the following centuries, chant figured less and less prominently in liturgical music composed by the likes of Mozart, Haydn and Beethoven. Newman himself was therefore probably expressing a view not infrequently found among the musically well-informed of his time when he referred to chant as lacking in 'innate vigour and life'.[124] Nevertheless, by the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries a revival of interest in plainchant was discernible, both in Europe and in England, when new editions generally

121 *LD* xv, p. 492. For G. B. Casali (1730-92) maestro di cappella at the Lateran, see Muir, op. cit., pp. 71, 76.
122 K.G Fellerer, 'Church Music and the Council of Trent', *The Musical Quarterly,* Vol. 39, No. 4, (Oct. 1953) pp. 593-4
123 Muir, op. cit., p. 63
124 *Idea,* p. 79

drawing on the sixteenth century Roman work of Palestrina and Anerio were published.[125] In England, Catholic musicians popularized chant by adding up-to-date harmonies.[126] Newman himself had manifested an interest in Gregorian chant even as early as 1833, having learned the psalm tones in Rome.[127]

By the time of Newman's conversion, Gregorian chant was already the object of considerable interest in certain quarters of the Catholic Church in England. A. W. N. Pugin and Ambrose Lisle Phillipps, both converts like Newman, assumed an almost evangelical fervour in promoting the combined tools of chant and Gothic architecture for the recatholicizing of England.[128] At the opening of his churches, Pugin insisted on the exclusive use of plainchant, and had stormed out of St Marie's, Derby, on the day of its solemn opening in 1839, as soon as he learned that the music was to be a Beethoven Mass accompanied by an orchestra.[129] But there were other committed campaigners for the use of chant who were not so unbalanced and irrational as Pugin. Among the most prolific writers on chant who also produced several working editions for singing, was John Lambert (1812-1892), a successful solicitor and able amateur musician.[130] Lambert was known to Newman as a friend and musical collaborator of one of his own Oratorian fathers, Henry Formby.

In Formby Newman had his own resident enthusiast for 'Gregorians'. Yet it seems likely that the extent of Formby's attachment to plainchant was a cause of friction

125 Muir op. cit., pp. 65-71
126 Bennett Zon, 'Plainchant in nineteenth-century England: a review of some major publications of the period', in *Plainsong and Medieval Music*, Volume 6, Part 1, April 1997 (Cambridge University Press, 1997), pp. 55-58
127 *Apo.*, p. 41
128 See Augustus Welby Pugin, *An Earnest Appeal for the Revival of the Ancient Plain Song*, London: Dolman, 1850
129 Rosemary Hill, *God's Architect, Pugin and the Building of Romantic Britain*, London: Allen Lane, Penguin Books Ltd., 2007, p. 219
130 Muir, op. cit., pp. 100-102, and Zon, op. cit., pp. 59-61

between him and Newman even before the Oratory had been established in England. In March, 1847, Formby had declined Newman's invitation to join him and his companions in the novitiate at Santa Croce, instead asking Newman to be allowed to bring a Belgian friend to Maryvale at Easter to teach them all 'Gregorians'. Newman wrote to Dalgairns that Formby was 'still … mad on the subject of Gregorians.'[131] By October that year Formby's passion was so all-consuming that Newman and Faber exchanged anxious letters about him, for he had already 'pledged' himself to 'publish something' on chant.[132] Faber reported that Formby had told him that 'God called him or calls him to be the apostle of Gregorians',[133] and, were there to be a conflict between this and the Oratory, he saw the former as taking precedence.

Yet it was not merely the time and energy Formby was devoting to the cause of chant which troubled Newman, but the very teaching he was intent on disseminating. Newman told Formby that his claim that 'words and music are contemplated as one whole in the Divine Mind' was tantamount to 'saying that the Gregorian Chant was predestined to be used in the Church, which we do not think a safe proposition', and so 'cannot let it pass.'[134] Newman had no particular objection to chant on liturgical grounds, telling Formby that his plan to propagate chant was 'a very useful object'. Yet his proposition that 'God suffered for the plain chant' could not be safely taught even if he 'explained that … His death has been the indirect means of introducing … the music of the ritual, into the world---'[135], because Newman feared it would be interpreted as 'a specimen of the English Oratory.'[136] In sum, Newman told Formby that he did not 'object to your publishing grammars of plain chant, or writing in defence of it', but did object to

131 *LD* xii, p. 65
132 *LD* xii, p. 282
133 *LD* xii, p. 298
134 *LD* xii, p. 300
135 *LD* xii, p. 300
136 *LD* xii, p. 302

'the line of defence which is not historical, but doctrinal, involving doctrine...of a disputable character.'[137] Formby found himself unwilling to bend to Newman's mild, yet firm insistence that he submit to censorship, and he left the Oratory to become a diocesan priest, publishing the book which had been the cause of his rift with Newman the following year.[138]

Although Newman was on the whole favourable towards the liturgical use of plainchant, he had less than flattering reasons for approving it.[139] Including music among the fine arts in general, he wrote in the *Idea* that 'here lies the advantage, in an ecclesiastical point of view, of their more rudimental state, I mean...of what is called Gregorian music, that these inchoate sciences have so little innate vigour and life in them.'[140] Almost immediately his lawyer friend and Gregorian chant practitioner Lambert seems to have complained about this apparent dismissal of the musical qualities of plainchant, since Newman challenged what he called Lambert's 'indictment': '[w]hy must I not speak what seems to me a *fact* about Gregorian music? am I not very impartial? You see, I express a *fear* of Beethoven and Mozart, and express no fear, but an acquiesce in Gregorian.'[141]

Yet such an 'acquiesce' was hardly a ringing endorsement. Indeed, the amount of chant sung liturgically in the Oratory was clearly the subject of controversy in the community. If Formby had been overly enthusiastic about chant, others went to the opposite extreme.[142] Newman took a more balanced view, claiming that the chant lent

137 *LD* xii, p. 304
138 Henry Formby, *The Roman Ritual and its Canto Fermo, compared with the Works of Modern Music*, London: James Burns, 1849
139 See ch. 3, pp. 128-132 for Newman's aesthetic attitude to chant.
140 *Idea*, pp. 78-79
141 Lambert must have complained about the passage in *Idea* pp. 78-81
142 Bellasis, op. cit., p. 39

greater devotion, or a sense of sacrality to 'scientific' music by anchoring it to the liturgy.[143]

Bellasis describes Newman's taste as 'open, in theory and example, to differences of opinion', and 'a cultured, or at any rate a refined taste, *sui similis*',[144] implying that it may have seemed unpredictable because it was eclectic and embraced many expressions, including plainchant as well as 'modern' music. An instance of a rather gnomic utterance, self-deprecating and resembling the manner of St. Philip Neri, is reported from Newman's final years. On hearing one person's description of the contemporary composer Niedermeyer's[145] Mass in B minor as 'elaborate', he replied that 'I like a medium in music, although I may be wrong in that.'[146] Bellasis therefore characterizes Newman's attitude to liturgical music in the Oratory as 'sensible', and as having 'no real sympathy with extravagances'.[147]

Nonetheless, Bellasis believed that Newman's 'love for vocal and instrumental music in combination, especially at Christmas, Easter, and Pentecost, was a true instinct' with respect to the spirit of the liturgy.[148] Those high days were extraordinary peaks in the liturgical seasons, whereas ordinarily in the liturgy Newman did not want to use orchestral instrumental support for the voices, and had counselled against the London Oratorians' proposal to reduce their sung Masses drastically from weekly to a few times each year, solely in order to bear the expense of acquiring an orchestra each time.

143 See Bellasis, op. cit. p. 38
144 Bellasis, op. cit., p. 45
145 Louis Niedermeyer (1802-1861), born Switzerland, d. Paris.
146 Bellasis, op. cit., p. 45
147 Bellasis, op. cit., p. 45
148 Bellasis, op. cit., p. 39

Yet Newman realised that musical instruments added more than colour to singing, they added harmony. Nevertheless, it was neither necessary, nor the only tradition, to use a consort of instruments to enhance the harmony, for the organ had been used in that role for many centuries, either alone or as part of a greater consort. The Roman Oratory had been one of the first churches in Rome to acquire a second organ, not simply for reasons of architectural symmetry, but to give greater possibilities for the support of *cori spezzati*, the practice of placing multiple choirs in different locations within a church to sing both antiphonally and together, on greater occasions.[149] Such an instinct for the splendour of music as an integral adornment of the liturgy was typical not only of the Roman Oratory, but of Newman's English adaptation of it. He accepted the need for money to be spent both on an organ and on an organist, although he was also prepared to step into the breach on occasion when there was no organist available or if funds were short. Having lost their first organist at Alcester Street in June 1849, Newman told Faber that they were 'sadly aground just now in the musical way',[150] and a few months later, just after Christmas he wrote that 'just now I am obliged to be trying to learn the organ, and have from a forlorn hope of anything being better than nothing, played Vespers and Benediction all through last week; for we cannot afford an Organist.'[151]

The accompanying role of the organ was clearly important enough for Newman to put himself to the trouble of learning to play for Vespers sung antiphonally between the Fathers on the sanctuary and the choir nearby. The close spatial relationship

149 Arnaldo Morelli: 'Il suono e l'immagine. La committenza musicale degli Oratoriani e dei Gesuiti: un parallelo', *Arte organaria e musica per organo nell'età moderna. L'Umbria nel quadro europeo*, ed. Erika Bellini, Perugia, Deputazione di Storia Patria, 2008, (Bollettino della Deputazione di Storia Patria per l'Umbria, CV/2), pp. 207-216, p. 207

150 *LD* xiii, p. 179

151 *LD* xiii, p. 352

between the organ, the sanctuary and the choir for liturgical reasons must therefore have been paramount for Newman, rather than the placing of the organ in an imposing position at the back of the church where it might be larger and speak out more impressively as a solo instrument. Newman seems to have favoured this former position even if it adversely affected the size of the organ or the space available for singers. For instance, this consideration would certainly have limited the size of the instrument which Newman had originally planned to install in the University Church in Dublin, in the extremely small musicians' gallery on the left hand side of the sanctuary.[152] This location, had the organ been installed there, would have diminished drastically the already restricted space, and allowed only the smallest of instruments. He seems to have had a similar disposition in mind for the church in Birmingham, for he pondered the possibility that they might 'remove the organ gallery *to the place for which it was originally intended* or to spread out the singers on the part before the altar rail, i.e. between rail and descent to the nave', from where both the Fathers and the choir could easily be accompanied.[153]

At Alcester Street, despite the community's relative poverty, Newman saw the role of the organ in the liturgy and devotions to be so important that he had an organ set up there within a week of the opening in February, 1849.[154] Similarly, in Dublin he devoted a considerable amount of time to planning the provision of a suitable organ, including the possibility of its being enlarged when funds became available.[155]

At Edgbaston there seem to have been at least two organs in the early

152 *LD* xvi, p. 540. The dimensions of this gallery are 30' x 6'.
153 *LD* xvii, p. 181 (n.b., my emphasis)
154 *LD* xiii, p. 36
155 *LD* xvi, p. 540, and xvii, pp. 5, 142, 237, 342

years.[156] Although these were all relatively small instruments, the organ which was installed in 1877 was of an entirely different order. It was the gift of one of the Oratory School's former pupils, and Newman observed that it was indeed 'what had been so long desired and was so important to them',[157] indicating that he recognised in this organ a more than merely utilitarian function. This instrument was of 'considerable dimensions' and was reviewed, together with an account of Newman's discourse on the occasion, in *The Tablet*.[158] The reviewer mentioned the organ's 'firm and full' tone, the 'remarkable sweetness' of several of the stops, and noted the varied timbre of the ranks, including a 'somewhat rare' string stop on the pedals and two reeds on the swell. He also noted how, for the occasion, 'the High Mass and the other services were conducted with the greatest possible solemnity.' But what indicates Newman's appreciation of the power of the instrument is the discourse he gave at the ceremony of blessing. It is a remarkable digest of Newman's aesthetic of the sacred power of music, and of its special relation to religion in general and to the Oratory in particular. In it he described

> music, first as a great natural gift, then as an instrument in the hands of the Church, its special prominence in the history of St. Philip Neri and the Oratory; the part played by music in God's dealings with man from first to last, from the thunders of Mount Sinai to the trumpets of the Judgment; the mysterious and intimate connection with the unseen world established by music, as it were the unknown language of another state. Its quasi-sacramental efficacy, *e.g.*, in driving away the evil spirit in Saul and in bringing upon Eliseus the spirit of prophecy. The grand pre-eminence of the organ was that it gives the nearest representation to the voice of God, while the sound of strings might be taken as more fitted to express the varying emotions of man's state here on earth. After a touching allusion to the goodness of God and the power of St. Philip's patronage, as shown in the gradual growth and development of the Oratory and its works, the Father called upon all to thank God for the blessing they were then experiencing in being provided with what had been so long desired and was so important to them.[159]

This address draws together several themes from Newman's understanding of

156 *LD* xix, p. 434
157 Bellasis, op. cit., p. 27
158 *The Tablet*, August 25th, 1877, p. 243
159 *The Tablet*, August 25th, 1877, p. 243, in Bellasis, op cit., p. 27

the power of music throughout his life and preaching. The first and in many ways the most Newmanian of these is the role of music in establishing a 'mysterious and intimate connection with the unseen world.' Newman understands that this connection between what we perceive through the senses and that which is really, though invisibly present and capable of affecting us, is not simply to be described as an *attraction*, but as a *language* capable of expressing a hidden meaning. Thus music 'speaks' to us of the things of God, and in the case of the organ, Newman even suggests that its sound is such as to approximate to the voice of God himself. This indicates that Newman recognized that the organ had more than a purely customary association with religion and liturgy, and that it was intrinsically suited to the role of expressing the transcendent. The organ inspires a sense of awe, and even if the language it speaks is 'unknown', it is yet not altogether unintelligible, for it speaks to the human instinct for beauty, grandeur, harmony and order.

That this organ was, in Newman's words, 'so long desired and so important to them' at the Oratory, also suggests that the subsequent development of liturgical music at the Birmingham Oratory, which was closely linked with the quality of this instrument, was in accordance with his own tastes. The most important musician to work in the Oratory in Newman's final years was the organist and composer William Sewell (b. 1863). His *Mass of St. Philip Neri in A flat*[160] is probably to be seen, as its dedication suggests, as a tribute to the combined influence on him, and through him on later Catholic church music, of St Philip and the Oratorian tradition transmitted by Newman. In this Mass, Sewell writes for the usual four-part choir, but there are no solo vocal passages. This in itself considerably reduces the 'operatic' effect associated with the

160 William Sewell, *Mass of St. Philip Neri in A flat*, London, n.d. See Muir, op. cit., pp. 83-89 for an extended examination of this Mass.

Viennese classical tradition,[161] and fulfils the wishes of Faber and Newman for a less 'theatrical' church music.[162] Moreover, as Muir points out, the organ part is not like the simplified organ reductions of an orchestral score which were found in Novello's arrangements of Masses by Mozart and Haydn, but uses to the full the intrinsic qualities of the organ's variety of tone and expressiveness, making it thematically, texturally and harmonically the equal partner of the choir. Finally, as Muir also observes, the organ envisaged by Sewell was much more powerful, with a wider range of stops, than the instrument known to Novello.[163] This fact alone must have shaped Sewell's writing, as he was composing for the very instrument of which Newman was speaking in 1877.

Muir summarises Sewell's position among church musicians of the era as 'lying at the tipping point between the transition from 'modern' to Renaissance polyphonic styles at the end of the nineteenth century.'[164] That transition would continue under an important Birmingham Oratorian choirmaster, H. B. Collins,[165] whose published editions of English and European Renaissance masses and motets were pioneering achievements in the early twentieth century. Collins's work as publisher and choirmaster demonstrates that the Birmingham Oratory was by then capable of performing the most 'difficult' ecclesiastical music, 'requiring the most accurate performance', which Newman had feared English choirs were not capable of singing well, but which he had wanted to encourage.[166]

2. **Art and Architecture at the Service of the Oratory**

161 Muir, op. cit., p. 81
162 Muir, op. cit., p. 83
163 Muir, op. cit., p. 83
164 Muir, op. cit., p. 89
165 Muir, op. cit., p. 223
166 *LD* xv, p. 491-2

2.1 Principles of Sacred Art

Whereas Newman saw music as the 'expression of ideas greater and more profound than any in the visible world,'[167] he described the visual arts as being 'of earth'. The peculiar quality of the fully developed form of the art of painting, he claimed, consists in its function of imitating and reflecting the natural world, and insofar as it takes nature as its pattern, it cannot imitate the heavenly beauty it cannot see.[168] Just as he had identified the danger of 'scientific music' to lie in its striving to be the mistress rather than the handmaid of religion, so he saw that as art grows in its power of imitating nature, it threatens to subject Religion to its own ends rather than to serve the ends of Religion. Newman feared an idealised 'beauty of the creature [which] was preferred to the transcendent beauty of the Creator',[169] such as was suggested by the perfection of the human form in Classical Greek and Roman sculpture and Renaissance sculpture and painting. As a religious answer to this he juxtaposed the vital power, spiritual affectivity and 'serene wisdom' of Fra Angelico's art, far different from the pagan spirit of Greece and Rome, and which Newman recognized was well known to St. Philip Neri in his boyhood.[170]

Newman suggested that the 'imitative art' of painting was, paradoxically, so much more capable of 'shadow[ing] out the invisible' and being the 'instrument of reverence and modesty' when it exhibited the greatest 'want of skill' in its most primitive forms. Newman here claimed that the visual arts in their more primitive state, being more or less an approximation in form to their natural models, are thereby better capable of *suggesting* that which is not *directly* portrayed in them. When presented with

167 *Idea*, p. 80
168 cf. *Idea*, p. 79
169 *VO*, no. 12: 'The Mission of St. Philip', p. 206
170 *VO*, p. 210

primitive pictorial art, the imagination can more easily outstrip the impressions conveyed by a sensual image, because the

> intellect of man...perceives in sights and sounds something beyond them. It seizes and unites what the senses present to it; it grasps and forms what need not have been seen or heard except in its constituent parts. It discerns in lines and colours, or in tones, what is beautiful and what is not. It gives them a meaning and invests them with an idea.[171]

On the other hand, when fully developed, pictorial art 'was attracted...to ambitious and hazardous essays', manifested in its mingling 'adorable figures and sacred histories with a multitude of earthly, not to say, unseemly forms.'[172] Newman, of course, knew nothing of later developments in the visual arts which would overturn his assertion that art, as it develops, becomes an ever more potent imitator of natural beauty. Neither does he address the Eastern tradition of icon-painting, a specifically religious form of art which aims to express the hidden beauty of heaven by deliberately transcending an entirely natural representative mode.

Though not himself an artist, Newman counted some artists among his friends and acquaintances, having first been a school friend of the sculptor Richard Westmacott who carved a bust of Newman in 1840. When he was in Rome in 1833, Newman struck up a friendship with the English painter Joseph Severn who lived in Rome, and to whom he may have been given an introduction by Westmacott, who had also lived in Rome a few years previously.[173] It was probably through Severn that Newman first came to know of the Nazarene school of German painters in Rome of whom Johann Friedrich Overbeck (1789-1869) was the most prominent, and a convert to Catholicism. The Nazarenes were characterized by their rejection of secular neo-classical art especially since the French Revolution, and sought to revive the principles and manner of the

171 *Idea,* pp. 74-5
172 *Idea,* p. 79
173 *LD* iii, p. 114, n. 2

religious art of the Middle Ages and High Renaissance. This rejection of modernity and secularity placed them in the vanguard of the religious Romantic Movement, not unlike Pugin in England. However, the Nazarenes were more than religious and artistic idealists, nostalgic for a distant past; they adopted a quasi-monastic life in Rome, striving to live in harmony with the religious subjects of their work, and thus to make their art an expression not only of representational beauty but of the truth of the religion they professed.

In 1840 Newman at Littlemore asked if 'a cheap Edition of Overbeck etc' might be procured, presumably with the aim of using his religious pictures for the edification of the schoolchildren.[174] While he was in Rome again in 1847, Newman visited Overbeck,[175] and during his journey back to England at the end of that year he travelled some of the way to Munich with one of Overbeck's associates, Heinrich Hess, who there showed him 'all the beautiful frescoes', of which Hess was 'the painter of the most beautiful'.[176] Newman was attracted to the work of men like Overbeck and Hess because in them great technical skill was united with an authentic religious devotion and faithfulness to the Church. Newman's view of the art of painting as he outlined it in the *Idea* was that when it 'grows into the fulness of its function as a simply imitative art, it at once ceases to be a dependent on the Church.'[177] Here, and elsewhere in the *Idea*, Newman was drawing attention to the growing rejection of the authority of the Church by contemporary artistic and intellectual movements, and issued a stark warning of the danger that once painters

> put out of sight the severe teaching of Catholicism... in no long time you would have the hierarchy of the Church, the Anchorite and Virgin-martyr, the Confessor and the Doctor, the Angelic Hosts, the Mother of God, the

174 *LD* vii, p. 252
175 *LD* xii, p. 28
176 *LD* xii, p. 135
177 *Idea*, p. 79

> Crucifix, the Eternal Trinity, supplanted by a sort of pagan mythology in the guise of sacred names.'[178]

About the time that the *Idea* was published, Newman built two churches in quick succession: his Oratory church in Edgbaston, and the University Church in Dublin. The building and furnishing of these churches was to provide him with an opportunity to put his principles of art into action. The church in Edgbaston was built between 1852 and 1853 with 'no pretensions of any sort to architectural beauty'[179] on account of the economies imposed by the heavy costs Newman had incurred in the Achilli trial in 1852. A 'temporary makeshift',[180] it was simply a functional rectangular box with a second-hand roof from a disused factory. Newman therefore hoped to make up for its poverty of design and materials by finding beautiful religious art and artefacts with which to furnish it, which would also be available for transfer into a future, more permanent and aesthetically satisfying church, which, in the event, he never had the opportunity to build in Birmingham.

When Ambrose St John was in Paris in April, 1853, Newman wrote to tell him that he had been 'tempted by a beautiful marble Italian Crucifix in London... I want something...good in itself, and which will do for the *real* church', and that he thought that 'nothing will do but either a *Munich* one, or a *Spanish* one.'[181] He also asked Ambrose if there was 'any repository for Munich art in Paris?' It seems possible that in these references to Munich Newman was recalling his visit there with Hess, for he had

> at length *really* found what I in vain have tried to interest people in for a year past – a scene decorator; and I find we could have the walls painted with *landscapes* (!) for about £40! Figures, I suppose would be more... I

178 *Idea,* pp. 79-80
179 Henry Tristram, *Cardinal Newman and the Church of the Birmingham Oratory,,* Gloucester: The British Publishing Company Ltd., 1934. p. 31
180 Tristram, op. cit., p. 33
181 *LD* xv, p. 351 (n.b., Newman's emphases)

have seen a most beautiful landscape as a specimen.[182]

Clearly Newman was not thinking literally of having 'landscapes' painted on the walls of his church, but in all likelihood of reproducing the kind of fresco scene painting which he had seen in Munich. He also wrote to his friend, Maria Giberne, a gifted amateur artist, to explain how he wanted her to provide some large paintings of saints for the apse and of scenes of St Philip for the back wall of what was intended to be a temporary construction, and told her that 'what we *shall* build is the vestibule – which will front the road, and be at once a fine object and a sample of our building, and will skreen the ugly temporary chapel behind it.'[183]

Of greater artistic significance was the church which he built in Dublin in 1855-56. Although this was not strictly an Oratorian project, it is impossible to ignore the associations which Newman brought to this project from his Oratorian background, and from his experiences of 'those deeply impressive and historical structures, the early Italian basilicas.'[184] Moreover, Newman was already thinking of the site as a possible future Oratory.[185] Because it was built in a confined space in the garden of a house he had acquired, here too he had no opportunity to create an impressive exterior. In any case, limited funds dictated a severe economy of design.[186] He explained to the London Oratorian Richard Stanton that he wanted 'the whole *imposing*',[187] and hoped that Stanton would come over to 'lay it out for me – with thrones, pulpits etc all very grand.' Here again, Newman sought to make a virtue out of a necessity, since he was simply basing his conception on the ancient Roman basilica pattern of a stern, unadorned

182 *LD* xv, p. 351
183 *LD* xv, p. 356 Plans for such a vestibule survive in the Oratory Archive. See p. 102
184 'Architectural Description of the University Church', *The Catholic University Gazette*, 3 April 1856, pp. 57-61
185 *Campaign*; 'What I aimed at', p. 291; and *LD* xvi, p. 482
186 *Campaign*, 'Note on the University Church', by W. Neville, pp. 306, 308
187 *LD* xvi, p. 83

exterior enclosing a richly decorated interior. Although this church would have no pretensions to architectural merit, Newman was still determined that it should please the eye.

Having decided in principle on such a building, in November 1854 he made contact with John Pollen, who had made his reputation in Oxford as an ecclesiastical artist. Pollen's work on the chapel ceiling of Merton College shows how he had developed a robust, vernacular Gothic style, anticipating in some respects both the Pre-Raphaelites and the Arts and Crafts movement of the later nineteenth century.[188] Newman asked if Pollen would be willing to come to Dublin and accept the Professorship of Fine Arts, considering it 'most important to ...give the subject a Christian character, and separate it from the sensuality which is often considered part of it, without running into the extravagances of the Ultra-Puginians.'[189] Newman's aim was for Pollen to treat the subject in a far broader way than simply to recount the history of art or of criticism, and to include questions of taste understood not stylistically but morally. Just as he thought that Oratorians, being 'superiorly educated' men, should 'imbue literature, the fine arts etc with a Christian spirit',[190] so he saw Pollen as just such a refined teacher, presumably with the added excellence and judgement that came of his having been a clergyman. Suggesting how he thought Pollen might exercise this role, he wrote that:

> It is a subject which I am sure, would be most popular here. He might include in it the principles of taste which apply to any subject matter – vulgarity, affectation, over elaborateness, technicality, refinement, would form chapters of a treatise which would lay down canons for prose and poetical composition as well as for Fine Arts. The History of Fine Arts is another and obvious branch of this subject. And so the connection of the

188 Eileen Kane, 'John Henry Newman's Catholic University Church revisited', *Artefact: Journal of the Irish Association of Art Historians,* Issue One, Autumn, 2007, Dublin, 2007, p. 17
189 *LD* xvi, p. 301
190 *LD* xiii, p. 179

Fine Arts with national character and political institutions.[191]

Such was Newman's confidence in Pollen's reputation that he had already secured his agreement not only to accept the professorial post, but also to assist him in the decoration of the University Church in December, 1854, despite not actually meeting him until the following May.[192] Newman said that he employed Pollen as 'architect, or rather decorator',[193] since although Pollen was technically responsible for the design of the church, it was Newman's idea of the role the church should play in the life of the University and the city of Dublin which was the inspiration for the entire scheme. It was Newman's idea alone, he claimed, 'to build a large barn, and decorate it in the style of a Basilica, with Irish marbles and copies of standard pictures.'[194] Although Newman was aware of the 'danger of injuring the great work he had in hand by the expense of magnificent buildings,' and therefore strove to keep the building relatively simple and inexpensive, he was prepared, 'at his own risk', to create a 'Church which, in its interior, is dignified, even sumptuous.'[195]

Pollen was an imaginative craftsman, and knew how to make Newman's ideas real. Newman's evocation of the ancient Roman basilicas was seen in the apse and High Altar, and the large marble pulpit set on strong columns; the painted semi-dome recalls the mosaic in the church of S. Clemente, a typical Roman mosaic design of late antiquity, and the altar itself is an unmistakeable imitation of the tenth century altar in the Basilica of St. Ambrogio in Milan.[196] Although the choice of St. Ambrogio as a model may have been Pollen's, it was a happy choice for Newman, who had been deeply

191 *LD* xvi, p. 301
192 *LD* xvi, p. 332
193 *Campaign*, p. 294
194 *Campaign*, p. 294
195 *Campaign*, p. 308
196 Kane, op. cit., p. 16

affected by Milan on visiting it in 1846. The importance of that visit for Newman's appreciation of Christian art and architecture cannot be overstated. It was the first Catholic city in which Newman felt at home as a Catholic, if only for a little over a month. He had 'never been in a city which moved me more'.[197] He wrote warmly of the churches 'full of costly marbles … and shrines, images and crucifixes … for the passerby to make his own by kneeling at them.'[198] It was such a range of impressions, and of inspirations to devotion through beauty, that Pollen was to recreate in Dublin at Newman's behest.

The other major element of the artistic scheme which Newman had envisaged was the furnishing of the upper walls with paintings. In this he was inspired once again by Rome, probably by the fresco decoration of the walls of the Sistine Chapel, and possibly also by recalling Hess's frescoes in St. Boniface's basilica in Munich.[199] Newman carefully measured out the available space on the walls and decided that he would procure ten 'standard pictures', six-feet tall copies of 'Rafaelli's Arazzi',[200] tapestries made for the Sistine Chapel, and divided by figures of the Apostles copied from the church of *Tre Fontane* in Rome, which were based on the work of Raphael. For this task Pollen directed Newman to his friend in Rome, Ferdinand von Platner, who was Overbeck's assistant. Platner arranged for two French painters in Rome, Sublet and Souslacroix, who were both disciples of the Nazarene school, to execute the work according to what the *University Gazette* described as 'a process which promises to ornament our churches with magnificence and economy.'[201] Newman calculated that this work would cost him nearly £180, which, given the scale of the project, clearly met his

197 *LD* xi, p. 253
198 *LD* xi, p. 250
199 Unfortunately destroyed in the Second World War. Photographs show the disposition of the frescoes along the wall above the colonnade and below the clerestory.
200 'Arazzi' is a correction of the copyist's misreading 'Grazzi', in *LD* xvii, p.142. Newman explained that these *Arazzi* were the tapestries of which the cartoons were at Hampton Court Palace. See Kane, op. cit., p. 26, n. 54
201 Kane, op. cit., p. 20

criterion of combining the 'beautiful with frugality'.

Newman characteristically wanted to control how these paintings should be seen *in situ*, describing the dimensions and the kind of borders which would frame them.[202] Newman was certainly anxious to maintain a unified ensemble of the various artworks and decorative elements, fearing that any imbalance in this area could upset the entire effect. His concern for the integrity of the decorative ensemble was such that, when the Diocese of Dublin attempted to acquire these paintings to embellish another new church then being built some years later, Newman, still the owner of the University church, refused the request. He thought that he 'had better not part with any portion of the present decoration of the Church, but let it remain as a whole.'[203]

As the church took shape, Newman observed closely those parts that he felt needed more attention. He wrote to Pollen that he thought the apse 'magnificent; that is the word – it is not yet splendid.'[204] The changes he thought necessary were designed to strengthen or restore unity and harmony to the different elements. Thus, he went on, the '*pattern* of my glass is good, but it wants...colour, to connect and harmonize the testudo[205] with the alabaster.' Finally, as his eye was drawn upwards he reflected that the 'cartoons, to my eye, require a frame above them, perhaps round them: - but I expect you will differ.' He continued the same letter after coming away from celebrating High Mass, and it is noteworthy that his appreciation of the aesthetic effect of the building had grown whilst he was using it for the purpose for which it had been designed and furnished: 'the more I looked at the Apse, the more beautiful it seemed to me – and, to

202 *LD* xvii, pp. 142, 150
203 *LD* xix, p. 329
204 *LD* xvii, p. 440
205 The *testudo* is the semi-dome over the altar. I am grateful to Dr. Eileen Kane for this clarification.

my taste, the church is the most beautiful in the three Kingdoms.'[206] Pollen showed his credentials as a forerunner of the Arts and Crafts movement when he said that the relative inexperience of those who worked on the building was one of its strengths, and that

> [w]hat we want in our building is a prevailing idea; spirited work, calculated to produce its effects at the proper distance. Professed carvers would have attempted smoothness and what they call finish, and so ruined the design. The degrading softness and effeminacy of so much of our most careful modern work is the bane of architects.'[207]

Newman himself could not hope for a clearer exposition in artistic terms of the way to 'cultivate the beautiful with frugality, and philosophy without effeminacy', so closely did Pollen seem to share his views about church art.

As they worked together to bring the University Church to birth, and doubtless as a result of private conversations between them about Pollen's role in the University, Newman came to realise that 'a school of painting...is a great *desideratum* in England.'[208] Pollen's connections with the Nazarenes struck a sympathetic chord in Newman's mind, and while he was in Rome on Oratorian business in January, 1856, he used the opportunity to petition the Pope for an indulgence in setting up 'a school of painting or music'.[209] In a Chapter Address to his fellow Oratorians in March he narrowed down this aim, stating that while '[m]usic is one of the special characteristics of the Oratory, and ... is the art for which Birmingham is famous', the pictorial arts were not as yet so well served, even though 'we have about us various youths who have a talent in that line, and there are various arts in Birmingham, which would naturally

206 *LD* xvii, p. 440
207 Pollen gave this lecture at the Catholic University in 1855. the full text is in J. Anthony Gaughan, *Newman's University Church: a History and Guide*, Blackrock, co. Dublin: Kingdom Books, 1997, pp. 48-51.
208 *NO*, p. 309,
209 *LD* xvii, p. 132

group themselves under a school of ecclesiastical painting and decoration.'[210]

One of those talented youths was the Oratorian student William Neville, who had spent time with Pollen in Leeds some years earlier. Newman decided that Neville's skill was worth developing, with a view to his being qualified to run such a school in Birmingham. He therefore wrote Neville a sonorous Latin letter mandating him to study in Rome so that he might develop his God-given talents for the glory of God, of the Mother of God, and of the holy Catholic Church.[211] Neville had a specific teacher in mind: Ferdinand Platner, Pollen's friend who had been instrumental in acquiring the Raphael copies for the University Church. All began well and Newman demonstrated his commitment to the plan by telling Neville, 'be sure in the first place you have enough money for *yourself* - ...Recollect, you are doing an important Congregational work, and must not be stinted.'[212]

Unfortunately, things did not progress as intended. By July reports were coming home to Birmingham that Neville was ill, not looking after himself properly, and had 'cut loose from Platner'.[213] Newman surmised that he would possibly be better off in Florence and urged their fellow Oratorian, Stanislaus Flanagan, to do his best to encourage Neville, and 'to console him and put him in spirits', telling him that back in Birmingham 'high art is coming on apace.'[214] Yet despite Newman's investment in Neville, nothing was to come of this sojourn, and his hopes for a School of art in Birmingham never materialized.

210 *NO*, p. 309
211 *LD* xvii, p. 179: 'te...hinc mitto in Urbem, non religionis solùm sed artium domicilium, quò meliùs illas ingenii dotes, quas in eâ materie à Deo O.M accepisti, magistrorum Catholicorum, Romae et alibi degentium, praeceptis et exemplis excolere possis, ad Illius et Matris Suae majorem gloriam, et utilitatem Sacrosanctae Suae Ecclesiae.'
212 *LD* xvii, p. 188
213 *LD* xvii, p. 313
214 *LD* xvii, p. 313

Newman delivered a significant Chapter Address to the Oratorian community in February, 1854, on the occasion of the completion of the new refectory, in which he explained the role of art in embellishing a functional space so as to enhance its purpose and emphasise its status. He reminded them that '[i]t is not too much to say that it has a religious character, and may be called a sort of domestic chapel, and claims, as it is provided with, a ceremonial.'[215] He further describes their meeting each day in this place as 'that great Sacrament of nature', thus emphasising that it serves no merely utilitarian purpose. It was entirely fitting, therefore, that Newman sought to decorate it in a manner which would constantly draw their attention to its exalted purpose. While the refectory was in preparation, Newman asked Richard Stanton to acquire full size copies of the portraits of the early Oratorian friends of St Philip which hung in the Roman Oratory, so that they could adorn the upper walls of the refectory.[216]

Around that time, another London Oratorian, Anthony Hutchison, had recommended a Parisian artist to Newman.[217] Newman thought that since 'Paris excels us in *disposition of colours*,... an art we know very little about', it would be the ideal place to look out for very large pictures of the Stations of the Cross. With decorative schemes still in mind, he wondered if 'some book (cheapish) on the grouping and contrasting of colours'[218] might be acquired from the French architect, Joseph-Louis Duc, who had been commissioned by Newman to design a grand church for him in 1851.[219] The following October a short visit was paid to the Oratory by Alexandre-

215 *NO*, p. 289
216 *LD* xv, p. 339. The copies were duly made by Maria Giberne, and still hang in their original position in the refectory in the Birmingham Oratory.
217 *LD* xv, p. 347
218 *LD* xv, p. 351
219 *LD* xiv, p. 329. Unfortunately, the editors of Newman's *Letters and Diaries* mistook 'M. Duc' for the restorer and drawer of French Gothic churches, Viollet-le-Duc. See p. 237 below for this unbuilt project.

Dominique Denuelle, a protegé of Duc.[220] Although Denuelle may have also done some work on the church,[221] the more significant fact is that Newman mentions work in the refectory for which he had undertaken to pay Denuelle £160.[222] What precisely this work was is not stated, but it is known that Denuelle had studied the murals at Pompeii and Herculaneum.[223] The only specifically decorative work in the refectory at the Oratory in Birmingham is the plaster frieze which surmounts the cornice of the wooden panelling, consisting of palmettes alternating with stiff-leaf foliage. Given his interest in Roman decorative art, it seems likely that this was Denuelle's work, and suggests that Newman had requested domestic Roman art motifs to adorn such a special room in a modern Oratorian domestic setting.

2.2 Architecture: Frugality, Beauty, and the Gate of Heaven

In the lectures he delivered in Dublin in 1851 which became the first part of the *Idea,* Newman treated Architecture not from the viewpoint of practical suitability or 'style', but as the 'growth of an idea'.[224] Architecture was then a matter of particular concern because of the extraordinary revival of Gothic architecture in recent years. Tom Mozley wrote that '[f]ew changes in our history can have been more sudden, more rapid, and more complete than that from Greek and Roman styles in church building to...the mediaeval.'[225] Yet this was not simply a stylistic phenomenon and a matter of mere fashion, but the outward expression of an ideological campaign in which Newman and

220 *LD* xv, p. 469
221 *LD* xvi, p. 118
222 *LD* xvi, p. 178
223 *LD* xv, p. 469, n.4
224 *Idea,* p. 82
225 Quoted in Rosemary Hill, *God's Architect, Pugin and the Building of Romantic Britain,* London: Allen Lane Penguin Books Ltd., 2007, pp. 213-4

the other Oratorians had been embroiled a few years earlier with the 'Ultra-Goths',[226] especially Augustus Welby Pugin, described by Newman as 'a man of genius',[227] and a passionate promoter of Gothic to the utter exclusion of all other styles.

Pugin was very influential not just among his Catholic co-religionists, but throughout English society, both on account of his prodigious output of church buildings and furnishings, and through his publications, beginning with the 1836 *Contrasts*. This illustrated book was a kind of autobiographical manifesto for the revival not merely of a former style of architecture, but of the underlying spirit of the Catholic religion, which was so eloquently expressed in pre-Reformation Gothic buildings.[228] It was Pugin's contention that when the ancient religion which had formed pre-Reformation England was forcefully supplanted by Protestantism, the direct consequence was the brutal ugliness of contemporary industrial cities which spawned the cruel world of *Oliver Twist*.[229] Thus Pugin's argument was not simply historical, nor even just aesthetic, but essentially moral. He identified the use of the Gothic style as the only true expression of Christian principles in art. This argument had a corollary for Pugin, that as 'Gothic had blossomed and flourished and then declined, like a living thing', so too had the Catholic faith prospered and withered in parallel with changes in architectural style. By means of this 'biological fallacy',[230] as it was subsequently called, Pugin dismissed not only Protestant architecture, but all Catholic art and architecture after the Middle Ages, as pagan, and the society which it produced as degenerate.

Architecture, even more than music and the pictorial arts, was a battleground

226 *LD* xiv, p. 294, n.1 a quotation from the *Tablet* referring in May 1851 to the 'recent tirades of the Ultra-Goths'.
227 *LD* xii, p. 220
228 Hill, op. cit., p. 158
229 Hill, op. cit., pp. 153-4
230 Hill, op. cit., p. 248

in which vehement expression of religious fervour was backed up by false argumentation, just at the time Newman wrote his Dublin lectures in 1851. Yet it would be quite mistaken to conclude that Newman and Pugin were somehow always destined to be at opposing ends of an architectural argument, or that the source of their dispute was simply an attachment to different architectural styles. Pugin's crusade against aspects of modernity was characteristic of the Romantic movement of the early nineteenth century with which Newman was in many ways sympathetic, as can be seen in his friendship with Hurrell Froude and his attraction to the work and principles of the German Nazarenes. Not only were all these men in reaction against aspects of modernity but shared many of the same ideas as Newman. The statement that 'anything that is really alive acquires its outward shape from inner conditions; it develops organically', resembles something which Newman might have written, but was in fact written by the Nazarene artist Peter Cornelius, and neatly expressed Pugin's own conviction about the true status and developmental principle of Gothic architecture.[231]

As an Anglican, Newman had been wary of some of the Tractarian fellow-travellers, who he suspected were more interested in architectural style and details of vesture and ceremonial than in 'High Church principles'. He even stood aloof from some of the aesthetically-inclined initiatives of his Tractarian friends. In the late 1830's, he did not join Pusey's 'movement for the London Churches', nor had he committed himself, as his curate Bloxam had done, to the 'Rubric movement', nor allowed 'innovations, though for the better, in St Mary's', and certainly did not 'give in to such extravagances as they at present practice in Margaret Street Chapel',[232] implemented by his friend Frederick

231 Hill, op. cit., p. 175. Although intransigent where mediaeval architectural principles applied to church design, Pugin nonetheless though Gothic adaptable to modern use in other contexts, e.g. domestic architecture. See James Patrick, 'Newman, Pugin, and Gothic', *Victorian Studies,* Vol. 24, No. 2 (Winter, 1981), pp. 185-207.

232 *LD* xii, p. 222

Oakeley.[233] He had remained outside the Camden Society which campaigned for the sympathetic restoration and understanding of neglected medieval churches. Given the High Church revivalist character of the Tractarian movement, it is at first sight curious that Newman did not give at least tacit support to these initiatives. But the reason he gave was characteristic, for he said that there seemed to him 'something excessive and unreal in it.'[234] For Newman, 'unreal' was akin to untrue or inauthentic, especially in relation to religion. That was principally the danger which he identified in the apologetic position taken by Pugin regarding Christian principles and Gothic architecture. 'Unreality' was a neat summary of how Newman saw that 'the architectural movement is reduced to a sort of antiquarianism, or dilettante unpractical affair for Puseyites, poets and dreamers, who have no religious earnestness.'[235]

Newman was not, for instance, personally antagonistic to Gothic architecture. After all, he had had his church at Littlemore built in a plain Gothic style. Yet it was such a severely simple, rectangular design, whose lancet windows were filled with clear glass, that it was almost impossible to identify any of the elements in it as truly 'Gothic' in a sense of which Pugin would have approved. Mozley said of the church that 'there could not be a church more devoid of ornament or less fitted to receive it.'[236] Nonetheless, even though Newman thought it 'quite beautiful',[237] it was almost a starkly utilitarian building.

Yet when, as a recent convert, Newman first beheld in 1846 a church building that was in many respects a perfect essay in the revived glory of medieval English

233 *LD* vi, p. 404
234 *LD* xii, p. 222
235 *LD* xiii, p. 462
236 Mozley, op. cit., p. 216
237 *LD* v, pp. 359, 361

Gothic architecture and furnishing, he thought it 'the most splendid building I ever saw.'[238] This was Pugin's own 'perfect Cheadle',[239] paid for by the generous and wealthy convert Earl of Shrewsbury. Pugin intended it as an example to be copied in the future, to encourage the beautification of the liturgy, and to inspire the reconversion of England to its ancient faith. Newman was not only impressed by its 'most sumptuous' polychrome decoration and its 'beautifully stained' glass, but was so deeply moved, that on entering the Chapel of the Blessed Sacrament, 'a blaze of light', he 'could not help saying to myself “Porta Coeli”'.[240] This admission on Newman's part was significant. In saying so, he was acknowledging Pugin's achievement in having made earthly beauty a gateway to heavenly beauty. According to Newman, Pugin had also shown 'how Gothic...in these countries where there is no marble, contrived to make up for the mosaics, etc of the south.'[241]

The mention of 'the south' was significant. Newman associated Gothic with northern 'gloom'.[242] He was moved to recognize the 'gateway to heaven' at Cheadle not in the dark nave, dimly lit by the subdued glow of the stained-glass windows, but in a 'blaze of light' in the Blessed Sacrament Chapel. Gothic was generally associated with Milton's evocation of a 'dim religious light'. This dim gloominess was not to Newman's liking. Moreover, even where there was decoration, it only 'contrived' to make up for 'mosaics etc'. A few months after seeing Cheadle, Newman experienced a greater satisfaction, when he stayed in Milan on the way to Rome. For an Englishman like Newman, newly received into the Catholic Church, Milan was the gateway to the south, to the world of St Ambrose and the Fathers, and to Mediterranean light after the gloom

238 *LD* xi, p. 210
239 Hill, op. cit., p. 268
240 *LD* xi, p. 210
241 *LD* xi, p. 210
242 *LD* v, p. 198 and *LD* xiv, p. 290

of the Gothic north. Newman was enraptured by the architecture of Milan. He described the church of San Fedele as 'Grecian or Palladian', fearing that he liked that style 'more than some of our Oscott and Birmingham friends would approve'.[243] Nor was this a 'new fancy', because for Newman '[t]he brightness, grace, and simplicity of the classical style seems more to befit the notion of St Mary or St Gabriel than any thing in Gothic.' The chaste interior of San Fedele, largely unadorned by Baroque decorations, would seem to resemble somewhat the simplicity which Saint Philip Neri had wished to see manifested in his own *Chiesa Nuova*.[244] This decorative simplicity appealed to Newman, too, suggesting yet another similarity of taste between St. Philip and Newman. To enter such a church was a 'refreshment' which 'elevates' the mind. This architectural presentation of the Catholic faith was positively welcoming, endowed with quasi-personal attributes, having 'such a sweet, smiling, open countenance'. But this was not simply a sense-based reaction; it was the understanding of a 'language.' All the parts, the 'tall polished marble columns, the marble rails' echoed the eloquence of the central feature, the 'gracious and winning' Altar, 'standing out for all to see.'

The prominence and openness of the altar were paramount in Newman's understanding of church architectural 'language'. It was a very different language from Pugin's, who saw the presence of a screen between the nave and the altar not as a mere archaeological revival, but as an article of faith. Pugin wrote a treatise to defend his view of the necessity of screens specifically to counter Newman's opposition to them in some of Pugin's later churches.[245] Writing about one of those churches, where his friend Mrs Bowden had waged a successful war of attrition with Pugin over the matter of the screen, Newman made some perceptive criticisms: 'it is very pretty, but it has the faults

243 *LD* xi, p. 249
244 See Costanza Barbieri, "'Invisibilia per visibilia": S. Filippo Neri, le immagini e la contemplazione', *La Regola e la Fama San Filippo Neri e l'Arte*, Milano: Electa, 1995, pp. 64-79, p. 77
245 Hill, op. cit., p. 459

of Pugin.' These faults had serious consequences, in Newman's judgement, for the ease of celebration of the liturgy, and for its effectiveness as far as the congregation was concerned. He observed that

> In details Pugin is perfect but his altars are so small that you can't have a Pontifical High Mass at them, his tabernacles so low that you can scarce have exposition, his East windows so large that every thing else is hidden in the glare, and his skreens so heavy that you might as well have the function in the Sacristy, for the seeing it by the Congregation.[246]

Newman was impatient with the distortions inflicted on the liturgy by what he saw as Pugin's pedantry. It was axiomatic for Newman that liturgical laws and rubrics had changed in the Catholic Church to take account of the development of such devotions as exposition of the Blessed Sacrament, for which medieval churches had not been designed. As he explained to Ambrose Lisle Phillipps, the Master of Ceremonies at the Oratory had told him 'that the rigid observance of Gothic details is inconsistent with the rubrics – that he must break the Rubrics if he would not break with Mr Pugin.'[247] It was, of course, an historical fact that the Gothic style had failed to keep abreast of such changes because it had ceased to be fashionable some time before such changes had come about. Newman employs a wonderful simile to explain the problem as he sees it:

> Gothic is now like an old dress, which fitted a man well twenty years back but must be altered to fit him now. It was once the perfect expression of the Church's ritual in those places in which it was in use; it is not the perfect expression now. *It must be altered in detail* to become that expression.[248]

It was Newman's opinion that, *pace* Pugin, Gothic could be so adapted, and that Pugin was prepared simply to 'sacrifice the rites of the Mass'[249] in order to protect his idealized view of medieval Gothic at any cost. It was over this principle that Newman and Pugin were in sharpest disagreement. According to Newman, Pugin was 'notoriously engaged

246 *LD* xii, p. 215
247 *LD* xii, p. 222
248 *LD* xii, p. 221 (n.b. Newman's emphasis)
249 *LD* xiv, p. 282

in a revival..., disentombing what has been hidden for centuries',[250] and refusing to alter anything from what he had discovered so that it might be better adapted to modern circumstances. For his part, far from 'preaching a crusade'[251] against the use of the Gothic style, as Phillipps believed, Newman was prepared to wear the Gothic suit as long as it was taken in or let out as the need might be, according to the requirements of the day, or of his particular religious family. He suggested that it would be as absurd

> for the Oratorians, the birth of the 16th century, to assume the architecture simply and unconditionally of the 13th... We do not want a cloister or a chapter room but an Oratory. I, for one, believe that Gothic can be adapted, developed into the requisitions of an Oratory. Mr Pugin does not.[252]

Newman was therefore greatly surprised and pleased, when he thought that Pugin had in fact at last adapted his architectural ideas to contemporary practical needs. On a visit to Ushaw in 1854 he noted that 'the structures are magnificent', and he 'was struck with the Exhibition Hall, and thought, as I could fairly praise it con amore, I would do so for Pugin's sake – alas! it was the only work which was not Pugin's, but Joseph Hansom's.'[253] Hansom and his brother Charles were arguably the best known contemporary Catholic architects after Pugin, and were noteworthy for their departure from 'pure' Puginian principles. They designed churches unencumbered by the screens and the 'high eagle reading desk...immediately before the Altar,' which had exasperated Newman,[254] and which had naves far wider than those of true medieval proportions so as to allow an unimpeded view of the altar by the congregation, and ample space for liturgical ceremonies and devotions, thus proving the adaptability of the Gothic style to such modern liturgical and devotional requirements as Newman had wished to see.[255]

250 *LD* xii, p. 221
251 *LD* xii, p. 220
252 *LD* xii, p. 221
253 *LD* xvi, p. 142
254 *LD* xiii, p. 461
255 Examples of their work which illustrate this are: the Church of the Holy Name, Manchester, (1869), by Joseph Hansom, and the Church of SS. Mary and John, Wolverhampton, (1855-1879), by Charles Hansom.

Newman had already explained to Cardinal Wiseman just how he envisaged the architecture of a future English Oratory, while he was still preparing to become an Oratorian in Rome. It was quite a departure from anything already seen in England, because it would serve a different and as yet unfamiliar purpose, as the Oratory offered a distinctive pastoral programme to renascent English Catholicism. He realised already that it would offend some of his new co-religionists, because

> its structure must be different from any thing ecclesiastical hitherto built in England; it is not a Church or Chapel. ... – It must be a building for preaching and music; not an open roof certainly, no skreen. I am afraid I shall shock Pugin.[256]

Because Newman was quite unashamed of accepting the supposedly insulting comparison between an Oratory and a utilitarian 'Mechanics' institute',[257] Pugin was forced to invent an even more pejorative simile, and contemptuously dismissed such an Oratory as 'an edifice...like a fish-market'.[258] To Pugin it seemed that the Oratorians were actually embracing the worst features of the anti-Gothic illustrations of his book *Contrasts.* It must be emphasised that Newman here meant an Oratory to be destined 'for work', and therefore did not mind if its interior was rather like a barn.[259] His attitude to the aesthetics of a church, however, as seen in his care for the decoration of the University Church in Dublin, was recognizably of a building intended, whether by design or by furnishing, to enhance the worship of God, and to be seen as another 'Porta Caeli', even if the end was achieved by different means from those insisted on by Pugin.

Unlike Pugin, Newman was not principally concerned about the aesthetics of architecture as a setting for liturgy. Like many other Catholics Newman was obliged to

256 *LD* xii, p. 52
257 *LD* xii, p. 221
258 Hill, op. cit., p. 460
259 *LD* xii, p. 52

weigh up competing *desiderata* when planning projects. Yet while it was generally agreed that churches should ideally be beautiful, Newman was acutely aware that there were other, more urgent calls on the limited funds available to Catholics. Indeed, he felt himself to be almost alone in realising the pressing need for funds to be applied to the provision of a better educational standard among Catholics, lay and clerical.[260] He complained about 'the stinginess of the laity' except when it came to 'laying out their money in *showy* works.'[261] He explained that this happened because

> Catholics have been under-educated. They are waking up – and the first beautiful thing that they meet with is Gothic architecture. So they take it, and fall into raptures (as they well *may*), and, it being the only thing they know or have heard of, they ride it like a hobby.[262]

It was small wonder that he had exclaimed to Capes, '[f]ancy what Lord S[hrewsbury]'s £40,000 which went to Cheadle would do in scholarships for divines.'[263] Nor was Newman exasperated only at the amount of time and money that were required for completing a really magnificent Gothic church like Cheadle. Years later, when he was raising funds for the proposed Oxford Oratory, he wrote to thank Francis Wegg-Prosser,[264] a benefactor who was apparently urging him to adopt Gothic for Oxford, and observed to him that 'when [Gothic] details are introduced into so small a building as we shall require, it turns it into a sort of pretty model, or mantel piece ornament, instead of being a real working Church.'[265]

Nor was this all, for Newman also identified an element of the ridiculous in 'pretty gothic Churches in the country so crowded with details, that you cannot kneel without falling down some steps, and cannot rise without knocking your head against an

260 *AW*, p. 259
261 *LD* xii, p. 366
262 *LD* xii, p. 461
263 *LD* xii, p. 366
264 Wegg-Prosser had recently paid a similar sum of money to that spent on Cheadle for the beautiful, but relatively small, Gothic cathedral and abbey church built 1854-9 at Belmont in Herefordshire to the designs of Edward Welby Pugin, son of A. W. Pugin
265 *LD* xxiii, p. 59

image.' The Oratorians did not have the extraordinary resources of a Lord Shrewsbury or a Francis Wegg-Prosser. Their 'contracted limits demand simplicity', Newman concluded, 'and gothic, when simple, is bald.' He might have been thinking back to his first church at Littlemore, and comparing its 'baldness' of style with his far more richly decorated Catholic church in Dublin. The circumstances which he faced in Oxford meant that he could not 'expect to raise money in a few months sufficient even to build the chancel end of a Gothic church...Whereas the same money could build half our Church, if we leave marbles etc. to come afterwards.' Here was a practical advantage in adopting a 'byzantine style, like St Marco in Venise' [sic] such as had proved its effectiveness not only in Dublin but would do so in other cases, too.[266]

It would be incorrect to assume that, because a Byzantine style was relatively inexpensive, this was the only reason why Newman preferred it when the opportunity arose for him to build churches in Dublin and Birmingham. Some time before these churches were needed, during the long battle of words waged between Pugin and his opponents in the Catholic Press, the *Rambler* had published an inexpensive and modern church plan in a 'Germanic-Byzantine-style' by a rival architect, Matthew Hadfield, as a possible alternative to Pugin's plans which by the late 1840's had become notorious for exceeding their budgets.[267] One of Newman's highly cultured correspondents, Mary Holmes, had asked him what he thought of Hadfield's plan, and of Pugin's objection that it lacked any 'poetical or solemn' character. Newman was moved to ask a general question about the aesthetics of variant features of diverse architectural styles: 'Now is not a *dome beautiful*, “poetical or solemn?” Is not a row of pillars beautiful? By my taste

266 Most notably in Westminster Cathedral, designed in a Byzantine style by J. F. Bentley, who was a pupil of one of Newman's architect collaborators, Henry Clutton.

267 Hill, op. cit., p. 433

they are as beautiful, nay more so, than any thing in Gothic.'[268] This comment on domes and pillars was not passed on the particularities of Hadfield's plan, but on architectural elements which were unknown to the Gothic style, yet were no less beautiful, in Newman's eyes, than anything admired by Pugin. And therefore, he argued, anyone who 'excludes things which *are* beautiful...is narrow minded and a bigot.'

Newman was alarmed that Pugin regarded it as '*heresy, not* to be intolerant of domes and rows of pillars.' Yet he was even more affronted at Pugin's assertion that only the Gothic style was compatible with orthodox Christian faith, and the other styles were intrinsically heretical, which was preposterous on historical as well as aesthetic grounds. There was in this 'a fresh and more grievous fault' which Newman found in Pugin, 'that he *identifies* love of Gothic art with orthodoxy, and love of classical or ancient Italian art with heresy.'[269] But Newman was to turn the tables on Pugin's 'heresy' claim when, in his Dublin lectures he implicitly recalled Pugin's stubborn insistence not on Gothic alone, but on unaltered Gothic of the Middle Ages, stating that '[o]ur rules and rubrics have been altered now to meet the times, and hence an obsolete discipline may be a present heresy.'[270]

On historical grounds it was simply undeniable that the Church had constantly made almost exclusive use of Greek, Roman and Byzantine styles of building and decoration throughout the Mediterranean world, not least in Rome. The significance of this was lost on Pugin, who on beholding St Peter's had, according to Newman, expressed a heartfelt wish to see the dome on top of that 'pagan' temple fall down.[271] It

268 *LD* xiii, p. 460 (Newman's emphases)
269 *LD* xiii, p. 461
270 *Idea*, pp. 82-3
271 *LD* xii, p. 326, as Newman explained to Mgr Palma, Pugin had said 'fanatico prorsus spiritu, “Utinam cupola

was, in Newman's view, a 'great paradox' that Pugin was utterly discounting the fact that the prevailing architectural style of the city of the divinely appointed guarantor of orthodoxy himself, the Pope, was most definitely not Gothic. Newman had pointed out this inconvenient truth to Pugin's supporter Ambrose Lisle Phillipps, asking him if it

> is it not somewhat *exclusive* to call Grecian or Italian *Pagan*, as you do? For the word Pagan surely is used, not historically, but as a term of reproach. If it is *Pagan*, it is *Popish* too, for I suppose the Pope has given quite as much sanction to it as he has to Gregorian music, which by the bye seems to be Pagan in the same sense that Italian architecture is.'[272]

Newman even wondered whether there might be some connection between a preference for different styles of architecture and different stages in a human lifetime:

> Perhaps I do but follow the way of elderly persons, who have seen enough that is sad to like to be able to dispense with officious intentional sadness — and as the young prefer autumn and the old spring, the young tragedy and the old comedy, so in the ceremonial of religion, younger men have my leave to prefer gothic, if they will be [but] tolerate me in my weakness which requires the Italian.[273]

In this reflection Newman rather ironically identifies an emotional weakness rather than an intellectual rigour to be the foundation for his preference. He was to an extent inwardly torn in his view, since he was unable to deny that 'however my reason may go with Gothic, my heart has ever gone with Grecian.'[274] His reason was indeed most eloquent in its appreciation of Gothic, and he could even grant that it was 'endowed with a profound and commanding beauty, such as no other style possesses with which we are acquainted.'[275] This arrestingly stated conviction was based on his understanding of Gothic as 'the growth of an idea... as harmonious and intellectual as it is graceful.' He was prepared to go even further and admit that 'Gothic is on the whole a far *more*

ista dilabatur prorsus et corruat!"'

272 *LD* xii, p. 216
273 *LD* xi, p. 249
274 *LD* xi, p. 252
275 *Idea*, p. 82

beautiful idea in architecture than Grecian – far more fruitful, elastic, and ready.'[276] This seems at least paradoxical, even contradictory, given Newman's stated preference for the 'Grecian', and his asseveration that classical architecture was, to his taste, 'as beautiful, nay more so, than any thing in Gothic.'[277]

Yet behind this uneasy tension lay, quite possibly, the extraordinary effect the Duomo of Milan had had on him. He found it simply 'overpowering'.[278] It is possible to understand why when one reads his account of a long time spent there absorbing the atmosphere and observing the way in which the great spaces of this 'most wonderful building' actually worked for the enormous variety of people simultaneously at worship and prayer in it:

> [A] Catholic Cathedral is a sort of world, every one going about his own business, but that business a religious one; groups of worshippers and solitary ones – kneeling, standing – some at shrines, some at altars – hearing Mass and communicating – currents of worshippers intercepting and passing by each other – altar after altar lit up for worship, like stars in the firmament – or the bell giving notice of what is going on in parts you do not see – and all the while the canons in choir going through [their hours] matins and lauds [or Vespers], and at the end of it the incense rolling up from the high altar, and all this in one of the most wonderful buildings in the world and every day – lastly, all of this without any show or effort, but what every one is used to – every one at his own work, and leaving every one to his.'[279]

The variety of dynamic activity and sensory impressions that Newman recounts in this visit to the Duomo is echoed in the articulation of its vast architectural space into a multiplicity of chapels radiating from the hub of the great central sanctuary, where the canons' liturgy is seen as a kind of *ostinato* underpinning and harmoniously uniting the whole. It was axiomatic to Newman that one of the characteristics and distinct advantages of the Gothic 'idea' was its ability to expand almost indefinitely,

276 *LD* xiii, p. 461
277 *LD* xiii, p. 460
278 *LD* xi, p. 253
279 *LD* xi, 253

allowing such a variety to be contained freely within the overarching unity, whereas by contrast there was a natural limit to the size and proportions of a classical building which could therefore never easily replicate the comprehensiveness of a great Gothic church.

Possibly with this experience at Milan in mind he wrote the conversation in *Loss and Gain* in which the protagonists explore the relation between ideas and proportions in both architecture and music.[280] It is unsurprising that Newman the musician should have perceived a structural analogy between music and architecture, and used examples of each to illustrate the other. Moreover, the way in which Reding speaks of indefinite variation and elaboration is surely reminiscent of Newman's description of his still recent visit to the Duomo of Milan. Confirmation that this was in all likelihood the case comes a few sentences later when another character dismisses as 'incongruous' the mixture of two styles, 'like the architecture of the façade at Milan, half Gothic, half Grecian.'[281]

When Newman first thought about a future Oratory building in England while he was in Rome in 1847, he turned first of all to Pugin for a design.[282] Pugin's point-blank refusal marked the end of any intention on Newman's part to use Gothic in any of his future plans. He was, in any case, constrained by shortage of funds from putting up any elaborate buildings whenever he had to build anything from scratch. When he acquired what would be the permanent site for the Birmingham Oratory in Edgbaston, Newman deliberately planned to build the house first, and leave the church as a project for later, arguing that 'a House once inhabited would build a Church – but a Church

280 *LG*, pp. 282-7
281 *LG*, p. 286
282 *LD* xii, p. 221; Hill, op. cit., p. 371

would have no tendency to build a house.'[283] The Oratory house which was built in Edgbaston in 1850-1 was designed by Terence Flanagan, a relative of one of the Oratorian community. Flanagan was not by profession an architect, but a civil engineer who had so far constructed only railways.[284] Newman nevertheless, whilst generously describing him as 'a most capital architect', nonetheless admitted that 'I don't suppose he has much taste.'[285] This suggests that Newman found Flanagan amenable in accommodating his ideas. The Oratory house was, after all, a building with a practical rather than an avowedly aesthetic purpose and character.

Since the church was put up swiftly, being intended to last only until funds could be raised to build a worthy replacement, Newman was amused when Fr Richard Stanton suggested that they were making such swift progress that the façade would be finished before they could send a reply by telegraph. He replied, rather prophetically as it turned out, that "twill be well if our third generation [viz. of the Oratory community] decide about it.'[286] In the end, the events and financial demands of Newman's life prevented this hope from being realised in his lifetime, although he did explore possible plans with some care, and with greater adventurousness than in the design of the house. In 1851, as the new house was already building, Newman asked Stanton if he could identify

> any Italian or Spanish architect or man of taste now in London, some one above par, who could give us hints and criticisms. Nothing strikes my fancy in style more than the sort of Roman style I inclose the specimen of; it has a smack of moorish and gothic – and has all the beauty of Greece with something of the wildness of other styles – yet without the extravagance of the moor and the gloom of the Goth. The simple Basilica style is heavy – we have got a model made which looks inside like an omnibus.[287]

283 *LD* xii, p. 280
284 See the biographical note in *LD* xiv, pp. 544-5
285 *LD* xiv, p. 290
286 *LD* xiv, p. 295
287 *LD* xiv, p. 290

The desired 'smack of moorish and gothic' shows that he was actively looking for something more exotic than a plain, box-like structure, that ought to be something which '*must* strike.'[288] He thought the 'Spanish and Sicilian style' was a good example, and asked Stanton 'which are the best engravings of Churches in Spain e.g. Robert's? - and whether it would be possible to get a second hand copy cheap?'[289] It is likely, of course, that he was also personally recalling the striking architecture he had witnessed at first hand on his 1833 visit to Sicily, a hybrid of Romanesque and Moorish styles found in particular in the *Capella Reale* at Palermo. It was there that he had seen the elliptical or 'stilted' arches which Pollen used to great effect, presumably at Newman's request, both in the University Church in Dublin and in the Chapel of St Philip in Birmingham, and which impart an undeniably 'moorish' air.

Stanton, in response to Newman's being 'intensely of the opinion that foreigners do such things infinitely better than we',[290] told him of an Italian architect in London, whose plans for a church had pleased Cardinal Wiseman.[291] Newman was grateful, because he 'coveted' very much 'some foreign opinion', even though he planned to do no more at this stage than construct an apse and 'testudo', or semi-dome. He also had in mind as a model 'the public buildings of London and Paris', and therefore asked Stanton to enquire of Henry Doyle, later Director of the National Gallery of Ireland, if he knew of 'any good architect in Paris who would assist us.'[292] It may therefore have been Doyle who suggested the French architect, Joseph-Louis Duc, who came to visit Newman and discuss plans for a permanent church less than two months later.[293]

288 *LD* xiv, p. 294
289 *LD* xiv, p. 294. The reference is to David Roberts, *Picturesque Sketches in Spain*, London 1837
290 *LD* xiv, p. 295
291 *LD* xiv, p. 295
292 *LD* xiv, p. 295
293 See above, p. 220

Duc had never designed a church. Since he was both a 'foreigner' and a non-specialist in church architecture, Newman must have been doubly delighted to consult him. He even suggested to his friend William Froude, who was, like Flanagan, a civil engineer, that he might join Flanagan and Duc because 'we would be sure to have a good plan, if you joined them.'[294] Although Newman optimistically hoped to have the foundations laid by the end of 1851, Duc did not send the plans until December.[295]

The drawings show a large basilica in a hybrid Romanesque-classical style.[296] In plan it is quite like a high-Renaissance Roman church, such as the *Chiesa Nuova*, cruciform, with shallow transepts, a dome over the crossing and an aisled nave. The church would have ended with a façade and narthex on the Hagley Road, continuous with the front of the Oratory House, once again recalling the impression created by the adjacent façades of the Roman Oratory and *Chiesa Nuova*. It was not, however, a Renaissance design but a nineteenth-century French evocation of a Roman basilica, with round arches and a clerestory of round-headed windows. Later on, when Duc was visiting in August, 1851, Newman teasingly invited Mary Holmes to come and see the church they were envisaging, 'if you *can* exist in any thing which has not a pointed arch'.[297]

Newman was not simply thinking of a building as a static architectural statement, however striking, but as the home of a community and the context for the celebration of the liturgy. The connection in Newman's mind between architecture and its liturgical uses is perhaps nowhere else so clearly revealed as in that description of Milan Cathedral in use. Yet it is also implicit elsewhere. The account of the altar in San

294 *LD* xiv, p. 329
295 *LD* xiv, p. 476
296 In the Archives of the Birmingham Oratory.
297 *LD* xiv, p. 330

Fedele clearly has liturgical connotations, even though it was not in use at the moment Newman described it. It was 'so gracious and winning – standing out for all to see, *and to approach*.'[298] Here was an aesthetic of the place of the altar which was clearly antithetical to that of Pugin, and closer, perhaps, to that of his Anglican upbringing.[299] For Newman the altar should be seen to be inviting the congregation to draw near, even if only visually or mentally. The idea suggests a kind of attraction to, and involvement in, the sacred action which takes place at the altar, which would eventually be described as *participatio actuosa*.[300] The visibility of the altar and the sacred rites was for Newman the best way to involve the congregation as closely as possible in the sacred action, rather than substitute it with private prayers and devotions.

This was uppermost in Newman's mind as he was thinking about a church for the Oratory. In the months leading up to Duc's visit, Newman recalled the 'remarkable fact' that in the Naples Oratory Church the liturgical choir was located behind the altar.[301] This arrangement seems to have appealed to him because it allowed the altar to stand closer to the nave than in cases where, as in medieval churches, the liturgical choir was located between nave and altar. He sent a 'beautiful drawing'[302] of this church to Stanton, and even had plans sent him by the Provost of the Naples Oratory, which he put into the hands of Terence Flanagan, the architect of the Oratory House.[303] Duc's drawings for the proposed Oratory church clearly show the altar, under a large ciborium of the type frequently found in early Italian basilicas, standing well forward from the apse with the choir stalls situated to the side of, and beyond the altar towards the apse.

298 *LD* xi, p. 249 (n.b. My emphasis)
299 See ch. 2, p. 39
300 *Participatio actuosa* is a term first encountered in Pope Pius X's *Motu proprio* Letter, *Tra le Sollicitudini* (1903) on Sacred Music, and means real engagement with the action of the liturgy, as opposed to involvement through some secondary activity, such as private prayers or devotions conducted simultaneously with the liturgy.
301 *LD* xiv, p. 295
302 *LD* xiv, p. 290
303 *LD* xiv, p. 295

Such a disposition of the sanctuary is so unusual, especially at this date, and so closely resembles Newman's description of what pleased him about Naples, that Duc must have incorporated it specifically at Newman's instructions.[304] Duc's plans had, however, arrived at an awkward juncture; the first intimations of the Achilli libel trial were already being felt, and Newman was soon to be ever more preoccupied with preparations for the founding of the Catholic University in Dublin. The combined effect of these events and of the financial constraints Newman suffered from them was the indefinite postponement of any hopes of building a permanent church in Birmingham.

Before making Duc's acquaintance, Newman had also been looking out for someone who knew how to enhance buildings with colour. He wondered whether Henry Doyle, or someone else he knew, might have

> studied *colour* so as to be of assistance to us in the church. Since we do not distinguish ourselves in *form*, we must make much of colour. E.g. how beautiful the colouring of St Peter's is! If the apse does not show well in this way, it will be counted a failure. I am very glad to see the adaptations of glass are progressing so much – here is a great opening for colour.[305]

This reliance on colour to compensate for extreme simplicity of form was to be a major factor in the design of his church in Dublin and contrasts significantly with the severe plainness of his Anglican church at Littlemore. His enthusiastic welcoming of an 'opening for colour' in the glass also marks a departure from his earlier insistence on plain glazing. Nevertheless, he was not unduly anxious about the external appearance of such a building, as long as the interior was fine. The criterion he insisted on was that since 'every thing is going the way of Gothic' it was therefore 'very important that we should do something really good.'[306] Thinking of the interior as opposed to the exterior view of a church, Newman would comment on pictures of St Mark's, Venice, taken by

304 *LD* xiv, pp. 329, 335 report the visit of 'a French architect with suggestions for a Basilica.'
305 *LD* xiv, p. 294
306 *LD* xiv, p. 294

his friend Frederic Rogers some years later, wondering if the Byzantine style admitted

> of that endless ramification or development out of itself to any size required, which you have in Gothic. Perhaps what I mean is this – that Byzantine cannot give an external – whereas I have long thought that Gothic excels far more in the outside than the inside. The beauty of an inside is that it should be broken up – but of an outside that it should be seen as a whole. The Byzantine admits of inside, not outside, - for this reason.[307]

Having found his collaboration with Pollen so fruitful in Dublin, Newman unhesitatingly turned to him for two more projects and further decorative work in Birmingham. In August, 1856 Newman asked Pollen to design a mortuary chapel for the new country cottage and cemetery at Rednal. Pollen obliged in under a week. Newman characteristically replied with a detailed list of queries and suggested improvements.[308] It seems probable that one of the reasons Newman preferred working with non-professional architects like Flanagan and Pollen was that he was more confident in making detailed suggestions and alterations to their proposals.[309] One of Newman's queries concerned what he thought to be the rather Gothic dimensions of the high-pitched roof, not so much on aesthetic grounds, as because of the likely cost. He therefore proposed 'a raised parapet (hiding the roof), instead of the roof, with some fantastic top or border to it.' This mention of the 'fantastic top or border' suggests basic similarities in concept with Denuelle's decorative frieze surmounting the refectory panelling in the Oratory, and implies that either the original design was Newman's inspiration, or he was so pleased with Denuelle's work that he sought to imitate the effect at Rednal.

Pollen's finished chapel is severely simple in structure and design. Taller than it is long or wide, it has the same kind of fenestration as the University Church: round-

307 *LD* xxi, p. 157
308 *LD* xvii, p. 364
309 See for instance the highly detailed proposals to Pollen in *LD* xviii, pp. 348, 373, 412, 420-1, 435

headed windows placed unusually high in the walls, glazed with Pollen's trade-mark bulls-eye glass to permit a more effective scattering of natural light from above, suffusing the whole space with gentle and warm brightness. The small apse is rectangular rather than semi-circular, for reasons of economy, though it is framed by a plain, Roman-style triumphal arch. Another impressive feature is Pollen's set of six dark wooden candlesticks, of a sombre but striking design befitting a mortuary chapel, examples of early Arts and Crafts style.

In May 1858 Newman asked Pollen to assist him once again, this time in the Oratory itself, asking Pollen to design several altars, which are still to be seen in the present church. One of these is in a polychrome mosaic, and two others are designed in geometric patterns of variegated marble or alabaster. For one of these altars, inset with small fluorspar roundels, Pollen also designed a most unusual set of matching alabaster candlesticks. Newman reported to Pollen that the general opinion concerning one of these altars was that it was 'happy and effective'. He was still making detailed suggestions, but qualified them by asking '[w]hat say you?' and added, '[t]he mysteries of art come in here, for what I know.' '[310] Unfortunately, apart from the altars, Pollen's work on the church was lost when it was demolished, but Newman praised his new windows which had 'quite *beautified* the end of the new aisle', and asked that, because his 'porch at Rednall is much admired',[311] he might design a similar arrangement for Edgbaston. Newman's opinion was that Pollen's work on the façade was 'splendid'.[312]

Newman also entrusted Pollen with a plan to convert the sacristy into a temporary Blessed Sacrament chapel.[313] As with the church, this 'temporary' plan was

310 *LD* xviii, p. 435
311 *LD* xviii, p. 353. n.b., Newman's emphasis
312 *LD* xviii, p. 385
313 *LD* xviii, p. 348

destined to become permanent, and the chapel still survives, formerly as St. Philip's Chapel, now as the Shrine of Blessed John Henry Newman. It is the only part of the church complex that still bears the direct stamp of Newman's taste, albeit with a much later altar and decorative scheme. Here Pollen constructed three arches on marble columns at the rear of the chapel to form an ante-chapel beneath a tribune. Although the arches are stilted, as at Dublin, they are far plainer, having no carved stone parts. Newman hoped that Pollen would 'devise something...by way of ornamenting the six square windows' which gave onto the chapel from the tribune,[314] and wondered what he would do 'with the space between their bottom line and the line of the cornice above the arches,' though he supposed 'it is too narrow for frescoes.'[315] In the event, Pollen added paintings of saints associated with St Philip Neri and the Roman Oratory above each column, facing both forward into the chapel and backwards into the ante-chapel, set in geometric arrangements of coloured lines and circles in place of frescoes above and between the arches. Despite the supposedly temporary nature of much of this work, Newman was determined to make it as aesthetically impressive as possible, and was prepared to lay out 'a good deal of money on our Church', joking that the Oratorian community 'must live on bread and cheese in consequence.'[316]

Newman's last completed architectural project was the radical adjustment to the Oratory site made necessary by the establishment of the boys' school in May, 1859. Newman proposed that new buildings should be constructed for the school in a prominent position next to the Oratory house, and so as to 'be of the nature of a skreen before the Church'.[317] Newman's only specifications were that the building should be one story high and 'handsome'. It seems likely that the set of architect's drawings dated

314 Newman's memory was faulty, as there are only four windows here, not six.
315 *LD* xviii, pp. 444-5
316 *LD* xviii, p. 464
317 *LD* xix, p. 349

May 15th, 1860, and signed by 'Yeoville Thomason' of Bennetts Hill, Birmingham, is connected with this scheme. It shows plans for a square, single storey building surmounted by a dome pierced with round-headed lights, to adjoin the house and the existing church. Unfortunately, there is no reference to this architect in Newman's correspondence, though it seems inconceivable that Newman was not closely involved in any discussions which guided their production. The style is, once again, a hybrid of Romanesque and classical, as seems to have been favoured by Newman and Duc.[318]

In October, Fr Ignatius Ryder's sister married Henry Clutton, a rising young architect, and they visited the Oratory shortly afterwards. It seems likely that Newman took the opportunity to sound Clutton about his plans for the school buildings and the effect on the church. Clutton returned to the Oratory in March, 1861 to talk 'about our school buildings.'[319] Newman was typically anxious to press on, and commented that '[w]e have lost no time – but architects will be slow – and Clutton...wants three weeks more before he sends us his arrangements.'[320]

Clutton was the most important English architect with whom Newman worked, and, as with Terence Flanagan, the contact came about simply through relationship to one of the Oratorian community. Yet it was to produce the best architectural work of Newman's lifetime at the Oratory. Clutton's design incorporates a stately series of tall semi-circular topped windows to the upper story which on the street side are framed in stone with pilasters and decorative capitals, giving the frontage the air of an Italian Renaissance *palazzo*. On the inner range there is a fine stone cloister arcade of round arches upon cylindrical columns provided with tall square bases and richly

318 *LD* xix, p. 403, but see also *LD* xv, p. 356 for Newman's stated intention to have such a vestibule built to mask the temporary church.
319 *LD* xix, p. 482
320 *LD* xix, p. 489

carved capitals. There is also a most effective and visually striking cantilevered passage at first floor level, connecting the north range with the south, bypassing the hall which occupies the entire first floor.

An architectural venture which never materialised was the Oxford Oratory, for which Newman had not only acquired different parcels of land in 1867, but also some plans from Clutton.[321] Newman's own warm relationship with Clutton is to be inferred from one of the letters in which Newman sought his advice 'not as a friend, but professionally', when additional complications beset Newman's plans on the acquisition of a second piece of land elsewhere in the city.[322] Typically, as he did with all his architects and designers, Newman discussed various possibilities and problems in great detail.[323] When the Oxford scheme fell through, it marked the end of any direct involvement Newman was to have with architecture and building.[324]

321 *LD* xxiii, pp. 26, 33-4
322 *LD* xxiii, p. 86
323 *LD* xxiii, pp. 33-4, 44, 57, 86-7
324 At an unknown date yet another plan for a large church was drawn up, though neither the architect nor the reason for it is known. The approximate date can be inferred from the fact that, unlike Duc's plan, it incorporates the Chapel of St Philip which did not exist before 1851, and extended all the way to the Hagley Road, which was no longer possible after Clutton's school buildings and cloister were completed in 1863. The plans show a large, domed church ending in an apse, in a more consciously classical style than Duc's church, with deep side chapels and no aisles. The altar would have been placed in a similar position to that in Duc's plans, very close to the chancel arch supporting the cupola. The semi-circular apse was to have been furnished with an ambulatory separated from the sanctuary by two strictly classical double rows of twin Corinthian columns separated by a trabeated architrave. Had Newman asked for aspects of the design to resemble Wren's façade of St Paul's in London?

Chapter five

Entranced in the Vision of Truth and Sanctity

Human Fulfilment in the Glory and Beauty of God's Eternal Perfection

1. The Idea of Beauty and the Vision of God

Newman's idea of beauty is rooted in the idea of God Himself. Both the subordination of the material world to the spiritual, and the dependence of all beauty perceived by the senses on the unseen, heavenly beauty of God are fundamental principles for Newman.[1] Yet the origin of our idea of beauty arises not directly from God, but from our sensory experience of it in the material world. In the circumstances of this life, our idea of beauty is associated with the sensation of pleasure in apprehending it. Newman explains how he understands that we arrive in practice at the idea of beauty in a passage in the *Grammar of Assent:*

> when we have been affected by a certain specific admiring pleasure at the sight of this or that concrete object, we proceed by an arbitrary act of the mind to give a name to the hypothetical cause or quality in the abstract, which excites it. We speak of it as beautifulness, and henceforth, when we call a thing beautiful, we mean by the word nothing else than a certain quality of things which creates in us this special sensation.[2]

That which we call 'beautiful' is the external cause of a certain pleasurable sensation within us. Newman implicitly accepts that it is not necessarily connected with the idea of God, because we cannot experience God in any sensory way corresponding to our formative experiences of beauty. Only on reflection and by the exercise of conscience and imagination, as we become increasingly aware of the essential superiority of the spiritual realm, can earthly beauty become a sign pointing towards the

1 See, for instance, *PS* iv, 13, 'The Invisible World', passim.
2 *GA*, pp. 64-5

hidden beauty of heaven, in order that we may recognize God as the 'One who is all perfection, and the fulness and archetype of every possible excellence, the Truth itself, Wisdom, Love, Justice, Holiness'.[3] It is noteworthy that in this passage Newman does not directly ascribe the term 'beautiful' to God in Himself, not because God is not indeed the consummation of all beauty, but because the idea of beauty is connected in a special way with the *satisfying apprehension* of God's infinite perfections as harmonious.

When speaking of the 'manifestation of the glory of God in the Face of Jesus Christ', Newman draws attention to 'the attributes and perfections of Almighty God', as perceived in 'the beauty of His sanctity...the harmony of His providences, the thrilling music of His voice.'[4] These qualities of beauty, harmony and music, therefore, are meant to be perceived as though by means of sight, understanding and hearing by such beings as have been created by God with faculties capable of perceiving him in this way. So Newman argues that a 'careful contemplation of the material world', rather than a careless view, will force upon the mind 'the glory, harmony, and beauty of its Creator' which 'lies on the surface of creation like light on a countenance, and addresses itself to all.'[5] Yet it is also clear that, whilst this is the way in which divine beauty is intended to be apprehended here and now, such beauty can still never be fully known in this world of natural sense experience. Newman is describing a supernatural, yet real perception of a transcendent beauty: the beauty of God in Himself, which may be experienced and known perfectly by redeemed humanity only in heaven. Only then will the epistemological limitations of this life have been surpassed and human nature raised to a new level and capability of apprehending God's beauty. Speaking of this future, enhanced state, Newman speculates: 'what deep, incommunicable, unimaginable

3 *GA*, p. 101
4 *Mix*., p. 69
5 *Mix*., p. 314

thoughts will then be upon us! what depths will be stirred up within us! what secret harmonies awakened, *of which human nature seemed incapable*!'[6]

1. 2 Human Destiny Fulfilled in the Vision of God

Intrinsic to this apprehension of beauty is the joy and satisfaction of the one experiencing it. It is 'that great sight' of 'the immediate visible ineffable Presence of God Almighty...which is the fulness of joy and pleasure for evermore.'[7] It is also intrinsic to this future apprehension of beauty that we can know even in this life that we are destined to enjoy it, and that this present life and its experiences of beauty can prepare us for knowing it fully and can teach us about it. Newman reflects that, even if our earthly life is very short, it 'promises immortality, yet it is mortal; it contains life in death and eternity in time; and it attracts us by beginnings which faith alone brings to an end.'[8] In order that such present experiences may not mislead us, Newman says, it is necessary for our judgements concerning the beautiful to be directed by faith. Only by the guidance of faith can we avoid the danger of being misled by the allurements of a false, or as Newman would say, 'unreal' kind of earthly beauty.

In his second novel, *Callista,* Newman explored imaginatively the way in which faith can enable us to discriminate between real and unreal forms of beauty. He traces the development in Callista of the attractive persuasiveness of beauty, and the power of faith to give shape and strength to the attraction she feels towards the ultimate beauty of God, the intimations of which she does not at first recognize. In Callista, whose name means 'Very Beautiful', Newman created the character of a pagan girl who

6 *PS* iv, 13, p. 212 (my emphasis)
7 *PS* iv, 13, p. 212
8 *PS* iv, 14, 'The Greatness and Littleness of Human Life', p. 216

is troubled by a sense of 'weariness in all things'[9] despite being endowed with great gifts of comeliness and intellect, a 'calm, sweet voice...an expressive countenance, refined and decorous manners.'[10] She fears that 'life is not so sweet as death is bitter'.[11] With aching passion she cries out, 'O beautiful, divine light...what a loss! O, to think that one day I must lose you for ever!'[12] Into this oppressive atmosphere of hopelessness is introduced the Christian priest Caecilius, whose own faith is the key to undoing the despair towards which Callista feels herself to be drifting. At their first meeting Callista declares to Caecilius that she 'cannot believe in' Christianity, and that she 'never, never should be able,' because 'its maxims are too beautiful to be realized.'[13] In this way, Callista reveals that in her present state of mind, far from pointing to a higher world, the very idea of beauty itself is tantalisingly unreal and deceptive.

Caecilius diagnoses Callista's unhappiness and the 'heavy burden' at her heart, predicting that if she continues in this mind she 'will be more and more unhappy the longer she lives'.[14] He then appeals to her own sense of inner longing for fulfilment as a fact requiring an explanation, and demanding to be told what that fulfilment might be and where it might be found. He then urges her to reflect that

> if all your thoughts go one way; if you have needs, desires, aims, aspirations, all of which demand an Object, and imply, by their very existence, that such an Object does exist also; and if nothing here does satisfy them, and if there be a message which professes to come from that Object, of whom you already have the presentiment, and to teach you about Him, and to bring you the remedy you crave; and if those who try that remedy say with one voice that the remedy answers; are you not bound, Callista, at least to look that way, to inquire into what you hear about it, and to ask for His help, if He be, to enable you to believe in Him?[15]

9 *Call*. p. 117
10 *Call*. p. 108
11 *Call*. p. 118
12 *Call*. p. 118
13 *Call*. p. 216
14 *Call*. p. 217
15 *Call*. pp. 220-1

Caecilius undoubtedly speaks here with Newman's own voice, as a priest directing a troubled person yearning for the truth.[16] Caecilius suggests that Callista cannot discover the truth except by acknowledging that her desires point to a specific 'Object', something real, and not just a figment of her imagination. This 'Object' not only accounts for the very existence of these desires, but provides the only possible fulfilment of them.[17]

Caecilius's argument draws on one which Newman had expounded in the *University Sermons*: the necessity of transcending the limits of unaided reason by acknowledging the 'antecedent probabilities' that such an 'Object' actually exists, 'on grounds which do not reach so far as to touch precisely the desired conclusion, though they tend towards it, and may come very near it.'[18] Callista therefore has only two possible choices before her: either to overcome the limitations of unaided reason and accept the implicit invitation to discover this 'Object' in its reality, or to reject the quest and thereby condemn herself to eternal unhappiness and unfulfilled longing. Of the two eschatological choices facing Callista here and now, therefore, one leads to complete, everlasting joy and fulfilment in the vision of the beauty of God's perfection, while the other leads only to eternal misery and despair.

[16] In *MD*, Newman wrote a 'Prayer for the Light of Truth' for 'an enquirer' to say, on the grounds that there are 'sufficient reasons' to ask God for enlightenment, and that the two grounds are, first, that God '*alone'* can enlighten the darkness of unbelief, and secondly that the enquirer '*wish* my darkness to be enlightened.' The 'wish' is itself a motive for believing the possibility which only the gift of enlightenment will show to be actually true. (*MD* p. 287)

[17] Ian Ker has pointed out that this passage encompasses a different argument for the existence of God from Newman's more familiar 'philosophical proof' from conscience found, e.g., in *GA*. The evidence for God is suggested first of all in *Callista* by the antecedent probability that the human desire for fulfilment and happiness can only be answered by an 'Object' external to the self, which is the one that has already planted the desire for happiness in the human heart, namely God the Creator. (See I. T. Ker, *Newman on Vatican II*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014, pp. 134-7). Ker also draws attention to the sermon, *PS* v, no. 22, 'The Thought of God the Stay of the Soul', in which the eternal happiness of the soul is said to be possible only in the fixing of the affections on 'our Maker...for to none besides can the whole heart in all its thoughts and feelings be unlocked and subjected.' (p. 318)

[18] *US*, no. xii, 'Love the Safeguard of Faith against Superstition', p.224

Newman reveals explicitly that the true identity of this 'Object' is the 'glory and beauty' of God himself. In 'The Mystery of Divine Condescension' he exhorts his hearers, just as Caecilius does Callista, to 'quit these self-consuming thoughts, go out of yourselves, lift up your eyes, look around, and see if you can discern nothing more hopeful, more gracious in this wide world, than these perplexities over which you have been brooding.'[19] For this desire is implanted within us by the one who alone can fulfil it, in that 'we are so constituted by our Maker, as to be able to love Him ardently, and He has given us means of doing so.'[20] He then makes this connection explicit: 'Lift up your eyes...and there you will see one attribute above others...the glory and beauty of His eternal excellence. This is that attribute in which all His attributes coalesce.'[21]

So, when Callista has at length recognized the 'thrilling' inner voice as that of her 'true Love', who is 'the true Son of the True God,'[22] and has subsequently passed through the sufferings of her martyrdom, the bishop Cyprian describes her in a liturgical homily as 'yesterday tossed about on a sea of opinion; and today entranced in the vision of infallible truth and immutable sanctity.'[23] This description of Callista's end unites the fulfilment of joy which is conveyed by the word 'entranced', with the complete reality conveyed by the idea of 'infallible truth', incapable either of deceiving or of failing. Cyprian effectively 'canonises' the martyred Callista, declaring the truth of her final glorious end in the eternal fulfilment of those desires which she had striven to understand, and in faithfulness to the voice which she had heard and refused to ignore.

It is noteworthy, first that Newman gave the final chapter of the novel a title

19 *Mix*., p. 295
20 *Mix*., p. 295
21 *Mix*., p. 295
22 *Call*. p. 361
23 *Call*. p. 378

recalling the liturgy: 'Lux perpetua sanctis tuis, Domine',[24] is condensed from a prayer uttered by the priest in Catholic funeral rites; and secondly that he chose to close the narrative with an account of the celebration of the liturgy, which is both the highest priestly action on earth, and the anticipation of a share in the heavenly liturgy, the everlasting worship of God in beauty and bliss. It is also significant that Newman describes the dramatic liberation from demonic possession of Juba, who had previously despised Christianity, as taking place during this climactic celebration of the Mass, by his being brought to touch Callista's body before the altar. Thus the altar, the place of sacrifice joining earth and heaven in the Mass, is closely associated with the body of the martyr, which has now become a conduit of divine grace and healing, and a sign to those present that she is indeed 'a vessel...now of glory.'[25]

1.3 The Apprehension of Divine Perfection in the Beatific Vision of God

Newman describes the final fulfilment of human desires and faculties as the apprehension of the 'eternal excellence' of God's 'glory and beauty.'[26] This 'excellence' is 'the perfection, or (as I may say) the flower and bloom', which characterizes the unity of all the divine attributes. Newman means that, while in God all perfection is one and indivisible, the human apprehension of God's perfection seems to correspond to the diverse ways in which we apprehend what is real in this world, as a plurality of 'attributes'. It is the coalescence of these perceived various forms of perfection in simple unity that Newman describes as God's 'excellence'. We can only begin to imagine from the basis of our earthly experience what kind of apprehension we might have of the spiritual world beyond. So, even though he says that 'what saints partake in fact, we

[24] 'Perpetual light [be] to your saints, O Lord'.
[25] *Call*. p. 378
[26] *Mix*. p. 295

enjoy in thought and imagination',[27] he does allow that some 'enjoyment' of what is yet to be revealed is already, albeit partially, granted to us now.

He reminds us that it is impossible to behold the 'Creator in His Eternal Uncreated Beauty', for 'were it given to us to behold it, we should die of very rapture at the sight.'[28] So when Moses asked to see God's glory, he was told 'Thou canst not see My Face; for man shall not see Me and live.' Therefore, when in this life 'saints have been favoured with a glimpse of [the vision of God], it has thrown them into ecstasy.' In this life, Newman says, at best we can be granted certain 'glimpses' of God's beauty and glory, but not the whole reality. Nevertheless, these glimpses indicate to us that we have a capacity to apprehend, in a manner analogous to sense perception, but far surpassing it, the excellence of God's perfection in heaven. That final end of human happiness he calls the 'contemplation of the All-beautiful', who

> is so bright, so majestic, so serene, so harmonious, so pure; He so surpasses, as being its archetype and fulness, all that is graceful, gentle, sweet, and fair on earth; His voice is so touching, and His smile so winning while so awful, that we need nothing more than to gaze and listen, and be happy.[29]

We note here two analogies: the first between earthly beauty and its archetype, divine beauty, and the other between earthly hearing and sight, and their fulfilment in the heavenly apprehension of God. We also note Newman's use of the words 'harmonious' and 'awful', which suggest the pleasing, yet fearful, beauty of God.

1.4 Conscience and the Apprehension of Divine Beauty

In *Callista*, Newman idealizes an aspect of his own long drawn-out

[27] *Mix*. p. 297
[28] *Mix*. p. 297
[29] *Mix*. p. 297

experience of conversion; Callista's conversion to Christian faith, like Newman's own conversion to Catholicism, is not to be realized quickly or easily. Although aware of a native attraction to beauty, she needs time to discover the interpretative key which will allow her to recognize the person whose 'voice' she feels compelled to obey. Although not yet being able to accept the faith that she needs to become a believer, she nonetheless finds herself condemned to death simply for associating with Christians. In conversation with a Greek philosopher, Polemo, who is sent to persuade her to escape death and to acquiesce in God as 'one eternal, self-existing something',[30] Callista appeals beyond Polemo's bald, rationalistic idea to the fact that not only her understanding, but her experience of God is quite different in kind from Polemo's. She replies that

> I feel that God within my heart, I feel myself in His presence. He says to me, 'Do this: don't do that.' You may tell me that this dictate is a mere law of my nature, as is to joy or to grieve. I cannot understand this. No, it is the echo of a person speaking to me. It carries with it its proof of its divine origin...So you see, Polemo, I believe in what is more than a mere 'something.' I believe in what is more real to me than sun, moon, stars, and the fair earth, and the voice of friends. You will say, Who is He? Has He ever told you anything about Himself? Alas! No! - the more's the pity! But I will not give up what I have, because I have not more. An echo implies a voice; a voice a speaker. That speaker I love and I fear.[31]

This is a fictional version of Newman's philosophical argument for the existence of God from the evidence of conscience, which he expounded in detail in the *Grammar of Assent*. There Newman asks, 'can I attain to any more vivid assent to the Being of a God, than that which is given merely to notions of the intellect?... Can I rise to what I have called an imaginative apprehension of it? Can I believe as if I saw?'[32] The question Newman asks next could equally have been put into Callista's mouth: 'how can

[30] *Call*. p. 314
[31] *Call*. pp. 314-5
[32] *GA*, p. 102

I assent as if I saw, unless I have seen?'[33] Thus formulated, Newman addresses Callista's problem with an argument from our 'instinctive certitude' that certain kinds of phenomena we experience are indeed evidence of the existence of 'certain units, individuals, substances...which are outside and out of the reach of sense.'[34] We accept the existence of those 'units, individuals, substances', such as other persons, by means of the evidence of phenomena perceived by our senses. Sense perception does not disclose those 'substances' as they actually exist, but we can make a judgement that the phenomena we perceive inhere in them.

When it comes to 'perceiving' a supernaturally transcendent being such as God, the phenomena we perceive cannot be the same, since they are not accessible to our senses, or at least not to the same senses. It is to a different kind of sense and phenomena altogether that Newman therefore appeals in justification of the claim that we can, in fact, have an 'imaginative apprehension' of, and 'real assent' to, God: namely, the 'phenomena...found in the sense of moral obligation.'[35] This is what distinguishes radically between Polemo's rationalistic deity and Callista's lively notion of 'the echo of a person speaking to me.' It is this voice which is 'more real' to her than 'the voice of friends.'

Newman gives 'Conscience...a legitimate place among our mental acts; as really so, as the action of memory, of reasoning, of imagination, or as the sense of the beautiful'.[36] The significance of this list is that they are all acts which Newman ascribes

[33] *GA*, p. 102
[34] *GA*, pp. 102-3
[35] *GA*, p. 104
[36] *GA*, p. 105

to the human mind.[37] The sense of 'the beautiful' belongs conjointly with the power of memory, reasoning and imagination, and is therefore specifically related to those powers. Although he reckons there are such striking similarities in our experience of conscience and the aesthetic sense, Newman distinguishes between them in terms of their different objects. He sees the similarity between conscience and the aesthetic sense in their manner of operation in the mind: 'whatever be its particular errors in particular minds as to the acts which it orders to be done or to be avoided...[conscience] *corresponds* to our perception of the beautiful and deformed.'[38] Just as 'we naturally have a sense of the beautiful and graceful in nature and art, though tastes proverbially differ', so in a similar way when it comes to the operation of conscience, 'we all have a sense of duty and obligation whether we all associate it with the same actions in particular circumstances or not.'[39]

According to Newman, the essential difference between the sense of moral obligation and the sense of beauty lies, not in the mode of their functioning within us, but in the personal nature of what is perceived in the former:

> Here, however, Taste and Conscience part company: for the sense of beautifulness, as indeed the Moral Sense, has no special relations to persons, but contemplates objects in themselves; conscience, on the other hand, is concerned with persons primarily, and with actions mainly as viewed in their doers... And further, taste is its own evidence, appealing to nothing beyond its own sense of the beautiful or the ugly, and enjoying specimens of the beautiful simply for their own sake; but conscience does not repose on itself, but vaguely reaches forward to something beyond self, and dimly discerns a sanction higher than self for its decisions, as is evidenced in that keen sense of obligation and responsibility which informs them.[40]

Once again Callista speaks as one with Newman when she identifies the difference

[37] In *Mix*. no. 14, 'Mental Sufferings of our Lord in His Passion', pp. 326-9, Newman exclusively ascribes the power of memory to the possession of a rational soul and mind.
[38] *GA*, p. 107 (my emphasis)
[39] *GA*, p. 107
[40] *GA*, p. 107

between her understanding of God and Polemo's as subsisting in 'the echo' which she hears, and argues from that experience that 'an echo implies a voice; a voice a speaker.' In the *Grammar* Newman expands this by reflecting that 'we are accustomed to speak of conscience as a voice, - a term which we should never think of applying to the sense of the beautiful.'[41]

Even so, Newman does apply the term 'echo' to 'a wonderful creation of sublimity and beauty', albeit of a different kind. In the University Sermon 'The Theory of Developments in Christian Doctrine' he speaks of the 'inexhaustible evolution and disposition of notes' in music as 'echoes from our Home'.[42] He points to the use of terms such as 'idea' and 'subject' in our analysis of music as indications that we perceive in it something intelligible, and therefore from an intelligent source.[43] If music can suggest a transcendent personal origin and cause, then its echoes can be traced to some kind of voice, and that, too, implies a personal origin, a person speaking or even singing. The authoritative voice which makes itself present to the conscience in this life as 'imperative and constraining'[44] belongs to the same person as does that voice which Newman says we will hear with unbounded joy in heaven.

As Newman explains in the *Grammar*: 'our sense of the beautiful...is attended by an intellectual enjoyment, and is free from whatever is of the nature of emotion, except in one case, viz. when it is excited by personal objects'.[45] The 'nature of emotion' which is intrinsic to an inter-personal relation, is thus distinguished from 'intellectual enjoyment' which is impersonal, as he goes on to explain: 'Conscience... is something

41 *GA*, p. 107
42 *US* no. xv, pp. 346-7, and see above, ch. 3, pp. 158-162ff.
43 *US*, p. 346
44 *GA*, p. 107
45 *GA*, p. 109

more than a moral sense; it is always, what the sense of the beautiful is only in certain cases; it is always emotional.'[46] There is, therefore, after all, a connection in Newman's thought between the human sense of the beautiful and the voice of conscience, when the object of both is personal. In heaven, however, since there will no longer then be any need for that voice to impose either a 'rule' or 'sanction of right conduct', only its beauty will be experienced.[47]

2. False or Misleading Ideas of Earthly Beauty

Newman mistrusts earthly beauty in this life insofar as it is 'unreal'. It is the vision of God in *Callista* which is identified with 'infallible *truth'*[48] and in *The Dream of Gerontius* with Gerontius's wish to 'see [God] in the *truth* of everlasting day.'[49] Yet whereas the eternal excellence and beauty of God cannot deceive, there is no guarantee of truth in the apprehension of the beautiful in the present life. Rather, earthly or natural beauty can be deceptive, if it poses a counter-attraction to holiness and the divine perfection which are both the cause of all true beauty, and the object of religion. Hence in his meditation on 'The Infinite Perfection of God', he addresses God as the only real source of enjoyment, happiness, and beauty:

> Whatever there is of being, of life, of excellence, of enjoyment, of happiness, in the whole creation, is, in its substance, simply and absolutely Thine. It is by dipping into the ocean of Thy infinite perfections that all beings have whatever they have of good. All the beautifulness and majesty of the visible world is a shadow or a glimpse of Thee.[50]

46 *GA*, p. 109
47 *GA*, p. 107
48 *Call*. p. 378 (my emphasis)
49 *VV*, no. clvii, 'The Dream of Gerontius', p. 358 (my emphasis)
50 *MD*, no. xvii, 'The Infinite Perfection of God', p. 415

Whereas Newman sees in the beauty of nature a reference *back* to its divine origins, and describes the full flower of such earthly beauty as a mere 'shadow or glimpse' of the Creator, he believes that all human manifestations of earthly beauty should draw our attention *forward* to the divine end for which they are created, and should therefore partake rather of the beauty of holiness than of mere outer appearance. This 'holiness' is the real ground of the beauty which attracted him in persons. As such beauty develops, it too may be 'shadowy' in the sense of being 'rudimentary', as of a quality beginning to grow slowly to maturity. For instance, towards the end of *Callista*, after the heroine has been imprisoned for some time, Newman describes how her natural 'beauty, which was her brother's delight, is waning away', as her earthly hopes give way to greater, heavenly ones. In its place are beginning to appear 'the shadows, if not the rudiments of a diviner loveliness, which is of expression, not of feature, which inspires not human passion, but diffuses chaste thoughts and aspirations.'[51] Thus, it can be seen that Newman perceives 'real' beauty in human nature to be teleologically directed towards an end which is not of this passing world, but is spiritual and eternal.

In the *Idea*, Newman explained his mistrust of certain kinds of earthly beauty, whilst fully recognizing their potency. He sees in the cultivation of nature, in fine cities and buildings, even including churches, the danger of a beauty which 'leads to nothing beyond itself.'[52] Such beauty, he acknowledges, subsists in a 'perfection' of 'things animate, inanimate, visible, invisible' which are all 'good in their kind, and have a *best* of themselves, which is an object of pursuit.'[53] He lists some of these objects which can be pursued for the sake of the enjoyment of their perfection of form, dividing them into two principal categories of physical and moral beauty. The 'perfection of physical

[51] *Call*. p. 308
[52] *Idea*, p. 122
[53] *Idea*, p. 121

beauty', he says, is to be found in 'Greek divinities and demigods, as the statuary has moulded them, with their symmetry of figure, and their high forehead and their regular features'.[54]

When, therefore, he says that these examples represent for him the 'ideal perfection...towards which individual instances are seen to rise, and which are the standards for all instances whatever,'[55] Newman is speaking only of natural physical beauty seen as lacking a teleological purpose. Thus, while he portrays Callista as the Hellenistic ideal of physical perfection 'in the pride of her earthly beauty',[56] to say nothing of her accomplishments as a singer and actor,[57] she lacks any sense of fulfilment or purpose in her beauty, and even tends towards despair on account of her 'weariness in all things'.[58] Thus, the beautiful Callista stands for the attractiveness of human nature deprived of the supernatural illumination and teleological dynamism that grace alone can bring. Her journey to faith is therefore a parable of the ultimately unsatisfying nature of earthly beauty unilluminated by grace and opaque to transcendent holiness.

Nevertheless, although grace is needed for the comprehension of God as He is, so far as that is possible in this life, the ability to apprehend beauty as a harmonious and vigorous excellence in human persons is not altogether remote from being able to recognize beauty in God. By recognizing human beauty one can discern the beauty of its divine Creator. For, Newman says:

> As among men, youth, and health, and vigour, have their finish in that grace of outline, and lustre of complexion, and eloquence of expression, which we call beauty, so in the Almighty God, though we cannot comprehend His holy

54 *Idea*, p. 122
55 *Idea*, p. 122
56 *Call.*, p. 374
57 *Call.*, p. 96
58 *Call.*, p. 117

> attributes...yet we can, as creatures, recognise and rejoice in the brightness, harmony, and serenity, which is their resulting excellence. This is that quality which, by the law of our nature...moves our affections.[59]

In *Callista,* the Christian layman Agellius reflects that human beauty is itself so far elevated and ennobled even above that of the natural world, that it inspires the acknowledgement of the yet greater beauty and grandeur of the Creator: 'If the order of the sun and stars is adorable, if the laws by which earth and sea are kept together mark the Hand of supreme Wisdom and Power, how much nobler perfection of beauty is manifested in man!'[60] This is a statement of a kind of 'natural theology' which shows an openness to the even greater illumination which would follow on the acceptance of divine grace through revelation.

Among the ideas of beauty of which Newman wrote in the *Idea* with a cautionary purpose, is that of the 'beauty of our moral being, which is natural virtue'.[61] He expands this definition of moral beauty in the *Grammar* as a purely aesthetic appreciation of conduct judged only by the criteria of good taste, and neither directed nor judged by the inner voice of conscience.[62] Newman admits that such conduct may be good because it avoids vice, but it disregards the true teleological purpose of virtue which is to draw us towards participation in divine holiness. Hence, elsewhere in the *Idea*, Newman warns of the danger of the kind of aesthetic of virtue espoused by such men of the Enlightenment as Shaftesbury, who made 'Christianity ...the enemy of moral virtue, as influencing the mind by fear of God, not by love of good.'[63] Thus he reduced virtue to a simple matter of good taste, parallel with 'an ear in music, an eye in painting,

59 *Mix*. p. 295
60 *Call*., p. 374
61 *Idea*, p. 122
62 *GA*, p. 106 ff.
63 *Idea*, p. 197

a fancy in the ordinary things of ornament and grace, a judgment in proportions of all kinds', of which Newman shrewdly observes that 'somewhat like a Jansenist, he...implies that, neglecting principle, we have but to train the taste to a kind of beauty higher than the sensual.'[64]

Worse still, as Newman sees, such an ethical philosophy actually usurps and redefines the meaning of truth in relation to virtue. For Newman, truth is to virtue as the all-seeing and judging presence of God is to conscience, but for Shaftesbury the old-fashioned pagan virtues 'the *venustum*, the *honestum*, the *decorum* of things' are the principles which should form and guide virtuous judgement and action. In these qualities[65] he identifies not only the ground of virtuous action, but the meaning of truth, claiming as he does that 'the most natural beauty in the world is honesty and moral truth; for all beauty is truth.'[66] Newman critically observes of Shaftesbury's views that 'there is no doctrine contained in them which is not in a certain sense true; yet, on the other hand...almost every statement is perverted and made false, because it is not the whole truth.'[67] Shaftesbury reduces the essence of truth to a mere attribute of beauty, in contrast with Newman, for whom beauty is properly dependent on truth.

Similarly, speaking of 'a Liberal Education' in the *Idea*, Newman refers also to the 'beauty of the intellect', whose object is 'to open the mind, to correct it, to refine it, to enable it to know, and to digest, master, rule, and use its knowledge, to give it power over its own faculties, application, flexibility, method, critical exactness, sagacity,

64 *Idea*, p. 197
65 These are '*elegant, honourable* and *seemly*' motives for acting virtuously.
66 *Idea*, p. 198
67 *Idea*, p. 200

resource, address, eloquent expression'.[68] Here too it is seen as 'it is in itself,' and not 'what...the Church makes of it.'[69] The particular kind of perfection which is pursued depends on the focus and purpose aimed at. So, 'the artist puts before him beauty of feature and form; the poet, beauty of mind; the preacher, the beauty of grace.'[70] These various categories of perfection are simply described without attaching any teleological significance to them.

Newman admits that there is nothing intrinsically immoral about any of these perfections *per se* when they are analyzed purely in the light of their own ends. Indeed, they are all good, seen simply as ends in themselves. However, he claims that all forms of beauty *ought* to lead to something beyond themselves, and that 'something' is an end, religious in nature, without which all those perfections are inadequate with respect to the end or purpose of humanity, which is union with the truth and beauty of God. Hence the danger Newman identifies that 'every man has not the capacity of separating truth from falsehood,'[71] for whatever is deemed beautiful can be judged to be either true or false in relation to the religious end for which man is created. This observation on the human capacity to separate truth and falsehood prefaces some remarks about 'the Fine Arts, Painting, Sculpture, Architecture...Music' seen as 'high ministers of the Beautiful and the Noble'. Newman identifies this ministerial role of the fine arts to be the 'special attendants and handmaids of Religion.'[72] Their true end and purpose is therefore to be directed towards the contemplation of God's infinite perfection.

Newman identifies a particular danger arising from the aesthetic allure of

[68] *Idea*, p. 122
[69] *Idea*, p. 123
[70] *Idea*, p. 122
[71] *Idea*, p. 78
[72] *Idea*, p. 78

beauty in the arts, that 'they are apt to forget their place, and...instead of being servants, will aim at becoming principals.'[73] Pictorial art 'has an end of its own, [which is] that of earth: Nature is its pattern, and the object it pursues is the beauty of Nature, even till it becomes an ideal beauty, but a natural beauty still.'[74] Newman identifies two dangers here: the first lies in the focussing of pictorial arts on natural ideals of beauty at the expense of heavenly beauty, which is perhaps understandable insofar as pictorial art 'cannot imitate that beauty of Angels and Saints which it has never seen.'[75] The second danger arose at a stage when pictorial art had developed its language and 'full dimensions as an art' further still and 'rather subjected religion to its own ends than ministered to the ends of Religion.'

Newman also hints at another example of this inversion of means and ends in which religion becomes subject to natural beauty, when he mentions the 'long galleries and stately chambers', in which art mingles 'adorable figures and sacred histories with a multitude of earthly, not to say unseemly forms.'[76] Such language seems to allude to the temple-like character of the museums in which art is exposed for admiration akin to a kind of quasi-religious worship. Then comes Newman's most explicit statement of all concerning the distorted use of beauty as the 'creation indeed of high genius, of intense, and dazzling, and soul-absorbing beauty, in which, however, there was nothing which subserved the cause of Religion', and what is worse, 'nothing...which did not directly or indirectly minister to corrupt nature and the powers of darkness.'[77] If beauty does not serve a good end, it cannot be neutral, says Newman, but must serve some other end

[73] *Idea*, p. 78
[74] *Idea*, p. 79
[75] *Idea*, p. 79. See also ch. 4, p 210. Newman does not discuss the Eastern tradition of icon painting as an example of a highly developed pictorial art form which strives to 'imitate that beauty of Angels and Saints' through the power of religious imagination.
[76] *Idea*, p. 79
[77] *Idea*, p. 80

which is evil. Newman succinctly explained his misgivings about earthly beauty in a letter discussing this passage in the *Idea*, commenting that 'it is perhaps the *feeling* how the beauty of earthly things tends to eclipse the influence of the Supernatural that makes me say what I have said in my lecture.'[78]

While imitative art and beauty may frequently 'forget their place', the beauty of the natural world generally reflects the Creator's beauty more consistently, though not without Newman's cautionary observation that the world's 'pomps and vanities dazzle', and 'sights of earth intoxicate' the soul.[79] In a colourful passage, Newman speaks of springtime as 'a sudden rush and burst outwardly of that hidden life which God has lodged in the material world',[80] as a sign of a greater, as yet invisible, beauty to come. He suggests that when we see with the advent of spring how 'the dry and naked branches should be suddenly clothed with what is so bright and refreshing,' then by analogy we may imagine that 'the earth which we see...is but a beginning; it is but a promise of something beyond it.' Thus the origin from which all diverse forms of beauty in the visible world proceed is 'a centre of love and goodness, which is God himself; but they are not His fulness; they speak of heaven, but they are not heaven; they are but as stray beams and dim reflections of His Image.'[81] The beauties of nature, then, can be properly interpreted as signs directing our understanding and our longing towards the One from whom they proceed. Yet the capacity to distinguish truth from falsehood is needed in interpreting nature as it is in art. Caecilius in *Callista* refers to the kind of natural beauties so lovingly described by Newman in his descriptions of Sicily in 1833,[82] as sights that 'are the shadows of that fairer Paradise which is our home', where there is to

78 *LD* xix, p. 170 (Newman's emphasis)
79 *Mix*. p. 70
80 *PS* iv, 13, 'The Invisible World', p. 209
81 *PS* iv, 13, p. 211
82 See ch. 1, pp. 25-6

be found 'no beast of prey, no venomous reptile, no sin.'[83] The key to distinguishing truth from falsehood in interpreting the beauty of the material world is divine Revelation, for 'the great consolatory disclosures of Him, which Nature begins, Revelation brings to perfection.'[84] Revelation alone provides the infallible key which guides us to the truth towards which earthly beauty should direct us.

3. Apprehending The Hidden World.

3.1 Reality Perceived through the Veil of Dreams and the Senses.

When Newman preached 'The Invisible World' in 1837, stating that 'the world which we do not see as really exists as the world we do see',[85] he was addressing those who tended to live as though the material world was more 'real' than the hidden, spiritual world. Yet Newman claims that it is that other, invisible world which is truly real, because it is the realm of Almighty God who, 'we know, exists more really and absolutely than any of those fellow-men whose existence is conveyed to us through the senses; yet we see Him not, hear Him not, we do but “feel after Him,” yet without finding Him.'[86]

The vital truth which Newman wished to convey was that our knowledge of the hidden world comes through certain connections between it and the material world. Although the material and spiritual constitute separate realms, there is a mysterious

[83] *Call*., p. 160
[84] *Mix*., p. 295
[85] *PS* iv, 13, p. 200
[86] *PS* iv, 13, p. 202

interpenetration of the two, and one aspect of it is the ministry of the angels. Although they do not belong by nature to the material world, the angels are at work in a hidden way in our midst. Of man, however, Newman says that he is by nature 'strange composite of heaven and earth',[87] and that even as we exist in this world of matter and sense, we also live 'in a world of spirits...and we hold communion with it...though we are not conscious of doing so.'[88] There is, therefore, an epistemological question that needs to be addressed: how precisely do we know that we are constantly affected by the presence and action upon us of the hidden world, when our knowledge of this is said to be unrelated to our sense perceptions?

Newman tells us that in his earliest years he thought 'life might be a dream...and all this world a deception' with only 'the semblance of a material world.'[89] It is noteworthy that the young Newman should have likened his consciousness of this material world to the apparent unreality of 'a dream'. In later years Newman appeals to the experience of dreams as sometimes revealing to us certain aspects of our communion with the hidden world. Taking the example of Jacob's dream (Gen. 28:11-17), he observes that:

> Persons commonly speak as if the other world did not exist now, but would after death. No: it exists now, though we see it not. It is among us and around us. Jacob was shown this in his dream. Angels were all about him, though he knew it not.[90]

Thus, according to Newman, Jacob's dream was an instrument of his entering into knowledge of the present reality of the hidden, spiritual world, and of its interaction with his life and its influence upon his affairs. In later life Newman recorded some actual dreams that had been reported to him, in support of the idea that dreams can lift a

87 *VV*, p. 328
88 *PS* iv, 13, p. 205
89 *Apo*., p. 16
90 *PS* iv, 13, p. 205

veil separating those living in the material world from those already in the spiritual realm.[91]

Newman was most strikingly to make use of this theme of the dream as mode of contact between the material and spiritual worlds in *Callista*, where he describes the heroine's last sleep in prison, as she awaits her execution. He contrasts her past state of 'doubt, anxiety, perplexity, despondency, passion', even though she was still physically free, with her new state of possession by 'a peace which bore her up, as if bodily, on its mighty wings',[92] despite her approaching agony. This peace is communicated to her through a wonderful dream in which the darkness of her physical incarceration is dramatically contrasted with the brilliant light in which she suddenly finds herself 'in her own Greece, more sunny and bright than before...its colours illuminated tenfold by a heavenly glory'. Newman also subtly suggests the inadequacy not only of human language to describe dreams,[93] but also of human senses to distinguish their proper objects in dreams, as we would be accustomed to do in a waking state. He describes Callista's reaction to the beauty of the scene, 'a beauty she had never known,' which 'seemed strangely to affect all her senses at once, being fragrance and music, as well as light.'[94] It is highly significant that he uses imagery strongly suggestive of the encompassing reassurance to all her senses of immense light and exquisite harmony in a world more real than the one in which she lies imprisoned for only a short while longer.

In his 'Philosophical Notebook', Newman speculated whether 'the phenomenon of sleep and dreaming arises from the absence of the brain’s action, and

91 See *Phil. N. ii*, pp. 181 ff.
92 *Call.*, p. 354
93 Callista is described as seeing 'a sort of scene or landscape, which she could not have described in words.' *Call.* p. 354
94 *Call.*, p. 354

the feeble, vain attempt of the soul to act without the brain,' points towards the soul's cognitive power when eventually separated from the body.[95] In *The Dream of Gerontius*, Newman used a synaesthetic image of perception in order to explore and describe the state and knowledge of the soul without senses after death. When Gerontius becomes conscious of his guardian angel's presence for the first time through the angel's singing, he remarks that 'in sooth/ I cannot of that music rightly say/ Whether I hear, or touch, or taste the tones.'[96] The angel explains that Gerontius is

> in mercy...vouchsafed
> Some lower measures of perception,
> Which seem to thee, as though through channels brought,
> Through ear, or nerves, or palate, which are gone.
> And thou are wrapp'd and swathed around in dreams,
> Dreams that are true, yet enigmatical.[97]

Though fraught with the imagery of a strangely unfamiliar mode of experience, the angel's description does not suggest that Gerontius is perceiving something unreal, but precisely the opposite: the disembodied soul is apprehending spiritual reality, albeit imperfectly, even 'enigmatically', and without the normal mediation of the senses.

In these different ways, Newman strives through the imagery of dreams to convey the reality of the hidden, spiritual world despite our imperfect apprehension of it, whilst yet living in the material world. The promise of future brightness is an essential part of Callista's dream. In Gerontius's dream-like state after death, although his angel tells him that 'till that Beatific Vision, thou art blind,' yet, he continues, 'for one moment thou shalt see thy Lord'. He also warns Gerontius that he shall see by 'sight, or that which to the soul is sight,/ As by a lightning-flash...amid the dark profound...that

[95] *Phil. N. ii*, p. 187
[96] *VV*, p. 325 and see ch 3., p. 163
[97] *VV*, pp. 340-341

sight of the Most Fair' which, however, 'Will gladden thee, but it will pierce thee too.'[98] Nevertheless, this one, instantaneous 'sight' of God will leave Gerontius with 'a longing aye to dwell/ Within the beauty of His countenance.'[99] The angel describes the searing moment in which the soul glimpses the 'effluence, [which] like a glory, clothes/ And circles round the Crucified.' Newman sees the splendour of light which blinds the soul in need of purification from sin as constituting at least a promise of its eventually seeing God 'in the Truth of everlasting day'. This the angel confirms by promising to 'reclaim it for the courts of light.'[100] The final words of the poem make clear that the imperfect apprehension of this dream-like state is only transitional, and akin to a sleep, which will dissolve before the 'beauty of the Lord our God' when, the angel promises, he will 'come and *wake* [Gerontius] on the morrow.'[101] In this way, Newman uses the mixed imagery of sense-impression and dreams to highlight the soul's perception of the surpassing beauty of a spiritual realm which is, of its nature, not apprehensible by the senses, and only glimpsed by the soul in a dream-like state of consciousness.

There is therefore a tension regarding the relation of dreams to reality which is resolved only when the soul emerges into the full awareness of that reality. For Gerontius this will finally happen when his angel comes to 'wake him on the morrow.' For Callista it is, as Cyprian explains at her funeral rites, her being 'today entranced in the vision of infallible truth'.[102] The partial apprehension of heavenly reality represented by the image of the dream gives way to heavenly vision, which is its full apprehension. Dreams, even at their clearest, are but 'shadows and images' of the truth.

98 *VV*, pp. 342-3
99 *VV*, p. 351
100 *VV*, p. 358
101 *VV*, pp. 360-1 (n.b. My emphasis)
102 *Call.*, p. 378

Because 'shadows' stand for the imperfection of human knowledge in the present life, Newman composed for his memorial stone in the Oratory Cloister the short epigram: *ex umbris et imaginibus in veritatem*. Concerned lest this might smack of scepticism, he explained that 'though we have in many respects an εἰκών [icon, image] of the Truth, there is a good deal of σκιά [shadow] still, as in the doctrine of the Trinity.'[103] Charles Reding's comment in *Loss and Gain* concerning his coming to knowledge of the truth in religious matters, 'I suppose it is coming out of shadows into realities',[104] confirms this association of truth with reality in Newman's mind. Just as truth and reality, known partially in this world, are to be found in their fullness in heaven, so too in an analogous way will beauty be found fully only in heaven.

Callista exemplifies Newman's linkage of a gradual strengthening of assent to the reality of the unseen world with a corresponding apprehension of its hidden beauty. On reading St Luke's Gospel, Callista is at first struck by the opening of 'a view of a new state and community of beings, which only seemed too beautiful to be possible.'[105] But it is the 'ideal perfection' that strikes her, not of some abstract form of beauty, but of one 'who spoke to her in her conscience; whose voice she heard, whose Person she was seeking for.'[106] The key to her conviction that this beauty is in fact real is the personal presence which her reading of St. Luke reveals to her. Her response is to exclaim that

> This is no poet's dream; it is the delineation of a real individual. There is too much truth and nature, and life and exactness about it, to be anything else.[107]

Callista has now entered 'a new world of thought' which 'occupied her mind from its very novelty.' This novelty consists in more than a purely intellectual knowledge.

[103] *MD*, p. 439
[104] *LG*, p. 255
[105] *Call.*, p. 326
[106] *Call.*, p. 326
[107] *Call.*, p. 326

Instead she realizes that 'what is seen must give way to what is believed', for 'there was a higher beauty than that which the order and harmony of the natural world revealed.'[108] What is most significant about this beauty for Callista is its personal nature, and the demands it makes upon her. It is noteworthy that Newman uses the term 'unearthly' to describe the 'strange... composure which had struck her' in those Christians she had already encountered. It was this same quality of 'unearthliness' that Newman had ascribed in his early poetry to the beauty of character he observed in those who were closest to God in this life. Callista demonstrates that the meaning of beauty itself begins to change along with our mode of knowing it, when we glimpse the personal nature of the infinitely beautiful object of our vision and experience its compellingly attractive power.

In this life, therefore, not only is our view of reality objectively partial and incomplete, but so also, according to Newman, is our subjective mode of apprehending it:

> Now the intellect in its present state...does not discern truth...as a whole. We know, not by a direct and simple vision, not at a glance, but, as it were, by piecemeal and accumulation...[109]

Newman uses the language of vision to convey the full apprehension of reality which will possess us, when, in contrast to the condition of this present life, '[s]ight will be in the world to come.'[110] That sight will not only be complete and immediate, that is 'direct and simple', but it will be the blissful 'contemplation of the All-beautiful.'[111]

3.2 Rousing the Imagination and Inflaming the Heart: Liturgy

[108] *Call*., p. 327
[109] *Idea*, p. 151
[110] *US*, no. 10, 'Faith and Reason, Contrasted as Habits of Mind', p. 177
[111] *Mix*., p. 297

Newman had once said that 'it is indeed a great question whether Atheism is not as philosophically consistent with the the phenomena of the physical world, taken by themselves, as the doctrine of a creative and governing Power'.[112] He therefore felt obliged to deny the charge of scepticism in the *Apologia*.[113] He firmly maintained that 'the very fact of the world's existence implies an Almighty, intelligent, personal Creator', and that 'the same great truth is proved...from the wonderful order, harmony, unity, and beautifulness of the Universe'.[114] It can be seen that there is no contradiction between these statements when one understands him to mean that the more powerful impression of the Creator's being is made upon the soul by the sense of his personal presence and authority as they are apprehended by conscience. Quite simply, Newman did not believe that arguments for the existence of the Creator which were founded upon final causes were 'sufficient to prove the being of God'[115] to 'men of irreligious minds'.[116]

Newman, however, had always been possessed by a lively sense of God's reality at least from the time of his first, youthful conversion when he came to 'rest in the thought of two and two only absolute and luminously self-evident beings,' himself and his Creator.[117] Yet even he seems to have experienced a deepening of his sense of the divine presence, principally through the growing intensity of his devotional life in the liturgy. Newman developed an ever more profound appreciation of the presence of God, first through more frequent celebration of Communion, and secondly through his use of the breviary, in which he claimed to find 'so much of excellence and beauty'.

[112] *US*, no. 10, p. 194
[113] See *Apo*., p. 23
[114] *LD* xxxi, p. 93
[115] *LD* xxxi, p. 93
[116] *US*, no. 10, p. 197
[117] *Apo*., p. 18

Devotion was the conduit through which the beauty of him who was being worshipped was ever more powerfully impressed upon his mind and heart.

His understanding of the Communion service as so much more than a mere memorial rite, but as a lively anticipation of the heavenly banquet and the beatific vision, can be gauged from his later sermons on the Eucharist, as for instance in 'The Gospel Feast', of 1838, which he concluded with the prayer that this rite may 'be the beginning to us of everlasting bliss', and 'the first fruits of that banquet which is to last for ever and ever; ever new, ever transporting, inexhaustible, in the city of our God!'[118] In 'Attendance on Holy Communion' which he preached in 1842, he contrasted the insubstantial nature of the present world with that invisibly, yet really, made present in the Eucharist, and focussed upon the reassuring image of the altar: 'Nature fails, the sun shines not, and the moon is dim, the stars fall from heaven, and the foundations of the world shake; but the Altar's light burns ever brighter; there are sights there which the many cannot see' save those who 'seek Him in invisible Presence, whom they shall hereafter see face to face.'[119]

His devotional attachment to the breviary was based to a large degree on its strongly scriptural content, providing abundant food for prayer, praise and meditation. It was a particular merit of the breviary, as Newman discovered, that 'it rouses the imagination towards the course of the Christian year', and he was especially taken by the fact that 'one great excellence of the Psalms' was their 'being not *continual addresses* to Almighty God...but meditations on His attributes etc.'[120] The continuity of Newman's love of the breviary in his Catholic life, and his appreciation of its extraordinary range

[118] *PS* vii, 12, 'The Gospel Feast', p. 178
[119] *PS* vii, 11, 'Attendance on Holy Communion', pp. 158-9
[120] *LD* vi, p. 47 (Newman's emphasis)

of expression is perfectly illustrated by two letters from his later years. As he wrote to a Benedictine monk in 1870, 'some things are sublime and beautiful, and others are common place – and the Breviary and Mass Offices, besides being the voice of the Church, have a grace and a tenderness, which are not to be found in the mass of devotional books which are in the hands of the laity.'[121] Furthermore, as an illustration of the lively sense of God's living presence inculcated by the Church's offices he praised the 'wonderful order, harmony, unity, and beautifulness of the Universe as dwelt on in the Psalm “Caeli enarrant”'.[122]

Such a 'dwelling on' the attributes of God is not to be understood as an act of the intellect, but rather of the imagination. It is the impression of an image which has power to move the heart, and to assent to the thought of God, above all, with love and obedience. When Newman claims that 'the image of God, if duly cherished, may expand, deepen, and be completed...by means of education, social intercourse, experience and literature',[123] he clearly included the intensifying effect on the imagination of constantly repeated participation in the liturgical worship of the Church. This is supported by his statement that 'as the exercise of the affections strengthens our apprehension of them, it is impossible to exaggerate the influence exerted on the religious imagination by a book of devotions so sublime, so penetrating, so full of deep instruction as the Psalter'.[124]

It is therefore quite consistent with this approach that extended accounts of the connection between the spirit of devotion and a loving, 'real assent' to the personal

[121] *LD* xxv, p. 16.
[122] *LD* xxxi, p. 93. 'Caeli enarrant' are the opening words of ps. 18 in the Vulgate version: 'The heavens proclaim [the glory of God].'
[123] *GA*, p. 116
[124] *GA*, p. 118

nature of God and to his infinite attributes are to be found in the *Grammar*. Newman holds that simple statements of faith in human language, assented to as true, can nonetheless leave the heart unmoved, much as the contemplation of the phenomena of the physical world, taken by themselves, do not of themselves necessarily lead to a strong impression of the doctrine of a creative and governing power. So, for instance, he explains how the statement that

> 'There is a God,' when really apprehended, is the object of a strong energetic adhesion, which works as a revolution in the mind; but when held merely as a notion, it requires but a cold and ineffective acceptance, though it be held ever so unconditionally.[125]

On the other hand, the concrete terms, 'Father, Son, Spirit, He, One... are...adapted to excite images',[126] more effectively than any abstract terms which typically form the content of theological investigation. Hence it is through the stimulation of the imagination that Newman says assent becomes real, and the heart becomes devotedly attached to the object which it desires to know and love.

The inflammation of the imagination and heart is effected especially by what Newman calls the 'two great store-houses of faith and devotion', which are 'Scripture and the Ritual of the Church'.[127] He illustrates the first of these by the 'power over our affection and emotions' of the opening of each of St. John's Gospel, first Epistle, and Apocalypse,[128] which recalls Callista's warm assent to the reality of God on reading St. Luke's Gospel. Referring to the affective power of the Church's liturgy, Newman draws our attention to the 'services for Christmas or Epiphany; for Easter, Ascension, and … Corpus Christi; what are these great Festivals but comments on the words, “The Son is

[125] *GA*, p. 126
[126] *GA*, p. 127
[127] *GA*, p. 136
[128] *GA*, p. 138

God”?'[129] By itself, the statement that 'the Son is God' might be taken as exemplifying 'the aridity, the coldness of mere scholastic science.' But those feasts, and the texts and rituals with which they are celebrated in the liturgical books, are rather 'addressed...to the imagination' and thereby designed to 'excite our devotion.'[130]

A particularly effective example of the affective power of the liturgy is to be found, according to Newman, in the case of the 'Divinity of the Holy Ghost'. It is more difficult to rouse an emotional response to the person and role of the Holy Spirit simply as they are revealed to us in Scripture, and conveyed as they are in the seemingly impersonal images of a dove and tongues of fire. But Newman invites us to 'consider the breviary offices for Pentecost and its Octave, the grandest perhaps in the whole year' which have thus been able to affect the imagination and the heart as 'to give birth to the noble hymns, *Veni Creator*, and *Veni Sancte Spiritus?*'[131] Newman had also drawn attention to the impressive effect of these texts in the *Development,* exclaiming 'how indescribably majestic, solemn, and soothing is the “Veni Creator Spiritus,” the “Altissimi donum Dei, Fons vivus, ignis, caritas'.[132] He seems to suggest here that the power of these meditations lies in their evocation of the personhood of the Spirit in his dispensations of grace in the Church, and in its consequent impression upon the imagination.

Newman found another even more striking example of a liturgical text capable of effecting such a strong influence on the imagination and the heart in the 'Athanasian Creed'. Whenever creeds have a proper place in the Church's ritual, he

[129] *GA*, p. 139
[130] *GA*, p. 139
[131] *GA*, p. 139
[132] *Dev*. p. 427

claims that they are 'addressed far more to the imagination and affections than to the intellect.'[133] This is an important point, for it reveals the sense in which Newman understood the liturgy's proper effect upon those who take part in it. In his maturity Newman no longer saw the role of the liturgy as primarily to give doctrinal instruction or catechesis, even, as in the case of the creeds, when the content was ostensibly didactic. His early Anglican sermons on the subject had indeed emphasised that 'the Liturgy, *first*, teaches doctrine' and '*second*, forms the character', including the inculcation of reverence.[134] But Newman later came to understand how the liturgy also affects the imagination through the devotional spirit which it inculcates. Thus, it was precisely because of his long familiarity with the Athanasian Creed in the liturgy[135] that Newman extolled what might at first have seemed to be 'a mere collection of notions' as being in reality 'a psalm or hymn of praise, of confession, and of profound, self-prostrating homage, parallel to the canticles of the elect in the Apocalypse.'[136]

Notwithstanding his great affection for the *Veni Creator*, which had had such an uplifting effect on him at his ordination service as an Anglican deacon in 1824,[137] Newman was able even to say that he ever felt the Athanasian Creed to be 'the most simple and sublime, the most devotional formulary to which Christianity has given birth, more so even than the *Veni Creator* and the *Te Deum.*'[138] He felt it to be a 'war-song of faith', declaring 'who our God is' and 'intended as a check upon our reasonings, lest they rush on in one direction beyond the limits of the truth, and it turns them back

[133] *GA*, p. 132
[134] See the 1830 course of sermons on the Liturgy in *Ser. i*, pp. 57 ff., which also includes 'Stedfastness in the Old Paths', *PS* vii, pp. 243 ff.
[135] It should be noted that his fascination with the Athanasian Creed went back to his youth. He wrote a 'reflection or sermonet' on it on Christmas Day, 1819. See *AW*, p. 154.
[136] *GA*, p. 133
[137] He recorded feeling quite 'dizzy' afterwards, and that his 'heart shuddered', and he felt 'melancholy' at the 'idea of giving up all for God.' He added, however, that 'At times indeed my heart burnt within me, particularly during the singing of the Veni Creator.' See *AW*, p. 200.
[138] *GA*, p. 133

into the opposite direction'.[139] This dynamic description of its character makes clear that, as far as Newman was concerned, the imaginative and affective power of this creed were far greater and more significant than could be effected by a bare compendium of statements of the Church's faith in the Blessed Trinity and the Incarnation. Moreover, it was through this liturgical function and its inherently energetic force that Newman found the creed to be so effective at 'warming' the imagination and 'inflaming' the heart.

When Newman wrote about the power of the liturgy to inspire devotion, therefore, he was clearly referring not only to words, but also to ritual and its setting. We have already seen that although Newman's interest in ritual as an Anglican was not as great as that of some of his fellow Tractarians, it was by no means negligible.[140] Yet with the 1831 sermon 'Ceremonies of the Church', Newman had already begun to acknowledge the importance of the externals of worship for the imagination, stating that '[t]here is no such thing as abstract religion'.[141] After the inauguration of the Tractarian Movement, Newman's awareness of the power of visible forms of beauty to influence the imagination to ever greater devotion became more explicit. Thus, in the 1834 sermon 'The Visible Church an Encouragement to Faith', he says that

> The ordinances which we behold, force the unseen truth upon our senses. The very disposition of the building, the subdued light, the aisles, the Altar, with its pious adornments, are figures of things unseen, and stimulate our fainting faith. We seem to see the heavenly courts, with Angels chanting, and Apostles and Prophets listening, as we read their writings in due course.[142]

From then on the development of his thought is in continuity with this insight. In 'The Gospel Palaces' of 1836 the justification for beauty and magnificence in sacred

[139] *GA*, p. 133
[140] See ch. 2. pp. 54ff.
[141] *PS* ii, p. 74
[142] *PS* iii, p. 251

architecture is its effect on the imagination: 'Rich and “exceeding magnifical” as was Solomon's Temple, and built at the immediate command of God, it is not presumptuous surely to say that Christian Temples have as far surpassed it in size, beauty, and costliness, as in divine gifts and privileges, as in spirit and in truth.'[143] Christian churches are not ends in themselves, but are destined for the worship of the invisible God, and they are to be seen as stimuli to the imagination to behold in them the 'tokens of the invisible'. All that is 'so noble' in church architecture is not simply meant to 'captivate the eye', but 'makes its way to the heart'.[144] By way of contrast with this right use of the imagination, he warns against those 'most unhappy' persons

> who, while they have eyes to admire, admire [ancient churches] only for their beauty's sake, and the skill they exhibit; who regard them as works of art...and...discern in them no tokens of the invisible, no canons of truth, no lessons of wisdom, to guide them forward in the way heavenward![145]

It was this appreciation of the power of liturgy to inspire both devotion and the apprehension of God's invisible glory that underpinned his institution of the daily service in St. Mary's, and in two of his projects at Littlemore: his building and adorning the chapel, and his establishing the breviary offices in common among his companions residing with him at the College.

After his conversion to Catholicism, Newman found that he no longer had to defend the legitimacy of liturgical rites and externals in worship, as had been the case in his later Anglican years. Instead, owing to the poverty of the English Catholics and their relative cultural insularity, liturgy in its richest form and setting was rarely encountered in England. His visit to Milan in 1846, therefore, was a revelation. It was the first time he found himself living, albeit for a short period, as a Catholic within the heart of a

[143] *PS* vi, p. 272
[144] *PS* vi, p. 278
[145] *PS* vi, p. 279

Catholic culture, where the best of art, architecture and music were at the service of the Church's liturgy. His overpowering experience of Catholic worship in the Duomo was a further indication to him of the potent influence of liturgy on the imagination, of its operation on many levels, cerebral, emotional, physical and sensual, and of its aesthetic appeal to both learned and unlearned alike.[146] Although it was as an Anglican that he had come to appreciate the living principle of liturgy in contradistinction to the idea of an 'abstract religion', it was only when he entered the Catholic Church that he realized his idea of the Church of England had been quite unreal, and that he had merely been making 'attempts to dress it up doctrinally and esthetically [sic]'.[147] It was as a Catholic that he simply 'recognized at once a reality which was quite a new thing with me.' He therefore 'gazed at [the Catholic Church] almost passively as a great objective fact' and 'looked at her; - at her rites, her ceremonial', and said, 'This *is* a religion'.[148]

This firm conviction and apprehension of the reality and aesthetic power of the Catholic Church's liturgy must be seen as the backdrop to his reaction to the rumours that he was about to return to the Church of England on account of his alleged unhappiness at his treatment in the Catholic Church in the early 1860's.[149] It was in this spirit of confidence in what he saw as the beauty and reality of the Catholic religion that he refuted these rumours with some asperity, stating that 'Protestantism is the dreariest of possible religions' and that 'the thought of the Anglican service makes me shiver'.[150] Meanwhile, however, in the secrecy of his private journal he was able to give vent to this anguished cry: 'O how forlorn and weary has been my course since I have been a Catholic! here has been the contrast – as a Protestant, I felt my religion dreary, but not

[146] See ch. 4, pp. 233-4
[147] *Apo*. p. 296
[148] *Apo*. p. 296
[149] *LD* xx, pp. 215 ff.
[150] *LD* xx, p. 216

my life – but, as a Catholic, my life dreary, not my religion.'[151] His trials as a Catholic, including the loss of family and friends, his ostracism by the establishment, and the suspicion or misunderstanding of his co-religionists were bitter experiences, yet none of them was able to obliterate his sense of the satisfying reality of the Catholic religion that was impressed upon his imagination, as much by its liturgical and devotional life as by his conviction of its doctrinal integrity.

3.3 Rousing the Imagination and Inflaming the Heart: Devotion

Those suspicions of his co-religionists included unjust accusations that he was 'encouraging a dry and formal devotion towards the Blessed Virgin and the Saints.'[152] Fortunately for Newman, at least his own bishop, W. B. Ullathorne, was one of his most consistent supporters, asserting that on entering Newman's church in Birmingham, 'you find it a complete representation of a fervid Roman church.'[153] In a long letter published in the *Tablet* in 1866 Ullathorne defended Newman's sense and practice of Catholic devotion, and his consistency with the principle he enunciated in the *Grammar* that 'the exercise of the affections strengthens our apprehension of the object of them'.[154]

Ullathorne's detailed account of the devotional acts and spirit of the Birmingham Oratory shows that Newman was fully alive to the character and needs of popular religion, and was happy to supply them and take part in them. But his approach to popular religious devotion was carefully nuanced. When the Anglican Lady

[151] *AW*, p. 254
[152] *LD* xxii, p. 341
[153] *LD* xxii, p. 341
[154] *GA*, p. 118

Chatterton wrote to him to complain about 'the tawdry doll like figures of the blessed virgin which are paraded about and placed in the middle of the Churches in Brussels',[155] Newman replied that 'I can easily fancy that the dolls you speak of would offend me much', but excused them on the grounds that 'it is what the populations, where they are found, delight in', and added that 'there are far more important things in religion, than to decide whether the Blessed Virgin should be painted by a Rafaelle or a sign painter, should be arrayed medievally or in modern millinery.'[156] It would be easy to construe from this letter that Newman was supercilious towards popularised forms of religion and devotion. One could even take as further evidence his final comment to Lady Chatterton that 'as an Englishman I do not like a Romaic religion – and I have much much to say, not (God forbid) against the Roman Catholic Church, but against the Romaic Catholic Church', which strengthens this impression even further.

Newman's distinction between 'Roman' and 'Romaic' can be applied to the distinction between liturgy and devotions generally. For by 'Roman' he here referred to whatever, like the liturgy, is universal and has an objective status within the whole of the Catholic Church, whereas by 'Romaic' he designated that which was subjective, particular and local in the character and taste of 'Italian religion', or devotions, for which he had 'no great sympathy'. Newman freely admitted that, as an Englishman, he disliked the kind of popular religion which was not in accord with the more sober taste of the English. Whereas the liturgy is 'majestic and solemn', and universal or objective, devotions are, by contrast, local, fervid and subjective according to the taste and the history of the people who practise them. In fact, Newman regretted 'the serious loss (humanly speaking) Catholicism has sustained by the loss of the Teutonic element,

[155] *LD* xx, p. 470
[156] *LD* xx, p. 471

which is the consequence of the Reformation',[157] recognizing that this had led to a distortion in the devotional life of the Catholic Church, which in England at least, was now in his opinion too much influenced by the particular style and taste of foreign 'Romaic' or Italian devotions.

Newman's position concerning taste in popular devotion was, therefore, to an extent based on the effect of historical accidents, as well as on diversity of personal taste. Certain kinds of taste suited certain temperaments, but some of these had accidentally become too prominent because of events like the Reformation. Yet he also wished to make a theological point, for 'defects' are to be expected when a 'divine system', is 'committed to men' and 'becomes at once mixed up with human weakness and *corruption*.'[158] This being so,

> it is not wonderful that defects, which are *short* of sin yet repulsive to the beholder, much of extravagance, of fanaticism, of ignorance, and of bad taste, also should be grafted upon or infused into it. Christianity was intended for whole populations; now a popular religion is necessarily deformed by the errors and bad taste of the multitude.[159]

Of course, as Newman explains, in matters of doctrine, the Church cannot 'countenance' any 'mistatement of the truth' which may arise as a result of 'the peculiar faults of the national character'. Yet although 'private judgment is forbidden to Catholics in matters of divine revelation, it is fully accorded to them in matters of devotion.'[160]

However, being permissive of different forms of devotion was not necessarily a mere matter of allowing variants in taste. No good would be served by trying to abolish the customs and devotional practices of certain peoples, even if they seemed

[157] *LD* xx, p. 471
[158] *LD* xx, p. 470 (Newman's emphasis)
[159] *LD* xx, p. 471
[160] *LD* xx, p. 471

exaggeratedly directed towards some of the saints, because 'to forbid them the service of the Saints will have no tendency to teach them the worship of God.'[161] Worship and devotion taken together are essentially subjective and correspond to the taste of individual nations, societies, and persons. This is why 'the Church is very loth to interfere with' them, for it may even 'do nothing but mischief, if one were to begin preaching against them.'[162] The subjective autonomy of Catholics in such matters extends from their choice both of the 'object or the matter to which they are specially devout' and of 'the manner' of their exercising it. Thus, while Newman personally objected to the uncritical adoption of Italianate forms of devotion which he judged unsuitable to the English temperament, he thought that such devotions might be best left unopposed where they were indigenous, even if they were not entirely satisfactory expressions of the Faith, lest those who relied on them should be deprived of that which fostered a religious mind and spirit in them.

Newman also dealt briefly with the matter of popular expressions of devotion in his reply to Pusey's *Eirenicon,* although he was chiefly concerned there with the relationship between doctrine and devotion. Thus, he wrote to Pusey, while the Catholic faith 'is everywhere one and the same', still 'a large liberty is accorded to private judgment and inclination as regards matters of devotion.'[163] He made an interesting observation, however, reminiscent of what he had seen in the Duomo of Milan, that

> during the celebration of Mass, of all the worshippers who crowd around the Priest, each has his own particular devotions, with which he follows the rite. No one interferes with his neighbour; agreeing, as it were, to differ, they pursue independently a common end, and by paths, distinct but converging, present themselves before God.[164]

[161] *Dev*. p. 428
[162] *LD* xx, p. 471
[163] *Diff*. ii., p. 28
[164] *Diff*. ii., pp. 28-9

This statement makes clear Newman's view that though, in the matter of devotions, 'tastes proverbially differ',[165] what matters is that they should converge on that religious unity which is represented by the objective liturgical action of the Mass. Newman's way with regard to devotion was similar to what it was regarding speculative thought, 'to be first generous and then just; to grant full liberty of thought, and to call it to account when abused.'[166]

Therefore the true purpose of devotions, as Newman saw it, was to assist people in the practice and assimilation of their religion, so as to warm their hearts and imaginations and enable them to be firmer in their apprehension of the faith and participation in its liturgical life. Newman's description of the variety of devotional and liturgical action being pursued in the Duomo of Milan, and his vignette of worshippers at Mass quoted above from his *Letter* to Pusey, can also be read in the light of yet another passage which further illuminates Newman's understanding of the subtle interrelation between liturgy and devotion. According to Newman, it was often noted by 'hostile visitors' to Catholic Churches on Sundays, how surprising it was to 'see the High Mass perhaps poorly attended, and a body of worshippers leaving the music and the mixed multitude who may be lazily fulfilling their obligation, for the silent or informal devotions which are offered at an Image of the blessed Virgin.'[167] This seems, *prima facie*, to suggest to those observers that such Catholics held devotions to be more important than the Mass, and that those devotions directed to the Mother of God in particular were more important than the great act of sacrifice offered in worship to Almighty God himself. Newman's defence was based on the religious practice of his day, in which he included himself, explaining that 'we begin the day with our Lord and

[165] *GA*, p. 107
[166] *Diff*. ii., p. 79
[167] *Diff*. ii., p. 95

then go on to His Mother.'[168] He continues:

> It is early in the morning that religious persons go to Mass and Communion. The High Mass, on the other hand, is the festive celebration of the day, not the special devotional service; nor is there any reason why those who have been at low Mass already, should not at that hour proceed to ask the intercession of the Blessed Virgin for themselves and all that is dear to them.

In this way Newman showed that, whatever his view of certain tastes and styles of devotion, he was entirely at home with the *principle* that popular devotion to the Blessed Virgin was supplementary to the liturgy, and was not opposed to it. Newman's criterion for judging the value of devotions was therefore connected with their spiritual effectiveness. Some were undoubtedly more aesthetically pleasing in Newman's view, but none surpassed in power and beauty the liturgy of the Mass and the Breviary which formed the bedrock of his own devotion.

He also marked the devotional character of liturgical language used in the 'supreme and true worship paid to the Almighty' as, for instance, in the *Dies Irae,* which he characterized as 'severe, profound, awful, as well as tender, confiding, and dutiful',[169] and contrasted it with the very different 'tone of the devotion paid to the Blessed Mary' in the liturgy as 'altogether distinct from that which is paid to her Eternal Son and to the Holy Trinity.'[170] The language addressed to the Mother of God, for instance in the liturgical texts of the Assumption is 'affectionate and ardent', 'full of sympathy and affection...stirring and animating.'[171] Such devotional texts, which had the sanction of the Church's liturgy and ancient tradition, together with the images conveyed by them, were reminders of the tenderness and beauty of the Blessed Virgin and of the 'creation of a new idea...of a new faith and worship, when the holy Apostles announced that God

[168] *Diff*. ii., p. 95
[169] *Dev*. p. 426
[170] *Dev*. p. 426
[171] *Dev*. p. 427

had become incarnate', and because 'a supreme love and devotion to [God] became possible, which seemed hopeless before that revelation.'[172]

Thus devotion to Mary became for Newman a true sign and guarantee of the constant interconnection between the world of men and the hidden world of heaven, and of the hope of eventual victory over sin and death. Newman saw in the Blessed Virgin one chosen to exemplify the fullness of the beauty of God's image in us, for she is 'a creature...with a creature's comeliness and lustre suited to our taste', whose 'very face and form... speak to us of the Eternal; not like earthly beauty, dangerous to look upon, but like the morning star, which is [her] emblem, bright and musical, breathing purity, telling of heaven, and infusing peace.'[173] Moreover, Newman saw this unearthly beauty as 'harbinger of day' and 'hope of the pilgrim', whom we call upon to 'lead us...in the dark night, across the bleak wilderness', and to 'guide us on to our Lord Jesus', which is nothing less than to 'guide us home.'[174]

3.4 Newman the Priest: Sanctifying Souls through Beauty and Truth

Even though as a Catholic Newman believed that the connection between this world and the next is perfectly demonstrated in the intercession of the Blessed Virgin Mary, nonetheless, for the duration of our life in this material world, the reality of the spiritual world she inhabits still remains largely hidden from us. The Tractarian Newman had begun to see how the veil that separates us from that world is sometimes lifted a little for us in liturgy and worship:

[172] *Diff*. ii., p. 83
[173] *Mix*., pp. 358-9
[174] *Mix*., p. 359

> A thick black veil is spread between this world and the next... In the Gospel this veil is not removed; it remains, but every now and then marvellous disclosures are made to us of what is behind it. At times we seem to catch a glimpse of a form which we shall hereafter see face to face. We approach, and in spite of the darkness... become, as it were, sensible of the contact of something more than earthly.[175]

So worship can furnish us with a foretaste of, and limited contact with, that which lies beyond the 'thick black veil'. It was this conviction that underlay his 1862 poem 'The Two Worlds', in which he urges God to remove the veil in order to illuminate the world with his glory and beauty:

> Unveil, O Lord, and on us shine
> In glory and in grace;
> This gaudy world grows pale before
> The beauty of Thy face.[176]

Newman here demonstrates one of the tasks of the priest to be intercessory prayer, that God may remove any obstacles to our knowing him. Another, and complementary priestly task is to assist his congregation to 'prepare [themselves] to see in human flesh that glory and that beauty on which the angels gaze.'[177] As a priest, therefore, Newman stood at the altar, the sacramental point of meeting between God and his people, just as he envisaged it in 'The Priestly Office', a verse he wrote in 1834:

> In service o'er the Mystic Feast I stand;
> I cleanse Thy victim-flock, and bring them near
> In holiest wise, and by a bloodless rite...
> Dread office this, bemired souls to clear
> Of their defilement, and again make bright.[178]

Even before he recognized a priestly vocation, he already felt that he was called to forgo the structures of a normal adult life, being possessed by a 'deep

[175] *PS* v, no. 1, 'Worship, a Preparation for Christ's Coming', (1838), p. 10
[176] *VV*, p 310
[177] *Mix*., p. 300
[178] *VV*, p. 190

imagination' that 'it would be the will of God' that he should live 'a single life'.[179] He identified this intimation as being connected with the 'notion' that his 'calling in life would require such a sacrifice as celibacy involved.' But this was not all. He saw that 'it also strengthened [his] feeling of separation from the visible world'.[180] Nor was it for himself alone that this feeling mattered. Newman accepted the idea and practice of celibacy because it corresponded to his understanding of the hidden truth and beauty of the godhead and of the spiritual world which had direct knowledge of God. Yet this did not exclude the emergence of a serious obligation to care for other souls. Upon his ordination as a deacon he wrote that 'I have the responsibility of souls upon me to the day of my death.'[181] This responsibility included the inculcation in them of a sense of the greater reality of the world that lay hidden beyond the veil, a world which was, moreover, the key to the meaning of their existence and eternal destiny.

The liturgy as the means of grace, and the preparation for eternal life, all of which was centred upon the action of the altar, was the heart of Newman's understanding of his priestly role as a Catholic. Newman's priesthood, therefore, was as much sacramental and devotional as it was didactic. Newman had defined the sacramental principle as that mode of divine action in which 'things external, local and sensible' become the 'means of conveying onwards the divine gifts from the Giver to their proper home, the heart itself.'[182] This definition is very significant, identifying the human heart as the 'proper home' in which God's gifts are destined to come to dwell, and not merely to be appreciated as from afar. His own exercise of the priestly office was illustrative of this principle.

[179] *Apo*. p. 20
[180] *Apo*. p. 20
[181] *AW*, p. 194
[182] *US* no. 10, 'Faith and Reason Contrasted as Habits of Mind', (1839), p. 177

The trouble he took to ensure that solemn Mass was celebrated with due decorum and worthy music has already been described. Above all in celebrating Mass privately, as an act of personal devotion, he was caught up in awe at the mystery to which he was a close witness at the altar. A valuable account of Newman's 'ars celebrandi', his assiduous care in celebrating Mass, comes from Edward Bellasis, who frequently served his low Masses from 1861 until 1886, and conveys a picture of one rapt in wonder at the mystery of the reality hidden beneath the surface of what he was doing:

> The *Judica me Deus* Psalm and *Gloria* were said swiftly, with a swaying to and fro in many directions; the words of consecration were an audible whisper, with lingering emphasis and a tone of awe at *mysterium fidei.* The *Pater noster* was given as expressively as ever, and had speaking pauses without much sense of broken continuity. *Panem nostrum quotidianum* and *ne nos inducas* were tenderly expressed.[183]

Yet another short but interesting account of the effect on an observer of Newman's 'unearthly' celebration of Mass comes from Lady Lothian, who met him in 1851. She wrote to her brother that

> his saying of Mass is most striking. I do not know what makes the difference, but one is conscious of a difference. It appeared to me very unearthly.[184]

Newman's novels confirm the reverence in which Newman held this central liturgical act of the Mass, and suggest how he himself appreciated it. In *Loss and Gain,* Willis, a recent convert to Catholicism, gives a moving definition, and a glowing account of the 'action' of the Mass, which both echoes Bellasis's account above, and contains many key words and themes recognizable from Newman's other writings and

[183] Edward Bellasis, *Coram Cardinali,* London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1917, p. 68
[184] Cecil Kerr; *Cecil, Marchioness of Lothian, a Memoir,* London: Sands, 1922, p. 111

representative of his thoughts about the awesomeness of liturgy:

> to me nothing is so consoling, so piercing, so thrilling, so overcoming, as the Mass, said as it is among us. I could attend Mass for ever and not be tired. It is not a mere form of words, - it is a great action, the greatest action that can be on earth. It is not the invocation merely, but, if I dare use the word, the evocation of the Eternal. He becomes present on the altar in flesh and blood, before whom angels bow and devils tremble. This is that awful event which is the scope, and is the interpretation, of every part of the solemnity. Words are necessary, but as means, not as ends; they are not mere addresses to the throne of grace, they are instruments of what is far higher, of consecration, of sacrifice... Quickly they go, for they are awful words of sacrifice, they are a work too great to delay upon.[185]

This passage portrays the Mass as though from within, from the point of view of the celebrant, much as Newman himself would have experienced it as a priest. Willis then proceeds to picture the various modes of participation of those who are in close attendance on the priest, describing the manner in which, as was the case in Newman's day, they would bring their several needs to the altar, united by the one sacred action. He uses two particularly striking musical metaphors to express the sense of unity in diversity:

> So we, all around, each in his place... with his own heart, with his own wants, with his own thoughts, with his own intention, with his own prayers, separate but concordant, watching what is going on, watching its progress, uniting in its consummation; - not painfully and hopelessly following a hard form of prayer from beginning to end, but, like a concert of musical instruments, each different, but concurring in a sweet harmony, we take our part with God's priest, supporting him, yet guided by him. There are little children there, and old men, and simple labourers, and students in seminaries, priests preparing for Mass, priests making their thanksgiving; there are innocent maidens, and there are penitent sinners; but out of these many minds rises one eucharistic hymn, and the great Action is the measure and scope of it.[186]

Whereas *Loss and Gain* gives a picture of contemporary, nineteenth century liturgy, *Callista* is set in the third century during the time of the great persecutions. Newman correspondingly draws a very different kind of picture of 'Mass in the

[185] *LG*, pp. 327-8
[186] *LG*, pp. 328-9

catacombs', for which he prepared by studying some accounts of ancient Western liturgies in the Oratory library.[187] Of the general character of the liturgical arrangements even in a secretive setting under the constant threat of discovery and persecution, he writes that 'so instinctive in the Christian mind is the principle of decoration, as it may be called, that even in times of suffering, and places of banishment, we see it brought into exercise.'[188] Thus, in that secret place of worship he describes 'the arch which overspans the altar ornamented with an arabesque pattern,' while 'the roof or vault is covered with paintings.' Since *Callista* was written at the same time that he was working with Pollen on the design and decoration of the Dublin University Church, it is more than likely that either he had the University Church in mind as he wrote, or his account in *Callista* influenced his decorative scheme there. He describes the distinctive vesture of the sacred ministers at length, their fittingness for an awesome rite, and emphasising that they already at this early date 'were so far special, that they were never used on any other occasion, but were reserved for the sacred service', and were 'of the purest white'.[189]

Newman's account of the form of liturgical celebration in the secret chapel reflects the state of knowledge of ancient liturgy current in the middle of the nineteenth century. It is replete with accounts of singing, of fine vessels and of ritual actions like incensations, interpreted as 'a token of uplifted prayer to [God].'[190] The Mass in *Callista* is nothing like 'low Mass' in Newman's day, but rather more like the solemn Mass of his time albeit in a more primitive form, in which the congregation is described as taking a direct part in the action through singing and making responses.

[187] Newman gave a brief account of the archaeological and liturgical works he had consulted for this purpose on a sheet of paper he pasted into the back of his copy of the novel, preserved in the library at the Birmingham Oratory.
[188] *Call.*, p. 338
[189] *Call.*, p. 339
[190] *Call.*, pp. 340-1

From a musical point of view, the most interesting passage actually precedes this detailed account of the liturgy, for it describes the moment when Agellius, the young, but uncatechized Christian layman, enters the secret place where Mass is to be celebrated, and which he will witness for the first time in his life. It is of the greatest significance that Newman describes this event as Agellius's *coming home to his father's house*, and dramatically evokes the moment

> when suddenly the sounds of the ecclesiastical chant burst on the ear of Agellius. How strange, how transporting to him! He was almost for the first time coming home to his father's house.[191]

Then, on entering the secret chapel, 'he knelt down and burst into tears.' Undoubtedly Newman knew those passages in St Augustine's *Confessions* which describe his attitude to ecclesiastical music,[192] but there is no sign in Newman's fictional account of Augustine's ambivalence towards the emotional power of music where Agellius is concerned, for the singing is described as 'transporting' him to tears, presumably of joy and reverence at recognizing that, for the first time, he had arrived in 'his father's house.'

Finally, in this passage in *Callista*, it is worth noting a reference to the Lord's Prayer which recalls Bellasis's description of Newman's 'expressive' praying of that prayer at Mass, with the singular variation that here it is prayed not just by the celebrant, as in Newman's day, but by the whole congregation:

> Great stress was laid on the Lord's prayer...it was said aloud by the people, and when they said, “Forgive us our trespasses,” they beat their breasts.[193]

Although he does not here suggest that this partly imagined ancient liturgy was

[191] *Call*., p. 336
[192] See R. S. Pine-Coffin, trans., *The Confessions of St. Augustine*,London: Penguin Books, 1961, Book X, ch. 33, pp. 238-239
[193] *Call*., p. 341

celebrated in either a hieratic or a vernacular language, Newman clearly states that the laity were able to take a direct part in uttering the prayers. In the same year that *Callista* was published, Newman raised with his bishop the possibility of singing vernacular congregational hymns at low Mass as an alternative to high Mass, possibly not only because he was finding it difficult to provide suitable music for the solemn Latin liturgy, but because he hoped to encourage a kind of congregational participation unknown in England at that time, though existing in parts of Europe. After all, only a few years earlier he had experimented with a vernacular celebration of the office of Compline, so as to encourage congregational use of at least part of the Breviary offices.

However, we should not read Newman's interest in congregational participation in the liturgy as an indication that he was dissatisfied with the liturgy *per se*, but rather that he was seeking ways in which to engage the congregation more directly in that which he personally found so enriching. His profound appreciation of the Catholic liturgy has already been shown; but precisely because he himself was so enamoured of the liturgy, and merely acquiesced in those devotions practised by the laity during its celebration, he seems to have desired that the laity should become more closely involved in the liturgical action. Nor did he try to pursue this aim purely for the sake of lay activism, but so that the laity might be more consciously and directly 'inflamed' by the spirituality of the liturgy. It is consistent with his teaching and practice that he should have wanted the laity not to rely solely on subjective forms of devotion, when by a greater participation in the objective structure of divine worship they might, like him, experience a most effective 'foretaste of heaven'.

As Willis's eulogy on the Mass in *Loss and Gain* suggests, Newman was in

awe of the sacred rites of priesthood, and especially of the celebration of Mass. But the Mass was not simply a private act of worship on the part of the priest, as Newman's attitude to lay involvement in the liturgy suggests. The 'sacred office' of the priesthood was 'awful', because the priest was 'the voice of the people to God, and of God to the people.'[194] The priest stands between God and the people at the altar not as an obstruction, but as a link, in order to guide souls towards 'the ineffable ecstasy of the marriage feast' and 'bliss everlasting'.[195]

Although this role of linking earth and heaven belongs on a daily basis to the priest's celebration of the Mass, it is exercised most dramatically at the point of death, when the priest assists the soul in departing this earthly life for the spiritual realm. Newman the pastor must have helped many souls at that most awe-inspiring moment when they pass out of direct contact with this present world, 'ex umbris et imaginibus in veritatem'. This priestly duty stands therefore at the cardinal point of his great poem of transition from this world to the next, *The Dream of Gerontius*. It is the priest, surely Newman himself, who closes the first part of the poem, which concludes not with an announcement of the death of Gerontius, but with the liturgical formula addressed by the priest to any soul on the brink of that momentous journey which carries it towards the face of God: 'Proficiscere, anima christiana, de hoc mundo!'[196] Newman then translates the text, of which he has already given the opening words in the original 'majestic and austere'[197] Latin, in order to emphasise the hieratic and objective nature of the priest's role. For it is the priest's solemn mission to *command* the soul to 'go forth' in the Name of God' from this world into eternity, which resembles the 'dismissal' of the

[194] *NO*, p. 61, Newman's Mass intention MS handbook.
[195] *Call*. p. 378
[196] *VV*, p. 321
[197] Thus Newman described 'Latin devotions'. See *LD* vi, p. 47

congregation which concludes the rite of Mass: 'Ite, missa est!'[198] But it is also the priest's duty to pray for the departing soul's happy state, for he concludes with this prayer:

> And may thy place to-day be found in peace,
> And may thy dwelling be the Holy Mount
> Of Sion: - through the Name of Christ, our Lord.[199]

So it is the priest's prerogative to pray in Christ's Name on behalf of all those entrusted to his pastoral care, but especially now for the one whose soul is leaving his ministration to face judgement and purification, assisted, as the Angel tells Gerontius by 'Masses on earth and prayers in heaven'. In this way, the priest's role as a link or connection between the earthly and spiritual realms continues even after the soul's departure, precisely through his liturgical office of celebrating the Mass to 'aid [him] at the throne of the Most Highest.'[200]

4. Our Home: 'Ex umbris et imaginibus in veritatem'

4.1 The Architecture of Heaven

In heaven, Newman says, we shall 'praise and serve God eternally with a single and perfect heart in the midst of His Temple.'[201] The life of Heaven, for Newman, is the fulfilment of what worship is on earth, for 'we attempt now to imitate in church

[198] It is possible that Edward Elgar had this association with 'Ite, missa est' in mind when he set the Angel's valedictory 'Alleluia' (*VV*, p. 326) to the melody of the deacon's dismissal at High Mass on Sundays throughout the year. The Angel, after all, exercises a ministering role to Gerontius, corresponding in a way to that of a deacon at Mass, rather than to that of a priest-celebrant.

[199] *VV*, p. 322

[200] *VV*, p. 361

[201] *PS* vii, no. 13, 'Love of Religion, a New Nature', p. 189

what there is performed'.[202] If, then, earthly worship is in a sense analogous to heavenly worship, then by extension of the same idea, a temple in which we worship here below should be itself an 'attempt to imitate' that heavenly temple to come. His reaction on entering the Blessed Sacrament in Pugin's 'sumptuous' Gothic church at Cheadle, which he described as 'the most splendid building I ever saw,' was to exclaim 'Porta caeli!'[203] It is in such a sense as this that Newman speaks of a heavenly 'architecture' as the fulfilment of earthly architecture.

Newman resolves the paradoxical idea of architecture in a non-material world by claiming that 'in heaven, where there is no gross matter, the very framework of the Temple is composed of spirits.'[204] Note that Newman rules out in heaven the presence only of 'gross' matter, which is not incompatible with belief in the 'glorified' matter of the resurrected body. Newman sees the Transfiguration of Christ as the model which the resurrected body will follow, which is characterised by intense light, for

> [w]hen our Lord was transfigured, He showed us what Heaven is. His raiment became white as snow, white and glistening..And what Christ is, such do His Saints become hereafter...when the end comes, and they rise from the grave, they shall inherit glory, and shall be ever young and ever shining.[205]

Heaven will thus contain both spirits and bodies illuminated from within by light, or glory.

It is presumably not simply the scriptural imagery of the heavenly Temple which suggests the use of architectural terms to Newman.[206] He also understands the

[202] *PS* vii, p. 189
[203] *LD* xi, p. 210
[204] *PS* iv, no. 21, 'Faith and Love', p. 313
[205] *PS* vii, no. 14, 'Religion Pleasant to the Religious', pp. 201-2
[206] See e.g., Rev. 21: the description of the heavenly Jerusalem enumerates precious stones and angels at the gates, yet

aesthetic significance of form, order and harmony inherent in a great building, and sees in the finest examples on earth the signs of what is to be in heaven. So in discussing architectural styles in the *Idea*, Newman claims that

> that style which...is called Gothic, is endowed with a profound and a commanding beauty, such as no other style possesses with which we are acquainted, *and which probably the Church will not see surpassed till it attain to the Celestial City*.[207]

So it is, that in *The Dream of Gerontius*, Newman imaginatively explores Gerontius's progress past the succession of angelic choirs singing God's praises, as though he is being guided by the Angel through some vast architectural space, describing how

> whereas on earth
> Temples and palaces are form'd of parts
> Costly and rare, but all material,
> So in the world of spirits nought is found,
> To mould withal, and form into a whole,
> But what is immaterial; and thus
> The smallest portions of this edifice,
> Cornice, or frieze, or balustrade, or stair,
> The very pavement is made up of life –
> Of holy, blessed, and immortal beings,
> Who hymn their Maker's praise continually.[208]

Although these spirits in the poem are specifically the five successive choirs of the 'Angelicals', Newman elsewhere speculates that it is not only angels who form this architectural structure in praise of God, for in the sermon 'Faith and Love' he suggests that

> for what we know...those little ones who are baptized and taken away before they have learned either to reason or to sin... may be as the stones of the Everlasting Pavement, crying out continually in praise to God; dimly visible,

although the evangelist *sees* no temple, this is not because there is in *reality* no temple, but because '*its temple is the Lord God the Almighty and the Lamb*'. (Rev. 21:22, RSV)

[207] *Idea*, p. 82 (my emphasis)

[208] *VV*, p. 345

as if absorbed in the glory which encompasses God's throne.'[209]

Such an architectural ensemble is both 'harmonious and intellectual' by nature, as it is constructed not of stone and glass, but of spiritual beings ordered and united in 'their Maker's praise'.

4.2 The Music of Heaven

The qualities of harmony and order which Newman ascribes to the architecture of heaven apply also to the music of heaven, for they emanate from the one divine creative source. Hence the two categories of structure and sound are blended inextricably in some of Newman's imagery in *The Dream of Gerontius*, as the soul of Gerontius remarks of the great chorus of angelical beings:

> Hark! For the lintels of the presence-gate
> Are vibrating and echoing back the strain.[210]

So too, again the Angel explains:

> And now the threshold, as we traverse it,
> Utters aloud its glad responsive chant.[211]

As in heaven the faculties of sight and hearing blend into one, so too does the plenum of worshipping angels and saints resound with the praise of God, whence musical and architectural terms are mingled.

The music sung by the angels is described by Newman as being 'the delight of all holy beings, who stand around the Throne,' using 'one and the same form of worship'

[209] *PS* iv, p. 313
[210] VV, p. 352
[211] VV, p. 354

in the form of 'glorious chant'.[212] The kind of glorious angelic chant he had in mind even included the *Quicunque vult* which Newman found so inspiring, and in which he detected 'the sound of the 'New Song' in the Apocalypse.'[213] This image, both scriptural and devotional, also appears in *The Dream of Gerontius*, where the soul, hearing his angel singing, realises that he is now aware of a truly majestic music that he could never have heard while he was on the earth, when

> I never could have drunk those accents in,
> And not have worshipp'd as a god the voice
> That was so musical...[214]

The soul listens with rapt attention to the angelic choirs singing God's praises, whose sound he compares to

> the rushing of the wind...
> ...echoing round about,
> Now here, now distant, wild and beautiful.[215]

Then as he draws nearer to the presence of God the angelic music becomes yet more awe-inspiring, and he cries out:

> But hark! a grand mysterious harmony:
> It floods me like the deep and solemn sound
> Of many waters.'[216]

Behind Newman's description lies a fundamental identification of music as 'the expression of ideas greater and more profound than any in the visible world, ideas which centre indeed in Him whom Catholicism manifests, who is the seat of all beauty, order and perfection whatever'.[217] Therefore, the musical structure of the heavenly canticle imagined by Newman comprises not only praise uttered endlessly by the choirs

[212] *PS* viii, no. 1, 'Reverence in Worship', p. 11
[213] *LD* xxvii, p. 282 *Quicunque vult* is the opening of the so-called 'Athanasian Creed'.
[214] *VV*, p. 329
[215] *VV*, p. 347
[216] *VV*, p. 351
[217] *Idea*, p. 80

of God's creatures enraptured in His glory, but also the symphonic image of God's own voice as the foundation of all heavenly music, giving infinite joy and happiness to His creatures. Newman implies that in the sense that God does indeed 'address' us, our experience of it will be of 'His voice...so touching...that we need nothing more than to...listen, and be happy',[218] and that in hearing Him we will be enraptured by 'the thrilling music of His voice'.[219]

Although he says that in heaven we need nothing more than to listen, in order to be happy, Newman is certainly not of the view that we are passive in the presence of God, but that *were* we only to listen, we would find enough satisfaction in that experience. In reality, our heavenly chant, in unison with that of the angels, will be an ecstatic response to God's own utterances, supplied to us by God himself who 'alone can give us tune and harmony'.[220]

4.3 Truth, the Reality and Beauty of our Home

For Newman, our final fulfilment in heavenly glory is the ultimate reality, into which we enter at last after the images and shadows of this life are left behind and we pass beyond the veil into the light of God's glory, and behold him face to face in the beatific vision. We are destined by God's condescension not only to 'behold the glory and beauty of His eternal excellence',[221] but even to have impressed upon our flesh his

[218] *Mix*., p. 297
[219] *Mix*., no. 4, 'Purity and Love', p. 69
[220] *PS* v, no. 7, 'The Thought of God, the Stay of the Soul', p. 326
[221] *Mix*., p. 295

'very presence and personal indwelling'.[222] To arrive at this end, we need to learn how to discern and follow the truth which will guide us in this life, and for that we need to understand, first, that it exists and that we are capable of finding it. In *Callista* Newman's alter ego, the priest Caecilius, argued that an attractive force or power located within the subject, the individual person, seeks its fulfilment in an external object.[223] Of the nature of this attraction Newman notes St Augustine's teaching that we 'are drawn by the sense of pleasure',[224] itself based on Virgil's aphorism that 'every one is drawn by his own pleasure',[225] to which Newman adds a more detailed interpretative gloss, explaining that we are drawn

> not by necessity, but by pleasure; not by obligation, but by delight; how much more boldly ought we to say, that man is drawn to Christ, when he is delighted with truth, delighted with bliss, delighted with justice, delighted with eternal life, all which is Christ?[226]

Pleasure can attract us in many directions, not all of which are 'true', in the sense that truth is found only in the 'reality' of its divine source. Truth or reality must therefore be distinguished from unreality, and because the world provides some partial and even illusory, or 'unreal' objects of pleasurable attraction, such attractions and their objects must be carefully discerned and set aside.

Newman is not sceptical about the possibility of apprehending reality in this world, but he recognizes that it is limited by the shadowy and imperfect state of what is truly real here below. Newman tells us in the *Apologia* that in his boyhood he 'thought...all this world a deception'.[227] This is perhaps similar to saying that the material

[222] *Mix*., p. 299
[223] cf. *Call*. p. 220
[224] *Mix*., p. 70
[225] Trahit sua quemque voluptas (Eclogue 2, 65)
[226] *Mix*., p. 70
[227] *Apo*., p. 16

world is 'unreal'. The young Newman manifested signs of a form of dualism, a belief in the reality only of the spiritual world, and the illusory 'unreality' of the material world. Although he clearly left this extreme view behind as he grew to intellectual maturity, it helped to shape his judgement as to how much one could trust the reality or truth of the material realm. The search for 'reality' was synonymous for Newman with the search for truth. Hence, Newman's memorial epigram 'ex umbris et imaginibus *in veritatem*' is well translated as 'into *reality*' , as Ian Ker does,[228] while Sheridan Gilley similarly notes that Newman 'thought it less damning to call a thing untrue than “unreal”'.[229]

The possibility of a successful human search for 'reality' depends on the kind of connection existing between the earthly and heavenly realms. This connection consists not only in the action of spiritual agencies upon the affairs of this world, such as Newman recognized in the ministry of angels and the intercession of the saints, but also through divine revelation. Newman sees the gift of divine revelation as crucial both to our recognizing the truth in this life, and to our attaining it completely in the next. The source of this divine revelation is, first and foremost, the Christ, the 'Wisdom of God, who is the eternally glorious and beautiful,' who took 'Adam's nature upon Himself, and manifested Himself to men and Angels in it.'[230]

Christ himself continues to communicate this self-revelation in the Church, so that the beauty of truth may draw us to its divine origin. Newman identifies the Catholic Church as God's messenger of truth, which is 'so saintly, so sublime, so beautiful' that it should overcome all human doubt that 'she is the Divine Messenger for whom you

[228] Ian Ker, *John Henry Newman: A Biography,* Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988, p. 745.
[229] Sheridan Gilley, *Newman and His Age*, London: Darton, Longman and Todd, 1990. p. 422
[230] *Mix*., p. 299

seek.'[231] He further describes the Church as the true object for which human nature longs and searches, sometimes with great difficulty:

> Oh, long sought after, tardily found, desire of the eyes, joy of the heart, the truth after many shadows, the fullness after many foretastes, the home after many storms...who can alone unfold the meaning of your being and the secret of your destiny. She alone can open to you the gate of heaven, and put you on your way.[232]

Since beauty originates in God and proceeds from him, all that participates in beauty draws it from God, while manifesting it in various ways. While the beauty of the natural world demonstrates the majesty of God, albeit in a shadowy way,[233] the clearest sign of beauty we can encounter in this life, which shows its connection to the divine and focuses our attraction on its hidden origin, is holiness. 'A really holy man, a true saint,' says Newman, 'has a sort of secret power in him to attract others to him who are like-minded, and to influence all who have any thing in them like him.'[234] This saintly attractiveness, described by Newman as 'the *beauty* of holiness...consists in tender and eager affection towards our Lord and Saviour' and is 'in the case of the Christian, what beauty of person is to the outward man.'[235] There is, therefore, at least an analogy between earthly beauty and the beauty of holiness. Yet there is an even greater connection between them, because earthly beauty not only participates in heavenly beauty, but is drawn towards it as to its final end. This is the context in which Newman recognized the power of beauty; its origin and purpose are to guide humanity to its heavenly destiny, thus fulfilling mankind's aspirations and longings in the sight and sharing of God's infinite beauty and glory; in short, the real nature of beauty is teleological.

[231] *Mix*., no. 13, 'Mysteries of Nature and Grace', p. 281
[232] *Mix*., p. 281
[233] *Mix*., pp. 296-7
[234] *PS* iv, no. 16, 'Christ Hidden from the World', p. 244
[235] *PS* vii, no. 10, 'The Crucifixion', p. 134. (n.b. Newman's emphasis).

The transition from this present world to eternity, and the object of growing in participation in God's holiness, therefore constitute a journey, with heaven for its destination. This destination, as Newman sees it, although hidden from us in this life, nevertheless casts its spell over us and the idea and images of it draw us on towards it, as towards somewhere strangely familiar. So, in *Callista*, after considering the beauties of the natural world, Caecilius refers to them as 'shadows of that fairer paradise which is our home.'[236] In the same vein, Newman invites us to 'call heaven our home, and this life a pilgrimage',[237] and invests heaven with all the positive associations of home, such as 'quietness, confidence and affection'.[238] These were, moreover, qualities which attracted him to the Oratorian life, and which he prized so much in the love of the familiar 'nido' or nest, a term which he believed supplied a need in Italian for the idea conveyed by the English word 'home', in which he even saw an anticipation of the joy and rest of heaven.[239] The Church itself participates in this 'homeliness' of heaven, and by being our 'dwelling in a heavenly home in the midst of this turbulent world',[240] it prepares us to 'dwell in the house of the Lord... to behold the fair beauty of the Lord' and to 'be satisfied with the pleasures of [his] House.'[241] Music also belongs in Newman's image of heaven as a most powerful intimation of the fulfilment of all our desires and longings 'which we cannot compass', in the mysterious 'outpourings of eternal harmony in the medium of created sound' which he calls 'echoes from our Home.'[242]

Reality and truth may not exercise as much attractive power in this life as in

[236] *Call.*, p. 160
[237] *PS* viii, no. 16, 'The Shepherd of our Souls', p. 242
[238] *PS* iv, no. 12, 'The Church a Home for the Lonely', p. 189
[239] *NO*, pp. 192-6
[240] *PS* iv, p. 194
[241] *PS* iv, p. 194
[242] *US*, p. 347

the next, because they both remain hidden unless searched for diligently. So it is that Newman tells us that 'Christ and His Saints are alike destitute of form and comeliness in the eyes of the world, and it is only as we labour to change our nature, through God's help...that we begin to discern the beauty of holiness.'[243] It will only be in heaven that we finally and blissfully behold 'the manifestation of the glory of God in the face of Jesus Christ,' for

> it is that view of the attributes and perfections of Almighty God; it is the beauty of His sanctity, the sweetness of His mercy, the brightness of His heaven, the majesty of His law, the harmony of His providences, the thrilling music of His voice.[244]

That is the state in which Newman describes human fulfilment as being 'entranced in the vision of infallible truth and immutable sanctity', like his fictional heroine, Callista.[245] All partial images and objects of attraction through which we gradually discern the true origin and end of beauty in this life, and all human longings and desires, will find their culmination in the infinite glory and harmony enjoyed eternally in the presence and

[243] *PS* viii, no. 13, 'Truth hidden when not sought after', pp. 196-7
[244] *Mix*., p. 69
[245] *Call*. p. 378

Conclusion

This thesis has demonstrated, from Newman's own words, the importance and consistency of the idea of beauty throughout his life and work. The first chapter presented the early development in Newman's thought of a profound interconnection between the ideas of beauty and of holiness, which he first identified in persons of known sanctity of life, and through his growing awareness of the 'veil' separating the visible, material world from the invisible, spiritual realm of heaven. This sense of the 'otherness' of heavenly beauty immanent in personal holiness was intensified first by the trauma of bereavement, which he experienced so intensely upon the sudden and premature death of his sister Mary, and secondly by the profound effect upon him of natural beauty, especially in Sicily. This was a theme which he explored in his verses at the time, seeing earthly beauty as signs of a lost Eden, for which he was constantly searching. The tension of this search was finally resolved when he identified in natural beauty 'an image and a promise of something more sweet and lasting than itself",[1] which inspired the 'cheerfulness and humour of youth'[2] that he manifested in old age.

The second chapter explored Newman's early religious formation in order to show how he built on his awareness of the sense of beauty in his religious practice and views. Although his domestic religious upbringing had provided little in the way of an aesthetic aspect to his religion, I have argued that Newman's early experience of church architecture in London, embodying the principles of

1 *LD* xxviii, p. 55
2 *LD* xxxi, p. 184, n.3

Baroque architecture adapted by Christopher Wren from Catholic Europe may have played an important role in establishing his preference for the Classical style over the Gothic, and that this is consistent with Newman's preference for the openness of church interiors and the visibility of the altar which was to be central to his disagreement with Pugin in his Catholic years. The importance of the role of analogy in Newman's understanding of beauty as a mode of participation by the lesser, material reality of earth in the greater, spiritual reality of heaven has also been presented in this chapter. This development in Newman's thought is crucial to his apprehension of the sacramental nature of the Church and her worship, and is to be seen clearly in the development of his preaching on the liturgy and on the place of symbolism in worship. It has been shown how significant this aspect also became in his development of a theology of church building, religious imagery and earthly worship as images of heavenly beauty. The importance of Newman's attraction to the austere majesty, structural form and harmony of the Roman Breviary for his growing appreciation of the liturgical forms of the Catholic religion has also been demonstrated.

The central importance of music throughout Newman's life, under its recreational, educational, liturgical and theological-philosophical aspects has been explored in detail in the third chapter. Newman's instinctive appreciation of music as a language expressing profound mysteries of the human experience, was manifested most of all in his love of the music of Beethoven, and in his intuition of the role of music as a bond between the visible and invisible worlds. His understanding of the structural and emotional power of music to evoke, by analogy, the symphonic harmony of the heavenly court of angelic choirs and

saints perpetually praising God has been shown to be at the heart of his idea of music's intelligibility and beauty.

The fourth chapter explored thoroughly the continuity in Newman's aesthetic tastes between his Anglican and Catholic careers, showing especially that Newman's choice of the Oratory was profoundly influenced by liturgical and musical considerations. Here, for the first time, a close examination has been made of his highly original programme of popular religious devotional music in the tradition of the *laudi spirituali*, adapting for nineteenth century English use the place of music in the Oratorian apostolate established in sixteenth century Rome by St Philip Neri. His appreciation of the importance of music in the life of the Church was expressed also in the musical and liturgical tradition which he himself created and transmitted to the Oratory he founded. I have also argued that his attitude to Gregorian and classical church music, was determined by whatever would serve the devotional spirit of the liturgy, rather than dominate it. It has also been shown how this balanced view and priority formed the succeeding generation of musicians at the Oratory, who were to be a great influence on early 20th century developments in liturgical music.

Chapter four also explored Newman's love of 'frugality', as a principle not disdainful of visual beauty, but rather expressed in architecture produced with limited means to the maximum effect. Although he believed his church at Littlemore to be 'beautiful', for all its plainness, his longing for visual richness to symbolize the heavenly temple of which the earthly church is an image and a foretaste was to be fulfilled more effectively in his University Church in Dublin,

achieved through his important and fruitful partnership with John Pollen. This chapter has shown how Newman made use of the talents of men such as Pollen and Clutton to maximise the aesthetic appeal of his architectural projects, and to demonstrate how frugality and beauty could be wedded. I have also argued that Newman's famous disagreement with Pugin was not a matter of aesthetic taste so much as a dispute over orthodoxy expressed in liturgical practice.

Chapter five brought together the philosophical and theological foundations of Newman's idea of beauty and showed how it was implemented in his priestly role in the Church. The vital role of the Breviary in the inflaming of his devotional imagination, through which he judged that the apprehension of the mysteries of faith is enhanced, has been thoroughly examined here for the first time. It can be seen from this how Newman's sobriety in devotional matters arose not only from his native English dislike of the exotic and exuberant Italian taste preferred by some of his Catholic contemporaries, but from his apprehension of the 'real' heart of private or local religious expression, complementing the universal language of the Catholic liturgy. Despite his personal preferences, he was tolerant of diverse aesthetic tastes on condition that they were able to touch the heart and thereby strengthen the adherence of the individual to the objective reality of the Church's faith and liturgy.

The central place of Newman's love of Catholic liturgy has been demonstrated through the evidence of his devout celebration of Mass and the administration of the sacraments, as objective acts of the Catholic priesthood in mediating God's redemptive grace and enlightening the faithful with the

awareness of their true destiny to share in the transcendent beauty of God in heaven. I have also argued that his attraction to Catholic liturgy helped him to overcome the personal disappointments he suffered in his Catholic years. Newman identified the transcendent beauty of heavenly union with God as 'glory', explaining that it was the goal of all earthly seeking, and was the quality towards which all that is beautiful draws us, first through the senses, and more perfectly through the heart. One of the most persistent themes in his preaching is the instruction to the faithful that this union in glory can only be gained by an attainment of personal holiness, and enhanced by the recognition of earthly beauty and worship both as a participation in, and a foretaste of, the infinite beauty of God beheld by the redeemed in the beatific vision.

This final chapter also brought together evidence to show that Newman's aesthetic appreciation is inseparable from his understanding of truth and reality, because it is dependent upon God, the author of all beauty, who is Truth. For this reason Newman judged it of great importance to examine incomplete and erroneous theories of beauty which fell short of, or distorted its true originating essence which he described as the 'flower and bloom' in which all God's attributes coalesce. I have shown that Newman fully acknowledged the attractive force upon the human heart of the kind of beauty that leads to 'nothing beyond itself', or is reducible to 'good taste', therein recognizing its danger. For this reason he posited the need for an interpretative key to unlock the deeper meaning and reality of the various kinds of beauty we experience in this world.

Newman's treatment of conscience and the apprehension of beauty,

have been shown to be united in the personal reality of the divine voice and its echo which are heard in both revelation and in music. I have also examined the diverse modes in which Newman sees the apprehension of this personal origin of beauty, through the voice of conscience and in dreams as a route to knowledge which transcends the evidence of the senses.

The two hermeneutic principles that Newman proposes as necessary for the correct understanding of beauty in this world have been here identified: first, that the desire for happiness and fulfilment which the apprehension of beauty arouses in us suggests the 'antecedent probability' that such a fulfilment actually exists for us to discover, and secondly that the key which actually enables us to discern the truth about beauty and its origin is divine revelation. In this way I have demonstrated that Newman proposes a 'natural theology' of beauty open to illumination by grace. These two principles are at the centre of what I have called the teleological purpose inherent in Newman's idea of beauty.

Finally, the aesthetic nature of Newman's speculations about heaven has been laid out clearly. His use of musical terms such as melody and harmony, and his reference to structural order and architectural form in describing the heavenly court are seen proleptically in his views on music as 'echoes from our Home' and on church buildings as an 'attempt to imitate' the architecture of the heavenly temple composed of glorified spirits. I have shown how Newman explores these themes of music and architecture imaginatively in his novels and in *The Dream of Gerontius.* Even while he recognizes the participation in divine beauty of earthly beauty and in the language with which we describe it, he firmly

maintains the unimaginable reality of heaven as transcending all that the human mind and heart can apprehend in this life, whilst positing that the experience of heaven will comprise 'depths...within us' and 'secret harmonies...of which human nature seemed incapable' from within the limitations of this present life and its

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