



## NEWMAN AT DEDDINGTON

by

**Brian Carter**

This publication was prepared for an exhibition held at Deddington Town Hall from 16th to 30th September 2000 to commemorate the life and works of John Henry Newman [1801-1890].

The exhibition was opened by the eminent Newman scholar,  
the Reverend Dr Ian Ker.

I would like to thank the following for their help at various stages in preparing for this exhibition. John Bevan, David Blakey, Mike and Jonathan Dudley, Stephen Eeley, Andrew Garner, Tony Field, Professor W J Kennedy, Dr Lothar Kuld, Yvonne McDonald, Charles Newey, William Shipley Carnt, Gerard Tracey, Wendy White.

I would like to thank, especially, my wife Elizabeth without whose constant help and support it would not have been possible for me to mount the exhibition.

*Published by Brian Carter, 13 High Street, Deddington, Oxon OX15 0SJ.*

**Above: Detail from portrait by Lady Coleridge.**

**Front cover: J.H. Newman, engraved portrait by George Richmond, 1856.**

**Back cover: A Cardinal Newman crest, forming part of the frame for the Oules portrait.**

# NEWMAN AT DEDDINGTON

This exhibition fulfils a double function: a Millennium event, and a bicentenary celebration marking Newman's birth in 1801. There is also a particular appropriateness in the location of the exhibition at Deddington in North Oxfordshire: although Newman's name is indissolubly linked with Oxford it is not so well known that, in June 1824, he preached the first sermon of his life in the beautiful church at Over Worton, a small village near Banbury; and in September 1825 he



Newman at St Mary's, pen and ink sketch c 1840

made the first speech of his life in Deddington, then as now a thriving and attractive village some sixteen miles north of Oxford.

In the mid 1820s, Newman was a regular visitor to Over Worton where he went to assist his old schoolmaster, the Reverend Walter Mayers [1790-1828]. Newman wrote in his **Apologia** that Mayers "was the human means of this beginning of divine faith in me...", and was evidently a leading influence on Newman during his evangelical phase, which began in 1816 and lasted for about ten years. He noted in his diary in the spring of 1824 (writing of himself in the third person) how, at short notice, he had been asked to write an article for publication on Cicero:

"...One day, after working with his private pupils till evening, he sat down to his article till four o'clock next morning, and then walked over from Oxford to Worton, a distance of eighteen miles, in order to appear punctually at the breakfast table of a friend, the Rev. Walter Mayers, who, on quitting home, had committed his pupils in his parsonage to the Author's charge."

Newman was much tougher physically than he appeared and always had

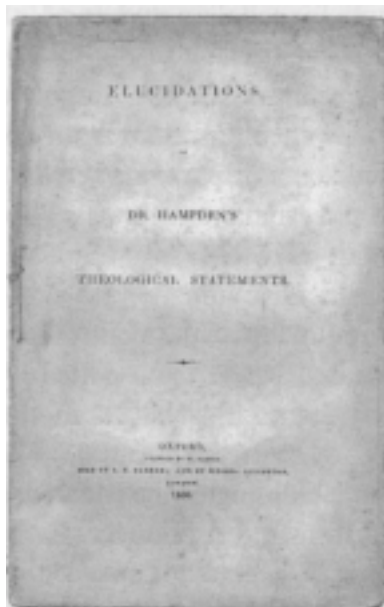
the capacity to work under pressure. On at least three occasions in his life he composed overnight complete controversial works ready for publication.

On several other occasions Newman visited Deddington, which had an evangelical vicar, Richard Greaves, and an equally zealous evangelical curate in John Hughes (who later became Archdeacon of Cardigan.) Newman's Diaries span the years from 1820 to 1879, but unfortunately there is a gap between July 1826 and March 1828, covering part of the time when he was visiting Deddington and Over Worton. We know from his letters and from the **Apologia**, however, that of the Evangelical writers the one who most influenced him was Thomas Scott [ 1747-1821 ] of Aston Sandford, the man "to whom (humanly speaking) I almost owe my soul,—..."

By the mid 1820s, Newman had decided that his future path lay as a churchman and academic, but it had not been a predetermined plan. As early as 1819, while still an undergraduate at Trinity College, he had joined Lincoln's Inn with the possibility in mind of a legal career, and did not finally give up his membership until 1825. Any prospect of a professional or academic career almost ended, however, when he only scraped through his degree examinations at Oxford, having suffered a collapse during Finals. Nevertheless he had enough confidence in his latent ability, with support from his tutor, Thomas Short [1789-1879], to stand for a Fellowship at Oriel College by open competition in 1822. At that time, Oriel had established for itself a reputation as a college of pre-eminent academic distinction, and it said as much for Newman's ability as for Oriel's discriminating selection procedures that the Fellows chose to appoint someone whose performance in the University's final examinations had been so weak.

Once at Oriel as a Fellow, Newman began to flourish under the brusque but good natured tutelage of Richard Whately, who put Newman through his paces and provided him with opportunities to display his abilities. An example of this was Whately's invitation to Newman to work on his manuscript notebooks of *Dialogues on Reasoning* which, as a result of Newman's close attention, Whately published as his very successful **Elements of Logic** in 1826. It was during this period that Newman made his visits to Deddington and Worton. Walter Mayers died young in 1828, and did not live to see Newman move away from his earlier evangelical position.

As for Whately, that early friendship with Newman became strained, and was severed for good by 1836 when Newman played a leading part in attacking Renn Dickson Hampden [1793-1868], the newly appointed Regius Professor of Divinity at Oxford.



**J H Newman, *Elucidations of Dr Hampden's Theological Statements*, 1836**

The Hampden controversy formed part of the history of the Tractarian/ Oxford Movement. Newman first came to public notice as the primary energising force behind this celebrated movement which, in its original phase from 1833 to 1845, helped to determine the course of so many aspects of Anglican history and theology for the next one hundred and fifty years. Other key figures in the early stages of the Oxford Movement were John Keble [1792-1866], author of the phenomenally successful **The Christian Year** [1827]; E.B. Pusey [1800-1882], Regius Professor of Hebrew at Oxford; and R.H Froude [1803-1836], whose posthumous **Remains** caused such controversy. Like Newman, all these men

had been Fellows of Oriel College. There was one important figure from Cambridge whose name should not be forgotten, that of Hugh James Rose



**J. Keble c1841**



**E.B. Pusey c1841**



**3.11. Newman 0841**

[1795-1838]: however, distance, other duties and ill health (and his early death) separated him from the immediate scene.

Visible memorials to the Oxford men remain: Keble College, the first new college to be founded in Oxford for 250 years; and Pusey House, with its Library, in St Giles, providing an unique resource for scholars studying 19th century Anglican history and theology and the development of the Anglo-Catholic tradition. The Martyrs' Memorial has a direct but now forgotten link with the Oxford Movement. The literary and theological **Remains** of their deceased friend, Hurrell Froude, contained some disparaging remarks about the English Reformers as well as some pro-Roman sentiments. The architectural and historical landmark of The Martyrs' Memorial in St Giles stands not only as a memorial to Latimer, Ridley and Cranmer, burnt at the stake in Oxford in 1555/56, but as a visible reminder of the controversy surrounding the publication of Froude's **Remains**, which were edited by Newman and Keble. In fact, there would have been no Martyrs' Memorial without the bitter divisiveness that developed over the publication. The issuing of a subscription list to raise funds for the building of the Memorial was seen as a device to split the Tractarians from the supporters of the Reformed Anglican tradition.

Newman wrote the first Tract and the last, the famous Tract 90, as well as



Newman at St. Mary's, 18.11

nearly a third of the remainder. The *Tracts* began as an attempt to stir the Anglican clergy to a realisation of the Apostolic nature of their priesthood, and to reinvigorate them with proper Apostolic zeal. This appeal to the pastoral dimension of their ministry was combined with an essentially conservative outlook: as far as the University was concerned, the Tractarians wished to enshrine the institution as a bastion of Anglicanism and continue to exclude Dissenters and Roman Catholics from matriculating by requiring all students to subscribe to the 39 Articles. In the course of the development of the Tractarian Movement, there was a perceived 'Romeward' drift in the *Tracts*. The high point of the influence of the Tractarians in Oxford was probably in 1836 over the orchestrated and hostile opposition to Hampden.

The most effective polemical attack came from Newman in his pamphlet, *Elucidations of Dr Hampden's Theological Statements*. This work generated one of the most ferocious of theological ripostes in the form of Thomas Arnold's article of April 1836 in the **Edinburgh Review**, *The Oxford Malignants and Dr Hampden*, Newman being one



Proposed Martyrs' Memorial 1841

of the principal 'Malignants'. Lord Jenkins of Hillhead, writing in 1990, expressed the view that the only living writer who was in the same class as Newman as a polemicist was Hugh Trevor Roper.

The Oxford Movement and its history has produced an immense volume of published work, but of these histories one still holds an unrivalled position, that of R.W. Church [1815-1890]. The reader is left with the impression that Newman, if not hounded, was squeezed out of the Church of England. Dean Church has stern words for the heads of Colleges and the University authorities for their failure in the period from 1833 to 1845 to apprehend that the Oxford Movement possessed "a moral force, without parallel in Oxford for more than two centuries..."; and that

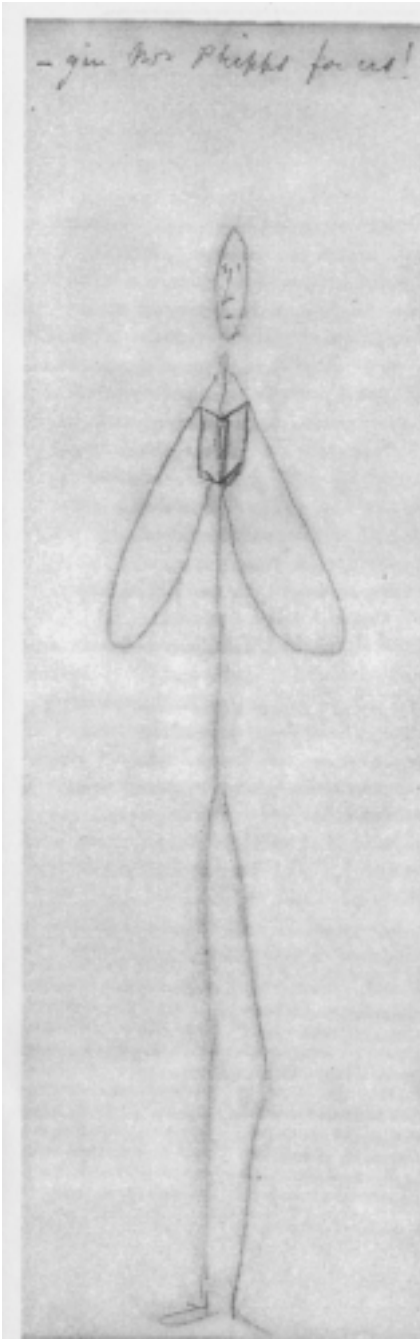
"in their apathy, in their self-satisfied ignorance, in their dullness of apprehension and forethought, the authorities of the University let pass the great opportunity of their time."



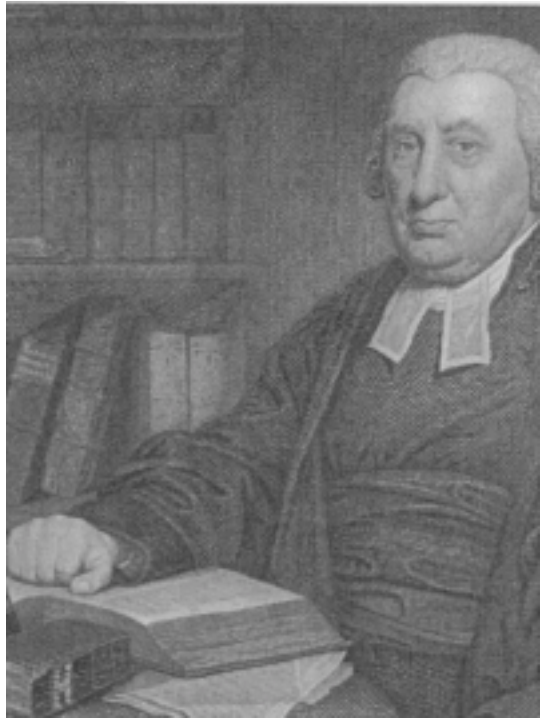
While Newman was at Littlemore he planned his *Gives of the English Saints*:t Mark Pattison wrote 'The Life of St. Edmund' (1845). The engraved design was the work of A.W. Pugin

In 1841, Newman's Tract 90 was published, in which he maintained that the 39 Articles were capable of a Roman Catholic interpretation. He argued that the intention of the original framers of the Articles could be ignored: they may have intended to raise an unbridgeable barrier between England and Rome. The onus on the reader, however, was to interpret the words of the Articles and not to try to discern the possible intention of the framers. The publication of Tract 90 was met with an immediate hostile reaction, and Newman acceded to the wish of the Bishop of Oxford that no more Tracts be published.

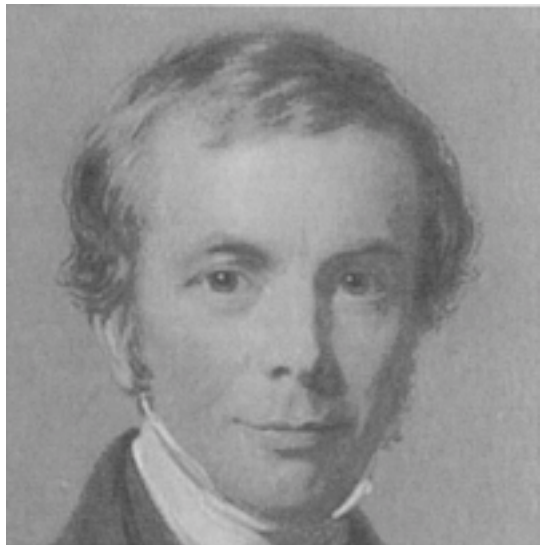
In the early 1840s Newman withdrew to Littlemore, where he established a small community, and there he gradually worked out his own religious and



A sketch by Manning in one of his school text books, 1825



Thomas Scott, 1747 - 1821



John Keble by George Richmond



**THOUGHTS**  
ON  
**THE MINISTERIAL COMMISSION,**  
RESPECTFULLY ADDRESSED TO THE CLERGY.

I Am but one of yourselves,—a Presbyter; and therefore I conceal my name, lest I should take too much on myself by speaking in my own person. Yet speak I must; for the times are very evil, yet no one speaks against them.

Is not this so? Do not the "look one upon another;" yet perform nothing? Do we not all confess the peril into which the Church is come, yet sit still each in his own retirement, as if mountains and seas cut off brother from brother? Therefore suffer me, while I try to draw you forth from those pleasant retreats, which it has been our blessedness hitherto to enjoy, to contemplate the condition and prospects of our Holy Mother in a practical way ; so that one and all may unlearn that idle habit, which has grown upon us, of owning the state of things to be bad, yet doing nothing to remedy it.

Consider a moment. Is it fair, is it dutiful, to suffer our Bishops to stand the brunt of the battle without doing our part to support them ? Upon them comes "the care of all the Churches." This cannot be helped; indeed it is their glory. Not one of us would wish in the least to deprive them of the duties, the toils, the responsibilities of their high office. And, black event as it would be for the country, yet, (as far as they are concerned,) we could not wish them a more blessed termination of their course, than the spoiling of their goods, and martyrdom.

To them then we willingly and affectionately relinquish their high privileges and honors; we encroach not upon the rights of the *SUCCESSORS OF THE APOSTLES* ; we touch not their sword and crosier. Yet surely we may be their shield-bearers in the battle without offence ; and by our voice and deeds be to them what Luke and Timothy were to St. Paul

Now then let me come at once to the subject which leads me to address you. Should the Government and Country so far forget their God as to cast off the Church, to deprive it of its temporal honors and substance, *on what* will you rest the claim of respect and attention which you make upon your flocks? Hitherto you

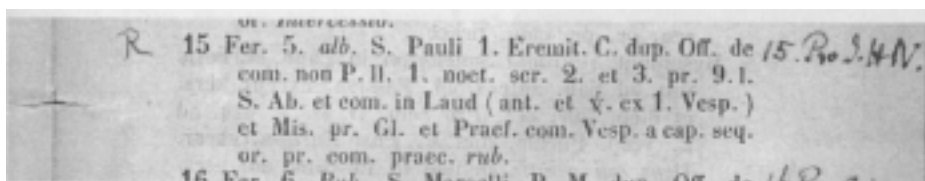
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A late Victorian engraving for 'Lead Kindly Light' written by Newman in 1833



Detail from Spy cartoon, 1877



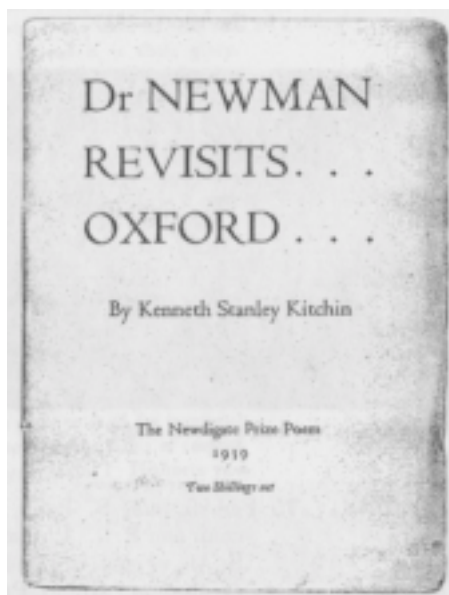
A detail from H.E Manning's Ordo for 1852, initials 'J.H.N.' against 15th February '



Detail from a mid Victorian satirical cartoon depicting a threat from Catholic Priests.  
There is more than a hint of Newman in some of the figures



Cardinal Newman by Whitlock c1885



K.S. Kitchin's Newdigate Prize Poem, 1939

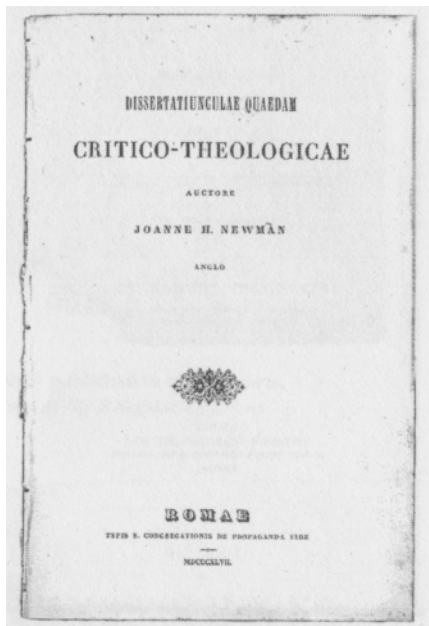
theological position which led him, in October 1845, to become a Roman Catholic. The formidable Mark Pattison, Rector of Lincoln College, wrote in his **Memoirs** of Newman's conversion:

"It is impossible to describe the enormous effect produced in the academical and clerical world, I may say throughout England, by

one man's changing his religion."

It was not long before Newman was permitted to found The Oratory in Birmingham, first in Alcester Street, moving later to Hagley Road where he lived for the rest of his life. (He also founded the London Oratory.) While still at The Oratory, he was invited to become the first Rector of the New Catholic University of Ireland, a project which proved to be full of frustration. While there he published various books and articles which were later transformed into one of his most celebrated and enduring works, **The Idea of a University**.

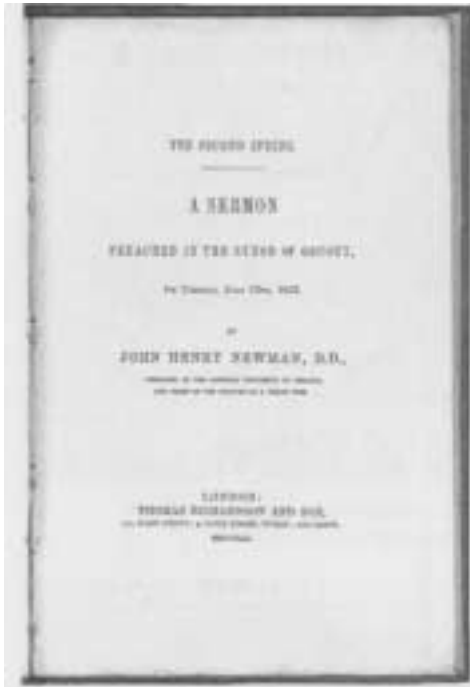
In July 1852, at the Synod of Oscott, Newman preached one of his most remarkable sermons, entitled **The Second Spring**. The first Synod of the restored



Newman was in Rome from Nov 1846 to June 1847. This work was a translation into Latin of four scholarly notes to his translation of St. Athanasius

Hierarchy of Roman Catholic Bishops in England marked an historic occasion: the first such meeting for nearly three hundred years after the great religious separation that took place at the Reformation. It was only in 1829 that Catholic emancipation had been granted, legalising the position and rights of Roman Catholics in the United Kingdom within a democratic society. This, the re-establishment of the Hierarchy, marked for Newman the dawning of the 'Second Spring'. The effect of Newman's sermon was so powerful and moving that most of the Bishops, clergy and congregation were moved to tears. The historian Henry Tristram wrote that the occasion was "...the great triumph, the one great public triumph, of Newman's life."

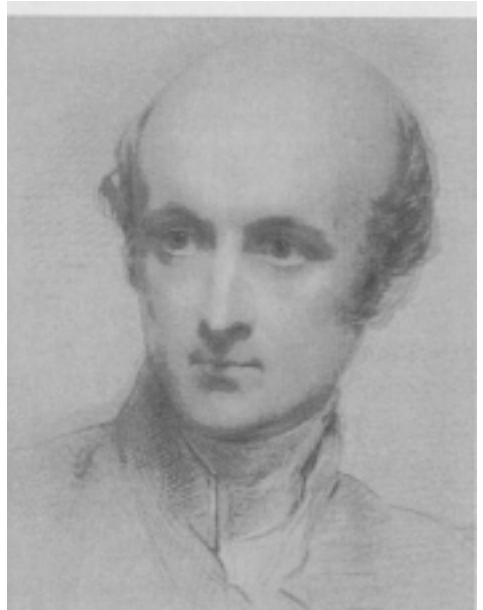
Newman himself was so overwhelmed by the reception that he had to be led away. As it happened, the person who came to his aid was Henry Edward Manning.



J.H. Newman, *The Second Spring*, 1852

In both Newman's Anglican and Catholic days, there were many who could not get the measure of the man and his ideas. The opportunity to explain his personal journey was provided when Charles Kingsley made some injudicious remarks impugning the integrity of Catholic

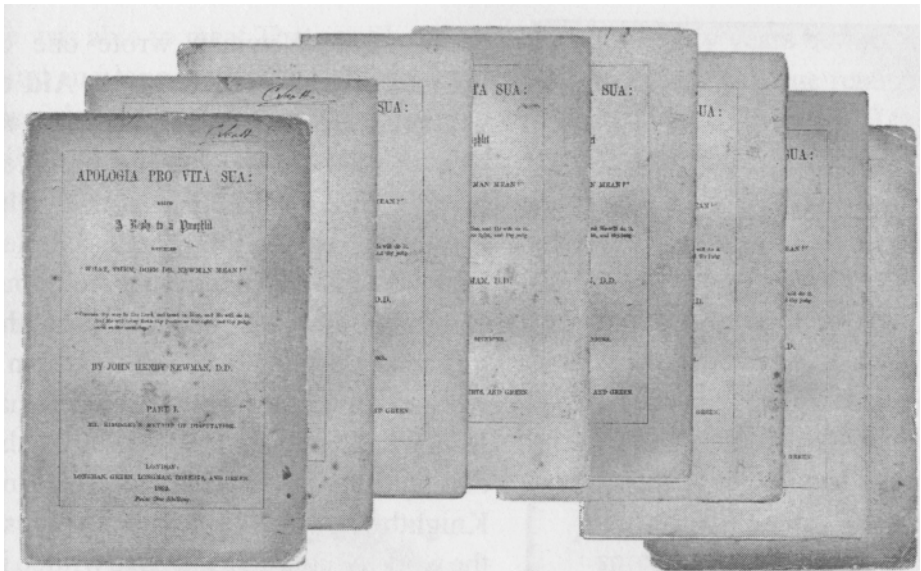
The almost tragic relationship between these two men is yet another fascinating strand in the history of those times. A phrase used to describe the enmity between two sides of the Catholic community in pre-Catholic emancipation days could also typify the relationship between Newman and Manning: they were "bosom enemies."



H.E. Manning, by George Richmond 1851

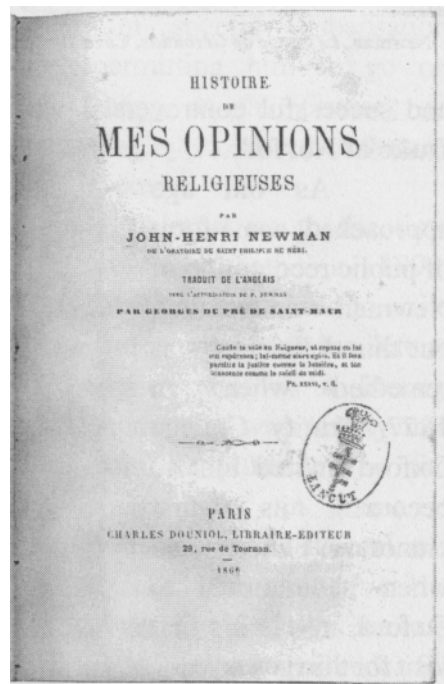
priests, and Newman himself. Newman's response to Kingsley's insinuations was contained in the **Apologia** of 1864. Written under intense pressure (Newman sometimes working for twenty two hours in a day), it established itself as a masterpiece, and time has only confirmed the early impression.



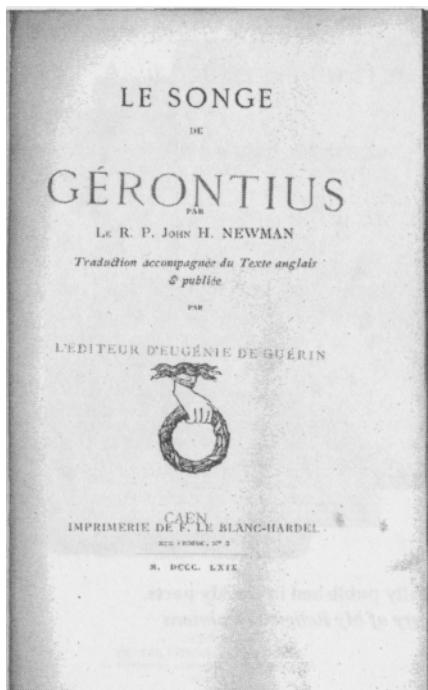


**Newman's Apologia Pro Vita Sua, 1864, originally published in weekly parts.  
The second edition only was retitled as *History of my Religious Opinions***

Newman not only wrote scholarly and controversial works, he also produced novels, poems and hymns. Perhaps the most famous of the hymns was written in 1833 and became known as "Lead Kindly Light": some historians have suggested that it was the most popular hymn of the 19th century. However, its appeal was to be superseded by a more substantial work, **The Dream of Gerontius** (1865), which was set to music by Sir Edward Elgar in 1900, and is seen by many as Elgar's masterpiece. A few stanzas from the Dream are very familiar, and are sung as a separate hymn, "Praise to the Holiest in the Height": a favourite with W.E. Gladstone and sung at his funeral.



**Newman's Apologia in French, 1866**

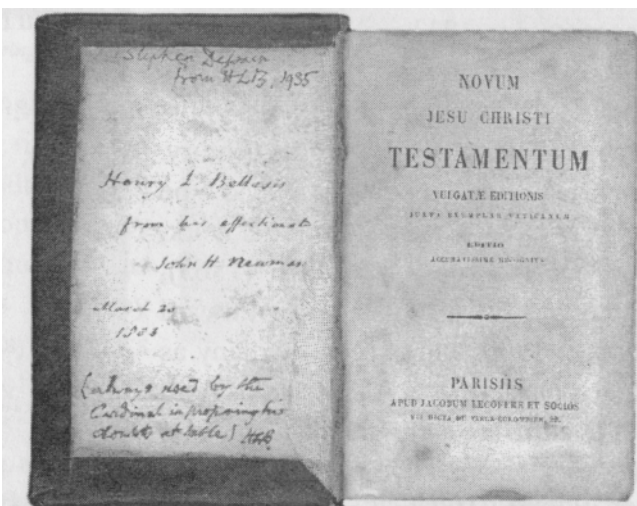


Newman, *Le Songe de Gêrontius* Caen 1869

In 1870, Newman wrote one of his major works, **An Essay in Aid of a Grammar of Assent**, of which as he said, "I have written and rewritten it more times than I can count." The **Grammar** was a subtle and complex analysis of the nature of religious certitude, and has been one of the most intensively studied of Newman's works. One can only assume that Henry Sidgwick [1838-1900], the distinguished Cambridge thinker and Knightbridge Professor, had never read the work, or he would not have written in such an Olympian manner of Newman's reasoning, "...I have never felt that my own intellect need be strained to its full energies to deal with his arguments;..." Newman composed one more important and successful controversial work in 1875, **A Letter**

## Addressed to the Duke of Norfolk.

As old age approached, some form of public recognition of Newman was wanting, but this deficiency was remedied when, in 1877, Trinity College Oxford invited him to become its first Honorary Fellow; and when he returned to Oxford, it was his first visit for thirty two years.



J.H. Newman's *New Testament* given to Henry L. Bellasis and in turn given to Stephen Dessain

He was able to meet Thomas Short, his old tutor of sixty years before, now blind and long retired, but still living in College. Trinity College retained a special place in Newman's heart. He wrote a letter to the President of Trinity telling him that by his bedside he had always hung views of the College buildings, which

"...bring before me morning and evening my undergraduate days, and those good friends, nearly all now gone, whom I loved so much during them and my love of whom has since their death kept me in affectionate loyalty to the college itself."



Medal struck for Newman's Cardinalate in 1879

Even greater recognition came in 1879 when Pope Leo XI II appointed Newman a Cardinal. There was widespread acknowledgment and acclamation in the United Kingdom that justice had been done. The Pope granted him special dispensation permitting him to go on living at the Oratory in Hagley Road rather than in Rome.

Almost up to the time of his death in 1890, Newman continued to write and correspond: his letters alone stand as a literary monument, with twenty nine volumes published so far. There was an immense gathering at his funeral and

well over 20,000 people lined the route. The great 19th century critic, Richard Holt Hutton, expressed the deep sense of deprivation felt at the loss of Newman, which seemed like that "...of a white star extinguished, of a





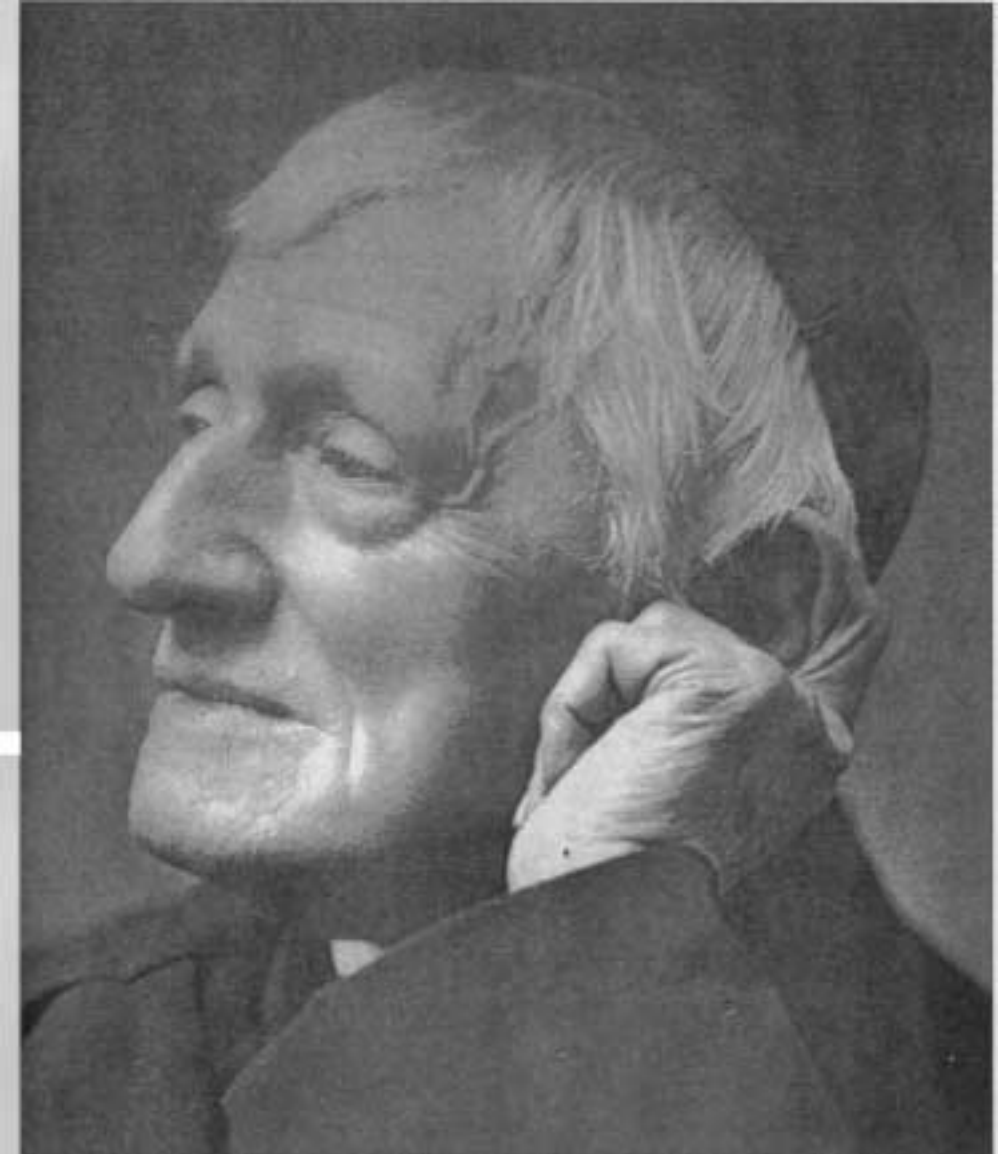
Cardinal Newman, engraving by Walter Oules, 0880

sign vanished, of an age impoverished, of a grace withdrawn."

Since his death, and in particular within the last thirty years, his reputation for saintliness has been incorporated into the formal process which is now under way in the cause for his canonisation. Dean Stanley, writing critically in 1881, hinted at the elusiveness of Newman's character and an enigmatic quality he possessed: Dr Newman, he wrote, "...had recourse to the practice of whispering, like the slave of Midas, his secret into the reeds in the hope that some future traveller might peradventure discover it."

Neither Dean Stanley nor anyone else could have foreseen the almost

incredible development of Newman studies worldwide over the last one hundred and ten years. Lord Jenkins of Hillhead has summarized the appeal Newman continues to exercise through the study of his life, work and writings as one of "dazzling fascination."



Newman Barraud, c1871-5