THE POET-PRIESTS OF THE OXFORD MOVEMENT

THE POET-PRIESTS OF THE OXFORD MOVEMENT
AN INVESTIGATION INTO
THE POETRY OF FOUR TRACTARIAN PRIESTS

By

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ABSTRACT

The Oxford Movement is a fact of history. It aimed at the restoring to the Church of England the Catholic ideals of the seventeenth-century Anglican divines. The Movement's chief goals were the defence of the Church of England as a Divine institution tracing its origin (through Apostolic Succession) to New Testament times, and the maintaining of a rule of faith through the usage of the Book of Common Prayer.

The aim of this thesis is to examine the poetry of four priests: John Keble, Isaac Williams, John Henry Newman and Frederick W. Faber-- who were actively engaged in the development of the Oxford Movement-- to determine to what extent, if any, their poetry was affected by the changing conditions of their lives as the Movement expanded. Their backgrounds differed. They began as men of one mind; history records that their paths diverged-- in some cases radically. This study will try to determine if the changes they underwent reflect in their poetry and, if so, did each poet have a similar experience. If it is found that their poetry, throughout their lives and among themselves, did not show any significant change in their

thought, then their collective poetic expression would seem to support the contention of Aristotle in <u>On Poetics</u> that "poetry is something more philosophic and of greater import than history, since its statements are of the nature of universals, whereas those of history are singulars" because the Oxford Movement, in time, achieved each of its stated goals but only after much bitter debate. To be specific to the argument, it took well over a century of history to achieve the unanimity which was evident in the poetry of the poet-priests from the beginning.

I am, however, more and more convinced that there is less difference between right-minded persons on both sides than these often suppose-- that differences which seemed considerable are really only so in <u>the way of stating them</u>; that people who would express themselves differently, and think each other's mode of expressing themselves very faulty, mean the same <u>truths</u> under different modes of expression.

E. B. Pusey in
Liddon, *Life of Pusey*, ii, 140.
Cited in *The Mind of the Oxford Movement*, ed. Owen Chadwick, Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1960, p. 51.

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INTRODUCTION

> There was never anything by the wit of man so well devised, or so sure established, which in the continuance of time hath not been corrupted: As, among other things, it may plainly appear by the Common Prayers in the Church, commonly called _Divine Service_. The first original and ground whereof if a man would search out by the ancient Fathers, he shall find, that the same was not ordained but of a good purpose, and, for a great advancement of godliness.[1]

Thus, in good conscience, wrote the compilers of _The Book of Common Prayer_ in the Preface of the 1549 edition and they continue, in their preface, to point out that their intention is to correct the abuses in the worship of the past and to formulate certain rules "... which, as they are few in number, so they are plain and easy to be understood" hoping thereby, to set up an order which "the continuance of time" would not corrupt.

Two hundred and eighty-four years later on 14 July 1833, John Keble-- in a sermon preached at St. Mary's, Oxford, before his Majesty's Judges of Assize-- argued that a state of national apostacy existed in Britain. Obviously, in those intervening years, there had not been "a great advancement of godliness"; at least, not in Keble's eyes. The sermon, which was essentially a complaint against the Parliament's assumption

of authority in church matters manifested in the suppression of certain Irish sees, contrary to the suffrages of the Bishops of England and Ireland, likened the current situation to that of the Israelites' appeal to the prophet, Samuel, to find them a king "to judge us like all the nations." (1 Sam. 8: 5).[2] This desire to be governed by an earthly king instead of God was abhorrent to Samuel, nevertheless the prophet assured the people of his goodwill towards them in the words, "As for me, God forbid that I should sin against the Lord in ceasing to pray for you: but I will teach you the good and the right way." (1 Sam. 12: 23). Using that verse as his text, Keble points out that for centuries the Israelites had acknowledged that God was their king but that through indifference, apathy, and misplaced tolerance they had turned their backs on God and asked for an earthly king. By analogy, apostacy had ensnared the minds of the English and, as a result, they had blindly accepted Parliament's assumed ecclesiastical powers without dissent and so were guilty of a direct disavowal of the authority of the bishops and, by inference, of the sovereignty of God. The rest of the sermon points out that just as Samuel promised to continue to intercede for a rebellious people so, too, the Church's duty is to continue to intercede for an apostate nation and to remonstrate against the usurpation of ecclesiastical powers by Parliament.

The seeds of the parliamentary action were set in 1829

when Parliament, responding to a wave of liberalism sweeping through Britain at the time, passed the Roman Catholic Emancipation Act thereby allowing many Irish and a few English Roman Catholics to sit in the Parliament of Westminster, and there to use their newly gained freedom against the Church of Ireland, which was and still is closely connected to the Church of England. For Keble, the root of the problem lay in the weakening of the power of Bishops who, in his eyes, derived their power directly from God through Apostolic Succession-- the method whereby the ministry of the Church is held to be passed on from the Apostles by a continuous succession. Since the authority of the Bishops was divine in origin it should be considered superior to the authority of Parliament whose origin was temporal.

The Assize Sermon, according to Newman, marked the beginning of the Oxford Movement; it would be more correct to claim that it was the catalyst which hastened its birth after a lengthy gestation period. A few days after the sermon was delivered the "founding" meeting was held at Hugh James Rose's Hadleigh Rectory during which it was decided to fight for Apostolic Succession and the integrity of the Prayer Book. The Oxford Movement was born.[3] The group communicated its opinions and ideas through religious tracts, ninety in number, issued under the general title of <u>Tracts for the Times</u>: the

first, published on 9 September 1833, contained a defence of the Apostolic Succession and the last, Tract 90, "Remarks on Certain Passages in the Thirty-Nine Articles", published on 25 January 1841, gave a "Catholic" interpretation to that Prayer Book document. The storm which it provoked brought the series to an end at the request of the Bishop of Oxford.

Authorship of the Tracts has been traced to eight men; the poetic works of three of them (Keble, Newman, and Isaac Williams) will be examined in this thesis, along with the works of their contemporary, F. W. Faber. These four men are the poet-priests of the Oxford Movement. A cross section of the works of each poet will be discussed in turn under separate chapters, preceded in each case by a brief biographical sketch to refresh the memory or inform the reader of the poets' individual backgrounds. The sketches will not be comprehensive but, rather, focus on such data as might be considered relevant to the thesis. For now, some general information regarding the men, their times, and their goals will set the stage for an enquiry into their poetry.

Two of the men, Newman and Faber, came from Calvinistic backgrounds and eventually joined the Roman Catholic Church, the other two, Keble and Williams, were born into the High Church tradition and remained loyal to the Church of England. History records this as a major break in relationships how does poetry view it? After Newman and Faber became Roman Catholics they would, of necessity, hold some different theolog-

ical and doctrinal views than those of Keble and Williams--is this dichotomy evident in their poetry? If it is not, then the poetic expression of the four men would tend to support Aristotle's statement in On Poetics that "poetry is something more philosophic and more important than history, since its statements are of the nature of ideals, whereas those of history are particulars"[4] because, one hundred and fifty years after Keble's Assize Sermon hastened the birth of the Oxford Movement, nearly every objective it set out to establish has been accepted by the Church of England. Also the relationship between Canterbury and Rome is more amicable now than at any time since William the Conqueror refused to do fealty to Pope Gregory VII on the grounds that he did not promise it, nor could he find evidence that his predecessors did fealty to Gregory's.[5]

Two newspaper items have been brought to my attention recently both of which comment on the benefits that are now being experienced in the Anglican Church as a result of the Oxford Movement. The first is a review by Brian Martin in the Times Literary Supplement of 24 February 1984 of a book by Geoffrey Rowell (the Chaplain of Keble College, Oxford) titled The Vision Glorious: Themes and Personalities of the Catholic Revival in Anglicanism (1983), being a history of the influence of the Oxford Movement on the Church of Eng-

land over the past century and a half. The title of Martin's article sums up just what that influence resulted in, "Sounder doctrine, brighter worship." The second item appeared in the February 1984 issue of The Niagara Anglican, published by the Diocese of Niagara, and captioned "Oxford Movement brought the winds of needed change to the life of the church." It was an abridged version of a sermon preached by Archdeacon Peter B. Moore at St. George's Church, Guelph, celebrating the 150th anniversary of the Oxford Movement. It, too, pointed to the success of the Movement as reflected in the life and worship in the modern church.

My thesis, then, is that whereas Faber and Newman experienced drastic religious changes in their lives, and whereas these two poets separated themselves from Keble and Williams over fundamental matters of belief and faith, all four poets show agreement in fundamental truths in their poetic expression both throughout changes in their own religious life and between one another, proving the truth of Aristotle's observation quoted above. The first step towards establishing the proof for the thesis will be to examine the social, educational and religious background of England in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, because out of that background the Oxford Movement was born.

CHAPTER ONE

"Self-sufficient"is a term which accurately describes the England of the early part of the nineteenth century. The country was in the last days of its "Merrie Old England" stage, where small towns and villages abounded, where the squire and the vicar kept watch over their flocks by day and night, while the channel and the navy protected the "fortress built by nature" against the tumult, shouting, and the bloodshed on the continent, and where the citizens were not dependent on the "outside" world to the extent that when a violent storm raged in the English Channel, it was the continent of Europe, and not England, that was considered to be isolated. What was true of the whole country was also true of its parts; each community was largely self-sufficient. Its citizens were industrious, but they produced only such products, in such quantities, as could be consumed "on the site" since transportation still relied, in a literal sense, on horsepower-- the hoofs and the wheels of which had to come to terms with the uncooperative and uncompromising roads.

But change was afoot, brought about by the demobilization of the army at the end of the Napoleonic Wars and the earlier advent of the Industrial revolution. The transition from the

cottage industries, with their hand and home manufactured goods, to the machine produced goods of the factories resulted in the migration of people from the small villages and countryside into the mushrooming towns and cities, especially in the Midlands and the North.[1] Unfortunately, this shift in population density came about in a relatively short time and with little or no planning in the areas of public health, education, religion, or social amenities. Not only was there a lack of planning in the growth of the new industrial areas, the government, except in prohibiting the rights of collective bargaining, maintained a "hands-off" policy in economic development. This resulted in extreme hardships being laid on the shoulders of the working class who were left unprotected against the avarice of the middle-class mill owners. The towns, with their narrow streets and filth-filled alleys, must have seemed appalling to the swarms of country-bred folk who streamed into them.

Added to these problems incurred by the Industrial Revolution we must consider the problems raised back on the farms through the enclosure of the "common", that is, lands, the use of which is not appropriated to an individual, but belongs to the public.[2] After the feudal system in England the number of small holdings or family farms increased. The enclosure movement of the eighteenth century contributed greatly to a reduction of small holdings, and to an increase in farm labourers. The success of the small holdings was depen-

dent on the common for pasture. When the common was enclosed an allotment was made to the small holder in proportion to his interest. However, because they were usually far from the farmer's cottage and because he was obliged to fence them, they were of little value to the small holder, and consequently many of them sold out to the larger landowners and became labourers. Between the greed of the landowners, the greed of the industrialists and the apathy of the government, the lot of the labourer was not a happy one.

On the political scene in the early part of the nineteenth century reform was in the wind but painfully slow in its development.[3] Undoubtedly, the experience of the French Revolution made the English ruling classes wary lest the same unruliness spread across the channel. On the other hand they must have realized that meaningful reforms would likely suffocate any embers of revolution in England. A pressing problem which needed immediate attention was political representation in the House of Commons. Some members represented constituencies which, for all practical purpose, had disappeared. Against that, the new, rapidly-growing industrial areas such as Birmingham and Manchester had no representation. To redress these and other wrongs a Bill of Reform was passed into law in 1832; it did nothing to alleviate the problems of the lower class. During this period, however, the Slave Trade was abolished (1807) and all slaves in the British Empire were emancipated

at midnight on July 31, 1833. Such was the social and political climate during the first three decades of the nineteenth century. The educational system was naturally affected by these changes.

It was the development of industry and the social unrest following on the French Revolution which combined to bring home to the public mind of England the need of a national system of day schools. As was the case in previous educational adventures it was the Church which was the instigator. A rivalry for control of the system sprang up between the Nonconformists (that is, Christians who were not members of the established church), who had been revitalized by the Evangelical revival of the eighteenth century, and the Church of England. Since agreement on the religious curriculum of such a system could not be reached, both sides set up their own system of voluntary schools. These developed rapidly side by side, both systems relying on the monitorial (conducted or carried on by monitors) plan of teaching. Eventually, in 1832, state funds became available under an annual grant system, and the basis of modern elementary education was firmly established in England and Wales. Three conditions were laid down as part of the annual grant agreement: the right of inspection was required, promotors were required to conform to a fixed standard of structural efficiency in the buildings, and the buildings were to be settled upon trusts permanently

securing them to the education of the children of the poor. Those who could afford it sent their children (boys, usually) to "public" or Grammar Schools.

Literacy in Britain had been growing steadily since the Renaissance and, in spite of the relatively high cost of books, acquaintance with them became more widespread but, in spite of this, in 1818 William Hazlitt wrote in Lectures on the English Poets that

> The progress of knowledge and refinement has a tendancy to clip the wings of poetry. The province of the imagination is principally visionary.... Hence the history of religious and poetical enthusiasm is much the same, and both have received a sensible shock from the progress of experimental philosophy.[4]

Macaulay agreed in his essay on Milton where he wrote "as civilization advances, poetry almost necessarily declines"[5] and added that the men of his century would produce "better theories and worse poems."[6] Fortunately none of the poets since Homer's time have taken this argument ad absurdum but have continued to delight us and instruct us in their lines, the poetry of which frequently has unconfined and soaring wings. Among these poets are Keble, Newman, Williams, and Faber who have their special area of interest and, indeed, of service to their particular generation. Using the literal word they were able to reveal the spiritual message it concealed. The Church for them was not of man but of God and, in a mysterious way, was greater than the sum of its parts. The same is true of their volumes of poetry; the sum is greater

than the individual poems; we will see this when we come to Williams' trilogy of ecclesiological poetry: The Cathedral (1838), The Baptistery (1844), and The Altar (1847). In their reading of the Bible they discovered the truth behind the literal language which expressed it. When they spoke of Nature, it was Nature through which God revealed his presence. In later chapters I will show how this view of revelation was developed more thoroughly in the works of Keble and Williams than in those of Faber and Newman, and particularly by Williams in Tracts 80 and 87 both of which are titled "Reserve in Communicating Religious Knowledge."

Two literary giants dominated the poetry of this time: Wordsworth and Coleridge. Wordsworth's influence on the works of the four poets being considered will be shown in the explication of their individual works, and his direct influence on the Oxford Movement as a whole will be shown when Keble's The Christian Year (1827) is considered. On the other hand, Coleridge's influence on the Oxford Movement (although quite considerable) is found in his philosophy, which shines more clearly in his prose than in his poetry, consequently in this thesis Wordsworth's influence may unjustly appear to have been much greater than that of his contemporary. Newman in his Apologia pro vita sua (1864) acknowledges Coleridge's influence when he writes:

A philosophical basis for the same [Church feelings

> and opinions] was laid in England by a very original thinker [Coleridge], who, while he indulged in a liberty of speculation which no Christian can tolerate, and advocated conclusions which were often heathen rather than Christian, yet after all instilled a higher philosophy into inquiring minds, that they had hitherto been accustomed to accept. In this way he made trial of his age, and succeeded in interesting its genius in Catholic truth.[7]

Elliott-Binns writes in the same vein, referring to Coleridge, "But for the deepest influence [on the Oxford Movement] we must look to Coleridge."[8]

Stephen Prickett, in Romanticism and Religion (1976)[9], shows that the Tractarians, following Coleridge, consider religion and aesthetics (literature) as common ground. This marriage of religion and literature is Coleridge's main contribution to the poetry of the Oxford Movement. The full argument to support this view is in the first two chapters of Prickett and has been condensed by G. B. Tennyson in Victorian Devotional Poetry (1981).[10] A third concept was interwoven with religion and aesthetics, Wordsworth's "nature" . In his own poetry there is an obvious alliance, if not a marriage, of religion and nature. The poet-priests were mainly concerned about the religious content of their poems but, as poets, they could not ignore their art. G. B. Tennyson recognizes this and comments as follows:

> For every explicit Tractarian assertion of the primacy of religion, there is a counterbalancing, implicit approach to religion through art. Aesthetic concepts so tinge the religious one as to make it a nice question which is primary. What is clear is that the one inevitably calls forth the other.[11]

In the Introduction to Faber Poet and Priest,[12] Raleigh Addington clearly shows that the main poetic influence on Faber was Wordsworth. Faber lived for a while at Ambleside, about five miles from Wordsworth's home Rydal Mount and became a family friend, frequently walking with the elder poet on the mountains. Wordsworth was impressed by Faber's ability to see nature as she really is. Addington, in the first chapter relates an interesting fact:

> Wordsworth praised Faber's early poetry. When Faber accepted the living at Elton, Wordsworth agreed that he was right to do so but said, "England loses a poet."[13]

This prophecy will be considered in the chapter dealing with Faber.

In his Introduction to Essays and Sketches, Vol. I (1970), C. F. Harrold includes Wordsworth among the chief authors whom Newman named as influencing the Oxford Movement.[14] In The Victorian Church, Part I (1966), Owen Chadwick mentions that "an older nostalgic Newman thought that the characteristic attitudes of the Oxford divines were encouraged by the romantic in literature. He selected the poetry of Wordsworth and the novels of Walter Scott."[15] And in Prickett's Romanticism and Religion we learn that "Newman had developed the Romantic theological tradition of Wordsworth and Coleridge with sensitivity, skill, and brilliant reasoning."[16]

The poetry of Williams and Keble will testify to Wordsworth's influence as we examine it. What we shall note here is

the considerable effect the Romantic writers had on the poet-priests of the Oxford Movement, how considerable will be made clearer as the thesis develops in the following chapters. We should look, now, at the religious climate of the early nineteenth century.

The religious climate in the three decades that preceded the Assize Sermon is best assessed through a consideration of the various "parties" which proliferated at that time. The first of these to be examined is the High Church (or to use a term which they might have preferred), the Orthodox Party, which stressed the historical continuity of the Church of England with the Universal or Catholic Church. They believed in the authority of the church, the Apostolic Succession of the bishops, and the sacramental nature of Christianity. Although they were generally considered to be aligned with Tory politics, and although their fortunes rose and fell with the fortunes of that political party, they were more than just a religious wing of the Tory party. Their beliefs, outlined above, were based not on political thoughts but upon principles of religious authority derived from theological investigation. They were sober-minded men, aware of what they believed and why they believed it. They suspected enthusiasm and distrusted novelty-- their roots were firmly entrenched in the past. In a sense they were the opposite of the other three parties to be considered, yet these others did not share

entirely common ground.

The Liberal group in the church was almost totally devoid of organization, having more leaders than followers. Erastian in outlook, that is believing that the church should be entirely subservient to the authority of the state, it was the chief target of Keble's Assize Sermon. The Liberal group viewed the church as a censor board of the Government, and its main function to preserve the moral fibre and venerable institutions of society. The Liberal group did not always see eye to eye with either the Non-conformists or the Evangelicals and, at times, attacked their positions publicly.

At this time, early in the nineteenth century, the Evangelical party had reached the highest point of its effectiveness and power. In zeal and diligence it surpassed all others, its overall influence was far greater than its numbers warranted. Like many popular movements, the Evangelical movement lacked firm grounding, and its few cardinal doctrines were simple enough that they could be easily imitated by the indolent and the hypocritical who, by supporting the movement, could gain advantage. By the time of the founding of the Oxford Movement, the Evangelicals had lost some of their zeal--had settled down so to speak-- and lacked a spirit of cohesion. On top of this, their message appealed more to the emotions than to reason but, with the passage of fifty years or so, the members of their congregations had acquired a "little knowledge",

which proved to be a "dangerous thing" indeed for now they demanded solid food, not milk.

This, then, was the background-- social, educational, literary, and religious-- against which the Oxford Movement came into focus. Each of these elements had a direct effect on the nature of that Movement, either immediate or lasting, for these elements affected in some degree each of the four poet-priests on whose poetry we must shortly focus our attention.

Before turning to the works of the Tractarian poets, as they are sometimes called, we should consider a phenomenon which developed from a seventeenth-century embryo into an important child of the Oxford Movement in the nineteenth century, namely the idea of the Church of England as a _via media_, for this was a most important and enduring concept which emerged from the Oxford Movement. In a way, it is related to the idea of Reserve in Tractarian poetry. Its importance reaches into the present for it may prove to be the means whereby the whole of Christianity will return to unity. Under the term _via media_, the _Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church_ has:

> (Lat. 'The Middle Way'). A term in use esp. by J. H. Newman and other Tractarians for the Anglican system as a middle road between 'Popery' and 'Dissent'. This conception of Anglicanism is already found in the English divines of the 17th cent., e.g. G. Herbert and S. Patrick.

Herbert is well known as a poet; Simon Patrick (1625-1707) was

Bishop of Ely.

Owen Chadwick points out in The Mind of the Oxford Movement that Matthew Parker, the first Elizabethan Archbishop of Canterbury, talked of a "golden mediocrity" which was aimed at preserving within the one Church both the extreme parties which divided English religion: the continentally trained Protestants and the leaders of Queen Mary's church who believed that Catholicism included allegiance to the See of Rome. To some extent this moderation succeeded. Chadwick comments further:

> Golden mediocrity never commanded the affections of the whole country. What is significant for our purposes, however, is that within the Protestantism of England, circumstances, political and religious needs, had created more room for the traditionally minded than was possible anywhere outside Lutheranism. The church historian of the seventeenth century, Thomas Fuller, said that the Thirty-Nine Articles were like children's clothing, made of a larger size so that the children might grow up into them.... The statement effectively represents the way in which Anglican moderation was seen to have room for persons attached, in mind or affection or devotion, to tradition.[17]

It is possible that Newman had Fuller's remark, or the idea expressed by it, in mind when he wrote Tract 90 which, as mentioned above gave a Catholic interpretation to the Thirty-Nine Articles. Wakeman, in the chapter on the Oxford Movement (already identified) in his History seems to support this idea for he prefaces his remarks on Tract 90 with three pages of matter dealing with the via media.[18] Wakeman's remarks perhaps have an Anglican bias, but he stresses the need for moderation

and mentions the theological fact that the English Church seems to be central on the one hand between Rome and the Eastern Orthodox Church and, on the other, between Rome and Protestantism. In stressing the need for moderation Wakeman is acknowledging the real force and importance of the theory of the via media. There is ample justification for the theory in the New Testament-- St. Paul wrote to the Philippians, "let your moderation be known unto all men." (4: 5.)

In the next three chapters we will study the four poet-priests in more detail. Each chapter will follow the same outline. A brief biographical sketch will open the chapter, followed by a consideration and examination of the poet's work taken in order of composition. Then general comments will be made and conclusions drawn. The material for the sketches will be drawn from John Julian's Dictionary of Hymnology (1892)[19] and the Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church (1958), under the poet's name.

CHAPTER TWO

John Keble was born at Fairford, Gloucestershire, 25 April 1792, the son of a priest of the High Church school. His pre-university education was entirely under his father. He was the second scholar in the history of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, to win a double First Class (Classics and Mathematics). Shortly before his nineteenth birthday he was elected a Fellow of Oriel and, in the same year, 1811, he won the University Prizes for both Latin and English Essays. In 1823 he resigned his tutorial position to assist his father in a country parish. There he wrote poems which, at the insistence of his father and close friends, he published in 1827 in The Christian Year. He was elected Professor of Poetry at Oxford in 1831 where, with Newman and Williams, he became increasingly concerned about the dangers threatening the Church of England from the liberal and reforming movements. As mentioned, Keble expressed his concerns publicly in the Assize Sermon on 14 July 1833 on the topic of "National Apostacy." Keble was the author of four of the Tracts for the Times: numbers four, thirteen, forty, and eighty-nine. He returned to his work as a parish priest in 1836 and remained at Hursley until his death in 1866. During this period of his life his poetical works consisted of some contributions to Lyra Apos-

tolica (1836), his Metrical Version of the Psalms (1839), and the Lyra Innocentium (1846).

In Five Great Oxford Leaders (1900), A. B. Donaldson wrote,

> Keble's training under a scholarly father prepared him for his life-work. He was destined to influence Oxford, and therefore had to be a scholar; to touch men's hearts even more than their heads, and therefore to be a poet; to be a spiritual guide to many a troubled conscience, and therefore to learn himself from his spiritual Mother, the Church, the lessons she had to teach.[1]

Continuing on, Donaldson points out that Newman's early life was under a very different training. When discussing Catholic doctrine, Keble would say again and again, "This is just what my father taught and believed."[2] As for Newman, he was giving shape to what he had learned from Keble-- it was not a steady onward development of what had been a possession in his youth. Therein may lie the reason why Keble remained within the Anglican Church which Newman left in the midst of the later storms and conflicts. In spite of his abilities and achievements as a scholar, Keble's interest lay primarily in parish work and secondarily in poetry. Even while he was associated with Oxford as Professor of Poetry, Fellow of Oriel, and examiner, he gladly returned as often as possible to pastoral work, where his conscience called him away from the temptations to enjoy what he thought was the more selfish work of the University.

In poetry, the Victorians in England were certain that Keble would be remembered as the author of The Christian Year

(1827) (which he published on condition that his name was not connected with it). Before he died in 1866 it had gone through ninety-six editions, and more than a half a million copies had been sold. Keble himself seldom referred to The Christian Year, and never liked to talk about it or to hear it praised. Some idea of the popularity of this collection of devotional poems and of the promise it held in the eyes of Victorian and later critics can be judged from the following quotations: J. C. Shairp, in the Introduction to the Everyman's Library edition of Keble's work, after mentioning that Keble's name should be placed in the ranks of primary poets, writes:

> It is because The Christian Year has succeeded in conveying to the outer world some effluence of that character which his intimate friends so loved and revered in Keble, that, as I believe, he will not cease to hold a quite peculiar place in the affections of posterity.[3]

Donaldson, in Five Great Oxford Leaders, writes:

> Sir John Coleridge, in a letter addressed to the Guardian immediately after his friend's [Keble's] death, said most truly that the greatest ornament of the Church of England was not really lost, but would ever remain with her, and that thousands would now "hang over the 'Christian Year'" with ever increasing interest and affection....[4]

A. R. Wells, in A Treasure of Hymns (1914) wrote, "The Christian Year is one of the world's greatest books of poems. Every Christian should own it and read it."[5] But the highest praise (which would have caused John Keble to wince, if not writhe in agony) came from J. H. O. in Julian's Dictionary of Hymnology

(1892) where his entry ends with:

> It would be hardly too much to say that what the Prayer Book is in prose, The Christian Year is in poetry. They never pall upon one; they realize Keble's own exquisite simile:--
> "As for some dear familiar strain
> Untir'd we ask, and ask again,
> Ever, in its melodious store,
> Finding a spell unheard before." ["Morning" Stanza 10]
>
> And it would hardly be too bold to prophesy that The Christian Year will live as long as the Prayer Book, whose spirit Keble had so thoroughly imbibed and whose "soothing influence" it was his especial object to illustrate and command.[6]

Many Anglicans of the present generation are fighting for the preservation of The Book of Common Prayer (to give it its proper title), including the Prayer Book Society of Britain--but, although the second and final entry in Julian's work under "Keble" (submitted by J. J.) informs us that, at the time of the publication of the dictionary, nearly one hundred hymns by Keble are in common use, yet the latest edition of The Hymn Book of the Anglican and United Churches in Canada has only three hymns by Keble, and all three are truncated versions of much longer poems in The Christian Year, and have suffered, poetically, in the editing.

Of course, not all Victorian critics praised Keble's little book of devotional poems. G.B. Tennyson points out that Wordsworth praised the work backhandedly by remarking, "that it was so good he only wished he could have written it himself to make it better."[7] In this instance the wish seems to have

fathered the deed for Wordsworth, after the publication of The Christian Year, added considerably to his Ecclesiastical Sketches (which were largely historical), changed the title to Ecclesiastical Sonnets, and expanded the scope to include the sacraments of the church as well as other religious topics. In the same paragraph quoted above, G B. Tennyson writes:

> Likewise, A. E. Housman's praise for the volume [The Christian Year] seems to us appropriately tempered by his conviction that what "devout women" admirers of it really like is not its poetry but its piety and that "good religious poetry, whether in Keble or Dante or Job, is likely to be most justly appreciated and most discriminately relished by the undevout." [8]

Criticism aside, just as Keble's Assize Sermon inaugurated the Oxford Movement so his Christian Year was its herald. What magic did the herald hold for the Victorians, what was its influence on them, and why did it lose both its magic and influence while the church seemed to benefit as the objectives of the Oxford Movement gradually achieved realization?

To answer these questions it might be well to begin by stating what The Christian Year is not: it is not a collection of hymns. Despite the fact that nearly one hundred of Keble's poems were used as hymns, Keble was not a writer of hymns; both he and Williams disliked hymns, in contrast to Faber who began writing them as a Roman Catholic. In the chapter on Newman and Faber I will try to show the difference between a poem and a hymn as well as the difference be-

tween a good hymn and a bad one.

Most, if not all, of the "hymns" ascribed to Keble have been altered (that is, words have been changed), or edited (that is, the verses have been taken from longer poems of the author), or augmented (by adding verses from some other source). A good example of this is the still popular "Blest are the pure in heart," because it is short and has suffered all three of the above alterations. It would gladden my heart if I felt sure that it would be unnecessary to reprint the hymn in this thesis but, being practical and realistic, I will reproduce it as it appears in The Hymn Book mentioned above because the compilers of that book are careful and honest in acknowledging authorship of the hymns. They attribute the above hymn to "John Keble (1792-1866) and others." The "and others" is important and honest, it covers all the changes that have been made to this "poem become hymn". Of the four verses of the hymn only two (the first and the third) were written by Keble, the other two were taken from W. J. Hall's Psalms and Hymns (1836). A comparison of the third verse of the "hymn" with Keble's original stanza shows that a word change has been made. The hymn is printed as follows in the above-mentioned hymn book:

Blest are the pure in heart,
for they shall see our God;
the secret of the Lord is theirs,
their soul is Christ's abode.

The Lord, who left the heavens

our life and peace to bring,
to dwell in lowliness with men,
their pattern and their King,

still to the lowly soul
he doth himself impart,
and for his dwelling and his throne
chooseth the pure in heart.

Lord, we thy presence seek;
may ours this blessing be:
give us a pure and lowly heart,
a temple meet for thee. (Hymn 58).

In Keble's poem his two stanzas appeared as follows:

Bless'd are the pure in heart,
For they shall see our God,
The secret of the Lord is theirs,
Their soul is Christ's abode. [Stanza 1.]

Still to the lowly soul
He doth Himself impart,
and for His cradle and His throne
Chooseth the pure in heart.[9] [Stanza 17]

The compilers of the hymn, and Keble, were expanding on two entirely different themes. The compilers evolved their hymn on the thought implied in Keble's epigraph: "Blessed are the pure in heart: for they shall see God." (St. Matthew 5: 8) Keble was expounding on a historical fact recorded in the Gospel for the Presentation of Christ in the Temple (St. Luke 2: 22-40). The difference between the two views is exemplified by the meanings implied in the small word "still", which begins the third verse of the hymn and the final stanza of the poem. In the hymn, "still" connects the "time" of the second verse to the present and has the force of "even now"; in the poem "still" connects the whole argument for the Incarnation

of Christ, the Song of Simeon, and the reaction of Anna the prophetess-- which are grand thoughts involving exalted people-- to the people of (to use one of Keble's own lines) "the trivial round, the common task,"[10] where the meaning of "still" (not in a pejorative sense) is something akin to "in spite of all this." Editors, compilers, and "others" should be more careful when they turn poetry into hymnody or prose and quote the source of their additions.

On the matter of word changes, which must be dealt with since it was introduced, "cradle" in Keble's final stanza (to emphasize that it is Christ's full life which is being considered: from the cradle to the throne) was changed for the third verse of the hymn to "dwelling" which, for the purposes of the hymn, seems innocuous enough. Neither time nor space nor applicability permits a discussion of the various presentations of punctuation in the four versions of the "hymn" which I examined but, to give credit where credit should be given, they all ended with a "period" or "full stop", and, in the late twentieth century, that is something to be thankful for. It should be mentioned that Keble's sense of respect and awe compelled him to capitalize the personal pronouns referring to Christ. The remaining two Keble "hymns" in The Hymn Book, "New every morning is the Love" and "When God of old came down from Heaven" have also suffered through editing and one is tempted to believe that some of the reason why so

few of Keble's devotional poems are to be found in the hymn books of today is to be laid on the heads, if not on the scissors and blue pencils, of editors and others. We must, now, look closer at The Christian Year in an attempt to understand its general appeal for Victorians and to see why it had such an impact on the Oxford Movement.

We have called The Christian Year, devotional poetry, meaning that it has been set apart to assist the worshipper in his relationship with, in this case, the Christian God and, to be more specific, that God as He is revealed in the Anglican use charted in The Book of Common Prayer. For those who are not familiar with this "usage" it should be pointed out that the Lectionary or Table of Lessons, the Tables of Proper Psalms, and a large division of the Prayer Book which, in its Canadian edition, carries the subtitle "The Christian Year with the Collects Epistles and Gospels ", lays out the scripture readings and prayers which are to be used on any particular day of the year in the Order for Morning Prayer, the Order for Evening Prayer, and the Order for the Administration of the Lord's Supper or Holy Communion. In the case of Morning and Evening Prayer each day of the year is allotted a specific selection from the Psalms and a specific set of Old and New Testament lessons. Each Sunday, Saint's Day, or other Holyday is provided with its own collect, Epistle, and Gospel for use in the Holy Communion. The Collect (or prayer) appointed

for any particular Sunday is to be used twice daily throughout the following week as part of Morning and Evening Prayer. All these services were strictly followed at both Oxford and Cambridge Universities. There is provision for other services as well such as the Burial Office, Baptism, Confirmation, Ordination, and so on. Morning and Evening Prayer are a condensed version of four of the Monastic "Hours": a series of seven daily prayer services formerly used by monks and nuns. In fact, so complete and thorough is the Prayer Book that one unidentified wag claimed that it had a prayer for every conceivable situation-- everything, that is, except a prayer for a red-headed man who had been gored by an Angus bull at three o'clock in the afternoon on Labour Day.

Keble organized The Christian Year around the services of The Book of Common Prayer, in most cases (but not all), concentrating on the Gospel for the day, that is, for a Sunday, Saint's Day, or Holy-day, such as Good Friday. The Prayer Book, then, gave not only order but also content to The Christian Year; commenting on this point G. B. Tennyson writes:

> So overriding is the importance of this shaping element that one can understand why the volume is sometimes referred to as a single poem, though it is in fact a collection of 109 poems, for in one sense the collection is a single poem, a poem on the Book of Common Prayer.[11]

The similarities between The Christian Year and the Prayer Book are evident right from the first poem titled "Morning." Anyone familiar with the Order for Morning Prayer will rec-

ognize it in Keble's poem, which appears to begin with a call to worship, followed by an acknowledgment of sin (in stanza four), a sense of pardon (in stanza five), and a burst of praise reminiscent of the versicle, "O Lord, open thou our lips," with its response, "And our mouth shall show forth thy praise", of Morning Prayer. Stanzas eight to twelve remind us of the lessons to be learned from the Old Testament, including the Psalms, and the New Testament. Stanzas thirteen and fourteen remind us that the form we have used came from "the cloister'd cell", the Monastic Hours, and that we, without retreating from the world, are to serve God in "the trivial round" and "common task". Having done that we need to seek no more and, just as Morning Prayer ends with "The Grace of our Lord Jesus Christ..."[12] so, too, Keble's poem ends with the reminder that God's grace will help us "to live more nearly as we pray."[13]

What Keble has done for Morning Prayer in this first poem, he has done for the whole Prayer Book in the whole volume of The Christian Year. Most of the poems are in the form of meditations on daily life or on nature, or they retell the story contained in one of the appointed scriptural passages-- and they usually end with a prayer. A not too extensive examination of the Prayer Book is enough to determine that, structurally, it divides the Church's year into two main sections of about equal size. The first part, from the First Sunday in Advent

up to and including Trinity Sunday (the First Sunday after Whitsunday, or Pentecost) recalls the events in our Lord's life on earth through the proper readings of Scripture: His birth, circumcision, showing forth to the Gentiles (Epiphany), His temptation, triumphal entry into Jerusalem (Palm Sunday), His passion, trial, death, burial, reasurrection (Easter Day), His ascension, the coming of the Holy Ghost (Whitsunday), and Trinity Sunday which teaches about the three-fold nature of the Christian God. The second part includes all the "Sundays after Trinity", never more than twenty-six, during which the services centre upon Christ's teaching; the "loose ends" being tied up on the Sunday next before Advent when the traditional Gospel is "the feeding of the five thousand," which has the significant verse "Gather up the fragments that remain, that nothing be lost." (St. John 6: 12). Keble begins his poem for that Sunday with the question: "Will God indeed with fragments bear,/ Snatch'd late from the decaying year?"[14] Therefore, since it follows the Prayer Book, <u>The Christian Year</u> is, in fact, a commentary on the life and teachings of Jesus. A few examples will verify this.

For instance, a poem that meditates on daily life is that written for the Second Sunday after the Epiphany-- the Gospel, for which, is from St. John 2: 1-11 and is about the wedding feast in Cana of Galilee at which Jesus performed his first miracle by changing water into wine. In a poem of sixty-eight

lines Keble covers the human response to revels and feasts, gives his thoughts on what "God's feast" will be like, and closes with a prayer

> Such is Thy banquet, dearest Lord;
> O give us grace, to cast
> Our lot with Thine, to trust Thy word,
> And keep our best till last. [15]

The final line of the poem refers to the comment made by the governor of the feast (the master of ceremonies) to the bridegroom, after he had tasted the wine of the miracle, when he said, "Thou hast kept the good wine until now." (St. John 2: 11) The practice then, as now, was to serve the best wine first, and, after everyone has reached the point of indiscrimination, to switch to the cheaper brands.

The poem for the First Sunday after Epiphany is a pure nature poem which expands a verse from Isaiah 44: 4, "They shall spring up as among the grass, as willows by the water courses." It reflects a marked Wordsworthian influence but, since it is a long poem, perhaps stanza four will suffice as a sample of the whole:

> See the soft green willow springing
>   Where the waters gently pass,
> Every way her free arms flinging
>   O'er the moist and reedy grass.
> Long ere winter blasts are fled,
> See her tipp'd with vernal red,
> And her kindly flower display'd
> Ere her leaf can cast a shade. [16]

We have sampled a poem in the form of a meditation, another dealing with nature, now we will consider one which com-

ments on the scriptures appointed for a particular day. The poem for Advent Sunday begins with a commentary on the Epistle for the day, Romans 13: 8-14. This takes up three stanzas. The fourth stanza begins with "Meanwhile" and introduces the theme of the Gospel, St. Matthew 21: 1-13, the triumphal entry of Jesus into Jerusalem. The rest of the poem develops the theme of both the Epistle and Gospel in light of the conditions prevailing during the earthly life of Jesus and in later times, except that the last two lines of the poem are a prayer, "Lord, ere our trembling lamps sink down and die,/ Touch us with chastening hands, and make us feel Thee nigh."[17] These three poems show how The Christian Year "worked" with the Prayer Book.

There is no doubt that all the men of the Oxford Movement were "Prayer Book Anglicans"-- a phrase which is acquiring new meaning in the late twentieth century-- and it is fortuitous, if not a matter of divine inspiration, that The Christian Year was published in 1827, six years before the delivery of the Assize Sermon. As herald of the Movement it was indeed timely; because it was a Prayer Book oriented work it was enthusiastically praised by all leading participants in the Oxford Movement. Newman, as G. B. Tennyson relates, said:

> Much certainly came of The Christian Year: it was the most soothing, tranquilizing, subduing work of the day; if poems can be found to enliven in dejection, and to comfort in anxiety; to cool the over sanguine, to refresh the weary, and to awe

> the worldly; to instill resignation into the impatient, and calmness into the fearful and agitated-- they are these. (Newman's Essays, I, 441).[18]

But was The Christian Year good poetry? That will be more difficult to assess. Keble, in the Advertisement to the first edition wrote:

> The object of the present publication will be attained, if any person find assistance from it in bringing his own thoughts and feelings into more entire union with those recommended and exemplified in the Prayer Book.[19]

By the virtue of the fact that The Christian Year became an almost universal vade mecum for the Victorians, Keble's objective was, indeed, achieved. But his initial reluctance to publish it and his later disinclination to discuss it suggests perhaps that he was not entirely happy with it as poetry. Yet, once it was published, he made only one very minor change in it and that was for theological reasons rather than poetical ones-- and even that change, in Keble's mind, did not alter the original meaning he intended. (A phrase in stanza thirteen of "Gunpowder Plot" was changed from "not in the hands" to "as in the hands". By analogy to a biblical verse Keble's meaning is "not only".)

Keble's use of Analogy and Reserve are evident throughout the entire volume. The work is one continuous analogue to the Prayer Book, but each poem provides specific analogies, mostly with nature. G. B. Tennyson cites the poem for Septuagesima Sunday as a classical example. Of the poem he writes:

> The sky is like the love of the maker, for it embraces all; the church on earth is an analogue of the moon in heaven, for each borrows its radiance from its "sun", which is both the heavenly body and the Son of God; the saints in heaven are the stars; the saints on earth are like trees, having for their root, flower, and fruits, the virtues of Faith, Hope, and Charity; dew that falls is like heavenly grace; storms and tempests are analogues of God's power; and the gentle breeze is like the activity of the Holy Spirit.[20]

I have included the text of the full poem in the Appendix to this thesis. An examination of the text will show Keble's dependence on the Bible as well as the Prayer Book for the content of his poems. The fifth stanza has its origin in Daniel 12: 3, "And they that be wise shall shine as the brightness of the firmament; and they that turn many to righteousness as the stars for ever and ever." The thought of the eighth stanza is a reflection of Psalm 68:9 "Thou, O God, didst send a plentiful rain, whereby thou didst confirm thine inheritance, when it was weary." The first part of the tenth stanza is based on Hebrews 12: 29, "For our God is a consuming fire.", and the second on St. John 3: 8, "The wind bloweth where it listeth, and thou hearest the sound thereof, but canst not tell whence it cometh, and whither it goeth...." A similar examination of many of the poems in The Christian Year will show clearly Keble's heavy reliance on the Bible for the thoughts they express.

Reserve is another means used by the poet-priests in dealing with nature. Two of Isaac Williams' Tracts for the Times,

80 and 87, were written under the heading of "On Reserve in Communicating Religious Knowledge." These were among the few Tracts which were theological in nature and were received with a storm of protest, particularly number 80, as a result of which Williams lost the appointment to the Professorship of Poetry to replace Keble at Oxford. These tracts were written to answer the Evangelical preaching of "cheap grace" in which sensitive doctrines such as the meaning of the Cross of Calvary were held up before persons whose impenitent or irreverent spirit caused them only to mock. How the impenitent were to be brought to salvation was answered by Williams in Tract 87, as recorded in Chadwick's Mind of the Oxford Movement:

> If people were now asked, what was the most powerful means of advancing the cause of religion in the world, we should be told that it was eloquence of speech or preaching: and the excellency of speech consists in delivery.... Whereas if we were to judge from Holy Scriptures, of what were the best means of promoting Christianity in the world, we should say obedience; and if we were to be asked the second, we should say obedience; and if we were to be asked the third, we should say obedience. Isaac Williams, Tract 87. p. 82. [21]

Christ's Sermon on the Mount supports this Tractarian stand on the matter of Reserve. St. Matthew 7: 6 reads,

> Give not that which is holy unto the dogs, neither cast ye your pearls before swine, lest they trample them under their feet, and turn again and rend you.

In Tractarian poetry, whereas Analogy proclaims the message

of nature, Reserve conceals it to the uninitiated and the means used are neither arcane nor mysterious but simply the use of a style that shows respect and reverence for the truths about to be revealed. In G. B. Tennyson's words, "Reserve determines what, or how much, the poet will say and how he will say it. Reserve also inclines the poet to be a poet of contemplation rather than action."[22] Keble is a poet of contemplation, not action. In his poem for the "Fourth Sunday in Lent", a copy of which is provided in the Appendix to this thesis, Keble depicts for us his concept of Reserve by the analogy of the unfolding of a rose-bud into a flower. If one stares at the bud one is not conscious of any change, but look away for a while and when your eyes return the flower is there. Of this analogy, G. B. Tennyson says that "the rose is a type of heavenly and human love; these things hide themselves from sight."[23] Paraphrasing a phrase from The Book of Common Prayer he adds, "and it is meet and right that they do."[24] In the poem, Keble, then, goes on to discuss heavenly and human love in phrases like, "The searching sun, the open sky,/ She [heavenly love] never could endure," "Even human Love will shrink from sight," "So still and secret is her growth," and he ends the poem with:

No-- let the dainty rose awhile
Her bashful fragrance hide--
Rend not her silken veil too soon,
But leave her in her own soft noon,
To flourish and abide.[25]

Note the echo of the Gospel phrase "the veil of the temple was rent" from St. Matthew 27: 51. The Fourth Sunday in Lent is known by other names in the Anglican Church; among them are "Mothering Sunday" and "Refreshment Sunday." The latter name refers either to the miracle of the feeding of the five thousand (St. John 6: 1-14), which is the Gospel for the day, or to the relaxation of Lenten discipline allowed on this one day. The poems in The Christian Year for the first three Sundays in Lent are militant in tone and are addressed to sin and the need of repentance; for example, in the opening lines of the poem for the First Sunday in Lent Keble writes, "Angel of wrath! why linger in mid-air,/ While the devoted city's cry/ Louder and louder swells." The first verse of the poem for the Second Sunday in Lent is a rhetorical question enclosed in quotation marks:

> "And is there in God's world so drear a place
> Where the loud bitter cry is rais'd in vain?
> Where tears of penance come too late for grace,
> As on th' uprooted flower the genial rain?"

The poem for the Third Sunday in Lent begins with, "See Lucifer like lightening fall,/ Dashed from his throne of pride." To off-set the harshness and militancy of the above three poems Keble gave refreshment to his readers in the form of a beautiful nature poem on the unfolding of a rosebud, a soothing tendency indeed. The shift of emphasis is also reflected in the sub-titles given to these poems which are: "The City of Refuge", "Esau's Forfeit", "The Spoils of Satan", and "The Rosebud" res-

pectively. One of the customs that became associated with Mothering Sunday was that of paying a visit to one's mother on this day and bringing her flowers. Keble has managed to reflect this practice in the poem-- giving his readers a rose on which to meditate. Poetry like this sample permeates The Christian Year and, by that poetry, Keble has achieved the goal set out in his Advertisement: to display the "soothing tendency in the Prayer Book."

Because of the self-imposed restrictions of writing with Reserve (as it has been described) Keble's poetry cannot be flamboyant, cannot surprise with forceful language, nor intrigue by the technical semantic devices used, for example, by George Herbert, who in many other ways does influence Keble's verse. In spite of this The Christian Year is not bland or lifeless. An analysis of the stanzaic structure (covering meter, rhyme, and poetic feet) shows where Keble had chosen to surprise. In the first thirty-seven poems in The Christian Year, ending with the poem for Easter Day, there are thirty-two different meters used; of these five are in four line stanzas, thirteen in eight, and one each in ten and twelve line stanzas. The only meters duplicated are the common or ballad meter (8.6.8.6.), the long meter (8.8.8.8.), and the long meter doubled. These three are the popular hymn meters-- the other meters used by Keble are not easily adapted to available music suitable for hymn singing. The Book of Common Praise,

being The Hymn Book of the Church of England in Canada (1908) is a collection of 795 hymns and was in use in Canada until 1938. An analysis of its tunes showed that, of the thirty-two meters used by Keble in the sample tested, over two-thirds of them did not have a metrically suitable tune that could be used with them. The rhyming schemes used by Keble are equally diverse, including one poem, "Tuesday before Easter", which has no rhyme. Keble also surprises occasionally with an eye rhyme and less frequently but with greater effect when he deviates from the conventional iambic foot of English poetry.

After I had completed the above analysis I learned from G. B. Tennyson that "B. M. Lott has catalogued the technical data for the poems in The Christian Year."[26] Lott submitted his findings in a dissertation titled "The Poetry of John Keble, with Special Reference to The Christian Year and His Contribution to Lyra Apostolica" (diss., London University, 1960). Time militated against my obtaining a copy of the dissertation so I must make my observations on the basis of G. B. Tennyson's report of it. Lott looked at the entire 109 poems so we may learn something new from a comparison of the first thirty-seven poems with the whole volume.

Within the bounds of feasibility there must be some limit to the number of different meters which can be used in English poetry; if so Keble seems to have come close to that number in the first thirty-seven poems considered above. They had thirty-

two different meters whereas Lott's analysis shows that

> On the one hand the most common metrical and stanzaic forms in The Christian Year are long meter and long meter doubled, and ballad or common meter.... On the other hand these frequent forms... are more than balanced by thirty-eight other, different stanzaic patterns... for a final total of forty-two stanzaic patterns among the 109 poems in the collection.[27]

There is a slight error in the arithmetic of the above quotation; apart from the thirty-eight other meters he has mentioned only the three popular hymn meters so the total should be forty-one. That being the case, the seventy-two poems not in my analysis only produced nine meters that had not been used in the first thirty-seven poems. G. B. Tennyson also mentions that "the thirty-eight other stanzaic forms do not derive from hymn tradition"[28]-- a point brought out in my analysis. According to G. B. Tennyson, Lott's catalogue also indicates the predominant use of iambic feet and that in the whole volume only one poem was unrhymed; it is identified above. Obviously, many of the "peculiar" meters used in the first thirty-seven poems have been repeated at least once in the rest of the volume. It is through the use of such stanzaic variety that Keble intensifies the concept of Reserve in his poetry because the reader of his poems is not only unable to anticipate what Keble is going to say in the next line-- he cannot even be sure what form that line might take. Keble, at times, is extremely subtle in his choice of form. Many of his readers might miss the significance of the form of the poem for Trinity

Sunday. It is the only poem in The Christian Year written in tercets, but that is not all; each tercet has only one rhyme in its three lines. The first point emphasizes the Trinity, the second the aspect of "Three in One and One in Three."

The diction of The Christian Year is not what one might expect from a follower of Wordsworth, who believed in using the diction of ordinary speech in poetry. Keble seems to have chosen, deliberately, the traditional poetic language of the eighteenth century coupled with the language of the Prayer Book and the Authorized Version of the Bible as a means of enhancing the concept of Reserve in his poetry. G. B. Tennyson adds,

> What it [The Christian Year] contained little of is word coinages or verbal oddities, for these were consciously eschewed by a poet intent on exercising Reserve in his poetry.[29]

There is little evidence of excessive editing or polishing up in the work nor, apparently, was Keble interested in an economy of language or unusual verbal gymnastics. He wanted his readers to reflect on the content or message of his words rather than to marvel on the way he said things. This added emphasis to the prayer or the forceful expression he so often used in his final lines. The beauty of The Christian Year lies in its consistency, it always "means"-- and always in a clear way.

This, then, is the nature of the first, and by far the

most influential, body of poetry produced by the poet-priests of the Oxford Movement. It is not too much to claim that it had a great ameliorative effect on the Church and, more than any other event or deed, helped to consolidate the Anglican Church during and after the time that Newman, Faber and others turned to Rome. But The Christian Year, great as it turned out to be, did not mark the end of Keble's poetic output.

The country parson also contributed forty-six of the 179 poems of the Lyra Apostolica (1836), and Poems by the Rev. J. Keble (1869) was published after his death. It has 159 poems including the forty-six from Lyra Apostolica but none from The Christian Year. The Lyra Apostolica was, specifically, a missionary work for the purpose of proselytizing, edited by its chief contributor, Newman, and hence different in style from The Christian Year. G. B. Tennyson attributes the difference in style to Newman's influence on Keble, but, as pointed out by Prickett in Romance and Religion, Keble was not a man easily to be influenced (as Thomas Arnold found out to his sorrow),[30] so it is at least just as likely that the style change evident in Lyra Apostolica came as a result of the general enthusiasm engendered by being caught up in a "cause". Keble's poems in Lyra Apostolica are, for the most part, much shorter than the poems in The Christian Year; they also are written in more regular stanzaic patterns; for example, there are twelve regular sonnets. One of these will

suffice to show that we have entered a more militant and less soothing world than that of The Christian Year.

Arms

Behold your armoury!-- sword and lightning shaft,
Cull'd from the stores of God's all-judging ire,
And in your wielding left! The words that waft
Power to your voice absolving, point with fire
Your awful curse. O grief! should Heaven's dred Sire
Have stayed, for you, the mercy dews of old
Vouchsafed, when pastor's arms in deep desire
Were spread on high to bless the kneeling fold!
IF CENSURE SLEEP, WILL ABSOLUTION HOLD?
Will the great King affirm their acts of grace,
Who careless leave to cankering rust and mould
The flaming sword that should the unworthy chase
From his pure Eden? O beware! lest vain
Their sentence to remit, who never dare retain.[31]

There are five exclamation marks in fourteen lines, one line printed in upper-case bold type, and two words in italics. The most joyful season of the Christian year is Easter, yet in The Christian Year, for the five Sundays after Easter, in poems totalling 336 lines only six exclamation marks are used and these all follow words expressing "joy" or "surprise". There are no words italicized, nor words in upper case bold type. In fact, I cannot recall seeing any emphasized words in The Christian Year. Keble, it seems, could adapt his style to meet a new situation and so, in the case of the Lyra Apostolica, his poetry fell into line with the poetry of his editor.

The other poems (that is, those not previously published in the Lyra Apostolica) in the second volume of Keble's verse show his versatility as he rises and meets a wide variety of human lives, and reflects this in appropriate verse. Above all

they reveal a man who, in spite of being involved in great controversial matters, had a very keen and playful sense of humour. It was a delight to discover that among his latest poetry (it is the last one printed in Poems by the Rev. J. Keble, which volume had been arranged as much as possible in chronological order, and was dated Ferniehurst, Aug. 16, 1864) is a poem "To Master Bernard Wilson's Dog." I reprint it here because it is so delightful. Note that Keble has managed to include a "confession" and the all too usual promise of the "sinner" to reform-- "till next time." Keble knew human nature. Here is how the poem appeared:

Dear Fussy,

This morning so kindly without any call
You met me and shewed me the way to the Fall,
That I feel drawn towards you, and now am inclined
In confidence strict to unburden my mind.
I know I may trust you, for e'en if you bark,
As well you may, startled, and seem to cry, "Hark!"
At such bad behaviour as I must confess,
Folks know not your language, and hardly will guess.
Oh, Fussy! a well-bred young creature like you,
Who have lived with the courteous all your life through,
Cannot tell how a conscience at morning will ache
If with thought of kind letters unanswered it wake.

(Here suppose a lengthy confession.)

******

Then tell Mr. Bernard, dear dog, if you please,
That the man whom he knows of his error now sees,
And is quite fain to promise in prose or in rhyme,
That he never will do so again till next time.
Mr. Bernard will say, "I forgive like a king,
He's free to lie loitering by the cool spring;
And hear the gay Percie-bird whistle and sing
From morning to eve, in his conscience no sting."[32]

This from the man who wrote The Christian Year, who was, for eleven years, the Professor of Poetry at Oxford, who for most of his life was a much-loved country parson, whose poetry heralded the Oxford Movement and whose Assize Sermon launched it, and who above all others is responsible for the fact that that Movement, once launched, changed the Anglican Church into a vital and dynamic force in the world. The poem, if you will excuse the pun, "out-doggerels" R. W. Service and would warm the cockles of the heart of Alexander Pope or any of the English Augustan poets.

A knowledge of the Prayer Book and of the scripture readings it appoints to be read throughout the year is necessary for an appreciation of The Christian Year. Since such knowledge has gradually decreased among the common public and, in the case of the Authorized Version, become available in different word structures (according to the version read) the number of people having the expertise needed for a full understanding of The Christian Year has also dwindled, so it should be no surprise that fewer people read Keble's work. Even twentieth century practising Anglicans are not in the position of their counterparts in the early Victorian Church. At times I found it difficult to relate Keble's poem for a particular day to the appointed readings in the 1959 edition of the Canadian Prayer Book. Under "Lectionary" in the Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church I found the following information: "The lessons

which are read... in the C. of E. are regulated by a lectionary issued in 1871." Since then there have been four further revisions to the Table of Lessons as it is called in the Canadian Prayer Book. These changes have not fixed a great gulf between the Prayer Book and The Christian Year but they have made it more difficult for modern day Anglicans to understand Keble's volume.

The magic of The Christian Year sprang from the fact that its content matched the knowledge of its readers; reading it, the Victorian Christian sensed he was walking on familiar ground and in a favourable environment. Its influence on the Victorian Church springs from a parallel source. We mentioned that early in the nineteenth century the influence of the Evangelical Movement was beginning to wane. Congregations were better informed in spiritual matters and were looking for more solid food than the "cheap grace" which filled most Evangelical sermons. Doctrinally, The Christian Year is solid food indeed and expands the sound doctrines of the Prayer Book. Gradually church-going people were leaving behind the emotionalism of the Evangelical approach to life and absorbing, through the reasoning powers of the mind, the fundamental truths behind the Prayer Book doctrines, for example, the doctrine of salvation. Had Newman left the Anglican Church when it was under the influence of the Evangelicals it would, quite probably, have caused its complete collapse. By 1845, however, most of the Church's ad-

herents had their faith well founded in Prayer Book doctrines as unfolded in The Christian Year and so the Anglican Church endured. Although our generation has, to a considerable degree, lost touch with The Christian Year's sources (the Prayer Book and the Authorized Version) it is still, in part, deriving some benefit from the momentum of Keble's poetry and more benefit from modern versions of its two sources. Chadwick in Mind of the Oxford Movement quotes from Keble's Praelectiones Academicae as follows:

> We cannot think that Poetry and Theology would be such close allies unless there were a hidden bond between them.... Poetry offers help-- by metre, or rhythm, or a use of words now serene and now passionate, by those means which cannot be precisely defined but which we all feel; and Religion is glad to avail itself of this help.[33]

This prefigures Matthew Arnold's view (written as the General Introduction to an anthology edited by T.H. Ward and called The English Poets (1880), printed in Victorian Poetry and Poetics (1968) which states, in part, that

> Our religion has materialized itself in the fact, in the supposed fact; it has attached its emotion to the fact, and now the fact is failing it. But for poetry the idea is everything; the rest is a world of illusion, of divine illusion. Poetry attaches its emotion to the idea; the idea *is* the fact. The strongest part of our religion *to*-day is its unconscious poetry.[34]

The Christian Year may or may not "live as long as the Prayer Book" but its author, the quiet poet-priest of Oxford and Hursley, belongs to the ages.

CHAPTER THREE

> In some ways the most 'typical' figure of the whole movement is none of the leaders but Isaac Williams-- pupil of Keble; poet; quiet and obscure country parson; avoiding noise and publicity and controversy (though he found it without intending it.)[1]

In these words, Owen Chadwick describes the nature of the Barnabas (Son of Consolation) of the Oxford Movement, a trait which unjustly labelled him a self-effacing recluse. If the emotionally charged Newman retained one remaining tie with the Anglican Church after he went to the Roman Church it was Williams. Of all the original Tractarians it was Williams, alone, who maintained contact with Newman by correspondence and, when possible, by personal visits and Newman was the last of them to see Williams alive. In 1865, when Williams' death was approaching, Newman stayed with him a while. Shortly after he left Williams died, and at least one Roman priest (the one who later became a cardinal) said a Requiem Mass for the repose of his friend's soul. The background of this poet-priest has many similarities to that of John Keble.

Isaac Williams (according to my two previously mentioned sources, Julian and the Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church) was born at Cwmeynfelin, Cardiganshire, on 12 December 1802 into a family steeped in the tradition of the High Church

in Wales. He received his early education privately from a clergyman named Polehampton who laid great stress on Latin versification. In 1814 he attended Harrow where he continued his Latin studies and, it is said, that he thought in Latin rather than English. In 1821 he proceeded to Trinity College, Oxford, where he won the University prize for Latin verse. Because of his ability in Latin verse, high-churchman Keble became interested in him and the acquaintance developed into a warm friendship of great benefit to Williams' spiritual life. This alarmed a family friend who arranged to introduce Williams to the "theologically safer" evangelical Mr. Newman, and in time he became his curate at St. Mary's, Oxford.

What the Prayer Book was to Keble's popular book of poems, and the "stirring times" to Newman's poems in the Lyra Apostolica, so the architecture of a Gothic cathedral was to Isaac Williams' best known work of poetry, titled The Cathedral (1838). Keble's poetry provided the money which rebuilt the parish church at Hursley, Newman's gave him a controlled release for his emotions, but Williams was less fortunate, his poetry led him close to the Professorship of Poetry at Oxford only to lose it to James Garbett, whose poetical achievement was that he translated classical poetry into English, but he wrote no English poetry. The opposition to Williams centred upon his Tracts 80 and 87, "On Reserve in Communicating Religious Knowledge" the contents of which offended the Evangelicals. According to Chad-

wick in The Victorian Church, the daily newspapers turned "the tea-cup election into a national no-popery wrangle."[2] W. E. Gladstone and other prominent men tried to get both candidates to withdraw, Garbett refused. In the end, for the sake of the University and the Church, the Son of Consolation withdrew. Shortly afterwards Williams left Oxford, partly no doubt through disappointment at losing out in his bid for the professorship, but also because of poor health. Like Keble he became a country parson.

It may seem strange to our ears that such an innocent-sounding belief-- based, as Williams clearly argued in the Tracts, on sound principles-- should cause such a scandalous row. Jesus, Himself, told his followers that He had "many things to tell them which they were not ready to receive." (John 16: 12) In The Oxford Movement (1964) edited by E. R. Fairweather, Fairweather reprints an excellent analysis of Tract 87 which was written by H. A. Woodgate in 1842.[3] In it, Woodgate shows that Williams accuses the Evangelicals of making the Atonement "the beginning, middle, and end of all their teaching, disjointed entirely from the future judgement, repentence, humility, self-denial, mortification, in fact all practical obedience... as a principle."[4] That is what offended the Evangelicals. But surely they knew, and should have appreciated, the ultimate in Reserve practised by the Hebrews who never pronounced their Sacred Name for God: JHVH. But sus-

picion leads to fear and the seeds of suspicion had been sown a few years before with the publication by Tractarians of Froude's Remains, a biography of R. Hurrell Froude (the firebrand of the Oxford Movement), which Evangelicals viewed with abhorrence when they read of Froude's self-abasement (as penance for his sins), and his attacks on the "Protestants" Ridley, Cranmer, and others. They no doubt smiled at and cheered Froude's attacks on the Roman Church--it was fair game, but the Reformers were sacrosanct. Ironically enough Williams, alone, advised against the publication of the Remains, yet these two outbursts cost him a professorship, and more.

These controversies, according to G. B. Tennyson, have influenced the assessments of Williams' poetry. Because of the Tracts on Reserve, his poetry is referred to in terms of that concept and style taken to the extreme of withdrawal and self-abasement. Because of losing the Professorship of Poetry at Oxford he is looked upon as a "broken man" who left Oxford and took a rural parish to forget.[5] It has already been pointed out that he was in poor health and, I presume only those so afflicted could appreciate, that that must have been uppermost in his mind when he left Oxford. (In the chapter on Newman and Faber we will see that Newman's premonition of approaching death forced him into his two bursts of poetical activity.) Regarding the first charge, if Reserve is a sin in the eyes of

Evangelicals, what poet of any worth is not guilty of it, that is, of expressing his ideas without being prosaic, in its pejorative sense. A totally prosaic person is incapable of enjoying and understanding poetry, but a poetic person can enjoy and understand both good prose and good poetry; the first because it is logical and clear, the second because of the need to "get behind" the words-- its Reserve.

Williams came under the influence of Keble in 1823 at Oxford, about ten years before the formation of the Oxford Movement. Like Keble, he was raised in the High Church tradition. He noted that Newman was the only contributor to the Tracts who went over to Rome and also that most of those in the Oxford Movement who took that route were originally Evangelicals. I venture to suggest that, from a psychological viewpoint, the High Church men were secure in their position and were interested only in maintaining that security, whereas the Evangelicals, from the beginning, were seeking a change and so could only be satisfied when they reached the opposite extreme, that is, conversion to Roman Catholicism where no further change was possible. That could explain why, as Tractarians, they generally were extremely hostile towards both Protestantism and Roman Catholicism, leaving the first and approaching the second, which was the position of both Newman and Faber.

Perhaps semantics played an as yet unrevealed role in the

matter of Reserve. It is possible that the word raised, in the minds of extreme Evangelicals, a connotation of "Reservation", a term meaning (in the Anglican Church) the practice of keeping back a portion of the Bread and Wine consecrated at the Eucharist for the future Administration of Holy Communion to the sick and incapacitated. This was a laudable practice dating back to the Early Church but, as so often happens with "good intentions", it led to a questionable side practice: the retention of these Elements for the purpose of worship and adoration-- which was considered idolatry by the Evangelicals. G. B. Tennyson suggests that "Reverence" is a better synonym for the idea behind Reserve and that its use might have allayed the suspicions of the Evangelicals. In support of his suggested synonym G. B. Tennyson writes:

> Reserve... has as much to do with the mystery of religion as with its constraints. In addition to signifying a sense of dignity and limit to expression in order that it not become mere effusion, Reserve also denotes the indirection necessary in speaking of religious matters as a parallel to the indirection used by God Himself in conveying truths to humankind, for example, through the lessons of nature so beloved of Keble. For the Tractarians, Reserve does not exist apart from Analogy; the one implies the other: both bespeak of reverence and mystery.[6]

But, perhaps, Evangelical zeal and ingenuity might have raised what, in their minds, would be an equally valid, theological reason why "Reverence" could lead to or bring to mind an equally abhorrent practice. Such was the mood of the times.

Williams' Reserve was based on the practice of <u>Disciplina</u>

Arcani, the teaching of the secret, going back to the early days of the Church. It is common knowledge in liturgical studies that, in the early church, at Mass, the catechumens and the penitents (those undergoing training and instruction prior to baptism and those who, under the threat of excommunication, had asked the Bishop for penance) were dismissed immediately before the Creed. Everything before the Creed in the Mass was known as the *Missa Catechumenorum*, the Mass of the Catechumens, and everything after the Creed was called the *Missa Fidelium*, or the Mass of the Faithful. This was the use of the Sarum liturgy after 1066, but a similar rule dates back at least to the Apostolic Constitutions, a collection of ecclesiastical law dating from the middle of the fourth century.[7] We will see in Williams' poetry that Reserve is not a negative concept, it includes the gradual unfolding or revelation of the "secret."

"Types" (GK. τυποι, "examples", "figures") in theology (according to the *Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*) are "the foreshadowings of the Christian dispensation in the events and persons of the Old Testament." The use of Typology in Christianity dates back to the "Apologists" (c. 120-220). The story of the "sacrifice" of Isaac by Abraham (Genesis 22: 1-9) is taken as a "type" of Jesus Christ, specifically V. 8. where Abraham said, "My son, God will provide himself a lamb for a burnt offering." Typology, then, is a narrow kind

of Analogy, but for the Tractarians, it was broad enough to include not only foreshadowings of Christ in the Old Testament but "broader readings, finding also in the Scripture types and shadows of Church practices."[8] Keble's Tract 89 (1840) "On the Mysticism attributed to the Early Fathers of the Church" gives us his interpretation of typology:

> There is everywhere a tendency to make the things we see represent the things we do not see, to invent or remark mutual associations between them, to call the one sort by the name of the other... In like manner, the Mystical, or Christian, or Theological use of [the material world] is the reducing to a particular set of symbols and associations, which we have reason to believe has, more or less, the authority of the GREAT CREATOR Himself.[9]

And Tennyson writes that ". . . Williams in the Tract on Reserve argues that, since the ancient Church interpreted Scripture as 'being figured and shadowed out by an infinity of types' we may conclude that God 'has hid this vastness of Analogy and types in His word and His works' (T[racts], Tract 80, p. 46)."[10]

Williams' early poetry, some written as early as 1826, was published in 1838 in <u>Thoughts in Past Years</u>. It is a collection of nature poems and miscellaneous verse. As with Keble's <u>The Christian Year</u>, it was not written to be published but, in Williams' own words as quoted by Tennyson, "rather to give vent to the passing feelings of [the writer's] own mind, than with any idea of publication."[11] Unfortunately, as with the poetic works of the other Tractarians, copies are hard to locate so reliance will be put on those poems from <u>Thoughts in Past Years</u>

used and quoted in G. B. Tennyson's work and in Selections from the Writings of Isaac Williams (London: Rivingtons, 1890) which was borrowed from the Library of Trinity College, Toronto. In the section titled "Poems" the latter work has selections from Williams: The Seven Days of Creation (1850) The Baptistery (1842), The Cathedral (1838), Hymns Translated from the Paris Breviary (1838), one poem, "Clement of Alexandria" from Lyra Apostolica, and six poems from The Christian Scholar (1849). These must suffice. G. B. Tennyson was more fortunate than I in locating the poems of all the Tractarians, particularly those of Williams. For this reason I must rely on him to the unfortunate point of seeming to be too derivative. Tennyson frequently quotes excerpts from poems and comments on them; had he provided the whole work it might have been possible for me to reach a different conclusion or extract a different thought from the lines. I do not say that my conclusions or thoughts would be better in any sense nor that they would discredit or detract from those of Tennyson, they would simply be different.

According to G. B. Tennyson, the third edition (1843) of Thoughts in Past Years was a duodecimo volume produced in the style of a miniature prayer book, and is divided into six parts corresponding to the time of composition, that is, 1826 to 1838. Its early poems, therefore, were written under the influence of the Romantic nature poets, followed by poems on

Tractarian themes, and ending with the theme of the Church as an institution and system of worship.[12] The latter, of course, were the precursor of Williams' "Architecture" poems which echo the poetry of George Herbert and reflect Williams' active interest in Gothic architecture. In a footnote Tennyson, quoting from James F. White's The Cambridge Movement (Cambridge, 1962), gives an interesting view of Williams' connection with an architectural society: "White (p. 24) has also uncovered the interesting information that Isaac Williams was a committee member of the Oxford Society for Promoting the Study of Gothic Architecture, founded in March 1839."[13]

Tennyson analyses Williams' Thoughts in Past Years by sections, showing not only the growth in the poet's mind but also the development of his subject matter, from nature, church architecture, and the worship of the Church. Of the first section, "The Golden Valley", after mentioning that it consists of sixty-three sonnets mostly on nature, he points out the "strong Kebelian influence in the attitude of the poems towards nature, at once symbolic, nurturing, and admonitory."[14] Tennyson adds that the poems are generally stronger in expression than Keble's nature poems and that Williams' "sense of ending" was more developed than Keble's. As an example of Williams' use of Analogy as an experience, he gives the final four lines of "Sonnet 55":

Where am I? Still I hear

> Deep to deep calling afar! O Thou
> That hast redeem'd me from the howling flood
> What have I done? Thy garments are all blood![15]

Here, when Christ's presence is revealed, Analogy becomes experience. What Tennyson does not point out is the interesting biblical source of Williams' diction: the "Where art thou" of Genesis 3: 9, "Deep calleth unto deep" of Psalm 42: 7, "Thou hast redeemed me" of Psalm 31: 5, the reference to Noah's flood in line three (the whole line connects the ark as a means of salvation to Christ's act of redemption on Calvary), the "What have I done?" from Jeremiah 8: 6, also connecting, no doubt, with the first word of Christ from the cross, "Father forgive them; for they know not what they do " (St. Luke 23: 34), and finally "Every battle is with garments rolled in blood" of Isaiah 9: 5. This is more than Analogy, it is packed with Typology, and is an excellent example of Williams' Reserve-- the Disciplina Arcani which was dear to him in his poetry.

What Williams has done here in four lines of poetry he frequently duplicates in longer sections of his poems. In "The Complaint of the Penitent", a blank verse poem of about 850 lines in The Baptistery, a fifty-two line section dealing with the topic of absolution is almost entirely composed of lines taken directly from the Authorized Version or paraphrases of biblical incidents. The section begins with "O Thou the true the good Samaritan,/ The Keeper who dost slumber not nor sleep" and ends with "Although my hand is palsied; and in vain/ Would

I assay to lift it to the door,/ But Thou didst heal Thyself the palsied hand."[16] First there is the reference to the Good Samaritan of St. Luke 10: 30-37, then Williams paraphrases Psalm 121: 4,"Behold he that keepeth Israel shall neither slumber nor sleep," and the closing lines of the section combine the many New Testament stories of the healings of the palsied with the verse "Knock, and it shall be opened unto you " (St. Matthew 7: 7).

The second section of Thoughts in Past Years is titled "The Country Pastor" and Tennyson believes the title was inspired by George Herbert's Country Parson. It is a collection of forty-one sonnets in which Williams adds to "nature" "themes from the life and experience of the pastoral clergy as seen from [his] Tractarian perspective."[17] Tennyson quotes Williams' sonnet "The Ancient and Modern Town" in its entirety because he believes it anticipates the entire theme of A. W. N. Pugin's Contrasts (1836). In a footnote he does not claim that Pugin was influenced by Williams' poem (he could not have read it) but merely that (to paraphrase a familiar proverb), "great minds were thinking alike" and to point out that "Williams was in the forefront of the movement toward the Gothic."[18] Tennyson did not mention that Williams' sonnet almost certainly inspired the title for the most widely used Church of England hymn book, Hymns Ancient and Modern (1861) which was a product of the Oxford Movement. In the fifth and sixth lines of the

sonnet, "the shrines of ancient faith... pierce the skies ", Williams, without a doubt, is thinking of the Temple of Jerusalem, and phrases such as "thick the domes" and "houses of our God" show his bent towards architecture.

G. B. Tennyson quotes the complete blank verse poem of seventeen lines from "The Mountain Home" section of Thoughts in Past Years. It is titled, "Reflections in an Illness in the Year 1826" so, not surprisingly, it deals with life,death, and nature in a meditation of deep feeling. I quote it here in full in part because of its personal appeal. Since the writer of this thesis is in his seventy-first year, it may not have as moving an effect on his readers but, even if it does not, the reader will at least be able to appreciate the Wordsworthian tone of the poem, particularly in the first part.

> I stood amid those mountain solitudes,
> On a rude plank that cross'd the torrent chasm,
> Roaring eternally, till on the eye
> Hung the cold tear unconscious, and I turn'd
> Unworthy with those shadowy forms to blend,
> Nature's unsullied children: then came on
> Feelings of solemn loneliness and thought,
> Amid the silence of creation's works,
> Waking the echoes of the past; until
> The veil of things, and this mysterious being,
> And the dark world, and fall'n humanity,
> Hung like a weight upon the soul; then woke
> Stirrings of deep Divinity within,
> And, like the flickerings of a smouldering flame,
> Yearnings of an hereafter: Thou it was,
> When the world's din and Passion's voice was still,
> Calling Thy wanderer home.[19]

Now we come to "The River Bank", section IV of Thoughts in

Past Years and find that nature, as it is depicted here, is more gentle than in the previous section-- it is the "nature" of the valley. Tennyson remarks that in one poem, "Heavenly Signs", Williams (contrary to generally held views of Tractarians) was interested in the pastoral care of the poor. Unfortunately, he does not supply any evidence to support his remarks for he does not quote any part of the poem itself, but the phrase "the image of Christ in the face of the poor" suggests that that idea is expressed in the poem. Fortunately, Tennyson (for a different purpose) reprints two stanzas from "A November Scene", the second of which shows that Williams was a careful and attentive observer of nature:

> But rather let me look where yonder breaks
> The fragments of a rainbow; o'er yon hill
> Eastward, 'mid the wild troup of shadows, flakes
> Of glory in the darkness, bright and still.[20]

There are no mistakes of fact in the above lines. Rainbows, because of the manner in which they are formed, can only occur in the eastern sky in the afternoon or in the western sky in the morning, and occasionally in the north. Noon rainbows are rare, as are rainbows in the southern sky. Because of the required angle of the sun forming a rainbow there will always be a "wild troup of shadows", which indicates that the shadows are moving (this would be more evident in the countryside than in the city, for all vegetation-- from plants to trees-- would be swaying in the breeze, but not the solid buildings of the city), but the rainbow, when it appears in the sky, has no visible

movement; it is "bright and still."

Although he quotes titles, Tennyson gives no examples of poetry from Sections V and VI of Thoughts in Past Years, and Selections from the Writings of Williams does not identify, by section, where its selections are taken from, so we must grasp his hand and not "wander from the pathway if Tennyson is to be our guide" (to paraphrase, light-heartedly, J. E. Bode's hymn "O Jesus, I have promised" written in 1868 for use at the confirmation of his daughter and two sons). G. B. Tennyson writes, "Section V, 'The Sacred City', strikes a more polemic and Tractarian note."[21] We should expect that, for Williams wrote this section during the stirring times that Newman claimed brought out stirring poets. Here we see such titles as "The Church in England" (reminiscent of Herbert's "The British Church"), "The Days of the Royal Martyr", and "The Natural and Spiritual Man, or Classical Complaints and Scriptural Remedies", stirring titles indeed. In the latter poem, according to Tennyson, "Williams presents brief citations from classical and even biblical sources and replies to them with two common-measure stanzas for each."[22] Tennyson states that, although the poetry here is laboured, the idea "of structuring poetry in terms of challenge and response, using poetry to elucidate doctrine... is arresting."[23] Apparently this poem of long title gave Williams the inspiration which led to the volume of verse titled The Christian Scholar (1849)

in which, "following Keble's lead in the Praelectiones, he [Williams] undertakes to submit the study of the classics to Christianity "[24] a natural study, though not a study of nature.

"Lyra Ecclesiastica" is the very Tractarian title given to the sixth section of Thoughts in Past Years. Tennyson is "almost certain" that it was the first use of the title form after Lyra Apostolica. His opinion is based on a study of the use of such titles since 1838, and therefore carries much weight. For the purpose of this thesis the "Lyra Ecclesiastica" is not particularly relevant for it contains many translations of the hymns of the early Latin and Greek Churches; however; for Williams, the "interest demonstrated by the 'Lyra Ecclesiastica' poems led to his preoccupation with the forms of worship and forms of ecclesiastical buildings suited to that worship that would bear fruit in his later poetry."[25] Tennyson sums up his thoughts on Thoughts in Past Years as follows:

> In all, the poetry of Thoughts in Past Years shows a development from Kebelian nature poetry to a poetry increasingly concerned with questions of Church history and the idea of the Church as a mystical body. By a curiously Tractarian paradox, the best poetry as poetry is that in which Williams experiences nature and transcendence directly, as a single fused religious experience, not merely as Keble's book of nature to be read as a text. Yet the direction of Williams' future writing was away from nature and toward the Church itself as the supreme poem.[26]

Before we leave Thoughts in Past Years let us see what can be culled from the small sample of these poems included in Selections from the Writings of Williams. In "The Deaf and

Dumb Boy" Williams addresses himself to the same problem which faced Wordsworth in his "The Idiot Boy"-- how do the incapacitated relate to nature? The idiot boy confronts it, at the urging of his mother, by riding off on the back of his pony in the evening to summon a doctor to the bed of a sick neighbour. Of course, he failed in his quest and was found, eventually, by his mother, but not before he had spent the night listening to the owls hooting in the moonlight. When asked how he had spent the night he told his mother "The cocks did crow to-whoo, to-whoo/ And the sun did shine so cold!"[27] Williams' poem is a sonnet and, within the tightness of the sonnet form, tells of the "one whose tongue and ear nature doth tie,/ With her to walk in sweetest solitude."[28] Williams tells us that often this boy's "finger, in his pensive mood,/ Is on the chord of his soul's harmony,/ Waking meek thankfulness," even though he is alone except for the "spirits that are aye around the good."[29] Though he has never heard the summer nightingale or the winter thrush, nor heard the morning sounds awaken or the evening sounds cease, yet with his upturned eye, in the spirit of love, he "Holds commune with bright hope, and spirits of peace."[30] It is a more moving though less delightful poem than Wordsworth's. But "The Fellow-labourers" _is_ a delightful poem about a mole, which would warm the heart of anyone who has taken the time to observe what a truly beautiful creature it is. In the final couplet Williams takes heart

that <u>others</u> (angels or spiritual beings) at least appreciate the thoughts he has expressed, "Round us, too, tents are spread, unseen by men,/ And companies too bright for human ken " (p. 318). Ecclesiastical architecture is considered in <u>Thoughts in Past Years</u> as well. In "The Passing Beggar" (shades of Wordsworth's "The Old Cumberland Beggar") and in the untitled poem which follows it in <u>Selections</u> there are phrases such as: "He builds a temple", "Nature's shrine", and "Save Him alone Who sits behind th' eternal screen."[31] The last is a reference to the rood screen which, in Anglican churches, separates (or used to separate) the "nave" from the "choir", and hearkens back to the "veil" of the Hebrew temples.[32] There are also poems dealing with the Prayer Book services, such as, one dealing with the first of the "Comfortable Words" of the Holy Communion which, in the 1959 Canadian Prayer Book, reads, "Come unto me all that labour and are heavy laden, and I will refresh you" (St. Matthew 11: 28). On this verse Williams wrote:

> "Ye heavy-laden, come to Me!"
> Ne'er voice that set a captive free,--
> Ne'er watery breeze on Arab sand,--
> Ne'er sun on Arctic strand,--
> Ne'er native strain to heart of exile stole
> So sweet as those blest words to heavy-laden soul.
>
> Dear words! still let me read you o'er,
> And on each heavenly accent pore;
> "Come unto Me," ye grief oppressed!
> Dear words, on you I rest;
> Henceforth I bow unto Thy chastening rod,
> And turn to Thy dread Cross, my Saviour and my God![33]

It is unfortunate that more of these poems are not available, but the above few samples give an inkling of Williams' ability as a poet of deep feeling. Assessing his Thoughts in Past Years it is not too much to claim that he was the best of the Tractarian poets. Now we must consider the part he played in the nineteenth-century Gothic revival-- for part of his interest in the Gothic is reflected in The Cathedral (1838).

Just as the Tractarians went back in history to enhance the structure of the liturgy of the church so, also, the architects of the day expressed renewed interest in the Gothic style. Many churches and cathedrals became the subject of repair and renewal and, by the passing of the Church Building Act of 1818, the government took much of the financial burden off the shoulders of the churchwardens. New churches were needed to serve the spiritual need of the industrial revolution's labourers who were leaving the country-side to settle in the new industrial towns and cities.

Because of their interest in the liturgical past it is not surprising to discover at least a few men of the Oxford Movement among those contributing to the Gothic Architecture Revival. What is surprising is the numbers and influence of the others, besides Williams, who did. Note 14, p. 256, of G. B. Tennyson's work already referred to continues from the previous quotation as follows:

> Other committee members were: J. R. Bloxam, Newman's curate; Francis A. Faber, Frederick Faber's brother; and J. B. Mozley, Tractarian and brother of Thomas Mozley, author of Reminiscences, containing much information on the Tractarian years. Ordinary members included Newman, John Ruskin (then an undergraduate), and William Palmer.[34]

Williams' interest in the Gothic is reflected in his first published volume of verse, which has the full title of The Cathedral, or the Catholic and Apostolic Church in England, (1838). It was not as popular as The Christian Year but it went through many editions in the nineteenth century. With its two sister volumes, The Baptistery (1842) and The Altar (1847), it formed an important trilogy of Tractarian architectural poetry and was a suitable adjunct to the Gothic Revival in stone and mortar. Tennyson comments on this trilogy:

> Williams' verse in these volumes cannot be successfully detached to isolate individual pieces of merit: the whole is distinctly greater than any of its parts. The point of the three volumes lies in their linkage of verse to religious principles and to the physical expression of those principles in architecture.[35]

If, in order to understand fully the poetry of Keble's The Christian Year, one needs to be well-informed about The Book of Common Prayer and the Authorized Version of the Bible and have more than a nodding acquaintance with nature then, to comprehend the poetry in Williams' The Cathedral, one must add a more than passing knowledge of the principles of Gothic architecture to the above three requirements. To this end I have

included in the Appendix, a copy of "The plan of a cathedral coordinated with the subjects of Williams' poetry. From 1841 edition of The Cathedral" from Tennyson's work (p. 158) which has been "touched-up" for clarification. In his first published volume, Williams, according to Tennyson, "has undertaken to do nothing less than write poems for all of the features of a vast Gothic cathedral, taking the reader through four main aspects of the structure, the exterior, the nave, the choir, and finally the pillars and windows."[36] These are identified in the floor plan. Williams included much more information and illustration in his volume, giving examples from actual cathedrals for each architectural section of his plan. We might expect that much from a poet-priest who was a committee member of the Oxford Society for Promoting the Study of Gothic Architecture. Williams' ingenuity in his use of almost every stone of his "cathedral" as a topic for a religious or didactic poem is both subtle and wonderful, but not a proper topic for expansion in this thesis. However, Tennyson discusses this facet of Williams' work (see pp. 159. f.). It will suffice here to list some of the parts which provide Williams with section titles for his work: the chapter house, the cloisters, the façade, the nave, sepulchral recesses, oratories, pillars and windows. Regarding the structure and concept of The Cathedral, Tennyson believes that

Nothing quite like this had been done before, though

> Williams is at pains to relate his undertaking to two revered predecessors, Herbert and Wordsworth, to give it poetic validity, and to biblical analogy and typology to give it religious sanction.[37]

That brings us to Williams' use of Reserve, Analogy, and Typology. Quoting at length from Williams' Advertisement to his first edition of The Cathedral, Tennyson lets Williams speak for himself:

> The principle indeed of sacred associations of this nature comes to us with the very highest authority, by the constant use of it throughout the whole of Scripture, from the Tabernacle in the Wilderness, which served for an "example and shadow of heavenly things," to the fuller application and extensive unfoldings of the same symbolical figures in the Book of Revelation. And indeed, the practice is hallowed to us by the use of our Lord Himself, Who from the pouring out of water on the great day of the Feast of Tabernacles, took occasion to speak to the Holy Ghost, and likened a door (presented to their eyes as is supposed in the precincts of the Temple) to Himself; and made bread, and the water of the well, significant emblems of things heavenly and divine. And indeed, if we may say it with reverence, it was the very characteristic of our Lord's teaching to draw moral and religious instruction from visible objects. (C[athedral], p. VI.)[38]

The poem that shows Williams' use of Reserve better than any of the limited selection of poems available to us from The Cathedral is "The Skreen" from the subsection titled "Disciplina Arcani". It is printed here as it appears in Selections from the Writings of Williams:

> Nature withdraws from human sight
>   The treasure of her light;
> In earth's deep mines, or ocean's cells,
>   Her secret glory dwells.
> 'Tis darkly through Night's veil on high
>   She shows the starry sky;

And where of beauty aught is found,
She draws a shade around;
Nor fully e'er unveils to sense
Steps of bright Providence.

When out of Sion God appeared
For perfect beauty feared,
The darkness was His chariot,
And clouds were all about.
Hiding His dread sublimity,
When Jesus walk'd nigh,
He threw around his works of good
A holier solitude;
Ris'n from the grave appeared to view
But to a faithful few.

And e'en now, as then of old,
The pure of heart behold
The soul-restoring miracles
Wherein His mercy dwells;
New marvels unto them revealed,
But from the world concealed.
Then pause, and fear,-- when thus allowed
We enter the dark cloud,
Look, keep our hearts, that soul and eye
Unharmed may Thee descry.[39]

The rood screen has already been mentioned but it should be added that its "type" is the "veil" which separated the holy of holies from the rest of the tabernacle or tent used in the worship of the Children of Israel while they were wandering in the wilderness, and later incorporated by them in the worship of the three Temples in Jerusalem: Solomon's, the Second Temple, and the one built by Herod the Great mentioned in the New Testament. Only the high priest was allowed into the Holy of Holies and then only on special occasions and only after a ceremonial cleansing. In the above poem Williams discusses Reserve by using Analogy: first in Nature, then in the God of Israel, and finally in the life of Jesus. From these three "types" he draws, in stanza three, an analogy to the present day in words which call to mind Keble's "Blest are the pure

in heart," claiming that only those with a pure heart see the marvels which are concealed from the world. Eventually, the Christian will enter the dark cloud (the Holy of Holies) and be able to "see" God, yet remain unharmed by that sight. This stanza foreshadows the ending of Newman's The Dream of Gerontius (n.d.) in which Gerontius experienced the beatific vision.

The following stanza from a 54 line poem in The Baptistery titled "Giving Thanks for All Things" mentions how the holy men and women of the past valued and sought after the "great secret," then prays for a reunited Church:

> It was for this of old Apostles taught,
> It was for this that Martyrs shed their blood,
> It was for this that Saints have marvels wrought,
> It was for this that Confessors have stood,
> It was for this that Virgins meek and good,
> And holy men in cells and deserts prayed;
> That Love's great secret might be understood,--
> That all with Christ's one robe might be arrayed,--
> And 'neath one Shepherd all one fold celestial made.[40]

The final line refers to the "Good Shepherd" of St. John 10: 1-16 which ends with, "and there shall be one fold, and one shepherd." A poem of twenty-one tercets from The Baptistery is also of interest for at least two reasons: its title, "The Great Manifestation" indicates that it deals with the "revealing" side of Reserve; and, in fact, a well-known hymn, "Lord, in this Thy mercy's day" has been extracted from it.

The Baptistery, following the example of the later versions of The Christian Year, includes a series of illustrations

accompanied by prose explanations which, in the same manner as the floor plan of the cathedral, give shape to the poems. The same device was used in the first edition of Williams' third volume, The Altar, but the illustrations used were considered by many, among them Thomas Keble, too "Roman" and were dropped in later editions.

The Altar is a series of over two hundred sonnets dealing with the Eucharist or Mass in a comprehensive manner. It begins with the Holy Week masses during which, on Maundy Thursday, the Last Supper of Our Lord and his disciples instituted this central service of Christianity. The last sonnet of the volume deals with Pentecost or the "coming of the Holy spirit" which, in the Canadian Prayer Book, is reflected in the words of the Prayer of Consecration, "and we pray that by the power of thy Holy Spirit,...." Unfortunately I could find only one poem from this volume, the one reprinted by Tennyson (p. 168) and titled "The Cross Dropping Blood." On this poem Tennyson comments:

> In addition to the interest in the sensual images of blood and suffering and the moral lessons that can be drawn from them, Williams shares and continues the Tractarian revival of interest in holy places, sacred wells, and veneration of saints, though the Tractarians preferred to speak of the latter as simply the communion of Saints.[41]

Apart from the concern with the physical suffering of Christ already mentioned we can see the Christian emphasis on "the

value of each human soul,/Which doth outweigh the world"; and the imagery involved in "... and such the crop/ Of thorns which Adam sowed in Paradise." Adam's sin came to bitter fruition in the crown of thorns and the poem says that we should not marvel if this should drive us into penitence, prayer, and discipline. G. B. Tennyson had the advantage of being able to read (if he so desired) all the sonnets of The Altar before he commented that Williams' "poetic muse is unequal to such a sustained performance as required by the task he set himself in the Altar."[42] Based on the one sample from The Altar given it would not be a fair comment, for "The Cross Dropping Blood" obeys all the rules of the English sonnet form, it shows excellence in the economy of its diction, and it expresses its message with exactness and precision.

Williams contributed nine poems to the Lyra Apostolica. Four of these are in the "Commune Doctorum" section and, given Williams' use of Reserve, one would need to brush up on the biographies of each of the Church Fathers he wrote on to comment intelligently on them. The opening lines of "The Rule of Faith", XCIX, inform us that we are very much in the realm of Williams' Reserve:

> Truth through the Sacred Volume hidden lies,
> And spreads from end to end her secret wing,
> Through ritual, type, and storied mysteries.[43]

and fifty-one lines later it continues in a prayer for rev-

elation:

> So may my eyes from all things Truth convey,
> My ears in all thy lessons read aright,
> My dull heart understand, and I obey
> Following where'er the Church hath mark'd the Ancient Way.[44]

A ten stanza poem in the form of a dialogue titled "Mother and Child" CXII, is of interest to Canadians because it complains of the lack of interest in and concern for Canada by the Church of England. At times it is stereotypical, mentioning the "wild", "thine icy hills", and similar descriptive phrases. "The Angel of the Church" CXII is a polemic on the state of the Church, not only in England, but in Rome as well. Poem CXXXV in the section of Lyra Apostolica titled "Sacrilege" is reprinted below because of its striking resemblance to William Butler Yeats', "The Second Coming", with its warning of impending doom on a hapless age, and its "rising Awful Form" as fraught with danger as is Yeats' slouching "rough beast."

CXXXV

> Heard ye? the unerring Judge is at the door!
> The Curse of God is on thee, hapless Age,
> Binding thy brows with deadly sacrilege;
> Heaven's blight hath passed o'er thee! Talk no more.
> Your talking must the rising sea outroar,
> Your schemes with God's own whirlwind must engage.
> Hands joined in hand with nature war must wage,
> Your thoughts of good are toiling for a shore
> Against the full Monsoon. O teeming brood
> O hollow councils impotent to good!
> O fullsailed bark! God's curse thy bearing wind,
> And Sacrilege thy freight. Strange pregnant scene,
> While boldness mocks at judgement, and behind
> Rises an Awful Form! May I be clean![45]

The Lyra Apostolica concludes with a poem by Williams "The New Jerusalem" translated from the Paris Breviary.

In The Cathedral Williams manages to connect the worship artistically portrayed in Gothic architecture with the devotion of a cathedral's various services. In The Baptistery and The Altar he explains and praises the two Sacraments held by Anglicans (according to the Catechism) as being "generally necessary to salvation; that is to say, Baptism, and the Supper of the Lord, which is Holy Communion " (Canadian Prayer Book, 1959, p. 550). Throughout all his poetry, judging by the small sample we have examined, he shows "a richness of symbolic imagination that out-strips all other Tractarians."[46] His work is not affected by the "stirring times" which stimulated the other Tractarians, rather the inspiration came from within as he looked out on Nature, on Church history, the teaching of the Scriptures, the Prayer Book with its liturgies, and the mystery and grandeur of life.

CHAPTER FOUR

I

John Henry Newman was born in London on 21 February 1801 into a Calvinist family. He graduated with honours from Trinity College, Oxford in 1820 and became a Fellow of Oriel in 1822. He was one of the chief contributors to the _Tracts for the Times_, twenty-four of which were his. His poetical works began with poems and lyrical pieces which appeared in the _British Magazine_ in 1832-34 under the title _Lyra Apostolica_-- of these poems "Lead, Kindly Light" is the best known. His tract number 75, "On the Roman Breviary" (1836) contained translationsof fourteen Latin hymns-- of these ten were repeated in his _Verses on Religious Subjects_ (1853) and his _Verses on Various Occasions_ (1868) and translations of twenty-four additional Latin hymns were added. His religious poem _The Dream of Gerontius_ appeared in _Verses on Various Occasions_ and is the source of the well-known hymn "Praise to the Holiest in the Height." His collection of Latin hymns from the Roman and Paris Breviaries, and other sources, was published as _Hymni Ecclesiae_ in 1838. In 1845 he was received into the Roman communion, and was made a cardinal deacon in 1879. He died in 1890 in his ninetieth year.

The Book of Common Prayer gave Keble's 109 poems of _The_

Christian Year their unity. The 109 poems which Newman contributed to the Lyra Apostolica derived their unity, and their kinship to the poems provided by the other five contributing poets, from the missionary zeal of the time, the need for proselytizing, and in many cases the polemic jibes at the Roman Church. If The Christian Year is missionary, the zeal is restrained; if it attempts to convert, it does so with reserve; and it is polemic in but one poem, that for November 5th, where, referring to the Church of Rome, the polemic does no more than entreat Keble's readers in the last stanza to

> Speak gently of our sister's fall:
> Who knows but gentle love
> May win her at her patient call
> The surer way to prove?

Newman's tongue is much sharper in poem CLXXIII from Lyra Apostolica titled, "The Cruel Church" the closing lines of which, complaining about the influx of Jesuit priests whose aim was to convert Anglicans, read:

> And now thou sendest foes,
> Bred from thy womb, lost Church! to mock the throes
> Of thy free Child, thou cruel-natured Rome!

In the chapter on John Keble we discussed briefly his contributions of forty-six poems to Lyra Apostolica. Before analysing Newman's work in the volume we should give a brief history of how it came to appear in book form.

The Advertisement to the third edition of Lyra Apostolica

(1838) was brief and to the point:

> The following compositions have been reprinted from the British Magazine, where they had the advantage of originally appearing, in the humble hope that they may be instrumental in recalling or recommending to the reader important Christian truths which are at this day in a way to be forgotten. The publication, having no other object but this, would, according to the original intention, have been strictly anonymous, but one of the writers, in whom the work originated, having been taken from his friends by death, it seemed desirable so far to depart from it, as to record what belonged to him while it was possible to do so; and this has led to a general discrimination of the poems by signatures at the end of each. (p. viii)

It was dated Oxford, The Feast of All Saints, 1836. The "discrimination of the poems by signatures at the end of each" was done with great discrimination, the identities of each of the six poets being concealed in the above edition behind one of the first six letters of the Greek alphabet, one letter being assigned to each poet, in turn, in the alphabetical order of their last names. R. Hurrell Froude's death on 28 February 1836 led to this "identification" of the poets. For convenience and information the list that follows provides the key to their identity and also supplies the number of poems contributed by each poet.

α	J. W. Bowden	6
β	R. Hurrell Froude	8
γ	John Keble	46
δ	J. H. Newman	109
ε	R. J. Wilberforce	1
ζ	Isaac Williams	9

It was not until the edition of 1879 that Newman, in a Post-

script to the Advertisement, identified all contributors by name.

When the poems appeared in the *British Magazine* between 1833 and 1836 they were under the general editorship of Hugh James Ross of Hadleigh, but it was Newman's idea to gather them into a volume for publication. Right from the beginning, even before the Assize Sermon was delivered, Newman was the instigator, planner and shaper of the *Lyra Apostolica*. He meant it to be didactic and polemical, unlike the Reserve in the works of Keble and Williams. G. B. Tennyson quotes a letter of Newman addressed to a certain Frederic Rogers, in which Newman describes his aim for the poetry as that of "making an effective quasi-political engine, without every contribution being of that character" and Newman went on in the letter to connect the writing of poetry to the times:

> Do not stirring times bring out stirring poets? Do they not give opportunity for the rhetoric of poetry and the persuasion? And may we not at least produce the shadow of high things, if not the high things themselves?[1]

This is not Reserve; but it is coming from a man who some years before in an essay titled "Poetry, with Reference to Aristotle's Poetics", reprinted in *Essays and Sketches* (1970),[2] in which Newman clearly opposed poetry to rhetoric. G. B. Tennyson provides an interpretation of this essay in *Victorian Devotional Poetry* (pp. 37-42), the main thrust of which is that, although technical skill, that is, Aristotle's "in-

genious workmanship," is necessary in all literary composition, yet it is the emotion, the expression of intense inward feeling, which evidences the true poet. On this point I take the mean position, which may not please Newman's supporters but most certainly should not ruffle Aristotle's. To emotion, Newman adds "originality" by which he means "originality of right moral feeling," so (for him) poetry is "originality energizing in the world of beauty; the originality of grace, purity, refinement, and good feeling. We do not hesitate to say that poetry is ultimately founded on correct moral perception; that where there is no sound principle in exercise there will be no poetry; and that on the whole (originality being granted), in proportion to the standard of a writer's moral character will his compositions vary in poetical excellence."[3] That is true for the poetry of all four poet-priests being considered and is one of the conventions they use which results in the "agreement in fundamental truths in their poetry" which is the thesis of this study. But not all poets are priests, some are deacons, some are neither. Newman's stand may be a suitable ideal for poetry but it hardly applies to all "good" poetry which has been written and, for that reason, he should have argued _for_ an ideal rather than _from_ a factual position.

Should anyone doubt that Newman _intended_ this change of emphasis in the _Lyra_ poems, that is, of making an effective

quasi-political engine, without every contribution being of that character, the circumstances surrounding the choice of the epigraph for the Lyra Apostolica should be illuminating. The epigraph, suggested by Froude, is taken from Book XIX of The Iliad after Achilles, having settled his dispute with Agamemnon, said to the Greeks, "You shall know the difference, now that I am back again." Newman wanted his small group of poets to fight with emotion and purpose, to address the social, religious, and political circumstances of the day.

It is not known beyond doubt who chose the title "Lyra Apostolica". It is a strange title which some might consider self-contradictory. It links "an inherently poetic image, the lyre, with an inherently unpoetic and dogmatic one, apostolicity."[4] In the first chapter of this thesis the term "Apostolic Succession" was explained-- its importance as a tenet of Tractarianism would be hard to exaggerate but, without acceptance of the principle of apostolic succession, the Assize Sermon would have been impotent. G. B. Tennyson continues:

> The apostolic succession was not a purely technical device for maintaining the continuity of the Church, still less an empty formality, but a mystical and moral, hence poetical, instrument of God to perpetuate and to preserve it in the poetry that comes from God.[5]

The title combines romanticism and religion; influencing the first, theologically, and the second, poetically. Perhaps, as we look at Newman's contribution to the Lyra Apostolica, we

may see this in practice.

As editor, Newman's first job was to rearrange the order of appearance of the poems, and to do this effectively he divided the 179 poems into forty-five sections, giving each section an appropriate devotional sounding title, for example: Ease, Remorse, Affliction, Saints Departed, Severity, and others. Because of the variety of interests covered, such as the great teachers of the Church, trade, religious states, and so on, the _Lyra Apostolica_ has not the neat and compact "full volume" unity of _The Christian Year_. That would be too much to expect. What is noticed is that each section is a unity and, throughout the whole work, there runs the sense of missionary urgency that was one of its aims. The polemic is there as well, but not in every poem.

Newman in the _Lyra Apostolica_ is not as daring and experimental with form and meter as Keble in _The Christian Year_. He uses a higher proportion of common meter than Keble, and a much higher proportion of other standard forms. He uses few sight rhymes, few run-on lines, and, except in one case, he does not launch out into the depths of metrical and syntactical experimentation. The exception is in his use of two beat and three beat lines, sometimes mixed with longer lines as in "Lead, Kindly Light," but also throughout full poems as in "The Zeal of Jehu," LXVI, the first stanza of which is:

Thou to wax fierce
    In the cause of the Lord,

To treat and to pierce
With the heavenly sword!
Anger and Zeal,
And the joy of the brave,
Who bade thee to feel,
Sin's slave.

This is the meter we are accustomed to hear in the humorous lines of Skelton and his imitators. It appealed to Newman, apparently, for he uses it extensively in the choruses of his long poem, The Dream of Gerontius.

Newman's poems in the Lyra Apostolica have none of the Prayer Book's "soothing tendencies" which Keble preserved in his volume; the Roman Church, liberalism, and the state of the British churchmanship are all targets for Newman's polemic verse. We have already seen this in "The Cruel Church." His attack on liberalism, in the poem of that name, CIX, is equally harsh, beginning, "Ye cannot halve the Gospel of God's grace;/ Men of presumptuous heart! I know you well."[6] So, too, his poems on churchmanship, though truly devotional, must have seemed harsh polemic to the Evangelicals and non-conformists of his day.

With H.C. Beeching as his guide, G. B. Tennyson deals with the "intensity of feeling coupled with... the 'gnomic' character of Newman's verse-- its brevity of form and sharpness of diction" which, in Tennyson's eyes, "makes Newman's poetry generally the best in the volume."[7] Whatever his condition was in later life, Newman, at the time he wrote his poems for Lyra Apostolica, was a troubled man. He was also

unsure. His Reserve, unlike Keble's or Williams' quiet withdrawal, was more like the control gates of a dam, where what was held back was vastly more than what was released. I am reminded of a friendly talk I had with a man about his violent temper. He said, in his own defence, that "he controlled more temper than most people ever give vent to." So it must have been with Newman's emotions, he released only enough to enliven his poetry but, in the controlling, he achieved brevity and sharpness in his poetry.

The intensity of feeling is there for all to see in "Lead, Kindly Light" XXV in the Lyra Apostolica, feeling that unfolds to view his present sense of unsureness, his past which he is regretting, and the future with a promise of hope. The poem is also known under three other titles, all supplied by Newman in turn: "Faith-- Heavenly Landings" (1834), "Light in the Darkness" (1836) from the motto, "Unto the Godly there ariseth up light in the darkness," and "Pillar of the Cloud" (1838). According to Donaldson, Newman modestly attibuted the popularity of the hymn to the tune "Lux Benigna" (1867) by J. B. Dykes.[8] Morse-Boycott in his book Lead, Kindly Light (1970) has unearthed a previously unrecorded episode about an attempt by the Rev. Edward Henry Bickersteth (later Bishop of Exeter) to add a fourth stanza to this much-loved hymn. It reads:

Meantime along the narrow rugged path,

Thyself hast trod,
Lead, Saviour, lead me home in child-like faith,
Home to my God,
In the calm light of everlasting life,
To rest forever after earthly strife.

In his letter asking that the verse be deleted, Newman said in part, "It is not that the verse is not both in sentiment and language graceful and good, but I think you will at once see how unwilling an author must be to subject himself to the inconvenience of that being ascribed to him which is not his own." Morse-Boycott adds, "If the pirate verse is beautiful, so is the remonstrance."[9] Hymns for Church and School (1964) footnotes the hymn "Lead, Kindly Light" as follows:

> The author wrote these verses as a young man, never intending them as a hymn. In later life, when asked about the meaning of the imagery, he insisted that the art of a verse-writer lies in the expression of 'imagination and sentiment', rather than of literal 'truth'.[10]

One more comment on this famous hymn will suffice. Newman's later poetry is to a large extent derived from earlier prose works. With this poem, it seems it was the other way around for, in a Sermon (1834), "Wisdom and Innocence" Newman said:

> May He support us all the day long, until 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! Then in His mercy may He give us a safe lodging, and a holy rest, and peace at the last.[11]

Whatever influence Wordsworth might have had on the compiler of Lyra Apostolica must have come through Keble, for New-

man rarely refers to the great "nature poet", but once listed him along with Coleridge, Scott, and Southey as having some literary influence on the Oxford Movement. Newman's poems in the Lyra Apostolica seldom mention nature but, rather, dwell on sin and guilt, death, the soul-- the kind of things that form the sub-titles for the forty-five sections of the work. What few references he makes to nature seem to have a derogatory cast to them, or a sense of danger, as in the following examples: "Or, on a voyage, when calms prevail,/ And prison thee upon the sea" from poem XLIII, the whole of which is almost a deprecation on nature; and, from "Melchizedek", poem XLIV, "Yea, the rich earth, garbed in its daintiest dress/ Of light and joy, doth but the more oppress." One cannot help but wonder if this is the same creation that God made and pronounced "very good", and that Jesus came to redeem after the "fall". Newman was not at all secretive about the influence that Keble had on his life and thought. In Five Great Oxford Leaders (1900), Donaldson quotes as follows from a letter of Newman to Hurrell Froude: "I am conscious I have got all my best things from Keble: you and Keble are the philosphers and I the rhetorician. 'Life and Letters", vol. ii, p. 156."[12]

Newman was unsure in the sense of being "marked or characterized by lack of sureness, assurance, or certainty." Unlike Keble who, after it was published, made only one alteration in The Christian Year (changing "not" to "as"), Newman

continued to alter words and lines and to add and delete whole stanzas, usually for doctrinal rather than poetic reasons. Here I do not speak of his prose, only his poetry. G. B. Tennyson writes: "Newman's poetry in the Lyra is also notable for offering a record of his incessant tinkering with his texts and his lifetime concern for doctrine."[13] The definitive work on this aspect of Newman's poetry, according to Tennyson, is Elizabeth Ann Noel's "An Edition of Poems by John Henry Cardinal Newman" (diss., University of Illinois, 1950.) Tennyson continues:

> The most celebrated, because comic, instance is the change wrought in the poem "Rest" (No. 52) from its Lyra appearances. The original poem is a reflection on the fate of the blessed dead in terms of the doctrine of the "Refrigerium," which was also occasionally the later title for this poem. The dead are depicted in Eden listening to the murmurings of the four-fold river. Later this was changed to a poem on Enoch and Elias, who were held to be more certainly in "Eden" than those who had died in Christian times. Still later it was turned back into a poem on the dead but with the addition of the doctrine of Purgatory, so that the opening lines read: "They are at rest:/ The fire has eaten out all blot and stain,/ And, convalescent, they enjoy a blest/ Refreshment after pain." Eventually Newman eliminated the convalescent pair and restored the poem to its original wording, leaving only and regretably the word "hurries" for the four-fold river in place of the more fitting "murmurs."[14]

With the examination of Newman's poems in the Lyra Apostolica we have covered well over half of his total output as a poet. In 1868 he published Verses on Various Occasions and,

apart from the poems reprinted from the Lyra, the poetry is not well known and like The Dream of Gerontius is based on previously written liturgical forms of prayer. Newman endured two health crises in his life during each of which he believed death was approaching. During the first he wrote many of the poems of the Lyra, the second gave rise to The Dream of Gerontius, a long poem which deals with the imagined experience of the soul of a righteous man at the time of, and immediately following, the death of the body. It has about 1,360 lines, many of them very short with frequent repetitions of lines and even of whole stanzas. It is best remembered through one of its parts-- the last of five "hymns" sung by the Fifth Choir of Angelicals; all five of the hymns begin with a common first stanza which will serve to identify the well-known hymn:

> Praise to the Holiest in the height,
> And in the depth be praise:
> In all His words most wonderful;
> Most sure in all his ways![15]

Just as the music Dykes wrote for "Lead, Kindly Light" made that hymn popular, so the musical setting of the poem, composed by Sir Edward Elgar, saved The Dream of Gerontius from obscurity. This Oratorio, based on an abridged text of Newman's poem, was first performed at Birmingham, 1900, but its performance at the Lower Rhine festival at Düsseldorf, 1903, launched Elgar's musical career. A reading (aloud) of the poem brings out the reason why it succeeded as an oratorio: it appeals to the ear. However, its subtlety as poetry is too great

for the average reader so it needed Elgar's music to enhance its appeal. The narrative parts of the work are in blank verse and occasionally approach the grandeur of Milton, the solo parts are liberally sprinkled with liturgical Latin (and a line or two of Greek written in the Roman alphabet), and much of the chorus parts are written in what I have chosen to call Skeltonic meter, although the content is not humorous. The five hymns of praise are in common meter (8.6.8.6.). As far as I can determine the last time the work was performed in Hamilton was in 1934, the year Elgar died. That was the only time I have heard it, yet I can still recall the Skeltonic parts clearly-- the music at this point is stacatto and perfectly matched to the words of the Demons:

Dispossessed
Aside thrust,
Chucked down,
By the sheer might
Of a despot's will,
Of a tyrant's frown;[16]

and even more dramatically in:

What's a saint?
One whose breath
Doth the air taint
Before his death;
A bundle of bones,
Which fools adore,
Ha! Ha!
When life is o'er,
Which rattle and stink,
E'en in the flesh.[17]

The music here tends to obliterate Skelton's meter from the mind, for the attention is rivetted through the appropriate

marriage of words and music.

In summing up his comments on Newman's poems, Donaldson writes:

> The fascinating poem, entitled 'The Dream of Gerontius', ... is perhaps the most remarkable attempt ever made to realize the passage of a soul from this world through death into the unseen.... If the doctrine of purgatory had always been dealt with in the delicate, reverent manner of this wonderful effort to realize the state of the disembodied spirit, Christendom might have been saved not only the horrors of the mediæval conception of purgatorial fires, but all the disastrous reaction and revolt that has followed them.[18]

He is praising his theology as much as his poetry. Even as a Roman Catholic Newman was bridge-building between the Churches with his poetry.

In a sermon preached in 1852 called "The Second Spring" Newman said "the church in England has died." Ironically, the church he was referring to (the Church of England) experienced a "second spring" and 150 years after the launching of the Oxford Movement the Anglican Communion is more alive than at any time during Newman's life-- in no small measure because of the part *he* played in it as a Tractarian poet and priest during the twelve years when the foundations of its spiritual restoration were being laid.

II

Frederick William Faber (1814-1863), was born at Calverley,

Yorkshire, and received his bachelor's degree from Balliol College, Oxford in 1836. In 1837 he was elected to a fellowship of University College in the same University. His early upbringing was Calvinistic. At Oxford he came under the influence of Newman with whom he collaborated in the work on the Library of the Fathers (1848-1852). He was made a deacon in the Church of England in 1837 and was ordained a priest in 1839. In 1845 he seceded to the Church of Rome and was made a priest in that church in 1847. One year later he joined the Oratory of St. Philip Neri, recently introduced into England by Newman, and was appointed head of the London branch the following year. He was a prolific writer of prose, poetry, and hymns, but all his hymns were published after he became a Roman Catholic.

Faber was the youngest and, for his poetical works, the least well-known of the four poet-priests of the Oxford Movement. He did not write any of the Tracts for the Times nor did he submit any poems to the Lyra Apostolica. He could not be considered as one of the originators of the Movement for at the time of the preaching of the Assize Sermon he was an undergraduate. Much of the scholarly study of his life concentrated on his hymnody and the unfortunate "break" with Newman caused by Faber's greater success at the London Oratory of St. Philip Neri than Newman's in Birmingham. Both he and Newman were active in writing verse as Tractarians and as Roman Catholics,

but Faber concentrated entirely on hymns in his Roman days. According to Julian, the poetry of Faber's Anglican days includes: The Cherwell Waterlily (1840), The Styrian Lake, and Other Poems (1842), Sir Lancelot (1844), The Rosary and Other Poems (1845), and Lives of the Saints (1845). The best known of these is The Cherwell Waterlily, parts of which will be explicated in detail in the following pages. It is a collection of nature poems showing the clear influence of Wordsworth and Keble. The Styrian Lake and Other Poems is seldom seen and never commented on. Sir Lancelot is interesting because Sir Walter Scott's prose was believed, by Newman at least, to have influenced the Tractarians and turned men's minds to the direction of the middle ages. The Rosary and Other Poems must have signalled Faber's impending departure from the Church of England and, according to G. B. Tennyson, Lives of the Saints was "nothing more than the versification of an undertaking that Newman inaugurated with full Tractarian approval."[19]

The Cherwell Waterlily is a collection of 120 poems of various lengths and forms which takes its title from the title of the first poem in the volume. In the Preface (written in sonnet form) Faber sets the scene for the whole book:

> Blame not my verse if echoes of church bells
> With every change of thought or dream are twining,
> Fetching a murmuring sameness from the fells
> And lakes and rivers with their inland shining.

It is a book of nature poetry with religious overtones. Keble's influence is there, as well as Wordsworth's. Echoes of The

Christian Year exist in poems with such titles as: "Ash Wednesday", "The Communion of Saints", "All Saints' Day", "The Rogation Days", and "Lent". Williams' influence is seen in "College Chapel", "College Hall", and "College Garden". He even has a sonnet titled "The Temple", set in Gothic type. The title poem abounds in such Wordsworthian lines as: "But brighter still the glory stood/ On Marston's wild sequestered wood", or "How often doth a wildflower bring/ Fancies and thoughts that seemed to spring/ From inmost depths of feeling!" Typology is also present in the title poem in"Fair Lily! thou a type must be/ Of virgin love and purity!" the capitalization of "Lily" seems to point to the Blessed Virgin Mary. Reserve, too, is found in:

> And then that heart of living gold
> Which thou dost modestly infold
> And screen from man's too searching view
> Within thy robe of snowy hue.

where Faber may be thinking of the conception of Jesus through the operation of the Holy Ghost.

The poem titled "The Temple" is quoted here in full so that it may be better examined:

> Come, I have found a Temple where to dwell:
> Sealed and watched by Spirits day and night
> Behind the Veil there is a crystal Well.
> The glorious cedar pillars sparkle bright,
> All gemmed with big and glistening drops of dew,
> That work their way from out that hidden flood
> By mystic virtue through the fragrant wood,
> Making it shed a faint unearthly smell.
> And from beneath the curtain that doth lie

> In rich and glossy folds of various hue
> Soft showers of pearly white run streamingly
> Over the chequered floor and pavement blue.
> Oh! that our eyes might see that Font of Grace
> But none hath entered yet his own heart's Holy Place.[20]

Read in conjunction with 1 Kings 5 and 6 and 2 Chron. 3 and 4, it is obvious that Faber's model is King Solomon's temple at Jerusalem. Solomon successfully negotiated a contract with Hiram, King of Tyre, for cedar lumber and so "Hiram gave Solomon cedar trees... according to his desire." (1 Kings 5: 10). "And he made a veil of blue, and purple, and crimson, and fine linen. " (2 Chron. 3: 14). Traditionally, the floor of Solomon's Temple was chequered, to reflect the uncertainty of life, but we shall add one more quotation from Scripture, "and he built them [the walls] ... even for the most holy place." (1 Kings 6: 16) This, indeed, is the national temple that Faber isreferring to but, in his poem, it becomes the individual Christian's temple of the heart. Again, as with the other poet-priests we have a mélange of Reserve, Analogy, and Typology. The last poem in The Cherwell Waterlily, "To My Reader" shows, in the last two lines, that he had not yet made up his mind to leave the Anglican Church. He writes that he is "one in whom two tempers are contending/ Neither of which hath yet come uppermost." As we pointed out, the decision was made in 1845 to become a Roman Catholic. He also decided to channel his writing abilities into hymn-writing rather than poetry. In the Preface of his first hymn book, Hymns (1849) he wrote:

> It was natural then that an English son of St. Philip should feel the want of a collection of English Catholic hymns fitted for singing. The few in the Garden of the Soul were all that were at hand, and of course they were not numerous enough to furnish the requisite variety. As to translations, they do not express Saxon thoughts and feelings, and consequently the poor do not seem to take to them;... There is scarcely anything which takes so strong a hold upon people as religion in metre.... Every one, who has had experience among the English poor, knows the influence of Wesley's hymns and the Olney collection .... It seemed then in every way desirable that Catholics should have a hymn-book for reading, which should contain the mysteries of the faith in easy verse... with the same unadorned simplicity, for example, as the "O for a closer walk with God" of the Olney Hymns; and that the metres should be of the simplest and least intricate sort, so as not to stand in the way of the understanding or enjoyment of the poor.[21]

The seeds of this decision are to be found in an undated letter (except for the year 1843) to his brother Frank in which he quotes the epitaph written by Chiabrera for his own tomb in Savona, the English translation of which is:

> Friend, in life I sought comfort
> On Mount Parnassus;
> Do thou, better advised, seek it
> On CALVARY!

And so Faber resolved henceforth to devote all his literary and poetic powers to God, and true to Keble's prophecy, the world lost a poet. Having said that, it should be added that Faber was a man of true devotion who knew how to write for the simplest people. His best hymn is probably, "My God, how wonderful thou art", its best verse being:

How beautiful, how beautiful
The sight of Thee must be,
Thine endless wisdom, boundless power,
And awful purity![22]

Occasionally at the instigation of "editors or others", the first line of the above verse is "improved" to read, "How wonderful, how beautiful," but they should have saved themselves the time.

At the risk of offending a reader or two who may consider the next hymn to be discussed a "sacred cow", I think Faber is probably at his worst in the still popular hymn "Hark! hark! my soul! angelic songs are swelling." It is bad because it is lacking in serious thought, it makes no point, it is not in any way didactic. It launches out on a journey, never seems to arrive, and takes up a great deal of time in the process. The refrain is tiresome and pointless and tells us, seven times over, that the angels are "Singing to welcome/ The pilgrims of the night." but never once tells us _what_ they are singing--unless it is, as the seventh verse inadvertently "leaks", "sweet fragments of the songs above." This hymn, though in a different sense, has affinity with Alfred Lord Tennyson's "The Brook" in that it babbles on forever. I am not alone. In _Hymns and Human Life_ (1952), Erik Routley records that Archbishop William Temple "was heard to say in the course of an address delivered during the Mission to Oxford University in February, 1941, that for him its [Hark! hark! my soul's] existence was

'a minor but quite indisputable part of the problem of evil'!"[23] But enough! this is the poet-priest who also wrote:

How wonderful creation is,
    The work that Thou didst bless;
And, oh! what then must Thou be like,
    Eternal Loveliness?[24]

and for that thought we should praise God.

Partly because it was written at the time of the Oxford Movement's beginning (1820), and partly because it is, as Routley claims, "perhaps the finest of all hymns",[25] but mostly because it will demonstrate that hymns, without using the language and figures of speech of poetry, can impart knowledge, give pleasure, and portray beauty in "hymn verse", here is the whole Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ according to Thomas Kelly (1769-1854), a priest of the Church of Ireland, as it appears in the Church Hymnal of the Church of Ireland (1918):

The Head that once was crowned with thorns
    Is crowned with glory now;
    A royal diadem adorns
        The mighty victor's brow.

The highest place that heaven affords
    Is His-- is His by right,
The King of kings, and Lord of lords,
    And heaven's eternal light.

The joy of all who dwell above;
    The joy of all below
To whom He manifests His love,
    And grants His Name to know.

To them the Cross, with all its shame,
    With all its grace, is given:
Their name an overlasting name,
    Their joy the joy of heaven.

They suffer with their Lord below
   They reign with Him above,
Their profit and their joy to know
   The mystery of His love.

The Cross He bore is life and health,
   Though shame and death to Him;
His people's hope, His people's wealth,
   Their everlasting theme.

As a hymn it is without blemish. It does not offend against the rules of grammar, syntax, or scansion. It is firm in its thought and the expression of it, namely: the Good News for Christians. It is objective. It is widespread in its appeal, having a clear message for all people, labourers to rulers. It is written directly in the present tense. It is praise to God and it is doctrinally sound. It differs from poetry on many counts. It is almost devoid of figurative language; it does not have a single "like" or "as" throughout its twenty-four lines. It neither appeals to the emotions nor expresses emotion. There is no "imaginative" language used nor does it "mean" on any other level but the obvious one expressed in its diction. It is didactic, certainly, but that does not make it good or bad poetry. It is not "Tractarian" poetry; there is no Reserve, Analogy, or Typology in its lines and Nature is not mentioned. Here the singers "<u>know</u> the mystery of His [Christ's] love." The one poetic quality it has is beauty-- but it is the beauty of Truth, not of words. Without in any way being blasphemous it could be said that this hymn "is" in the same sense

that God is referred to as, "I am."

The point of this seeming diversion is to emphasize that when Faber chose to devote his literary talents to serve God (and his new spiritual home) in the writing of hymns for Roman Catholics, it was "no maimed or worthless sacrifice"[26] he was bringing when the need arose, rather, he was filling a need that only he could fill: providing his new communion with a means of praising God in accordance with St. Paul's injunction to sing with the spirit and with the understanding. (1 Corinthians. 14: 15). Perhaps Faber's hymns never reached the excellence of Kelly's hymn, few writers have been that blest, but many of his hymns were good enough to be sung with both spirit and understanding by Christians of all denominations. Newman could not have filled the need and the other poet-priests were serving God, by conscience, in a different way. On this point C. S. Lewis, as usual, is able to bring everything into proper focus:

> We must beware of the idea that our music can "please" God as it would please a cultivated hearer. That is like thinking, under the Old Law, that he really needed the blood of bulls and goats. To which the answer came, "Mine are the cattle upon a thousand hills." ... All our offerings, whether of music or martyrdom, are like the intrinsically worthless present of a child, which a father values indeed, but values only for the intention.[27]

Usage demonstrates that Faber's "intention" was obviously well-directed and so the redirection of his literary efforts became the means whereby he will be remembered as long as Christians

sing with the spirit and the understanding. The fact that his hymns appeal to Christians holding a wide variety of theological views supports the contention that he, too, agreed in fundamental truths with the other poet-priests of the Oxford Movement in his poetry, including his hymns.

CONCLUSION

Let Us Hear the Conclusion of the Matter.
Eccl. 12: 13.

These, then, are the poet-priests of the Oxford Movement. Three of them: Keble, Newman, and Williams contributed their thoughts, in prose, to the Tracts for the Times and in poetry to the Lyra Apostolica. Faber did neither. By what standard can their success be measured? How has their future-- our present-- judged them? How will they be remembered? Strangely enough, Keble and Williams, both of whom Newman looked upon as his philosophers, will be remembered for the devotion they showed to their congregations as country parsons; Newman will be remembered chiefly for his philosophical writings, and his part in the Roman Catholic restoration in Britain; Faber for the work he did among the poor in the East End of London. In 1833, the beginning of the stirring times which brought out these stirring poets, that thought would have surprised all four.

If the Prayer Book Society has its way, Keble's The Christian Year will not outlive its more august source, although parts of it may indeed co-exist with the Prayer Book throughout its life. For liturgical students, The Christian Year will be considered as the herald of the movement that restored to the Anglican Church the beauty in its liturgy that is rightly hers. Keble's own view is clear when he talks of the connection between Poetry and Theology in Praelectiones Academicae, re-

produced here from Chadwick's Mind of the Oxford Movement:

> I have laid it down that Poetry is an art, given by God, for the especial purpose of refreshing and restoring burdened and troubled spirits. It follows that the more deeply anything penetrates the affections of man, the more evident and congruous is its link with Poetry. Everyone is agreed, and the experience of even a little true religion confirms, that nothing can take such utter possession of the heart as the thought of God and immortality; nowhere else does our nature feel so feeble under its burden; nothing so drives it to search about for healing and escape. Poetry offers help-- by metre, or rhythm, or a use of words now serene and now passionate, by those means which cannot be preciesly defined but which we all feel; and Religion is glad to avail itself of this help.[1]

But the "troubled spirits" have been calmed, the stirring times are gone, and people by and large are becoming increasingly less familiar with the Authorized Version of the Bible and the Elizabethan English of The Book of Common Prayer and, as their familiarity with these two pillars of English literature decreases, their knowledge of, and love for, Keble's work will decrease in direct ratio. England, and the world, will have lost another poet.

On his own admission, Newman was driven to poetry twice during his lifetime, both times happening when, in troubled mind, he had premonitions of approaching death. His forte was prose. For him, according to Harrold in John Henry Newman (1966), "ten thousand obvious ideas become impressive when put into metrical shape; and many of them we should not dare to utter except metrically, for thus the responsibility (as it

were) is shoved off of oneself."[2] For Newman poetry is merely the art of metrical rhetoric. It is ironic therefore, but hardly surprising, that if Newman were remembered as a poet, one would only have to quote from his most famous prose work Apologia pro vita sua (1864), the last few chapters of which is better poetry than anything he put into meter or rhyme. As a sample of this I quote what he had to say to his fellow priests at the Birmingham Oratory:

> You... who have been so faithful to me; who have been so sensitive of my needs; who have been so indulgent to my failings; who have carried me through so many trials; who have grudged no sacrifice, if I asked for it; who have been so cheerful under discouragements of my causing; who have done so many good works, and let me have the credit of them;-- with whom I lived so long, with whom I hope to die.[3]

Newman wrote this during his second premonition of approaching death so its poetic beauty should be no surprise.

Williams was the poet par excellence of the group, the theology in his contributions to the Tracts for the Times was widely acclaimed, yet he is the least well-known of all. Having read every bit of William's poetry that was available to me in the research for this thesis, I hope that some day, some scholar will rediscover the genius of this remarkable man and do for him what T. S. Eliot did for John Donne, that is, resurrect him before the last trump is sounded. The writer of the following lines deserves this much at least:

I built my nest high up and free,
Thou with Thy wind didst shake the tree,
Telling me nought was safe beneath the stars;
And when I set Thee all at nought,
I fell to caverns of dark thought,
When all around me seemed Night's everlasting bars.

Now all alone on the wide sea,
Sailing for dread Eternity,
And from my guide and brother far away,
I fear to set or shift the sail,
I fear the sound of every gale,
Lest my unstable bark the winds should make their play.[4]

In the episode of Martha and Mary, related in St. Luke 10: 38 to 42, Jesus said to Martha, whose total interest was absorbed in the task of preparing and serving a meal while Mary sat listening to what Jesus was saying, "Martha, Martha, thou are careful and troubled about many things: but one thing is needful: and Mary hath chosen that good part, which shall not be taken away from her." Keble wrote The Christian Year and raised enough money from it to rebuild the parish church at Hursley. He wrote two other volumes of poetry. In 1870, Keble College, Oxford was founded as a memorial to him. None of these things shall be taken away from him. Newman eschewed poetry, but turned twice to it to relieve personal stress returning, after each poetic experience, to write prose of considerable beauty and usefulness. He became a Cardinal Deacon of the Roman Catholic Church and Newman College, Oxford, memorializes him. None of these things shall be taken away from him. Next to his pastoral duties, Williams most loved writing

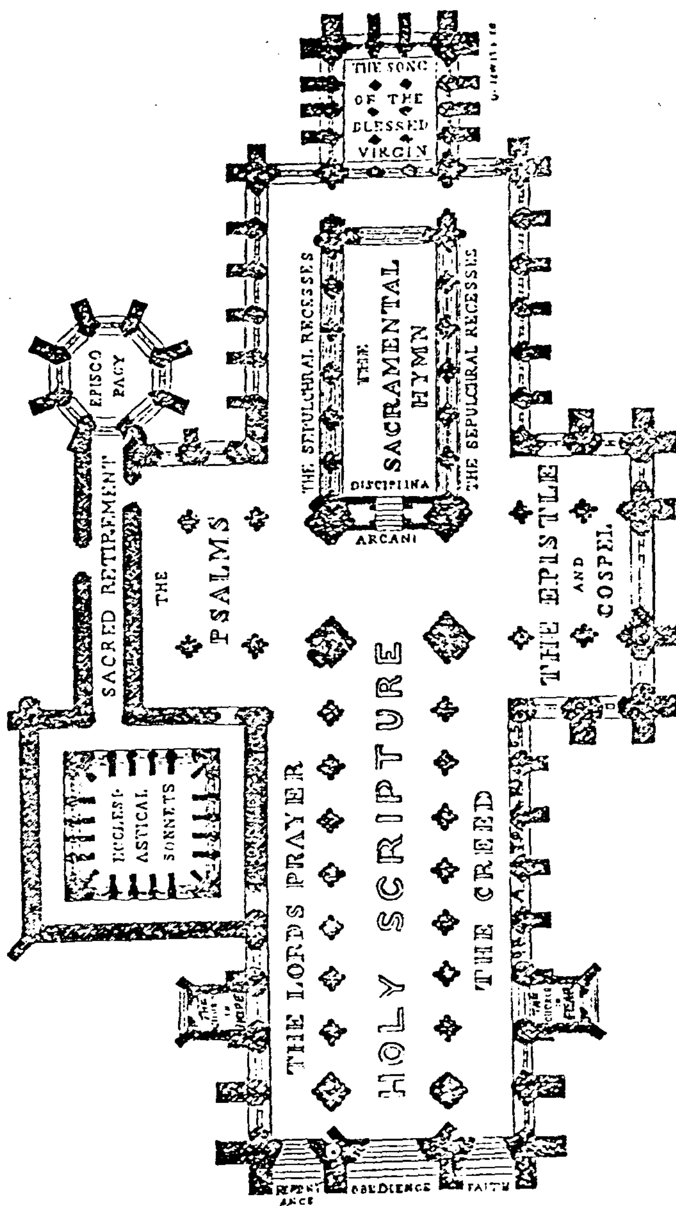
poetry. His memorial is a literary cathedral. His poetry was of the mind and heart that sang of the grandeur and misery of mankind-- the grandeur of redeemed man, the misery of man alienated from his Maker-- it bore witness to the poet's ideals nor did it ever forget God's goodness and loving-kindness to us sinners-- and in stark piety gave us this meditation:

> Be thou my Guardian and my Guide,
> And hear me when I call;
> Let not my slippery footsteps slide,
> And hold me lest I fall.
>
> The world, the flesh, and Satan dwell
> Around the path I tread;
> O save me from the snares of hell,
> Thou Quickener of the dead.
>
> And if I tempted am to sin,
> And outward things are strong,
> Do thou, O Lord, keep watch within,
> And save my soul from wrong.
>
> Still ever let me watch and pray,
> And feel that I am frail;
> That if the tempter cross my way,
> Yet he may not prevail.

He also left us a large body of poetry which might well prove to be fertile ground for a dissertation, or, failing that, to be collected into one work for the convenience of other interested investigators. None of these things should be taken away from him. Faber's memorial is the Oratory of St. Philip Neri, London, and since he, with the "intention" mentioned in the article by C. S. Lewis, chose that good part and dedicated his hymns to the greater glory of God-- these should not be taken away from him.

Both Keble and Williams continued to write poetry in their accustomed style long after the stirring times had passed. Newman, when troubled, returned to poetry and wrote The Dream of Gerontius. Faber gave up poetry to write hymns which are loved and used by all Christians. It is not recorded that any of the four poet-priests ever repudiated any of his own poetic works, no matter when it was written, nor did any of them redargue the works of another on the basis of its poetical excellence or theological truth. It would appear, then, that Pusey's statement in the epigraph for this thesis, though intended to be applied to the prose arguments put forward by all those involved in the controversies of the Oxford Movement and may reflect truly that case, yet for the poetical works of the poet-priests it overstates the case, for these men, in their poetry, were "of the same mind, one toward another" (Rom. 12: 16), and so seem to support Aristotle's contention that "poetry is something more philosophic and more important than history, since its statements are of the nature of ideals, whereas those of history are particulars."

APPENDIX



The plan of a cathedral coordinated with the subjects of Williams' poetry. From 1841 edition of The Cathedral.

THE CHRISTIAN YEAR

MORNING

His compassions fail not. They are new every morning.
Lament. iii. 22, 23.

Hues of the rich unfolding morn,
That, ere the glorious sun be born,
By some soft touch invisible
Around his path are taught to swell;—

Thou rustling breeze so fresh and gay,
That dancest forth at opening day,
And brushing by with joyous wing,
Wakenest each little leaf to sing;—

Ye fragrant clouds of dewy steam,
By which deep grove and tangled stream
Pay, for soft rains in season given,
Their tribute to the genial heaven;—

Why waste your treasures of delight
Upon our thankless, joyless sight;
Who day by day to sin awake,
Seldom of Heaven and you partake?

Oh! timely happy, timely wise,
Hearts that with rising morn arise!
Eyes that the beam celestial view,
Which evermore makes all things new!

New every morning is the love
Our wakening and uprising prove;
Through sleep and darkness safely brought,
Restored to life, and power, and thought.

New mercies, each returning day,
Hover around us while we pray;
New perils past, new sins forgiven,
New thoughts of God, new hopes of Heaven.

If on our daily course our mind
Be set to hallow all we find,
New treasures still, of countless price,
God will provide for sacrifice.

Old friends, old scenes, will lovelier be,
As more of Heaven in each we see:
Some softening gleam of love and prayer
Shall dawn on every cross and care.

As for some dear familiar strain
Untir'd we ask, and ask again,
Ever, in its melodious store,
Finding a spell unheard before;

Such is the bliss of souls serene,
When they have sworn, and stedfast mean,
Counting the cost, in all t' espy
Their God, in all themselves deny.

O could we learn that sacrifice,
What lights would all around us rise!
How would our hearts with wisdom talk
Along Life's dullest dreariest walk!

We need not bid, for cloister'd cell,
Our neighbour and our work farewell,
Nor strive to wind ourselves too high
For sinful man beneath the sky:

The trivial round, the common task,
Would furnish all we ought to ask;
Room to deny ourselves; a road
To bring us, daily, nearer God.

Seek we no more; content with these,
Let present Rapture, Comfort, Ease,
As Heaven shall bid them, come and go:—
The secret this of Rest below.

Only, O Lord, in Thy dear love
Fit us for perfect Rest above;
And help us, this and every day,
To live more nearly as we pray.

The Christian Year

SEPTUAGESIMA SUNDAY

The invisible things of Him from the creation of the world are clearly seen, being understood by the things that are made. *Romans* i. 20.

THERE is a book, who runs may read,
Which heavenly truth imparts,
And all the lore its scholars need,
Pure eyes and Christian hearts.

The works of God above, below,
Within us and around,
Are pages in that book, to show
How God Himself is found.

The glorious sky embracing all
Is like the Maker's love,
Wherewith encompass'd, great and small
In peace and order move.

The Moon above, the Church below,
A wondrous race they run,
But all their radiance, all their glow,
Each borrows of its Sun.

The Saviour lends the light and heat
That crowns His holy hill;
The saints, like stars, around His seat,
Perform their courses still.[1]

The saints above are stars in Heaven—
What are the saints on earth?
Like trees they stand whom GOD has given,[2]
Our Eden's happy birth.

[1] Daniel xii. 3. [2] Isaiah lx. 21.

Faith is their fix'd unswerving root,
Hope their unfading flower,
Fair deeds of charity their fruit,
The glory of their bower.

The dew of Heaven is like Thy grace,[1]
It steals in silence down;
But where it lights, the favour'd place
By richest fruits is known.

One Name above all glorious names
With its ten thousand tongues
The everlasting sea proclaims,
Echoing angelic songs.

The raging Fire,[2] the roaring Wind,
Thy boundless power display:
But in the gentler breeze we find
Thy Spirit's viewless way.[3]

Two worlds are ours: 'tis only Sin
Forbids us to descry
The mystic heaven and earth within,
Plain as the sea and sky.

Thou, who hast given me eyes to see
And love this sight so fair,
Give me a heart to find out Thee,
And read Thee everywhere.

[1] Psalm lxviii. 9. [2] Hebrews xii. 29. [3] St. John iii. 8.

The Christian Year

FOURTH SUNDAY IN LENT

Joseph made haste; for his bowels did yearn upon his
ther; and he sought where to weep; and he entered into
chamber, and wept there. *Genesis* xliii. 30.
There stood no man with him, while Joseph made himself
wn unto his brethren. *Genesis* xlv. 1.

WHEN Nature tries her finest touch,
Weaving her vernal wreath,
Mark ye, how close she veils her round,
Not to be trac'd by sight or sound,
Nor soil'd by ruder breath?

Who ever saw the earliest rose
First open her sweet breast?
Or, when the summer sun goes down,
The first soft star in evening's crown
Light up her gleaming crest?

Fondly we seek the dawning bloom
On features wan and fair—
The gazing eye no change can trace,
But look away a little space,
Then turn, and, lo! 'tis there.

But there's a sweeter flower than e'er
Blush'd on the rosy spray—
A brighter star, a richer bloom
Than e'er did western heaven illume
At close of summer day.

'Tis Love, the last best gift of Heaven;
Love gentle, holy, pure;
But tenderer than a dove's soft eye,
The searching sun, the open sky,
She never could endure.

Even human Love will shrink from sight
Here in the coarse rude earth:
How then should rash intruding glance
Break in upon *her* sacred trance
Who boasts a heavenly birth?

So still and secret is her growth,
Ever the truest heart,
Where deepest strikes her kindly root
For hope or joy, for flower or fruit,
Least knows its happy part.

Fourth Sunday in Lent

God only, and good angels, look
Behind the blissful screen—
As when, triumphant o'er His woes,
The Son of God by moonlight rose,
By all but Heaven unseen:

As when the holy Maid beheld
Her risen Son and Lord:
Thought has not colours half so fair
That she to paint that hour may dare,
In silence best ador'd.

The gracious Dove, that brought from Heaven
The earnest of our bliss,
Of many a chosen witness telling,
On many a happy vision dwelling,
Sings not a note of this.

So, truest image of the Christ,
Old Israel's long-lost son,
What time, with sweet forgiving cheer,
He call'd his conscious brethren near,
Would weep with them alone.

He could not trust his melting soul
But in his Maker's sight—
Then why should gentle hearts and true
Bare to the rude world's withering view
Their treasure of delight!

No—let the dainty rose awhile
Her bashful fragrance hide—
Rend not her silken veil too soon,
But leave her, in her own soft noon,
To flourish and abide.

NOTES

Introduction

[1] The Book of Common Prayer, London: Whitechurch, 1549.

[2] All biblical quotations throughout this paper are from the Authorized (King James) Version.

[3] Readers who are not familar with the history of the church in Britain are referred to the following works: Henry Offley Wakeman, An Introduction to the History of the Church in England, 12th ed., rev. S. L. Ollard (London: Rivington's, 1949), pp. 448-84; J. W. C. Wand, A History of the Modern Church (London: Methuen, 1952), pp. 205-20; The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church (1958), s. v. "Oxford Movement" (hereafter cited as ODCC).

[4] Aristotle's Poetics 9. 1451^{b}5. The translation is mine. Ingram Bywater, in Great Books of the Western World 9: 686, gives the following translation, "poetry is something more philosophic and of graver import than history, since its statements are of the nature rather of universals, whereas those of history are singulars."

[5] Henry Bettenson, ed., Documents of the Christian Church (London: Oxford University Press, 1953.) p. 217.

Chapter One

[1] L. E. Elliott-Binns, Religion in the Victorian Era (London: The Lutterworth Press, 1936), pp. 11-35 (hereafter cited as Elliott-Binns, Religion).

[2] J. L. Hammond and Barbara Hammond, The Village Labourer 1760-1832 (New York: Augustus M. Kelley, 1967), pp. 26-105.

[3] Elliott-Binns, Religion, ibid.

[4] P. P. Howe, ed., The Complete Works of William Hazlitt, 21 vols. (London: J. M. Dent & Sons, 1930), vol. 5: Lectures on the English Poets, p. 9.

[5] Walter E. Houghton and G. Robert Stange, eds., Victorian Poetry and Poetics (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1959), p. 845.

[6] Ibid., p. 846.

[7] John Henry Newman, Apologia pro vita sua, ed. Martin Svaglic (Oxford, 1967), p.94.

[8] Elliott-Binns, Religion, p. 105

[9] Stephen Prickett, *Romanticism and Religion* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1976), pp. 9-69. (hereafter Prickett, *Romanticism*).

[10] G. B. Tennyson, *Victorian Devotional Poetry* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1981), pp. 17-23 (hereafter cited as Tennyson, *Victorian Poetry*).

[11] *Ibid*. p. 23.

[12] Raleigh Addington, *Faber Poet and Priest* (London: D. Brown & Sons Ltd., 1974), Introduction (hereafter cited as Addington, *Faber*).

[13] *Ibid*. p. 13.

[14] C. F. Harrold, ed., *Essays and Sketches*, 3 vols. (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1970), vol. 1, Introduction (hereafter cited as Harrold, *Essays*).

[15] Owen Chadwick, *The Victorian Church*, 2 vols. (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1971), Part 1, p. 174. (hereafter cited as Chadwick, *Victorian Church*).

[16] Prickett, *Romanticism*, p. 208.

[17] Owen Chadwick, ed., *The Mind of the Oxford Movement* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1960) (hereafter cited as Chadwick, *The Mind*.), pp. 15-16.

[18] Wakeman, *ibid*., pp. 462-4.

[19] John Julian, A Dictionary of Hymnology (New York: Dover Publications, 1892) (hereafter cited as Julian, Hymnology.)

Chapter Two

[1] A. B. Donaldson, Five Great Oxford Leaders (London: Rivingtons, 1900), p. 12. (hereafter cited as Donaldson, Oxford Leaders.)

[2] Ibid.

[3] J. C. Shairp, Introduction, The Christian Year (London: J. M. Dent & Sons, Ltd., n. d.) p. XXIV.

[4] Donaldson, Oxford Leaders, p. 19.

[5] Amos R. Wells, A Treasure of Hymns (Boston: United Society of Christian Endeavor, 1914), p. 79.

[6] Julian, Hymnology, s. v. Keble.

[7] Tennyson, Victorian Poetry, p. 73.

[8] Ibid.

[9] John Keble, The Christian Year (London: J. M. Dent & Sons, Ltd., n. d.), poem "The Purification", pp. 185-7. (hereafter cited as Keble, C. Y.)

10 Ibid., "Morning", p. 5.

11 Tennyson, p. 80.

12 The Book of Common Prayer, 1959, Canada (Toronto: The Anglican Book Centre, 1959), p. 15. (hereafter cited as Common Prayer Canada.)

13 Keble, C. Y., p. 5.

14 Ibid., p. 175.

15 Ibid., p. 39.

16 Ibid., p. 35.

17 Ibid., p. 10.

18 Tennyson, pp. 112-3.

19 Keble, C. Y., Advertisement, xxxi.

20 Tennyson, p. 96.

21 Chadwick, The Mind, p. 147.

22 Tennyson, p. 106.

23 Ibid.

24 Common Prayer Canada, p. 78.

25 Keble, C. Y., pp. 66-7.

26 Tennyson, p. 108.

27 Ibid.

[28] *Ibid*.

[29] *Ibid*., p. 109.

[30] Prickett, *Romanticism*, p. 94. When [Thomas] Arnold disagreed with him Keble terminated their friendship. In a footnote Prickett adds: "This was done with typical scrupulousness.Though he would no longer receive Arnold in his home because of his theological views, Keble would not print anything against his old friends, and Matthew Arnold, Keble's godson, remained a welcome guest at Hursley."

[31] H. C. Beeching, ed., *Lyra Apostolica* (Derby: Henry Mozbey and Sons, 1838), pp. 223-4.

[32] John Keble, *Miscellaneous Poems* (New York: Pott and Amery, 1869). pp. 302-3 (hereafter cited as Keble, *Poems*).

[33] Chadwick, *The Mind*, pp. 67-8.

[34] *Victorian Poetry and Poetics*, p. 536.

Chapter Three

[1] Chadwick, *The Mind*, p. 35.

[2] *Idem*, *Victorian Church*, p. 204.

[3] E. R. Fairweather, ed., *The Oxford Movement* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1964), p. 261.

[4] *Ibid*.

[5] Tennyson, p. 141.

[6] Tennyson, pp. 141-2.

[7] J. H. Maude, *The History of the Book of Common Prayer* (London: Rivingtons, 1949), pp. 19-20.

[8] Tennyson, p. 147.

[9] *Tracts for the Times*, 6 vols. (London: 1834-1841), vol. 6, Tract 89, p. 143.

[10] Tennyson, p. 147.

[11] *Idem*, p. 148.

[12] *Idem*, pp. 148-9.

[13] *Idem*, p. 256, n. 14.

[14] *Idem*, p. 149.

[15] *Ibid*.

[16] Isaac Williams, *The Baptistery* (London: Rivingtons, 1844), pp. 18-19.

[17] Tennyson, pp. 149-150.

[18] *Idem*, p. 256, n. 14.

[19] *Idem*, p. 151.

[20] *Idem*, p. 152.

[21] *Ibid*.

[22] Tennyson, p. 153.

[23] *Ibid.*

[24] *Ibid.*

[25] Tennyson, p. 154.

[26] *Ibid.*

[27] David Perkins, ed., *English Romantic Writers* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, Inc., 1967), "The Idiot Boy", William Wordsworth, p. 208, ll. 450-1.

[28] Isaac Williams, *Selections from the Writings of Isaac Williams* (London: Rivingtons, 1890), p. 315.

[29] *Ibid.*

[30] *Ibid.*

[31] *Ibid.*, p. 320.

[32] *Ibid.*

[33] *Ibid.*, p. 321.

[34] Tennyson, p. 256, n. 14.

[35] *Idem*, p. 156.

[36] *Ibid.*

[37] *Ibid.*, p. 160.

[38] *Ibid.*, pp. 160-1.

[39] Williams, *Selections*, pp. 302-3.

[40] *Ibid*., p. 287.

[41] Tennyson, pp. 168-9.

[42] *Ibid*., p. 170.

[43] *Lyra*, p. 127.

[44] *Ibid*., p. 130.

[45] *Ibid*., pp. 181-2.

[46] Tennyson, p. 171.

Chapter Four

[1] Tennyson, p. 116.

[2] Harrold, *Essays*, pp. 57-81.

[3] Tennyson, p. 39.

[4] *Ibid*., p. 123.

[5] *Ibid*.

[6] *Lyra*. p. 142.

[7] Tennyson, pp. 131-2.

[8] Donaldson, *Oxford Leaders*, p. 378.

[9] Desmond Lionel Morse-Boycott, *Lead, Kindly Light* (Freeport: Books for Libraries Press, 1970), pp. 23-4.

[10] *Hymns for Church and School* (London: Novello and Company Limited, 1964), hymn 292.

[11] *The Oxford Dictionary of Quotations* (Second

Edition, 1966), p. 364, item 4. See also The Book of Common Prayer 1959 Canada, p. 58, item 46, "At Eventide."

[12] Donaldson, _Oxford Leaders_, p. 26.

[13] Tennyson, p. 253, n. 11.

[14] _Ibid._

[15] John Henry Newman, _The Dream of Gerontius_ (London: Burns Oates and Washbourne, n.d.), p. 46.

[16] _Ibid._, p. 27.

[17] _Ibid._, p. 28.

[18] Donaldson, _Oxford Leaders_, p. 98.

[19] Tennyson, p. 182.

[20] F. W. Faber, _The Cherwell Waterlily_ (1840), p. 81.

[21] F. W. Faber, _Hymns_ (London: Burns and Oates, 1849), pp. XV-XVI.

[22] _Ibid._, p. 23.

[23] Erik Routley, _Hymns and Human Life_ (London: John Murray, 1952), p. 160.

[24] Faber, _Hymns_, p. 10.

[25] Routley, ibid., p. 315.

[26] Rudyard Kipling, 1906, from _The Book of Common Praise_ (Toronto: Humphrey Milford, 1908), p. 867, hymn 696.

Teach us to rule ourselves alway,
Controlled and cleanly night and day:
That we may bring, if need arise,
No maimed or worthless sacrifice.

[27] C. S. Lewis, in English Church Music, vol. XIX, no. 2 (April 1949.)

Conclusion

[1] Chadwick, The Mind, pp. 69-70.

[2] Charles Frederick Harrold, John Henry Newman (Hamden, Archon Books, 1966), p. 271.

[3] John Henry Newman, Apologia pro vita sua, ed. with an Introduction and Notes by A. Dwight Culler (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1956), p. 264.

[4] Williams, Selections, pp. 326-7.

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