

## Post-Shakespeare Chronology 1800-1899

**History of Shakespeare-Catholic/Protestant interpretations, with some notice of significant events in Protestant/Catholic relations (small print).**

**Including**

**American Contexts**

***Continental Contexts***

***Irish Contexts***

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**\*\*1800\*\***

John Milner's Letters to a Prebendary, defending against Protestant attack, astonished readers by its erudition; compared Elizabeth to Emperor Julian's deadly "benevolence;" defended Catholic loyalty despite the Bull; tried to correct partial Catholic and Protestant perspectives.

Friedrich Schiller, Mary Stuart romanticizing the passionate Catholic princess (against the repressed Elizabeth), same year that Schiller translated Macbeth.

Act of Union creates a "United Kingdom" of Britain and Ireland (conceded to by Irish Protestants, as only protection against Catholic hordes) (later to be called "United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland") (see 1707, Act of Union). But "Britain" continues to be thought of, as consisting of England, Wales, Scotland. Union with Ireland made "the Parliament at Westminster ... directly responsible for Irish affairs", thus "Either the establishment of the Church of England must be modified, or the union must be ended and home rule given to Ireland," a problem that eventuated in 1828 emancipation (Pitt initially promised Catholic emancipation but reneged). (Chadwick, Victorian Church). King George refuses emancipation of Catholics, to keep them out of Parliament, and so Pitt resigns temporarily. Abortive romanticized Dublin uprising of Robert Emmet (Protestant) in 1803. Great majority of Catholics now tenants, but a new Catholic middle class emerging, Catholics admitted to Trinity.

**\*\*1801\*\***

Concordat with the Pope by Napoleon, prototype of future concordats. Pronounces Catholicism not the state religion, but the religion of the majority of French citizens.

**\*\*1802\*\***

John Milner, The End of Religious Controversy, in a Friendly Correspondence between a Religious Society of Protestants and a Roman Catholic Divine, immensely influential pro-Catholic treatise.

Chateaubriand's Le génie du Christianisme (The Genius of Christianity, or the Beauties of the Christian Religion) creating a new romantic image of Catholicism; "marked the re-emergence of the Catholic mind from its isolation into contact with and influence upon the general stream of European thought" (Wilfrid Ward); saw medieval spiritual imagination destroyed by rationalism; C. had reconverted to Catholicism in 1790's, disillusioned with French Revolution; attacked Voltaire and 18<sup>th</sup> cent. though he excused Rousseau for a "shadow of religion"; Parts 2 and 3 on influence of poetry and Fine Arts; included novellas René and Atala; René, Werther-like predecessor of Childe Harold, restless travel, intense love of sister which she sees as temptation to incest, and so goes into convent. Chateaubriand objects to idea that "Christianity was the offspring of barbarism ... It was, therefore, necessary to prove that, on the contrary, the Christian religion, of all the religions that ever existed, is the most humane, the most favorable to liberty and to the arts and sciences; that the modern world is indebted to it for every improvement, from agriculture to the abstract sciences .... It was necessary to prove that nothing is more lovely or sublime than its tenets, its doctrines and its worship; that it encourages genius, corrects taste, develops the virtuous passions, imparts

*energy to ideas, presents noble images to the writer and perfect models to the artist ... In a work, it was necessary to summon all the charms of imagination ... to the assistance of that religion ...” (1.1). But Chateaubriand’s posthumous *Mémoires* tends to look sadly at Catholicism as born to perish. Sainte-Beuve characterized C. as “an Epicurean with a Catholic imagination, sensual in life and at bottom skeptical at heart.”*

\*\*1803\*\*

Milner made bishop and Vicar Apostolic of Middle District, “without demur; nothing could more eloquently demonstrate the demise of the Cisalpine movement” (Duffy, 1970). Milner signaled 19<sup>th</sup> century conservative populist (i.e. Irish) Catholic church, built first Gothic Revival church, Berington and Enlightenment cisalpines left behind. But some like Lingard retained cisalpine spirit. “The English Church has flirted with heterodoxy for twenty years; the flirtation was at an end” (Duffy, 1970). Even Berington, with his anti-Protestant Faith of Catholics, was looked back on as solid Catholic.

Jane Austen, Northanger Abbey (1803, pub. 1818): “a richly endowed convent at the time of the Reformation ... its having fallen into the hands of an ancestor of the Tilneys on its dissolution.” Henry kids Catherine, who loves Udolpho and the Gothic imagination, that “there is a secret subterranean communication between your apartment and the chapel of St. Anthony, scarcely two miles off.” Catherine treads “what had once been a cloister, having traces of cells” and then finds herself in billiard room. With the new building, “all that was venerable ceased here ... Catherine could have raved at the hand which had swept away what must have been beyond the value of the all the rest, for the purposes of mere domestic economy.” C. imagines either that the General’s wife was murdered by him, Gothic novel style, or that she had been immured [Jane Eyre style], and “what part of the Abbey could be more fitted for the purpose than that which yet bore the traces of monastic division.” She remembers stories of hardened characters committing crime after crime “till a violent death or religious retirement closed their black career.” Henry’s rebuke to her for imagining a wife’s murder: “Remember the country and the age in which we live. Remember that we are English, that we are Christian.” Narrator: “Charming as were all Mrs. Radcliffe’s works ... it was not in them perhaps that human nature, at least in the midland counties of England, was to be looked for”; maybe such horrors would occur in “the Alps and Pyrenees ... Italy, Switzerland and the South of France”; “But in the central part of England there was surely some security for the existence even of a wife not beloved, in the laws of the land, and the manners of the age.” Henry forgives her for her Gothic imagination, and marries her.enr U.S. acquires Catholic New Orleans in Louisiana Purchase; in 1848 will acquire a third center of Catholicism (with Maryland) in New Mexico.

\*\*1805\*\*

Blake, Jerusalem; see Merton, Seven Storey Mountain (1948): “If in one page of Blake these priests in black gowns were frightening and hostile figures, on another, the ‘Grey Monk of Charlemaine’ was a saint and a hero of charity and of faith, fighting for the peace of the true God with all the ardent love that was the only reality Blake lived for. Towards the end of his life, Blake told his friend Samuel Palmer that the Catholic Church was the only that one that taught the love of God.”

Henry Francis Cary, trans. of Dante’s Inferno, to be praised later by Coleridge and then Wordsworth (“a great national work”).

“Mother” Elizabethan Seton converts to Catholicism. Her biographer describes her, prior to conversion: she “wore a Catholic crucifix, looked kindly on the life of the cloister, subscribed to the doctrine of angels, liked Methodist hymns, the quietism of the Quakers, and the emotionalism of Rousseau, read general Protestant works, practiced meditation, was inclined to the narrow Calvinism of her ancestors in the matter of sin and punishment, and attended the Episcopal Church” (qu. Franchot).

\*\*1805\*\*

William Henry Ireland, Confessions, on how his forging of a Protestant statement of faith by Shakespeare was motivated by “Having the most rooted antipathy to every thing like superstition and bigotry, and having heard it very frequently surmised that our great poet, like his father, was no protestant, but of the catholic persuasion (particularly on account of the language made use of by the Ghost in Hamlet...” (cited by Chandler, 2006)

Scott, The Lay of the Last Minstrel, ends with elaborate ritual remembering dead magician, Michael Scott: hero vows pilgrimage to Melrose Abbey, for sake of Michael's soul; others make vows to their patron saints, and vow pilgrimage: "And slow up the dim aisle afar, / With sable cowl and scapular, / And snow-white stoles, in order due, / The holy Fathers, two and two, / In long procession came ... The mitred Abbot stretch'd his hand, / And bless'd them as they kneel'd / With holy cross he sign'd them all ... Then mass was sung," ending with prayer for man facing Last Judgment; concluding epilogue: "hush'd is the harp -- the Minstrel gone ... he ended in "A simple hut: but there was seen / The little garden hedged with green ... There shelter'd wanderers ... Oft heard the tale of other days ... And Yarrow, as he roll'd along, / Bore burden to the Minstrel's song;" Marmion appeared in 1808; Marmion included references to Lancelot and the Grail, and long excerpts from Malory, inspiring the Arthurian craze to come (Girouard, Return to Camelot); also developed, with first 19<sup>th</sup> cent. use of Sir Galahad, in Scott's The Bridal of Triermain (1813).

John Lingard, Antiquities of the Anglo-Saxon Church, showing Roman roots of English church. Thomas Fisher, A Series of Antient Allegorical, Historical, and Legendary, Paintings Which Were Discovered in the Summer of 1804 on the walls of the Chapel of the Trinity at Stratford Upon Avon. London: Thomas Fisher, c. 1807-12. Contains Fisher's drawings of the Guild wall paintings, later reproduced in Clifford Davidson, The Guild Chapel wall paintings at Stratford-upon-Avon (New York : AMS Press, 1988).

Charlotte Smith, "Saint Monica," (pub. posthumously now), an abbey poem, with the last line of each stanza ending "Saint Monica" like an hypnotic echo, a remarkable 'monastic' conclusion by this enthusiast of the French Revolution, and the one Smith poem cited by Wordsworth, and as exemplifying her "true feeling for rural nature"; "The form of stanza in this Poem ["Stanzas Suggested in a Steamboat off Saint Bees' Heads, On the Coast of Cumberland"], and something in the style of versification, are adopted from the 'St. Monica,' a poem of much beauty upon a monastic subject, by Charlotte Smith: a lady to whom English verse is under greater obligations than are likely to be either acknowledged or remembered. She wrote little, and that little unambitiously, but with true feeling for rural nature, at a time when nature was not much regarded by English poets."

Hegel, The Phenomenology of Mind.

Madame de Staël, Corinne, or Italy [compare Browning] with strong empathy for both Catholicism and Protestantism, very influential work.

#### **\*\*1808\*\***

Goethe, Faust, Part 1. Part 2 pub. in 1832 (year of Goethe's death). Faust makes wager with devil that he will never be satisfied with anything or will say of any moment of delight, "Stay, thou art so fair." In Part 1, Gretchen invites him to commitment which he rejects. Gretchen seen coming from confession in church, "I envy the body of the Lord / When her lips rest upon the holy bread;" mater dolorosa; prays to Heavenly church at execution and is redeemed; thus Catholic (Lutheran?) girl alternative to modern rootlessness of Faust. In Part 2, Faust is finally satisfied with a good work done, to envision a land where all might develop freely ("Stay, thou art so fair"), and falls dead. Mephistopheles thus wins and loses. In losing wager, Faust in fact gains eternal life. Intervention of Gretchen and Virgin Mary saves Faust at end.

Southey, letter: "The Papists are beyond all doubt Idolaters ... but in flying from idolatry, what a fearful chasm we have left between man and God! What a void have we made in the Universe!"

John Lingard, A general vindication of the Remarks on the Charge of the Bishop of Durham: "At the present day, Englishmen are, I trust, too wise to fight with each other for modes of faith. They would rather unite men of every religious persuasion to oppose the designs of a bold, powerful and fortunate enemy, who with all Europe at his back, threatens our very existence as an independent nation" (In Tracts 1813).

#### **\*\*1810\*\***

John Stockdale, History of the Inquisition, classic anti-Catholic work.

Scott, The Lady of the Lake.

**\*\*1811\*\***

Coleridge lecture on Romeo and Juliet (1811-12) “Friar Lawrence ... enables me to remark upon the different manner in which Shakespeare has treated the priestly character, as compared with other writers. In Beaumont and Fletcher priests are represented as a vulgar mockery; and, as in others of their dramatic personages, the errors of a few are mistaken for the demeanour of the many; but in Shakespeare they always carry with them our love and respect.”

Coleridge “An Allegoric Vision: Superstition, Religion, Atheism”, i.e. Roman Catholicism a replacement for C of E; sees “Goddess” in “Temple of Superstition”: “Her features, blended with darkness rose out to my view, terrible, yet vacant. I prostrated myself before her, and then retired with my guide, soul-withered, and wondering, and dissatisfied.” At cave at back of Temple sits Blasphemy and Sensuality.

**\*\*1812\*\***

Byron, Childe Harold's Pilgrimage; his father’s hall: “Monastic dome! condemned to uses vile! / Where Superstition once had made her den / Now Paphian girls were known to sing and smile” (1.7). Associates Christianity and superstition, but describes arrival at a Greek monastery in Albania:

Monastic Zitza! from thy shady brow,  
Thou small, but favoured spot of holy ground!  
Where'er we gaze, around, above, below,  
What rainbow tints, what magic charms are found!  
Rock, river, forest, mountain all abound,  
And bluest skies that harmonise the whole:  
Beneath, the distant torrent's rushing sound  
Tells where the volumed cataract doth roll  
Between those hanging rocks, that shock yet please the soul ...  
Amidst the grove that crowns yon tufted hill,  
Which, were it not for many a mountain nigh  
Rising in lofty ranks, and loftier still,  
Might well itself be deemed of dignity,  
The convent's white walls glisten fair on high ... (2.48-49)

Then in Canto 4, on the long tide of Roman ruins:

Yet, Italy! through every other land  
Thy wrongs should ring, and shall, from side to side;  
Mother of Arts! as once of Arms; thy hand  
Was then our Guardian, and is still our guide;  
Parent of our religion! whom the wide  
Nations have knelt to for the keys of heaven!  
Europe, repentant of her parricide,  
Shall yet redeem thee, and, all backward driven,

Roll the barbarian tide, and sue to be forgiven (4.47). Also see Byron, 1819, below.

**\*\*1813\*\***

*Madame de Staël, De l'Allemagne trans. as On Germany (1814): “There are in the human mind two very distinct impulses; one make us feel the want of faith, the other that of examination. One of these tendencies ought not to be satisfied at the expense of the other.”*

Charles Butler, An Address to the Protestants of Great Britain and Ireland, noting closeness of Catholicism and Church of England: “And after all, is the Reunion of the Roman Catholic and Protestant Churches, absolutely impossible?” Cites Bossuet-Leibniz dialogue.

Fr. Joseph Berington, History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Catholic Religion in England: on Parsons, “the calamity of the English Catholics;” “Through a period of two hundred and thirty four years ... I have exhibited ... the suffering, the troubles, the dissensions, the hopes, the fears of a society by their enemies termed Papists, by themselves Catholics, and whom Providence, by an intervention almost miraculous, has preserved from utter extinction. They are the venerable ruins of a majestic church, that once filled the extent of our island, that civilized its rude inhabitants, planting in their minds the seeds of virtue, and with them the seeds of Christian faith ... by the statute of 1791, the grievances that oppressed us most are removed.”

John Lingard, Tracts (new expanded editions, 1825 and 1826); urbane replies to anti-Catholic

attacks; includes 1808 and 1817 tracts cited here.

**\*\*1814\*\***

Wordsworth, The Excursion, 7.1010ff: “The courteous Knight, whose bones are here interred ... Had also witnessed, in his morn of life, / That violent commotion, which o’erthrew, / In town and city and sequestered glen, / Altar and cross, and church of solemn roof, / And old religious house - - pile after pile; / And shook their tenants out into the fields, / Like wild beasts without home! Their hour was come ...” Scott’s Waverly. Southey’s Roderick, The Last of the Goths, dons guise of monk and achieves peace; also Southey’s Madoc (1794-), sympathetic portrait of 12<sup>th</sup> century Catholicism; also see his “The Five Martyrs of Morocco” (1803) and “Queen Mary’s Christening” (1829), praising Catholic piety.

Reestablishment of Jesuits by Pius VII; but not restored in England until 1829.

Jane Austen, Mansfield Park, visit to the Rushworth estate chapel. Fanny is disappointed and says to Edmund: “This is not my idea of a chapel. There is nothing awful here, nothing melancholy, nothing grand. Here are no aisles, no arches, no inscriptions, no banners. No banners, cousin, to be ‘blown by the night wind of Heaven.’ No signs that a ‘Scottish monarch sleeps below.’” (i.e. from Scott’s “The Lay of the Last Minstrel” Canto 2, 10-13.)

**\*\*1815\*\***

Wordsworth’s “The White Doe of Rylstone,” mystical creature who appears in precincts of Bolton Priory to comfort girl whose home life was wrecked in storms of Reformation.

Napoleon defeated at Waterloo; this defeat opened up Europe to grand tours by the English.

**\*\*1817\*\***

Nathan Drake, Shakespeare and His Times: accepts Chalmers on John Shakespeare’s Catholicism, but says that William was simply attracted “to the poetical nature of the materials which the doctrines of Rome supply” (cited by Chandler, 2006).

John Lingard, Observations on the Laws and Ordinances Which Exist in foreign states, relative to the religious concerns of their Roman Catholic subjects: “In the United States, the Catholic clergy perform their sacred functions, and exercise their spiritual authority without molestation... As long as religion interferes not with the civil power, the civil power interferes not with religion” (In Tracts 1825-6).

Lamennais, Essay on Indifference in Matters of Religion, on Catholic communalism and tradition versus Protestant rationalism and self-sufficiency; defends authority against individualism. Lamennais’s influence resulted in founding of first daily Catholic Newspaper, L’Avenir (1830-1) with “God and Liberty” on masthead, defending liberty of religion, education, press, universal suffrage. In 1832 Pope Gregory XVI’s encyclical, Mirari Vos, condemned much of this, liberty of conscience called an “absurd and erroneous proposition.” Lamennais then condemned in 1834 encyclical, On the Errors of Lamennais (Singulare Nos). Never excommunicated, but died refusing last rites.

**\*\*1818\*\***

Mary Shelley’s Frankenstein: betrothed adoptive Elizabeth, daughter of peasant Catholic; her “saintly soul ... shone like a shrine-dedicated lamp in our peaceful home”, “the guardian angel of my life”; but Elizabeth praises “the republican institutions of our country” for producing “simpler and happier manners than those that prevail in the great monarchies that surround it.” Faithful servant Justine also a Roman Catholic, who accepts false accusation at pressure from her priest and becomes the martyr, “saintly sufferer.” Friend, Henry Clerval (also to be a victim) “was deeply read in books of chivalry and romance. He composed ... many a tale of enchantment and kingly adventure ... plays ... in which the characters were drawn from the heroes of Roncesvalles, of the Round Table of King Arthur, and the chivalrous train who shed their blood to redeem the holy sepulchre.”

Mary Shelley’s Valperga, celebrating Lady Euthanasia’s Catholicism, combining faith and reason -- vs. earlier Dr. Frankenstein’s destructive intellectual experimentation; she tries to curb Beatrice’s dangerous wild imagination.

Coleridge Lecture, “On the Meaning and the Importance of Dante’s Works,” on “the poetic union of religion and philosophy” in Dante; praises Henry Cary’s translation of Inferno (1805) and Divine Comedy (1814), very influential praise.

Samuel Wix, Reflections concerning the expediency of a Council of the Church of England and the Church of Rome being holden, with a view to accommodate religious differences and to promote unity of religion, cited by Tavard, “all but forgotten today, and ... never very prominent.” Lingard’s History of England (-1830), first three volumes (volumes on Reformation appeared in

**\*\*1819\*\***

1820, 1823), eventually 9 editions with major revision in 4<sup>th</sup> edition (1837-9) (more harsh on Elizabeth, “hoping to create a theoretical basis for emancipation” (Vidmar 2005)), uses archives, evenhandedly, to make the Catholic view respectable. “The theme which runs throughout … is … the correctness of toleration,” showing Protestants that Catholic could criticize Roman intolerance as well (Vidmar 2005); celebrates Elizabeth’s political success, economically, against Spain, etc.; said she was indifferent to religion and defended Protestantism for political reasons (reflecting Cisalpine solution that she pardon those who abjured Pope’s temporal pretensions); would influence Cobbett, and provide scholarly intellectual model for Oxford movement converts. Cobbett influenced Marx. Lingard saw his history as promoting reconciliation and return to the Ancient Faith; “The proper remedy would have been to offer liberty of conscience to all Catholics who would abjure the temporal pretensions of the pontiff.” On the new rich, “their prosperity was not the prosperity of the nation; it was that of one half obtained at the expense of the other;” “he shows that medieval catholics carefully distinguished between the papacy’s temporal and spiritual power, and stresses catholic loyalty to the crown” (S. Gilley, 1977). Replaced Protestant-Whig histories of Burnet and Hume; “historians scrambled to defend the good name of their Protestant forebears and the Anglican church. Robert Southey, Henry Hallam, Thomas Carlyle, James Anthony Froude, and Lord Macaulay all wrote histories of England in the following years in defense of … Good Queen Bess” (Vidmar review, CHR 2003). Lingard “wrote in such a spirit of fairness that some Catholics considered his work unduly conciliatory. He freely admitted the prevalence of corruption … Lingard’s account of the English Reformation is notable for its heavy emphasis on the impact of the Henrician divorce … and its gross misjudgment of Cranmer as despicable” (A. Dickens et al, Reformation in Historical Thought).

Charles Butler, Historical Memoirs respecting the English, Irish, and Scottish Catholics, from the Reformation, to the present time (-1821), Catholic history in appellant tradition, justifying Elizabeth’s policy against traitors, attacked Pius V’s Bull (“it tended to produce a civil war between the pope’s protestant and Catholic subjects, with all the horrors of a disputed succession, and … it necessarily involved a multitude of respectable and conscientious individuals in the bitterest and most complicated distress”), supported Catholics signing oath of Allegiance; Butler motivated by desire for reconciliation, “to put Catholics and Protestants into good humour with one another, and Catholics into good humour among themselves”. Butler said: “MAY the writer premise a suspicion which, from internal evidence, he has long entertained, that Shakespeare was a roman-catholic?—Not one of his works contains the slightest reflections on popery; or any of its practices; or any eulogy of the Reformation. His panegyric on queen Elizabeth is cautiously expressed; while queen Catherine is placed in a state of veneration … The ecclesiastic is never presented by Shakespeare in a degraded point of view” (“first Catholic to claim Shakespeare as Catholic,” thinks his suspicion new, important for emphasizing Henry VIII and S’s silence--Chandler, 2006)

Edward Hawkins, A Dissertation upon the Use and Importance of Unauthoritative Tradition as an Introduction to the Christian Doctrines, Anglican treatise (“made a most serious impression upon me” in conveying “the doctrine of Tradition” (Newman, Apologia)).

Scott’s Ivanhoe, first of Waverly novels on early English era, making possible the Catholic Revival according to Newman; it and Quentin Durward (1823) the two most popular of his medievalist novels. Wilt: “as the novels of Scott show, the continuing return of the repressed Catholic, in Stuart counter-revolutionary enterprises and Celtic resistances, in neo-medievalisms and pre-Raphaelisms of all sorts, play out an anxiety that ‘the Catholic’ is in fact the authentic, and the Protestant a mere show, or shell. Scratch a Protestant and you find a hollow or a Catholic” (“Masques of the English in Barnaby Rudge,” Dickens Studies Annual 2001).

Byron, Don Juan (1819 [I-II]-1821 [III-IV]-1823-4 [VI-XVI]): Byron shows teasing affection for Juan’s Catholic cultural contexts; on his mother’s “family missal” (1.46), Julia’s prayers to the Virgin (“I’m afraid / That night the Virgin was no longer prayed” (1.76)), satirizes drowned Catholics (“They must wait several weeks before a mass / Takes off one peak of purgatorial coals” 2.55). “For Woman’s face was never formed in vain / For Juan, so that even when he prayed / He turned from grisly saints … To the sweet portraits of the Virgin Mary” (2.169). Tender meeting of

Juan and Haidée:

Ave Maria! o'er the earth and sea,  
That heavenliest hour of Heaven is worthiest thee!

Ave Maria! blessed be the hour!  
The time, the clime, the spot, where I so oft  
Have felt that moment in its fullest power  
Sink o'er the earth so beautiful and soft,  
While swung the deep bell in the distant tower,  
Or the faint dying day-hymn stole aloft,  
And not a breath crept through the rosy air,  
And yet the forest leaves seem'd stirr'd with prayer ...  
Ave Maria! oh that face so fair!  
Those downcast eyes beneath the Almighty dove--  
What though 't is but a pictured image?--strike--  
That painting is no idol,--'t is too like...  
Some kinder casuists are pleased to say,  
In nameless print--that I have no devotion;  
But set those persons down with me to pray,  
And you shall see who has the properest notion  
Of getting into heaven the shortest way;  
My altars are the mountains and the ocean,  
Earth, air, stars,--all that springs from the great Whole,  
Who hath produced, and will receive the soul. (3.102-104)

Leila, Turkish, gamely refused to be converted to Catholicism: "She showed a great dislike to holy water" (10.56). Juan attends party in England at "Norman Abbey" (modeled off Newstead Abbey):

A glorious remnant of the Gothic pile  
(While yet the church was Rome's) stood half apart  
In a grand arch, which once screen'd many an aisle...  
But in a higher niche, alone, but crowned,  
The Virgin Mother of the God-born Child,  
With her Son in her blessed arms, look'd round,  
Spared by some chance when all beside was spoil'd;  
She made the earth below seem holy ground.  
This may be superstition, weak or wild,  
But even the faintest relics of a shrine  
Of any worship wake some thoughts divine ...  
Now yawns all desolate: now loud, now fainter,  
The gale sweeps through its fretwork, and oft sings  
The owl his anthem, where the silenced quire  
Lie with their hallelujahs quench'd like fire ...  
The mansion's self was vast and venerable,  
With more of the monastic than has been  
Elsewhere preserved: the cloisters still were stable,  
The cells, too, and refectory, I ween:  
An exquisite small chapel had been able,  
Still unimpair'd, to decorate the scene;  
The rest had been reform'd, replaced, or sunk,  
And spoke more of the baron than the monk. (13.59, 61-62, 66)

Juan falls in love with Aurora, "a Catholic, too, sincere, austere, / As far as her own gentle heart allowed, / And deemed that fallen worship far more dear / Perhaps because 't was fallen." (15.46). At the abbey, Juan catches a glimpse of a ghost, the "black friar" whom Lady Adeline Amundeville describes in poem:

Beware! beware! of the Black Friar,  
 Who sitteth by Norman stone,  
 For he mutters his prayer in the midnight air,  
 And his mass of the days that are gone.  
 When the Lord of the Hill, Amundeville,  
 Made Norman Church his prey,  
 And expell'd the friars, one friar still  
 Would not be driven away ...  
 And whether for good, or whether for ill,  
 It is not mine to say ...  
 When an heir is born, he 's heard to mourn ...  
 But beware! beware! of the Black Friar,  
 He still retains his sway,  
 For he is yet the church's heir  
 Whoever may be the lay.  
 Amundeville is lord by day,  
 But the monk is lord by night ... (16.40.1, 3, 4, 5)

Such events “passed as such things do, for superstition / With some, while others who had more in dread / The theme, half-credited the strange tradition” (16.54) (last complete Canto).

**\*\*1820\*\***

**George IV** begins reign; secretly marries Catholic Mrs. Fitzherbert.

Charlotte Eaton, Rome in the Nineteenth Century, many edns. thereafter, “in her lifetime [died 1859] the definitive guide to the city” (DNB), dense and evocative descriptions of the history art and religious culture, appreciative of aesthetic power but critical of Catholic superstition (“for one knee bent to God, thousands are bowed before the shrines of the Virgin and the saints”); grotesque incidents of superstition, miracles working Madonnas etc., but then awe for the Holy Week Miserere: “never by mortal ear was heard a stain of such power, such heart-moving pain ... It seemed as if every sense and power had been concentrated into that plaintive expression of lamentation, of deep suffering and supplication, which possessed the soul.” Acknowledges Madame de Staël’s powerful description of the Holy Thursday prostration of the Pope. At the priest’s powerful Good Friday rhetoric, “I believe mine was almost the only dry eye in the church.” Horrific picture of young girls become cloistered nuns. But “We gazed with no common interest at the [Fiesole] Convent on its utmost summit where our own Milton spent many week in retirement, and where he loved to meditate, amidst the Etruscan ruins of its ancient city, ‘At evening, on the top of Fiesole.’” “Rome is the metropolis of the world.” “We thought of the singular destiny of a city that had successively been the temporal and the spiritual tyrant of the world.” In Saint John the Lateran Church, “There are some towels, too, with which the angel wipes St. Lorenzo’s face, when he was broiling on the gridiron.” Contrast the imperious cardinal to the confessor “old Dominican monk ... in whose mild eye ... shone the habitual kindness of Christian charity.”

Walter Scott, The Monastery: 1830 intro. says intention was “to conjoin two characters ... who, thrown into situations which gave them different views on the subject of the Reformation, should, with the same sincerity and purity of intention, dedicate themselves, the one to the support of the sinking fabric of the Catholic Church, the other to the establishment of the Reformed doctrines.” Lady Avenal still goes to church, like the “earlier reformers, who seemed to have studied, for a time at least, to avoid a schism, until the violence of the Pope rendered it inevitable;” the monk “employed himself in fervent and sincere, though erroneous, prayers, for the weal of the departed spirit;” poem praises “something purer” in the “ancient superstition” (applicable to Catholicism): heresy of Henry Warden called “purer religion,” great debates between him and the monk Eustace; also Scott, The Abbot (1820), romanticizing Catholicism, suggesting its value as source of order; balancing good reformer with good Catholic; moving picture of dispossessed monks (though Scott condemned papism); the two brothers, one Protestant, the other an abbot, are both respected; The Abbot portrays social value of medieval church as source of order, font of alms, etc. (However, Scott portrays sinister Catholic practices in various novels.) “Scott repeatedly makes statements critical of Catholic beliefs and practices, but his scene of monks fallen on evil days are often

moving ones, and must have aroused the sympathy of many readers" (Irene Bostrom, 1963). Cambridge Apostles founded, with admixture of Catholics (see Alan Brown, The Metaphysical Society for the ecumenical currents).

Wordsworth, "Memorials of a Tour on the Continent 1820" which includes "Between Namur and Liege," "In the Cathedral at Cologne," "Composed in one of the Catholic Cantons," "Engelberg, The Hill of Angels," "Our Lady of the Snow," "The Church of San Salvador Seen from the Lake of Lugano," "The Three Cottage Girls," "Processions Suggested on a Sabbath Morning in the Vale of Chamouny," "Elegiac Stanzas," on Wordsworth's admiration for continental Catholicism.

Charles Robert Maturin, Melmoth the Wanderer: Melmoth, having sold his soul to escape death, must wander for 150 years to tempt others; offers relief from suffering to those who will take over his bargain: Stanton in cell with a raving lunatic, Monçada imprisoned by Inquisition, Walberg seeing his children dying of hunger, and others. Melmoth returns to his ancestral home where he plunges into the sea. Many scenes revealing a central secret as one that "conflates sexual deviance with Catholic corruption" (O'Malley 2006). Maturin "wants to evoke in properly ambiguous Gothic style the pre-modern ferocity of the religious current ... mediated and modernized by the Anglican via media, but also, of course, obscured and miniaturized by it" (Wilt in Barth, ed., Fountain Light 2002); sometimes seen as end of the Gothic novel tradition.; seen by some readers as "anarchic" because attack on Catholicism, in these revolutionary times, could be seen as attack on Christianity (Purves, 2009).

Edmond Malone: "It is highly improbable, indeed, that [John Shakespeare] ... who held the situation of Bailiff of Stratford, should have been a Roman Catholick;" argues WS's Protestantism, b.c. of King John, Henry VIII and "evening mass" (The Plays and Poems of William Shakespeare, posthumously pub.).

\*\*1822\*\*

Wordsworth's Ecclesiastical Sonnets, proto-Tractarian view that Reformation was regrettable but necessary because of papal corruption; yet much good was destroyed (monastic ideals ("The tapers shall be quenched, the belfries mute, / And 'mid their choirs unroofed by selfish rage, / The warbling wren shall find a leafy cage"), saints ("Angels and Saints, in every hamlet mourned! / Ah! if the old idolatry be spurned, / Let not your radiant Shapes desert the Land"-II-24), Church independence ("the Crown assumes a voice / Of reckless mastery, hitherto unknown" -- 1.28)); regrets radicalism of Puritans (on Marian exiles, "their union is beset / With speculative notions rashly sown") ("Men, who have ceased to reverence, soon defy, / True forefathers; lo! sects are formed, and split / With morbid restlessness ... Beneath the roof of settled Modesty./ The Romanist exults"); glorifies Elizabeth, ignores long recusant history, praises Laud and high Church of England; notes in "Regrets;" "Would that our scrupulous Sires had dared to leave / Less scanty measure of these graceful rites," followed by "Mutability" sonnet: "Truth fails not; but her outward forms that bear / The longest date do melt like frosty rime."

Kenelm Digby's The Broad Stone of Honour: or the True Sense and Practice of Chivalry (with many expanded edns. thereafter) (I. Godefridus, II. Tancredus, III. Morus (i.e. Thomas More), IV. Orlandus) idealized Catholic middle Ages, pictured medieval chivalry as lay Christianity in action, and a moral inspiration to English governing classes, made Gothic part of Catholic apologetic, specified "the Catholic faith [as] the very basis of the character which belonged to the knight;" blamed decay of chivalry on the Reformation. "Chivalry is only a name for that general spirit or state of mind which disposes men to heroic and generous actions, and keeps them conversant with all that is beautiful and sublime in the intellectual and moral world ... Every boy and youth is, in his minds and sentiments, a knight, and essentially a son of chivalry." Digby became Catholic in 1825, as did de Lisle. See 1831. "These three Cambridge men, Digby, de Lisle and Spencer, a trinity of Trinity, all became Catholics before the Oxford Movement had begun ... Thus the Catholic movement began, as a matter of fact, not at Oxford, but in the more decidedly Protestant University of Cambridge" (Bernard Holland, Memoir of Kenelm Henry Digby (London: Longmans, 1919)

Digby influenced by Lingard, and influenced Disraeli; "the chief British religious medievalist of the nineteenth century" (Morris, 1984). "It is striking that Digby talks as much of freedom as of authority" (Morris).

Shelley, "Ode to Liberty":

Luther caught thy wakening glance;  
 Like lightning, from his leaden lance  
 Reflected, it dissolved the visions of the trance  
 In which, as in a tomb, the nations lay ...

T. S. Eliot, "Dante" (1929): "We have ... a prejudice against beatitude as material for poetry. The eighteenth and nineteenth centuries knew nothing of it; even Shelley, who knew Dante well and who towards the end of his life was beginning to profit by it, the one English poet of the nineteenth century who could have begun to follow those footsteps, was able to enounce the proposition that our sweetest songs are those which sing of saddest thought. The early work of Dante might confirm Shelley; the Paradise provides the counterpart ..."

Byron: "I am really a great admirer of tangible religion ... [Catholicism] is by far the most elegant worship, hardly excepting the Greek mythology. What with incense, pictures, statues, altars, shrines, relics, and the real presence, confession, absolution,--there is something sensible to grasp at ... I am afraid that this sounds flippant, but I don't mean it to be so; only my turn of mind is so given to taking the absurd point of view, that it breaks out in spite of me every now and then. Still, I do assure you that I am a very good Christian" (qu. McGann 55-6). Jerome McGann, Fiery Dust: Byron's Poetic Development (1968): "he would continue to foster an attraction to the Roman Catholic church into his adult life." In the previous year, 1821, Byron had sent daughter Allegra to Catholic school: "It is, besides, my wish that she should be a Roman Catholic, which I look upon as the best religion, as it is assuredly the oldest of the various branches of Christianity" (qu. Marchand 3.905).

#### \*\*1823\*\*

Grace Kennedy's Father Clement: A Roman Catholic Story, anti-catholic but tries to be reasonable and see unity of all churches.

Beethoven, Missa Solemnis (1818-23).

Ambrose Phillipps has dream of reconversion of England; will be model for Eustace Lyle in Disraeli's Coningsby.

#### \*\*1824\*\*

William Cobbett's A History of the Protestant Reformation in England and Ireland ... Showing how the Event has Impoverished the Main Body of the People in those countries (-1827), seven hundred thousand copies sold by 1828 (Manning, "History," HLQ, 2001); influenced by Lingard's History: popularized thesis that Reformation devastated social provision in interest of rapacious monarch and aristocracy; eloquent defense of monasteries, church celibacy, good for poor; emphasizes extent of Henry's plunder and devastating effect on poor. "A full third part of our fellow-subjects are still Catholics ... " i.e. we need to be united.; "you have been the dupe of those who live upon the spoils of the Church of our fathers"; Cobbett called by Hazlitt "unquestionably the most powerful political writer of the present day." Gasquet published new revised edn. in 1896. Cobbett's Political Register espoused Catholic emancipation in Ireland. Probably part of non-conformist campaign vs. Anglican parsons (Manning HLQ 2001). Todd (1987) argues that monastic poor relief was dribs and drabs, but that Catholic humanists envisioned more systematic relief, an idea picked up by Protestants (p. 136).

Robert Southey, Book of the Church, conceived as answer to Lingard, attacking papism, 8 editions by 1870: "Some of them [recusant missionaries] are to be admired as men of genius and high endowment, as well as of heroic constancy: all to be lamented, as acting for an injurious purpose, under a mistaken sense of duty; but their sufferings belong to the history of papal politics, not to that of religious persecution." The Tudor martyrs "suffered for points of State, and not of Faith; not as Roman Catholics, but as Bull-papists; not for religion but for treason." The Church of England "has rescued us, first from heathenism, then from papal idolatry and superstition ... We owe to it our moral and intellectual character as a nation." Answered in 1825 by Charles Butler's The Book of the Roman Catholic Church, eirenicly praising catholic elements in Church of England, recalling past discussions of Leibniz and Bossuet, etc., well received for its urbanity. Southey answered also by Milner in Vindiciae Ecclesiae Anglicanae (1825); answered by Butler in Vindication of "The Book of the Roman Catholic Church".

Charles Robert Maturin, The Albigenses, Catholic villains but also heroes, thus balanced. At the end, Maturin praises both the Albegois minister and the Catholic monk: "May those of different faiths, like them, imitate their tolerance and embrace their example."

#### \*\*1825\*\*

Friedrich Möller, "The Unity of the Church as Exemplified by the Fathers," "the most

*formidable attack on the Reformation since Bossuet” (Gooch).] But Möhler’s emphasis on visible communal nature of church influenced later ecumenical discussion.*

Coleridge’s Aids to Reflections praised by Aubrey de Vere as connecting “universal mind” with the ideal Catholicism always present in the Church. Coleridge: “My censures of the Papists do much differ from what they were at first. I then thought, that their errors in the doctrines of faith were the most dangerous mistakes. But now I am assured that their misexpressions and misunderstanding us, with our mistakings of them and inconvenient expressing of our own opinions, have made the difference in most points appear much greater than it is; and that in some it is next to none at all. But the great and unreconcilable differences lie in their Church Tyranny; in the usurpations of their Hierarchy, and Priesthood, under the name of spiritual authority exercising a temporal Lordship; in their corruptions and abasement of God’s Worship, but above all in their systematic befriending of Ignorance and Vice.”

Milton’s De doctrina christiana, first publ, and translated, on Milton’s Arianism, mortalism, etc. (see M. Bauman, Milton’s Arianism (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 1987).

*Claude Saint-Simon, New Christianity (1825), trans. 1834, on pruning Catholicism and Protestantism: “The whole of society ought to strive towards the amelioration of the moral and physical existence of the poorest class; society ought to organize itself in the way best adapted for attaining this end;” forerunner of Comte.*

Berlioz, Messe solennelle.

#### \*\*1826\*\*

Horace Smith, The Tor Hill, though defending Reformation, deplored stripping of Glastonbury Abbey, an idyllic place destroyed by Cromwell and the villainous Sir Lionel. Smith concludes: “England, long the pride and paragon of Europe, in arts and arms, in liberal institutions and intellectual eminence, will blush with shame at the thought of being behind her neighbours upon the single point of religious toleration.”

John Fletcher, A Comparative View of the Grounds of the Catholic, and Protestant, Churches, dedicated to Lingard, argues for “re-union of the catholic, and protestant churches;” and quotes Dr. Barrington, Bishop of Durham: “What public duty of greater magnitude can present itself to us, than the restoration of peace, and union, to the church, by the reconciliation of two so large portions of it, as the churches of England, and Rome? What undertaking of more importance, and higher interest, can employ the piety, and learning of the ministers of Christ, than the endeavour to accomplish this truly Christian work.” But argues a Catholic basis; “it is only in the catholic church, that there exists a centre of union.” “The great remedy … is … uniting the Christian world to the parent institute;” “let us hope that the protestant, and the catholic, laying aside, each of them every prejudice… will form, once more, one happy family;” in turn, “The catholic church would have sacrifices … She must give up … a variety of points of discipline … certain practices, ceremonies, and customs, which are offensive to the prejudices of the protestant.”

Bishop John England (Catholic), Discourse Before Congress: “I would not allow to the Pope or to any bishop of our Church, outside this Union, the smallest interference with the humblest vote at our most insignificant ballot box … You [i.e. Congress] have no power to interfere with my religious rights; the tribunal of the Church has no power to interfere with my civil rights … It must hence be apparent that any idea of the Roman Catholics of these republics being in any way under the influence of any foreign ecclesiastical power, or indeed of any Church authority, in their exercise of their civil rights is a serious mistake” (qu. William M. Shea, The Lion and the Lamb 2004)?.

#### \*\*1827\*\*

John Keble, The Christian Year. (“When the general tone of religious literature was so nerveless and impotent … Keble struck an original note and woke up in the hearts of thousands new music, the music of a school, long unknown in England” (Newman, Apologia)).

Manzoni, I Promessi Sposi (The Betrothed) (1827, revised 1840), with Catholic culture and conversion of the villains, great historical novel about 17<sup>th</sup> century. Praised by Scott, Goethe; regarded by Italians as second to Dante.

#### \*\*1828\*\*

Daniel O’Connell, Catholic, campaigning for emancipation (successfully in 1829), wins parliamentary election as County Clare representative, despite ban, but refuses to take seat until anti-Catholic oath is abolished; led to Wellington and Peel supporting

*Emancipation Act of 1829; huge expansion of Catholic population and poverty; O'Connell, contra Davis, saw Catholics as synonymous with Ireland, but Davis's idealism, use of political ballads, attack on English landlordism etc. would influence later movements though they would be more narrowly defined. O'Connell, an urbane Catholic Enlightenment-European model, vs. Young Irelanders later.*

Repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts (see Emancipation in 1829, Reform Act in 1832, all making Parliament an unlikely head of the C of E)

*Guizot, The History of Civilization in Europe, trans. 1846, Reformation achieved overthrow of Catholic clergy's monopoly of spiritual power.*

Sharon Turner, History of the Anglo-Saxons.

#### \*\*1829\*\*

Roman Catholic Emancipation act; Catholics allowed to become MP's. [Ironically also motivated the Oxford Movement, since Catholics were now part of the Parliament that governed the Church]. End of long period of anxiety about the Penal Laws. Oaths of Allegiance, Supremacy, and Abjuration canceled. Thomas Arnold argued for Catholic claims on grounds of justice, in The Christian Duty of conceding the Roman Catholic claims. Thus Coronation of William IV in 1830 was the first since the Revolution in which a Catholic bishop attended in his habit. See earlier Catholic Relief Acts 1778, 1791.

(New oath required for Parliament: "I do ... abjure the Opinion, that Princes excommunicated ... by the Pope ... may be deposed or murdered ... I do not believe that the Pope ... hath or ought to have any Temporal ... jurisdiction ... I will defend to the utmost of my Power the Settlement of Property within this Realm ... I never will exercise any Privilege ... to disturb or weaken the Protestant Religion ... if any Person ... shall assume ... the Name ... of Archbishop ... in England, he shall ... pay the Sum of One hundred Pounds ... If any Jesuit ... come into this Realm, he shall be ... banished.")

Arthur Hallam (c. 1829): "What think you of this subject—the persecuting of the Catholics under Elizabeth? There is much to be said on both sides. If you defend it, Southey's Book of the Church and Vindiciae Ecclesiae Anglicanae are your books; if not, Butler's Book of the Roman Catholic Church and Historical Memoirs of English, Irish and Scottish Catholics; also Lingard's History, and my father's. I think it is a very good subject. On the one side you have the plots of the Jesuits, and partisans of Mary may be made the most of; on the other the loyalty of Catholics against the Armada, the hardship of the acts against recusants, the execution of Campion and others, the use of torture, etc." [Hallam right on top of the recent controversy of 1824-7, when Southey's Book of the Church (1824) answered Lingard's massive history (1819-) (the same year as Butler's defense of the appellant Catholics in Historical Memoirs), and was answered in turn by Butler's The Book of the Roman Catholic Church (1825), to be answered by Southey's Vindiciae Ecclesiae Anglicanae (1825); Henry Hallam's The Constitutional History of England, celebrated the Church of England, but deplored the persecution of Catholics and other nonconformists.]

Charles C. Pise, Father Rowland: A North American Tale (Baltimore), answers Father Clement above (1823), urbane Maryland Jesuit converts wife and daughters of General Wolburn, friend of Washington (who is open-minded about religion) vs. Calvinist bigoted neighbors; called 'first American Catholic novel'; Rowland goes through all the argumentative points (one, holy, Catholic, apostolic, purgatory, transubstantiation, Peter, etc.); Mrs. Wolburn denies that Protestants automatically go to hell: "we leave all who depart this world to the mercy of God ... So far from teaching such a doctrine [that "any individual ... is surely condemned to eternal punishments] the Catholic church would reprobate it."

Southey published his Sir Thomas More: or, Colloquies on the Progress and Prospects of Society, with its praise of feudal society, reflecting his conservative reaction to French Revolution, after radicalism of his early years.

#### \*\*1830\*\*

**William IV** begins reign.

Coleridge On the Constitution of the Church and State: Since "the paramount end and purpose of [the National Church] ... is the continued and progressive civilization of the community," "there are yet but two absolute disqualifications: namely, allegiance to a foreign power, or an acknowledgement of any other visible head of the Church, but our sovereign lord the king; and compulsory celibacy in connection with, and dependence on, a foreign and extra-national land;" "if the papacy, and the Romish hierarchy as far as it is papal, be not Antichrist, the guilt of schism,

in its most aggravated form, lies on the authors of the Reformation. For nothing less than this could have justified so tremendous a rent in the Catholic church, with all its foreseen most calamitous consequences. And so Luther himself thought; and so thought Wickliffe before him.” Coleridge attacks the application of the Apocalyptic Anti-Christ to the Pope. “It is, I repeat, my full conviction, that the rites and doctrines, the agenda et credenda, of the Catholics, could we separate them from the adulterating ingredients combined with, and the use made of them, by the sacerdotal Marmelukes of the Romish monarchy, for the support of the Papacy and papal hierarchy, would neither have brought about, nor have sufficed to justify, the convulsive separation under Leo X.” Coleridge says that in his travels he saw that the Romish Priesthood helped keep the populations ignorant and poor in order to support Papal Sovereignty “against ... the reforms wished for by the more enlightened governments, as well as by all the better informed and wealthier class of Catholics generally.” Catholics “who would contemplate with as much horror a Reform from their Church, as they look with earnest aspirations and desires towards a Reform in the Church.” Citing the list of papal abuses listed by a prominent Catholic, Coleridge concludes: “Now, of the twelve abuses here enumerated, it is remarkable that ten, if not eleven, are but expansions of the one grievance -- the Papal Power as the centre, and the Pope as the one visible head and sovereign of the Christian church” (though Coleridge’s theological critique in the last phrase exceeds the quoted Catholic’s political critique). Coleridge “thought the English Church had lost its chance at the Reformation, when it replaced its allegiance to Rome with allegiance to the monarchy, instead of making itself into a supra-party organization” (Morris, 1984).

#### **\*\*1831\*\***

Disraeli, The Young Duke, on old family English Catholics as oppressed loyal virtuous subjects, vs. Protestant bigots, describes “the mild dignity, the noble patience, the proud humility, the calm hope, the uncompromising courage” with which Catholics “lived as proscribed in the realm which they had created”; theme repeated in his Henrietta Temple (1836) and Venitia (1837): Mrs. Dacre and daughter in Young Duke have “living connection with what is best in traditional English society ... function ... of reconciling tradition and individuality” (Clausson, NCF 1979).

Kenelm Digby, Mores Catholici, or Ages of Faith (-1842), that Catholic culture generated the highest art. England can return to pre-Reformation religion: “Let but the master arise who can revive the Catholic chord, and thou wilt again send forth the sweetest music,” “thy solemn woods would give shelter to the lonely eremite” (qu. Morris, 1984); much on monasteries, etc. See Bernard Holland’s radiant tribute, Memoir of Kenelm Henry Digby (London: Longmans, 1919) (compare Wilfrid Ward on Aubrey De Vere, 1904).

Digby: “Have we not reason to hope that she will not for ever scorn the sacred mysteries of faith and Rome that watches over them ... that England may be won ... by that which she of her own generous nature covets most—won, the country of Cowper by fervent, true, and undefiled devotion; the country of Johnson, by the inestimable riches of good sense; the county of Milton, by the love of heavenly musing, and of embodying the sacred lore in bright poetic forms; the country of Bacon, by whatever tends to the augmentation of solid learning, and to the stability and decorum of the social state; the country of Addison, by the food prepared, as if expressly for its instinct of the correct and orderly, which quells every unruly passion; the country of Shakespeare, by that which makes every flower of genius to germinate in eternal peace; the country of Sterne, by pity mild, deep and tender sentimentality .... Then will she learn from her own experience that, in the holy Catholic and Roman faith, is all sustenance for the high intellectual and moral life of a people” from Mores Catholici, 1842.

John Stuart Mill, “The Spirit of the Age”: distinguishes “natural” from “transitional” societies; in the former, authority is still intact, managed by an elite, i.e. medieval Catholic clergy, “had the strongest motives ... for inculcating the natural equality of mankind, the superiority of love and sacrifice over mere courage and bodily prowess, of menacing the great with the only terrors to which they were accessible,” “a potent cause ... of the present civilization of Europe,” destroyed prematurely by the Reformation. Church of England “sunk from its independent rank, into an ... appendage, of the aristocracy.” (Mill and his father would transform 18<sup>th</sup> cent. ideal of political liberty to one of individualist liberty.)

#### **\*\*1832\*\***

Macaulay’s essay, “Burleigh and His Times”: Reformation as “struggle of the laity against the clergy for intellectual liberty;” but “the most prominent and extraordinary phenomenon which it [the English Reformation] presents to us is the gigantic strength of the government contrasted with

the feebleness of the religious parties,” yet Elizabeth was beloved, etc. “The partiality of Shakespeare for Friars is well known;” the ghost speeches in Hamlet could not have been written by a zealous Protestant; Elizabeth worse than Mary in being a tyrant without benefit of fanatical conviction. “The nation” was “clearly ready” to tolerate both religions, but Elizabeth “adopted a policy from which the empire is still suffering ... It is melancholy to think with what ease Elizabeth might have united all conflicted sects under the shelter of the same impartial laws ... and thus have placed the nation in the same situation, as far as the rights of conscience are concerned, in which we at last stand.”

Arthur Hallam, “The Influence of Italian Upon English Literature”: Dante, nurtured in a Catholicism rejuvenated by Sts. Francis and Dominic, influenced Chaucer and, less purely, Spenser and Milton. “I cannot help considering the Sonnets of Shakespeare as a sort of homage to that Genius of Christian Europe ...” Milton lacked Dante’s “universality and depth” but had “relative advantages over him, which were necessarily obtained from a Protestant and English position.” “In those obscured times, that followed the subversion of Rome, the muses clung not in vain for safety to the inviolate altars of the Catholic church ... It is not wholly without the bounds of probability, that a purer spirit than the Roman Catholicism may animate hereafter a loftier form of European civilization.” “The inordinate esteem for chastity; the solemnity attached to conventional vows; the interest taken in those fair saints ... above all the worship of the Virgin, the Queen of Heaven ... these articles of a most unscriptural, but very beautiful mythology, could not be established in general belief without investing the feminine character with ideal splendour and loveliness.” See Hurrell Froude.

Arthur Hallam: “Remarks on Professor Rossetti’s ‘Disquisizioni Sullo Spirito Antipapale,’ vs. Rossetti’s theory that Dante was a closet freemason: “And in the pomp of Catholic superstition, the slow and solemn chaunts, the white-robed processions, the incense, and the censers, and the golden baldacchins, with ever-burning lights, and images, and pictures, in whose rude forms a prophetic eye might even then discern the future arts of Raffaelle and Michelangiolo [sic] ... in this ceremonial worship, so framed to attach the imagination and the senses, was there nothing to make a poet pause and adore? The beautiful was everywhere around men, waiting, and, as it were, calling for their love. Is it wonderful that the call was heard? Is it wonderful that the feeling of reverence for that august name, the Church, -- for its antiquity, its endurance, its unity, its widespread dominion, and yet more ample prospects of indefinite magnificence, should, in that day, have been often irresistible in the minds of imaginative men” like Dante.

Newman, Pastoral Sermon 24, “The Religion of the Day”: “it would be a gain to this country were it vastly more superstitious, more bigoted, more gloomy, more fierce in its religion than at present it shows itself to be,” quoted by Newman in Apologia where Newman adds: “I added, of course, that it would be an absurdity to suppose such tempers of mind desirable in themselves.” [this may be a common romantic idea, see Novalis “Superstition ... essential for rel[igion]” (qu. Hellerich, Religionizing ... Early German Romantics 131); also see Thomas Warton, 1774 (“ignorance and superstition are the parents of imagination”) and Sprat 1667); also Burke “there is no rust of superstition ... that ninety-nine in a hundred of the people of England would not prefer to impiety”]

Hegel, Philosophy of History (1832, trans. 1857) on how Protestant freedom replaced the old superstitious fossilized medieval Catholicism: “Thus men came to the point of knowing that they were free ... Thus spirit came again to itself ... This new birth is pointed out as the revival of the arts and sciences which were concerned with present mater, the epoch when the spirit gains confidence in itself ... It is reality reconciled with the world.”. Influenced Burckhardt.

Johann Adam Möhler, Symbolism [Symbolics], or Exposition of the Doctrinal Differences Between Catholics and Protestants, as Evidenced by their Symbolical Writings, with revised edns. thereafter, distinguishing the two mindsets, depending on view of original sin; saw Protestant error as proceeding from good intentions, i.e. to emphasize power of God, but polemically in favor of Catholicism. Presented Protestantism as a coherent whole. Revived enthusiasm for Catholicism in Germany. “Outlining the ironic development by which

*rationalism emerged from the Reformers' repudiation of reason and 'infidel' liberalism from Calvin's excessive emphasis on depravity, Möhler diagnosed Swedenborgianism as a misguided effort to reestablish objectivity, as subjectivity, striving after objectivity, became to itself an outward thing, in order to replace the external, visible Church" (qu. Franchot). Möhler insisted on embodiment: Everything which is truly interior must, according to Catholic doctrine, be outwardly expressed" (qu. Franchot). "The Protestants conceive justification to be a thing chiefly external, and the Church to be a thing chiefly internal, so that, in either respect, they are unable to bring about a permeation of the inward and the outward" (qu. Franchot)*

\*\*1833\*\*

Coleridge, Notebook: "Were I young, had I the bodily strength & animal spirits of early manhood with my present powers & convictions, I should not so far despair of a union between the Protestant and the now papal but still Catholic Church, as to prevent me from making it an object," qu. in Barth, Coleridge and Christian Doctrine (1969).

Wordsworth, Poems Composed or Suggested During a Tour, in the Summer of 1833, including "Nun's Well, Brigham," "Mary Queen of Scots," "Stanzas Suggested in a Steamboat off Saint Bees' Heads" (see below), On the Coast of Cumberland," "At Sea off the Isle of Man," "At Bala-Sala, Isle of Man," "Iona," "Homeward We Turn," "Nunnery," "The Somnambulist," paying tribute to ancient English Catholicism.

The whole intellectual establishment, Mill, Coleridge, Macaulay, Disraeli, seemed to be going toward the Catholics. This intellectual sea change, begun with the French Revolution, was the supportive context for the upcoming Tractarian movement.

Wiseman, future cardinal: "I have of late felt a keen interest in the great movement of modern literature and philosophy, which seems to be pawing the ground and struggling to be free from the pagan trammels which the Reformation cast over it, and trying once more to fly into the pure, Christian ether of Dante or Chaucer, there to catch and bring back upon this chilly world a few sparks of chivalrous enthusiasm and religious devotion. Alas! I fear its pinion are too weak; but really the exertions of such men as Schlegel, Novalis, Görres ... Manzoni, Lamennais, Lamartine, and even the less pure efforts of Victor Hugo or Janin do show a longing after the revival of Christian principle as the soul and centre of thought and taste and feeling." Ecclesiastical Commission formed to manage money from reduction of bishoprics of the Church of Ireland; Newman horrified. Bill to reduce number of Irish sees (see 1869) leads to Keble's sermon:

John Keble, sermon on "National Apostasy," July 14: "I ever considered and kept the day as the start of the religious Movement of 1833" (Newman, Apologia). Begins Oxford Movement (1833-45). Newman, Keble, et al begin Tracts for the Times, 90 tracts published through 1841. "Anglo-Catholicism became the "extreme wing" of this movement" (Pickering, Anglo-Catholicism). Christopher Dawson thought Oxford Movement ecumenically important because it encouraged intimate social contact between Protestants and Catholics for the first time; Dawson also credited 19<sup>th</sup> century interdenominational missionary societies (see Schwartz, Third Spring 2005).

Heine, The Romantic School: "It is indeed very significant that at precisely the time when by public belief Faust lived, the Reformation began, and that he himself is supposed to have founded the art which secures for knowledge victory over faith, namely the printing press; an art, however, which also robbed us of the Catholic peace of mind and plunged us into doubt and revolutions ... But no, knowledge ... science gives us at last the pleasure of which religious faith, Catholic Christianity has cheated us for so long; we apprehend that men are called not only to a heavenly but also to an earthly equality." Really about the 'Age of Goethe' (i.e. middle 18<sup>th</sup> cent to 1832), describes "two antagonistic tendencies in German letters [and seems to disagree with de Staël]. The first is identified with the Enlightenment, sensualism, Protestantism, and progressive politics; Lessing, Herder, Schiller, Voss ... Opposing it is a mystical, spiritualist, Catholic, and politically regressive turn to the Middle Ages that Heine associates with the Romantic movement" (Robert Holub, intro. Heine, Romantic School NY 1985)

\*\*1834\*\*

"The glory of the English Church is that it has taken the Via media ... between the (so-called)

Reformers and the Romanists" first recorded usage, OED new edn (Newman, Tracts 38); see 1836.

[Leopold von Ranke, Die römischen Päpste (1834-6) emphasizes spiritual power and coherence of Catholic "counter-reformation", a term he popularized, giving rise to idea of two reformations, one Protestant and positive, one Catholic and negative]

August Comte, Course of Positive Philosophy (1830-4), on the law of the three states; restated in System of Positive Polity (1851-4): "every branch of our knowledge is necessarily obliged to pass successively ... through three ... states: the theological or fictitious state; the metaphysical or abstract state; finally, the scientific or positive state" (trans. Bridges); Positivist Calendar (1849) replaced saints with heroes of civilization, including Gutenberg and Shakespeare. Bridges trans. of a General View of Positivism (1865): "a new moral power will arise spontaneously throughout the West ... for the acceptance of a true spiritual power, a power more ... progressive, than the noble but premature attempt of mediaeval Catholicism ... Both are based on the principle of affection; but in Positivism the affection inculcated is social, in Catholicism it is essentially personal ... Catholicism, while appealing to the Heart, crushed Intellect ... Positivism, on the contrary, brings Reasons into complete harmony with Feeling ... Catholicism ... purified love from the animal propensities ... [but] Love of God ... was essentially a self-regarding principle." Comte admired De Maistre, De Bonald, on the social institutions of medieval Catholicism which he wished to prune and adapt for the new "religion of humanity," where humanity not God is loved and served. Huxley called it a "Catholicism without Christianity," complete with festivals, saints replaced by philosophers, social sacraments.

Burning of the Charlestown Ursuline convent. Such nativist riots "as many as twenty churches were burned between 1834 and 1860) greatly contributed to liberal Protestant support for the Catholic community, if only because of the 'sanctity' of private property" (Franchot).

#### \*\*1835\*\*

Newman's Tract 71 written "with a view to reconciliation." "All we know is, that here we are, from long security ignorant why we are not Roman Catholics."

Alexis de Tocqueville, Democracy in America (1835, 1840): "The priests in America have divided the intellectual world into two parts: in the one they place the doctrines of revealed religion, which command their assent; in the other they leave those truths which they believe to have been freely left open to the researches of political inquiry. Thus the Catholics of the United States are at the same time the most faithful believers and the most zealous citizens. "In France I had almost always seen the spirit of religion and the spirit of freedom pursuing courses diametrically opposed to each other; but in America I found that they were intimately united ... I found that they [Catholic clergy] ... mainly attributed the peaceful dominion of religion in their country to the separation of Church and State." "The men of our days are naturally disposed to believe; but, as soon as they have any religion, they immediately find in themselves a latent propensity which urges them unconsciously towards Catholicism. Many of the doctrines and the practices of the Romish Church astonish them; but they feel a secret admiration for its discipline, and its great unity attracts them ... our posterity will tend more and more to a single division into two parts - some relinquishing Christianity entirely, and others returning to the bosom of the Church of Rome. Catholicism favorable to equality, because all worshippers are religiously equal before the priest; but T. conceded that priests had to be removed from government. "The division of American Christianity into innumerable sects prevented any denomination from developing an alliance with the State and thereby protected the integrity of the faith."

Wordsworth, "Stanzas Suggested in a Steamboat off Saint Bees's Heads" (composed 1833): praises the monastery's "intercessions made for the soul's rest / Of tardy penitents; or for the best / Among the good (when love might else have slept, / Sickened, or died) in pious memory kept ...

Are not in sooth, their Requiem's sacred ties / Woven out of passion's sharpest agonies, / Subdued, composed, and formalized by art, / To fix a wiser sorrow in the heart?;" note adds: "No reflecting person, however, can view without sorrow the abuses which rose out of thus formalizing sublime instincts ... and perverting them into ... rapacity."

Dublin Review founded.

Charles Barry and Pugin win Westminster competition with Pugin's Gothic Perpendicular designs. Pugin (Augustus Welby Pugin, son of Auguste Charles Pugin), converts to Catholicism.

(1835-6) Thoreau, on leave from Harvard junior year, to teach in Canton, spends 6 weeks to 3 months with Brownson who was writing New Views of Christianity, Society and the Church (see 1836). Thoreau later wrote Brownson: "They were an era in my life—the morning of a new Lebenstag. They are to me as a dream that is dreamt, but which returns from time to time in all its original freshness." W. Harding: "Brownson's influence on Thoreau at this formative moment in his career has generally been overlooked" "After ... Canton ... Thoreau returned to ... Harvard, rebellious toward organized religion and chapel credits" (K. Cameron, "Thoreau and Orestes Brownson," Emerson Society Q 51 (1968), paralleling Brownson New Views and Thoreau nugget ideas. In fall 1837, Thoreau, who had read Emerson's "Nature" in spring, 1837, began keeping a journal. See Birrell, 1976, on Thoreau, p. 217-8.

\*\*1836\*\*

Maria Monk's Awful Disclosures of Maria Monk, as Exhibited in a Narrative of Her Sufferings During a Residence of Five Years as a Novice, and Two Years as a Black Nun, in the Hotel Dieu Nunnery at Montreal.

Wilkes, editor of Christian Observer: "How do these clergymen [Tractarians] ... reconcile their consciences to such declarations as those which abound, in the Homilies, affirming that the Church of Rome is 'Antichrist' ..."

Newman's "Home Thoughts Abroad": Roman controversialist argues: "Surely there is such a religious fact as the existence of a great Catholic body, union with which is a Christian privilege and duty. Now, we English are separate from it;" answered that truth requires the regrettable division. Newman lectures on "Romanism and Popular Protestantism."

Newman's Prophetic Office of the Church (retitled Via Media in third edn. of 1877): Romanists might say that "the pretended Via Media is but an eclectic system ... leading to arrogance and self-sufficiency in judging of sacred subjects;" "Protestantism and Popery are real religions ... but the Via Media has never existed except on paper, it has never been reduced to practice." (Newman apparently invented the term!) "It still remains to be tried whether what is called Anglo-Catholicism ... is capable of being professed, acted on, and maintained ... or whether it be a mere modification or transition-state either of Romanism or of popular Protestantism." Apologia adds to this citation: "this hesitation about the validity of the theory of the Via Media implied no doubt of the three fundamental points on which it was based ... dogma, the sacramental system, and anti-Romanism."

Newman, et al, Lyra Apostolica.

Pugin, Contrasts or, a Parallel between the Noble Edifices of the Middle Ages, and Corresponding Buildings of the Present Day; Shewing the Present Decay of Taste, revised edn. 1841, with contrasting plates of "Catholic Town in 1440," "The Same Town in 1840;" Pugin wanted reconciliation of high Anglican and Catholic; celebrated "the faith, the zeal, and, above all, the unity, of our ancestors, that enabled them to conceive and raise those wonderful fabrics ... ere heresy had destroyed faith, [and] schism had put an end to unity ... When these feelings entered in, the spell was broke, the Architecture itself fell with the religion to which it owed its birth, and was succeeded by a mixed and base style devoid of science or elegance"" (qu. Rosenberg))

Thomas Arnold calls Tractarians "the very Non-Jurors ... reproduced with scarcely a shade of difference" (see 1688); Tractarians feared Whigs coming into power and distributing church patronage. "What [the Tractarians] fought for was not Rome, not even a restoration of unity, but a Church of England such as it was conceived by the Caroline divines and the Non-jurors" (A. W. Evans, intro to Tract 90, 1933 edn.). On the attempt to retrieve the Catholic dimension in Reformation attacks on the Eucharist, as only about late medieval errors, A. Moyes will write in The Tablet (1895): "Who will not recognize in this very plea, even in the very measure of its impossibility, and in the almost pathetic desperation of its thesis, the touching desire of pious and

God-seeking Anglicans who yearn to re-integrate their country in its traditions of love and loyalty to the glorious Sacrament of the altar?" (qu. Clark, Eucharistic Sacrifice and the Reformation 514). Clark: "It is this school of High Church apologists that Dom Gregory Dix describes as 'sincere and consistent but also a little deficient not only in plausibility but in candor in its treatment of the Reformation in the time of Edward VI. It was always tempted to represent Archbishop Cranmer and his colleagues as premature Tractarians ...'"

John Lingard, A New Version of the Four Gospels: stresses that the gospels are socially conditioned "versions;" "embodied the most far-reaching effort of the English Catholic Enlightenment both to preach and to defend the church with modern techniques" (Chinnici, 1980). Orville Dewey (Unitarian), The Old World and the New ... on a Tour in Europe: Catholicism's greatest evil is "that imagination and sentiment are substituted for real feeling and virtue" (qu. Franchot).

Orestes Brownson, New Views of Christianity, Society and the Church: "I devoted myself to solving the problem of religion which should be neither Protestantism nor Catholicity, but which should embody all that was true and holy in the latter, with the free spirit, the ideas and sentiments which had been developed by the former" (his later summary) "As distinguished from religious institutions, religion is the Conception, or Sentiment, of the Holy ... It is that indefinable something within us which gives a meaning to the words Venerable and Awful." "All sects overlook this important truth. None of them seem to imagine that human nature has or should have any hand in the construction of their theories ... By presenting us God and Man united in one person, it [the symbol of Jesus] shows us that both are holy." "Catholicism is veritably the Church of the middle ages ... Unitarianism ... is the last word of Protestantism ... Unitarianism ... vindicates the rights of the mind ... and is social, charitable and humane. It saves the Son of man, but sometimes loses the Son of God." "The time has come for a new Church, for a new synthesis of the elements of the life of Humanity." "One man [Channing] ... stands out ... a more perfect type of synthesis of Eclecticism and inspiration than any one else." In Channing's Ordination sermon, "the most remarkable since the Sermon on the Mount—he distinctly recognizes and triumphantly vindicates the God-Man. 'In ourselves are the elements of the divinity ...'"

#### **\*\*1837\*\***

**Queen Victoria** begins reign, takes oath to "maintain the Laws of God, the true Profession of the Gospel, and the Protestant Reformed Religion established by Law."

S. R. Maitland begins attacking the credibility of John Foxe in various works beginning now. (C. S. Lewis claims J. F. Mozley defended Foxe's integrity in 1940 "with complete success".)

E.C.A., Geraldine -- a Tale of Conscience, on movement from Anglican to Roman Church: reviewed by Newman, British Critic (1838): "It is ... sinful impatience, to go out of the English church for what every believing mind may find in it;" history is a "via media" between the two churches.

#### **\*\*1838\*\***

First recorded use by OED of "Anglo-Catholic" (earliest item in new OED, "Anglo Catholic," 1814, seems a coinage): among others, W. Palmer, Treatise on Church of Christ as cited by Newman who sees Palmer's usage as new: "Many of the ancient errors against which the masters of Anglo-catholic theology contended in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, have been permitted to sink into oblivion." See Murray discussion: "'the catholic church' or 'church universal', was first applied to the whole body of believers as distinguished from an individual congregation or 'particular body of Christians'. But to the primary idea of extension 'the ideas of doctrine and unity' were super-added; and so the term came to connote the Church first as orthodox, in opposition to heretics, next as one historically, in opposition to schismatics. Out of this widest qualitative sense arose a variety of subordinate senses; it was applied to the faith the Church held, to particular communities or even individual members belonging to it, and especially in the East, to cathedrals as distinguished from parish churches, then later to parish churches as opposed to oratories or monastic chapels. After the separation of East and West 'Catholic' was assumed as its descriptive epithet by the Western or Latin Church, as 'Orthodox' was by the Eastern or Greek. At the Reformation the term 'Catholic' was claimed as its exclusive right by the body remaining under the Roman obedience, in opposition to the 'Protestant' or 'Reformed' National Churches. These, however, also retained the term, giving it, for the most part, a wider and more ideal or

absolute sense, as the attribute of no single community, but only of the whole communion of the saved and saintly in all churches and ages. In England, it was claimed that the Church, even as Reformed, was the national branch of the ‘Catholic Church’ in its proper historical sense. As a consequence, in order to distinguish the unreformed Latin Church, its chosen epithet of ‘Catholic’ was further qualified by ‘Roman’; but see sense 7. On this analogy ANGLO-CATHOLIC has been used by some, since about 1835, of the Anglican Church.” Sense 7. “As applied (since the Reformation) to the Church of Rome (*Ecclesia apostolica catholica Romana*) = ROMAN CATHOLIC, q.v. (Opposed to Protestant, Reformed, Evangelical, Lutheran, Calvinistic, etc.). ROMAN CATHOLIC is the designation known to English law; but ‘Catholic’ is that in ordinary use on the continent of Europe, especially in the Latin countries; hence historians frequently contrast ‘Catholic’ and ‘Protestant’, especially in reference to the continent; and, in familiar non-controversial use, ‘Catholic’ is often said instead of Roman Catholic.” (Also see Culler on “High” and “Low” Church, 1956.)

Richard Hurrell Froude’s Remains, ed. Newman and Keble: “I am every day becoming a less and less loyal son of the Reformation,” includes “Essay on Rationalism” (which will become Newman’s Liberalism): Protestantism “set up Sermons as means of grace, to the disparagement of Sacraments,” etc. In Apologia, Newman will describe Froude’s passionate Catholicism without the Church: “He professed openly his admiration of the Church of Rome .... He delighted in the notion of an hierarchical system ... He felt scorn of the maxim ... ‘the bible only is the religion of Protestants;’ and he gloried in accepting Tradition as a main instrument of religious teaching. He had a high severe idea of the intrinsic excellence of Virginity; and he considered the Blessed Virgin its great Pattern. He delighted in thinking of the Saints; he had a vivid appreciation of the idea of sanctity ... and he was more than include to believe a large amount of miraculous interventions as occurring in the early and middle ages. He embraced the principle of penance and mortification. He had a deep devotion to the Real Presence ...” See Arthur Hallam.

Isaac Williams, The Cathedral.

Anglican Archbishop Alexander, De Vere’s countryman, experiencing Newman’s Oxford and his sermons in 1838: “Of form they talked that rose, as if in joy, / Like magic isles from an enchanted foam; / They prophesied (no prophet like a boy) / Some fairer Oxford and some freer Rome ... Faith should have broader brow and bolder ye, / Science sing ‘Angelus’ at close of day ... And ‘Hail the hour,’ they cried, ‘when each high morn, / England, at one, shall stand at the Church gate, / And vesper bells o'er all the land be borne, / And Newman mould the Church and Gladstone stamp the State.’”

First use of “Anglicanism”: Newman in British Critic (24. 61): “The heroine ... after going through the phases of Protestantism ... seeks for something deeper and truer in Anglicanism, or, as Mr. Palmer more correctly speaks in his recent work, Anglo-Catholicism.” Chadwick (Vict. Church) says H. J. Rose’s review of Newman’s Lectures on the Prophetical Office in British Magazine (1837) is first to use “Anglicanism” but in quotation marks. Thus Anglicanism as a word immediately associated with Tractarian and anti-erastian attempt to make the Church of England independent and stress its ancient Catholic source.

Nicholas Wiseman, “The Apostolic Succession,” Dublin Review 4 (April 1838): “Ours was a conservative reform; we pruned away the decayed part; we placed the vessel in the furnace, and, the dross being melted off, we drew it out bright and pure. Yours was radical to the extreme; you tore up entire plants by the roots, because you said there was a blight on some one branch; you threw the whole vessel into the fire, and made merry at its blaze.”

\*\*1839\*\*

Heine, Shakespeares Maedchen und Frauen, trans. by Leland as Heine on Shakespeare a translation of his notes on Shakespeare heroines (1895): “It is lucky for us that Shakespeare came just at the right time ... while Protestantism ... expressed itself in the unbridled freedom of thought which prevailed, but which had not yet entered into life or feeling, and the kingdom of light by the last rays of setting chivalry still bloomed and gleamed in all the glory of poetry. True the popular faith of the middle Ages, or Catholicism, was gone as regarded doctrine, but it existed as yet with all its magic in men’s hearts, and held its own in manners, customs, and views. It was not till later that the Puritans succeeded in

plucking away flower by flower, and utterly rotting up the religion of the past, and spreading over all the land, as with a grey canopy, that dreary sadness which since then ... had diluted itself to a lukewarm ... pietism." Also Heine, Ludwig Börne: A Memorial (1830): 'Shakespeare is at once Jew and Greek; or rather, both elements, spiritualism and art, prevail and are reconciled in him, and unfold a higher unity.'

Cardinal Wiseman in Dublin Review compares Donatists and Anglicans -- which shook Newman. George Spencer, The Great Importance of a Re-union between the Catholics and the Protestants of England, to be achieved through a Crusade of prayer, cited by Newman.

Abbey of St Bernard in Charnwood forest, first Catholic monastery since Reformation, commissioned by Ambrose Phillipps de Lisle, designed by Pugin.

Newman's "The State of Religious Parties" cites Scott ("turned men's mind in the direction of the Middle Ages"), Coleridge (made age interested "in the cause of Catholic truth"), Southey and Wordsworth ("one ... in fantastic fiction, the other in ... philosophical meditation ... addressed themselves to the same high principles and feelings.")

Newman, British Critic article, cited in Apologia, his late Anglican reaction to the Tract 90 controversy: "Evangelical Religion... does but occupy the space between contending powers, Catholic Truth and Rationalism. Then indeed will be the stern encounter, when two real and living principles, simple, entire, and consistent, one in the Church, the other out of it, at length rush upon each other, contending not for names and words, or half-views, but for elementary notions and distinctive moral characters."

## \*\*1840\*\*

Carlyle's "The Hero as Poet," on Shakespeare as the "noblest product" of "Middle-Age Catholicism": "May we not call Shakespeare the still more melodious Priest of a true Catholicism, the 'Universal Church' of the Future and of all times?" "The Hero as Priest" in Heroes and Hero-Worship (1841) celebrates Luther's "Here stand I" as delivering the European world from "stagnant putrescence."

Macaulay's review, "Ranke's History of the Popes": on importance of counter-Reformation, "how it was that the Church of Rome ... actually regained nearly half of what she had lost," though Protestantism made Northern countries prosper: thus reinstated the importance of the Counter-Reformation in English eyes.

Newman in British Critic: "It is a fact ... that Rome has added to the Creed; and it is a fact, however we justify ourselves, that we are estranged from the great body of Christians over the world;" "I began to wish for union between the Anglican Church and Rome ... and I did what I could to gain weekly prayers for that object."

O'Connell, with Young Ireland leaders, Gavan Duffy (Catholic, educated at local Presbyterian academy, boasted he was the "first Catholic emancipated in Ireland") and Thomas Davis (Protestant but promoting religious unity), lead agitation for repeal of union, but great demonstration at Clontarf quashed by Peel in 1843 (O'Connell dies in 1847). Famine begins in 1846, with eventual result that some 2 million emigrate (out of 8,500,000) including my great grandfather. Young Ireland leaders try to take advantage of 1848 risings, but quashed; but beginning of the Fenians, leading to Gladstone 1869 disestablishment of the Irish Protestant Church. Davis sought to relegate belief to private conscience and celebrate "overarching cultural product, 'the nation'", as in ballad, "We heed not blood, nor creed, nor class ... What matter that at different shrines / We pray unto one God ... my dear country shall be made / A NATION ONCE AGAIN"; sought to mobilize "the first duty of an Irish patriot" against English Utilitarian corruption more dangerous "though not so obvious a danger than papal supremacy;" In 1857 Sir Samuel Ferguson proclaimed: "I was an Irishman before I was a Protestant;" sought locus of Irishness in pre-sectarian history, "a green point of neutral ground, where all parties may meet in kindness and part in peace"; insisted Catholics convert to Protestant Enlightenment. "Anglo-Ireland's colonization of a mythic past was a means by which a declining class attempted to preserve for itself a cultural and intellectual position, but at the same time it was an affirmation of aristocratic nobility which scorned ... the Catholic middle class of which Joyce was a product" (Platt, "Voice of Esau," JJQ 1992)

**\*\*1841\*\***

Frederick Oakeley, in The British Critic, influenced by Hurrell Froude, attacked Reformation as “deplorable schism.”

Dickens's Barnaby Rudge, against the anarchy of the Gordon riots, satirizes use of no-popery language as rationale for social chaos; Squire Haredale presented as enlightened Catholic gentleman; final marriage proposes reconciliation of new Protestant and old Catholic. But describes Haredale finally immured in a monastery of “merciless penitence.”

William Harrison Ainsworth's Guy Fawkes, sympathizing with oppressed Catholics. Preface, first sentence: “The tyrannical measures adopted against the Roman Catholics in the early part of the reign of James the First ... have been ... forcibly and faithfully described by Doctor Lingard.” Quotes Lingard long paragraph and concludes: “From this deplorable state of things, which is by no means over-coloured in the above description, sprang the Gunpowder Plot ... In Viviana Radcliffe I have sought to portray the loyal and devout Catholic ... In Catesby, the unscrupulous and ambitious plotter ... under the cloak of religion. In Garnet, the subtle, and yet sincere Jesuit. And in Fawkes the gloom and superstitious enthusiastic. One doctrine I have endeavoured to enforce throughout, --TOLERATION.” Chapter 3: “Among the Popish party of that period, as in our own time, were ranked many of the oldest and most illustrious families in the kingdom,--families not less remarkable for their zeal for their religion than, as has before been observed, for their loyalty ... Plots, indeed, were constantly hatched ... by persons professing the religion of Rome; but in these the mass of the Catholics had no share.” Last page: “Garnet obtained, after death, the distinction he had disclaimed while living. He was enrolled ... among the list of Catholic martyrs. Several miracles are affirmed by the Jesuits to have been performed on his behalf”. Last paragraph: “So terminated the memorable and never-to-be-forgotten Gunpowder Treason, for deliverance from which our church still offers thanksgivings, and in remembrance of which, on the anniversary of its discovery, fagots are collected and bonfires lighted to consume the effigy of the arch-conspirator, GUY FAWKES.”

Also see Ainsworth's Rookwood (1834), and Jacobite novels, James II (1848), Boscobel (1872), etc., also The Tower of London (1841) with fair portrait of Bloody Mary (with Lady Jane as Protestant martyr). Probably always Church of England, he liked “the imaginative freedom of Catholicism” though not papal authority and superstition (S. Carver, Life and Works (2003)).

Martyrs' Memorial constructed at Oxford to defend the Reformation, in reaction against Hurrell's Remains.

Dickens, The Old Curiosity Shop, Nell associated with Catholic images, but Dickens recoils from redemption through suffering? (hmm) (Schiefelbein, 2001).

Wordsworth, “Memorials of a Tour in Italy, 1837” (1837-41) including “Musings near Aquapendente, April, 1837,” “At Albano,” “The Cuckoo at Laverna,” “At Vallombrosa,” “Among the Ruins of a Convent in the Apennines,” on the spiritual power of Italian Catholicism.

Newman: “I saw clearly, that in the history of Arianism, the pure Arians were the Protestants, the semi-Arians were the Anglicans, and that Rome now was what it was then. The truth lay, not with the Via Media, but with what was called ‘the extreme party’.”

Newman, Tract 90 (influenced by Sancta Clara), argues Catholicity of 39 Articles and of Homilies, ends Tracts for the Times. In a letter at the time, Newman wrote: “The age is moving towards something; and most unhappily the one religious communion among us, which has of late years been practically in possession of this something, is the Church of Rome. She alone, amid all the errors and evils of her practical system, has given free scope to the feelings of awe, mystery, tenderness, reverence, devotedness, and other feelings which may be especially called Catholic.”

Cambridge Camden Society published first number of The Ecclesiologist, to promote medieval church architecture as a way of promoting high church religion; thought of themselves as antiquarian, but promoted ritualism.

Frederick Faber, Sights and Thoughts in Foreign Churches, Anglican yearning toward Rome.

“Young England” party established, led by Disraeli, to recover continuity with aristocratic catholic past; supported by Ambrose Phillipps de Lisle. Disraeli would distinguish old loyalist Catholics, loosely tied to Rome, from the radical Tractarian ultra-montagne types. The former illustrate needed loyalty to an older traditional socially responsible society.

Balzac, ‘General Preface’ to La Comédie Humaine; Yeats, “*If I were Four-and-Twenty*” (1919): “*Balzac is the only modern mind which has made a synthesis comparable to that of*

**\*\*1842\*\***

*Dante, and, though certain of his books are on the Index, his whole purpose was to expound the doctrine of his Church as it is displayed, not in decrees and manuals, but in the institutions of Christendom.*” (*Balzac wrote in the robes of a monk*—Wellek.)

Oxford Monument to Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer, in official retort to the Oxford Movement. Faber would write hymn, “Faith of Our Fathers,” often sung by Protestants but omitting key Catholic verse: “Faith of our fathers, Mary’s prayers / Shall win our country back to thee; / And through the truth that comes from God / England shall then indeed be free.” (see Hopkins below). Tennyson’s “Morte d’Arthur,” reviewed by John Sterling: “The poem might perhaps have made the loss of the magic sword, the death of Arthur, and dissolution of the round Table, a symbol for the departure from earth of the whole old Gothic world, with its half-pagan, all-poetic faith, and rude yet mystic blazonries,” but Tennyson is nervous about this conclusion, and concedes to modernism with “God fulfills himself in many ways.”

*Jaime Balmes, Protestantism and Catholicity Compared in their Effects on the Civilization of Europe, on disintegrative effect of Protestantism, exalts medieval universities; contra Guizot’s General History of Civilization in Europe, that Catholicism retards progress.*

\*\*1843\*\*

Carlyle, Past and Present, contrasting soulless industrialism with monastic work and spirituality; book 2, “The Ancient Monk,” celebrates Abbot Samson of St. Edmundsbury monastery, identity of work and prayer (“Laborare est Orare ... older than all preached Gospels,” instinctive faith shaping all aspects of life, vs. modern “diseased self-introspection, an agonizing inquiry,” vs. modern papacy with its “phantasmagoria of wax-candles, organ-blasts, Gregorian chants, mass-brayings, purple monsignori”) (thus, Carlyle no Anglo-Catholic) (Pope imagined saying: “Under this my ... beautiful wax-light Phantasmagory, kindly hidden from you is an Abyss, of Black Doubt, Scepticism, nay Sansculottic Jacobinism; an Orcus that has no bottom”); a model for reorganizing modern society by captains of industry (“a noble Master, among noble Workers”). Kingsley: monasticism “was all but inconceivable to us till Mr. Carlyle disinterred it in his picture of Abbot Sampson” (qu. Morris, 1984).

John Mason Neale, Ayton Priory, novel, notes: “Sacrilege has always been regarded by the Church as one of the blackest sins, and the curse by which every religious foundation was guarded has followed the spoilers and their descendants.”

Ruskin, Modern Painters (vol. 2 in 1846, vols. 3, 4 in 1856, vol. 5 in 1860). Vol. 3: “whereas all the pleasure of the medieval was in stability, definiteness, and luminousness;” our poetry emphasizes “easily encouraged doubt, easily excited curiosity, habitual agitation, and delight in the changing and the marvellous, as opposed to the old quiet serenity of social custom and religious faith;” “those among us who may be said to believe, are divided ... into ... Romanist and Puritan,” each out to destroy the other; so that “nearly all our powerful men in this age of the world are unbelievers;” complains about Scott’s “incapacity of steady belief in anything,” and moderns “habit of looking back, in a romantic and passionate idleness, to the past ages, not understanding them all the while, nor really desiring to understand them.” Vol. 5: “Up to the time of the Reformation it was possible for men even of the highest powers of intellect to obtain a tranquillity of faith, in the highest degree favorable to the pursuit of any particular art;” “Then rising between the infancy of Reformation, and the palsy of Catholicism; -- between a new shell of half-built religion on one side, daubed with untempered mortar, and a falling ruin of outward religion on the other, lizard-crannied, and ivy-grown; -- rose, on its independent foundation, the faithless and materialized mind of modern Europe.”

Dickens, A Christmas Carol: Preface: “I have endeavoured in this Ghostly little book, to rise the Ghost of an Idea, which shall not put my readers out of humour with themselves ... May it haunt their house pleasantly, and no one wish to lay it.” Dead Marley compared to ghost of King Hamlet. Scrooge: “every idiot who goes about with ‘Merry Christmas,’ on his lips, should be boiled ... and buried with a stake of holly through his heart.” Capitalist Scrooge like late Puritan banning Christmas (Scrooge’s room built by ancient Dutch merchant, who tiled with illustrations from Bible (not saints, etc.). The Dantesque ghost of Marley, “doomed to wander through the world ... and witness what it cannot share, but might have shared,” followed by ghost of Christmas past, with branch of green holly; ghost of Christmas present like jolly green giant (out of medieval tales); talk of penance and repentance, intercession (by the Spirits), veneration and Gothic church, old bells, Christmas is associated with cakes and ale, old jollity, Spanish onions

(like fat “Spanish friars”), French plums, etc. A few months later, Dickens dreams of Mary Hogarth as a Madonna, dreams of praying to her. “Dickens: ‘But answer me one other question! What is the True religion? You think, as I do, that the Form of religion does not so greatly matter, if we try to do good? Or perhaps the Roman Catholic is the best? Perhaps it make one think of God oftener, and believe in him more steadily?’ The Spirit: ‘For you, it is the best.’ Soon however, Dickens’s vaguely evangelical broad church objection to papism would resume.

Kierkegaard *Either/Or* (trans. 1944); volume 2, “*The whole world is a dead world for the mystic, he has fallen in love with God ... It is especially as a husband, as a father, that I am an enemy of mysticism ... it is the duty of every man to marry,*” i.e. choose oneself in this life ethically, realizing the universal in this given human life [like Kingsley against Newman]. “*In the Middle Ages they thought that in choosing the cloister a man chose the extraordinary ... at so cheap a price*”; but then Kierkegaard ends by defending the man (himself) who suffers because he cannot realize the universal and must choose celibacy; thus opens the way to more sympathetic view of cloister in *Fear and Trembling*.

Kierkegaard *Fear and Trembling* trans. Lowrie (1941): (from Problem 1) “Who was ever so great as that blessed woman, the Mother of God, the Virgin Mary? [compared to Abraham] ... the angel came only to Mary, and no one could understand her ... Nevertheless, when she says, ‘Behold the handmaid of the Lord’—then she is great, and I think it will not be found difficult to explain why she became the Mother of God.” Lowrie note: “It would be interesting and edifying to make an anthology of the passages in which S.K. speaks of the Blessed Virgin; for surely no Protestant was ever so much engrossed in this theme, and perhaps no Catholic has appreciated more profoundly the unique position of Mary.” (from Problem 3) “it is not the highest thing to enter the monastery; but for all that it is by no means my opinion that in our age when nobody enters the monastery everybody is greater than the deep and earnest souls who found repose in a monastery ... The man who has performed the cloister-movement has only one movement more to make, that is, the movement of the absurd.”

Hecker’s Journal: “Catholicism is solidarity; Protestantism is individuality. What we want, and are tending to, is what shall unite them both.”

Marx and Engels, *On Religion, as “the opium of the people.”*

W. G. Ward continued Oakeley’s attack (see 1841) in The Ideal of a Christian Church: “the Roman Church seems an admirable model for our imitation ... we should be taught from above ... to repent in sorrow and bitterness of heart our great sin in deserting her communion.”

Lady Georgiana Fullerton, Ellen Middleton, on longing for confession within Anglican Church.

Browning’s “The Bishop Orders His Tomb at Saint Praxed’s Church”: on the bishops skepticism, materialism, and idolatry of the material (artistic) object: is Browning’s ambivalence like Milton’s? (see Yeats, 1919).

Samuel Rowley Maitland, The Dark Ages: Essays Illustrating the State of Religion and Literature in the Ninth, Tenth, Eleventh, and Twelfth Centuries 1889. Classic pioneering revisionist history. (Reprinted from The British Magazine 1835-38)

Disraeli, Coningsby, sympathetic portrait of landowner Eustace Lyle, based on Catholic Ambrose Phillipps de Lisle (converted 1825).

The Lives of the English Saints Written by Various Hands at the Suggestion of John Henry Newman (1844-45). Newman: “the series ‘might’ serve to make us love our country better, and on truer grounds than before; to teach us to invest her territory, her cities and villages, her hills and spring with sacred associations; to give us an insight into her present historical position in the course of the Divine Dispensation; to instruct us in the capabilities of the English character; and to open upon us the duties and the hope to which that Church is heir, which was in former times the Mother of St. Boniface and St. Ethelreda.”

Novalis, Christianity or Europe, trans. John Dalton, orig. 1799: Novalis imagines a new truly Catholic church to restore Europe whose medieval cultural, social, and intellectual unity had been destroyed by the Reformation and the Enlightenment. Begins: “Those were bright,

\*\*\*1844\*\*\*

*glorious times, when Europe formed but one Christian land; when one Christianity dwelt throughout the civilized part of the world, and one great mutual interest bound together the most remote provinces of this wide spiritual empire.*" Protestants "introduced many laudable changes ... but ... forgot the necessary result ... they separated the inseparable, they divided the indivisible, Church ... thus religion lost her great political peace-making influence." Protestant religion now reduced to the stark "barren contents" of the Bible, divorced from "the rich material of Catholic faith." There will be coming synthesis of "old and new world": "on the one side we see respect of antiquity, attachment to spiritual institutions ... and the joy of obedience; on the other, a rapturous feeling for liberty is visible, an unlimited expectation of a more extensive sphere of action, and a love for novelty ... a satisfaction in the enjoyment of personal right ... in a powerful desire for nationality;" "the existence of the Church will be true liberty; and, under her guidance, every necessary reformation will be carried on, as a proper and friendly state process."—essay satirized by Schelling poem, Heinz Widerporst; recelebrated by G. Vattimo, After Christianity (2002).

Brownson converts to Catholicism.

Hecker houses with Thoreaus in Concord and converts to Catholicism. Hecker to Thoreau in July : "I shall claim you all [Thoreau family] as good Catholics, for she claims 'all baptized infants, all innocent children of every religious denomination; and all grown-up Christians who have preserved their baptismal innocence, though they make no outward profession to the Catholic faith.' Thoreau replies, declining pilgrimage to European shrines: "I remember you, as it were, with the whole Catholic church at your skirts. And the other day, for a moment, I think I understood your relation to that body; but the thought was gone again in a twinkling." In 1847 Hecker will write to Thoreau: "Though ... within [Redemptorist] cloistered walls in my cell I am infinitely freer than I was when breathing the air on Concord cliffs ... We don't want the middle ages, but we want its inspiration. It is here my friend, it is here. Mon Dieu could you see & feel it once."

## \*\*1845\*\*

Newman converts to Catholicism: "Before I got to the end [of Development of Doctrine], I resolved to be received." Oxford's condemnation of Ward's Ideal (see 1844), and Newman's conversion, provokes crisis of Oxford Movement. On occasion of conversion, Newman writes a friend (Jan. 20, 1846): "You may think how lonely I am. 'Obliviscere populum tuum et domum patris tui, has been in my ears for the last twelve hours [Psalm 44, "Forget ... thine own people and thy father's house"]. I realize that we are leaving Littlemore, and it is like going on the open sea.'" "It is impossible to describe the enormous effect produced in the academical and clerical world, I may say throughout England, by one man's changing his religion" (Mark Pattison, Memoirs of an Oxford Don (1885)). Pusey spoke of the conversion as "perhaps the greatest event that has happened since the communion of the churches has been interrupted ... If anything could open their eyes to what is good in us, or soften in us any wrong prejudices against them, it would be the presence of such a one, nurtured and grown to ripeness in our church, and now removed to theirs" (Strange, JHN: A Mind Alive)

Maynooth question, crisis over English subsidy to Maynooth College which trained Irish Catholic priests.

Disraeli, Sybil, on monastic social stability, English catholics as patriotic; Sybil, whose ancestors owned Marney Abbey, longs "to see the people once more kneel before our blessed Lady" ; Egremont: "I encountered her like a spirit amid the ruins of our abbey. And I am one of 'the family of sacrilege.' If she knew that!" Catholic Sybil and noble landowner Egremont will eventually marry, as a synthesis. Sybil: "The monks were ... in every district a point of refuge for all who needed succour, counsel, and protection; a body of individuals having no cares of their own, with wisdom to guide the inexperienced, with wealth to relieve the suffering, and often with power to protect the oppressed." Disraeli disliked Oxford movement for paying too little attention to English patriotic history (Claussen); thus critiqued flight to Rome in Lothair (see below, 1870). Rich and poor, divided as "two nations," because of loss of Church bridging gap. Unclear whether Sybil remains Roman Catholic at end?

Margaret Fuller, Woman in the Nineteenth Century: "No figure ... has been

received with more fervent reverence than that of the Madonna." On the unmarried: "The person may gain, undistracted by other relationships, a closer communion with the one. Such a use is made of it by saints and sybils. Or she may be one of the lay sisters of charity, a canoness, bound by an inward vow ... she may, by steadfast contemplation entering into the secret of truth and love, use it for the use of all men, instead of a chosen few." But Fuller said in 1870 "the Roman Catholic religion must go" (D'Agostino, Rome in America, 30).

*Wagner, Tannhäuser, first performed: Tannhäuser, grown weary of Venus's erotic rites, calls on Mary, makes penitential pilgrimage to Rome. Elizabeth prays to Mary for Tannhäuser, and dies. Ends with miracle of Pope's staff bursting into bloom, as sign of forgiveness of Tannhäuser.*

Anon, "Tractarianism and Mr. Ward" (Dolman's Magazine), against the Tractarians, claimed that the "assumption of the name 'Catholic,' [was] of very recent date."

Frederick Douglas, Life of an American Slave: compares black and Irish struggle, praises Daniel O'Connell and Sheridan's speeches for Catholic emancipation. (Giles 42-3).

Brownson, "Native Americanism," Brownson Quarterly Review (July) urged Catholics to seek to be American.

#### \*\*1846\*\*

*Johann Döllinger's The Reformation, 3 vols, 1846-8; stressed chaos in Germany due to Reformation; but Döllinger would be excommunicated over papal infallibility.*

De Vere to Sara Coleridge: "That unlucky phrase via media ... is working against us [the Catholic leaning party], and prevents us from seeing that Catholicism occupies the whole ground both of Protestantism and Romanism, and reconciles whatever each holds of positive Doctrine. I wish you would write an essay on Newman's book. I agree with him more than anyone else, but have thought always that he lacked precision, and hardly recognized the fact that the Church is not an Idea, but rather the living Law represented by that Idea."

US Bishops make Mary, under title of Immaculate Conception, the patroness of the United States; ratified by Pope Pius IX in 1847; Immaculate Conception proclaimed dogma in 1854.

#### \*\*1847\*\*

Lady Georgiana Fullerton (now a Catholic convert), Grantley Manor, on two sisters, Protestant and Catholic.

Elizabeth Harris, From Oxford to Rome (followed by Rest in the Church 1848), split between Anglican and Roman yearning.

Elizabeth Sewell (Anglo-Catholic), Margaret Percival, though attack on Rome, contrasts peaceful Roman Catholic churches (with parishioners "absorbed in devotion") with distracting home life: "We live in an age when the unity of the Church of Christ is considered unattainable ... We have even ceased to lament over its absence; and the greatness of our loss is seldom understood or appreciated till we find ourselves in a foreign country shut out in spirit from the temples which ought to open to us as our homes."

Frances Trollope's Father Eustace: A Tale of the Jesuits; sinister Jesuit sent to seduce and ruin girl so she will repair to a convent, and give her property to the Church, etc.; novel explores her Catholic sensibilities; Eustace leaves Jesuits. Mrs. Trollope's admiration of quasi-Catholic duty, in conflict with her love of individualism (Schiefelbein, 2001): tries to reconcile the two.

Trollope describes "the Church [of England] in the lull between the Oxford movement and the modern High Anglican energy" (G. K. Chesterton, The Victorian Age in Literature).

Longfellow (the ultimate patriotic poet, viz. "Paul Revere's Ride"), Evangeline, A Tale of Acadie (6 edns. in 3 months), astonishing Catholic pastoral romance, portraying an idyllic French Acadian setting with Catholic culture intermixed with nature: "Many a youth, as he knelt in church and opened his missal, / Fixed his eyes upon her as the saint of his deepest devotion"; led by Father Felician; "Then followed that beautiful season, / Called by the pious Acadian peasants the Summer of All-Saints!" Her father sings songs once sang in "their Norman orchards and bright Burgundian vineyards"; Evangeline's loom accompanies the song, "As in a church, when the chant of the choir at intervals ceases, / Footfall are heard in the aisles, or words of the priest at the altar". Then, after the French and Indian war,

comes the expulsion by the British [replicating Reformation England], then the wandering of Acadians and Evangeline seeking her lost lover, Gabriel, deep into the bayou of French Catholic Louisiana, near New Orleans, and travelling over the west and midwest: wandering, in a natural world, where “the manifold flowers of the garden / Poured out their souls in odors, that were their prayers and confessions / Unto the night, as it went its way, like a silent Carthusian, / Fuller of fragrance than they, and as heavy with shadows and night-dews, / Hung the heart of the maiden”: a travelogue Catholicizing America. Thus in Bayou, “the towering and tenebrous boughs of the cypress / Meet in a dusky arch, and trailing mosses in mid-air / Wave like banners that hang on the walls of ancient cathedrals” [Ruskinian]. They come to rural chapel presided over by kindly Jesuit missionary: “Aloft, through, the intricate arches / Of its aerial roof, arose the chant of their vespers, / Mingling its notes with the soft susurrus and sighs of the branches.” And then to Philadelphia (“And her ear was pleased with the Thee and Thou of the Quakers”) where Evangeline becomes a “Sister of Mary” (“Gleams of celestial light encircle her forehead with splendor, / Such as the artist paints o'er the brows of saints and apostles”) and has last meeting in hospital with Gabriel (“Under the humble walls of the little Catholic churchyard, / In the heart of the city, they lie, unknown and unnoticed”): thus the colonization of American by a hidden romantic Catholicism. (Also see Franchot discussion, 1994). (But Eden Wales thinks this more like a Quaker community “where all were equal,” than a hierarchical Catholic community.) Basil the blacksmith, in Louisiana, argues: “Welcome once more to a home, that is better perchance than the old one! ... No King George of England shall drive you away” [consider Toquevillian Catholicism]. Evangeline “sustained by a vision,” sermonized by Jesuit missionary priest in Ozarks who counsels patience: “The blossoms of passion ... are ... full of fragrance, / But they beguile us;” in Philadelphia she achieves a more transcendent love, “Gabriel was not forgotten. Within her heart was his image ... Only more beautiful made by his death-like silence and absence ... he was not changed by transfigured”; “Thus many years she lived as a Sister of Mercy”; reunited at his deathbed, “Father, I thank thee.” “Side by side, in their nameless graves, the lovers are sleeping, / Under the humble walls of the little Catholic graveyard.” Her story often told, “While from its rocky caverns the deep-voiced, neighboring ocean / Speaks, and in accents disconsolate answers the wail of the forest,” final 2 lines, background of naturalism. Also see Longfellow’s short poem, “The Bells of San Blas”: “What say the bells ... They are a voice of the past ... When the flag of Spain unfurled ... And the Priest was lord of the land ... ‘Is then the old faith dead,’ / They say, ‘and in its stead / Is some new faith proclaimed ... The saints! Ah, have they grown forgetful of their own ... Oh, bring us back once more / The vanished days of yore, When the world with faith was filled’ ... O Bells of San Blas, in vain / Ye call back the Past /// Out of the shadows of night / The world rolls into light; / It is daybreak everywhere”. Also, “Amalfi”: “Sweet is the memory to me / Of a land beyond the sea ... Lord of vineyards and of lands, / Far above the convent stands. / On its terrace walk aloof / Leans a monk with folded hands. / Placid, satisfied, serene, / Looking down upon the scene ... Where are now ... the knights in iron barks / Journeying to the Holy Land ... Where the pilgrims with their prayers? ... This is an enchanted land! .... Comes this vision unto me / Of a long-lost Paradise / In the land beyond the sea.” (c. 1844 in Philadelphia, there was a famous three day riot against papists.) Written in imitation of classical hexameters. See Andrew Higgins, “Evangeline’s Mission: Anti-Catholicism, Nativism, and Unitarianism in Longfellow’s *Evangeline*,” Religion and the Arts (2009) on Longfellow unitarianizing Catholicism (i.e. stripped of hierarchy).

Sophia Ripley (Catholic convert), to Longfellow in 1848: “You will forgive it to the fanaticism of a newly received child of the church, if I say that the tribute of devotion you have offered to this our Holy Mother by the expression of our Catholic sympathies seems to me to have been repaid to you by a deeper inspiration than

your Muse had ever before received" (qu. Franchot 206).

Brownson, "Religious Novels" (Brownson's Quarterly Review): "There is a deep melancholy that settles upon the world as it withdraws from Catholicity. All Protestant nations are sad" (qu. Franchot).

Thomas Upham, Life and Religious ... Experience of .... Madame de la ... Guyon; Together with ... Religious Opinions of Fenelon; key work in introducing popularizing Guyon and Fénelon in U.S.: influences Methodists, Pietists and holiness movements. Upham's books "bridge the chasm between Christian piety and transcendentalism" (Timothy Smith, Revivalism and Social Reform, qu. Ward 406). See Patricia Ward, Experiential Theology in America (Baylor, 2009); also on Fénelon's influence on Emerson, Stowe, Bushnell, Whittier, on to the Holiness movement, Pentecostalism, and the Catholic charismatics; on "how popular evangelical Protestantism continue to make use of Catholic authors, adapting them to its own ends" (187) Guyon's Life, trans. Brooke, and Poems, trans. Cowper, pub. in 1804, many editions of both thereafter; Short and Easy Method of Prayer, trans. Brooke?, trans. 1789; Anon. Life and some works pub. 1750. See Stendhal, Rouge et Noir (1830), for praise of Fénelon in last chapters, i.e. the God of forgiveness ("Voltaire's God, just kind, and infinite") vs. "the God of the Christians ... full of vengeance;" also Rousseau, Reveries ... Third Walk.

Ellery Channing, Conversations in Rome: Between an Artist, a Catholic, and a Critic, "to introduce several sides without opposition", each speaking their discordant claims (Franchot), illustrating "Channing's internalization of Rome as Transcendentalist romance" (Franchot). The "Critic" paralyzed by skepticism is cowed by the lyrical transcendence of the Catholic. "The self does not move toward the sacred but wrests it from its European context and internalizes it as the property of the romantic imagination, thus transforming the pluralist model of 'conversation' into the politics of an imperial, if lonely imagination."

\*\*1848\*\*

Halliwell-Phillipps publishes Davies's 1688 note that "Shakespeare dyed a papist."

Newman's Loss and Gain, answering Harris's novel of 1847. Protestant Sheffield to Charles Reading: "how an Englishman, a gentleman, a man here at Oxford, with all his advantages, can so eat dirt, scraping and picking up all the dead lies of the dark ages -- it's a miracle."

Marx and Engels, The Communist Manifesto: "All fixed, fast-frozen relations, with their train of ancient and venerable prejudices and opinions are swept away, all new-formed ones become antiquated before they can ossify. All that is solid melts into air, all that is holy is profaned, and men at last are forced to face ... the real condition of their lives and their relations with their fellow men." "The bourgeoisie, wherever it has got the upper hand, has put an end to all feudal, patriarchal, idyllic relations. It has pitilessly torn asunder the motley feudal ties that bound man to his natural superiors, and has left remaining no other nexus between man and man than naked self-interest, than callous cash-payment. It has drowned the most heavenly ecstasies of religious fervour, of chivalrous enthusiasm, of philistine sentimentalism, in the icy water of egotistical calculation. It has resolved personal worth into exchange value, and in place of the numerous indefeasible chartered freedoms, has set up that single unconscionable freedom—Free Trade"

Sophia Ripley (convert), letter: "I often mentioned ... the coldness of heart of Protestantism ... I saw that all through my life my ties with others were those of the intellect & imagination & not warm human heart ties; that I do not love anyone & never did" (qu. Franchot). Franchot: this evokes the fear of coldness, in Hawthorne, Melville's Bartleby the Scrivener, "and Emerson's repudiation of corpse-cold Unitarianism and his own ... emotional numbness in his essay 'Experience'" (Franchot). Bishop Hughes consoled Ripley: we are told to love "Not with the heart you have not my child, but with the heart you have. Such states of mind are wholly independent of ourselves ... This heart of yours is a cross which you must patiently bear [like St. Teresa] ... What could be more cold than the [gospel] narration itself. The narrators did not feel it in its fullness. They relate it

as they would something they met at crossing of the road. Did you never notice this? Go to the communion, my child, in peace" (Franchot)

James Fennimore Cooper, The Oak Openings: "Romanists abound, and spots that, half a century since, appeared to be the most improbable places in the world to admit of the rites of the priests of Rome, now hear the chants and prayers of the mass-books. All this shows a tendency to that great commingling of believers, which is doubtless to precede the final fusion of sects, and the predicted end." "Cooper's observation is not far from today's best eschatological ecumenicism, and some time he will receive his due" (E. Fussell, 1993)

#### **\*\*1849\*\***

Clough's Amours de Voyage: "Luther was unwise ... [overcame the Renaissance and made Theology once again] flood upon Europe" but worse came with Ignatius who "fanaticised Europe;" Rome is full of "metallic beliefs and regimental devotions;" but later "Alba, thou hauntest me still. Is it religion? ... or is it a vain superstition?"

Ruskin, The Seven Lamps of Architecture; tries to separate medieval art from Catholic belief, and see in it nascent Protestant Christianity; anti-papist attacks (note 1, the Romanist Church's "lying and idolatrous Power is the darkest plague that ever held commission to hurt the Earth") removed in 1880 edn.

#### **\*\*1850\*\***

James Spedding, "Who wrote Shakespeare's Henry VIII?" (Gentleman's Magazine): divides up the authorship of the play, developing Malone's earlier argument.

"Papal Aggression," PM Russell's phrase to describe Pius IX in 1850 dividing England into Catholic dioceses, re-establishing the Catholic hierarchy of England, and laying a new hierarchical map of its dioceses over England. Pope also announced that Wiseman was to be Archbishop of Westminster! Appointing a Catholic archbishop for Westminster "was certainly a bold move ... also a very shrewd one. It was proof positive that English Catholics, as well as Irish Catholics, were not going to behave any more as mice in the woodwork" (Adrian Hastings, Church and State: The English Experience 1991) Rome insisted that the new ecclesiastical titles did not violate 1829 emancipation act, thus avoid titles used by Church of England, not be passed while Parliament was sitting (Chadwick, Victorian Church). (Irish immigration swelled from 284,000 in 1847 to 758,000 in 1851.)

Sara Coleridge to Henry Reed: "I rejoiced in the anti-papal demonstration ... what has taken place proves, and will show the Romanists and Romanizers that there is a deep-seated and wide-spread aversion to popery in this fair realm of England ... the natural and necessary enemy to liberty in all times and in every place" (Memoir and Letters 473).

Milnes, Lord Houghton, Monographs Personal and Social (1873): The Papal Aggression controversy drove Catholics out of public life, "embittered the fair discussion of questions in which the discipline and the customs of the Roman Catholic Church come into contact either with the moral prejudices or the intellectual pretensions of their Protestant fellow-countrymen ... dissociated the leading Catholics in England from those liberal traditions which, if unbroken, might now enable them to do a signal service to their age and their religion, by making them the mediators between the providential necessities of the fruitful present and the deep-rooted associations of decaying systems."

Wiseman's pastoral letter "from out of the Flaminian Gate," [i.e. northern gate in Rome] An Appeal to the Reason and Good Feeling of the English People on the Subject of the Catholic Hierarchy: "An agitation, perhaps unparalleled in our times, has been raised by the constitution of a Catholic Hierarchy in this island. Its violence has been that of a whirlwind ..." "the Bishops looked upon it, not as a matter or triumph, or a measure of aggression, but as a simply administrative provision, necessary for the government of their flocks." Oath of Supremacy impossible because "the acknowledgement of, and subject to, this spiritual supremacy was incompatible with the doctrine and belief of Catholics all over the world; namely, that there are no such things as national, or separate churches; but only one true Catholic, or universal church ..." The C of E can retain Westminster Abbey and its wealth; the RC wants only the poor miserable people in the environs. "I am invested with a purely ecclesiastical dignity ... I have no secular or temporal delegation whatever." Wiseman always looked to a union of the churches.

Newman, Certain Difficulties Felt by Anglicans in Submitting to the Catholic Church (Anglican

Difficulties), expanded in 1879, 1876: “the [church] Establishment, whatever it is be in the eyes of men, whatever its temporal greatness and its secular prospects, in the eyes of faith is a mere wreck.” R. H. Hutton: “The Lectures on Anglican Difficulties was the first book generally read, amongst Protestants, in which the measure of his literary power could be adequately taken … Here was a great subject … opening a far greater range to his singular genius for gentle and delicate irony than anything he had hitherto written;” “When Newman at last made up his mind to join the Church of Rome his genius bloomed out with a force and freedom such as he never displayed in Anglican Communion”, qu. in De Vere, “Some Recollections of Cardinal Newman,” Nineteenth Century 40 (1896); “the only book by Newman which many Anglicans found it impossible to forgive” (Chadwick, Victorian Church); “ill-advised” (Q. D. Leavis); lectures attended by Thackeray and Charlotte Brontë.

Gorham judgment, Privy Council decision to make Gorham Bishop, thus overturning Anglican Church decision against Gorham because he said Infant Baptism was not valid just in itself but required prevenient grace. Showed governmental Privy Council as ultimate authority over C of E. Convinced Manning to leave Anglican Church.

Wordsworth’s Prelude: that Chartreuse should remain inviolate.

George Townsend, Anglican clergyman, journeys to Italy with the intention of converting Pope Pius IX to unity with Protestantism; see his Journal of a Tour in Italy (1850); satirized by Ronald Knox in “The Man Who Tried to Convert the Pope,” Literary Distractions (1958).

Carlyle, “The Present time” (1850) in Latter-Day Pamphlets (1850): “Not long ago [1846], the world saw, with thoughtless joy which have been very thoughtful joy, a real miracle not heretofore considered possible or conceivable in the world,—a Reforming Pope [Pius IX]. A simple pious creature, a good country-priest, invested unexpectedly with the tiara, takes up the New Testament, declare that his henceforth shall be his rule for governing … God’s truth shall be spoken … on the throne called of St. Peter: an honest Pope, Papa, or Father of Christendom, shall preside there … By the rule of veracity, the so-called throne of St. Peter was openly declared, above three-hundred years ago, to be a falsity… ‘Reforming Pope?’ said one of our acquaintance, often in those weeks, ‘Was there every such a miracle? … Reform a Popedom,—hardly. A wretched old kettle, ruined form top to bottom, and confident mainly now of foul grime and rust … it will fall to shreds, as sure as rust is rust.’” This promise of papal reform inspired others, like the revolutions in Italy. At end of same volume, “Jesuitism” (1850): Ignatius rose to defense of a false Church and unreal dogmatic Heaven, thus imitating an era of lies (“no man speaks the truth to you or to himself”) creating “this black deluge of Consecrated Falsity.”

Hawthorne, The Scarlet Letter compares “Hester Prynne’s abandoned Elizabethan world of aesthetic richness to Catholicism” (Franchot xxii); her stigmata, and ornamentation. “Had there been a Papist among the crowds of Puritans, he might have seen in this beautiful woman … an object to remind him of the image of Divine maternity” (qu. Franchot). Like a “Sister of Mercy” (compare Evangeline)—“the scarlet letter had the effect of the cross on a nun’s bosom” (qu. Franchot).

About 3/4 million Catholics in England, according to Bossy.

\*\*1851\*\*

Newman’s The Present Position of Catholics in England: “the only wonder is that she has to be killed so often, and the life so often to be trodden out of her, and her priests and doctors to be so often put down, and her monks and nuns to be exposed, so often, and such vast sums to be subscribed by Protestants … in order thoroughly, and once for all, and for the very last time, and for ever and ever, to annihilate her once more;” “What need of controversy to refute the claims of Catholicism … when under a Queen’s smile this vast and continuous Tradition had been unrolled before the eyes of men, luminous with the most dazzling colours, and musical with the most subduing strains?” “Protestantism is synonymous with good sense, and Catholicism with weakness of mind, fanaticism, or some unaccountable persuasion or fancy.” “No wonder, then, that Protestantism, being the religion of our literature, is become the Tradition of civil intercourse and political life; no wonder that its assumptions are among the elements of knowledge, unchangeable as the moods of logic, or the idioms of language, or their injunctions of good taste;” “it is the incubism of this Tradition, which cumbers the land, and opposes an impregnable barrier between us and each individual Protestant whom we happen to address;” “its especial duty as a religious body, is not to inculcate any particular theological system, but to watch over the anti-Catholic Tradition, to preserve it from rust and decay, to keep it bright and keen, and ready for

action on any emergency or peril.” “The Maker of all, and only He, can shiver in pieces, this vast enchanted palace in which our lot is cast;” “What are the things that so offend ... It is the whole system of Catholicism; our miracles, and our relics, and our legends of saints; and then our doctrine of indulgences, and our purgatory; and our views of sin, and of the merit of celibacy; our strange formalities in worship ...” “When she had thus beaten the breath out of us, and made us ridiculous, she put us on our feet again, thrust us into a chair, hoisted us up aloft, and carried us about as a sort of Guy Faux, to show to all the boys and riff-raff of the town what a Papist was like;” “as English is the natural tongue, so Protestantism is the intellectual and moral language of the body politic.” Newman’s portrait of insular Englishman forecasts Dickens’s Podsnap in Our Mutual Friend (1865) (Ker, Achievement of JHN; “a neglected satirical masterpiece”). George Eliot found the lectures “full of clever satire;” Döllinger translated it into German. Newman considered it his “best written book.”

Ecclesiastical Titles Bill, forbidding Catholics to establish bishoprics -- never enforced.

Ruskin, The Stones of Venice (-1853); at best medieval workmen were creative and detailed, because supported by faith and authority. Venetian decline in art and religion began in 1418, resulting eventually in the Reformation which however threw out the art, which may have caused the stalling of the Reformation; we must see the “Christian” power in medieval art, and not be put off by the Romanism. “Shall we not ... find that Romanism ... has never shown itself capable of a single great conception since the separation of Protestantism from its side.” Indeed Romanist may sometimes be more truly religious than us. “The Protestant Spirit of self-dependence and inquiry was expressed in every line;” “It seems to be only modern Protestantism which is entirely ashamed of all symbols and words that appear in anywise like a confession of faith.” On the Reformation: “On one side stood the reanimated faith, in its right hand the book open ... On the other stood, or seemed to stand, all beloved custom and believed tradition ... the choice must have been a bitter one, even at the best.” Protestantism drove Romanism into rigid definitions of what had been “little more than floating errors.” “Multitudes of minds which in other ages might have brought honor and strength to the Church, preaching the more vital truths which it still retained, were now occupied in pleading for arraigned falsehood;” “nor ... was ... Protestantism ... less injurious to itself ... Forced by the Romanist contumely into habits of irreverence, the self-trusting, rashly-reasoning spirit gained ground ... the miracles of the early Church were denied and its martyrs forgotten ... it became impossible even for the best and truest men to know the plague of their own hearts.” More on “The Nature of Gothic: “The good in it, the life of it, the veracity and liberty of it, such as it has, are Protestantism in its heart; the rigidity and saplessness are the Romanism of it”; this Ruskin justifying his love of Gothic by Protestantizing it (Rosenberg) “Which of us shall say that there may not be a spiritual worship in their apparent idolatry, or that there is not a spiritual idolatry in our own apparent worship? ... the point where simple reverence and the use of the image merely to render conception more vivid, and feeling more intense, change into definite idolatry by the attribution of Power to the image itself, is so difficultly determinable that we cannot be too cautious in asserting that such a change has actually taken place in the case of any individual. Even when it is definite and certain, we shall oftener find it the consequence of dulness of intellect than of real alienation of heart from God; and I have no manner of doubt that half of the poor and untaught Christians who are this day lying prostrate before crucifixes, Bambinos, and Volto Santos, are finding more acceptance with God, than many Protestants who idolize nothing but their own opinions.”

Arnold, “Dover Beach” (c. 1851, pub. 1867) The “Sea of Faith ... at the full, and round earth’s shore ... like the folds of a bright girdle furl’d,” articulates opening scene “The tide is full ... on the French coast the light / Gleams and is gone; the cliffs of England stand, / Glimmering and Vast,” this European unity of nations and faith, now being lost in the “melancholy, long, withdrawing roar ... down the vast edges drear / And naked shingles of the world,” now a “darkling plain ... Where ignorant armies clash by night.”

Wilkie Collins, Rambles Beyond Railways 1851: describes St. Cleer’s (Clare’s) holy well in Cornwall, where children were once baptized: “These were the ceremonies of an ancient church, whose innocent and reverent custom was to connect closer together the beauty of Nature and the beauty of Religion, by such means as the consecration of a spring, or the erection of a roadside cross. There has been something of sacrifice as well as of glory, in the effort by which we, in our time, have freed ourselves from what was superstitious and tyrannical in the faith of the times of

old-- it has cost us the loss of much of the better part of that faith which was not superstition." Also complex portrait of "The Nuns of Mawgan." In 1850 Collins's early novel, Antonina, contrasts Numerian's gloomy evangelical code to Ulpius's pagan religion which parallels Roman Catholicism's aesthetic appeal (Wilkie contra his evangelical father).

Harriet Martineau destroys ms. of a novel that Smith, Elder rejected "on account of some favourable representations and auguries on behalf of Catholics" (Autobiography 2.64-5). (Charlotte Brontë loved the novel but disagreed with the high opinion of Catholicism).

Noah Porter, of Yale University: "To those who, like ourselves, look upon the Romish system as a system of dangerous and fatal error, as a monstrous incubus, stifling and oppressing the Gospel of Christ, no place can be so dangerous to the young as a Jesuit college, every exercise of which is made to assume a religious aspect, and to exert a religious influence."

Melville, Moby Dick; many Catholic refs., see notes.

Longfellow, The Golden Legend, modeled after 14<sup>th</sup> century Voragine. Intended to be middle part of a presentation of "the various aspect of Christianity in the Apostolic, Middle, and Modern Ages" (Arvin). Tells story of Prince Henry, who needs maiden to die for him to save his life, but after pilgrimage with her to Salerno refuses deal, and marries her [overcoming a medieval superstition?]. Opens with scene of Strasburg Cathedral Tower protected against devils by angels and saints, "For these bells have been anointed, / And baptized with holy water!" (called, in endnotes which tend to be more critical, "one of the most curious ceremonies of the Church in the Middle Ages"). Poet, Walter, in his lyricism, describes 'Fresh fields of wheat ... The consecrated chapel on the crag,/ And the white hamlet gathered at its base, / Like Mary sitting at her Saviour's feet.' Pilgrimage includes seeing of miracle play, "The Nativity;" about the current continuation of which at Oberomergau, the endnote quotes Anna Howitt's description of an 1850 journey: "We had come expecting to feel our souls revolt at so material a representation of Christ ... Yet so far, strange to confess, neither horror, disgust, nor contempt was excited in our minds. Such an earnest solemnity and simplicity breathed through the whole performance ..." Ruskin said that in the poem Longfellow had "entered into the temper of the Monk, for good and for evil, than ever yet theological writer or historian" (qu. Arvin). De Vere considered it Longfellow's best work and "a faithful poetic picture of the time" that handled the Catholic elements well.

## \*\*1852\*\*

Thackeray's Henry Esmond (orig. The History of Henry Esmond, Esq., a Colonel in the service of her Majesty Q. Anne). The time 1691, with the Castlewoods converting to Catholicism in the midst of "No-Popery fervor"; relatively balanced even favorable portrayal of Jesuit Father Holt, forerunner of other such treatments (see Maisen, Victorian Vision, 1962); weans Harry from Lutheranism to Catholicism (as family director) ("Holt was a casuist, both dexterous and learned, and presented the case between the English Church and his own in such a way that those who granted his premises ought certainly to allow his conclusions"); but eventually Father Holt gets the family involved in pro-James II agitation, "one of the many conspiracies ... so like murder, so cowardly in the means used ... that our nation has sure done well in throwing off all allegiance and fidelity to the unhappy family [i.e. Stuarts] that could not vindicated its right except by such treachery." To Father Holt's persuasions later to Esmond, who had become Protestant under the influence of the Whig, Richard Steele, "Esmond said that the Church was the church of his country, to that he chose to remain faithful ... But the desire of the country being unquestionably for an hereditary monarch, Esmond though an English king of St. Germains was better and fitter than a German prince from Herrenhausen": "that is why your Church isn't mine, though your King is," so joined in support for the Pretender ("James III"). (Issue of who will rule England after Anne.) Narrator: "A strange series of compromises is that English history: compromise of principle, compromise of party compromise of worship! The lovers of English freedom and independence submitted their religious consciences to an Act of Parliament ... the Tory and High Church patriots were ready to die in defense of a Papist family that had sold us to France ... And our proud English nobles sent to a petty German town for a monarch to come and reign." Bolingbroke on the Pretender: "he'll defend our Faith, as in duty bound, but he'll stick by his own. The Hind and the Panther shall run in the same car, by Jove!" "With the sound of King

George's trumpets all the vain hopes of the weak and foolish young Pretender were blown away; and with that music, too, I may say, the drama of my own life was ended." Goes to America with his beloved Rachel "far away from Europe and its troubles, on the beautiful banks of the Potomac, where we have built a new Castlewood" 415. The novel plays with two competing images of England, Catholic and Protestant, Tory and Whig, and finds neither satisfactory.

Arnold, "Stanzas from the Grand Chartreuse" (1851-5) (see Stevenson below): "We are like children rear'd in shade / Beneath some old-world abbey wall."

Newman's sermon, "The Second Spring," Sermon, "The Second Spring," preached July 13, 1852, in the First Provincial Synod of Westminster, at Oscott, before Cardinal Wiseman and the Catholic Bishops; (see Southwell letter 1588): resurrection of Catholic Church from what it had become: "a few adherents of the Old Religion, moving silently and sorrowfully about, as memorials of what had been ... cut off from the populous world around them, and dimly seen, as if through a mist or in twilight, as ghosts flitting to and fro, by the high Protestants, the lords of the earth." ("Popular Catholic history told of two death of the English Catholic community, each followed by a miraculous resurrection or Spring. The first death lasted from 1534 to 1570 and the first Spring from 1570 to 1688. The second death lasted from 1688 to the 1830s and was the prelude to the second Spring in Victorian England" --Aveling on Newman's sermon).

Louis Napoléon, Emperor of the French, 1852-70.

Melville, Pierre: "The Church of the Apostles": "When the substance is gone, men cling to the shadow ... by retaining some purely imaginative remainder. The curious effect of this tendency is oftenest evinced in those venerable countries of the old transatlantic world; where still over the Thames one bridge yet retains the monastic title of Blackfriars; though not a single Black Friar but many a pickpocket has stood on that bank since a good ways beyond the days of Queen Bess; where still innumerable other historic anomalies sweetly and sadly remind the present man of the wonderful procession that preceded him in his new generation." "Convert prose repeatedly diagnosed torments like Pierre's as a cultural problem, an unfortunate result of Protestantism's private judgment, sectarian controversies, and debilitating theologies of human depravity" (Franchot).

Melville told Hawthorne: "I feel the Godhead is broken up like the bread at the Supper, and we are the pieces. Hence this infinite fraternity of feeling".

Hawthorne, The Blithedale Romance, Orestes Brownson possible model for Hollingsworth ("priest" (67, 92, 138, 145, 150, 157), furious at materialist Fourier (7?), scornful of transcendental naturalism (146-7), addressing prisoners, and sin, through appeal to higher instincts (priesthood, compassion, confession assoc. 228). Images of wholistic passionate conviction, by contrast with Coverdale's deracination, are the Puritans, passionate Hollingsworth and Catholic piety (139, 196) Irish matrons vs. pale Priscilla, 232 tempting Zenobia), and erotic Zenobia, and battle at Blithedale over which, including transcendental utopians ("green cathedral" 110), should prevail. Irony of ending: most deracinated in love with most depersonalized.

Catherine Sinclair, Beatrice; or, The Unknown Relatives: Cairngorm Castle, Protestant, heroic, philanthropic, rational, plain, versus Eaglescairn Castle, Catholic, exploitative, greedy, Jesuitical, imaginative, pageantry (see G. Ceraldi, 2003).

C.W.Dilke rediscovers Caryll transcripts, "part of a huge archive of political, religious, and literary papers attesting to a Catholic and Jacobite world then lost, but which had been very real in Pope's lifetime" (Erskine-Hill, DNB).

Harriet Beecher Stowe, Uncle Tom's Cabin, whiffs of Catholicism in the name of Eva, Evangeline St. Clare, with father from French Huguenot background and apparently Catholic mother; an ideal innocent fairy-like creature, influenced perhaps by Hawthorne's Pearl: "there was not a corner or nook, above or below, where those fairy footsteps had not glided, and that visionary golden head, with its deep blue eyes, fleeted along." Tom "half believed he saw one of the angels stepped out of his New Testament." Their house in New Orleans is an "odd mixture of Spanish and French style." (New Orleans, also the heart of slavery.) St. Clares attend church where "Dr. G" gives the sermon; her mother "used to sit at her

organ, playing fine old majestic music of the Catholic church." St. Clare plays "that grand old Latin piece the "dies Irae," which had come down from his mother. Eva likes Tom's Methodist hymns; Eva's Dickensian death. "Little Eva, who keeps a statue of Jesus on her bedroom shelf like a Catholic icon, hands out lockets of her hair as though they were the Word made flesh"; "dies amidst a shower of celestial imagery ... with her beaming angel's face accented by the sculptured angel on her bed"; thus typical "angelic exemplar" like others in anti-Calvinist novels (David Reynolds, Beneath the American Renaissance 1988) Hawthorne at his death in 1864 asked the deathbed reunion scene to be read to him: "I like that" (qu. Franchot). Portrait of patient holy Tom influenced by Fénelon, "though stripped of Fénelon's learning and wit": see Thomas Gossett, Uncle Tom's Cabin and American Culture (1985). See Fénelon, 1847.

#### \*\*1853\*\*

Kingsley's Hypatia; or, New Foes with an Old Face, furiously anti-Catholic, and anti-celibacy, a heroine murdered by monks. Hypatia, a paragon of pagan culture. "Twenty years after Hypatia's death [torn apart by barbaric Christians], philosophy was flickering down to the very socket." Attacks fanatic monks (answered by Newman's Callista). A young reforming Abbot speaks at the end: "On the Catholic Church alone ... lies the blame of all heresy and unbelief: for it she were but for one day that which she ought to be, the world would be converted before nightfall." Vandals "'bore away that most holy relic, ... the bracelet of the holy Amma ... But the pious folk, restoring the holy gold to its pristine sanctuary, were not unrewarded; for since that day it grew glorious with fresh miracles—as of blind restored to sight, paralytics to strength, demoniacs to sanity—to the honor of the orthodox Catholic Church, and of its ever blessed saints.' [Extract from historical fragment] // So be it. Pelagia and Philammon, like the rest, went to their own place; to the only place where such in such days could find rest; to the desert and hermit's cell; and then forward into that fairy land of legend and miracle, wherein all saintly lives were destined to be enveloped for many a century thenceforth" [488 last page of novel, puzzling since sounds favorable]. Supposed to be anti-High-Church novel, showing those early tendencies that threaten the 19<sup>th</sup> century C of E.

Charlotte Yonge, The Heir of Redclyffe, with Sir Guy Morville, medieval knight in modern dress, favorite of Young Englanders.

Charlotte Brontë's Villette; interesting interaction of Catholic Monsieur Paul Emanuel and heroine Lucy (questionably labeled an anti-Catholic novel, in fact negotiates the 2 mindsets, nun as deathly, yet a kind of ratification of Lucy Snowe); see Schiefelbein, 1996. "What the Brontës really brought into fiction was exactly what Carlyle brought into history: the blast of the mysticism of the North. They were of Irish blood settled on the windy heights of Yorkshire; in that country where Catholicism lingered latest, but in a superstitious form ..." (G. K. Chesterton, The Victorian Age in Literature). Brontë upset by Harriet Martineau's review accusing Villette of attacking Catholicism: "the Catholicism on which she enlarges is even virulently reprobated." Berlioz, L'Enfance du Christ (1850, first version), on Herod and flight to Egypt where holy family is taken in: "thus it was that by an infidel [i.e. Berlioz] / The Saviour was saved."

Matthew Arnold, "The Scholar-Gypsy." Arnold, Preface to Poems: "What those who familiar with the great monuments of early Greek genius suppose to be its exclusive characteristics, have disappeared: the calm, the cheerfulness, the disinterested objectivity have disappeared: the dialogue of the mind with itself has commenced; modern problems have presented themselves; we hear already the doubts, we witness the discouragement, of Hamlet and of Faust."

#### \*\*1854\*\*

William Finlason (see Chandler 2006) "Was Shakespeare a Catholic" (Rambler, July) (liberal Catholic review, ed. Simpson 1857-9), on Shakespeare reverence for old religion, during slow Reformation. Cites John Shakespeare testament; Gaunt speech on Catholic England; K. John, consider the source; attacks hierarchy but reverences all other Catholic things; favors friars; praises confession; anti-Puritan; anti-Henry elements in HVIII; compares Delphic ceremony in Winter's Tale to Mass. Finlason the first to focus on many plays, sees Shakespeare as divided in sympathies, thus forecasting Honigmann and Greenblatt (Chandler, 2006); "a clear advance on the earlier discussions is simply the amount of literature

discussed" (Chandler); distinguishes Catholicity and papism (24).

*Pius IX proclaims dogma of the Immaculate Conception.*

Newman become rector of University of Ireland (until 1857).

Aubrey De Vere, "The Plague of Controversy," review article in Dublin Review (June 1854), which reviewed books by Maurice, Richard Whately on Coplestone, and other religious books, and said of the essays: "Our impression is that ... no two of them could have lain side by side for an hour, so strong are their mutual repulsions ... that the building for which they were intended must have been some metropolitan, or ecumenical temple of civil war ..." The remainder of the essay republished and revised in Religious Problems of the Nineteenth Century (L: St. Anselm's Society, 1893). Classic Catholic account of the 19<sup>th</sup> century English religious situation, of consequences of the Reformation, of Authority and Private Judgment, of Irvingism, of Catholic-Protestant relations, of High Church developments, etc. "To a certain extent ... a Catholic must sympathize with those persons ... As he sympathizes with the Puritan so far as Puritanism recognises the supernatural order of faith, the dogmatic character of Christianity, the dignity and worth of Truth, so he can sympathize with ... Latitudinarianism ... [as] practically the comment which time passes on the experiment of Private Judgment." "The year of the 'Ecclesiastical Titles Act' will not soon be forgotten ... in short, one of the wisest nations in the world went mad, and stood for months together gesticulating furiously, a spectacle to an astonished world ... It was in vain that every Catholic penny catechism showed that the Papal Supremacy has ever been ... a universal claim, but that it is a spiritual one." Review of Reformation history: "In England the schism was perfected before the heresy had begun." "The Church made by Elizabeth as intended to include both parties, and this could only be effected through formularies which admitted opposite interpretations." Thus Theology confused: "That full-faced Truth which looked down for centuries on the land, had averted its sacred face; and the sad prophet had but watched from a cleft in the rock the skirts of a departing Divinity." "Opposites were to be comprehended ... Private judgment was to be asserted by one, and Church authority by another ... Submission ["to the royal will"] was the thing necessary ... acquiescence was required, not belief." "The idea of monarch gave unity to the nation, and the nation gave it to the Church. The height of the pillar imparted to the statue to which it served as pedestal." "A great disquietude respecting Divine Truth must ever remain in a nation which has once enjoyed the full light of Revealed Religion; the chalice may be shattered, but the fragrance remains still on the fragments." On "false patriotism:" "Have they [the descendants of the Protestants] not a right to inquire whether princes, who in less than forty years had completed a Spiritual Revolution which may hereafter be termed 'the Mother of all the Revolution,' have indeed proved the benefactors of their country ... and again, whether ... we should not have gained far more than the sixteenth century ever promised us ... if it had given us, not a Revolt, but a Reformation, such as the Church has often made before when need." "The great Northern kingdom would not have been isolated in Faith. Erastianism would not have prevailed in France, Spain, and later in Austria, with its invariable consequences, a diminished faith, and impaired morality. Science and Religion would no more have looked on each other with jealousy than they did when Copernicus dedicated his great book to the Pope at that Pope's request." "Society would then have made that true progress only possible where knowledge and liberty advance side by side with faith and charity. The world would have seen a true 'Pax Romana'—not the boast of that Augustan Empire which was based on material aims, but the fulfilled promise of that Christian kingdom the gifts of which are spiritual."

\*\*1855\*\*

Browning, "Bishop Blougram's Apology" (portrait of Cardinal Wiseman), Blougram "styled in partibus / Episcopus, nec non -- (the deuce know what / It's changed to by our novel hierarchy)":

"The most pronounced moreover, fixed, precise / And absolute form of faith in the whole world."

Browning, "Childe Roland to the Dark Tower Came": parody of Grail quest, finds himself in familiar hollow, surrounded by hills.

Kingsley's Westward Ho! ("Nothing else binds up quite so successfully the cause of England's greatness with her loss of the Catholic faith" -- R. Knox); attacks Persons and the Jesuit missionaries who plot downfall of England. But The Hermits (see 1868) will regret some of this attack.

Gaskell, North and South 1855: "the best novelists felt obliged to protect even their opponents against vulgar prejudice. Hence Mrs. Gaskell ... inserts gratuitously .... a piece ridiculing the

contemporary horror at the Church of Rome.”

Whitman, Leaves of Grass: credited by Chesterton with “deliverance from the decadent cynicism that was corrupting most of the young men of my generation;” helped Chesterton recover from depression, read it aloud in 1894, Whitman defined “the point of view of unfathomable wonder at the energy of Being, the power of God” (Chesterton, 1901, see Schwartz, Third Spring 2005)

Hecker, Questions of the Soul: “Mr. Emerson’s maxims must be converted. Substitute humility to obey, for ‘self-reliance’; courage to believe, for ‘trust thyself’;—deny thyself, for ‘act out thyself’;—master thy instincts, for ‘obey thy instincts’;—self-sacrifice, for ‘self-culture’;—surrender thyself to God, for ‘be thyself’” (qu. Franchot). Franchot: “the distinctive position of these Catholic converts in their native culture—a position of internal exile—produced a unique and often penetrating criticism of the ideological and rhetorical conventions of liberal Protestantism.”

Philip Schaff, America, A sketch ... Two Lectures Delivered at Berlin in 1854 (Eng. trans. 1855): “the ultimate fate of the Reformation will be decided in America ... Both the great parties of Christendom are assembling there from all quarters of the Old World and arming themselves for one of the most earnest and decisive battles, which the pages of history will record.”

#### **\*\*1856\*\***

James Anthony Froude defends Reformation as moral victory for freedom and enlightenment, in The History of England (-1870): Catholicism is “not credible any more to men of active and original vigour of understanding ... incredible then and ever more to the sane and healthy intelligence which in the long run commands the mind of the world.”

Dr. Frederick Lee founds Anglican periodical, The Union (later The Union Review) to promote corporate reunion.

Orestes Brownson, “The Mission of America”: “Our Protestant ancestors founded the American order, not on their Protestantism, but on the natural law ... long prior to the Protestant movement of Luther ... and they followed out those great principles of natural right, justice, and equality, which Catholic councils, doctors ... during fifteen hundred years had labored to render popular.” Thus Catholics should be patriots, “for it is the realization of the Christian ideal of society, and the diffusion ... of that free, pure, lofty and virile civilization which the church loves”. T. S. Eliot, writing to Russell Kirk in 1955: “remarkable that a Yankee a century ago should have held such views as his, and depressing that he has been so ignored that most of us had never heard of him.”

Melville’s Benito Cereno “identifies the papal threat with the slaves and to that extent folds a southern voice of conspiratorial anxiety into Delano’s northern ruminations that eventually lead him to conclude that Spaniard and African are piratically leagued against him” (Franchot). Captain Delano’s metaphorical reconstruction of the black rebels as Catholic friars, “exemplifies the way in which fears of Catholic immigrants and blacks permeated one another in the mid 1850s” (Giles, quoting Robert Levine); thus “undermines the antithesis of American purity against European corruption by defining a New world system of slavery within an Old World paradigm” (Giles)

Ambrose Phillipps de Lisle, with Anglican Rev. Frederick Lee, founds (or 1857?) “Association for the Promotion of the Reunion of Christendom,” composed of Anglicans, Catholics (i.e. Pugin, de Lisle) and Orthodox, founded with encouragement of Cardinal Wiseman (influenced by Möhler), 8000 members (1000 Catholic) in 1862; urged negotiated settlement between Canterbury and Rome; eventually opposed by Manning, and banned in 1864 by Vatican. (In 1857 Wiseman classes De Lisle as a dreamer hoping for reunion by a miracle (like Constable?).

#### **\*\*1857\*\***

Orestes Brownson’s The Convert (Catholic mind “no more restricted in its freedom by the authoritative definitions of the infallible church than the cautious mariner by the charts ...” “To pass from one Protestant sect to another is a small affair ... But to pass from Protestantism to Catholicity is a very different thing. We break with the whole world in which we have hitherto lived; we enter into what is to us a new and untried region, and we fear the discoveries we may make there, when it is too

late to draw back." (qu. Franchot) "Unhappily, the religious belief of my Protestant countrymen ... is built on scepticism, and hence, if they think at all, they have a perpetual struggle in their minds between faith and reason." The Kantian emphasis on subjectivity results in "modern pantheism, which represents God as realizing or actualizing himself in idea ... and individuals realizing themselves in the act of thinking ... a superb system of transcendental nullism." (qu. Franchot) "Brownson readily detected the artfulness of such self-professedly realist romantic historians as George Bancroft, William H. Prescott, and Francis Parkman" (Franchot, her own motive in writing).

George Borrow, The Romany Rye, picaresque novel with Appendix of essays by the author, including "On Priestcraft" and "On Scotch Gentility-Nonsense": "We sent our sons to Oxford nice honest lads, educated in the principles of the Church of England, and at the end of the first term they came home puppies, talking Popish nonsense, which they had learned from the pedants to whose care we had entrusted them; ay, not only Popery but Jacobitism, which they hardly carried with them from home, for we never heard them talking Jacobitism before they had been at Oxford; but now their conversation is a farrago of Popish and Jacobite stuff—'Complines and Claverse'." Now, what these honest folks say is, to a certain extent, founded on fact; the Popery which has overflowed the land during the last fourteen or fifteen years, has come immediately from Oxford, and likewise some of the Jacobitism, Popish and Jacobite nonsense, and little or nothing else, having been taught at Oxford for about that number of years. But whence did the pedants get the Popish nonsense with which they have corrupted youth? Why, from the same quarter from which they got the Jacobite nonsense with which they have inoculated those lads who were not inoculated with it before-- Scott's novels. Jacobitism and Laudism, a kind of half Popery, had at one time been very prevalent at Oxford, but both had been long consigned to oblivion there ... till Scott called them out of their graves ... they were ashamed at first to be downright Romans--so they would be Lauds. The pale-looking, but exceedingly genteel non-juring clergyman in Waverley was a Laud; but they soon became tired of being Lauds, for Laud's Church, gew-gawish and idolatrous as it was, was not sufficiently tinselly and idolatrous for them, so they must be Popes, but in a sneaking way, still calling themselves Church-of-England men, in order to batten on the bounty of the church which they were betraying ... Oh! that sermon which was the first manifestation of Oxford feeling, preached at Oxford some time in the year '38 by a divine of a weak and confused intellect, in which Popery was mixed up with Jacobitism! The present writer remembers perfectly well, on reading some extracts from it at the time in a newspaper, on the top of a coach, exclaiming—"Why, the simpleton has been pilfering from Walter Scott's novels!"

Gilbert Scott, Remarks on Secular and Domestic Architecture, Past and Present, definitive though secularized defense of the Gothic movement.

The Lives of Philip Howard, Earl of Arundel, and of Anne Dacres his Wife, probably by her confessor, ed. Lord Norfolk (see 1585).

Hecker, letter to Brownson, critiques Catherine Beecher's Common Sense as Applied to the Gospels: "Miss C. confounds the Jansenistic interpretation with the true interpretation of St. Augustine ... To this class of minds it seems to me, we have the task to show that it is not necessary to repudiate nature to be a Xtian; on the contrary, Xtianity supposes nature, & esteems it at its real & true value" (qu. Franchot).

\*\*1858\*\*

R. Simpson, "What was the Religion of Shakespeare?" I, II, III (Rambler), on Arden-Warwickshire-Clopton Catholicism, John S. could have avoided oath of supremacy, John not poor so conveys property in recusant style, avoiding process common excuse of recusants like John S. on recusant list, defends the John Shakespeare testament: formulae similar ... "from some book of devotions," perhaps from Persons' Directory itself; a similar form attributed to Borromeo prayer: "The form is precisely the same; the variations are only in expression." Borromeo entertained Campion, etc. in 1580, in Milan; notes debt as a cover for recusancy; on Lucy Protestant circle, enemies of Ardens and thus Shakespeare; on

Shakespeare's distant relation, through Catholic relatives, to Southampton; on Somerville connections. Cites Catholic letters: "This allegorical tendency grew into an inveterate habit with the Catholic, who ... [were] obliged to express things indirectly." "The wandering habit became at last such a note of a Catholic, that every wanderer was supposed *prima facie* to be a recusant." Cites Persons: "It is lawful to elude these interrogations, not by equivocation ... but by other indifferent speeches, as, 'Think you I will live like an atheist?'" etc.; cites Essex's Catholic connections, and significance of performance of RII -- S's "motley" saved him, i.e. Eliz's liking for her players, vs. Hayward. In HVIII, "Catherine towers above the rest;" ending probably added by another. Friendship with Jonson began with latter's conversion, Shakespeare godfather (needed to be Catholic), friendship ended when Jonson recanted b.c. of Gunpowder plot. Cites church papists strategy; Davies recollection. Says Döllinger believed Shakespeare was Catholic; "the first to bring an historical approach to the question ... and for offering the first informed defence of John's Shakespeare's Spiritual Last Will" (Chandler, 2006).

Newman, *The Idea of a University*, "Whether we will or no, the phraseology and diction of Shakespeare, of the Protestant formularies, of Milton, of Pope, of Johnson's table talk, and of Walter Scott, have become a portion of the vernacular tongue ... The man in the comedy spoke prose without knowing it; and we Catholics, without consciousness and without offence, are ever repeating the half sentences of dissolute playwrights and heretical partisans and preachers." (See Chesterton, 1926, qualifying Newman's concession of English literature to Protestantism.)

Newman on the Gentleman (see Pope and Arnold on standard establishment style): "If he be an unbeliever, he will be too profound and large-minded to ridicule religion or to act against itself; he is too wise to be a dogmatist or fanatic in his infidelity. Her respects piety and devotion; he even supports institutions as venerable, beautiful, or useful, to which he does not assent ... it contents him to decline its mysteries without assailing or denouncing them;" "in proportion as the Lutheran leaven spread, it became fashionable to say that faith was, not an acceptance of the revealed doctrine, not an act of the intellect, but a feeling, an emotion, an affection, an appetency; and, as this view of faith obtained, so was the connexion of faith with truth and knowledge more and more either forgotten or denied;" "many men there are who, devoted to one particular subject of thought, and making its principles the measure of all things, become enemies to revealed religion before they know it ... Simply because they have made their own science, whatever it is, political economy, or geology, or astronomy, to the neglect of theology, the centre of all truth." "Right reason ... leads the mind to the Catholic faith ... But reason, considered as a real agent in the world ... is far from taking so straight and satisfactory a direction. It considers itself from first to last independent and supreme; it requires no external authority; it makes a religion for itself. Even though it accepts Catholicism, it does not go to sleep; it has an action and development of its own ... Divine grace ... does not by its presence supersede nature; nor is nature at once brought into simple concurrence and coalition with grace. Nature pursues its course, now coincident with that of grace, now parallel to it, now across, now divergent ..." The Church should have jurisdiction over Theology, but sometimes the institution is subject to a particular bias or drift: "We have an instance of such a case in the Spanish Inquisition—here was a purely Catholic establishment, devoted to the maintenance, or rather the ascendancy of Catholicism, keenly zealous for theological truth, the stern foe of every anti-Catholic idea, and administered by Catholic theologians; yet it in no proper sense belonged to the Church. It was simply and entirely a state institution, it was an expression of that very Church-and-King spirit which has prevailed in these islands; nay, it was an instrument of the State, according to the confession of the acutest Protestant historians, in its warfare against the Holy See. Considered 'materially,' it was nothing but Catholic; but its spirit and form were earthly and secular, in spite of whatever faith and zeal and sanctity and charity were to be found in the individuals who from time to had a share in its administration."

"We have, it is true, a Protestant literature; but ... in the case of at least half of a dozen ... of the

most popular authors, it comes to us with very considerable alleviations. For instance, there is a call on us for thankfulness that the most illustrious among English writers has so little of a Protestant about him that Catholics have been able, without extravagance, to claim him as one of their own, and that enemies to our creed have allowed us that he is only not a Catholic, because, and as far as, his time forbade it ... Whatever passages may be gleaned from his drama disrespectful to ecclesiastical authority, still these are but passages; on the other hand, there is in Shakespeare neither contempt for religion nor scepticism, and he upholds the broad laws of moral and divine truth .... Whatever indulgence he may allow himself in light thoughts or unseemly words, yet his admiration is reserved for sanctity and truth." 301-2 (Newman probably influenced here by Simpson with whom Newman was associated on The Rambler.)

"in the medieval ... unbelief necessarily made its advances under the language and the guise of faith; whereas in the present, when universal toleration prevails, and it is open to assail revealed truth .... Unbelief in consequence throws off the mask ... and confronts us ... with a direct assault. And I have no hesitation in saying ... that I prefer to live in an age when the fight is in the day, not in the twilight; and think it a gain to be speared by a foe, rather than to be stabbed by a friend."

*Fenian Brotherhood founded (c. 1858), known also as Irish Republican Brotherhood, to achieve Irish independence by force; eventually absorbed into Sinn Féin.*

Dickens, Little Dorrit. The second book, "Riches," begins with trip to Saint Bernard monastery, the party tended by "two young Fathers," monasticizes the image of the Marshalsea Debtor's prison; associated with Amy Dorrit's making religious the suffering associated with her father in prison; on a place maintaining its "quiet and lovely" (though here applied to Pisa tower) characteristics unbeknownst to our turbulent lives. Little Dorrit compare the ruins of Rome to the "ruins of her own old life." Mr. Dorrit called "the Father" of the Marshalsea.

Ruskin's 'unconversion,' accepting the importance of the Catholicism behind the art and architecture he celebrated (see J.A. Hilton, "Ruskin's Influence on English Catholicism," Recusant History 25.1 (2000). Rosenberg records Ruskin's 1874 dream in Assisi that he was a Franciscan tertiary, and discovered vitality of early Italian art. In 1874 Aubrey De Vere wrote: "Ruskin sometimes speaks as if he were very near to Catholic belief, and an hour after as if he believed nothing at all."

Isaac Hecker founds the Paulists.

## \*\*1859\*\*

Prayer of thanksgiving over Gunpowder Plot removed from Anglican Prayer Book.

John Stuart Mill, On Liberty: on need of hearing contrary opinions: "The most intolerant of churches, the Roman Catholic Church, even at the canonization of a saint, admits ... a 'devil's advocate'." Also, it allows a clerical elite, not laity, to read forbidden books. "History teems with instances of truth put down by persecution. To speak only of religious opinions: the Reformation broke out at least twenty times before Luther, and was put down," etc. "If the intellect and judgment of mankind ought to be cultivated, a thing which Protestants at least do not deny ..."

Stowe, The Minister's Wooing: George Scudder carries image of his beloved, Katy, as "a secret shrine in his soul, at which he was to burn unsuspected incense". His daughter, Mary, has an "air of simplicity and purity, of some old pictures of the girlhood of the Virgin. But Mrs. [Katy] Scudder [now a widow] was thinking of no such Popish matter ..." "Had she [Mary] been born in Italy ... where pictured saints and angels smiled ... from every arch and altar, she, might, like fair St. Catherine of Siena, have seen beatific visions in the sunset skies ... but ... in the clear, keen, cold New England clime ... her religious faculties took other forms." (For Puritans, "devotion is doctrinal, not ritual."). Dr. Hopkins [modeled after Lyman Beecher] "seemed to follow her, as Dante followed the flight of Beatrice, through the ascending circles ..." James Marvyn, seeing his beloved Mary in tears "thought ... of a picture ... in a European cathedral, where the youthful Mother of Sorrows is represented." Had Dr. Hopkins "been born beneath the shadow of the great Cuomo of Florence ... his would have a soul as rounded and full in its sphere of faculties as that of Da Vinci or Michael Angelo." Thus Mary acts as on him "like St. Dorothea."

Mrs. Marvyn (mother of James) reads about Europe: "What might be that marvelous music of the Miserere ... What might be those wondrous pictures of Raphael ... And the cathedral, what were they? How wonderful they must be ..." Black servant, Candace, with her "wide, joyous, rich, physical abundance of nature, and ... hearty abandon of outward expression, was relief to the still clear-cut lines" of New England life. Miss Prissy diamond, spinster, plans to make for Dr. Hopkins a ruffled shirt, with stitch learned from "a convent;--nuns, you know, poor things, can do some things right" "So we go, dear reader,--so long as we have a body and a soul. Two worlds must mingle, the great and the little ... wreathing in and out, like the grotesque carvings on a Gothic shrine." "Of old, it was thought that one who administered poison in the sacramental bread and wine had touched the very height of impious sacrilege", but much worse is one "who poisons God's eternal sacrament of love and destroys a woman's soul", i.e. Aaron Burr capturing Virginie, Madame de Frontignac's love. In Mary's room was a picture of "one of the Madonna's of Leonardo ad Vinci, a picture which to Mary had a mysterious interest," found on the seashore; and Mrs. Marvin looked up in the Encyclopedia "a life of that wonderful man, whose greatness enlarges our ideas of what is possible to humanity." Dr. Hopkins looks to the apocalyptic victory when "that modern Babylon, the Popish power" will be destroyed. Virginie "held a special theological conversation with the Abbé, whether salvation were possible to one outside of the True Church,--and had added to her daily prayer a particular invocation to the Virgin for him" (i.e. Burr). "The truly good are of one language in prayer ... when they pray in extremity." "Augustine solaced the dread anxieties of trembling love by prayers offered for the dead, in times when the Church above and on earth presented itself to the eye of the mourner as a great assembly of one accord lifting interceding hands for the departed soul. // But the clear logic and intense individualism of New England ... swept away all those softening provisions ... No rite, no form ... interpose the slightest shield between the trembling spirit and Eternal Justice." Mary, after report of James's death, was in a "state of self-abnegation to which the mystics brought themselves by fasting ... No veiled nun ... ever moved about a convent with a spirit more utterly divided from the world." Before her Virginie "crosses herself, as she had been wont before a shrine; and then said, Sweet Mary, pray for me." 385 Virginie said she had been educated by Sister Gather "a true saint." "Mary .... I cannot help feeling that some are real Christians who are not in the True Church. You are as true a saint as Saint Catharine ... and yet they say there is no salvation out of the Church." "This was a new view of the subject to Mary, who had grown up with the familiar idea that the Romish Church was Babylon and Antichrist, and who, during the conversation, had been revolving the same surmises with regard to her friend." They won't tell Abbé or Dr. Hopkins "and yet, there they were, the Catholic and the Puritan, each strong in her respective faith, yet melting together in that embrace of love..." Virginie writing to friend about Mary and Mrs. Marvyn: "They are as good and true, as pious as the saints themselves, although they do not belong to the Church,-a thing which I am sorry for; but then let us hope, that if this world is wide, heaven is wider, and that all worthy people will find room at last. This is Virginie's own little, pet, private heresy; and when I tell it to the Abbé, he only smiles, and so I think, somehow, that it is not so very bad as it might be ... Everything in their worship is plain and austere; their churches are perfectly desolate; they have no chants, no pictures ..." Virginie if horrified that Mary will hold to her promise to Dr. Hopkins: "What a pity, my little one, you are not in the true Church! Any good priest could dispense you from that". // "I do not believe," said Mary, "in any earthly power that can dispense us from solemn obligations which we have assumed before God." Mary's marriage to James, after being nobly dispensed by Dr. Hopkins: "The fair poetic maiden, the seeress, the saint, has passed into that appointed shrine for woman, more holy than cloister, more saintly and pure than church or altar,--a Christian home." Virginie's letter to Mary: "The Abbé said, that

all true, devout persons in all persuasions belong to the True Catholic Apostolic Church, and will in the end be enlightened to know it; what do you think of that, ma belle? I fancy I see you look at me with your grave, innocent eyes ... but you say nothing." Stowe had been Congregational but joined episcopal church in 1860's.

**\*\*1860\*\***

**Chetham Society prints the Hoghton Will in Lancashire and Cheshire Wills, by Rev. G. J. Piccope (see 1923), without commenting on "Shakeshaft."**

George Eliot, The Mill on the Floss: Maggie awed by à Kempis, "here was a sublime height to be reached without the help of outward things ... It flashed through her ... for the first time she saw the possibility ... of taking her stand out of herself, and looking at her own life as an insignificant [!] part of a divinely-guided whole... She had not perceived ... the inmost truth of the old monk's outpourings, that renunciation remains sorrow, though a sorrow borne willingly ... I suppose that is the reason why the small old-fashioned book ... works miracles to this day ... it remains to all time a lasting record of human needs and human consolations ... with the same passionate desires, the same strivings, the same failures, the same weariness" (4.3); "provides only a formalization, if not a rationalization, of her almost masochistic willingness to subordinate herself to the wishes, first of her father, and then of Tom" (Philip Rule, Coleridge and Newman, 2004).

Mark Pattison, "Tendencies of Religious Thought in England, 1688-1750," in Essays and Reviews, (12<sup>th</sup> edn., London: Longmans, 1869): "Rationalism was not an anti-Christian sect outside the Church making war against religion. It was a habit of thought ruling all minds ... " 310 [thus Newman!] "Hardly one here and there, as Hume, professed Rationalism in the extent of Atheism; the great majority of writers were employed in constructing a via media between Atheism and Athanasianism ..." 311 "The unwholesome state of theological feeling among us, is perhaps traceable I part to the falsetto of the evidential method of the last generation" 316 "Bossuet, Bourdaloue, and Massillon have survived a dozen political revolutions." 320 "The Reformation has destroyed the authority of the Church upon which Revelation had so long rested. The attempt of the Laudian divines to substitute the voice of the national Church for that of the Church universal had met with only very partial and temporary success ... The new authority of the Anglican establishment had existed in theory only, and never in fact, and the Revolution had crushed the theory, which now confined to a small band of non-jurors." "This popular appeal to the common reason of men, which is one characteristic of the rationalist period, was a first effort of English theology to find a new basis for doctrine which should replace those foundations which had failed it." 350 "In the present day when ... nothing is allowed in the Church of England but the formulae of past thinking ... When it [religion] is stiffened into phrases, and these phrases are declared to be objects of reverence but not of intelligence .... Theology then retires into the position it occupies in the Church of Rome at present, an unmeaning frostwork of dogma, out of all relation to the actual history of man ... It [Romish theology] locks up virtue in the cloister, and theology in the library. It originates caste sanctity, and a traditional philology." 359-60 "In the Catholic theory the feebleness of Reason is met half-way and made good by the authority of the Church. When the Protestants threw off this authority they did not assign to Reason what they took from the Church, but to Scripture ... Church-authority was essayed by the Laudian divines, but was soon found untenable, on that footing it was found impossible to justify the Reformation and the breach from Rome. The Spirit then came into favor along with Independency ... on such a basis only discord and disunion could be reared." All of this in last sentence called "a perplexing but not altogether profitless inquiry": the impetus of the essay is to delete the "not."

Burckhardt, The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy (trans. 1878). "In the Middle Ages both sides of human consciousness -- that which was turned within as that which was turned without -- lay dreaming or half awake beneath a common veil. The veil was woven of faith, illusion and childish prepossession, through which the world and history were seen clad in strange hues. ... Man was conscious of himself only as member of a race, people, party, family, or corporation -- only through some general category. In Italy this veil first melted into air; an objective treatment and consideration of the State and of all the things in this world became possible. The subjective side at the same time asserted itself with corresponding emphasis; man became a spiritual individual and recognized himself as such." ("only echoes the Preface to Volume VII of Michelet's History of France," E. Gilson, Heloise and Abelard).

*Stresses gloomy side of progress.*

Hawthorne, The Marble Faun, Hilda still a “daughter of the Puritans” but seems to convert to Catholicism and becomes attendant of a Virgin shrine. “a painstaking, ultimately failed, Protestant effort to comprehend Catholicism” (Franchot). Rome is “finally unassimilable materiality.” Protestant spirituality seems disabled and seeks incarnation by vicariously identifying with Catholicism while denying it. Hilda tempted by confessional to “fling down the dark burden at the foot of the Cross”, i.e. to “renounce all the self-imposed pressures of her own spiritual striving ... and acquiesce instead in the Catholic church’s impersonal mechanism for the absolution of human guilt. In and by the end of the novel her dovelike spiritual peace has begun to return, along with the more familiar attributes of Puritan self-reliance” (Giles). Faced with sterile contrast between pure moral exemplar and rebellious dark heroine, Hawthorne “must resort to the deep traditions ... of ... Roman Catholicism,” with Hilda as “Catholic saint,” Miriam as “Catholic penitent; thus “the dark depths of the novels’ style and context ... connects them, despite their real differences” (David Reynolds, Beneath the American Renaissance 1988). Orestes Brownson, “Catholic Polemics,” denounces the quality of Catholic intellectual life, its complaisance, its lack of presence in modern research, its fear of creativity, its failure to address modern forms of thought.

\*\*1861\*\*

Emily Dickinson, “A Solemn thing” (c. 1861): “A solemn thing—it was ... A woman—white—to be / And wear—if God should count me fit--/ Her blameless mystery--// A hallowed thing —to drop a life / Into the purple well ...”, one of many poems dedicating herself to nun-like vocation, in white-dress, celibate, silent, isolated: see Catholic images listed by Judith Farr, The Passion of Emily Dickinson (1992), chap. 1, “The Hidden Face,” on “Dickinson’s self-conception as nun.”

Charles Reade, The Cloister and the Hearth (1864?): Terrified passengers on sinking ship: “An English merchant vowed a heap of gold to our lady of Walsingham. But a Genoese merchant vowed a silver dollar of four pounds to our lady of Loretto ...” etc., typifies satire of Italian Catholic superstitions early in first half of novel. Gerard Eliason: “Friends, I do honor the saints, but I dare not pray to them now.” Helped by serene unflappable Dominican, Fra Colonna, who notes that the heads of Peter and Paul are waxen images. Gerard: “The Church is peace of mind. Till I left her bosom, I ne’er knew sin.” Divided from beloved Margaret by false news of her death, Gerard becomes friar (“Clement”); and chapters alternate (at least 74 on) between subtitles “The Cloister” and “The Hearth,” i.e. their different lives; then subtitle “The Cloister and the Hearth” for some chaps. 87 on. Their reunion, and chaste living together despite agonies of desire. Gerard: “‘I love her, then, better than God,’ said he, despairingly, ‘better than the Church. From such a love what can spring to me or to her ... What is my penitence, my religion? A pack of cards built by degrees into a fair-seeming structure; and, lo! one breath of earthly love, and it lies in the dust.’” Hermit of Gouda advises him: “His had been a hard fight against the world, the flesh, and the devil, and he had never thoroughly baffled them till he retired into the citadel of Solitude.” Gerard experiences extreme spiritual joy in his hermit solitude: “he seemed now to be drawing near to that celestial intercourse which was the sign and the bliss of the true hermit; for he had dreams about the saints and angels, so vivid, they more like visions;” then Margaret shows up: “‘Gerard ... be who thou will by day, but at night be mine!’” (95) Great struggle. “She showed him, but in her own good straightforward Dutch, that his present life was only a higher kind of selfishness—spiritual egotism;” “since the pope ... hath absolved thee of thy monkish vows, and orders thee to Gouda Manse ... come with me” (97). They live “United by present affection, past familiarity, and a marriage irregular, but legal; separated by holy Church and by their own consciences which sided unreservedly with holy Church ...” Gerard opposes Pope’s definition of Immaculate Conception. “And so the years glided; and these two persons, subjected to as strong and constant a temptation as can well be conceived, were each other’s guardian angels, and not each other’s tempters. // To be sure, the well-greased morality of the next century, which taught that solemn vows to God are sacred in proportion as they are reasonable, had at the time entered no single mind ... She hated the monks for having parted Gerard and her, and she inoculated the boy [i.e. Erasmus] with a contempt for them which lasted him till his dying day.” Lawyer urges Margaret to sue Gerard for sex, but Margaret declines: “Their general tenor was now peace, piety,

the mild content that lasts, nor the fierce bliss ever on tiptoe to depart, and, above all, Christian charity;" "their passion for another cooled a little, but their affection increased," Margaret joins Gerard in his pious charities. (98) In sermon, Gerard attacks "these newfangled doctrines of man's merit" (Ftn: "He was citing from Clement of Rome"). Reade's comment: "I ask your sympathy, then, for their rare constancy and pure affection and their cruel separation by a vile heresy\* in the bosom of the Church" and in ftn. \*\*Celibacy of the Clergy, an invention truly fiendish" (101): thus undoes real cloister-hearth antinomy. Book ends with description of inscription of Erasmus, and final para. beginning "First scholar and divine of his epoch ... (Eloisa and Abelard theme; also see Guy of Warwick tale)

#### \*\*1862\*\*

Stowe's Agnes of Sorrento, Agnes's pure piety free of papal corruptions, source of American spirituality: "The Christian faith we now hold, who boast our enlightened Protestantism, has been transmitted to us through the hearts and hands of such—who, while princes wrangled with Pope, and Pope with princes, knew nothing of it all, but in lowly ways of prayer and patient labor were one with us of modern times in the great central belief of the Christian heart, 'Worthy is the Lamb that was slain'" (qu. Franchot). Thus "an unbroken transmission of the true faith because the Christian's spiritual inheritance remained conspicuously independent of apostolic authority" (Franchot). Agnes' powerful unconscious feminine spirituality. Stow links Catholic veneration of the virgin with Protestant domesticity (Agnes marries at the end, and is increasingly Protestantized at end). But her confessor, Father Francesco, degenerates into popish sensuality, ironically resembling Calvinist damned. "Dante, as elsewhere, mediates in this novel between a sublime and dreadful Catholicism" (Franchot).

George Eliot, Romola: "It was Roman Catholicism that engaged her imagination ... [it] offered what no Protestant faith could—authority and coherence—and what few Protestant faiths do—mystery" (F. Bonaparte, Triptych and the Cross qu. by Maria LaMonica Masked Atheism). A Comtean progress from egoism to altruism, Romola evolves into a secular Madonna, with traditional Madonna serving as alternative self-identification for women for developing moral potential. In "Proem," shade of a Florentine "shakes his head dubiously, as he heard simple folk talk of a Pope Angelico, who was to come by-and-by and bring in a new order of things, to purify the Church ... a state of affair too different from what existed under Innocent VIII" [compare Thomas Mann]. "Proem" ends: "and men still yearn for the reign of peace and righteousness—still own that life to be the highest which is a conscious voluntary sacrifice. For the Pope Anglelico is not yet come." [but the Madonnized Romola will]. "Her enthusiasm was continually stirred to fresh vigor by the influence of Savanarola ... She had submitted her mind to his and had entered into communion with the Church, because in this way she had found an immediate satisfaction for moral needs which all the previous culture and experience of her life had left hungering. Romola: "if the glory of the cross is an illusion, the sorrow is only the truer."

Victor Hugo, Les Misérables: Jean Valjean's life turned round by moral generosity of Bishop Bienvenue of Digne who does not confirm his theft but gives him additional candlesticks; at his death, Valjean is inspired by his memory: "It is probable that the Bishop was indeed a witness of this death-agony." (9.5.5) "Monasticism ... is for civilizations a kind of consumption ... castration ... scourge ... suicide reimbursed by an eternity." Yet we look with "tender and religious awe ... upon those devoted beings ... who dare to live upon the very confines of the great mystery ..." (2.7.3, 7, 8). Valjean and Cosette housed happily in the Convent of the Perpetual Adoration (4.3.1).

#### \*\*1864\*\*

A. F. Rio, Shakespear (in French, never trans. into English); on Catholicism of Stratford area, and Ardens, Lucy issue, on John Shakespeare recusancy, Shakespeare defending Catholicism in his plays. (Rio had published History of Christian Art (trans. 1854, orig. French 1836-51), arguing that true art is impossible without Catholic piety and mysticism.

J. M Jephson, Shakespeare: His Birthplace, Home, and Grave: discusses John S's recusancy; cites 1614 Stratford Chamberlain account as "a very curious entry"

(“Item, for on quart of sack, and on quart of clarrett winne, given to a preacher at the New Place, XXd”), usual if the town was sending preacher to “talk” to a resistant parishioner; if Shakespeare’s willing guest, Shakespeare would have paid.

Victor Hugo, William Shakespeare (also Engl. trans.). Chap. 3 begins: “William Shakespeare was born at Stratford-on-Avon, in a house under the tiles of which was concealed a confession of the Catholic faith beginning with these words, ‘I, John Shakespeare.’” Section 2 of chap. 3 begins: “The Shakespeare family had some original drawback, probably its Catholicism, which caused its downfall.”

Lord Acton, “Conflicts with Rome,” Home and Foreign Office Review (April) Acton’s last article closing down the Review, asserting both freedom of thought and loyalty to Rome, on occasion of 1864 Syllabus of Errors encyclical: “knowledge has a freedom in the Catholic Church which it can find in no other religion; though there, as elsewhere, freedom degenerates unless it has to struggle in its own defense”. “The fall of Lamennais … exemplifies one of the natural consequences of dissociating secular from religious truth, and denying that they hold in solution all the elements necessary for their reconciliation and union.” “Its [the Review’s] object has been to elucidate the harmony which exists between religion and the established conclusions of secular knowledge, and to exhibit the real amity and sympathy between the methods of science and the methods employed by the Church. That amity and sympathy the enemies of the Church refuse to admit, and her friends have not learned to understand;” “the principles it has upheld will … triumph in their appointed time.” “It was but a partial and temporary embodiment of an imperishable idea—the faint reflection of a light which still lives and burns in the hearts of the silent thinkers of the Church.” (last sentence). In 1865, Acton not endorsing the Syllabus talked of belonging “rather to the soul than the body of the Roman Catholic Church.”

Henry Manning, A Letter to the Rev. E. B. Pusey: “I rejoice with all my heart in all the workings of the Holy Ghost in the Church of England … the English people as a body are baptized … is thereby placed in a state of justification … to be out of the Church is no personal sin [unless knowledgeable] … I am willing to call it [C of E] a teacher of truths, because many fragmentary truths … still survive the Reformation … I do not believe the alternative before us is Catholicism or Atheism.” “Seventeen or eighteen thousand men, educated with all the advantages of the English schools and University, endowed with large corporate revenues, and distributed all over England, maintain a perpetual protest … against the catholic Church.” “As a dogma, Theologians teach that many belong to the Church who are out of its visible unity” (13).

*Pius IX issues Syllabus of Errors. Earlier language (anathematizing argument that church and state should be separated) replaced in favor of vaguer language binding Catholics to submit to Pope “not only in matters of faith and morals, but also in those which concern the discipline and government of the church dispersed throughout the world.” Bishop Felix Dupanloup, in La Convention ... et l'encycle ..., makes crucial distinctions about the decree and shows that the Pope did not intend to repudiate existing liberal constitutions, much to relief of liberal Catholics.*

Kingsley, What, then does Dr. Newman Mean?

Newman’s Apologia, on “the great revolution of mind, which led me to leave my own home, to which I was bound by so many strong and tender ties,” thus the reverse of the first trauma; “it is the vast Catholic body itself, and it only, which affords an arena for both combatants in that awful, never-dying duel … Every exercise of Infallibility is brought into act by an intense and varied operation of the Reason, both as its ally and as its opponent;” repelled Kingsley’s attack that his Catholicism was un-English. “I trust that all European races will ever have a place in the Church, and assuredly I think that the loss of the English, not to say the German element, in its composition has been a most serious misfortune.” : “The Liberalism which gives a colour to society now, is very different from that character of thought which bore the name thirty or forty years ago. Now it is scarcely a party; it is the educated lay world. When I was young, I knew the word first as giving name to a periodical, set up by Lord Byron [1822] … Afterwards, Liberalism was the badge of a theological school, of a dry and repulsive character, not very dangerous in

itself, though dangerous as opening the door to evils which it did not itself either anticipate or comprehend. At present it is nothing else than that deep, plausible scepticism, of which I spoke above, as being the development of human reason, as practically exercised by the natural man.” “Of all points of faith, the being of a God is, to my own apprehension, encompassed with most difficulty, and yet borne in upon our minds with most power.” Preface: “I mean to be simply personal and historical: I am not expounding Catholic doctrine, I am doing no more than explaining myself, and my opinions and actions”: thus source for new historicist approach in critics like Franchot (1994) and Giles (1992). “I had seen the shadow of a hand upon the wall ... He who has seen a ghost, cannot be as if he had never seen it ... The thought for the moment had been, ‘The Church of Rome will be found right after all;’ and then it had vanished. “From the age of fifteen, dogma has been the fundamental principle of my religion; religion, as a mere sentiment, is to me a dream and a mockery” (See Fitzgerald on comparative “religion”, 2000). 39 Articles admit of many Catholic interpretations; 35 Article said Homilies “doth contain a godly and wholesome doctrine”, and Newman lists 26 Catholic characteristics of the homilies, accepting first four general councils, the “ancient Catholic fathers,” that there are other sacraments though not “such as” Baptism, etc., that the souls of the Saints are reigning in joy, that fasting is of great efficacy, etc. “It seems a dream to call a communion Catholic, when one can neither appeal to any clear statement of Catholic doctrine in its formularies, nor interpret ambiguous formularies by the received and living Catholic sense, whether past or present. Men of Catholic views are too truly but a party in our Church.” “I had begun my Essay on the Development of Doctrine in the beginning of 1845 ... As I advanced, my difficulties so cleared away that I ceased to speak of the ‘Roman Catholics,’ but boldly called them Catholics.” “January 20, 1846. You may think how lonely I am. ‘Obliviscere populum tuum et domum patris tui [Ps 44], has been in my ears for the last twelve hours.’ ” “I am not speaking of the Anglican Church in any disdain ... It may be a great creation, though it be not divine, and this is how I judge of it ... And so I recognise in the Anglican Church a time-honoured institution, of noble historical memories, a monument of ancient wisdom, a momentous arm of political strength, a great national organ, a source of vast popular advantage, and, to a certain point, a witness and teacher of religious truth ... but that it is something sacred, that it is an oracle of revealed doctrine, that it can claim a share in St. Ignatius or St. Cyprian, that it can take the rank, contest the teaching, and stop the path of the Church of St. Peter, that it can call itself “the Bride of the Lamb,” this is the view of it which simply disappeared from my mind on my conversion, and which it would be almost a miracle to reproduce. “I went by, and lo! it was gone; I sought it, but its place could no where be found;” and nothing can bring it back to me. And, as to its possession of an episcopal succession from the time of the apostles, well, it may have it, and, if the holy see ever so decided, I will believe it, as being the decision of a higher judgment than my own; but, for myself, I must have St. Philip’s gift, who saw the sacerdotal character on the forehead of a gaily-attired youngster, before I can by my own wit acquiesce in it, for antiquarian arguments are altogether unequal to the urgency of visible facts.” Newman, Letter to Pusey rejects union.

Arnold, “The Function of Criticism at the Present Time”: “after all, the criticism I am really concerned with,—the criticism which alone can much help us for the future ... is a criticism which regards Europe as being, for intellectual and spiritual purposes, one great confederation, bound to a joint action and working to a common result; and whose members have, for their proper outfit, a knowledge of Greek, Roman, and Eastern antiquity, and of one another.”

James Russell Lowell, Fireside Travels: on St. Peter’s, “feeding the soul not with the essential religious sentiment, not with a drop or two of the tincture of worship, but making us feel one by one all those original elements of which worship is composed; not bringing the end to us, but making us pass over and feel beneath our feet all the golden rounds of the ladder by which climbing generations have reached that end ...” qu. J. David (2001).

\*\*1865\*\*

Dublin Review article on Rio, perhaps by Rev. John C. Earle, sets up issues, cites respect for old religion, on John Shakespeare Will “drawn up in the style of similar forms well known to Catholics.”

William Allingham, Diary, for 1865: “Newman’s Apologia ... Does all this about Oxford and the Fathers, etc. etc., really matter?”

Arnold, "Eugénie de Guérin," in Essays in Criticism: Catholicism's setting and outward circumstance have "a nobleness and amplitude which in Protestantism is often wanting ... have, from the antiquity of this form of religion, from its pretensions to universality, from its really widespread prevalence, from its sensuousness, something European, august, and imaginative; in Protestantism they often have ... something provincial, mean, and prosaic. In revenge Protestantism has a future before it ... while Catholicism appears to be bent on widening the breach between itself and the modern spirit." She and her brother, Maurice, had urbanity, "distinction."

Sancta Clara (Christopher Davenport), The Articles of the Anglican Church Paraphrastically Considered [from the Latin edn. Of 1646], ed. Rev. Frederick Lee (London, 1865), ded. to Ambrose Phillips de Lisle. Back of title page quotes Cardinal Wiseman: "Such interpretation will be given of the most difficulty Articles as will strip them of all contradiction to the decrees of the Tridentine Synod." Lee's intro quotes Panzani, from Berington: "This book was highly esteemed by His Majesty [Charles I], as being full of complaisance for the Protestant\* system in several points, and discovering an inclination approaching nearer to them by concessions, where the Catholic cause would permit it to be done"; Lee's footnotes "Protestant": "Protestant, i.e. Church of England. This term had a different meaning in the seventeenth century from that which it bears now. Abp. Laud said he died in the 'Protestant faith,' meaning of course the faith as taught in the Church of England" (p. xxv).

Cecilia Mary Caddell, Wild Times: A Tale of the Days of Queen Elizabeth, grim recusant tale, involving the love of Catholics and Protestants (including Blanche who will lead a nun-like existence in memory of her martyred Catholic love).

Lecky, History of the Rise and Influence of the Spirit of Rationalism in Europe: "Whatever is lost by Catholicism is gained by Rationalism; wherever the spirit of Rationalism recedes, the spirit of Catholicism advances."

Francis Parkman, Pioneers of France in the New World, one of many books tracing the struggle between the parties of freedom (British Protestantism) and authoritarianism (French Catholicism). Orestes Brownson, The American Republic, its religious destiny to respect freedom of church and state.

#### \*\*1866\*\*

Christopher Knight Watson, "Was Shakespeare a Roman Catholic?" Edinburgh Review, attacks the Catholic argument in Rio and Rambler, attacks issue of John Shakespeare's recusancy and Will, attacks Rio's Catholic plotting in plays, gives "evening mass" argument.

Francis Close, evangelical Dean of Carlisle, "The Catholic Revival"; or, Ritualism and Romanism in the Church of England: Ritualism "can now be regarded as nothing less than the exponent of a powerful and restless party in the Church, founded by the Tractarian School some thirty years since, still advancing, and recently assuming a confidence and affrontry calculated to arouse the most indifferent, summoning us to surrender the term PROTESTANT, and to accept with reverent homage that which its leading advocates denominate as 'THE GREAT CATHOLIC REVIVAL'."

Henry Manning, archbishop of Westminster, The Reunion of Christendom: A Pastoral Letter to the Clergy, Etc: "theory that Christendom ... consists of three parts, the Roman, the Greek, and the Anglicans, is a heresy;" there is only one church in fact and in theory; "to pray for the reunion of the Church, is to assume that it can be divided." Nevertheless, "That an Association to promote the reunion of England with the Catholic and Roman Church should exist, and that nearly two hundred clergymen of the Church of England ... should address the Cardinal Secretary of the Holy Office, expressing this desire, are facts new in our history since the separation of England from Catholic unity ... We gladly recognize in it an influence and an impulse of supernatural grace. It is a wonderful reaction from the days within living memory when fidelity to the Church of England was measured by repulsion from the Church of Rome ... all this is as beautiful and fascinating as the image of the Heavenly Jerusalem which the Apostle saw coming down from Heaven." Nevertheless, "We can offer unity only on the condition on which we hold it -- unconditional submission to the living and perpetual voice of the Church of God."

Kingsley, Hereward the Wake: Hereward fights Rome which has subjected the Danes to superstition and weakened the Anglo-Saxons.

Elizabeth Gaskell, Wives and Daughters; Squire Hamley, his prejudice once over, takes in his

deceased son's French Catholic wife and child.

George Eliot, Felix Holt, The Radical, 1831 period: "The passenger on the coach-box, bowled along above such a hamlet ... the dirt was Protestant dirt ... There was no sign of superstition near, no crucifix or image to indicate a misguided reverence ... Yet they were saved from the excesses of Protestantism by not knowing how to read ... they were kept safely in the via media of indifference." "Till the agitation about the Catholics in '29, rural Englishmen had hardly known more of Catholics than of the fossil mammals." "In the great Reform year ... Liberal clergymen of the establishment toasted Liberal Catholic clergymen without any allusion to scarlet, and Catholic clergymen replied with a like tender reserve." Durfeys took over the estate in 18<sup>th</sup> century and took the name of the original Transomes [like Stokes taking D'Urberville name; Harold comes into estate when imbecile Durfey in Jersey dies]. Mrs. Transome, though reading Chateaubriand and dangerous French writers, "believed ... that truth and safety lay ... in the ... Church of England, equally remote from Puritanism and Popery ... would preserve the existing arguments of English society." Church in Treby Magna: "when the black Benedictines ceased to pray and chant in this church, when the Blessed Virgin and St Gregory were expelled, the Debarrys, as lords of the manor ... took the place of the saints." Too small for parishioners, nevertheless "the space of a large side-chapel was taken up by the tombs of the Debarrys." Catholic Emancipation bill made neighbors suspicious of each other, "Mr. Tiliot ... knew now that Mr. Nuttwood ... was one of those Dissenters, Deists, Sicilians, Papists and Radicals, who were in league to destroy the constitution." Deleted passage on the Debarry Castle: "It had every traditional honor that could belong to an English castle. Plantagenets had held wassail in it, the houses of York and Lancaster had contended for it ... Richard the Third had slept in it (doubtless with bad dreams) shortly before the battle of Bosworth Field; Mary Queen of Scots (exhaustless theme of poets!) had been imprisoned there; it had held out against the Parliamentary forces, and had finally been battered down by Cromwell ... within ... might be seen that portion of the castle inhabited by the beautiful and unfortunate Queen of Scots." Treby Manor has portrait of Philip Debarry who converted 15 years later to Catholicism. Esther sent by Minister Lyon to a French Protestant school, so "she would contract no papistical superstitions" but "she contracted ... a good deal of non-papistical vanity." Her mother had been Frenchwoman, Annette Leduc, "a blind French Catholic" (according to Mr. Lyon, who fell in love with "the loveliness of her face, which seemed to him as that of an angel"); Annette calls him "the image of the bien-aimé Saint Jean." Lyon takes her in, despite his Puritanism; asks to raise Esther Protestant: Annette: "in France, in other days, I would have minded; but all is changed ... There is nothing of my religion in this country. But the good God must be here, for you are good; I leave all to you." Esther reads Chateaubriand's Genius of Christianity, at least the portion entitled René; criticized by Felix: "gentlemen like your Rénés ... have no particular talent for the finite, but a general sense that the infinite is the right thing for them," whereas Felix is into practical social radicalism; Papistry is associated with romance and vanity. But Felix, refusing the social world of ambition, says: "The old Catholics are right, with their higher rule and their lower. Some are called to subject themselves to a harder discipline." Felix looked at Esther "very much as a reverential Protestant might look at a picture of the Virgin." Felix teasing Esther about her estimate of his idealism: "women, unless they are Saint Theresa's or Elizabeth Frys, generally think this sort of thing madness." Intimate conversation of Mr. Lyon and Esther about her mother: "Very slight words and deeds may have a sacramental efficacy." When Esther chooses a modest life and renunciation of the Transome estate: such a choice "gives unity to life, and makes the memory a temple, where all relics and all votive offerings, all worship and all grateful joy, are an unbroken history sanctified by one religion" [probably religion of humanity] About to see Felix and fearful of how he will look: "It was what the dread of a pilgrim might be who has it whispered to him that the holy places are delusion, or that he will see them with a soul unstirred and unbelieving." Esther in the end plans to improve Felix's French accent.

Thoreau, A Yankee in Canada (composed 1853 and part pub. then), on the powerful spiritual appeal, but repressiveness, of Montreal Catholicism and Notre Dame Cathedral: "Nevertheless, they are capable of reverence ; but we Yankees are a people in whom this sentiment has nearly died out." "I think that I might go to church myself sometimes some Monday, if I lived in a city where there was such a one to go to. In Concord, to be sure, we do not need such. Our forests are such a church, far grander and more sacred ... to have a thinking-room in every city! ... I

should not object to the holy water, or any other simple symbol, if it were consecrated by the imagination of the worshippers ... Protestant churches, here or elsewhere, they did not interest me, for it is only as caves that churches interest me at all, and in that respect they were inferior." See Hecker's "Thoreau and New England Transcendentalism," Catholic World (June, 1878): "The only thing that sanctifies solitude is the Catholic faith ..."

### **\*\*1867\*\***

James Anthony Froude, "Times of Erasmus and Luther" (in Short Studies on Great Subjects, First Series): "Goethe thought that Erasmus, and men like Erasmus, had struck upon the right track; and if they could have retained the direction of the mind of Europe, there would have been more truth, and less falsehood, among us at the present time," but Luther loosed theology to the "passions of the multitude." "Never in all their history, in ancient times or modern ... have mankind thrown out of themselves anything so grand, so useful, so beautiful, as the Catholic church once was," (444) but "the body remained; the mind was gone away." Thus the powerful reforming words of Erasmus might have solved the situation. But if Erasmus had prevailed, Europe would have ended up with educated skeptics, while the multitude remained superstitious; manly popular Protestantism is better. "Revival of Romanism" (Fourth Series, 1883) "In my own boyhood it hung about some few ancient English families like a ghost of the past."

Walter Bagehot, The English Constitution, classic secularist thesis.

First Lambeth Conference@, meeting of Archbishop and bishops, every ten years, "contributed to a profound psychological alteration" of Anglicanism from an English state religion (with its Erastian confusions) to a world religion: "Ever since ... the Anglican communion has grown, while the Church of England has, proportionately, shrunk." (Adrian Hastings, Church and State 1991).

Richard Simpson, Edmund Campion, A Biography: discusses Campion's meeting with Sidney in Prague, and Sidney's openness to Catholicism. "In refusing their deepest assent to the medieval views of the temporal prerogatives of the Holy See, [Campion and his companions] were pioneers in the true path of the development of doctrine." But did Campion demur on temporal authority of pope "because he did not believe in it, or because he knew that such a refusal was his only escape?" (Vidmar 2005). (On Sidney, see Woodhuysen, Sir Philip Sidney and the Circulation of Manuscripts 1558-1640 (1996) for Sidney's connection with recusant music-lovers.)

Arnold, "On the Study of Celtic Literature," insists on the important Celtic element (dream, fantasy, otherworldliness) in English literature countering the Germanic Saxon; thus reclaims Shakespeare from Germanic monopoly; reflects anti-Germanism francophilia now. Important influence on Celtic revival in England *and Ireland*. Source in Renan's contrast between Brittany piety and hegemonic culture (Leerssen, "Englishness, Ethnicity and Matthew Arnold," European Jnl of Eng. St. (April, 2006). (How relate to "Hellenism"? Elides Catholicism?)

Longfellow and Charles Eliot Norton found the Dante Club in Cambridge, Mass.; to these "the world had been going to the dogs since the time of Dante. Dante, to them, appeared as the perfect expression of a perfect state of society," forecasting T. S. Eliot on Dante (Curtius). Longfellow publishes his translation of the Divine Comedy in 1867; translations of Dante appeared in his poems, Volumes of the Night (1839).

### **\*\*1868\*\***

G. Eliot, The Spanish Gypsy.

Kingsley, The Hermits, perhaps regretting earlier extreme anti-Catholic works: "In this age, as in every other age of materialism and practical atheism, a revulsion in favor of superstition [i.e. Catholicism] is at hand." 83

### **\*\*1869\*\***

Richard Simpson, "The Early Authorship of Shakespeare" (North British Review): "The task still remains, to trace his political correspondences and thus to discover his political, and even perhaps his philosophical and religious, affinities. It is only thus that we shall come to understand the true growth and the vital nature of the Elizabethan drama ... He is regarded rather as a mirror ... than as a person ... It would be a good deed to remove him from this Epicurean heaven of moral indifference, and to show that he took, as a reasoner, a decided part in the affairs which engrossed the highest minds of his day."

Browning, The Ring and the Book (pub.): “And so I have the Papacy complete / From Peter first to Alexander last” (ll. 10-11). Pope “a priest who thinks”. Pompilia’s pregnancy like a virgin birth, she is likened to Our Lady of All Sorrows by priest, Caponsacchi’s Catholicism humanized, Guido like Gilbert Osmond. Pope: “what if it be the mission of that age / My death will usher into life, to shake / This torpor of assurance from our creed, / Reintroduce the doubt discarded ... As we broke up that old faith of the world, / Have we, next age, to break up this new.” Browning contemplating a Catholic-style saint in a context of pluralism and conflicting views. See Henry James, 1912.

W. H. Prescott: “Many, very many, all too many ways lead to Rome. Idleness leads there; for Rome saves the trouble of independent thought. Dissoluteness leads there, for it impairs moral vigor. Conservatism, foolish conservatism, leads there, in the hope that the conservatives of the oldest abuse will be a shield for all abuses. Sensualism leads there, for it delights in parade and magnificent forms. Materialism leads there, for the superstitious can adore an image and think to become purified by bodily torments, hair shirts, and fasting, turning all religion into acts of the physical organs” (qu. Franchot 57).

#### *Disestablishment of Church of Ireland by Gladstone.*

Arnold, Culture and Anarchy: the Episcopal and Presbyterian strands were both present in the Church of England at the Reformation, and “Presbyterianism was only extruded gradually.” “Perhaps if a government like that of Elizabeth, with secular statesmen like the Cecils, and ecclesiastical statesmen like Whitgift, could have been prolonged, Presbyterianism might, by a wise mixture of concession and firmness, have been absorbed in the Establishment;” thus nonconformists should be reunited with the mainstream of national life, vs. the provincial Puritan ideal, “The Dissidence of Dissent and the Protestantism of the Protestant religion” [quoting Burke, I believe] as though these things were good in themselves. Better during these centuries to have been a Christian than a Jew or Socinian “because the being in contact with the main stream of human life is of more moment for a man’s total spiritual growth, and for his bringing to perfection the gifts committed to him, which is his business on earth.” “The Nonconformist is not in contact with the main current of national life, like the member of an Establishment.” “It is agreed that we want a source of authority, and ... it seems probable that the right source is our best self.” “For us, the framework of society, that theatre on which this august drama has to unroll itself, is sacred.” Arnold influenced by Burke’s anti-revolutionary idea of culture (R. Williams, Culture and Society).

Metaphysical Society founded (see Cambridge Apostles above).

Dostoyevsky, The Idiot (1868-9), trans. 1887, 1913 (by Garnett). Myskin: “Catholicism is the same as an unchristian faith ... Atheism only preaches a zero, but Catholicism goes further; it preaches a distorted Christ... a counter Christ ... Roman Catholicism is not even a faith, but decidedly the continuation of the Western Roman empire ... Atheism came out of Roman Catholicism itself! ... could they believe in it themselves? ... socialism is also a product of Catholicism ... like its brother atheism, came out of despair, in order to replace the lost moral force of religious with itself.” Aglaya on last page “ended up in the Catholic confessional of some famous padre, who had taken possession of her mind to the point of frenzy” (the ultimate horror because so close to Zossima?).

#### \*\*1870\*\*

Disraeli’s Lothair: “He took refuge in the wild but beautiful thought of a reconciliation between Rome and England;” “I look upon our nobility joining the Church of Rome as the greatest calamity ... it is an abnegation of patriotism;” about conversion of Marquis of Bute in 1868, and D. was witness for his marriage in 1872 at Brompton Oratory; admiration of religious power of Catholicism, yet opposed to political liberty and national loyalty. L. mightily attracted to Catholicism as only bulwark against atheism, plans cathedral, “He took refuge in the wild but beautiful thought of a reconciliation between Rome and England.” Great empathy for Catholicism, but then sees it enmeshed in Vatican manipulation and plotting. L. persuaded by republican Theodora for whom her conscience is enough religion. At end it looks like Lothair will be invited to Vatican Council as prominent Anglican layman, felt efficacy of Eucharist, much more than high church allowed.

Dante Rossetti, Poems: his religious details are “without any essential religious import,” presented as an “antiquarian discovery,” of value now only for their material design (McGann, “Ancient Mariner,” CI (1981)).

Brownson, to Hecker, despairing of democracy: “I defend the republican form of government for our country, because it is the legal & only practicable form, but I no longer hope anything from it. Catholicity is theoretically compatible with democracy, as you and I would explain democracy, but practically, there is, in my judgment, no compatibility between them. According to catholicity, all power comes from above and descends from high to low; according to democracy, all power is infernal, is from below, and ascends from low to high” (qu. Franchot

*King Victor Emmanuel II annexes Rome, and Pope flees the Quirinal Palace, now the Italian royal palace, into the Vatican as a self-proclaimed "prisoner", forbidding (Non Expedit) Catholics to participate in elections in the new Italian state. See 1798, 1929.*

First Vatican Council (1868-70) defined papal infallibility. Observing, Charles Eliot Norton wrote in The Nation that the world had become divided “between the principle of authority and that of freedom in matters of opinion, between faith and skepticism, between supernaturalism and science, between obscurantism and intelligence.” In reaction, Döllinger left the church. Newman: “I saw the new definition yesterday, and am pleased at its moderation … The terms are vague and comprehensive, and, personally, I have no difficulty in admitting it.” Strachey: “Almost in the same moment, the successor of Peter had lost his Temporal Power and gained Infallibility.”

*Home Rule Association founded by Isaac Butt (Protestant) (leading to Parnell); Butt's death in 1870 "marked the end of the law-respecting tradition of constitutional nationalism" (Foster, Mod. Ireland).*

*Gladstone passes first Irish Land act, giving some protection of land tenure.*

James Russell Lowell’s “The Cathedral”, “in which Chartres cathedral serves as locus of the poet’s romantic struggles with nostalgia and alienation,” but his earlier sketches show more Protestant anxiety about the Catholic allure (Franchot).

Catholics and Roman Catholics (anon) rejoicing in Anglican rituals “that only a few decades earlier would have been recognized as patently papist” (O’Malley 2006): “We have the blessed privilege of confession and absolution; we have the real presence of Christ in His Holy Sacrament; we can plead the Eucharistic Sacrifice for all our wants; we have an apostolically ordained ministry; we have revived religious orders; we can love and reverence the Blessed Mother of God … we can hold communion with the saints departed, and look to be benefited by their prayers. All these privileges are being fast restored to us, and the Church of England is again putting on the beautiful clothing of Catholicity which her children had almost forgotten was hers by right”. “Already by 1871, The Oxford and Roman Railway was lamenting the increasing evidence of Catholicizing principles within the Established Church: in 1851, the tract asserts, there were fifty-three convents in England, a number that rose to 214 by 1869. In 1897 Walsh notes that twenty-five years earlier, it was still a bit of a scandal that a Reverend Barrett made an appeal for ‘an Altar Cross, Altar Lights, Vesper Lights, Cottas, Cassock and Stoles, a Scaring Bell, Frontals and Super Fronts, Banners, Flower Vases, &c’ (O’Malley 2006). Acc. to John Shelton Reed, by the 1890s, “the Anglo-Catholics had not only won their right to toleration within the Church of England, they had by their example and success influenced the practices and attitudes of all parts of the Church. And Reed notes that in the years between 1869 and 1884 a number of practices that would have initially appeared unapologetically Tractarian (including services on saints’ days and weekly or more frequent Communion) became the activities of a majority of London churches” (O’Malley 2006 191).

\*\*1871\*\*

Richard Simpson argues for Shakespeare’s authorship of insurrection scene of Sir Thomas Moore; as does Spedding in 1872.

Swinburne, “Hymn of Man (During the Session in Rome of the Oecumenical Council)” (in Songs Before Sunrise) ending “Glory to Man in the highest! for Man master of things” one of series of anti-Rome poems. See Hopkins 1875.

Newman letter to Arnold: “in centuries to come, there may be found out some way of uniting what is free in the new structure of society with what is authoritative in the old, without any base compromise with ‘Progress’ and ‘Liberalism’.”

Rev. R. G. McGhee, to Archbishop Manning: “I affirm, on the contrary, that the Church of England holds the faith of the ancient Catholic and Apostolic Church, and protests against the Church of Rome, because she has departed from that faith, and has set up a new Creed as her new profession of faith, which was never heard of or promulgated in the Christian Church till the 9<sup>th</sup> day of December, 1564.”

Ainsworth, Tower Hill: following Lingard’s view of Catherine Howard’s downfall as the result of the Cranmer and the Protestant party opposing her Catholic side. (“If Catherine is Queen’ ... cried Norfolk, ‘her influence over Henry will enable us to crush the reformers ...’”) She indeed was secretly espoused before to Dereham and is in love with Adrian Culpepper, but is faithful to the king who is portrayed as the usual gullible tyrant. Catherine feelingly registers the devastation on Catholicism wrought by the king; Cranmer at least feels sorry for her and tries to have her spared.

*Bismarck’s Kulturkampf (1871-1878) against the Roman Catholic Church in Germany, “now viewed as evidence of National Liberalism’s attempt to forcibly assimilate the large German Catholic minority into the cultural Protestant bourgeois identity envisaged for the empire” (M. A. Drury, “Anti-Catholicism in Germany ...” *Church History* (2001). See Anderson 1995 on resilience of German Catholicism; Rome, ultramontane, seen as deliverance.*

\*\*1872\*\*

John Morris, ed. The Troubles of Our Catholic Forefathers Related by Themselves (1872-1877), prints many recusant documents, like the life of Fr. William Weston, etc., vivid painful accounts. George Eliot, Middlemarch (1871-2), on the 1830-35 period, pref. on Dorothea as St. Theresa in post-Catholic world: “Many Theressas have been born who found for themselves no epic life ... for these later-born Theressas were helped by no coherent social faith and order ... Here and there is born a Saint Theresa, foundress of nothing, whose loving heart-beats and sobs after an unattained goodness trembled off and are dispersed among hindrances, instead of centering in some long-recognizable deed.” On her characters, “Some set out, like Crusaders of old, with a glorious equipment of hope and enthusiasm, and get broken by the way, wanting patience with each other and the world.” Last page of novel, penultimate para: “A new Theresa will hardly have the opportunity of reforming a conventional life ... the medium in which their ardent deeds took shape is for ever gone;” “the growing good of the world is dependent on unhistoric acts;” our welfare is “half owing to the number who lived faithfully a hidden life, and rest in unvisited tombs” 896 [thus call for reverence for saints]. Dorothea wore a plain gown with sleeves “not less bare of style than those in which the Blessed Virgin appeared to Italian painters” (Chapter 1, first sentence). In repose she could have been “a picture of Santa Barbara looking out from her tower into the clear air.” Toward end, chap. 76, rescuing Lydgate: “he thought: ‘This young creature has a heart large enough for the Virgin Mary’.” Her ancestors included a Puritan gentleman under Cromwell who “afterwards conformed, and managed to come out of all political troubles as the proprietor of a respectable family estate.” Dorothea “knew many passages of Pascal’s Pensées and of Jeremy Taylor by heart.” Her dog is “Monk, the Great St Bernard dog.” Mrs. Cadwallader says of Dorothea that there is “a great deal of nonsense in her—a flighty sort of Methodistical stuff.” The “hereditary strain of Puritan energy ... glowed alike through faults and virtues.” “A young lady of some birth and fortune, who knelt suddenly down on a brick floor by the side of a sick labourer and prayed fervidly as if she thought herself living in the time of the Apostles—who has strange whims of fasting like a Papist ...” Tries to justify her delight in her mother’s jewels and their colours “by merging them in her mystic religious joy” 36 Dorothea’s spirit, “fed from within, soared after illimitable satisfaction ... which would reconcile self-despair with the rapturous consciousness of life beyond self.” “Something she yearned for by which her life might be filled with action at once rational and ardent; and since the time was gone for guiding visions and spiritual directors, since prayer heightened yearning but not instruction, what lamp was there but knowledge?”: thus, drawn to Casaubon. Ladislaw’s German artist friend says of her “she should be dressed as a nun; I think she looks almost what you call a Quaker; I would dress her as a nun in my picture” [i.e. he sees her ‘rather’ as a nun]. Her visit to Rome which “may still be the spiritual centre and interpreter of the world”, but imagine “the gigantic broken revelations of that Imperial and Papal city thrust abruptly on the notions of a girl who had been brought up in English and Swiss Puritanism [educated in Swiss canton, I think], fed on meager Protestant histories and on art chiefly of the hand-screen sort” thus feels “the weight of unintelligible Rome”: “Ruins and

basilicas, palaces and colossi, set in then midst of a sordid present, where all that was living and warm-blooded seemed sunk in the deep degeneracy of a superstition divorced from reverence;” “all this vast wreck of ambitious ideals, sensuous and spiritual, mixed confusedly with the signs of breathing forgetfulness and degradation, at first jarred her as with an electric shock.” Casaubon notes the Raphael frescoes “which most persons think it worth while to visit.” “But do you care about them?” was always Dorothea’s question. “In Dorothea’s mind there was a current into which all thought and feeling were apt sooner or later to flow—the reaching forward of the whole consciousness towards the fullest truth, the least partial good” [even in the midst of her flawed marriage]. “By desiring what is perfectly good, even when we don’t quite know what it is and cannot do what we would, we are part of the divine power against evil—widening the skirts of light ...” “That is a beautiful mysticism,” says Ladislaw. Dorothea says she doesn’t pray much anymore. “I have always been thinking of the different ways in which Christianity is taught, and whenever I find one way that makes it a wider blessing than any other, I cling to that as the truest—I mean that which takes in the most good of all kinds, and brings in the most people as sharers in it.” On her decision to return to Rosamond, “it is given to us sometimes even in our everyday life to witness the saving influence of a noble nature, the divine efficacy of rescue that may lie in a self-subduing act of fellowship.” Rosamund ends “keeping in religious remembrance the generosity which had come to her aid in the sharpest crisis of her life.” Casaubon: “My mind is something like the host of an ancient, wandering about the world and trying mentally to construct it as it used to be, in spite of ruin and confusion changes.” His aim is to “reconstruct a past world.” His thesis is “that all the mystical systems or erratic mythical fragments in the world were corruptions of a tradition originally revealed;” mocked by Ladislaw for his ignorance of German scholarship. For Dorothea “here was a living Bossuet, whose work would reconcile complete knowledge with devoted piety; here was a modern Augustine who united the roles of doctor and saint.” Dorothea could talk to Casaubon “on the secondary importance of ecclesiastic forms and articles of belief compared with that spiritual religion, that submergence of self in communion with Divine perfection which seemed to her to be expressed in the best Christian books of widely-distant ages.” Casaubon could “assure her of his own agreement with that view when duly tempered with wise conformity, and could mention historical examples before unknown to her.” “It would be like marrying Pascal.” He wrote “a very seasonable pamphlet ... on the Catholic question” says Mr. Brooke [thus in favor of Catholic emancipation—see Brooke’s view on allowing Catholic chapels; but p. 95 suggests C. might have been against it]. Mr. Brooke tells Casaubon that “the Reformation either meant something or it did not, that he himself was Protestant to the core, but that Catholicism was a fact; and as to refusing an acre of your round for a Romanist chapel, all men need the bridle of religion.” He follows Sir Samuel Romilly who supported Catholic emancipation. That Brooke would give radical speeches in favor of Reform Bill is typical of the unexpected: “For example ... Henry of Navarre, when a Protestant baby, little thought of being a Catholic monarch ... He eyes a mine of truth, which, however vigorously it may be worked, is likely to outlast our coal.” About Rome and “about topography, ruins, temples—I thought I had a clue, but I it would carry me too far, and nothing might have come of it.” Caleb Garth “whenever he had a feeling of awe (and tried to express himself), he was haunted by a sense of Biblical phraseology, though he could hardly have given a strict quotation.” We look back at Middlemarch and seem to remember 2 major figures, the rest minor; but who are the 2? Dorothea is one, despite Leavis’s attack on her as being an egoistic projection of Eliot; the other is not Ladislaw, considered a lightweight by critics. Yet somehow out of the corner of our eye, we sense a counter-character to Dorothea, a counter-presence, embodying her and Eliot’s sense of love and high compassion. [See Daniel Deronda, Daniel telling Gwendolyn about the “higher life”: “They both stood silent for a minute, as if some third presence had arrested them.”] 508

Charles Eastlake, A History of the Gothic Revival: An Attempt to Show How the Taste for Mediaeval Architecture Which Lingered in England During the Two Last Centuries Has Since Been Encouraged and Developed; still the classic work on the subject (pace Kenneth Clark); cites the influence of the taste for mediævalism encouraged by Scott, Percy, Lingard, Chateaubriand, and Schlegel.

\*\*1874\*\*

Richard Simpson, “The Political Use of the Stage in Shakespeare’s Time,” “The

Politics of Shakespeare's Historical Plays" (New Shakespere Society's Transactions; this "Politics" essay played "a central role in the professionalization of Shakespeare studies" (see Hugh Grady, The Modernist Shakespeare 1991); one of the first historicist interpretations of English literature (Gary Taylor, "Forms of Opposition"); celebrated as "precursor" of historicist critics by Lily Campbell, Shakespeare's "Histories." After welcoming King James, Shakespeare was soon undeceived. "We see him in his earliest work choosing stock examples of weak princes ruined by their favourites and ministers ... Then we find him dilating on the miseries of the just rebellion ... Then, in Henry V, we have a manifesto of the political scheme of the friends of Essex ..." On King John pruning Protestant propaganda of earlier play, idealizing young Arthur who is made parallel to Mary, Queen of Scots, after whose death King John is like Elizabeth, many other contemporary parallels; moral is to avoid foreign intervention, whatever injustice you are suffering. On RII, the ruinous taxation evokes for Shakespeare ruinous recusant fines, language paralleling Verstegan's; on Elizabeth as in hands of selfish favorite. Henry IV evokes uprising of 1569. Henry V and Essex whose acts "point to a grand idea of a union of all parties ... equal justice to all, a general toleration in religion," believed war would create national unity. In Henry VI, Margaret is like Leicester, on political disaster that overtakes innocence in high places. "The only reproach which he [Shakespeare] allows himself to make against the old religion is connected with the political pretensions of the papacy. All the libelous satire against monks and nuns with which the old King John is filled, was cleared away by him. He gives us quite natural and touching pictures of the piety (superstitious in the eyes of his generation) of Richard II, and Henry V ... This abstinence on his part places him in the strongest possible contrast to all his brother playwrights;" "as ... our knowledge of Elizabethan politics is very one-sided, through the victorious cause having thoroughly effaced the conquered, it will be necessary to understand the drift and pith of the opposition literature of this period."

Gladstone, The Vatican Decrees in their Bearing on Civil Liberty, responding to First Vatican Council, argues that Catholics's civil allegiance is questionable. Newman, "Letter to Norfolk ... on ... Gladstone" (Certain Difficulties, vol. 2): cites Paul V's excommunication of Elizabeth as example of fallible mistaken papal policy; cites Pre-Reformation papal corruption as resulting in Reformation; "I see no inconsistency in my being at once a good Catholic and a good Englishman." Gladstone also answered by Acton in The Times, that British Catholics had long been loyal, had long disregarded papal instructions etc. (DNB)

Church of England: Public Worship Regulation Act restricting ritualism.

Matthew Arnold's Higher Schools and Universities in Germany: "Long before the Reformation serious and intelligent Catholics, could, for their single selves separate these accretions [i.e. "its load of popular error" and "Ultramontanism"] from their religion" (vs. Literature and Dogma claim that Catholicism was all of a piece and must be jettisoned).

Arnold letter: "My ideal would be, for Catholic countries, the development of something like the Old Catholicism, retaining as much as possible of old religious services and usages, but becoming more and more liberal in spirit."

John William Draper, The Conflict Between Religion and Science; on Catholic opposition to Science; similarly to be argued in Andrew Dickson White, History of the Warfare of Science and Theology (1895).

Edward Dowden, Shakespere: A Critical Study of his Mind and Art (3<sup>rd</sup> edn. c. 1880), "most influential Shakespeare biography in the history of literary

criticism” (N. Wallace, ELH, 2005); pays tribute to Simpson. Pref to first edn. attempts “to observe ... in its several stages the growth of his intellect and character from youth to full maturity.” Shakespeare illustrates “the Protestant type of character”: “Energy, devotion to the fact, self-government, tolerance ... a resolution to judge all things from a purely human standpoint, these grow upon us as habits of thought and feeling” (i.e. proto-Bloom). Thus Henry V: “Henry’s freedom from egoism, his modesty, his integrity, his joyous humour, his practical piety, his habit of judging things by natural and not artificial standards.” Suggests four periods: “in the workshop,” “in the world,” “out of the depths,” “on the heights.” England’s national character created by its capacity for “balance, [and] compromises with this side and with that.” “[T]he spirit of Protestantism ... animates and breathes through his writings.”

Hopkins, The Wreck of the Deutschland: “Startle the poor sheep back! is the shipwreck then a harvest ... ?”: climax of a long debate Hopkins is having with the radical anti-Catholic republican Swinburne whose rhythms Hopkins has been adapting in rebuttal style. Nuns had been thrown out as result of Bismarck’s Kulturkampf against the church. (See Renée V. Overholser, “Our King Back, Oh, Upon English Souls!”, Swinburne, Hopkins, and the Politics of Religion,” Religion and the Arts 5.1-2 (2001).) Linguistically, “his pushing back of the Elizabethans had some incentive in his desire to get back of the Reformation to an England at once Catholic and English” (Warren, Rage for Order). Hopkins fragment, “St. Winefred’s Well” (c. 1881): St. Bruno: “Here to this holy well shall pilgrimages be, / And not from purply Wales only nor from elmy England, / But from beyond seas, Erin, France and Flanders, everywhere, / Pilgrims, still pilgrims, móre pilgrims, still more poor pilgrims.” Also see “The Loss of the Eurydice”: “I might let bygones be—our curse of ruinous shrine ... hoar-hallowéd shrines unvisited ... this crew, in / Unchrist, all rolled in ruin ... Wondering why my master bore it, / The riving of that race / So at home, time was, to his truth and grace // That a starlight-wender of ours would say / The marvellous Milk was Walsingham Way ...”

Emile de Laveleye, Protestantism and Catholicism, in Their Bearing upon the Liberty and Prosperity of Nations (trans.): Catholicism impoverished its nations.

Tennyson, Queen Mary, an august character in Spanish Catholic toils, ends with triumphant ascendancy of Elizabeth: “God save the crown! the Papacy is no more;” followed by Becket in 1879, making Becket a spiritual hero versus social conformity, but also a non-papist Catholic.

Manning, the Vatican Decrees in their bearing on Civil Allegiance, answering Gladstone, arguing that Catholic allegiance was “as full, perfect and complete since the Council as it was before.”

\*\*1876\*\*

George Wilkes, Shakespeare from an American Point of View; Including an Inquiry as to His Religious Faith, on family Catholicism, on Catholic importance of relation to Essex and Lucy persecution; speculates that “Shakespeare’s ‘Confession of Faith,’ if he made one, was quietly buried with him,” on reasons for “evening mass;” on reverence for old religion and contempt for Protestants in plays.

Edward Russell, “The Religion of Shakespeare,” The Theological Review: “In the graver passages of Shakespeare we have many hints of what our national literature of imagination might have been if oneness and universality of religious feeling had been perpetuated after the Reformation, and imbued at the same time by that event and its consequences with a somewhat more earnest religious sensibility than existed in purely Roman Catholic times. In other words, the religion of Shakespeare is very much what the religion of all English men of good life would have been, if the Church of England had continued for the whole nation what its formularies and authoritative literature assumed that it would be;” otherwise a general discussion.

George Eliot, Daniel Deronda: Gwendolyn at Diplow Abbey: "It is very nice to come after ancestors and monks, but they should know their places and keep underground. I should be rather frightened to go about this house all alone. I suppose the old generations must be angry with us because we have altered things so much." Deronda an Elsmere type: "voracious of speculations on government and religion, yet loath to part with long-sanctioned forms." Hebrew chanting of psalms compared to Palestrina's Magnificat, both combining great feeling with historic liturgy and sense of communion with the past. Mordecai on the growing absorbent life of a people, but can suffer arrest, shriveling memories into relics, as in both the Christian-Jewish and Catholic-Protestant divisions; "a whole Christian is three-fourths a Jew"; "our religion the fundamental religion of the whole world." On deprived generations: "the ancestral life would lie within them as a dim longing for unknown objects and sensations, and the spell-bound habit of their inherited frames would be like a cunningly-wrought musical instrument, never played on, but quivering throughout in uneasy mysterious moanings of its intricate structure, that under the right touch, gives music": compare the Torok-Abraham theory on inherited hidden trauma. [Consider "Anglican assumption that ... both these distinctive affiliations might limit Roman Catholic and Jewish loyalties to English national identity" (C. Scheinberg, in Camb Companion to Vict. Poetry 2000).]

Cardinal James Gibbons, The Faith of our Fathers, crisp, clear, influential apologia for Catholicism; more than 100 editions and 2 million copies in next quarter century.

Melville, Clarel: "Melville's Clarel ... sifts competing theological claims more rigorously and finds at least as much merit in Catholicism as in Protestantism before denying itself the consolation of either" (L. Buell, William and Mary Q., 1996, contra Franchot on Melville's desiccation).

Edward Dering, Freville Chase, pro-Catholicism.

"Newman had an important correspondence in 1876 with the convert Ambrose Phillipps de Lisle, about a plan for an Anglican 'uniate' Church, similar to the Eastern Rite Churches in communion with Rome. The plan, which had some support from Cardinal Manning... argued [in an anonymous pamphlet called Christianity or Erastianism?] that the Anglican Church was at the mercy of the British State, and that the only way to avoid this 'Erastian' Church was to enter into communion with the Holy See. Newman's initial position was sceptical, for practical reasons. He wrote to de Lisle on 19th January that it was a 'plausible scheme', but that he saw difficulties, for instance in the relations between the ex-Anglican groups and the rest of the English Catholic Church ("it would be very difficult to avoid perpetual collisions between the two bodies ... The Roman priests would be complaining that the rich splendid Anglican Church in their mission was drawing away at least the young generation"). For Newman, it depended on what the plan could hope to achieve – if enough Anglicans would enter the Catholic Church, it would be worth it. But Newman noted that among Anglo-Catholics "I am told few will feel inclined towards it". But some ten days later Newman wrote again to de Lisle: "Nothing will rejoice me more than to find that the Holy See considers it safe and promising to sanction some such plan as the Pamphlet suggests. I give my best prayers, such as they are, that some means of drawing to us so many good people, who are now shivering at our gates, may be discovered." In fact, the scheme soon collapsed, with de Lisle writing that "some powerful influence ... has at once intervened." Writing in May, Newman consoled de Lisle with thoughts he had already expressed in his Apologia pro Vita Sua: "It seems to me there must be some divine purpose in it. It often has happened in sacred and in ecclesiastical history, that a thing is in itself good, but the time has not come for it ... And thus I reconcile myself to many, many things, and put them into God's hands. I can quite believe that the conversion of Anglicans may be more thorough and more extended, if it is delayed – and our Lord knows more than we do" (from Catholic Online International News, "Pope and Anglicans: Cardinal John Henry Newman's Role?" (10/23/2009)).

\*\*1877\*\*

Charles Peirce, "The Fixation of Belief," pragmatic science vs. priest-ridden authority.

Robert Persons, S.J., "Of the Life and Martyrdom of Father Edmond Campian," unfinished ms. at Stonyhurst, pub. in Letters and Notices 11 (1877): Sidney as Ambassador to Prague "had diverse large and secret conferences with Fr. Campian about matters of religion; in which he seemed to go away fully persuaded ... that the only truth was with the Catholics,

*albeit not to lose these flattering hopes of the world which then fawned upon him he said it was necessary for him to hold on to the course which then hitherto he had followed, but yet promised never to hurt or injure an Catholic, which I think for the most part he performed.” Earlier, Persons describes Tarleson, Sidney’s tutor, arguing about biblical evidence with Campion, Tarleson’s arguments being so weak that they convinced Campion to decide for Catholicism; did Sidney witness this debate?*

Gustave Flaubert, *Trois Contes*: *A Simple Heart* (ending “With her dying breath she imagined she saw a huge parrot hovering above her head as the heavens parted to receive her”), *The Legend of Saint Julian Hospitator* (ending, after the full frontal embrace, “The roof flew off and the firmament opened above them. Julian rose up into the blue, into the open arms of Our Lord Jesus Christ, who bore him up to heaven”), and *Herodias* (“Because the head was very heavy, they . . . in turns to carry it”).

Lord Acton, lecture, “The History of Freedom in Christianity,” representing his unwritten grand opus, on the importance of the Church in historically protecting freedom against civil authority. Edited Rambler from 1859, changes its name to Home and Foreign Review in 1862, journal folded in 1864. Acton’s famous “power tends to corrupt, and absolute power corrupts absolutely” (recorded 1887) was applied to political and religious domains. In 1895, Acton became first Catholic Regius Professor of Modern History at Cambridge. From 1877-1883, he worked on his unfinished History of Liberty; from his Notes: “Papacy lost its political influence in obtaining political power. The check on monarchy was removed when he became a monarch. That is one element of modern absolutism.”

Henry Foley edits Records of the English Province of the Society of Jesus (7 vols., 1877-84).

\*\*1878\*\*

[Johannes Janssen, *Geschichte des deutschen Volkes seit dem Ausgang des Mittelalters*, 8 vols., 1878-94, trans. 1896-1910: stressed flourishing of pre-Reformation Catholicism in Germany; because of Janssen, no one could now write of the Reformation without weighing the Catholic side (Taine). Provided “a dominant historical framework for Catholic interpretation of the Reformation during subsequent generations;” used archives extensively; interested in Kulturgeschichte; acc. to Janssen, “Luther’s error was not that he saw the need for reform, but that he failed to see that all the necessary means were at hand and already at work. He therefore undid past achievements and nipped new reform in the bud” (A. Dickens et al, *Reformation in Historical Thought*).]

Leo XIII’s encyclical, *Quod Apostolici Muneris*, subtitled “On Socialism,” rejects movements that intend to overthrow governments.

Matthew Arnold: The Catholic Church, along with the Church of England, “kept in great measure the traditional form of Catholicism and thus preserved its link with the past, its share in the beauty and the poetry and the charm for the imagination of Catholicism . . . I persist in thinking that Catholicism has, from this superiority, a great future before it; that it will endure while all the Protestant sects (in which I do not include the Church of England) dissolve and perish. I persist in thinking that the prevailing form for the Christianity of the future will be a form of Catholicism; but a Catholicism purged, opening itself to the light and air, having the consciousness of its own poetry, freed from its sacerdotal despotism and freed from its pseudo-scientific apparatus of superannuated dogma” (“Irish Catholicism and British Liberalism,” rpt. in Mixed Essays, 1880).

Third Lambeth Conference defines “the Lambeth Quadrilateral,” as “the basis on which approach might be . . . made toward Reunion” (Scripture has all things necessary; Apostles’ Creed, etc.).

Richard Watson Dixon, History of the Church of England: “The old system had already, at the opening of the Reformation, shewn itself expansive enough to contain the new ideas which were transforming literature and art: and need never have become irreconcilable with the religious developments of the age.” Dixon writes as high Anglican insisting on Catholic roots: “A Reformation was needed in many things; but it was carried out on the whole by bad instruments and attended by great calamities.”

Lambeth Conference designates Ascension Day for prayer for Unity.

\*\*1879\*\*

S. A. Harper, “Was Shakespeare a Catholic?,” American Catholic Quarterly

**Review:** intelligent discussion of some crux passages.

*Leo XIII's Aeterni Patris*, urged recovery of medieval heritage vs. modern heresy, launched neo-Thomism; “created a scholarly activity of unparalleled force in the history of medieval studies” (Southern).

Land league founded in 1879 by Michael Davitt (Catholic), joined by Charles Stuart Parnell (Protestant), whose parliamentary tactics forced Gladstone to introduce Land Act of 1881, and Home Rule bill in 1886, but defeated; then Parnell adultery scandal, denounced by Catholic Church (reluctantly, eventually), followed by his death in 1891. Also in 1879, Standish O’Grady, *Bardic History of Ireland* vol. 1 ((1879-), ‘father’ of the Literary Revival, insisted on primal Irishness predating Christianity, peasants pantheist under their Christianity,

**\*\*1880\*\***

Wilhelm Maurenbrecher, *Geschichte der katholischen Reformation*, emphasized and coined term, “Catholic Reformation,” not just counter-Reformation.

Matthew Arnold, “The Study of Poetry”: “The future of poetry is immense ... 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 ...”

Dostoyevsky, *The Brothers Karamazov* (trans. 1900, Garnett). Russian Orthodox issue: Some monks complain that the sacrament of penance is being disrespected by the Elders’ use of personal confession. Ivan’s article argues that “the Church ought to include the whole State,” not just hold a position in it; Miusov screams “the purest Ultramontanism.” Zossima: yes, “Christian society will continue ... in expectation of its complete transformation.” Miusov: “It’s beyond the dreams of Pope Gregory the Seventh!” Father Paissy: “Understand the Church is not to be transformed into the State. That is Rome and its dream ... On the contrary, the State is transformed into the church”, becoming world-wide, “the complete opposite of Ultramontanism ... the glorious destiny ordained for the Orthodox Church.” Later, Paissy: “After this cruel analysis the learned of this world have left nothing of all that was sacred of old ... It is still as strong and living even in the souls of atheists, who have destroyed everything ... in their inmost they still follow the Christian idea, for neither their subtlety nor the ardor of their hearts has been able to create a higher ideal of man.” *Grand Inquisitor* (compared to “the Jesuits”), “not dressed in his glorious cardinal’s robes, as ... when he was burning the enemies of the Roman Church,” now in “coarse, old, monk’s cassock.” Tells Jesus “he hasn’t the right to add anything to what He has said of old. One may say it is the most fundamental feature of Roman Catholicism ... ‘All has been given by Thee to the Pope’”. “Miracle, mystery, and authority.” “Didst thou forget that man prefers peace, and even death, to freedom of choice in the knowledge of good and evil?” Alyosha: “That’s Rome, and not even the whole of Rome, it’s false—those are the worst of the Catholics, the Inquisitors, the Jesuits! ... They are simply the Romish army for the earthly sovereignty of the world in the future.” Zossima: “from these meek monks, who yearn for solitary prayer, the salvation of Russia will come perhaps once more.” Grushenka at Mokroe party: “Do you know, Mitya, I shall go into a nunnery ... But today let us dance.” Dmitri at end: “I shall escape ... But I shall condemn myself, and I will pray for my sin for ever. That’s how the Jesuits talk, isn’t it?” Alyosha: “Yes.” “the last major Christian artist to possess fully the sacramental knowledge of man alive in a society that moves” (Malcolm Ross, 1954).

**\*\*1881\*\***

Wilkie Collins, *The Black Robe*: Romayne drawn to Roman Church despite its power politics: “The solemn tranquility of that church, the poor people praying near me, the few words of prayer by which I silently united myself to my fellow-creatures, have calmed me and done me good.” Jesuit, Father Benson, sophisticated and calculating, wants to get Romayne’s Vange Abbey grounds back for the Church—a symbol of wanting to get England back: “What the Church once lawfully possessed, the Church has a right to recover.” Comes between Romayne and his Protestant wife and child, but they are reunited on Romayne’s death bed (though Romayne has

become a priest). Alternative compassionate priest, Father Penrose, fervent for the faith, but not willing to hurt Romayne's love: "the happiness of my friend's wife, Mrs. Romayne, is sacred to me for his sake. Be the good angel of your husband's life. I abandon the purpose of converting him."

Henry James's Portrait of a Lady; begins with quasi-eucharist ritual like Ulysses; Isabel in love with "liberty" and self-development, finds old life and "historic consciousness" in Europe, and a decision she commits to, a freely chosen version of what Osmond will prate about as the sacrament of marriage ("he spoke in the name of something sacred and precious—the observance of a magnificent form"); sees the ghost at Gardencourt (50), earned by suffering, sees ghost of Ralph; Ralph as unwitting Iago ("I should like to put money in her purse"); vs. Henrietta on easy divorce ("nothing is more common in our Western cities, and it's to them, after all, that we must look in the future"). Isabel in grief communes in Rome: "There was no gentler nor less consistent heretic than Isabel; the firmest of worshippers, gazing at dark altar-pictures or clustered candles, could not have felt more intimately the suggestiveness of these objects nor have been more liable at such moments to a spiritual visitation." Contrast Protestant Dorothea's similar meditation on the "weight of unintelligible Rome" in Middlemarch. At end, Mother Catherine in charge of Pansy and a "woman with whom benevolence was a habit and whose conception of duty was the acceptance of every care. It fell with a leaden weight on Isabel's ears ... it seemed to represent the surrender of personality, the authority of the Church". At end, Henrietta marrying Bantling says "he appreciated intellect" but "doesn't exaggerate its claims. I sometimes think we do so in the United States". Isabella to Henrietta: "I shall never make another promise. I made such a solemn one four years ago, and I've succeeded so ill in keeping it." Also, "almost anything seemed preferable to repudiating the most serious act—the single sacred act of her life. That appeared to make the whole future hideous ... an admission that their whole attempt had proved a failure ... Once they missed it nothing else would do; there was no conceivable substitute for that success": combine American accomplishment and sacrament. Isabel returns to Rome, the American committed to union with Europe, liberty with history, etc. In 1888, James said: "I can't look at the English and American worlds, or tell about them, any more, save as a big Anglo-Saxon total, destined to such an amount of melting together than insistence on their differences becomes more and more idle and pedantic."

Joseph Henry Shorthouse, John Inglesant (privately printed 1881): ancestor guiltily took over dispossessed abbey given him by HVIII; Fr. Sancta Clara, Jesuit, hopes Inglesant will be instrument to unite the churches, since Laud is so close and was offered cardinalship; at end Inglesant is "prompted by the most sincere desire to find out a way both for himself and for others, in which the highest spiritual walk ... might be possible within the Church of Rome;" but General of the Jesuits demands absolute obedience to Rome. Inglesant sees all this as inner conflict between obedience/faith and freedom/reason; pleads for preservation of the English church (though "illogical") where these two things are in balance. Made Little Gidding a tourist attraction. "This is the supreme quarrel of all ... a conflict within a man's own nature .... On the one side obedience and faith, on the other; freedom and the reason." (R. Knox in 1913: "what I held to be a duty myself -- namely, to remain in communion with the Church of England and to work and pray for a final corporate 'reunion' with the Holy See. To show that such a reunion was not impossible, I recommended the reading of my old friend John Inglesant"). When Acton criticized portrait of Jesuit, Shorthouse replied: "I never reason with Roman Catholics: they live in a fairyland of their own" (qu. Gosse, Portraits and Sketches).

Verlaine, Sagesse (major poetic volume, reflecting his Baudelairian Catholicism, see Symons below, 1899).

\*\*1882\*\*

Herbert Thurston, S. J., "The Religion of Shakespeare," The Month: answers Malone (see 1790) on the John Shakespeare testament; cites Simpson and earlier writers; cites Arden Catholicism, Shakespeare's unregistered marriage, possible

religious conflict with Lucy.

*Wagner, Parsifal, first performed: Amfortas, king of the grail, is wounded by yielding to sexual temptation, and the spear (that pierced Christ's side) stolen. Parsifal, pure of heart, regains spear and heals king, and holds the Grail aloft in final epiphany.*

*Nietzsche, The Gay Science:* "After Buddha was dead, his shadow was still shown for centuries in a cave—a tremendous, gruesome shadow ... God is dead; but, given the way of men, there may still be caves for thousands of years in which his shadow will be shown—and we—we still have to vanquish his shadow, too." "The event itself is far too great, too distant, too remote from the multitude's capacity for comprehension even for the tidings of it to be thought of as having arrived as yet," "how much must collapse now ... for example, the whole of our European morality." "We philosophers and free spirits feel, when we hear the news that 'the old god is dead,' as if a new day shone on us; our heart overflows with gratitude, amazement, premonitions, expectation." (Kaufman trans. based on 2<sup>nd</sup> edn. of 1887)

**\*\*1883\*\***

Arnold, "Emerson": Newman "has adopted, for the doubts and difficulties which beset men's minds to-day, a solution, which, to speak frankly, is impossible." See Froude, 1856.

**\*\*1884\*\***

London Oratory church on Brompton Road dedicated (completed 1895), in Italian baroque style "proclaiming Ultramontanism and spurning Pugin-esque neo-Gothic, which for many Oratorians had overtones of the Oxford Anglicanism from which they had converted" (Wheeler, Old Enemies)

**\*\*1885\*\***

Mark Pattison, Memoirs of an Oxford Don (1885): "It has often occurred to me to compare what took place at this period [1830's], in the fortunes of a small college, with the course of things in the great movement of the sixteenth century. About 1500 it seemed as if Europe was about to cast off at one effort the slough of feudal barbarism, and to step at once into that fair inheritance of the wisdom and culture of the ancient world. The Church led the van, and smiled on free inquiry and the new learning. About the third decennium of the century the resistance of the obscurantists was organized, the Catholic reaction set it, and nascent humanism was submerged beneath the rising tide of theological passion and the fatal and fruitless controversies of Lutheran, Calvinist, and Catholic, to the rival cries of the Bible and the Church. The 'sacrificio d'intelletto' of Loyola took the place of the free and rationalising spirit with which Erasmus had looked out upon the world of men. It was soon after 1830 that the 'Tracts' desolated Oxford life, and suspended, for an indefinite period, all science, humane letters, an the first stirrings of intellectual freedom which had moved in the bosom of Oxford. On his mental growth: "The notion of the Church soon expanded itself beyond the limits of the Anglican communion and became the wider idea of the Catholic Church," and then "I passed out of the Catholic phase, but slowly, and in many years, to that highest development when all religions appear in their historical light, as efforts of the human spirit to come to an understanding with that Unseen Power whose pressure it feels, but whose motives are a riddle."

Pater, Marius the Epicurean.

R. L. Stevenson, "Our Lady of the Snows" (Trappist monastery visited by R.S. in 1878; cites Arnold poem in Travels with a Donkey in A Child's Garden of Verses:

alone I passed

Across the moor and through the wood

To where the monastery stood ...

Aloof, unhelpful, and unkind,

The prisoners of the iron mind,

Where nothing speaks except the bell

The unfraternal brothers dwell ...

For still the Lord is Lord of might;

In deeds, in deeds, he takes delight;

The plough, the spear ...

But ye?—O ye who linger still

Here in your fortress on the hill,

With placid face, with tranquil breath,

The unsought volunteers of death,  
Our cheerful General on high  
With careless looks may pass you by ...

**\*\*1886\*\***

"*Ludwig von Pastor, Geschichte der Päpste (History of the Popes: From the Close of the Middle Ages)* (16 volumes, 1886-1933, trans. 1891-1953), that Catholic reforms were active in late middle ages, established firmly the notion of Catholic Reformation," not just counter-Reformation.

In letter, Hopkins seems to interpret Wordsworth's "have sight of that immortal sea" as sight of old Catholic England: "I shd. think St. George and St Thomas of Canterbury wore roses in heaven for England's sake on the day that ode, not without their intercession, was penned."

Stevenson, Dr. Jeckyl and Mr. Hyde: "by the end of the century, the heart of the Gothic environment has become contemporary London" (P. O'Malley 2006) as also in The Picture of Dorian Gray (1890) and Dracula (1897) (from continent to London), whereas the earlier Gothic Novels, Udolpho et al, were set in Europe: part of England finding the Gothic within itself. "The crux of the theological argument of Dracula lies in [the] persistent suggestion that vampirism is not so much an alien invasion after all as it is a dark mutation of Christian forms" (O'Malley 2006 quoting Christopher Herbert). Van Helsing's power is of the same sort, working by homeopathy.

**\*\*1887\*\***

Rev. John Pollen S.J. begins writing articles on Elizabethan Catholicism; argued that English government caused Reformation by forcefully imposing it from above.

Francis Aidan Gasquet, Henry VIII and the Monasteries: "doing much to rescue a crucial aspect of late medieval religion from the calumny of centuries" (Duffy, Historical Research, 2004); but in 1900's Gasquet's scholarship became sloppy and was discredited by Protestant C. G. Coulton. "Gasquet's strength and originality lay in his setting of institutional history in a rich social and intellectual context, and this was certainly a healthy corrective to biased Protestant views of the dissolution. On the other hand, he was flagrantly inaccurate in his transcription and citations of sources ..." (A. Dickens et al, Reformation in Historical Thought). He "stripped away one great argument" that had supported the English reformation; thus encourage a re-look at the causes (Vidmar 2005).

John M., The Religion of Shakespeare: "no religious habit of mind whatever." "As yet the religious temperament was in the main the temperament of mediaeval lay Catholicism, unpsychological, childlike, openminded, taking creed in the concrete, and seeing the main part of the life of faith in the ceremonial of the church. Pre-Puritan England was not concerned about its soul ... the great difference wrought by Protestantism was that it drove the spirit of religion in to the common life, which it made at once darker and more conscientious ... But in Shakespeare's day the shadow had not yet fallen. The aftershine of the mediaeval day-dream still hung over the land ..."

J. O. Halliwell-Phillipps, Outlines of the Life of Shakespeare, 7<sup>th</sup> edn., first to give the full Malone documentation surrounding the Shakespeare testament, though H-P thinks "the whole ... a modern fabrication." Yet, according to Chandler (2006,) H-P says that Davies's 1688 note (which H-P had dismissed in 1848 as an "incredible assertion" was "the testimony of a sober clergyman, who could have had no conceivable motive for deception" and that Shakespeare "had a leaning to the faith of his ancestors" ("Halliwell-Phillipps was no Catholic"—Chandler, 2006)

Hecker, The Church and the Age: An Exposition of the Catholic Church in View of the Needs and Aspirations of the Present Age, final statement on compatibility of the Church and American democracy.

Hecker, on his meeting Alcott: "We sat together. 'Father Hecker,' said he, 'why can't you make a catholic of me?' 'Too much rust here,' said I, clapping him on the knee. He got very angry because I said that was the obstacle. I never saw him angry at any other time" (qu. Franchot). [See Birrell 1976, 216 ff on Alcott]

Cardinal James Gibbons, of Baltimore, chief cleric of U.S., gives speech accepting his titular church in Rome; citing Leo XIII that church is committed to no particular form of government, Gibbons said: "I belong to a country where the civil government holds over us the aegis of its protection without interfering in the legitimate exercise of our sublime mission as ministers of the Gospel"; will support Hecker who praised speech as "the best expression of the good of civil freedom as a favorable human environment for the development of the religious character." ; persuaded (with Bishop John Ireland's help) Rome not to condemn the Knights of Columbus, an act which "became famous throughout western Europe as the symbol of American Catholicism" (McAvoy, Americanist Heresy 1963). Gibbons, Ireland (bishop of Saint Paul), John Keane (bishop of Richmond and later first rector of Catholic University), Monsignor Denis O'Connell (rector of North American College in Rome, later rector of Catholic University and bishop of Richmond)—these were the four chief Catholic liberal American clerics.

#### **\*\*1888\***

Mark Twain, Life on the Mississippi: "Sir Walter Scott is probably responsible for the Capital building [in Baton Rouge]; for it is not conceivable that this little sham castle would ever have been built if he had not run the people mad, a couple of generations ago, with his medieval romances." "The [French] Revolution broke the chains of the ancien régime and of the Church, and made a nation of abject salves a nation of freemen; and Bonaparte instituted the setting of merit above birth ... Then comes Sir Walter Scott with his enchantments, and by his single might checked this wave of progress ... set the world in love with dreams and phantoms; with decayed and swinish forms of religion ... with the ... sham chivalries of a brainless and worthless long-vanished society ... he is in great measure responsible for the [Civil] war." "It was Sir Walter that made every gentleman in the South a Major or a Colonel, or a General or a Judge, before the war; and it was he, also, that made these gentlemen value these bogus decorations. For it was he that created ... reverence for rank and caste down there, and pride and pleasure in them" (Harold K. Bush, in "Mark Twain's Lincoln ..." in There Before Us, ed. Lundin: Southerners "thrived upon Sir Walter Scott's accounts of the lost cause of Scotland ... in a power struggle with the 'churlish Saxons' of Yankeedom could identify with the heroic Ivanhoe" (Connelly and Bellows). Confederate flag used Scottish cross of St. Andrew, confederate historians linked Robert E. Lee with Robert the Bruce; "the Lost Cause is ... an American version of the great sagas like Beowulf and the Song of Roland" (Gallagher); also see Busch, Mark Twain and the Spiritual Crisis of His Age (U Alabama Press, 2007).

Gasquet, Henry VIII and the Monasteries; much value though Gasquet later attacked for inaccuracies by Coulton, a charge only justified by his late life errors..

#### **\*\*1889\***

John Taylor, "Shakespeare's Religion" (Shakespeariana): "That there was a sentimental leaning of Shakespeare toward the unreformed faith may be fairly admitted, but there are insuperable difficulties in allowing that he was an adherent to its doctrines and forms."

Pater, Appreciations: "The character of Henry the Sixth ... has done much to fix the sentiment of the 'holy Henry'."

Yeats, The Wanderings of Oisin; debate of Oisin and St Patrick ("You are still wrecked among heathen dreams"). The Danaan sing: "God is joy and joy is God." At end, St. Patrick: "pray for your soul that is lost / Through the demon love its youth and its godless and passionate age" and Oisin: "I will go ... dwell in the house of the Fenians, be they in flames or at feas." (i.e. alternate visions, or correction of Patrick's doctrinaire Christianity?)

Twain, A Connecticut Yankee at King Arthur's Court, suggests "analogies between European paradigms of ignorance and bondage (in this case, the feudal framework of medieval England) and those practices of racial slavery still prevalent" (Giles). Ends with electrocution of thousands of knights, "the last stand of the chivalry of England," and the onset of republican government.

**\*\*1890\*\***

Pater, "Art Notes in Italy": in Romanino's beautiful saint, "Beauty and Holiness had 'kissed each other' ... At the Renaissance the world might seem to have parted them again. But here certainly, once more, Catholicism and the Renaissance, religion and culture, holiness and beauty, might seem reconciled." On Raphael: "the age of the Renaissance, through all its varied activity, had, in spite of the weakened hold of Catholicism on the critical intellect, been still under its influence, the glow of it, as a religious ideal, and in the presence of Raphael you cannot think it a mere after-glow."

Newman dies. R.W. Church Obituary in The Guardian: "we lose in him ... the founder, we may almost say, of the Church of England. What the Church of England would have become without the Tractarian movement we can faintly guess ... Great as his services have been to the communion in which he dies, they are as nothing by the side of those he rendered to the communion in which the most eventful years of his life were spent."

James Frazer, The Golden Bough (1890-1915); abridged edn. (1922) ends. "Our long voyage of discovery of is over ... as we climb the long slope of the Appian Way up to the Alban Hills, we look back and see the sky aflame with sunset, its golden glory resting like the aureole of a dying saint over Rome and touching with a crest of fire the dome of St. Peters. ... we come to Nemi and look down on the lake in its deep hollow ... The place has changed little since Diana received the homage of worshippers in the sacred grove. The temple of the sylvan goddess, indeed has vanished ... But Nemi's woods are still green, and ... there comes to us, borne on the swell of the wind, the sound of the church bells of Aricia ringing the Angelus. Ave Maria! Sweet and solemn they chime out ... Le roi est mort, vive le roi! Ave Maria!"

Howells, A Hazard of New Fortunes: "Basil March's visit to matins at Grace Church" (Episcopal, but with ancient Catholic associations) becomes an image of withdrawal from the tyranny of American reason and conformity (Giles).

**Viscount Halifax begins discussions of reunion, with French priest, Fernand Portal.**

**\*\*1891\*\***

Walter Elliott, The Life of Father Hecker, serialized in Catholic World in 1890, trans. into French in 1897, ed. by Abbé Klein with preface bashing French conservatives, translation precipitated condemnation of "Americanism" by Leo XIII in letter of 1899 (vs. modifying doctrines for modern consumption, rejection of celibacy, extolling of natural over supernatural virtues, etc.). At Brook Farm, Hecker "was there equipped with the necessary external guarantee of his inner consciousness that man is good, because made so by his Creator -- inclined indeed to evil, but yet a good being, even so inclined. Nothing is more necessary for one who is to be a teacher among a population whose Catholicity is of blood and family tradition as well as of grace, than to know that there is virtue, true and high in its own order, outside the visible pale of the Church." "I was walking along the road and Emerson joined me. Presently he said, 'Mr. Hecker, I suppose it was the art, the architecture, and so on in the Catholic Church which led you to her?' 'No,' said I, 'but it was what caused all that.' I was the first to break the Transcendental camp." c. 1887: "Brownson was firmly persuaded, and so am I, that the great fault of men generally is that they deem the life their souls, thoughts, judgments, and convictions, yearnings, aspirations, and longings to be too subject to illusion to be worthy their attentive study and manly fidelity; that even multitudes of Catholics greatly undervalue the divine reality of their inner life, whether in the natural or supernatural order." For Hecker, "the problem transcending all others is where to find that divine external order demanded for the completion of their inner experience." 1844: "Emerson and his followers... are the narrowest of men, yet they think they are extremely 'many-sided' ... The Catholic accepts all the good they offer him and finds it comparatively little compared to that which he has." "It was Anglicanism that engaged Isaac Hecker's last efforts to adjust a Protestant outside to his inner experience ... it seemed possible that Anglicanism might be the union of historical Christianity with manly freedom." Powerful satire of the "transcendentalist, "all nerve and no blood" etc. 1844: "Jesus Christ came to introduce a new life ... This life makes no war against the good and true that already existed in men, but it embraces, includes, and fulfills it all, and then adds more than men had dared to dream before His coming." "It is for this that we are

created; that we may give a new and individual expression of the absolute in our own peculiar character.” “The Ripleys, the Alcotts, the Lanes, the Emersons ... possessed the highest activity of the natural faculties; they were all but the only class of American who loved truth for its own sake, that trait which is the peculiarity of the Catholic mind, and the first requisite for real conversion.” Hecker proposed to Thoreau that they go to Rome, but Thoreau said he had outlived that dream and had now “retired from all external activity in disgust, and his life was Brahminical, Artesian-well, Inner-Temple like.” Hecker writes “Present Condition and Future Prospects of the Catholic Faith in the United States” arguing that “the freest nation in the world was the most inviting field of the Catholic propagandist.” “This government leaves me a larger margin for liberty of action, and hence for co-operation with the guidance of the Holy Spirit.” [see Tocqueville] Paulists founded 1858, a “main aim, the conversion of the non-Catholic people of the country.” “Individuality is an integral and conspicuous element in the life of the Paulist. This must be felt. One of the natural signs of the true Paulist is that he would prefer to suffer from the excesses of liberty rather than from the arbitrary actions of tyranny.” “The problem is to make the true synthesis [of community and individualism]. “If men are yearning to be free, however blindly, because God by their freedom would make them holier, then let us hail the new order as a blessing.” “The essential mistake of the transcendentalists is the taking for their guide the instincts of the soul instead of the inspiration of the Holy Spirit ... But true spiritual direction consists in discovering the obstacles in the way of the Divine Guidance.” (Ignatian) “The way out of our present difficulties is to revert to a spirituality which is freer than that which Providence assigned as the counteraction of Protestantism in the sixteenth century.” “The goodness of nature is often indistinguishable from the holiness of the supernatural life; and, indeed, as a rule, impulses of the Holy Spirit first pour their goods into the channels of natural virtue, thus rendering them supernatural [i.e. prudence justice, fortitude, temperance]... [but] When they have done their utmost they leave a void in the heart that still yearns for more” [faith, hope, love]. On Protestant direct access to God, “Father Hecker longed to tell his fellow-countrymen that the Catholic Church gives them a flight to God a thousand times more direct than they ever dreamed of.” “The stupid Döllingerites do not see or understand that what they pretend to desire -- the renewal of the Church -- can only be accomplished by the reign of the Holy Spirit throughout the Church, and that this can only be brought about by a filial submission to her divine external authority.” “I cannot express what an attraction I have always felt for St. Catherine of Genoa. She knew how to reconcile the greatest fidelity to the interior attract and guidance of the Holy Spirit with perfect filial obedience to ... the Holy Church.” Newman letter of 1889: “I was sorrowful at hearing of Father Hecker’s death. I have ever felt that there was this sort of unity in our lives -- that we had both begun a work of the same kind, he in America and I in England, and I know how zealous he was in promoting it ... I received a vigorous and striking proof of it in the book he sent me “ [The Church and the Age] . Abbé Dufresne’s Recollections: “Father Hecker believed that it would finally be discovered that the Protestant spirit is contrary to the political spirit of the American republic ... that man is born free, reasonable, and capable of self-government ... The Constitution of the Unites States has formulated the political principles most conformable to the Canons of the Council of Trent.” “To be truly Catholic and to believe truly in freedom was, and remains, extremely difficult ... Hecker believed in both; then and now that was no small achievement” (David O’Brien, Isaac Hecker (1992)).

Melville, Billy Budd (1891, 1924), many Catholic refs., see notes.

Pope Leo XIII, *Rerum Novarum*.

Wilde, The Picture of Dorian Gray, Dorian drawn to sensualities of Catholic ritual; “The fuming censers, that the grave boys, in their lace and scarlet, tossed into the air like great gilt flowers, had their subtle fascination for him”; Lord Henry’s yellow book about a young Parisian, combining medieval mystical ecstasies and morbid confessions of a sinner Dorian has a closet full of

ecclesiastical vestments.

**\*\*1892\*\***

Max Nordau, Degeneration, on Jewishness, but also very much on Catholicism: “The first result of the epidemic of degeneration and hysteria was the Oxford Movement, in the thirties and forties. Wiseman turned all the weaker heads. Newman went over to Catholicism. Pusey clothed the entire Established Church in Romish garb;” “an attack on a sexually perverse neo-Catholicism, from Wagner to Verlaine to Baudelaire to Huysman... ‘Neo-Catholicism is rooted in emotivity and mysticism, both of these being the most frequent and most distinctive stigmata of the venerate.’” (O’Malley 2006).

Yeats, The Countess Cathleen, part of Yeats’s and Lady Gregory’s creation of an Irish national theater. “For Yeats, as for Ferguson, Irish culture was seen in essentially a passive role as material to be molded by an artistic elite who would create the authentic Irish nation, neither Catholic nor Protestant but reconciling both partial visions in the pagan Celtic archetype” (Hutchinson, The Dynamics of Cultural Nationalism); Yeats from 1880’s to 1907 tried to include the Anglo-Irish In a “people-nation”, based on Celticism. D. P. Moran said in 1905 that Yeats’s “Celtic note” [in Countess Cathleen ...] [was] one of the most glaring frauds that the credulous Irish people ever swallowed” (qu. Cairns, Writing Ireland). Disturbance at the play (Cathleen sells her soul to help the poor): “The conclusion of the encounter between Anglo-Irish and Catholic nationalism was that Celticist spirituality, or its corollary, Ascendancy supremacy, was decisively worsted by institutional Catholicism while the play’s esoteric symbolism failed to evoke appropriate responses from the audience” (Cairns). 2 views in competition, Celtic purity, or Catholic purity preserved by the Chursh (Cairns). Frank Hugh O’Donnell in 1894: “Mr. W. B. Yeats’s notion of what is Celtic is everywhere illustrated by his harpings on his pet ‘Celtic idea’, that the Gaels of Erin have and had only the thinnest veneer of Christian religion and civilization, and really reserve their deepest beliefs for demons, fairies, leprachauns, sowlths, thivishes, etc.” (Leerssen, Remembrance 210) “Yeats sought in myth an idealised Celtic paganism pre-existing the colonial rupture of Ireland into the sectarian denominations of Protestant and Papist ... Yeats was deeply disappointed ... that the Anglo-Irish Literary Revival ... had been spurned by the Catholic middleclasses, the Gaelic Leaguers and many of the Republican nationalists ... it was a plea for Tone’s ideal of a common Irish tradition embracing ‘Protestant, Catholic and Dissenter.’” (Kearney, Myth and Motherland). In the Irish Revival, “[a] real history of racial conflict an cultural imperialism was displaced by a mythology of syncretism: ‘The idea of our national being emerged at no recognizable point in our history. It is older than any name we know. It is not earth born, but the synthesis of many heroic and beautiful moment, and these it must be remembers are divine in utterance [AE, 1907]” (Platt, “Voice of Esau,” JJQ 1992)

**\*\*1895\*\***

Cardinal Vaughan begins construction of Westminster Cathedral.

Pope Leo XIII sets aside Ascension Day to Pentecost as an Octave of Prayer for Christian Unity.

Thomas Hardy, Jude the Obscure, horrified at Sue’s self-immolation in St. Barnabas Church (a theme addressed more positively in Waugh’s Brideshead Revisited and Greene’s The End of the Affair.) The novel portrays a Gothic craftsman victimized by his yearning for Christminster, while not seeing “that mediaevalism was as dead as a fern-leaf in a lump of coal; that other developments were shaping in the world around him, in which Gothic architecture and its associations had no place@” (2.2.85@). But the novel includes the idyllic picture of Shaston (reflecting the nostalgia of Cobbett), “the city of a dream. Vague imaginings of its castle, its three mints, its magnificent apsidal Abbey, the chief glory of South Wessex, its twelve churches, its shrines, chantries, hospitals, its gabled freestone mansions---all now ruthlessly swept away---throw the visitor, even against his will, into a pensive melancholy, which the stimulating atmosphere and limitless landscape around him can scarcely dispel. The spot was the burial-place of a king and a queen, of abbots and abbesses, saints and bishops, knights and squires. The bones of King Edward ‘the Martyr,’ carefully removed hither for holy preservation, brought Shaston a renown which made it the resort of pilgrims from every part of Europe, and enabled it to maintain a reputation extending far beyond English shores. To this fair creation of the great Middle-Age the Dissolution was, as historians tell us, the death-knell. With the destruction of the enormous abbey

the whole place collapsed in a general ruin: the Martyr's bones met with the fate of the sacred pile that held them, and not a stone is now left to tell where they lie." The novel engages the complex striations of English national history with its Church of England, Anglo-Catholic, and Roman-Catholic strands.

#### \*\*1896\*\*

Leo XIII's bull, Apostolicae Curae, that Anglican orders were invalid, a blow to high church Anglicans like Lord Halifax who had recently been raising the question of reunion.

Harold Frederic, The Damnation of Theron Ware [alternatively "Illumination of"] Methodist minister's contact with Catholics shakes his Protestant certainties, and he eventually leaves ministry for real estate and politics; tapping into belief a good strategy for politicians.

Santayana on Shakespeare: "remarkable among the greater poets for being without a philosophy and without a religion." "In Shakespeare's time and country, to be religious already began to mean to be Puritanical; and in the divorce between the fullness of life on the one hand and the depth and unity of faith on the other, there could be no doubt to which side a man of imaginative instincts would attach himself."

John Pym Yeatman, The Gentle Shakespeare: "Shakespeare was tolerated, though a Catholic, because of his inimitable wit and lively humour, which pleased even the proud Protestant Queen, and curiously several of the players ... were Catholic like him, and were driven to this life probably from the fact that no other was open to them." Campion's description of Walpole from Holinshed closely followed by S. Much on Arden/Shakespeare family lines.

Mark Twain, Personal Recollections of Joan of Arc by The Sieur Louis de Conte (serialized 1895): "One of the first really popular attempts at a rationalist rehabilitation came, of all people in the world, from Mark Twain" (Chesterton 1926); first novel in English; preceded by obscure American play, Female Patriotism; Or, The Death of Joan of Arc, by John Burk (1798) and also George Henry Calvert The Maid of Oleans in 1873 (his poem in 1860); also English poem, Joan of Arc by Southey (1793), and dramatic productions by Fitzhall and Serle in 1836 and T. Taylor in 1871 (see Raknem, Joan of Arc). *Jules Quicherat had published the trial records (1841-9). In 1894, Pope Leo XIII authorized Joan of Arc's cause for beatification, and thus title, "Venerable" conferred in 1904; declared Blessed in 1909; canonized in 1920. Napoleon in 1802-3 had made Joan a national symbol of French unity. Many French pubs., since Christine de Pizan, celebrating Joan; also Schiller's 1801 Maid of Orleans.*

#### \*\*1897\*\*

Dracula: only the old religion, w/ crucifixes, hosts, etc., has power to cope with tremendous evil, via the Catholic Dr. Van Helsing who mixes eucharist host in with a magic paste.

John Gerard, What was the Gunpowder Plot?, suggested it was government conspiracy, no viable cellar in Parliament, all participants killed off, etc.; argument resumed by Hugh Ross Williamson, Gunpowder Plot (1951).

Thérèse of Lisieux, Story of a Soul.

#### \*\*1898\*\*

Mrs. Humphrey Ward, Helbeck of Bannisdale, written while she was considering conversion and yearning for Eucharist; Laura's liveliness versus Helbeck's "substituted life and ... vicarious obedience" abhorrent to this "daughter of a modern world which finds in the development and ennobling of our human life its more characteristic faith;" fervent Methodist comes close to accepting purgatory; Dr. Freiland defends Reformation as popular uprising but acknowledges romance of the Catholic imagination; yet Protestantism needs to draw on Catholic spiritual riches; Laura's suicide shows great gap still, despite Ward's profound fairness to Catholicism; questionably labeled an anti-Catholic novel. See Judith Wilt, Behind Her Times (2005) on the Catholic glints in Robert Elsmere (Catherine, like "nun ... breathless with adoration"; Newcome and Wishart, like Newman and Wishart, norms of faith for Elsmere (pp. 54, 64).)

Joseph Darlington, S. J. "The Catholicity of Shakespeare's Plays," New Ireland

Review 8 (1897-8), cites Catholicity of Hamlet ghost, bland general article, but notable for being cited satirically by Joyce in the Scylla and Charybdis chapter ("Your dean of studies holds he was a holy Roman").

Fr. Charles Maignen, Studies in Americanism: Father Hecker, is he a saint? (French, and English), attacking Elliott's biography; attack by Gibbons prevents Elliott being put on Index (McAvoy 192, 220), but Maignen helped lead to papal condemnation of Americanism (see 1899) (more a French liberal 'heresy' than American; Pope excluded from condemnation the "laws and customs" of America).

\*\*1899\*\*

Rev. Sebastian Bowden (Oratorian, see Newman 1858), The Religion of Shakespeare: Chiefly from the Writings of the Late Mr. Richard Simpson, edits and expands Simpson's unpub. notes, including his reply to Edinburgh Review attack; tends to simplify Simpson's approach. Discusses Arden family, John's recusancy, Malone and the Will, Lucy, contrast with other Renaissance plays, reverence for old religion in the plays; King John's "sacred king" no argument -- consider the source; Catholics also critique their clerics. Henry VIII, Act 5, "the only piece of unquestionable Protestantism in Shakespeare's plays" but consensus of critics gives it to Fletcher; cites phenomenon of "Church Papists;" compares plight of persecuted Catholics to Edgar. Simpson's work on Shakespeare was done in consultation with Lord Acton (Correspondence 1864-8).

Arthur Symons, The Symbolist Movement in Literature: "It [Symbolism] is all an attempt to spiritualise literature, to evade the old bondage of rhetoric ... that beautiful things may be evoked, magically ... in speaking to us so intimately, so solemnly, as only religion had hitherto spoken to us, to become itself a kind of religion, with all the duties and responsibilities of the sacred ritual." "The Church is his [Villiers'] favourite symbol of austere intellectual beauty." "Verlaine's conversion ... while he was in prison ... All that was simple, humble, childlike in him accepted that humiliation with the loving child's joy in penitence." "this love of God ... the only unending intoxication in the world ... more instinctive than any poet since the mediaeval mystic has found." Huysman's Catholicism influences his view that "art is the only clean thing on earth, except holiness." Mediates the connections: Coleridge and romantic creative imagination, Symbolism, Paterian aestheticism, Catholic Incarnationalism (De Vere-Chesterton-Maritain), New Criticism Icon.

Mrs. Wilfrid Ward's Catholic novel, One Poor Scruple, countering Helbeck; Catholic argument for renunciation like Waugh's Brideshead, vs. Hardy's Jude.

Bernard Henry Holland, A Reported Change in Religion by "Onyx" (London); narrator seems like high Anglican suspected of Catholic conversion, which he finally denies. Excellent empathetic letters of multiple points of view concerning the question. Onyx concludes: "It would be useful now, I think, if some one were to bring together in a book, as it were against their will, all these contending views, and place them, without any comment of his own, side by side in that narrow arena, so that men might see them all together. It is difficult for men to realise that their adversaries can be inspired by as sincere and ardent a belief as themselves ... Out of our discords, I firmly believe a new harmony will arise."

1899 Testem Benevolentiae, letter by Pope Leo XIII, condemning certain tendencies in "Americanism". Bishop John Ireland letter (1899): "Read the letter carefully--& and you will see that the Americanism condemned is Maignen's nightmare—v.g.—who ever 'preferred' natural to supernatural virtues? Who ever taught that the practice of natural virtues was not to be vitalized & supernaturalized by divine grace? Who ever taught that in hearkening to the H. Ghost the Christian was not to be constantly guided by the visible magisterium of the Church! etc." "Probably because of this condemnation ... there has never developed a really strong Catholic theological tradition in which the applications of Catholic dogmas to American problems have been made ... [resulting in] a practical American Catholicism which is activist, and a bit crude" (Thomas T. McAvoy, The Americanist Heresy in Roman Catholicism 1895-1900 U. of Notre Dame Press,

1963) Also Modernism crisis (1907) subsumed Americanist issue.

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