A Comparative Analysis of the Medieval Element in the Prose of Sir Walter Scott and John Henry Newman

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A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF THE MEDIEVAL ELEMENT IN THE PROSE OF

SIR WALTER SCOTT AND JOHN HENRY NEWMAN

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# TABLE OF CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CHAPTER</th>
<th>PAGE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Introduction</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Presentation of the problem - Definition of Medievalism - Reaction against Classicism - Scott a pure romanticist rather than a strict medievalist - Newman a late echo of the period.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Medievalism of Scott and Newman As a Natural Outgrowth of Their Environmental and Literary Life</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medieval Elements as Evidenced in the Prose of Newman and Scott</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV</td>
<td>99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Influence of Medieval Element in Scott and Newman on English Life and Literature</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

BIBLIOGRAPHY 107
CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION

After the period of Classicism had spent its force new influences affecting English life and literature gathered momentum. A growing democratic spirit in life and literature and an intense dissatisfaction with the Classical standard of Reason as the one true test of human behavior were the predominant reactions to the rationalism of the Classicists.

Classicism addressed itself almost exclusively to the learned, polite, and fashionable society of London. It dealt with the interests and pictured the lives of the social and intellectual aristocracy. The basis of its appeal was ... conformity to the wisdom of the Classics and the precepts of the Classical writers. It was intellectual, cold and unimaginative; for it reflected the rule of reason and common sense. It closed its eyes to the turbulent aspects of nature and ignored much that is proper to the sphere of art and literature. It considered the early literature of England unrefined, crude and even barbarous. 1

This was the very state of life and literature in the Classical period, but the formal and mechanical way of life which had been instituted at this time was being firmly revoked by men who were thinking. They gradually became convinced that by restraining their emotions and appealing only to logic they were missing much that was fine and inspiring. The predominance of this

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rationalistic attitude "encouraged above all the desire for ordered, demonstrable knowledge, and turned the energies of man specially towards scientific discovery." The philosophy which developed nourished a mechanistic attitude towards life and subdued the enthusiasm and originality which formerly characterized English literature. The scientific rationalism of the day led people to believe "that only time and further effort were needed to bring the whole realm open to human observation within the sphere of science." The outlook which consequently developed left very little room for the expression of man's emotional nature or of his imagination. It was natural that among the literary thinkers of the period a protest should have been sounded. This protest took shape particularly through the gradual influence of literature.

Besides the reaction against the rationalism of the Classicists, the poets of the period began to realize that the hard and fast rules imposed upon them by Pope and his followers destroyed the naturalness of their verse. A breakaway from the Classical rules in the literary sphere was inevitable, for man's need to express himself more naturally was becoming more urgent as time went on. Consequently, English philosophers and literary men began to take a broader view of nature. James Thomson's "Winter," published in 1726, was the first of a series of poems to deal with the seasons. Collins and Gray are two of a group of poets known as the "Graveyard School," who wrote of the pleasures of solitude and twilight. In the work of these three poets

3 Ibid., II, p. 4.
can be observed a reversion to the Middle Ages for inspiration, and thus is seen the domain of poetry broadening by degrees. This reversion to the Middle Ages in poetry and later literature was partially influenced by Gothic architecture. The ruined castles and medieval cathedrals so well portrayed in Scott's novels were being appreciated for their picturesque beauty as opposed to the formal balanced structure admired by the Classicists.

Besides these there were other stimuli given to the awakened imagination and the curiosity concerning medieval literature. A longing for naturalness, simplicity, and spontaneity in verse was answered by the publication in 1760 of James Macpherson's "Ossianic" poems. These were purported to be translations of early Celtic poems discovered by Macpherson in the Scottish Highlands. The authenticity of their being genuine translations or forgeries brings much discussion into literary history, but the important thing to be remembered is that they satisfied, when classical traditions were being rebuked, a desire for something new and novel. They are a series of fancy pictures representing ancient Northern life, not as it was, but as his contemporaries wanted to imagine it. His heroes are elaborately polite, full of tender feeling, generous, and brave; and are in all these qualities, as he pointed out superior to the Homeric heroes. In moments of inactivity they readily drop into a vein of melancholy reflectiveness, very like that of certain eighteenth-century poets who had taken to reflecting with pleasing melancholy on graveyard scenes, moldering ruins, and other reminders of the transitory nature of life... Macpherson, in short, succeeded in being both "noble" and "wild," and succeeded so well that his "translations" became a major influence,
not only in England but also on the Continent, in awakening romantic feeling.\textsuperscript{5}

Macpherson was a very important contributor to this awakening of the romantic spirit of returning to the past.

Following Macpherson and writing in the same vein was another important contributor to literature who helped to awaken the romantic feeling and to stimulate the imagination. In 1765 Bishop Percy's \textit{Reliques of Ancient English Poetry} was published. This was a ballad collection which had a "great effect in quickening the romantic impulse, by virtue of their naive feeling and simple, passionate expression."\textsuperscript{6} These poems as shall be noted in a later chapter, exerted a definite influence on Scott, for as Ball says: "Scott continued the work Percy...had begun."\textsuperscript{7}

Besides the ballad collections there was also about this time a development in the novel. The Gothic Romance, begun about the time that the revolt against Classicism started, was a type of literature which dealt with supposed medieval characters and with gloomy apparitions. The Gothic Romance prepared the public to appreciate the novels dealing with medieval life of which Scott was soon to write so admirably.

All of these new influences in literature were part of the reaction against the formalism, shallowness, inquisitive complacencies, and materialism of the Classical period. These new influences led to what is termed the Romantic Movement in English literature. The importance of this movement

\textsuperscript{5} Ibid., II, p. 9.


arises from the fact that the freedom of development and expression which came with it inspired a few remarkable geniuses of the period who enriched English literature immeasurably. By so doing these romantic writers helped others to recognize the needs of the spirit or the soul as distinct from those of the body. Romanticism revitalized the spiritual aspiration and religious faith as well as the artistic impulse. 8

The old accepted rules in society, in politics, and in literature were substituted to a great degree by new standards. A new type of freedom came into English life bringing new responsibilities and most of all a new sense of truth and beauty. The new spirit expressed itself in numerous ways of which the following are the most important. (1) A new attitude toward man. This new attitude was simply that man by nature is good. The ordinary man was respected and idealized as never before, for where the Classicists admired the cultivated man of courtly and conventional manners, the romantics preferred the humble country man, who though possessing little outward polish, was by nature kindly, simple, and noble. (2) The return to nature. While the Classicist preferred carefully planned landscapes the Romanticist found such scenes inferior to wild country landscapes, where the natural beauty of the woods and the streams could more readily be appreciated. The Romanticist not only concluded that nature spoke to man directly through his feelings, but also that the closer man's contact with nature the closer he would come to true wisdom. (3) The lyric spirit. The poets of the Romantic period were more easily moved to tenderness by things that seemed to have affected

8 Shafer, op. cit., II, p. 6.
their ancestors but little. This importance of personal feeling and emotion was a marked characteristic of the Romantic point of view. The Romantic's test of things was more often in his heart than in his head and involved his emotions rather than his reason. (4) A new interest in the Middle Ages. This was one of the earliest achievements of the awakened sensibility of the eighteenth century and one of the most important phases of romanticism. It is this phase; namely, a return to the Middle Ages, that constitutes the present study. Both Scott and Newman returned to the Middle Ages, but differed in the element which drew them and in the end that each sought to evoke from them. Consequently, the medievalism of each has a markedly different nature.

The discovery of a romantic past and its application as a creative force in literature was due beyond any doubt to the genius of Sir Walter Scott. His festive mind, browsing amid heaps of ragged books which the generations immediately preceding had frowned upon, and searching the landscapes of Scotland for the sites of Chivalric prowess, admired the Christian ages, for their picturesque strength. Scott's neighbors had largely tired of the sour matter-of-fact philosophy which had been provided for them, and read his tales with abounding delight.9

Shuster's statement of the temper of Scott's neighbors is in keeping with the predictions of Boyesen, and even Newman. Boyesen says, "...there is as it appears but one fundamental note which all romanticism...has in common, and that is a deep disgust with the world as it is and a desire to

depict in literature something that is to be nobler and better.10 This is what Scott wanted to do. Newman bears this out when, after recognizing the literary influence of Scott in having "turned men's minds in the direction of the middle ages" he goes on to say:

The general need of something deeper and more attractive than what had offered itself elsewhere, may be considered to have led to his popularity; and by means of his popularity he re-acted on his readers, stimulating their thirst, feeding their hopes, setting before them visions, which, when once seen, are not easily forgotten, and silently indoctrinating them with nobler ideas, which might afterwards be appealed to as first principles.11

This general need for something deeper and more attractive was perceived by Newman to a more infinite degree than by Scott. Newman gave testimony to this need when he identified the Oxford Movement as

a reaction from the dry and superficial character of the religious teaching and the literature of the last generation, or century, and as a result of the need which was felt both by the hearts and the intellects of the nation for a deeper philosophy, and as the evidence and as the partial fulfillment of that need, to which the then generation had borne witness.12

Both Scott and Newman recognized the "disgust and tedium which began to manifest itself over the excessive rationalization of art and life by the previous

generations. In their conscious attempt to override the stagnation of the previous age, Scott and Newman sought their matter and inspiration in the Middle Ages and in so doing gave their expression of medievalism. Scott is considered the greatest popularizer of the romantic spirit in English Literature, yet his portrayals of the pomp and the panoply of the Middle Ages lack depth, because in his endeavor to "reintroduce medieval art and ideals without the religion that inspired them, that gave them birth and made them true," he is thwarted in any attempt to sketch more than just the surface of things medieval. Because the Catholic conscience was beyond his scope he was unable to interpret the deeper meaning underlying the outward manifestations.

Feudalism dominated his retrospect of the Middle Ages, and of feudalism he knew the term, and perhaps the costumes. But side by side with feudalism in the Middle Ages and much above it stood the Catholic Church, and of the Catholic Church Scott with all his genius and his knowledge, was extremely, almost entirely, ignorant.

In contrast to Scott, Newman's medievalism goes much deeper, for Newman in his leadership in the Oxford Movement sounded medievalism to its core. Conscious that the world had grown too desperate for individualism he showed the way to a unified spiritual life. Newman in co-operation with a group of friends at Oxford attempted to restore in England the medieval authority of

the Church. Realizing the scepticism which was undermining the faith and the morale of many great minds of the day, and conscious of the deadness into which the Church of England had fallen, these men with Newman as their leader attempted to restore the spiritual power and beauty of the ritual which had characterized the Catholic Church in the Middle Ages. Newman's explicit part in this movement was his return to the Middle Ages for the authority that the nineteenth century was unable to provide.

Before making any further contrasts between Scott's and Newman's approach to the Middle Ages it is expedient here to define the term "medievalism" as it shall be interpreted throughout this work. There is as much diversity among historians in defining the Middle Ages as there is in defining the term "romanticism." Some historians are very exact in their definition, some are very vague, and some refuse to define it at all.

The Shorter Oxford English Dictionary defines medievalism as "the system of belief or practice characteristic of the Middle Ages; medieval thought, religion, art, etc.; the adoption of or devotion to medieval ideals or usages." This definition serves the purpose of the present study, with Newman's devotion to the religious beliefs and practices of the Middle Ages being observed in contrast to Scott's devotion to the chivalric aspects of the period. The diversity found among the historians in defining the scope of the Middle Ages can be seen from the following. The Catholic Encyclopedia

16 Moody and Lovett, op. cit., p. 300.
consider the Middle Ages to have opened with

those migrations of the German tribes which led to the destruction of the Roman Empire in the West in 375, when the Huns fell upon the Gothic tribes north of the Black Sea and forced the Visigoths over the boundaries of the Roman Empire on the lower Danube. Any hard and fast line drawn to designate either the beginning or the close of the period in question is arbitrary. The widest limits given, viz., the irruption of the Visigoths over the boundaries of the Roman Empire, for the beginning, and the middle of the sixteenth century, for the close, may be taken as inclusively sufficient, and embrace, beyond dispute every movement or phase of history that can be claimed as properly belonging to the Middle Ages. 18

Munro in direct contrast to those historians who date the Middle Ages from the Fall of the Roman Empire to the year 1500, explicitly sets the period between the years 395 and 1500. He claims the "fall of the Roman Empire" to have been an exaggeration, and goes on to say that "there was no fall of Rome; no western Empire came to an end. There was only one Roman Empire, as there always had been when there were two or four or six emperors." 19

Shuster accepts Kenelm Digby's definition of the Middle Ages which shall next be considered as being the expression of a "deep consciousness of the reality of Faith."

The Middle Ages were ages of highest grace to men; ages of faith, ages when all Europe was Catholic;...when houses of holy peace and order were found amidst woods and desolate mountains...ages of sanctity which

witnessed a Bede, an Alouin, a Bernard, a Francis, and crowds who followed them as they did Christ: ages of vast and beneficent intelligence, in which it pleased the Holy Spirit to display the power of the seven gifts, in the lives of an Anselm, a Thomas of Aquinas, and the saintly flock whose steps a cloister guarded: ...ages of majesty, which knew a Charlemagne, an Alfred, and the sainted youth who bore the lily: ages too of England's glory, when she appears not even excluding a comparison with the eastern empire, as the most truly civilized country on the globe; when the Sovereign of the greater portion of the western world applied to her schools for instructors; when she sends forth her saints to evangelize the nations of the north, to diffuse spiritual treasure over the whole world; when heroes flock to her courts to behold the models of reproachless chivalry, and Emperors leave their thrones to adore God at the tombs of her martyrs;20

Thus it can be seen that historians vary greatly when they try to determine the period covered by the Middle Ages. However, for our purpose here in discussing the medievalism of Scott and Newman, I intend to accept and to follow that definition stated above, from the Catholic Encyclopedia. The period set by this definition covers both Scott and Newman, although Newman goes back much farther in his expression of medievalism than does Scott. The tenor of Newman's medievalism is so markedly different from that of Scott, that one might say it finds its counterpart in Digby. A degree of likeness in their expression of faith will be noted in another section of this work. 21

21 See Chapter Three of this paper.
Medievalism, as has been shown, was a fundamental note of the Romantic spirit, and even though Newman came later than Scott, he possessed nevertheless the Romantic temper and was keenly aware of the intense feeling and new thought which were shaping themselves at the time. That the natural temperament of Newman encouraged his flight to the Middle Ages is evidenced by Gates when he says:

Newman was intensely alive to the beauty and the poetic charm of the life of the Middle Ages. One is tempted to describe him as a great medieval ecclesiastical astray in the nineteenth century and heroically striving to remodel modern life in harmony with his temperamental needs....As Scott's imagination was fascinated with the picturesque paraphernalia of feudalism, with its jousts, and courts of love, and its coats of mail and buff-jerkins, so Newman's imagination was captivated by the gorgeous ritual and ceremonial, the art and architecture of medieval Christianity, and found in them the symbols of the spirit of mystery and awe which was for him the essentially religious spirit, and of the mystical truths of which revealed religion was made up.22

Because Erastianism was making an inroad on the religion of his day, Newman dedicated himself to the medieval ideal of restoring to religion the mystical character it had lost through previous ages.23

Scott was a pure romanticist more than a strict medievalist, for in turning to the past to satisfy the needs of the generation, it was not to the "genuine supernatural" that he turned, but rather to the pomp and the panoply of medievalism.

23 Ibid., p. 114.
In his portrayals of medieval life it is more often the surface element that he presents. "He made it possible for his generation to sentimentalize over the ruins of abbeys, which their predecessors had ruthlessly spoiled. But monastic life, and generally the inner heart of medieval life, have been missed entirely." 24 Of the many props used by Scott in his novels to enhance his feudal tale and to carry the thread of his story, the monastery is often used. In Castle Dangerous, Sir Aymer de Valence in seeking the sexton from whom he hopes to acquire curious information concerning the Douglas tribe, makes an excursion through the abbey where the sexton dwells. The picturesque portrayal of these abbey ruins seems so real that one feels almost immediately transported to the days of the warring Douglas tribes. The elaboration of detail with which Scott describes the abbey ruins is a keynote to the nature of the romantic spirit which was attracted by this outward display of medievalism.

He opened a lowly door, which was fitted, though irregularly, to serve as the entrance of a vaulted apartment....The floor, composed of paving-stones, laid together with some accuracy, and here and there inscribed with letters and hieroglyphics, as if they had once upon a time served to distinguish sepulchres....The spade and pick-axe...a rude stool and a table...were nearly the only furniture, if we may include the old man's bed of straw....At the lower end of the apartment, the wall was almost entirely covered by a large escutcheon, such as is usually hung over the graves of men of very high rank, having the appropriate quarters, to the number of sixteen, each properly blazoned and distinct, placed as ornaments around the

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24 Truszka, op. cit., p. 9.
principal armorial coat itself.\textsuperscript{25}

While Scott saw the outward side of monastic life and usually from a historical point of view, Newman from a doctrinal point of view deeply penetrated the inner heart of monastic life. The life exemplified by those cloistered within the monastery was the concern of Newman's as compared to the fascinating interest the monastery with all its medieval decorations held for Scott.

As a result of his studies of the Church Fathers, Newman opens a discussion of the monastic system as founded by Augustine in Africa, through the character of Demetrias, a wealthy maiden in the late fourth century.\textsuperscript{26} Demetrias, by rejecting marriage for the religious state, exemplifies monasticism. Since Newman regards marriage as the only shelter against a rude world, he considers foundations such as convents a protection for the single women against the "desolateness, heartless ridicule and insult" of the world. Another reason which Newman gives in favor of such establishments is the dignity they afforded to the single state itself, "thus saving numbers from the temptation of throwing themselves rashly away upon unworthy objects, thereby transgressing their own sense of propriety, and embittering their future life."\textsuperscript{27} That Newman sensed the inner life is evident, but further illustration of the fact that the ends to which monasticism employed itself were more than a cloistering of one's self in a contemplative way of life, is

\textsuperscript{27} Ibid., p. 165.
observed in Newman's *Essay on the Development of Christian Doctrine*, when discussing the Monastic rule. 28 Newman points out in this essay that in St. Basil's and St. Anthony's disciples the monastic profession performed the office of resisting heresy. The performance of this same office can also be noted in the cloistered Demetrias, when she so heroically resisted the heretical doctrines of Pelagius.

From the singular instances noted above it can be discerned that Scott was attracted by the outward characteristics of the Middle Ages, while Newman penetrated into the realm of religion. From Scott we learn of the monastery as an institution, while from Newman we learn of the institution of monasticism. Newman's expression of medievalism is more profound, for as Sr. M. Truszka observed: "No one can deeply study the Middle Ages without finding himself confronted by the Church," 29 and of the Church Newman knew the feeling, the force, and the Catholic conscience.

29 Truszka, op. cit., p. 20.
CHAPTER II

THE MEDIEVALISM OF SCOTT AND NEWMAN AS A NATURAL OUTGROWTH OF THEIR ENVIRONMENTAL AND LITERARY LIFE

Upon studying the circumstances of Walter Scott's early life one becomes quietly assured that the medieval element in his literary works was a natural outgrowth of the environmental and the literary heritage which fell to his fortune. It would be a singularly difficult task to analyze all of the influences which might have struck the medieval chord in Scott. It is the purpose of the present study to observe a few of the immediate sources from which Scott's love of the past was developed.

One could feel that Scott's romanticizing spirit took root almost from birth. His descendancy from Border chieftains and his having been born in Edinburgh, Scotland (1771) "where history goes back to lore and lore and history combine to form romance,"¹ were factors which nourished his love of the past; for, "beyond his birthplace lie the mountains, lakes, and glens of Scotland - the scenes of tales, ballads, and song,"² which particulars set in motion the medievalizing tendency of his genius. Descending thus from an old Border family, Scott took great pride "in all their real or supposed feudal dignity and their rough marauding exploits."³ This was a stimulating

1 Deferrari, op. cit., p. 517.
2 Loc. cit.
pride which directed him to the study of Border history, and which can be observed in the account he gives of his family in his autobiography.

Every Scottishman had a pedigree. It is a national prerogative, as unalienable as his pride and his poverty. My birth was neither distinguished nor sordid. According to the prejudices of my country, it was esteemed gentle, as I was connected though remotely, with ancient families, both by my father’s and mother’s side.4

To have been connected with ancient families of note was a proud boast of Scott all through his life and an underlying drive in his endeavors in the field of literature where he strove to idealize life as symbolized in his way of living at Abbotsford.

Scott’s grandfather, a cadet of the family of Scott, was descended from a Scott of Harden, claimed to have been the earliest noble family of Scotts.5 After an unsuccessful attempt to maintain a living as a merchant-seaman, he took the position of tenant-farmer upon the lands of Sandy-Knowe, belonging to Mr. Scott of Harden. As a child, Scott lived for a while in this town of Sandy-Knowe and from here portrayed a scene in one of his earliest ballads.6

Sir Walter’s father was the eldest son and the first of his family to be bred to town life. He obtained good success in his occupation as a lawyer. In his thirtieth year he married the eldest daughter of Dr. John

6 Ibid., p. 19.
Rutherford, professor of medicine in the University of Edinburgh. On her mother's side she descended from the Swintons of Swinton, a Border family "which produced many distinguished warriors during the Middle Ages, and which, for antiquity and honourable alliances may rank with any in Britain." The first six of their children perished in infancy. Sir Walter was the ninth of their twelve children and the only one to live to an old age.

Due to an illness in his infancy Sir Walter Scott was left with a lame step, and consequently his early youth was not a normal one. Had his youth been a normal one we might never have had the Scott to whom we are indebted for the Waverley novels. During his very early childhood, his mother was one of his constant companions. To her he owes many of the earliest inspirations that came to him of things medieval, for she "was a woman of character and education, strongly imaginative, a teller of tales which stirred young Walter's enthusiasm by revealing the past as a world of living heroes."

Scott's mother therefore provided one of the earliest sources from which his imagination was fed. Just as she revealed the past to this young child as a "world of living heroes," so Scott as a result

makes us live again in past centuries, and
makes innumerable human beings of his invention visible, familiar and akin to ourselves; whether he entirely creates them, or recreates their souls and borrows their names from history.\footnote{Legouis and Cazamian, A History of English Literature (New York: Macmillan & Co., 1930), p. 1056.}

\footnote{Lockhart, op. cit., p. 3.}
That this influence of Scott's mother was a potent one, Scott himself gives testimony to, when in writing to Lady Louisa Stuart after his mother's death says:

She had a mind peculiarly well stored with much acquired information and natural talent, and as she was very old and had an excellent memory, she could draw without the least exaggeration or affectation the most striking pictures of the past age. If I have been able in the way of painting past times, it is very much from the studies with which she presented me....

Scott was for the most part in the continual care of adults, since many of his youthful years were spent living with relatives in the countrysides of Scotland. Here it was thought the freedom and the climate might induce some improvement in his health. During one of his stays at Sandy-Knowe, the birthplace of his grandfather, Scott became familiar with many legends of border warfare through the recollections of his grandmother. From her wonderful tales Scott developed that intense love of Scottish history and tradition which characterizes many of his works. His love of tradition can also be traced to the fact that at a very early age he was exposed to Ritson's *Annals of the Scots*, from which he developed an affection for his freebooting grandsires.

Another instance of Scott's early storing-up of treasures of the past is noticed in a visit he paid at the age of six to his relative, Mrs. Keith of Ravelstone. The picturesque mansion of this relative with its venerable gardens and massive hedges was always considered by Scott as the ideal of art.

10 Lockhart, *op. cit.*, p. 419.
11 Long, *loc. cit.*
12 Ball, *op. cit.*, p. 10.
"In Waverley,' many of the quaint and picturesque features of Ravelstone were adopted into his 'Tully-Veolan' now so well known as 'The Manor-House of Baron Bradwardine.' That Scott should have been able to incorporate its quaint and picturesque details into the description of a castle in one of his most successful novels, thirty-seven years after having visited this mansion, helps to prove the fact that the environment which was his as a child was a very important factor in developing his literary tastes for things medieval.

It is evident that at a rather early age Scott's environment provided much of the romantic lore of which he afterwards made such splendid use. As a result of the Border legends, ballads, and tales related to Scott in his early childhood by his family and border acquaintances, he was imbued with a passionate interest in the past of his native land and its people. This passion kindled his spirit so intensely, that in 1786 being strong enough to walk, he returned to his father's home and began his wanderings into those sections of Scotland which had become endeared to him through the associations of local ballads and legends which he had loved from the dawn of his intellect. Now that Scott was at home more than ever before, he began to imbibe many of his father's political ideas. This fact accounts for his Jacobite leanings and also for the vivid pictures of feudal loyalty which he portrays in his novels.

Even after Scott had taken up the profession of law in 1786, his wanderings about the country became a greater than ever preoccupation. In

13 Mackenzie, op. cit., p. 31
these travels his main object was to absorb "the pleasure of beholding romantic scenery, or, what afforded him at least equal pleasure, the places which had been distinguished by remarkable events."\(^{14}\) Regardless of the fact that Scott worked hard at his law studies he found time for much desultory reading in history and legend which increased his desire to search these lands of which he had heard so much in song and story.

At home Scott was required to behave as became a member of a Puritanic, somewhat ascetic, well-ordered household. His father often sent him to distant places on business and thus employed, Scott first penetrated to the Highlands where he became acquainted with many of the old warriors of 1745, who were, like most veterans, easily induced to fight their battles over again for the benefit of a willing listener like myself. It naturally occurred to me that the ancient traditions and high spirit of a people who, living in a civilized age and country, retained so strong a tincture of manners belonging to an early period of society, must afford a subject favorable for romance, if it should not prove a curious tale marred in the telling.\(^{15}\)

Here we have Scott's own acknowledgment not only of the influence of the Highlands as "affording a subject favorable for romance" but more particularly of that which he learned of the past, from the tales of those who peopled these lands when he visited them. For many years Scott visited the Highlands in the summer sometimes on business for his father and sometimes to gratify his enthusiastic desire to become well acquainted with that

\(^{14}\) Ibid., p. 50.
part of Scotland.

Peculiar to Scott's position as Clerk of Sessions in Edinburgh came what was termed a legal "long vacation," extending from the middle of June to the beginning of November. These long vacations in the Scottish courts gave birth to Scott's "raids" into the scarcely-explored district of Liddesdale. Scott made seven such raids into this wild and primitive district to explore the remains of old castles and peels, to pick up such samples as were obtainable of "the ancient riding ballads," as still remembered by the moss-troopers there, to collect other relics of antiquity and to enjoy "the queerness and the fun" associated with the rough hospitality of those unsophisticated regions.16

Since these "raids" were made between the years 1786 and 1792, and since Scott's first literary achievements were poetical, it is natural that the copious materials which he picked up in these excursions should have been employed in such poetical works of his as The Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border, published in 1802, and which were also used to great advantage in many of his ballad collections. However, in 1805 he made his first attempts at novel writing and it seems most logical to expect that these same materials provided much of the material of his prose. Mackenzie makes this same point when he says:

The French Revolution, distinguished by its levelling principle and action, had ended in substituting a feudal empire for an effete monarchy; and, even when Napoleon was re-dividing Europe into Kingdoms and principalities for his family and his followers, there had ...revived, a deep

devotion to the chivalry which had done so much in the past, and whose traditions had ingrafted grace into history and breathed reality into song. To this feeling, this principle, Scott had ministered in his poems; and now acknowledged head of the romantic school, he resolved to extend its limits beyond the ballad or the narrative poem, and use prose as the more suitable medium. He strove to delineate the past as it seemed in the eyes of men who were dubious of the present, and afraid of the future, noble, stately, glittering, and gay, with the pulse of life ever beating to heroic measures. His view of feudalism, in "The Talisman," and "Ivanhoe,"... was not the caricature a few preceding authors had drawn, but a portrait faithful, if idealized.17

Therefore, we can say that although these environmental influences were first the source of Scott's expression of medievalism in his poetical works, they were an extension of that same expression in his prose, where they found an even more "suitable medium."

Coupled with and woven into many of Scott's environmental influences were his reading habits and his literary acquaintances. We have seen the effect of the many personal and external influences on Scott and the manner in which they contributed to developing the medieval trend of his thought, but such a trend could hardly be fully developed and worked were it not for the "fuel fed to the fire" by his reading habits and literary acquaintances.

Due to Scott's retarded health from infancy, his childhood was tended to delicately and artistically. He was, as has been observed, acquainted at a very early age with the song and story of Scotland from those who knew it. It was therefore natural with the abundance of fact and fancy he drank in,

17 Mackenzie, op. cit., p. 208.
and with his interest in the past continuing to grow, that during the months of his confinement to bed he should have sought further firing of the medieval spirit kindled in him by these earlier associations. Scott's desultory reading habits furthered this development and served to give him that spirit of remote times peculiar to his literary tastes.

Scott's reading habits began at an early age but took final shape during the years of his somewhat diversified education. Although his teachers helped to a degree in guiding his reading, it was to a great extent the outgrowth of his own inclinations. At the age of seven, though Scott could read fluently and could call to memory several border ballads, he was sent to a small private school. With some tutoring at home, his progress was rapid, and in October of 1778 when Scott was still a boy of seven, he was considered ready to join the class of a Mr. Luke Fraser in the High School.¹⁸

While in attendance at High School Scott's genius was recognized by many. Dr. Blackwood, a blind poet, took a fancy to Scott and recommended him to read Ossian and Spenser, of whom Scott has said:

> The tawdry repetitions of the Ossianic phraseology disgusted me rather sooner than might have been expected from my age. But Spenser I could have read for ever. Too young to trouble myself about the allegory, I considered all the knights and ladies and dragons and giants in their outward and esoteric sense, and God only knows how delighted I was to find myself in such society.¹⁹

¹⁸ Ibid., p. 33
¹⁹ Lookhart, op. cit., p. 11.
Since Ossian and Spenser both present curious pictures of the past, it is easy to understand the intriguing influence they should have had on Scott, especially in their exoteric sense. The extent to which knights and ladies occupy the pages of Scott's novels is proof enough of the influence of Ossian and Spenser.

When Scott left the High School in 1783, at the age of twelve, he possessed an unusually large quantity of general information:

ill-arranged, and collected, without system, yet deeply impressed upon his mind, readily assorted by his power of connection and memory, and guided by a vivid and active imagination.20

The wealth of prose and poetry produced by Scott seems not improbable when one considers the quantity and the quality of general information collected and absorbed by him at this early age, not to speak of the stores which were to be added in a few years to come.

After leaving the High School, Scott's health though greatly improved was not good, and consequently, he was unable to begin his studies at the University immediately. Once again he took up his abode in the country, this time at his aunt's home in Kelso. For four hours a day he attended school. The rest of his time was wholly at his own disposal. At Kelso he had the advantage of being under the tutorship of an excellent scholar, Lancelot Whale, who devoted much attention to Scott as he welcomed students whose attainments were higher than the average. The extreme individuality of Scott's genius and literary tastes were observed here. Scott, refusing to be guided by Whale, pursued his own interests in reading and "began by

20 Loc. cit.
degrees to seek in histories, memoirs, voyages and travels, and the like, events as wonderful as those which were the work of the imagination."  

At this time, while only thirteen, he used to spend hours reading such authors as Spenser, Ariosto, and Boiardo.

The great advantage of the use of private or rare libraries which so many of the great writers in literature had at their disposal, was not lacking among the literary influences on Scott. During his stay at Kelso there was a respectable subscription-library, a circulating-library of ancient standing, and some private book-shelves open to his random perusal.  

We have Scott's own words as to his use of these libraries; when speaking particularly of Allen Ramsay's library, he says that it exhibited specimens of every kind, from the romances of chivalry and the ponderous folios of Cyrus and Cassandra, down to the most approved works of later times. I was plunged into this great ocean of reading without compass or pilot....As my taste and appetite were gratified in nothing else, I indemnified myself by becoming a glutton of books. Accordingly, I believe I read almost all the romances, old plays, and epic poetry in that formidable collection, and no doubt was unconsciously amassing materials for the task in which it has been my lot to be so employed.

21 Sir Walter Scott, Waverley (Boston: Colonial Press Co., 1937), p. X.  
22 Lockhart, op. cit., p. 33.  
23 Mackenzie, op. cit., p. 40.  
24 Waverley, p. X.
Among those treasures opened to Scott from Ramsay's library was Bishop Percy's "Reliques of Ancient Poetry." This work has been considered as a preliminary to the development of many romantic themes in English literature. Percy's work exerted a definite influence on Scott, for in his own words he says:

I remember well the spot where I read those volumes for the first time. It was beneath a huge platanus-tree, in the ruins of what had been intended for an old fashioned arbor in the garden I have mentioned ....To read and to remember, was, in this instance, the same thing; and henceforth, I overwhelmed my school-fellows, and all who would harken to me, with tragical recitations from the ballads of Bishop Percy. The first time too, I could scrape a few shillings together, which were not common occurrences with me, I bought unto myself a copy of these beloved volumes; nor do I believe I ever read a book half so frequently or with half the enthusiasm.25

Considering the fact that, as Sampson says, "It was through Percy's 'Reliques' that the Middle Ages really came to have an influence in modern poetry,"26 in relation to the extent in which Scott devoured this work, it can be concluded that it worked a motivating influence on Scott in developing his medievalising tendency. Scott's praise of Ramsay's library gives voice to his hungering appetite which was gratified by the many volumes contained therein.

25 Lockhart, op. cit., p. 11.
Scott also became familiar in 1801, with the researches of James Ritson, a noted antiquarian. Ritson surprised everyone who was aware of his asperity by revealing the stores of his extensive learning to Scott. It is probable that Scott learned about minstrelsy from Percy and Ritson, but it is also apparent that he apprehended their research carefully and critically. This fact is noticeable when Scott discussing the social positions of the minstrels in the light of what these two men had said on the subject, concludes:

In fact, neither of these excellent antiquaries has cast a general or philosophic glance on the necessary condition of a set of men, who were by profession the instruments of the pleasure of others during a period of society such as was presented in the Middle Ages.27

The role of the minstrel is so naturally portrayed in Scott's novels that to read Scott is to make a study of "minstrelsy."

Numerous as the channels are from which Scott added to his romantic lore, one other seems worthy of recognition. From Scott we learn of the influence of the Chronicles of Froissart. Froissart, as considered by Legouis, was the French political and military chronicler of the fourteenth century.28 When making reference to the interest Froissart held for Scott, Ball says: "The fruit of Scott's acquaintance with Froissart appears prominently...in the novels of chivalry."29 Scott too, in his dedicatory epistle to Ivanhoe remarks that the "delightful pages of the gallant Froissart," provided him with many valuable hints for that particular work. There is a section in

28 Legouis, op. cit., p. 151
29 Ball, op. cit., p. 36.
Ivanhoe, where Rebecca in reporting the progress of the storming of Front-de-Boeuf's castle (where she and Ivanhoe are being held captive) to Ivanhoe, describes the body of men headed by the Knight of Fetterlock as being "close under the outer barrier of the barbican." From a note Scott gives us here, we are led to believe that the idea of placing the besiegers "close under the barrier of the barbican," was borrowed from the chivalrous pages of Froissart.

In November of 1783, Scott's health had improved sufficiently well for him to enter the University of Edinburgh. However, due to the fact that Scott never mastered Greek well enough to be examined in it, he was forced to leave the University without a degree. Despite his failure in Greek, Scott mastered German well enough to have increased those sources from which he drew material for his work on the Middle Ages. His translation of Goethe's "Goetz of Berlichingen with the Iron Hand," published in 1799, is thought by many critics to have been the source for the death of Marmion, and Rebecca's description of Front-de-Boeuf's castle in Ivanhoe.

To consider the numerous antiquarian sources from which Scott's expression of medievalism was nourished would take on proportions beyond the scope of this study. The immediate and most important sources through which Scott's fascination for the Middle Ages was developed have been recognized.

Outside the realm of antiquarian research, Scott's contemporaries in the field of the novel, provided in their revival of the past much material which Scott drew from and reworked to suit his own purpose. "For the outworn

31 Mackenzie, op. cit., p. 96.
motifs and machinery" of the romances of his contemporaries, "Scott offered equivalents which afforded the reader the same excitement while they carried all the conviction of real life." 32

Horace Walpole's Castle of Otranto, heads a long list of romances preceding Scott's series of novels, that directly impressed Scott. Walpole's object in this work was "to paint the domestic life and manners of the feudal period, 'as agitated by the action of the supernatural machinery such as the superstition of the time might have expected.'" 33 Since the life and the manners of the feudal period embody Scott's expression of medievalism in his works dealing with that period, we can feel sure of the influence of Horace Walpole on him, but we have more positive proof in Scott's own words when he says:

I had nourished the ambitious desire of composing a tale of chivalry, which was to be in the style of the Castle of Otranto, with plenty of Border characters and supernatural incidents. 34

Among other contemporaries of Scott whose works exerted considerable impression on him was Maria Edgeworth. To her work, Castle Rackrent, Moody allocates the distinction of having suggested to Scott that

true local color could be made as effective a background as false, and that the romantic interest could be united with an effort to portray life as it is. 35

Scott was diligently enamoured of Miss Edgeworth's accomplishments in the

33 Moody and Lovett, op. cit., p. 253.
34 Waverley, p. XL.
35 Moody and Lovett, op. cit., p. 341.
field of patriotic literature, and felt that he might attempt to imitate her efforts by doing something for Scotland:

...something which might introduce her natives to those of the sister kingdom in a more favorable light than they had been placed hitherto and tend to procure sympathy for their virtues and indulgences for their foibles. I thought also, that much of what I wanted in talent might be made up by the intimate acquaintance with the subject which I could lay claim to possess, as having travelled through most parts of Scotland, both Highland and Lowland, having had from my infancy free and unrestrained communication with all ranks of my countrymen, from the Scottish peer to the Scottish ploughman. Such ideas often occurred to me, and constituted an ambitious branch of my theory, however far short I may have fallen of it in practice.36

Needless to say, from Scott's own admissions and from the critics, it is apparent that Scott's debt to the eighteenth-century contemporaries is a great one. Fairchild perceives an extremely close relation of the Gothic romances to Scott's works when he cites Scott

making judicious use of their thrills, tempering their absurdities, infusing them with a more genuinely medieval atmosphere and background with a satisfying realism...37

Fairchild recognizes the extent to which the creative genius of Scott furthered the work of the Gothic writers as a complement of rather than a debt to their literary endeavors.

Although the popular vogue for the Gothic romances was thought to have been over by 1814, their appeal was still fresh in the minds of many. In

36 Waverley, p. XII.
recognizing this fact, Mayo gives evidence of Mrs. Radcliffe's influence on Scott when he says:

It was not mere whimsicality which made Crabbe Robinson on reading Waverley in 1815 associate the new romance with Mrs. Radcliffe's work. 38

Out of these environmental and literary influences developed the genius of the "greatest popularizer of the Middle Ages" in English literature.

The constant abiding of his mind within the well-defined forms of some one or other of the conditions of outward life and manners, among the scores of different spheres of human habit, was, no doubt, one of the secrets of his genius; but it was also its greatest limitation. 39

The contrast which shall be observed of those environmental and literary influences which prevailed upon Scott and Newman will indicate the limitation of Scott's medievalism as compared with the deeper significance of Newman's.

"Newman loved the Middle Ages no less than Scott, he only shifted the center of his affections." 40 Scott saw before he began his literary career that the novels and romances of his century were unsuited to the changed conditions of society in his own time. 41 Opposing the literary tradition of the last century he sought the strange adventure he loved in the Middle Ages. Newman, on the other hand, alarmed and revolted by the tendencies of the age

38 Mayo, loc. cit.
and seeing the growing secularism of the times and the trend towards trust in
the reasoning intellect, sought in the Middle Ages a source for his effort to
combat it.

To rouse the English Church to a vital realization of its own great
traditions, and to restore to it the prestige and the dominating position
it had had in the past.42

was an ultimate object of Newman’s.

Scott in his resolved literary endeavors was attracted by the externali-
ties of medievalism, the various aspects of chivalry and feudalism of those
ages. Newman, on the other hand, in his religious endeavors which were as
great a contribution to the field of literature as Scott’s, was attracted by
the unity and authority which characterized the Church at that time.

The natural tenor of Newman’s temperament was a religious one.
Accordingly, the influences which helped to mould his medieval mind were of
a different character from those more explicit influences which surrounded
Scott.

John Henry Newman, born in 1801, was the eldest boy in a family of six
children. His father was a London banker whose family came from Cambridge-
shire. His mother came from a French Protestant family.43 Both parents
belonged to the Church of England. His mother professed a mild type of
Calvinism, which at that time was characteristic of many of the Low Church

42 Gates, op. cit., p. 113.
43 Wilfrid Ward, The Life of John Henry Cardinal Newman (New York: Longmans,
School. His mother having been a very religious woman, was responsible for the fact that Newman from childhood was taught to "take great delight in reading the Bible."\(^{44}\)

Besides the early influence of the Bible, Newman is said to have been deeply impressed by his father who possessed an acute logical mind. Moody clearly recognizes this trait in Newman.\(^{45}\) There is much truth to Moody's statement, as the application of a logical mind is particularly observed in Newman's *Essay on the Development of Christian Doctrine*.

Newman's early reading habits enter into the picture out of which developed his reverence for the past ages. At the age of six Newman had read the *Arabian Tales*. In the *Apologia*, he says: "I used to wish the Arabian Tales were true; my imagination ran on unknown influences, on magical powers, and talismans."\(^{46}\) Consideration of the fact that the *Arabian Tales* was among those books which "whispered the last enchantments of the middle ages into the ears of children during the eighteenth century and part of the nineteenth,"\(^{47}\) gives evidence of Newman's having early made some acquaintance with the outward character of the Middle Ages.

In the *Apologia*, when referring to a "device" which appeared on a page in his first Latin verse books, we learn of a probable influence exerted upon Newman through the romances of Mrs. Radcliffe and Miss Porter when he says:

\(^{46}\) *Apologia*, p. 20.
\(^{47}\) Sampson, *op. cit.*, p. 616.
I have drawn,...the figure of a solid cross upright, and next to it is,...a set of beads suspended with a little cross attached. At this time I was not quite ten years. I suppose I got these ideas from some romance, Mrs. Radcliffe's or Miss Porter's.48

The fact that Mrs. Radcliffe is considered the most successful producer in the eighteenth century of Gothic stories, abounding in mysterious incidents and supernatural occurrences against a medieval background,49 harmonizes with Harrold's conclusion, that Mrs. Radcliffe's or Miss Porter's romances may have suggested that hint of superstition which was to creep into Newman's writings and his thoughts to the very end.50

Concurrent with the influences of Newman's reading habits were those acquaintances he made while pursuing his studies at Oxford. When only fifteen Newman received under the influence of Rev. Walter Mayers at Oxford, deep religious impressions, Calvinistic in character. This was the beginning of a new life for Newman, his so-called "conversion."

A deep impression was also made by Thomas Scott of Aston Sanfords, "to whom," Newman says, "(humanly speaking) I almost owe my soul."51 From Newman we learn that Thomas Scott planted deep in his mind the fundamental truth of religion when he says:

I deeply felt his influence,... and for years used almost as proverbs what I considered to be the scope and issue of his doctrine, "Holiness rather than peace," and "Growth the only evidence of life."52

48 Apologia, p. 13
49 Moody, op. cit., p. 254.
51 Apologia, p. 23.
52 Ibid., p. 24.
From Thomas Scott's essays, Newman also acquired a zealous faith in the doctrine of the Holy Trinity. The many impressions received by Newman from his acquaintances at Oxford dealt strictly with religious doctrine in the Church of England. The important question of doctrine was one which presented itself to Newman at a very early age and one which wasn't entirely clear to him until the completion of his Essay on the Development of Christian Doctrine.

At this same time, in the year 1816, Newman read Joseph Milner's Church History, and became enamoured of the long extracts from the early Church Fathers. Harrold accounts this experience as having been directly prophetic of the subsequent readings for his work on the Arians of the Fourth Century, which eventually led to The Development of Christian Doctrine. 53

Newman's reading of Thomas Newton's Dissertations on the Prophecies, resulted in his becoming firmly convinced that the Pope was Antichrist predicted by Daniel, St. Paul, and St. John. 54 From Newton, Newman gathered material for his essay on the Protestant Idea of Antichrist. Newton's influence developed hostile sentiments in Newman toward the Roman Catholic Church.

Newman's early education was received in a private school at Ealing under the tutorship of Dr. Nicholas of Wadham College, Oxford. He remained at Ealing until he went to Trinity College, Oxford. At this early stage in

53 Harrold, op. cit., p. 4.
54 Apologia, p. 25.
his education Newman is known to have devoured Waverley and Guy Mannering, indicating his early acquaintances with Scott's expression of medievalism.55

In 1816 Newman matriculated to Trinity College, Oxford. "Here in an atmosphere of the Middle Ages, though without the equivalent intellectual activity, the undergraduate...was placed in the hands of a college tutor."56 It was at this point in his career that Newman came under the influence of those Oriel masters to whom reference shall be made later.

During the long vacation from school in 1818, Newman became deeply absorbed in Gibbon and Locke. Ward57 records that Newman read Gibbon assiduously in connection with his own studies in Church history. This fact is evident when Newman discusses the Church of the fifth and sixth centuries. In this instance his references to Gibbon are numerous, thus revealing that from him he gained much knowledge concerning the medieval Church.

The influence of Gibbon on Newman is recognized as an important one by several of Newman's critics, for having provided him with material for his work on the medieval Church. Moody58 described Gibbon as having provided much medieval lore for Newman in his study of history at this time while Harrold refers explicitly to a passage of Newman's Essay on Development.

56 Harrold, op. cit., p. 6.
57 Ward, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 34.
The segment of history which Newman recreates here is considered by Harrold as having been made alluring to Newman by Gibbon and the Fathers.59 Many of Newman's literary pursuits while at Oxford indicate his taste for things medieval. The Life of Gregory VII, an historical work written by Mr. Bowden, forms the basis of Newman's essay on the Reformation of the Eleventh Century.60 The inspiration Newman received from Bowden stems from the intimate friendship which existed between them at Oriel College. In Newman's memoirs we read:

The two youths lived simply with and for each other all through their undergraduate time, up to the term when they went into the schools for their B.A. examination, being recognised in college as inseparables... and, though so close a companionship could not continue when at length they ceased to be in a state of pupilage, and had taken their several paths in life, yet the mutual attachment thus formed at the University was maintained between them till Mr. Bowden's premature death in 1844.61

It is significant that since Gregory VII was a Pope in the eleventh century, Newman's study of him bears out his medievalism. It will also be remembered that Froude helped to instill in Newman, an inspiration for the medieval pontiffs. Newman's expression of medievalism in this essay, although written when he was an Anglican, displays a very tolerant and kind attitude toward the

59 Harrold, op. cit., p. 87.
Church of Rome. Perhaps, his friendship with John Henry Bowden was a turning point in his life.

One of the most important and curiously noted literary influences on Newman, as regards this study, was that of Sir Walter Scott. In his Apologia, when referring to an article he had written in 1839 for the British Critic, on the success of the Tracts, he says: "First I mentioned the literary influence of Walter Scott, who turned men's minds in the direction of the middle ages."62

That Newman could have recognized the definite guiding influence of Sir Walter Scott in turning men's minds toward the middle ages, explains his being thoroughly acquainted with the mind of Scott. The probability is great of Scott's having directed Newman's trend of thought toward things medieval at a very early age, for in a letter to Hope Scott written in 1871, thanking him for a copy of the abridged life of Walter Scott, Newman says:

In one sense I deserve it; I have ever had such a devotion, to Walter Scott. As a boy, in the early summer mornings I read "Waverley" and "Guy Manners" in bed when they first came out, before it was time to get up; and long before that I think, when I was eight years old I listened eagerly to the "Lay of the Last Minstrel," which my mother and aunt were reading aloud.63

In a letter to his mother in 1820, we find him expressing enthusiasm upon having read "Ivanhoe," especially the second volume.64

62 Apologia, p. 126.
64 Ibid., p. 46.
Ward notes Newman's devotion to Scott's novels and his frequent reference to them as an influence for good as well as a source of artistic delight.

When Sr. Mary Aloysi Kiener recognizes the influence of Scott on Newman, she considers Newman's debt "to the infiltrations from the spirit that had fed the genius of Sir Walter Scott, whose last encounter on life's great tournament coincided with the very eve of the Oxford Movement." References are not lacking of the influence of Sir Walter Scott on John Henry Newman, but even Newman himself places great emphasis on his associations with and recollections of the works and genius of Scott. However great this influence was, the natural inclination of Newman's mind accounts for Scott's works having made the deep impression they did on Newman. In comparing the achievement of Sir Walter Scott in the field of the novel with his own sermon work Newman remarks:

You see, it seems to me a great object, as Sir Walter Scott beat bad novels out of the field, in like manner to beat bad sermons by supplying a more real style of sermon.

Newman definitely had Sir Walter Scott and his achievements in mind. Scott in his expression of medievalism showed the way to the Middle Ages but Newman in his expression led the way to the spiritual aspects of the Middle Ages. It was the outward aspects of those ages which thrilled Scott but Newman went

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deeper. Newman went to the "Church" of those ages, and to be deep in study of
the Middle Ages, is to be deep in study of the Church.

In reviewing in his Apologia, that same article which he wrote for the
British Critic earlier referred to in this chapter, Newman mentions also the
literary influence of Coleridge. He appreciates Coleridge highly despite his
having indulged a liberty for speculation, and gives him some credit for
having succeeded in interesting the genius of his age in the cause of Catholic
truth. He did this by instilling a higher philosophy into inquiring minds
than that to which they had been accustomed.68

Newman also recognizes Southey and Wordsworth in the period of the
Romantic Age in English Literature as having carried their readers in the
direction of the Middle Ages.

...two living poets, one of whom in
the department of fantastic fiction,
the other in that of philosophical
meditation, have addressed them-
selves to the same high principles
and feelings and carried forward
their readers in the same direc-
tion.69

Since Southey is known for his having become "a strenuous defender of the
institutions of the past,"70 it is not to be wondered that there was an
element in his works which attracted Newman.

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68 Apologia, p. 127.
69 Loc. cit.
70 Moody and Lovett, op. cit., p. 268.
Side by side and correlated with Newman's literary adventures at Oxford were the Oriel masters to whose influence Newman was for many years subjected.

The first Oriel master under whose influence Newman came was Dr. Hawkins, Provost of Oriel in 1822. From Hawkins he learned to reason logically and through him also discovered the doctrine of Tradition, the doctrine of Baptismal Regeneration, which later became subjects of his Tracts, and also the fact that the Church was the true interpreter of Scripture. While subjected to the influence of Hawkins, Newman dropped the last of his Calvinistic aberrations.71

In 1823, Newman learned the doctrine of Apostolical Succession from the Rev. William James, a fellow of Oriel. At this same time he read Bishop Butler's Analogy,72 the principles of which became the underlying doctrine of a great part of his own teaching.73

In 1825, Newman was favored with the assignment as Vice-Principal and Tutor at Alban Hall, by Dr. Whately, then Principal and formerly an instructor of Newman's at Oriel. In the point of religious opinions, Newman says that Whately taught him

the existence of a substantive body or corporation; next to fix in me those anti-Erastian views of Church polity, which were one of the most prominent features of the Tractarian movement.74

71 Moody, op. cit., p. 13
72 Sampson, op. cit., p. 492.
73 Apologia, p. 29.
74 Ibid., p. 30
His work had a gradual and a deep effect on Newman's mind, but for his
theological tenets Newman had no sympathy. As a result of Whately's influence,
Newman found himself preferring intellectual excellence to moral excellence
and drifting in the direction of the liberalism of the day, but he also found
himself being rudely awakened from those views by 1827.

In May, 1825, Newman had been ordained in the Anglican Priesthood. In
1826, he became tutor in his college and resigned his Principalship under
Whately. About this time Newman became formally acquainted with Keble, who
was a student at Oxford the first time Newman had heard of him, but was now a
country parson and the author of The Christian Year published in 1828. The
two main intellectual truths brought home to Newman were:

the same two...learned from Butler, though
recast in the creative mind of my new mast.
The first of these was what may be called,
in a large sense of the word, the Sacra-
mental system; that is the doctrine that
material phenomena are both the types and
the instruments of real things unseen,-
a doctrine, which embraces in its fulness,
not only what Anglicans as well as Cath-
olics believe about Sacraments so-called;
but also the article of "the Communion
of Saints" and the mysteries of faith. .

the second intellectual principle which I
gained from Mr. Keble,...(was)...the firm-
ness of assent which we give to religious
doctrine, not to the probabilities which
introduced it. ...It is faith and love
which give to probability a force which
it has not in itself....Thus the argument
from personality, which in fact is one
form of the argument from Authority....I
did not at all dispute this view of the matter, for I had made use of it myself, but I was dissatisfied because it did not go to the root of the difficulty.75

Keble was a High Churchman and a strong defender of the so-called "Catholic" interpretation of the Anglican Book of Common Prayer.

Upon the retirement of Hawkins in 1828, Newman received the appointment of Vicar of St. Mary's, the University Church. Since 1826 he had been in closest and most affectionate friendship with Hurrell Froude, a pupil of Keble's at Oriel, whose opinions arrested and influenced him even when they did not gain his assent. In this regard, Newman says:

He taught me to look with admiration toward the Church of Rome, and in the same degree to dislike the Reformation. He fixed deep in me the idea of devotion to the Blessed Virgin and he led me gradually to believe in the Real Presence.76

It was also through the influence of Froude that Newman learned to admire the great medieval Pontiffs. We find mention of them considerably interspersed throughout Newman's works in his Anglican days when he delved into the question of doctrine. After he became a Catholic, to punctuate his convictions, there are also frequent references to the Pontiffs of the medieval period.

Previous to this particular point in Newman's career and despite the influence Froude exerted upon him, Newman gives little indication of his departing far from Low Churchmanship. However, up to 1829, Newman had been

75 Ibid., p. 37
76 Ibid., p. 43.
continuing a previous study he had undertaken of the Church Fathers and through the impressions he received of the Church in the ages of these Fathers, found himself slowly getting away from his Protestant viewpoint. Newman's study of the Church Fathers was one of the greatest turning points in his life.

He was becoming more vividly aware that the divinely revealed truths of Christianity, as interpreted by the early Church Fathers, and Church Councils, had been largely forgotten by the established Church during the long domination of Low Churchmen. The High Church view was that these great revealed truths should once more be brought to life and defended as the fundamental doctrines of the Anglican Church, which (he had now come to feel, for the first time) was really not a Protestant Church at all, but the true Church Catholic in England, - that is to say, a true branch of the historic Catholic Church. 77

Newman was gradually moving out of the shadow of liberalism which had hung over him for many years. His early devotion to the Fathers returned. In the long vacation of 1828 when the influence of the Oriel masters was no longer at a peak, he began reading the Fathers again. Those to whom we refer in a later part of this study will be only those who fall within the scope of the Middle Ages as defined in Chapter I. 78 Newman's deep expression of medievalism is observed when he gives us the mind of these men in the Middle Ages. It is interesting to note that in the height of his Anglican career he

77 Moody, op. cit., p. 25.
78 See Chapter I, p. 11.
so keenly sensed the past of the Catholic Church.

The religious opinions and the doctrines which Newman inbibed from the Oriel masters, referred to above, were not in accordance with the doctrine of the Roman Catholic Church. They were, for the most part, erroneous semblances of the creed of the Church of Rome. The important point in elaborating on those opinions derived from the Oriel masters is to show characteristically that it was the Church and its doctrines which captivated the attention of Newman. He lent an eager ear to those who saw the opportunity of expounding a particular doctrine as they understood it or wished to interpret it. He listened to and absorbed all that presented itself to his mind during his days at Oxford, and for some time used his oratorical genius in expounding many of these same ideas.

After Newman's mind began unfolding, his spirit became unsettled. The interpretation and application of doctrine as he learned it at Oxford refused to harmonize with many additions to his faith since that time. Consequently, we find Newman reverting to the Church of the Middle Ages for positive doctrine, trying desperately to claim for the Church of England a position as great as that of the Church of Rome. In his conscientious but frantic attempt to establish such contact, Newman explores the doctrine, unity, and authority of the Church in the Middle Ages.

In 1832, shortly after Newman finished writing his *Arians of the Fourth Century*, he took his first sea voyage through the Mediterranean with the
Froude's. This trip proved to be one of the greatest turning points in Newman's life. On this trip he was overcome with a sense of a mission to save the English Church from destruction at the hands of the Whig politicians.

When Newman returned to England the Oxford Movement got under way. The state of things in the Anglican Church at this time is described by Church:

The Church, as it had been in the quiet days of the eighteenth century, was scarcely adapted to the needs of more stirring times. The idea of clerical life had certainly sunk, both in fact and in the popular estimate of it... The idea of the priest was not quite forgotten, but there was much to obscure it. The beauty of the English Church at this time was its family life of simplicity and purity; its blot was quiet worldliness... But the fortunes of a Church are not safe in the hands of a clergy, of which a great part take their obligations so easily. It was slumbering and sleeping when the visitation of days of change and trouble came upon it.79

This was the state of the English Church when Newman returned from the Mediterranean. Newman recognized his mission to be a "war against the Liberalism in thought that was breaking up ancient institutions in Church and State."80 Newman knew its symptoms and foresaw its results, not all at once, but for many years previous. It was an anticipation which early haunted him, and since in his honest efforts to overcome the evils of the age he should turn so often to the Middle Ages for the source or the confirmation of his ideas, would indicate that the medieval turn of his mind was not so much

acquired as something innate. To defend the Church of England "against the
assaults of brilliant intellectuality" 81 seemed to be:

a mission especially suited to one (Newman)
keenly alive to the plausibility of scepticism, yet profoundly convinced that
modern science and research were compatible with Christianity, and that in Christianity alone could be found the meaning
of life and the happiness of mankind. The work was to be done...by strengthening the
English Church as the home of dogmatic religion; by imparting intellectual depth to
its traditional theology and spiritual life to its institutions; by strengthening and
renewing the almost broken links which bound the Church of England to the Church
Catholic of the great ages—the Church of Augustine and Athanasius. And this was
the object of the Oxford Movement of 1633. 82

By the efforts employed by the Tractarians to obtain this object and through
their "modus of restoring Christianity," by going to "history, antiquity, and
the past," 83 the return to the Middle Ages shall be observed as particularly
related to Newman. That "feeling of almost unbearable homesickness" which
"filled the souls of those Oxford scholars when they contrasted the religion
and life of the Middle Ages and the Primitive Church with that of nineteenth-
century England," 84 is that same feeling which gave birth to the Oxford
Movement and which Newman describes as "a spiritual awakening of spiritual

82 Ibid., Vol. I, p. 5.
83 Calvert Alexander, S.J. The Catholic Literary Revival (Milwaukee: Bruce
84 Ibid., p. 28.
wants,"85 an awakening as genuine "as that heralded by Sr. Francis in the
thirteenth century or by Wesley in the eighteenth."86

The minds of the Tractarians were as progressive as the movement itself,
many going in different directions and with different results before its
close. Newman's work in the Church Fathers and other research he took upon
himself even before the movement began, coupled with his work in the movement
shows the trend of his mind steadily advancing toward

a deeper and wider sympathy and harmony
with ancient Catholicism, with medieval Catholicism, with the present and living Catholic Church, considered in its
diffusive character, and finally with the Roman Church, the mother and mistress of churches.87

That the pomp and the panoply of the Middle Ages should have held such
magnetic fascination for Scott was a natural outgrowth of his environment and
the literary influences which enveloped him from childhood. His descendancy
from a family of Border chieftains and his early acquaintance with their bold
and valorous feats as recollected for him by various members of his family, as
compared with the strict Puritanism which permeated the Newman household,
would in a measure account for Scott's and Newman's respective attraction to
opposite poles of medievalism.

Scott's childhood, as has been noted, was tended to almost constantly by
adults, who filled his idle hours with legends of medieval times envisaging
for him the glories of military life and the majestic display of chivalry

85 Apologia, p. 128.
heightened by the heraldic embellishments, which characterized the life and manners of those times. The elements of feudalism which were exposed to him at such an early age were the same elements which later became the subject of his own literary endeavors. He was exposed not only to legends but to actual battles in the Highlands and the Lowlands, where his own forbears had taken part and risen victoriously. The scenes of many of these battles were familiar to Scott and from the ruins he found still standing he gathered material for the vivid descriptions of castles, dungeons, and old keeps, which decorate the pages of many of his tales.

Every inclination of Scott's was one which bent itself toward enlivening the spirit which those early associations with the past had kindled in him.

His literary tastes were distinctly medieval. His delving into antiquarian research, into Spenser, into the Gothic romances, and his diligent perusal of libraries abounding in medieval lore were all indications of the spirit within him. From these sources Scott learned of feudalism in all its stages, of knights and fair ladies, of gallant knighthood and bold warfare, of tournaments and feasts, of castles and dungeons. The externalities of medievalism which Scott learned of from the influences mentioned above, are the keynote to the medieval treasure which he has left to posterity.

Newman, on the other hand, whose propensity was strictly theological, showed no very strong inclination towards religion until shortly before going to Oxford. Although his inclinations were not recognized as early as Scott's
and despite the fact that a few of his early reading habits, such as the Arabian Tales, Scott's novels, and some works of Miss Porter, Mrs. Radcliffe, Coleridge and Southey, resembled somewhat the reading habits of Scott, does not detract from the conclusion that Newman's expression of medievalism went deeper than Scott's. Although Newman was thoroughly familiar with the externalities of medievalism it was not the external elements of the age which attracted him. Rather did the age present itself to him as a world, and so in his Oxford days where the environment was more conductive, he begins his course of seeking out the real truths which he knew were behind the festival and colorful array of those scenes portrayed in the earlier works which he had read.

It was characteristic of Newman that he should be a ready subject for the exposition of his Oriel masters' opinions and doctrines. At this time Newman was reading Newton's Dissertations on the Prophecies, Butler's Analogy, and Milner and Gibbon on Church history. This indicates that his curiosities were concerned with the inner life of the Church.

Because of the doubts which arose in his mind as a result of the indoctrination he received at Oxford, and then in the procedure he followed as a Tractarian to restore Catholic doctrine in the Church of England, Newman unconsciously gives us his deep expression of medievalism. In the course he thus travels, Newman is found studying deeply the early Church Fathers, admiring the medieval Pontiffs, and later on, comparing the Church of England in his time with the Church of the fourth, fifth, and sixth centuries. After this study, Newman's greatest doubt of all is settled, namely, that the Roman Catholic Church is the True Church.
In this process of settling his mind, Newman by returning to the Middle Ages for the doctrine, unity and authority of the Church, gives to posterity an expression of medievalism that is Catholic in nature and character.
CHAPTER III

MEDIEVAL ELEMENTS AS EVIDENCED IN THE PROSE OF NEWMAN AND SCOTT

Newman's work on the Arians of the Fourth Century, was begun in 1830, as a history of the great Church Councils for a "Theological Library." Newman began work on the Council of Nicaea, going to original sources for his facts. He carries this work through the second Council of Constantinople in 381, from which date Newman informs us:

Arianism was formed into a sect, exterior to the Catholic Church; and, ... is merged among those external enemies of Christianity, whose history cannot be regarded as strictly ecclesiastical. ¹

The Arians is an important work because in writing it Newman gradually became enlightened by means of the thorough research he had made, of the fact that "Christian doctrines must preserve their original purity and unity or perish. The early Church ... had set up its creeds and dogmas as protections for the deposit of faith."²

After realizing how the Roman Catholic Church had stood victoriously against the inroads of the Arian heresy, he compared the position of the Anglican Church to a heresy he defined as "liberalism caused by Protestantism."

² Harrold, op. cit., p. 61.
As to the present perils, with which our branch of the Church is beset, as they bear a marked resemblance to those of the fourth century, so are the lessons, which the latter period offers us, especially cheering and edifying to Christians of the present day. Then as now, there was the prospect, and partly the presence in the Church, of an Heretical Power enthralling it, exerting a varied influence and an usurped claim in the appointment of her functionaries, and interfering with the management of her internal affairs...Meanwhile,...should the hand of Satan press us sore, our Athanasius, and Basil will be given us in their destined season, to break the bonds of the Oppressor, and let the captives go free.3

Because of threatened incursions of Protestantism, Newman goes to the Middle Ages, to the Church of the fourth century, recognizes its strength in defending itself against heresy, and claims for the Church of England that same strength should the threat of an heretical power press sorely on them.

Newman's expression of medievalism can also be seen when he tries to establish a definite basis on which to erect a positive Church theory, that resulted in his Via Media. This work, the outgrowth of a series of lectures on the Prophetic Office of the Church, attempted to prove that the Anglican Church was not basically Protestant but substantially Catholic, and in this state occupied a middle ground between Protestantism and modern Catholicism, devoid however of the errors and corruptions of both.4

To establish this contention Newman emphasizes the fact that both Churches acknowledged the same Creeds, and both believed

3 Arians, p. 422.
4 Moody, op. cit., p. 71.
in the doctrines of the Trinity, Incarnation, and Atonement; in original sin; in the necessity of regeneration; in the supernatural grace of the Sacraments; in the obligation of faith and obedience, and in the eternity of future punishment.  

Newman concludes that, if both Churches agree in such fundamentals as these, then the two Churches are definitely one, and so he claims that the Anglican Church is a "branch" of the Catholic Church. To justify his branch theory Newman says:

The Catholic Church in all lands had been one from the first for many centuries; then, various portions had followed their own way to the injury, but not to the destruction, whether of truth or charity. These portions...Greek, Latin, Anglican,...inherited the early individual Church in solido...and in the unity of that Church it had unity with the other branches. The three branches agreed together in all but their later accidental errors....Thus, the middle age belonged to the Anglican Church, and much more did the middle age of England. The Church of the twelfth century was the Church of the nineteenth. Dr. Howley sat in the seat of St. Thomas the Martyr; Oxford was a medieval University. Saving our engagements to Prayer book and Articles, we might breathe and live and act and speak, as in the atmosphere and climate of Henry III's day, or the Confessor's, or of Alfred's.  

A positive expression of medievalism is discerned when Newman, thinking he has justified his branch theory, considers the middle age as belonging to the Anglican Church, the Church of the nineteenth century to be the same as that of the twelfth, and that the atmosphere of the ninth and eleventh centuries

5 Apologia, p. 93.
6 Ibid., p. 94.
still permeated in that of the nineteenth.

Newman, in his stand against the charge of Papal jurisdiction, considered, that if a Church taught Catholic doctrines it consequently possessed authoritative jurisdiction in that country, thereby establishing its Catholicity. Because he considered the Roman Church's claim to Papal jurisdiction, as a heretical teaching, he contrasted the mission of the Tractarians, which was to purify the Church against the heretical teachings of the Romans, with the mission of St. Augustine against the Donatist heresy. This comparison of the mission of St. Augustine as analogous with the supposed mission of the Tractarians, shows Newman's frantic attempt to relate the struggles of the Church of England to the struggles of the Fathers of the Church in the Middle Ages.

Newman continued his study of the early Church Fathers and particularly the Monophysite controversies in the Church of the fifth century.

The Monophysites were an heretical sect of the fifth century which held that there was one nature in Christ, a heresy which was condemned at the Council of Chalcedon in A.D. 451. In his study of the Monophysite controversy Newman naturally became acquainted with the Church of Rome in those times. He saw a parallel in the position of the Monophysites at that time and the Church of the Via Media in his time. He saw that Rome held the same position then as she held now.

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8 Apologia, p. 144.
In this regard Newman said:

It was difficult to make out how the Eutychians or Monophysites were heretics, unless the Protestants were heretics also; ... difficult to condemn the Popes of the sixteenth century without condemning the Popes of the fifth. The drama of religion, and the combat of truth and error, were ever one and the same. The principles and proceedings of heretics then, were those of Protestants now. ... The shadow of the fifth century was on the sixteenth. 9

Newman gradually became convinced that the actual position of the Anglican Church was the same as the position of the Monophysites in the fifth century and that the unity and authority of the Church of Rome was the same then as in the fifth century.

Not long after Newman had brought his reading on the Church Fathers to a close, he received a copy of the Dublin Review from a friend with whom he had discussed the state of his mind after studying the Monophysite controversy. An article in this issue by Dr. Wiseman, discussed the "Anglican Claim" based on the struggle of St. Augustine against the Donatists in Africa. On reading this article, Newman saw a profound similarity between the schismatical position of the Donatists and that of the Anglican Church in relation to Rome, and so began to lose faith in his theory of the Via Media. 10

It will be remembered that Newman had formerly declared that his "stronghold was antiquity," and that the Anglican Church agreed with the

9 Loc. cit.
10 Ibid., p. 145.
Church of Rome in sufficient fundamentals to entitle it to the claim of Catholicity without professing a belief in Papal jurisdiction despite the refusal of the Church of Rome to recognize it because of this error. He also held that "recognition by the rest of the Catholic world was not necessary for membership of the Catholic Church."

After reading this article and seeing the Donatists take jurisdictional power unto themselves and place themselves in the same Catholic Sees as the Roman Church, he recognized that the Anglicans too were making the same plea with their Bishop. Furthermore, when he saw St. Augustine, one of the very Fathers on whom he had leaned for support of his own theory, declare with the words: "Securus judicat orbis terrarum," he was convinced that his "theory of the Via Media was absolutely pulverized."

Newman saw the same application of St. Augustine's words to the Monophysites as well as to the Donatists, and particularly to the Anglicans, that to be a part of the Catholic Church it was of first importance to recognize the jurisdiction of that Church. "And now he realized that his former parallel of the Arian period on which he had long placed so much weight did not cover the facts of the Anglican position." Newman's expression of medievalism is obvious when we understand that he recognized in the Catholic Church of the fourth and fifth centuries the unity and authority which he tried in vain to establish for the English Church.

11 Moody, op. cit., p. 76.
12 Apologia, p. 146.
13 Loc. cit.
14 Moody, op. cit., p. 79.
In Newman's work on the Church Fathers, when describing the invasions of the Saracens of the city of Hippo shortly after St. Augustine's death, it is characteristic that he regards as important only the fact that, though Hippo had ceased to be an episcopal city,

its great Teacher, though dead, yet speaks; his voice is gone out into all lands, and his words unto the ends of the world. He needs no dwelling-place, whose home is the Catholic Church; he fears no barbarian or heretical desolation, whose creed is destined to last unto the end.

This point evidences the fact that Newman knew and revered the position held by Augustine in the Fourth century, and also, that he knew those ages were Ages of Faith. He found too, that the age of Augustine was free of those debasing characteristics which were so prevalent in his day.

"At least," says Newman, "there is no appearance in St. Augustine's case of that dreadful haughtiness, sullenness, love of singularity, vanity, irritability, and misanthropy, which were too certainly the characteristics of our own countrymen."

When Newman describes Augustine's Christian love of poverty by never indulging in house or land and considering the property of the see as little his own as the private possessions he had formerly given up, he is speaking in the same tone as Kenelm Digby, who, when considering the state of the poor

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15 The "Church of the Fathers" is contained in Vol. II of Historical Sketches.
16 Historical Sketches, p. 140.
17 Ibid., p. 144.
18 Historical Sketches, p. 162.
in the ages of faith cites also St. Augustine's attitude on the question:

Not to have the burden of poverty ...

is to have the burden more than needful of riches. 19

Through his reference to the character of a noble lady of the fifth century Newman gives an instance of the mind of the Church in the Middle Ages as recognized by Demetrias, who

preferred giving her wealth to the Church to spending it in the aggrandizement of some patrician house. 20

In so doing Demetrias not only conformed to that spirit which prevailed among Christians in medieval times, but she also resisted heroically the appeal of the fifth century aristocracy to which she belonged. 21

When Newman presents St. Martin heroically resisting the blandishments of the crafty Maximus, he leaves a message for all time to anyone who might be faced with the same struggle as presented itself to Martin. "Christian look hard at them with Martin in silence," says Newman, "and ask them for the print of the nails." 22

Those Fathers to whom we have made reference fall within our defined scope of the Middle Ages, and accordingly, the medieval elements of those ages which attracted Newman were those beatific characteristics of the Church so perfectly exemplified in the lives of the Fathers.

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19 Digby, op. cit., p. 21.
20 Historical Sketches, p. 163.
22 Historical Sketches, p. 206.
The essay on the "Reformation of the Eleventh Century," contained in Newman's Essays Critical and Historical, is an account of Bowden's Life of Gregory VII which has been mentioned earlier. Here his antipathy toward the Church of Rome is not so marked as in other works of his Anglican days.

It is indicative of Newman's medievalism when, as Harrold says, "he surveys all the ecclesiastical evils of that time, yet emerges with a strong sympathy for Gregory VII." Actually, it is more than a sympathy for Gregory, which Newman feels. It is almost a conscious admiration and longing for the power and authority vested in the medieval Popes of Rome.

Although Newman reveals many of the evils of this time, as the practice of simony, and the need for celibacy, he nevertheless reveals too, the true character of the Church and its rulers.

In truth, taking the corruptions of that day at the worst, they were principally on the surface of the Church....In the worst time there is always a remnant of holy men...great in moral strength....Among all men educated and unlettered, there is a tacit recognition of certain principles as the cardinal points of society, which very rarely come distinctly into view, and of which the mind is the less conscious because of their being intimately near it. Such there were in Hildebrand's day, and the secret of his success lay in his having the faith to appeal to them.

23 See chapter II, p. 40.
24 Harrold, op. cit., p. 189.
Newman saw that the corruptions of the eleventh century were only on the surface but the element that impressed him most was the strong faith of Gregory, which enabled him to appeal to those men, such as Henry IV, who were not as conscious of certain "principles" of their faith as they should have been.

Newman realized that even before the so-called dark times to which the Hildebrand period succeeded "amid the moral and political degradation of the Roman see in the ninth and tenth centuries," the power of the papacy still maintained its hold upon the public mind. This power of the papacy however, was brought to an unsurpassed height by Gregory VII, who is considered one of the most famous of the medieval pontiffs.

Approximately twenty years after the Lateran Council in 1059, Gregory undertook two projects. This council gave voice to Papal supremacy over imperial power. Accordingly, the projects conceived by Gregory, were namely, the enforcement of clerical celibacy, and the reduction of the temporal power below the spiritual. The application of this power is in evidence when Newman refers to the attempt of Henry IV, as a result of the feudalism of the day, to assert himself above Gregory.

...so in the eleventh century Gregory was forced to place himself in direct relation to the Emperor, and take precedence either above him or beneath him, and with this alternative he put himself above him, as the nearest approximation to the truth.

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26 Munro, op. cit., p. 167.
Besides the power of Papal supremacy which Newman admired in the medieval Church, was the power of the Church of Rome to excommunicate. Newman describes that historic episode in the Middle Ages when Gregory VII had to resort to the use of this weapon on Henry IV, who had attempted to depose Gregory. The scene wherein we find Henry after offering to submit to the Pope approaches him to make his humble confession, is sufficiently inspiring to mention here.

The scene, as the suppliant king approached the pontiff, must have been singularly striking. The youthful and vigorous Henry, of lofty stature and of commanding features, thus humbling himself before the small, insignificant, and now probably withered, figure of Gregory VII., must have afforded a striking type of that abasement of physical before moral power, - of the sword before the crosier, - which the great struggle then in progress was fated to accomplish. 31

Newman's medievalism is henceforth observed when we find him so completely at home in the age of Gregory VII. It is noteworthy that though this work was written during Newman's Anglican career he should have been so completely won over by the practices of the Church of Rome during the eleventh century.

That Newman was impressed with the mind and the strength of the Church in the Middle Ages is obvious from the fact that he was so moved by the power of Papal supremacy as exerted in the person of Gregory VII, by the weapons of the Church in those ages, such as excommunication, by the enforcement of celibacy, and by the authority of councils.

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31 Essays Crit. and Hist. p. 305.
The principle object in Tract Seventy-Five, written by Newman, is to claim for the Church Catholic in opposition to the Roman Church, "whatever is good and true in those Devotions," as embodied in the Roman Breviary. Newman gives rightful recognition to the excellence and the beauty in the services of the Breviary and fears that

if it were skillfully set before the Protestant by Roman controversialists as the book of devotions received in their communion it would undoubtedly raise a prejudice in their favor.33

Newman refers to the additions which the Roman Church made to the Breviary as doctrinal corruptions, and makes the statement, that the Roman Church appropriated to themselves a treasure which belonged as much to the Anglican Church, and thereby justifies his publication of certain selections from the Breviary as an "act of re-appropriation."34

Newman's expression of medievalism can be seen when he draws up his history of the Breviary. He begins by stating that the word "breviary" occurred in the work of an author of the eleventh century, and was used to denote a compendium or systematic arrangement of the devotional offices of the Church... contained till that time in several independent volumes according to the nature of each....Such, for instance; were the Psalteria, Homileria, Hyana, and the like, to be used in the services in due course.35

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33 Loc. cit.
34 Loc. cit.
35 Loc. cit.
According to Newman it was under the auspices of Gregory VII that these devotional offices were "harmonized together," constituting four volumes in the so-called form of a Breviary. After a detailed explanation of the constitution, order and use, of the Breviary Services as derived from Apostolic practice Newman goes on to explain the reason for changes in the Breviary from the time of Gregory VII. He considers the fact that the Church may, in the use of her discretion, limit as well as select those portions of the inspired volume to be introduced into her devotions,

but there were serious reasons why she should not defraud her children of "their portion of meat in due season;" and it would seem as if the eleventh or at least the twelfth century, a time fertile in other false steps in religion, must be charged also, as far as concerns Rome and its more intimate dependencies, with a partial removal of the written Word from the Sanctuary.³⁶

Omission of the reading of Scripture was the charge Newman brought against those editors of the Breviary after Gregory VII.

Because he sees no symptoms of a neglect of Scripture in Gregory's Breviary, Newman is most partial to that one. He considers the course of the Scripture Lessons in this Breviary "the same as it had been before his time; as it was preserved in a manuscript of the thirteenth century."³⁷

After considering Pope Gregory VII as having confirmed "this laudable usage" the Breviary, as from the first ages, Newman goes on to say that it was Pope Gregory's own successors in the Roman Church who were the first to

³⁶ Tract Seventy-Five, p. 7.
³⁷ Ibid., p. 8.
depart from it. Here he takes up an edition by Haymo,38 "chief of the Franciscan order," who was sanctioned by Gregory X in the middle of the thirteenth century to revise the Breviary.39 Newman had two objections to Haymo's edition which was introduced into the Roman Church by Nicholas III, in 1278. Those objections were:

Graver and sounder matter being excluded, apocryphal legends of Saints were used to stimulate and occupy the popular mind; and a way was made for the use of those Invocations to the Virgin and other Saints, which heretofore were unknown in public worship.40

There is much room for comment on many of Newman's conclusions at this time. His "grave and sounder matter" refers no doubt to the omission of scripture readings. Newman referred to this omission as a doctrinal corruption in the Roman Breviaries. Newman's reference to the Invocation to the Saints as being "heretofore unknown in public worship" is a point correctly clarified by Gibbons.

I might easily show, by voluminous quotations from ecclesiastical writers of the first ages of the Church, how conformable to the teaching of antiquity is the Catholic practice of invoking the intercession of the saints....But of all the sacred writers, there is none that reposes greater confidence in the prayers of his brethren than St. Paul....To invoke the prayers of the saints, far from being useless, is most profitable. By invoking their intercession, instead of one we have many praying for us.41

39 Tract Seventy-Five, p. 9.
40 Loc. cit.
The writing of these Tracts took place at the height of Newman's career in the Anglican Church. Newman was bitter towards Haymo's edition of the Breviary because it sanctioned direct invocation to the Saints, a practice not approved by the English Church.\textsuperscript{42}

Newman went to the Middle Ages for the extraction of those beliefs and usages, as the Breviary, which he attempted to establish in the Anglican Church. To justify his plan and his course, which were not consistent with the teaching of the Roman Catholic Church, Newman very often misinterpreted important procedures in that Church. This fact is observed when Newman considers the additions made by the Roman Church to the Breviary as "corruptions." At this time he had not yet recognized the authority consigned to the Church of Rome to add to the Breviary, a practice which was employed even in the time of Pope Pius X.\textsuperscript{43}

Despite the irrelevancies in his treatise, Newman's medievalism is perceived when he establishes the basis of the English Breviary on that of Gregory VII's.

In Tract Seventy-Nine, Newman, with the aid of Bellarmine's works undertakes a study of the doctrine of Baptism. To know the substance of Bellarmine's works will make clear why they appealed to Newman. He was a polemical theologian, and

published the earliest systematic refutation of current heresies in De Controversiis, a work of immense learning which profoundly influenced his own and succeeding generations. The positive basis of his work is contained in three smaller books, more strictly historical, Chronologia Brevis, De Scriptoribus and Compendium de Haeresi, which show that he had mastered the best learning and the best methods of the day. He possessed a complete knowledge of the Fathers and was acquainted with valuable medieval sources.44

Newman's position in this Tract shows that he was familiar with the doctrine of Purgatory in the Church of the Middle Ages although he was not in agreement with it. Newman takes the history and the rise of this doctrine through the twelfth century, and from the view of St. Gregory I, he concludes that he considered the pains of Purgatory to be diverse and various in their modes and circumstances, in this earth as well as under the earth, and consisting in other torments as well as those of fire, being but the pangs and shudderings of intellectual natures, when their Judge was approaching, and disclosing themselves in a supernatural agony parallel to that trembling of the earth or the failing of the sun, which will precede the dissolution of the physical world.45

Since Gregory I was a doctor of the Church in the sixth century it is obvious that Newman had a familiarity with the doctrine as such, although his interpretation of it may have been amiss at times. He regrets that people accepted it so easily and goes on to say:

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44 McSorley, op. cit., p. 605.
Yet not even after Pope Gregory's times, was the doctrine unhesitatingly received. Ussher (Answer Ch. VI.) quotes the words of the Council of Aix la Chapelle in Charlemagne's time, near 250 years after Gregory, to the effect that there are "three ways in which sins are punished; two in this life, and the third in the life to come; that of the former one is the punishment with which the sinner, God inspiring, by penitence, takes vengeance on himself, the other the punishment which Almighty God inflicts; and that the third is that of everlasting fire...." Even in the days of Otto Frisingensis, A.D. 1146, the doctrine of Purgatory was considered but a private opinion, not an article of faith universally received; for he writes, "Some affirm there is in the unseen state a place of Purgatory, in which those who are to be saved are either troubled with darkness only, or are refined by the fire of expiation."46

In this argument Newman recognizes the Council of Florence in 1445, as having declared the doctrine of Purgatory an article of faith, and gives a detailed description of the Latin teaching on this doctrine as being finally accepted by the Greeks. Here Newman ascertains that this doctrine did not exist as an article of faith until the Council of Florence. However, Rumble claims that the Council of Florence "merely recalled previous definitions" on this doctrine.47

It is not the purpose of this study to refute the arguments of Newman on various doctrines, rather does it purport to show that Newman knew the medieval mind of the Church on this doctrine despite his hesitancy in accepting it. In his Essay on Development, we observe that he has fully accepted

46 Ibid., p. 49.
this medieval doctrine when he says:

> When then an answer had to be made to the question, how is post-baptismal sin to be remitted, there was an abundance of passages in Scripture to make easy to the faith of the inquirer the definitive decision of the Church. 48

Because Newman could not comprehend how man who wishes to accept the doctrine of the Apostles could do so in the face of the many creeds and communions left to his choice in the fourth century was one reason why Newman began his work on the Development of Christian Doctrine.

Newman takes the position of the Church of Rome in relation to the heresies which sprung from the first through the sixth centuries and shows that the Church of Rome stood against the onslaught of these heresies. To keep within our defined scope of the Middle Ages, as earlier stated, the present study shall consider Newman's findings only in the Church of the fourth, fifth and sixth centuries.

In this essay, Newman contrasts the Church in the fourth century with the rival religious bodies which encompassed it at that time. To refute the profane titles conferred upon the Church by heretics and to show that the Church had "one title of a very different nature which all men agreed to give her, the prophetical title of 'Catholic','" Newman states St. Augustine's argument with the Manichees. 49

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48 Essay on Development, p. 393.
49 Essay on Development, p. 255.
In the Catholic Church...I am held by the consent of people and nations: by that authority which began in miracles, was nourished in hope, was increased by charity, and made steadfast by age; by that succession of priests from the chair of the Apostle Peter; ...lastly, by the very title of Catholic, which, not without cause, hath this Church alone, amid so many heresies, obtained in such sort, that, whereas all heretics wish to be called Catholics, nevertheless to any stranger, who asked where to find the "Catholic" Church, none of them would dare to point to his own basilica or home. 50

The positiveness of St. Augustine in claiming the title "Catholic" for the Church of Rome in the fourth century, is reiterated by Gibbons in the nineteenth when he says: "That the Roman Catholic Church alone deserves the name of Catholic is so evident that it is ridiculous to deny it." 51

That the Church of Rome is not only one but exclusive, is another point of argument which Newman brings into the discussion through the sentiments of St. Chrysostom in the Middle Ages.

Though we have achieved ten thousand glorious acts, yet shall we, if we cut to pieces the fulness of the Church, suffer punishment no less sore than they who mangled his body. 52

No matter what glorious act a sect might perform, because they separated from the true Church they are consequently excluded and shall suffer for their act.

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50 Ibid., p. 257.
51 Gibbons, op. cit., p. 51.
52 Essay on Development, p. 269.
Newman became more convinced of the authority of the Church of Rome when it recognized no ecclesiastical relation between the Sectarian Bishops and Priests and their people. He saw this when St. Augustine in the fourth century, in his pious effort to exhort the people to consider the right Church, called on them individually and said:

....I call on you for Christ's sake to urge gently and kindly all your people in the district of Sinis and Hippo into the communion of the Catholic Church....Who so, is separated from the Catholic Church, however laudably he thinks he is living, by this crime alone, that he is separated from Christ's Unity, he shall not have life, but the wrath of God abideth on him....Let him believe of the Catholic Church, that is, the Church diffused over the whole world, rather what the Scriptures say of it than what human tongues utter in calumny.53

The characteristics of the Church of Rome which Newman was made aware of through his study of St. Augustine and St. Chrysostom were its "oneness" and its "catholicity." Therefore, the expression of Newman's medievalism is here again a deep expression. He embodies that which he saw and admired in the medieval Church when he draws up his conclusion of the Church in the fourth century:

On the whole, then, we have reason to say, if there be a form of Christianity at this day distinguished for its careful organization, and its consequent power; if it is spread over the world;...if it, and it alone, is called "Catholic" by the world, nay, by those very bodies,...if it names

53 Ibid., p. 271.
them heretics, and warns them of coming woe,
and calls on them one by one, to come over
to itself, overlooking every other tie;....
if, however much they differ one with another,
they consider it their common enemy; if they
strive to unite together against it, and
cannot;...if they subdivide, and it remains
one; if they fall one after another, and
make way for new sects, and it remains the
same; such a communion is not unlike his-
torical Christianity as it comes before us
at the Nicene Era.54

Further evidence of Newman's medievalism is gained when he pictures the
Church of the fifth and sixth centuries. He recognized in this period that
Arianism had progressed to a point where Catholic Bishops had been reduced to
less than one third of their original numbers. The rule of heretical power
was at this time very oppressive and great spoliations took place upon the
property of the Church. Leovigild, an Arian king at this time, who is re-
ported to have put to death his Catholic son, St. Hermengild, 55 is also re-
ported by Newman to have used the treasures of the Catholic Church partly to
increase the splendour of his throne and partly for national works.

That the invasions of these heretical sects really set the Church of
Rome to task is realized by Newman, but despite the arrival of these forces
Newman saw that no inroad could be made on the "Catholicity" of the Church of
Rome.

A familiarity with the works of St. Gregory of Tours and St. Gregory
the Great, enables Newman to discuss the association of "Catholicism" with
the See of Rome denoted by the additional title of "Roman." Proofs which

54 Ibid., p. 273.
55 McSorley, op. cit., p. 144.
Newman gives us here for this addition indicate that he was continually being attracted to the Church of the Middle Ages. 56

Newman recognized the spread of the Nestorian heresy in the Empire at this time. Through the Council of Constantinople in 448, Newman learned that the teachings of Eutyches had been condemned. Newman also observed that in 451 the Council of Chalcedon defined the faith of the Church in the divinity of Our Lord. 58

What impressed Newman more than anything else in his work in this period was the strength and authority of the Church of Rome as he had observed it in the preceding period. Accordingly, his medievalism is recognized, when, in portraying the Christianity of the fifth and sixth centuries, he says:

If then there is now a form of Christianity such, that it extends throughout the world, though with varying measures of prominence or prosperity in separate places; . . . that it has lost whole Churches by schism, and is now opposed by powerful communions driven from some countries; . . . that heresies are rife and bishops negligent within its own poles, and that amid its disorders and its fears there is but one Voice for whose decisions the peoples wait with trust, one Name and one See to which they look with hope, and that name Peter, and that see Rome; such a religion is not unlike the Christianity of the fifth and sixth Centuries. 59

56 Essay on Development, p. 279.
57 McSorley, op. cit., p. 126.
58 Essay on Development, p. 311.
59 Ibid., p. 322.
This was the application of Newman's first note of a true development, namely, preservation of type. His second note of a true development is its continuity of principles.

Newman's medievalism is apparent when he traces the principle of Faith in St. Augustine, who, after wrestling himself from the Manichean heresy which laid aside Authority for Reason, concludes that:

True religion cannot in any manner be rightly embraced, without a belief in those things which each individual afterwards attains and perceives, if he behave himself well and shall deserve it, nor altogether without some weighty and imperative Authority. 60

Newman traces this same principle in St. Thomas Aquinas, who, in seeing the error so many philosophers of the day fell into, concludes that:

To the end then that men may have a certain and undoubted cognizance of God, it was necessary things divine should be taught them by way of Faith, as being revealed of God Himself who cannot lie. 61

"Logical Sequence" is another note of a true development which Newman considers. By this is meant, one doctrine leading to another, so that if the former is admitted the latter can hardly be denied. 62 To develop one instance of a logical sequence, Newman traces the development of the Monastic Rule from St. Antony's work in the district of Nitria through St. Pachomius and St. Basil, to St. Benedict, who revised the provisions of those others.

60 Ibid., p. 331.
61 Ibid., p. 322.
62 Ibid., p. 383.
Out of St. Benedict's work developed the Benedictine Order which divided into separate monastic bodies. In each successive phase of Monachism Newman observed a unity and an originality. In this regard he credits St. Benedict with having preserved a principle of civilization and a refuge for learning "at a time when the old framework of society was falling and new political creations were taking place."63

A last note of a true development which Newman applies is that of "Chronic Vigour." Newman considers this note established in the Church of Rome by the very fact that it has endured in every age despite the severe trials forced upon it, such as those during the spread of the Nestorian, Eutychian and Monothelite heresies.

To understand Newman's conclusion to the Essay on the Development of Christian Doctrine, is to know that now at the end of his Anglican days, the misconceived ideas he had formerly held of the Church of Rome have fallen into the dead past. Newman concludes now that in the Catholic Church,

Doctrines is where it was, and usage, and precedence, and principle, and policy; there may be changes, but they are consolidations or adaptations; all is unequivocal and determinate, with an identity which there is no disputing. Indeed it is one of the most popular charges against the Catholic Church at this time, that she is "incorrigible;" change she cannot, if we listen to St. Athanasius or St. Leo; change she never will, if we believe the controversialist or alarmist of the present day.64

63 Ibid., p. 398.
64 Essay on Development, p. 344.
In contrast to Newman, it is the outward characteristics of medievalism that Scott exhibits so profusely in his novels:

...there large showy aspects: battles, processions, hunts, feasts in hall, tourneys, seiges, and the like. The motley medieval world swarms in his pages, from the king on his throne down to the jester with his cap and bells.65

In presenting the various personages of the Middle Ages Scott begins by describing the outward dress. In so doing he pictures for us not only the typical costuming of those ages but also the social position indicated by each. In the opening scene of Ivanhoe, Scott describes the dress of the Knight.

This upper robe concealed what at first view seemed rather inconsistent with its form, a shirt,...of linked mail, with sleeves and gloves, curiously plaited and interwoven,...The forepart of his thighs,...were also covered with linked mail; the knees and feet were defended by splints, or thin plates of steel, ingeniously jointed upon each other; and mail hose, reaching from the ankle to the knee, ...completed the riders defensive armour. In his girdle he wore a long and double-edged dagger, which was the only offensive weapon about his person.66

He rode not a mule, like his companions, but a strong hackney for the road, to save his gallant war-horse, which a squire led behind, fully accoutred for battle, with a chamfron or plaited head-piece upon his head, having a short spike

65 Beers, op. cit., p. 39.
projecting from the front. On one side of the saddle hung a short battle-axe, richly inlaid with Damascene carving; on the other the rider's plummed headpiece and hood of mail, with a long two-handled sword, used by the chivalry of the period. A second squire held aloft his master's lance.... He also carried his small triangular shield, broad enough at the top to protect the breast and from thence diminishing. 67

Historically, Ivanhoe centers its action during the reign of Richard I near the end of the twelfth century. Scott's description here of a knight, a great figure in medieval history, coincides with Thompson's. 68 However, the shield which Ivanhoe's squire carries is not actually in full panoply till the fourteenth century, nor are many of the weapons hanging from his side, such as, the lance, the sword, and the dagger. 69

In this description of the knight's dress there are also references to the duties of the "Squire." This stage of knighthood was conferred after a youth had served his time as a "Page," and through his experience in the use of arms was qualified for the actual dangers of war. 70

Since the elaborate detail of the costuming of the Middle Ages as seen in Scott's novels would comprise a study in itself, it must suffice here to mention only a few of his more outstanding descriptions. That the dress of various members of society in medieval times announced immediately their position is observed in the following description of a swine-herd.

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67 Loc. cit.
69 Loc. cit.
70 Essay on Chivalry, p. 65.
To make the jacket fit more close to his body...gathered by a leathern belt, to one side of which was attached a sort of scrip and to the other a ram's horn, accoutred with a mouthpiece for the purpose of blowing...One part of his dress only remains, it was a brass ring, resembling a dog's collar...soldered fast around his neck...engraved: Gurth, the son of Beowulf, is the born thrall of Cedric of Rotherwood.

The jester also occupied a position in the household of the noble.

He had thin silver bracelets upon his arms, and on his neck a collar of the same metal, bearing the inscription, Wamba, the son of Witless, is the thrall of Cedric of Rotherwood!...He was provided also with a cap, having around it more than one bell...which jingled as he turned his head.

The brilliant costume of "fair-ladies in the Middle Ages," is given attention by many medieval writers, but seems to reach an epitome in Scott's description of Rebecca as she approaches her seat in the gallery to observe a tournament.

Her form was exquisitely symmetrical and was shewn to advantage by a sort of Eastern dress....Her turban of yellow silk....Her sable tresses...fell down upon a simarre of the richest Persian silk, exhibiting flowers in their natural colours embossed upon a purple ground...The feather of an ostrich, fastened in her turban by an agriffe set with brilliants, was another distinction of the beautiful Jewess.

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71 Ivanhoe, p. 32.
72 Ibid., p. 33.
73 Ibid., p. 98.
The main architectural expression of feudal society was the castle, which like feudalism itself, arose from the need for protection. In Scott's expression of feudal society in Ivanhoe, the castle predominates in many scenes. His description of the castle of Cedric, father of Ivanhoe, is a typical one.

Rotherwood was not without defences... A deep fosse, or ditch, was drawn round the whole building and filled with water from a neighboring stream. A double stockade... composed of printed beams, which the adjacent forest supplied, defended the outer and inner bank of the trench. There was an entrance from the west through the outer stockade, which communicated by a drawbridge, with a similar opening in the interior defences. Some precautions had been taken to place these entrances under the protection of projecting angles, by which they might be flanked in case of need by archers or slingers.

From Munro's description of medieval castles it is apparent that Cedric's "Rotherwood" was modelled after that of the ninth century, since it was made of wood, and Front-de-Boeuf's "Torquilstone" after that of the twelfth century, since it was not till then that stone was employed in the construction of castles. The resiliency of castles made simultaneous progress with the implements of warfare until the late fourteenth century.

In the Middle Ages the life of the noble centered about the castle and he considered warfare almost the finest of sports. It is not surprising therefore, that Front-de-Boeuf's imprisonment of Ivanhoe, Rebecca, Rowena

74 Thompson, op. cit., p. 310.
75 Ivanhoe, p. 51.
76 Munro, op. cit., p. 312.
and Isaac of York, should have warranted the besieging of "Torquilsone."\textsuperscript{77}

The portrayal of this besieging gives us a vivid picture of feudal warfare.

The desperate efforts of the assailants were met by an equally vigorous defence. The archers...trained to...effective use of the long-bow, shot,..."wholly together"....This heavy discharge...
thick and sharp as hail...flew by scores together against each embrasure and opening in the parapets,...Front-de-Boeuf, and his allies,...shewed an obstinacy in defence proportioned to the fury of the attack, and replied with the discharge of their large cross-bows,...longbows, slings and other missile weapons, to the close and continual shower of arrows;....The whizzing of shafts and of missiles, on both sides, was only interrupted by the shouts which arose when either side inflicted or sustained some notable loss.\textsuperscript{78}

Thompson\textsuperscript{79} considers the cross-bow as the most effective weapon of the infantry at the height of the feudal period. It could be used for distant and protracted campaigns and was used in the armies of the twelfth century. The bow was constructed of steel and its missile was a sharpened iron bolt. This crossbow was so firmly constructed that in order to bend it a contrivance called the "moulinet" had to be employed. In 1139 the Pope banned its use except against the infidel.

In times of peace to satisfy the fiery spirit of chivalry, when there was no feudal warfare to engage in, the knight attended tourneys proclaimed

\textsuperscript{77} Wallbank, op. cit., p. 316.
\textsuperscript{78} Ivanhoe, p. 312.
\textsuperscript{79} Thompson, op. cit., p. 317.
by different princes. In the Middle Ages tournaments were uniformly per-
formed and "frequented by the choicest and noblest youth in Europe, until the
fatal accident of Henry II, after which they gradually fell into disuse."80

The knight enlisted in a tournament for many reasons, to display his ability
in the use of arms, to support the oppressed and put down injustice, to win
the admiration of his fellow-men and his lady-love.

The spirit of chivalry is observed when Ivanhoe speaks to Rebecca during
their imprisonment in the castle.

Rebecca, ... thou knowest not how im-
possible it is for one trained to actions of
chivalry, to remain passive as a priest, or
a woman, when they are acting deeds of hon-
our around him. The love of battle is the
food upon which we live, the dust of the
mêlée is the breath of our nostrils! We
live not, we wish not to live longer than
while we are victorious and renowned. Such,
maiden, are the laws of chivalry to which
we are sworn, and to which we offer all that
we hold dear.81

This chivalric code of conduct was an outgrowth of feudalism. The de-
mands of this code were such as:

fidelity to one's lord and one's vows, cham-
pionship of the Church against her enemies,
protection of women, ... reverence toward
womanhood, and service to God by warring
against the infidel and the heretic.82

80 Essay on Chivalry, p. 52.
81 Ivanhoe, p. 316.
82 Wallbank, op. cit., p. 312.
It was this chivalric spirit and chivalrous display of horsemanship that Scott portrays in Ivanhoe when he describes that great medieval amusement, the tournament.

The masterly horsemanship of the Disinherited Knight, and the activity of the noble animal, which he mounted, enabled him for a few minutes to keep at sword's point his three antagonists, turning and wheeling with the agility of a hawk upon the wing, keeping his enemies as far separate as he could, and rushing now against the other, dealing sweeping blows with his sword, without waiting to receive those which were aimed at him in return. . . . . . . . .

Thus ended the memorable field of Ashby-de-la-Zouche, one of the most gallantly contested tournaments of that age; for although only four knights, including one who was smothered by the heat of his armour, had died upon the field, . . . Several more were disabled for life; and those who escaped best carried the marks of the conflict to the grave with them. Hence it is always mentioned in the old records, as the Gentle and Joyous Passage of Arms of Ashby. 83

Sumptuous feasts-in-hall were another custom of the Middle Ages indulged in very frequently. Scott describes in detail the feast held after the tournament at Ashby, at which the victorious knight and the lady whom he had the honor of crowning Queen are guests. He also points out that these feasts were held in the hall of the Prince to whose rank the victor belonged and were used as a means of courting popularity, thus displaying feudal hospitality. 84

83 Ivanhoe, p. 152.
84 Ibid., p. 164.
The guests were seated at a table which groaned under the quantity of good cheer. The numerous cooks who attended on the Prince's progress, having exerted all their art in varying the forms in which the ordinary provisions were served up....Besides these dishes of domestic origin, there were various delicacies brought from foreign parts, and a quantity of rich pastry,...The banquet was crowned with the richest wines both foreign and domestic.85

Before taking leave of Ivanhoe and the various elements of medievalism found there, it might be well to note the extent to which women were revered in the Middle Ages. Cedric's reason for banishing Ivanhoe brings this out.

It is said he banished his only son from his family for lifting his eyes in the way of affection towards this beauty, who may be worshipped, it seems at a distance, but is not to be approached with other thoughts than such as we bring to the shrine of the Blessed Virgin.86

Many examples of medieval tactics are portrayed in Scott's Count Robert of Paris, a novel concerned with Constantinople and the First Crusade. Alexius, Greek Emperor of Constantinople, threatened by barbarians from the east and by Franks from the west was unable to rely on his Greek subjects to repel these incursions. Consequently, he was obliged to maintain a bodyguard of Varangian mercenaries from other nations. That this was a custom of the Middle Ages especially during the period of the Crusades can be observed from what Scott says here:

To supply the deficiency of valour among his own subjects, and to procure soldiers who should be personally dependent on the emperor,

85 Ibid., p. 171.
86 Ibid., p. 49.
the Greek sovereigns had been, for a great many years, in the custom of maintaining in their pay, as near their person as they could, the steady services of a select number of mercenaries in the capacity of body-guards. 87

Scott also described the military costume of these mercenaries.

...Their dress and accoutrements, while within the city, partook of the rich, or rather gaudy, costume...bear only a sort of affected resemblance to that which the Varangians wore in their native forests. 88

The use of bribery as a method employed in the Middle Ages when an emperor wished to win peoples over to him is observed in the character of Alexius, in Scott's Count Robert of Paris. One of the armies of the Crusades having set sail for Italy, was driven to the coast of Greece by a fierce tempest and thereby forced to surrender to the lieutenants of Alexius. Alexius is here observed in his act of bribery, by treating them kindly and loading them with presents. Grateful for such attention the army agreed to a peace between themselves and the emperors of Greece.

The oath of fealty was a medieval custom by which vassal and lord were bound together. This was usually preceded by the ceremony of homage. 89 In Count Robert of Paris, Scott describes the ceremony of homage and fealty.

Several bands of French had passed in a sort of procession to the throne of the Emperor, and rendered, with some appear-

88 Loc. cit.
89 Thompson, op. cit., p. 301.
ance of gravity, the usual homage. On this occasion they bent their knees to Alexius, placed their hands within his, and in that posture paid the ceremonies of feudal fealty.90

Scott was attracted by numerous military tactics of the Middle Ages. The great chivalrous custom of defying all and sundry to mortal combat91 is observed when Count Robert of Paris insolently occupies the throne of Comnenus, while Comnenus was moving forward to receive the homage of Count Bohemond.

In the Middle Ages the knight became the devoted servitor of women and in medieval tales the women often substituted for the knights in tournaments.92 This position is assumed by Brenhilda in Count Robert of Paris.

Brenhilda, Countess of Paris, was one of those stalwart dames who willingly hazarded themselves in the front of battle, which during the first crusade, was as common as it was possible for a very unnatural custom to be.

In Count Robert of Paris, Scott brings to our attention the chivalrous character of the knight, as the knight himself is made aware of it. Count Robert of Paris after being released from the dungeon by Hereward and in the meantime deposited under lock and key in the sleeping chamber of his squire recollects:

I have slain a tiger in single combat.
I have killed one warder, and conquered the desperate and gigantic creature by whom he was supported. I have had terms enough at

90 Count Robert of Paris, p. 121.
91 Essay on Chivalry, p. 56.
92 Thompson, op. cit., p. 322.
93 Count Robert of Paris, p. 129.
command to bring over this Varangian to my side, ... yet all this does not encourage me to hope that I could long keep at bay ten or a dozen such men as these beef-fed knaves. ... Yet, for shame, Robert! such thoughts are unworthy a descendant of Charlemagne. When wert thou wont so curiously to count thine enemies, and when wert thou wont to be suspicious, since he whose bosom may truly boast itself incapable of fraud ought in honesty to be the last to expect it in another? 94

In The Talisman, Scott takes the medieval setting of the Third Crusade under the leadership of Richard I of England, against Saladin, the Egyptian ruler who had captured Jerusalem, and presents a vivid feudalistic picture sprinkled with several chivalric notes.

Reverence toward God and womanhood was a note of the chivalric code of conduct which developed as a result of feudalism. The Crusader, Kenneth of the Couchant Leopard, in a discussion with the Saracen who is intolerant of the Christian marriage law says:

Now, by His name that I most reverence in Heaven, ... and by hers whom I most worship on earth, thou art a blinded and a bewildered infidel! ....... ............... Saracen, thou speakest like one who never saw a woman worthy the affections of a soldier.... Couldst thou look upon those of Europe, to whom, after Heaven, we of the order of knighthood vow fealty and devotion, thou wouldst loathe for ever the poor sensual slaves who form they haram. The beauty of our fair ones gives point to our spheres, and edge to our

94 Ibid., p. 234.
swords; their words are our laws; and as soon will a lamp shed lustre when enkindled, as a knight distinguish himself by feats of arms, having no mistress of his affection.  

Here we see, not only reverence to God and to womanhood, but also that chivalric idea of a knight displaying his skill at arms for edification of his lady-love.  

The principle of love in the Middle Ages was by the rules of chivalry said to be enjoined and associated with the romantic feelings of devotion, thus tending more to enhance than to counteract each other. However true this may be, Scott's medievalism is observed when he enhances the idea itself. He does this by presenting a church procession, in which Kenneth who is in attendance at the service and one of the novices in the procession recognize each other through the medium of flower petals which the novice has dropped at his feet during the course of the procession. After the procession, Kenneth is seen grooping on the floor for the buds which she has dropped, to press them to his lips, to his bosom...to rivet his lips on the cold stone on which...she so lately stepped. To play all the extravagances which strong affection suggests...were but tokens of passionate love, common to all ages. But it was peculiar to the times of chivalry that in his wildest rapture the knight imagined no attempt to follow or to trace the object of such romantic attachment; that he thought of her as a deity.  

95 Sir Walter Scott, The Talisman (Grosset & Dunlap, 1929), p. 38.  
96 Wallbank, op. cit., p. 312.  
97 The Talisman, p. 74.
Scott's attraction for feudal life and feudal institutions is also observed in The Talisman, when he describes the relationship between lord and vassal, between King Richard I and Thomas de Vaux.

Thomas de Vaux! stout Tom of Gills! 
by the hand of King Henry, thou art welcome to me as ever was flask of wine to 
a jolly toper! I should scarce have known how to order my battle array unless I had thy bulky form in mine eye 
as a landmark to form my ranks upon. 98

From this can be noted a certain respect of lord for vassal, and also a mention of one of the vassal's most important duties to his lord, that of ordering his "battle array."

A personal element of feudalism in which the vassal held for his lord the highest esteem, is also expressed in The Talisman.

It is true that, in his opinion there existed no character so perfect as that of his master; for Richard being the flower of chivalry, and the chief of Christian leaders, and obeying in all points the commands of Holy Church, De Vaux's ideas of perfection went no farther.99

Several of the vassal's duties to the lord can be traced throughout The Talisman, as particularly, the duty of ministering to the lord's health and the selecting of a personage well qualified in arms to battle for the King when such occasion arose.

The execution of feudal justice by ordeal of combat,100 in which the

98 Ibid., p. 307.
99 Ibid., p. 120.
accused individual must prove his innocence by being the victor, is another element of feudalism which Scott acquaints us with in *The Talisman*. This ordeal was the mode of justice decided upon at a council held to determine whether or not Conrade Marquis of Montserrat, on whom Richard cast suspicion, were the traitor who tore down the Banner of England from Mount St. George. In the words of Philip of France, arbiter at this council, we see feudal justice being administered.

Since my rank makes me arbiter in this most unhappy matter, ... I appoint the fifth day from hence for the decision thereof, by way of combat, according to knightly usage—Richard, King of England, to appear by his champion as appellant, and Conrade, Marquis of Montserrat, in his own person, as defendant. 101

Following the combat in which Conrade was defeated, Scott shows various usages of chivalry generally extended to the victorious one in combat. These were based on the idea that beauty was to honor chivalry. Consequently, at the King's command, his mistresses were instructed to unarm the victorious Knight. The Queen had to undo his spurs, and Richard's cousin, Edith of Plantaganet, despite her "Plantaganet" pride, was forced to unlace his helmet.

Loyalty to one's vow, an outstanding attribute peculiar to knighthood, 102 is viewed at great height in *The Talisman*. This attribute is seen in the personage of Kenneth, who figures predominantly throughout the story.

101 *The Talisman*, p. 294.
102 *Essay on Chivalry*, p. 11.
"Kenneth" is actually the Prince of Scotland, who, though Scotland reneged their aid to England in the conquest of Palestine, joined the English forces in disguise. He was enticed away from the post assigned to him by Richard, of guarding the English Banner, which was destroyed in his absence. Through the intercession of the Queen and the King's mistresses, who were in a measure responsible for his having left his post, Richard frees him and uses him for his champion in the combat with Conrade. In the process of his being unarmed, following his victory over Conrade, his disguise terminates. Questioned by Richard as to why he did not mention his rank when endangered by his hasty and passionate sentence, Kenneth replied:

I did you not that injustice, royal Richard, but my pride brooked not that I should avow myself Prince of Scotland in order to save my life, endangered for default of loyalty. And moreover, I had made my vow to preserve my rank unknown till the Crusade should be accomplished; nor did I mention it save in articulo mortis, and under the seal of confession, to yonder reverend hermit.103

That Scott knew the acme of keen horsemanship, which was an important qualification for knighthood in the Middle Ages, can be observed in Kenneth's victorious display of arms over Conrade.

When the ceremony was finished, the Scottish knight...loaded with armour as he was, sprang to the saddle without the use of the stirrup, and made his courser carry him in a succession of caracoles to his station....104

103 The Talisman, p. 347.
104 Ibid., p. 342.
To spring "to the saddle without the use of the stirrup" shows not only the good horsemanship of a knight in the Middle Ages, but also the extent to which Scott knew medieval life and institutions.

When the medieval noble was not in his lord's service in the field or at court, he engaged himself in the chief pastime of the day, namely, hunting. The description of this medieval pastime is given in considerable detail in Scott's Castle Dangerous. Sir John de Walton, Governor of Castle Douglas, wishing to be indulgent to his young officers, arranges a hunting party in which the Scottish vassals in that neighborhood were also asked to join.

It is interesting to note how the extreme delight of this sport stirred the very blood of the medieval knight. The kind of sport which characterized this age indicates the spirit of the men of this age.

If indeed, one species of exercise can be pointed out as more universally exhilarating and engrossing than others, it is certainly that of the chase. The poor overlaboured drudge, ...the slave of agriculture, ...can hardly remain dead to the general happiness when the chase sweeps past him with hound and horn, and for a moment feels all the exultation of the proudest cavalier who partakes the amusement. 106

And then the chase, where Sir John's skill at capturing the most difficult of all animals, the wild bull, is observed.

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105 Thompson, op. cit., p. 315.
106 Castle Dangerous, p. 221.
During the course of the hunting when a stag or a boar was expected, one of the wild cattle often came rushing forward,... dispersing whatever opposition was presented to it by the hunters. Sir John de Walton was the only one of the chivalry of the party who individually succeeded in mastering one of these powerful animals. Like a Spanish touridor, he bore down and killed with his lance a ferocious bull; two well-grown calves and three kine were also slain.\(^{107}\)

Although Scott describes this sport in detail in *Castle Dangerous*, it is a sport that cannot be attributed only to the Middle Ages. Thompson says:

"These conditions together with the whole feudal attitude towards hunting, persisted down to modern times in countries that passed through feudalism, perhaps most notably in England."\(^{108}\)

In *Castle Dangerous*, Scott reviews the duties of a knight where his military honor is concerned, through the medium of a letter written by the Earl of Pembroke to his nephew, Sir Aymer de Valence, Deputy Governor of Douglas Castle. Because the garrison needed reinforcement, Sir John, Governor of Douglas Castle, ordered Sir Aymer to withdraw the archers from the hunt. As a result, Sir Aymer became involved in many petty debates with Sir John. Thinking that these debates began in a prejudice which he thought Sir John had taken against him, he wrote his view of the matter to his uncle, the Earl of Pembroke. In return he received a reply to the following effect:

He reminded the young man that the study of chivalry consisted in the faithful and patient discharge of military service, whether of high or low order....That,

\(^{107}\) Ibid., p. 223.
\(^{108}\) Thompson, *op. cit.*, p. 316.
above all, the past of danger, which Castle Douglas had been termed by common consent, was also the past of honour; and that a young man should be cautious how he incurred the supposition of being desirous of quitting his present honourable command, because he tired of the discipline of a military director so renowned as Sir John de Walton. Lastly, Pembroke reminded his nephew that he was in a great measure, dependent upon the report of Sir John de Walton for the character which he was to sustain in after life; and reminded him that a few actions of headlong and inconsiderate valour would not so firmly found his military reputation as months or years spent in regular, humble, and steady obedience to the commands which the governor of Douglas Castle might think necessary in so dangerous a conjecture.109

This passage not only details the difficult program of the military duties of a knight in the Middle Ages, but indirectly, it shows the Earl of Pembroke, exercising one of the noble attributes of a knight, "to guard the honor of the knightly order;...to keep faith and speak the truth."

Minstrelsy in the Middle Ages is another element which attracted Scott and so in Castle Dangerous, he presents Bertram in the role of a minstrel. Although using the guise of a minstrel to obtain information far removed from minstrelsy, Bertram in explaining his presence to Sir John, Governor of the castle, succeeds in convincing him that his mission there might very probably be that of a minstrel when he says:

I look upon Douglas Castle as in some degree a fated place, and I long to see what changes time may have made in it dur-

109 Castle Dangerous, p. 232.
110 Thompson, op. cit., p. 324.
ing the currency of twenty years. Above all, I desire to secure...the volume of this Thomas of Ercholdoun, having in it such a fund of forgotten minstrelsy, and of prophecies respecting the future fates of the British kingdom....

Bertram's presence in the castle is consistent with the fact that it was characteristic of minstrels in the Middle Ages to resort to the castles, especially when the "lords were away."

After considering the medieval element in Newman's and in Scott's works, it is easy to notice the diversity in the particular element which attracted each of these men to the Middle Ages.

We saw Newman going to the Middle Ages in his *Arians of the Fourth Century*, because he saw the strength of the Church of Rome in opposing heresy, and thought the Church of England could lay claim to that same strength. Not until he realized that the Anglican Church stood in the same position as that heresy which was being opposed in the fourth century, did he realize that it could claim no kinship to the strength of the Church of Rome in the fourth century.

In his study of the Church Fathers, Newman saw the Church of Rome refute the Monophysite heresy in the fifth century. He now realized that his former contention, in which he held the Papal jurisdiction of the Church of Rome as a heretical teaching, now had no basis. Instead of its being a heretical teaching, he now recognized it as a true note of the Catholic Church. Consequently, he found that the Anglican claim to authoritative jurisdiction was nothing more than a paper theory. He realized that the unity and authority

111 *Castle Dangerous*, p. 204.
of the Church of Rome today, was the same unity and authority which it held in the fifth century, and the Anglicans held the same position as the Monophysites in the fifth century.

Newman saw in the medieval Church that unity and authority of the Church of Rome, which he tried so desperately to claim for the Church of England. Each time that he thought he was near to establishing such a claim, a further observance of Christian doctrine showed him his error.

Newman was impressed with various characteristics of Christian living which he found exemplified almost to the point of perfection in St. Augustine. He liked the medieval attitude toward poverty, that it should be almost a virtue, as it was with St. Augustine and Demetrias. He reverenced too, the individual struggles made to preserve one's faith against the encroachments of heretics as observed in the life of St. Martin.

Newman respected and admired the strength displayed by Gregory VII and other medieval pontiffs in their triumph over the temporal power. Newman also admired various practices in the Church of Rome, such as clerical celibacy and excommunication, which kept degradation from coming upon it.

Newman went to the Middle Ages for the discovery of those beliefs and usages which he attempted to establish in the Anglican Church, such as the use of the Breviary. He found the Breviary of St. Gregory VII most adaptable to the present Church of England.

Newman also went to the Middle Ages to justify his hesitancy in accepting the doctrine of Purgatory as an article of faith. He did this by attempting to show that the doctrine of Purgatory was not an article of faith until the Council of Florence in 1445 declared it as such. But as
was noted, Rumble claimed that the Council of Florence "merely recalled previous definitions" of this doctrine, and therefore, considered the doctrine as having been established long before the Council of Florence.

After tracing the mental process of St. Augustine when wrestling himself from the Manichean heresy, Newman became convinced of the "Catholicity" of the Church of Rome. He also found a logical sequence when tracing the study of monasticism from St. Augustine to the rise of the Jesuit order.

Newman's medievalism goes very deep, when we see that it was the doctrine, unity, and authority of the Catholic Church which attracted him in that period. To re-establish the vigour which the Established Church of England formerly had had was Newman's diligent but futile aim.

In contrast to Newman, Scott was attracted by the outward characteristics of medievalism, those feudalistic and chivalrous aspects of the age. The kind of people who typified that age, Kings, Queens, lords, knights, fair-ladies, jesters and minstrels, their costuming and the part they played in society, were all aspects of feudalism which attracted Scott.

Scott was more particularly intrigued with the military character of the age, the reason for war, the methods of warfare, and the implements used. Concurrent with warfare, he idealized the state of knighthood with its chivalrous code of conduct. The age-old virtues which his knights were supposedly endowed with, their reverence for God, women, and country, their loyalty to the King, their faithful and valorous service, their obedience to those placed in authority, these characteristics and many others were the things that made chivalry so attractive for Scott.
Scott also liked the various expressions of architecture in the Middle Ages, such as the castle, the court, the church, the convent, the monastery, and the dungeon. He used these to complete the picture of that ideal which he wished to recreate for his own generation.

The amusements of the Middle Ages, such as combats, tournaments, hunting-parties, feasts-in-hall, and courts of love all take a noteworthy place in Scott's novels.

Therefore, while Newman was attracted to the spiritual life of the Middle Ages, the doctrine and usages of the medieval Church, Scott was attracted to the pomp and the panoply of the period. Looking back on those influences which tended to develop the medieval trend of Scott and Newman, it is consistent that each should have taken opposite routes to the Middle Ages.

While Newman strove to show the way to a unified spiritual life in the face of threatened dangers to the Church of England, Scott "wanted to give the essential man a better chance to appear than he would have had when hidden by the novelty and controversy of contemporary life."\(^{112}\)

CHAPTER IV

INFLUENCE OF MEDIEVAL ELEMENT IN SCOTT AND NEWMAN

ON ENGLISH LIFE AND LITERATURE

Considering the carry-over of staid Puritanism during the Classical Age and the restrictions placed on society at this time and in all manner of life, it is not surprising that Scott recognized an opportunity of helping to "liberate the trammels" imposed on society at that time. The disgust and tedium which resulted from the rationalization of life and literature was the general reaction to the Classical Age. Society lost its individualism and conformity to a strict set of rules was adopted as a pattern for life and literature, with the usual freedom of life being subdued and the imagination given no bounds.

To liberate Scotland from these trammels of society was one purpose which Scott's recreations of the past served. His medievalism tended at a most opportune moment to instill in the stagnant minds of the age a recognition of and reverence for age-old virtues. From the past, Scott extracted, practically in an unalloyed form, feudal traditions for which he saw the modern world starving. The spirit of Scott which fed on these traditions was that spirit which served to break the bonds of liberation for Scotland.
It was a "reverence for the past" which keynotes Scott's works, Ward says, and a reverence too, for
hereditary nobility which clothed itself readily with all the associations of a
Scottish patriotism to which every hill in his native land was dear, and which made
the very names of the great Scottish clans as music to his ear.¹

These were the inspirations which he transmitted to his own time and which in
turn served to revive the imagination of those who were more or less
deadened by the effects of the rationalism of the day.

One of the greatest tributes to Scott is that wherein he is acclaimed
for having popularized historical fiction. Scott's works spread throughout
many countries of the world and gave an impetus to an interest in the
historical past. History was divulged with a zest and received with an
interest it had never before known. A tribute of Sr. M. Gregory Truszka's
bears this out.

Few writers had so many disciples
and such significant ones, as did Walter Scott. In fact, wherever historical fic-
tion of a picturesque and chivalrous order
was produced, it bore the stamp of Walter Scott upon its margin. Scott's novels in-
spired the minds of Alexander Dumas in France, Fouque in Germany, and Cabolero in Spain.²

The gratification expressed by Scott when Alessandro Manzoni had
revealed to him the fact that his first inspiration for the writing of

2 Truszka, op. cit., p. 78.
historical romance came to him through the Waverley novels is noted by Father Kent when he says:

And the Italian master's candid acknowledgement of his indebtedness was immediately repaid by a generous and gracious compliment. For which Sir Walter answered that he should henceforth regard I Promessi Sposi as his greatest achievement.

To his own people Scott left a heritage never before left to them in literary history. He instilled in them a keen interest and a burning patriotism for their country by recreating its history in the light of its noble past.

Although Scott possessed some very anti-Catholic ideas, he did more than any of his contemporaries to arouse interest in Catholicism. By reviving the history of the Middle Ages Scott indirectly revived an interest in the religion of that period, for closely associated with the history of a country is the growth of the Church. It is not surprising therefore, that the Waverley novels when introducing their readers to medieval England should indirectly introduce them to the Catholic Church, where its spiritualities, its beauty, its power and its antiquity dominated every phase of life.

The revival of Catholic culture and ideals was not an aim of Scott's, but "by sheer force of association and implications, the medieval movement which he introduced has been most fruitful for Catholicism."

By familiarizing the public with many of the externals of Catholicism, Scott's novels made the Catholic faith interesting enough to arouse the

4 Truszka, op. cit., p. 69.
curiosity of many who had hitherto looked with scorn upon it. As was mentioned previously, one of the greatest testimonies to Scott's having aroused interest in Catholicism was given by Newman when he considered Scott's recreations of the past as having prepared the groundwork for the Oxford Movement.

Catholics therefore should be grateful to the man, who however imperfect and erroneous his guidance, was yet the first to lead the steps of his Protestant countrymen back to the crowning epoch of the Middle Ages, and to subserve, though unwittingly, the cause of Catholicism.5

When Newman in his work in the Anglican Church sought Apostolic doctrine in the Christianity of his day he was inevitably heading toward union with Rome. Because the people of his day had such an implicit faith in him, his conversion to Catholicism in 1845 resulted in many following him into the Church. "By 1850 the number of Catholics in England had grown so large that Pope Pius IX decided to re-establish the Hierarchy."6

Newman's work in the Oxford Movement was actually the source of many conversions to Catholicism. Benard makes this clear when he says:

The great increase in conversions to Catholicism, especially in England under the influence of the Tractarian movement ...was faithfully reported to American Catholics by their journals. A reader of them would have a very good idea of the progress of the Oxford Movement. The weekly newspapers, as well as the monthly magazines, carried lists of names, dates

5 Ibid., p. 84
6 Deferrari, op. cit., p. 633.
and places. For example, The Catholic Cabinet, published in St. Louis with the approbation of Bishop Peter Richard Kenrick, prints in the issue of Feb., 1845, "an exact list of the members of the University of Oxford known to have turned Roman Catholic during the last three years."

Many of the ideals of the Church of the Middle Ages which Newman wished to incorporate into the English Church during the Oxford Movement, are ideals which are still cherished by Englishmen.

A quickening of the religious consciousness can also be discerned when Lucas reports that

the Tracts, notwithstanding their protests against Rome, were in fact leading men Rome-wards, and the more so because the teaching of the Tracts seemed to many, both friendly and hostile, to be on various points in flat contradiction with the Thirty-Nine Articles of the Anglican Establishment.

The extensive interpretation which Newman gave to the Thirty-Nine Articles led the people in turn to extend their religious opinions. He maintained that the articles "were of deliberate purpose so framed that it might be possible for men having Catholic leanings to subscribe to them, without doing violence to their own consciences, or to the literal or grammatical sense of the Articles." With this interpretation Newman started many minds thinking in various directions, first of the veracity of the Articles themselves, and secondly, of their "being ambitious" of a Catholic

8 Lucas, op. cit., p. 308.
9 Correspondence of John Henry Newman with John Keble and Others, p. 72.
interpretation.

To strengthen the Established Church of England, Newman attempted to claim the doctrine of unity and authority as he saw it in the medieval Church for the Church of England. By these efforts Newman revived many doctrines which had been long forgotten by the Anglicans. This revival had the natural result of quickening the religious consciousness.

Out of Newman's untiring efforts to revive the faith and morale of England, resulted many converts to the Catholic Church. However, there were many who for various reasons could not follow him into the Church, but that did not restrain them from leaving Oxford with a changed attitude toward religion and life. In the characters of Church and Liddon, for example, are seen further attempts at changing the Establishment, which resulted not in complete accordance with their plans, but at least a slight elevation in tone.

If Anglicanism today stands for better and purer things than ever before since the evil day when it sprang into being from Henry VIII's besotted mind, it does so because Newman once taught its teachers. So long as it is the Church of a majority of Englishmen of the educated classes its influence upon English civilization must be great, and if upon the whole, that influence is for something higher than it was in the eighteenth century, it is because Newman's sweet pathetic voice yet echoes within its walls.10

Newman's historical contribution to the enrichment of prose is thought to be more particularly that work which he did with the early centuries. If

much that he has written as history has been cast aside,

the interpretation that he gave of early Christian centuries remained as an inspiration to the students who made Oxford history famous, to Stubbs, and Freeman, Creighton and Bryce, and remains still. When he wrote his different studies he was loyal to his principles whether, at the time he was an English or a Roman Churchman, but he never surrendered the scholar's independence.11

The research which Newman made of these early centuries was done particularly through the works and studies of the Fathers of those ages. As a result of this work, Newman's contribution to the prose of his period is most valuable, since the purity of those sources from which he drew his material were in turn characterized with a certain richness in tone.

Newman's splendid work, The Church of the Fathers, and his Essay on Development, where we see the application of that which he learned from his study of the Fathers, are conclusive examples of Newman's restoration of the teaching of the Fathers. It was from this study that "Newman and many of his contemporaries became convinced that the current Anglican theology fell far short of the fullness of the Catholic faith as they then began to understand it."12

It has been observed that Newman went to the great minds of the medieval Church for the basis of many of his conclusions in this essay. Shortly after its completion, he and many of his followers joined the Church of Rome. Newman's expression of medievalism in this essay is a guide post for all posterity. Davis, in his praise of this work says:

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11 Ven. W. H. Hutton, B.D., "The Oxford Movement, Cambridge History of
English Literature, Vol. XII, Chap. XII, p. 300.
12 Lucas, op. cit., p. 127.
When it is understood, it presents such a key to the evidence in favour of the true Church that it is not easy to see how it could be really appreciated by one who does not follow its author at the finish.13

Both Scott and Newman left to posterity a heritage which no other two men in English literature could bequeath. Through the characteristic genius of each of these men, and the play of environment which directed their talents, the Middle Ages are presented to us through opposite approaches. Those who read Scott, become thoroughly acquainted with the pomp and the panoply of medievalism, while "anyone who sympathizes with Newman, logically becomes a Catholic."14

14 Ibid., p. 38.
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E. UNPUBLISHED MATERIAL

The thesis submitted by Margaret B. Kearney has been read and approved by three members of the Department of English.

The final copies have been examined by the director of the thesis and the signature which appears below verifies the fact that any necessary changes have been incorporated, and that the thesis is now given final approval with reference to content, form, and mechanical accuracy.

The thesis is therefore accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree of Master of Arts.

April 30, 1949

Date

Signature of Adviser