

The Personality of John H. Newman as Seen Through his Theology

JOSÉ MORALES

1. In Catholic theology, the influence of the religious thought of John Henry Newman is one of the most outstanding facts of the present century. Newman had reached the age of forty-four when, in 1845, he was received into the Roman Church, after a long process of reflexion, prayer and study, which brought him from the Calvinism of his youth to the Anglicanism of his maturity, and finally to the fulness of Christian truth. He died in August 1890, and the 150th centenary of his conversion to Catholicism now supplies us not only with the possibility of estimating his theological significance, but also of observing more closely his human and spiritual physiognomy.

The short study that I intend to develop aims at exploring the close connection which, in my judgment, exists between the personal character of Newman and the basic lines of his theology. I think that such an analysis offers an excellent opportunity to examine in action a singular Christian, who has left in his extensive work the imprint of his personal character and many data of his life. There are authors —one example could be Thomas Aquinas— whose life remains hidden beneath their writings. With Newman it is far from so. His books, essays, and letters —now collected in more than eighty volumes— supply a strong autobiographical content and reveal the features of his character. Author and work can here be comprised within a single glance.

There is no need to insist on the creative role that the life and writings of Newman have played and still play in the compass of the Church and in the very culture of the various continents. Works such

as *The Arians of the Fourth Century* (1832), the *Lectures on Justification* (1838), the *Essay on the Development of Christian Doctrine* (1864), the *Grammar of Assent* (1870) and the *Letter to the Duke of Norfolk* on conscience (1875), are decisive advances in Christian thought. It is said that Newman had the gift of making out of a text of more or less temporary relevance something of permanent value. This observation can be chiefly applied to his Anglican *Sermons*. The corpus formed by these four hundred homiletic specimens constitutes for many "the best of Newman" and is probably the most important contribution to preaching in the whole Nineteenth Century. Even today it is impossible to read these sermons without rediscovering aspects of genuine Christianity and without feeling called to a reform of one's life.

2. "I know few religious writers who are more relevant to our time." These words of the poet T. S. Eliot are one of the many lay testimonies that can be cited on the present influence of a "pure and noble life, free from all worldliness," as the *London Times* put it in its necrological note of the 12th of August 1890.

Our own interest, though, is rather to consider the echoes of his direct influence in the sphere of the Church. A contemporary Italian author says: "I should venture to affirm that after S. Augustine and S. Thomas Aquinas, Newman is the author most frequently cited in the documents and Pontifical Addresses of the most recent years. And he has in fact become, according to what Pius XII foresaw, a Doctor of the Church."¹

We know that Pope John XXIII was an assiduous reader of Newman,² and that Paul VI had particularly perceived the importance of his thought for the Church in itself and in relation to the world. He was particularly attracted by Newman's vision of Catholicism as an identity in time — "the Church changes in order to remain the same" — and by his "ardent desire to make Christian belief more accessible to the men and women of our epoch."³ The Pope recognized likewise that Newman was present in the Second Vatican Council in various ways,

¹ Cf. G. Velocci, "Newman e gli ultimi Papi," *Studia Urbaniana*, 10 (1981), 153.

² Cf. A. Melloni, "Le fonte di A. G. Roncalli: *Il Giornale dell'Anima*," *Cristianesimo nella Storia*, IV (1983), 115-116.

³ Cf. J. Guitton, *Diálogos con Pablo VI*, Madrid, 1967, 209.

above all by his ideas on the laity, his vision of the mystery of the Church, and his conceptions of a living Tradition and Magisterium, which render possible the harmonious development of Christian doctrine in the course of history.

And the fact is, indeed, that both the Catholic life of Newman and the basic intention of Vatican II respond to the same preoccupations: a better perception of the Church as a mystery of faith, which leads among other things "to a more complete practice of justice and fair play within and secondly to a more convincing and, if possible, a more perfect development, on the part of the Church, of its tendency to Communication and dialogue." The Church lives in the world and has to preach the Word to a human being, who in his dignity and conscience is free and feels himself to be so.

In the last essay written before being elected Pope, already preoccupied by the need to rechristianize the European continent, the future John Paul II made extensive use of the educational ideas of Newman,⁴ and in April 1979 he affirmed: "In insisting that the Church must be prepared for converts, just as the converts must be for the Church, Newman anticipated in his broad theological vision one of the principal aims and orientations of Vatican II and of the Church in the post-conciliar period."

The interest excited by Newman today and the influence exerted by him are in a certain manner the continuation of what his activity meant, first in Oxford —where he lived from the age of fifteen to the age of forty— and then in the city of Birmingham, to the north of London, which was for four decades the centre of his activity as an Oratorian of S. Philip Neri. Named a Cardinal by Leo XIII in May 1879, he did not move to Rome, and ended within the walls of his beloved Oratory a long life of ninety years.

In 1822, at the age of twenty-one, he was elected fellow of Oriel, an Oxford College that had been founded in the thirteenth century. In 1825 he was ordained a presbyter in the Church of England, and in 1828 he began to be the incumbent to the University Parish of S. Mary, situated opposite Oriel, in the Oxford High Street. Together with a handful of friends —ministers like himself of the Church of England—

⁴ Cf. *Vital Traditions of the European University*, Lublin, 1978.

he originated and promoted from 1833 the well-known Oxford Movement, with the object of renewing an Anglicanism lacking in energy and in ecclesiastical sense.

Providence, which together with its designs also frequently shows an acute sense of humour and of paradox, intended to convert the Anglican zeal of Newman into a dramatic disillusionment for a Church which turned out in the end to be one only in name.

3. The personality of Newman has always defeated his best biographers. His classical biography was composed in 1912 by the Catholic Wilfrid Ward, who in his youth had known and frequented the Cardinal. Ward wrote the first modern biography of a Catholic in England. That is to say, he produced a book faithful to his subject and at the same time perfectly frank. It was not a sickly production of the sacristy. It neither defamed the Cardinal nor preached his panegyric. Ward did not conceal the effort that he had to make to complete his project. His daughter could write: "My mother began to be frightened that the strain was telling on him too much, and our old family doctor said that he had in fact aged about ten years in the last few months."⁵

The student of Newman finds himself within a rich and subtle character, of which the simplicity and unity are refracted into a thousand facets and levels. What happens to any human being can in Newman acquire colossal dimensions. He is "an intelligent man who knows that the conscience does more for truth than the intelligence; an eloquent man who fears oratory; a subtle logician with the lowest opinion of logic; a fertile mind with small regard for originality; a thinker who despises the idea of speculation."⁶

He was not officially a theologian, nor a mystical author, nor a man of controversy, in spite of the fact that there abounded in his life theological activity, spiritual authority and open polemics. Newman was simply Newman. He was above all an Englishman: an Englishman to the marrow. A wise critic of British insularity and particularism, and very sharp to detect and denounce all that was egoistical and worldly in the ideas and actions of his compatriots, his interests inclined

⁵ Cf. M. Vidal, *Insurrection versus Resurrection*, London, 1937, 347.

⁶ Cf. O. Chadwick, *Newman*, 1983, 25.

towards what was English, in literature, in social life, in economics, politics, religion, etc.

His religious spirit, his great intelligence and clarity of vision, caused him frequently to occupy during his Anglican years posts of leadership. Yet Newman was a timid man, reserved and to some extent solitary. There was in his nature the force of genius and the grandeur of an elevated character, but always united with moderation and equilibrium. His language was restrained, his tone tranquil. He never converted others by excitation or simple enthusiasm. He did not like dazzling the eyes and he never ceased to appeal to the head whenever engaged in inflaming the heart.

I do not claim to describe the personality of Newman by the abstract enumeration of a list of qualities, separated from each other. He himself considered this a poor method of knowing a man. In a biography of St. John Chrysostom which he wrote in 1859 he said: "I take but a secondary interest in books which chop up a saint into chapters of faith, hope and charity... They do not manifest a saint, they mince him up into spiritual lessons."

4. The important point is to see Newman in action. In the life of any man, there are situations and synthetic acts that reveal his personality to an attentive observer. Newman's work as a religious reformer developed in Oxford before his conversion in 1845 gives an admirable portrait of him. The fellow of Oriel and Vicar of S. Mary's is the person who exercised the greatest spiritual influence in the city since the foundation of the University in the Thirteenth Century. By means of a direct communication which aimed at gaining the mind, awakening the sentiments and opening up legitimate horizons to the imagination and to noble illusions, Newman succeeded in moving hundreds of students and graduates towards the ideal of sanctity, and then in gaining them for the cause of religion. Side by side with the personal contacts, the Tracts and other theological writings, an essential instrument of this evangelical activity were the Sermons which he pronounced week by week from the pulpit of S. Mary's. It will be worth the trouble to pause and consider the climate which surrounded them.

For many decades —perhaps for many centuries—, Oxford had not known such preaching. "Only those who remember," —writes William Church, a witness of the facts and historian of the Oxford Movement— "can adequately judge the effect of Mr. Newman's four

o'clock sermons at St. Mary's. The world knows them, has heard a great deal about them, has passed its various judgments on them. But it hardly rearsises that without those sermons the movement might never have gone on, certainly would never have been what it was. Even people who heard them continually, and felt them to be different from any other sermons, hardly estimated their real power, or knew at the time the influence which the sermons were having upon them. Plain, direct, unornamented, clothed in English that was only pure and lucid, free from any faults of taste, strong in their flexibility and perfect command both of language and thought, they were the expression of a piercing and large insight into character and conscience and motives, of a sympathy at once most tender and most stern with the tempest and the wavering, of an absolute and burning faith in God and His counsels, in His love, in His judgments, in the awful glory of His generosity and His magnificence. They made men think of the things which the preacher spoke of, and not of the sermon of the preacher."⁷

Another person well acquainted with the Oxford of those years observes that "the Church was jull when Newman preached, thronged usually by not less than live or six hundred graduates, besides other members of the congregation. Men recalled in after years every detail of those great occasions: the listeners all breathless with expectation, the gas light at the left of the pulpit, lowered that the preacher might not be dazzled, while they stood perhaps in the hal darkness of the gallery, the preacher's manner of presenting truth, simple and direct, his attitude quiet and unostentatious. There was no movement of the body, scarcely a movement of the hand. But the eye was full of life and the voice powerful, yet melodious. He stood in the pulpit a frail thin form as one who had stepped forth from another world. The sermon began in calm and measured tones. As the preacher warmed to his subject he slightly raised his voice and presently his very soul seemed to glow with emotion and spiritual power. At times in the midst of the most stirring passages he would pause, without dropping his voice, perhaps only for a moment, which seemed quite a long time, and then with gathered force and solemnity he would utter words which thrilled his hearers."⁸

⁷ Cf. *The Oxford Movement. Twelve Years 1833-1845*, 92-93.

⁸ Cf. R.D. Middleton, *The Vicar of St. Mary's. John H. Newman: Centenary Essays*. London, 1945, p.136.

In is in fact very difficult to read a sermon of Newman in a conventional manner and as something merely interesting. Such a distant attitude is almost impossible. Whether he wants it or not, these sermons are perceived by the reader as an announcement made to him personally. It has been said that no-one could come away from St. Mary's without feeling the need of surrendering something, of making some sacrifice, of shaking off the paralysing influence of an evil habit, without ceasing, in short, to be content with his own mediocrity. The Victorian writer and poet Matthew Arnold was able to write, in memory of his student years and of his experience of Newman: "Who could resist the charm of that spiritual apparition, gliding in the dim afternoon light through the aisles of St. Mary's rising into the pulpit, and then in the most entrancing of voices, breaking the silence with words and thoughts which were religious music — subtle, sweet, mournful?"⁹

5. At the end of his stay in Oxford, and now within the Catholic Church, Newman lived in the Birmingham Oratory, hidden from the world without occupying any important official position. But from there also his personality and influence made themselves felt throughout the land. It is impossible to estimate even approximately the number of persons who then discovered through him their path towards the Church, and of the many Anglicans and Protestants to whom he opened up the horizons of the spiritual life.

If we are to continue advancing in the knowledge of the man Newman the better to understand the meaning and the range of his theology, we should now observe certain especially significant polarities which his character displays. The first thing to attract our attention is his intense religious zeal, which though deriving from a total commitment to Christian truth is always accompanied by a profound respect for the consciences of others. Accustomed to a pragmatic and lukewarm religious attitude, some acquaintances of Newman in his youth had the impression that his zeal was a case of fanaticism. This was the case, for example, of the Spanish apostate priest José Blanco White. Blanco went into exile in England, became an Anglican, and was for a time in Oxford the friend of Newman. Surprised by what he considered the orthodox and anti-heretical excesses of his friend, Blanco eventually wrote: "Such is the venomous character of Orthodoxy. What havoc

⁹ *Works. Discourse in America*, vol. 3, 1885, 65.

must it create in a bad heart and narrow mind, when it can work so effectually for evil, in one of the most benevolent bosoms, and one of the ablest minds— in the amiable, the intellectual, the refined John Henry Newman!"¹⁰

The resistance offered by Newman in Oxford to the ideas of the liberal professors who began to appear in the eighteen-thirties expressed no spirit of persecution. It was simply a love of truth, never separated in him from a sincere respect for persons. For Newman knew how to enter into the mind of others and he never ill-treated an adversary nor permitted himself with a disciple to adopt a tone of condescension or of excessive self-confidence. A distinguished contemporary has said that from the pulpit of S. Mary's the preacher succeeded in touching the heart with a simple phrase, which revealed to the hearer the secrets of his soul. In his last sermon as parish priest of that Church Newman precisely chose to refer to himself as "a man who has told you what you knew about yourselves, or what you did not know; has read to you your wants or feelings, and comforted you by the very reading, - has made you feel that there was a higher life than this daily one."¹¹

6. There is another important polarity which deserves to be mentioned here. Newman was a man of incessant change, but this change was always in his case a development, and scarcely implied ruptures which were not demanded by the nature of things. In 1858 he wrote of himself: "Like many Oxford men who have become Catholics, my convictions have been the slow growth of years, and the truths which I accept with all my heart have been brought home to me by personal reflection much more than by consulting divines or controversialists."¹²

His was a mind of unity, but there never was a mind more in movement. This change, which was never an absolute revolution, is the object in his works of frequent observations, which, though of the theoretical order, are at the same time clearly auto-biographical. He

¹⁰ Cf. V. Hamilton, *The Life of the Rev. Joseph Blanco White*, vol.III, London 1845, 132.

¹¹ Cf. *Sermons Bearing on Subjects of the Day*, 395.

¹² Cf. *Letters and Diaries XXXI*, Suppl.63.

says in a sermon: "Time is short, death is certain, and eternity is long."¹³ In this feature of Providence and of human destiny, Newman perceived with existential depth what he expresses laconically in a letter of 1859: "The will of God is not known in a hurry."¹⁴

The possibility of changing is a positive quality of human nature. "A Christian spirit is the growth of time,"¹⁵ we read in another text; and in the *Essay on the Development of Christian Doctrine* he writes: "In a higher world it is otherwise, but here to live is to change, and to be perfect is to have changed often."¹⁶ He knew by experience that "a thing is impossible to be changed once and for all, all at once."¹⁷

There were then in his life decisive modifications and existential advances, but this growth was more by additions and gradual enrichments than by the simple elimination of ideas acquired at the beginning. His conversion to the Catholic Church, the unique event that divided his life into two halves, did not prevent him from evoking with affection and with gratitude to God what he called "the simple evangelicism of my first teachers."¹⁸

Perhaps it is this dramatic vision of human existence, as a harmonious process, directed by God, of approximation to eternity, which marks a difference with another type of theology. In the eyes of some Christian theologians, the order of the universe appears in the first place as an order of essences which derive from the Creator and form the setting of human life. For Newman the accent is not so much on the Creator as on Providence, and the order of things is not considered primarily as a structure of essences but rather as a fabric of divine and human actions.

7. This profound unity of opposites which is seen in the character of Newman brings us to a third conjunction of qualities. I

¹³ Cf. *Parochial and Plain Sermons* VIII, 147.

¹⁴ Cf. *Letters* XIX, 66.

¹⁵ Cf. *Sermons* I, 232.

¹⁶ Cf. *Essay*, ed. 1894, 40.

¹⁷ Cf. *Sermons* VIII, 76.

¹⁸ Cf. *Letters* XXXI, 189.

refer to the singular presence in him of the invisible world of the Christian mysteries. But the presence of these ardent mysteries was united with a lively sense of daily existence, of love for detail, and of addiction to what we might call creative routine. In a text of 1857, relating to the Church Fathers of the fourth century, we read: "Some men have two natures, with contrary tendencies, and have an inward conflict and an external inconsistency in consequence. They are happy in retirement and happy in society; they are fit for both, and would, if they could, be both men of action and recluses at once."¹⁹ Newman has here sketched features of his own character, at a historical moment when earthly activity and contemplation seemed to many not wholly compatible. Examining his own interior universe, he seems to have an intuition that such a fusion is possible.

In spite of the observations to which this subject could give rise, it is certain that for Newman the invisible world is the only world that is intensely real. This vision does not proceed from a Platonic *forma mentis*, but from a deep Christian sensibility, for which the act of faith terminates in the very object believed in. Referring to the vividness with which Newman perceived the eschatological truths of glory and reprobation, the historian J. Anthony Froude declared: "The minds of most of us would break under the strain."²⁰

There is a memorable text of Newman himself, written three years after his conversion, which speaks to us on this theme and permits us to see a little of the experience of his soul. He expresses himself thus: "Such is the Creator in His Eternal Uncreated Beauty, that were it given to us to behold it, we should die of very rapture at the sight. Moses, unable to forget the token of it he had once seen in the Bush, asked to see it fully, and on this very account was refused. "He said, Show me Thy glory; and He said, Thou canst not see My Face; for man shall not see Me and live." When Saints have been favoured with glimpses of it, it has thrown them into ecstasy, broken their poor frame of dust and ashes, and pierced it through with such keen distress, that they have cried out to God, in the very midst of their transports, that He would hold His hand, and, in tenderness to them, check the abundance of His consolations. What Saints partake in fact, we enjoy

¹⁹ Cf. *Historical Sketches II*, 328.

²⁰ Cf. *Short Studies IV*, 276.

in thought and meditation; and even that mere reflection of God's glory is sufficient to sweep away the gloomy, envious thoughts of Him which circle round us, and to lead us to forget ourselves in the contemplation of the All-beautiful."²¹

I have no doubt that this intimate experience, the importance of which is very difficult for us to estimate, has much to do with the decided way in which Newman always professed what he calls the *dogmatic principle*, which is in reality the primary application of the fact that the human mind needs the Truth. It already appears in his youth, as he tells us in the *Apologia*: "When I was fifteen years old," he writes, "a great change of mind took place within me. I came under the influence of a definite creed and received into my mind impressions of dogma, which, thanks be to God, have never been extinguished 'or obscured'."

These growing dogmatic convictions, applied to the mystery of the Church and of its tradition, form in 1833 the doctrinal manifests of the Oxford Movement and explain that in a certain sense the life of Newman —Calvinist, Anglican and Catholic— was a tenacious battle against religious liberalism, that is to say, the opinion "according to which there is no positive truth in religion, but that one creed is as good as another, and this is the teaching which is gaining substance and force daily. It is inconsistent with the recognition of any religion as true. It teaches that all are to be tolerated, as all are matters of opinion. Revealed religion is not a truth, but a sentiment and a taste, not an objective fact, not miraculous, - and it is the right of each individual to make it say just what strikes his fancy."²² There is in Newman a clear and at the same time creative opposition towards the epistemological priority of purely rational knowledge, towards the affirmation of the non-essential character of dogma, and towards ideas on the symbolic nature of religious enunciations and the simple equivalence of religions.

Applied to the mystery of the Divine Being in relation to man, the dogmatic principle impels Newman to affirm the primacy, under God, of the human person, as a moral and religious being with a vocation, and free to decide its destiny. Only in intimate relationship with a God who is Intelligence and Love is the mystery of Man unveiled. *Cor ad cor*

²¹ *Discursos sobre la Fe*, Madrid, 1981, 293.

²² Cf. *Biglietto Speech*, 12.5.1879.

loquitur: heart speaks to heart. This sentence which Newman apparently took from S. Francis de Sales and adopted years later for his Cardinal's crest, is intended to resume his early experience that there existed in the world for him "two beings, and two beings absolutely and luminously evident: I myself and my Creator." One must not understand these words as a manifestation of solipsism, but as a declaration of the personal character of religious communication, of the greatness of the mystery of God, who must be loved and venerated above all things, and of the uniqueness of each human being. "In religion," wrote Newman in 1830, "each must begin, go on, and end, for himself. The religious history of each individual is as solitary and complete as the history of the world."²³

The spiritual penetration of the ultimate realities which continuously enabled him to view the world '*sub specie Eternitatis*', did not convert Newman into a visionary simply absorbed in the truths of the Beyond. He knew the world and the things of the world very well. He assiduously read the papers, and knew a lot about accounts, estimates and balance-sheets. He was an expert in financing the construction of buildings. His ascetic temperament did not prevent him from efficaciously fulfilling in Oxford the duty of choosing the wines for the cellars of Oriel College. He was conscious of the fact that the experience of God and of the Divine is normally effected through the things and situations of the earth, and a basic aspect of his spiritual teaching is resumed in the following words: "If the events of life which now happen to you produce no lasting effect on you, then too sure I am, that a miracle too would produce no lasting effect on you."²⁴

The simplicity of his advice and the restraint of his words could sometimes disappoint those who hoped from him revelations never heard. "Here is a man," some thought, "who is capable of leading us to the secrets of the universe, and who limits himself to advising us to have faith in God, moderation in discourse and constancy in work."

8. I am going to dwell finally on a fourth conjunction of qualities in Newman which are directly concerned with his use of reason and his

²³ Cf. *Sermons VII*, 248.

²⁴ Cf. *ID.*, VIII, 84.

capacity to express sentiments. A further paradox awaits us here. For this undoubtedly logical man mistrusts his reason and keeps himself ready to be vigilant and to avoid the possible excesses and usurpations which this noble faculty tends upon occasion to perpetrate in the field of religion. It is indubitable that together with the interior motions of grace and the impulses of his heart open to the Truth —Newman was accustomed to saying: "I have not sinned against the light"— the process of his conversion shows an implacable logic, as well as the continuous use of a critical and rigorous reason. The fact was so patent that it very soon sowed a preoccupation among his Anglican friends, many of whom attempted to convince Newman that to resolve the dilemma 'Anglicanism or Roman Church' he should not be so rational. The most acute and impartial Anglicans were forced to recognise nevertheless, that, in becoming a Catholic, Newman excelled in logic and coherence his friends who did not take this step.²⁵

But without forgetting, either in theory or practice, the importance ascribed by Christian doctrine to man's reason in the search for God and in the recognition of his existence, Newman awards the primacy to the moral consciousness and to the correct intention of the person, at the moment of meeting religious truth. His teaching on the ethical presuppositions of belief and his conviction that the principal obstacles that faith meets in a man are not intellectual but moral in character, are well known and highly relevant at present. "I consider the rejection of Christianity to arise from a fault of the heart not of the intellect; a dislike of the contents of Scripture is at the bottom of unbelief."²⁶

In this point at least, Newman was certainly not Socratic. He thought that knowledge is one thing and virtue another, and that mere ignorance is not the ultimate cause why men no longer draw near to Christ.²⁷ A person such as himself, who held in such high esteem the formation and education of the intellect, does not hesitate to affirm: "Quarry the granite rock with razors, or moor the vessel with a thread of silk; then may you hope with such keen and delicate instruments as

²⁵ Cf. W. R. Inge, *Outspoken Essays*, London, 186.

²⁶ Cf. *Letters I*, 219; *Sermons VIII*, 114.

²⁷ Cf. *Sermons VII*, 148.

human knowledge and human reason to contend against those giants, the passion and the pride of man."²⁸

And this emotional and hypersensitive temperament mistrusts a religiosity made up of emotions, and rejects without compromise excitation and sentimentality as ways of conversion or of spiritual progress. This did not prevent him, though, from experiencing profound sentiments and manifesting them when it was necessary. In leaving in 1846 his retreat at Littlemore where shortly before his conversion had taken place, Newman kissed the walls of the building in which he had lived through the last few months. Arriving at Rome in 1856, to solve a serious problem for the Oratory, he chose to walk barefooted as far as S. Peter's, regardless of the surprise which this might arouse in the passers-by. He was a reserved man and at the same time very demonstrative.

I must come to an end, conscious of having passed over silence many aspects of the personality and of the work of this great Convert. Newman was not excessively preoccupied with what we are now accustomed to describe as social reform. But he saw some decisive questions which the Church and Christians would have to solve in the modern world, questions such as the rationality of the act of faith, and the development of the doctrine of the Gospel, and of its language in a changing culture. Newman said: "All men reason, but not all of them can give a reason," and he applied this principle to explain the *credibility of faith*.

He was likewise convinced, and he proved, that the apparent variations of Christian truth through the ages are not corruptions—as Anglicans and Protestants claimed and as our modern Integrists affirm—but harmonious developments of the Gospel, directed by a living Magisterium. He was able in this way to help efficaciously to bring it about that religious experience and history should find a legitimate and pacific place in the theology of the Church. But the examination of these questions must remain for another occasion.

²⁸ *The Idea of a University*, ed. I. T. Ker, Oxford 1976, 111.