A study of the poetry of John Henry Newman

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CHAPTER 1.

NEWMAN'S POEMS IN RELATION TO HIS CHARACTER AND LIFE.

Through all Newman's poems runs the thread of autobiography. The poems reveal very specifically not only the changing moods and varying aspects of the author's mind but also its stable, cardinal principles. A friend of Newman, Father Coleridge, in the first review of the Verses on Various Occasions has pointed out this trait in them. "There is a poetry of literature," he remarks,"and a poetry of action,... not all men who enshrine their ideas in verse are men of inaction.... Poetry, strictly so-called,is to them an accomplishment. Their verse will usually be strong, nervous, full of meaning and close thought rather than uniformly finished and melodious;... it will... not infrequently... have that indescribable charm which is found in all that unmasks the tenderness and shyness of souls that have made themselves chiefly known by strength, boldness, and energy. Thus it often happens that poetry of this clase is not only deeply interesting on its own account but is absolutely essential as a guide to those who would study the characters and the lives of its authors, because it contains some strains and some harmonies without which their full utterance cannot be understood, or their portraits accurately drawn for posterity." 1 So also Newman's words on Froude's Remains may be applied to his own verses; "I am conscious even those who know me will say, What could he mean by putting this in? What is the use of that? What in the world if so and so? How injudicious! But, on the whole, I trust it will
present, as far as it goes, the picture of a mind." Nothing in Newman's life seemed unimportant to him. He took as a text for his personal poem, Messina, 'Homo sum; humani nil a me alienum puto.'

Poetry was for Newman a natural means of self-expression. Father Ryder observed, '"In the region of poetry he certainly adhered to his principle that "egotism is true modesty."' Newman himself wrote to R. H. Hutton: '"If I had my way, I should give myself up to verse-making; it is nearly the only kind of composition which is not a trouble to me."' Emphasis should be given this admission, for Newman was apt to place verse-writing just above idling. Still, a predisposition to verse-writing, kept him from ever completely giving up this kind of composition. In translating the Church Fathers, he selected from the poetry as well as from the prose. And verse seemed apt to him for recording the emotions and crises of his life. A note attached to a letter from Froude runs as follows: "It was when the cholera was imminent, and we parted as if, perhaps, we might not see each other again. With reference to the memory of that parting... I afterwards wrote the stanza,' And when thy eye surveys
With fond adoring gaze
And yearning heart, thy friend,
Love to its grave doth tend.'

Since Newman turned almost instinctively to verse as the most natural means of expression, he wrote poetry early. He recorded in the Autobiographical Memoir that "he attempted original composition in prose and verse from the age of eleven." The Apologia tells of his use of a Latin verse-book. And in a pocket diary, dating from his ninth year, he inserted some verses
on the death of a beggar, "When the rude winter's blast blew keen", and added, "I think I shall burn it." Another interesting record of early verse is brought in with the discussion of the schoolboy periodicals written when he was fourteen. The account reads, "'The Beholder' was all my own writing; it ran through forty numbers and 160 octavo pages closely written. The first number is dated February 22, 1816, but I rather think some of the later numbers were written in 1817, after I had left school. It is far superior in composition to my others; but nothing worth keeping but some verses in No. 23 and No. 24, to the doctrine of which I hold fast now."

Even at Oxford, where he recognized that such work "did him no service in the schools," he wrote verse. Opposite the room in which he spent his first solitary three weeks at College, in June 1817, stood a wall fringed with snapdragon. Newman thus interpreted its thoughts:

Humble I can bear to dwell
Near the pale recluse's cell
And I spread my crimson bloom,
Mingled with the cloister's gloom.

The poem Snapdragon was not written until after his transference to Oriel when the flower had assumed for him a symbolical meaning:

Ah no more a scentless flower,
By approving heaven's high power
Suddenly my leaves exhale
Fragrance of the Syrian gale.
Ah! 'tis timely comfort given
By the answering breath of Heaven.
May it be! then well might I
In college cloister live and die.

These lines are explained by Newman himself in Apologia; "I had for years taken it as the emblem of my own perpetual residence even to death in my University". The poem, therefore, faithfully reflects the progress of his life.

Other early efforts were written at Oxford in conjunction with William Bowden. According to the Autobiographical Memoir, "Newman's first literary attempts in print were made in partnership with Mr. Bowden." The 1821 issue of their joint composition bears the title page: St. Bartholomew's Eve; A Tale of the Sixteenth Century. In Two Cantos. Before 1821 the two cantos seem to have been issued separately. Of this poem only twenty-two lines have been kept in Verses on Various Occasions; these, entitled Solitude, contain no suggestion of the plot. In the brief record of his life to 1833, Newman has noted that he did the theological part of this poem. "The subject," he wrote, "was the sequel of the unfortunate union of a Protestant gentleman with a Catholic lady, ending in the tragical death of both, through the machinations of a cruel fanatical priest, whose inappropriate name was Clement." No doubt the crudity of the story has denied the poem a place in the final edition of the author's verses.

Practically all the poems in Memorials of the Past were written with a feeling that little time should be spared for them. The lines, Snapdragon, were written when Newman was a guest at the home of Samuel Richards. Mrs. Richards had an album in which
she wished all her friends to write verses on flowers. Newman wrote thus playfully of his attempt: "What if I have begun some lines on a flower? I am not obliged to do it. What if I have not? Who can make me?..." These early poems are frequently trite and conventional.

With a gradual disappearance of this feeling, the verses gain greatly in power and in expression. Just before the Oxford Movement, Newman gave himself whole-heartedly to the congenial task of poetic composition. But even then he held "that the one thing called for was to bring out an idea, the harsher the better, like weaving sack-cloth...." Later, he went back and retouched these poems, for he felt that, when he wrote them, he had not had practice enough to have words and metres at his command.

A close observation of the poems, which were written at intervals throughout Newman's career, helps one to apprehend more fully the life of the poet. On the back of the title page of the volume containing verses written prior to the Mediterranean trip, and entitled Memorials of the Past, Newman wrote:

Strains, framed in youth, in our life's history
Stand as Antiquities; and so we love them.
Each has its legend, and bespeaks its times.

Canon Scott Holland, describing a visit paid to Newman in 1877, declared, "His soul was in his voice as a bird is in its song. It was his spiritual expression. And listening to these soft, swift, subtle tones, 'the earth we pace appeared to be an unsubstantial fairy place,' meet home for the mystery of that lyrical cry."

Such remarks might well be applied to Newman's metrical writings.
As Thureau-Dangin has pointed out: "toutes ses grandes émotions, les sentiments qui remplissent son âme s' épanchent en poésie." Better than elsewhere, in the poetical writings are found "his courses of thought and his state of mind." Writing to F. Rogers in 1832, Newman observed: "I can hardly tell you what I would say about the verses I put into your hands. It was their private nature which constituted the liberty, for why should I tell you of things which do not pertain to you?.... I sometimes feel quite ashamed for having given you the book...," He recognized, no doubt, his friend's power to see the writer in the poems. In 1879, Newman protested against the inquiry as to the exact meaning of the last two lines of *Lead, Kindly Light...* I am not bound to remember my own meaning, whatever it was, at the end of almost fifty years," he wrote his correspondent; for "...it would be quite a tyranny if, in an art which is the expression, not of truth, but of imagination and sentiment, one were obliged to be ready for examination on the transient states of mind which come upon when homesick or seasick, or in any other way sensitive or excited...." So there is truth in J. C. Shairp's comment on Newman's writings: "There are those (passages) which yield momentary glimpses of a very tender heart that has a burden of its own, unrevealed to man. Nothing could be more alien to Dr. Newman's whole nature than to withdraw the veil... It is but a mere indirect hint he gives...a few indirect words, dropped as it were unawares, which many might read without notice, but which, rightly understood, seems breathed from some very inward experience ."

The title of the volume, published in the beginning of 1868, namely, *Verses on Various Occasions*, would indicate Newman's
recognition in later life that the poems are connected with events in his career. In 1853 he had already published anonymously Verses on Religious Subjects, and in 1860, Verses for Penitents. The former contained the dedication, "Familiaribus suis nugarum seriarum scriptor." About thirty pieces were omitted in the finally approved collection of 1868.

Some of the most firmly fixed of Newman's ideas are found in the early verses. It has been noticed that he remarked concerning the schoolboy periodical, The Beholder, that it contained "nothing worth keeping but some verses in No. 23 and No. 24 to the doctrine of which I hold fast now." After reading in the spring of 1816 from Dr. Watts, Remnants of Time, the statement that, "there is nothing in their (Saints') figures or countenance to distinguish them," he wrote in, The Hidden Ones, dated September 1829:

Hid are the Saints of God,
Uncertified by high angelic sign.

In Transfiguration he shaped the same idea. Likewise of Thomas Ashton Scott, he confessed, "For years I used almost as proverbs what I considered to be the scope and issue of his doctrine, 'Holiness rather than peace.'" Nowhere in his works does this idea persist more strongly than in the poems. In Jeremiah he cries out:

Woe's me! the peaceful prophet cried
Spare me this troubled life;
then he draws the lesson;

What sin is ours to whom Heaven's rest
Is pledged to heal earth's woe?
The same thing appears on Warfare, St. Paul at Melita, and Reverence. Looking back late in life on his career, Newman added this comment on a letter to Froude, "It is remarkable to find myself making the very complaints, then, thirty years ago, which are ever rising in my mind now."

Newman himself discovered this harmony between his poems and his prose. "In the Lyra Apostolica, I have said that before learning to love, we must 'learn to hate'. In one of my first sermons I said, 'I do not shrink from uttering my first conviction that it would be a gain to the country were it vastly more superstitious, more bigoted, more gloomy, more fierce in its religion than at present it shows itself to be." As a counterpart of this stands the poem, Zeal and Love:

And would'st thou reach, rash scholar mine,
Love's high unruffled state?
Awake! thy easy dreams resign,
First learn thee how to hate.

Hatred of sin and Zeal, and Fear,
Lead up the Holy Hill;
Track them, till Charity appear
A self-denial still.

This is only one instance of correspondence between the poems and Newman's settled convictions as expressed in other writings.

The ingrained idea that virginity is for certain persons commendable underlies the Letters on the Church of the Fathers, which in 1833 and the years following, appeared in the British Magazine, and in 1840, were collected under the title, Church of the Fathers. In this work Newman introduces as "a subject to
which I have already invited the reader's attention and shall again" the excerpt,

As viewing sin, even in its painted trace
So deem'd I safe a strict virginity.
And hence our amallest choir of holiest souls
Are followers of the unfleshly seraphim
And Him who 'mid them reigns in lonely light.

Furthermore, in the final edition of the poems appears one of several excerpts from Gregory Nazianzen on the superiority of the single over the married life. It bears the title *The Married and the Single*. The fact that Newman retained this fragment in spite of inequalities of style may have arisen from his own attraction to that "higher state". It was well said of him, "The preacher was known to hold, though he did not obtrude them, strong views on the superiority of the single over the married life." And Dean Church has observed in his *Oxford Movement*, "the idea of celibacy in those whom it affected at Oxford was in the highest degree a religious and a romantic one. The hold which it had on the leader of the movement made itself felt, though little was directly said."

A new significance is thus given to the verse translated from Gregory. The acquisition of this idea as part of Newman's own religious experience is given in the *Apologia*. Likewise, Charles Reding in *Loss and Gain* declared that he felt called to a life of celibacy: "'It's no new notion taken up,'...'you will smile, but I had it when I was a boy at school, and I have ever since fancied that I should never marry.... If I did I should dread Thalaba's punishment."
The same constancy of feeling is found in his words on earthly honor. Concerning the church of the early centuries, he observed, "The self-conquest of her Ascetics... both exalted and abashed me." Like the hero of his fiction Newman "yearned for a religion which practised asceticism and penance." This leaning is evident in the early poem, *A Thanksgiving*:

I would not miss one sigh or tear,  
Heart-pang or throbbing brow;  
Sweet was the chastisement severe,  
And sweet its memory now.

He called such experiences,  
Faint shadows of the spear-pierced side,  
And thorn-encompassed head.

In *Semita Justorum* the poet maintained from his own experience that sorrow is the only seed for holiness. This same faith in renunciation is found again in *Humiliation*, composed in solitude at the Lazaret, Malta. It reads;

I have been honour'd and obeyed,  
I have met scorn and slight;  
And my heart loves earth's sober shade,  
More than her laughing light.

For what is rule but a sad weight  
Of duty and a snare?  
What meanness, but with happier fate  
The Saviour's Cross to share?
This is my hid choice, if not from heaven,
Moves on the heavenward line;
Cleanse it, good Lord, from earthly leaven
And make it simply Thine.

Throughout life this attitude prevailed with Newman.

Again in both the prose and poetry, Newman reverted to his repugnance toward the doctrine of hell. The Wrath to Come thus puts it:

When first God stir'd me, and the Church's word
Came as a theme of reverent search and fear,
It little costs to own the lustre clear
Of truths she taught,...

Yet one there was that wore a mien austere,
And I did doubt, and startled, ask'd to hear
Whose mouth had force to edge so sharp a sword...
Christ on Himself, considerate Master, took
The utterance of that doctrine's fearful sound....

Newman fully accepted the doctrine "as delivered by Our Lord Himself; yet he "tried in various ways to make that truth less terrible to the imagination." Charles Reding in Loss and Gain "had some difficulty in receiving the doctrines of eternal punishment; it seemed to him the hardest doctrine of Revelation. Then he said to himself: 'But what is faith in its very action but an acceptance of the word of God when reason seems to oppose it? How is it faith at all if there is nothing to try it?" Such reflections give additional force to Newman's exhortation,
Friend, think well, to hell or heaven
A serious heart is due.

And similarly in Callista, Caecilius urged the heroine before accepting the Christian faith "to reckon the charges," whereupon Callista replied, "I have reckoned, heaven and hell: I prefer heaven." Again, she continued, "He has given me the firm purpose to gain heaven to escape hell and He will give me too the power." Because of Newman's own difficulty on the matter, such emphatic words are significant.

In the light of this correspondence of idea between verse and prose, it is interesting to trace Newman's growing yet consistent ideas on the separation of friends by death or even by the circumstances of life. Of an extremely sensitive and affectionate nature, he felt such sorrow most trying. Oft recurring thoughts on the subject are reflected in his writings. At Oxford, October 20, 1829, he is grateful for

Blessings of friends, which to my door
Unask'd, unhop'd have come.

And looking back in 1865 he reflected, "They have come, they have gone; they have came to my great joy, they went to my great grief."

Biblical instances of separation occurred to him. They afforded him examples of the religious advantage of such trials. David and Jonathan closes with the stanza,

Ah, had he lived, before thy throne to stand,
Thy spirit keen and high
Sure it had snapped in twain love's slender band,
So dear in memory;
Paul, of his comrade reft, the warning gives:-

He lives to us who dies, he is but lost who lives.

When he was about to leave the Anglican communion, he preached touchingly The Parting of Friends, in which he again recalled David and Jonathan, "A hard destiny, except that the All-merciful so willed it, that such companions might not walk in the house of God as friends!"

Another such reference is made in Loss and Gain. Mary has been telling Charles of the stability of their love, whereupon he answers, "Yes Mary, it is most true." Then he added, "all I meant was that it seems presumptuous to say so. David and Jonathan were parted; St. Paul and St. Barnabas." Again the idea is the theme of the poem entitled James and John. It reads in part:

Brothers in heart, they hope to gain
An undivided joy;
That man may one with man remain,
As boy was one with boy.

Christ heard; and will'd that James should fall,
First prey of Satan's rage;
John linger out his fellows all,
And die in bloodless age.

Again, in a sermon he speaks pensively of John's having outlived all his friends. "He was as a man," he says, "moving his goods into a far country, who at intervals and by portions sends them before him, till his present abode is well-nigh unfurnished."

The separation of Mary from Jesus was vivid in his mind, "O Mary," he prays, "we are devout to thy seven woes—but not this, though
not one of those seven, one of the greatest? How did'st thou bear
that first separation from Him?"

Newman's mind was hard to satisfy on the subject. On the anniversary of his sister's death, he reverted again to the matter in Epiphany-Eve.

Thinkest of us, dearest ever?
Ah! so be it nought can sever
Spirit and life, the past and the present.

In Waiting for the Morning, composed at Oxford in 1835, his words were hesitant,

We may not stir the heaven of their repose,
a thought which he takes from the text of Venerable Bede: "Quoddam quasi pratum, in quo animae nihil patiebantur, sed manebant, nondum idoneae Visioni Beatae." In June 1833 he had rather impatiently put the question:

Do not their souls who 'neath the Altar wait
Until their second birth,
The gift of patience need, as separate
From their first friends of earth?

And at the death of Froude in 1836, the perplexity came forward anew; for to this poem, first called Separation and at this time changed to Separation of Friends, he added the lines:

Dearest, he longs to speak as I do know,
And yet we both refrain:
It were not good: a little doubt below,
And all will soon be plain.

The Lapse of Time preached in January 1832, observed that the dead
"do not even satisfy our wish to know that they sorrow for us as we for them." Only gradually, as he embraced the principles of penance and mortification, could he reconcile himself to separation.

Another persistent trait in Newman's character was a deep-rooted affection for home. On his return from Rome in 1879, the newly appointed cardinal broke forth in the following expression of his feeling: "To come home again! In that word 'home' how much is included. I know well that there is a more heroic life than a home life.... But still that is given to few. The home life—the idea of home—is consecrated to us by our patron and founder, St. Philip, for he made the idea of home the very essence of his religion and institute."

In a penitential spirit Newman wrote at Rome in 1833 of the possibility of being deprived of, "Isaac's pure blessing and a verdant home." The papers contributed to the British Magazine during this period were entitled, Home-Thoughts Abroad.

When he visited Cambridge, his best praise of the place was, "Surely, there is a genius loci here as in my own dear home...."

In a letter of 1866, he wrote concerning his very early home at Grey's Court, Ham, "I dreamed about it... as if it were paradise; it would be here where the angel faces appeared 'loved long since but lost awhile.'" So keenly did he visualize home that off Cape Trafalgar, he reflected,

My home is now a thousand miles away; Yet in my thoughts its very image fair Rises as keen as I still lingered there, And turning me could all I loved survey.

Again, at the beginning of the trip he wrote:
Ere yet I left home's youthful shrine,
My heart and hopes were stored
When first I caught the rays divine,
And drank the Eternal Word.

All these references to home bring out plainly one striking aspect of Newman's mental life.

During the voyage in the Mediterranean, Newman, as his poems show, was deeply affected both by places and scenery. His letters bear the same revelation. Still, the poet's thoughts were concerned chiefly with his own religious life and with the prospects of the Church.

The scenery from Palermo to Aderno, he likened to the Garden of Eden. And of Taormini, he wrote, "I never saw anything more enchanting than this spot... a deep valley, brawling streams, beautiful trees, the sea (heard) in the distance.... It was worth coming all the way, to endure sadness, loneliness, weariness to see it." This country inspired the verses beginning:

Say, hast thou track'd a traveller's round.
Yet, he felt chiefly the religious impulse of these scenes;

Store them in heart! thou shalt not faint
'Mid coming pains and fears,
As the third heaven once nerved a saint
For fourteen trial years.

Again, considering Sicily to be "the most interesting profane country after Egypt," he asked:
Why, wedded to the Lord, still yearns my heart
Toward these scenes of ancient heathen fame?
The danger of resting in such delight sobered him. It seemed
fitter to praise Melchizedek and those whom

---The rich earth, garb'd in her daintest dress
Of light and joy, doth but the more oppress
Till, sick at heart, beyond the veil they fly;
Seeking His Presence who alone can bless.

As Newman sailed from Corfu down the coast of Greece, the
scenery naturally aroused and vivified his interest in classical
studies. "I had Homer's Odyssey, Virgil and Thucydides with me,
and seemed transported back to their time, for everything looks
now just as it did then." His poem in sight of Greece off Zante
said nothing, however, of antiquity and simply praised the Fathers
of the Greek Church. When he mused on the combatants in Thucydides,
it was to ask the question,

But is their being's history spent and run
Whose spirits live in awful singleness
Each in its self-formed sphere of light or gloom?

The sight of Ithaca stirred him in the same way; "not from classical
associations, but the thought that was before me was the reality of
what had been the earliest vision of my childhood. Ulysses and
Argus which I had known by heart, occupied the very isle I saw."
His feelings seemed comparable to those of Moses when he gazed on
the promised land; for a religious sadness and a longing regret
came over him.
Blest scene! Thrice welcome after toil
If no deceit I view;
O might my lips but press the soil,
And prove the vision true.

Less plainly connected with actual experience were the companion pieces beginning respectively, "When mirth is full and free", and "When heaven sends sorrow." These were written in Sicily after visits to Egesta and Calatafimi. The ruin of the Temple at Egesta was "A most exquisite treat". Newman wrote that the "Contrast between the wildness and richness of the country... the utter desolation and loneliness of the spot itself, and the miserable state of the population, and... little sufferings in the way of indescribable filth and annoyance, combined to stamp quite a picture on the memory." Yet the reflection that the scene prompted in his poem was purely religious,

When the rich town, that long
Has lain its huts among
Uprears its pageant vast
And vaunts it shall not last.

At Rome, Newman was especially averse to "Classical rapture!". Doubtless, the state of his own church made him especially despair of conditions at Rome. His approach to the city increased his gloomy mood. He came from Naples through towns full of ruin up to the Pontine Marshes, where he mused sadly on his first sight of Rome. The ideas that filled his mind were expressed in a poem which begins,
For sadder musing on the traveller falls
At sight of thee, O Rome!
Than when he views the rough sea-beaten walls
Of Greece, thought's early home.

The question arose
How shall I name thee, Light of the West,
Or heinous error-seat?

Try hard as he might, he could not push aside the thought that the spirit of old Rome, an evil "genius loci" still ruled there. He thought the Roman Catholic Church "on a level with Babylon; in fact, it was worse, for, unlike that city, it had not yet expiated the curse." So he expressed thus his overwhelming idea of the future doom of Rome:

O Mother erst, close tracing Jesus' feet;
Do not thy titles glow
In those stern judgment fires, which shall complete
Earth's strife with Heaven, and ope the eternal woe?

Sicily aroused similar distressing reflections. The religious rites there performed among the poorer classes drew forth the lines:

O Lord and Christ, Thy Children of the South
So shudder when they see
The two-edged sword sharp-issuing from Thy mouth
As to fall back from Thee,
And cling to charms of man and heathen rite
To aid them against Thee, Thou fount of love and light.

The religious life of the people seemed to him "the perversion of all the best, the holiest, the most exalted feelings of human nature."
He saw nothing but what was external; of the hidden life of Catholics he knew nothing. He summed up thus in the Apologia the impression made by this experience: "My general feeling was, 'All, save the spirit of man, is divine.'"

Still, in a number of the poems he expressed a mixed feeling toward the Catholicism of Italy and Sicily. It both repulsed him and allured him. At Frascati, a suburb of Rome, he prayed,

O Holy Lord, who with thy Children Three
Did'st walk the piercing flame,
Help, in those trial-hours, which I dare not name.
I dare not name.

The temptation that he feared may have been an instinctive leaning toward Rome. Other poems, also, reflect this reasoned distrust of Rome together with an affectionate longing for Rome." the mother of English Christianity." In The Cruel Church, he exclaimed,

O Mother Church of Rome! why has thy heart Beat so untruly towards thy northern child?

Again, he insists

Long days we writhed, who would not be beguiled.

And he speaks of being "torn from faith's ancient home." In the weary days at Palermo waiting to set sail for England, he gained actual comfort in visiting the Catholic Churches of the place. He was in a mood then for looking on the Church of Rome as "the good Samaritan;" in the last poem written during these days of convalescence, he thus speaks of the churches of Palermo:
I cannot walk the city's sultry streets
But the wide porch invites to still retreats
When passion's thirst is calm'd and care's unthankful gloom.

From Naples to Rome and from Rome to Sicily, where he suffered from a dangerous fever, his spirits were lowered by continued vexations.

Before the days of convalescence were over, news of the success of the Liberal Movement brought new anxieties. "The Bill for the Suppression of the Irish Sees was in progress and filled my mind."

The purpose for which he was composing Lyrae of course then became more and more insistent. "I was writing verse the whole time of my passage", he says in the Apologia. These poems are occupied, first of all, with the distress to himself which religious conditions and his own temperament had brought upon him. During the week in which he was becalmed in the Straits of Bonifacio, he wrote as many as three poems in a single day. The first of these was the well known hymn, "Lead, Kindly Light." Next came a poem on the state of the Anglican Church, almost as fierce in mood as earlier poems inspired by fears of the Roman Catholic religion. It begins,

Oh, Rail not at our kindred in the North,
Albeit Samaria finds her likewise there.

From the verses, one can see that Newman's mind was not for a minute free from care. The delay accentuated his impatience to reach home. In consequence, he wrote such verses as, Desolation, Desolation, Desolation, Vexation, and The Church in Prayer. The first
named suggests the circumstances under which it was written:

Or a voyage when calms prevail,
And prison: thee upon the sea,
He walks the wave, He wings the sail
The shore is gained, and thou art free.

In the second, also, a personal note is struck. Apropos of the

text "I, Paul, the prisoner of the Lord," he questions that
saint's impatience, and makes the application,

Oh, might we know! for sore we feel
The languor of delay.

The third is in a similar strain:

May not He pitying view, and send relief
When foes or friends perplex, and peevish thoughts prevail.

And the fourth poem comments further on the perplexity:

Then reckon not when perils lour,
The time of prayer mis-spent;
Nor meanest chance, nor place, nor hour,
Without its heavenward bent.

Such words are natural.

Furthermore, his thoughts on the disestablishment of the
church were more vehement than they had ever been before. At

Palermo he thus closed External Religion:

Where shall this cease? Must crosiers fall,
Shrines suffer touch profane,
Till, cast without His vineyard wall,
The Heaven-sent Heir is slain?
While his mind ran on such thoughts, he wrote a number of poems against liberalism, by which he understood the anti-dogmatic principle. Accordingly, he expressed this view of his countrymen:

Each has his private thought, selects his school,
Conceals his creed, and lives in closest tie
Of fellowship with those who count it blasphemy.

And, still meditating on the same subject, he wrote:

Now is the Autumn of the Tree of Life,
Its leaves are shed upon the unthankful earth
Which lets them whirl, a prey to the wind's strife
Heartless to store them for the months of dearth.
Men close the door, and dress the cheerful hearth
Self-trusting still; and in his comely gear
Of precept and of rite, a household Baal rear.

When he was forced to stop twenty-four hours in Paris, he kept indoors because, to him, France was a dreadful manifestation of liberalism. He looked upon the revolution which ended with the abdication of Charles X as the triumph of irreligion. Off the coast of France he wrote:

I dare not think of thee as what thou art
Lest thoughts too deep for man should trouble me.

Bound up with his dispirited and baffled attitude toward conditions which dogmatic religion faced, was the subconscious feeling that something of service was in store for him in England. On board the Hermes, he wrote the lines:
Thy holy Paul, with soul of flame,
Rose on Mars' hill, a soldier lone,
Shall I thus speak the atoning Name,
Though with a heart of stone?

This feeling which had been insistent throughout the trip became on the homeward voyage a strong impelling force. He mused on the confusion that John the Baptist experienced in being "bid pour repentance on the Sinless Brow," and made the application:

And so on us at whiles it falls to claim
Powers that we dread, or dare some forward part.

Apparently, he looked on Jonah in much the same way as Gregory Nazianzen had done in explaining his flight to Pontus before the people who had compelled him to assume the office of priesthood. Despondent at the sight of Israel's falling away, and fearful lest his reputation as a prophet should be lost, Jonah "retired and delayed in fulfilling the Lord's command". Hence, relative to his Biblical character, Newman reflected:

What!—pride and sloth! man's worst foes!

More encouraging was Gregory's own character; for this Saint, although he did not desire any church offices, nevertheless accepted the bishopric of Constantinople with the hope of subduing further the Arian heresy rife in that city. So, also, Newman was determined to make active opposition against the Liberal party in England. What he said of himself in 1865, was true of his temperament in 1833; "like St. Gregory Nazianzen, I like going on my own way, and having my time my own, living without pomp or state or pressing engagements." The position of his mind was defined in the following lines from St. Gregory Nazianzen:
So works the All-wise! our services dividing
Not as we ask:
For the world's profit, by our gifts deciding
Our duty-task.

Only rarely on the journey homeward were his thoughts removed from conditions in the Church. Once, reverting to his illness in Sicily, he reflected in verse on the terror of dying alone. Again, he wrote lines on "the gift of tongues." And he began the poem Separation of Friends, which he finished after Froude's death.

When he was once at Oxford, verse-writing was soon superseded by the writing of tracts, which, in the words of Dean Church, were a "clear, brief, stern appeals to conscience and reason, sparing in words, utterly without rhetoric, intense in purpose." No more original poetic compositions were written at this time except two late Lyrae, one beginning, "While Moses on the Mountain lay," and the other, "They are at rest." But the prose works of the Movement offered a place for occasional verse-translations. Several from Gregory Nazianzen appeared in The Church of the Fathers. Tract 75 on the Roman Breviary contained Newman's translation of a number of hymns for the canonical hours.

Verse writing, therefore, was never entirely given up by Newman. Between 1836 and 1838, he added greatly to the number of hymns he translated from the Roman Breviary. At Littlemore he translated one hymn from the Parisian Breviary. There also he translated from Bede's Metrical History of St. Cuthbert.

When such actual need as inspired Lyra Apostolica no longer impelled him to verse, his poetical composition became more occasional. He wrote naturally on such devotional subjects as
Mary, St. Philip, St. Michael, the Guardian Angel, and Purgatory. For Callista, he translated another ancient hymn. Ambrose St. John, a fellow-Oratorian, prompted him to write the lines: "Help, Lord, the souls which thou hast made." Again, he wrote in verse to thank Edward Caswall for his volume of poems.

Sometimes, these verses reflect strongly Newman's mood or emphasise again certain traits of his character. Word in The Life has commented on two occasions. The following lines devoted to St. Philip make reference to Newman's extreme sensitiveness:

I'm ashamed of myself, of my tears and my tongue,  
So easily fretted, so often unstrung,  
Mad at trifles, to which a chance moment gives birth,  
Complaining of heaven and complaining of earth.

In another, The Two Worlds, he expressed his old creed of renunciation. So, in general, Newman continued throughout life to turn to verse-writing for the expression of his emotional life.

His finest and last poem, The Dream of Gerontius, expressed the culmination of his thoughts on death, many of which were ever insistently present in his mind. When he wrote, he had no intention of offering the poem for publication, but only of relieving his own mind by following out an inspiration which had come to him at the death bed of a friend. He had often preached on the "evening of life". The text of his first sermon was, "Man goeth forth to his work and to his labor until the evening." Shortly before he left the Anglican communion he closed a sermon with the thought; "May He support us all the day long, till the shades lengthen, and the evening comes, and the busy world is hushed, and
the fever of life is over, and our work is all done. Then may he give us a safe lodging, a holy rest, and peace at the last."72
In 1864, when to all around him he seemed in good health, his vivid imagination led him to write "in direct view of death as in prospect."73 Hence, when he wrote *The Dream*, he simply poured out his own heart and mind, steeped as they were in the imagery with which the Catholic faith supplied him.
CHAPTER II

NEWMAN'S POEMS IN RELATION TO THE SERMONS.

Since Newman's poems were the direct outgrowth of his temperament and his experiences in life, they bear a marked resemblance, in many respects, to his writings in prose, especially the sermons. The fundamental thought of one is not different from that of the other. Hence in the Apologia he could draw freely from both in tracing the courses of his thoughts. For illustrative material in Sermon Notes, likewise, he used the poem Taormini. Such references, early and late, reveal the homogeneous nature of Newman's writing.

The sermons may seem less directly autobiographical than the verses. Newman, however, insisted that a sermon may reflect the writer's frame of mind. Apparently, Arnold and other opponents had accused him of doing just this, or, as he says, "of identifying high excellence with certain peculiarities of my own,—i.e. preaching myself." But the result of Newman's preaching self is that many of his favorite ideas are handled similarly in poetry and prose.

One such correspondence is found between certain thoughts in the sermon, Ventures of Faith, and a poem alluded to in Newman's Journal. The entry in the latter for December 15, 1859 quotes certain verses representative of his attitude thirty years earlier. "Deny me wealth; far, far remove the lure of power and name; Hope thrives in straits, in weakness Love,—and Faith in this world's shame." Then more specifically the journal recorded, "I prayed earnestly that I might not rise to any ecclesiastical dignity.
When I was going up for my B. A. examination, I prayed fervently and again and again that I might not gain honours, if they would do me spiritual harm, -- I prayed absolutely against rising in the Church. Years later, when the sermon was preached, Newman was still inclined to praise the man, "who, being in prospect of station earnestly prays that he may never have it; ... he too," the preacher declared, "risks somewhat and is accepted."

Again, the sermon, *Rememberance of Past Mercies*, is particularly indicative of the writer's temperament. The preacher thought of Jacob as "an actual specimen of a habit of thankfulness occupied in the remembrance of God's mercies." Such also was Newman; for, to use the words of the sermon, his own "distinguishing grace... was a habit of affectionate musing upon God's providence toward him in times past, and of overflowing thankfulness for them." So strong was this feeling with Newman that in the verses, *The Two Worlds*, dated 1862, he named what seemed to him the greatest of all renunciations, "the tender memories of the past, the hopes of coming years." Three years before he wrote, "I live more and more in the past and in hopes that the past may revive in the future." And all along the years he expressed in poetry this attitude. On his eighteenth birthday, for example, he wrote:

It is my Birthday;--and I fain would try,
Albeit in rude, in heartfelt strains to praise
My God, for he hath shielded wondrously
From harm and envious error all my ways....

About ten years later, in 1829, he spoke gratefully of every blessing:
Lord, in this dust Thy sovereign voice
First quickened love divine;
I am all Thine—Thy care and choice,
My very praise is Thine.

And in 1863 he insisted, "I am more sure that God gave me great opportunities of loving Him... than that St. Ignatius was a true Martyr, or that St. Augustine is a Doctor of the Church." And even during the anxiety of the long journey home just before the beginning of the Oxford Movement, he wrote,

O, say not thou art left of God,
Because his tokens in the sky
Thou canst not read....

and more personally,

So long Thy power hath blessed me, sure it still
Will lead me on.

Finally, his journal for 1863 recorded the tenderness with which he looked back on the years at Oxford and Littlemore and his realization of the great change in his condition: "It began when I set my face toward Rome; and since I made the great sacrifice, to which God called me, He has rewarded me in a thousand ways,- O how many! but he has marked my course with almost unintermittent mortification." Like Jacob, then, as he described him, Newman met "great vicissitudes" and looked with "adoring love and tenderness of heart" back on the past.

Furthermore, it may be said that Newman read into Jacob's character traits of his own. In the sermon he ascribed to Jacob a "gentle, tender, affectionate, timid mind—easily frightened, easily agitated, loving God so much that he feared to lose Him". "Such
men," he explained, "are easily downcast...; they soon despond, they shrink from the world, for they feel its rudeness...." These same traits of character are seemingly attributed to himself in the poem, Sensitiveness:

Time was, I shrank from what was right
From fear of what was wrong;
I would not brave the sacred fight,
Because the foe was strong.

But now I cast that finer sense
And sorer shame aside;
Such dread of sin was indolence,
Such aim at Heaven was pride.

So, when my Saviour calls, I rise,
And calmly do my best;
Leaving to Him, with silent eyes
Of hope and fear the rest.

I step, I mount where He has led;
Men count my haltings o'er;
I know them, yet though self I dread,
I love His precept more.

Another such focal point in Newman's thought is found in the poem, The Scars of Sin. The very title is significant in conjunction with the titles of such sermons as Secret Faults and Moral Consequences of Single Sins, as also with the idea expressed in the pulpit in 1835, that could we see the souls of men we should find only here and there witnesses of Christ "and they too, seem
all over with the scars of sin".

The poem reads:

My smile is bright, my glance is free,
My voice is calm and clear;
Dear friend, I seem a type to thee
Of holy love and fear.

But I am scann'd by eyes unseen,
And these no saint surround;
They mete what is by what has been,
And joy the lost is found.

Erst my good angel shrank to see
My thoughts and ways of ill;
And now he scarce dare gaze on me,
Scar-seam'd and crippled still.

Newman here thinks of unrevealed sins. Already in 1816 he had confessed, "I have hidden faults," and the consciousness of such faults deemed to haunt him. It is not enough that men see only our good; he said in the sermon, Secret Faults, as in these verses above, "Should all the world speak well of us, and good men hail us as brothers, after all there is a Judge who trieth the heart and the reins. He knows our real state...." Nor did he think that man could estimate safely the effect of apparently slight transgressions; for, in the words of the second sermon that recall the verses just quoted, "Who can pretend to say what the effect of it is in God's sight? What do the Angels think of it? What does our own guardian Angel, if one be vouchsafed us, who has
watched us, and been intimate with us from our youth up; who joyed to see how we once grew together with God's grace, but who now is in fear for us?"

Another idea bound up with Newman's personality is that only in retrospect are providences or spiritual persons recognized for what they really are. "And though we seldom have the means of knowing at the time who are God's own Saints, yet after all is over we have; and then looking back on what is past, we may ask ourselves what power they had over us, whether they attracted us, influenced us, humbled us, whether they made our hearts burn within us." This idea, that saints have a secret power to attract others in so far as they are like-minded, is the theme of Transfiguration:

I saw thee once and naught discern'd
For stranger to admire;
A serious aspect, but it burn'd
With no unearthly fire.

Again, I saw, and I confess'd
Thy speech was rare and high;
And yet it vexed my burden'd breast,
And scared, I knew not why.

I saw once more, and awe-struck gazed
On face, and, form and air;
God's living glory round thee blazed-
A Saint—a Saint was there!

The surprise here expressed is in accordance with the teaching of another sermon: "And this is true... of all providences that
happen to us; that though they seemed without meaning at the time, elicited no strong feeling, or were even painful and distasteful, yet if we come to them and submit to them in faith, they are afterwards transfigured. Another aspect of his idea of saints in this world is that, although some attract all who have a spark of living faith, there are others who look just like those who have no great sense of religion. Such themes are taken up in the poem, The Saint and the Hero, and Beyond the Veil. In the latter Newman prays:

Lord, grant me this abiding grace,
Thy Word and sons to know,
To pierce Thy veil on Moses’ face
Although his speech be slow.

Other instances are easily available to show this perfect harmony between the poems and the sermons. Four poems on zeal embody the idea of a sermon that zeal in itself is an imperfect virtue and must be united with love, purity, meekness, and patience.

His thoughts on the workings of grace are reflected in much the same way both in prose and verse. To one of his audiences he admitted, "it is doubtless a great mystery why this man receives the truth and practises it, and that man does not." An earlier poem mentions the same difficulty:

Or who can tell
Why pardon’s seal stands sure on David’s brow
Why Saul and Demas fell?

By no means, however, did Newman forget individual responsibility independent of circumstances. "Every being... is his own centre and all things about him are but shades... he must live with himself forever." So he mused on the inhabitants of ancient
Corcyra, living,

Each in its self-form'd sphere of light or gloom.

And turning into verse the early words of the sermon just quoted, he wrote,

Each mind its own center, and it draws
Home to itself, and moulds in its thought's span
All outward things.

Experience in preaching, therefore, gave Newman material for the verses. Old Testament types of Christ were seized upon. Joseph was one. Moses, Jonah, and others were handled much as they were in the pulpit. "The history of Moses", Newman observed in a sermon, "supplies us with an instance of a proud and rash spirit, tamed down to an extreme gentleness of deportment. In the greatness of the change wrought in him, when from a fierce, though honest, avenger of his brethren, he became the meekest man on the earth, he evidences the power of faith, the influences of the Spirit on the heart." The same interpretation of Moses' character is found in verses:

Moses, the patriot fierce, became
The meekest man on earth
To show us how love's quick'ning flame
Can give our souls new birth.

Preaching against a disposition worse than the proud character of Moses, Newman describes the temperament which suffers from a tendency to sloth and cowardice. "These evil dispositions," he pointed out, "cling about a man, and weigh him down. They are minute chains, binding him on every side to the earth, so that he cannot even turn himself or make an effort to rise." In like
manner the poem Jonah pictures the 'tranquil seer' at his ease "numbering the creepers and the gourds of his meditative bower" when

The sudden voice was heard at length
Lift thou the prophet's rod!
But sloth hath sapp'd the prophet's strength.

Newman was fond also of teaching his hearers to guard against a religion of mere sentiment. "One secret act of self-denial, one sacrifice of inclination to duty, is worth all the mere good thoughts, warm feelings, passionate prayers, in which idle people indulge themselves." This lesson reads in Flowers without Fruit:

But he who lets his feelings run
In soft luxurious flow,
Shrinks when hard service must be done
And faints at every woe.

Faith's meanest deed more favour bears,
Where hearts and wills are weigh'd,
Than brightest transports, choicest prayers,
Which bloom their hour and fade.

The same idea is brought forward as Newman censured those who confound the acknowledgment of guilt for true repentance. Likewise to the person who merely expresses regret that man's will should swerve from the divine commands, he gives the warning,
Beware! such words may once be said,
Where shame and fear unite;
But, spoken twice, they mark instead
A sin against the light.

The idea, also, that truth wins the few and conquers through them, Newman impressed on those who listened to his sermons. It so dominated his own life that one naturally expects to find its expression of frequent occurrence. The Watchman ends with the lines:

The chosen are few, few the deeds well done,
For scantness is still Heaven's might.

In a sermon, he reasons that the witnesses of the resurrection were few in number because they were on the side of truth. The poem, The Course of Truth, having given the same interpretation of the resurrection, makes the usual application of his favorite thought:

Still is the might of Truth, as it has been:
Lodged in the few, obey'd and yet unseen.

Frequently, then, the sermons and the poems arise from the same thoughts. As such they furnish comment, one on the other. This fact is observable in the case of the sermon preached at the opening of the London Oratory in 1849, and the allegorical poem, The Pilgrim Queen, written in the same year, on the indifference to religion in England. The poem begins in a mood of strangeness, but ends in the assurance,
I am coming to rescue
my home and my reign
And Peter and Philip
are close in my train.
The sermon, giving the same sober picture of England's material
prosperity and her sad neglect of religion, goes on to observe in
consequence: "It is ... a strange time, a strange place, for
beginning our work. A strange place for Saints and Angels to
pitch their tabernacles in, this metropolis; strange...I will not
say for thee, my Mother Mary, to be found in...not strange to thee,
but strange enough to him, my own Saint and Master, Philip Neri."
Neither as a poet nor as a preacher could Newman forget the pro­
spects of the mission work in England. A second instance relates
to Mary. Considering May "the youth of the year", as he says in
Sermon Notes for May 1851, he writes in the simple poems, The
Month of May and The Queen of the Seasons,

O Mother maid, be thou our aid
Now in the opening year;

and again,

And we give to thee May,
not because it is best,
But because it comes first
and is pledge of the rest.

More important, possibly, are the sermon notes, On the Priesthood
of Christ, as throwing light on the obscure little poem,
Persecution. Its first stanzas read:
Say, who is he in deserts seen,
Or at the twilight hour?
Of garb austere, and dauntless mien
Measured in speech, in purpose keen,
Calm as in Heaven he had been
Yet blithe when perils lower?

My Holy Mother made reply,
"Dear child, it is my Priest."
The world has cast me forth, and I
Dwell with wild earth and gusty sky;
He bears to men my mandates high,
And works my sage behest."

Newman in prose accounts for this antagonism by referring to the surprise and contempt of the Jews at Our Lord's doctrine: "If the world was true, He was not; if He, the world not. They felt it obscurely and in detail though He did not speak openly. How would they have felt if Our Lord had said openly, 'I am the priest of the world'? What a great expression!" He asks again: "What is a priest? See how much it implies: first the need of reconciliation—it has at once to do with sin." Of this stern nature of the priestly office a suggestion is given in the closing stanza of the poem thus:

Another day, dear child, and thou
Shalt join his sacred band
Ah! well I deem thou shrinkest now
From urgent rule, and severing vow;
....
Time hath a taming hand.

In verse and prose, identical ideas and principles are found. Newman fixed in verse the lessen of reverence for the name of Jesus,

I bow at Jesus' name, for 'tis the Sign
Of awful mercy towards a guilty line,

in opposition to "the willingness so commonly felt to bow at the Name of Jesus, nay the impatience exhibited towards those who do; as if there were nothing awful in the idea of the Eternal God being made man...." Or against the preacher's conviction, "though prayer for self is the first and plainest Christian duties," intercession belongs especially to "the perfect and spiritual mind" one may place the verses:

All may save self;—but minds that heavenward tower
Aim at a wider power
Gifts on the world to shower.

The close relation between the sermons and verse in thought and expression emphasize their self-revealing nature. Since they are so closely in accord in thought, the sermons and the poems bear, naturally enough, notable resemblance in phrasing and imagery. A conspicuously recurrent phrase, a sin against the light, is used in Fair Words in reference to profession without practice:

Beware! such words may once be said,
Where shame and fear unite;
But, spoken twice, they mark instead

A sin against the light.

This phrase in the prose is connected with the idea of wilfulness. The article, *Home-Thoughts Abroad*, in the *British Magazine*, March 1836, admits that the early Roman Catholic Church was virtually infallible but insists, "Now, however, this accidental authority has long ceased, or, at least, is indefinitely weakened; and to resist it is not as obviously a sin against light." Again, Newman twice remarked of St. Paul: "he was not sinning against light, but in darkness;" and in him there was "no ease, no self indulgent habits, no wilful sin against the light,-nay... no pride." The phrase also came to him during his illness in Sicily; "I recollected...that my last act on leaving Oxford was to preach a University sermon against self-will," and examining the possibility of his own self-will, he emphatically told himself, "I have not sinned against light." Lastly, in the sermon *Josiah, a Pattern for the Ignorant*, he said of Josiah,"he had not sinned against light...if he had gone wrong, it would have been against light.

Another aspect of the idea of light can be traced. The years 1839-1841 were to Newman a time when in spite of the light given him according to his need amid his darkness, yet a darkness it emphatically was." Such words recall the hymn, *Lead, Kindly Light*. The unflinching trust of that hymn is again brought to mind by these words from a sermon, "let us recollect that it is His cloud that over-shadows us. It is no earthly sorrow or pain such as worketh death...It is the Hand of God which is upon us."
Newman held it "a rule of God's Providence that those who act up to their light, shall be rewarded with clearer light."

The title, The Pillar of the Cloud, given to the favorite hymn in the 1868 collection of Newman's poems, acquires a new significance by a consideration of the author's use of it elsewhere in his earlier writings. From his retirement at Littlemore, he wrote Keble, "What I wish is, not to go by my own judgment, but by something external, like the pillar of the cloud in the desert." And if, as Newman tells us, Charles Reding was Newman's other self, the following quotation is of special significance: "Charles's characteristic, perhaps above anything else, was a habitual sense of the Divine Presence; a sense which, of course, did not insure uninterrupted conformity of thought and deed to itself, but still there it was—the pillar of the cloud before him and guiding him."

This desire to guard against wilfulness is expressed in the stanza:

I was not ever thus, nor prayed that Thou
Shouldst lead me on.
I loved to choose and see my path but now
Lead thou me on!

These lines as well as the title finally chosen, The Pillar of the Cloud, hark back to the lesson continually set before the Israelites, that they were never to presume to act of themselves, but, according to the sermon, Wilfulness of Israel in Rejecting Samuel, "Move not, speak not—look to the pillar of the cloud, see how it moves...then follow."

Even a more striking and richer background can be found for The Dream of Gerontius in Newman's prose. Newman was
right in calling it a dream, in as much as it is full of ideas most familiar to the dreamer. He himself observed to a correspondent who had asked for a fuller treatment of the subject:

"You do me too much honour if you think I am to see in a dream everything that is to be seen in the subject dreamed about. I have said what I saw...It is not my fault if the sleeper did not dream more. Perhaps something woke him. Dreams are generally fragmentary. I have nothing more to tell."

The Dream of Gerontius, more perhaps than anything else, shows the composite nature of Newman's writing. Here, sub-conscious emotions take creative role. Without knowing it, the poet is expressing the same persistent ideas that he has spoken or written again and again throughout his life. The thought of death was ever before him, particularly after his illness in Sicily. And the soul's sight of God at judgment was another oft-recurring idea. His imagination joined heaven and earth in the belief that God's kingdom was composed of all just souls. And in a vivid way Newman conceived of the throne of God as made up of immaterial substances, souls. In the poem he depicts the demons as noisy but impotent; in a sermon he pictures the noisy despair of a lost soul which the demons clutch. The two pictures reveal the same mind working in opposite directions with equal effectiveness. Again, Newman contrasts the journey between time and eternity of the saved and the lost; in The Dream and likewise in the short poem, Memory, he thinks of the soul going "in no breathless whirl," but "still unscared"; but the lost soul reached its accusing spirits, "breathless with the journey, and dizzy with the brightness and over-
whelmed with the strangeness of what is happening to him." Finally, thoughts of his guardian angel and purgatory were dear to him. St. Philip, he thought, escaped the "fiery lake"; but his own consolation was to look forward to his purgatory just as he depicts Gerontius doing. The poem, indeed, visualizes the supernatural world just as Newman thought steadily of it in relation to his own spiritual life and just as he had preached of it to others. He was not conscious that in the poem he was drawing from the vast treasury of ideas he had already put into prose; hence, the appropriateness of his expression when he was asked to add to The Dream, "I could no more write anything else by willing it than I could fly." The same might have been said of many of his other poems, which are so vitally related in many respects to the events of his life and his settled convictions.
CHAPTER III

THE TECHNIQUE OF NEWMAN'S VERSE.

Most of Newman's poems were reissued by their author several times. The changes made in the collections offer much interesting evidence of Newman's progress as a poet, the maturing of his mind, and the growth of his belief. The purpose of the different publications necessitated the rejection of some poems and the addition of others. From one addition to another, the author re-touched and polished many of the verses. He discarded altogether after their first appearance purely conventional exercises in verse, such as the Eclogues, Summer, Autumn, Spring, and trivial secular pieces, such as the Reverie on a Journey, beginning, "The coachman was seated, with ribbons in hand". Only three poems from Memorials of the Past were preserved in the next publication, Lyra Apostolica. In Verses on Religious Subjects appeared Temptation, which, though written at Rome in 1833, had not been printed in Lyra Apostolica of 1836. Finally, all the poems that the author cared to save were issued in their final form in 1868 under the title, Verses on Various Occasions.

The most noticeable alternation that the poems underwent is found in their titles. At their first publication, many poems were offered without title or with only a prefatory Biblical text. Later, definite titles were substituted; for instance, one poem appeared in the British Magazine as "It is I; Be Not Afraid;" then in Lyra Apostolica as "Be Not Afraid", and finally in Verses on Various Occasions as Consolation. Another poem in these three publications appeared successively as, "Blessed be ye poor,"
Obscurity, and Humiliation. Again, instead of the text, "Quit ye like men, be strong," a title, The Watchman, was chosen for a third poem, of which the first lines are:

Faint not, and fret not, for threaten'd woe,  
Watchman on Truth's grey height!

Or such an awkward heading as The Penitent and Not the Righteous for three simple stanzas was changed after a single appearance in the British Magazine, to Confession in Lyra Apostolica and to Scars of Sin in later publications. In the final edition of 1868 every poem bore a definite title.

By such alterations Newman often enhanced the concreteness and force of his titles. The title, Faith, was given first to the familiar lines, Lead, Kindly Light. Next in Lyra Apostolica the more suggestive title, Light in Darkness, was chosen, which was in keeping with the text in Lyra Apostolica, "Unto the godly there riseth up light in the darkness." But more fitting is the Biblical Pillar of the Cloud, selected for the final edition of 1868; for Newman's desire was "not to, by his own judgment but by something external like the pillar of the cloud in the desert." 122 A Voice from Afar, likewise, is more specific, and more in keeping with Newman's faith, than were the other two titles previously given to lines on the death of his sister Mary. Another poem was at first only designated by the text, "I bear on my body the marks of the Lord Jesus." Since this was hardly consistent with the lines that followed, a title, Shame, was given it, in the volume of 1853, to come nearer to the idea in the heading, The Brand of Sin.
This, finally, was superseded in Verses on Various Occasions by the even more vivid title, The Brand of Cain. Figurative language was sometimes hit upon in the final and most effective title. Purgatory in Verses on Various Occasions became The Golden Prison in the final collection. The text "Am I my brother's keeper?" which appeared in the British Magazine, was given up in Lyra Apostolica for Indulgence, but again resumed in the final collection together with the title, The Religion of Cain. The Latin Church in the British Magazine and Schism in Lyra Apostolica were later replaced by The Good Samaritan and Samaria respectively. Only in Verses on Various Occasions appeared the title Transfiguration for lines which were given earlier the less vivid name, The Discovery. So also Return in Lyra Apostolica became Behind the Veil in the final collection. Hora Novissima followed in chronological order the various titles, Death, Peace, and The Last Sacraments.

Poems were sometimes named from the historical or pictorial illustration and again from the lesson that is drawn from that example. David Numbering the People in the British Magazine was changed in Verses on Religious Subjects in 1853 and in subsequent editions to Judgment; for the poem could be named either from the incident of the second stanza or the lesson drawn from it in the other stanzas. The Baptist was later changed to Pusillanimity. The symbolic title, Autumn, became in Verses on Religious Subjects and in Verses on Various Occasions, Progress of Unbelief. In one instance, the Biblical title was eventually kept. Moses was used as a title in the British Magazine and in Verses on Religious Subjects, Venial Sin. In all these instances the later abstract
title is derived from the concrete lesson taught in the early part of each poem.

In other cases a greater precision in phrasing and meaning was attained by these changes made in title. Separation was later called Separation of Friends. Fastidiousness was changed to Sensitiveness; and Sacred Places was superseded by the one word Sacrilege, which perhaps indicates the theme more definitely. Christmas in the British Magazine or, A Foreign Land, as it was called in Lyra Apostolica, was given up eventually for the more definite Christmas without Christ. Love of Quiet was expressed finally in a title of one word, Warfare. The title Home was used in the British Magazine and discarded in Lyra Apostolica for Family Affection, but resumed in Verses on Various Occasions, perhaps as expressive of the connotations of the preceding heading and at the same time for its conciseness. More definitely than the plural Guardian Angels, the later name, Angelic Guidance, indicates the contents of the lines beginning, "Are these the tracks of some unearthly friend?" Similarly, in the poem composed off France, Newman was thinking, as the verses indicate, of infidel France; hence the fitting shift in title from France to Apostacy. The Cross, The Cross of Christ, and The Sign of the Cross, successive titles, increase each time in definiteness; the final one contains the idea of the poem, namely, the power of the sacramental. One more example of this aim at exactness may be given. Newman's earliest collection of poems, Memorials of the Past, contained verses called, Time Entranced, explained by a quotation from the Aeneid.
The British Magazine next published the poem without a title. Lyra Apostolica of 1836 designated it as Nothingness of Matter. In 1853 the heading Changes was used and with it the text, "Cum essem parvulus, sapiebam ut parvulus; quando factus sum evacuavi quae erant parvuli." In the final collection of the poems, however, the first title was recast to The Trance of Time, and then also the apt Virgilian quotation again was reverted to.

A change in mood may account for a rewording of some of these titles. When Newman composed the poems in 1833, his whole attention was concentrated against the liberal movement in the England of his day. Though the dogmatic principle was ever dear to him, the occasions that originally prompted the poems was no longer of consequence after the close of the Oxford Movement. The different titles assigned the four poems on zeal give the clue to the author's animus against Liberalism when he wrote them. Eventually, they received the generalized, smooth titles, Zeal and Love, Zeal and Purity, Zeal and Patience, and Zeal and Meekness. The Apologia in tracing Newman's deep aversion to liberal tendencies makes reference to the first poem under the title given it in Lyra Apostolica, namely, Zeal before Love. The second poem originally held the title, The Zeal of Jehu, which was at one time assigned the poem, "Ye cannot halve the Gospel of God's grace;" lines which of course, defined the liberalism of the day. The third, which was first called Martha, had also the sub-title, "Him that escapeth from the sword of Jehu, shall Elisha slay." The last poem was composed on the voyage home from the Mediterranean when England was solely in his thoughts. Before its final title in Verses on Various Occasions, these verses were called in the British Magazine.
Often, when he thought of his place in the church, he reflected his devotion to St. Paul as in the last set of titles. In another instance, a poem written off Gibraltar, was first entitled in Greek Paul's Imitator and later assigned in turn the less vivid names, Opportunities and A Word in Season, Revival of Priesthood was perhaps so named with the same thought in mind as that which inspired the first tract by Newman on the need of the clergy's recognizing its power. The changed title, Persecution, which was Newman's final choice, generalized the lesson to the opposition which all Christians must meet according to the text Newman quoted in the British Magazine in 1836; "We must learn like Hagar to subsist by ourselves in the wilderness." The poem has kept the brief subheading, "And the woman fled into the wilderness." Other examples of this process of generalizing after Newman's conversion to Catholicism and the consequent removal of the original mood are the following:

1. Scattered Sheep to Protestantism and then to Private Judgment;
2. The Prospects of the Church to Day-Labourers;
3. Sacred Seasons to External Religion;
4. Forebodings to Declension.

Again, his own personal feelings on penance became more serene with the years. In 1859 he looked back on a time when he spoke much of self-denial, mortification, and the like.

The poems before the end of 1833 reveal in their titles the perplexity and complex of emotions that seemed to stir Newman on such subjects. The final selections show a more settled attitude. The groups are as follows:
(1) Chastisement, Providence, and Thanksgiving;
(2) The Restless, Restlessness, and The Gift of Perseverance;
(3) The Ambitious, Sleep, and Sleeplessness;
(4) Progress, Providence, Discipline, and Semita Justorum;
(5) Conversion, Disappointment, Heavenly Leadings, and Our Future.
(6) Terror and Absolution.

One other circumstance, namely the occasion of printing, affected the titles. Verses on Religious Subjects, published in 1853, seemed to Newman, if one may judge from the table of contents, to require religious titles. Such groups occur as, Mortal Sin, The Brand of Sin, The Scars of Sin, Temptation and Venial Sin, and Enoch and Elias, The Last Sacraments, Death, Purgatory, and Heaven. Later, not all of these were deemed appropriate. Mortal Sin lacked the suggestion that the poem was composed during the voyage; the later title, Wandering, had already appeared in Lyra Apostolica. Likewise, Death became later The Death of Moses and so vaguely hinted its connection with Newman's own experience. Venial Sin had been called in the British Magazine, Moses, and was reverted to in the final collection. Another title in the British Magazine, Dreams, was called back in place of The Wounds of Sin in 1853 publication. Enoch and Elias was the title in this same collection of lines formerly called Rest. In the final edition the prophets were omitted and the poem beginning as before received the new, suggestive title, Waiting for the Morning. The Last Sacraments, which ill-suited a poem referring to a time when Newman, as an Anglican, believed in only two sacraments, later bore the title, Hora Novissima.
On the whole, the reason for changing titles was good and resulted in greater effectiveness. Sometimes, Newman added texts; usually he shortened them. The fitting quotations for Messina occurred only in the last compilation. In a few cases, the specific cause of change in title is not evident. Removal was changed to Sympathy in the poem on the impotency of calling on those "lodged in Eden's cell." Prayer became Intercession of Saints. A slight change in feeling may have increased his willingness to make more specific the idea of the communion of saints. The poem in Verses on Various Occasions called Relics of the Saints may be explained by its earlier title, The Resurrection. The Church Fathers were in the habit of associating the idea of the relics of the saints with the idea of their resurrection. For example, St. Ambrose in speaking of the discovery of the relics of St. Gervasius and St. Protase, whose relics worked miracles, observed, "not without reason do many call the resurrection of the martyrs...for us certainly the martyrs have risen." For the general reader, the second choice might prove plainer. Again, he gave up the Latin title, Gregorius Theologus for St. Gregory Nazianzen. The first indicates an honor bestowed upon Gregory as a Father of the Church, namely, his title, The Theologian. Like the poem on zeal, the verses on St. Philip were revised and shifted in title, Peter and Philip, The Regular Saints and Philip, Jesus and Philip, and Mary and Philip, were superseded by St. Philip Neri in His Mission, St. Philip in Himself, St. Philip in His God, St. Philip in His School. A fifth poem, St. Philip in His Disciples, which followed the others in chronological order and remained unchanged, may have given the cue for alteration in the
others. Through continuous manipulation, Newman secured for his final collection of poems, brief, clear, and suggestive titles.

But these poems underwent alterations in other respects than in title; variant readings are numerous. In general, such alterations in form mark the poet's progress in precision, directness, and rhythmical smoothness. Although Newman thought these changes did not introduce new sentiments, he recognized, doubtless, that the latest readings were removed from the others in mood, in circumstances, and in technique. Not all changes were felicitous; in fact, some experimentation had little result. The critic, Frederic Chapman, has noted that Newman might better have kept the word silent in the line of Solitude that now stands, "No mortal measure swells that mystic sound." And an indifferent choice, can lead one to prefer the first word to the second in the following cases: sacred shrine and blessed shrine, prudent word and skilful word, patient Job's and holy Job's, vestment and ritual, match and scan, illfitted and ill-attuned, holy-tempered and holy-vested, and mould and cast. No one of these alterations seems anything more than casual.

Slight modifications of importance, however, do occur which enhance the value of the poems. By the change from sinful to earthly leaven, the poet avoided the unpleasant repetition of the 3 sound here/in the word almost immediately following. Suggestive, too, are the alterations, Such Need is gain, to Such loss is gain, and Christ only of God's messengers to man, to One only of God's messengers to man. Sometimes, a more concrete word was substituted; the brand of Cain, for the mark of Cain; pageants for structures; earth stain'd souls for common souls; and heathen for
for others in the line, Let heathens sing thy heathen praise. A change in wording often produced greater simplicity. The later choice, his prophetic strength, is less pedantic than the earlier phrase, Truth's predictive strength. The use of one word instead of two or the avoidance of an awkward compound tended also to improve the verse. Such are awful ancient for high-arched ancient; rocky road, for rock-strewn road; sad drops for strength-drops; niggard course for self-wise course, and friends for patron-friends. Such revisions, unimportant in any one detail, furnish ample evidence of the care that Newman was fond of bestowing on his poetry.

In recasting the poems, Newman makes the sentence-structure more direct. He shortened the lines,

And this is tidings good,
But in the Angel's reckoning, and to those
Who have angel-wise have chose
And kept like Paul, a virgin course, content
To go where Jesus went:
But for the many, laden with the spot
And earthly taint of sin, 'tis written, "Touch me not."

And this is tidings good
For souls, who, pierced that they have caused that woe,
Are fain to share it too:
But for the many clinging to their lot
Of worldly ease and sloth, 'tis written "Touch me not."
To prevent the abruptness of the lines,
    Till there springs up that hope of God's elect
    My faith shall ne'er be wrecked,
Newman wrote in a later publication,
    Till there springs up a courage high and true
    To suffer and to do.
Again, there is greater smoothness in
    The martyr's hope half wipes away the trace,
than in the subjunctive clause,
    The martyr's hope may half wipe out the trace.
A second attempt often secures greater force as,
    Dim is the philosophic flame,
instead of
    Feeble and false the brightest flame;
or
    Lord, grant me this abiding grace,
instead of
    Fix in me, Lord, this passing grace.
Again, the closing lines of *The Gift of Perseverance* are made more effective by the change from,
    And learn to quail beneath the Omniscient Ray,
    And kneel in silence while Truth's shafts descend,
to
    And learn to kneel before the Omniscient Ray,
    Nor shrink when Truth's avenging shafts descend.
The later revisions do away with much of the early inversion; and so gain in smoothness. "This day I vowed Thy festival...," Newman afterwards made, "I vowed this day...." Again, the lines
in the British Magazine,

That should the Word on earth descend
All knees of men in ready awe must bend,

were changed in Verses on Various Occasions to

That 'Wisdom, clad in visible form would be
So fair, that all must love and bow the knee.'

The closing stanza of David and Jonathan was changed from the following reading in the British Magazine,

Ah! had he lost his early fated rest,
Before thy throne to stand,
Sure thy keen spirit, in sorrow memory-blest,
Had snapped love's living band.

Strife-wounded Paul be now the mourner's gain,
More lives who dies, than whom our prayers detain,

to

Ah! has he lived before thy throne to stand,
Thy spirit keen and high
Sure it was snapp'd in twain love's slender band,
So dear in memory;

Paul of his comrade reft, the warning gives,-
He lives, to us who dies, he is but lost who lives.

Again, one observes the greater ease of the second version of the three lines in Melchizedek the first group of which reads

Claiming return of thanks or rapture keen
Till with quick sense they pierce the shadowy skreen
Which hides His presence, who alone can bless;

and the second,
Claiming responsive smiles and rapture high;
Till, sick at heart, beyond the veil they fly,
Seeking His Presence who alone can bless.

Newman thus reworked lines to secure simplicity and brevity. Two lines in the *British Magazine* from *The Trance of Time* read,

Thus to forecast in heart
Heaven's Age of fearless rest,

but were later written

Within to antedate
Heaven's Age of fearless rest.

Again, an alteration avoids a heaping up effect as in the change of

Mid life's fierce shifting fray

to

When self would swerve or stray

and the revising of

Not joy, to find some chance sin-season near

to

Not feel a secret joy, that Hell is near.

At first awkward compounds sometimes filled out a meter and were later discarded. So the lines,

Release from his guilt-stains
And first-fruits of the second birth,

were later written,

Some loosening of his chains
And earneests of the great release.

Perhaps, a better notion of such improvement can be had by the stanza,
Then plead for me, thou blessed Saint
While I seek round and use
All man e'er guessed of work or plaint
To cleanse sin's deep-grain'd hues,
and its revised form,
Then plead for one who cannot pray,
Whose faith is but despair,
Who hates his heart, nor puts away
The sin that rankles there.

In all these changes a reader finds that Newman gained
in mastery of verse as time went on. Newman once wrote to R. H.
Hutton,"I have never had practice enough to have words and metres
at my command. And besides, at the time [of Lyra Apostolica]
I had a theory, one of the extreme theories of the incipient
Movement, that it was not right agere poetam but merely ecclesiasti-
cum agere,..."  127  But even then he intended making certain revisions
later, for when he sent his sister, Harriet, Consolation in
Bereavement, he wrote, "I am conscious they need much correcting,
which at times it will be a solace to me to give...."128  Greater
directness and simplicity, smoother rhythm, and increased force
mark plainly the improvement in technique. His re-writings were
based on the motive principle, as he says, of making more clear
and exact his meaning.129  The gain in many cases was attained by
the changing of only a word, or, at most, a brief phrase.

Certain revisions, however, were so great as to con-
stitute almost new poems. The first of the three stanzas originally
called in the British Magazine, Martha, reads:
Christ's lot true-hearted Martha shares
As though the thrall of sin
The sin that vaunts its sacred cares,
Yet loves their dust and din.

These lines were totally changed before the poem appeared in Lyra Apostolica or finally as Zeal And Meekness in Verses on Various Occasions.

The variant readings of four poems will show how Newman's work gained in clearness, directness, and simplicity. In the collection here given the lines are numbered and the publications are indicated by a first letter of each, as B, British Magazine, L, Lyra Apostolica, R, Religious Subjects, and O, Verses on Various Occasions.

Peace B (also called Death, The Last Sacraments, and Hora Novissima.)

(1) Thy solemn word B; Thy dread command L; the solemn word R; Thy dread command O.
(2) To loose this mortal coil B; and my last hour is nigh, L; And my last hour is come R; And my last hour is nigh O.
(3) Grant I may then be found, O Lord! B; Lord, grant me in a Christian land, L; Deal me thy gracious stroke, O Lord, R.; Lord, grant me in a Christian land, O.
(4) Upon a Christian soil B; as I was born to die, L; Within a Christian home R; As I was born to die, O.
(5) I ask not in that hour to be B; I pray not, Lord, that friends may be L; I pray not, friends of youth may be R; I pray not, Lord, that friends may be, O.
(6) Circled by friends and kin, B; Or kindred standing by, L;
Or kindred standing by R. Or kindred standing by O;
(8) Lose I such grace or win B; To give me, or deny L; To grant me
or deny R; To grant me or deny O;
(10) Thy church's O; My Mother's L; My Mother's R; My Mother's O;
(11) My name, in sickness and in death, B; My name in sickness
and in death, L; My name in sickness and in death L; My name in
sickness and in death R; And prayers sustain my labouring breath O.
(12) Heard in her Sacred shrine B; From out her sacred shrine, O;
(13) And may the Cross beside my bed B; And let the cross beside
my bed O.
(14) In its meet emblem rest; B; In its dread Presence rest; R;
In its dread Presence rest; O.
(15) And may th' absolving B; And let the absolving L.
And may the absolving R; And let the absolving O.
(19) them also made B; will not upbraid L; will not upbraid R; will
not upbraid O.
(20) To fear B; The dread L; The dread R; The Dread O.

Sympathy. (Removal B)

(1) Dear sainted friends, I call not you B; Souls of the Just, I call
not you O.
(2) To share the joy serene B; To share this joy with me O.
(3) Which flows upon me from the view B: This joy and wonder at the
view O.
(4) Of crag and steep ravine B; Of mountain, plain and sea; O.
(17) Ye hear B; Ye see O.
(18) Vain thought! those eyes of fire B; Vain thought! their
mighty ken O.
(19) Bierce through God's works and duly prize; B; Pierce thro' God's works and duly prize; L; Fills height and depth, the stars, the skies O.

(20) Ye smile when we admire, B; They smile at dim-eyed men O.

(21) Ah Saviour Lord! with Thee my heart B; Ah, Saviour! I perforce am Thine O.

(22) Angel nor Saint shall share; B; Angel and Saint apart: O.

St. Philip in his School. (Mary and Philip R)

(1) This is the Saint of sweetness and compassion R; This is the Saint of gentleness and kindness O.

(3) Reckoning and luring in a holy fashion R; Patiently healing of their pride and blindness, O.

(4) This is the Saint, who, when the bad world vaunteth, R; This is the Saint, who, when the world allures us O.

(6) Her many coloured wares and magic treasures, R; Cries her false wares, and opes her magic coffers, O.

(7) Outbids her and her victim disenchanteth R; Points to a better city and secures us O.

(8) With heavenly pleasure R; with richer offers O.

(9) This is the Saint, with whom our hearts like Moses R; Love in his bond, he knows no other f etter O.

(10) Finds o'er the waste that tree so bright and beaming, R; Asks not our all but takes whate'er we spare him, O.

(11) Till 'neath her shade the sobered soul reposes, R; Willing to draw us on from good to better O.

(12) After its dreaming R; As we can bear him, O.
Quite naturally, variant readings which aim at accuracy of phrasing reflect somewhat the circumstances under which they were made. *Lyra Apostolica* was written to oppose the Liberal party. It contained, therefore, specific references which in later publications, when the situation had changed, were made more general. The same reason, it has been shown, led to some changes in title. In verses which Newman first called a "stinging Lyra", occur the lines,

> But should vain hands pollute the Temple wall,
> More than His church fall,

in the Catholic period became,

> But should rash tongues the Bride of Heaven defy
> He will not pass thee by.

Again, Newman's attitude at the beginning of the Oxford Movement is reflected in the lines,

> Wanderers! come home! When erring most,
> Christ's Church aye kept the faith nor lost
> One grain of Holy Truth,
> She ne'er has erred as those ye trust;

and his feeling as a Catholic comes out in the later version,

> Wanderers! come home! obey the call!
> A Mother pleads who ne'er let fall
> One grain of Holy Truth
> Warn you and win she shall and must.

Even the translation from Gregory Nazianzen of a poem on the dignity of the priestly office in *The Church of the Fathers*, an
early work of the Movement, contained the pertinent warning,
Attend, ye shepherds of the church, and fear. Later, this line
read, Of their defilement, and again made bright. And the second
last line of the verses on the prayer of Moses read in 1836,
He for the Church might intercede, and later, He for his flock
might intercede.

Other changes in attitude can be often detected through
slight modifications of phrasing. In the poem on the dreadful
superstition of Sicily, Newman changed churches of the south in a
later publication to Children of the South. And in the first
writing of these verses, the line, "And seek to charms of man or
saints above", had reference to what Newman thought was a wrong
devotion to saints. Later, the words, charms of man or heathen
rite, removed this notion. The minor alterations of brethren
to kindred in the line, "O Rail not at our kindred in the North"
may indicate a slight difference in mood. During the perplexity
of 1832, when his mind had not yet found its ultimate rest, the
lines in Sleeplessness appropriately expressed a personal feeling:

O! hence upon our hearts impress
Our place in the world's plan,
But the mood is different in the latest version,
We to our cost our bounds transgress
In the eternal plan.

Changing moods and new beliefs may likewise account for
the omission in the final collection of certain poems. From the
Lazaret, Malta he wrote his mother that he had hardly seen or
spoken to anyone for six days, and added "Scripture so clearly seems to mark out that we should not be literally solitary." Accordingly, in a poem, The Desert, he censures such a career:

And gloom or pride is shown,
If e' er we seek the garden shade,
or walk the world alone.

The poem was not reprinted in the final collection probably because such words from a Roman Catholic might look like a condemnation of monasticism. "Whenever I seek the Holy Altar's rail," expressed a belief in consubstantiation, which Newman as an Anglican held, and was doubtless omitted in the Roman Catholic period on account of this fact. Less plain is the reason for his discarding Israel, which, like other passages in his poems and sermons, protests against the specious sin of resting elsewhere than in God. He may have thought that the lesson was rather prosaically taught.

The occasion of other poems was entirely outlived, and, in consequence, the verses themselves were discarded. Vehement expressions on Catholicism or Anglicanism were suppressed; such were The Beasts of Ephesus, The Backward Church, "Weep Mother mine," and "There is one only Bond in the wide earth", which were written for Lyra Apostolica. Even the poem on St. Athanasius that closes

...Dim Future! shall we need
A prophet for Truth's Creed?

having, likewise, served its purpose, was no longer kept.

The chief reason for the omission of many poems was doubtless their triviality. The largest number of omitted poems, at any rate, includes unimportant experiments in rime. The Holy
Trinity was perhaps composed on the occasion of the publication of Verses on Religious Subjects, since it closes that collection and does not appear elsewhere, Newman later probably recognized the crudity of the composition and so discarded it. For much the same critical reason Newman rejected his paraphrase of Ecclesiastes, XII, although he retained another better done of Isaiah, LXLV.

Verses that are strictly secular were for the most part rejected, such as the Juba song in Callista, threebirthday poems, which contain nothing of weight, or the even more trivial Reverie on a Journey—all found in Memorials of the Past. Again, of the same ephemeral nature are the three eclogues, Summer, Autumn, and Spring, and a Prologue to the Masque of Amyntor, which were printed only in the 1832 collection of Newman's verses. Except to show the poet's progress, many of the verses are of no significance.

Only by an examination of the whole body of Newman's poetry can his rank be rightly discerned, or the significance of the verses themselves be justly estimated. All along the years from the publication of St. Bartholomew's Eve in 1821 to the composing of his last Latin prologue in 1870, which appeared in the second appendix of Verses on Various Occasions, Newman practiced verse-writing. Most of his early output was experimental and only a small section of this was considered worthy of preservation. Memorials of the Past contains lines that are wholly mechanical and subjects that are purely conventional. But before Newman's next verse, that of Lyra Apostolica, his motives were deepened and intensified; he sought then to "produce shadows of high things if not the high things themselves." He worked deliberately and hard. Sometimes the emotions rose from unchanging depths of his
spiritual life, so that the poem never needed alterations. Such were the two pieces Lead, Kindly Light and Our Future,—Again, many poems were much improved through revision; the second or even the third or fourth reading successively evidencing a better grasp of the subject. The variants mark an increase in simplicity, clearness, and smoothness of rhythm. Such, for instance§, is the change from the Latin to the English title in the poem on Gregory Nazianzen, or the slight alteration in the same verses from,

So gentle one,
Heaven broke at last the consecrated tool
Whose work was done.

... to the more personal and easier expression,

So gentle one
Heaven set thee free,—far ere Thy years were full
Thy work was done.

At times, Newman's desire to improve seems to reach almost to fastidiousness, as in the choice of the successive titles, Noah, Patriarchal Faith, and Hope, or, as has been pointed out by Frederic Chapman, in the rejection of the second hymn in translation for the Feast of St. Laurence. The separate publications, likewise, with their omissions and additions, make plain how the poems were accommodated to the changed conditions of the world the poet worked in. As old dangers and perplexities were removed, new moods gave the poems a new color. In general, a greater serenity of mind is evidenced in the later drafts of the poems. To understand, therefore, either Newman's mind or his art, the reader can hardly dispense with a careful scrutiny of his whole work in its successive editions.
One notices a steady progress in Newman's art of versification. From his college days when he began verse-writing to his Oratorian years when he wrote The Dream, Newman developed in technical skill.

His first efforts were purely experimental. School exercises in Latin and English verse led Oxford men to make such metrical attempts naturally and without serious intention. Newman first tried the heroic couplet, which he handled in a purely mechanical fashion. Then, in his undergraduate days, as he returned to his father's residence at Alton, in the summer and fall of 1818 and the spring of 1819, he wrote the eclogues, Summer, Autumn, and Spring respectively. Again, at Alton he wrote a Prologue to the Masque of Amyntor, in the same strain as the other pastoral pieces, and still in the conventional rime couplet. And during the Michaelmas term at Oxford in 1818, he composed a part of the narrative poem, which was done with William Bowden, St. Bartholomew's Eve. Next, he attempted birthday pieces. One of them, in 1819, On My Birthday, was composed in the Spenserian stanza. If other experiments of this kind were tried, as probably there were, they have not been preserved. At any rate, Newman had considerable practice before he took his degree at Trinity in 1820. Hundreds of other Oxford men, doubtless, experimented on the same themes in the same verse-forms.

Yet he continued to write on any small occasion. In fact, throughout his long life, Newman composed for friends whenever their pleasure might be assured. Every member of the family circle, Mary, Henrietta, Jemima, Charles, and Francis, were given
birthday pieces. The verse-albums of his sisters and intimate friends should be honoured, he thought,

With wisdom, fancy, graceful gaiety,
Of ready wit or happy sentiment.

Hence, at the request of his friends and hostess, Mrs. Rickards, he composed the lines, Snap-dragon. And for his cousins, he wrote the experiments in rime, Opusculum and Monks. In 1850 appeared the verses, Valentine to a Little Girl. And, as an old man at the Oratory, he rimed a playful letter of thanks for a small gift. When he was ninety, he wrote on the back of a letter his own translation in verse of the ancient prayer, "Anima Christi, sanctifica me."

But at the time of Memorials of the Past, his earliest collection, Newman plainly looked on verse-writing as an avocation which serious duties at any time might altogether displace. A birthday poem to Harriet begins,

The Muse has sway in the truant mind,
And the heart from care set free.

On his ordination in 1824, he began to question his right to such mental trancy amid the absorbing duties of his vocation:

Ill'seems it the devoted hand,
That has touched the plough, to trifle now
With toys of verse again.

In this extreme fidelity to new obligations, his scruples triumphed for some time, for from November, 1821, to December, 1824, there is a gap in Memorials of the Past, recognized by Newman in these lines of the latter date,
And, sure, that slighted lyre
Much tuning will require,
So long a while debarrèd its vibrating.

Doubtless, he meant very seriously the resolve:
Rest thou, my lyre, the day is o'er;
Not often shall I task thy skill.

Very few notes of real poetry were struck during these days of experimentation. At this time, Newman acknowledged the need of an incentive or a definite purpose for such composition. More seriously, then, than it may seem, he wrote,

Why, dear Cousin,
why
Ask for verses,
when a poet's
fount of song is
dry?

These very verses show this lack of true inspiration which Newman complains of. Another playful piece begins,

Could I hit on a theme
To fashion my verse on,
Not long would I seem
A lack-courtesy person.

For this poem, Newman took from Lucretius the appropriate text, "Igneus est ollis vigor et coelestis origo reminibus." The words, Stray Seeds of Poesy, form the first title to these lines on his vain striving

To summon at will
The spirit of song,
and this poem carries the confession,
    I never could find
    A suitable friction
    To frenzy my mind.

Apparently, he was incapable yet of serious poetical work.

These reasons account for the slight worth of Newman's earliest composition. He knew that his praise of country life was in a conventional strain, for in one eclogue he lists the phrases of those who "sing the spring by rule." Among these phrases are "verdant views," "fountains clear and cool," "the lark's brisk carol," "Philomela's trill," "the painted mead," "the gently purling rill" and "the smiling sky." His own attempts come dangerously near this kind of wording. And his own nature pictures elsewhere are after the manner of Pope. Both awkward inversion and trite phraseology characterize the eclogues, for instance, the lines,

    Two youths I spied drag on their weary way,
    The first's keen eye, and vest in rustic sort,
    And murderous tube, bespoke the man of sport.

Nor in its commonplaceness of idea is this passage at all exceptional:

    Each, his own good, as Horace sings, forgot,
    Sighs for the blessing of his neighbor's lot.

Finally, the Reverie on a Journey contains lines filled out with words where there are no ideas:

    This dark stifling closet expands on my eyes!
    Its sides they recede and its windows they rise!
Its seats become chairs; and a table is made
Of the shawls and great coats on our knees that are laid

No wonder that Newman discarded such trivialities in his final collection!

One of the pieces so discarded is entitled To J. C. N. In content it is bad enough; for the poet after starting in the first stanza with the idea, "I am a tree whose spring is o'er," adds the incongruous thought, "my viol must be struck no more," and then returns to his first figure,

Green fruit and faded flower,
Shrub unfit for lady's bower.

But the versification, also, is unsatisfactory. At the close of each sentence the rhythm breaks, and the change, instead of helping, only distorts the meaning. There is neither rhythm nor a natural order of words in the lines,

Flowers deck the spring; and fruits instead
Summer's rich hand supplies.

"Instead" in this passage furnishes a rime for "shed", though neither choice of word fits the sense well. And the heavily stressed, "Summer's rich hand supplies", harmonizes ill in sound as well as in thought with the line, "Ere years proclaim me wise."

In another place, an otherwise unnecessary "they" is added to complete the verse. Altogether, the style shows Newman's immaturity as a writer of verse.

In Memorials of the Past the chief defects seem to be in sing-song and awkward inversion. The trite phrasing of the opening lines of To C. R. N. emphasizes the rime,
A year or more has fled,
Since first, dear Charles, I read,
Your lines set forth to grace my natal day.

For the sake of these rimes, the poet resorts to such unpleasant inversions as these:

Yet deem it not neglect,
The ready pen that checked,
and

No ill-tempered minor third
Is in hail or thunder heard.

The whole poem moves along in this unskilful way.

The conventional phrasing is mainly responsible for the sing-song which is strongly noticeable in the poem, To F. W. N.; here the thought is autobiographical and important enough and there is little inversion. But attention is drawn to the rime, for instance, in the following, which is one of the most significant parts of the poem:

Dear Frank, we both are summon'd now
As champions of the Lord;-
Enroll'd am I and shortly thou
Must buckle on the sword;
A high employ nor lightly given
To serve as messengers of heaven.

There is doubtless a striving here for better expression and form. Still the whole is monotonous in effect. The closing stanza has two exclamatory sentences followed by the trite couplet,

Till in the end of days we stand,
As victors in a deathless land.
These faults, however, were largely avoided in other better pieces that were deemed worthy of republication. A comparison of To M. S. N. and Snapdragon, for instance, shows plainly a great difference. A sing-song regularity marks the whole, as it does the following first stanza, of this birthday piece:

My sister on a day so dear,
That ushers in the thirteenth year
Of life to one I love,
Permit a brother's heart to pay
The tribute of a humble lay,
Thinking of thee, tho' far away,
In learning's classic grove.

Snapdragon is written in the octosyllabic rimed couplet. Newman, the reader suspects, had Milton in mind, especially in these closing lines,

May it be! then well might I
In College cloister live and die.,

which are so similar to the closing lines of L'Allegro and Il Penseroso. Newman's effort, of course, lacks the art of Milton's companion poems, with their subtle modulations of sound and rhythm. The couplets are kept distinct by pauses. The first two stanzas are varied little from the normal rhythm, but the third beginning, "Life's gay gifts", shows greater freedom and is rounded out by the longer line, "Pleasure, wealth, birth, knowledge, power."

The following passage from the fourth stanza, though all practically in the regular four-beat trochaic measure, which lends itself so easily to sing-song effect, reveals the same metrical ease:
Be it mine to set restraint
On roving wish and selfish plaint;
And for man's drear haunts to leave
Dewy morn and balmy eve.
Be it mine the barren stone
To deck with green life not its own
So to soften and to grace
Of human works the rugged face.
Mine the Unseen to display
In the crowded public way
Where life's busy arts combine
To shut out the Hand Divine.

In these better poems Newman achieves a certain lightness and
grace in his versification that place them on a distinctly higher
level than his first mechanical efforts.

Sometimes such poems were improved by later revision.
In one passage quoted from *Snapdragon*, for example, the line, "In
the crowded public way", originally stood,"Where crowds choke up
truth's languid way." The marked faults in versification in the
second last stanza of the poem beginning "Death was full urgent..."
were eliminated by revision. This read in the first version,

Death came and went:-that so thy image might
Within our fond hearts glow,
Associate with such pleasant thoughts and bright,
As health and peace bestow;
No theme of sorrow
From thy soft comforting name aught like itself
can borrow.
Afterwards it was written,

Death came and went:—that so the image might
Our yearning hearts possess,
Associate with all pleasant thoughts and bright,
With youth and loveliness;
Sorrow can claim
Mary, nor lot nor part in thy soft soothing name.

Of course, in their first publication in Memorials of the Past
Newman intended these verses only for his mother and sisters and
perhaps for intimate friends.

Nevertheless, Newman long felt that he wrote verse without sufficient practice. When a sense of duty led him to the real poetry of Lyra Apostolica, Newman thought that he had begun this task before he had properly schooled himself. When R. H. Hutton praised the Lyra, Newman wrote to this critic, "I have never had practice enough to have words and metres at command." In fact, he ever spoke in condescending terms of his own metrical work. As he mailed the first poem written on board the Hermes to his sister, he added the disparaging remark, "This is all I have to say at present. Meanwhile I transcribe one of my follies...." And when he wished to encourage Frederic Rogers to write Lyrae, he wrote to this correspondent, "ask for such as I have sent home, or, at least, for the more lively ones, for many are sonnets, which are proverbially dull." On the whole, Newman drops few opinions in his letters or elsewhere in his writings concerning his verses, but these few are never in a confident, satisfied tone.

The favorite four-line stanza of Lyra Apostolica shows growth in ease and flexibility. This is perhaps the first form
Newman fully mastered. Apparently he did well in giving up for it the more pretentious forms of the early attempts. About fifty original compositions are in this simple meter having the rime a b a b with occasional variations.

Its merits can be easily pointed out. Of course, in this measure, some mechanical and conventional pieces appear. There is a sing-song regularity about the piece entitled, Moses. So also, the closing stanza of Wanderings is trite in phrase and mechanical in sound.

But the majority of the four-line poems, in contrast with these, are effective in thought and in versification. An example of such better verse is found in The Gift of Tongues, where each stanza forms a single sentence, with a short pause at the end of several successive lines or within a line, left in such a way as to give lightness and grace to the whole. A glance at The Brand of Cain, an early four-line poem, reveals Newman's skilful use of the metrical aids of pause, enjambement, and hovering accent. Particularly is this true of these closing stanzas:

The course of passion, and the fret
Of godless hope and fear,-
Toil, care, and guilt, their hues have set,
And fix'd their sternness there.

Saviour! wash out the imprinted shame;
That I no more may pine,
Sin's martyr, though not meet to claim
Thy cross, a saint of Thine.

In the following from Sympathy enjambement conceals the rime, "ken" and "men", and throws the pauses within the verses where, after the
natural exclamations, they enhance the sadness of the thought:

Ye see, and ye can sympathize-
Vain thought! their mighty ken
Fills height and depth, the stars, the skies,
They smile at dim-eyed men.

Taormini, likewise, controls well the sense by the effective use of pauses. Each stanza forms a single sentence, which is a common and an apt practice in the short four lines. The closing verses begin with a hovering accent followed by the slight mid-line caesura with the thought carried on into the second line thus:

Store them in heart! thou shalt not faint
'Mid coming pains and fears.

Many of these poems have about them an air of perfect simplicity and naturalness. The syntax of these lines is almost that of prose!

If e'er I fall beneath Thy rod,
As through life's snares I go,
Save me from David's lot, O God!
And choose Thyself the woe.

No rhetorical phrasing is evident in The Death of Moses; for even its exclamations are made only in keeping with the genuine emotion. With equal force pauses occur at the end or within the verse; for example, the first stanza runs,

My Father's hope! my childhood's dream!,
The promise from on high!
Long waited for! its glories beam
Now when my death is nigh.
In *A Thanksgiving*, repetition of the word "blessing" and a shifting from normal iambic to trochaic rhythm give effective emphasis:

For blessings given, ere dawning sense
Could seek or scan Thy grace;

Blessings in boyhood's marvelling hour,
....
Blessings when reason's awful power
....
Blessings of friends....

These traits belong also to the best late poems in the four-line stanza. *Guardian Angel*, for example, dated 1853, closes,

Mine, when I stand before the Judge,
And mine, if spared to stay
Within the golden furnace, till
My sin is burn'd away.

And mine, O Brother of my soul,
When my release shall come;
Thy gentle arms shall lift me then
Thy wings shall waft me home.

Here the metrical garb becomes what Newman in his critical essay declared that it should be, namely, "the outward development of the music and harmony within."

A possible reason for Newman's choosing the four-line stanza which he learned to handle with such dexterity may have been his knowledge of Latin hymns. With these he must have been
familiar in his college days. The most common Ambrosian hymns have four beats to a line, and the lines are rimed in pairs, in fours, or imperfectly. The following stanza which Newman adopts is somewhat rarer:

Parvum quando oerno Deum  
Matris inter brachia  
Colliquescit pectus meum  
Inter mille gaudia.

Earlier English poets, like George Herbert, had often used this same stanza. Still, one feels that even in this earlier period Newman was influenced by the simple Latin hymns of the Ambrosian school as well as by the ideas of Ambrose on hymns.

Newman, to be sure, showed deepest interest in church hymns after 1836, when he first came to know the Roman Breviary. Then, he translated practically all the hymns found in the regular office and a number also in the proper office. His own Latin hymns, Ad Vesperas and Ad Laudes, in honor of St. Philip imitate the more usual office hymn in having four unrimed verses of four beats each and in closing with a stanza that is a kind of doxology. On being repeated for the third time, the Latin stanza in The Dream changes the first line from "Parce mihi, Domine," to "Mortis in discrimine". Such a practice of variation is common to Latin hymn-writers. On the feast of the Seven Dolors of the Virgin Mary, the closing stanza of the hymn which is said at Lauds is altered at Terce and again at Sext. Three of Newman's English hymns in honor of St. Philip follow Breviary models. This can be seen in the purely accentual lines and the aabb rime following:
I ask not for fortune, for silken attire,
For servants to throng me, and crowds to admire;
I ask not for power or for name or success,
These do not content me, these never can bless.

Common to the Breviary, also, is the rhythm of Newman's poem beginning, "This is the Saint of gentleness and kindness." which consists of three four-beat lines, followed by a half line. It is found in Iste Confessor, other hymns for special saints' days. Newman's late poetry plainly felt the influence of Breviary hymns.

In 1833, Newman began also to use more complicated stanzas. He tried stanzas of five, six, seven, eight, nine, and ten lines, varying the length of line within the stanza and arranging the rimes freely. In the five line stanza are found the rimes a a b a b, aabbb, ababb, abaab, ababa. And in the seven line stanza occur the rimes aabccb, abbaccb, ababccb, ababccc, aaabbcc, and abccabc. But the fact, that in both these cases, he seldom if ever repeated the riming schemes of these stanzas, suggests that they remained with him more or less accidental. In the six-line stanza Newman employs the rimes aabccb, abaaab, aababb, aabbcob, abbcoc, abaccb, abbacc, aabbcoc, ababoc, and aaabcbc, the last five of these being much more common than the others. The nine-line stanzas are rimed either aabccodb or abaabced. Ottava rim, ababcc, which Newman once declared a favorite for serious compositions, was used twice in the period of Lyra Apostolica and once in The Dream. These forms of course show an advance over those of the experimental pieces found in Memorials of the Past, which include a stanza and rimed couplets, the heroic couplet, the octosyllabic couplet, and
John Keble also used much these same forms of stanzas, and both he and Newman seem to have been strongly influenced by Herbert. Like other poets of the seventeenth century who followed Herrick, Herbert often wove his clauses and phrases together in stanzas of irregular form. In a stanza of given length, he varied considerably the length of a line and used often a most involved arrangement of rime. At times, several adjacent lines are bound together by rime; in other cases, rimes are separated by a number of lines. A short line will often rime with the longest line of a stanza. Hence, in these stanzas which vary in length from three or four to ten or eleven lines, Herbert found almost endless variety possible.

For this more complicated stanza, as well as for the simple four-line stanza, the Latin hymns may have furnished a model. Stanzas of six, seven, eight, nine, and ten lines are found. The six-line stanza, which is a favorite, includes the rimes, aabccbb, ababab, and aaaaaa. In this and in the other long stanzas, three rimes are the general rule; a single line in the middle of the stanza rimes with the closing line, and before each of these lines are grouped two, three, or four others bound together by rime; thus the last stanza of Lauda Sion is aaaabcccb. In variety of length of line the following illustration may serve:

Christum ducem,
Qui per crucem
Redemit nos ab hostibus;
Laudet caetus
Noster laetus,
Although these Latin hymns are far from intricate, they have considerable variation in stanza form. Although the Latin hymns thus afford a pattern for Newman's more involved stanzas, he seems to have been influenced even more by George Herbert, in whose poems Newman's more complicated stanzas are found in abundance. The six-line stanza common to both poets includes those riming abbaco, aabcob, aabcc, ababcc, and abaccb. And Newman's favorite stanza, ababcc, is also Herbert's favorite. This stanza, used in The Dream for the hymn beginning, "All praise to him, at whose sublime decree", has in length of line only the variation of a final alexandrine. The following stanza from The Bov is less regular, though it is more even in length of line than most of Herbert's:

Away despair! My gracious Lord doth heare,
Though windes and waves assault my keel,
He doth preserve it, he doth steer,
Ev'n when the boat seems most to reel,
Storms are the triumph of his art
Well may he close his eyes but not his heart.

In his irregular stanzas Newman usually makes the b-line, or less often the a-line, short. In general, however, he does not permit himself Herbert's great freedom in the use of these stanzas; seldom, for instance, is found in Newman such quaintness in versification or thought as in the following from Herbert's, The Pilgrimage:
My hill was further, So I flung away
Yet heard a crie
Just as I went, None goes that way
And lives! If that be all, said I
After so foul a journey death is fair,
And but a chair.

Newman's later stanzas, especially, are noticeable for their regularity. It may have been partly the influence of Latin hymns as well as the metrical habits of the nineteenth century, that led Newman to moderation in the use of the stanza of Herbert.

Nevertheless, even when Newman's rime-scheme does not correspond exactly with any found in Herbert's poems, a likeness is felt in the management of the stanza. For instance, even Herbert's eccentric poem, The Pilgrimage, bears some resemblance to the following stanza of Newman's The Power of Prayer:

All may save self:-- but minds that heavenward tower
Aim at a higher power,
Gifts on the world shower.--
And this is not at once;--by fasting gained
And trials well sustained,
By pureness, righteous deeds, and toils of love,
Abidance in the truth and zeal for God above.

Again, Michael, which approaches a picture-poem in appearance, reminds one of Herbert's technique. This poem beginning with a four-syllable line increases each verse throughout the stanza by an iambic foot. In the closing stanza this varied length of line, in conjunction with frequent pauses, plainly heightens the elevation. It reads,
And thou at last,
When Time itself must die,
Shall sound that dread and piercing blast,
To wake the dead and rend the vaulted sky,
And summon all to meet the Omniscient Judge on high.

Though entirely without the conceits of the seventeenth-century poet, Newman probably remembered Herbert's stanzas; hence he adopted many such stanzas for his own poems.

Though Newman handled well these difficult stanzas, many of the Lyrae tend towards simplicity and regularity. Pusillanimity and Faith against Sight have five lines followed by a closing short line, rimed variously. Samaria contains three five-beat lines and a three-beat line, riming abab. Vexations varies from iambic pentameter to a closing Alexandrine. A number of poems are iambic pentameter throughout.

Newman seems to find the sonnet also a favorite form in the period of Lyra Apostolica. Here again, he worked in a narrower range than did Keble. Newman's sonnets followed the Italian form; all are bipartite, though an exact division of the thought into eight and six lines is not rigidly adhered to. Keble's usage includes both Italian and Shakespearean forms and these are handled with great irregularities. Newman follows his models more carefully. Abraham, Corcyra, Angelic Guidance, and Semita Justorum have the exact rime of the Italian form, abba, abba cdcdcd. Melchizedek, St. Paul, The Wrath to Come, and Substance and Shadow follow the Italian form in the octave, but like two of Milton's sonnets close with a couplet. Twice Keble's have this irregularity. Three times, also, in the octave he changes the rime
to abbaacca. Only two follow the exact rime of Shakespearean form. Even such irregular rimes are found as ababbobc dedede, and ababbobc defdef. Newman allowed himself no such liberties.

In general, Keble felt the influence of other poets more than did Newman. It has already been suggested that since the sonnet does not appear in the Christian Year, Keble probably adopted this form for Lyra Apostolica at Newman's suggestion. But in the Christian Year there are stanzas which show the influence of a range of poets. One stanza approaches Milton's Nativity Hymn; and Burns' stanza, with its rime, aaabab, and its two short lines, the fourth and the sixth, is found. Keble felt the influence, also, of his great contemporary, Wordsworth. Newman, on the other hand, from nineteenth century models wrote only two conventional pieces, Reverses and Warnings; and Scott, whom he remembered from early boyhood, furnished this influence.

If he had tried, Newman doubtless might have developed greater prosodic art in his short poems. The secular piece, Juba's Song, which appeared in Callista, makes an apt use of poetical devices. The chorus and the incremental repetition fit the weird subject matter. Further, the quick movement of the anapestic lines and the effects gained by alliteration can be seen in the following lines:

The little black moor is the chap for me,
When the night is dark, and the earth is free,
Under the limbs of the broad yew-tree.

'Twas Father Chom that planted that yew,
And he fed it fat with the bloody dew
Of a score of brats as his lineage grew.
Again, the open sounds of *Waiting for the Morning* enhance the mood of peacefulness and rest. Other poets, of course, have done more with these same devices.

But more weighty evidence that Newman could adapt difficult verse-forms to his purpose is found in his apt imitation of the Greek choral ode. Two poems *Judaism* and *The Elements* successfully follow a form which has ensnared many poets of considerable power. When he wrote, Newman, doubtless, had in mind the choral ode of the Greek tragedies which admit of considerable freedom. The *Elements*, however, has the structure of the strict Pindaric ode, with a strophe and an antistrophe identical in form, and an epode somewhat different. The rime scheme of *Judaism*, for each stanza, runs ababacedeef. In both poems the recurring rimes and the intermingled long and short lines are so managed as to obscure the stanza's mechanism and to give the effect of simplicity. Altogether, as R. H. Hutton has observed, these are pieces which even a classical writer himself might have been proud of.

Newman's meter throughout is prevailingly iambic. Of course, other rhythms are found. *Epiphany-Eve*, *Valentine to a Little Girl*, and the *Call of David* are trochaic. In the dimeter lines of *Zeal and Purity*, the mingled trochaic, iambic, and anapestic feet produce an effect of alternate lightness and emphasis, suitable to the theme. *Reverie on a Journey*, *Opusculum*, *Seeds in the Air*, and *The Queen of the Seasons*, all except the last of which are half-humorous, are largely anapestic. The only dactylic piece is a conventional one, *The Pilgrim Queen*. Yet in a continuous poem like *The Dream*, where a new mood and scene necessitate a change of movement, Newman goes easily and effectively from
iambic to anapestic or trochaic rhythm.

But to achieve the purpose of *Lyra Apostolica*, Newman felt little need of relying on the usual devices of poets. This attitude was accentuated by his theory at the beginning of the Movement that it was not right to be a poet, and that the one thing called for was to bring out an idea. Still, the scholar and student asserted themselves in the ease with which Newman used various difficult stanza-forms.

Nevertheless, although Newman's best poems are on a high imaginative level, their chief graces are those of the sermons. He was all but unconscious of his power of composition. Hence, he was surprised at the high terms in which R. H. Hulton spoke of the verses. This critic has observed concerning the *Lyra* "For grandeur of outline, purity of taste, and radiance of total effect, I know hardly any short poems in the language that equal them." The cadence and the simplicity of the poem, *Our Future*, differs little from Newman's best rhythmical prose. Again, *Liberalism, Faith against Sight*, and *The Age to Come*, which treat of the anti-dogmatic attitude, differ from prose perhaps only in compression. Altogether, Newman showed in verse as in prose the artistic blending of choice diction, fine phrase, simplicity, and clarity.
Newman learned to know the classics as a schoolboy. At Ealing where his father sent him first to school, he acquired a taste for Terence's plays, which the boys used to act. Among the parts he himself played were Davus in the Andria and Pythias in the Eunuchus. An old diary of the early school course contains the item; "1810, May 25. Got into Ovid and Greek...1812, May 25. Began Homer." Years later, when he voyaged about the coast of the Mediterranean, he read again a great part of the Odyssey and more of Virgil than he had done since he was ten years old. In sight of Ithaca came the thought that before him was the reality of what had been the earliest vision of his childhood: "Ulysses and Argus, which I had known by heart, occupied the very isle I saw."

At Oxford his classical studies continued. He had come to college young. During the first term he wrote to his father, "I now see the disadvantage of going too soon to Oxford...; for there are several who know more than I do in Latin and Greek and I do not like that." In the account of the examination for the Trinity scholarship, he wrote to his mother: "They made me first do some verses; then Latin translation; then Latin theme; then chorus of Euripides; then an English theme; then some Plato; then some Lucretius; then some Xenophon; then some Livy."

His thorough assimilation of the classics came with the years. The very mistakes that he made in his second competitive examination evidence the intensity of his application on such study.
As an old man, he recalled having translated the word *proprium* in *Virgil* by *proper* instead of *his own*, never thinking he might be misunderstood in using the word, as did Shakespeare, in a Latin sense: 'The mere effusion of thy proper loins!' In his letters and elsewhere occur frequent allusions to Homer, Thucydides, Aeschylus, Ovid, and others. At Rome, where he and Froude began *Lyra Apostolica*, they borrowed from M. Bunsen a Homer and Froude chose from it as a motto expressive of their mutual feeling the words of Achilles on returning to battle: "You shall know the difference now that I am back again." Again, on his visit to Cambridge, Newman remarked that he found his way from the town to Trinity College "like old Oedipus, without guide, by instinct; how I know not." And in 1874, writing a memoir of his life, he applied to himself a familiar passage of Aeschylus: And in a time of trouble, also, he carried in mind three lines of Horace:

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Lusisti satis, edisti satis atque bibisti:
Tempus abire tibi est; ne porum larguis aequo
Rideat et pulset lasciva decentius aetas.
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Newman had just as sure a taste in English literature. In 1871, he thanked Hope-Scott for a life of Walter Scott in the words: "In one sense I deserve it; I have ever had such a devotion, I may call it, to Walter Scott. As a boy in the early summer mornings I read 'Waverley' and 'Guy Mannering' 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! When Scott was dying Newman prayed for him, having in mind Keble's verse, "Think on the minstrel as ye kneel." At the age of
of six, Newman recited Cowper's Faithful Friend. In the anxieties of his later life he often thought of Cowper's two lines in The Needless Alarm:

Beware of desperate steps, the darkest day,
Live till to-morrow, will have passed away.

With this poet's Lines on His Mother's Picture, Newman grouped, for delicacy of expression, the ballad of Old Robin Gray, Lord Byron's Hebrew Melody, Milman's Funeral Hymn in the Martyrs of Antioch, Milton's Sonnet on his Blindness and Bernard Barton's Dream. Father Ryder of the Oratory named Southey and Crabbe among Newman's favorites. The same literary friend recollected an illness of his boyhood brightened by Newman's coming and reading to him Wordsworth's Ode on the Intimations of Immortality. "There was a passion and pathos in his voice that made me feel it was altogether the most beautiful thing I had ever heard." Of course, in literary pursuits at Oxford, Shakespeare and Milton became familiar to him. That Newman's taste for poetry throughout his schooldays was expressed in original composition, has already been proved. Before he was fifteen he had written a mock drama and a burlesque opera. To meet no college requirement, but merely to try out his knowledge, he wrote at Oxford a critique of the plays of Aeschylus on the principle of Aristotle's Poetics. At this time, his intellectual habits favored a continued interest in poetry.

Even in 1825, the year in which Newman was appointed vicar of St. Mary, Oxford, Blanco White, in asking Newman for a contribution to the Quarterly, suggested "household stuff," such as "how the leading classical writers should be read." On this occasion, Newman extended his early critique of the plays of
Aeschylus to include both ancient and moderns, and gave the essay the title, Poetry, with References to Aristotle's Poetics. But such knowledge of the classics adds little color or feeling to Newman's own poetry. What he admired most in the Oedipus Coloneus, the exquisite delineation of the character of Oedipus particularly in the interview with Polynices, he turned to advantage in the poem, Judaism. Here, he likened the Jewish race to

The vagrant King, of haughty purposed mind,
Whom prayer nor plague could bend;
Wrong'd, at the cost of him who did the wrong,
Accursed himself, but in his cursing strong,
And honour'd in his end.

This poem, moreover, and another, The Elements, follow the form of the Greek choral odes. Nothing, however, of the classic spirit appears in the latter; the poem presents simply the idea of God's omnipotence and man's dependence. Again, The Isles of the Sirens, in recalling "the man of many woes", has doubtless edification as its object. A quotation from Plato in Joseph is introduced with the hint, "Then, was fulfilled nature's dim augury". In the verses generally, the poet has kept in mind his theological doctrines.

But, like Arnold, Newman could appreciate a classic spirit over the heroine of Newman's tale, Callista, hangs the spell of ancient Greece. Compared with "clear, sweet and sunny Greece", all other countries are unbearable: Africa, the home of a burning river of hell, Tauris, "isle of moor and fen", and Albion, dim and pale-cliffed. The following song of Callista, more brief than the improvisation just referred to, suggests what would have been Newman's power had he turned like Arnold to classic themes:
I wander by that river's brink,
Which circles Pluto's drear domain;
I feel the chill night breeze, and think
Of joys which ne'er shall be again.

I count the weeds that fringe the shore,
Each sluggish wave that rolls and rolls;
I hear the ever-splashing oar
Of Charon, ferryman of souls. 173

Although his knowledge of great English poets was sure,
Newman depended little on them in his own composition. Only uncon­
scious traces of their influence appear. The first poem in his
final edition resembles Pope in rhythm and conventionality.
Furthermore, until his trust in liberalism was shaken, he contended
in favor of Pope's Essay on Man as rightly inculcating virtue.
Ariel's song in The Tempest which makes Ferdinand cry out,

Where should this music be? i' the air or the earth?-
It sounds no more;-and, sure it waits upon
Some god o' the island,

reminds one of the effect on Gerontius of the angel's singing in
The Dream. On the whole, however, there is little reflection of
the greatest English poets in Newman. The phrase, "What boots it"
may be recollected from Milton's Lycidas. In an early eclogue
the last speech of Damæn closes with the couplets,

That in gay fancy's vision may be seen
Shy Fauns and Dryads peeping thro' the green.
Or merry Cæmus and his jovial crew
Starting upon the unwary stranger's view.

But beyond such slight resemblances, nothing is found to remind one of the great English classics Newman knew so well.

One might think, although Newman at the time of his verse-writing lost interest in many of the greatest English poets, he would hold more closely to such sacred poets as George Herbert and Henry Vaughan. But here again, this interest does not strongly appear. The greater number of Newman's poems, The Dream excepted, were written during the anxious days of the Mediterranean voyage. The Church then faced disestablishment, and Newman wrote to check the drift away from dogma and all especially Christian virtues. From the religious poets of the seventeenth century, he could gain little help in his particular theological aim.

The connection between the conditions in the church and his purpose in Lyra Apostolica comes out plainly in Newman's correspondence. "Christianity", he declared in a letter to his mother, March 13, 1829, "is of faith, modesty, lowliness, subordination, but the spirit at work against it is one of latitudinarianism, indifferentism, and schism, a spirit which tends to overthrow doctrine...." The verses aimed to stir up people against this spirit of the day. Apropos of this matter, Newman wrote to F. Rogers two days before he set out on the journey with Froude; "we have in contemplation to set up a verse department in Rose's Magazine for all right purposes...we have hopes of making an effective quasi-political engine, without every contribution being of that character...." Newman, in fact, according to
plan does begin with personal religion and later mingles with such writing more ecclesiastical subjects.

That this deliberation shaped the verses Newman wrote for *Lyra Apostolica* can be seen from his letters. While waiting for the down-coach to Falmouth where he boarded the Hermes, he would have depatched several poems had not a traveller intruded himself and taken up the time. In a letter telling his sister that Rose accepted the proposition, he transcribed a set of verses and added, "I have written one on Athanasius, and a sort of song; and one on the Church of Rome, and I wish to take Old Testament subjects, but I cannot yet seize them." Even such as spontaneous poem as that aroused at the sight of Ithaca, was introduced in a letter with the remark, "Thus I complete my fortieth set." Again, he regretfully observed that, during April and May, the time of his illness abroad, he had composed only three poems. This loss, however, he made up by doing one every day during the month of June just before he reached home again. Whatever other cause prompted in part the composition of these poems, the chief stimulus was the belief that they might serve the end in view.

Such a narrowing of range excludes the possibility that Newman's poetry felt much the influence of George Herbert. Like this sacred poet, Newman wrote on such natural subjects as thanksgiving, confession, and other spiritual states. But in as much as Newman centered his attention on the conditions in the Anglican Church and on the practices and spirit of earlier Christian times, he became less like Herbert. The poems, *A Blight* and *The Scars of Sin*, are like Herbert's in introspection. Again, Newman in *Sleeplessness* and *Herbert in Submission* teach the same lesson.
But Herbert wrote most often from the standpoint of a person leading a secluded life. His theme was the soul alone in its relation to God, and particularly his own soul. Newman occasionally took this same self-centered position, but usually assumed an ecclesiastical viewpoint, and wrote to strengthen the church and to quicken the spiritual state of his countrymen.

The contrast in attitude between Newman and Herbert, in fact, is striking. Taking comfort in his own conspicuousness, Herbert used such phrases as, "I a sillie fly", and "my inch of life". His desire to honor God simply in himself was expressed in the lines of Employment:

Oh that I were an Orange-tree,  
That busie plant!  
Then should I ever laden be  
And never want,  
Some fruit for him that dressed me.

If such were Newman's inclinations, he struggled against them. To the thought of failure in attempting

To bring old times triumphant home  
And wandering flocks regain,

he thus reacted quickly,

May, this is worldly-wise;  
To reason is a crime.

And, unlike Herbert, who pleaded with God for only his own soul's welfare, Newman urged,

All may save self; but minds that heavenward tower  
Aim at a wider power.
Gifts on the world to shower.

On account of this peculiar narrowing of Newman's religious interest, he derived little direct help from the content of George Herbert's poetry.

Even more true was it that the sacred verse of Henry Vaughan availed little for such a purpose as Newman had when the bulk of his verse was written. This mystic poet saw the world with a shimmer of unreality over it. At times in early boyhood Newman may have felt mystic impulses such as were ever the controlling influence on Vaughan. Among early records of Newman's religious ideas occurs the following: 'I used to wish the Arabian Tales were true: my imagination ran on unknown influences... I thought life might be a dream, or I an Angel, and all this world a deception, my fellow-angels by a playful device concealing themselves from me, and deceiving me with the semblance of a material world.' Such a reflection reminds one of the lines in Vaughan's Retreate:

'But felt through all this fleshly dresse
Bright shootes of everlastingnesse.'

And with Newman as with Vaughan the spirituality of nature was an early thought: "Every breath of air and ray of light and heat, every beautiful prospect is, as it were, the skirts of their garments, the waving of the robes of those whose faces see God." Newman, however, nowhere in the poems expressed such a view as is found in this passage quoted in Apologia from the sermon for 1831. The trouble caused by political conditions turned his mind to a practical consideration of beliefs and practices of Christianity.
In consequence, such themes as absolution, the sign of the cross, and reverence for the name of Jesus absorbed him.

But there was one sacred poet nearer Newman in time and spirit who did exert a controlling influence. That poet was Newman's personal friend, John Keble. Reverence for Keble began when Newman was an undergraduate at Oxford. "When one day", Newman relates in Apologia, "I was walking in High Street with my dear earliest friend...(William Bowden), with what eagerness did he cry out, 'There's Keble!' and with what awe did I look at him." Once Keble and Newman came to understand each other, their friendship became firm and lasting.

Newman was drawn to the Christian Year by the esteem he felt for the author. A single glance at the volume on its first appearance, made him call the pieces "quite exquisite". In 1830, he adjusted Keble's poems to Bennett's chants. When he was at Keble's house for the first time, he kept thinking of the verses so much that he was "every minute in danger of quoting them." He had so thoroughly assimilated these poems that, when the beauty of spring about Oxford made him exclaim,

Chanting with a solemn voice
Minds us of our better choice,

he could hardly believe the lines were not his own and that Keble had not taken them from him.

All along Newman's progress ideas from the Christian Year are quoted or reflected in his writings. As an old man, the present to his mind was, in Keble's poetic words, "the awful future as it nearer draws." In Newman's first tract against Romanism,
he re-enforced his idea that the Anglican Church "is in a measure in that position which we fully ascribe to her Latin sister", by the following stanza from a poem of Keble:

At Rome she wears it, as of old,
Upon the accursed hill;
By monarchs clad in gems and gold,
She goes a mourner still....

Speak gently of our sister's fall:
Who knows but gentle love
May win her at our patient call,

The surer way to prove.

In a sermon he insisted that Scripture implies especial praise of childhood and virginity and cited Keble's poems for Advent Sunday and the Wednesday before Easter to bear out his point. In another sermon, The Spiritual Mind, he quoted Keble's striking phrase "the princely heart of innocence." And to introduce Tract 75, On the Roman Breviary as Embodying the Substance of the Devotional Services of the Church Catholic, he chose this appropriate stanza from Keble's First Sunday after Easter:

Teach her to know and love her hour of prayer,
And evermore,
As faith grows rare,
Unlock her heart and offer all its store
In holier love and humble vows,
As suits a lost returning spouse.
So frequently and so apt appear these quotations from Keble's *Christian Year* that one feels Newman fits them into his writings almost as if they were his own and were composed at the time to meet his need. In the *Church of the Fathers*, for instance, he clinches his thoughts on Appolinaris' falling away into heresy with Keble's verses:

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Alas, my brother! round thy tomb
In sorrow kneeling, and in fear,
We read the Pastor's doom
Who speaks and will not hear.

The gray-haired saint may fail at last,
The surest guide a wanderer prove;
Death only binds us fast
To the bright shore of love.
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And in the matin service for March 31, which he sets forth in Tract 75, he inserts a shortened version of Keble's poem from the *Christian Year*, St. John's Day.

Such abundant use of material from the *Christian Year* gives an important clue to Newman's own activity as a poet. This volume may well have given him the impulse to begin the series, *Lyra Apostolica*. Before Keble's publication in 1827, Newman had written little serious poetry. But the beauty and the helpful inspiration of the *Christian Year* impressed him. The religious teaching which it contained intensified his belief in "what may be called in a large sense of the word the Sacramental system." And its marked popularity must have been known to him. In ten years it had passed through sixteen editions and had sold 26,580 copies.
By the year 1873, it had gone through 140 editions and had sold 305,500 copies. The poems, though adapted to the liturgy of the church, were not originally suggested by it. The best evidence that the Christian Year stimulated Newman to work further in verse is given by the author himself. He observed in his essay, John Keble, that the Christian Year "abounds in sentiments about ecclesiastical matters, as they stood at the date of its composition." The character of the examples Newman cited suggests how well they may have served him as a precedent for certain of the Lyrae. The argumentative tone of the address to the clergy,

Is this a time for moonlight dreams
Of love and home by mazy streams...
While souls are wandering far and wide,
And curses swarm on every side;"

reminds one of Newman's Warfare. Keble's view of the Church,

God's new Israel, sunk as low,
Yet flourishing to sight as fair
As Sion in her height of pride,
corresponds to Newman's Samaria. And, though milder, Keble's lines,

O mother dear,
Wilt thou forgive thy son one boding sigh?
Forgive, if round thy towers he walk in fear,
And tell thy jewels o'er with jealous eye,

resemble Newman's various poems addressed to Mother Church. The drift and effect of the Christian Year, then, probably led Newman to undertake such a series of poems as Lyra Apostolica.
Newman's first composition for Lyra Apostolica hints in theme and phrasing of Keble's influence. The spirit of affection for "home's soft sympathies" which pervades Keble's verse,

I cannot paint to Memory's eye
The scene, the glance, I dearest love—
Unchanged themselves, in me they die
Or faint or false their shadows prove,

may have inspired Newman to express his different experience in the same matter:

My home is now a thousand miles away; Yet in my thoughts its very image fair Rises as keen, as I still linger'd there, And, turning me, could all I love survey.

In wording his reflections or forebodings on the Church in his first poems, Newman shows his dependence on the Christian Year. Keble recalls how "the fallen Church hath felt Elijah's eye" and observes,

Methinks we need him once again, That favour'd seer—but where shall he be found?

So Newman thinks of the great Athanasius, "raised by Divine decree", and questions,

...Dim Future! shall we need A prophet for Truth's Creed?

And Private Judgment, written off Cape Ortegai, Newman's first poem on ecclesiastical conditions, uses the same meter and has the same
confident tone as Keble's lines, Fifth Sunday in Lent. Keble refers to church matters in the line, "God will not quench nor slay them quite." His comparison with the Jews lengthens his poem which ends like Newman's with an exhortation. Apparently, Keble's poems guided Newman in his first purely ecclesiastical poems.

The Christian Year, however, felt strongly influences which scarcely touched Newman's poetry. No real devotion to Wordsworth existed in Newman's literary tastes. Keble, on the other hand, dedicated his Oxford Lectures on Poetry to Wordsworth in the words, "true philosopher and inspired poet who...whether he sang of men or of nature failed not to lift up men's hearts to holy things nor ever ceased to champion the cause of the poor and simple."

The devout feelings of Wordsworth, his love of a secluded life, and his eye for the spirituality of nature, apparently were characteristics which Keble appreciated and vitalized in his own poetry. Still, in the foreground of Keble's work stand doctrinal ideas, which, as a devout clergyman of the Anglican Church, he held immeasurably precious. The great romantic poet taught that he who feels contempt

For any living thing, hath faculties
Which he has never used.

But Keble, in urging this recognition of the humblest person stresses Christian truth;

Who loves the Lord aright
No soul of man can worthless find;
All will be precious in his sight
Since Christ on all hath shined.
Again, in this same poem he thinks of one of the sacraments,

Christian souls....
Though worn and soil'd with sinful clay,
Are yet, to eyes that see them true,
All glistening with baptismal dew.

Although Keble's theological interests were stronger than Wordsworth's, still, from the latter, Keble learned his simple and realistic manner of handling nature. To a Snowdrop seems distinctly Wordsworthian. It reads in part:

Thou first-born of the year's delight,
Pride of the dewy glade,
In vernal green and virgin white,
The vestal robes array'd:

'Tis not because thy drooping form
Sinks graceful on its nest,
When chilly shades from gathering storm
Affright thy tender breast.

From the same poem, the line, "as on their lowly couch they lie," reminds one at once of Wordsworth's verse in Daffodils, "For oft, when on my couch I lie." Further, the following three lines from Keble's The Burning Bush seem reminiscent in phrasing of Lucy Gray:

For seen across the sandy wild,
Where, like a solitary child,
He thoughtless roam'd and free.

In general, Keble's verse, like Wordsworth's, reflects a love of
nature, a sympathy for homely life, and a knowledge of the primal affections of man's heart. Just so he teaches in The Nightingale:

Give true hearts but earth and sky,
And some flowers to bloom and die—
Homely scenes and simple views
Lowly thoughts may best infuse.

From the religious lyrics, also, of George Herbert and Henry Vaughan, Keble imbibed numerous lessons. Herbert would have all acts of life performed as religious duties; so, in the Elixir,

Who sweeps a room, as far thy laws,
Makes that and th' action fine.

Similarly, Keble insists in the first poem of the Christian Year,

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

Both poets looked with great affection on childhood. Herbert recalled his infancy as the time when

Thou didst lay hold and antedate
My faith in me;

the same poem, Baptisme, closes with the line, "Childhood is health." It has been pointed out by Newman that the author of Lyra Innocentium takes refuge in the contemplation of that blessed time of life, in which the Church is what God intended it, what Christ made it, the time of infancy and childhood." And like Herbert, Keble
connected this charm of early life with the holiness arising from
baptism. Though different entirely from the tortuous style of
this seventeenth-century poet, Keble's poetry has much religious
feeling in common with Herbert's.

Henry Vaughan, the other early sacred poet who influ-
enced Keble, likewise reverenced childhood. The longing felt
for it in a mystic way is beyond Keble;

I cannot reach it; and my striving eye
Dazzles at it as at eternity;

but the idea,

Since all that age doth teach is ill,
Why should I not love childhood still?

bears a resemblance to Keble's lines,

While of his narrowing heart each year,
Heaven less and less will fill,
Less keenly, through his grosser ear,
The tones of mercy thrill.

In his notion of the invisible world, Keble's imagination takes a
flight similar to Vaughan's. The lines from Ascension Day,

Sure, when I reach the point where earth
Melts into nothing from th' unnumbered sight
Heaven will o'ercome th' attraction of my birth,
And I shall sink in yonder sea of light,

remind one of the opening lines of The World,
I saw Eternity the other night
Like a great Ring of pure and endless light
All calm, as it was bright.

And both see the glories of nature in an instructive way. Keble's verses,

Where the landscape in its glory
Teaches truth to wandering men,

recall the lessons presented by Vaughan in such poems as *The Bird* and *The Starre*. And though Keble is much nearer Wordsworth than Vaughan in nature description, traces of the latter poet can be found in the picture,

Far o'er the glowing western main
His wistful brow was upward rais'd
Where like an angel's train
The burnish'd water blaz'd.

And they viewed the stars with like interpretation. Vaughan fondly called them God's "host of spyes"; Keble says

The sun and every vassal star,

Wait on His word....

In spite of the great influence of other poets on the *Christian Year*, Keble in his poetry, as elsewhere in his writing, left the stamp of his own individuality. Wordsworth, Herbert, and Vaughan stimulated, but did not change, his natural impulses. After all, the history of his own life furnishes the best key to
his poetry. Affection for home was one of his strongest traits. And he early learned to love nature. At his father's house, the family lived in a retired, simple fashion. To Keble's sister, Elizabeth, the small garden and tree-surrounded paddock were all the world, and she travelled in a chair about the enclosed spot many miles each year. Keble's wife was an invalid, and, consequently, an interest in domestic duties was more or less forced upon him. Whatever practices he learned, therefore, from other poets were so thoroughly assimilated into his life as to make them almost indiscernible from his own natural manner and habits.

Another reason can be assigned for Keble's influence on Newman as a poet; Newman felt united to him by a sort of individuality. His theory at the beginning of the Oxford Movement, namely, that only men of like antecedents and tastes can act together, throws light on the poetry. It has already been observed how Newman found lines in Keble so akin to his own feeling that he almost thought Keble had taken them from him. Moreover, when he was asked in 1875 to judge Keble's literary merits, he named qualities which were likewise his own; keen religious instincts, an unworldly spirit, delicacy of mind, and loyalty to the Fathers.

Keble's criticism of poetry bulks large. But his fundamental views agree in general with what Newman held on the subject. Like Newman's essay, Poetry, with Reference to Aristotle's Poetics, Keble's Lectures on Poetry, delivered at Oxford between 1832 and 1841 and published in 1844, present in a single view ancient and modern literature. Keble's review of Lockhart's Life of Scott, which appeared in the British Magazine in
1838, brings out much the same notion of poetry as do the lectures. Newman wrote a short essay on hymns to preface the collection *Hymni Ecclesiae e Breviario Parisiensi*, published at Oxford in 1838. The ideas therein expressed are more precise, perhaps, than those of Keble's earlier article of 1825, contributed at the request of a friend to the *Quarterly Review* and entitled, *Sacred Poetry*.

Both begin with an acceptance of Aristotle as a deservedly high authority. The theory of imitation as presented in his *Art of Poetry* was judged by Newman "to be most true and philosophical." Keble, likewise, regarded poetry as deducible from two instinctive necessities of our common nature, "the same to which it was long ago referred by Aristotle: the need for some vent for absorbing or exciting thoughts...and the need of so controlling that expression...that the presence of reason subduing and ordering it shall be felt...throughout." This second requirement, he thought, leads naturally to the use of meter. Newman also pointed out that meter, as adopted by the poet's free choice, is, in reality, "the outward development of the music and harmony within."

In spite of the soundness of this general doctrine of Aristotle, Keble and Newman agreed that this great critic erred in his emphasis on the importance of plot in tragedy. Although the theory may be true in the abstract, Newman said, the Greek tragedies do not confirm such an idea. Both Keble and Newman point out that the *Oedipus Tyrannus* of Sophocles, which is instanced by Aristotle as most perfect in plot, falls down in true poetical qualities. On the other hand, both critics are very
fond of the *Oedipus at Colonus*, which is a mere series of incidents strung together loosely. Newman applies to it Horace's words, "decies repetita placebit." Keble says that however often he reads this play, he is deeply moved. Keble thinks its pre-eminent greatness rests on the true emotional fervour of the poet. "Indeed", he says, "the aged Sophoeles, when conducting the aged Oedipus to his native Athens, where he was to find a destined resting place, could hardly fail to be strangely moved and inspired by the thought of the familiar spots, by the memories of his boyhood, above all, by the presence of the deities whom in his boyhood, he and his parents had worshipped." Newman, too, cared far more for the spontaneous exhibition of pathos or imagination than for a minute diligence in the formation of a plot. "The sudden inspiration, surely, of the blind Oedipus", he observes, "...by which he is enabled 'without a guide' to lead the way to his place of death in our judgment produces more poetical effect than all the skilful intricacy of the plot of the Tyrannus." Keble and Newman view plot as chiefly the formal part, or machinery, of a play, and insist that in judging poetry the inner spirit of the poet, rather than the external form of the composition, should be looked to.

Like Aristotle, Newman plainly draws the distinction between mere literal truth and higher or idealized truth. "History and biography", he says, "represent individual characters and actual facts; poetry, on the contrary, generalizing from the phenomena of nature and life, supplies us with pictures drawn, not after an existing pattern, but after a creation of the mind." The poet's own imaginative power heightens and quickens his reading of
Thomson, Newman thought, may have pictured natural scenes faithfully enough, but Milton, "the poetical magician", he observed, "invests the commonest scenes of country life with hues, first of a cheerful, then of a pensive imagination." Maria Edgeworth frequently presents characters which are merely actual; Shakespeare, on the other hand, makes his characters poetically true. Southey's excellent use of the doctrine of a future life makes poetical the characters Thalaba, Ladurlad, and Roderick. Common minds transmit as they receive, good and bad. Poetical minds, Newman observes, select, refine, color, in short, idealize. Crabbe, in many parts of his Tales of the Hall, subjects metaphysics to this assimilative process. Cowper can invest even such a simple subject as his Mother's picture with dignity and pathos. One learned in the poetical art, then, does not present any truth prosaically, but heightened by its genuine emotional aspect.

Keble also recognized this function of idealization but stressed more than Newman the beauty of actuality. He accepted also Plato's doctrine of ideas as of value to poetry. The Ode on the Intimations of Immortality seemed to Keble the finest production of his day. And the source of its excellence lay, he thought, in the idealistic notion that childhood feels dimly a former existence, closer to divine influence than the present one. Keble was averse to Dr. Johnson's idea that poetry always presents something more pleasing than the things themselves afford. "There are real landscapes," he says, "which delight the mind as sincerely and intensely as the most perfect descriptions could; and there are family groups which give a more exquisite sensation
of happiness than anything in Milton or even Shakespeare."

Newman, however, was not wholly without this practical turn, for he has observed that Maria Edgeworth's presentation of Irish character is actual but that poetry existed in these characters themselves.

With this slight difference in emphasis, both Keble and Newman stress content more than form and make much of sincere feeling. Newman contrasted Milton with Pope and Moore. In Milton he found the "echo of the inward music which the thoughts of the poet breathe." Pope, on the other hand, trusted more to extraneous ornament, elaborating his composition for its own sake. Moore, also, he thought, allowed the ornament to outstrip the sense. Conversely, although he realized that Cowper and Scott were careless versifiers, he counted them favorites. Homer's style suited him because he rhapsodized without deference to hearer or judge.

Keble even mentioned that distinction and beauty of style are not essential to true poetry. All primary poets, he thought, are driven to poetic expression by an instinct of nature. Among these men he lists Homer and Scott, who wrote without regard to their readers but from the pressure of an overflowing mind.

A deference for thought led Keble and Newman highly to distrust rhetoric. Keble insists that the rhetorical ring of Burke's description of Marie Antoinette in his French Revolution removed it from the province of poetry; it was framed, he thought, to appeal to an audience. On the other hand, he considered Jeremy Taylor's tribute to a great lady real poetry on the ground that the words were as simply spoken before men as if the author communed with himself only. Similarly, Newman held that Byron did not
know how to make poetry out of existing materials but only declaimed. And so, in this poet's laments over Greece and Rome, the ancient scenes are in themselves the poetical text and Byron's words mere rhetorical comment. Further, he objected to Childe Harold as a character professedly isolated from the world and uninfluenced by it. "One might as well," he says, "draw Tityrus's stags grazing in the air, as a character of this kind." Among the Ancients Newman finds that only Juvenal habitually substitutes declamation for poetry.

Both Newman and Keble held that the degree of poetical truth which a poet expresses depends on his own emotional nature. Newman pointed out that Byron's *Manfred* was in part intensely poetical because of the fact that there was in the poet's mind right and fine feeling, although a consistent character was lacking in its author. Hence, Newman held that right moral feeling was the center from which radiates all poetry. He counted Milton, Spenser, Cowper, Wordsworth, and Southey as most nearly approximating this center. Keble, similarly, looked into the emotional nature of the poet and asserted that the truest poetry expressed the best state of the affections. Burns was so instinctively drawn to nature that he could not be happy without it; hence lyrical pieces are among his finest poems. Like Newman, Keble saw in Dryden great inconsistency. He goes so far as to say, "we feel he never heartily and sincerely praised any human being, or felt any real enthusiasm for any subjects he took up." He agrees with Newman that the center of Scott's poetry is chivalrous honor. With Keble the crucial test of true poetry is that its author write "in a strain of his own of what he has
known and felt and loved." Pindar, he thinks, "has sketched the real task of those who give themselves to poetic composition. To begin with,

When graceful genius largely gives,—
this implies that it is almost by chance, but chance, guided by the gods, that words, phrases, and skilful periods suggest themselves at the fitting moment to the poet's mind. And then by some subtle association, when once the right expression has been found, there often follows a rich flow, not merely of language, but of thoughts drawn from the deepest fountains of the heart:

From wisdom's deepest fount the living meed."

Newman's actual practice in verse keeps close to Keble's primary idea of the emotional aspect of poetry. He frequently refers in his letters to his verse as a means of relieving his mind. And he thought he wrote best under pleasurable emotion. He sent the poem, Taormini, to his sister, Harriet, with the remark, "You will see they want ease and spirit. Anxiety is the great enemy of poetry. In the Hermes I had no foreboding care."

Newman sometimes explains the emotional experience occasioning certain verses. Home, which appeared first in Lyra Apostolica, was written on seeing Frederic Rogers' family for the first time: father, mother, sisters and brothers, referred to in the picture the verses give. Again, the lines,

And when thine eye surveys
With fond adoring gaze,
And yearning heart, thy friend,
Love to its grave doth tend,

were in memory of the his parting with Froude when the cholera was imminent, and were written in close proximity to the occasion. Angelic Guidance sprung from a presentiment that the Mediterranean voyage would open up to him some new and larger course of action.

The emotional basis of still other poems can easily be inferred. Froude's home at Dartington was in a country surpassingly beautiful. There "the exuberance of the grass and the foliage is oppressive, as if one had not room to breathe, though this a fancy—the depth of the valleys and the steepness of the slopes increase the illusion.... The scents are extremely fine, so very delicate yet so powerful, and the colors of the flowers as if they were all shot with white. The sweet peas especially have the complexion of a beautiful face. They trail up the wall mixed with myrtles as creepers. As to the sunset, the Dartmoor heights look purple, and the sky close upon them a clear orange." But the reflections which came into his head at the beauty which he keenly felt at Dartington concerned his pilgrim lot:

'Twas a hard, humbling task, onwards to move
His easy-captured eye from each fair spot,
With unattach'd and lonely step to rove
O'er happy meads, which soon its print forgot:—
Yet kept he says his pledge, prizing his pilgrim lot.
The overpowering rush of pleasurable emotion at seeing Ithaca, the reality of what had been the earliest vision of his childhood, inspired Moses Seeing the Land. And the comfort he derived in visiting the Catholic churches at Palermo caused him to write his verses on that faith in terms of the Good Samaritan:

O that thy creed were sound,
For thou dost soothe thy heart, thou Church of Rome.

So inherent was this feeling that poetry should express natural emotion that he found no higher praise for Edward Caswall's poems than, "The fire upwelling of my tranquil spirit."

Newman and Keble held, in general, like views on hymns and sacred poetry. Keble's article, Sacred Poetry, largely emphasizes the worth of simplicity in sacred verse and hymn-writing as in all other poetry. He contends that the Psalms are a precedent for addressing God, "in all the various tones and by all the topics, which we should use to a good and wise man standing in the highest and nearest relation to us." The most impressive characteristic of the psalms themselves was to Keble their total carelessness about what he technically termed effect. Further, they are more than merely attractive poetry; they are absolute and divine truth. Hymns should answer the same tests of spontaneity and truthfulness. And he recognized the consequent difficulty of combining in such composition rapture and inspiration together with a proper restraint. The latter he strenuously insisted upon: "The worshippers of Baal may be rude and frantic in their cries and gestures; but the true Prophet, speaking to or of the true God, is all dignity and calmness."
Newman was ever keenly alive to the need of a strong and true devotional life. Throughout his sermons he speaks again and again of the worth of the psalter in the church. The preface to *Hymni Ecclesiae e Breviaro Parisiensis* takes up briefly the reasons why the Church of England substituted a metrical version of the psalms for Roman Catholic hymns. Here, as in his sermons and elsewhere, Newman considers them exquisitely beautiful prayers.

"The peculiarity of the Psalms", he observes, "is their coming nearer than any other kind of devotion to a converse with the powers of the unseen world". Hymns also directly address Almighty God; hence there is real difficulty in their composition. Newman puts it thus: "To praise God especially for Redemption, to contemplate the mysteries of the Divine Nature, to enlarge upon the details of the Economy of grace, and yet not to offend, to invoke with awe, to express affection with a pure heart, to be subdued and sober while we rejoice, and to make professions without display, and all this not under the veil of figurative language, as in the Psalms, but plainly, and (as it were) abruptly, surely requires to have had one's lips touched with a 'coal from the Altar.'"

Hymns and sacred verses, then, were to Newman and Keble an extremely important kind of religious writing. According to Keble, it was the high business of the sacred poet to describe the effect of religious doctrines upon the human mind and heart.

At one time Newman quoted St. Ambrose to the effect, "hymns have in them a high strain above all other influence." Shortly before his death, he requested some of the Oratory Fathers to sing for him Faber's hymn, *The Eternal Years*, which he thought far more beautiful than his own *Lead, Kindly Light*: "Mine is of a soul in darkness—this is of the eternal light."
work, The Grammar of Assent, Newman counts a familiarity with hymns and religious poems one source of a real personal belief in Christ's divinity. His attitude toward verse was plainly grounded in his religious life.

Newman lost gradually his youthful Catholic interest in poetry. The early favorite, Crabbe, continued to please him by his common-sense moralizing. He came to dislike in Wordsworth what he thought almost sacerdotal pretensions. As a history of a life-long vocation, Southey's Thalaba attracted him. "It was his picture of what he trusted the Movement and his share in the Movement would have been." Though he felt inclined to read William Morris's Earthly Paradise, he refused to do so. Any reading, particularly poetry, which did not come in the way of duty, he was apt to forbid himself.

Where obligations, however, did not interfere, he approved the pursuit of poetry. Keble's election to the Professorship of poetry, interested him. He hoped that Keble might succeed, because he retained a great affection for the classics and wished he might have some business to spend time on them. Further, this friend, pleased him with his theory of the value of connecting a high  and poetical feeling. Whatever distrust of the art he felt for himself, arose from the pressure of duties. In 1863, he wrote to Keble, "My great delight is to take up your Poetry Lectures,—I only love them too well, considering my age, and that their subject is not simply a religious one."

In fact, when he felt the need of a personal, direct appeal to the members of the Anglican Church, he quickly seized upon poetry as a means to an end. He agreed with the other
Tractarians in their censure of literary display. But verse-writing, he thought, might prove the safest and most effective means of spreading ideas, since in them "one speaks ωστε μετάφορα, though serious." He wrote to Keble from Rome that neither he nor Froude had any ambition "to set up for a poet"; they wished only "to inflict and fix sentiments into men's minds."

Keble had already in the Christian Year proved to Newman the strength of such an appeal. In later years, he said of this volume, "Much certainly came of the Christian Year: it was the most soothing, tranquillizing, subduing work of the day; if poems can be found to enliven in dejection, and to comfort in anxiety; to cool the over-sanguine, to refresh the weary, and to awe the worldly; to stall resignation into the impatient; and calmness into the fearful and agitated—they are these."

Doubtless with this precedent in mind, Newman occupied the leisure of his Mediterranean trip in attempts at verse-writing. Two days before he left for Oxford on this leave, he wrote Frederic Rogers that he was looking up recruits, for he had in contemplation "to set up a verse department in Rose's Magazine for all right purposes." And from Rome he gave this correspondent permission to examine the verses he had sent his mother, telling him, "At least the sight of them may stimulate you, and put you in good spirits, and suggest ideas and how to begin—which is the great difficulty in all things."

This suggests that Newman's influence bore directly upon the character and contents of the contribution of Lyra Apostolica. That doubtless was the case. He secured poems which, like the tracts, would, "familiarize the imagination of the
reader to an Apostolical State of the Church."

As a result, it seems, of Newman's guiding hand, Keble's poems underwent decided change in content and style. Only three remind one forcibly of the Christian Year. One of these, Burial of the Dead, was intended in the first manuscript of the Christian Year to suggest thoughts on the burial rite. It contains such leisurely expressed human feeling as the following two stanzas exhibit:

If human anguish o'er the shaded brow
Pass shuddering, when the handful of pure earth
touches the coffin lid;
If at our brother's name,

One and again the thought, 'forever gone',
Comes o'er us like a cloud; yet gentle spright
Thou turnest not away,
Thou know'st us calm at heart.

The second, To a Thrush, uses nature to point the lesson:

The birds that chant before the Spring,
Are truer far than we.

And the third, Sacrilege, was written March 25, 1833, while the Irish Church Bill was in progress and before Newman had returned to England. The five Spenserian stanzas present the condition in the Church through the symbolic portrayal of an old shepherd, musing over the snows that mocks the spring. The quiet, meditative cast of these poems belong to practically all the verses in the Christian Year.
For the most part, however, Keble's poems in *Lyra Apostolica* are short and direct. The poet does away with lengthy comparisons, nature pictures, and leisurely expressed human emotions. In the three stanzas of *Resignation*, which are short but not abrupt, he preached mortification of will as the highest of all renunciations. The closing lines,

Then be thy self-renouncing will
The seal of the calm trust,

remind one of Newman's concise and plain expression of the same thought in *The Gifts of Perseverance*:

'E'en holiest deeds
Shroud not the soul from God, nor soothe its needs;
Deny thee thy own fears, and wait the end!'

Keble's use of the sonnet may indicate again Newman's influence. No sonnets are found in the *Christian Year*. In the period of *Lyra Apostolica*, Newman commonly adopted this form to express most of his serious reflections that were not occasioned by outside environment. Keble gives up his more sustained kind of composition for this condensed form, but hints at his early practice by grouping sonnets or short poems on a single subject. For example, there are three sonnets and two poems on Jeremiah.

The crucial year of 1833 called for more incisive and more stirring poems than Keble had written in the *Christian Year*. In the period of 1832 and 1833 Newman had constantly this underlying purpose, and hence Keble may have learned from him. Keble had aimed chiefly at arousing a more sober kind of devotion; he wanted now to interest people profoundly in behalf of the
principles and practices of established religion. Like Newman's Declension, the opening lines of Keble's The Gathering of the Church anticipates and so guard against overwhelming fear in the face of the difficult situation. This poem begins:

Wherefore shrink, and say, 'Tis vain:
In their hour hell powers must reign;
Vainly, vainly would we force
Fatal error's torrent course
Earth is might, we are frail,
Faith is gone and hope must fail.

Nowhere in Newman's verses is greater vehemence shown than in these lines. When Newman's thoughts were not on the subject of disestablishment, he brought forward Old Testament characters in his verse to illustrate the temper and conduct God approved and punished among the Jews. Jonah furnished an instance of pride and sloth. Uzzah and Obed-Edom closed with the warning

There are two ways to aid her ark
As patrons and as sons.

Keble, likewise, with this purpose writes Dathan and Abiram and Korah. Further, both Newman and Keble appealed for encouragement to their favorite champions of truth. Newman's affection for Gregory led him to witness this saint's activity against Arianism. Again in Warfare, he urged,

If blessed Paul had stay'd
In cot or learned shade,
Keble, fond of Hooker, whose works he had edited, closed his poem on that sixteenth century divine with the lines,

Voice of the fearless saint!

Ring like a trump where gentle hearts
Beat high for truth, but doubting, cower and faint:
Tell them, the hour is come, and they must take their parts.

In other places, also, Newman's poems may easily have set the standard in matters of style for Keble's contribution to Lyra Apostolica.

Moreover, Keble approved Newman's idea that the poems should accustom the imagination of their readers to conditions in the early Church. Keble gives to five poems the significant group-title, Lighting of Lamps. In the early church the ancient vespers were sometimes called Officium Lucernarum. The fifth of these poems, The Churchman to his Lamp, recalls, with application to the present, the seven seasons of prayer practised in early times and set forth in the Roman Breviary:

Then hours of Prayer, in welcome round,
Far severed hearts together bound,
Seven times a day, on bended knee,
They to their Saviour cried; and we-
One hour we find in seven long days,
Before our God to sit and gaze!
Julian begins, "Dread glimpses, e'en in gospel times, have been". In The African Church, Keble recalled Cyprian, the staunch support of episcopacy, just as Newman in his verses had brought to mind Athanasius, the champion of truth "at his own harm." Newman's Letters on the Church of the Fathers, which appeared in the British Magazine contemporaneously with Lyra Apostolica, began with St. Ambrose and his dispute with the churches, and followed with the conduct of Theodosius. Keble's sonnet, Profanation, introducing the series of Lyrae into the British Magazine, goes back to the taking of Jerusalem by the Romans and dwells on the ominous words heard by the priests, 'Let us depart hence'. The first quatrains reads,

Is there no sound about our Altars heard
Of gliding forms that long have watched in vain
For slumbering discipline to break her chain,
And aim the bolt by Theodosius fear'd?

The ecclesiastical turn of Keble's poems becomes in 1833 more like Newman's direct appeals than the earlier sentiments and forebodings on the Church which are found in the Christian Year.

Newman's intimacy with Keble and Froude accounts for the direction his leadership gave their contributions. In fact, only Newman's close relation with the contributors to Lyra Apostolica could make possible such a concord of thought and feeling as they show. The contributor least in this circle of intimacy was Robert Isaac Wilberforce, tutor of Oriel with Newman and Froude, and brother of Newman's closer friend, Henry Wilberforce.
And he made only one contribution. Isaac Williams had learned to write poetry because of his love and admiration for Keble. He read during the Long Vacation with Keble and formed his own character under Keble's influence. And when Keble retired, in 1841, from the professorship of poetry, Williams became a candidate for it. His failure in achieving the position marks the first prominent defeat of the Tractarian group. J. W. Bowden, the sixth Lyrae-writer, shared in Newman's first attempt at verse-writing. Bowden and Newman were inseparable friends at college and this mutual attachment lasted to Bowden's death in 1844. Altogether, the lyrists were an Oxford group willing to co-operate with Newman in the project of verse-writing for the Church.

Keble started Froude in poetical composition. Fond, like Newman, of the Christian Year, he told its author, "your poems are the best help to conceiving that we are really the people for whom such great and wonderful things have been done...." And with Keble's theory that poetry should express spontaneous emotion, he was in full accord. A few months after the Christian Year appeared Froude himself began to write. And in his composition simple themes and touches of nature description are found. For instance, he writes, Home, in the same affectionate strain as does Keble. And expressive of thoughts much like Keble's, he inserts in a letter the verse beginning,

The weeds, the green sea weeds
On my ship's keel are growing
My idle sail flaps in the gale,
So freely crisply blowing.

But when Froude came to work with Newman on the
series of *Lyra Apostolica*, the plan adopted led them and the other contributors to write in a style markedly different from that of the *Christian Year*. Newman's dictum was, "We must not mind roughness or awkwardness of versification; we are but bringing out ideas in metre." Froude announced to a correspondent that some pieces were to be fierce and some meek and none above twenty lines. Almost exactly meeting such requirements in form are Bowden's one sonnet and five poems.

The poems give every evidence of group work. Newman's *David* and Froude's *Daniel* are much alike. In the same meter they set forth the hard lot of these Biblical characters. Froude attributes to David,

\[
\text{A cup of weary, well spent years,}
\text{A cup of sorrows, fasts and tears;}
\]

and Newman says of David,

\[
\text{Sad success, parental tears,}
\text{And a dreary gift of years.}
\]


The cross influence further reveals itself in the catching up of a phrase or idea by one contributor from another for the purpose of emphasis. Keble in *The Three Absolutions* symbolizes by "The Golden Keys" the church services and gives the warning,
But touch them trembling—for that gold
Proves iron in the unworthy hand.

Froude continues the strain in *Trembling Hope*:

The Golden Keys each eve and morn
I see them with a heart forlorn
Lest they should Iron prove to me
O set my heart at liberty.

....

Again, Keble follows Newman's verses beginning, "*Tyre of the West*,
with the lines, "*Tyre of the farther West." The lyrists were in
continual correspondence one with another on the subject of the verses.
Froude was a moving spirit among them, urging them to write and
even suggesting possible subjects, such as, *Pauperes Christi*, "a
watchword of the Church of Ambrose's time." Hence, a unity of
feeling and a similarity of tone and of phrase appear in the various
contributions.

The details of publication fell naturally to Newman.
He encouraged Keble, on account of his reputation as a poet, doubtless,
to introduce the series in the *British Magazine*. Newman, it
seems, determined the order of appearance of other contributions
also. Froude wrote a correspondent that because of its stinging
character, his sonnet beginning, "Yes, mark the words..." was held
back for several numbers. Finally, Newman had the poems
republished at the death of Froude in 1836 in such a way as to
indicate their authorship and so preserve the memory of his friend.

The character that the poems of *Lyra Apostolica*
gradually assumed, kept pace with what Newman was writing in his
tracts. Though, with the exception of *Intercession of Saints*, his
own contributions were written before Keble preached his assize sermon, July 14, 1833, the date Newman names for the beginning of the Movement, the Lyra appeared in the British Magazine from 1833 to 1836 inclusive, and so the direction Newman gave the pieces which were not his blended in thought with his own tracts. Here, again, appears the harmony of the contributors' efforts. As early as 1827, Froude wrote a correspondent that, if his time were not so drawn upon in other quarters, "an historical account of the Liturgy, tracing all the prayers through the Roman missals and breviaries up to their original source...would be a very eligible subject to spend time on." And when Newman in March 1836 at Froude's death, took this friend's Roman Breviary as a keepsake, Tract 75, dated June 24, 1836, was written from it. The hymns for the canonical hours on Sunday were freely translated and appear in this tract. A series of articles on the Parisian Breviary had come out in the British Magazine between 1833 and 1836. And Isaac Williams had presented two hymns from the Parisian Breviary for the Lyra Apostolica. Hymns became of real interest to the Tractarians. Between the years 1836 and 1838, Newman translated more than thirty. And in Callista, where he presents an early Christian service, Newman inserts the translation of still another ancient hymn. Keble also contributed to hymn-writing by altering certain hymns in the Anglican hymnals and by translating wholly Nocte surgentes, Nunc sancti, Rectorpotens, Rerum Deus, Salvete flores, Cultor Dei memento, O Deus, ego amo Te, and Alleluia, dulce carmen. The thread of religious interests weaves itself closely into all Newman's writings, verse as well as prose. Under his direction
the Lyrae, like the Tracts, offered a solemn and direct protest against such acts of aggression as the suppression of bishoprics by the state. Only this dominating interest can account for Newman's writing real poetry at all. Before 1827, the date of the appearance of the Christian Year, he had composed no poems of sufficient weight or seriousness to warrant them a place in Lyra Apostolica. Rimes for birthdays and trivial verses for ladies' albums constituted the bulk of Memorials of the Past. In one of them he says,

But I have not the skill
Nor talisman strong
To summon at will
The spirit of song.

Frederic Chapman saw in the title of his volume the author's intention of "definitely putting behind him the temptation to expend, in the making of verse, time which he considered might be more profitably devoted to other employments." As evidence he quotes the passage:

Ill' seems it the devoted hand
That has touched the plough to trifle now
With toys of verse again.

In 1834, when the above lines were written, Newman probably little dreamed that verse-writing would fall in his line of duty as a clergyman. Even in 1831, he wrote,

I never could find
A suitable friction
To frenzy my mind.
Yet, in November of the next year, he composed his first Lyra at Oxford.

The *Christian Year* suggested to Newman what verse-writing could accomplish on behalf of the Anglican Church. In 1832 the same need which Keble tried to meet in 1827 became more and more urgent. Recognizing this fact, Newman knew well what he wanted to accomplish and began the Lyrae much as he said he did the tracts, out of his own head.

Hence, little visible influence can be detected in Newman's verse in the period between 1833 and 1836. The real occasion brought out his poetical powers. The precedent of Keble warranted his undertaking serious verse-writing. And in the leisure of the Mediterranean voyage, he felt a powerful stimulus to poetical composition in new scenes and fresh experiences.

The poems of the period are a signal instance of the triumph of matter over form. His early attempts were more or less trite and wooden. But now a pause in routine work led to fruitful meditation. He thought of conditions in the Anglican Church and the sight of Rome, Sicily, and the coast of Northern Africa stirred profoundly his religious feelings. About four-fifths of all his verses, *The Dream* excepted, sprang at this time from Newman's thoughts on the Church of England and his place in it. Everywhere abroad he found reminders of the work of early Christian leaders, and these stimulated his reflections and gave vitality to his verse-writing.
CHAPTER V.

SOURCES OF THE DREAM OF GERONTIUS.

The Dream of Gerontius was so spontaneous that Newman could give little account of how or why he wrote it. In this way it differs from the more deliberate short poems of *Lyra Apostolica*. Yet its basis is discernible in certain thoughts learned early from the Church Fathers and enlivened yeats afterwards by a vivid imagination. Besides these theological ideas in *The Dream*, glimpses also are found of various liturgical services of the Roman rite, to which Newman accustomed himself as a priest of the oratory.

These facts suggest a fresh explanation of the word 'Gerontius', which most editors take in its derivative sense, from the Greek, γερόντιος, that is, concerning an old man. Newman was naturally aware of that etymology. But when he composed *The Dream*, he may have recollected the name Gerontius from his reading of Athanasius and other Church Fathers. In the fiction, *Callista*, with its historical background, we know that the bishop Caecilian is reminiscent in name and other respects of Caecilian Cyprian, actual bishop of Carthage. So also, according to Athanasius, a bishop, Gerontius, attended the Council of Sardica. The name occurs elsewhere several times in the Fathers.

Strangely enough, the whole dramatic plan of *The Dream* finds an interesting parallel in the *Vision of Paul*, a work that has always been of interest to students of Dante. Paul, caught up to the third heaven, carries on a dialogue with an angel much as does Gerontius with his guardian spirit. The likeness to *The*
Dream begins with Paul's request, "I wish to see the souls of the just and of sinners, and to see in what manner they go out of the body." In this connection one recalls Gerontius' statement,

Now I know surely that I am at length
Out of the body....

At the angel's command, then, he looked upon the earth, where he saw a certain man about to die. And the angel told Paul, "This one whom thou seest is a just man." Holy angels and impious angels attend the soul's departure, but the latter had no part in it. When, therefore, the soul had left the body, "there came to meet him the angel who watched him every day, and said to him, 'Do manfully, soul, for I rejoice in thee, because thou hast done the will of God upon earth....'" Similarly, Gerontius hears first after death the guardian spirit, who sings rejoicingly,

My work is done,
My task is o'er,
And so I come,
Taking it home.

And before this moment Gerontius has admonished himself,

Rouse thee, my fainting soul, and play the man.

Further, the soul and the angel are stopped on their journey heavenward by an evil spirit, who thus addresses them, "Whither runnest thou, O soul, and dost thou dare to enter heaven? Wait and let us see if there is anything of ours in thee...." Gerontius, likewise, in the mid-region hears the vain curses and howling of demons, whose business is "to gather souls for hell." Then, in the Vision, Michael, exults with the happy soul and receives him after judgment from the hand of the guardian spirit. So the Angel of the Agony in The Dream pleads for the suffering soul of Gerontius
before he is given by his guardian to the Angels of Purgatory.

The five hymns of angelicals, before the judgment, are, of course, Newman's own invention and have therefore no parallel in The Vision, although in the latter, after the judgment, is "heard the voice of a thousand, thousand angels, and archangels and cherubim and twenty-four elders saying hymns and glorifying the Lord and crying, Thou art just O Lord and just are thy judgments, and there is no acceptance of persons with thee, but thou rewardest unto every man according to thy judgment." Possibly, then, Newman's conception of a journey made from earth to heaven by the soul together with its guardian spirit and of a dialogue in which an angel explains what comes to pass in death, may have come from the Vision of Paul.

In another such vision, The Testament of Abraham, the main interest lies in the common medieval treatment of the dance of death. An important reminder of The Dream, however, occurs in the statement, "And behold the angel Holding the soul in his hand and he brought it before the judge"; for Gerontius makes much of the same experiences:

Another marvel: someone has me fast
Within his ample palm; 'tis not a grasp
Such as they use on earth, but all around
Over the surface my subtle being,
As though I were a sphere, and capable
To be accosted thus, a uniform
And gentle pressure tells me I am not
Self-moving but borne forward on my way.
Another possible likeness is the notion of seeing death "in the shape of a terrible precipice," which appears in The Dream in the lines:

As though I bent

Over the dizzy brink

Of some sheer infinite descent.

And in this work, also, as in Newman's poem, the soul, not having been fully cleansed on earth from its sins, needs the intercession of others. It is supplied, in this instance, by Abraham and Michael, who have the satisfaction afterwards of hearing the angel's words, "It has been saved by the righteous prayer, and behold an angel of light has taken it and carried it up into Paradise." The general plan of these visions may have been retained easily enough by Newman's assimilative and receptive mind, until a time came for their use in his own poem on death and judgment.

At the time of the composition of The Dream in 1865, Newman no longer, as in the Oxford days, centered his attention on the writings and controversies of the Fathers. He was an old man, looking forward to his own death, and engaged largely in the devotional exercises of the Oratory. This devotional life has an important bearing on The Dream.

From beginning to end the poem is composed of elements found in the Divine Office of the Roman Breviary. The last words of Gerontius,

Into Thy hands,

0 Lord, into Thy Hands,

reproduce the versicle and response for compline, or the night
service, in the daily office. Even the repetition of "Into Thy hands," is a pronounced feature of this prayer in the psalter:

V. Into Thy hands, O Lord, I commend my spirit.
R. Into Thy hands, O Lord, I commend my spirit.
V. Thou hast redeemed us, O Lord God of truth.
R. I commend my spirit.

The Breviary, also, since the psalms furnish the basic chant of the entire office, would prompt Newman to insert a paraphrase of Psalm 89 in his poem as the chant for the souls in purgatory. And like most of the psalms in the Breviary, this psalm is followed by the lesser doxology. Again, in the second nocturn of the same liturgical service, the stories of the saints' lives are found together with their application. For example, on September 17, occurs the feast of the "marking of the body of St. Francis with the marks of the Lord Jesus." The Breviary narrative describes the terrible pain and ecstatic joy produced by the stigmata. Newman repeats this story in The Dream to bring home the same lesson which the office teaches, namely,

Learn that the flame of Everlasting Love
Doth burn ere it transform.

Again, in the second nocturn for January 17, is told the story of St. Anthony, the Hermit's innumerable experiences with demons and his teachings concerning them. One is reminded of this narrative by the angel's discourse to the soul of Gerontius on the impotence of demons against holy persons. And the simple hymns of praise throughout The Dream resemble the hymns for the canonical hours of the office.
Newman thus has incorporated in his poem the essential elements of the Breviary service,—the psalm, hymns, versicles and responses, and the stories of saints.

One who is accustomed to the recitation of the office discerns in The Dream a special influence of Breviary hymns. They, doubtless, set the precedent for a common opening stanza of praise in the hymns of the angelicals; for each group of Breviary hymns, matins, lauds, or vespers, closes with such a stanza. This repeated stanza forms a closing doxology for the hymns, just as psalms are commonly followed by a gloria at the end of a service. Long practice in the recitation of the office may account for Newman's adding to Gerontius' acts of faith, hope, love, and resignation, the doxology,

Adoration aye be given,
With and through the angelic host,
To the God of earth and heaven,
Father, Son, and Holy Ghost.

In much the same words, between 1836 and 1838, Newman translated the last stanza of the group of hymns for lauds. Further reminiscent of the Breviary are the Latin lines,

Sanctus fortis, Sanctus Deus,
De profundis oro te,
Miserere, Judex meus,
Parce mihi, Domine.

The alteration of the last line to "Mortis in discrimine" on the nearer approach of death is after the fashion of Breviary hymns, which are often changed in a line or two to fit more nearly the
occasion. For example, a hymn for the Common Confessors is used on the feast of St. Francis' stigmata, but the verses,

Doth of his labours for his mighty Blesser
Rich harvest reap,

are made,

First in his flesh the five marks of his Blesser
Bore printed deep.

The deep-rooted influence of the Roman Breviary on The Dream came naturally enough. This liturgical work formed an important part of Newman's devotional life. He ever considered March 1836 a crucial point in his life for the reason that he learned to know and use the Breviary. He was therefore in the habit of saying the daily office long before it became a matter of obligation to him as a priest of the oratory. So great was his esteem for this service-book that he called it "that most wonderful and most attractive monument of the devotion of saints."

Newman's familiarity with another liturgical book, the Roman Missal, may throw further light on the Latin prayer of the dying Gerontius, which begins "Sanctus fortis, sanctus Deus." In Newman's mind this prayer may have been associated with the act of holding and kissing the crucifix, a not unimportant detail of the Catholic death scene. The rite, given in the missal for Good Friday and commonly known as the adoration of the cross, is accompanied by a chant similar in elements to Gerontius' prayer. According to the rubric, "dum fit adoratio Crucis, cantantur Improperia," This chant begins with Greek and Latin versicles
and responses as follows:

1. Agios O Theos
2. Sanctus Deus
1. Agios ischyros
2. Sanctus fortis
1. Agios athanatos, eleison imas.

The likeness to Gerontius' words is so striking as not to be overlooked by editors of the poem.

Still more obvious groundwork for the liturgical basis of The Dream is found in the Roman Ritual, the third one of the three service-books most commonly used by priests. So accurately does Newman use these formulas of the church that they serve the dramatic purpose of indicating definitely the state of the dying person. The litany for the dying, which, in the poem, is the first of these prayers, is said by the priest and the bystanders after the Viaticum and Extreme Unction have been administered. They are begun only when the person is in the extremity of death, and they form, in the language of the Ritual, "the recommendation of a departing soul." At this time, then, Gerontius is making his last effort before death; hence with appropriateness comes his interruption in the middle of the litany. He desires even at the very last to arouse his soul to prayer:

And, ere afresh the ruin on me fall,
Use well the interval.

When the priest ends the prayer, "Proficiscere anima Christiana," paraphrased in the poem, the agony of departure is over. Gerontius then, is dead. After the soul has departed, the priest, following the rules of the ritual begins the responsory, "Subvenite, Sancti
Dei; occurriti Angeli Domini, Suscipientes animam eius in conspectu Attissimi. The poem stresses the time at which this prayer is made use of in the church-service for the dying, namely immediately after the soul has departed. Gerontius repeats the first word, "Subvenite," in trying to tell whether he is in time or in eternity. The angel uses the word to indicate that death has passed for his charge, though scarcely passed. Both hear this prayer after the journey, when they have come into the veiled presence of God. The ritual, therefore, is used in the poem with the skill of a theologian as well as with the imagination of a poet.

Just as all the essential portions of The Dream can be found in the service-book of the church, so, also, many ideas and doctrines that it expresses find their authorization in the writings of the Fathers. It is a generally acknowledged fact that to Newman the Fathers were as familiar as were the Holy Scriptures. And their authority was to him immeasurably great; witness the effect on him of a single saying of Augustine.

Many traces of the Fathers are visible in even the short poems. Newman often turns to themes like hell, the resurrection, types of Christ, dreams, and the sign of the cross. In Lyra Apostolica a quotation from Tertullian follows the title of the poem dealing with the power of the sign of the cross. So also, a passage from Augustine explains the connection between Newman's verses on the resurrection and their title, Relics of Saints. Referring to the bodies of the martyrs, Gervase and Protase, which Ambrose discovered at Milan, Augustine insists that if the resurrection of the flesh to life eternal had not taken place in Christ and were not to be accomplished in his people, the relics of these martyrs would not possess such power. A Voice from Afar handles a much con-
troverted point in the Fathers, namely, whether separated souls know what takes place on earth. Newman takes the view that his sister in heaven has her eyes fixed on the Beatific Vision and in the mirror of the Divine Knowledge, "Pictures all earth scenes as they pass." Phrases, also, like "the mood of an Essene" recall in the short poems the writings of the Fathers.

The greatest of the Fathers, like Newman in The Dream, describe the different mode of being which the soul possesses on being disembodied. Tertullian, for instance, in De Anima insists that the soul, by the power of death released from its concretion with the flesh, escapes into open space, "to its clear, and pure, and intrinsic light", and then finds itself enjoying its enfranchisement from matter as one who, waking out of sleep, passes from images to verities. Then, it exults or fears, as soon as it sees the very angel's face, "that arraigner of souls, the Mercury of the poets." And, according to Gregory of Nyssa, the loss of the body after death baffles one's apprehensive faculty, which still seeks some object to grasp. One thinks here of the bewilderment of Gerontius:

Tis strange; I cannot stir a hand or foot,
I cannot make my fingers or my lips
By mutual pressure witness each to each.

Again, Gregory observes, "No form, no place, no size, no reckoning of time, or anything else knowable is there." The passage in The Dream which begins, "Nor touch, nor taste, nor hearing hast thou now," presents at length this same idea. Gregory, further, recalls how the body, though dissolved in death, is to be woven again out of the same atoms into something more subtle, more ethereal, and more beautiful. Likewise, the angel reminds Gerontius that his body is to be restored to him with a brighter and more entrancing beauty,
So will it be, until the joyous day
Of resurrection, when thou wilt regain
All thou hast lost, new-made and glorified.

The general view of the moment after death of the disembodied state was explained by the Fathers much as Newman presents it in *The Dream*.

Even minor details of the poem are thus corroborated by the writings and teachings of the Fathers. Whether knowledge or sight serves the departed in seeing God was a vexatious question; similarly, Newman observes,

> How, even now, the consumated Saints,
> See God in heaven, I may not explicate.

Again, Gregory Nazianzen's belief that "every fair and God-beloved soul", having departed from the body, at once enjoy "a sense and preception of the blessings which await it," is reproduced in the verses,

> So now, ere thou comest to the throne
> A presage falls upon thee, as a ray
> Straight from the Judge, expressive of thy lot.

And a not unimportant idea in *The Dream* concurs with Augustine's teaching that, when judgment is administered by Christ, the soul suffers not so much from guilt as from pious affection. The common doctrine of the Fathers emphasizes the terror of death, and so do Newman's words,

> A visitant
> Is knocking his dire summons at my door
> The like of whom, to scare me and to daunt,
> Has never, never come to me before.
Athanasius explains this instinctive and deep-seated abhorrence of death by saying that "man dies not of his own power, but by the necessity of nature and against his will." And Augustine's words that man "is bound by the punishment of death," make clear the "double debt" in the hymn-stanza,

A double debt he has to pay—
The forfeit of his sins:
The chill of death in past, and now
The penance-fire begins.

In practically all respects The Dream harmonizes with the main writings of the Fathers.

Sir Francis Doyle in his inaugural address as Professor of Poetry at Oxford admitted that he turned with satisfaction from Newman's gibbering devils to the fallen angels of Milton, who were able still to reason "Of fate, free will, foreknowledge absolute," and to sing, "With notes angelical to many a harp." Milton, of course, is justified in his conception of a strict Biblical interpretation of angelic life debased.

But Newman's manner can be explained. He gives demons the character that is assigned them in patristic literature. In spite of their great intellectual endowment, in their perverted state they possess no might against holiness. This fact is always emphasized by the Fathers. And, as a result of their fall, they are envious and jealous of man, against whom they keep up an unwearied strife. In the phrasing, "high thought", "glance of fire", "great spirits", and "powers blest", Newman recognizes the state demons were in before their sin. Now, remembering their once superior position, these demons, as Newman depicts them in the choruses, scorn man's dependence upon "a new birth", "an extra grace",
and "a score of merits", and then cry derisively, "psalm-droners."

All these details in the demon choruses find substantial support in the lives and writings of the Fathers.

Newman draws apparently from the Fathers in other references in the poem to demons. When Gerontius and his guardian spirit on their way heavenward hear the fierce hubbub of the demons, the angel explains to the soul,

It is the middle region, where of old
Satan appeared among the sons of God
To cast his jibes and scoffs at holy Job.

To this location the evil spirits are assigned in St. Gregory the Great's Morals on the Book of Job: "And we know that the impure spirits, that fell from the ethereal heaven roam abroad in the midspace between this heaven and earth." John Cassin, likewise, insists that the atmosphere between heaven and earth is filled with a thick crowd of evil spirits. Most fortunately Divine Providence, he says, withholds them from human sight; for fear of their attacks or horror at their appearance would drive men to desperation. Such accounts Newman evidently had in mind when he says in The Dream,

And books describe, how that the very face
Of the Evil One, if seen, would have a force
Even to freeze the blood, and choke the life
Of him who saw it.

Thus the demons in Newman's poems bear out the ideas of the Fathers concerning the fallen angels.

Newman tells us himself that he learned from the Alexandrine school and the early church what he definitely held about
With Jerome, Newman held the view favored by St. Thomas Aquinas that each soul has an angel appointed to guard it from the moment of birth;

My father gave
In charge to me
This child of earth
E'en from its birth.

That Newman's devotion to angels was based on their ministry comes out plainly in the poem. Of their other aspects he says little. Angels "tend and nurse" the souls in purgatory. The angel of the agony pleads for the soul before judgment. And the angelicals sing of Gerontius' approach to purgatory. So thankfully does Newman think of their service, that in the poem he says,

More than the seraph in his height of place,
The Angel-guardian knows and loves the ransom'd race.

He makes only slight references to the hierarchies of angels as determined by Dionysius, the Areopagite, or Gregory the Great. He terms the Angelicals "least and most childlike of the sons of God."

In comparison with man, he thinks of the greater superiority of the angels' knowledge of God;

It need, to tell the triumph Thou hast wrought
An angel's deathless fire, an Angel's reach of thought.

All that Newman implies in regard to angels harmonizes with the mass of the Fathers.

When the elements of The Dream are considered, thus separately, Newman's debt to the Church Fathers and liturgical books appears very great. But his creative genius enabled him to
use these ideas with incredible skill. This fact is seen particularly in his finely imaginative description of heaven as composed of immaterial substances, souls.

The passage from the poem is here given in full.

We now have pass'd the gate, and are within
The House of Judgment; and whereas on earth
Temples and palaces are form'd of parts
Costly and rare, but all material,
So in the world of spirits naught is found
To mould withal, and form into a whole,
But what is immaterial; and thus
The smallest portions of this edifice,
Cornice, or frieze, or balustrade, or stair,
The very pavement is made up of life
Of holy, blessed, and immortal beings,
Who hymn their Maker's praise continually.

In the writings of the Fathers and in the liturgy, the description of heaven, such as Newman gives above, intimately relates itself to the doctrine of the communion of saints. Augustine maintains that the city of God has its existence wherever there are true believers. In his exegesis of "Jerusalem that is being built as a city", he holds that "this is none other than the heavenly Jerusalem to which souls are brought as living stones." And in explaining the prophecy of Haggai, he says that the more glorious temple is the Church of Christ. "This house", he observes, "which pertains to the New Testament is just as much more glorious as the living stones, even believing, renewed men, of which it is constructed are
Likewise, Origin teaches that Christ was the stone set at naught by the builders, for "He is part of the building made of living stone in the land of the living." The Shepherd of Hermas explains the doctrine of the communion of Saints by a rather elaborate allegory. Under the image of a great tower rising from the water and built of square and shining blocks, he presents those persons who are baptized and who remain faithful to grace, whether yet living or already departed. Souls that through sin have lost their baptismal grace are represented by scattered stones, which have to be trimmed and polished before they secure a place in the glorified church of the future.

A similar, but less extended, allegory by St. Austin is found also in the Breviary for the dedication of a church. And the hymns of this service are more significant still in reference to the composition of the heavenly city. The hymns at lauds calls Christ the mystic corner stone,

Uniting mid-way in the sky,

His house on earth and house on high.

The same doctrine underlies the vespers hymn which describes thus the heavenly Jerusalem,

Jerusalem, thou city blest,

Dear vision of celestial rest!

Which far above the starry sky,

Piled up with living stones on high.

Art as a bride, encircled bright,

With million angel forms of light.
Newman by the alchemy of a poet has transformed the idea of the Fathers and the service books to the pure gold of his fine passage in The Drama.

It would not be hard to find other instances, as striking as these, of Newman's agreement with the writings of the Fathers. His early poems were prompted by actual experience and by the cares of an active life. The Dream, on the contrary, was the reflection of a thoughtful, retired life. The former are denoted rightly by the word occasional; the latter fulfils its title of a dream. But both the lyrics and the long poem are in other respects the same. In so far as they have a definite source, they come chiefly from the Fathers. They respond directly to the thoughts and feelings of the author; all that they express is found elsewhere in his writings. To understand them, consequently, the reader must turn often to Newman's prose. The fact that sometimes the thought is expressed in one form, at other times in the other form, is half accident. Newman never seemed to consider highly his own technique as a poet. And in his poetry and prose the same artistic traits are to be found—choice diction, apt phrasing, perfect clarity. The poems afford, therefore, a beautiful commentary on the interests of his early life and an absolutely sincere record of his spiritual estate. For this, especially, he would doubtless have the modern reader turn to them.
FOOTNOTES.

3. See also St. Paul's Characteristic Gift, in Sermons Preached on Various Occasions, p. 95.
5. Ibid., 2, p. 204
7. Ibid., 1, p. 23.
8. P. 3.
10. Ibid., 1, p. 23.
15. Ibid., 1, p. 148.
20. Newman, J. H. Letters and Correspondence to 1845, 1, pp. 237-238. A footnote by the editor reads,"'The verses' were an early
collection of poems, kept, though printed, so strictly private, and for so limited a number of readers, that it was an effort to give it to intimate friends beyond this inner circle."


26. Ibid., p. 5.


32. P. 7.


45. Our Future.


47. Ward, W. *The Life*, 1, p. 29.


49. Wanderings.


51. Ibid., 1, p. 349.

52. Ibid., 1, p. 290.

53. Taormini.


56. The Death of Moses.


59. Newman, J. H. *Letters and Correspondence to 1845*, 1, p. 342. "That the spirit of old Rome has possessed the Christian Church there is certain as a matter of fact;... it is really a sort of *genius loci*, which enthralls the Church...."


64. Newman, J. H. *Letters and Correspondence to 1845*, 1, p. 204.
66. Ward, W. *The Life*.
69. Ibid., 2, p. 351.
70. Ibid., 1, p. 592.
71. Newman, J. H. *Letters and Correspondence to 1845*, 1, p. 78 n.
75. P. 11.
82. Newman, J. H. *Parochial and Plain Sermons*, 5, p. 79.
83. Ibid., 3, p. 287.
84. See also St. Paul's Characteristic Gift, Sermons Preached on Various occasions, pp. 97-98. St. Paul "had the feeling of a guardian-angel who sees every sin of the rebellious being committed to him, who gazes at him and weeps."

87. Ibid., 4, p. 47.

88. Ibid., 4, p. 244.

89. Ibid., 6, p. 134.

90. Ibid., 4, p. 243.

91. Ibid., pp. 386 ff.

92. Ibid., 5, p. 257.

93. Newman, J. H. Parochial and Plain Sermons, 4, p. 82.


96. Ibid., 1, p. 188.


100. Sermon Notes to J. H. Newman, ed. by the Fathers of the Birmingham Oratory, pp. 69-70.


102. Ibid., 3, pp. 350-351.


105. Ibid., 2, p. 104.


111. Correspondence...with John Keble and Others...1833-1845, p. 300.


115. Cf. Parochial and Plain Sermons, 5, Sermon I, Worship, a Preparation for Christ's Coming:

1. "We are destined to come before Him; nay, and to come before Him in judgment; and that on our first meeting; and that suddenly. ...And then, I say that first appearance will be nothing less than a personal intercourse between the Creator and every creature." pp. 3-4.

2. "For surely it is our plain wisdom, our bounden duty, to prepare for this great change;...'Prepare to meet thy God', 'Go ye and to meet Him', is the dictate of natural reason as well as of inspiration." p. 6.

3. "When we kneel down in prayer in private, let us think to ourselves, Thus shall I one day kneel down before His very footstool, in this flesh and this blood of mine; and he will be seated over against me, in flesh and blood also, though divine. I come, with the thought of that awful hour before me, I come to confess my sin to Him now, that He may pardon it then, and I say 'O Lord, Holy God, Holy and Strong, Holy and Immortal, in the hour of death and in the day of judgment, deliver us, O Lord!'" p. 9.

4. "...when we come to church, then let us say:- The day will be when I shall see Christ surrounded by His Holy Angels....I come then to learn to endure the sight of the Holy One and His Servants;
to nerve myself for a vision which is fearful before it is ecstatic, and which they only enjoy whom it does not consume." p. 9.

See also, Shrinking from Christ's Coming, Parochial and Plain Sermons, 5, pp. 49-50.

116. Cf. Parochial and Plain Sermons, vol. 6, Sermon XX, The Visible Temple: "A Temple there has been upon earth, a spiritual Temple, made up of living stones, a Temple, as I may say, composed of souls;... This unseen, secret, mysterious, spiritual Temple exists everywhere throughout the kingdom of Christ...Wherever there is faith and love, this Temple is ....God, and Christ, and Angels, and souls, are not these a heavenly court...." pp. 280-281.

117. Cf. Parochial and Plain Sermons, vol. 4, Sermon XXI, Faith and Love: "They [baptized children who die before they have learned either to reason or to sin] may be as stones of the Everlasting Pavement, crying out continually in praise to God; dimly visible, as if absorbed in the glory which encompasses God's throne; or as the wonderful wheels described by the Prophet, which were living, yet in a way instrumental; for in heaven, where there is no gross matter, the very framework of the Temple is composed of spirits." See also, Via Media, 1, 176: "infants dying after Baptism may be as gems paving the courts of heaven, or as the living wheels in the Prophet's vision...."


119. Ibid., p. 38.

120. Ibid., p. 51.
121. See poem entitled, **The Golden Prison**. For that part of
*The Dream* relating to purgatory compare the following passage
from the sermon, *Purity and Love*; The preacher here describes the
feeling with which the loving soul, on its separation from the
body approaches the judgment seat: 'It knows how great a debt
of punishment remains upon it, though it has for many years been
reconciled to Him; it knows that purgatory lies before it, and that
the best it can reasonably hope for is to be sent there. But to
see His face, though for a moment! to hear Him speak, though it be
to punish! O Saviour of men, it says, I come to Thee, though it be
in order to be at once remanded from Thee;...whom shall I have
amid the sharp flame but Thee? Yea, though I be now descending
thither,...I will fear no ill, for Thou art with me. I have
seen Thee this day face to face, and it sufficeth; I have seen
Thee, and that glance of Thine is sufficient for a century of
sorrow, in the nether prison...I will bear the appointed years,
till the end comes, bravely and sweetly. I will raise my voice,
and chant a perpetual *Confiteor* to Thee and to Thy Saints in that
dreary valley...to all Saints will I address my supplication, that
they may 'remember me, ...and do mercy by me, and make mention of
me unto the King that He may bring me out of prison...."
Rickaby considers this passage the first idea of the poem. *(Index
p. 66)*

122. *Correspondence of John Henry Newman with John Keble and
others....* Ed. at the Birmingham Oratory, p. 300.

123. Newman, J.H. *Home Thoughts Abroad,* ( *British Magazine*) April,
1836) p. 358.


129. Ibid., 2, p. 427.

130. Newman, J. H. Letters and Correspondence to 1845, 1, p. 300.


135. Ibid., 2, p. 536.


137. Ibid., p. 75.

138. Ibid., p. 71.

139. Ibid., p. 81.


143. Ibid., 1, p. 321.


147. Newman's letter to Alfred Austin in reference to the latter's, Madonna's Child. The Autobiography of Alfred Austin, 1, p. 84.


149. Newman, J. H. Letters and Correspondence to 1845, 1, p. 308.

150. Cardinal Newman, p. 44.


152. Newman, J. H. Letters and Correspondence to 1845, 1, p. 16.


154. Ibid., 1, p. 279.

155. Ibid., 1, p. 34.

156. Ibid., 1, p. 31.

157. Ibid., 1, p. 35 n.

158. Newman, J. M. Apologia, p. 34.


160. Ibid., 2, p. 345.

161. Ibid., 1, p. 15.


164. Ibid., 1, p. 318; p. 353. See also Loss and Gain, p. 104.


166. Ward, W. The Life, 2, p. 354. See also Letters and Correspondence, 1, p. 46.


168. Newman, J. H. Letters and Correspondence to 1845, 1, p. 16.

169. Ibid., 1, p. 34.

170. Ibid., 1, p. 170.

172. *Callista*, p. 120.


174. *Solitude*.


184. Declension.


186. Cf. *Letters and Correspondence to 1845*, 1, pp. 279-280:

"I thought of ...that earliest time of life when one seems almost to realize the remnants of a pre-existing state."

187. p. 28.


190. Newman, J. H. *Letters and Correspondence to 1845*, 1, p. 140.


197. Ibid., 1, p. 75.
198. Tracts for the Times, 3, p. 57.
200. Tracts for the Times (No. 75) 3, pp. 135-136.
201. Occasional Papers and Reviews by John Keble, preface, p. LX.
204. Ibid., 2, p. 429.
208. Lines written under a Yew Tree.
213. First Sunday after Epiphany, The Christian Year, p. 35.
214. Monday in Easter Week, Ibid., p. 90.
217. Preface to John Keble's Occasional Papers and Reviews, pp. XV-XVI.

221. Ibid., p. 1.

222. Ibid., p. 8. et passim.

223. Ibid., p. 9.


225. Ibid., 2, p. 209.


227. Ibid., pp. 9-10.

228. Ibid., p. 13.

229. Ibid., pp. 15-16.

230. Ibid., p. 17.

231. Ibid., p. 17.

232. Ibid., p. 22.


236. Ibid., p. 28.

237. Ibid., p. 28.

238. Ibid., p. 28.

239. Ibid., p. 28 and *Letters and Correspondence to 1845*, 1, p. 46; p. 15.

240. Ibid., p. 28.


242. Ibid., 1, p. 53.


258. e.g. Letter to Frederic Rogers, *Letters and Correspondence to 1845*, 1, p. 321.


267. To Edward Caswall.


269. Ibid., p. 88.

270. Ibid., p. 88.

271. Ibid., p. 91.


278. Ibid., 2, p. 354.

279. Ibid., 2, pp. 354-355/


281. Ibid., 1, p. 205.


287. Ibid., 1, p. 321.

288. Ibid., 1, p. 425.

289. See Keble's *Miscellaneous Poems*, p. 18.

290. Hooker.


307. Cf. Paul asks the Angel, "Has then each of the just an angel for companion?" And the reply is, "Each one of the Saints has his own (angel) assisting him, and saying a hymn, and the one does not depart from the other." (Ibid., 9, p. 165.)


315. Christ's last words on the cross (Luke. 23.46).
316. The Roman Breviary, Tr. John, Marquess of Bute, p. 208.
317. Verses on Various Occasions, especially p. 239.
321. Missale Romanum, p. 171.
324. The idea,

"And Masses on the earth and prayers in heaven
Shall aid Thee at the Throne of the Most Highest,
recalls the commemoration made in the canon of the Mass of the living and of the dead. The litany also is common in the liturgy;
compare the prayer of the Angel of the Agony.
326. Augustine, City of God, 2, p. 499.
327. Thomas Aquinas, Summa Theologica, Third Number, QQ. LXXXLY, Of the Knowledge
of Separated Souls, pp. 246-248.

328. Cf. Hippolytus, In Ante-Nicene Christian Library, Ed. A. Roberts and J. Donaldson, 1, p. 359: Essenes are a sect which claim that they are long-lived because they are temperate and incapable of anger.


331. Ibid., 5, pp. 169-170.

332. Ibid., 5, p. 453.

333. Aquinas, Summa Theologica, First Number, 22.XII, pp. 124-130.


336. Romans 5,12: By one man sin entered into the world, and by sin death; and so death passed upon all men in that all sinned.


339. Lecture Delivered before the University of Oxford, p. 120.


342. Apologia, p. 38.


346. Ps/ CXVIII.


349. The Roman Breviary, Tr. John, Marquess of Bute, (Summer) p. 520.

350. The Day Hours, p. 941.

351. Ibid., p. 939. Gliebe's edition of The Dream notes the likeness of this hymn to the passage on the structure of heaven in The Dream, p. 87.
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