



UNIVERSIDAD DE NAVARRA

FACULTAD DE TEOLOGIA

NICHOLAS PAUL MORRISH

WISEMAN ON SACRED
SCRIPTURE AND THE
AUTHORITY
OF THE CHURCH

Extracto de la Tesis Doctoral presentada en la Facultad
de Teología de la Universidad de Navarra

PAMPLONA
1987



Ad normam Statutorum Facultatis Theologiae Universitatis
Navarrensis, perlegimus et adprobavimus

Pampilonae, die 10 mensis maii anni 1985

Dr. Ioseph MORALES

Dr. Ludovicus BATURONE

Coram Tribunale, die 31 mensis maii anni 1984, hanc
dissertationem ad Lauream Candidatus palam defendit

Secretarius Facultatis

Dr. Ioseph Emmanuel ZUMAQUERO

Excerpta e Dissertationibus in Sacra Theologia
Vol. XI, n. 7



PREFACE

In the History of the Roman Catholic Church in England in the Nineteenth Century the names of four cardinals, Wiseman, Newman, Manning and Vaughan appear with a great frequency. There is no doubt that Newman was a theological giant. The bibliography on Newman is enormous. This does tend to have the effect of overshadowing the valuable contribution, although perhaps less brilliant, of other English Catholics. This Doctoral Thesis arose from the desire to examine the contribution, if any, to the theological currents in Nineteenth-Century England, as to determine his place in these same currents of the writings of Cardinal Nicholas Wiseman.

One important point is that this thesis is conceived as a logical continuation of the Licentiate Thesis *A Contribution to the Understanding of the Role of Cardinal Nicholas Wiseman in the Church in England*, presented in this faculty in June 1983. The previous work attempted to up-date the existing biographies of the Cardinal and concentrated mainly on his figure as a zealous bishop and his policy as first Cardinal-Archbishop of Westminster. This thesis takes it for granted that the reader is familiar with the role of Cardinal Wiseman in the ecclesiastical history of England, since all this must be borne in mind when evaluating his writings. He is remembered primarily for his part in the revival of English Catholicism after Emancipation, his enthusiastic reception of the Oxford Movement converts, the Restoration and settling down of the Catholic Hierarchy in 1850, but his writings have gone unappreciated.

It is indeed singular that, as can be appreciated in the bibliography, the interest in Wiseman's works has been practically nil. At the end of the last century, T.E. Bridgett published a selection of passages from Wiseman, entitled *Characteristics from the Writings of Cardinal Wiseman*, London 1898; and recently S. W. Jackman printed a small work *Nicholas Cardinal Wiseman. A Victorian Prelate and His Writings*, University Press of Virginia, 1977, which portrays Wiseman as the typical Victorian figure. But it can be appreciated that the present thesis, in returning to the original works of

the Cardinal for a systematic analysis of his ideas found scattered in various publications, is an original study which it is necessary to have gone through before being able to accurately determine Wiseman's importance or not in English Theology in the last century. Of course, there can be a false or exaggerated reappraisal of an author; but also an author can be unjustly ignored simply because his works are not readily available, or old-fashioned, or because they are not understood in their true historical context. This perhaps is the case with Wiseman who received his theological formation during a period of decadence of Scholastic Theology, but who stands out as a pioneer, one who laid the foundations for those who were to come behind.

The method followed has been that of returning, whenever possible, to Wiseman's books and articles, synthesizing and rearranging his ideas, with the end of ensuring that this thesis presents a true picture of the content of his writings. As well as presenting Wiseman's thought, this work attempts to embed it in its historical context. The reader will find numerous comparisons with Newman and the German theologians with whom Wiseman was in touch, and use is made of the judgments passed on his works in contemporary journals, especially the *Dublin Review* (begun by the Cardinal and O'Connell in May 1836).

Although the title of this thesis is very specific, it does, in actual fact, englobe practically all of Wiseman's writings, due to the fact that he was always very interested in the Sacred Scriptures. His writings deal with the Scriptures and are saturated with Scriptural quotes both because of this (primarily philological) interest, as also his constant controversy with Protestants.

It should be noted that all the Scripture quotes are taken from the English Douay version of 1582. Although they thus have a rather antiquated ring about them it did seem logical to make use of the same version that Cardinal Wiseman himself used. The Latin quotes of Scripture, for the same reason, are taken from the Latin Vulgate and not the Neo-Vulgate.

Chapter I is an introduction, not present in the Licentiate Thesis. It gives an idea of the factors influencing the young Wiseman in his years of theological formation, the content and context of his works and the general characteristics of his writings.

Chapter II deals explicitly with the Cardinal's ideas on Sacred Scripture and specially his use of it throughout his books, where he attempted to bring it more into the daily life of English Catholics.

Chapter III can be considered as a summary of *Lectures on the*



Principal Doctrines and Practices of the Catholic Church, of 1836, perhaps the most perennial and attractive of his works, where he explains to a Protestant audience the relationship between the Catholic Church and the Sacred Scripture.

Finally, Chapter IV deals with Wiseman's ideas on the relationship between Science and Revelation. It is a synthesis of his *Twelve Lectures on the Connexion between Science and Revealed Religion*, of 1835 which, although out-of-date, show Wiseman to have been a precursor at least in dealing with the problems presented by progress in biblical criticism, ancient history, geology and even anthropology.

Before finishing this introduction my thanks are due to Dr. José Morales who directed both the Doctoral and Licentiate Thesis and whose encouragement, insights and gentle suggestions were essential. I wish to thank the Faculty for its kind permission to present this thesis in English. Thanks are also due to Mr. H. Hyslop and Dr. C. Martin of Oxford for their generous cooperation in sending material from the *Dublin Review*, as also the help afforded by Dr. P. François, and lastly Dr. A. Khoudair who corrected the text.





GENERAL TABLES OF CONTENTS *

	PAGINA
ABBREVIATIONS	vi
INTRODUCTION	viii
CHAPTER I: AN INTELLECTUAL BIOGRAPHY	1
a) <i>Theological Background (Friends and Influences)</i>	2
b) <i>Wiseman's Books and Articles</i>	18
i) <i>Horae Syriacae</i>	19
ii) <i>Essays in the Catholic Magazine</i>	23
iii) <i>Twelve Lectures on the Connexion between Science and Revealed Religion</i>	26
iv) <i>Lectures on the Principal Doctrines and Practices of the Catholic Church</i>	30
v) <i>Articles in the Dublin Review</i>	35
vi) <i>Fabiola and other Writings</i>	43
c) <i>General Characteristics</i>	46
i) <i>Style</i>	46
ii) <i>Objective and Anti-Controversialist</i>	49
iii) <i>Romantic Theology — Feelings and Sentiments</i>	55
iv) <i>The Argument from Beauty and Harmony</i>	62
d) <i>Nineteenth-Century Themes</i>	65
i) <i>Development</i>	65
ii) <i>Unity</i>	75
iii) <i>Accumulative Proof</i>	78
e) <i>Wiseman's Individual and Authoritarian Apologetics</i>	84
CHAPTER II: SACRED SCRIPTURE	99
a) <i>The Argument for Inspiration</i>	101
b) <i>The Insufficiency of Scripture as the Ground of Faith</i>	109
c) <i>Hermeneutics and Biblical Criticism</i>	120
d) <i>Scripture, the Gospels and Christian Revelation</i>	128
e) <i>The New Testament as Type of the Church</i>	136
i) <i>Parables</i>	136
ii) <i>Miracles</i>	151
iii) <i>Actions</i>	166
f) <i>Philological Slant and Oriental Knowledge</i>	171
CHAPTER III: SCRIPTURE AND THE CHURCH	180
a) <i>Starting-Point</i>	181
b) <i>Analysis of the Protestant Rule of Faith</i>	186
i) <i>Difficulties of the Protestant Rule of Faith</i>	187

* Pages are numbered after the original text of the Thesis extant in the archives of the School of Theology.



	PAGINA
ii) Effects of the Protestant Rule of Faith	198
iii) The 'Apostasy» of the Church	201
iv) The Oxford Movement Criticised	209
c) <i>Analysis of the Catholic Rule of Faith</i>	213
i) Congruency with Sacred Scripture	215
ii) Tradition and Doctrinal Decisions	231
iii) Effects of the Catholic Rule of Faith at work through the Ages— Unity in Time and Place	238
iv) Catholic v. the Protestant Rule of Faith— One, Holy, Catholic and Apostolic	247
d) <i>The Catholic Church Explained</i>	256
i) Infallibility	257
ii) The Pope	259
iii) The Virgin	272
iv) The Real Presence	280
 CHAPTER IV: SCIENCE AND REVEALED RELIGION	 287
a) <i>Science and Religion in Mid-Nineteenth Century England</i>	291
b) <i>Was Wiseman a Precursor?</i>	300
c) <i>Twelve Lectures on the Connexion between Science and Revealed Re- ligion</i>	315
i) Religion has nothing to fear from the legitimate advance of human	
ii) Truth is founded on Eternal Bases	327
iii) Theology and Science	331
iv) 'Scientific' Attacks	335
v) The Genesis Account of Creation and the Deluge	341
vi) Anthropology	355
d) <i>Christianity defended as a Harmonious System</i>	360
 CONCLUSIONS	 368
 BIBLIOGRAPHY	 375
 THE PUBLISHED WORKS OF CARDINAL WISEMAN	 394



ABBREVIATIONS

To ease the reading of the footnotes the following conventions have been adopted in this work:

- i) When reference is made to two different works by the same author these works will always be referred to by name if there any danger of confusion. But if in the present text only one book by a particular author is quoted, this book will be referred to using only the name of the author.
- ii) The names of some titles have been shortened when referred to in the text, e.g. *Twelve Lectures on the Connexion between Science and Religion* as *Lectures on Science*; *Lectures on the Principal Doctrines and Practices of the Catholic Church* as *Lectures on the Catholic Church*, etc.
- iii) The following abbreviations have been made use of:

12 *Lectures*

Twelve Lectures on the Connexion between Sciences and Revealed Religion.

Action

Actions of the New Testament.

Acton-Simpson Correspondence

The Correspondence of Lord Acton and Richard Simpson. Characteristics from the Writings of Cardinal Wiseman.

Characteristics

Essays on Various Subjects, 3 vol., London 1853.

Essays

Essays on Various Subjects, 1 vol., London 1888.

Essays (1888)

HCT.

The High Church Theory of Dogmatical Authority.

Letters and Diaries

The Letters and Diaries of John Henry Newman.

LPD.

Lectures on the Principal Doctrines and Practices of the Catholic Church.

Meditations

Daily Meditations.

Miracles

Miracles of the New Testament.

Parables

Parables of the New Testament.

Sermons

Sermons and Lectures on Various Subjects.





BIBLIOGRAPHY

SOURCES:

- Sacrorum Conciliorum Nova et Amplissima Collectio*, ed. MANSI, XLIV, 699-802; XLVII, 263-306 and 965-1032 (for the Decrees of the first three Provincial Synods of Westminster).
- The Correspondence of Lord and Richard Simpson*, ed. J. L. ALTHOLZ, D. McELRATH, J. C. HOLLAND, 3 vol., Cambridge University Press, 1971-75.
- The Letters and Diaries of John Henry Newman*, ed. C. s. DESSAIN, Catholic Series 19 vol., Nelson and Sons Ltd./Oxford University Press, Birmingham Oratory 1961-77; Anglican Series 5 vol. (incomplete), Oxford University Press, Birmingham Oratory 1977.

STUDIES:

- ACTON, J., *The Catholic Academy*, in the *Rambler* V (Sept. 1861), 291-302.
— *Cardinal Wiseman and the Home and Foreign Review*, in the *Home and Foreign Review* I (Oct. 1862) 501-20.
- ADDINGTON, R., *Faber, Poet and Priest*, Cowbridge and Bridgend, 1974.
- ALLEN, L., *Ambrose Phillipps de Lisle, 1809-1878*, in the *Catholic Historical Review* 40 (1954-5) 1-26.
— *Wiseman's Letters to Morini*, in *Victorian Studies* (June 1960), 458-9, Bloomington, Indiana.
- ALTHOLZ, J. L., *The Liberal Catholic Movement in England*, Burns and Oates, London 1962.
- AUBERT, R., *Histoire de L'Eglise*, in the collection Fliche and Martin, vol. XXI, Bloud and Gay, Tournai 1952.
— *Le Pontificat de Pie IX (1846-1878)*, Bloud and Gay, Paris 1952.
- BACHELET, Le, *Apologétique*, in the *Dictionnaire d'Apologétique de la Foi Catholique*, Paris 1911-1931.
- BARRY, W., *Recent Evidence in Support of I John 5,7*, in the *Dublin Review* 3rd Series 14 (April, 1882).
- BAUNARD, *La Tentation du Dr. Wiseman*, Desclée, Lille 1912.
- BECK, G. A., (ed.), *The English Catholics, 1850-1950*, Burns and Oates, London 1950.
- BELLAMY, J., *La Théologie catholique au xixe siècle*, 2nd ed. Beauchesne, Paris 1904.
- BELLESHEIM, A., *Wiseman*, in the *Kirchenlexicon* (Hergenröther-Kaulen) Ausgabe, Freiburg 1882-1903; 2nd. ed., vol. 12, col. 1710-7.
- BLEHL, V., *Newman, the Bishops and the Rambler*, in the *Downside Review* 90 (1972) 20-40.
- BOSSY, J., *The English Catholic Community 1570-1850*, Darton, Longman and Todd, London 1975 (reprinted 1976).
- BRIDGETT, T. E., *Characteristics from the Writings of Nicholas Cardinal Wiseman*, Burns and Oates, London 1898.
- BURTON, E. H., *St. Edmund's College, Old Hall*, in the *Catholic Historical Review* 9 (1923-4) 358-377.
- BUTLER, C., *The Life and Times of Bishop Ullathorne*, 2 vol., London 1926.
- CHADWICK, O., *From Bossuet to Newman: the Idea of Doctrinal Development*, Cambridge University Press, 1957.
— *The Victorian Church*, 2 vol., Adam and Charles Black, London 1966, 1970 and 1971.

- CHAILLET, P., *L'esprit du christianisme et du catholicisme*, in the *Revue des Sciences Philosophiques et Théologiques* 26 (1937) 483-98 and 713-26.
- CHAPMAN, R., *Father Faber*, Burns and Oates, London 1961.
- CHARLES, C., *The Origins of the Parish Mission in England and the Early Passionist Apostolate, 1840-1850*, in the *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 15 (1964) 60-75.
- CHINNICHI, J. P., *The English Catholic Enlightenment: John Lingard and the Cisalpine Movement, 1780-1850*, Patmos, 1980.
- CONGAR, M. J., *Théologie* in the *Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique*; vol. 15, section: *Le Renouveau d'Inspiration Romantique 1810-40*, col. 341-502.
- COURTNEY, W. P., *A Register of National Bibliography*, 2 vol., Burt Franklin, New York 1967.
- CWIEKOWSKI, F., *The English Bishops and the First Vatican Council*, Louvain 1971.
- DESSAIN, C. S., *John Henry Newman*, Nelson, London 1966.
- DIMNET, E., *La Valeur de l'Apologétique de Newman*, in the *Revue Pratique d'Apologétique* 1 (Oct. 1905-March 1906) 23-33.
— *La pensée catholique dans l'Angleterre contemporaine*, Victor Lecoffre, Paris 1906.
- DIONISOTTI, C., *Manzoni and the Catholic Revival*, in the *Proceedings of the British Academy* 59 (1973) 341-53, published by Oxford University Press, London 1975.
- DODSWORTH, *Geology and Protestantism*, in the *Dublin Review* 88 (June 1858).
- DUBLIN REVIEW (ANON.), *Palmer's Letters to Wiseman: On Satisfaction*, 26 (Nov. 1842) 277-308.
— *The Catholic Congress of Malines*, 2nd Series 2 (Oct. 1863).
— *Cardinal Wiseman's Sermons*, 2nd Series 7 (Jan. 1865).
— *Memorial of H.E. Cardinal Wiseman*, 2nd Series 8 (April 1865).
— *Letters Wiseman to Manning*, 169 (1921) 182.
- DUPUY, B. D., *Bulletin l'Histoire des Doctrines*, in *Revue des Sciences Philosophiques et Théologiques* 45 (1961) 125-176.
— *La Théologie Allemande au XIXe siècle*, in *Revue des Sciences Philosophiques et Théologiques* 50 (1966) 290-328.
- ELLIS, J. T., *Three American Letters from the Wiseman Papers*, in the *Catholic Historical Review* 43 (April 1957-Jan. 1958) 458.
- EVANS, G. R., *Science and Mathematics in Newman's Thought*, in the *Downside Review* 96 (Oct. 1978) 247-66.
- FABER, G., *Oxford Apostles: A Character Study of the Oxford Movement*, London 1950.
- FINLAYSON, *The Action against the Cardinal*, in the *Dublin Review* 77 (Sept. 1855).
- FITZPATRICK, W. J., *The Life, Times and Correspondence of the Right Rev. Dr. Doyle, Bishop of Kildaire and Leighlin*, Duffy, Dublin 1880.
- FOTHERGILL, B., *Nicholas Wiseman*, London 1963.
- FOWLER, J., *Richard Waldo Sibthorp*, London 1880.
- GARDENER, G., *English Catholicism in the Present Day*, London 1920.
- GASQUET, F. A. (Cardinal), *Letters of Cardinal Wiseman*, in the *Dublin Review* 164 (1919) 5.
— *Lord Acton and His Circle*, London 1906.
- GILLOW, J., *A Literary and Biographical History, or the Bibliographical Dictionary of the English Catholics from the Breach with Rome in 1534 to the Present Time*, 5 vol., London 1885-1902.
- GRABMANN, M., *Die Geschichte der Katholischen Theologie*, Friburg 1933.
- GUIBERT, J., *L'oeuvre apologétique de Wiseman*, in the *Revue Pratique d'Apologétique* 1 (Oct. 1905-March 1906) 381-3.
- GWYNN, D., *Cardinal Wiseman*, Dublin 1929 and 1950.
— *The Second Spring*, Catholic Book Club, London 1944.
— *Lord Shrewsbury, Pugin and the Catholic Revival*, London 1946.
- HAGAN, J., *The Wiseman-Mintò Episode in Rome and its Reaction in Ireland and England*, in the *Catholic Bulletin* 11 (1921) 338-407.
- HERGENRÖTHER, *Handbuch der Allgemeinen Kirchengeschichte*, 6 vol., Kirsch, Freiburg 1883-9.



- HOCEDÉZ, E., *La Conversion de Newman*, in *Nouveau Revue Théologique* 67 (1945) 296-310.
— *Histoire de la théologie au XIXe siècle*, 3 vol., Desclée, Paris 1948.
- HOLLIS, C., *Bishop Blougram: Wiseman as Browning's Model*, in the *Tablet* (1975) 685-6.
- HOLMES, J. D., *A Note on Newman's Historical Method*, in *The Rediscovery of Newman: An Oxford Symposium*, edited by J. Coulson and A. M. Allchin, Sheed and Ward, London 1967.
— *Newman, History and Theology*, in the *Irish Theological Quarterly* 36 (1969) 34-45.
— *Newman's Attitude towards Historical Criticism and Biblical Inspiration*, in *Downside Review* 89 (1971) 22-37.
— *Some Unpublished Passages from Cardinal Wiseman's Correspondence*, in *Downside Review* 90 (1972) 41-52.
— *John Henry Newman's Attitude towards History and Hagiography*, in *Downside Review* 92 (July 1974) 248-64.
— *The Theological Papers of John Henry Newman on Faith and Certainty*, Oxford University Press, 1976.
— *English Catholicism from Wiseman to Bowine*, in *Clergy Review* 61 (1976) 67-69 and 107-16.
— *More Roman than Rome: English Catholicism in the 19th Century*, Burns and Oates, London 1978.
- HUNTER-BLAIR, D. O., *Wiseman*, in the *Catholic Encyclopedia*, New York 1907-22; vol. 15, col. 670.
- JACKMAN, S. W., *Nicholas Cardinal Wiseman. A Victorian Prelate and his Writings*, University Press of Virginia, Charlottesville 1977.
- KENT, C., *Wiseman*, in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, London 1900; vol. 62, pp. 243-6.
- KENWORTHY-BROWNE, B., *Three Cardinals: A Review and a Retrospect*, in *Downside Review* 77 (1959) 321-335.
- LEFRANC, E., *Les Conflits de la Science et de la Bible*, in *Revue Pratique d'Apologétique* 1 (Oct. 1905-March 1906) 515.
- LESLIE, S., *H. Manning, his Life and Labours*, London 1892.
- LOUIS, R., *La Bible et Les Documents Assyro-Babyloniens*, in *Revue Pratique d'Apologétique* 1 (Oct. 1905-March 1906) 481-497.
- MCCLELLAND, V. A., *English Roman Catholics and Higher Education*, Oxford University Press, London 1973.
— *Corporate Reunion: A Nineteenth-Century Dilemma*, in *Theological Studies* 43 (March 1982) 3-29.
- MCCOOL, G. A., *Catholic Theology in the Nineteenth Century. The Quest for a Unitary Method*, Seabury Press, New York 1977.
- MCELRATH, D., *The Syllabus of Pío IX, Some Reactions in England*, Louvain 1964.
— *Richard Simpson and the Count de Montalembert. The Rambler and the Correspondant*, in *Downside Review* 84 (1966) 150-170.
— *Richard Simpson and John Henry Newman: The Rambler, Laymen and Theology*, in the *Catholic Historical Review* 52 (1966-7) 509-33.
- MCMULLIN, E., *Natural Science and Christian Thought*, in the *Irish Theological Quarterly* 26 (1959) 1-22.
- MAC SUIBHNE, P., *Paul Cullen and his Contemporaries*, Leinster Leader Ltd., Naas, Co. Kildare 1974.
- MAGUIRE, *Wiseman and Turton*, *Dublin Review* 13 (Aug. 1839) 197-225.
- MAISONNEUVE, *Apologétique*, in the *DTC*, vol. 1, col. 1511-80.
- MARCHAL, L., *Wiseman*, in the *DTC*, vol. XV, col. 3561-3576.
- MATHEW, D., *Catholicism in England*, London 1937.
— *Acton. The Formative Years*, Eyre and Spottiswoode, London 1946.
— *New Facts about Lord Acton*, in *Downside Review* 90 (1972) 15-19.
- MESSINGER, E. C., *Wiseman, the Donatists and Newman*, in the *Dublin Review* 205 (1939) 110-19.
- MOORE, J. J., *The Darwin Centenary and the Theologian*, in the *Irish Theological Quarterly* 26 (1959) 117-30.
- MOORE, J. R., *The Post-Darwinian Controversies (A Study of the Protestant Strug-*

- gle to come to terms with Darwin in Great Britain and America 1870-1900), Cambridge University Press, 1979.
- MORRIS, W., *Darwin on the Origin of Species*, in the *Dublin Review* 95 (May 1860).
- MORRISON, J. L., *The Oxford Movement and the British Periodicals*, in the *Catholic Historical Review* 45 (1959-60) 137-160.
- MORALES, J., *Veinte años decisivos en la vida de John Henry Newman: 1826-1845*, in *Scripta Theologica* 10 (1978) 123-224.
- MURILLO, L., *La Apologética en el siglo XIX*, in *Razón y Fe* 1 (1901) 153-169.
- NEWMAN, J. H., *The Arians of the Fourth Century*, Christian Classics, Westminster, Md., 1968; first printed London 1833.
- *Tracts for the Times*, 6 vol., Ams Press, New York 1969. Reprinted from the bound editions of 1840-42, London, which were collections of pamphlets published from 1833-1841.
- *Dr. Wiseman's Lectures on the Catholic Church*, in the *British Critic* 40 (Oct. 1836).
- *Difficulties of Anglicans*, 2 vol., Christian Classics, Westminster, Md., 1969. first printed: 1st vol. 1850, 2nd vol. 1865 and completed 1874.
- *The Idea of a University Defined and Illustrated*, 2 vol., Clarendon Press, Oxford 1976; first published 1852-59.
- *Apologia Pro Vita Sua*, Dent, London 1966; first published 1864.
- *An Essay in Aid of a Grammar of Assent*, Doubleday and Co., New York 1955; first published 1870.
- *Essays. Critical and Historical*, 2 vol., Longman, Green and Co., London 1914.
- *Historical Sketches*, 3 vol., Christian Classics, Westminster Md., 1970.
- NORMAN, E. R., *Anti-Catholicism in Victorian England*, London 1968.
- OAKELEY, F., *Periodical Literature*, in the *Dublin Review* 68 (June 1853) 541-66.
- *Cardinal Wiseman's Hour in Ireland* in the *Dublin Review* 92 (June 1859).
- O'MEARA, K., *Thomas Grant. First Bishop of Southwark*, London 1874.
- PIUS, *Life of Father Ignatius of St. Paul*, Duffy, Dublin 1866.
- PRUNEL, N., *Review of La tentation du Dr. Wiseman* by Baudard, in *Revue Pratique d'Apologétique* 14 (April-Sept. 1912) 85-6.
- PURCELL, E. S., *Life of Cardinal Manning*, 2 vol., London 1985.
- RENOUF, Le Page, *Scriptural Difficulties of Geology*, in the *Dublin Review* 32 (June 1844) 345-373.
- REYNOLDS, E., *Three Cardinals. Newman, Wiseman, Manning*, Burns and Oates, London 1958.
- ROBERTSON, J. B., *Science and Revealed Religion*, in the *Dublin Review* 4 (April 1837) 293-329.
- RUSSELL, C., *Fabiola and Callista*, in the *Dublin Review* 80 (June 1856) 424-441.
- *The Four Last Popes*, in *Dublin Review* 87 (March 1858).
- SCHIEFEN, R. J., *The Organisation and Administration of Roman Catholic Dioceses in England and Wales in the Mid-Nineteenth Century*, London Ph. D. Thesis 1970.
- *Some Aspects of the Controversy between Cardinal Wiseman and the Westminster Chapter*, in the *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 21 (April 1970) 125-148.
- *The First Provincial Synod of Westminster (1852)*, in the *Annuaire Historiae Conciliorum* 4 (1972) 188-213.
- *The English Catholic Reaction to the Tractarian Movement*, in the *Proceedings of the Canadian Catholic Historical Association* (1974) 12-27.
- *'Anglo-Gallicanism' in 19th Century England*, in the *Catholic Historical Review* 63 (1977) 14-44.
- SCHMITT, A., *Kardinal Wiseman und die Wiederbelebung der Kirche in England, in Erbe und Auftrag* 40 (1964) 298-308, 376-387.
- SEYNAEVE, J., *Cardinal Newman's Doctrine on Holy Scripture (according to his published works and previously unedited manuscripts)*, Louvain 1953.
- SIMPSON, R., *The Catholic Church in England in 1859*, reprinted in the *Downside Review* 84 (1966) 171-192.
- THUREAU-DANGIN, *La Renaissance Religieuse en Angleterre au dix-neuvième siècle*, 3 vol., 9th. ed., Paris 1919.



- THEOLOGISCHE QUARTALSCHRIFT, review of Wiseman's *Horae Syriacae*, 11 (1829) 137-146, 270-79; and *Holy Week Sermons*, 22 (1840) 657-664.
- TRAPPES-LOMAX, M., *Pugin. A mediaeval Victorian*, London 1932.
- TRISTRAM, H., *Cardinal Newman's Theses de Fide and his proposed Introduction to the French Translation of the University Sermons*, in *Gregorianum* 18 (1937) 219-260.
- J. A. Moehler et J. H. Newman: *La pensée allemande et la renaissance catholique en Angleterre*, in *Revue des Sciences Philosophiques et Théologiques* 27 (1938) 184-204.
- VERNET, F., *La spiritualité anglaise au XIX^e siècle*, in the *Dictionnaire de spiritualité, ascétique et mystique*, Beauchesne, Paris 1837-1981 (incomplete); I, 649-54.
- WARD, B., *The Dawn of Catholic Revival in England*, London 1909.
- *The Eve of Catholic Emancipation*, London 1911.
- *The Sequel to Catholic Emancipation (1830-1850)*, 2 vol., London 1915.
- WARD, W., *History of St. Edmund's College*, London 1893.
- *W. G. Ward and the Catholic Revival*, London 1983.
- *The Life and Times of Cardinal Wiseman*, 2 vol., Longman, Green and Co., London 1897.
- *The Life Work of Cardinal Wiseman* (Cambridge Conferences of 1897), in *Problems and Persons* (1903) 301-333.
- *The Genius of Cardinal Wiseman*, in *Ten Personal Studies* (1908) 198-217.
- *The Life of John Henry Newman*, 2 vol., Longman, Green and Co., London 1912.
- WARRE-CORNISH, F., *A History of the English Church in the Nineteenth Century*, 2 vol., London 1933.
- WATKIN, A., and BUTTERFIELD, H., *Gasquet and the Acton-Simpson Correspondence*, in the *Cambridge Historical Journal* 10 (1950) 85.
- WATKIN, E. I., *Roman Catholicism in England from the Reformation to 1950*, London 1957.
- WEGG-PROSSER, F. R., *Scientific Evidence of the Deluge*, in the *Dublin Review* 235 (Oct. 1895) 396-415.
- WHYTE, J. T., *Historians of Nineteenth-Century English Catholicism*, in *Clergy Review* 52 (1967) 791-801.
- WOODRUFF, D., *Wiseman's Centenary: The Cardinal of the Second Spring*, in *Tablet* (1965) 205-6.





WISEMAN ON SACRED SCRIPTURE AND THE AUTHORITY OF THE CHURCH

1. *Theological background (Friends and Influences)*

The purpose of the present section is to examine in a certain measure the influences acting upon the young Wiseman during his years of formation in Rome. It would be well to remember that Wiseman's life can be conveniently divided into three parts. Until 1836 he led the life of a scholar. Educated in England, he arrived in Rome in 1818; taking his degree in 1824, and became Professor of Oriental Languages and Rector of the Venerable English College at Rome—during this period he carried out the most serious of his intellectual work. From 1836-1850 we see him immersed in the controversies with the Oxford men, during which time he made use of his previous investigations. Finally, from 1850 until his death in 1865, as Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster, Wiseman's life was devoted mainly to his pastoral duties, leaving his previous intellectual pursuits to one side. It can therefore be readily appreciated that all of Wiseman's works bear the characteristics of the period of his intellectual formation up until 1836.

Hocedez describes the period of the Pontificates of Pius VII (1800-1823), Leo XII (1823-1829) and Pius VIII (1829-1830) as a time of theological decadence, although brightened at times by signs of the beginning of a revival. The figures of this period are all men who laid the foundations for those who were to come. Wiseman is one of those men who helped Theology and Catholic life to find their feet again after the disruption and chaos of the Enlightenment and revolutionary years in Europe. Throughout this period we can trace the action of divine Providence and the presence of the Holy Spirit as we watch the *Magisterium* of the Church pick her way through the conflicting and seductive errors of the time¹.

1. Cf. HOCEDEZ, E., *Histoire de la théologie au XIX^e siècle*, 3 vol., Desclée, Paris 1948.

At the end of the eighteenth century theologians were mainly concerned with Fundamental Theology, and this tendency continued into the early nineteenth. There was a battle against Rationalism in all its forms. The natural need to defend the Catholic Faith against her enemies, and raise her up from where she had fallen, led theologians to demonstrate the bases of the Faith and defend the rights of the Holy See and the hierarchy. Thus Apologetics was cultivated more than Dogmatic Theology. Even the Germans, whose works were, on the whole, more speculative, needless to say, wrote with an apologetic end in mind. They were trying to show the rational characteristics of the Christian religion under attack from modern Philosophy. In some cases this led to a certain acceptance of these modern ideas and the Semi-Rationalism of Gunther and Hermes. The French, in general, tried to show up the inherent weakness of human reason, and some fell into the errors of Traditionalism. In all cases there was a lack of a serious metaphysical basis. Thomism was out of fashion and Theology grasped for an adequate philosophy.

According to Hocedez, between 1800 and 1830 there was not even one really important work published in Dogmatic Theology. All the important steps were in history, especially in Patrology and Archaeology. This is the period when Wiseman studied in Rome and hence his appreciation of the Fathers of the Church, his specialization in Oriental Languages and his lack of speculative Theology. We cannot expect more.

While Wiseman was at Rome, the Pontiffs were engaged in raising the level of theological studies there. Although after the restoration of the Pontifical States, Pius VII was perhaps overly engaged in their re-organization, he did not lose sight of the Sacred Sciences. Wiseman was among the first generation of English students to enter the newly re-opened English College in 1818. Pius VII elaborated a plan for the reform of education in the Papal States, beginning with the universities. Leo XII struggled to restore all the different colleges in Rome to their ancient splendour. In 1823 he created a congregation of Cardinals responsible for theological studies. In 1824 he confided the Gregorian University again to the Company of Jesus and, in the same year, by the Constitution *Quod divina sapientia* re-organized the studies in all seven universities in the Papal States.

Although years of theological decadence, they were years of growth and optimism. Wiseman drank in all the signs of a Catholic revival. While Leo XII was working to restore ecclesiastical studies in Italy, Carroll was making progress in the United States of Ame-

rica; English Catholics experienced the beneficial effects of Emancipation; Chateaubriand, De Maistre, Lamennais and Lacordaire were writing in France; Germany saw Sailer, Görres and, especially, Drey and Möhler begin a splendid rebirth of Catholic thought. Although many times the efforts were misplaced, there was a general spectacle of a great energy deployed to defend Christianity against the attacks of Rationalism.

The three great names of this period are Hermes, Lamennais and Möhler. The first is the most famous representative of Semi-Rationalism. The second is the eloquent propagator of Traditionalism and Liberalism. The third, a theologian as well as an historian and thinker, managed to revive Catholic Theology and catch the attention of his contemporaries. Wiseman met both Lamennais and Möhler, having a great admiration especially for the latter, and he experienced a similar evolution in his thought as did Hermes. The problem of nineteenth-century Theology was the relationship between Faith and Reason. Hermes and Lamennais offered two solutions, contrary to each other and both unacceptable. Wiseman was no philosopher and therefore did not directly confront this issue, rather he presents us with his own solution to the problem of scepticism, based on Patristical erudition and the deep study of the Sacred Scriptures.

The similarity between Hermes and Wiseman is worthwhile examining. Hermes began to suffer grave doubts against the Faith through reading Kant and Fichte. But he did not despair. He resolved to study religion going from doubt to certainty a doubt that sprung from his own personal experience rather than from Descartes. The preface to his *Philosophische Einleitung in die Christkatholische Theologie*, 1819, reveals a man who had overcome doubts and wished to hold open the door of the Faith to others with his method. This immediately brings Wiseman's experience to mind. Between 1827 and 1829, he suffered the same temptations against the Faith, provoked by his biblical studies, and in particular by the attacks of the German writers of the previous century. These are the years of his *Horae Syriacae* and the research carried out for his future lectures, which can thus be seen as his own personal way out of the doubt. But there are differences: Wiseman combatted doubt through accepting everything for the moment on blind faith and patiently studying until he could defend his position; Hermes had the much more radical position of only holding on to the Catechism. Wiseman worked in Oriental Studies where an excess of reasoning would not go so automatically astray; Hermes in Theology and finished up rationalizing the

Faith². This period of doubts equipped Wiseman for his future controversies with the Puseyites, and endowed him with the assurance which intellectual or religious doubt, once overcome with effort, gives to a man³.

Rome had a deep impact on Wiseman's sensitive nature. The external manifestations of centuries of Christian history gave his faith a great solidity. Some words of his, written in 1847, looking back at his Roman days, could help us understand both this impact and his future fortitude in front of a frenzied England in 1850. «From early youth I have grown up under the very shadow of the Apostolic Chair; week after week I have knelt at the shrine of St. Peter and sworn him fealty... The second altar at which I knelt in the holy city was that which marks the spot whereon St. Peter cemented the foundations of this unfailing throne with his blood. The first was that of our glorious St. Thomas of Canterbury. There I returned thanks for the great blessing of being admitted among his children. For two-and-twenty years I knelt daily before the lively representation of his martyrdom... Daily I prayed him and do pray him to give me his spirit of fortitude, to fight the battles of the Church, if necessary, to the shedding of blood»⁴.

Rome also meant for Wiseman a great linguistic culture. It was there that Italian became a second mother tongue for him and where he learnt French, German, Spanish, Hebrew, Syrian, Arabic and Persian. He amassed knowledge about the early centuries of the Church and his dominion of languages gave him access to all the contemporary European research in biblical matters. Leaving his natural talents to one side, a brief look at his teachers and acquaintances is enough to explain Wiseman's dedication to these themes.

While studying at Ushaw, Wiseman had the well-known historian John Lingard as his teacher. In spite of the difference of years, a lasting friendship sprung up. Later Wiseman was to introduce Lingard to Döllinger. But clearly, Lingard with his insular view of English Catholicism did not have an intellectual effect on the young Wiseman more than waking up an interest in history. In Rome, Wiseman was in contact with men such as Fea, Cancellieri, Testa, De

2. Vid., PRUNEL, N., *La tentation du Docteur Wiseman*, in *Revue Pratique d'Apologétique* 14 (April-Sept. 1912) 85-6.

3. Cf. DIMNET, E., *La pensée Catholique dans l'Angleterre contemporaine*, Victor Lecoffre, Paris 1906, pp. 12-13.

4. WARD, W., *The Life and Times of Cardinal Wiseman*, 2 vol., Longmans, Green and Co., London 1897; I, p. 45.

Rossi, Mai, Overbeck, Mezzofanti and Zurla. It is interesting to observe that linguists, historians, artists or antiquarians attracted him much more than thinkers or theologians.

C. D. Fea (1753-1836) was famous in his time for his archaeological work and knowledgeable researches on particular historical questions, which enabled him to defend the Papacy and its prerogatives. Among other works, he published *Saggio di nuove osservazioni sopra i decreti del concilio di Costanza*, Rome 1821; *Difesa storica del Papa Adriano VI nel punto che riguarda la infallibilità dei Sommi Pontefici in materia di fede*, Rome 1820 and *Pius II, a calumniis vindictus*, Rome 1833. Fea was described as a mine of learning who could bring in illustration of any subject a heap of erudition from every imaginable source⁵. This indeed is the same type of culture as Wiseman's.

Similar to Fea was Francesco Geronimo Cancellieri (died 1826) who was remarkable for his erudition and archaeological knowledge. He was a writer on the quaintest and most fantastic subjects. Niebuhr (the Prussian ambassador in Rome), is said to have remarked that Cancellieri's works, «contained some things that are important, many things that were useful, and every thing that is superfluous»⁶.

Angelo Testa, Latin secretary to Pius VII, was also known by Wiseman. He played a certain part in the revival of Thomism, being a disciple of Vincenzo Buzzetti in Plaisance, as were the founders of nineteenth-century neo-Thomism, Seraphim and Dominique Sordi.

Placide Zurla (1768-1834) taught philosophy and theology to his fellow Camaldolensians, becoming the General of this Order and then Prefect of Propaganda and Cardinal. He wrote an *Enchiridion theologicum dogmatum et morum e Summa D. Thomae Aquinatis ad verbum depromptum notisque auctum*, 1802; but he had more of a renown for geography, after the publication of *Dei vantaggi della cattolica religione derivati alla geografica e scienze annesse*, Rome 1822.

Among those who influenced Wiseman in Oriental and biblical learning were Giovanni Bernardo de Rossi (1742-1832), who among other things wrote, *Manuscripti codices hebraici*, Parma 1803; *Opere stampate di letteratura sacra ed orientale*, Parma 1812, and *Variae lectiones Veteris Testamenti*, described as, «the best critical appa-

5. Cf. HOCEDEZ, I, pp. 54 and 64; WARD, I, pp. 29-30.

6. WARD, I, p. 30.

tus for the study of the Hebrew text» by Dr. Kaulen⁷; and Cardinal Mai, who first taught critics to look for those faint copies called palimpsests under mediaeval texts. Hergenröther says that there are few men capable of even reading all that he deciphered, translated, interpreted and investigated in ancient documents. It was under Mai's guidance that Wiseman carried out his research for *Horae Syriacae* and the essays on I *John* 5,7.

Wiseman's position as Rector of the English College brought him into an ever growing circle of writers. Lamennais had been present in the *actus publicus* of Wiseman's doctorate back in 1824, and came to Rome in 1831 accompanied by Lacordaire and Montalembert. All three became intimate with Wiseman. The famous visit of J. H. Newman and Hurrell Froude occurred in 1833. He was also visited by Mr. Monckton Milnes, Julius Hare, Gladstone and H. E. Manning.

As is well-known, the publication of *Horae Syriacae* in 1827 won Wiseman universal admiration. It also opened up a series of European connexions. Augustus Tholuck (a linguist and protestant theological professor at Berlin and a specialist in Biblical exegesis) wrote to him in terms of high appreciation. Chavalier Bunsen, who succeeded Niehbur as Prussian Minister at Rome, sought Wiseman's acquaintance, introducing him to other German scholars, such as Dr. Kluge (an expert in Arabic) and Professor Sholz of Bonn. He became known to English scholars through his correspondence with Dr. Thomas Burgess, the anglican bishop of Salisbury; and Austrians through Ackermann of Vienna.

Little by little, the English College became a considerable focus of intellectual life. Wiseman's contacts continued widening up until 1835, coming into contact with scholars in France such as the patriarch of Oriental literature, Silvestre de Sacy; Saint-Martin; the inaugurator (almost) of Tartar and Mongolian studies, Abel Rémusat; also Balbi, Ozanam, and Halma. Among Germans he had considerable contact with Döllinger, Klee, Frederick Schlegel, Windischmann, the two Görreses and Möhler. It is the last named who had, perhaps, most influence on Wiseman, but all these friendships revealed to him a new activity in Catholic thought, filling him with the idea of a general revival of religion due to Catholic zeal; and in the countries with which he was most closely related there was a singular coinci-

7. MURILLO, L., *La apologética en el siglo XIX*, in *Razón y Fe* 1 (1901) 153-169; p. 164.

dence in the rise and advance of movements not directly associated with each other. The year 1835 saw the beginning of Lacordaire's conferences in Notre Dame; the Oxford Movement had begun; in Munich Döllinger was rallying around him men such as Möhler and Görres; Wiseman made a splash preaching in England; and Montalembert was soon to launch his *Parti Catholique*. All seemed set for the future.

Although Wiseman seems to have had more correspondence with Döllinger and liked his *Church History*, he held Möhler's book *Symbolik oder Darstellung der dogmatischen Gegensätze der Katholiken und Protestanten nach ihren öffentlichen Bekenntnisschriften*, 1832, in great appreciation. They met for the first time when Wiseman visited Munich on his way to England in 1835, but already before, in October 1833, he had written to a friend: «I have just received from Germany a treasure of Catholic literature»⁸ referring to the *Symbolik*. He recommended Möhler's work on St. Athanasius to Newman through a friend: «Wiseman has desired me to draw your attention to a German work by Möhler: on Athanasius and his times: very Roman Catholic I believe»⁹. According to Chadwick, Wiseman always remained critical of Möhler's Liberalism while admiring his patristic learning¹⁰.

In *Symbolik* Möhler summarizes the principal Protestant doctrines as contained in the public professions of faith of the reformed churches: their doctrine on the original state of man, original sin, justification, the sacraments, the Church and the rule of faith; and proceeds to contrast them with Catholic doctrine. That Wiseman leaned heavily on this book is clear from the preface to his *Lectures on the Principal Doctrines and Practices of the Catholic Church* where he acknowledges his obligation to «the *Symbolik* of my learned friend, Prof. Möhler, the most profound work, if I may coin a phrase, on the Philosophy of Divinity, which our time has produced»¹¹. He was understandably much more cautious with respect to Möhler's not

8. WARD, I, p. 138.

9. DESSAIN, C. S., *The Letters and Diaries of John Henry Newman*, Catholic Series, 19 vol., Birmingham Oratory 1961-77; Anglican Series, 5 vol. (incomplete), Birmingham Oratory 1977; IV, p. 257; Letter of T.D. Acland to Newman, May 15, 1834.

10. Cf. CHADWICK, O., *From Bossuet to Newman: The Idea of Doctrinal Development*, Cambridge University Press, 1957; p. 114.

11. *Lectures on the Principal Doctrines and Practices of the Catholic Church*, 2 vol., Dolman, London 1836 (often reprinted); I, p. ix.

so traditional *Die Einheit in der Kirche*, 1825, (*The Unity of the Church*)¹².

There is something in common between Möhler and Wiseman. Both show the enthusiasm of a youthful spirit emerging from the Enlightenment and react against the rationalism and individualism of the previous century. Both plundered the early Fathers of the Church for their treasures. Möhler found in them the living Church, animated by God's Spirit — a thought which is also constant throughout Wiseman's works: God protects and guides the Church giving her an infallible teaching authority. In those times of romanticism and a certain mysticism, both tried to construct an apology of the hierarchy showing how it corresponded to internal needs and was the fruit of that charity produced by the Holy Spirit. Such arguments may be insufficient, but insufficiency does not necessarily indicate error¹³.

Thus are the contacts and friendships Wiseman maintained during his years of intellectual work up until 1840. We can trace in these friends many of the characteristics found in his works: a great reliance on the Sacred Scripture and the Fathers, a lack of Scholastic theology, historical interest, and an encyclopaedic approach to culture. These characteristics fitted him very well for the prominent role he wanted to play in raising the intellectual level of English Catholicism, and influencing the run of the Oxford Movement.

Wiseman came to England thinking of intellectual conversions and conducting an intellectual apostolate and he happened to coincide with a period when English Protestants were moving away from the sixteenth-century Reformers, and were rediscovering and readapting Roman doctrines and practices, which lent colour to the great hopes entertained by many others than Wiseman¹⁴. The Romantic movement had altered popular attitudes to the Reformation by deepening popular sympathy for the Middle Ages and, «a sentiment for monastic ruins generates no love for a Reformation which ruined monasteries»¹⁵.

Another change which favoured Wiseman's approach was that,

12. Cf. CHADWICK, *Doctrinal Development*, p. 165; letter Wiseman to Newman, December 27, 1845.

13. Cf. HOCEDEZ, I, p. 236.

14. Cf. WOODRUFF, D., *Wiseman's Centenary: The Cardinal of the Second Spring*, in *Tablet* (1965) 205-6.

15. CHADWICK, O., *The Victorian Church*, 2 vol., London 1966, 1970 and 1971; I, p. 174.

«the new generation was not interested in reconciling belief and unbelief: the real issue was the Church. Coleridge of course knew. In his fundamental essay *On the Constitution of the Church and State According to the Idea of Each*, published in 1830... he acknowledged the fact that he was faced with... the question of the Christian Church»¹⁶. Wiseman stepped into this scene inspired by the ideas of Möhler, recognizing with him that the very existence of Protestantism indicated past deficiencies in the Church¹⁷.

Little by little, Wiseman's intellectual friendships came to an end, partly through his dedication to his duties as Vicar-Apostolic and later Cardinal Archbishop, partly through the polarization of intellectual currents as the century progressed, and due to the stagnation of his own ideas. He ended his life as a rather lonely figure, frequently remarking that there was no one close to him with whom he could frankly exchange ideas. He maintained lasting friendships with some of his fellow cardinals and many French bishops, such as Donnet, Cardinal Archbishop of Bordeaux; Gerbet, Bishop of Perpignan; and Cardinal du Pont, Archbishop of Bourges; but in no case was there any exchange of theological opinions, the content of their friendships was mainly ecclesiastical and political affairs.

As a summary, to gain an insight into the source of Wiseman's ideas we do not need to look farther than the contact in Rome during the 1820's with a group of learned orientalist, historians and antiquarians with no more than a smattering of scholastic theology; his exposure to all the currents of biblical learning in England and Germany; and, during the 1830's his contact with the leaders of the Catholic revival in Germany, France and England. These are the forces which shaped Wiseman's mind and which we find reflected in his works.

2 *Analysis of the Catholic Rule of Faith*

Just as in Wiseman's analysis of the Protestant rule of faith, when dealing with the Catholic rule of faith it is important to bear in mind that here he is talking of the motives of conviction and not the

16. DIONISOTTI, C., *Manzoni and the Catholic Revival*, in the Proceedings of the British Academy 59 (1973) 341-353; p. 349.

17. Cf. *Letter to the Earl of Shrewsbury on Catholic Unity*, Dolman, London 1841, where Wiseman quotes MÖHLER, *Symbolik*, II, 37.

motives which brought a particular Catholic to adhere to the Catholic Church. In this analysis he wishes to show the non-Catholic reader, «how far from unreasonable our system is, and how far remote from any tyranny or oppression, or unjust restraint of men's minds, ... how strongly confirmed in Holy Writ is the rule of faith which the Catholic holds, in the authority of the Church»¹⁸.

What then is this rule of faith which Wiseman sets out to analyze? He says it is the word of God- the word of God alone and exclusively; the difference between Catholics and Protestants residing in the inquiry as to the extent of God's holy word. The following phrase of Wiseman's was attacked as advocating Luther's doctrine of the *Sola Scriptura*, so much so that he was forced to defend his statement in the foreword to later editions: «we believe, then, in the first place, that there is no other ground-work whatever for faith, except the written word of God; because, we allow no power in religion, to any living authority, except inasmuch as its right to define is conferred in God's written word. It is precisely in the same manner, as we do not allow of any doctrine which is not contained and rooted in Christ Jesus incarnate, the word of God, and Eternal Wisdom of the Father, and yet we admit other doctrines, only remotely connected with him, only based on him, and less directly referable to him, -for no doctrine can have any force except inasmuch as it rests on his authority. If, therefore, you hear that the Church claims authority to define articles of faith, and to instruct her children what they must believe, you must not for one moment think that she pretends to any authority or sanction for that power, save what she conceives herself to derive from the clear, express, and explicit words of Scripture. Thus, therefore, it is truly said, that, whatever is believed by the Catholic, although not positively expressed in the written word of God, is believed, because the principle adopted by him is there expressly revealed»¹⁹.

Here then is the root of Wiseman's apologetics of authority. He feels fully confident to do what the sixteenth-century controversialists tried to do against Luther. Give me he Scriptures, says Wiseman, and I can prove the authority of the Church to teach; which principle once proved enables me to defend *all* Catholic teaching. He does not here intend to enter the sticky ground of trying to determine if all the truths necessary for salvation are actually contained in the writ-

18. *LPD.*, I, p. 117.

19. *Ibid.*, p. 60.

ten word of God, or even whether they can be deduced from Sacred Scripture, he only asserts that Sacred Scripture contains that truth which is the key to all other truths- Church authority.

i) *Congruency with Sacred Scripture*

The Ark of the Covenant contained three things, the Law of God (*Deut.* 31, 26), Aaron's rod (*Num.* 17, 10-11) and the vessel filled with manna (*Ex.* 16, 33-4)²⁰. This is a figure of the elements entering into the composition of the ground-work of the Catholic's faith. He reveres and values the Sacred volume revealed by God, which he places as the foundation-stone of his faith. But by it he places the rod of power and authority of the legitimate rulers of the Church. Finally, he admits the necessity for the strengthening and life-giving grace which God sends down, infusing as a virtue in the soul. «Such is the three-fold composition of the provision made by God for the acceptance of His holy religion; an unailing authority to preserve, propose, and explain it; and an inward aid to receive and embrace it. And the emblems of these, as was done of old, we carefully cherish in the tabernacle of God with men, which is the Church»²¹.

Wiseman begins his analysis of the individual's approach to the Catholic Faith with an academic doubt. We abstract, for the moment, all belief in the inspiration and divine authority of the Gospels and submit them to an examination as purely historical works intended for our information, and from which we are anxious to gather all the useful information they contain. We find that all these works, whether considered in their substance or their form, possess all those motives of human credibility which we can possibly require. There is no element which arouses suspicion of a desire to trick or deceive. All the external testimony indicates that they were written at the time when they profess to have been written and that they do correspond to the authors whose names they bear. Since these authors were eyewitnesses, and their lives and characters are excellent, we conclude all they have recorded as being certain.

But these authors do not only narrate events but unfold a system of religion, preached by one who performed miracles to establish and confirm the divinity of his mission. Thus the purely human investigation (when freed from any prejudices or affected blindness) leads to

20. Vid. also *I Kings* 8, 9 and *Heb.* 9, 4.

21. *LPD.*, I, p. 59.

the acknowledgement of the authority of Christ to teach, as one who came from God: thus we are led to the necessity of yielding implicit credence to whatever we find him to have taught.

Having established this divine authority of Christ, the next step in the argument is to inquire what Christ taught. Not only did he teach certain general principles of morality, or acquaint man with the truths about his fallen nature and future destiny; but he took means to preserve this doctrinal communication.

Christ's intention is obviously that the system he established should be beneficial to all mankind until the end of time. Therefore we must be able to find in the Gospels some provision made so that the obligations which Christ laid down and the truths he taught should be perpetuated. In the Gospel there are a number of passages where Christ selects a certain body of men, he invests them with authority and power equal to his own and makes them the promise of remaining with them and teaching among them till the end of the world. From whence it follows that a corresponding institution must have existed down through the ages. This succession of persons constituted to preserve the doctrines of faith, appointed as successors of the apostles, having with them the guarantee of Christ teaching among them for ever is that body which we call the Church.

This argument is of course very classical and only the outline of a serious Catholic apologetical system. It would be possible to pick holes in some of Wiseman's logic, but on the whole it is a valid argument. What is highly doubtful is if the abstract infidel following the argument could do so without the intervention of grace — Wiseman claims that it is by «merely historical reasoning»²².

At this stage, the important point is that we are satisfied that the Church has the same divine authority which Christ was seen to possess through the evidence of his miracles and that, therefore, during what remains of the investigation, *there is absolutely no need to turn back once again to the evidence of men*. Here is the great difference between the Catholic and the Protestant. The latter, if he can establish the authority of the Gospels, their canonicity and inspiration by a rational analysis, returns to them and applies his rule of faith-personal examination. Thus he returns again to the level of purely human reasoning; whereas the Catholic, having established the authority of the Church, receives from it the solemn proclamation that the

22. *LPD.*, I, p. 64.

Bible contains the revealed word of God and is inspired by the Holy Spirit and thus arrives at these two important doctrines which it is difficult, if not quite impossible, to reach by any course of ordinary investigation.

Finally Wiseman clears up any possible misinterpretations of his position, stating that we do not believe the Church on the authority of the Scriptures, *but on the authority of Christ*. We would feel ourselves bound to believe the commands of Christ even if they were recorded in any other book, historically credible *although not inspired*. We would receive them and consequently the authority of the Church as equally as now. The Scriptures therefore form the groundwork of our faith not in as far as they are inspired by the Holy Spirit, but in as far as they communicate to us the doctrines of Jesus Christ.

Wiseman now returns to the Gospels in order to draw out detailed arguments in favour of the communication of divine authority from Christ to his apostles and from them to their successors. In this he makes use of the Transfiguration of our Lord on Mt. Tabor. This event of Christ's life has a singular importance because of the testimony of the two most eminent and divinely gifted men of the Old Law — Moses and Elias — and the powerful testimony of God the Father to the authority of his Son. The two prophets resigned all the pledges and promises of the Old Law into Christ's hands so as to be perfected and completed. The Eternal Father commanded the apostles to give implicit credence to whatever they should hear from Jesus' lips: «this is my beloved Son in whom I am well pleased, *hear ye him*» (*Mtt.* 17, 5).

«Judge, therefore», says Wiseman, «how solemnly the authority of our divine Saviour must have been impressed on the minds of these apostles: and if ever afterwards, they heard him transfer to them that authority which on this occasion he received— if ever afterwards they heard him say, that as the Father had sent him so did he send them —that all who heard them also heard him— that whosoever despised them despised not only them but him also who sent him; consider what a strong warrant and security this must have been to them; how, recurring to the strong assurances given in *his* favour on Mount Tabor, *they* must have felt themselves invested with the mighty power, when they went forth to teach, yea; with the same authority, precisely, as they had heard given on this occasion to his words»²³.

23. *Ibid.*, p. 87.

The Transfiguration shows us a possible scheme for constructing an argument for Church authority. In the first place the testimony of the Old Law — its constitution and prophecies are types of the Church and they show us the form, character and qualities of what would later be the Church of God. Secondly, the express words and commands of our Saviour, backed up by the testimony of God the Father, farther shows us a Church with a divine teaching authority.

Wiseman accepts as proved that the former dispensation of God was not abolished by Christ but rather exchanged and perfected. The type merged into its reality, not dying but receiving a second existence. Thus the oblations of the Old Law became the one true sacrifice of Jesus Christ; uncertainty was changed for true knowledge, and hope in the Messiah onto faith. We note how the New Testament applies to the new dispensation all the terminology of the Old. «The Church, or dispensation of faith, is now the kingdom which was to be restored with its worship by the Son of David; there is a priesthood and an altar, there is authority and subordination, there is union and unity ali as before; and indeed in the later prophecies of the Old Law, the Church is never otherwise described than as the revival, extension, and perfection of the former state»²⁴.

This being so, it is evident that in the two dispensations there must be counterparts, analogies and resemblances which show that ours is the perfection of the former. All the forms and institutions of the former must be found in greater perfection in the later. If not, then is not only all necessary resemblance between them destroyed, but also the normal, progressive course of development which is the characteristic of all God's works is hindered; the Old Law could even be made to appear superior to the New.

One of the most important institutions of the Old Law was that of prophecy. It was God's way of conserving his chosen people free from errors in their hope for the future Messias. Wiseman concludes that this institution must be continued in Christ's dispensation because the truths and blessings communicated to man are no less precious than the former ones.

The Jewish dispensation was necessarily imperfect, otherwise it need never have been superseded (*Heb.* 8, 7). It was subject to constant disturbances and failings. The prophets were a series of extraordinary messengers sent by God whenever any particular deran-

24. *Ibid.*, p. 94.



gement or error had crept in among the chosen people. Now the prophets were types of Jesus Christ; he came in their place, assumed their ministry and promised to remain in his kingdom teaching always. Also they were the tongues of the Holy Spirit who later came down upon His Church to guide it in all truth and teach always in it.

«I take all these arrangements and ordinances *in their plain and simple meaning*, and construct thereupon in my mind, a great religious community, professing entire unity of doctrines under teachers directed by God. I see so complete and just a reality to the type, such correspondence of parts that I conclude (cannot hesitate to believe) that hereby alone, *could* accomplishment be given to the foreshadowings of the former state, and consequently no other conception of its fulfilment could be correct»²⁵.

He contrasts this with the Protestant idea of the Church as a mere aggregate of individuals each having his own peculiar measure of faith, bound up only by external ties, with no inward communication, deprived of all security against fatal error and promise of support, with no authority or divine sanction, and concluded that this is something strangely different from all that God went on preparing throughout the Old Testament. The prophecies of the Old Law gradually unfold a most vivid representation of the future Church which ill accords with the reality of the Protestant Church.

As an example of one of the more explicit passages concerning the future kingdom of God our author refers us to *Isaias* 54, 2-17 and 59, 21. Here he comments that, «we are told that the Church of God, identified with the Jewish Church then existing—for it is addressed—should not continue much longer in a state of abasement; but that God should raise it up and extend its boundaries, so as to embrace all the kingdoms of the world, and the nations from the east unto the west; that it should be authorized to condemn every one that may rise up against it in judgment; that its teaching should be as though the very words were put into its mouth by God... that Almighty God of heaven and earth, should himself teach in it, and that this divine teacher should be the Redeemer of his people, in such a way, that all its children should be called taught of God. This covenant is everlasting, and can no more fail than his covenant to Noah... and hence his protection is pledged to prevent any attempt

25. *Ibid.*, p. 96.

from prospering, that may be designed or directed against its existence or prosperity»²⁶.

It could be objected that as the Jews were unfaithful, God would not continue with the same institutions. This is rather a confirmation than a difficulty because God made use of the infidelity of his chosen people, after converting them to himself another time, to encourage their hope. Thus he led them through the desert for forty years so as to long for the promised land; he sent enemies to smite them so as to yearn for a redeemer. As St. Paul says, «now there must needs be also heresies, that they also that are approved may be made manifest amongst you» (I *Cor.* 11, 19).

We must then search in the New Testament for the institution that corresponds to the terms of the prediction; and where better to look than in the words Christ conveys to his Apostles and their successors his own supreme authority? Is it very probable that the last verses of St. Matthew contain a direct reference to the scene of the Transfiguration: «all power is given to me in heaven and in earth. Going, therefore, teach ye all nations; baptising them in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost. Teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you. And, behold, I am with you all days, even to the consummation of the world» (*Mtt.* 28, 18-20). The impact which the awful testimony of God the Father had on the three Apostles is borne out by II *Peter* 1, 16-19. Of course there are different ways of interpreting this passage. Catholics see Christ promise to assist this Church so as to prevent the possibility of falling into error. Protestants see no more than a security that the general system of doctrines and belief comprehended in Christianity shall never be lost upon earth. Or perhaps they see a promise to each *individual* member of the the Church as to assistance in faith.

As this is a key passage in Wiseman's apologetics it is worth while following his exegesis of it. He claims that God's being with any person has two possible meanings in the language of the Bible. The first is that it signifies a more special providence in regard of that individual than is manifested to others, in such a way that whatever he undertakes shall infallibly succeed. As examples he gives Abimelech's words to Abraham «*God is with thee* in all that thou doest» (*Gen.* 21, 22); God's words to Isaac, «sojourn in the land, and I will be with thee, and I will bless thee» (*Gen.* 26, 3) and, «fear

26. *Ibid.*, pp. 100-1.



not, *I am with thee*» (*Gen.* 26, 24); Jacob's words, «the God of my father *hath been with me*» (*Gen.* 31, 5) exactly because, «God hath not suffered him (Laban) to hurt me» (v.7); it is said of Joseph that, «the Lord *was with him*, and he was a prosperous man in all things» (*Gen.* 39, 23).

In the New Testament exactly the same sense appears when Nicodemus talks with Jesus. He says, «we know that art come a teacher from God; for no man can do these signs which thou doest, unless God be with him» (*Jn.* 3, 2). In all these examples the phrase in question appears with a paraphrase which explains its meaning and in the *Septuagint* the Greek expression is almost identical to that of St. Matthew.

The second meaning of this phrase is as a special guarantee for the truth of a message or promise. In this sense God says to Jacob, «I will do down with thee into Egypt» as a special guarantee that in spite of this his descendents would be a great people (*Gen.* 46, 3-4). Moses is ordered to go back into Egypt with the words, «I will be with thee» (*Ex.* 3, 11-12); Jeremiah also receives the command, «and speak unto them all that I command thee... but they shall not prevail, for *I am with thee*» (*Jer.* 1, 17-19).

Since this expression is never used in any other sense, we must conclude that, in the text under examination, Christ promised to his Apostles such a similar scheme of special providence necessary and sufficient to secure the accomplishment of the commission he gave them. And what was that commission; To, «teach all nations» is one part and the things to be taught are, «to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you». Thus we have the guarantee of Christ that he will aid his Church, with a special and efficacious providence, *to teach all things* that he has commanded to all nations, and till the end of time.

Wiseman also needed to answer various objections made to this interpretation of this passage. The first concerns the meaning of the phrase «all days, even to the consummation of the world», and in particular the meaning of the Greek word *aión*. It had been alleged that *aión* could mean a person's natural life-span, so that Christ's promise only extended to the Apostles while alive. It is true that this meaning is found in profane authors, but in the New Testament *aión* always means the 'World'. Not even *Mtt.* 12, 32 can be used to support this translation as it is antithetic: «it shall not be forgiven him, neither in this world nor in the next»; nor in the next (natural life) would render the sentence unintelligible. Furthermore, when-

ver this word appears together with *suntèleia* (consummation) it inevitably means the 'world' as in *Heb.* 1, 2 and 2, 5; *Mtt.* 13, 39-40 and 49.

The second objection referred to the wish to restrict the meaning of the word 'you' in the phrase «I am with *you* all days». It was asserted that only the Apostles were addressed. Wiseman's first argument is possibly fallacious. He argues that the difficult passages of *I Cor.* 15, 52, «*we* shall be changed», and *Thess.* 4, 16, «then *we* who are alive», where St. Paul includes himself among those still alive at the second coming of Christ, are examples that the personal pronouns do not always have their strict literal sense. But in second place he claims that in the giving of all commissions a similar form of expression is necessarily used; only the person present is invested with authority which has to descend to his successors.

Furthermore, if we admit the limitation in this case it will apply to every authority, jurisdiction, command or power claimed by any church, because every church grounds its claim to authority on the orders given in the gospel to the Apostles. The church of England founds the authority of its bishops on such texts and even the evangelical missionary societies interpret «go teach all nations» as an express command addressed to them.

Thus our text has to mean that Christ would watch with peculiar care and solicitude over his Apostles in the fulfilment of their mission and that special providence would be prolonged, not merely to the lives of those immediately addressed, but through all successive ages, till the end of time.

Is not this commission exactly what we should have imagined as the fulfilment of the Old Testament prophecies? asks Wiseman. It institutes a body of men with the security of being faithful depositaries of Christ's truths; it establishes a kingdom open to all nations; it gives us Christ's permanent teaching in lieu of prophecy to prevent all error, and will continue till the end of the world.

Finally comes the necessary link with the existing Church: «now this is precisely all that the Catholic Church teaches, all that she claims, as the basis and foundation whereupon to build her rule of faith. The successors of the Apostles in the Church of Christ have received the security of his own words and his promise of 'a perpetual teaching', so that they shall not be allowed to fall into error. It is this promise which assures she is the depositary of truth, and is gifted with an exemption from all liability to err, and has authority



to claim from all men, and from all nations, submission to her guidance and instruction»²⁷.

Wiseman's exegesis of *Mtt.* 28, 18-20 is fairly conclusive; however, he also analyses other texts where our Lord promises his Apostles the assistance of the Holy Spirit: *Jn.* 14, 16 and 26; *Jn.* 16, 13; and manifestly transfers his own authority to his Apostles: *Lk.* 10, 16 and *Jn.* 20, 21. He clearly restricts these promises to the Apostles and their successors, the bishops, in accordance with the distinction of *Jn.* 17, 20 between teachers and the taught, in order to defeat the Protestant objection of a promise of divine assistance for each individual.

ii) *Tradition and Doctrinal Decisions*

Having demonstrated the congruency of the Catholic rule of faith with Sacred Scripture, the need arises to discuss the role of tradition in the Church. The whole line of Wiseman's thought is amazingly similar to the ideas of John Keble. Wiseman delivered his lectures in Lent 1836. Later that year, in September, Keble preached a sermon upon *Primitive Tradition Recognized in Sacred Scripture*²⁸. Their choice of the same texts from St. Paul's epistles to the Thessalonians and Timothy, the logic applied to the period when the Scriptures were yet unwritten and their use of the Fathers of the Church are identical. As Keble's sermon caused a scandal in the Anglican church, Wiseman's arguments clearly would have been novel for his non-Catholic listeners and show how he was fully immersed in the contemporary ideas of his country.

He defined very clearly that by the *unwritten* word of God, «we mean a body of doctrines, which, in consequence of express declarations in the written word, we believe not to have been committed to writing, but delivered by Christ to his Apostles, and by the Apostles to their successors. We believe that no new doctrine can be introduced into the Church, but that every doctrine that we hold, has existed, and been taught in it, ever since the time of the Apostles, and was handed down by them to their successors, under the only guarantee on which we receive doctrines from the Church, that is, Christ's promise to abide with it for ever, to assist, direct, and

27. *LPD.*, I, p. 109.

28. KEBLE, J., *Primitive Tradition recognized in Holy Scripture*, a sermon preached in the Cathedral Church of Winchester, at the Visitation of the Most Worshipful and Rev. W. Dealtry, D.D., September 27, 1836.

instruct it, and always teach in and through it. So that, while giving our implicit credit, and trusting our judgment to it, we are believing, and trusting to the express teaching and sanction of Christ himself»²⁹.

Tradition, and the unwritten word of God, therefore, are one and the same thing. He takes care to explain that these traditions are not a mass of vague and floating opinions which may, at the option of the Pope or a general council, be turned into articles of faith. Unwritten word does not mean unrecorded. When difficulties arise concerning any point of faith, when there is doubt concerning what should be believed, the Church has always pursued the same method of accurately examining the writings of the Fathers of the Church in order to ascertain what has in all places and at all times been the faith of the Catholic Church. Only after this prudent and judicious historical inquiry does the Church, at times, when assembled for this solemn purpose, proclaim such doctrines as articles of faith through the infallible authority which she possesses from Christ.

Having explained what Catholics understand by tradition, Wiseman demonstrates that any system which excludes tradition, as to the majority of the Protestants', needs a particularly strong class of arguments, because even when a written law *is* expressly laid down it *does not* necessarily exclude the existence of an unwritten law³⁰. We need very strong proofs to show that the Scriptures are not only the rule of faith but that they are self-sufficient— the *exclusive rule*. Even a formal command to have a written code would not be exclusive of other teaching³¹.

This *express* command to have a written law is found in the Old Law; Moses was ordered to committ to writing all those precepts which God had given, even to the most minute particulars; and that this law was to be read to the people in the most solemn manner, every seventh year, at the feast of tabernacles (*Deut.* 31, 9-12). This reveals a certain characteristic of a written law— that it should be formed not merely of documents accidentally, as it were, collected together, but that provision should be taken for the rule's being drawn up, and its being communicated to those whom it has to guide.

Thus we should expect that if our Saviour had intended to direct us to knowledge of our duties, by some written code of faith of mo-

29. *LPD.*, I, p. 60.

30. A similar idea was used by Newman in Tract. 85, of 1838 republished in *Tracts for the Times*, 6 vol., Ams Press, New York 1969; V, pp. 108-112.

31. Cf. *LPD.*, I, p. 74.



rality, he would have expressly laid down an injunction to register his words, and later diffuse them among the faithful for their guidance. But in the New Law we meet nothing of the sort. There is not one hint or intimation that our Saviour ever intended one word to be written down.

Furthermore, we find that considering the history of the composition of the writings forming the New Testament, each book seems, as it were, the casual offspring of circumstances, written for some local or personal purpose, and that if errors had not arisen so early in the Church, or if St. John had not lived so long, we would have been deprived of some of the most beautiful writings of the New Testament. St. Paul simply writes to silence doubts, answer difficulties, correct local corruptions, so that the greater part of the most important dogmas, instead of being defined and explained by him, are only occasionally and parenthetically introduced as illustrations. This does not agree with the idea of a deliberate attempt to write a self-sufficient code³².

Wiseman quotes the opinion of Molitor's *The Philosophy of History, or on Tradition*, that, although the Mosaic Law has all the characteristics of a written code, yet there can be no doubt that some of the most important doctrines were not committed to writing but passed on from generation to generation by tradition. A little thought will show that at the time of our Lord the Jews were in possession of many doctrines exceedingly difficult to trace in Scripture; but of vital importance. To deny these traditions among the Jews leads to strange conclusions. Warburton (an Anglican bishop) wrote a treatise showing that Moses' legislation was divine because he managed to bind the Jews with laws *without sanction of a future state!*³³.

These traditions taught future life and resurrection. The saducees formed a sect among the Jews who rejected these traditional doctrines and consequently the resurrection of the dead and the existence of a spiritual soul in man. We see St. Paul addressing the Sanahdrin, «I am a Pharisee, the son of Pharisees: concerning the hope and resurrection of the dead I am called in question» (*Acts*. 23, 6). When our Lord deduces the doctrines of a future resurrection from the Almighty's being styled the God of the living and not of the dead (*Mtt.* 22, 31-2), it is difficult to discover the link between the two members of the argument. But when it is known that the Jews con-

32. Newman used the same argument two years later in Tract 85, pp. 30-31.

33. Cf. *LPD.*, I, pp. 70-71.

nected the two dogmas of the soul's survival and the body's resurrection, we understand how his listeners were satisfied with his argument.

Wiseman presents further evidence for the existence of tradition among the Jews from the conversation of Jesus with Nicodemus concerning spiritual birth or regeneration. When the latter truly or affectedly did not understand him, he reprehended him, «Art thou a master in Israel, and knowest not these things?» (*Jn.* 3, 10). What else does this rebuke imply but that as a teacher in Israel he should have already known this doctrine although not taught in the Old Law Furthermore, he points to all the traditions recorded in the Aramaic *Targumin* ³⁴.

The Old Law was written, and written due to an express command, yet traditional teaching existed side by side with it. Can we be surprised, asks Wiseman, that in the New Law tradition has its place?

Related to tradition is the Church's power of proclaiming dogma. «The Church believes, that, the Church of God consists of the body of the faithful, united with its pastors, among whom Christ resides, and through whom he teaches; so, that, it is impossible that the Church fall into error». Since no new doctrines can now be revealed, «the power of the Church consists in nothing more, than defining that which was believed from all times, and in all her dominion» ³⁵.

The *British Critic* had accused the Catholic Church of *inventing* new doctrines. Wiseman explains that the Church defines what has been believed within her from the beginning, and thus *declares* articles of faith. «There can be no doubt that a new obligation would thus have fallen upon all Christians, to believe definitively with the Church, on points whereon, before the definiton, they could not be so well instructed, nor so accurately know the faith of the Church dispersed» ³⁶.

This is the method followed by the Church since the earliest ages. When errors arose in the early Church the only remedy was to call a council which gathered the authorities of previous centuries, defined a doctrine and subscribed a profession of faith for their oponents. Wiseman argues that no one can imagine that the 318 bishops from

34. Cf. *Ibid.*, p. 73.

35. *Ibid.*, p. 88.

36. *The High Church Theory of Dogmatical Authority*, in the *Dublin Review* 5 (July 1837), reprinted in *Essays on Various Subjects*, 3 vol., Dolman, London 1853; p. 82.



east and west who went to Nicea had any other idea than that of uttering a binding and final decision. Yet the Protestant Church historian Milner, after describing Nicea adds: «It behoves every one, who is desirous of knowing for himself the mind of God from his own word, to determine for himself how far their interpretation of Scripture was true»³⁷! Wiseman terms such a conclusion as ridiculous, and shows just how far the early Church was from following the Protestant rule of faith.

iii) *Effects of the Catholic Rule of Faith at Work through the Ages—Unity in Time and Place*

In the same way as Wiseman analyzed the Protestant rule of faith through the difficulties of its application and its effects, he does the same with the Catholic, showing the ease and universality of its application and the effects that it has had during the centuries; demonstrating that the principle of faith operative in the early Church is identical to that of today in the Catholic Church.

First our author clears up a possible misunderstanding with respect to the Catholic's approach to the faith which was discussed in section i). It could appear that the end result is not so different from that of the Protestant rule of faith; a train of argument requiring considerable investigation was also necessary, because the Catholic had first to learn from the Scriptures what Christ taught about his Church. The process formerly outlined was, however, carried out in the abstract, prescindng from other factors. But in actual fact, «the Catholic Church teaches and believes— that faith is not the production of man's ingenuity, nor the result of his study or investigation, but a virtue essentially infused by God in baptism»³⁸. This makes the rule one of the simplest acceptance and yet able to bear the investigation of the most learned.

Faith is a principle infused by God in baptism which on the presentation of its proper object comes into complete and perfect action. The moment, therefore, when understanding, now able in part to understand the truths revealed by God, is presented with them, no matter in what order, or by what means, provided they are true, the two elements of actual truth and the infused virtue given for its apprehension are brought together. The consequence is that truth is

37. MILNER, *History of the Church of Christ*, London 1810; II, p. 59; quoted in *LPD*, I, pp. 144-5.

38. *LPD*, I, p. 74.

believed on substantial grounds and under the influence of grace. This simple process allows the child and the most illiterate to perform an act of faith grounded on proper motives. We are subsequently led by the Catholic Church to the full knowledge of all the grounds and motives of our belief; we are encouraged to exercise our abilities, research and learning, in demonstrating and confirming the doctrines taught and which preliminary instruction brought us to believe³⁹.

As seen before, a rule or law is given to assure unanimity of action; the Catholic rule of faith does exactly that, its natural tendency is to bring all the opinions and understandings of men in religious matters into the most perfect unity and the adoption of one creed. In the moment any Catholic rejects, not only the principle of his faith, but any one of the doctrines based on it, the Church conceives him to have virtually abandoned all connexion with her—she exacts such an implicit obedience.

But this is not a tyrannical, iron yoke. «Nothing can be more beautiful in the conception of a Christian church, than a perfect unity of belief. Such an idea must be beautiful in the imagination, because it is the consecration of the first and most essential principles whereon society is based. For the social union tends to merge the feelings of each individual in the general mass, and leads him to embrace all mankind, rather than individual men. And in like manner does the principle of religious unity tend to excite your love towards them, no longer as brethren in the flesh, but as connected with you by a holier and diviner tie, and assists towards inspiring every member of the community with all that can be reciprocally felt, in the nearest ties and connexions of our nature»⁴⁰.

Wiseman puts great store on Catholic unity, perhaps because of his Ultramontane principles, his wide international outlook and the influence of his years spent at the centre of the Catholic world. This unity is the greatest sign of the efficiency of the Catholic rule of faith. It, «stretches beyond the reach of any other known sentiment among mankind» and produces, «one canticle of praise ... one symbol of belief, and one sentiment of charity»⁴¹. Such unity *only* is found in the Catholic Church.

Further, this principle is completely egalitarian. It tends to equalise and level the minds and understandings of men when brought

39. Newman later developed this idea in his *Grammar of Assent*, Doubleday and Co., New York 1955; first published 1870.

40. *LPD.*, I, pp. 77-8.

41. *Ibid.*

before the searching eye of God. The intellectual and the rude stand on equal ground. It is a rule open to the possibilities of all men. Our Lord himself declared that this unity would be the strongest evidence of his divine mission: «that they also may be one in us, that the world may believe that thou hast sent me» (*Jn.* 17, 21). And that this unity is not merely unity of the heart through love, but also of the mind through a common faith, is attested to by the Apostle when he tells us that we must be, «careful to keep the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace», so as to be, «one body» as well as, «one spirit» and to have, «one faith» as much as, «one Lord and one baptism» (*Ephes.* 4, 3-5).

Wiseman moves on to show that the Catholic rule of faith has always been the same and always efficacious and beautiful. From the earliest times the principle of faith was that of implicit belief in all that the Church taught and no other. How did the Apostles go forth? asks Wiseman. What was the principle on which they conducted their instruction? On no occasion did they suggest the necessity of personal examination. In fact they often reduced their proofs to one point, for instance the truth of Christ's resurrection, bearing witness themselves of having seen Christ after his rising from the dead.

It is true that the miracles worked by the apostles were a *motive* which induced men to believe their testimony, but the *grounds* on which they were believers was the *authority* by which with miracles they proved themselves empowered to teach. The faith of the first believers was not built on miracles but on the truth of the doctrines proposed to them by the Apostles.

The very fact the evidences of Christianity were placed and accepted on such a narrow point as the demonstration of the resurrection, shows that a principle existed that secured their assent to *all that should be taught them*— implicit reliance on the teaching of their instructors— in other words the Catholic principle of an infallible teaching authority. We read in the *Acts* of three or four thousand souls being converted in one day, and admitted into the Church through baptism (*Acts.* 2, 41 and 4,4). It is impossible, says Wiseman, that *all* these people had examined *all* the doctrines of Christianity and we cannot believe that the Apostles could have profaned the solemn rite of baptism admitting men into the pale of the Church who yet had the option of retiring from it if they were not able to satisfy themselves that *each* of its doctrines was true.

It cannot be objected that this was all due to the *personal* infallibility of the Apostles, because it is obviously a system followed by

all the earliest preachers. In *Acts*. 8, 12 and 35-39 we see Phillip, who was only a deacon, using exactly the same procedure with the Samaritans and the eunuch of the Queen of Ethiopia. When St. Paul preached in the Areopagus he laid hold of those threads which he found already prepared in the minds of his listeners; he attached to them the evidences of Christianity and thus assured the introduction of its doctrines among them. He did not have recourse to prophecies as he did with the Jews but preached them a sublimer morality than they were used to hear, he showed them the futility of their idolatry, quoted the words of their own poets, and showed them their own longing after a better faith in their having erected an altar «to the unknown God» (*Acts*. 17, 19-33).

When the apostles preach there is no intimation that there is, or will be, a certain book which all Christians must study and examine and therein ground their faith. But we do see them constituting persons with power and authority over the communities they founded in order to teach and govern them. The entire system of the Church was essentially based on the principle of authority and authoritative direction with the end of conserving the doctrine received in all its purity.

The very history of the versions of Scripture shows that it is impossible to consider them as the sole foundation on which the Apostles founded the Church. There are no *very* early versions of the Gospels, and the Apostles went preaching all over the world, armed, as Wiseman reminds us, with the gift of tongues! Almost two centuries go by without a Latin version in the West. He quotes St. Irenaeus' *Adversus Haereses*, Book 3, Chapter 4, as bearing out that many barbarous nations, deprived of the aid of letters, had been converted, having the words of salvation written on their hearts.

Wiseman then makes use of the so-called theory of *Disciplina Arcani* or secret teaching (which nowadays is considered the result of a natural discretion rather than a rigid discipline), found in Newman's *Arians of the Fourth Century*. According to this theory the only doctrines taught to the catechumens were the immortality of the soul, the necessity of good works, the use of baptism, repentance and pardon. The existence of such a rule, claims Wiseman, immediately shows that the early Christians did not follow the Protestant rule of faith. If there was no moral certainty that having been baptized they would not return to their pagan ways when presented with the deeper mysteries of the Sacrifice of the Mass and the Eucharist, then this rule was pointless. This moral certainty can only have



existed if the rule of faith was implicit credence in Church teaching Newman's words confirm Wiseman's idea: «the Sacred Volume was never intended, and is not adopted to *teach* us our creed; however certain it is that we can *prove* our creed from it, when it has once been taught us»⁴².

To conclude his analysis of the Catholic rule of faith in the early Church, Wiseman indulges in a long examination of how the first Christians received the word of God, asking if they considered the Scriptures as the sole groundwork of faith or whether they considered it a book to be received and explained on the authority of the Church. He brings forth the testimony of St. Irenaeus, Tertullian, Origen, St. Cyprian and St. Augustine in favour of the last opinion. Then he traces the efficacy of the principle through the whole history of the Church, passing through the so-called 'Dark Ages' which were really centuries of conversion, when missionaries from Rome converted great tracts of Europe, the middle ages and up to modern times when the Catholic Church continues to receive men converted for the most varied of reasons, he cites the cases of Stolberg, Schlegel, Bautain, De Coux and Adam Müller; but who have all embraced the one unifying principle of implicit obedience to all that the Church teaches.

3. *Science and Revealed Religion.* *Was Wiseman a Precursor?*

As regards the so-called conflict between science and religion, Wiseman's contribution remains to be seen and, in particular, whether he can be considered as a precursor of a new attitude towards the science, or rather, one of the last of the optimists who hoped to reconcile the old, strict, literal interpretation of Genesis with the discoveries of modern science.

E. Dimnet informs us that, «It does not however appear that Wiseman should be called a man of genius; he did not have more than a prodigious facility. His energy came to him from an intellectual curiosity which guided him in everything with the same eagerness and without thinking twice, strengthened and not repressed by pro-

42. NEWMAN, J. H., *Arians of the Fourth Century*, Christian Classics Inc., Westminster Md., 1968; first published 1983.

found, but simple and natural, Christian convictions»⁴³. But it must not be forgotten that if not a genius, Wiseman does stand out among his contemporaries as a very intelligent and cultured man exactly because the times were so bad from the point of view of theological studies. Wiseman in one of the best of a poor epoch. Outside of Germany, the 1820's and 30's saw very few theological works of any depth or value. Wiseman, due to his great interest in the Catholic revival, starting first in Germany and later in France, embodies a new spirit of optimism. «He was borne up by an absolute conviction that all scientific, aesthetic and social progress is good in itself and that the Catholic Church has in herself the power... to yield to it and raise it up. This principle was the beacon which enlightened and animated his life and gave it its unity, greatness and originality. He was perhaps the most modern bishop of the nineteenth century, that is to say, the most intelligently active, because he understood it best and expected the most from it»⁴⁴.

If G. Evans can claim that Newman stands almost alone among his contemporaries with respect to his positive attitude towards the sciences, at least the same can be said about Wiseman, who not only did not see problems but viewed scientific progress as a vindication of religion⁴⁵.

What is surprising, to a certain extent, is that Wiseman took an interest in defending Faith against the onslaughts of science before any English Protestants and while in Rome. It is a compliment to both his wide reading and his constant contact with English and especially German writers. At the end of the century A. D. White wrote, «the theological war against a scientific method in geology was waged more fiercely in Protestant countries than Catholic». Although perhaps his reasoning is a little faulty, he claims that this was because «the older Church had learned by her costly mistakes, especially in the cases of Copernicus and Galileo». But it remains clear that any apparent conflict between Sacred Scripture and science would be more keenly felt by a Protestant, who takes the Scripture as the ground of his faith, than a Catholic who also has Tradition to guide him. White went on to praise Wiseman for his conduct during the geological controversies as it, «contrasts admirably with that of timid

43. DIMNET, p. 71.

44. *Ibid.*, pp. 71-2.

45. Cf. EVANS, G. R., *Science and Mathematics in Newman's Thought*, in the Downside Review 96 (Oct. 1978) 247-66; p. 252.

Protestants, who were filling England with shrieks and denunciations»⁴⁶. D. Woodruff also has considerable praise for Wiseman's attitude to science. «In Papal Rome he was making more and more of a mark as a man of exceptional attainments, master of a wide range of knowledge, more alive to the coming challenge of science than the Roman Clergy among whom he lived»⁴⁷.

While the famous French apologists at the beginning of the Nineteenth century tend to humiliate reason in order to fight against scepticism, the Germans preferred to return their adversaries their own arms, trying to show that faith is not opposed to the progress of science and that dogmas can be reconciled with the principles of modern culture⁴⁸. This is Wiseman's line of thought and which, to a certain extent, would fail once it became clear that the principles of the Liberal society were basically un-Christian⁴⁹.

But if Wiseman was a fore-runner on the Continent, he was much more so in England, where the intellectual level of the English Catholics was so low and only a few Protestant divines were beginning to wake up to the threats of modern society. Wiseman in his *Lectures on the Connexion between Science and Revealed Religion* not only showed a desire to defend religion against geology, which was the science of the day, but also natural history, archaeology, oriental studies and, much more interesting, biblical criticism. The latter is all the more remarkable when O. Chadwick is capable of remarks such as: «Until the sixties the Bible had not received accurate examination. Most of England assumed that the Bible was still true as history, even if educated England was abandoning the precise accuracy of the earlier parts of Genesis»⁵⁰. Wiseman's lectures were delivered in 1835 and he does not always defend the strict literal popular interpretation.

It is interesting to compare Wiseman's works with some of the similar Anglican ones which appeared shortly afterwards; mainly because, the argument from beauty, design and harmony of the universe is often present in Wiseman's writings, and it is an argument which, according to Chadwick, lost its force as the century progressed.

46. WHITE, A. D., *A History of the Warfare of Science with Theology in Christendom*, 2 vol., London 1896; quoted by MOORE, J. R., *The Post-Darwinian Controversies*, Cambridge 1979, n. 3.

47. WOODRUFF, pp. 205-6.

48. Cf. HOCEDEZ, I, p. 131.

49. Cf. PIUS IX, *Syllabus of Errors* and the Encyclical *Quanta Cura*, December 8, 1864, Denz-Sch. 2890-2980.

50. CHADWICK, *The Victorian Church*, II, p. 57.

The most famous is *The Bridgewater Treatises*, first published in 1836. «In 1825 the Right Honourable The Earl of Bridgewater made a will Which provided that these proofs of design and purpose should be collected. He was unique among eccentric clergymen. His will left £ 8000 in trust to the President of the Royal Society, who should select and reward a person or persons to publish a work *On the Power, Wisdom and Goodness of God, as manifested in the Creation; illustrating such work by all reasonable arguments... as also by discoveries ancient and modern, in arts, sciences, and the whole extent of literature*. The committee divided the money between eight authors whose works became *The Bridgewater Treatises*. These are the late flowering of the physico-theology of the previous century. With such money the committee could command the best science of the day»⁵¹.

Four of the eight authors were Edinburgh-trained physicians who applied new anatomy and physiology to the proof of design. The non-medical four were W. Kirby, T. Chalmers, W. Whewell and Buckland. This latter was an authentic successor of the thinkers of the eighteenth century. Newton proved the harmony of religion and science. The physico-theologists who succeeded him investigated the design of the universe and hymned its Creator whom they demonstrated. Each new discovery was applied to the same great end.

Perhaps the greatest coincidence between *The Bridgewater Treatises* and Wiseman's lectures is the variety and abundance of strange facts. «In the Bridgewater treatises the reader roamed enchanted from barnacles to migrating swallows, from the habits of worms to the mouths of whales, from the duodenal tube to electrical galvanism, and marvelled at the beautiful machinery of God»⁵². But what eight authors managed to score, Wiseman did single-handed, appearing fully competent in a multitude of different areas whether the comparative study of languages or anthropology or oriental studies.

Another work, this time by Baden Powell, published in 1838, has a title similar to Wiseman's, *The Connexion of Natural and Divine Truth*⁵³. They have some points in common in spite of the gulf between the two men. Baden Powell delivered assaults on the critics of science and the Mosaic cosmogonists as did Wiseman and he was one of the last of the Newtonian philosophers who married science to religion by his wonder at the harmony of the universe. First among

51. *Ibid.*, I, pp. 560-1.

52. *Ibid.*, p. 561.

53. Cf. *Ibid.*, pp. 553-4.

English anglican divines and six years before it became the talk of society, he had blessed evolution and held some form of it to be the only scientific solution of the problem. As shall be seen in the next section, Wiseman too would appear ready to accept some form of evolution, in keeping, perhaps, with his ideas on development; although reacting energetically against the ideas of Lamarck.

Not until 1864 did the controversy between 'science' and 'religion' take fire. The *Times* newspaper first wrote a leading article on the subject in May 1864. But this was more conflict between historical study and accepted views of the Bible. What happened was that the general public called the challenge to Biblical Inspiration by the name 'science'. Although Wiseman's lectures, after thirty years of scientific investigation were out of date, the general principles could still have been applied and perhaps they would have saved some from anxiety. The principles or axioms Darwin seems to have destroyed in himself—that scientific study can lead upward to God—did, nevertheless continue throughout the century. Faraday felt it, Kelvin never doubted it; the most eminent Victorian doctors such as Sir James Paget or Sir Ronald Ross, were renowned for their piety; and Sedgewick, Buckland, Jeans, Eddington, and Sir Alister Hardy continued the tradition among the students of the natural sciences.

Wiseman's approach was one of basic optimism. The apparent contradictions caused by the progress of science will *always* disappear once the science in question advances farther, given that God is the Author of all of creation. This positive approach contrasts in a striking manner with that of the greatest mind among the nineteenth century English Catholics, J. H. Newman. Recent theologians, Newman observes, tend to perpetuate the Galileo fiasco, by striving to reconcile Scripture and Science. A better way out of the Bible could not possibly collide with either science or history⁵⁴.

Of course the great difference between their different approaches lies in the fact that while Newman accepted that there were, here and there, as it were, obscurities, differences of tone, or at most temporary antagonisms, between Revelation and Nature⁵⁵, and being a thinker, elaborated his theory of inspiration to account for this phenomenon; Wiseman held that every minor historical detail con-

54. Cf. NEWMAN, J. H., *An Essay on the Inspiration of Holy Scripture*, published in SEYNAEVE, J., *Cardinal Newman's Doctrine on Holy Scripture*, Louvain 1953, pp. 76*-89*.

55. Cf. NEWMAN, J. H., *Idea of a University*, 2 vol., Clarendon Press, Oxford 1976; first published 1852-9; pp. 464-5.

corded and could be *shown* to do so. If science contradicted the Bible it is necessary to go deeper into that very science or patiently wait for the next scientific theory which would correct former mistakes. Newman, then, in front of science, reviewed his theology; Wiseman put his faith in the progress of science carried out with good will.

«According to Newman, the ultimate question was whether the religious significance of scripture would be better safeguarded by believing *that the Bible had nothing to do with science*, rather than by constantly trying *to reconcile scripture with the latest scientific discoveries*. He himself refused to attempt such a reconciliation on the grounds that there was little to reconcile because little in common, and in the 1860's as well as 1884, preferred the alternative approach of outlining what Catholics were obliged to believe about the Bible before going on to examine whether scientific conclusions could therefore affect them. Faith was only demanded in the case of defined doctrines and was not given to human opinions even when these were most certain»⁵⁶.

How different an approach from that of Wiseman! Due to his mastery of oriental languages he felt fully confident to reconcile science and Scripture and often did so with notable success. Typical examples would be his defence of *Maccabees* 6,2 where Alexander the Great is introduced as: «who was first King among the Greeks»⁵⁷, the solution of the apparent contradiction between *Genesis* 33,19 and *Acts* 7,16, relating to the purchase of a field by Jacob from the Hemorites⁵⁸, and explains the oriental customs which make sense of the divining cup of *Genesis* 44,5 and 15⁵⁹.

For Wiseman these corroborations of Scripture were not just niceties but one of the ways to convince unbelievers. Although talking explicitly of the Gospels only, he says, «they will bear the strictest scrutiny as histories, antecedent to all proof of Revelation; so as to compel the acknowledgement of the facts contained in them facts which form the basis of Christianity»⁶⁰.

Newman was forced to a minimalistic approach. In the days before the Vatican Council declared the *books* of the Scripture to be

56. HOLMES, D., *Newman's Attitude to Historical Criticism, and Biblical Inspiration*, in *Downside Review* 89 (1971) 24.

57. Cf. *Twelve Lectures on the Connexion between Science and Revealed Religion*, 2 vol., Booker, London 1836 (often reprinted); II, pp. 110-12.

58. Cf. *Ibid.*, pp. 106-8.

59. Cf. *Ibid.*, pp. 219-222.

60. *Actions of the New Testament*, in the *Dublin Review* 62 (Dec. 1851), reprinted in *Essays*; p. 188.

inspired⁶¹, he was able to use Trent's definition of inspired *writers* to say that the Church simply taught that the Bible was indirectly inspired as written by inspired men, not that every word was inspired, still less that any part was inspired except with a view to revealing religious truth or moral discipline. A Catholic was not *bound* to believe that Moses or any other single author wrote the book of Genesis, that David composed all the psalms or that Solomon was the author of Ecclesiastes, that there were only fourteen generations from David to the captivity or that the verse about the presidency of Cyrenius in the second chapter of St. Luke was correct⁶².

Wiseman, on the other hand, clearly falls among those theologians who did not approve of distinction between historical fact and religious truth and considered that inspiration was incompatible with the slightest error. Thus Newman's distinction that plenary inspiration extended through every part of Scripture but operating only for religious objects, 'breathing' religious truth over the whole Bible without ensuring historical or scientific infallibility, surely would have been alien to his thought⁶³. But it would be reasonable to ask whether Wiseman would have continued with the same position if he had returned to the ring thirty years after his lectures on science. Was his opinion founded on the then feeble state of the sciences and his own personal mastery of them? Was his future silence on the subject really caused by the pressure of 'higher duties' and his constant ill health or would he have felt uncomfortable writing again on the relations science-religion in the 1860's?

A valuable indication that he would have continued in his convictions is afforded by the Advertisement to the Third Edition of his lectures when they were republished in 1849. The more the author, «has watched the progress of every science here treated of, the more he has found reason for conviction, that religion has nothing to fear from the legitimate advance of human learning»⁶⁴.

Furthermore at the beginning of this century, the worst of the

61. Cf. PIUS IX, Vatican Council I, Dogm. Const. *Dei Filius*, Denz-Sch. 3006 and 3029.

62. Cf. HOLMES, *Newman's Attitude to Historical Criticism and Biblical Inspiration*, p. 400; keeping in mind, however the declarations of the Pontifical Biblical Commission of June 27, 1906 (Denz-Sch. 3394-3397) and June 30, 1909 (Denz-Sch. 3512-3528).

63. Cf. HOLMES, *Newman's Attitude to Historical Criticism and Biblical Inspiration*, p. 420.

64. *12 Lectures*, I, p. 7.

storm past, we can find proof that this basic optimism in the long run paid off. «It impossible to establish an absolute separation between faith and science; they are not strangers who can ignore each other but help one another mutually... We cannot let ourselves be shaken in our faith by the premature claims of a science prolific in fallen hypotheses... When the progress of geology, or palaeontology, or pre-historic researches or assyriology leads us to different conclusions about the age of the earth, the origin of species, the age of man, bible-time, patriarchal genealogies, mosaic legislation, than those of thirty of forty years ago, far from being shaken, our faith gives better account of the strength of its certainty, the purity of its divine origin, the moral nature of its essence, and the varied areas of its natural supports...»⁶⁵.

That the so-called conflict continued far into the century remains clear. For example, in 1884 Frederick Temple (later anglican Archbishop of Canterbury) delivered the Bampton Lectures at Oxford on *The Relations between Religion and Science*; A. D. White published his *A History of the Warfare of Science and Theology in Christendom* in 1896; the first years of the *Revue Patrique d'Apologétique* are full of articles and book reviews on the subject. But it is true that, «in 1900 men talked as if the conflict was over. The difficulties in the minds of the young were not scientific. Some sighed that the conflict no longer raged, for peace was established because religion had abandoned, or was abandoning, an ancient claim to give truths about the physical world. Those who sighed, preferred a territory where two sides competed for a no-man's land, to a territory where each side was left in possession of its own domain without influence upon the other»⁶⁶.

Is this division of the world into compartments the inheritance which the nineteenth century has bestowed upon us? The twentieth century man certainly seems able to live in a system of double truth. The Bible is true, science is true and yet to avoid problems he does not try to compare the two or marry them together. Perhaps there is something to be learnt from the struggles of the nineteenth century; at least their faith in and respect for the Word of God. This is what unites Wiseman and Newman; perhaps the latter had too an exalted idea of the exactitude of the sciences due to his early mathematical

65. VENARD, L., *La foi et la science*, in the *Revue Pratique d'Apologétique* 2 (1905) 527.

66. CHADWICK, *The Victorian Church*, II, p. 35.

studies. Both *The Idea of a University* and *The Grammar of Assent* rest on a prior assumption as to the absolute reliability of the conclusions of the natural sciences when arrived at according to proper principles⁶⁷. And perhaps the former thought that all could be reconciled, due to his own mastery of some fields then easy to master, being relatively new sciences. But with the distinctions and precision of the one and the optimism of the other much could be done.

CONCLUSIONS

1. It seems opportune to keep in mind from the beginning that strictly speaking Cardinal Wiseman should not be called a theologian. He did not consider himself to be one. But he was a competent and somehow deep expositor of Catholic Faith who deserves a place in the history of Catholic Thought. There are three themes present in the Cardinal's works typical of nineteenth-century Theology. He had a vague theory of doctrinal development; put a great emphasis on the unity of the Church through the internal action of the Holy Spirit and the external role of the Papacy; and he already had taken, years before Newman, the first steps towards a theory of accumulative proof, though much less well-defined and perfected.

2. All of Wiseman's writings have an apologetical end in mind. He was wary of the label «controversialist» and expounded the doctrines of the Catholic Church in a calm, and attractive manner, although his literary style is, for modern tastes, heavy and Victorian, overladen with metaphors and a very Latin-based vocabulary.

3. Wiseman did not have a clear idea of Biblical Inspiration, he imagined it merely as a supernatural aid given to the hagiographer in order to achieve inerrancy. To emphasize the insufficiency of Scripture as the ground of Faith he maintains that Inspiration is not necessary, it is a free gift of God which gives greater assurance to our Faith, but apart from this he fails to show its convenience.

4. Wiseman's analysis and comparison of the Catholic and Protestant rules of faith the reasons for professing a certain religion and

67. Cf. EVANS, p. 253.

its actual rule of faith. The Protestant rule of faith is personal examination of the Scriptures; the Catholic, Church authority. He proves the Church's divine authority to teach from the Scriptures.

This is the basis of all his apologetical system. The Gospels are historically trustworthy documents which present us with Christ's teaching. The authority of the Church to teach comes from Christ's authority. Later, the Church tells us exactly what are the Scriptures and that they are inspired.

5. Our author laid a great emphasis on the spiritual sense of the Gospel narratives, surely acquired from his extensive reading of the Fathers. He viewed the parables, miracles and actions of our Lord as prophecies which could only be fully understood in the light of their fulfilment, which is the teaching and life of the Catholic Church. Only the Catholic can understand fully the Scriptures.

6. With respect to his exposition of the Catholic Faith, Wiseman defends the universal jurisdiction and primacy of the Roman Pontiff, though not his personal infallibility. He portrays the Virgin Mary as the witness *par excellence* of the Mystery of the Incarnation, and thus worthy of the Protestants' esteem, defending also her high place in the order of grace, and of faith, from the Gospel accounts. Finally, he made a valuable defence of the Scriptural texts of the Promise and Institution of the Blessed Eucharist.

7. Wiseman fails to define clearly the exact relationship between Science and Revelation. Basically, he defends Revelation against attacks afforded by the progress of late eighteenth and early nineteenth-century science. His most valuable contribution is his basic conviction of the impossibility of any contradiction between the two. God is the author of both the natural world and Revelation. There may be apparent contradictions, but these will always be resolved by man's constant progress in the very science which provoked the clash.

8. Wiseman is a concordationalist. He searches for ways to make the discoveries of modern science compatible with the Bible, but always with a great common sense and adhering to the traditional interpretations given by the Fathers.

9. With respect to the objections raised by the sciences, Wiseman, due to his wide European culture, was, in England, the first to affront these issues. German Protestant Liberal biblical criticism,



geology, and later biology (evolution) were to make an impact for the first time in England up to twenty years after Wiseman's lectures.

10. Although lacking theological depth and precision, there can be no doubt that the writings of Cardinal Wiseman, in their moment, had an important influence in England. They helped to foment conversions and presented Catholicism as intellectually serious and open to modern ideas. They encouraged, among Catholics, a greater interest in their own faith, and specially in the Sacred Scripture. Wiseman worked hard to close the gap that had opened between Faith and modern culture, all of which he achieved with a strict orthodoxy. His influence can only be evaluated as a positive one.





I N D I C E

	PAGINA
PREFACE	421
GENERAL TABLE OF CONTENTS	425
ABBREVIATIONS	427
BIBLIOGRAPHY	429
WISEMAN ON SACRED SCRIPTURE AND THE AUTHORITY OF THE GHURCH	435
1. <i>Theological Background (Friends and Influences)</i>	435
2. <i>Analysis of the Catholic Rule of Faith</i>	443
i) Congruency with Sacred Scripture	445
ii) Tradition and Doctrinal Decisions	453
iii) Effects of the Catholic Rule of Faith at work through the Ages- Unity in Time and Place	457
3. <i>Science and Revealed Religion. Was Wiseman a Precursor?</i>	461
CONCLUSIONS	469