

SOME ANNOTATIONS

of Cardinal Newman on the Letters to Friends contained
in the Remains of the late Reverend Richard Hurrell
Froude

HURRELL FROUDE had not long been dead when his friends conceived the idea of publishing his *Remains*. He died on February 28th, 1836, and before the year was out, they were taking counsel about his papers.¹ The suggestion that extracts from his letters should be included, came, it would seem, from Isaac Williams. He himself, in his *Autobiography*, denied that he had even 'sanctioned the publication or taken part in it.'² But his denial can hardly stand in the face of Newman's statements made in contemporary letters.³ We must conclude that Williams, writing some years later, fell victim to a lapse of memory. The publication of private letters close upon the writer's death, when the recipients were for the most part still alive, and the incidents recorded of recent memory, was an extremely hazardous undertaking, and demanded the most consummate tact. Newman, who made the selection, and edited the chosen extracts, proceeded with the utmost caution, and either substituted an initial, or even left blanks, for proper names. However, there seems to be no longer, after the lapse of a century, any valid reason why Froude's letters should not be de-edited, and the missing names supplied, especially since, with the Centenary of the Tractarian Movement close upon us, his *Remains*, are being, or will be, more widely studied than they have been for a considerable stretch of years.

Now it so happens that Cardinal Newman has left behind him two copies of the *Remains*, each of which has marginal annotations in his own handwriting. One of them

¹ J. B. Mozley's *Letters*, p. 61.

² p. 85.

³ Newman's *Letters*, II, 237, 240.

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was his own copy. On the fly-leaf he has written the following inscription:

Published St. Matthias's day 1838.
So many relics of a frail love lost,
So many tokens dear
Of endless love begun.

J. H. N.

The annotations in the margins amount in all to a considerable number; but there is no indication of the date at which they were made. The other copy once belonged to Ambrose St. John, and passed to Newman on his death. It contains very few annotations, some half-dozen or so. The only one of any interest occurs on page 438, with reference to the last of the *Sayings in Conversation*, where Newman has, in writing that obviously involved considerable effort, inserted the names, Keble and Newman, as those of the two persons in bringing whom to understand each other Froude claimed that he had performed the one good deed of his life; and at the bottom he has added the date, October 22nd, 1888, less than two years before his death.

The originals of Froude's letters to Newman are accessible, and Newman's annotations have been collated with them. The comparison shows that he had an accurate memory, as far as it went, and hence we may conclude that he is likely to have been correct in the cases in which no such confirmatory evidence is available. In the following list of his annotations some entries have been made from Froude's manuscripts, and a few brief notes on the lesser known names added.

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| 198. 29. Common Room. | Of Oriel. |
| 199. 2. Plumer? or Churton. | C. J. Plumer and W. R. Churton, both Fellows of Oriel, the former elected in 1821, the latter in 1823. |
| 5. Pusey. | |
| 8. Newman. | |
| 13. Hawkins. | E. Hawkins, Fellow 1813, Provost, 1828-1882. |

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14. Tyler? J. E. Tyler, Fellow 1812, appointed this year, 1826, to St. Giles-in-the-Fields.
Dornford. J. Dornford, a Peninsular War veteran, Fellow 1819, Rector of Plymtree, 1836.
212. 24. R. Wilberforce. R. I. Wilberforce, elected Fellow with Froude in 1826.
213. 1. Robert his brother Robert Hurrell Froude, Archdeacon Froude's second son, who died on April 28th, 1828.
227. 12. I. Williams?
26. Churton. E. Churton, brother of W. R. Churton, who died in 1828, afterwards Archdeacon of Cleveland.
228. 28. W. Churton.
230. 1. One of my sisters and a brother.
230. 15. Grenfell.
19. Torquay.
236. 7. Rickards. S. Rickards, Fellow 1819, one of Newman's early friends, but afterwards estranged from him. Mozley (*Reminiscences*, ii, 81) mentions his interest in handwriting as indicative of character.
248. 22. Mozley. T. Mozley, Fellow 1829.
249. 1. St. Ebbe's.
250. 1. Denbury.
7. R. I. Wilberforce.
255. 5. Keble.
19. The Provost.
22. My Father.
23. Yonge's.
257. 18. Willy. William, Archdeacon Froude's fourth son, who took a first in Mathematics and a third in Classics in 1832, and became a naval engineer.
258. 20. Preventive.
264. 20. Rose. Hugh James Rose.
265. 4. Newman.
26. Newman.
266. 10. Newman.
272. 6. I. Williams.

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274. 6. Whately.
 276. 2. Bilge.
 6. Newman.
 10. Newman.
 285. 15. Longley.
 Harrow.
 286. 29. Newman.
 289. 2. 7th.
 12. Newman.
 290. 23. Newman.
 291. 4. Newman.
 11. Newman.
 18. Ingham.
 293. 3. Newman.
 294. 10. Oakeley's.
 11. Stewart.
 296. 8. Rogers.
 College.
 298. 7. My Father.
 300. 13. Severn.
 14. Newman.
 302. 17. Keble.
 19. Rose.
 303. 27. Ogilvie's.
 19. Rose.
 305. 22. J. F. Christie.
 29. Newman.
 306. 22. Wiseman.
 English.
 23. Newman.
 307. 21. Wiseman.
 26. Newman.
 308. 27. Newman.
 309. 25. Newman.
 310. 2. Julius Hare.
 7. Cambridge.
 16. Whewell's.
- C. T. Longley, afterwards Arch-
 bishop of Canterbury.
- Newman's Letters i, 346.
- F. Rogers, Fellow 1833, after-
 wards Lord Blachford.
- As this letter is addressed to
 Keble, Newman must have writ-
 ten Keble in error. Probably
 what Froude wrote was 'New-
 man and I.'
- C. A. Ogilvie, Fellow of Balliol,
 Chaplain to Archbishop Howley,
 afterwards Professor of Pastoral
 Theology and Canon of Christ
 Church.
 Fellow with T. Mozley in 1829.

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- Sedgwick's.
 71. Thirlwall's.
 Hare's.
 20. Wiseman.
 318. 1. J. F. Christie.
 318. 2. Newman.
 319. 1. Rose.
 5. Rose.
 13. Rose.
 23. Rose.
 320. 10. Rose.
 11. Lyall. Archdeacon W. R. Lyall, afterwards Dean of Canterbury. A younger brother of R. I. Wilberforce, and a pupil of Newman.
 321. 6. H. Wilberforce. W. Palmer of Worcester.
 28. Rogers?
 322. 15. Palmer.
 325. 20. My Father.
 25. Rickards.
 326. 10. F. W. Newman. Newman's youngest brother.
 13. Cox.
 14. Plymouth.
 327. 23. Smug.
 328. 28. I. Williams.
 329. 19. That wretch Henry H. Wilberforce.
 13. Christie.
 18. Keble.
 25. Tony Buller. Mozley, *Reminiscences*, ii, 121-122.
 330. 7. Grace.
 22. Grace.
 331. 20. Berens. Archdeacon Berens, Mozley's *Reminiscences*, i, 290. Newman's friend, J. W. Bowden.
 332. 18. Bowden.
 20. Southey.
 Wordsworth.
 21. UnCambridgise.
 25. Trower. W. J. Trower, afterwards Bishop of Glasgow.
 333. 5. Young and old Mozley. J. B. Mozley and T. Mozley.
 6. Christie.
 10. Blake.
 339. 2. Keble.
 374. 14. Keble.
 15. Christie.

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- Mozleys.
375. 18. Alma.
377. 25. Newman?
Williams?
27. Perceval. A. P. Perceval, one of those present at the meeting at Hadleigh.
384. 7. The Governor.
385. 5. Jarret.
Sir B. Codrington.
387. 17. Pinder. J. H. Pinder, First Principal of Codrington College, 1830-1835.
27. Ridley.
391. 2. The Bishop and
Sir R. Porter.
7. The Bishop.
10. Sir R. Porter.
12. The Bishop.
14. Amusing.
395. 13. Proselytisers.
396. 10. Phillpotts. Bishop of Exeter.
20. Tony Buller's
youngest sister
but one.
25. Tony Buller.
29. Christie.
30. Accepting the living which is held for him.
404. 23. College.
405. 16. Mozley's.
408. 1. Newman.
23. Mr. Keble's.
410. 1. I. Williams and
Rogers.
411. 8. H. Wilberforce's.
12. F. D. Maurice's. In the controversy about subscription F. D. Maurice maintained that the Aricles were signed as 'conditions of thought.' Jager, a French priest in controversy with whom Newman developed the theory of the *Via Media*.
487. 14. Abbé.
15. M. l'Abbé.
419. 9. My brother William.
420. 11. Hinkson.

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15. My Father.
 18. Dr. Yonge.
 422. 5. The first *Via Media*. Tract 38.
 11. Newman.
 13. Boone. J. S. Boone, Editor of the *British Critic*.
 15. Review.
 423. 16. Rogers.
 425. 22. Rogers. January 14.

From the internal evidence in the letters themselves it is almost, if not quite, impossible to determine to whom they were addressed. The identity of the recipients has been purposely concealed by the substitution of Greek letters for their names. This, however, gives a clue, since the contributors to the *Lyra Apostolica* were also distinguished in the same way, α being J. W. Bowden, β R. H. Froude, γ J. Keble, δ J. H. Newman, ϵ R. I. Wilberforce, and ζ Isaac Williams; and it is not an unlikely hypothesis that Newman, who edited both the *Lyra* and Froude's letters at no great interval of time, adopted the same nomenclature in the latter as he had already done in the former. This clue may be tested in the case of the two most favoured correspondents, γ who receives fifty-four letters, and δ who receives forty-three. There is no doubt that γ is Keble and δ Newman. Moreover the identification of Newman with δ is confirmed by the originals.

In the *Lyra*, however, α was employed to designate J. W. Bowden, whose acquaintance Froude did not make until May 1835, after his return from Barbadoes; and β for Froude himself. In consequence α and β , being no longer appropriated, were free to be applied to any others of Froude's correspondents. There would be a certain congruence in their application to members of Froude's own family. In that case it is probable that α denotes Archdeacon Froude. Of this there is some confirmatory evidence in the three letters addressed to him. A certain Colonel N, Governor of St. Christopher, told Froude that he had often met α in Devonshire in the year 1807 (p. 347). Besides,

Froude thanks α for his 'long letters which come by every packet' p. 363); and his own letters to α are obviously written to a member of his home-circle. Lastly, J., mentioned on p. 361, as one whose mouth would water at some banks 'as a study for greens,' is in all probability John Spedding Froude, whose personal ambitions lay in the direction of art. Likewise all the evidence in the six letters to β point to William Froude. He is going to London at the end of 1832 (p. 258); he is a 'mere engineer' (p. 259); he is reminded of the danger of being engrossed in his profession (p. 304); he is consulted on technical matters (e.g., p. 317); and he is asked to convey Froude's best love to J. (p. 356). There is one letter to b (No. 66). If β is William, b is probably another brother. Now Robert was dead, and Anthony only fifteen years of age. So we are left with John Spedding, and he certainly cared little for the classics (p. 280), but wished to become an artist.

As γ and δ are Keble and Newman respectively, we may almost take it for granted that ϵ is Wilberforce, and ζ I. Williams, just as in the *Lyra*. Now in his marginal annotations, as given above, Newman has written Robert Wilberforce against ϵ on p. 212, and I. Williams against ζ on pp. 227 and 272, but in all three cases he has added a query mark in order to indicate his uncertainty. But the letters themselves contain evidence that, though slight, leaves little room for doubt that he was correct in his surmises.

1. ϵ would appear to have been a Fellow of Oriel, engaged, like Froude, in tutorial work (p. 225), who is in 1835 occupied in clerical duties (p. 397). R. I. Wilberforce, after having been, with Newman and Froude, thrust out of the tuition by Hawkins, left Oxford and accepted the living of East Farleigh in 1832. Moreover, in January, 1828, Froude has just written to a certain S., who is in an 'interesting situation' (p. 223). Who is this S., if it be not Wilberforce's brother, Samuel, then engaged to Emily Sargent, whom he married in the following summer?

2. In his *Autobiography* (p. 58) I. Williams explains that he had had few letters from Newman during the Mediterranean voyage, since he was in close contact with Mrs.

Newman and her daughters at this time, and 'participated in his letters to his family.' Likewise Froude thinks that he need say no more to ζ about Newman, since Newman himself 'has written so many letters to his Mother and sisters' (p. 276).

In addition to the letters used in the *Lyra* four more (η, θ, ι, κ) are to be found in Froude's letters.

1. η is resident at Oxford (pp. 377 and 420), and Froude expects him at Dartington on December 13th or 14th, 1835 (p. 422). From Newman's *Letters and Correspondence* (ii, 143) we learn that Newman has just previously informed Froude that Rogers intended to visit him on that date; and further letters (Ibid. ii 147, 148, 151, 165. Cf. *Remains* i, 435) make it plain that Rogers actually did stay at Dartington at that time.

2. Against θ Newman has written J. F. Christie on pp. 305 and 308, and the original of No. 78, which bears Christie's name, makes the identification certain.

3. Similarly on p. 321 he has written Henry Wilberforce against ι. There is only one short letter to him in the collection (No. 81), and that provides little evidence. ι has a brother with whom Froude is in communication, and with whom he had been accustomed to have 'proses.' This fits in with what we know of the relations between him and R. I. Wilberforce.

4. The identity of κ, one letter to whom is included in the *Remains*, cannot be determined, since Newman's memory had failed him here. He is intimate with Keble and Isaac Williams (p. 295); and he has very definite views about the probable effects of the continental tour upon Froude's opinions. If one may be permitted to hazard a conjecture upon very slender grounds, W. J. Copeland seems to be the most likely person. He was a close friend of Isaac Williams (*Autobiography*, p. 79); he had been 'bred up in the strict school of Churchmanship represented by Mr. Norris of Hackney,' according to Dean Church (*Oxford Movement*, p. 65); and he was a student of the English divines, especially the Non-jurors (*Autobiography*, p. 79).

HENRY TRISTRAM.