

Henry Wall's notes, 1844

By W. PUGH and R. G. CHAPMAN

THESE notes which have been identified as being in Henry Wall's handwriting by Mr. E. V. Quinn of Balliol College Library belonged to the Reverend R. S. Sutton, fellow and bursar of Exeter College. In 1901 the Reverend B. K. Foster presented the manuscript to Keble College Library. It is reproduced here by kind permission of the Warden and Fellows.

Henry Wall was the second son of Richard Wall of Barbados, West Indies. Born in 1810, he matriculated from St. Alban Hall 1828, proceeded B.A. 1833, M.A. 1836, vice-principal 1837-51. He was a Fellow of Balliol 1839-71. He became senior bursar of Balliol in 1844, the year of these notes. He was catechetical and logic lecturer, Wykeham professor of logic 1849, and in 1870 became rector of Huntspill, Somerset, where he remained until his death in 1873.

Wall was Jowett's opponent in Balliol and the firmest supporter of Dr. Robert Scott who defeated Jowett in the election for the Mastership in 1854. He is described by Tuckwell:¹ 'His intellect was clear, logical, penetrating; his temper bigoted and arrogant . . . Keen-eyed, sharp-nosed, vehement in manner and gesture [during his lectures] he fired off questions as he went along at this or that student who caught his eye, with joyous acceptance of a neat response, scornful pounce on a dull or inattentive answerer. He was an undesirable dinner guest, starting questions which he seemed to have prepared beforehand for the pleasure of showing off his dexterity in word-fence, rousing temper, and spoiling conversational amenities. He was a great dancer . . . and to see Wall's thin legs twinkle in the mazy was a memorable experience. He was exceedingly hospitable; giving dances, sometimes on a large scale in Wyatt's Rooms, oftener at his snug little house in New Inn Hall Lane, to the music of old Grimmett's harp and fiddle.'

NOTES OF PASSING EVENTS FROM THE YEAR 1844

Vice-Chancellorship of Oxford.
September 1844

In consequence of the assumption of unprecedented power by the present V.C. Dr. Wynter² and his unscrupulous use of it on several occasions—viz. in the matter of Dr. Pusey, in the unstatutable degree conferred on Mr. Everett³; in dismissing the

¹ *Reminiscences of Oxford*, 1900, p. 204 ff.

² Philip Wynter (1793-1871), President of St. John's 1828-71. Vice-chancellor 1840-44. Pusey was suspended for 2 years from preaching before the University.

³ Hon. Edward Everett (1794-1865), U.S. minister at St. James's. Created D.C.L. 28 June 1843. He was a Unitarian.

W. PUGH AND R. G. CHAPMAN

complaint against Mr. Garbett's⁴ Sermon; and in pronouncing his *Veto* on the degree of Mr. Macmullen,⁵ because the Regius Professor of Divinity (Dr. Hampden,⁶ a man under the ban of the University for his heretical writings) did not think his Exercise orthodox; and because Dr. Symons,⁷ who was to be nominated as his Successor, had been one of the Six Doctors who sat in judgment on Dr. Pusey, and was well known from other circumstances to be a man of a very unfair mind, and strongly biassed against the Tractarian party, which there was every reason to believe he would exercise his power most unscrupulously to exterminate: since in short it was believed that he would, if elected as VC, tread in the steps of his predecessor (who beyond a doubt is one of the most unprincipled men living) it was resolved that as a mere matter of *self defence* Convocation ought to oppose his nomination. This was felt as much by non-resident members as by those in Oxford. Accordingly throughout the Long Vacation letters were written in the English Churchman Newspaper urging the measure. The Wadham men saw the danger to their Warden, took the alarm, and set about most energetically to canvass. They appointed a Committee, containing some of the most influential members of the University, viz. Dr. Cardwell,⁸ Chairman, Dr. Cramer,⁹ Mr. Wintle¹⁰ and several others. Meanwhile on the other side there was no Committee, but individuals canvassed as they could. J.B. Morris¹¹ and myself did most of the work, and the rooms of the former was the place where we usually met. As the time usual for the nomination drew near I wrote to the Senior Proctor, Guillemard,¹² who was not in Oxford, to request that he would apply to the VC Dr. Wynter to know the day of nomination and let us know it. Dr. Wynter, with his usual folly refused to accede to this request of the Proctor, and when this answer was returned by the Proctor, Morris and I instantly printed a Circular stating the fact. The day was afterwards discovered from the Wadham men to be the 8th of Oct. Accordingly on that day there was an immense concourse of men. The Convocation was obliged to be held in the Theatre, and on the

⁴ James Garbett (1802-79), fellow of Brasenose, an Evangelical and opposed to the Tractarian movement. As Bampton lecturer he tried to show the needlessness of Tractarian changes. He was elected in 1842 Professor of Poetry in opposition to Isaac Williams, the Tractarian candidate.

⁵ Richard Gell Macmullen (b. 1815), fellow of Corpus. R. W. Church, *The Oxford Movement*, ch. XVI.

⁶ The appointment of Renn Dickson Hampden (1793-1868) as Regius Professor of Divinity in 1836 had been opposed by the Tractarians and other churchmen on the grounds of his unorthodoxy.

⁷ Benjamin Parsons Symons (1785-1878), Warden of Wadham and leader of the Evangelical party. He became Vice-Chancellor in 1844.

⁸ Edward Cardwell (1787-1861), church historian; Principal of Alban Hall 1831-61.

⁹ John Antony Cramer (1793-1848), Regius professor of Modern history 1842. Principal of New Inn Hall 1831-47. Dean of Carlisle 1844.

¹⁰ Robert Wintle (1773-1848), prebendary of St. Paul's.

¹¹ John Brande Morris (1812-80), fellow of Exeter. Joined the Roman Catholic Church, 1846.

¹² Henry Peter Guillemard (1813-57), fellow of Trinity.

HENRY WALL'S NOTES, 1844

division the numbers were 882 for Dr. Symons and 183 against him. Apparently a splendid Victory. The Heads of Houses do not think so.

Tractarian
Movement
June 1844

About the second week of this Month Ward's Book "the Ideal of a Christian Church" was published. He had commenced it first six months ago as a mere pamphlet in answer to Mr. Palmer's¹³ (of Worcester) criticisms on his articles in the British Critic. It spread under his hands to 600 pages. There was policy in bringing it out just at this time, because the Long Vacation was so near that no notice could be taken of it.

During the Long Vacation the Master of Balliol¹⁴ wrote to Oakeley to say that he could not allow Ward to perform Oakeley's¹⁵ Chaplaincy duties in Chapel as he had hitherto done. To this Oakeley assented and Ward had of course only to accede too, but he still determined to maintain his right, whenever he was Senior Fellow in Chapel, of reading the Epistle and Gospel on Saints Days and of assisting the Master at the Communion.

Oct. 1844

I observed that several of the Fellows were very angry at Ward's Book and were not unwilling to assist in any measures against him. Foremost among such were Jowett and Lingen.¹⁶ The former having been for some time reading the worst kind of German authors, has become deeply tainted with Rationalism, and I think is in a very alarming state. The latter objects to Ward's book only because I believe he would object to any thing high or serious, being himself a very lowminded man, whose sole aim seems to be to make money in any way. Lake¹⁷ also, although a very high principled man, and one whom I thought a friend of Ward's, shewed an inclination to desert him and to act against him. He got timid and frightened about the College suffering in its reputation in the Country. Lake is a timid man, gets alarmed at his own noise, and cannot be safely relied upon in any cause. Woollcombe¹⁸ too showed a desire to take some measures against Ward. This state of feeling was brought to a crisis soon after.

Oct. 19

This day after the passing of Ward's half yearly account as Bursar, the election to College Offices took place. It had all along been understood that I was to be Senior Bursar and Ward Junior, but the Master said he would oppose the last. Accordingly when I was elected, Ward declared himself a Candidate for

¹³ *Narrative of events connected with the publication of Tracts for the Times*, by William Palmer (1803-85) was published in 1843.

¹⁴ Richard Jenkyns (1782-1854), Master of Balliol from 1819.

¹⁵ Frederick Oakeley (1802-80), chaplain fellow of Balliol 1827. Incumbent of Margaret Chapel London. Joined the Roman Catholic Church, 1845.

¹⁶ Ralph R. W. Lingen (1819-1905), fellow of Balliol 1841-50. Created Baron Lingen in 1885.

¹⁷ William Charles Lake (1817-97), fellow of Balliol 1838. Dean of Durham, 1869-94.

¹⁸ Edward Cooper Woollcombe (1816-80), fellow of Balliol, 1838-80.

W. PUGH AND R. G. CHAPMAN

the Office of Junior Bursar. The Master instantly said he should vote against him and told him he did not consider him any longer a fellow of the College. He also added that this was the reason why he allowed me, who would otherwise be only seventh Fellow and so without the limits which had for some time restricted the Bursarship to the *six Seniors*, to be named as Senior Bursar. That is he considered Ward not a Fellow and that therefore I was one of the Six Seniors. This was both impudent and knavish. I should have been Senior Bursar under all circumstances, for it had been an understanding with the Master and *originating* with him years before Ward wrote a line. However, the discussion on the point was carried on with good temper on all sides. The Master had been apprised that most, if not all of us, intended to vote for Ward, and he only determined to withhold his own vote. We went into Chapel to vote, I as assistant Scrutator, and Ward was unanimously elected by the Fellows, the Master nominating Jowett as Junior Bursar.

Oct. 28

This day there came a crisis. It was St. Simon and St. Jude's Day, and in Morning Chapel Ward, according to his resolution, went to the Altar with the Master intending to read as usual the Epistle and Gospel. The Master I am told (for I was not present) showed signs of great agitation, and prevented Ward from reading by beginning the Epistle himself immediately after the Collect; and he read it most emphatically at Ward. The part about "false teachers" afforded him scope for this.¹⁹ This exhibition scandalized the Fellows very much and they immediately (those who were adverse to Ward) felt and expressed the necessity of doing something. Accordingly a meeting of us took place at 3 O'C in Woollcombe's rooms, at which were present Woollcombe, Lake, Jowett, Temple,²⁰ Prichard,²¹ Lingen and myself. All agreed that nothing should be done if the Master did not come down to us with some proposition. I was most urgent for doing nothing at all on the ground that the Statutes did not contemplate any case of heresy. None of our Statutes applied to the case. In this view Prichard and Temple supported me. Jowett was strongly in favour of an address to our Visitor the Archbishop to request him to try Ward in the Ecclesiastical Court. Woollcombe was for doing something and so was Lake. Lingen was for a most dishonest course. The case he admitted was not cognizable by the Statutes, but he said we could call in the Visitor, who by his autocratic power in interpreting the Statutes could first rule that the case did come within our Statutes and then proceed to deal with it accordingly. Of course this met with no countenance. The meeting lasted for two hours and

¹⁹ cf. Wilfrid Ward, *W. G. Ward and the Oxford Movement*, p. 325.

²⁰ Frederick Temple (1821-1902), later archbishop of Canterbury.

²¹ Constantine Estlin Prichard (1820-69), fellow of Balliol, 1842-54.

HENRY WALL'S NOTES, 1844

separated, each man having the same opinions as when he came and with nothing resolved upon.

Heard nothing of Ward's business for some days after, not till the Master spoke privately to each Fellow about a plan he had—viz. to call in the Visitor, who had a right to come once in the year to review the state of the College and to banish any Fellow. When he spoke to me I told my reasons for not acceding to this measure, and I found him in better temper than I should have expected, and not very earnest about the measure. The fact is the Heads of Houses tried to move the business from their own shoulders to the Master's, and made the latter a cat's paw. To my surprise I heard that all the Fellows returned him an unfavourable answer and so he dropped his measure.

Nov. 11

Heard about this time that the Heads had appointed a Committee consisting of Dr. Cardwell, Dr. Hawkins,²² Dr. Gaisford,²³ Dr. Cramer, Dr. Jenkyns, Dr. Williams²⁴ to report upon Ward's Book and advise some course against him.

16

Ward returned to Oxford, from which he had been sometime absent; having been informed of what was brewing against him by Church²⁵ the Junior Proctor. He instantly wrote to Roundell Palmer²⁶ for his opinion which was rather against his having much power to defend himself.

Nov. 18

The report of the Committee was expected today but it was not returned. Had my Bursarial dinner today and a party of 19, among whom were Ward and J. Morris of Exeter. When the Master entered the room he shook hands with every one else, but bowed most distantly to these two. Foolish and impolite. He did, however, on leaving at night, shake Morris' hand.

Let me not forget that the Master preached before the University yesterday (Nov. 17) and that the Church was crowded under the expectation that he would preach against Ward. He did not. His Sermon was on the importance of learning for the Clergy and contained a puff by the way on Dr. Ogilvie.²⁷ It had nothing, however, to do with the text, which was "continue thou steadfast in the things in which thou hast been instructed and hast been assured of".

Nov. 25

The report of the Committee on Ward's Book was expected to be presented to the Board of Heads of Houses this day. I met Ward at 3½ O'C in St. Giles, but he had not heard the result. Went into his rooms a little before 5 O'C and heard from him that

²² Edward Hawkins (1789-1882), Provost of Oriel, 1828-74.

²³ Thomas Gaisford (1779-1855), dean of Christ Church, 1831-55 and Regius professor of Greek.

²⁴ David Williams (1786-1860), Warden of New College.

²⁵ Richard William Church (1815-90), the well-known writer. Fellow of Oriel, 1838-52. Dean of St. Paul's, 1871-90.

²⁶ Roundell Palmer (1812-95), Lord Chancellor, 1872, and created Earl of Selborne, 1882.

²⁷ Charles Atmore Ogilvie (1793-1873), appointed 1842 first Regius Professor of Pastoral Theology.

W. PUGH AND R. G. CHAPMAN

he had been to the Junior Proctor (Church) and had learnt from him that the Committee had reported, but that the Proctors were bound to keep secret what that report was. This seems to me to be a total misapprehension of their obligations on the part of the Proctors. They are not by any oath of their office bound to keep secret what passes at the Hebdomadal Board; whether they keep any matter a secret or not is entirely for their *own discretion*; and though the success of some measures may wholly depend on their secrecy, yet there are two reasons which should influence the Proctors against secrecy in a matter such as the present. First, the greatest error in the Hebdomadal Board is the *secrecy* of their measures. They consult nobody. Nobody knows what is going on among them till their secret parturient issues in some absurd unpopular Scheme to be presented to Convocation. They are too great men to tell their meditated plans to other people, and then they are made very little by their plans being rejected by Convocation. Secondly, the Proctors are the very representatives of the Masters in the Heads of Houses' Board, and least of all does Secrecy seem becoming where the Heads of Houses are busy in concocting measures against a Master. But such is the Proctors' mind and so we must remain some days longer in doubt.

The Master dined as usual with us in Hall today being St. Catherine's Day, and was very gracious. It is remarkable, however, that he did not propose, as is customary for him on this day, the toast *Domus de Balliote*, and consequently that his health was not proposed (as usual after this toast) by the Senior Fellow present, who by the way was Ward.

Nov. 27

No information yet as to the nature of the measures meditated against Ward. But heard today a most extraordinary circumstance connected with the proceedings. Bloxam,²⁸ Bursar of Magdalen, received a packet of Bursarial letters through the Post Office, and on opening them he found among them a paper containing the private notes of one of the Committee on Ward's Book!! How could this have got there? How could such a paper have got into the PO at all? It is most mysterious. Bloxam did not make known the contents of the paper but enclosed it, I hear, to Dr. Williams, the only member of the Committee whom he knows. Quare, would he be justified in making the contents known to his friend Ward? Ward thinks not certainly. I think it is questionable, and so do Newman and J. Morris.

Nov. 29

Today the Heads of Houses met at 1 O'C, and the result of their meeting was anxiously waited for by Ward's friends. Had a conversation with Oakeley in Ward's room, on Ward's business, while the consultation was going on. Heard from Oakeley and from Ward himself that Roundell Palmer had advised him to

²⁸ John Rouse Bloxam (1807-91), Tractarian and friend of Newman.

HENRY WALL'S NOTES, 1844

answer no questions put to him by the Heads of Houses, but to leave the whole *onus probandi*, even as to the authorship of the Book, on them. Was again in Ward's room at 3 O'C, where also were Lewis,²⁹ J. Morris, and Allies,³⁰ and heard from him (Ward) after he had been to the Junior Proctor (Church) that the result of the meeting of the Heads was that Ward was to be summoned tomorrow at 12 O'C to the V.C.'s house to be asked whether he is the author of the Book bearing his name. Ward's present resolution is to ask for *time* before he answers any questions. Met the Beadle soon after taking the V.C.'s letter to Ward.

This being our election day the Master dined with us and was very agreeable. Happily we had no vacancies for *Fellowships*; only for Scholarships and Exhibitions. I, as Senior Fellow present, was Scrutator with the Master. Henry Smith, of Rugby School, and Alexander Grant, of Harrow, were elected Scholars. The former was unanimously elected; but the latter (Grant) was hard run by Morgan. The Master and Lingen voted for Grant. Jowett, Temple and myself were for Morgan; but as this was a tie, Temple as Junior Fellow had to change sides.

As to the strange event which I have mentioned in the preceding page as having happened to Bloxam. The only explanation he can give of it is this—that the Member of the Committee whose notes they were (the Provost of Oriel I believe) must have put some letters to go to the Post, and this paper must by accident have got among them and been taken too. At the same time there happened to be a letter to the Bursar of Magdalen which, being not about any important business, had been carelessly sealed and was open. The man at the P.O. seeing this loose paper thought it had fallen out of the open letter and so put it in that. Still altogether it is a very strange thing.

Nov. 30

Today at 12 O'C Ward according to summons attended on the VC at the Delegates Room. The persons present were the V.C. and the four pro-Vices—Drs. Wynter, Hawkins, Radford³¹ and Plumtree;³² the two Proctors, and the Registrar. The pro-Vices had been appointed to be there as *witnesses* of what passed, and when they were named for this purpose, the Proctors suggested that they should be present too and this was allowed. This I had from Church himself. When Ward appeared he was asked to take a seat, and after some preliminary remarks from the VC (who alone spoke) as to the painfulness etc. a resolution of the Heads of Houses authorizing the present proceeding before any further measures was read, and a copy of his Book was given him, he was

²⁹ David Lewis (b. 1815), Fellow of Jesus, 1839-46. Vice-principal, 1845. Joined the Roman Catholic Church, 1846.

³⁰ Thomas William Allies (1813-1903), Fellow of Wadham, 1833-41. Joined the Roman Catholic Church, 1850.

³¹ John Radford (1782-1851), Rector of Lincoln, 1834.

³² Frederick Charles Plumtree (1796-1870). Master of University College, 1836.

W. PUGH AND R. G. CHAPMAN

told to turn to certain pages, and several passages were read to him. He was asked if "he disavowed" the authorship of these passages or the sentiments contained in them. His reply was that he hoped it would not be disrespectful to the VC and the Heads of Houses if he requested time to consult his friends and perhaps take legal advice before he answered *any* questions. This the VC most readily assented to, and asked what time would be enough. Ward named till *Tuesday* next (today being Saturday). The V.C. offered to grant a further delay, but Ward said this would do. Ward also added in explanation that he did not mean to say that he *would* answer the question on Tuesday, but that he would tell them on Tuesday *whether he would answer the question or no*. This the VC said he understood. Ward then made his bow (rather a jaunty one as Church told us afterwards) and retired, all of the Board rising as he left in courtesy.

Dined with Macmullen at Corpus. Party consisted of Mr. Tritton,³³ Ward, J. Morris, Lewis, Meyrick³⁴ and myself. Church, the Proctor, came in in the evening. Ward's business of course the main subject of conversation. Never saw Ward in such exuberant spirits. He related to us all the events of the morning, and amused us greatly by mimicking the tone of the VC reading the passages from his Book. This reading he said had been so irresistibly ludicrous to himself at the Board that he could not help sniggering a little, which was observed by Church. During the evening he was a continual source of fun and humour. He recited to us his absurd Verses at School and told many anecdotes. It has been a most merry evening.

I must not forget to mention that an expression used by Jowett last night relative to Ward's case, shows that his feelings of hostility to him are much modified. When he heard that Ward was to be summoned to know whether he acknowledged the authorship of his Book, he said "he would be a great fool if he did".

Dec. 3

Today at 12 O'C Ward attended for the Second time at the Delegates Room on the V.C. to give his answer to the question put to him on the 30th Nov. His answer was that he declined, according to legal advice, answering *any questions* of any kind whatever, until he was informed of the nature of the measures meditated against him. This was all that passed, and he withdrew. A meeting of Heads of Houses was held afterwards at 1 O'C, and his answer being laid before them it was resolved to refer it to the Standing Committee.

I have heard that the Provost of Worcester³⁵ has told that there is to be a Convocation held on Ward. I have no doubt that

³³ Perhaps William Biscoe Tritton (1820-94), of St. John's, Cambridge.

³⁴ Probably Edward Meyrick (1813-83), Fellow of Magdalen, 1836-54.

³⁵ Richard Lynch Cotton (1794-1880), a friend of Pusey.

HENRY WALL'S NOTES, 1844

the plan is to get Convocation to condemn as heretical certain propositions in the Book, and then for the VC acting on this verdict and according to the clause in Statute Tit xvii § 2. *Quod si quis de schismate suspectus* &c, to proceed to expel him. That a Convocation is intended and some measure afterwards, is confirmed by the Junior Proctor who today has told me so.

A Letter appeared in "the Standard" today from a resident in Oxford abusing Ward for asking for time before he answered, and he has this day written and published a letter to the V.C. explaining his conduct, and stating that the VC himself thought it reasonable.

Dined today with the Junior Proctor (Church) in Oriol. Met Guillemard (Senior Proctor), Heathcote,³⁶ Tom Morris,³⁷ Coffin,³⁸ Macmullen, Bathurst,³⁹ Balston⁴⁰ (Ch Ch) and Ward. W in excellent spirits.

Heard today of Dr. Cramer's appointment to the Deanery of Carlisle. To be sure what men are advanced in the Church! Here is a man who has been living in iniquity, i.e. on his vile system at his Vile Hall (New Inn Hall) made a Dean!!

Dec. 7

No further intelligence of Ward's case, except that he tells me he has heard on undoubted authority that the notion and plan of the Committee was at first to bring forward to Convocation a measure for expelling him, but that they abandoned this at the instance of Dr. Hawkins. Had a meeting this evening in Ward's Room at 7½ O.C. of J. Mozley,⁴¹ Lewis, J. Morris, Macmullen, Ward and myself, to consider as to the best mode of defence for Ward. It was settled that if no notice of a measure was given by the Heads on *Monday next* (the day after tomorrow) Ward is to call on the Proctors and insist upon their demanding for him a *fortnight after the commencement of next Term* in order that he might have time to get up his defence. If a notice comes out on *Monday next* for a Convocation in the first week of next Term he will be content. And then as to the defence its manner must depend upon the kind of attack made. If the Heads (as is most probable) merely call upon Convocation to condemn certain propositions in Ward's Book; meaning to make this condemnation the ground of further proceedings against him by the VC, even to the extremity of expulsion; but not stating this to Convocation; then Ward is to write to the VC as the notice comes out to enquire whether anything further is intended. He of course will not tell this, which

³⁶ Probably William Beadon Heathcote (1813-62), sub-warden of New College, 1840.

³⁷ Thomas Edward Morris (1814-85), student of Christ Church, 1832-55, younger brother of John Brande Morris of Exeter. A friend of Pusey.

³⁸ Robert Aston Coffin (1819-85). Vicar of St. Mary Magdalene, 1843-5. Joined the Roman Catholic Church, 1845, and became bishop of Southwark, 1882.

³⁹ Probably Stuart Eyre Bathurst (b. 1815), Fellow of Merton, 1839-45. Joined the Roman Catholic Church.

⁴⁰ Francis Balston (b. 1820), M.A., 1843, friend of Church and Marriott.

⁴¹ James Bowling Mozley (1813-78), Fellow of Magdalen, Regius Professor of Divinity, 1871.

W. PUGH AND R. G. CHAPMAN

will be tantamount to admitting that some further judicial measure is meditated. Then different men will in the way of pamphlets address Convocation stating that they are voting in the dark, and urging the mischief and injustice of lending their aid to expel a man and it may be deprive him of his Fellowship, for holding doctrines which, for all they know, *may* be held in the Church of England. Someone will also attack the Heads with an *argumentum ad hominem*, that no one who knows them and knows what they have tolerated in Oxford, can believe that they are moved by any conscientious feelings against Ward. Then Ward will collect together these several things in his favour and circulate them through the Country.

Dec. 8 Sunday

Three notices having been issued of Disputations for BD degrees under the old Statute, and these notices being in several points informal 1st having only *one* opponent to each respondent. 2 the word *principalis* being omitted to be applied to the *Opponens* and 3 the subjects being put in the form of *propositions* instead of *Quaestiones*, I called on the two Proctors to induce them to inform the Candidates and check them. If they persist in proceeding I shall pluck them in Congregation.

Yesterday and today have been days of bad news. Yesterday I heard of Mrs. G. V. Cox having been taken with a paralytic stroke. Today I have heard of Miss Jenkyns' leg having been amputated, and also of Mr. Percival Walsh's melancholy death. He was found dead in the road to his house.

Dec. 9

This Evening there was a meeting at my house consisting of the same persons as met on the 7th. to hear what the Heads had decided upon. Ward came in and excited the curiosity of us all by stating that he had heard from Church the measures intended against him, but that he was bound to secrecy. He said, however, that they were extremely severe, though honest and straightforward, and that they would, if they passed Convocation, have the effect of driving some thirty men from the University. This information of course raised our anxiety to know the whole. Soon after came in J. Mozley who had also heard the secret from Church, and who, (in consequence of something Church had said to Ward about the secret being only kept from Newspapers &c) thought himself justified in telling us. The measure proposed was to ask Convocation to ratify and pass these decrees. 1st. that Ward has been guilty of bad faith and dishonesty in signing the Articles. 2. that he be degraded and 3. that the VC may have the discretion and power of making any Member of the University subscribe to the Articles in the sense of the *animus imponentis* i.e. in the sense of the Reformers. This last would clearly be the establishment of a new Theological test, and this I think Convocation will never pass. The Question will shake the Country from one end to another; and the Heads will show great folly in con-

HENRY WALL'S NOTES, 1844

necting a measure against Ward, which would be popular, with a proposition which will be most unpopular. However, they have not yet finally resolved upon it. It is to be settled on Friday next. Meanwhile as we are not supposed to know the secret we can do nothing yet.

Dec. 10

Several of us viz. J. Morris, Macmullen, Lewis and myself called this morning on the Senior Proctor, about the unstatutable notices for BD degrees to induce him to cancel the Exercises. The two Proctors soon after called on the VC about it, and the V.C. maintained that it was the form which had always prevailed, but admitted that the Questions used to be stated interrogatively with *An.* Butler performed his exercise today.

Dec. 13

Received a letter from Oakeley this morning informing me that he was having lithographed a circular to Members of Convocation requesting them to suspend the promises of their votes upon Ward's case till they had heard his defence, and suggesting that a similar circular from me as Bursar, to the Members of *our* College might do good. But as I could not use any influence arising from my office except a *College* act, I consulted all the Fellows in residence, viz. Woollcombe, Jowett, Prichard and Temple, whether they would *join* me in a circular of the kind. Woollcombe and Jowett being strongly adverse to it the scheme was abandoned.

Went into Ward's Rooms after Chapel and found him with a Manuscript Copy of the Statute which is to be proposed against him. Joined soon after a meeting at J. Morris' rooms consisting of J. Morris, Ward, Mozeley, Lewis, Pattison⁴² of Lincoln and myself. 1st Ward read us the circular which he was going to send to Members of Convocation, and we agreed to meet tomorrow evening and help him send them off. 2. He read us a letter to the VC which Roundell Palmer had written for him, explaining his reasons for not at once avowing the authorship of his Book.

Dec. 14

Went to Ward's Rooms after Chapel with several others Prichard, Temple, Macmullen, Pattison, to assist him in sending off his circular together with a pamphlet containing "Selections" from his Book made by Oakeley showing its favourable points. After this a discussion arose as to the possibility and honesty of taking, if called upon, the proposed new test. I have no difficulty about it. So said Pattison, but Ward, Macmullen and Prichard said they could *not* take it. It was considered too what should be done in order to avert this new Statute. Macmullen and Ward were strongly for taking active measures immediately. I differed from this opinion, on the ground that if men of Puseyite opinions *began* the move it would throw discredit on the cause and do more harm than good; and that we ought to let *moderate* men move *first* and Puseyites follow. At the same time I expressed my resolution

⁴² Mark Pattison (1813-84), still a Tractarian at this time. The text of the proposed Test is to be found in Appendix H of W. Ward, *W. G. Ward and the Oxford Movement*.

W. PUGH AND R. G. CHAPMAN

not to take an active part in any movement; because all men will not act energetically, and so the few who do exert themselves find themselves in the front of the battle, most conspicuous and become thenceforth marked men. The late opposition to the Vice Chancellor confirmed me in this determination.

Dec. 16

Joined the same party again this evening at Ward's Rooms to send off circulars.

17

Attended a meeting at Macmullen's Rooms at half past seven this evening to consider what steps should be taken to resist the proposed new Test. Present were Macmullen, Marriott,⁴³ Mozley, Barrow,⁴⁴ Chamberlain,⁴⁵ Coffin, J. Morris, Lewis, Allies, Ward and myself. It was resolved that Macmullen, Marriott and Mozley should draw up a circular briefly calling attention to the Test and stating reasons against, to be submitted to the meeting tomorrow at 1 O'C. It was also deemed advisable to try to get such men as Greswell⁴⁶ and Eden⁴⁷ to bestir themselves about it.

18

Met at J. Morris' Rooms today at 1 O'C when the paper containing six observations drawn up by the forementioned committee was read and after a few alterations was approved of; and desired to be printed immediately for circulation. Heard from Marriott that he had spoken to Eden and that he Eden would stir himself. Came home and found a card from Eden requesting to see me particularly.

19

Saw Eden today and was asked by him to be one of a meeting at his rooms this evening. I declined. Heard afterwards that the meeting had separated without agreeing upon any thing.

1845
Jan. 8

Heard it rumoured in Oxford that the Heads were in doubt as to the legality of the proposed new Test, were taking legal advice upon it, and if that advice were unfavourable that they would withdraw it. Dr. Wootten⁴⁸ told me that Dr. Ashurst⁴⁹ wished it withdrawn and as he goes with the Heads his wish seems to be an indication of theirs. They have miscalculated its popularity.

Jan. 10

Saw Scott⁵⁰ (Editor of Xtian Remembrancer) in London today and was told by him that he had heard from Dr. Richards⁵¹ Rector of Exeter that legal advice was being taken about the Test, and that it would be withdrawn if the advice was unfavourable.

⁴³ Charles Marriott (1811-58), fellow of Oriol, 1833-58. Vicar of St. Mary's, 1850. An editor of 'Library of the fathers'.

⁴⁴ John Barrow (b. 1810), Principal of St. Edmund Hall, 1854-61.

⁴⁵ Thomas Chamberlain (b. 1811), vicar of St. Thomas the Martyr, 1842.

⁴⁶ Edward Greswell (1797-1869), Fellow of Corpus, 1823-69.

⁴⁷ Charles Page Eden (1807-85), Fellow of Oriol. Vicar of St. Mary's, 1843-50.

⁴⁸ John Wootten (1800-47). M.D., 1826. Pusey's doctor.

⁴⁹ Probably Thomas Henry Ashurst, D.C.L. All Souls.

⁵⁰ William Scott (1813-72).

⁵¹ Joseph Loscombe Richards (1798-1854), Rector of Exeter, 1838-54; one of the two dissentient among the Heads on Tract 90.

HENRY WALL'S NOTES, 1844

- Jan. 13 Had a short walk with Dr. Cardwell today, and he informed me that he had been always adverse to the Test. It seems to have been the Provost of Oriel's doing and now all are forsaking him and leaving him to be gibbeted.
- Jan. 14 Heard today that the VC says the Test is certainly not to be withdrawn.
- Jan. 24 Well after sundry rumours the New Test is actually withdrawn. What a humiliating condition for the Heads! Will they also withdraw the measures against Ward or persist in them?
- Feb. The Test has reappeared again in another shape! The Heads of Houses, foiled in their attempt to pass that declaration which contained the thought of a knave couched in the language of a fool, must compensate for their defeat by something remarkable on the 13 Feb. So Mr. Simcox Bricknell⁵² of Worcester and Messrs. Golightly⁵³ and Goulburn⁵⁴ get up a requisition to the Heads to propose to Convocation a condemnation of Tract 90. This requisition is signed by 470, some say 500, names, at the head of which are the Bishops of Llandaff⁵⁵ and Chichester.⁵⁶ Influenced by this appeal the Heads have actually proposed the desired measure. Some few of them (9 it is said) having had the good sense to resist it. But the Heads say that they could not resist such a numerously signed address—that they themselves were averse to the measure—it was forced upon them. *Credat Judeaus*. This is a worn out artifice; a well known way of their's to shuffle themselves out of responsibility. A New Test is proposed by a Committee, with all the appearance of its being the unanimous act of its authors; not one word against it is heard till it is found to be unpopular; then come the disclaimers. "No child of mine" exclaims one. "I was always averse to it" confidentially whispers another. A requisition is presented to condemn No 90 and after two days discussion is consented to. A storm threatens. Good and sensible men begin to protest against this gratuitous raking up old things—the Proctors' *Veto* is talked about, and instantly the whine—that whine peculiar to the Hebdomadal creatures—is heard "We couldn't help it. What could we do? Indeed we did not want it. Pray do not think hardly of us. We are not adverse to No. 90 unless everybody else is." O Mercury! Thou God of rogues, what apt disciples have you here!
- Feb. 7 This Evening has been issued by the Heads a statement of a

⁵² William Simcox Bricknell (b. 1808), Vicar of Eynsham, 1845 and of Grove, 1836.

⁵³ Charles Pourtales Golightly (1807-85). R. W. Greaves, 'Golightly and Newman 1824-45', *J. of Ecclesiastical History* IX, (1958) pp. 209-29.

⁵⁴ Edward Meyrick Goulburn (1818-97), Dean of Merton, 1843-5; later headmaster of Rugby and Dean of Norwich.

⁵⁵ Edward Copleston (1776-1849).

⁵⁶ Ashurst Turner Gilbert (1786-1870).

W. PUGH AND R. G. CHAPMAN

legal opinion by Sir F. Thesiger,⁵⁷ Sir C. Wetherell,⁵⁸ Mr. Adams and Mr. Cowling, justifying their intended proceedings against Ward.

There seems to be but little doubt that the Proctors will put their *Veto* upon the question for condemning Tract 90. If they do our intention is to get up an address of thanks to them.

Feb. 8

Sitting this evening in Ward's room he communicated to me the secret of his engagement to be married to Miss Wingfield. Had a long conversation with him on the subject and about his prospects.

Feb. 10

The Proctors have this evening announced their intention to *veto* the proposition about censuring No. 90. This was intimated to the V.C. by Guillemard.

Feb. 12

Dined today in Trinity with Guillemard to meet Owen.⁵⁹ On going out at night met Haddan⁶⁰ on his way to attend a meeting at Merton. Joined him and went to the Bursary at Merton where I met Mr. Gladstone, Hope,⁶¹ Archdeacon Manning, Archdeacon Wilberforce⁶², Mr. Gresley⁶³ and many more. An address of thanks to the Proctors for their intention to *Veto* was agreed to. It was signed by those present and was distributed for more signatures.

Went to Balliol after the meeting at Merton and found a party in Woolcombe's Rooms consisting of Ernest Hawkins,⁶⁴ Fagan⁶⁵ and several others, who were busy in drawing up an amendment to be proposed tomorrow to the effect that "the passages selected from Ward's book were deserving of grave censure, but that Convocation did not feel itself called upon &c. &c." This amendment was intended to be signed by those who differed from Ward and yet who could not vote against him, in order to set themselves right with the World.

Feb. 13

Went this morning at 10½ O'C to Hope's rooms at Merton to receive the various copies of the Address to the Proctors which had been given for signatures. There heard that Dr. Grant⁶⁶ of New Coll was to propose the amendment drawn up by Ernest Hawkins. H. Wilberforce soon after came in and talked of another amendment to the Degradation proposition. This, however, came to nothing. At 1 O'C all parties were wending their way to the

⁵⁷ Frederick Thesiger, first Baron Chelmsford (1794-1878).

⁵⁸ Sir Charles Wetherell (1770-1846).

⁵⁹ Robert Owen (1820-1902), of Jesus. Fellow, 1845-64.

⁶⁰ Arthur West Haddan (1816-73), Fellow of Trinity, 1839-58.

⁶¹ Alexander James Beresford Hope (1820-87).

⁶² Robert Isaac Wilberforce (1802-57), Archdeacon of the East Riding, 1841. Joined the Roman Catholic Church, 1854.

⁶³ William Gresley (1801-76). Author of *Portrait of an English Churchman*, 1838, and *The Ordinance of Confession*, 1851.

⁶⁴ Ernest Hawkins (1802-68), Fellow of Exeter, 1831-52. Sub-librarian of Bodleian, 1831.

⁶⁵ George Hickson Urquhart Fagan (1817-75), Prebendary of Wells, 1853.

⁶⁶ Anthony Grant (1806-83), D.C.L., 1842. Vicar of Romford, 1838-62.

HENRY WALL'S NOTES, 1844

Convocation in the Theatre. Full. 1200 men were present. Strangers and undergraduates were excluded. When the first proposition was read, Dr. Grant rose to propose his amendment, but the V.C. stopped him on the ground that nothing was before the house. Ward was then allowed to speak in English and he made his defence which lasted upwards of an hour. After this Dr. Grant proposed his amendment, but the V.C. told him nothing could be put to Convocation which had not before been approved of in the Hebdomadal Board. George Denison⁶⁷ seconded Grant's amendment. Bode⁶⁸ also spoke. The division then took place when the numbers were Placets 777. Non placets 386. There is no doubt that all present did not vote. It is certain that Ward's defence changed the minds of many and most probably made many so doubtful as not to vote at all. On the second proposition he said only a few words. The numbers here were Placets 569. Non placets 511. But before this vote Ward left to go home and as he emerged from the Theatre he was loudly cheered by a large assembly of Undergraduates outside. The VC when he appeared was hooted. The proposition to condemn No. 90 was then brought forward but the Proctors put their Veto upon it. There were some indecent cries raised such as "No Popery". So ended this eventful day. How eventful!! What is to be the effect of today's Vote?

⁶⁷ George Anthony Denison (1805-96), at this time Prebendary of Sarum. 1856, prosecuted in ecclesiastical courts for his Eucharistic doctrine. 1851, Archdeacon of Taunton.

⁶⁸ John Ernest Bode (1816-74), student of Christ Church, 1841-7. Rector of Westwell, 1847-60.