

THE AUSTRALIAN CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY

The Theology of Witness:

A Critical Exposition of George Tyrrell's Pastoral Theology

(In carceribus denuo adsumus)

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Dedication

This work in spirit and deed is dedicated to my wonderful wife Lesley, and to our four inspirational children: Harry, Grace, Fred and Fin — who never fail to surprise me with their joy, hope, prayers and unconditional love.

They are of course my life...

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Tyrrell Abbreviations

Books

<i>AMAL</i>	<i>A Much Abused Letter</i> , (1906)
<i>A&L Vol. I</i> (1912)	<i>Autobiography And Life Of George Tyrrell</i> , (1861-1884), Vol. I,
<i>A&L Vol. II</i> (1912)	<i>Autobiography And Life Of George Tyrrell</i> , (1884-1909), Vol. II,
<i>CC</i>	<i>Christianity at the Crossroads</i> , (1909)
<i>CF</i>	<i>(The) Church and the Future</i> , (1903)
<i>CM</i>	<i>(The) Civilizing of the Matafanus</i> , (1902)
<i>ER</i>	<i>External Religion: Its Use and Abuse</i> , (1900)
<i>EFI</i>	<i>Essays On Faith and Immortality</i> , (1914)
<i>GTL</i>	<i>George Tyrrell's Letter</i> , (Ed.), Petre M.D. (1920)
<i>FM I</i>	<i>Faith of the Millions</i> , First Series, (1901)
<i>FM II</i>	<i>Faith of the Millions</i> , Second Series, (1901)
<i>HS</i>	<i>Hard Sayings: A Selection of Meditations and Studies</i> , (1898)
<i>LO</i>	<i>Lex Orandi</i> , (1903)
<i>LC</i>	<i>Lex Credendi</i> , (1906)
<i>Med.</i>	<i>Medievalism</i> , (1908)
<i>NetV</i>	<i>Nova et Vetera</i> , (1897)
<i>OW</i>	<i>Oil and Wine</i> , (1902)
<i>RFL</i>	<i>Religion as a Factor of Life</i> , (1902)
<i>SO</i>	<i>(The) Soul's Orbit or Man's Journey to God</i> , (1904)
<i>TSC</i>	<i>Through Scylla and Charybdis</i> , (1907)

Articles

'RTD'	'The Relation of Theology to Devotion,' <i>The Month</i> , (Nov. 1899)
'APD'	'A Perverted Devotion,' <i>The Weekly Register</i> , (Dec. 1899)

Chapter One

Revisiting the ‘Modernist Martyr’

Were I to wait till I could find censors advanced enough...

I would have to wait at least 100 hundred years.

(Tyrrell to A.R. Waller 1900)

Aims and Objectives of the Thesis

Revisiting the ‘Modernist Martyr,’ George Tyrrell, a century after his death is self-evidently problematic. This work draws upon ten years of personal experience, living and teaching in Stonyhurst, Tyrrell’s former Jesuit College, and two decades of researching his thought. It is not unreasonable to assert, following the lead of Gabriel Daly, that it is practically impossible to approach modernism without personal bias and ideology.¹ Ironically highlighting the dangers of such an undertaking, Hilaire Belloc cautions, ‘that history should be written not from the Bar, but from the Bench.’ Moreover, it must show a willingness to submit to what Matthew Arnold called ‘the despotism of fact.’² In addition, contemporary historians and systematic theologians accentuate the importance of hermeneutical considerations of authors, texts and receivers.³

Neil Ormerod also reminds us of further important methodological considerations, noting that, ‘A historical ecclesiology is not just a historical narrative; it should be empirical/historical, critical, normative, dialectic and practical.’⁴ The complexity of the task serves as a partial reason why the life and thought of Tyrrell remains a largely unacknowledged component of the (on-going) process of Catholic enlightenment, initiated at Trent and developed further at the Second Vatican Council.

¹ See the work of Gabriel Daly, (1980), *Transcendence and Immanence*; Gabriel Daly, (1994), *Medievalism: George Tyrrell*; Gabriel Daly, ‘Theological and Philosophical Modernism,’ in Darrell Jodock, (2000) *Catholicism Contending with Modernity*, 88-112. ‘The term ‘Modernism’ originated in 1904 with Umberto Benigni, a minor official of the papal curia, who besides being an ardent monarchist was an archenemy of every philosophical and historical approach that did not fit with his ultraconservative presuppositions. The term could not have come from a more hostile source. From the very beginning the spin Benigni gave the term prejudiced the understanding of what was at stake and almost hopelessly confused the issues.’ O’Malley, J.W. Komonchak, J., Schloesser, S., Ormerod N.J., (2007), *Vatican II- Did Anything Happen?* O’Malley, 15.

² See Arnold, M. (2007), *On the Study of Celtic Literature*, 66. See also Hilaire Belloc’s riposte to Coulton, (literary contemporaries of Tyrrell), ‘The Case of Dr. Coulton,’ *The Month*, (Nov. 1938) and Wilson, A.N. (1984), *Hilaire Belloc*. During the late nineteenth and early twentieth century Belloc became a prolific author of British history, virtually all of it from the ‘bar.’ In relation to Tyrrell, this work will highlight a similar challenge for scholars who publish on Modernism.

³ Important methodologies which will be appropriated in this work include the contributions of historians John W. O’Malley, Joseph Komonchak, David G. Schultenover, and Stephen Schloesser, together with precise studies on Tyrrell from Marvin R. O’Connell, C.J.T. Talar and Darrell Jodock. For example, Jodock, D. (2000), *Catholicism Contending with Modernity*; Lawrence Barmann & Harvey Hill, (Eds.), (2003), *Personal faith and institutional commitment: Roman Catholic modernist and anti-modernist autobiography*; Rush, O. (2004), *Still Interpreting Vatican II*; Kerr, F. (2007) *Twentieth-Century Catholic Theologians*.

⁴ Neil Ormerod, ‘The Times They Are A-Changin,’ A Response to O’Malley and Schloesser, O’Malley J.W. (2007), *Vatican II- Did Anything Happen?* 172.

Twentieth century Catholic theologians work within an ecclesial context that is characterised by oscillation, evidenced on one side by *Pascendi Dominici Gregis, Lamentabili Sane* and the ‘Oath Against Modernism,’ and on the other by *Lumen Gentium, Gaudium et Spes*, and *Apostolicam Actuositatem*. Bishops also work within the constraints of this ‘pendulum swing,’ although most would probably acknowledge the necessity of a ‘critical’ safety valve, to enhance the capacity of the ecclesial vessel as it continues upon its journey towards the eschaton.

At the turn of the twentieth century Tyrrell articulated a challenge to those who would take the church out of history and place it in some ideal realm.⁵ Drawing upon Lonergan, some argue that the church had locked itself into a classicist understanding of culture as a normative ideal that it possessed and others must obtain.⁶ Tyrrell played a leading role in instigating the shift from classicism to historical consciousness. He challenged what Ormerod describes as ‘the classic conservative antitype,’ which represents a distortion in the development of the church where ‘the past is normative, not as a prototype for future development, but as an archetype to be endlessly repeated.’⁷

An organisation that manifests the above antitype does not have the ability to adapt to changing social and cultural circumstances. In essence, as Tyrrell attempted to argue, this represents a failure of church leadership to effectively realise its mission.⁸ Revisiting Tyrrell at the end of the twentieth century will allow the facts of history to enlighten the present-day discussion with regard to reception of Vatican II and the role of the theologian. An ‘applied’ rereading of the Modernist episode will allow history to positively influence progression towards ecclesial maturity. This rereading represents an endeavour to sustain creative and constructive strategies of evangelisation in order to develop a contemporary ‘concrete’ spirituality that will empower the Magisterium to escape the consequences of the Modernist suppression, namely, the reversal of long-term ecclesial decline. Tyrrell’s thought poignantly reminds the contemporary Church that we cannot move forward by going backwards. The origins of the twentieth century decline are found in the stark choice the anti-Modernists presented to the ‘faithful.’⁹ Tyrrell understood the anti-modernist position thus: ‘don’t look, don’t read, don’t think; listen to us; we know *a priori* there are no difficulties; still don’t look or you might see something.’ What angered Tyrrell was ‘the absolute incompetence of our clergy as a body to meet the incoming flood of agnosticism and the deep somnolence of our bishops.’¹⁰ Tyrrell insisted that the church must ‘not be tied to the thirteenth or sixteenth

⁵ ‘Anxiety about change finds theological expression in a type of idealistic ecclesiology that takes the Church out of history and places it in some ideal realm. They are characterised by their lack of interest in historical details and events. They present a timeless unchanging Church.’ Neil Ormerod, ‘The Times They Are A ‘Changing’: A Response To O’Malley And Schloesser, *Theological Studies* 67, (Dec. 2006), 834-855.

⁶ Ormerod, Dec. 2006, 843.

⁷ Ormerod, Dec. 2006, 844.

⁸ See Ormerod, Dec. 2006. ‘A Church that approximates the classic conservative antitype represents a community that effectively fails to realise its mission.’ 846.

⁹ Tyrrell to Rooke Ley, Jan. 5th 1901, *A&L*, Vol. II, 152.

¹⁰ Tyrrell to Rooke Ley, Jan. 5th 1901, *A&L*, Vol. II, 153.

century,¹¹ rather we must learn from history, not recreate it. In short, the Church ‘must change to fulfil its mission in a changing world.’¹²

In Tyrrell’s day history began to be described as scientific; advocates of this methodology claimed objectivity in evaluating evidence.¹³ Furthermore, Tyrrell defended the role of the critical historian’s relative, functional autonomy and their constructive role within the theological process. He gives evidence of the fact that creative tensions are integral to developments in all human endeavours, and that it is the role of the theologian, following the position of Newman, to continually grapple after the truth, while the Magisterium is challenged to provide an appropriate forum for self-critical dialogue.¹⁴

Notwithstanding the philosophical, political, historical and other hermeneutical considerations, situating Tyrrell’s work within an organic paradigm of theological and ecclesial development serves both to validate his thought, as a prophetic, twentieth-century, Catholic theologian, and also to establish Tyrrell’s relevance for contemporary theology and ecclesiology. Crucial to this endeavour is Tyrrell’s personal witness to Catholicism. It is also necessary to acknowledge the wider ecclesial, theological and political context in which Tyrrell laboured. Inadvertently he became a pawn on the Roman court’s European political chessboard. Consequently an extreme form of Ultramontanism, a fundamentalist ideology that required public acquiescence from the English hierarchy, drove him to public exasperation. Tyrrell, largely through his own naivety and obduracy, became the sacrificial pawn. Nevertheless, further intricacies with regard to Tyrrell’s personal ecclesial experiences are equally illuminating for contemporary Catholicism.

From a pastoral perspective, unsettled issues to be explored in this present work include:

- The lack of pastoral care of Tyrrell
- The legal status of his excommunication
- The morality of refusing Tyrrell a Catholic burial
- The ‘violence’ of Magisterial suppression of Modernism
- Subsequent suppression of critical research
- The role played by English Catholicism and Ultramontanism
- The validity of Tyrrell’s pastoral motivation – the ‘business’ of saving souls
- The legitimacy of Tyrrell’s legacy

This work intends to offer a critical rereading of the life and thought of George Tyrrell in the light of post-conciliar pastoral and practical theology. It consists of three main objectives:

¹¹ Tyrrell, ‘The Death-Agony of Medievalism,’ *Medievalism*, 156.

¹² The Churches mission has an essentially historical dimension. ‘The world changes and the Church must find new ways to deal with the problems of changing times.’ See Ormerod, 847, and Taylor, ‘The Expanding Universe of Unbelief,’ 353ff and ‘Nineteenth-Century Trajectories,’ Taylor, C, (2007), *A Secular Age*, 377.

¹³ See Tyrrell, (1900), ‘Preface’ in Luis Goncalves de Câmara, Rix E.M., *The Testament of Ignatius Loyola*, being ‘Sundry acts of our father Ignatius, taken down from the saint’s own lips,’ trans. by E.M. Rix (Ed.), by H. Thurston, 2. Charles Taylor allows a contextual insight into Tyrrell’s pastoral motivation, ‘Intellectuals tend to be unbelievers.’ See Taylor, C. (1989), *Sources Of The Self: The Making of Modern Identity*, 17.

¹⁴ See Newman, J.H. (1873), *The Idea of a University*, Discourse 9. ‘Duties of the Church towards Knowledge,’ 2.

- Critically evaluate Tyrrell's *modus operandi* as a pastoral and practical theologian and situate his prophetic ecclesiology within the wider context of Catholic 'enlightenment,' the theological opus of Newman, Vatican I and the pastorally inspired reforms of Vatican II.
- Present a contemporary assessment of Tyrrell's pastoral hermeneutical witness to Catholicism and indicate his historical and theological significance for the 'developing' Church.
- Defend the hypothesis that Tyrrell became the 'modernist martyr' and that his legacy consists of an authentic, contextual, paradigm that still speaks to the 'reception' process of the post-conciliar Church.

The foundations are now in place to enable the next generation of Tyrrell scholars to explore his pastoral mission and articulate the relevance of his thought with regard to the contemporary "faith of the millions."¹⁵ Research upon Tyrrell needs to build upon, but move beyond the work of historians. Building upon the methodological principle of Joseph Komonchak, this work will emphasise in relation to Tyrrell that an event makes sense only within a story, and that the modernist narrative continues to develop. Joseph Komonchak insists that an historian tells a story, but it is not the sum total of the event or experience. Rather it is a choice, 'from testimony and documents the historian cuts out the event he has chosen to produce, that is why an event never coincides with the *cogito* of its actors and witnesses.'¹⁶ Shifting historical contexts can lead to a different set of choices which then illuminates shadows from the past.

It is appropriate that theologians continue to engage with and apply the thought, and life experiences of Tyrrell to our current ecclesial situation. An historical textual approach to Tyrrell will never be more than an introduction to his prophetic pastoral theology.

The dissertation then moves forward in three stages:

1. Chapters One, Two and Three include a general introduction to the project, literature review, and an introduction to Tyrrell's life and Modernism, critiquing his 'trials and tribulations' and contrasting Tyrrell with a number of his primary adversaries; assessing in the process the integrity of his pastoral *modus operandi*. This is followed by a specific prolegomenon to his pastoral hermeneutic.
2. Chapters Four and Five will explore and critique important aspects of Tyrrell's theology in an effort to demonstrate how Tyrrell anticipated many of the current pastoral and practical theological movements: including the antipathy towards rationalism, the limitations of language; pneumatology; *sensus fidelium*; Christology from below; development of doctrine; the mystery of faith; God in conscience; role of the laity; reading the 'signs of the times,' and Christianity as a 'concrete form of life.'

¹⁵ Tyrrell wrote with a pastoral concern for the 'faith of the millions,' this expression became important in his work and was initially used for the title for two volumes: *The Faith of the Millions I* (1902), and *The Faith of the Millions II* (1904). The two works contain 25 articles printed mostly in *The Month*. Later he would develop the expression more fully from 'The Mind of the Church,' and 'Corporate Mind' to the *Consensus Fidelium*. For example, See Tyrrell, *Consensus Fidelium*, *The New York Review*, (August-September, 1905).

¹⁶ O' Malley J.W., (2007), *Vatican II -Did Anything Happen?* Komonchak, 36.

3. Chapters Six, Seven and Eight will assess the significance of Tyrrell's life and thought for the current pastoral and theological situation: including an analysis of the role of the theologian, the viability of the *sensus fidelium*, development of a Theology of Hope and the Liberation of Theology; together with the sense that Catholicism is primarily concerned with life and experience rather than philosophical speculation. Finally the thesis will conclude with an assessment of Tyrrell's ecclesiology and the reception of the modernist critique evidenced in the word and spirit of Vatican II.

Chapter Two

An Introduction to the Life of George Tyrrell (1861-1909)

God revealed Himself not to the wise, nor to the theologian and philosopher but to the fisherman and peasants – to the profanum vulgus, and therefore he has spoken their language, leaving it to others to translate it (at their own risk) into form more acceptable to their taste.

(George Tyrrell, *Lex Orandi Lex Credendi*, SC, 95)

A Century Removed

The year 2009 marked the centenary of the death of George Tyrrell. In his day he was considered to be the *agent provocateur* of the European modernists, a disparate association of Catholic thinkers who advocated Church reform. Pius X's public condemnation of Modernism in 1907 (*Pascendi Dominici Gregis*), and Tyrrell's equally provocative response, in a Protestant newspaper, (*The Times of London*), unintentionally unified an isolated group of intellectuals from France, Italy, Germany, England, and beyond. Although the Pope gave 'Modernism' an identity by describing it as a 'movement,' his opposition to what he called the 'heresy of heresies' characterized his pontificate. Following the age-old maxim with regard to a divided house, *Pascendi* caricatured Modernism as the 'most insidious of threats – a threat from within,' the 'synthesis of all heresies.'¹ Pius X subsequently embarked upon a crusade to systematically eradicate Modernism from the Church, culminating in the *Oath Against Modernism*, which every priest, bishop and theologian had to take from 1910 until 1967.

George Tyrrell, the "excommunicated" erstwhile leader of the modernist movement, was born into a Protestant Dublin family in 1861. Ironically, it was his subsequent move to the "pagan land" of England that finally brought Tyrrell into contact with the Roman church. His first experience of a Catholic Mass took place in the Irish ghettos of North London. This was enough to convince the young, pastorally inspired Irishman that among the poor and the outcasts of England, he had found the real two-thousand-year-old church of Christ. It is paradoxical, although not surprising, that having found that for which he searched, Tyrrell should spend the remainder of his life in critical discourse with the very institution he claimed to love and wished to serve.²

¹ *Pascendi Dominici Gregis*, Pius X, (1907) n.39.

² The most authoritative yet sympathetic account of Tyrrell's life is found in Petre, M.D. (1912), *Autobiographical and Life of George Tyrrell*, Vols. I & II. For an insight into Maude Petre's devotion to Tyrrell see Petre, M.D. (1937), *My Way of Faith*, Chapter XX. See also Ivana Dolejšová, 'A sketch of divine love: An account of the friendship between George Tyrrell and Maude Petre,' *The Month*, (Nov. 1999), 431-436. Three caveats remain with regard to Maude Petre: (1) A fellow modernist, at the centre of the 'crisis;' (2) most likely in love with Tyrrell; (3) destroyed a large amount of historical evidence. For illuminating historical research into the life of Tyrrell. See Schultenover, D.G. (1981), *George Tyrrell: In Search of Catholicism* and Sagovsky, N. (1990), *On God's Side*. See also Tyrrell to Bishop Vernon Herford, April 14th, 1907, *George Tyrrell's Letters*, (Ed.), Petre, M. (1920). Tyrrell, G. (1909), CC, 146. See also the literature review above, 33.

Following his conversion to Catholicism at the age of nineteen, Tyrrell joined the English Jesuits, where it became apparent to his superiors that he was a man with an outstanding intellect. However, reminiscent of many of his fellow countrymen, Tyrrell was not averse to challenging what he perceived to be unjust structures of power and authority. This heritage, combined with his insecure and tenacious personality, meant that his life was destined for notoriety. In fact, he became a leading figure in the late nineteenth century “modernist” phenomenon that arose within the Church. Its principal aim was the reconciliation of the church with the modern world. Laymen and women such as Wilfred Ward, Friedrich von Hügel, the Duke of Norfolk and indeed, the Maude Petre dynasty dating back to the 16th century, formed the ‘English’ link in the chain that directly joined the thought of John Henry Newman with that of his modernist progeny, George Tyrrell.³

Tyrrell was indebted to the extraordinary age of intellectual exploration and innovation in which he lived. His philosophy no less than his theology and polemics grew out of this historical context; in particular, he was profoundly influenced by the theology of Newman, Alfred Loisy’s biblical scholarship and the philosophy of Maurice Blondel. However, claiming Ignatian inspiration, Tyrrell pioneered a theology that was accessible to the educated Christian, those he described as the faithful millions.⁴ This objective led directly to his downfall, for he formulated an ecclesiology that challenged the teaching authority of the Church as espoused by Ultramontane interpretations of Vatican I.

Reading the signs of the times, Tyrrell championed the advancement of science and biblical criticism. He put the person of Christ at the centre of his ecclesiology, controversially advocating in his infamous *Times* article that the Pope should be removed from the Cross and Jesus reinstated. His work demanded a reassessment of ecclesial authority, provocatively claiming nothing could be done, until the Roman Curia converted to Christianity. Prophetically he also prefigured a central movement growing out of Vatican II, the essential role of the laity within the church.

Tyrrell achieved an extraordinary output in his too short, tortuous life. Of his nineteen volumes, only ten were published in a normal manner. Of the others, two were published under pseudonyms, two under the names of friends, two others anonymously, one under Tyrrell’s own name but in a very limited quantity; and still another two, although later published commercially, made their first appearance as anonymous works, intended for private circulation only. He also produced a vast opus of essays, reviews and other short writings, which may be counted in their hundreds.

This thesis will show that throughout his life Tyrrell maintained that the task of theology was to engage with the age in which it lived, for only in so doing, can it hope to bring the Gospel of Christ into the world. It will become apparent in this work that in rejecting scholastic logic and drawing upon new biblical and philosophical sources, in an environment of political emancipation, Tyrrell presented the experience of the community as a genuine source of theological authority. Furthermore this work will show that it was the perceived failure of neo-scholasticism that inspired Tyrrell to challenge the accepted theology of his day. Tyrrell

³ Crews, C. (1984), *English Catholic Modernism: Maude Petre's way of faith*. 2-4, 6.

⁴ See Tyrrell, *FM II*.

was subsequently banned from teaching, preaching, publishing and giving retreats. Roman authority ‘persuaded’ publishers not to print Tyrrell’s books, and his work was removed from bookshops and library shelves. As a consequence, he remains to this day, a neglected literary figure, a silenced theological genius who advocated dialogue, collegiality and ecclesial development.

Tyrrell was not a typical academic. He became a professor of theology at the relatively young age of thirty-three, convinced ‘that no truth can remain unaltered in a living mind.’⁵ His own aim was to ‘follow the truth to hell if necessary.’⁶ By the age of thirty-five, however, he was removed from his position. Despite his struggles with the Society of Jesus, Tyrrell did personify many of the characteristics of a ‘typical’ Jesuit. In essence, Tyrrell was human, almost too human. He fought consistently to defeat the conflict raging within, between the intellect and the sentiment, the heart and the mind; it was a discord that eventually overwhelmed him.

Tyrrell adopted Samuel Coleridge’s lament, lambasting ‘clergymen who publish pious frauds in the interest of the Church.’ They are, Tyrrell and Coleridge exclaimed, ‘orthodox liars of God.’⁷ In his reply to Cardinal Mercier, Tyrrell wrote, ‘Guard your words how you will, your thought leaks out between them at every turn.’⁸ In so doing, Tyrrell dared put his head above the ‘medieval’ parapet in order to challenge, what he considered to be, an antiquated ecclesial culture.⁹

The world which is your mission to evangelise has already slipped from your grasp. You have nothing to hold it by. Neither its intellectual nor its ethical, nor its social, nor its political ideas are yours. If it is interested in you at all, it is only as a medieval ruin which no sane man would seek shelter from in a storm. It has passed you by long since, and now if it throws a momentary backwards glance at you, it is because of the clamorous pretensions of Modernism to march with the age, and your clamorous outcry against these pretensions. “What is this brawl,” it asks, “in the household of death?”¹⁰

The corresponding retribution that was to follow captures in an intimate way the historical reality that was the modernist crisis, the inner turmoil ruptured into Tyrrell’s external Jesuit life with tragic personal consequences. The continuous provocation of his Jesuit superiors initially led to his exile from London. He was later expelled from the Society of Jesus, tormented and falsely accused by ecclesial spies ensconced outside his home, judged in secret by Roman sponsored “vigilance committees,” denounced by popes, cardinals, bishops and confrères, pronounced guilty without a hearing, and hounded from the sacraments. The final onslaught brought an abrupt end to his life. He died prematurely at the age of forty-eight, on 15 July 1909. *The Times* recorded that even in death Tyrrell could not avoid controversy.

⁵ Tyrrell, ‘The Mind of the Church,’ *FM II*, 134.

⁶ Tyrrell, *EFI*, 143.

⁷ Tyrrell’s ‘Last Will And Testament,’ *A&L*, Vol. II, 433 and ‘Samuel Taylor Coleridge,’ from Ira D Cardiff, *What Great Men Think of Religion*; Haught, J.A. (Ed.), *2000 Years of Disbelief*. Also *The Times*, 16 July 1909.

⁸ Tyrrell, ‘The Supposed Constitution of the Church,’ *Medievalism*, 62.

⁹ Tyrrell, ‘The Abuse of the Promise of Indefectibility,’ *ER*, 130.

¹⁰ See Tyrrell’s reply to Cardinal Mercier. Tyrrell, ‘The Death-Agony of Medievalism,’ *Medievalism*, 156.

Despite an emotional public outcry, those in authority ignored his ‘Last Will And Testament,’ refusing the priest of eighteen years a Catholic burial. Anticipating his final fate Tyrrell requested, ‘If a stone is put over me, let it state that I was a Catholic priest, and bear the usual emblematic Chalice and Host.’¹¹

A Concrete Movement in History

In an effort to comprehend the tragic human story of a priest-theologian the contemporary reader is drawn into the life and times of the revolutionary Jesuit. The official reproof to Tyrrell’s pastoral hermeneutic represents one of the most significant examples of theological suppression in the modern era. Nevertheless, this work will show that Tyrrell’s thought has contemporary resonance for all those engaged in the reception process of Vatican II and who are concerned with the future mission (external) and culture (internal) of the church.¹² Revisiting Tyrrell enables further exploration of the ecclesial topography of the early twentieth century, allowing history to inform and influence in a positive way the contemporary theological and ecclesial discussion. Historical analysis reveals that Tyrrell became trapped in a current of Roman ecclesial politics that he could not direct or escape. In a concrete sense, he was a victim of Modernism, a casualty of the hierarchical abuse of authority in pursuit of an expedient political horizon.

This work will also demonstrate that Tyrrell was a gifted essayist who anticipated many of the church reforms of the Second Vatican Council. He was the literary master of the witty retort and comic comment. Once drawn into Tyrrell’s personal life and ecclesial critique it is virtually impossible to remain neutral. Even his critics admit he could captivate a reader. Those like Cardinal Mercier who attempted to trade polemical or personal blows with Tyrrell soon recognised their error and withdrew from the field. Tyrrell’s fiery prose and antinomian spirit have deep roots within the Irish literary institution of Yeats, Wilde, Joyce, Behan, Beckett, O’Casey, Shaw, Kavanagh and others. Undoubtedly Tyrrell brings this “baggage” with him into the theological-ecclesial caldron of his day. In the heat of battle with

Rome, Tyrrell admitted, ‘as you can imagine, the air is full of missiles directed at my head, and I am busy dodging them. It is not pleasant, yet to my Irish blood, not wholly unpleasant.’¹³ Here is Tyrrell’s tradition and the origin of his pastoral advocacy. It may have acknowledged his English Jesuit association but its organic roots run deep into his largely ignored Irish soil. This history when combined with what Maude Petre, Tyrrell’s executor, described as a complete lack of self-interest, conspires to make Tyrrell a formidable political adversary — to himself no less than to others.¹⁴ Confiding to a friend, Tyrrell illustrated the exasperating ambiguities of this exhilarating concoction, one destined to lead to self-destruction: ‘my own impulse is always to cut off my own head and fling it at my enemy’s head.’¹⁵

¹¹ See Tyrrell’s ‘last will and testament,’ *A&L*, Vol. II, 434.

¹² See Tyrrell, *ER*.

¹³ George Tyrrell to W.S. Blunt, *GTL*. 16 October 1907.

¹⁴ For example see Petre, *A&L*, Vol. II, ‘A Long Friendship,’ 85.

¹⁵ ‘George Tyrrell to Robert Dell,’ *A&L*, Vol. II, 306, (1906).

This work will locate Tyrrell within the broad context of Catholic enlightenment emanating from the Council of Trent and particularly within a milieu inspired by the thought of John Henry Newman. The overriding aim of this thesis is to show that Tyrrell's work represents an authentic voice of *aggiornamento* found within Catholicism.¹⁶ Tyrrell's legacy to Catholicism builds upon the influence of Newman and von Hügel; he appears as one of the most original and significant 'British' thinkers of his generation. A number of contemporary scholars such as Aidan Nichols and Michael Kirwin believe that the questions Tyrrell raised were those of a theological genius. Furthermore, 'English Catholicism has not produced so many that it can afford to forget this stormy petrel of the Edwardian age.'¹⁷ The literature review in this current work will evidence that Tyrrell has been described as a religious genius, a revolutionary, Ajax-like, defying the lightning strike and yet also a mystic, a devoted friend, a man of prayer and self-sacrifice. Sufficient time has lapsed since the 'modernist crisis' (a century, two World Wars, and the Second Vatican Council) to allow an assessment of Tyrrell's visionary ecclesiology. Gabriel Daly argues that Tyrrell's theological challenge, despite Wilfred Ward's and Cardinal Mercier's best intentions, 'was never effectively refuted either at the time or since,' and that the issues Tyrrell examined are 'still large and live in the church' today.¹⁸

The present work identifies what I consider to be four discrete theological stages, particular narratives or 'events' in time, that appear to have a collective purport and coherence. There appears to be sufficient scope for a comparison between the so-called progressive, radical or *avant-garde* Roman Catholic theologians who guided the church through Vatican II and the pioneering work undertaken by the early twentieth century modernists reaching back to Newman.

Locating Tyrrell within this context supports the process of evaluating the significance of his life and thought for the current discussion with regard to the reception of Vatican II. Reception and *aggiornamento* become overriding in the light of the above emphases, raising a myriad of questions beyond the scope of this work. However, one of the most significant issues, pivotal to Tyrrell's thought, remains the role of the *sensus fidelium* in the *aggiornamento* movement. The four stages outlined below give both a context and *raison d'être* to Tyrrell's contribution. Loosely configured they are predicated upon acknowledgement of their historical location and associate coherence over time. When the

¹⁶ *Aggiornamento* was in fact the task formally proposed to Vatican II by John XXIII. It literally means 'a bringing up to date.' The Church was to be brought up to date. Pope Paul VI believed, *Aggiornamento* constitutes the entire programme of Vatican II, for further discussion see John Courtney-Murray's exploration of *aggiornamento* in the thought of Pope John XXIII, 'Things Old and New in *Pacem in Terris*,' *America* 107 (27 April 1963): 612-14; Thomas T. McAvoy, 'American Catholicism and the *Aggiornamento*,' *The Review of Politics*, vol. 30, no.3 (Jul. 1968), 275-291; Bishop Christopher Butler, (1974), 'The *Aggiornamento* of Vatican II,' *Searchings*, 'let us not fear the truth may endanger the truth.' What united this desperate group into a movement was the pastoral concern that theology could speak to the Church's concrete situation and that theology's relevance to the present lay in the creative recovery of its past. In other, words, the Council acknowledged that 'the first step to what later came to be known as *aggiornamento* had to be *ressourcement*, a rediscovery of the riches of the Church's two-thousand-year treasury, a return to the very headwaters of the Christian tradition.'

¹⁷ Nichols, A. (1990), *From Newman to Congar: the idea of doctrinal development from the Victorians to the Second Vatican Council*, 135. See also Michael Kirwin, 'George Tyrrell and the Responsibilities of Theology,' *The Month*, (Nov. 1999), 426-430.

¹⁸ See Daly, G. (1994), *Medievalism*, 16. Jodock, D. (Ed.) (2000), *Catholicism contending with modernity: Roman Catholic modernism and anti-modernism in historical context*, 16. Looze, T.M. (1979), *Liberal catholicism, reform catholicism, modernism: a contribution to a new orientation in modernist research*. Matthias-Grünwald-Verlag, Mainz, 11.

movements are evaluated in the light of a particular distant location they remain in this sense both an *aggiornamento* event and a window upon a fundamental, forward flowing relational movement through time. The four stages are:

1. Newman to Modernism – characterised by Newman and the Tübingen School’s concern for faith in the modern world. Aspects include, amongst many other disparate influences, Möhler, Gardeil, Rousselot, Döllinger, the minority bishops at Vatican I (e.g. Bishop Strossmayer), Lord Acton, the Duke of Norfolk, von Hügel, Loisy, W.G. Ward, Petre, Blondel and of course Tyrrell, together with a vast array of theological and philosophical ‘modernist’ projects Euro-wide and beyond.¹⁹
2. Modernism to Pre-Vatican II scholarship – characterised by the movement from ‘classicism to historical consciousness’ (Lonergan) and ‘a rejection of Neo-Scholasticism’ (Kasper). This would include the distinguished scholars of the period: Chenu, Congar, Schillebeeckx, de Lubac, Courtney Murray, Teilhard de Chardin, von Balthasar, Rahner, Küng, Ratzinger, *et al.*²⁰
3. Vatican II Word & Spirit – characterised by *Ressourcementó & Aggiornamento* — together with the collegial collaboration of theologians and pastorally inspired bishops from the universal Church.²¹

¹⁹ For example, see Newman’s 36 volumes of collected works (1868-81), e.g. *The Arians of the Fourth Century* (1833), *The ‘Via Media’* (1837), *Grammar of Assent* (1870), *Development of Doctrine* (1878), *On Consulting the Faithful in Matters of Doctrine*, (1859), *Apologia pro Vita Sua* (1859), *A Letter to the Duke of Norfolk* (1874, Papal Infallibility). On the Tübingen School, see *The Legacy of the Tübingen School: The Relevance of Nineteenth-Century Theology for the Twenty-First Century*, (1997), (Ed.), Donald Dietrich J. and Himes, M.J. Johann Adam Möhler and *The Beginnings of Modern Ecclesiology*, Michael J. Himes, (1997). See also Johann Adam Möhler, *Symbolik*, (1832), on the authority of the Church and the problematic nature of modern subjectivity; and Johann Döllinger, *The Eucharist in the First Three Centuries* (1826); Maurice Blondel, (1893), *L’Action: Essai d’ une critique de la vie et d’ une science de la pratique*, trans. Oliva Blanchette, (1984).

²⁰ For example, Bernard J.F. Lonergan, ‘The Transition from a Classicist World-View to Historical Mindedness,’ *A Second Collection*, (Ed.) William F. Ryan and Bernard Tyrrell, (1996), 1-9. Bernard J.F. Lonergan, *Method in Theology*, (1971). For example, Walter Kasper, *Theology and Church* (1989), Kasper argues: ‘There is no doubt that the outstanding event in Catholic theology of our century is the surmounting of neo-scholasticism,’ 1. See also Potworowski, C.F. (2007), *A Handbook of Spiritual Ecumenism Contemplation and the Incarnation: The Theology of Marie-Dominique Chenu*; Nichols, A. (1989), *Yves Congar* (1989); Groppe, E.T. (2004), *Yves Congar’s Theology of the Holy Spirit*; Borgman, E.(1993), *Edward Schillebeeckx: A Theologian in History, vol.1: A Catholic Theology of Culture*; de Lubac, H. (1944), *Corpus Mysticum: L’Eucharistie et l’Église au moyen âge*, translated as *Corpus Mysticum: The Eucharist and the Church in the Middle Ages*; Kerr, F. (2007), *Twentieth Century Catholic Theologians*, ‘Henri de Lubac,’ 67-87. Voderholzer, R. (2008), *Meet Henri de Lubac: His Life and Work*; Wood, S. (1998), *Spiritual Exegesis and the Church in the Theology of Henri de Lubac*; Teilhard de Chardin, P. (1959), *The Phenomenon of Man and The Future of Man* (1964); Karl Rahner, for example, *Geist in Welt: Zur Word*: (1969), (*Laying the Foundation for a Philosophy of Religion*); and von Balthasar, of whom Kerr describes as ‘the greatest Catholic theologian of the century,’ 121.

²¹ For example see the documents of Vatican II, Flannery, A. (1981) *Vatican Council II*, (Ed.), and Abbott, W.M. (1966), *The Documents of Vatican II*; subsequent literature is vast, perhaps examples of the most seminal for this project include: *The Reception of Vatican II*, (1987), (Ed.) Giuseppe Alberigo, Jean Pierre Jossua, and Joseph Komonchak; also Hermann J. Pottmeyer, ‘A New Phase in the Reception of Vatican II: Twenty Years of Interpretation of the Council,’ *The Reception of the Council*, (1987), (Ed.) Joseph A. Komonchak etc. See also *Communio* and its liberal counterpart *Concilium*, theological journals that exemplify the current ecclesial polarisation.

4. Post-Vatican II to Reception, historical critical and hermeneutical considerations of reception – characterised both by the diachronic and synchronically inspired methodologies and perhaps also ideologies.²²

The Modernist Martyr

It is often claimed that the victors of a particular conflict chronicle the past. The history of Modernism is not immune from this eventuality. Illumination of the significant events in Tyrrell's life will support the contention that Tyrrell was a victim of Modernism rather than, as some would claim, a 'protestant infiltrator' or a heretical *agent provocateur*.²³ In this sense Tyrrell was the Modernist Martyr. However, it remains far from clear whether in fact Tyrrell was excommunicated. In his short life, and indeed, following his death, Tyrrell became the means for those who desired to prove their allegiance to the 'Court' of Rome. It began with his forced removal from Stonyhurst, it will be argued based upon gossip and professional jealousy, through to his expulsion from the Jesuits, exclusion from the Eucharist, a controversial attempt at excommunication and finally, the denial of a Catholic burial.

The few friends who remained loyal testify that his spirit never ceased to be free on the wing, even though he could not take the psychological strain following a thirteen-year struggle to produce a pastoral hermeneutic informed by dialogue with contemporary culture. The above experiences reflect Tyrrell's 'end-game,' but his relationship with magisterial authority was not always thus. It began positively in 1879, when Tyrrell, at the age of nineteen, found himself in the 'Catholic' crypt of St. Etheldreda's London. After his first experience of the Mass he exclaimed:

Oh! The sense of reality! Here was the old business, being carried on by the old firm, in the old ways, here was continuity, which took one back to the catacombs.²⁴

Following ordination to the Jesuits, Tyrrell worked enthusiastically in a pastoral context in Oxford and in St. Helen's Lancashire. Tragically for Tyrrell in 1894 (aged 33) he was sent to

²² A succinct overview of this stage would include: Tracy, D. (1975), *Blessed Rage for Order*, and Tracy, D. (1981), *The Analogical Imagination*; Rush, O. (2005), *Still Interpreting Vatican II*; Alberigo, Komonchak, (Eds.), *History of Vatican II*, 5 vols. (1995-2006); Joseph A. Komonchak, 'Dealing With Diversity And Disagreement Vatican II And Beyond,' *Annual Catholic Common Ground Initiative* (CCGI) lecturer 2003; Stephen Schloesser, 'The Unbearable Lightness of Being: Re-sourcing Catholic Intellectual Traditions,' *Cross Currents* (forthcoming); 'Against Forgetting: Memory, History, Vatican II,' (2007), O'Malley, J. (2007), *Vatican II: Did Anything Happen?* O'Malley, J. (2004), *Four Cultures of the West*; O'Malley, J. (1993), *The First Jesuits*; O'Malley, J. (2001), *Trent and All That*; Burke, K. and Lasalle-Kline, R. (Eds.), (2005), 'Ecclesiology from Below: Principles from Ignacio Ellacuría,' *Love that Produces Hope: The Thought of Ignacio Ellacuría*, 187-204; *The Beginning and the end of 'religio'*, (1996); *Holiness, speech and silence: reflections on the question of God*, (2004); Nichols, A. (1988), *The Theology of Joseph Ratzinger - An Introductory Study*; Kerr, F. (1991), *Twentieth-Century Catholic Theologians*; Kerr, F. (1997), *Immortal Longings: Versions of Transcending Humanity*; Kerr, F. (2002), *After Aquinas: Versions of Thomism*; Kerr, F. (2027), *Twentieth-Century Catholic Theologians*; Kerr, F. 'A Different World: Neo-Scholasticism and its Discontents,' *International Journal of Systematic Theology*, Vol. 8, No.2, (April 2006), 128-148.

²³ Evidence abounds in this regard, for example see *Pascendi Dominici Gregis*, n.47, n.48, n.53, n.54, n.55; and *Lamentabili Sane*, 1907.

²⁴ Tyrrell, *A&L*, Vol. I, 153.

Stonyhurst to become the new Professor of Moral Philosophy. Robert Butterworth captures the moment:

with a perversity which is sometimes thought to authenticate a command as the voice of God, his superiors pulled him out of parish work and sent him back to Stonyhurst to teach philosophy to young Jesuits.²⁵

Upon taking up his Professorial Chair, it became apparent to his colleagues, students and superiors that Tyrrell was a man of outstanding intellect. It also appeared that Tyrrell, despite his genius, was led by an Irish, rebellious, anti-rationalist heart, and thus a head-on collision with the hierarchy, local, national and international was inevitable. Tyrrell became proficient in Neoscholasticism, to the extent that he could no longer tolerate its deficiencies. He challenged and later rejected the Suarezian interpretation of Aquinas, ‘Suarez had become a household god,’ Tyrrell complained, and in its place he taught his students ‘pure’ Thomism.²⁶ This open act of dissent led to his subsequent removal from his community, initiating Tyrrell’s long walk in search of spiritual liberation, paralleled with the liberation of theology from what he called the grip of ‘*theologism*’ (i.e. Dogmatic Scholasticism).²⁷

Tyrrell’s Removal from his Professorial Chair at Stonyhurst (1896)

The consequences of his move to Stonyhurst were disastrous on three fronts. Firstly, Tyrrell was removed from practical parish work, his true vocation, for which he was best suited. Secondly, he was immediately thrown into the centre of the Aquinas contra Suarez controversy.²⁸ And thirdly and most significantly, it marked the beginning of Tyrrell’s infamous conflict with authority. Rather amusingly on this occasion, Tyrrell had the support of Rome, in direct opposition to the Society of Jesus, for he was considered to be turning the young (Jesuits) men into Dominicans. Tyrrell remained undaunted by the challenge, recruiting the support of Cardinal Mazzella (a Jesuit), the Pope’s “Prefect of Studies,” who remarkably declared that the Pope required Tyrrell’s methods to prevail in the Schools of Catholic Philosophy, because they were more in accordance with the true doctrine of St. Thomas.²⁹

²⁵ Butterworth, R. (1988), *A Jesuit Friendship*, 17.

²⁶ See *A&L*, (1912), (Ed.), Maude Petre, Vol. II, 40-47.

²⁷ See Tyrrell, *A&L*, ‘Thomism,’ 40-46.

²⁸ See *A&L* Vol. II, 42 and 320. The beginning of this issue dates back to Leo XIII’s publication of *Aeterni Patris* (1879), in which Aquinas was accorded special theological status. It was a call for Catholic theology to be reconnected with its own best tradition. Unfortunately the Jesuits considered it ‘a blow in the teeth – a triumph for our enemies - the Dominicans and for the traitors in our own camp.’ Henceforth, it became a pre-occupation of loyal Jesuit theologians to prove that, although the Pope said Aquinas, he meant Suarez. The Society was determined to show that they were the true Thomists and not the Dominicans. So strong, however had the recalcitrance become that in 1892 the Pope addressed an encyclical of sharp rebuke to the whole Society, although it was well known that it was Cardinal Mazzella who drew up the letter of rebuke. See also *A&L*, Vol. I, 243.

²⁹ Tyrrell believed that his own theological method and pastoral objectives were inspired by Aquinas and Ignatius, and although he passed beyond his reliance upon Aquinas, in the latter stages of his life he considered Thomas to be one system among others, his debt to Ignatius remained with him through out his life. For example see (i) *A&L*, vol. II, ‘Ignatius and the *Spiritual Exercises*,’ 77-84; ‘Thomas and Suarezianism,’ *A&L*, vol. I, 264-277; (ii) *Letters*, ‘Ignatius has been supplanted by Jesuitism,’ 4, and (iii) *Medievalism*, ‘If I owe much of my Modernism to St. Thomas Aquinas, I owe still more to Ignatius Loyola (vi). *Nova et Vetera* and *Hard Sayings* (this latter, the fragments of a projected volume on the *Spiritual Exercises*) are rightly admitted by

Liberal and progressive as was the general intention of Leo XIII (*Aeterni Patris*) in recalling scholastic theology back to its pure origin in St. Thomas, whose distinctive spirit was an elastic sympathy with contemporary culture – a spirit soon forgotten in a rabbinical zeal for conformity to the bare letter of his teaching – it cannot be denied that in many quarters the Pope’s wishes were pushed into a narrow reactionary spirit, and that the *Aeterni Patris* was often made to serve as a cloak for the most lamentable obscurantism.³⁰

Consequently, in October 1896, after only two years, Tyrrell found himself unseated from his chair of philosophy at Stonyhurst. His first encounter with Jesuit authority, including Stonyhurst Professors Boedder and Coupe, Suarezian in their thinking, had come to a head.³¹ Once again, against his wishes, Tyrrell was removed, this time to Farm Street, joining the staff of writers for *The Month*, a Jesuit periodical, thus allowing his work and influence to be ‘controlled,’ or so Tyrrell’s superiors thought.

This was a bizarre, yet significant episode in Tyrrell’s early Jesuit career. Having been ordained for only five years he found himself in the middle of the Suarezian controversy, supported by Leo XIII, opposed by his professorial colleagues, and the General of the Jesuits, and consequently removed from his post. This episode remains significant, since, from Stonyhurst onwards, Tyrrell never again found peace within the Society. The animosity engendered on both sides was considerable, but it is difficult to gauge its extent from Maude Petre’s account of the unfolding events. What appears obvious is the combination of the Suarezian controversy and the personal animosity resulted in a rift opening up between Tyrrell and the Society which never healed.

Jesuit critics of Tyrrell questioned his personal honesty and motivation at this point. Regarding his desire to remain within the Society, they believed that he should have resigned.³² Tyrrell was removed from Stonyhurst in part because he was considered “too” orthodox, supporting Pope Leo XIII and *Aeterni Patris*. If Maude Petre and other sources are to be believed, it was because he was considered to be an excellent teacher, converting his students to Aquinas rather than Suarez, regardless of the obvious consternation of his older Stonyhurst colleagues.³³ There is no evidence to suggest that Tyrrell deliberately sought confrontation as Maisie Ward and Joseph Crehan imply.³⁴ However, they both appear to have

the discerning to contain the substance of all my later aberrations.’ See *Medievalism*, 104-106, 105). See 115, 118 above regarding an Ignatian method. *A&L*, Vol. II, 44. Father Martin, the General of the Jesuits, apparently complained to Cardinal Vaughan that Tyrrell ‘thought he knew more of St Thomas than all the rest of the Society.’

³⁰ Tyrrell, *A&L*, Vol. II, 44. For further evidence of the internal unease at Stonyhurst.

³¹ See *A&L*, II, 40-45. A further insight into the relationship between Tyrrell and his Roman (Jesuit) superiors is gleaned from Tyrrell’s retelling of the famous discussion between Louis XIV and the Great Condé: ‘Why,’ asked Louis XIV of the Great Condé, as he left the theatre with the latter, after witnessing a piece called ‘Scaramouche,’ ‘are the clergy so scandalised at the comedy of Molière (‘Tartuffe’), while they say nothing of this play?’ ‘Sire,’ replied the prince, “Scaramouche” deals with Heaven and religion, in regard to which these gentlemen are indifferent; Molière deals with themselves, which they cannot endure.’ In essence, this is the Tyrrell-affair, the issues is not Tyrrell’s theology, but rather his exploration of ‘these gentlemen.’

³² See *A&L*, Vol. I, 243.

³³ See *A&L*, 43.

³⁴ Ward, M. (1937), *Insurrection Versus Resurrection*, 220.

ulterior motives for discrediting Tyrrell. The Ward family championed the cause of Newman and went to great lengths to argue that *Pascendi* did not condemn him. The fact that Newman escaped being labelled a Modernist illustrates the political nature of the Roman Curia. As the biographer of Thurston, Joseph Crehan's motives are similar to Ward's. Crehan also intended to show the superiority of his man, at the expense of the deceased Tyrrell. He believed it was remarkable that Thurston persevered with his friendship towards Tyrrell, whom he dismissed as 'one whose importance derived from two accidents – his mastery of English prose and his friendship with von Hügel... for he must have known, as others realised about Tyrrell, that he was given to dramatising himself, that he positively enjoyed defying the lightning – Ajax-like.'³⁵

Stoically Robert Butterworth acknowledges, 'we all need our heroes.' It is no revelation to admit that Tyrrell enjoyed playing with fire, and that once a battle was joined he would not desist, ever attempting to gain the upper hand. Perhaps, if he had a little more humility, or wisdom, he may have realised that on occasions it is necessary to lose the battle in order to continue the campaign. This was a strategy employed successfully by von Hügel and Ward. Tyrrell, on the other hand, rarely contemplated the consequences of his actions and had no concept of personal injury or survival, and this in part, must account for his eventual fall. He won the first battle regarding Aquinas and Suarez, enlisting the support of Leo XIII in the process, but he was undoubtedly damaged from the confrontation with the Society. However, the real battle was internal: Tyrrell's quest for a faith that could dialogue with modernity. Bloodied with victory Tyrrell charged into the next conflict, pen blazing!

A Letter to a University Professor (1904) - Expulsion from the Jesuits (1906)

Following the controversy surrounding the *Joint Pastoral*, Tyrrell remained in self-imposed exile in Richmond, or so he thought.³⁶ The conflict between Tyrrell and his superiors with regard to his personal position within the Society continued throughout his time at Richmond. However, on 7 January 1906 a letter arrived from Luis Martín, the Jesuit General in Rome, which would bring a decisive finale to the controversy. The General enquired whether Tyrrell was the author of an article which appeared in the *Corriere della Sera*, Milan, from a certain: '*Lettera confidenziale ad un amico professore di antropologia*,' ascribed to an 'English Jesuit.'³⁷ The General wrote again (20 January 1906) ignoring Tyrrell's concerns. He

³⁵ Crehan, J. 'Tyrrell In His Workshop,' *The Month*, (1971) 111-115, 119; Hartnett, T.P. (1971), 'A Modernist Ecclesiology,' *Dunwoodie Review*, Vol. II, 142.

³⁶ Both Tyrrell's provincials (Gerard & Colley) considered him an unpredictable adversary. Father Gerard's letter to his successor Fr. Colley gives us a clear indication of the Superior's position with regard to Tyrrell. During his time as Provincial Fr Gerard feared 'driving (Tyrrell) to extremity,' he complains of having 'little sympathy with his petulant attitude,' although he considered Tyrrell to be 'so acute a man.' See *A&L*, Vol. II, Chapter X, 'Rupture With The Society (1901-1906),' 224-322. Gerard did not inform Tyrrell that he could not give retreats; he simply put a stop to them. Furthermore, he allowed Tyrrell to believe that it was his own decision to remove himself from London to Richmond, when in fact Cardinal Vaughan expressed a 'hope' to Gerard that Tyrrell 'would not be placed in London on account of his imprudence in speech.' The provincial did not inform Tyrrell of the cardinal's 'request' because he believed, 'it would make him wild.' See Schultenover, *George Tyrrell*, 91-108.

³⁷ The Archbishop of Milan had referred the matter to the General, Luis Martín. Tyrrell wrote the letter three years previously to an illusory friend who was a university professor from a scientific background. The professor had great difficulty in reconciling aspects of church teaching with the advance of contemporary science. The essay was intended for 'private circulation only.' Tyrrell replied provocatively to the General (10

reasserted ‘their’ question, to determine if Tyrrell was the source of the ‘letter to a professor,’ which had ‘caused scandal and is compromising the Society.’ The General demanded a repudiation of the article, failing which he would be forced to dismiss Tyrrell from the Society.³⁸

Tyrrell wrote a letter to the Press, in which he denied responsibility for the adaptations and changes of the Italian translation, which he had not read and whose author he did not know. He added: ‘the original letter was perfectly private; an *argumentum ad hominem* throughout, adapted to the pastoral needs of the recipient, and not to those of the writer.’ Tyrrell further explained to the General that the *Corriere* did not have his permission to publish the letter, much of which is quoted out of context. He concluded his letter thus: ‘needless to say the Society of Jesus is in no way responsible for a private letter never destined for publicity.’³⁹ Viewed today the letter is a masterful pastoral apology on behalf of the ‘faith of the millions.’ It attempts a redistribution of ownership of the church, away from theologians and their schools, in the same manner also suggested by those bishops and cardinals who rejected the first draft of *Lumen Gentium*.⁴⁰ Tyrrell advised the professor that he was confusing the opinion of theologians with divine revelation, ‘the truths we live by are few – the greatest saints have lived by a few fundamental truths and not by the complexities of ecclesiastical teachings and ordinances.’ Tyrrell offered sound advice to the professor, suggesting that he should: ‘be slow to take theology as seriously as theologians would have us take it... after all, the Catholic outlook is larger than the clerical.’⁴¹ Tyrrell argued faith is

a realising, a making substantial to ourselves, of that world of hopes as yet so far removed from our grasp and clear vision as to be no more than a poet’s or prophet’s dream. It is to live as though that unseen world were already self-evident to us, to reckon with it as with part of our environment.⁴²

It was not possible for Tyrrell to adequately’ denounce the *Letter* in the press, for it amounted to a testimony of his faith; his own integrity and well-being were at stake. Consequently, his advice to the Press did not work. The General’s next letter to Tyrrell (Feb.1st 1906) was his last. It contained the form of dismissal from the Society with the following reasons:

January 1906) that: ‘he made it an absolute rule never to either deny or to affirm authorship.’ He also suggested that ‘it would be better to keep to one question at a time and to settle my relationship with the Society before proceeding to further issues.’ It appears that the ‘other-worldly’ Tyrrell did not realise that that was precisely what the General was doing. David Schultenover’s groundbreaking research allows further insight into the machinations of the Jesuit curia in Rome. It seems clear the General would have called a meeting of advisers in Rome (the majority of whom would have been fundamentally opposed to Tyrrell’s “mind set”), and together they systematically calculated a strategy to “deal” with Tyrrell. See Schultenover, ‘Rome’s More Particular and Immediate Synoptic: Americanism/Modernism,’ *A View from Rome*, 39-64.

³⁸ *A&L*, Vol. II, 148. See also Tyrrell, *AMAL*, (1906), Introduction, 1 and 91.

³⁹ Tyrrell, *A & L*, Vol. II, 157.

⁴⁰ See ‘The Church and the Council,’ Thomas P. Rausch 259; McBrien, R.P. ‘The Church (*Lumen Gentium*), 279; ‘The Church We believe In,’ Francis Sullivan, Barnes, M. (1998), *Contemporary Catholic Theology – a Reader*.

⁴¹ See Tyrrell, (1906), *AML*, 65-66. Barnes (1998), 251. Original letter early 1903/4 entitled, *A Confidential Letter to a Friend who is a Professor of Anthropology*. The publication of this work in the ‘*Corriere della Sera*,’ eventually led to Tyrrell’s dismissal from the Society of Jesus. See *A&L*, Vol. II, 250.

⁴² *AML*, 23.

1. The proposed letter to the papers, regarding the passages quoted by *Corriere*, was inadequate.
2. As Father Tyrrell declared himself unable to do more, nothing remained to the General but to grant the request several times explicitly and now implicitly made, and send, through Father Provincial, the letters of dismissal. He himself is unable to do anything more to ease Father Tyrrell's position.
3. He can only pray that the Divine Will may be fulfilled in his regard and for his good.⁴³

Tyrrell remained devoid of a long-term strategy. As a consequence he was removed from Stonyhurst, Farm Street, Richmond, and finally the Society of Jesus. As personally tragic as each of these episodes would have been for Tyrrell, the real significance of his lack of self-regard, was the damage he inflicted upon his own legacy. If Tyrrell had acquiesced and 'played the game,' compromising his principles and overcoming his pride, much of his prophetic work would have remained at the service of the church. Tyrrell seriously underestimated how close he was to the 'edge;' the English Province could no longer afford to be associated with 'the English Jesuit.' Finally, despite Tyrrell's letter of denial, there was obvious rancour from both sides. It had been smouldering away since Stonyhurst and became further entrenched with each new dispute. Further major controversy was certainly around the corner as more members of the Society were scandalised to discover that Tyrrell was also writing under the pseudonyms of 'Engels' and 'Bourdon.'⁴⁴ Tyrrell, devoid of a retreat strategy, had burnt too many bridges. Now deprived of the Society's protection, and with his enemies amassing, he became extremely vulnerable to attack from Ultramontane elements within Rome. Rafael Merry del Val started to circle around the exposed political novice. The parting of the ways was inevitable, although Tyrrell was not prepared for the personal anguish when it finally happened. Petre described it as 'an undercurrent of suffering.' Tyrrell felt his 'isolation as spiritual death.' He wrote to von Hügel: 'to leave Richmond is frankly, awful. My affections are twined around every cobblestone of Newbiggin. Yet one must practice dying.'⁴⁵

⁴³ Unfortunately, Tyrrell was informed of his dismissal in a letter from the Provincial (8 February 1906) and was therefore unaware of the above letter and explanation from the General. He wrote to von Hügel on the same day lamenting his dissatisfaction that he had not been given an opportunity to respond, before they 'pulled away the cart.' Officially he was dismissed from the Society on account of the 'letter to a professor' (1 February 1906). Upon receipt of 'the form for dismissal,' Tyrrell wrote to the General, explaining that he did not feel 'any sort of rancour or resentment; rather he believed the cause of his separation, 'is a collision of systems and tendencies rather than of persons.' See the General's letter to Tyrrell, (1 February 1906). Also *A&L* Vol. II, 253. *AML*, 69 and 'Letter to the General,' *A&L*, Vol. II, 501-502.

⁴⁴ See *A&L* Vol. II, 252-3 & Tyrrell's erudite response, 254-5. See also Tyrrell's letter to Dell, 17 August 1906. *A&L* Vol. II, 306 and *LUP* in the *Corriere* – apparently signed by an 'English Jesuit.' Tyrrell denied responsibility for this.

⁴⁵ Tyrrell to Abbe Houtin, 23 July 1906, *A&L* Vol. II, 293/4; 256/257. In his autobiography, Tyrrell described his time in the Jesuits as 'in one camp while fighting for the other.' Throughout the majority of this time he 'hoped against hope that there was a place in the Society for those broader and more modern-minded.' But this hope was now extinguished; he believed the supreme government of the Order only contained about 'one in eight' who 'represented the living.' Furthermore, Tyrrell believed the Society had engaged in a 'tacit war against progress,' particularly in the matter of education, lay and clerical. From Tyrrell's perspective the Society could only be reactionary. 'It had no stretching capacity adequate to the new wine.' *A&L* Vol. II, 258; 277; 278.

Tyrrell's 'Excommunication' (1907)

The ultimate sanction in the Roman Curia's armoury, leading to a perception of eternal damnation for wayward souls, is excommunication, the literal expulsion of an individual from the church, the sacraments in general, but the Eucharist in particular. Tyrrell initiated proceedings by criticising in the *Times* the 'true' author of *Pascendi*, arguing that he had confused the Catholic faith with the Scholastic interpretation of that faith. He also reproved the author for his lack of pastoral care in calling the Modernists full of pride, hypocrisy, vanity and even atheism. Finally he attacked the brutal repression of the Modernists by external means.⁴⁶ On occasion, those in authority can act decisively. Twenty-one days after Tyrrell's *Letters* were published (22 October 1907), Dr. Peter Emmanuel Amigo, Bishop of Southwark, wrote to Father Tyrrell to inform him that his two articles had raised the question of his right to approach the sacraments. The Bishop had therefore referred the matter to Rome, and the Holy Father had declared that Tyrrell be deprived of the sacraments and his case reserved to the Holy See.⁴⁷

Tyrrell reiterates for the bishop his pastoral hermeneutic, explaining that service for the Church 'has been the sole aim of my life.' He promises to publicly retract any deviation from the truth as soon as it is pointed out to him. 'I shall be only too glad to say publicly as soon as such deviations are made clear to me.'⁴⁸ In characteristic fashion, again outlining his pastoral intent, Tyrrell adds:

If however, my offence lies in having protested... against a document (*Pascendi*) destructive of the only possible defence of Catholicism... a document which constitutes the greatest scandal for thousands... I may not lie... silence would have been the basest of lies and a cowardly betrayal of the Church whose service has been the sole aim of my life.⁴⁹

To this day, the events surrounding Tyrrell's 'privation of the sacraments' is shrouded in mystery; there still remains no adequate study of the conflict or the major antagonists. Schultenover's work remains extremely important, but its depth of research with regard to the 'early Tyrrell' limits its scope. Unfortunately this episode is not mentioned. No other scholar has had the opportunity to shed further light on this situation except Robert Boudens, who

⁴⁶ See Tyrrell's two articles published in *The Times* of London, 30 September and 1 October 1907.

⁴⁷ See letters in Southwark Diocesan Archive, including Merry del Val to Amigo, 17 October 1907. Tyrrell immediately wrote to the bishop explaining his position and requesting: 'the precise nature of my offence.' In a moment of desperation, Tyrrell attempted to excuse his two letters to *The Times*, explaining in the process that, 'I have rarely or never written anything which after-thought would not have mended in some respect.' Furthermore, he apologizes to any person whom he has 'shocked or offended,' and 'deeply regret(s)' any lack of 'courtesy and reverence due to the office of the Holy Father.' In the process he makes a deliberate distinction between the Petrine Office and its present incumbent, an important differentiation based upon his opposition to what he considers to be the 'abuse of power' rather than authority *per se*. *A&L*, Vol. II, 342. Amigo would not publish a response to Tyrrell's letter, choosing to ignore his explanation. He sent notice to the Press to explain that 'Tyrrell was not excommunicated, as had been reported, but only forbidden the Sacraments.' Obviously an important distinction the bishop wished to emphasise in the English Press. See *A&L*, Vol. II, 342.

⁴⁸ Tyrrell to Amigo, 22 October 1907, *A&L*, Vol. II, 342.

⁴⁹ Tyrrell to Amigo, 22 October 1907, *A&L*, Vol. II, 342.

produced a fascinating insight into this period of Tyrrell's life. But even his work falls short of a clear and precise chronological order of events, personalities and conclusions.⁵⁰

Notwithstanding conspiracy theories, four facts merge to make research in this area particularly intriguing. First, there are unexplained fires in the office of Merry del Val's private secretary, during which all documents concerning Tyrrell were allegedly destroyed. Secondly, important documents that may still be found there are not available for research. And thirdly, there was a further fire this time at the Southwark office of Amigo, the diocese in which Tyrrell resided when he was 'deprived of the sacraments.' We have Boudens and Gary Lease to thank for their persistent efforts to illuminate this confusion. They highlight an anomaly with regard to a claim made by Msgr. John McGettrick, chancellor of the diocese. McGettrick informed researchers of a second fire in which Amigo's letters were destroyed. Bizarrely, this included the majority, if not all of those letters which concerned Tyrrell.⁵¹

Roman hostility towards Tyrrell leads back to the influential figure Cardinal Merry del Val. Following six years in Rome at the Academy of Ecclesiastical Nobility (1885-1891), Merry del Val being the personification of the Ultramontane movement, was appointed the Prefect of the Holy Office. Unfortunately for Tyrrell, Merry del Val remained subject to the quasi-paranoia that permeated the English Catholic hierarchy. Del Val insisted, 'there are a group of traitors in the camp, and it would be better if they would quickly go out from us, for they are not of us.'⁵²

Confrontation with the 'English modernist' and his pastoral critique was inevitable. Throughout his life one finds Merry del Val using military and combative language; he was continuously on the offensive. For example, he was commissioned to investigate the validity of the Anglican Orders (1896), and controversially concluded that the: 'English Catholics have millions of heathens and heretics to evangelise!'⁵³

The Southwark diocese 'Vigilance Committee' archives also indicate, despite many attempts to argue the contrary, that Merry del Val also had the popular von Hügel in his sights as a confirmed modernist. He wrote a confidential letter to Bishop Amigo complaining that 'the conduct (of the Baron) has been abominable' and 'we can hardly consider (him) as Catholic,' 'there remains the question whether in view of the real scandal (he) ought to be refused the

⁵⁰ See Robert Boudens, 'George Tyrrell's Last Illness, Death and Burial.' 341.

⁵¹ An unpublished note by Prof. Lease, of the University of California in Santa Cruz confirmed that Amigo's papers had not yet been catalogued. So how did Msgr. McGettrick know precisely that the Tyrrell papers had been destroyed? Lease, G. (1984), 'Merry del Val and Tyrrell: A Modernist Struggle.' *Downside Review*, No. 347, April, 133.

⁵² See Merry del Val to Broadhead, 17 January 1908: Merry del Val/Broadhead Papers, Ushaw College Archives, II. Merry del Val, inspired by his mentor Cardinal Vaughan, (Cardinal of Westminster) and educated in Systematic Theology by Professor Louis Billot, became the chief protagonist opposed to Modernism in general but particular to Tyrrell. Interestingly, Billot later became cardinal and critic of *L'Action Française*.

⁵³ See Merry del Val, 5 June 1899: Ward Family Papers, the University Library, St Andrews, VII, 205a (3); and Wilfred Ward, 'Liberalism and Intransigence,' in the *Nineteenth Century* 47, (1900), 960-73. Merry del Val never openly challenged Wilfred Ward regarding his 'liberal' Catholicism. Although he was 'horrified' by his publication and described those who repeat it as 'spreading evil abroad,' Merry del Val remained very cordial and pleasant in his correspondence with Ward. To a friend he confided that Ward was 'unsafe' and claimed that he teaches 'unsound doctrine, but nevertheless always manages to wriggle out of it by saying that it is really Newman he is representing.' In relation to the Modernist Crisis, after Pius X, Merry del Val remained the most influential figure in Rome

Sacraments.⁵⁴ Cardinal Newman, Wilfred Ward, von Hügel and others in positions of influence avoided denial of the sacraments, but for the ailing Tyrrell this was not the case.⁵⁵

The rediscovery by Revd. Michael Clifton, the Southwark archivist, of the entire file containing the Amigo-Tyrrell (Petre –Amigo/ del Val-Amigo) correspondence turns new light on Tyrrell's 'excommunication' and the precise role of del Val.⁵⁶ The Southwark Archdiocese 'Vigilance Committee' represented one dark day in the history of the English church. The minutes that record the actual meetings of the Committee are particularly illuminating with regard to their vindictive nature and total lack of pastoral concern.⁵⁷

In summary, Tyrrell wrote three letters to Cardinal Ferrata to ask why he was not admitted to the sacraments, since he had never been condemned and since not one of his books had ever been placed on the *Index*. None of Tyrrell's letters were answered. Petre records her own frustration at this political tactic. It is worth repeating, Tyrrell was not denied the sacraments on account of his pastoral and practical hermeneutics, and bishop Amigo wrote to the English newspapers to reiterate that Tyrrell was not excommunicated, but rather, he was denied the sacraments and his case referred to Rome. Father Clifton, an advocate of Amigo, candidly

⁵⁴ See Cardinal Merry del Val to Bishop Amigo, (July 1909), Southwark Archdiocese Archives, file no. 71. See also the influential work by de la Bedoyere, M. (1951), *The life of Baron von Hügel*.

⁵⁵ Tyrrell no longer had the support of the Jesuits, he could not find a bishop who would take him into his diocese, he had managed to alienate both the Jesuit and Westminster hierarchy and there is no evidence to suggest that he was seriously conscious of the European political dimension, and how the English context was perceived in the Roman Court. Ever fearful Cardinal Bourne, who was suspected of having Modernist sympathies, betrayed Tyrrell to Merry del Val, condemning him as a: 'notorious exponent of Modernism – he is known here to be highly nervous, eccentric and erratic person and, moreover he has never occupied a position of trust or responsibility,' he is after all, 'more strictly an Irishman.' Gary Lease, 'Merry del Val and Tyrrell: A Modernist Struggle,' *Downside Review*, 102, (April, 1994), 145. It seems, a Professor of Moral Philosophy at Stonyhurst (training Jesuit novices) or a writer for the *Month* is not considered by Archbishop Bourne to be a position of 'trust or responsibility.' Also to label Tyrrell an 'Irishman,' in England in 1903, was not a term of endearment, but rather crude polemics.

⁵⁶ The file designated 'Vigilance Committee' had been 'deposited' in a 'cubby-hole' and considered lost since the early 1940's. The file itself contains 141 separately numbered items dated from 1907-1939. Bourne was made to wait a further five years before he finally received his red hat – for services rendered, i.e. 'openly' opposing Modernism. See Gary Lease, 'Merry del Val and Tyrrell: A Modernist Struggle,' *Downside Review*, 102, (April, 1994), 133-156, 150. Fr. Michael Clifton, the Southwark Archivist, sheds some light on this shabby affair of gossip and malicious accusation. Letters were sent to Rome in order to appease Merry del Val. The prevailing method to clear one's name with regard to modernist aspersions was to accuse others of the crime outlawed by *Pascendi*. 'Fr. Denis Shiel, Provost of the Birmingham Oratory... had been in intimate relation with Cardinal Merry del Val,' who told him that Bourne was out of favour in Rome, due to his mishandling of the Seminary at Womersley, which was infiltrated with Modernist priests and seminarians. Amigo insisted the seminary should be closed down. Shiel reported that Merry del Val had confided to him that 'Archbishop Bourne would never be made Cardinal while Pius X lived.' Such was the power of suspicion and gossip created by *Pascendi*. See Michael Clifton's book: *Amigo – Friend of the Poor* (1987), 37. There is also no doubt of the close "relationship" between Merry del Val and Amigo. See 'The Tyrrell File' and the Southwark 'Vigilance Committee' Minutes (which Amigo Chaired), Southwark Diocese Archives. See also particularly chapter four, 'Bishop Amigo and the Modernist Crisis.'

⁵⁷ The experience of reading these files is reminiscent of my first reading of *Pascendi* in the Jesuit archives at Stonyhurst. Regardless of the privilege of hindsight, most Catholics born into the post-Vatican II Church will find the vitriolic language of *Pascendi* shocking, even more so, the events it instigated, which are faithfully recorded in the secret 'Vigilance Committee' archives.

admits that the latter regretted his handling of the Tyrrell affair; the pressure from Merry del Val must have been considerable.⁵⁸

There is now conclusive evidence that Merry del Val personally opposed Tyrrell at every opportunity. He would have taken great pleasure in placing any of Tyrrell's books on the Index, but he could not. Tyrrell was not deprived the sacraments due to his pastoral theology. No formal charges were ever presented to him despite countless requests for further information. Tyrrell was never allowed the opportunity to defend his position and he was not dismissed from the clerical state. All correspondence from Bishop's House, the countless letters and newspaper cuttings in the Southwark secret archive and all the obituary notices and letters following his death refer to him as 'Father' Tyrrell.⁵⁹

⁵⁸ Petre insisted, 'To those whose work has never brought them into contact with ecclesiastical government, this method of silence on behalf of superiors will seem almost incredible. Yet its ease and convenience in application can be devastating.' See *A&L*, Vol. II, 455.

⁵⁹ See 'Tyrrell File,' the Southwark Archives, all of the 141 items consider Tyrrell's priestly status to be axiomatic.

Medievalism (1908)

One can only imagine the extent of the anxiety Tyrrell was experiencing as he faced his penultimate battle with regard to the publication of a *Lenten Pastoral* by the Archbishop of Malines, Cardinal Mercier, Primate of Belgium. The subject of the letter was Modernism, written in support of Pius X's encyclical *Pascendi Dominici Gregis*. For the political reasons outlined, and the fact that Tyrrell was now apparently discredited and isolated, the only 'modernist' cited was 'the English priest Father Tyrrell.' It amounted to a pusillanimous act by an ambitious yet nervous Archbishop, fearful of association with Tyrrell, because he made sympathetic overtones towards Tyrrell when he was without a diocese. Tyrrell was outraged that his name was used in such a manner and felt that he had been betrayed by the Archbishop's attempt to cleanse himself of any 'modernist' tendencies.

Tyrrell's response to this ostentatious betrayal was *Medievalism*. The book was written in just six weeks, and remains a masterpiece of polemical writing. Tyrrell lambasted Mercier, writing,

Above all, do you imagine that by allying yourself against the people with all the decrepit props of absolutism, crowned or discrowned, you will be able to stand against the social revolution which is pressing towards us with the slow irresistible might of an advancing glacier, avenging itself mercilessly on every obstruction ... Tying the Church to medieval notions has reduced her to her present state of spiritual impotence, to tie her as blindly to the notions of today would be only to postpone the date of disaster. The axe must go to the root of the tree — to this radical lie that has branched into a whole system of lies each needed for the support of the rest.⁶⁰

Mercier was left embarrassed and confused by Tyrrell's polemic; he proposed to reply with his own text, but he was advised not to publish.⁶¹ Tyrrell's pastoral hermeneutic represents a clarion call to the challenging life of the spirit. He advised living a life of true wonder and awe, one that attempts to live according to what we cannot know and to acknowledge the limits of our comprehension surrounding God.⁶² He believed Mercier's 'medievalism'

⁶⁰ Tyrrell, 'The Death-Agony of Medievalism,' *Medievalism*, 158.

⁶¹ Wilfrid Ward argued that Tyrrell should not be left in the field, but agreed that Mercier should not again attempt to 'cross swords' with Tyrrell. Mercier ungraciously retreated from the battlefield. *Medievalism* was never effectively refuted either at the time or since. The Church awaits a full critical exploration of the work and its implications for contemporary pastoral and practical theology. The masterpiece was the main thesis of Tyrrell's life work. It had previously been elaborated in *RFL*, (1902), *LO* (1903), *LC*, (1906) and *TSC* (1907). It is a burning polemical appeal to the Church to abandon her narrow scholastic worldview, and to become truly Catholic, and not merely anti-Protestant. It is a call for the Church to recapture a sense of inner mysticism embraced by a pastoral outward looking exterior. The author distinguishes between theory and practice, drawing out the practical nature of Catholicism, 'it is a practical thing, something more than a doctrine, (it is) a life.' Boudens, R. (1970), 'George Tyrrell and Cardinal Mercier: A Contribution to the History of Modernism,' *Eglise et Théologie*, 1, 313-351. One wonders if Ward would have been so supportive of Mercier and Merry del Val if he had of known Merry del Val's suspicions of him, recorded in the Southwark Diocese Archive! See Tyrrell, *AMAL*, 33. See Kerr, F. (1997), *Theology After Wittgenstein*, 192. Also see the *Cloud of Unknowing* (1960), (Ed.), Abbot Justin McCann, x. See also Tyrrell on 'The Mystery of Faith,' 314-345; 'The Mystical Body,' 397-44, *HS*, (1898).

⁶² Tyrrell, (1994), *Medievalism*, Chap. XI, 'His Kantian Prepossessions.'

represented, ‘the category of mechanism — government by machinery; truth by machinery; prayer by machinery; grace by machinery and salvation by machinery.’⁶³ In contrast, Tyrrell understood the church as the

guardian of that spirit of truth and truthfulness; of patience and self-abnegation, and of all those affective dispositions of the heart with which science must be pursued for the glory of God in the good of mankind. I mean that her mission is to the heart and not to the head; that the Gospel is primarily power and strength and inspiration for the will; that it convinces by ideals, not ideas; by revelation of a coming kingdom and a new life set before the imaginative vision and kindling a fire of enthusiasm.⁶⁴

Tyrrell’s Death and Burial (July 1909)

Amigo insisted that Tyrrell should make a conscious, explicit retraction of his Modernism, regardless of the fact that Tyrrell’s illness ensured that he was not in a condition to speak and remained unconscious. Despite the fact that Tyrrell made numerous previous requests for further information, to this day it remains unclear what he was expected to retract from. As this work will argue, the amorphous term Modernism remains an arbitrary label instigated at the behest of Pius X. Moreover Tyrrell had received Absolution.⁶⁵ Father Dessoulavy was the first to arrive at Tyrrell’s improvised deathbed, and he administered conditional absolution. The Prior proceeded with the administration of *Extreme Unction* after von Hügel told him he was sure that:

1. Fr. Tyrrell would wish to receive all the rites of the church.
2. That he would be deeply contrite for all and any sin and excess of which he had been guilty, as in other matters in the course of the controversy.
3. He would not wish to receive the sacraments at the cost of retraction of what he had said and written in all sincerity and still considered to be the truth.⁶⁶

Maude Petre and Henri Bremond were convinced that there was no serious objection that could be made to a Catholic burial, since the patient had not been in a position to speak and could not, therefore, be required to make a conscious explicit retraction. In reality Amigo wanted a public retraction for the newspapers. He required an outright victory.⁶⁷ Tyrrell thus

⁶³ Tyrrell, *Medievalism*, 158.

⁶⁴ Tyrrell, *Medievalism*, 159.

⁶⁵ On the day of his death, Amigo sent a telegram to the Prior of Storrington which said: ‘No Catholic funeral unless evidence of definite retraction.’ Petre replied to Amigo that Tyrrell was not capable of speech and since he had received the Last Rites, including reconciliation, she thus argued he has the right to a church burial. To the Prior of Storrington, Petre bitterly complained, ‘he has nothing to retract.’ See Bouden, 349; & the Southwark Archives – ‘Tyrrell File,’ particularly Petre’s pleading that Tyrrell be allowed a Catholic burial, 15 July 1909. Petre letter, Southwark Archives – ‘Tyrrell File.’ See also *A&L*, Vol. II, especially 428-435. Amigo and Merry del Val’s treatment of Maude Petre and Abbé Bremond was also pastorally negligent, *A&L*, Vol. II, 298 and appendix 10.

⁶⁶ See Petre, *A&L* Vol. II, 434-435.

⁶⁷ One of the saddest anomalies in this whole episode is the reality that if Petre and Bremond had not written to *The Times* immediately following Tyrrell’s death, no doubt, when they were at their lowest, the issues of Tyrrell’s funeral would not have become so magnified. Faced with Amigo’s inflexible position Bremond & Petre went personally to the Archbishop of Westminster. Not surprisingly Bourne supported Amigo and said

received two sacraments and as Francis Galton and Alfred Fawkes point out in their letters to *The Times*, ‘their reception carries with it the right to burial.’ Galton continued his defence of Tyrrell, arguing that ‘nothing should stand in the way of a man *in extremis*, neither Episcopal censures nor Papal reservations. That he had a right to the benefit of every doubt,’ particularly in view of the fact that he could no longer speak, and two of the priests present, plus Baron von Hügel, gave testimony on his behalf. Fawkes and Galton sought an explanation as to ‘why the ordinary law was violated in Father Tyrrell’s case?’ ‘Questions which the authorities will be glad to answer, so that they may be cleared before the public from any suspicion of mere vindictiveness.’⁶⁸ Yet another letter to *The Times* asked:

What value the Bishop of Southwark sets upon the Sacrament of Extreme Unction? In the Catechism there are quoted concerning this Sacrament the words of St James: “the prayer of faith shall save the sick man...and if he be in sins they shall be forgiven him.” Dare his Lordship assert that Father Tyrrell was not in good disposition and contrite of his sins, or that he himself can limit the power of the Sacrament, or that a man whose sins are forgiven him shall be denied a resting-place with the faithful dead... denied the last prayers of his brethren that God may have mercy on his soul, the last words of hope in a resurrection to everlasting life?⁶⁹

The anonymous author of this particular letter to the *Times* captures the moment and articulates the depth of feeling amongst Tyrrell’s supporters in a manner few would have dared to emulate:

The fact remains for the astonishment of the world that, though the cheat and for the libertine a place can be found in the Church; yet one of pure and humble mind, of unswerving trust and hope in God, deep devotion to our Saviour, sincere love for men, for the Church universal, and for the Sacramental life; a man with all the simplicity and goodness of a little child, all the gentleness and sympathy of a women, all the best courage and strength of the best men; one who was a Catholic priest and who died after a worthy reception of the Sacraments – such a one is cast out.

I say deliberately “cast out.” For though Father Tyrrell, dead, is the guest of a Church for which in his life time he felt sincere affection and reverence, yet I cannot forget that, in the eyes of those who rejected him, that Church ought not to exist; that the refusal of Catholic burial was tantamount to a refusal of all kind of Christian burial whatsoever. Has the “Bride of Christ” grown hard with age? Hear the storm-vexed wanderer approach her, seeking rest.

there could be no Catholic burial unless Amigo signed a certificate that the deceased was entitled to the rite of the Church. This is particularly challenging in view of a number of prominent Irish terrorists receiving Catholic burials, presided over by partisan bishops and priests. See Lease, Tyrrell & Merry del Val, 156; re. Amigo – Petre & ‘*de fide*’ i.e. Amigo was not willing to say to Petre that the teaching of *Pascendi* was ‘*de fide*’ – forever – because he knew that it could not theologically, philosophically and pastorally stand. He was forced to adopt an expedient Roman position, regardless of local people’s faith and life.

⁶⁸ Tyrrell received absolution three times. First from Fr. Dessoulavy, followed by the prior of Storrington and again by Abbé Bremond. Petre explains in her letters, newspaper articles and biography that Tyrrell did not receive the Viaticum because he could not swallow. Petre, ‘Letter to the Editor,’ *The Times*, 3 August 1909. See also *A&L*, Vol. II, Chapter XXIII.

⁶⁹ Francis Galton, letter to the Editor, *The Times*, 3 August 1909, See also *A&L*, Vol. II, 436.

“Mother, have you justice?” – “I have a scourge of iron for the rebellious.”
“Mother, have you charity?” – “I strike without mercy, for the good of men’s souls.”
“Mother, have you truth?” – “I am the Infallible Voice of Truth.”⁷⁰

Tyrrell never sought dismissal from the Society or Rome. To those with authority within the church who decided to cast him out due to political and personal expediency, pastoral charity for a dying man appeared insignificant. The Editor of *The Times* wrote:

There are times when this mistake would not have been committed; when wisdom and charity would have presumed everything in his favour; when the maxim, *odiosa restingenda*, would have been applied; and when in presence of death only the quiet dignity, the pure life, and the exalted ideals of this restless searcher after truth would have been remembered. There have been times when there would have come from Rome a message less despotic and personal, and altogether wiser, than that which called for unconditional retraction at the price of burial according to the rites of the Church.⁷¹

Tyrrell’s denial of a Catholic resting-place now only has symbolic significance, for Tyrrell realized God is his ultimate judge. Yet it remains a hindrance to exonerating Tyrrell and recognising his considerable pastoral theological achievements prior to Vatican II. The Editor of the *Times* wrote poignantly of the conflict between the restorationist and the progressives, a tension that characterised the two Vatican Councils and indeed the reception process of the councils.

There is going on a war between two forces in the Church, and he has come to be looked upon, especially by English Roman Catholics, as the champion of one side, that which pleaded for light and freedom and growth, that which would be true to its faith and yet would welcome and fearlessly apply the methods of science, and which refused to be silenced, far less satisfied, by the traditional arguments for immobility.⁷²

Merry del Val intended to crush those who rejected his form of a harsh intellectualism in favour of an inner religious experience.⁷³ Thus Tyrrell apologists claim that authoritarian triumphs over charity and justice cost dear. Petre compared the modernist period with the

⁷⁰ “C.R.” *The Times*, 1 August 1909.

⁷¹ The Editor, *The Times*, undated, Southwark Archives, ‘Tyrrell File.’ Evidence of the support for Tyrrell includes: ‘George Tyrrell’s Last Illness, Death & Burial,’ Boudens, R. *Ephemerides Theologicae Lovanienses*, 1985, Vol. 61 Part 4 PGS (340-354); & Southwark Archives. Prior of Storrington D. Xavier, changed his view following Tyrrell’s death, see Boudens 353; Father Michael Clifton (Archivist), *The Tablet*, Jan. 22, 1983, 55-56; Garry Lease, *The Downside Review*, 102, (1984) ‘Merry del Val and Tyrrell: A Modernist Struggle,’ 133-156. See also Bouden: ‘The Archbishop (Bourne) said to a man I knew: I would rather have had my arm cut off than take any public proceedings against Tyrrell,’ 351. The Editor of *The Times* noted in his tribute to Tyrrell: ‘those who are responsible for this act of vindictiveness have called forth bitterness and resentment,’ many are now reflecting: ‘the fact that the Roman Church has no place for George Tyrrell compels those of us who share his convictions and his hopes to ask ourselves, ‘whether that Church has any place for us?’

⁷² The Editor, *The Times*, undated, Southwark Archives, ‘Tyrrell File.’ Tyrrell’s letters from this period show a great deal of suffering. He wrote to Henri Bremond that he would do everything he could in order to retain as much as possible from his priesthood. Thus he clung on to the reciting of his breviary because of ‘its quasi sacramental value’ and an exterior sign of communion with Rome. Tyrrell, G. Bremond, H. Louis-David, A. (1971), *Lettres de George Tyrrell à Henri Bremond*. Aubier-Montaigne, Paris, 216-218.

⁷³ The culture of fear and recrimination which emanated from Merry del Val in Rome is evident in the testimonies of the English Archbishop (Bourne) who confided: ‘I would rather have had my arm cut off than take any public proceedings against Tyrrell,’ Bouden: 351. The Southwark Bishop (Amigo) who also made it clear that he had regrets with regard to his treatment of Tyrrell, see Amigo’s biographer, Clifton, M. (1987), *Amigo: Friend of the Poor*, 23-36.

French Revolution and witch-hunting, when to be anyway eminent was to be a suspect, when men became accusers to escape accusation (Mercier, Amigo and Bourne). ‘When to be accused was almost the same thing as to be condemned.’⁷⁴ Tyrrell’s own ecclesial experience epitomized the pastoral vacuum he challenged within the neo-scholastic culture of ecclesiology, characterised by a centralized and confrontational model of church.⁷⁵

During the pontificate of Pius X (1903-1914), ecclesial legislation included some 10,000 norms. Many of these were self-contradictory and difficult to reconcile with each other due to subjective interpretation, circumstance and practice.⁷⁶ The lack of a precise code of canon law ensured that no systematic examination of Tyrrell’s case was possible. However, the current code clearly outlines a number of canons that would have been pertinent to Tyrrell’s ‘excommunication’ and denial of a Roman Catholic burial. Primarily, pastoral concern during the time of death dictates that an ‘offender should not be denied the sacraments.’ ‘The prohibition is suspended for as long as the offender is in danger of death.’⁷⁷ Furthermore, *Canon Law* advises the ordinary ‘to use their conscience and prudence’ and to ‘defer the imposition of the penalty to a more opportune time, if it is seen that a greater evil may arise from a too hasty punishment of the offender.’ A further anomaly with regard to Tyrrell’s apparent excommunication was the lack of due process. Again current *Canon Law* is consistent on this matter. The accused has a right to be informed of the allegation and must have the opportunity to defend himself or make representation before a tribunal. Despite numerous requests from Tyrrell, this did not take place.⁷⁸

Both codes of canon law (1917 & 1983) shed new light on this aspect of Tyrrell’s life and death. They insist upon an objective appraisal, while allowing each case to be judged on its own merits.⁷⁹ Both codes make it quite clear that Amigo would have had the authority to

⁷⁴ Unsigned letter, *The Times*, 6 August 1909, 7.

⁷⁵ This Neoscholastic model is personified in the machinations of Amigo, Merry del Val, Pius X, Luis Matfns, Desiré Mercier, the Prior of Storrington *et al.* All of the above held conflicting positions shaped by personal histories and ideological presupposition. See David Schultenover, (1993), *A View From Rome*, ‘Perceptions of the Mediterranean Mind, Cultural Influences,’ 161-244.

⁷⁶ See Bouscaren, T. L. and Ellis, A. C. (1966), *Canon Law* 4th edition. Bouscaren maintained that ‘by the middle of the 12th century, Canon Law was in a state of utter confusion. The time was ripe to bring the code out of chaos.’ 973. Furthermore, Bouscaren noted that ‘neither the Council of Trent nor the First Vatican Council was able to undertake a general codification, although the need was constantly increasing.’ 973. Benedict XV commenting on the confusion maintained, ‘Canonical enactments had so increased in number and were so discounted and scattered that many of them were unknown not only to the people but to many of the experts themselves.’ In the same work, Bouscaren added, ‘to clear away 700 years of debris was the firm resolve of Pius X,’ 973. See also Bouscaren and Ellis, (1946), *Canon Law: A Text and Commentary*.

⁷⁷ Personal communication with Rev. Dr. John Doherty, Sydney Archdiocese Canon Lawyer, 8 November 2007. Pius X ordered the creation of the first Code of Canon Law in a single volume of clearly stated ecclesial laws. The ‘Pio-Benedictine Code’ was eventually promulgated in 1917 together with subsequent moderations, until the latest publication of the New Code of Canon Law in 1983. The *Code of Canon Law*, Book VI ‘Sanctions in the Church’ (1983), See **Can.** 1323:5, ‘No one is liable to a penalty who, when violating a law – acted within lawful self defence or defence of another’; **Can.** 1324:5 ‘the penalty prescribed must be diminished’ – who acted by grave fear, even if only relative; **Can.** 1335, ‘a prohibition is suspended whenever this is necessary to provide for the faithful who are in danger of death’; **Can.** 1344:1. See *A&L*, Vol. II, 341-345. See also Rev. M. Clifton, (1987), *Amigo: Friend of the Poor*, ‘Bishop Amigo and the Modernist Crisis.’ Clifton gives us further insight into Amigo, he was, ‘rather suspicious of higher learning.’ 36.

⁷⁸ See *A&L*, Vol. II, 341-345.

⁷⁹ See *A&L*, Vol. II, 341-344 regarding Tyrrell’s letters to Amigo. Here Tyrrell requests further information and enquires why the bishop had written to the ‘Central Press Agency’, claiming that Tyrrell was not excommunicated, instead of writing directly to Tyrrell. See ‘The Tyrrell File,’ Southwark Archives, with regard

allow Tyrrell a Catholic burial.⁸⁰ The evidence suggests that he felt compelled by Merry del Val to make an example of Tyrrell and Petre.⁸¹ On numerous occasions Tyrrell requested clarification of the nature of his offense and he was never answered. Amigo simply wrote to the English press to explain that Tyrrell was **not** excommunicated. Unfortunately by this stage Tyrrell did not have the health or mental dexterity to continue the fight; he was broken. Nevertheless, a senior canon lawyer for the Archdiocese of Sydney (Nov. 2007) is convinced that if the ordinary announced that Tyrrell is not excommunicated to the Press, then, ‘quite simply, Tyrrell is not excommunicated’ and in light of the above, should have received a Catholic burial.⁸² Furthermore, ‘no one is *vitandus* unless he has been excommunicated by name by the Holy See, and the excommunication has been publicly announced.’⁸³ In desperation Petre wrote to the *Tablet*:

I should like to ask whether any of your readers can cite other cases in which the sacraments have been administered and received with evident willingness and Catholic burial afterwards refused? The Bishop refused Catholic burial: no Bishop on earth did – or would refuse leave to those who accompanied the body to say Christian prayers as they did so... do you imply that we have no right to pray?⁸⁴

to Tyrrell and the later persecution of Petre and Brémond, together with Merry del Val’s attempts to castigate Wilfrid Ward and von Hügel. Most striking are the letters to various newspapers across Europe strongly supporting Tyrrell, and denouncing the ‘cruelty’ he was forced to endure. See Amigo’s ‘official communiqué sent out 21 July 1909,’ ‘The Tyrrell File,’ Southwark Diocese Archives.

⁸⁰ Canon Law states clearly: ‘The judge depending upon the circumstance may use his ‘own conscience and judgement,’ and ‘defer the punishment if it is foreseen that a greater evil may arise from a too hasty punishment of the offender;’ **Can.** 1345, ‘Whenever the offender had only an imperfect use of reason, or committed the offence out of fear or necessity, (or) mind disturbed, the judge can refrain from inflicting any punishment;’ **Can.** 1347, ‘A censure cannot validly be imposed unless the offender has beforehand received at least one warning to purge the contempt, and has been allowed suitable time to do so’. Other important codes pertinent to Tyrrell’s case include: **Can.** 1350, ‘care must be taken that he does not lack what is necessary for his worthy support;’ **Can.** 1352 ‘If a penalty prohibits the reception of the sacraments or sacramental, the prohibition is suspended for as long as the offender is in danger of death;’ **Can.** 1357, ‘without prejudice to the provision a confessor can in the internal sacramental forum remit a *latae sententiae*.’ See *A&L*, Vol. II 341-344 regarding Tyrrell’s letters to Amigo. Here Tyrrell requests further information and enquires why the Bishop had written to the ‘Central Press Agency,’ claiming that Tyrrell was not excommunicated, instead of writing directly to Tyrrell. See ‘The Tyrrell File,’ Southwark Archives. Most striking are the letters to various newspapers across Europe strongly supporting Tyrrell, and denouncing the ‘cruelty’ he was forced to endure. See Amigo’s ‘official communiqué sent out 21 July 1909,’ ‘The Tyrrell File,’ Southwark Archives.

⁸¹ See ‘The Tyrrell File,’ Southwark Archives, Merry del Val’s letter to Amigo insisting that Amigo ‘drives out the insidious threat from within. See also Clifton, M. (1987), *Amigo: Friend of the Poor*, 23-36.

⁸² Personal communication from Rev. Dr. John Doherty, Sydney Archdiocese Canon Lawyer, 8 November 2007.

⁸³ See Canon 2258, 1 and ‘Crimes and Penalties,’ Bouscaren and Ellis, (1946), *Canon Law: A Text and Commentary*, 876.

⁸⁴ Petre’s letter to the Editor, *The Tablet*, 28 August 1909, 342-343. The question remained unanswered. However, it remains the case, that George Mivart’s death and subsequent reburial four years later in consecrated ground set a further precedent in this regard. The parallels with Tyrrell’s experience are pertinent. Mivart died of diabetes 1 April 1900 and was laid to rest without a Catholic blessing. Sir William Broadbent, Mivart’s doctor, gave evidence as to the nature of Mivart illness and offered an explanation for his final position with a view to securing for him a Catholic burial. As a result, and on appeal to Cardinal Vaughan’s successor, Cardinal Bourne, permission was given for a new burial to take place in a Catholic cemetery, four years after Mivart death. The text of the certificate has not been published; but an account of the affair is recorded in Snead Cox, J. G. (2005), *The Life of Cardinal Vaughan*, Part Two. Snead-Cox, *The Life of Cardinal Vaughan* (London, 1910); *Oscotian*, Jubilee Number (1888); *The Times*, (12, 13, 15, 22, 27, 29, January and 2, 3, 4, April 1900); *The Tablet* (7 April 1900); *Nature* (12 April 1900). See also Gruber, J.W. (1960), *A consciousness in conflict: the life of St. George Jackson Mivart*. See also Tyrrell’s Last Will and Testament, 27 March 1905, republished in *A&L*, Vol. II, 433-434.

The Last Judgement – Divine Providence

Three priests were present and testified that they administered the Last Rites to Father Tyrrell. Fr Dessoulavy administered conditional absolution on the 12 July. The Prior of Storrington administered *Extreme Unction* the following day and Fr Henri Bremond in the presence of von Hügel, on the 14 July also administered *Extreme Unction*. Church Law is equivocal, perhaps rightly so, allowing for pastoral intuition to supersede intransigent rubric. It is insistent upon the pastoral imperative that nothing should stand in the way of a man in *extremis*.

Unfortunately in their haste to defend Tyrrell it seems von Hügel and Maude Petre simply fanned the flames of hierarchical intransigence. Amigo indicated in his correspondence that the matter of a Catholic burial was complicated by Petre's immediate letter to *The Times* (published 16 July). It was composed the day Tyrrell died, during great emotional turmoil; Tyrrell was not responsible for their actions and should not therefore have been denied a Catholic burial.

Theological literature that assumes Tyrrell was in a 'state of excommunication' should in fairness to Tyrrell and historical exactitude state that Tyrrell was denied the sacraments and his case referred to Rome. Tyrrell's Bishop (Amigo) publicly denied that Tyrrell was excommunicated. A closer contemporary scrutiny of canon law also indicates a series of anomalies that cast further doubt on any assertion that Tyrrell was formally excommunicated. If one considers Tyrrell's inner disposition in the light of his last two works, published posthumously, (see Chapter Four, Tyrrell's Christological homecoming) and his last will, which requests a headstone over his grave testifying to his Catholic priesthood, then drawing upon the *Catechism of the Catholic Church*, one may posit that Tyrrell was entitled to a Catholic burial.⁸⁵

This assistance from the Lord by the power of his spirit is meant to lead the sick person to healing of the soul. Furthermore if he has committed sins, he will be forgiven. By the grace of this sacrament the sick person receives the strength and the gift of uniting himself more closely to Christ's passion.⁸⁶

The charade remains that a highly regarded Catholic priest (see countless letters to editors in support of Tyrrell - Southwark Archives) was treated as a notorious heretic, contrary to both codes of *Canon Law* and consequently, 'forbidden to be buried in a consecrated or a blessed cemetery.'⁸⁷ Tyrrell's personal lament seems an appropriate epitaph:

⁸⁵ See Petre, *A&L*, Vol. II, 434. In preparation for the final journey the sacrament of the sick is given to all those who are seriously ill and at the point of death, 'even more rightly it is given to those at the point of departing this life; so it is also called *sacramentum exeuntium* (the sacrament of those departing).' See the *Catechism of the Catholic Church*, 1522 & 1523, see also the Council of Trent (1551): DS 1698. 'The last anointing fortifies the end of our earthly life like a solid rampart for the final struggles before entering the Father's house.' Council of Trent (1551): DS 1694. A funeral is not a sacrament. See canon 1184 – canon law leaves the responsibility with the ordinary, Bishop Amigo. See Clifton, M. (1987), *Amigo: Friend of the Poor*, 23-36.

⁸⁶ Personal communication from Fr. John Doherty, Sydney Archdiocese Canon Lawyer, 8 November 2007.

⁸⁷ 'Notorious Heretic,' 1917 *Code of Canon Law*, 1240:1. See also 'New Light on Father Tyrrell's Last Days,' Fr Michael Clifton, Southwark Archdiocese Archivists, 'Tyrrell File;' 'George Tyrrell's Last Illness, Death and Burial,' Boudens, R. *Ephemerides Theological Lovaniensis*, (1985), Vol. 61, Part 4 PGS 340-354;' 'New Light on Tyrrell,' Michael Clifton, *The Tablet*, 23 January 1983; 'Merry del Val and Tyrrell: A Modernist Struggle,' Garry Lease, *The Downside Review*, (Jan. 1984), 133-156; Rev. M. Clifton, (1987) *Amigo: Friend of the Poor*, especially Chapter Four, 'Bishop Amigo and the Modernist Crisis,' 23-36.

Expediency must be the supreme rule of government. It is the way of the world: *Expedit unum hominem mori pro populo*. One is sometimes tempted to think it is God's way too.⁸⁸

Tyrrell's *Beati Excommunicati* makes it abundantly clear that excommunication held no eschatological fears for him, although it is also true that it was a time of great personal suffering. Tyrrell wrote to Bremond that he would do anything he could in order to retain as much as possible from his priesthood. More than this 'there are times and occasions when silence is criminal and will be justified by no fear of scandal to those who hold a solution to doubt and feel (rightly or wrongly) that what they hold is not for themselves but in trust for others.'⁸⁹ Finally, Tyrrell believed:

Divine Providence allows even good men to be driven out of the Church by the factious intrigues of the worldly. And if they endure this approach and injustice with all patience for the peace of the Church and do not start any new heresy or schism, they will hereby teach men how to serve God with pure affection and disinterested love. The aim of such men will always be to make for the port again as soon as even the wind falls; or if that is impossible, either because the same storm still rages, or worse would be excited by their return, they will steadily determine to labour for the interests of those very men of whose turbulences and agitation they are the victims, and abstaining from all schismatical separation, to defend with their blood and to assist with their testimony the same faith which they acknowledged to be taught in the Catholic Church. Such men who the Father seeth in secret doth secretly crown. Their case may seem a rare one, but it is not unexampled, nay it is far commoner than might be supposed.⁹⁰

Secondary Literature Review of Tyrrell's Life and Work

Tyrrell's opus and secondary critiques are entwined within the four 'movements' of development outlined above. This review will begin with the historical insights of von Hügel and Maude Petre, both crucial in understanding Tyrrell's pastoral hermeneutic. They were friends, confidants and fellow modernists. They are, more than anyone else, responsible for Tyrrell's legacy.⁹¹ The review will then evaluate the contribution of Alec Vidler, who was

⁸⁸ Tyrrell to Colley, 24 January 1900. The distinguished Tyrrell scholar David Schultenover is convinced that Tyrrell's 'virtual excommunication' resulted in Tyrrell's premature death from Bright's Disease. See Schultenover, 'It is a medical fact that stress will aggravate almost any pathological condition. The symptoms mentioned in Tyrrell's letters over a period of eight years indicate that he was quite possibly suffering from high blood pressure. Over a period of years this condition, if left untreated, will cause kidney failure. The intensity of stress which GT experienced would doubtless contribute to high blood pressure and therefore aggravate his condition,' 424 n.200.

⁸⁹ Tyrrell, *Bijdragen* 34 (1973), 302.

⁹⁰ Quoted at length in Tyrrell's *Beati Excommunicati*, 303. See St Augustine, *De vera religione*, c. VI (Ed. Maur, vol.1 751. Building on J.H. Newman see also the same advice given to theologians by Cardinal Ratzinger, *Instruction on the Ecclesial Vocation of the Theologian*, released 26 June 1990. However, for Newman, 'unless the academic is at liberty to investigate according to the peculiarities of his science, they cannot investigate at all. There are no shortcuts to knowledge.' See further Newman J.H., *The Idea of a University, Defined and Illustrated*. Edited with an introduction and notes by Martin J. Svalglic (1982), 344. See also *The Idea of a University*, with introduction by George N. Shuster, (1959).

⁹¹ Following Tyrrell's death Petre completed his *Autobiography and Life* (1912), edited and published his *Essay on Faith and Immortality* (1914). Furthermore, she published, Petre, M. (1918), *Modernism, its failure and its*

one of the first theologians to draw out the positive significance of the Modernist movement. He bridges the time span between the early and late twentieth century. Thomas Michael Looe followed with painstaking bibliographical foundations upon which all subsequent Tyrrell research is built. In turn, David Schultenover and the Anglican, Nicholas Sagovsky, produced groundbreaking historical research, following Vatican II, which presented Tyrrell to the Church of the late twentieth century. Finally, although he is not acknowledged as a Tyrrell scholar, this review will consult Robert Butterworth's unpublished work. Butterworth understands Tyrrell, because he has walked a similar path within the Society of Jesus.

In the course of this dissertation, I will draw upon all of Tyrrell's nineteen books, hundreds of essays, articles, reviews and correspondence. Integral to this approach is an evaluation of Tyrrell's trials and tribulations at the hands of his Jesuit, Westminster and Roman superiors. Central to this exploration are three hierarchical pronouncements that occasioned provocative refutation from Tyrrell and serve effectively to chart his public demise.

- The Joint Pastoral of the English Bishops (1900)
- *Pascendi Dominici Gregis* (1907)
- Lenten Pastoral of Cardinal Mercier of Malines (1908)

I will also explore the major secondary sources, supportive and polemical, relating to Tyrrell's life and theology. Secondary sources will be considered in three waves that span the course of the 20th Century:

- Tyrrell's modernist associates and contemporary adversaries 1894-1920
- Liberal Protestant sympathisers 1954-1990
- Post-Vatican II liberal Catholics 1982-2007

Other works of a less thorough nature will also be considered, although they tend to offer little more than subjective commentary, usually gleaned from one of the above sources. However, they do help situate Tyrrell within the contemporary theological milieu.

Baron von Hügel

Following Tyrrell's death in July 1909, the editor of the *Hibbert Journal* was the first into print recording his gratitude for Tyrrell's contribution to the July issue and lamenting his premature death.⁹² Baron von Hügel, writing in the same journal seven months later, finally attempted to shed light on Tyrrell's last days and explain his own culpability with regard to

fruits, and Petre, M. (1920), *GTL* She followed this with Petre, M. (1937), *von Hügel and Tyrrell, the story of a friendship*; and Petre, M. (1944), *Alfred Loisy: his religious significance*. Petre also published a number of other important works including Petre, M. (1907), *Catholicism and independence, studies in spiritual liberty*, which resulted in her being refused permission to renew her temporary vows with the Society of the Daughters of the Heart of Mary. See also von Hügel, *The Hibbert Journal*, (Jan. 1910), 16. It is worth noting von Hügel's real feelings, caught in a personal letter to Canon Newsom, two months after Tyrrell's death. The Baron wrote to Newsom from Downside Abbey, responding to a request for a bibliography of Tyrrell's work. Von Hügel considered the following to be the most significant: 'Theology and Devotion,' 'From God or from Men?' and 'The Prospects of Reunion.' He said of these works: 'I love these three papers through and through.' von Hügel to Newsom, 7 September 1909. See also James J. Kelly, 'Modernism: A Unique Perspective Friedrich von Hügel,' *The Downside Review*, No. 427, (April 2004), 94-112.

⁹² Jacks L.P. (Ed), *The Hibbert Journal*, July 1909, 4. 'He displayed, in a wonderful combination, the gifts of intellect, of character, and of soul which mark the great leaders of religious thought and life.'

the ‘modernist affair.’ Ever the diplomat, he succeeded in distancing himself from the Modernist crisis, but I suspect the real cause of his anguish remained unaltered. The Baron began his memorial to Tyrrell by explaining how very different Tyrrell was from himself. For example, ‘his immensely quick and varying Celtic temperament was very different from my slow, persistent Teutonic one.’⁹³ Later in the tribute, von Hügel explained that Tyrrell did not consult him with regard to the more controversial aspects of his work. He declared that during the turbulent period, when Tyrrell wrote to *The Times* criticising *Pascendi*, he was out of the country and knew nothing of the conflict. ‘Indeed, often he would not tell me what he was meditating – till after he had irrevocably committed himself.’

Convinced that he had distanced himself from Tyrrell’s misdemeanours, von Hügel felt he could offer a long over-due appraisal of his friend’s contribution to Catholicism.⁹⁴ He honestly acknowledged that he was responsible for Tyrrell’s ‘initiation into German, biblical criticism, and a good deal of the psychology and philosophy of religion.’⁹⁵ The Baron took the opportunity to emphasise that he was not responsible for Tyrrell’s conclusions and then candidly he conceded, ‘I cannot let him bear all the blame, where I did so much to stimulate his thought and knowledge.’ It is not my intention to single out von Hügel and hold him responsible for Tyrrell’s downfall, although Petre and a number of Tyrrell’s close friends question both the Baron’s motives and *modus operandi* with regard to his ‘much-trying friend.’ Tyrrell himself was often frustrated by the Baron’s apparent ‘diplomatic sensitivities,’ and in one sense, it remains unfortunate that the Baron did not succeed in instructing Tyrrell in the noble Jesuitical art of political expediency.

The Baron informs us that ‘Father Tyrrell was ever a mystic,’ a Catholic one, no doubt, terribly tried, owing to his nature.’⁹⁶ Von Hügel is perhaps responsible for the most insightful characterization of Tyrrell. He ascribed a great deal of importance to *Christianity at the Crossroads*,

all except smart curialists or anti-curialist controversialists will find this to be the touching homing flight of a spirit, so great because so incurably spiritual, so heroic and, at its best, so amazingly far-sighted, it proves convincingly, amidst whatsoever excesses or errors, how deep unto the end was the Catholic temper of his soul.⁹⁷

Von Hügel considered Tyrrell to be ‘in his intentions and instincts a Christian and a priest to his fingertips;’ it is only ‘when one understands the deeply experimental character’ of his nature that one can ‘be just to his labours, faults, and limitations.’⁹⁸ Von Hügel believed Tyrrell’s theism is like that of the Areopagite, so insistent upon the utter transcendence of God, and yet in other works, over-emphasizing God’s immanence so much, that we get something like an ‘*anima mundi* or an *anima animarum* conception.’⁹⁹ Both of these excesses

⁹³ Von Hügel, ‘Father Tyrrell: Some Memorials of the Last Twelve Years of His Life,’ *The Hibbert Journal*, 8 (Jan. 1910), 233-52, 16.

⁹⁴ Von Hügel, (Jan. 1910), *The Hibbert Journal*, 17.

⁹⁵ Von Hügel, (Jan. 1910), *The Hibbert Journal*, 21.

⁹⁶ Von Hügel, (Jan. 1910), *The Hibbert Journal*, 25.

⁹⁷ Von Hügel, (Jan. 1910), *The Hibbert Journal*, 34.

⁹⁸ Von Hügel, (Jan. 1910), *The Hibbert Journal*, 34.

⁹⁹ Von Hügel, (Jan. 1910), *The Hibbert Journal*, 34.

sprang from Tyrrell's realisation of the immense otherness of God, and His unspeakable closeness to us.

Von Hügel considered Tyrrell's theological contribution to Catholic identity to be without equal, indeed his pastoral sensibilities were held in high esteem, evidenced by von Hügel's request that Tyrrell counsel his own daughter, who was experiencing grave doubts with regard to her faith. Von Hügel believed Tyrrell to be a profound Catholic mystic. He highlighted Tyrrell's insistence upon the need for external religion and organised authority, yet this authority works ever in and through people, for other people. This process of delegation from God to human beings remains divinely ordained but not absolute or unlimited. One has a strong sense in von Hügel's 'memorial' to Tyrrell that he is trying to placate two concerns; he weighs each word carefully and takes constantly from one in order to give to the other. Ultimately, making a definite stand, von Hügel draws on the support of Cardinal Newman, whom he described as an 'emphatic lover of authority,' and Cardinal Bellarmine, 'the greatest of the anti-Protestant theologians.' Only thus does von Hügel support Tyrrell's critique of Vatican I, 'as the greatest obstacle to the spread and full beneficence of Catholicism amongst civilised nations of the world.'¹⁰⁰

In a private letter to Tyrrell the Baron is not so reticent: 'You know how deeply I cared and care for your *Medievalism*, and how glad I was for the line you took there, as to the interpretableness of the Vatican.'¹⁰¹ However, in an effort to distance the Baron from Tyrrell, Stonyhurst educated Michael de la Bedoyère, remains insistent that the Baron did not share Tyrrell's ecclesiology and philosophy of religion.¹⁰² The issue between the two close friends was one of methodology and not ecclesiology.¹⁰³ Unfortunately, von Hügel concludes his tribute to his friend with a classic example of politicking; in the process he avoids offending either side of the mountain (Ultramontane), and while it remains true that Tyrrell is 'no saint,' it is apparent that von Hügel was no modernist martyr.¹⁰⁴

Maude Petre

The daunting task of completing Tyrrell's autobiography descended upon Maude Petre.¹⁰⁵ It was, however, a labour of love, and therein lies one of the main weaknesses of the two-volume work. The second difficulty is Petre's historical censorship and destruction of many of Tyrrell's documents. Perhaps the biography was written too soon, in the midst of the modernist persecution, with many of the protagonists still underground. Petre would not expose them to the dangers Tyrrell was forced to endure. Petre lamented, 'what I should say

¹⁰⁰ Von Hügel, letter to Tyrrell, 7 December 1908 in Petre, M.D. (1937) *Von Hügel and Tyrrell, the story of a friendship*. 181.

¹⁰¹ Von Hügel, (Jan. 1910), *The Hibbert Journal*, 34.

¹⁰² See Count Michael de la Bedoyère, (1951), *The life of Baron von Hügel*.

¹⁰³ Daly's *Medievalism*, 16.

¹⁰⁴ Von Hügel, *The Hibbert Journal*, (Jan. 1910), 16.

¹⁰⁵ M.D. Petre (1912) *Autobiographical and Life of George Tyrrell*, Vols. I & II.

is that he sacrificed himself too often on other people's altars' and that 'I had rather he had confined the oblation to his own.'¹⁰⁶

However, the fact remains that Petre did stand shoulder to shoulder with Tyrrell despite constant intimidation and threats from the Prior of Storrington, Xavier de la Fourvière, Bishop Amigo, Luis Martin and Cardinal Merry del Val. Unlike the Baron, who was probably better qualified to write the biography, Petre published a number of courageous ground-breaking modernist works in her own right. It took the courage and the temerity of this remarkable woman to make a stand, regardless of the possible consequences, when most of the Modernist men were running for cover.¹⁰⁷

For Petre, it was Tyrrell's 'propensity to sacrifice conventions, in a bundle, for one reality; and, above all, he was the stuff of which martyrs are made, and in nothing did he appeal to me more than this.'¹⁰⁸ Petre is in no doubt of the 'dominating influence' of the Baron upon Tyrrell's career: 'the confluence of the two minds was, in my opinion, a most unfortunate one in regard to the true destiny of Tyrrell.'¹⁰⁹ Von Hügel's influence over Tyrrell was considerable: it is true that the Baron turned to Tyrrell in certain matters, as to a priest, and on intellectual / mystical concerns as in *The Mystical Elements of Religion*, but Petre is convinced that it was 'a great mistake' for the Baron to direct Tyrrell's intellectual development.¹¹⁰ Arguably, despite her undoubted devotion to Tyrrell, Petre remains the most authentic source with regard to Tyrrell's relationship to von Hügel, together with his intellectual development and his mystical nature.

Petre agreed with the Baron that Tyrrell's true field of action was strictly spiritual and uncontroversial. Petre feels that perhaps if he had he been left to his pastoral work in the North of England, where he was most content, he might have worked towards a revolution in the understanding of religious truth without rebellion. While it is possible to argue both from his writings and his earthly negation that Tyrrell had a profound mystical insight into reality (an estimation upon which Petre and von Hügel concur), I do not think Petre is correct to maintain that Tyrrell would have lived out a peaceful parish existence – it was not in his nature. Tyrrell was born and would die ecclesially, if not theologically, nomadic.

Petre believed that if Tyrrell had recovered from his illness he would have continued to work in the field that she described as 'spiritual philosophy.' His final book was an attempt to deal with the double problem of Christology and ecclesiology. Petre warned that 'it was not likely to please any party,' for Tyrrell wrote with a truly Catholic instinct that dealt with the relation of Christ to the Catholic church.¹¹¹ Petre believed that Tyrrell found on the whole that the

¹⁰⁶ A & L, Vol. II, see also, Crews, C.F. (1984), *English Catholic Modernism: Maude Petre's Way of Faith*. And Petre, M.D. (1937), *My Way of Faith*, especially Chapter xx. 'George Tyrrell My Personal Relationship,' and Chapter XXI. 'Tyrrell's True Mission,' 292.

¹⁰⁷ Crews, C. (1984), *English Catholic Modernism: Maude Petre's way of faith*, gives an excellent insight into this remarkable woman. Like Tyrrell, her true significance has been neglected. See also Petre, M.D. (1937), *My Way of Faith*, 270.

¹⁰⁸ Petre, *My Way of Faith*, 271.

¹⁰⁹ Petre, *My Way of Faith*, 289.

¹¹⁰ Petre, *My Way of Faith*, 290.

¹¹¹ Petre, 'Introduction' in Tyrrell, *CC*, 17.

Catholic church had preserved the message of Christ more faithfully than any other church. He maintained that in fulfilling her duty, the Church has kept for us the Christ of the Gospels, not a Liberal Protestant Christ, made up to meet the latest requirements, but the real Christ, whose message was for all men of all places and all times. Tyrrell was a follower of Christ. He also believed that the church was the true path to Christ. The task of holding these two realities in tension became his life's work.

Petre believed if we were to sum up under one word, the question on which Tyrrell challenged those in authority, it was authority itself.¹¹² Furthermore, if we were to sum up in one word the charge he brought against the church, Petre argued, it would be one of 'selfishness.' His quarrel chiefly lay with those elements of self-seeking and self-interest that he found in the church. Petre is convinced that Tyrrell found Christ at home within Catholicism. But the path to Him was in danger of being destroyed by the symptoms of this more than superficial selfishness found in both Roman intellectual tyranny and in the church's civil ambition. His chief concern remained in the conception of ruler and ruled, shepherd and sheep, which reversed the true relations, and demanded more loyalty and self-sacrifice of the subject than of the superior; of the faithful (sheep) than of their teachers. The high altar at Stonyhurst College contains an insert of a sheep being led by the stick. It is not an image Tyrrell would have found inspiring; indeed this representation of the laity as a dumb farmyard animal - a most stupid animal - devoid of reason or logic, is not the most ingratiating symbol of 'man made in God's image,' and although used by Christ to teach nomadic herders, it sits uncomfortably with traditional church teaching regarding the use of reason. In a contemporary context, sheep can become the symbol of the repressed laity within the church.

Petre had privileged access to both the man and his work. Second to none, she knew his faults and shortcomings, and these are documented in numerous publications. Petre remained in no doubt that Tyrrell was both a prophet and a martyr with regard to his profound Christology and ecclesiology. She lamented his early death personally because she believed he still had a great deal to contribute to the church, which he argued could not live in the clouds but must engage with the world, 'In the world but not of the world, for it must cast off that corporate self-interestedness.'¹¹³

Alec Vidler

Alec Vidler's interest in Modernism dates from his undergraduate days in Cambridge. His tutor, S.C. Carpenter, was one of a group of young divines who in November 1907 sent a letter of gratitude and sympathy to Father Tyrrell.¹¹⁴ The fact that the Modernists were reputed to be extreme or radical in their critical views and theological reconstruction attracted Vidler to their cause. During the 1920s he began to collect the works of Tyrrell and Loisy, the same sources I have drawn upon for my research and which are now found in the university libraries of Lancaster and Cambridge.

¹¹² Petre, *A&L*, Vol. II. 448.

¹¹³ Petre, *A&L*, Vol. II. 450.

¹¹⁴ Petre *A&L*. Vol. II, 371 & Vidler, A. (1970), *A Variety of Catholic Modernists*, 1.

In 1933 Vidler published *The Modernist Movement in the Roman Church*. The book epitomised the Anglican preoccupation with Catholic Modernism that spans the twentieth century.¹¹⁵ The Vicar of St Mary's, Paddington, A.L. Lilley, published the first Anglican account in 1908, which amounted to a glowing tribute to his friend George Tyrrell, whom he considered to be 'the universally acknowledged leader of the Modernist movement.'¹¹⁶ Vidler followed with two subsequent publications 1970/1971,¹¹⁷ and Nicholas Sagovsky added a further two in 1983 and 1990.¹¹⁸ Obviously their work does not contain the constraints imposed upon early Catholic scholars, but they find it equally difficult to portray the depth of Tyrrell's desire to remain within the Roman church, for they do not share it. Vidler remains a pivotal figure in the Modernist story not least because he links the early part of the twentieth century with the latter, but also because he was personally acquainted with both Petre and Loisy and brings first-hand knowledge into the Modernist discussion.

Vidler described Tyrrell as 'the chief religious exponent of Modernism,' one who was 'a mystic, a prophet and a martyr.' He repeated the view of C.E. Osborne, that 'the dominant characteristic of Tyrrell's mind was his analysing intensity, and his truth-chasing capacity.'¹¹⁹ Vidler believed Tyrrell's essay, 'The Relation of Theology to Devotion,' disclosed the essential features of his thought, represented here as the distinction between theology and religion or revelation. Corresponding to the further distinction between the abstract and the concrete, is the analogical character of all affirmations about the spiritual and supernatural world, the sense that living the Christian life is more important than acceptance of the orthodox creed and that the truth of the creed must be brought to the test of experience, and at the same time an intense appreciation of the (Roman) Catholic sacramental devotion, as mediating the fullest spiritual life.¹²⁰

Vidler described Tyrrell as a 'thinker' and if philosophy is 'thinking about thinking' (Lord Quinton), then Tyrrell is a philosopher, a philosopher of religion. Vidler maintained that the aim of Tyrrell's writings is to show 'that the criterion of experience justifies ... not vague liberalism, but a full and rich Catholicism.'¹²¹ Vidler believed Tyrrell refuted the Liberal Protestantism of Arnold and redefined the important dogmas of the Trinity, the Atonement, and the Mass, on the basis of their appeal to experience. For Tyrrell, theology grows out from devotion, and in a post-Wittgenstein sense, meaning flows from use. Vidler came to see what the Roman authorities could not, 'Tyrrell's Modernism, like Loisy's, may reasonably be regarded as an attempt to meet Liberal Protestantism on its own ground, to show that its premises lead to a different conclusion.'¹²²

In 'The Relation of Theology to Devotion,' Tyrrell argued that Christian devotion has priority over Christian metaphysics, the pastoral concern for the soul over the needs of the intellect.

¹¹⁵ Vidler, A.R. (1934), *The modernist movement in the Roman church: its origins and outcome*.

¹¹⁶ Lilley, A.L. (1908), *Modernism: a record and review*.

¹¹⁷ Vidler, A.R. (1970), *A Variety of Catholic Modernists*; Vidler, A.R. (1971), *The Church in an age of revolution: 1789 to the present day*.

¹¹⁸ Sagovsky, N. (1983), *Between two worlds: George Tyrrell's relationship to the thought of Matthew Arnold*; Sagovsky, N. (1990), *On God's side: a life of George Tyrrell*.

¹¹⁹ Vidler, (1970), 157.

¹²⁰ Vidler, (1970), 157.

¹²¹ Vidler, (1970), 158.

¹²² Vidler, (1970), 161.

Faith does not depend on metaphysical systems, nor is it dependent upon history or science. It is not concerned with facts, only with the criterion of faith, i.e. by their lived religious value. Tyrrell argued that the church community provided the necessary framework or safeguards to avoid the inevitability of drawing subjective conclusions. Loisy made for an interesting contrast with Tyrrell because he was concerned with history. Faith for him must be conceived in such a way as to be compatible with the historian, whereas Tyrrell understood the pastoral dangers of a purely historical-critical approach. For faith to depend purely upon history does not amount to a purely historical critical approach. Vidler believed Tyrrell's apologetic appeared to be largely pragmatic: Christian truths are held to be true, because they are fruitful in practice. However, Vidler believed Tyrrell was not a pure pragmatist, because he did not hold that absolute or ultimate truth was unknowable.¹²³ For Tyrrell in devotion, in prayer, in all forms of genuine religious experience, we have a real knowledge of God and the spiritual world, but we can express this knowledge only in analogous, relative terms.

Tyrrell believed the theologian should be concerned with the nature of the religious experience within a practical theological framework, rather than whether it can be empirically verified. The truth of the experience is the important factor and its corresponding relationship to theological formulation or rationalisation. In this sense doctrine may be modified and enriched from the concrete experience, which in turn becomes a cyclical resource for a pastorally inspired theology. Vidler agreed with Loisy that Tyrrell preached revolution, but he made the important distinction with regard to Tyrrell's loyalty to the church, 'he did not preach revolt,' i.e. the organisation of a Modernist schism.¹²⁴

Vidler acknowledged that Tyrrell believed Catholicism contained the abiding truth about human life. Indeed Catholicism is the universal religion of the future. However, there remained two fundamental obstacles. The first is the corruption of the Roman bureaucracy, which even affected the papacy. The second is the need for the church to embrace scientific advances and learn from critical history.¹²⁵ Often in his work Tyrrell referred to the powerful metaphor later immortalised by John XXIII, insisting that Catholicism must 'not shut the window in the face of God's light.' In order to preserve most completely all the values of the past, Catholicism is of all the existing institutions the best qualified by radical transformation to become the church of the future. This is the challenge and the opportunity prophets like Tyrrell and John XXIII have bequeathed to Catholicism — to become the universal (Catholic) Church of the future. Vidler concluded, 'it was a dilemma of faith and not of scepticism.'¹²⁶ It was Tyrrell's challenge to both the impoverished faith of Protestantism and to the arrogant complacency he found within Catholicism. Finally, Vidler described Tyrrell's *Christianity at the Crossroads* as the Modernist 'swan song,' and Tyrrell as the Prophet of

¹²³ Vidler 161.

¹²⁴ Vidler, 'Forward,' CC, (1963), 8.

¹²⁵ Tyrrell wrote in the Introduction to E. M. Rix's book on Ignatius: 'To those who look backward and forward, and round about them, it is clear, that to resist this rising flood of new knowledge would be, not only as futile as to endeavour to bank out the tide with a toy-spade, but – whatever weak or ill-taught faith may fear – would be to shut the window in the face of God's light. In theology, in scriptural criticism, in asceticism, in hagiography, in every department of study of the Christian religion, history must and will have its say, and those who resist its legitimate authority, will deservedly be crushed by it.' Rix, E.M. (1900), *The Testament of Ignatius of Loyola*, 1-2.

¹²⁶ Vidler, A. (1970), *Variety of Catholic Modernists*, 177.

Revolution.¹²⁷ He shares the views espoused by Loisy, Houtin, Lilley, Petre, von Hügel, *et al* that ‘Modernism, as a party of open resistance to Roman absolutism, passed away with Tyrrell.’¹²⁸ Writing in the Forward to Tyrrell’s final work, his posthumously published, *Christianity at the Crossroads*, Vidler insisted,

...in broad essentials the book is as challenging now as when it first appeared; it contains many pages of extraordinary insight; and, unlike most theological books, it has the advantage of being written in a style which one of Tyrrell’s most persistent opponents (W.R.Inge) described as one of ‘limpid beauty.’¹²⁹

Vidler’s contribution to the study of Tyrrell remains considerable. He can take the credit for the Tyrrell revival in the late seventies and early eighties in the work of Schultenover and particularly in the two studies by Sagovsky. However, certain limitations remain. The first is beyond Vidler’s control, the constraints of being caught in time. His major work was published in 1934, prior to World War II. The second, despite Vidler’s claims to the contrary, is Vidler’s own Anglican presupposition, particularly apparent in his opposition to, and over-concentration upon, Roman authority. It is the case, to the detriment of his pastoral theology that Tyrrell also became preoccupied with the issue of authority. The confrontational circumstances grew out of personal conflict and developed a life force beyond Tyrrell’s control.¹³⁰ Alec Vidler obviously does not share Tyrrell’s Roman Catholic faith and struggled as a consequence to comprehend the true tension in Tyrrell’s work, how to reconcile papal authority, in which he believed, with the actual political reality of Roman (Ultramontanism) bureaucracy which he radically opposed. The fact remains that following Vatican II, Vidler was a major inspiration behind the resurgence of interest in Tyrrell.

Thomas Michael Loome

Through his exemplary research, Thomas Michael Loome became the facilitator for future generations to access Tyrrell’s unique contribution to Catholic (English) theology, philosophy of religion, psychology, ecclesiology and epistemology. Loome dedicated his work to seven men, amongst the most important being George Tyrrell.¹³¹ Taking his lead from Edmund Bishop (1846-1917), Loome argued that Tyrrell ‘went straight to the heart of things ... he showed that he had entered into, and understood the whole situation’ (i.e. Modernism). Loome repeated Bishop’s high praise of Tyrrell. ‘To have grasped the import of

¹²⁷ Vidler, ‘Forward,’ *CC*, (1963). Vidler became convinced of Tyrrell’s significance following his meetings in France with Loisy – who considered Tyrrell’s work to be revolutionary in comparison to his own. Indeed Vidler described *Christianity at the Crossroads* as a ‘prophecy of revolution,’ 8.

¹²⁸ Loisy *Mémoires*, III, 127; Houtin, A. (1908), *Historie du modernisme catholique*, 269; von Hügel, *Selected Letters*, 248; Vidler, 177.

¹²⁹ Vidler, *CC*, (1963), 10.

¹³⁰ Naturally it suited his adversaries to concentrate on his personal excesses in terms of his strong anti- Roman curia polemics, because this moved the spotlight from his rational arguments based on practical pastoral experience, for example, Tyrrell’s counselling of von Hügel’s daughter and the *Letter to a University Professor*.

¹³¹ Loome, M.T. (1979), *Liberal Catholicism, Reform Catholicism, Modernism. Tübinger Theologische Studien*, 11. See also ‘A Critical Discussion of Thomas Michael Loome’s Agenda for a New Orientation in Modernist Research,’ with important contributions from: Hans Rollmann, Ronald Burke, Daniel Donovan, Darrell Jodock, James C. Livingston, David Schultenover, and Thomas Michael Loome, *The Downside Review*, No. 340, (July 1982).

Modernism was an achievement that could have been attained to by no counsel from without, speak the counsellor ever so wisely. No. It must be the fruit of experience.¹³²

In commenting upon his own career shortly before his death, George Tyrrell described his life's work with the following words: 'to raise a question which I have failed to answer.'¹³³ Although this is typically harsh and I believe mistaken, Tyrrell developed profound solutions to many of the theological questions of his day. Loomer adopted the same phrase to describe his own research. In his case, even though I think his self-estimation is correct, it remains a considerable achievement. Loomer has achieved his primary aim of producing a 'Handbook of Modernist Research (which) may serve as the basis for further investigation.'¹³⁴ Loomer's research is predominately a record of Tyrrell's life work. He began in 1967 and although the Vatican Council dominated the ecclesiastical and theological atmosphere, he resisted the temptation to make comparisons between the Council and the thought of Tyrrell. Loomer described Tyrrell as 'almost a friend, one of the most singular and remarkable Catholics of this or any other century... my indebtedness to him is inestimable.'¹³⁵ This is an apt depiction of Tyrrell, collectively held by almost all who come to know and appreciate his pastorally inspired theology.

Loomer became fascinated with Tyrrell. He considered that Tyrrell wrote for the future of humanity, addressing his work to the human community and not to the stagnating theologians in ivory towers. Loomer claimed that it is Tyrrell's prophetic mission and courage that attract the reader to delve deeper into his thought. Tyrrell risked suffering, public disgrace and ostracism from his community in his attempt to adapt immanentist apologetic tools to the service of supernatural, transcendental religion. Loomer presented Tyrrell at the cutting edge of Catholic critical theology; it is worth quoting in full Loomer's insightful pen portrait,

Whatever else George Tyrrell may have been, he was not unattractive. At times shockingly naïve and superficial, he showed flashes of unquestionable brilliance as well, a brilliance of a kind seldom encountered in theologians, certainly those of his generation. Indelibly religious yet marked by a profoundly sceptical temper, charming yet irascible, possessed of a scathing wit and withering scorn, Tyrrell was an enigmatic combination of piety, goodness, and of almost brazen mischievousness, even at times perhaps of malice.¹³⁶

Loomer, like Gabriel Daly after him, considered *Medievalism* to be Tyrrell's greatest work. The two theologians 'wax lyrical' over Tyrrell's genius. 'In fact it is the strength of his religious convictions that shaped the artistry of his prose style.' Daly quoted from Loomer: 'only a man as outraged and as religious as Tyrrell could have written such a work. It is not easily forgotten.'¹³⁷ Loomer captured the moment and dared to go further than Daly or Schultenover: 'it seems to me then, it seems to me now, that (*Medievalism*) is the most

¹³² Edmund Bishop to von Hügel, 13 May 1912. University Library St Andrews. MS 2232, also Loomer, 10.

¹³³ Edmund Bishop to von Hügel, 13 May 1912, in Loomer (1979), 11.

¹³⁴ Edmund Bishop to von Hügel, 13 May 1912, in Loomer (1979), 11.

¹³⁵ See Loomer (1979), 13.

¹³⁶ Edmund Bishop to von Hügel, 13 May 1912, See Loomer, (1979), 14.

¹³⁷ See Loomer, 14; Daly, (1994) 17.

uncompromising and compelling indictment of ecclesiastical stupidity and corruption written in the twentieth century.’¹³⁸

Nicholas Sagovsky

Nicholas Sagovsky built upon the research of Loome, describing the latter’s painstaking research as ‘an indispensable bibliographical compendium.’ Sagovsky commented, ‘My work would have been impossible without the (Loome’s) Herculean bibliographical labours.’¹³⁹ Sagovsky produced two major works on Tyrrell. In particular, with his second contribution, he has certainly succeeded in producing a valuable ‘insider’ contribution to Modernist literature. The second builds on the first, being an excellent biography, drawing out the torturous final years of Tyrrell’s life with remarkable skill and dexterity.

For Sagovsky, however, Tyrrell may be the lost liberal Protestant who mistakenly ‘feels’ he belongs in the Church of Rome.¹⁴⁰ And yet, Sagovsky writes, ‘radical he may have been; a Protestant he was not ... intellectual honesty drove him from an untenable Scholasticism.’¹⁴¹ *On God’s Side* is a profound liberal Protestant attempt at a biography of George Tyrrell.¹⁴² Sagovsky recognised Tyrrell’s pastoral concern, claiming that ‘only in a biography could one show the integrity of the spiritual counsellor, the devotional writer, and the thinker whose thought ranged over every major issue that has reverberated throughout the twentieth century.’¹⁴³

Sagovsky argues that biographical work is the key to understanding Tyrrell, and in one sense, of course he is right. But a historical biography of Tyrrell must be a hermeneutical platform from which to launch into his thought, unless it is to become simply a parched historical study. Sagovsky captures Tyrrell’s pastoral *modus operandi*, eloquently conveying the associated risks not only for Tyrrell and his friends but also for those who would attempt a similar pastoral and practical methodology. Of Tyrrell, Sagovsky writes:

It was said of him that ‘he could see through a stone wall.’ Certainly he could see through any wall of hypocrisy, pretence, or dishonesty. He was as much feared as he was admired. He was dangerous not only to his enemies, but to his friends, for he assumed that they would be as ready as he was to expose pomposity and fraud, to give themselves in support of the weak and the exploited.¹⁴⁴

In capturing Tyrrell’s pastoral concern, Sagovsky’s work also raises a question with regard to the fact that there has been no serious pastoral study undertaken of Tyrrell’s life or theology by an English Catholic, other than Maude Petre, from the time of his death in 1909 to the present day. During the present study, it became apparent that the atmosphere surrounding the modernist suppression is still palpable in English Jesuit houses of study today.

¹³⁸ Loome, 14.

¹³⁹ Sagovsky, N. (1983), *Between Two Worlds*, 4 & 154. See also Sagovsky, N. (1990), *On God’s Side*, 7 & ix. (Between two worlds - George Tyrrell’s relationship to the thought of Matthew Arnold).

¹⁴⁰ Sagovsky, *Between Two Worlds*, 146.

¹⁴¹ Sagovsky, *Between Two Worlds*, 146.

¹⁴² Sagovsky, *Between Two Worlds*, 140.

¹⁴³ Sagovsky, *On God’s Side*, 7.

¹⁴⁴ Sagovsky, *On God’s Side*, 1.

David G. Schultenover

Interwoven between Sagovsky's 1983 and 1990 publications are the substantial contributions of David G. Schultenover. Writing in 1975 Schultenover laments the fact that the Vatican archives will not allow access to the Tyrrell files and therefore 'only half of his story can be told.' In his 1981 introduction he also states that he intends to add a second volume, presumably from 1903/4 onwards, where his present research stops corresponding with the publication of Tyrrell's *Church and the Future*.¹⁴⁵

Schultenover utilised impeccable historical research and adds considerable historical information regarding the life and work of George Tyrrell. In *A View from Rome* (1993) Schultenover turned a brilliant but nuanced light upon Roman curial machinations. Through the lenses of 'Mediterranean cultural anthropology',¹⁴⁶ he presented a detailed exploration of the role of the Jesuit Superior General (Luis Martín) in Tyrrell's downfall and the modernist suppression. It is fascinating to examine Schultenover's theological formulation (a thesis in itself) as it unfolds over the past three decades. At the heart of Schultenover's theological evolution there appears to be an omnipresent pastoral concern, perhaps originating in his doctoral studies of George Tyrrell.¹⁴⁷

Robert Butterworth

Two years before the publication of Sagovsky's biography of Tyrrell, Robert Butterworth privately published one of the most authoritative and insightful contemporary studies.¹⁴⁸ *A Jesuit Friendship* examined the relationship between Herbert Thurston and Tyrrell, adopting the same methodology as M.J Weaver's *Letters from a Modernist — Tyrrell to W. Ward 1893-1908* and Maude Petre's, *George Tyrrell's Letters* (1920). Butterworth adds insight and empathy that many of the previous studies cited do not contain. For example, in relation to the 'London branch' of the Society of Jesus, 'whereas Thurston was to find such a Province congenial and a suitable subject for his scholarly and apologetic gifts, it was hardly the place for a prophetic idealist of Tyrrell's temperament to find himself.'¹⁴⁹

¹⁴⁵ Schultenover, D.G., S.J. (1975), *The Foundation and Genesis of George Tyrrell's philosophy of religion and apologetic*; (PhD thesis); Schultenover, D.G. *George Tyrrell: In search of Catholicism*, (1981); Schultenover, D.G (1993) *A View From Rome*; see also *The Heythrop Journal*, Volume 33 Issue 1, 20-44, (Jan.1992); Schultenover, D.G. 'Luis Martín (1846-1906): The Black Pope of the Modernist Period,' in Lawrence Barmann & Harvey Hill, (Eds.), (2003) *Personal faith and institutional commitment: Roman Catholic modernist and anti-modernist autobiography*. David G. Schultenover, (Ed.), *Pragmatism in France: The Reception of William James and the rise of the Roman Catholic Modernism, 1890-1914* (forthcoming).

¹⁴⁶ Schultenover, (2004), 'The Mediterranean Mind' and its application to ecclesial structures, 168.

¹⁴⁷ The fruit of Schultenover's theological endeavours are now found in the internationally respected journal *Theological Studies*, of which he is the Editor in Chief. See also *Theological Studies* Vol. 68, No.3, September 2007. In this edition, that coincidentally marks the 100-year Anniversary of *Pascendi*, ('The Synthesis of all Heresies – 100 Years On, C.J.T. Talar, 491-514), Schultenover discusses the merits of peer review in relation to the Roman Curia, a position that Cardinal Ratzinger 'envisioned' for theologians and the CDF, 489-490. (See *Herder Korrespondenz*, 38 (1984), 360-368 and *The Ratzinger Report* (1985), 18-19, 68-69).

¹⁴⁸ Butterworth, R. (1988), *A Jesuit Friendship – Letters of George Tyrrell to Herbert Thurston*.

¹⁴⁹ Butterworth, 9.

Butterworth writes via the medium of personal experience; in many respects he traversed a similar crevasse. Maude Petre and Butterworth believed that Thurston, unlike his close friend Tyrrell, did not have the strength of his convictions. ‘He unreservedly acquiesced, tarring all Modernists with the same brush and condemning them as Protestant unbelievers.’¹⁵⁰ Twenty-three years after the death of Tyrrell, Thurston anonymously and therefore sympathetically, reviewed J. Lewis May’s *Father Tyrrell and the Modernist Movement*.¹⁵¹ Butterworth laments Thurston’s belated show of affection. Von Hügel and others did the same, when they felt the time was right (safe), but it was ‘an affection painfully distanced and deformed by the intervening years of conformity with principles which left little room for friendship.’ Butterworth suggested that there is evidence of ‘some resentment or even some guilt’ contained in the review by Thurston that he personally did not have Tyrrell’s courage ‘to ask those radical questions about the Catholic faith which might afford access to its true meaning.’¹⁵²

In the review Thurston described Tyrrell as ‘the most brilliant and persuasive Catholic apologist of his day,’ and ‘the author of devotional works which united tender and loving insight with penetrating thought to an astonishing degree.’ Unfortunately, ever conscious of his audience, he also lapsed into a sermon crudely denouncing both his close friend and Modernism as ‘essentially Protestant,’ arguing that Tyrrell’s outbursts were the result of his ‘diseased brain.’ Again Butterworth laments: ‘Whatever had happened to the friend who once beseeched Rome not to condemn George Tyrrell.’¹⁵³ Butterworth, well acquainted with the ‘Jesuit experience,’ admirably captured the anxiety between the two Jesuit friends, together with the Jesuit and modernist backdrop of the unfolding drama. He considered Tyrrell, ‘to be a remarkable thinker, working to certain philosophical distinctions, as for instance the crucial one between what he called “theology” and “devotion,” which no doubt have a respectable pedigree.’¹⁵⁴

Tyrrell’s death and the publication of *Pascendi et al* resulted in the demise of Modernism. This rapid decline was exacerbated partly due to the early reticence of Tyrrell’s friends and colleagues to enter into print in his defence or to support and continue Tyrrell’s mission. The one exception remained the phenomenal English Catholic apologist, Maude Petre. Tyrrell-inspired literature appeared then to progress in generations. The first wave, not including Miss Petre, but perhaps in response to her single-minded continuation of Tyrrell’s pastoral mission, was predominantly ultramontane in outlook. They included critiques by Martin, Merry del Val, Mercier, Wilfred Ward,¹⁵⁵ Thurston,¹⁵⁶ Lewis-May,¹⁵⁷ and later von Hügel’s

¹⁵⁰ Butterworth, 150.

¹⁵¹ See Thurston’s anonymous review of J. Lewis May, *The Month* (1932), 160. 80-2.

¹⁵² Butterworth to Maher, 2 September 1997.

¹⁵³ Butterworth, 150.

¹⁵⁴ Butterworth to Maher, 2 September 1997.

¹⁵⁵ Weaver, M.J. (1981), *Letters From A Modernist: The Letters of George Tyrrell to Wilfrid Ward 1893-1908*.

¹⁵⁶ Butterworth, R. (1988), *A Jesuit Friendship: Letters of George Tyrrell to Herbert Thurston*.

¹⁵⁷ Bouyer, L. (1958), *Newman: His Life and Spirituality*, Trans. J. Lewis May, (*Dominici Gregis*, Bishop Edward Thomas O’Dwyer, 1908; refutes charge of Newman’s alleged modernism). Also Lewis-May J. (1932), *Fr. Tyrrell and the Modernist Movement*.

biographer and apologist, de la Bedoyère.¹⁵⁸ Most appear to have fashioned a caricature of Tyrrell, both the man and his pastoral theology. Motivated to publish for reasons that were not directly related to Tyrrell, consequently, they misappropriated his thought to court favour or distort his work in support of their own objectives.¹⁵⁹

Immediately following Vatican II, not surprisingly, Tyrrell was in vogue. Thus, supported by Looime's efforts, Daly in turn builds upon the foundations laid by Petre, von Hügel and Vidler.¹⁶⁰ Further studies of significance which aid this current project include: David Wells,¹⁶¹ G.J. Livingston,¹⁶² and Ellen M. Leonard.¹⁶³ Catholic scholars were lining up, even in Rome, to publish dissertations outlining the prophetic nature of Tyrrell's work. He finally found support in the atmosphere of the early fallout from the Council. Scholars like Looime, Leonard, Wells, Daly, and Schultenover *et al* personify this wave.

The Contemporary Prospect

Towards the end of the 1980's and early 1990's the Roman political-cultural pendulum started to move once again, resulting in a 'backlash' against the progressively minded Council. Once again, it fell to an Anglican theologian Nicholas Sagovsky to carry Tyrrell's thought into the 1990's, reminiscent of Alec Vidler in the 1930s and 1940s. Gabriel Daly republished Tyrrell's *Medievalism* in 1994 with a twelve-page insightful forward. He builds upon his previous work, particularly *Transcendence and Immanence*, which captures and portrays adequately the question that is Modernism. He described Tyrrell as 'an intellectual buccaneer, who did not believe in ports for storms.' Daly, like Robert Butterworth, demonstrated the 'witness' in Tyrrell's writing. Perhaps he reproduced Tyrrell's *Medievalism* to draw attention to the current ecclesial oscillation? Or perhaps, like so many others who stumble upon Tyrrell's pastoral theology, he simply shared Butterworth's reflection: 'I have a great deal to thank Tyrrell for. I more or less lived with him at one time when I was working out my own salvation.'¹⁶⁴

Today Catholic scholars who write on Tyrrell continue to walk a political tightrope. Many attempt to hold on to a revisionist agenda, although the outcome of such an approach is usually removal from ecclesial-theological positions of influence. Others avoid the controversial and simply tell a story, offer the expected criticism, 'yes, Tyrrell was a visionary theologian but...' A few dare to play with the Modernist fire, but they are, by and

¹⁵⁸ Bedoyère, M. (1951), *The Life Of Baron von Hügel*. See also Daly, G. (1980), *Transcendence and Immanence: a study in Catholic modernism and integralism*; Daly, G. (1994), *Medievalism*; Jodock, D. (2000), *Catholicism contending with modernity: Roman Catholic modernism and anti-modernism in historical context*.

¹⁵⁹ Crehan, J. 'More Tyrrell Letters,' *The Month*, 40, (1968), 78-185 & Joseph Crehan, 'Tyrrell In His Workshop,' *The Month*, 3, (1971), 115-119.

¹⁶⁰ Daly, G. 'Some Reflections on the Character of George Tyrrell,' *Heythrop Journal* 10, (1969), 256 – 274.

¹⁶¹ Wells, D.F. (1979), *The prophetic theology of George Tyrrell*.

¹⁶² Livingston, J.G, (1991), *Tradition and the Critical Spirit: Selected Writings of George Tyrrell*. Selected and Introduced by Livingston.

¹⁶³ Leonard, E. (1982), *George Tyrrell and the Catholic tradition*; Leonard E, 'English Catholicism and Modernism,' Jodock, (2000), *Catholicism contending with modernity: Roman Catholic modernism and anti-modernism in historical context*.

¹⁶⁴ Butterworth to Maher, 2 September 1997.

large, skilled progressive churchmen who have built their careers with von Hügel-like diplomatic acumen.

Following the landmark event that was Vatican II, the new millennium is experiencing in the West the rapid expansion of secularism and a parallel rise of religious fundamentalism and radical atheism. To an extent this trend is exacerbated in a Catholic context by the perceived failure of the Roman Curia to dialogue with the modern age, and the continued experience of oscillation in ecclesial topography. Consequently the church presents a divided-house to the world, one in which theologians continue to struggle to look both ways in terms of culture and church.

This work seeks to raise a question with regard to the legitimacy of Tyrrell's pastoral hermeneutics. His legacy once more moves out of vogue, arguably when the modern-day Church could constructively employ Tyrrell's hermeneutical considerations in relation to the contemporary issues. A small minority of theologians, predominately from the USA, under the auspices of the Roman Catholic Modernism Working Group of the American Academy of Religion, continue to explore the complexities of the Modernist phenomena and place the work of individuals like Tyrrell in the broader context of international scholarship and ecclesial activity. This group remains ever conscious of epochal and cultural ambiguities in contrast to our current location and context. Predominately through the efforts of scholars, including David Schultenover, the first decade of the new millennium is witnessing a realisation of the significance of the modernist event, cultural hermeneutics and reformist theology. Influential studies worthy of further consideration include C.J.T. Talar,¹⁶⁵ Darrell Jodock,¹⁶⁶ Gary Lease,¹⁶⁷ Lawrence Barmann,¹⁶⁸ Paul Misner,¹⁶⁹ and Michael Kerlin.¹⁷⁰ It is this context with which the current work on Tyrrell seeks to dialogue.

¹⁶⁵ Talar, C.J.T. (1999), *(Re)reading, Reception and Rhetoric, Approaches to Roman Catholic Modernism*; Talar, C.J.T. 'Crossing Boundaries: Interpreting Roman Catholic Modernism,' *US Catholic Historian* 17, (1999) 17-30; Talar, C.J.T. '*Pascendi dominici gregis*, 'The Vatican Condemnation of Modernism,' *U.S. Catholic Historian*, Vol. 25 No.1, Winter (2007); 'The French Connection: The Church's "Eldest Daughter" and the Condemnation of Modernism,' *U.S. Catholic Historian*, Vol. 25 No.1 Winter (2007); Talar, C.J.T. 'The Synthesis Of All Heresies – 100 Years On,' *Theological Studies*, Vol. 68, no.3, (Sept. 2007); Talar, C.J.T. *et al.*, *By Those Who Knew Them: Modernists Left, Right, and Center* (Washington: Catholic University of American, forthcoming). Barmann, L. and Talar, C.J.T. (1999), *Sanctity and Secularity during the Modernist Period*, xi, 187; Burke, Ronald R., *Sanctity and Secularity during the Modernist Period (review)*, *The Catholic Historical Review* - Volume 86, Number 4, (Oct. 2000), 698-699.

¹⁶⁶ Jodock, D. (2000), *Catholicism Contending with Modernity*.

¹⁶⁷ Lease, G. 'Merry Del Val & Tyrrell: A Modernist Struggle,' *The Downside Review*, No.347, (April 1984); Lease, G. 'Vatican foreign policy and the origins of Modernism,' Jodock, (2000), 31-56.

¹⁶⁸ Barmann, L. (2000), 'The Modernist as a Mystic,' Jodock, 215-248; Barmann L. and Hill, H. (Eds.), (2003), *Personal faith and institutional commitment: Roman Catholic modernist and anti-modernist autobiography*; Barmann, L. 'The Pope and the English Modernists,' *U.S. Catholic Historian* Vol. 25 No.1 Winter (2007).

¹⁶⁹ Misner, P. (2000), 'Catholic anti-Modernism: the ecclesial setting,' Jodock, 56-88.

¹⁷⁰ Kerlin, M. 'Anti-Modernism and the elective affinity between politics and philosophy,' Jodock (2000,) 308-337; Kerlin, M. 'Reginald Garrigou-Langrange: Defending the Faith from *Pascendi Dominici gregis* to *Humani Generis*,' *U.S. Catholic Historian* Vol. 25, No.1, Winter (2007),97-113.

Reformist Theology –Trent to Vatican II

The event and reforms of Vatican II still require interpretation and implementation. Archbishop John Quinn points out that the Magisterium of the Church has continually used the word ‘reform.’ The Council of Trent enacted at least ninety-six canons or specific directives explicitly entitled ‘reform.’ Archbishop Quinn argued the first priority of the Council, after defining the Catholic faith against the Reformers, was ‘reform’ itself.¹⁷¹ For many laity within the church, following on from Trent, Vatican II has become the paradigm of reform. Quinn also mentioned with approval a number of reform movements that helped prepare for the Council, including the biblical and the liturgical movements. An important dimension of this reform movement was the precedent of calling reformist theologians to Rome in order to give them the opportunity of making a contribution to Vatican II.

Archbishop Quinn made an interesting comparison between pre-Vatican II reforms and the anti-reform movements of today.¹⁷² He argued that the reform movements which preceded Vatican II derived their inspiration from a ‘*ressourcement*,’ a deeper study of the Bible, the Fathers, and church history by Congar, Rahner *et al.* In the light of these sources, they, like Tyrrell, were also inspired by an analysis of the existing pastoral situation of the church. The contemporary anti-reform movements in England, the USA and Rome, Quinn argued, ‘do not emphasise the sources – scripture, the fathers, etc,’ they emphasise authority and tradition, calling themselves ‘traditionalists,’ but in the narrow twentieth century sense.¹⁷³

Section three of this thesis will argue that Vatican II implemented many of the reforms suggested by Tyrrell, but perhaps even more importantly, the Council created a precedent in a number of key areas, particularly with regard to embracing the age, i.e. of opening the windows and becoming a companion of modernity. Quinn highlighted the fact that Pope John XXIII recognised that personal engagement and communication entail dialogue. In various times and circumstances, there have been deficiencies, in moral conduct or in church discipline, or even in the way that church teaching has been formulated – to be carefully distinguished from the deposit of faith itself. These should be set right in the proper way at the opportune moment.¹⁷⁴

Today’s popular opinion must be evaluated against expressions of the church’s faith in other ages – something clearly affirmed by John XXIII in his opening address at Vatican II. A desire to introduce the resources of the church’s long experience and traditions into the reception process of Vatican II is valid and laudable. However Cardinal Karl Lehmann believes when those championing the importance of the church’s past adopt a ‘restorationist’ attitude that appears not open to the call of the Spirit in Vatican II, and introduce into the

¹⁷¹ Quinn, J. (1999), *The Reform of the Papacy*, 36. See also Pope Gregory XVI, Encyclical Letter, *Mirari Vos*, August 15, 1832. Tanner, N.P. (1990), *Decrees of the ecumenical councils*, 908-20.

¹⁷² Quinn, J. (1999), *The Reform of the Papacy*, 140.

¹⁷³ See Quinn, J. (1999), *The Reform of the Papacy*; Jedin, H. and Smith, N.D. (1967), *Crisis and closure of the Council of Trent: a retrospective view from the Second Vatican Council*.

¹⁷⁴ Quinn, J. (1999), *The Reform of the Papacy*, 38.

community of the contemporary church a sectarian spirit, with overtones of disapproval of the loyal and valuable work being done in the centres of Catholic learning. These voices become irresponsible and destructive.¹⁷⁵ In this sense a revived ultramontaniam may once more define what it means to be a Roman Catholic. The unfortunate sentiment expressed by Pope Gregory XVI in 1832, that the church culture could not be reformed ‘as if she could be considered subject to defect or obscurity or other misfortune,’ should not be forgotten in the wake of conservative appointments, centralist policies and an intransigent understanding of church that is becoming a model characteristic of modern anti-liberal Catholicism.

The Opening Engagement – Modernism — A Working Definition

It is important therefore that any attempt to define Modernism will remain conscious of the considerable challenges. It remains reminiscent of a dark night in Northern Ireland when a colleague (at gun-point) announced to a British army patrol that we were born in Derry. It was in fact a political act for which we were made to pay the consequences of our allegiance. Thus, Gabriel Daly rightly argues, to define Modernism ‘commits one to a position,’ and all historical attempts at ‘objectivity are as commendable as claims to have achieved it are illusory.’¹⁷⁶ Therefore, I make no such claim. In an attempt to cast further light on Tyrrell’s pastoral theology, I simply intend to give a number of brief hermeneutical soundings, primarily from von Hügel and Tyrrell, in order to advance this project and draw out a working definition.

A popular perception of Modernism is a description of an imaginary ‘movement’ formulated in the mind of Pius X. Again Daly captures the moment, ‘Rome did much to create the monster it slew.’¹⁷⁷ *Pascendi* characterised Modernism as ‘the synthesis of all heresies.’¹⁷⁸ Thus in one sense, as this work will show, Modernism is nothing more than the Roman fear brought on by the prospect of losing power and political influence. It amounts to an attempt to control almost all branches of human endeavour.

Von Hügel’s understanding of Modernism will be employed for the purposes of this research. The Baron believes there are two components to Modernism. The first is the never-ending attempt to interpret the old faith according to the latest philosophy and science;¹⁷⁹ the second he described as the events that took place during the pontificate of Pius X.¹⁸⁰ Tyrrell did not object to the term Modernism, although it is important to remember that its usage was intended to be a derogatory label, invented by Ultramontanes to denounce what they considered to be heresy. As late as 1907, Tyrrell’s understanding of the word remained ‘vague

¹⁷⁵ Cardinal Karl Lehmann, *The Tablet*, 1 May 2004.

¹⁷⁶ Daly, G. (1994), *Medievalism*, 89.

¹⁷⁷ Daly, *Medievalism*, 7-19.

¹⁷⁸ Encyclical letter of Pope Pius X on the doctrines of the modernists: *Pascendi dominici gregis*, and the Syllabus condemning the errors of the modernists: *Lamentabili sane*, 3 July 1907, n.48.

¹⁷⁹ This part definition of Modernism gives justification to the four stages of on-going tradition outlined previously, see pages 13-14.

¹⁸⁰ Baron Friedrich von Hügel, *Selected Letters* (1927), 248. Unfortunately this is a further example of von Hügel distancing himself from the dialogue he inspired Tyrrell to engage in. How? This is not clear from the given context.

and ill-defined.’¹⁸¹ Loome has shown that prior to September 1907, the words ‘Modernism’ and ‘Modernist’ play no significant role in his work or personal writings. In fact, Tyrrell was a self-confessed liberal Catholic, defined in the sense that he insisted that the church should dialogue with the age and articulate its place in the world.¹⁸² Therefore the modernist crisis can be viewed as one episode in the on-going liberal Catholic campaign against the Ultramontane ‘abuse of power,’ together with the mistaken understanding that regards the ideals of Christian leadership in terms of military autocracy, rather than in Christian service. Tyrrell emphasised that Christian authority originated in witness to the Gospel and not to militaristic power or political ambition. Tyrrell’s biographer and executor, Maude Petre, succinctly summed up the movement thus:

Modernism in the Roman Catholic Church, was a movement, at the end of the last and beginning of the present century, amongst certain members thereof, in favour of a fuller recognition, on the part of the Church, of the social, historical and scientific demands of the modern mind.¹⁸³

In opposition to Pius X (but not the papacy), Tyrrell gave witness to these ideals at considerable personal expense. Pius X reminded those within the church of the dangers of attempting to reconcile the church with the age, ‘let him be anathema,’ he declared. Tyrrell described his own position within the church, after his “excommunication,” as ‘that of a bulldog to a burglar’s leg.’¹⁸⁴ He regarded the anti-modernist decrees of Pius X as little more than ‘moonshine.’ At least twenty-five of the propositions in the syllabus *Lamentabili* would be considered evidently as false to the next generation as the condemnation of Galileo.¹⁸⁵

The term ‘Modernism’ is calculated to confuse both the controversy and its significance. Pius X mistakenly transformed a philosophical and theological question into a self-conscious movement that eventually, personified by Tyrrell, and in response to provocation, turned militant.

Tyrrell suggested a legitimate way of understanding Modernism, one integral to this thesis: it is an account of a slow historical process that over many decades or even centuries produced that which Pius X called Modernism. In Tyrrell’s sense, as the four stages outlined above highlight, Modernism continues today and will continue into the future. Tyrrell understood Modernism as an attempt to dialogue with a given pastoral and practical problem, to offer a particular response to a specific question. It concerned the reconciliation of contemporary scientific research (in a variety of academic disciplines), with Catholicism. Finally, it is important to remember that Tyrrell was not attached to Modernism; for him it remained an experimental journey. Tyrrell was a liberal Catholic who attempted an almost impossible task, the idealistic ‘*via media*’ Catholicism between Ultramontanism and Liberal Protestantism. For Tyrrell, Modernism existed to serve Catholicism. It is ‘a method and a spirit rather than a system,’ a methodology not a conclusion. ‘A movement, a process, a

¹⁸¹ Loome, *Liberal Catholicism*, 32

¹⁸² See Loome, *Liberal Catholicism*, 32-58.

¹⁸³ Petre, ‘Forward,’ CC, 8.

¹⁸⁴ Pius X, *Pascendi*, n.9

¹⁸⁵ Tyrrell, letter to Katherina Clutton, 4 May 1909 in *GTL*.

tendency, and not, like Neoscholasticism, a system.’¹⁸⁶ As this work will argue, ‘to Catholicism alone Tyrrell remained irrevocably committed.’¹⁸⁷

Modernism belongs in a narrative of other things. It may be understood as an event, crisis, style, genre, vocabulary and drama within a particular framework. In a Catholic ecclesial context this may also incorporate the Council of Trent, Vatican I, and Vatican II, together with the process of ‘reception’ that the church is now experiencing following the Second Vatican Council. Enlightened ecclesial history allows Tyrrell’s struggle to be located as a process of change that belonged to a particular time but speaks to ‘the modern mind.’¹⁸⁸ This work will show that Modernism and Vatican II therefore are part of a continuous process of change and interpretation that speaks to our time, a time characterised by contested history.

Reform involves continuity and discontinuity. Modernism and Vatican II do not represent ‘rupture,’ although the documents (word) and particularly the spirit evidence a discontinuity, a rejection of a particular style, or perhaps more precisely, a culture of being church. Furthermore, the apparent desire for change that O’Malley refers to, together with the reality of change that Ormerod and Schloesser encapsulate, is continuous with Tyrrell’s modernist agenda. In this sense, it may be argued that Vatican II contained within its structure and style the ‘reception event’ of George Tyrrell’s pastoral hermeneutic, which in turn belongs within a much larger movement of ecclesial *aggiornamento* and development, development being a soft word for change.¹⁸⁹

In summary, Thomas Michael Loome became convinced that above all ‘modernism is a question, an unsolved historiographical problem of recent ecclesiastical history.’¹⁹⁰ Ronald Chapman believed that ‘Tyrrell belonged to no party,’ and this could ‘hardly be forgiven where party and denomination was almost religion itself.’ There is, he wrote: ‘an elusive Cain-like quality about Tyrrell.’¹⁹¹ Alec Vidler described the modernist leader as ‘a writer whose pen wields flame.’¹⁹² Von Hügel considered Tyrrell a theologian and philosopher with the ‘heart of an Irishman and the mind of a German,’¹⁹³ while Gabriel Daly argues that Tyrrell’s theology is laced with ‘lucid prose, colourful metaphors, witty instance and ironic intent,’ in fact, ‘*a tour de force* of English prose.’¹⁹⁴ Loisy measured Tyrrell’s opus as a ‘revolution,’ but also as ‘a work of eloquence, sincerity and faith.’¹⁹⁵ Tyrrell’s close friend Canon Lilley declared: ‘Tyrrell was a born writer, one of those really great masters of language, for whom thought seems to arise out of the underground depths of musing, like Aphrodite from the waves, in perfect and accomplished beauty of form.’¹⁹⁶ Finally, Aidan

¹⁸⁶ Tyrrell, *The Hibbert Journal* (1909), 245-255.

¹⁸⁷ See Loome, 51.

¹⁸⁸ Petre, ‘Forward,’ CC, 8.

¹⁸⁹ O’Malley, J.W. (2007), *Vatican II Did Anything Happen?* O’Malley, 2, 85.

¹⁹⁰ Loome, T.M. (1979), *Liberal catholicism, reform catholicism, modernism : a contribution to a new orientation in modernist research*. Matthias-Grünwald-Verlag, Mainz, 11.

¹⁹¹ Chapman, R. ‘The Pope And Modernists,’ *The Times*, 2 November 1910.

¹⁹² Vidler, A. ‘Foreword,’ CC, 7.

¹⁹³ Von Hügel, *Hibbert Journal*, (Jan.1910), 16.

¹⁹⁴ Daly, G. (1994), *Medievalism*, 7-19.

¹⁹⁵ See Alec Vidler, ‘Foreword,’ (1963), CC, 9.

¹⁹⁶ L. Lilley’s ‘Preface,’ Petre, M.D. (1937), *von Hügel And Tyrrell – The Story of a Friendship*, v-xii.

Nichols concluded that Tyrrell was a ‘religious genius,’ an extremely rare phenomenon in the English Church.¹⁹⁷

Building upon Tyrrell’s and von Hügel’s primary definition of Modernism, this work will present George Tyrrell as the consummate spokesperson of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century continuous movement towards Catholic Enlightenment.¹⁹⁸ Furthermore, this work will show that Tyrrell played a significant role in preparing the foundation for later movement of ecclesial theologians. Philip Endean believes that theologians such as ‘Rahner may have been historically more fortunate, conceptually more careful, and politically more astute than those whom papal paranoia had denounced as ‘Modernists’ half a century earlier, but Rahner’s project was fundamentally the same as theirs.’¹⁹⁹

Indeed, it is possible to argue, drawing upon the work of Komonchak, that the modernist crisis occasioned a significant historical ‘event’ in its own right, an event that remains pivotal to a much broader on-going process of Catholic identity and self-realisation in the contemporary world, a concern that eventually found voice and official sanction in the Second Vatican Council.²⁰⁰ Significantly for the legacy of George Tyrrell, Nicholas Lash argues that the modernist ‘event’ ‘was the painful and often tragic beginning of a significant success.’²⁰¹ Fergus Kerr emphasises that the thought of Tyrrell was not forgotten at Vatican II. Kerr notes that Ernesto Ruffini, Cardinal Archbishop of Palermo, a major figure at the Council, made a significant claim when he objected, ‘that the idea of the church as sacrament came from Tyrrell,’ while Joseph C. Fenton, another significant member of the ultramontanist minority at Vatican II complained, ‘that the whole of the first chapter of *Lumen Gentium*, the document on the nature of the church, was composed in the language of Tyrrell.’²⁰²

Undeniably these comments were barbed, but in the light of a methodology articulated by scholars such as Komonchak, it is possible to argue that events are best illuminated within a story. In this context the story is one of Catholic enlightenment flowing out from the Counter Reformation and experiencing a contextual articulation in the documents of the Second Vatican Council. Lonergan offers a convincing argument that ‘it is the occurrence of these later events that places the early events in a new perspective.’²⁰³ In this light it is possible to narrate the story of Tyrrell in a new pastoral perspective, one that is discovered by an enlarged historical context. Therefore it is defensible to argue that the story that is

¹⁹⁷ Nichols, A. (1990), *From Newman to Congar*, 135.

¹⁹⁸ Von Hügel distinguished between ‘two modernisms’ in agreement with this study. The first he described in pastoral terms as ‘a permanent, never quite finished’ attempt to interpret ‘the old faith and its permanent truths and helps’ according to what appears the best in contemporary scholarship. The second definition recognises the historical event surrounding *Pascendi* and Pius X. See Nicholas Lash, ‘Modernism, *aggiornamento* and the night battle,’ *Bishops and Writers*, Adrian Hastings, (1977), 63, 78. Holland, B. (1931), *Selected Letters of Baron von Hügel*, 248.

¹⁹⁹ Philip Endean, ‘Has Rahnerian Theology A Future?’ Marmion, D. and Hines, M.E. (2005), (Ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Karl Rahner*, 285.

²⁰⁰ See Komonchak, ‘Vatican II As An Event,’ O’Malley, J.W. (2008), *Vatican II Did Anything Happen?* 24-51, 27.

²⁰¹ Lash, N. ‘Modernism, *aggiornamento* and the night battle,’ *Bishops and Writers*, (1977), (Ed.), Adrian Hastings, 51-80.

²⁰² Kerr, F. (2007), *Twentieth-Century Catholic Theologians*, 7.

²⁰³ Lonergan, B. *Method in Theology*, 192.

‘Modernism’ began before Pius X’s judicious definition and subsequent condemnation (1907 / 1910), and continues beyond the Council into the reception process of Vatican II. Consequentially this conclusion embraces *aggiornamento*, a spirit of change and openness to modernity, a passionate commitment to the pastoral and concrete. Thus one can see that Tyrrell’s pastoral theology contained a prophetic spirit that erupts in historical events and signifies the presence of the *sensus fidelium* in concrete history.²⁰⁴

During the Modernist crisis Tyrrell maintained ‘that in a storm safety lies not in hugging the shore but in pushing out boldly into the deep.’²⁰⁵ Ships are safe in the harbour, but the ship of Peter was designed to push out into the deep. This nautical dictum also portrays both Tyrrell’s pastoral hermeneutic and personal philosophy. He never sought safe harbour. He remained pastorally committed to the ‘wayfarer,’ those modern minds that constantly struggle to justify their religious beliefs with contemporary science and culture.²⁰⁶ The remainder of this work will show that Tyrrell’s life and unique pastoral theology are dedicated to the ‘wayfarer.’ As he wrote:

And there are possible conditions under which even the priest or the Levite may, without scandal, draw near unofficially to the half-murdered wayfarer, and bind up his wounds, pouring in oil and wine.²⁰⁷

²⁰⁴ Lash, ‘Modernism, *aggiornamento* and the night battle,’ *Bishops and Writers*, (1977), Adrian Hastings, 51-80.

²⁰⁵ Tyrrell, ‘Dogma & Dogmaticism,’ Jan. 1901.

²⁰⁶ Three of the most persistent anti-theological positions derive from the sociological and psychological theories of religion together with the never-ending challenge of science. These positions find succour in the work of thinkers like Ludwig Feuerbach, *The Essence of Christianity* (1841); Friedrich Nietzsche, *Twilight of the Idols* (1889), *The Anti-Christ* (1895), *Human all too Human* (1880), *Thus Spoke Zarathustra* (1885); Emile Durkheim, *The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life*, (1912, 1915, 1965); Sigmund Freud (1856-1939), *Totem and Taboo*, (1913), *The Future of an Illusion* (1927), *Moses and Monotheism* (1939), *The Ego and the Id* (1923) and *Civilization and its Discontents* (1930); in a contemporary context see the work of biologist Richard Dawkins, *The God Delusion* (2006).

²⁰⁷ Tyrrell, *OW*, xv.

Chapter Three

A Prolegomenon to a Pastoral Hermeneutic

It is medicine for the few who are ailing, not a food for the many who are well. If a man's house will last him a lifetime, it is no use showing him what he must do when it tumbles.¹

The Good Samaritan – Lost and Found

George Tyrrell considered himself to be an Ignatian theologian.² Almost everything he wrote had a pastoral intention to serve the church. Indeed this work will show that a pastoral *modus operandi* gives an otherwise absent unity to Tyrrell's thinking.³ Tyrrell thought of himself as working towards this particular theological hermeneutic.⁴ Therefore, considering Tyrrell's thought within a framework of pastoral theology allows for a contemporary perspective of Tyrrell that speaks to our time. This chapter will draw out this reality, one that is evidenced in Tyrrell's extensive personal correspondence, prefaces, and reviews.⁵ The titles Tyrrell assigned to each of his books give a further indication of his pastoral motivation. Examples include: *Hard Sayings*, (1898); *Wine and Oil* (1900), 'And drawing nigh he bound up his wounds, pouring in oil and wine,' (The Good Samaritan, Luke 10:34); *Religion as a Factor of Life* (1900); *Faith of the Millions* (two volumes, 1902 & 1904), *Lex Orandi* (1903); *The Church and the Future* (1903); *External Religion* (1906); *Lex Credendi* (1906); *Through Scylla and Charybdis* (1907); *Christianity at the Crossroads* (1909); *Essays on Faith and Immortality* (1912), and so forth.

The infamous *A Much Abused Letter* (1906) is a poignant example of Tyrrell's pastoral and practical hermeneutic. This particular "publication" illustrated the personal cost of Tyrrell's pastoral ministry. Initially it led to his expulsion from the Jesuits. Here Tyrrell offers pastoral direction to a prominent English Catholic, who was finding it impossible to square his

¹ Tyrrell to Waller, 26 March 1902.

² Tyrrell confided to Cardinal Mercier, 'If I owe much of my Modernism to S. Thomas Aquinas, I owe still more to Ignatius Loyola. *Nova et Vetera* and *Hard Sayings* (this latter a projected volume on the *Spiritual Exercises*) are rightly admitted by the discerning to contain the substance of all my later aberrations.' *Medievalism*, 105. Strongly influenced by Ignatian spirituality Tyrrell advanced a pastoral motif based upon the need to 'live the truth rather than analysing it.' *LC*, (1906), 255. For a further example see Tyrrell's Oxford lectures, which he 'directed to practice rather than speculation,' *External Religion*, 'Preface,' viii.

³ For example, Tyrrell's *AMAL*, (1906). Here he attempted to 'save a drowning soul.' I will consider this seminal work in more detail later in the chapter. See also *ER*, (1906). Tyrrell informs his reader, 'these lectures (given at Oxford, Lent Term, 1899), slight as they are in many ways directed to practice rather than to speculation, sketch an outline of the Catholic religion,' viii.

⁴ The history of the discipline and the nuanced distinction between 'pastoral' and 'practical' are extensive and beyond the scope of this work. For a detailed survey and analysis of the historical origins of pastoral and practical theology see, for example, 'Interpreting Situations: An Inquiry into the Nature of Practical Theology' by Edward Farley, in Mudge, L.S. and Poling, J.N. (1987), *Formation and Reflection: The Promise of Practical Theology*; Price, R. 'Pastoral Theology: A Fruit of the Enlightenment,' *The Pastoral Review*, (May/June 2007), 7-12; 'Saving Souls,' the traditional definition of pastoral theology, see further, Lynch, P. (2005), *The Church's Story: A History of Pastoral Care*.

⁵ For example see Petre, M. (1920), *George Tyrrell's Letters*; Butterworth, R. (1988), *A Jesuit Friendship – Letters of George Tyrrell to Herbert Thurston*; Petre, M. (1937), *Von Hügel & Tyrrell (Letters)*; Weaver, M.J. (1981), *Letters from a Modernist: The Letters of George Tyrrell to Wilfrid Ward (1893-1908)*.

science with his faith. The professor, ‘one of those men of scientific and historical culture,’ had resolved to give up Catholicism. Tyrrell’s rhetorical question in the preface highlights his “good Samaritan” anxiety:

...who should hesitate throwing a rope to a drowning man until he has obtained leave of the owner... who should fear in coming promptly to the rescue in a dubiously lawful way? But such medicine as I have, and I hope it is no quackery, is a kind of panacea suitable for all sorts of intelligence, high and low; one which cannot do harm, and which within my narrow experience has rarely failed to do good. It consists of removing the yoke that galls, so as to give the sore place a chance of healing.⁶

In evidencing his practical orientation Tyrrell argued, ‘Catholicism is not primarily a theology. No, Catholicism is primarily a life’ to be lived.⁷ Tyrrell believed, ‘Catholicism remains the most efficacious instrument of the spiritual life, so long as it is not robbed of its liberty or tied to a faction.’⁸

Experience and reflection confirm me daily in the conviction that life is less simple than we learnt from our copy-books and our catechisms, and that our choices – leastways, those of any moment – are rarely between good and evil, divisible as it were with a hatchet... in real life such serenity (a thoroughly satisfied conscience), is the privilege not so much of the heroic as of the unreflective.⁹

Tyrrell ministered to the reflective, in contrast with many pastors in his position, because he understood the personal difficulties of reconciling intelligent faith with contemporary knowledge. To von Hügel he confided, ‘the Church sits on my soul like a night-mare and the oppression is maddening.’¹⁰ He thus posited what he considers to be an important distinction between “faith” in its ethical and evangelical sense, and faith that is ‘made to stand for theological orthodoxy, for assent to a dogmatic system.’¹¹ If faith is assent to a scientific system, its health is predicated upon intellectual sustainability. However, if ‘Catholicism is primarily a life, and the church a spiritual organism in whose life we participate,’ then an attempt at formation or understanding may fail, without affecting the value or integrity of the said life. Throughout Tyrrell’s pastoral hermeneutic, Catholicism remains a faith based ‘school of life rather than a school of thought.’¹²

⁶ Tyrrell, *AMAL*, 25.

⁷ *AMAL*, 4. See also Tyrrell’s letter to W. Ward, 8 April 1906, ‘I feel a far deeper fraternity and sympathy with a religious nonconformist than I do with Loisy or Houtin, Gibson or Williams, (obviously this is not for quotation); and if I swear by the Baron or Miss Petre or Laberthonnière it is just because with them too the life is more than the theory,’ in M.J. Weaver, 107.

⁸ *AMAL*, 6.

⁹ *AMAL*, 21.

¹⁰ Tyrrell letter to von Hügel, 5 November 1904, *GTL*, 109.

¹¹ Tyrrell to Petre, 5 November 1904, *GTL*, 109.

¹² Tyrrell, (1902), *CF*, 75ff. In a contemporary context liberation theologians would infer here a preference for orthopraxis. (With the possible exception of *CC*, published posthumously in 1909, Tyrrell did not produce any new theological thesis beyond this date. It is a sad fact of history that Tyrrell became embroiled in ecclesial polemics that advanced only in terms of their negativity and duplicity.)

The Hermeneutical Triad and Historical Consciousness

This work is predicated upon seven methodological jigsaw pieces. When viewed together they form an insightful depiction of Tyrrell's pastoral theology. The first is Tyrrell's understanding of Ignatius and the *Spiritual Exercises*.¹³ The second is Newman's assumption of good faith on behalf of the theologian and the magisterium;¹⁴ the third, is von Hügel's two-fold definition of Modernism;¹⁵ the fourth, is Komonchak's understanding of history as an 'event';¹⁶ the fifth, is Schultenover's hermeneutical 'Perception of the Mediterranean Mind';¹⁷ the sixth, is Rush's hermeneutical triads of understanding, interpretation and application in conjunction with the hermeneutical cycle of author, text and receiver;¹⁸ and

¹³ See *A&L*, Vol. II, 'The *Spiritual Exercises*,' 77-84. 'Through all his anxiety... Tyrrell still clung to his early belief in the broad, original spirit of her founder, and the high ascetical value of the *Spiritual Exercises*. Petre informs us that, 'he regarded St Ignatius as a great innovator and held that his rules (e.g. 'manifestation of conscience') had been instituted wholly in the interests of individual liberty, and as a substitute for mechanical rule. But under the formalising process the Ignatian system of flexible, spiritual government was being transformed into a closely knit and ultra-conservative organism, while the *Exercises* were becoming petrified by the prevailing lack of mysticism.' 77-78.

¹⁴ Newman, 'The Idea of a University,' 357. See also Newman's *The Idea of A University*, 'Bearing of Other Knowledge On Theology,' 71-99.

¹⁵ Von Hügel believed there are two components to Modernism. 'The first is the never-ending attempt to interpret the old faith according to the latest philosophy and science; the second he described as the events that took place during the pontificate of Pius X.' Cf. Loome, *Liberal Catholicism*, 32.

¹⁶ O'Malley, (2007), *Vatican II: Did Anything Happen?* Joseph Komonchak, 24-51, 27. Rush argues a similar point. For example, 'as an event, Vatican II can be understood as an attempt by the bishops to restate the Church's self-understanding... by reinterpreting the Catholic tradition in the light of contemporary challenges.' See further, Rush, *Still Interpreting Vatican II*, 3. This definition makes an interesting contrast with von Hügel and Tyrrell's definition of Modernism and Komonchak's understanding of history as an 'event.' See David Schultenover, (1993), *A View From Rome*, Chapter Five, 'Perceptions of the Mediterranean Mind.' Here Schultenover shows that the antimodernists defined and condemned modernism. Schultenover traces the ideological ancestry of antimodernism through the papal documents of the nineteenth century quoted by Pius X in his encyclical *Pascendi*. 'Therein he saw that the papacy perceived the threat emerging at the turn of the century to be a direct descendant of Liberalism's declaration of independence from external authority – whether religious, political, or intellectual – which in turn passed through the Enlightenment back to Luther's initiatory declaration of independence from Rome. 159-161. Schultenover informs his readers that, 'I based my exposition as far as possible from within the minds of the protagonists.' *A View from Rome*, 232.

¹⁷ Schultenover, *A View From Rome* (2004), 'Perception of the Mediterranean Mind,' 168-176. (1) War was the context for over a century – ideologically aligned with an ever retreating monarchy beleaguered by an ever advancing democratic liberalism; (2) Organising principle is belongingness – the primary structure of belongingness is the family; (3) Belongingness and acceptance is dependent upon adherence to traditional rules of order; (4) Order is complex – and each member is expected to conform in order to belong – a family member who violates the laws is rejected; (5) Order is maintained in the Mediterranean family by complementary codes of honor and shame – honor is the conferral of public esteem; shame, the deprivation of public esteem; (6) Order is rigidly gender-based, maintained by the codes of honor and shame and defined and organized into male and female categories: there are male times and female times; male space and female space; male functions and female functions within the social grouping; (7) Shame occurs whenever someone disrupts the purity system, that is, rigidly defined and learned hierarchical ordering of persons – honor is regarded as essentially male ; shame as essentially female; (8) Authority has little to do with personal talent or chrism but is almost entirely defined in terms of the right and power to command – it is generally simple because it is dictatorial according to the learned purity system memories dedicate; (9) Application to ecclesial culture (family) – is to understand the behavior of Leo XIII, Pius X, Merry del Val, and Luis Martins – who exemplified this Mediterranean mind set; (10) The man takes on the title of father (priest) and ascends the hierarchical ladder – subordinates are always female. See Schultenover, 'Ecclesial Application,' 182-183.

¹⁸ In what follows I draw upon the hermeneutical theses outlined by Ormond Rush, *Still Interpreting Vatican II*, (2004), see also 1, 35, & 52 and Rush, 'Thesis for a Theological Hermeneutics and a Systematic Theology,'

the seventh, builds upon O'Malley's contention that Vatican II adopted a 'panegyric' style of discourse, which is an idealised portrait that moved away from medieval and scholastic form.¹⁹ The purpose is not to clarify concepts but to heighten appreciation, a pastoral method mirrored in the thought of Tyrrell.

Rush also reminds us that 'theological hermeneutics begins with the presumption of faith and the ecclesial context within which understanding, interpretation and application of the faith take place.'²⁰ According to Rush, the hermeneutical circle is relevant because tradition is to be interpreted in the light of scripture and vice versa, also the present is to be interpreted in light of the past, for example, in the context of this work, the Modernist crisis and Vatican II and vice versa. For Rush, the hermeneutical circle applies to the methodological relationship between the three hermeneutic inquiries of author, text and reader; each should be understood in the light of the other, in an ongoing spiral of understanding.²¹ In the case of Tyrrell (and the anti modernists), a hermeneutics of the author seeks to discover what the author wanted to communicate, what Rush calls a reconstruction of the authorial intention, this method looks to the world behind the text, to the historical circumstances that conditioned Modernism.

Komonchak's interpretation of history as 'event,' resonates with von Hügel's two-fold definitions of Modernism. The first, *pace* Komanchak, is the actual event, (the historical drama).²² The second, according to von Hügel, is the concept of the ongoing 'process' of Modernism, which this thesis will adopt to argue that Modernism is an ongoing movement.²³ While von Hügel's definition is insightful, it is important to hold the two-fold aspect in view and thus avoid the impression that the historical 'event' can be separated from the historical 'process' of Modernism. The process continually unfolds over centuries, contextualising the event, which is then viewed as one particular event in the evolutionary (or timeless progression) movement of 'a people' towards their God.

Schultenover's research (a reconstruction of the authorial intention — modernist and anti-modernist), when synthesised with the work of Komonchak and Rush allows historical-political realities to be reconstructed. This methodological jigsaw puzzle leads to the hypothesis that the Roman Curia (Pius X, Merry del Val) and the Superior General of the Jesuits (Martín), did not assume that Tyrrell's theological hermeneutic began with the assumption, *pace* Newman, of faith. Although born in Dublin, Tyrrell's thought evolved within a very English cultural and linguistic ecclesial context, an important nuanced distinction the Roman Curia could not comprehend. From the Roman perspective, the English Church remained suspect; in their eyes, Tyrrell's 'Protestant' infiltration simply confirmed Mediterranean cultural fears of the English situation.²⁴

Keynote Address, ACTA Conference, Melbourne 5-8 July 2007. Rush, built upon the work of Hans Georg Gadamer, Schleiermacher, and Jauss, developing the hermeneutical triad of understanding, interpretation and application and applying the hermeneutical cycle.

¹⁹ O'Malley, 66.

²⁰ Rush, *Still Interpreting Vatican II*, xii.

²¹ Rush, *Still Interpreting Vatican II*, xii.

²² Komonchak, *Vatican II Did Anything Happen?* (2007), 24-51.

²³ See Chapter Two above, 'An Introduction to the Life of George Tyrrell.'

²⁴ Schultenover is convinced that 'on the surface the modernist crisis was about doctrine, the expression of theological reflection on revelation as incarnated in the lived experience. But at the foundational level, the crisis was about culture that gave rise to doctrinal thought and expression.' *A View from Rome*, 242.

Indeed Schultenover is convinced that the Modernist crisis was about two ecclesial-cultural worlds colliding with each other. The battle ground was their opposing epistemologies: the naïve realism of scholastic Aristotelianism vs. The idealism of Kant, the former arising out of the Mediterranean culture, the latter out of the northern European culture.²⁵ ‘Thomism was born from and appealed to the Mediterranean mind,’²⁶ Schultenover argues that:

The single most important injunction for a Mediterranean male is to guard his patrimony. In the tradition of the Roman Catholic Church, the ecclesial patrimony cannot be conceptually separated from territory – in the papal mind, it was not the king who ruled, but the Pope of Rome, the vicar of Christ, who crowned the king.²⁷

The encyclical *Pascendi* makes it quite clear that the Pope ‘could not think of shepherding the flock without the land.’²⁸ In Martins (Tyrrell’s Jesuit general) and Merry del Val (Secretary of State), we discover two examples of the ‘Mediterranean mind,’ both of whom opposed the English Church. Schultenover believes that ‘it would have taken a miracle of grace for Martins to prevent his antipathy toward England as a nation from seeping into his dealing with the English Jesuits.’²⁹ Furthermore in secret correspondence, Merry del Val is extremely forthright in his conviction that ‘...there exists in England... a group of traitors in the camp, and it would be better were they to quickly go out from us for they are not of us.’³⁰

Schultenover understands the Modernist ‘battle’ to have been engaged between the Modernists and Church authorities over authority, power, control and it turned on the issues of history and historical criticism. Thus Schultenover is convinced that

Modernists embraced historicity and saw revelation as embedded in a cultural matrix. To receive revelation... one had to read scripture from within its matrix, therefore one needed hermeneutics and the science of historical criticism.³¹

²⁵ Schultenover, *A View from Rome*, 231.

²⁶ Schultenover, *A View from Rome*, 235.

²⁷ Schultenover, *A View from Rome*, 234

²⁸ Schultenover, *A View from Rome*, 235.

²⁹ Schultenover, *A View from Rome*, 239.

³⁰ Schultenover, *A View from Rome*, 92.

³¹ Schultenover, *A View from Rome*, 230.

Hermeneutics of the Author, Text and Receiver

In regard to the life and thought of George Tyrrell, assessment of the author's intention is fraught with difficulty. The Roman curia considered Tyrrell's Modernism to be the synthesis of all heresies. The historical chasm between the Spanish/Roman Church and their estranged northern cousins was duly exacerbated by Tyrrell's intransigence and inability to deal with the emotional pressures of authoritarian dictates. From 1900 onwards, following the publication of the *Joint Pastoral*, Tyrrell unfortunately decided to 'fan the flames' of opposition to Roman 'Integralism.'³²

Oblivious to the fact that cultural presupposition dictated the battle lines, neither side would contemplate arbitration or *pace* Newman, acknowledge true Catholicity in the other. In essence, responsible leadership empowered by intellectual acumen and inspired with pastoral concern could have diluted the crisis or at least regulated the theological, political, and intellectual consequences.

The challenge remained one of context. Historical criticism allows theologians to look behind the text to the conditions that prevailed, the spirit of the time and the political intention of the authors. Tyrrell's pastoral concerns together with his consistent recourse to the *Spiritual Exercises* of Ignatius, evidence his self-understanding as an Ignatian spiritual counsellor. His work emerged out of a cluster of historical minutiae. Primary contributory factors included: Tyrrell's childhood relationships and formation, personal family tragedy,³³ association with the English division of the Society of Jesus, the influence of Baron von Hügel and other modernist thinkers, together with the *Spiritual Exercises* of Ignatius. Tyrrell often went to extremes to acknowledge his debt to Ignatius, ignoring when it suited, probably through polemical haste rather than intent, other considerable influences:

If I owe much of my Modernism to S. Thomas Aquinas, I owe still more to Ignatius Loyola... I learnt... not from Kant, nor from the Philosophy of Action, nor from Protestantism, but solely from the *Spiritual Exercises* of the founder of the Jesuits.³⁴

Secondary contextual factors beyond Tyrrell's influence include: the shadow of Vatican I; early twentieth-century ecclesial and social political meanderings; the French Revolution; Spanish persecution and expulsion of the Jesuits; the Italian land disputes; destruction of the papal states; the dominance of Enlightenment thinking in universities and governments; the rise of democracy and liberalism particularly in the USA; growth of agnosticism; widening

³² 'Integralism' – regards everything in the world as evil or worthless unless and until it is somehow 'integrated' with 'Roman' Christianity. See McBrien, R.P. (1994), *Catholicism*, 692.

³³ For example, Tyrrell was born two months after the death of his father; see *A&L*, Vol. I, 3. See also *A&L*, Vol. I, 104-119, regarding the death of Tyrrell's brother, 'Willie,' aged 24. Tyrrell wrote, 'I confess my brother's death so deepened my contempt of ordinary life that I became more anxious than ever to be really convinced that the fair dreams of Catholicism might prove true, nor would I listen to the stifled voice that told me that they were dreams, wilfully believed in.' 119. Tyrrell was 16 when his brother died and 24 when his mother passed away. Petre described the loss of his mother as 'a wound that never healed.' *A&L*, Vol. I, 279.

³⁴ Tyrrell, (1994), *Medievalism*, 'His Kantian Presupposition,' Chapter XI, 105.

access to media and publishing; improvements in literacy and general education together with the growing dominance of a scientific world view.

An exploration of the hermeneutics of the author allows one to differentiate Tyrrell's pastoral intent from his more polemical ecclesial objectives. A common mistake made by Tyrrell's critics is to overlook or misunderstand his nuanced pastoral distinctions. 'A Perverted Devotion' is a good illustration. Roman censors reprimanded Tyrrell for attacking the doctrine of Hell, when in fact he was critiquing the 'perverted devotion to hell,' an emphasis he detected in contemporary preaching that he claimed originated with the teaching of Tertullian.³⁵ Any endeavour to portray Tyrrell's text disconnected from his pastoral *modus operandi* risked engaging in ecclesial polemics rather than theological hermeneutics that may have had the potential to be pastorally enriching. Tyrrell was not occupied by systematics; he was not questioning the legitimacy of doctrine, but rather the hermeneutic principles for their pastoral and practical application.

Historical critical investigation produced important guidelines for interpreting the thought of Tyrrell, although one may insist that 'such a historical reconstruction is always a retrospective reconstruction from a particular vantage point. Furthermore such reconstructions change as historical perspectives change over time.'³⁶ Hermeneutics of the author allows for a reconstruction of the 'spirit' of Tyrrell's thought, a corpus that was predominantly pastoral in its original motivation.

A hermeneutics of the text takes the text 'as is.' This approach gives attention to the 'letter' rather than the 'spirit.' Questions of genre, rhetoric and style take on an added significance. This method adopts a synchronic approach, looking at the tone of language used at a particular moment in time rather than over time. O'Malley offers a further important consideration when he argued that it is important not to separate completely exploration of the 'letter' and the 'spirit,' 'but to see them in dynamic relationship.'³⁷

Within a theological context the genre of Tyrrell's writing is predominantly pastoral in intent. It remains unique for its time, espousing the liberation of theology and the theologian.³⁸ Tyrrell's text speaks to the reader on equal terms and rejects all notions of hierarchical privilege, while at the same time he attempted to awaken (liberate) the faithful from what Tyrrell considered to be a deep slumber.

From first to last, I have written, not from on high, as a teacher, but as an inquirer on the same platform of my readers... there is no spiritual progress without jolt and jar and many a rude awakening.³⁹

³⁵ Tyrrell, 'A Perverted Devotion,' *EFI*, 160.

³⁶ Rush, (2004), 33.

³⁷ John W. O'Malley, 'Vatican II: Official Norms. On interpreting the Council, with a response to Cardinal Avery Dulles,' *America*, March 31, 2003, 11-14, 12. See also Rush (2004), 104-105.

³⁸ See Chapter Seven above, 'Liberation: A Reverberant Imperative.'

³⁹ Tyrrell, *OW*, (1907), vi, vii.

There are parallels here with our understanding of Vatican II. O'Malley drew out the pastorally significant genre of Vatican II, a genre present in the work of Tyrrell. It was 'a new style of discourse (pastoral) and in so doing set forth through that style a striking teaching on how the Church was to be.' O'Malley understands the literary form of the councils up to Vatican II to be a legislative – as in a judicial body. The language was often authoritarian in its depiction of those who it opposed, 'they spoke a language that tried unmistakably to distinguish "who's in" and who's out," which often entailed not only meting out punishment for the latter but even considering them enemies.'⁴⁰ The pastoral style of Vatican II mirrors a pastoral intention. O'Malley argues that the style is 'panegyric,' an idealised portrait that moved away from medieval and Scholastic form. The purpose is not to clarify concepts but to heighten appreciation. Similarly Tyrrell's pastoral theology was not a 'synthesis of all heresies,' but rather a pastorally motivated hermeneutical reform that attempted to persuade faith renewal rather than enforce unyielding codes of law.

Ever mindful of his critics Tyrrell continuously emphasised the narrow extent of his readership, 'one and the same method of ministry is not suited for all, and the child cannot keep stride with the man.' Tyrrell did not appeal to the 'docile Catholic;' for Tyrrell faith required critical exploration. From this reality evolved both his vocation to the Jesuits and his pastoral ministry within the Society. His inquiry after religious truth was personal, and his books offered the fruits of his deliberations as a pastoral remedy to those who were struggling with aspects of their faith. In no sense does he place himself in a position of authority or leadership. Rather, 'I am too conscious of my own blindness to wish to be a leader of the blind.'⁴¹ And yet he sets himself the task of challenging what he considered to be the principles that would condemn Catholic doctrine to absolute sterility, that

would, with fatal consequences, have bound it fast in the swaddling clothes

of its earliest infancy; that would justify the worst that has ever been said of its obstructive and soul destroying character.⁴²

Tyrrell appealed to the collective experience of the community as the arbiter of religious truth. Here the 'Spirit of Truth and Righteousness' reveals itself, assuming an 'infallibility which is higher according to the width, the depth, the antiquity of that stream of collective experience.'⁴³ Tyrrell considered his pastoral work entailed building a church and a faith for future generations. In *Oil and Wine* he insisted, 'the city that our fathers began to build for us we have to continue for our children.' The construction evolved from a particular Catholic framework. Thus he emphasised that 'none of us may build wildly according to his private freak and fancy.'⁴⁴ Rather our pastoral initiative should remain within 'the best attainable light as to what has already been done and what yet has to be done by the historical church. Thus unity of spirit, of idea or plan, must pervade the work from beginning to end.'⁴⁵

⁴⁰ O'Malley (2007), *Vatican II: Did Anything Happen?* 68-70.

⁴¹ Tyrrell, *OW*, ix.

⁴² *OW*, ix.

⁴³ *OW*, x.

⁴⁴ *OW*, xi.

⁴⁵ *OW*, xi.

Tyrrell's call to tradition and unity required an acceptance of the historical critical method, together with the fruits of individual reflection and experience. Such 'fruits' should then become 'subject to the sovereign criticism of that Spirit of Truth, which is not external to, but embodied in the whole church — the practical results are life giving.'⁴⁶

Ever conscious of Catholicity, Tyrrell counselled against departing from established conventions, for 'merely selfish motives.' He considered this to be 'licence and not liberty,' an affront to the 'sovereign law of the Common Good.' However, he sought to present a 'wider and kindlier interpretation of Catholicism,' and although it was 'barely tolerated by the school at present in the ascendancy at headquarters,' Tyrrell believed,

...it to be the spirit which dwells deep down in the nethermost heart of the Catholic community, and which is bound one day to assert itself triumphantly over every sort of cruelty and moral violence and intolerance.⁴⁷

Similar in tone to Bishop de Smedt's critique of the curia's first draft of *Lumen Gentium* (clericalism, centralism and triumphalism),⁴⁸ Tyrrell characterised the Roman model of authority as 'a libellous caricature.' In the process of restoring all things in Christ, Tyrrell insisted we must sooner or later work back to the underlying elements of the Gospel.

⁴⁶ *OW*, xi. Bishop Christopher Butler reminds the church that we 'must not fear that truth may endanger truth,' Butler, C. (1974), *Searching*, 265.

⁴⁷ Tyrrell, *OW*, xiv. See also 'The Church We Believe In,' Sullivan, F. *Contemporary Catholic Theology: a Reader*, Hayes, M. and Gearon, L. (1999), (Ed.), 272; Sullivan, F. (1988), *The Church We Believe In*. unmistakable. Tyrrell building upon Blondel condemned the inadequacy of philosophy regarded as pure speculation. For Tyrrell, *pace* Blondel, the essence of modern conscience, moulded by Christianity, 'is to be militant and to endure suffering, to feel itself responsible for and one with the entire creation, and to be unable to be satisfied with the notional ideal of Greek speculation.' 8.

⁴⁸ See Küng, H., Congar, Y. and O'Hanlon, D. (Eds.), *Council Speeches of Vatican II*, (1964); See also Curran, C.E. (2003), (Ed.), *Change in Official Catholic Moral Teaching*, Chapter Two, 'Religious Liberty,' Bishop de Smedt of Bruges, to the third session of Vatican II, 13. Bishop de Smedt's critique of the curia's first draft of *Lumen Gentium*, the 'schema' on the Church prepared on the basis of the traditional Roman theology and presented and defended by Cardinal Ottaviani. The purpose of the progressives was to get any objections on record and thus provide guidance that could be used in rewriting the schema after adjournment. There proved to be many objections to the Ottaviani draft, which was a restatement of monarchical church authority. Bishop Emile Josef de Smedt of Bruges, Belgium, rose to speak: "Shouldn't this schema be purged of its triumphalism, its clericalism, its juridicism? This exercise in minor logic is unworthy of Mother Church." When he sat down, Bishop de Smedt received the loudest applause of the council. At council's end, the document was sent back for rewriting. See <http://www.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,829723-3,00.html>.

⁴⁹ Tyrrell, *OW*, 7. This remained a constant pastoral theme throughout Tyrrell's work, obviously influenced by Blondel, see also *LO*, vii. And Farber, M. (Ed.), (1950), *Philosophic thought in France and the United States*, 'Maurice Blondel's Philosophy of Action and Ontology,' 8-35. 'In a passage inspired by Bergsonism, Edouard Le Roy wrote these words, which apply to the philosophy of Maurice Blondel: 'In my opinion, the powerful originality and solid truth of the new philosophy are that it recognised the subordination of the idea to the real and of reality to action.' See Faber, 8. The resemblances between Bergsonism and the philosophy of Blondel and Tyrrell are unmistakable. Tyrrell building upon Blondel condemned the inadequacy of philosophy regarded as pure speculation. For Tyrrell, *pace* Blondel, the essence of modern conscience, moulded by Christianity, 'is to be militant and to endure suffering, to feel itself responsible for and one with the entire creation, and to be unable to be satisfied with the notional ideal of Greek speculation.' 8.

⁵⁰ *OW*, xv.

Although the church at times may weaken, she cannot wholly destroy her inevitable solidarity with the age.

Indeed, Tyrrell consistently asserted that ‘life is the test of religious truth.’⁴⁹ Thus in developing a pastoral theology, Tyrrell unfolded his personal understanding of pastoral ministry.⁵⁰ He believed the specific task of a pastoral theologian was to ‘draw near the wayfarer,’ and in this process reflect upon Christian life and practice within the wider cultural and intellectual milieu. Today pastoral theology continues the pioneering efforts of Tyrrell, in that it strives to articulate and justify an explicit link between theological understanding and faithful activity. Fundamental issues which echo down the twentieth century include: the relation of theory to practice (E.g. Tyrrell’s ‘Relation of Theology to Devotion’ and his *Lex Orandi Lex Credendi*), the relation of pastoral theology to other theological subjects, and the challenge of determining a precise definition of pastoral and practical theology.

Pastoral and Practical Theology – the contemporary discussion

Today pastoral and practical theology consists of diverse methodologies and manifests itself in a myriad of ways. There is no clear-cut usage of the terms. They often appear interchangeable depending on the particular context. In general, ‘pastoral’ is returning, within the Catholic context, to denote a more exclusive male ‘shepherding’ expression associated with seminary clergy formation.⁵¹ In Britain for example, within the university context, Oliver O’Donovan epitomises the movement across subject boundaries and terminology. He is Professor of Christian Ethics and *Practical* Theology at the University of Edinburgh. He was previously Regius Professor of Moral and *Pastoral* Theology at the University of Oxford. In the UK, particularly within protestant communities there is a preference for the inclusive ‘practical’ term, encompassing an extensive range of social ministries (activism) involving both clergy and laity. Ballard and Pritchard argue that practical theology was almost unknown in England and only came into universities in the 1960’s as pastoral studies. English and Welsh universities are now coming into line with Scottish and North American usage, concerning the form, content and methodology. Perusal of contemporary literature on pastoral and practical theology is a bewildering task. It is virtually impossible to find a consensus as to the boundaries of and distinctions between pastoral and practical theology.⁴¹⁵²

⁵¹ Lynch, P. (2006), *The Church’s Story: A History of Pastoral Care and Vision*; Ballard, P. and Pritchard, J. (2001), *Practical Theology in Action*, 1 – 68. Woodward, J. and Pattison, S. (2000), *The Blackwell Reader In Pastoral And Practical Theology*.

⁵² See O’Donovan, O. (1996) *The Desire of the Nations*; O’Donovan, O. (2002), *Common Objects of Love*; and O’Donovan, O. (2005), *The Ways of Judgment*. For example, the Sydney College of Divinity, until a recent cull and reclassification, listed in excess of 240 undergraduate course units in pastoral theology, encompassing a vast range of subjects. Insightful work on defining pastoral theology in a contemporary context can be found in the work of Carr, W. (2002), *Handbook of Pastoral Studies*, 1 – 34 and Ballard, P. and Pritchard, J. (2001), *Practical Theology in Action*, 1 – 68. Also see ‘Pastoral Theology: The Pastoral Mission of the Church,’ *Concilium*, 1965/3; James W. Fowler, ‘Practical Theology and Theological Education: Some models and Questions,’ *Theology Today*, Vol 42, No.1, (April 1985). Woodward, J. and Pattison, S. (2000), *The Blackwell Reader in Pastoral & Practical Theology*; Forrester, F. (2000), *Truthful Action*; Bevans, B. S. (2005), *Models of Contextual Theology*; Wijssen, Henriot, Mejía (2005), *The Pastoral Circle Revisited: A Critical Quest for Truth and Transformation*.

Loneragan's thought assists in affirming the importance of Tyrrell's pastoral hermeneutics and in the process defended his concern for the care of souls. Lonergan conceived pastoral theology to be the final stage out of eight of theological method and 'without the first seven stages of course, there is no fruit to be borne.' Highlighting the significance of pastoral theology, Lonergan believed without this particular relationship, 'the first seven are in vain, for they fail to mature.'⁵³

Rahner's pertinent reflections also served to locate and validate Tyrrell's theological hermeneutic. He maintained pastoral theology can no longer be understood as teaching and direction relating to the world of the cleric charged with the cure of souls. Succinctly outlining a *modus operandi* reflective of Tyrrell's theological hermeneutic, Rahner asserted, 'today rather it (pastoral theology) consists in theological reflection upon the entire process by which the church as a whole brings her own nature to its fullness in the light of the contemporary situation of the world.'⁵⁴

James Woodward and Stephen Pattison consider some of the key questions in the contemporary discipline and provide a useful historical / contemporary analysis, supporting the contention with regard to Tyrrell's pastoral hermeneutic. For example, pastoral theology is the subject area that deals with the relationship between the faith and theological tradition, together with practical issues and actions that are concerned with human well-being. In a definition that has particular resonance with Tyrrell's pastoral hermeneutic, Pattison and Woodward believe pastoral theology is,

a place where religious belief, tradition and practice meets contemporary experiences, questions and actions and conducts a dialogue that is mutually enriching, intellectually critical, and practically (personally) transforming.⁵⁵

Today there is no universally accepted definition of either term – practical or pastoral. In the United States pastoral theology is traditionally considered to be the branch of theology that formulates the practical principles, theories and procedures for ordained ministry in all its functions. It is a practical theological discipline concerned with the theory and practice of pastoral care and counselling. In other words, a form of theological reflection in which pastoral experience serves as a context for the critical development of basic theological understanding. Here pastoral theology is not a theology of or about pastoral care but a type of contextual theology, a way of doing theology pastorally.⁵⁶ In the United Kingdom pastoral theology is considered to be a field of study in clergy education covering the responsibilities

⁵³ Lonergan, B. (1972), *Method in Theology*, 355.

⁵⁴ Rahner, K. (1973), *Theological Investigations*, trans. David Burke, Vol.10, 350. Here Rahner considers 'caritas as a science,' 369. For a systematic discussion of the term 'pastoral' in the context of *Gaudium et spes*, see Rahner, Vol. 10 (1973), 293-298.

⁵⁵ Woodward and Pattison, (2000), *The Blackwell Reader in Pastoral & Practical Theology*, 9.

and activities of the minister and usually including preaching, liturgics, pastoral care, Christian education, church polity and administration.⁵⁷

Within the ecclesial context, the election of John Paul I was regarded by many as a triumph because the cardinals had elected a 'pastoral' pope. Following his sudden death the term pastoral remained in vogue being employed to cover a variety of works. Cardinal Gantin broadened the term further by describing all 111 cardinals as indiscriminately pastoral.⁵⁸ It was Archbishop Karol Wojtyla, while working along side de Lubac on the drafting of 'Schema 13,' (*Gaudium et Spes*) who proposed that the Schema should be styled a 'pastoral' constitution rather than just a declaration.⁵⁹ As a consequence the term has become a 'broken-backed word.' Wesley Carr cautions 'warning bells should sound when the term pastoral is encountered. When it is indiscriminately applied it often obfuscates and may be used to avoid hard decisions or to escape the charge of unclarity.'⁶⁰

It appears not to be a coincidence that in the contemporary theological academy the leading figures articulating practical theology belong to the Protestant faith of Tyrrell's birth. Seward Hiltner (1909-1984), born the year of Tyrrell's death, perhaps did more than anyone else to establish and foster pastoral theology as an area of serious, distinctive academic and practical concern.⁶¹ Woodward and Pattison build upon Hiltner's contention that pastoral theology is not just the 'application of principles taken from other theological disciplines to practice.' Instead, pastoral theology should be seen as a legitimate and central theological discipline in its own right. 'Unlike other theological disciplines, it is an operative-or experience-focused theological discipline that contributes directly to the understanding of revelation and theology from the shepherding perspective.'⁶²

Tyrrell's Pastoral Hermeneutic

Tyrrell's life and work was devoted to interpreting and explaining scripture and tradition, for the purpose of a pastorally motivated ministry.⁶³ In the light of the previous discussion,

⁵⁶ Hunter, R. (1990), *Dictionary of Pastoral Care and Counselling*, 867.

⁵⁷ See Forrester, D. (2000), *Truthful Action*, 27. Forrester is considered to be one of the world's leading scholars in pastoral and practical theology. Forrester's work sanctions a contemporary validation for Tyrrell's pastoral hermeneutic. He defines practical theology as 'the theological discipline that is primarily concerned with the interaction of belief and practice.'

⁵⁸ Hebblewaite, B. (1978), *The Year of the Three Popes*, 134.

⁵⁹ McBrien, R. 666-667.

⁶⁰ Carr, W. (2002), *Handbook of Pastoral Studies*, 9.

⁶¹ See Hunter, R. (1990), *Dictionary of Pastoral Care and Counselling*.

⁶² Woodward and Pattison, (2000), *The Blackwell Reader in Pastoral & Practical Theology*, 27.

⁶³ For examples of Tyrrell's pastoral hermeneutic see Tyrrell, 'Authority And Evolution,' FM II, 140-141. EFI, in particular, 'The Church,' 103-118. Especially 105. 'Limits of Authority,' 119-127. Especially 126, 'every moment we unmake our world and build it anew.' 'Lex Orandi,' 123-125. See also, 'The Soul's Centre,' 'To love and seek is the soul's inevitable destiny or doom.' 228-238. 'The Parusia and Socialism,' 239-244, Especially 224. 'Personality and Survival,' reinterpretation of tradition and immortality,' 177. For a further insight into Tyrrell's pastoral hermeneutic see his critique of the opposing Ultramontane school. For example Tyrrell's opposition to the Joint Pastoral A&L vol. II, 146-161 and Tyrrell's opposition to Pascendi, A&L, vol. II, 332-340. See also 178-183 above.

regarding the nature and purpose of pastoral theology, it is reasonable to argue that Tyrrell laboured to produce a pastoral hermeneutic that could interpret theological issues of meaning and truth. He sought to mediate the doctrine of the church to the age, in relation to the actual context of living out the ordinary life of faith. In contrast to the Ultramontane world view, Tyrrell sought to integrate theory and practice. Tyrrell analysed the theological endeavours of his contemporaries, including the thought of von Hügel (elements of mysticism), Loisy (biblical exegesis), and Blondel (*Philosophie de L'Action*), in order to apply their spiritual and academic insights to the cause of pastoral ministry.

Tyrrell's critical exploration was distinct from the Ultramontane school, which, in opposing Tyrrell, attempted to impose a centralist, dictatorial rejection of the 'movement' toward change, including democracy and the advances of science. In an ecclesial context, Tyrrell employed a pastoral hermeneutic as a conduit between the expanding theological disciplines and the ordinary life of faith. His intention relates to the traditional pastoral care of souls, and to bring healing to those experiencing spiritual difficulties. A practical insight into Tyrrell's pastoral hermeneutic may be gleaned from situating his pastoral endeavours within the four stages of the pastoral cycle also outlined previously.

Tyrrell's pastoral hermeneutic is distinctive because it contrasted with the academic pursuit of knowledge that was taking place in the expanding universities. His method also contrasts with the epistemological foundation of the Ultramontane school which dominated the seminaries. Tyrrell's method and pastoral objectives also contrast with the regressive rhetoric that epitomised the Neoscholastic approach to Catholicism that was being espoused in Rome. Apart from aspects of Tyrrell's raw apologetic, it would be difficult to point to any of his theology that did not have a pastoral motif. As this work has shown, on countless occasions, a pastoral *raison d'être* was both Tyrrell's *modus operandi* and his reason for becoming a theologian.

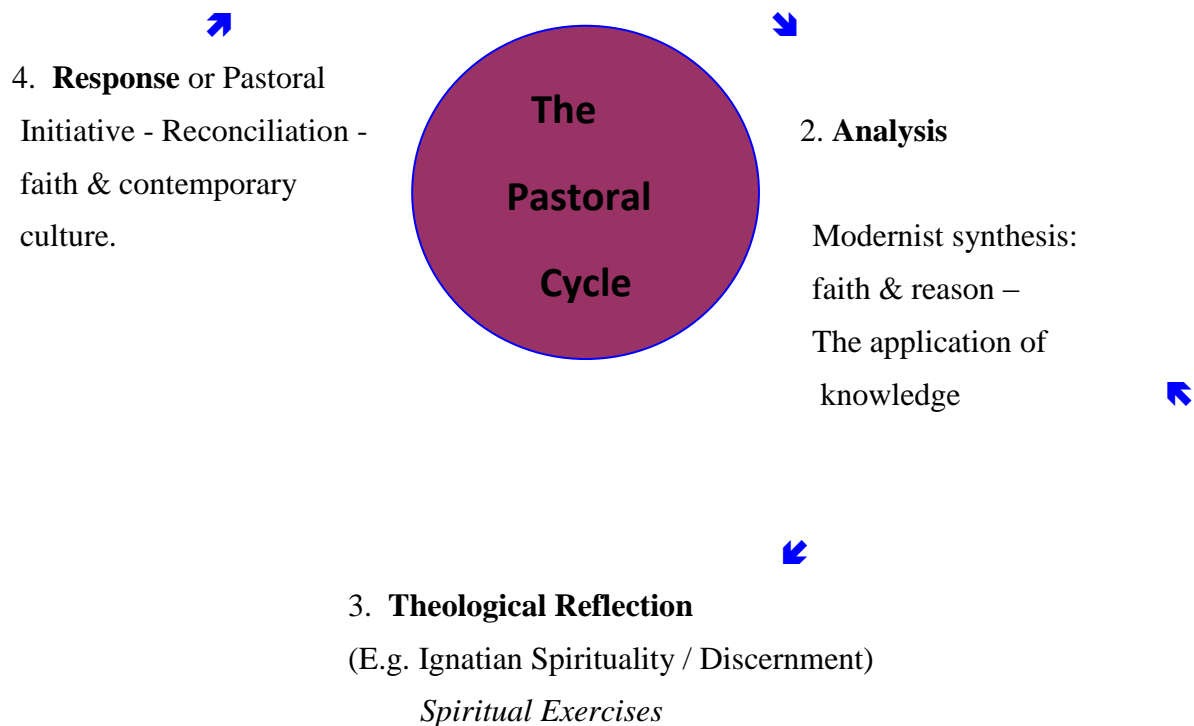
Tyrrell's ministry brought him into conflict with authorities because his subject matter was authority itself. He argued that the Roman Curia had to be radically reformed, not by degree but in a manner that changed profoundly its *modus operandi*, its thinking, its reforms and above all its attitudes. It is not surprising that Tyrrell's interpretation of authority, based on his pastoral interpretation of authority in scripture resulted in opposition from those whom the system maintained in authority.⁶⁴ For example:

⁶⁴ For an example of this pastoral cycle paradigm see Wijsen, Henriot, Mejía, (2005), *The Pastoral Circle Revisited: A Critical Quest for Truth and Transformation*. Pastoral and Practical methodology includes: (1) learning from experience; (2) using different resources and the commitment to pastoral action; (3) facilitates the processes of theological engagement with concrete social ecclesial and personal reality - a grounded reality based upon actual human experience – case studies; (4) understanding, empathy and acquiring skills and insights; (5) growth in wisdom, spirituality, and the formation of men and women by the Spirit of Christ; (6) intellectual and critical exploration on the basis of good information and understanding; (7) bridging the divide between other theological disciplines e.g. dogmatics and moral philosophy.

1. Concrete Reality

Experience / Context

(E.g. reconciling faith and doubt
with early 20th Century science)



From the above diagram it is possible to see that Tyrrell initially employed a pastoral hermeneutic that was located in his concrete context. The first stage or starting point is to acknowledge the present situation, the more or less routine existence of a given context. Critical questions need to be asked to discover and name the concrete reality. The complexity of the present situation is interpreted from within or from outside by events that demand a response, or uncover a tension, and so it is no longer possible to go on as before. Change is necessary and inevitable. The challenge, facilitated by the use of the pastoral cycle, is to channel the movement in the direction of the Kingdom. Unfortunately, in Tyrrell's case a number of critical events were taking place outside of his control. The real issues, however, at least initially, were not ecclesial-political. Tyrrell's first book, as von Hügel highlighted, was spiritual, motivated with a pastoral concern for the cure of souls in a time of upheaval

⁶⁵ See Tyrrell's *NetV*, (1897). For example, the Roman curial (1900) *Joint-Pastoral* subterfuge, see Schultenover, *A View from Rome*, 65, in relation to the authorship and publication of the 'English' *Joint-Pastoral*. Tyrrell uncovered a pastoral 'tension' that demanded a response. For a detailed explanation of these events see Chapter One, 'The Modernist Martyr' and Chapter Five, 'Mysticism Contra Realpolitik,' in particular the publications of *The Joint-Pastoral* (1900), and *Pascendi* (1907).

and change.⁶⁵ Specifically Tyrrell attempted to accommodate faith to the evolving yet contemporary, theological, philosophical, scientific and political milieu.

The second stage in the pastoral cycle is exploration and analysis. Any considered response must be based on investigation of what is the reality. This demands specialist information, facts, research, and dialogue. Much of that will come out of the experience of those involved.⁶⁶ Critical analysis explores the ‘why’ beyond the concrete reality of stage one. Why are things the way they are and who controls the power dynamics of the given situation?⁶⁷

The third stage is theological reflection. Information by itself does not give answers. It only indicates the issues and possibilities. There are other matters that have to be taken into consideration, such as personal and communal beliefs about how the world works; the purpose of life; moral values as to what is important and worth pursuing. At this particular juncture we determine the relevance of the two previous stages in relation to the understanding of our faith. The situation is evaluated in the light of five fundamental impulses: scripture, tradition, *sensus fidelium*, magisterium and the theologian. In Tyrrell’s particular case he drew upon the influence of St Ignatius.⁶⁸

In this light of faith we arrive at stage four and allow ourselves to be involved – to discover that there are issues that need our attention. Only then is it possible during stage four to take up a different, more realistic pastoral stance. Christian perceptions, beliefs and values face the on-going challenge of being in touch both with human frailty and external contemporary reality. What to ‘do’ becomes the inevitable question in the movement around the pastoral cycle. Again in Tyrrell’s case he decided to ignore the advice of his superiors, and continued to engage in covert dialogue with contemporary culture.

Tyrrell’s pastoral hermeneutic grew out of a concrete context. He did not experience modern communications, diverse cultures, general education, political reform, healthcare and so forth. He moved round the country by steam train and horse. During his time at Stonyhurst, the North Western train line stopped at Preston, which left a good twenty five mile meandering horse ride across the Lancashire dales to the College. A structured hierarchical church and society dominated Victorian England, so that each person knew their place and was expected to remain in it. The famous Victorian hymn captures the interrelated social, economic, political and ecclesial reality:

All things bright and beautiful

All creatures great and small

⁶⁶ Specifically illustrated by Tyrrell’s *The Letter to a University Professor* (1906), here Tyrrell is attempting to meet the concerns of a university professor who cannot accommodate his science to his faith. For a detailed discussion of this pastoral initiative see Chapter Three, ‘A Letter to A University Professor and Expulsion from the Jesuits.’

⁶⁷This is illustrated in Chapter Four, ‘The Relation of Theology to Devotion,’ and Chapter Five, ‘Christology Precedes ecclesiology.’

⁶⁸ See Tyrrell’s *Medievalism*, *NetV* and *HS*, Tyrrell believed, ‘this latter, the fragments of a projected volume on the *Spiritual Exercises*... are rightly admitted by the discerning to contain the substance of all my later aberrations,’ *Medievalism*, 105.

All things wise and wonderful
The Lord God made them all.

The Rich man in his Castle
The poor man at his gate
The Lord made the high and lowly
And ordered their estate.

Tyrrell courageously constructed a pastoral hermeneutic that would challenge this reality and enlighten theology to produce fruit in the form of an ‘adult’ faith, even though ‘we’ may ‘fear the dark.’ He wrote,

If e’er I prayed while yet a child
For ever in Thy courts to dwell,
The crumbling walls from around me fell
And left me shivering in the wild.

Enough, enough one glimmering spark
From worlds beyond this world of night;
Forgive, O sun and Source of light,
A foolish child that feared the dark.⁶⁹

The poverty described by George Orwell in *The Road to Wigan Pier*,⁷⁰ particularly in the Northern slums and inner London would have been very familiar to Tyrrell. This same reality was depicted to a large extent in Marx’s social critique, first published in the London of 1848. The most common version of this text was published in 1888 when Tyrrell was twenty seven years old. The opening line of the Manifesto captured its essence and gives an indication of the industrial London air that Tyrrell breathed: ‘The history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggles.’ Tyrrell insisted that ‘Catholicism is the religion of the poor,’ contrasting it with Protestantism which is only for a ‘spiritual aristocracy.’ Catholicism appeals to the mediocre millions. And yet, ‘It is not in having the poor with it, but in doing them good, that a religion is proved to be Christ’s.’⁷¹

In 1902 Tyrrell upheld the importance of a practical hermeneutic. ‘The purpose of the creed is practical – to promote religious life rather than to inform curious minds.’⁷² Rahner adopted

⁶⁹ Tyrrell S.J. – ‘The Larger Faith – After In Memoriam,’ *The Month*, (Nov.1899).

⁷⁰ Orwell, G. (1937), *The Road to Wigan Pier*, here Orwell attacked the poverty and inequality inherent in the hierarchical class system of colonial Britain.

⁷¹ Tyrrell, *EFL*, (1904-1906), ‘The Church,’ 106-107.

⁷² Tyrrell, ‘Rights and Limits of Theology,’ *TSC*, 200-241.

a similar practical critique, writing frequently on the importance of relevance and dialogue with contemporary culture. Rahner maintained a position that sheds light upon Tyrrell's pastoral objective. Rahner argued,

Theology is a theology that can be genuinely preached only to the extent that it succeeds in establishing contact with the totally secular self-understanding which man has in a particular epoch.⁷³

This position encapsulated Tyrrell's entire pastoral concern and sheds light on the contemporary relationship between faith and culture. If Tyrrell is right, and theological convictions are meant to construe the world – that is, if they have the character of practical discourse, then 'theological discourse is distorted when it is portrayed as a kind of primitive metaphysics. Theology is a practical activity concerned to display how Christian convictions construe the self and the world.'⁷⁴ Tyrrell's practical hermeneutic involved discovering the personal faith dimension of theology, a concern for recovering a truly practical theology in ordinary life.⁷⁵

As Thomas Ogletree has argued 'Practical Theology is not one of the branches of theology; the term practical theology characterises the central intent of theology treated as a whole.'⁴²⁷⁶ Tyrrell's practical hermeneutic sought to unify the various theological concerns – tradition, scripture, epistemology, history, ecclesiology, experience, ethics and reason around the common focus of normative Christian life. According to Maddox, what confers the theological nature of the above dimensions of theology is the extent to which they contribute to a normative Christian life.⁷⁷ Similarly Tyrrell considered that the practical intention of theology was to support and nourish a profound spirituality in the person of faith:

Theology is an instrument of the spiritual life, it offers a construction of that mysterious world to which the spiritual life has reference, in the light of which

⁷³ Rahner, (1978), *Foundations of Christian Faith*, trans William V. Dych, 402. See also, Karl Rahner 'The Man of Today and Religion,' *Theological Investigations* VI, Concerning Vatican Council II, trans. Karl, H. & Boniface, K. (1982), 4. And Tracy, D. (1975), *Blessed Rage for Order: The New Pluralism in Theology*; David Tracy, 'The Foundations of Practical Theology,' in *Practical Theology*, 9Ed.), Don S. Browning, 62 and 64.

⁷⁴ Hauerwas, S. (1983), *The Peaceable Kingdom*, 116.

⁷⁵ Rebecca Chopp describes liberation theology as a practical activity, characterised by its concreteness in dealing with particular events, stories and witnesses rather than limiting its role to the analysis of the general concepts of existence and tradition. Chopp, R. (1986), *The Praxis of Suffering*. Rather, as Julian Hartt argues, pastoral theology is 'a matter of being able to convey an authentic sense of the Christian view on whatever is of such moment, to call for such a display; and in concepts and images appropriate both to the viewpoint and the situation.' See Hartt, J. (1968), *Pursuit of Practical Theology*.

⁷⁶ Thomas Ogletree, 'Dimensions of Practical Theology: Meaning, Action, Self,' in *Practical Theology*, (Ed.), Browning, D.S. (1987), 83–101. Ogletree, (1985), believes 'where distinctions are made between discrete theological tasks, it is better to speak of the dimensions of practical theology, not of practical theology in opposition, let us say to historical or philosophical theology.' 85. For further details see: 'Practical Theology A Disciple In Search Of A Definition,' Maddox, R.L. (1991), *Perspectives in Religious Studies* 18, 159–69.

⁷⁷ Maddox, 'The Recovery of Theology as a Practical Discipline,' *Theological Studies*, 51 (Dec. 1990), 650-672.

⁷⁸ Tyrrell, 'The Rights And Limits Of Theology,' *TSC*, 218.

⁷⁹ Tyrrell, *RFL*, 1.

construction the soul can shape its conduct and school its sentiment, profiting thus by the registered collective experience of the whole Church.⁷⁸

Towards a Holistic Methodology

Tyrrell maintained that the religious impulse or the ‘Wish To Believe’ is best understood within the practical context of a given life. Typically he argued,

It is an old world idea which survives in some of the spiritual traditions of the more ancient and traditional monastic orders of the East and West that a normal and healthy Christian life should be a well adjusted blend of the labours of the heart, the head and the hand. This resolving of our activity into distinct factors may not be philosophically exact; for thought, feeling, and movement, are perhaps different facets of the same experience; but it is practically helpful, and not easily misunderstood.⁷⁹

Contemporary pastoral theologians agree that pastoral and practical methodology should be holistic. This intuition is typically expressed in the demand that theology be concerned not only with orthodoxy but also with orthopraxis, i.e. it seeks to norm not only ideas and confessions but also Christian action in the world. However, a caveat presents itself in this regard. The use of the term *praxis* is also at risk of becoming a ‘broken-backed’ word in a manner not dissimilar to the term ‘pastoral,’ considered earlier in the chapter. Stephen Bevan warned ‘all too often the term praxis is used as a trendy alternative to the words of *practice* or *action*.’⁸⁰

When contemporary pastoral theologians speak of the praxis model of contextual theology, they are drawing attention to their essential methodology that theology is not done simply by providing relevant expressions of Christian faith but also by commitment to Christian action. Thus Bevan insists that theology be understood as the product of the continual dialogue of these two aspects of the Christian life.⁸¹

Existing praxis, both Christian and general should be the starting point and ultimate goal of theological activity. This prerequisite is not the same as requiring that theology derive its norms from praxis. It is to claim that the needs and challenges arising from Christian praxis in the world are what spark authentic theological activity. Thus an essential characteristic of pastoral theology is the primacy of praxis in theological method. It is an affirmation that such reflection should be pursued to the point of discerning the anthropological and soteriological implications of all doctrines.

⁸⁰ Bevan, S. (2005), ‘The Praxis Model’, *Models of Contextual Theology*, 70-79,72. ‘Praxis is a technical term that has its roots in Marxism, in the Frankfurt School (e.g. J. Habermas, A. Horkheimer, T. Adorno), and in the educational philosophy of Paulo Freire. It a method or model of thinking in general, and a method and model of theology in particular.’ 70ff. See also Tyrrell, (1900), *RFL*, 1.

⁷⁹ Tyrrell, ‘The Wish to Believe,’ *The Month*, 81, (June 1894), 222-223.

⁸¹ Bevan, S. (2005), ‘The Praxis Model,’ *Models of Contextual Theology*, 72.

In as far as it is a science, theology is but one department of the systematising and unifying of all knowledge by which the understanding turns universal experience to account and makes from it an instrument whereby we can pass from the near to the distant, from the present to the past and the future, and thus adapt our action to an indefinitely wider view of the world than else was possible.⁸²

Tyrrell placed practical experience before a philosophical or scientific position. Religious experience is considered in the concrete to hold sway over philosophical proposition in the abstract, from which location Tyrrell attempted to construct a pastoral justification for his work.

Hence the science of theology will be always liable to revolutions according as the accumulations of its own proper sort of experience calls for restatement of its theories and conceptions, and also owing to the whole complexus of knowledge whereof it is a part or member.⁸³

The understanding of knowledge and truth as operative in the primacy of praxis is one of transformation, in contrast to the more traditional epistemology as simply disclosure or correspondence or conformity or verification. Thus Tyrrell challenged the *status quo* arguing that theology should be inherently transformative. If not ‘then it could all go.’⁸⁴ Marx insisted that our reason is coupled with and challenged by our action – when we are not just the objects of historical process but its subject. Tyrrell advocated a forward momentum through the intellectual rigor of philosophy into the Ignatian paradigm of finding God in our ordinary life and being transformed by this discovery. In this sense Tyrrell sought the liberation of theology to assist in articulating the ‘living’ of the life of faith. Again this is a process that is inherently transformative in a manner similar to Marx’s famous critique of Feuerbach: ‘the philosophers have only interpreted the world in various ways, the point is to change it.’⁸⁵ Tyrrell clearly saw that the liberation of theology was the first step in articulating a new theology, a theology that can deal with the experience of the past (scripture & tradition) and the experience of the present – human experience, culture, social location, science, and social change. The old wineskins are in need of replacement, although they remain valuable museum pieces, important diachronic signposts to a bygone age.

Nor will mere patching and lettings-out suffice; there must be transformation, the dying of form into form – the new containing the old virtually and effectually; explaining as much and far more, but altogether differently, and not merely by an extension of the same principle of explanation.⁸⁶

⁸² Bevans, S. (2005), 72.

⁸³ See Tyrrell’s ‘RTD,’ *The Month*, (Nov. 1899), 482.

⁸⁴ Tyrrell, ‘The Rights and Limits of Theology,’ *TSC*, 237, see also *LO*, ((1903), vii. In a contemporary context this model found expression in the rise of political theology, see for example the thought of Moltmann, J. Metz J.B. and Chopp, R. (1986), *The Praxis of Suffering*.

⁸⁵ Marx, K. (1845), *Theses on Feuerbach (Thesis XI)*.

⁸⁶ Tyrrell, ‘The Rights and Limits of Theology,’ *TSC*, 237, see also *LO*, (1903), vii.

Jon Sobrino articulated a contemporary adaptation of this principle, which allows insight into Tyrrell's attempt to liberate theology from neo-scholasticism, while also illustrating how Tyrrell was being philosophically and emotionally pulled apart by his desire to hold these 'two moments' in creative tension.⁴³⁸⁷ This will be evidenced clearly throughout the later chapters of this study, predominantly by juxtaposed positions of Tyrrell's critics, for example, on the one hand Cardinal Mercier, who accused Tyrrell of 'Kantian presupposition,'⁸⁸ and on the other, Joseph Crehan, Lebreton, *et al* who accused Tyrrell of subjectivism and anti-intellectualism.⁸⁹

A further characteristic of Tyrrell's practical hermeneutic consisted of a particular concern of not isolating from the community those in theology and the curia, whose work is influential in defining orthodoxy. The theologian works in the context of the people and with the people, not for the people – however, this does not mean 'majority rule.' Tyrrell understood the essential position of the papacy within the Catholic church.

The papacy gives voice to the collective mind of the present Church built upon the past, and so brings the social influence of the whole Christian body, from the beginning, to bear upon the mind of the individual and to shape its religious beliefs.⁸⁹

For Tyrrell the papacy may develop in parallel with the quasi-organic development of theology,

⁸⁷ According to Sobrino an authentic pastoral theology is predicated upon the response to 'two moments in history: the first characterised by the thought of Kant and Descartes, introduced the idea of rationality and subjective responsibility. The modern turn to the subject, clearly evident in Tyrrell's thought, was deeply revolutionary, from then on Bevans argues (71), 'it became clear that nothing is either true faith or right morality which is not our own; and that in consequence, external authority is, in principle, an unsound basis and individual judgement not merely a right but a duty.' See Oman, J. (1917), *Grace and Personality* and Sobrino, J. (1975), 'El conocimiento teológico en la teología europea y latinoamericana', in *Liberación y cautiverio: Debates en torno al método de la teología en América Latina*. The 'second moment,' Sobrino believes is more significant, this is the moment characterised by Karl Marx's perception that rationality or intellectual knowledge was not enough to constitute genuine knowledge.

⁸⁸ Tyrrell (1994), *Medievalism*, 22-24.

⁸⁹ See Chapter Three, 'Tyrrell's Critics,' including: *Pascendi*, R.P. Lebreton, Mercier and to an extent Nichols *et al*. Tyrrell's critique of *theologism* is complex and is interwoven throughout his entire work. An insight may be found in four important essays, 'The Relation of Theology to Devotion,' 'The Rights and Limits of Theology,' 'Theologism – a Reply,' and *Lex Credendi*. Tyrrell's use of the term is two-fold: (i) Revelation (ii) Dogmatic pronouncements of the Church. See 'Theologism - a Reply,' 321. See Pierce in Rafferty, 71. Unfortunately Pierce does not develop Tyrrell's understanding of the term beyond the immediate. An example of Tyrrell's use of the term is found in relation to the methods and presupposition of scholasticism – see his critique of R.P. Lebreton, *Revue Pratique d' Apologétique* (Feb. 1907). In Tyrrell's mind, *Theologism* is Scholastic theology. His entire corpus can be understood as an attempt to oppose this view, the proponents of which he caricatured as: 'orthodox liars for God.' 'Theologism – a Reply,' 309 see also 326. Tyrrell 'regrets the scholastic confusion of revelation with theology which seems to allow for a development of the "deposit of faith."' See 'Theologism – a Reply,' 326-354 for the developed argument, esp. 326-328. Here Tyrrell distinguishes between the 'proper and illuminative value' of Revelation. Tyrrell moves away from Newman's understanding of development including Newman's seven criteria for assessing organic development. See Tyrrell, 'A Reply,' 'But even the most superficial examination of our creeds in the light of history shows lacunae and irregularities quite inconsistent with an orderly logical and organic development.' Tyrrell insists: 'each dogma records a battle or a storm. It stands as a bulwark erected by Faith in the defence of Revelation.' 332/334, 333.

⁸⁹ See Tyrrell, 'Authority And Evolution,' *FM II*, 140-141.

we ought to find a living and growing creed or body of dogmas and mysteries reflecting and embodying the spiritual growth and development of the community. Not one with the coherence of a logical system, according to the letter-value of its statements and articles, but... a living flexible creed that represents the present spiritual needs of the average, the past needs of the more progressive, the future needs of the less progressive members of the Church.⁹⁰

An additional consideration is the concern that practical and pastoral theology be contextual. It would not focus upon the search for universal unchanging expressions of Christian faith, but rather upon life experiences that were inherently transformative.

He (Jesus) sent a handful of fishermen to preach to the whole world truths transcending all that Plato had ever dreamt of – nor did he make special provision that the cultured and philosophical minority might enter the Kingdom of Truth by some more seemly and less barbarous route than that followed by the common herd.⁹¹

In this sense Tyrrell's pastoral hermeneutic grew out of an inward journey, a paramount call to live a life of holiness. Tyrrell's critique of *'theologism'* consisted of a call to the interior life of faith rather than the usual external norms, commands and retribution; Tyrrell's pastoral hermeneutic struggled with the Ultramontane external authoritarian form of religion.

Let us then remember that the discrediting of dogmatic theology is not the discrediting of revelation or of theology; it is not even their divorce *a vinculo*, but simply the establishment of a truer and better relationship between them. The spiritual authority of the traditional creed, as of the product and expression of the collective religious experience of the community, will ever be needed to awaken, foster, and educate the Christian spirit in the individual.⁹²

Tyrrell's pastoral hermeneutic anticipated the later 'style' of being church, one that is evident in the documents of Vatican II. Stephen Schloesser described the 'style' of the Council documents as the language of epideictic, rhetoric of praise and assurance, 'a retrieved

⁹⁰ Tyrrell, 'The Rights and Limits of Theology,' *TSC*, 237.

⁹¹ Tyrrell, *ER*, 53. In contrast to Tyrrell's pastoral hermeneutic one may consider the *raison d'être* of his main opponent Cardinal Merry del Val. The unfortunate Cardinal epitomised the conspiratorial intrigue that was taking place behind closed Vatican doors. See Schultenover, *A View from Rome*, especially chapters three, four and five, for example, 132-133.

⁹² Tyrrell, 'The Rights and Limits of Theology,' 240-241.

⁹³ Tyrrell believed that we find God in the context of our lives, 'not in philosophical and theological notions of his nature.' *ER*, 160. "We have an experiential knowledge of God... religion is a matter of experience, it is something to be done and realised in the doing, instead of theory to be discussed and speculated about. It is easy for a blind man to believe in the sun, even though he has never seen it, when he is saturated with its heat.' *ER*, 161. Tyrrell maintained 'action is the great cure of doubt.' Our faith is never in danger as long as it is contextual, 'it is by living our faith that it strikes a deep root in our heart.' *ER*, 165.

humanistic genre.’⁹³ The following chapters will evidence that Tyrrell engaged in panegyric, in the *ars laudandi*, in the technical language that is epideictic. Tyrrell advocated a pastoral understanding of church, one that was less autocratic and more collegial, a church willing to listen to different points of view, one in which ‘dialogue is not a ploy or technique but the surface expression of a core value.’⁹⁴ Such a church would resonate with the later interventions at Vatican II, in particular with the ‘renewal’ sentiments which found expression in *Gaudium et Spes* and *Lumen Gentium*.⁹⁵ Tyrrell adopted a panegyric style of discourse, which is an idealised portrait; its purpose is not to mirror scholastic form or clarify concepts, but rather to heighten a pastoral sensitivity, *pace* Newman, to allow heart to speak unto heart. This is Tyrrell’s pastoral hermeneutic.

Finally, the pastoral and practical framework developed above remains an insightful window through which to view the life and thought of George Tyrrell as he attempted to liberate theology from what he called *Theologism*.⁹⁶ It is intriguing to ponder, what the next generation of scholars can legitimately say about the life of an Edwardian genius,⁹⁷ with ‘a

⁹⁴ See Buber, M. (1929), *Between Man And Man*, ‘Dialogue,’ 1-20. Buber believed that life's deepest truth lies in human relationships. In this classic work he puts this belief into practice, applying it to the concrete problems of contemporary society. See also Kramer, K. P. (2003), *Martin Buber's I and Thou: Practicing Living Dialogue*.

⁹⁵ See Francis Sullivan, ‘Evaluation and Interpretation of the Documents of Vatican II, The Uniqueness of Vatican II,’ Hayes, M. & Gearon, L. (1999), (Ed.), *Contemporary Catholic Theology: a Reader*, Chapter 18. In particular the pastoral style of the final draft of *Lumen Gentium* in contrast to the earlier juridical style and the call of *Gaudium et Spes* to read the ‘signs of the times.’

⁹⁶ Tyrrell’s critique of *theologism* is complex and is interwoven throughout his entire work. An insight may be found in four important essays, ‘The Relation of Theology to Devotion,’ ‘The Rights and Limits of Theology,’ ‘*Theologism* – a Reply,’ and *Lex Credendi*. Tyrrell’s use of the term is two-fold: (i) Revelation (ii) Dogmatic pronouncements of the Church. An example of this two fold definition of *Theologism* may be found in a series of essays written by Tyrrell and published in the monograph *Through Scylla and Charybdis: Or The Old Theology and the New*, (1907), 264-354. Here Tyrrell outlines the distinction between prophetic and theological language; and notes the danger of deducing conclusions from avowedly figurative utterances. Tyrrell insists that theologians must acknowledge the ‘rights and limits of theology in relation to revelation and their mutual dependence.’ Failure to acknowledge this distinction, which is his critique of Scholasticism, leads to ‘Revelation [becoming] subjected to the vicissitudes, uncertainties and contradictions of theological speculation.’ ‘Revelation,’ 264, *TSC*. Tyrrell is opposing what he calls ‘intellectual aristocracy as philosophical orthodoxy.’ ‘Revelation,’ 266. Tyrrell is attempting to critique ‘scholastic intellectualism and rationalism,’ he insists that, ‘my psychology forbids me to conceive any spiritual act whose real and indivisible simplicity may not be logically analysed into knowledge, feeling, and will, or which does not imply an apprehended truth as well as a desired end and a practical determination.’ *TSC*, 314. An example of Tyrrell’s use of the term is found in relation to the methods and presupposition of scholasticism – see his critique of R.P. Lebreton, *Revue Pratique d’ Apologétique* (Feb. 1907), in Tyrrell’s ‘*Theologism - a Reply*,’ *Scylla and Charybdis or The Old Theology and the New*, 308-354. In Tyrrell’s mind, *Theologism* is Scholastic theology. His entire corpus can be understood as an attempt to oppose Scholastic theology, the proponents of which he caricatured as ‘orthodox liars for God.’ ‘*Theologism – a Reply*, 309, see also 326. Tyrrell ‘regrets the scholastic confusion of revelation with theology which seems to allow for a development of the “deposit of faith.”’ See ‘*Theologism – a Reply*, 326-354 for the developed argument, esp. 326-328. Here Tyrrell distinguishes between the ‘proper and illuminative value’ of Revelation. Tyrrell moves away from Newman’s understanding of development including Newman’s seven criteria for assessing organic development. See Tyrrell, ‘A Reply,’ ‘But even the most superficial examination of our creeds in the light of history shows lacunae and irregularities quite inconsistent with an orderly logical and organic development.’ Tyrrell insists: ‘each dogma records a battle or a storm. It stands as a bulwark erected by Faith in the defence of Revelation.’ 332/334, 333.

⁹⁷ Nichols, A. (1990), *From Newman to Congar: The Idea of Doctrinal Development*, 135. (Aidan Nichols holds the first Catholic ‘Chair’ at Oxford University since the Reformation).

German mind and an Irish heart’?⁹⁸ Most will agree that Tyrrell was no living saint, but he was the “modernist martyr” and martyrs have the potential to make posthumously good saints! Thus the next chapter will explore Tyrrell’s understanding of doctrine, theology and devotion which grow out from his experiential faith, as he believed the truths of religion like history and science are directed to life as their end. ‘As things are,’ he insisted, ‘the only test of revelation is the test of life.’⁹⁹ Had revelation or doctrine no direct bearing on our life they would be merely curious riddles waiting solution.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁸ Von Hügel, *Hibbert Journal*, (1910), 11.

⁹⁹ Von Hügel, *Hibbert Journal*, (1910), 11..

¹⁰⁰ Tyrrell, *CC*, 87. ‘RTD,’ *The Month*, (Nov. 1999), 423. See also, Tyrrell, ‘Religion and Truth,’ *EFL*, 128-158; 157 and *CC*, 141

Chapter Four

The Relation of Doctrine, Devotion and Theology

Devotion and religion existed before theology, in the way that art existed before art criticism; reasoning before logic; speech, before grammar.

(‘The Relation of Theology to Devotion,’ *The Month*, Nov. 1899)

A Radical Reassessment

Tyrrell emphasised that theology is not the source of religious experience. He considered devotion or religious experience to be the source of doctrine and theology in the same way as the classical definition of theology is *fides quaerens intellectum*. Building upon the previous exploration of Tyrrell’s pastoral hermeneutics, this chapter will examine the relationship between the development of doctrine, theology and devotion in the writings of Tyrrell. His theological activities, combined with his ecclesial experiences inspired what Tyrrell characterised as a ‘radical theological reassessment’ of the relationship between doctrine, theology and devotion. Following the publication of *Beati Excommunicate*, Tyrrell wrote to Dr Emili Wolff, who was working on the German translation of Tyrrell’s *Through Scylla and Charybdis*. In his letter Tyrrell confirmed the pastoral nature of *Beati Excommunicate*. The work was offered to support progressive Catholics (Loisy) who were struggling to find accommodation within the Catholicism of Pius X.¹

In Tyrrell’s evolving context this is best considered in three overlapping stages: ‘militant dogmatism,’ ‘mediating liberalism’ and ‘*Lex Orandi*.’ This proposal will facilitate the further exploration of Tyrrell’s pastoral hermeneutic within the broader project, and support the subsequent examination of Tyrrell’s Christology and emerging ecclesiology (Chapter Five), Mysticism Contra Realpolitik, Tyrrell’s ecclesiology, (Chapter Six), the Liberation Imperative (Chapter Seven), and a final assessment of Tyrrell’s pastoral articulation of Catholicism (Chapter Eight).

Despite the consequences, Tyrrell continued his pursuit of ‘truth for truth’s sake,’ in order to ‘fan the flames’ of ultramontaniam. He unceremoniously declared his pastoral initiative in 1899, claiming that ‘the Church’s understanding of doctrine required a radical reassessment.’² Undaunted by the challenge, he devoted the final decade of his life to ensuring that Catholic doctrine encapsulated three pastoral hermeneutical considerations.³ First that it mediated the fullest experience of Christ. Second, that it encompassed the contemporary *corpus* of knowledge. And third that it exemplified the mystical way of life. There are similarities between Tyrrell’s *modus operandi*, inspired by von Hügel and what contemporary scholar, Geoffrey B. Kelly, described

¹ The original article was not published by Tyrrell. See Robert Bouden who published the essay in *Bijdragen*, 34 (1973), 293-305.

² Tyrrell, (1914), *EFL*, (Ed.) Petre, 144.

³ Tyrrell, (1907), ‘The Rights and Limits of Theology,’ *TSC*, 200-241. See also ‘RTD.’

as: ‘Rahner’s methodology’, i.e. a pastoral hermeneutical way of doing theology that embodies a dialectic of the transcendental with the historical.’⁴

Throughout Tyrrell’s theology, he continually emphasised the necessity of theology to be able to reflect upon and communicate the transcendent to the contemporary mind. He believed the central intention of theology should be to render religious experience (devotion) accessible to the faithful in a way that makes faith reasonable and concrete, empowering the faithful to orient their lives amidst the conflicting ideological truth claims of our modern world.⁵ Both Rahner and Tyrrell’s theology (faith seeking understanding) revealed ‘reciprocity’ with the divine, a two-way relationship with God, which appeared above all practical or concrete. This pastoral hermeneutic is consistent with Ignatian spirituality. It amounted to a sense of ‘God in all things’ (God in ordinary life), although it recognised the significance and the boundaries of scientific investigation and philosophical structures. Following the example of Ignatius, Tyrrell believed faith is experienced as a relationship with Jesus, rather than an abstract idea. This Ignatian pastoral paradigm is evident throughout Tyrrell’s life and thought, particularly when under siege from Roman Ultramontanism.⁶

Tyrrell considered doctrine to be a consequence of our finite nature, the inevitably inadequate expression of human experience formulated in religious language. Revelation consisted in human experience, not in its intellectual formulation. It should not be treated as an adequate or immutable statement of absolute truth.⁷ Tyrrell believed doctrine is a direct and unsophisticated attempt to comprehend the incomprehensible, nothing more than the theologian’s attempt to rationalise religious experience (the wish to believe) with revelation. Based upon this premise doctrine is always susceptible to change, improvement and otherwise.⁸ Tyrrell advocated a dynamic view of doctrine; but he also attempted to nullify the discord between doctrine and scientific knowledge, one of the main objectives of Newman, the Modernist movement and contemporary pastoral theologians.⁹

⁴ This approach will be explored further in Chapter Five. See Rahner, K. (1992), Kelly, G.B. (1992), *Karl Rahner: Theologian of the Graced Search for Meaning*, 33. See also Tyrrell’s ‘RTD,’ 5; and Rahner, K. (1988), ‘A Theology That We Can Live With,’ *Theological Investigations*, 21. trans. Hugh M. Riley, 99-112. See also Newman’s critique of the ‘Rationalist,’ ‘On the Introduction of Rationalistic Principles into Revealed Religion,’ Ker, I, (1900), *Newman the Theologian: A Reader*, 75-83.

⁵ See Tyrrell, ‘The Rights and Limits of Theology,’ *TSC*, 208.

⁶ Petre, A&L, Vol. II, 66; Sheldrake, P. (1991), *The Way Of Ignatius Loyola: Contemporary Approaches to the Spiritual Exercises*. See also Tyrrell, *HS*, (1898), in which Tyrrell described as ‘an arrangement being, loosely, that of the *Spiritual Exercises*,’ and Tyrrell, *LO*, *LC*, and *TSC*, in which Tyrrell explains that it is the purpose of theology to continually check ‘the tendency to extravagate’ and to ensure that the Church consistently applies ‘the original *lex orandi*.’ Tyrrell believed that theology ‘has to be reminded that, like science, its hypotheses, theories and explanations, must square with the facts – the facts here being that the Christian religion as lived by its consistent professors. But when it begins to contradict the facts of the spiritual life, it loses its reality and its authority; and needs itself to be corrected by the *lex orandi*.’ (104).

⁷ See Waller, A.R. (pseud. For Tyrrell), (1902). ‘The Civilising of Matafanus: An Essay in Religious Development.’ London: R. Brimley Johnson, listed in the British Museum with the books of Alfred Rayney Waller with no indication that George Tyrrell is the author.

⁸ See J.H. Newman, (1855), ‘Christianity and Scientific Investigation,’ a lecture written for the School of Science.

⁹ See J.H. Newman, who wrote, ‘creeds and dogmas *live* in the one idea which they are designed to express and which alone is substantive; and are necessary because the human mind cannot reflect upon the idea

Furthermore, Tyrrell formulated a substantial critique with regard to the limits of the finite mind and human language in its attempt to comprehend the ‘ultimate and absolute.’¹⁰ With regard to religious experience and our collective formulation of that experience, Tyrrell attempted to draw attention to ‘what can be said and what cannot be said. There are things of which we cannot fully express meaning, i.e. something indescribable.’¹¹ Tyrrell’s position necessitated a critique of particular attempts to rationalise mystery, to level down God into human form and language. He believed this is responsible for the widespread loss of faith. Tyrrell considered the danger with certain elements of traditional philosophy is that it fails to illuminate, but rather throws shadows of doubt over God’s truth.¹²

Tyrrell began his doctrinal exploration with the publication in *The Month* of the ‘Relation of Theology to Devotion.’ It is one of the most important works to be penned by Tyrrell and allows insight into his theological simplicity, which many consider to be the mark of his religious genius. In the essay Tyrrell argued that all forms of human knowledge are by their characteristics imperfect nets for catching the divine reality, a task where we ‘try to comprehend the incomprehensible, to equal a

except piecemeal.’ Furthermore, for Newman and Tyrrell, ‘Christianity is a *living* idea, it takes hold of the mind in which it lodges’ influenced by the Platonist tradition, Newman rebelled against the conception that ideas are simple constructs, ‘the mind,’ he writes, ‘is beyond truth.’ For Newman, ‘the Christian idea is the living impression of the human mind made by truth, the Church and all her mysteries and sacraments are but expressions in human language of truths to which the human mind is unequal.’ See J.H. Newman, *An Essay on the Development of Christian Doctrine*, 40, and the *Apologia pro Vita Sua*, 27. See also Dulles, A. (2002). *John Henry Newman*, 64-83, and Rise, S. (2000), *The Academic and the Spiritual in Karl Rahner’s Theology*, 15-26. See Wittgenstein who argued that the purpose of his *Tractatus* is to draw a boundary to thought, ‘or rather not to thought but to expressions of thought.’ Tyrrell is attempting to articulate a similar position in which the limits of language (our tools) are acknowledged in terms of the investigation of the mystical. See Wittgenstein, L. (1980), *Culture And Value*. (Ed.), von Wright, G.H. trans. Winch, P.50, 82, 85. The essence of religion for Wittgenstein cannot be expressed in the form of language, ‘when people talk this itself is part of a religious act and not a theory.’ In this sense, Wittgenstein believed that ‘Christianity is not a doctrine,’ it is not a theory about what has happened or will happen to the human soul, ‘but a description of something that *actually takes place* in human life.’ See Wittgenstein’s *Notebooks* (1937).

¹⁰ See Tyrrell, *TSC*, 155-191. Tyrrell attached immense importance to doctrine, primarily for two reasons; firstly ‘I demand a metaphysical depth for my life’ and secondly ‘dogma is formulated mystery.’ It was the ‘atmosphere of popular thought, which grows less congenial to faith in the mysteries of religion,’ which Tyrrell opposed, he considered it to be an attempt to portray ‘religion without dogma.’ See also Lash, N. ‘Criticism or Construction? The Task of the Theologian,’ *New Blackfriars*, 63, (1982), 148-159.

¹¹ Tyrrell, G. (1905), ‘*Notre attitude en facedu “Pragmatisme”*’ in *Annales de Philosophie Chrétienne*, 4th series 1.3, 225-232 and Tyrrell, *TSC*, 191-200; See also Waller, (pseudo.), (1902), *CM*. See also Engles, E. (pseud.), (1902). Tyrrell, *RFL*, ‘Witness to the Unseen – The Wish to Believe,’ *The Month*, 79 (Dec. 1893), 222-33; ‘Who Made the Sacraments?’ *The Month*, 83 (Jan. 1895), 120-130; ‘The Language of Devotion,’ *The Canadian Month*, (Jan. 1906), 14-16. This was the fundamental issue at Stonyhurst and why Tyrrell desired to teach ‘pure’ Thomism rather than ‘interpretations’ of Aquinas. Tyrrell’s critique with regard to the limits of religious language and traditional philosophy’s attempt to ‘capture’ God is a consistent theme throughout Tyrrell’s theology.

¹² Tyrrell believed: ‘if I were to wait till I could find censors advanced enough to approve of its publication I should have to wait at least 100 years. But I think it is just now, and not at that remote date, that the ideas might help a few here and there in the right orientation of their minds in approaching the Christian and even Catholic problem.’ Loomie, T.M. ‘A Bibliography of the Published Writings of George Tyrrell,’ *The Heythrop Journal*, 10, (1969), 286.

sphere to a plane.’¹³ Tyrrell believed it is less confusing to take a general view of an object, than to view one of its parts or elements violently divorced from the rest. When we are dealing with the spiritual and supernatural world, we are under a further disadvantage, for we can think and speak of it only in analogous terms borrowed from this world of sensuous experience, and ‘with no more exactitude than when we would express music in terms of colour, or colour in terms of music.’¹⁴ We can say that this or that doctrine follows necessarily from the principle of metaphysics, and is therefore as true as those principles can be, but he does not believe it is the whole truth; and indeed ‘the more abstract and general the terms under which a thing is known, the less we know about it.’¹⁵

Essentially, Tyrrell’s philosophical position maintained that, ‘rationalism robs faith of its crown,’ and attempted to ‘anticipate the dawn of God’s own day.’¹⁶ Tyrrell lambasts what he considered to be the neo-scholastic position, insisting, ‘if only (their) rationalism would cease its elucidation,’ and desist from seeking to explain the mind of God, ‘in the process defying the logic of God, not to end with contradictions.’¹⁷ Tyrrell’s pursuit of truth did not consist of a formulated scheme; his philosophy of religion, similarly, contained no grand system. An intimate knowledge of Aquinas taught him the futility of such a *modus operandi*.¹⁸ Tyrrell is motivated by a complex pastoral intention: to empower those to whom he ministered, to resume their often troubled relationship with God, despite personal complications or the influences of the time, culture and intellect.

Tyrrell’s philosophy of religion is still no less radical for his day. His assessment intended to demolish the late nineteenth century neo-scholastic revival, to challenge what he perceived to be ‘walls of darkness,’ and re-establish a pastoral theology or body of practical teaching that grows out from faith in revelation.¹⁹ He argued that human reason and language cannot accommodate faith. It is not the truth itself that Tyrrell sought to challenge, responding to the thought of Harnack and Loisy, but rather the unappetising husk of ‘*theologism*,’ that has been artificially constructed to encase the kernels of truth.²⁰ Tyrrell attempted to preserve the ‘deposit of faith’ by emphasising ‘the concrete, coloured imaginative expression of divine mysteries, as it

¹³ Tyrrell, ‘RTD,’ *The Month*, (Nov.1899), 233. Reprinted in Tyrrell, (1904), *FM II*, 3rd Edition, and under a new title, ‘*Lex Orandi, Lex Credendi*,’ 85-105. Here Tyrrell argued, ‘To cover the bare notion of a First Cause by clothing it with all the excellencies of creation, multiplied to infinity, purified of their limitations, and fused into one simple perfection, then we must frankly own that we are trying to comprehend the incomprehensible, to equal a sphere to a plane. Here Tyrrell explains the purpose of the new title and adds that what follows amounts to a summary of all his thought on the subject of theology: ‘It is all here – all that follows – not in germ but in explicit statement – as it were in a brief compendium or analytical index.’ See also Tyrrell, *TSC*, 85.

¹⁴ Tyrrell, ‘RTD,’ see *TSC*, 88.

¹⁵ Tyrrell gives the example of a comparatively concrete idea like man or king, which gives us ‘a mine of information about the subject which it is predicated; whereas Being, Substance, Cause, give us the very minimum of information.’ Tyrrell, *TSC*, 89.

¹⁶ Tyrrell, ‘A Perverted Devotion,’ *EFI*, 170.

¹⁷ Tyrrell, ‘A Perverted Devotion,’ *EFI*, 170.

¹⁸ Petre, M.D. (1912), ‘Thomism,’ *A&L*, 40-47.

¹⁹ Newman’s moto: *Ex umbris in veritatem* (‘out of the shadows and into the light’).

²⁰ *Ex umbris in veritatem*.

lay in the mind of the first recipients.²¹ He had no intention of adding or subtracting from the original ‘deposit of faith.’ His ‘radical reassessment’ entailed a refutation of historical abstract formulations of divine mysteries, in favour of a return to ‘the superiority of the concrete language of revelation as a guide to truth.’²²

This early assertion (1899) is problematic, and appears to represent part of the confusion inherent in Tyrrell’s own philosophical and faith development. On the one hand, Tyrrell appeared to be rejecting historical attempts to comprehend revelation and hence rejecting legitimate development; on the other, he argued that doctrine entails development, in order to correspond with the contemporary mind. This confusion in Tyrrell’s own thought appeared to represent the transitional stage of his personal theological development post-Stonyhurst, from the Neoscholastic position of Leo XIII, what Petre described as ‘militant dogmaticism,’ through to ‘mediating liberalism’²³ and on to a formulated understanding, primarily building on Newman, of doctrinal development.²⁴

Tyrrell considered the experience of the believer, upon the *terra firma* of action, as a reliable guide to how doctrine works in practice. In this sense, Tyrrell was a man of the ‘modern time.’²⁵ His ‘*lex orandi lex credendi*’ principle maintained doctrine developed dialectically,²⁶ while he considered that ‘metaphysics plays havoc with genuine faith.’²⁷ Tyrrell presented the church as a unique mystery containing “ideas” which no mind can hope to embrace in its entirety.²⁸ In 1902 under the pseudonym Dr. Ernest Engels, Tyrrell claimed the aim of church doctrine is purely practical, ‘to guide us and determine our attitude in the will-world.’²⁹ Although he acknowledged that the church had survived difficult times, ‘when it was necessary to hibernate,’ when ‘the concern was to live, rather than grow,’³⁰ he believed it was *now* time that the church responded to the developments of the age in which it lived.

Doctrine, Development and Historical Consciousness

Newman, Tyrrell, and the faculty at Tübingen, in the middle of the nineteenth-century, tried to work out a progressive understanding of doctrinal development through history.³¹ The term ‘dogma’ had come to designate a religious proposition put

²¹ Tyrrell, ‘A Perverted Devotion,’ *EFI*, 170.

²² Tyrrell, ‘RTD,’ 95.

²³ ‘RTD,’ 98.

²⁴ Wilfrid Ward was a chief and influential exponent of this position. Ward, W. (1899) ‘Catholic Apologetics: A Reply,’ *Nineteenth Century*, 45 (June 1899).

²⁵ See Petre, M. (1912), ‘Mediating Liberalism,’ *A&L*, Vol. II, 98-111. Tyrrell’s eventual rejection of ‘Mediating Liberalism’ is evidenced by RTD, See 104-105.

²⁶ Tyrrell, ‘Rationalism in Religion,’ *FM II*, 1, 85-115.

²⁷ For a modern development of this position see Kasper, W. (1989), ‘The Fundamental Postulate: Truth and the Church,’ *Theology and Church*, 137.

²⁸ Tyrrell, ‘RTD,’ 76. *Lumen Gentium* n.1.

²⁹ See Tyrrell, (1898), *HS*, 410.

³⁰ Tyrrell, *RFL*, 10.

³¹ See Kuhn, in Klinger, *Sacramentum Mundi*, 6, ‘Tübingen School,’ 319, and Tyrrell, ‘A More Excellent Way,’ *FM II*, 1, 2. This remains a vital consideration in the contemporary Church, many liberals calling for reform, traditionalists holding tight to the brakes, a further period of ‘hibernation’ seems inevitable – hence the meaning of Tyrrell’s *TSC*.

forward for belief, which carries authority in the community because it has been officially proposed and relates fundamentally to New Testament revelation. The problem of dogmatic development, particularly within the Roman Catholic position, consists basically in the task of demonstrating the identity of later, evolved statements of faith with the apostolic statement of revelation that was issued in Christ.³²

The difficulty arises if one considers dogma as truth and truth is regarded ahistorically, then dogma cannot change essentially; only its mode of expression is open to reformulation. Johannes Kuhn, a nineteenth century Tübingen theologian, believed that dogmatic development resulted from the dialectic of orthodox and heretical forces. He wrote with a Hegelian tone that captured in part the essence of Tyrrell's pastoral hermeneutic: 'faith develops, of itself, dialectically; Christian dogma is the objective mind of the Christian consciousness.'³³

Christians agree that revelation of God culminates in Jesus Christ, but they differ on how the ultimately authoritative public knowledge of that revelation is transmitted. William E. Reiser, in his work on the development of dogma, argued that one of the difficulties with defining a particular teaching as dogma and contrary teaching as heresy is that religious truth lives and expands in the historical person.³⁴ Reiser, writing seventy years after Tyrrell's denial of the sacraments, repeated Tyrrell's assertion, 'God's truth enjoys no exception from the laws of historicity either in its inception or in its reception.'³⁵

The method adopted by the Catholic Tübingen theologians (Möhler and Kuhn) and Cardinal Newman, understood the nature of an idea in organic terms, subject to laws of growth similar to organic development. In other words, it distinguished between the expression of the doctrine and its content or meaning. What develops is its linguistic formulation. This view is Aristotelian, grounded in the form-matter distinction.³⁶ Doctrine cannot undergo substantial change because this would amount

³² For example see Klinger, E. (1970), Tübingen School in *Sacramentum Mundi*, 6. (Ed.), Karl Rahner, 319; Toon, P. (1979), *The Development of Doctrine in the Church*, 89; Geiselman, J.R. (1964), *Die Katholische Tübinger Schule in Ihre Theologische*, and Reiser, W.E. (1977), *What are They Saying about Dogma?*

³³ See the article on Anton Günther (an Hegelian philosopher), Cross, F.L., (Ed.), (1974), *Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*.

³⁴ Reiser, *What are they saying about Dogma?* 32. See Dulles, 'The Survival of Dogma: Faith,' *Authority and Dogma in a Changing World*, 168-182.

³⁵ Reiser, *What are they saying about Dogma?* 32. See also Rush, O. (1997), *The Reception of Doctrine: An Appropriation of Hans Robert Jauss' Reception Aesthetics and Literary Hermeneutics*, Rome: Gregorian University Press, 68-70; Alberigo, Jossua, and Komonchak (Ed.), *The Reception of Vatican II*.

³⁶ Tyrrell temporarily belonged to this school (c.1897-1900). See Petre, 'Mediating Liberalism,' *A&L*, Vol. II, 98-111. Here Petre offers a summary of the Newman/Wilfrid Ward position in nine propositions. For example: (6) 'This is possible, in virtue of the great law of development, of which Newman has taught us the nature and process; (8) Authority must never be opposed nor affronted, but may, nevertheless, be subtly coaxed and persuaded, for its own good and that of the church at large; and (9) Nothing is more fatal to this line of liberal advance than any intemperate expressions of criticism or revolt, or any insurgence of the inexpert into the realm of discussion and preparation' (103-104). At this stage Tyrrell agreed with Ward: 'Noise should be minimised,' (104).

to abandonment.³⁷ Avery Dulles for example and a number of official church statements share this view.³⁸

The second approach is the historical-critical view of development, which attempted to situate doctrine within the original historical context. The meaning of doctrine might be relative to a particular epoch, for example to the time of Chalcedon and its background, but over time this particular understanding fades, resulting in confusion for contemporary generations who are unable to rediscover its relevance.³⁹ Theologians may then come to understand doctrine, as a man-made proposition relating to revelation, once this position is associated with the gospel as experience, contextual development is possible. Theologians might then develop hermeneutical principles by which contemporary believers understand what doctrine means to them.⁴⁰

The third approach is hermeneutical. It rejected entirely or else critically restates some of the epistemological presuppositions of the organic model. Theologians who adopt this paradigm are searching for ways to reformulate the meaning of ecclesiastical doctrine.⁴¹ Their hermeneutical principle leads them away from the organic model because it has not done justice to the historicity of truth. Hans Küng is a well-known exponent of this position.⁴² Variations to this approach include Walter Kasper who

³⁷ See Tyrrell, 'A Perverted Devotion,' *EFI*, 158-174.

³⁸ Dulles, A. (1971), *The Survival of Dogma: Faith, Authority and Dogma in a Changing World*; Pope Paul VI, (1971). *The Teachings of Paul VI*. Washington, D.C.: N.C.C.B. See also *Mysterium ecclesiae* (24th June 1973, 'Declaration in Defence of the Catholic Doctrine on the Church Against Certain Errors of the Present Day'); and Dulles, A. (1987), *Models of the Church*, 176- 189.

³⁹ See Young, F.M. (1983), *From Nicaea To Chalcedon: A Guide to the Literature and its Background*.

⁴⁰ For example, see Bevans, S.B. (2005), *Models of Contextual Theology*; Rush, O. (2004), *Still Interpreting Vatican II*; Jozef, Wijzen, Henriot, Mejia, (2005), *Pastoral Circle Revisited: A Critical Quest for Truth And Transformation*; See also Petre, 'Mediating Liberalism,' *A&L*, Vol. II, 388. See also Tyrrell, G. (1909), *CC*, 8-9, 46, 49.

⁴¹ See Rush, O. (1997), *Hermeneutics and Dogmaticism in The Reception of Doctrine: An Appropriation of Hans Robert Jauss' Reception Aesthetics and Literary Hermeneutics*. Rome: Pontificia Università Gregoriana, 53. Here Rush critiques the thought of Jauss, who offers an apologia for a 'general hermeneutics' against dogmatic attack – one that attempts to absolutise and fix the meaning of an artistic work once and for all, thereby closing the door to any further dialogue as to possible shared meanings. Jauss rejects both 'the post-structuralists (meaning is infinitely open-ended and with no human possibility of finding shared meaning) and the dogmatist (meaning is a closed book). Against dogmaticism, (what Tyrrell referred to as 'theologism'), is the refusal to engage in dialogue. Jauss proposed a theory remarkably similar to Tyrrell's methodology. It had three vital elements: 'it is dialogic, it is to be cross-disciplinary, and it is to be integrative in its approach.' It is, Jauss believes, 'literary hermeneutics above all which provides the model for avoiding dogmaticism.' Rush, 'The Reception of Doctrine: An Appropriation of Hans Robert Jauss' Reception Aesthetics and Literary Hermeneutics,' 55.

⁴² Küng raises the issue of 'self-defensive' doctrine, to which he strongly disapproves: 'it must be regarded as an aberration when a Church, without being compelled to do so, produces dogmas, whether for reasons of Church or theological policy (the two dogmas concerning the Pope) or for reasons of piety and propaganda (the two dogmas concerning Mary). See O'Collins, G. (1975), *The Case Against Dogma*, 87. See also Küng, H. (1977), 'Being Christian as Being Radically Human,' *On Being a Christian*, 554-601; Küng, H. (1968), *Truthfulness: The Future of the Church* and Küng, H. (2002), *The Catholic Church*. See also Mehok, C.J. (1971-1972), 'Hans Küng and George Tyrrell on the Church,' *Homiletic & Pastoral Review*, 72:4, 57-66.

shifts the problem of development so that it becomes more theological.⁴³ Kasper shared Tyrrell's concern, with regard to the importance of scripture-based notions of truth, which are necessary to understand the nature and limits of dogmatic development. Kasper sought a way to solve the dilemma between the timeless event of revelation, and the deficient, historical testimony of the Church.⁴⁴ Kasper referred to Möhler's view that the Gospel lives in the life of the Church, he believes that it is inscribed in the hearts of the faithful and accompanies the gospel in its written form. Tyrrell and Kasper believed it is the universality of the gospel that signified its independence from any one culture or conceptual framework.⁴⁵ Kasper maintained that the truth of the Gospel cannot be simply transposed into dogmatic formulation because God transcends every particular dogmatic or theological statement. Thus doctrine can be defined as a consequence of the historical experience of the church, an experience which becomes complete in the universal church. Kasper and Tyrrell emphasised the historical nature of theological truth, both with respect to its content and development. Furthermore, Kasper maintained that dogmatic statements are provisional. A final unveiling of divine truth must wait until the end of time.⁴⁶

Avery Dulles, for example, also approached the issue of development through hermeneutics when he drew attention to the contextual nature of credal statements, analysing their positive meaning, and then establishing criteria for separating 'the good grain of revelation from the chaff of historical relativity.'⁴⁷ Other contemporary

⁴³ Kasper believes doctrine may make a claim upon faith only if it is grounded in the Gospel. Furthermore, an understanding of truth and a theology of revelation are the two ideas which are essential for a theology of doctrinal development. Tyrrell would share Kasper's theological emphasis although he argues that theology is part of the problem. But what each means by theology (and their context) was different. However, like Kasper Tyrrell considered the solution to be found in scripture – doctrine can have a claim to our faith only if it can be grounded in the Gospel.

⁴⁴ See Kasper, W. (1965), *Dogma unter dem Wort Gottes*. Mainz: Matthias-Grünwald, 84. Kasper turned to Martin Heidegger and scripture for 'an enriched understanding of truth.' In this sense, truth is 'an unveiling or revealing of being.' For Heidegger 'truth is an event' and such a conception fits in well with Tyrrell's understanding, in the sense that truth is not something to be identified with words or statements – truth happens in a 'way of life,' or *l'action*, when the words are spoken or read and understood.

⁴⁵ See Waller, (1900), *The Civilizing of Matafanus: An Essay in Religious Development*; and Tyrrell, G. (1904), *The Soul's Orbit or Man's Journey to God* (compiled with additions by M.D. Petre). See also Kasper, 84-142. Here one sees the early foundations of Kasper's current work with regard to ecumenism. See also Kasper, *Theology & Church*, 144.

⁴⁶ Kasper, 84. Again this remains a contemporary concern for Kasper (see further his work on the 'Eucharistic Synod', December 2005). Kasper also attaches considerable importance to the Holy Spirit: 'initially, gospel pertained to the work of the Spirit in the Church, not to written texts: the spirit brings the Gospel to life, and by that gospel the Church is judged. The Church therefore stands under the prophetic voice of the Gospel.' See also Tyrrell, 'Revelation,' *TSC*, 295, 303, 305; *OW*, 'God In Us,' 203-230. Tyrrell argues that 'only some feeble image' of God can be 'touched by our mind.' He adds that 'He Himself can be touched by the heart where His will is felt striving with our will, and His Spirit with our spirit. He can be embraced and held fast in the embrace of action whereby His life and ours are spun together.' Furthermore Tyrrell believes the gospel 'is a Way to be trodden; a life to be lived' (211-212). A further consequence of this pastoral understanding of doctrine and truth is the inclusive nature of Christianity that results. Tyrrell adds: 'often what men deny with their lips (through ignorance or otherwise), they confess with their lives... the knowledge which feeds their love is not conceptual or notional, but real and experimental,' (214).

⁴⁷ See Dulles, 'The Survival of Dogma: Faith,' *Authority and Dogma in a Changing World*, 168-182. It is an approach also adopted by Tyrrell. Although prophetically, he warned of the danger, 'of a well meant, but ill-judged desire to pluck up tares whose root-fibres are tangled with those of the wheat.' See Tyrrell, 'RTD,' 100. The life of the Church; (2) doctrine always looks toward the faith of the

theologians reject the content versus expression distinction as too elementary and unfaithful to the way language functions. They readily grant the fact of development and concentrate on the task of making doctrine meaningful for contemporary faith. Piet Schoonenberg,⁴⁸ Thomas Ommen and to a degree Gerald O'Collins represent this position.⁴⁹

The Three Stages of Tyrrell's Doctrinal Development:

1. Militant Dogmatism – On Auguste Sabatier

Tyrrell's location with regard to doctrinal development is dependent upon his own personal faith journey and his desire to articulate a pastoral and practical hermeneutic. Revisiting his work, it is possible to trace three distinct, although at times, overlapping doctrinal positions.⁵⁰ The first stage, following his conversion to Catholicism, may be characterised as, 'militant dogmatism.'⁵¹ It is evidenced in Tyrrell's objection to Sabatier's conception of revelation as a sentiment rather than an instruction of the mind. Tyrrell critiqued Sabatier's form of Christianity as mere emotion devoid of objective value. For Sabatier, a dogma meant the form of words in

primitive Church. When we assent to a doctrine, our faith is not directed to the formulation of the truth but (through the dogmatic truth) to God.' A dogma can be defined as a 'new formulation, relating to a particular situation, of the mystery of salvation experienced in the Church.' Therefore we might distinguish the relative from the unchanging aspects of doctrine, or what Tyrrell referred to as theology distinct from the original revelation. Tyrrell, 'Prophetic History,' *TSC*, 242-253; and Tyrrell's 'RTD,' 98-99.

⁴⁸ Piet Schoonenberg made the same distinction and then offered some hermeneutical principles for determining what past dogmatic statements mean for modern believers. See Reiser, *What are they saying about Dogma?* 47; Schoonenberg, P. (1971), *The Christ: A Study of the God-Man*. 104-52; Schoonenberg, P. (1970), 'Historicity and the Interpretation of Dogma,' *Theology Digest*, 18, 132-143; and Schillebeeckx, E. (1968), *Concept of Truth and Theological Renewal*, 24. Schillebeeckx believed, 'dogmatic truth maintains a double relationship: (1) a particular doctrine is formulated against the background of a period in time.

⁴⁹ See Ommen, T.B. (1975), *Hermeneutic of Dogma*. According to Ommen the meaning of doctrine has to be examined in the light of a process of transmission which stretches back to scripture for it represents the future of biblical texts themselves. The post-biblical tradition including doctrine, 'constitutes the on-going process of the interpretation of scriptural texts.' Appropriating the thought of Gerhard Ebeling and Hans Georg Gadamer, Ommen critiques the meaning-expression or content-form distinction. He argued that meaning cannot be neatly detached from modes of discourse, literary genres, and the structure and function of symbolic language. As was discussed in chapter three, Wittgenstein and Heidegger have shown that meaning is a language event. Meaning happens it cannot be isolated from language or text in which it resides (see Wittgenstein, *Culture and Value*, 50, 82, 85). See also, O'Collins, G. (1975), *Has Dogma a Future Retrieving Fundamental Theology* (1993), *The Tripersonal God – the development of Trinitarian doctrine*, 86, 96, 98, 121. See also *The Convergence of Theology: a festschrift honouring Gerald O'Collins SJ* (2001), Gerald O'Collins, D. Kendell, S.T. Davis; also O'Collins, G. (2006), *Living Vatican II*.

⁵⁰ Particular insight into Tyrrell's theological development with regard to his position on doctrinal development is gleaned from his letters, for example, to Von Hügel (10 Feb. 1907). See Tyrrell, G. (1920). *GTL*, 56-87, together with a range of essays and reviews, for example, Tyrrell's critique of Auguste Sabatier's *The Vitality of Christian Doctrine*, *The Month* (June 1898) and his reply to R.P. la Barre's *Le Vie du Dogma, Autorité-Evolution*, *The Month* (May 1899). Also in Tyrrell, *FM II*, 1, 136-157. See also 'Ecclesiastical developments in the reign of the Queen,' (1897 Feb.1), *The Times* [London], and 'Ecclesiastical Development,' *The Month*, 90, (1897).

⁵¹ See Petre, *A&L*, Vol. II, 99.

which some point of religious belief is embodied, as distinct from the belief itself or the meaning of those words. Loisy, supported by Tyrrell set out to refute this position.⁵² In the process they offered a new line of apologetic for Catholicism. Sabatier and Harnack appealed to history, so Loisy pointed out that an historical religion must be considered as a whole, in its organic development. It must be judged by its permanent characteristics, not just by one or two elements. Thus Tyrrell argued that attempts to divorce Christology from ecclesiology were therefore unhistorical. According to Harnack the essence of Christianity was what he regarded as the essence of Christ's teaching: the Fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man. It was the religion of Jesus, rather than the religion about Jesus. Traditional Christianity, with the institutional church, the Christological and other dogmas, and the Catholic cult, was a perversion of the simple and original Gospel. Harnack's seminal work epitomised the Liberal Protestantism of this period and maintained that the Reformation had been an attempt to recover what was lost, but the work remained unfinished. He believed a clean sweep of ecclesiasticism was now required. The time had come to reduce Christianity to its true essence, scripture alone and individual trust in the Fatherhood of God.⁵³

In opposition to the Liberal Protestant movement, Tyrrell argued that Catholicism should be regarded as the vital and organic continuation of the original Gospel. This view received wide acclaim from Catholics like von Hügel, Loisy, Mignot and the leading Newmanite, Wilfrid Ward.⁵⁴ Tyrrell fought to preserve what he saw as most essential about Catholic Christianity, in this sense, he sought consistently to distance himself from the position of Sabatier and Harnack.⁵⁵ Tyrrell and Sabatier both believed doctrine is necessary for religion for it is the language of faith or religion, both of which are names for religious sentiment. Sabatier argued that we have still kept and repeat the dogmas of early times; but we pour into them unconsciously a new meaning. The terms do not change, but the ideas and their interpretation are renewed. In reality, Tyrrell respected the work of Sabatier, believing it is 'worthy of careful study.' However, he also considered it to be, 'Protestantism worked out ruthlessly to its logical conclusion.' Tyrrell opposed Liberal Protestantism on the grounds that morality would become the central component of religion. Tyrrell's fear

⁵² In 1897 Loisy wrote an apology for Catholicism as a reply to Harnack's *History of Dogma* and Sabatier's *Outlines of a Philosophy of Religion*. It was never published but provided the material for *L'Évangile et l'Église* (1902), which took the form of a refutation of Harnack's (1900), *What is Christianity?*

⁵³ See further *Das Wesen des Christentums* (1901) Adolf von Harnack. Interestingly, Harnack's father, Theodosius Harnack, was a professor of pastoral theology at the University of Tartu.

Tyrrell maintained throughout the Modernist controversy that the church, despite its hierarchy and dogma, was the necessary form in which the Gospel had to be preserved, expressed, and developed. The survival of Catholicism depended on the vitality of dogma. In this regard Tyrrell developed a broad definition of church, which would not be truly appreciated until the Second Vatican Council's 'Dogmatic Constitution on the church,' *Lumen Gentium* (21 Nov. 1964).

⁵⁴ See Petre, M.D. (1937), *Von Hügel and Tyrrell: The Story of a Friendship*, 55. In the process Tyrrell began to move away from the traditional view of biblical inerrancy and the scholastic system of Christological and ecclesiastical orthodoxy. The influence of Loisy's biblical scholarship and von Hügel's philosophy of religion on Tyrrell was crucial in the respect. Tyrrell came to see the limitations of scholastic theology, and he became increasingly dissatisfied with the logical and rationalistic conception of revelation and dogma as a body of propositions guaranteed to be infallible.

⁵⁵ See Sabatier, L.A. (1898), *The Vitality of Christian Dogmas and their Power of Evolution: A Study in Religious Philosophy*, trans. E Christen, 43.

concerned the final resting-place of the Liberal Protestant position. In this sense he predicted the arrival of Don Cupitt and nihilist textualism. It is precisely this outcome that Tyrrell tried to oppose. Unfortunately for reasons I have discussed, Rome did not comprehend Tyrrell's nuanced distinctions.⁵⁶

Tyrrell maintained that when the Reformers cast aside scholasticism, which the Roman church has worked into the bones of her form of Christianity, they in principle also rejected the authoritative claims of every other human clothing of the religious sentiment of Christ.⁵⁷ This included not only what it received from Greek philosophy and from Roman jurisprudence in the early church, but even that Hebraic garb in which Christ presented it to us. Tyrrell opposed this position of Sabatier, maintaining that it demanded the rejection of all sacred history and tradition. All of Hebraism, of Greco-Romanism, of Scholasticism, must be sundered from the vital germ, from the religious emotions and inward experience of Christ of which they are but the contingent language and expression.⁵⁸

Post-Sabatier, Tyrrell's Catholic understanding of doctrine continued to evolve. It became 'the spoken or written equivalent of that mental language in which Christ and his church (divinely assisted) have embodied the truths of revelation.'⁵⁹ Tyrrell asserted religion is not a divinely originated blind emotion clothing itself spontaneously in theories and images of human creation, but rather it is the body of divinely taught truths, finding purpose in love of God and love of neighbour. The alternative to doctrine growing out of divinely revealed truths is Sabatier's stance, that conscience is reinforced by parables and metaphors hardening into history and dogma. Reason and imagination would have worked to produce a theory or story to explain the religious emotion. In every stage of culture and mental progress, theory would have mingled falsity and truth, and symbolism would have quickly degenerated into mythology. Tyrrell argued that it was in anticipation of this human result that God gave us external revelation, and was made man. In this way, God taught man, within

⁵⁶ For example see Hyman, G. (2001), *The Predicament of Post-modern Theology: Radical Orthodoxy or Nihilist Textualism*.

⁵⁷ See Tyrrell's review, *The Month*, 91 (June 1898), 598. Tyrrell maintained that for Sabatier the vitality of a dogmatic creed is therefore the vitality of a language in the interests of thought. The true theologian will aid and guide the natural process of evolution, and will not deny or oppose it. His task lies in applying criticism to the old dogmas; in disengaging their vital principle. He has to 'set free their living principle from the decaying form in which it is enclosed, and to prepare for its new forms in harmony with modern culture.' Not 'to formulate new dogmas,' but to keep to the form of sound words, while quietly slipping new meanings under them and explaining them away as long as they will possibly admit of it. When this gets too difficult he may noiselessly introduce new terminology and suffers the old to retire to its well-earned rest. As language lives, develops, and dies, so does dogma follow suit necessarily. For Sabatier, 'the vitality of dogmas is the vitality of language, some words dying (*desuetude*), others coming to life (*neology*), others slowly changing their sense (*intussusception*) until change ends in death.' 595.

⁵⁸ See Sabatier, *The Vitality of Christian Dogmas and Their Power of Evolution* and Tyrrell, G. (1899), 'The Life of Catholic Dogma,' *The Month*, 93 (May 1899), 499.

⁵⁹ See Tyrrell's review, *The Month*, 91 (June 1898), 598.

the limits of human language,⁶⁰ more about the divine mysteries than man alone could ever have discovered.⁶¹

Writing in 1898, Tyrrell firmly believed that all doctrine and mysteries are directly or indirectly manifestations of God's nature and will; but in substance, as in origin, they are widely different from the self-formed conceptions and symbols of the unassisted mind. Tyrrell explained that if Christian revelation remained embedded in the facts, in the language of divine deeds, in the sacred history of Christ and the life of the church, there is no room for modification or re-utterance. At this time, Tyrrell understood doctrine to be the divinely chosen expression of those truths of realities that constitute Christian revelation, a fixed body of religious truths; it was given once and for all to the Apostles. 'Our conception of the "deposit of faith" can become fuller and richer through the church's contemplation of the truths, the deposit as handed on by the Apostles.'⁶²

1899 became a pivotal year with regard to Tyrrell's theological development. In his divergent writings of this particular year one detects either further personal confusion or indeed theological contradictions as he struggled to articulate a coherent position with regard to doctrine and development.⁶³ Tyrrell does not deny that if the revelation was given today, the language and form might be different, that the adopted language is the best or only language. Yet he attempted to reconcile this developing position with his belief that the church looks on the Christian revelation as a body of truths delivered once and for all to the Apostles.⁶⁴

⁶⁰ This is a continuing theme throughout Tyrrell's work, see. W.R. Waller, *The Civilizing of the Matafanus*; Tyrrell, 'Rights and Limits of Theology,' *TSC*, 200-241; Tyrrell, 'Theologism,' *TSC*, 308-354; Tyrrell, 'A More Excellent Way,' *FM II*, 1-22; and Tyrrell, 'Liberal Catholicism,' *FM II*, 68-84.

⁶¹ Tyrrell maintained that, 'instead of leaving us to satisfy our imagination by a self-devised symbolism of divine mysteries and by parables ever prone to become myths, He devised for us the economy of the Incarnation, and in the life of the God-man and of His precursors and followers, uttered Eternal Truth and Love as far as it could be uttered in the enacted language of human life,' 598. 'That is God's language; and, like the language of creation, it is the same for all men of all ages, however they interpret or misinterpret it,' Tyrrell, 599. According to Sabatier the Catholic Church has committed herself 'irretrievably' to scholasticism, to Platonism, and even to the theosophic conceptions of the Hebraic mind and language in which Christ clothed his religious sentiment. She has taken fundamental ideas and principles from these philosophies, and has exalted them into dogmas, failing to distinguish the emotional substance of religion from its intellectual involucre, which is as the husk of the kernel' (Sabatier, *The Vitality of Christian Dogmas and Their Power of Evolution*, 599). Tyrrell understood more than most the implications of this charge. He unequivocally makes his Catholic position clear: 'We, however, believe not merely in the truths signified by sacred history, but in the correspondence between record and fact; in real as well as verbal symbolism,' Tyrrell to Ward, 6 November 1907, Ward Family Papers, Weaver, M.J. (1985), *Newman and the Modernists*, 115.

⁶² Tyrrell, *The Life of Catholic Dogma in The Month*, 93 (May 1899), 499. Tyrrell responds so radically to the Protestant declaration of faith that one can only assume that his detractors did not read his work. For example, on Sabatier Tyrrell concludes, 'disciples (of Christ) have come and stolen Him away - well intentioned, no doubt, in their zeal for His reputation; but surely mistaken in their judgement and weak in their faith.'

⁶³ In this regard, contrast the conservative defence of doctrine in Tyrrell's reflection on R.P. de la Barre's *La Vie du Dogma Autorité-Evolution*, *The Month* (May 1899) with 'RTD,' *The Month* (Nov.1899), which sets forth a radical reassertion of the foundation and role of doctrine. In December 1899 there appeared 'A Perverted Devotion,' which marked the beginning of the 'stormy period,' see Petre, *A&L*, Vol. II, 98.

⁶⁴ Dean Freemantle echoes the thoughts of Sabatier: 'We can no more think in Greek than we can speak Greek.' Tyrrell responds: 'No more perhaps, but just as much. We can speak Greek and we can think Greek. Men still study the philosophy of Greece, nor do we question their ability to understand it.' See

Tyrrell persistently rejected the Liberal Protestantism espoused in Sabatier's *Vitality of Dogma*, arguing that what we have received as of faith that we hold to forever, as far as possible in the same form. Tyrrell advocated his notion of a 'collective' church, in which the conception of the whole body of revealed truth grows in distinctness as she ponders it in her heart.⁶⁵ Tyrrell illustrated this phenomenon as the growth of a boy to manhood. The boy in the man is 'absolutely' different from Sabatier's 'vitality,' which argued Christian dogma is but the hypothetical theory and imagery in which the religious notions of Christ clothed itself. For Tyrrell, in that one supposition, Christ came solely to move the feelings, careless of how the intellect might explain that emotion to itself. In the other, he came to enlighten the intellect by truth, no less than to sanctify the will to charity. In summary, Tyrrell went to lengths to oppose the Liberal Protestant position. To argue otherwise is to indicate a profound misunderstanding of his theology. The works of Tyrrell, particularly, *Christianity at the Crossroads*, (1909) allowed him to oppose Sabatier *et al* while becoming clearer in his own mind where his allegiance lay.⁶⁶

Growing out from a sense of confusion, enhanced by Von Hügel's encouragement, Tyrrell attempted once again to establish a firm foundation upon which to progress. By 1900, he was clear that neo-scholasticism presented an artificial understanding of God and his creation. Following his intense study of the Liberal Protestant position, he famously declared that it amounted to little more than a nineteenth century self-portrait of the Protestant theologian.⁶⁷ In the four years duration, from the time Tyrrell left Stonyhurst up until 1900, his faith evolved from the experience of one who

Tyrrell's review, *The Month*, 91 (June 1898) 600. Tyrrell maintains that the Church carefully treasures the all-but-dead philosophy and language in which it was clothed, and keeps them living for no other end, as though they are perishable earthen vessels in which a priceless gift is contained.

⁶⁵ 'That the relations of part with part stand out more clearly; that the new consequences and applications are observed; while the denials of heretics ever call for modifications of expression by which an increasing exactitude is secured.' *The Month*, 91 (June 1898), 600. This notion of 'collective Church,' or the 'Church collectively,' appears throughout Tyrrell's ecclesiology and develops into a fundamental position. This notion is also crucial to his understanding of doctrinal development. I will explore this further in chapter six together with Tyrrell's 'corporate mind' and the '*Sensus Fidelium*.'

⁶⁶ Tyrrell responds so radically to the Protestant declaration of faith that one can only assume that his detractors did not read his work. For example, on Sabatier, Tyrrell concludes, 'disciples (of Christ) have come and stolen Him away - well intentioned, no doubt, in their zeal for His reputation; but surely mistaken in their judgement and weak in their faith.' Tyrrell, *The Life of Catholic Dogma*, *The Month*, 93 (May 1899), 499.

⁶⁷ Tyrrell, *CC*, 49. See Tyrrell's critique of Harnack: 'The Christ that Harnack sees, looking back through nineteen centuries of Catholic darkness, is only the reflection of a Liberal Protestant face, seen at the bottom of a deep well.' Tyrrell continues his reassessment with a hint at his final stage: 'Applying Newman's notion of development to a broader and deeper problem than Newman's, Loisy contends that the "idea" of Christ, in its substance and character, is identical with Catholic Christianity and opposed at nearly all points to that of Liberal Protestantism', Tyrrell, *CC*, 49. Sabatier argues that 'we Protestants have therefore ceased to believe in personal demons and in possession; and therefore all the terminology connected with that mode of conceiving things has vanished. We no more believe our spiritual adversary to be a personal being, a fallen angel, than we believe him to be a roaring lion. The former belief is now accepted as a picture, as the later always was.' Tyrrell, 'The Life of Catholic Dogma,' *The Month*, 93, (May 1899), 499.

suffered in the wilderness, looking for a spiritual home, to the belief that he had found that for which he searched, the church of Newman.⁶⁸

2. Mediating Liberalism – J.H. Newman

The second stage of Tyrrell's significant reassessment of doctrine may be described as 'Mediating Liberalism.'⁶⁹ Wilfrid Ward, building upon the thought of Newman, appeared to have been the chief exponent of this school. Tyrrell, appealed to the authority of Newman, 'as our best guide in such difficulties.'⁷⁰ Von Hügel had introduced Tyrrell to the advanced exegetical studies of Loisy and the new '*L'Action*' philosophies of Blondel and Henri Bergson, but the Baron was also, like Wilfrid

68 See Petre, A&L, Vol. II, 98-111. Petre believed this period, 'Mediating Liberalism,' covered the years 1897-1900. For an understanding of Tyrrell's relationship to Newman, I have drawn upon the extensive and highly regarded research of David Schultenover. See Schultenover, 'George Tyrrell: Devout Disciple of Newman' (1992), *Heythrop Journal* 33, (1), 20-44; Schultenover, *A View from Rome* (1993); and Schultenover, *Tyrrell's Search for Catholicism* (1981) and Schultenover's PhD thesis: 'The Foundation and Genesis of George Tyrrell's Philosophy of Religion and Apologetic,' St Louis University, 1975. See also Schultenover's reply to Andrew Pierce, 'Crossbows, bludgeons and long-range rifles: Tyrrell and Newman and "the intimate connection between methods and their results."'), 56-75. Pierce's chapter precedes my own in this work: 'Tyrrell's ecclesiology: mysticism contra realpolitik.' Of interest is Schultenover's critique of Pierce, See *George Tyrrell and Catholic Modernism* (2010) Ed. Oliver Rafferty. See Schultenover's review of the above book, *The Catholic Historical Review*, 2011 April. This work supports Schultenover's view with regard to the relationship between Newman and Tyrrell. In the above review (*The Catholic Historical Review*, (2011) Schultenover adds: 'I demur, however, at Pierce's characterization of my failure to include Newman under 'greater and lesser lights' as "bizarre": I think I made it clear that Tyrrell regarded Newman as not so much a greater or lesser light in his firmament, but as the supernova that guided him toward a more fruitful way of reflection than could be found in neo-Scholasticism.' See also secondary sources: J. Courtney Murray, *The Problem of God Yesterday and Today* 1964 ,53; cited in J. Pelikan, *Development of Christian Doctrine. 'Some Historical Prolegomena'* (1969),1. From Newman to Congar Aidan Nichols (1990) 'Introduction: The Importance of the Question, 1-16 and 'Tyrrell's Development of Doctrine,' 123-133.

68 See Ward, 'Catholic Apologetics: A Reply,' *Nineteenth Century*, 45 (June 1899). Ward appeals 'for a reasonable measure of liberty,' the granting of which will, he considers, be jeopardised by rash criticism of the authorities. Tyrrell and Ward would not remain in the same school for a long, indeed, Ward opposed Tyrrell with regard to Mercier and Medievalism.

⁶⁹ Tyrrell, 'Wiseman: His Aim and Method,' *The Month*, (Feb.1898), 37. Ward was inspired by the ideas of his father and John Henry Newman, two of the leading lights in the Oxford movement. He argued that the apologetics of his father and Newman remained of contemporary value. Ward insisted that the Oxford Movement rested upon two core principles: the changeable aspect of all science, including historical science, and the existence of an enduring basis in truly religious men for theism and Christianity, outside and beyond those traditional arguments which might be destroyed by modern criticism. Ward believed that 'the theologian is bound to wait till true and false theories are sifted and separated; the Catholic scientist should also wait until theology is ready to accept his proposition.' Ward, 'Catholic Apologetics: A Reply,' *Nineteenth Century*, 45 (June 1899), 961. In contrast Tyrrell argues, 'in the essential interest of truth,' to protect the 'minds of the millions in matters of supreme practical consequence, truth is urged in an heretical spirit, not as creating an interesting difficulty, but as founding a right to doubt.' Tyrrell, 'Wiseman: His Aim and Method,' *The Month* (Feb.1898), 37. See also those articles published in *The Month*: 'Liberal Catholicism,' (May 1898), 'Through Art to Faith,' (July 1898), 'Two Estimates of Catholic Life,' (May 1899), and 'Authority and Evolution,' (May 1899). Ward elaborated upon these two principles; the first he illustrated with the case of Galileo, the second by developing Newman's argument for theism based upon conscience. For a detailed account of the Oxford Movement see Schultenover, D.G. (1993), *A View from Rome: On the Eve of the Modernist Crisis* 168-176, 174. (See also 78 above, fn.9; 91, fn. 72 &74; 92, fn. 75, 76; 94, fn. 7; 104.)

Ward, heavily indebted to Cardinal Newman.⁷¹ Newman's influence over Tyrrell started in earnest in 1893, when he began to review Ward's writings for *The Month*. He thus became indebted to Newman's biographer. At this stage, Tyrrell appeared to have placed himself in direct succession to Newman and Ward.⁷²

In his *Theory of Development* Newman tried to explain how Christianity, considered as a real idea, could expand and differentiate without undergoing the substantial change that Sabatier would later advocate. As early as 1885 Tyrrell was reading Newman's *Grammar of Assent*. He later reflected that this coincided with him realising the limits of Neoscholastic philosophy. At first he absorbed Newman indiscriminately, but over a period of time he came to see certain limitations, particularly with regard to the nature of doctrine. Newman appealed to growth in understanding of the original material, a growth that might be understood as happening in the mind of the church. Unfortunately, in mounting a defence of his position, Tyrrell did not appear to have the theological stability of Newman; while Newman skilfully negotiated his way around theological and ecclesial obstacles, Tyrrell continued to enrage his growing band of critics.⁷³

In one sense, Newman aroused equal suspicion in Rome, but unlike the politically 'naïve' Tyrrell, Newman could keep his adversaries at arms length and calculate a defensive strategy.⁷⁴ Newman moved with dexterity around the political-theological chessboard, appearing to adopt nuanced strategies requiring patience, whereas, by contrast, Tyrrell began to lose sight of his own pastoral objectives.

At this stage, a number of contemporary commentators suggest Tyrrell is being disingenuous towards the work of Newman. They claim Tyrrell fails to acknowledge his great debt to his fellow convert.⁷⁵ Tyrrell and Newman understood revelation as a

⁷¹ It is also worth recording, in light of his influence upon Tyrrell, the overarching influence of Newman upon von Hügel. He first read *Loss and Gain* (1874) at the age of seventeen and through subsequent letters and meetings discussed with Newman a broad spectrum of religious problems including certainty, the nature of Christ, suffering, scholastic philosophy, papal infallibility, and temporal power. Schultenover points out that von Hügel's over-riding interest was Newman's philosophical principles, particularly those elaborated in *The Grammar of Assent* (1870), Barmann, L.F. (1972), *Baron Friedrich von Hügel and the Modernist Crisis in England; A&L*, Vol. II, 277, 459.

⁷² See Petre *A&L* Vol. II, 'Mediating Liberalism,' 98-111. In a letter to Ward Tyrrell admits: 'I have always been a devout disciple of Newman.' 99.

⁷³ See Tyrrell to Dell, 1906, cited in Petre, *A&L*, Vol. II, 306.

⁷⁴ See Tyrrell, *TSC*, 1-17, 47, 135-154. Tyrrell came to the conclusion, obviously influenced by Ward, that Newman was an 'incurable ecclesiast.' For after his conversion to Roman Catholicism he departed from the 'liberal theology' of his last university sermon, where he held that 'the object of Revelation' was 'continually presented to our apprehension' and adopted the conservative view that revelation was the 'form of sound words,' the 'incommunicable record... accorded to the Apostles alone.' Tyrrell was not alone in thinking that *Pascendi* condemned, if not Newman, 'Newmanism.' Ward, while opposing Tyrrell and Modernism admitted this to be the case. Tyrrell, G. (1908), 'Prospects of Modernism,' *Hibbert Journal*, 6 (January 1908), 241-255. Take note especially of page 243 where Tyrrell makes Newman's historical method the foundation of Modernism. See also Lease, G. (1985), *Newman: The Roman View in Newman and the Modernists* (C.T.S. Resources in Religion, 1), (Ed.), Mary Jo Weaver, 161-182.

⁷⁵ For example, see Nichols, 123. Acknowledging on the surface, that this appears to be the case, there are two issues with this position. First, Newman was theologically ever-present. Ward, Dell, Bremond, von Hügel, Petre, *et al*, all knew and were strongly influenced by Newman. Tyrrell would

depositum fidei, the ‘form of sound words,’ the record bequeathed by Christ to the apostles. The linguistic record is sacrosanct, and should not be changed, but remain forever the criterion by which all subsequent faith expressions of the church are to be judged. What changes is the Church’s grasp of the record of meaning; the mind of the church grows as she ponders the record through the lens of history and its accumulated experience.

Doctrinal development therefore is the record of the changing mind of the church. In other words, the ‘idea’ of Christianity remains identical throughout history, although its embodiment in formulae and instructions continue to develop. For Tyrrell, this position was rapidly becoming untenable. In criticising Ward, (*Semper Eadem II*), Tyrrell consciously moved away from Newman’s theory of development. He commends their attempts ‘engaged in so prickly and thankless task,’ but asked, ‘if Mr. Ward or Newman’s *Essay*’ of 1845 has ‘really departed from the position of those whom he (Ward) considers ultra-conservative?’⁷⁶

Tyrrell recognised the importance of Newman’s method, in contrast to the aprioristic and a-historical method of Neoscholasticism. Schultenover and Sagovsky elaborate in detail with regard to Tyrrell’s debt to Newman.⁷⁷ However, from 1902 until his death in 1909, Tyrrell was at pains to distance himself from Newman, *pace* Ward, in two key areas.⁷⁸ The first concern was the authority of the Magisterium, and what Tyrrell considered to be the rights and limits of the theologian (see Chapter Six). No doubt

have taken it for granted that his particular readership would have known only too well the thought and generational debt to Newman. Newman was ‘in the air’ and it was impossible not to be influenced by him. Secondly, as I have shown, Tyrrell was not writing precise theological treatises in the comfort of a university study. He confided to Petre, ‘the Church sits on my soul like a night-mare, and the oppression is maddening,’ Petre, *A&L*, Vol. II, 109. Indeed this is one of the main attractions of his writing. It is effervescent, ‘concrete,’ and ‘practical,’ but it also suggests that contemporary scholars should take some account of Tyrrell’s traumatic environment and recognise his theological objectives, despite the reality of his instability.

⁷⁶ The Editor of *The Month* refused to publish *Semper Eadem II*, although Tyrrell published it in 1907 in *TSC*. 133-154. In reality it is not Newman who Tyrrell develops beyond, but rather what he considered to be Ward’s conservative appropriation of Newman. I consider one of the most valuable contributions Tyrrell makes to contemporary theology is his insistence on and continuous bias towards original texts. This was the case with the Aquinas controversy at Stonyhurst and indeed with doctrinal development. Tyrrell consistently urges use of the original source rather than later interpretations. It was perhaps during numerous correspondences with Ward that Tyrrell came to see the points of difference between him and ‘mediating liberalism,’ *Semper Eadem I*, *The Month*, (Jan.1904)). Petre described *Semper Eadem I* as a ‘veritable bomb-shell.’ Primarily Newman insisted upon development remaining within magisterial boundaries. It appears at this stage in his development that Tyrrell had set his sights on demolishing those boundaries. (Contrast this position with his final empathic support of Catholicism in *Christianity at the Crossroads*, posthumously published in 1909.)

⁷⁷ See Petre, *A&L*, Vol. II, 208-213. For insightful scholarly treatments of Tyrrell’s relationship to the thought of Newman see Schultenover, D.G. (1992). ‘George Tyrrell: Devout Disciple of Newman,’ *Heythrop Journal*, 20-44. Here Schultenover concludes: ‘From conversion to death Tyrrell was soul-companion to Newman, fed by the same worship and the same favourite doctrine’ (23). See also Sagovsky, N. (1983). ‘Frustration, Disillusion and enduring, Filial Respect: George Tyrrell’s Debt to John Henry Newman,’ *Newman and the Modernists* (C.T.S. Resources in Religion, 1), 105-108, 110-113. (Ed. Mary Jo Weaver), 97-137. See Schultenover, 116-32, 242-54, 268, 283, 291-301, 311, 325.

⁷⁸ See Tyrrell’s article, ‘The Limitations of Newman,’ *The Register* (Oct. 1902) and Petre, ‘The Break with Newmanism,’ *A&L*, Vol. II, 207-223. See also Schultenover regarding Tyrrell’s assessment that ‘Newmanism’ as a method was enduring in Tyrrell’s thought,’ 30.

the age in which each of them lived and worked shaped their ecclesial position. The second concern is theologically more fundamental; that is, the relationship between revelation, theology, and doctrine. In a letter to M. Raoul Gout, the author of *L'affaire Tyrrell*, Tyrrell gave a synopsis of his concerns with regard to Newman and Ward. It allows an insight into Tyrrell's pastoral methodology, a fundamental aversion to systems, and explains his movement into the third stage of his personal development.⁷⁹

3. Lex Orandi

The third period of Tyrrell's reassessment of doctrine may be described as the *Lex Orandi* stage.⁸⁰ It was tentatively mapped out in 'The Relation of Theology to

⁷⁹ For a complete picture of Tyrrell's understanding of Newman see Tyrrell's letter to Gout cited in Petre, *A&L*, Vol. II, 209-210. Most importantly is Bremond's treatment of Newman in *The Mystery of Newman* (1907), which Tyrrell described as 'representing my conception of Newman [more] than any other treatment I know.' Tyrrell wrote an insightful introduction to this work (ix-xvii) using the opportunity to further outline his reservations with regard to the way that Ward and his school had 'appropriated' the thought of Newman. 'I have long feared least the enthusiastic 'Newmanism' of Mr. Ward's school should make Newman what St. Thomas Aquinas has become, an obstacle to the very progress which he initiated; lest the letter, and *ipse dixit*, of Newman should slay his spirit. Hence I have tried to keep alive the sense of Newman's limitations and to arrest the process of petrification; for thus only will Newman's influence remain vital and progressive.' Bremond, H. (1907). *Mystery of Newman*. trans. H.C. Corrance, 208. In Bremond, Tyrrell argued: 'We have never wished that Shakespeare had received a peerage, or had come down to us as Lord Shakespeare; and if Bacon is not less to us on account of his title, he is certainly not more. It is the man not the Cardinal, that we would fain preserve in our midst; the living Newman, not the poor 'Clothes Screen' in marble, senile and decrepit, that solicits our tears on the Brompton Road' (x). Newman also wrote that the religious outlook 'involves the perception that there are two beings in the whole universe, our own soul and the God who made it.' Newman unlike Tyrrell is obsessed with his own soul. Robert Gray comments: 'His unremitting preoccupation with the drama for two continually startles... his idea of goodness never comprehended any notion of turning the other cheek.' Rather, 'if you wish to succeed, you must show your teeth' (Gray, R. (1989). *Saint or Stinker? A review of Ian Ker's Newman the Theologian*, (1989), January 28, *The Spectator*. Newman offers a strong critique of Roman authority, he reminds the Church that: 'The Pope has no jurisdiction over Nature,' *A Letter to the Duke of Norfolk*, 1875, Ker, (Ed.), *Newman the Theologian: A Reader*, 56. Also, 'when conscience comes into collision with the word of the Pope,' Newman advises that 'conscience is to be followed in spite of the word,' Ker, Ed., *Newman the Theologian: A Reader*, 56. Newman also warns the Church against 'creeping infallibility' 52, and 'to obey a papal order which one seriously thinks is wrong would be a sin,' 57. Finally, 'were the Pope himself to speak against conscience in the true sense of the word, he would be committing a suicidal act. He would be cutting the ground from under his feet.' Crucial to Tyrrell's interpretation of Newman, is Robert Gray's aside with regard to Newman's critique of Papal authority. Gray adds: 'notwithstanding the theological rectitude with which he invested it, it might well be held to place less discriminating Catholics (Tyrrell!) on a slippery slope.'

⁸⁰ Francis O'Connor successfully traces the origin of the axiom: *lex orandi lex credendi* back to the fifth century controversies on grace, probably collected by St Prosper of Aquitaine between 435 and 422, which was considered an authoritative statement of church teaching on grace. 'We are exhorted to examine the words of the prayers recited by the priest in the liturgy: Let us examine these sacred words which were handed down from the Apostles throughout the world and which are uniformly used in every Catholic Church, and thus find in the prayers of the liturgy the law of our faith is confirmed (*ut legene credendi lex statuat supplicandi*) (DB 139).' Implicit in the command to pray (*lex supplicandi*) is the obligation to believe in the existence of grace (*statuat legem credendi*). The constant prayers offered by the Church for the correction of sin and the consequent praise and thanksgiving for such correction indicates that all such change are the result of a divine operation, i.e. grace (O'Connor, F. (1967). 'George Tyrrell and Dogma,' *Downside Review*, 85, (1967), 23. The axiom consists of two nouns in the nominative case, each with a gerund in the genitive. The gerund is a verbal noun with an

Devotion' (1899), to reappear subsequently, following Tyrrell's rejection of 'Mediating Liberalism,' as *Lex Orandi, Lex Credendi* (1907). In defining revelation as 'not merely a symbol or a creed,' but in 'some sense more directly a *lex orandi* than a *lex credendi*,'⁸¹ Tyrrell focused attention upon the spiritual experience of prayer. When joined with his understanding of the Spirit inspired *Sensus Fidelium*, Tyrrell had devised an original contribution by which the expression of revelation could be grasped.⁸²

Newman's efforts to unite the conception of development with the Catholic conception of tradition were successful and coherent; but Tyrrell did believe that it had given an impulse to thought that may issue in some more successful effort. In reality, Tyrrell felt constrained by what he felt to be, rightly or wrongly, Newman's deference to the Magisterium.⁸³ Tyrrell had become dissatisfied not only with the scholastic theory of development as he saw it, but also with the liberal Catholic theory. Tyrrell rejected the neo-scholastic theory of development. He did not believe that the deposit of faith could be a collection of fixed, sacred, scientific formulae, from which other expression could be deduced dialectically. He considered the *depositum* to be a felt Spirit or Idea. To speak of a development or growth of this Idea, as Newman did, while insisting on the sameness of the Idea, also became unreal to him. In '*Semper Eadem II*,' Tyrrell reached the radical conclusion that it was not possible to solve the dilemma, or maintain any theory of development.⁸⁴

In 1907 in *Through Scylla and Charybdis*, Tyrrell attempted to bring his disparate thought on doctrinal development into a synthesis. However, his personal

active meaning, corresponding to the English gerund. So *lex orandi* can be translated simply but accurately as 'the or a law of praying,' and *lex credendi* as 'the or a law of believing.' Standing alone the entire phrase demands the implied copulative verb *est* (is) so that *lex orandi* is *lex credendi*. Stating the phrase as a hermeneutical principle entails translating it with the definite article 'the' rather than the indefinite article 'a.' Few Latin phrases have enjoyed as much note in post-Vatican II theological and liturgical studies as *lex orandi lex credendi*, 'the law of praying is the law of believing.' It has been used with regard to the relationship between liturgy and doctrine concerning the dependence of doctrine upon liturgy and, most importantly, to explore the relationship between grace and human freewill. See also Pope Pius XII's encyclical *Mediator Dei* ('On the Sacred Liturgy'), 20 Nov. 1947, which admonishes those theologians who teach 'that axiom *lex orandi lex credendi*.' (2005), 445-454.

⁸¹ Tyrrell adds: 'The maxim has reference to the prayer and belief of the universal Church, of the whole body of the faithful in which the life of Christ is continued, in whose members collectively the spirit of Christ, the spirit of charity, is spread abroad. Prayer is to be taken widely for the life of charity, of divine love, of will-union with God and His saints.' Tyrrell (1903), *Lex Orandi, or, Prayer and Creed*. 59. For Tyrrell grace flows from devotion to the sacraments, charity and prayer (Tyrrell, *The Church and the Means of Grace in Lex Orandi, or, Prayer and Creed*, 27-35. See also De Clerck, P. '*lex orandi, lex credendi*:' The Original Sense and Historical Avatars of an Equivocal Adage,' *Sacred Liturgy*, 24 (1994), 178-200. See 'RTD' and TSC, 95.

⁸² See Tyrrell, 'The Mind of the Church,' *The Month* (July 1900), 128 and Newman, 'On Consulting The Faithful In Matters of Doctrine,' *The Rambler* (July 1859). Here Newman said: 'One man will lay more stress on one aspect of doctrine, another on another; myself, I am accustomed to lay great stress on the *Consensus Fidelium*.'

⁸³ See Petre, 'The Break with 'Newmanism,' *A&L*, Vol. II, 207-213. Newman saw the direction of criticism the other way-round: spiritual experience is always to be criticised by the record and its authentic elaboration in doctrine. I suspect Tyrrell's motivation in this regard was his negative perception of Newman as a 'Roman Cardinal.' Bremond, H. (1907), *The Mystery of Newman*, x-xii.

⁸⁴ For an insightful synopsis of Tyrrell's rejection of neo-scholasticism and the 'conservative' theory of development, see O'Connor, 'George Tyrrell and Dogma,' *Downside Review*, 85 (1967), 32.

apprehension, exacerbated by his sacramental deprivation, was becoming increasingly apparent in his theological reflections. He believed the intellectual crisis of Catholicism could be resolved through the realisation that ‘while theology has a history, doctrine can have none, being simply the stake which marks the presence of revelation, itself a largely ineffable experience of the spiritual world.’⁸⁵ In *Lex Orandi*, Tyrrell stated his position unequivocally, ‘I believe firmly in the necessity and utility of theology; but of a living theology that continually proceeds from and returns to that experience of which it is the ever tentative and perfectable analysis.’⁸⁶

Once again the nucleus of his position is contained in ‘The Relation of Theology to Devotion.’ Tyrrell suggested that a re-evaluation of the conceptions of doctrine, revelation and theology might offer hope for solving the dilemma. For example, Tyrrell considered theology to be a tool of the church; it develops as the church develops. Revelation, he thought, contains two components: a ‘supernatural’ revelation which was primarily an experience, communicated from Christ to the Apostles; and a somewhat secondary sense, in which this vision admits of expression and communication, which Tyrrell called prophecy. The communicable inspired record may also be called revelation, but only in a secondary sense. For Tyrrell, doctrine and theology are not identical. Doctrine he considered to be a religious truth, imposed authoritatively as the word of God, but not a conclusion to a theological reflection. Tyrrell objected to a theology that ‘draws ideas from ideas, instead of from experience,’ that gives us ‘shadows of shadows instead of shadows of reality,’ hence the significance of *lex Orandi* in his pastoral hermeneutic.⁸⁷

For Tyrrell revelation, as recorded, was fixed in the amber of the past. Newman understood development as a movement from the implicit to the explicit faith, so that one now consciously believed what had been implicitly, but not explicitly, believed before. Tyrrell maintained this form of development (implicit to the explicit), was an abuse of external religion. Much of what had been explicit was becoming incredible, what had been traditionally believed, and what he was now being told he should believe.⁸⁸ He argued the church cannot speak ten words on dogma without assuming some philosophy or other. When she speaks she takes that which prevails with her hearers, and uses it to express her mind as nearly as may be. Tyrrell gives examples of conversing with a Chinaman or preaching the Gospel to ‘primitive savages;’ he believes one has to adopt their modes of thought and expression in order to communicate.⁸⁹

⁸⁵Tyrrell, ‘RTD,’ *The Month*, (Nov. 1899), 231. The position taken by Tyrrell should not be confused with anti-intellectualism or the accusation of religious sentimentalism. Tyrrell’s epistemology, as we have seen, is ‘nurtured in action,’ as the key to our knowledge of God. Kerlin, M.J. (1966), *Historical Religion In the Thought of Friedrich Von Hügel and George Tyrrell*, Rome: Pontificia Universitas Gregoriana, Facultas Philosophica, 128.

⁸⁶ Tyrrell, *LO*, 98.

⁸⁷ Tyrrell, *Medievalism*, 47.

⁸⁸ In this respect Tyrrell made reference to what he considered to be ‘new material:’ the doctrines of hell, infallibility, and the Immaculate Conception. I think what we are witnessing here, in this post-Newman stage, is the fact that Tyrrell’s thought on doctrinal development is being driven by his ecclesial polemics rather than theology. The issues with hell are well documented. His first formal reprimand following the publication of ‘APD;’ likewise his hypersensitivity to infallibility, perhaps a residual of his Anglican presuppositions with regard to the Immaculate Conception.

⁸⁹ See Tyrrell’s insightful depiction of this position in fictional form: ‘The Civilizing of Matafanus: An Essay in Religious Development,’ (1902). If the Middle Ages asked the Church questions in the language of

One begins to detect, in this third stage of development, an explicit motivation in his writing, other than the pursuit of a pastoral and practical hermeneutic. As an alternative to formulating a critical foundation with regard to *lex orandi* and his thought on the *sensus fidelium*, which in itself is a controversial initiative, Tyrrell's writings become increasingly polemical in nature. Thus Tyrrell lost a crucial opportunity, deciding instead to challenge the Magisterium, opposing in the process his own methodology, gleaned from Newman, with regard to noiseless progression.⁹⁰ Perhaps I am being too harsh on Tyrrell, in that he did sincerely believe the Magisterium had become an obstacle to faith, and therefore continued to criticise it through his theological reflections.

Despite this preoccupation, Tyrrell argued it was simply a question of truth. He tried to maintain, again, without sufficient justification, that doctrine and revelation have two different layers of truth: the obvious sense and a deeper sense. The obvious sense is the literal meaning the words present to the understanding; it is a means to express a deeper significance. For Tyrrell, there is no need or possibility of restatement or development of this prophetic truth. The expressive truth and the expressed truth, the illustrative and the illustrated truth are different. The expressive is of relative value pointing to the absolute hidden truth. Tyrrell also considered doctrines to be prophetic; they constitute the church's teaching in a structured manner; they are protective re-assertions of apostolic revelation, validated by the 'Corporate Mind,' and required for a practical assimilation of the Christian spirit.⁹¹ The difficulty however is that Tyrrell failed to elaborate how the faithful should distinguish between the two forms of revelation.

Tyrrell maintained that it is in willing and acting that doctrinal reality is revealed to us. It is in our *felt* relations to other wills, in a ceaseless commotion. Whenever we find another will in accord with our own, we experience a sense of re-enforcement and expansion of our spiritual life and being, e.g. when we forgive we are involved in a movement towards Christ. The doctrinal map can lead us thus far. On the other hand, there is a sense of spiritual impoverishment and contradiction whenever we recognise a 'will-force' in opposition to our own, a 'dropping away into the void and the nothingness of solitude.'⁹² Unfortunately, once more, we are left with a sense of lost opportunity, for Tyrrell fails to clarify what would be the inevitable confusion with regard to two contradictory dogmatic formulae.

Aristotle, it had been no use for her to answer in the language of Kant. She cares nothing for the theory of substance and accident in itself, but only so far as by that theory she can best insist on the literal sense of *hoc est corpus meum* - can best secure those words meaning to us what they mean to the Apostles.' 500.

⁹⁰ For example, see Newman, *The Development of Christian Doctrine*, Chapter 12. 'Application of the Seventh Note of a True Development — Chronic Vigour.' Tyrrell lamented the fact that magisterial theology moved 'further and further from facts along the path of curious and unverified deductions; that makes itself a tyrant instead of a servant.' Furthermore he asks: 'Can it be that the Church... will fall prey of a selfish and godless bureaucracy?' Tyrrell, *Medievalism*, 184.

⁹¹ See Tyrrell's 'The Corporate Mind,' *TSC*, 254-263, his powerful objections to *The Joint Pastoral* cited in Petre's *A&L*, Vol. II, 146-161, and 'The Mind of the Church,' *The Month* (July 1900), 125-142.

⁹² Tyrrell, (Engels, E. pseud.) (1902), *RFL*, 12. In this case the pilgrim has strayed from the doctrinal map. Tyrrell maintained that the map is not the only meaning for 'one might live religiously without any definite and separate act of religion internal or external. One may simply follow one's *sense* of the Absolute Will. Religion as an activity of the individual soul is simply the movement of its will-attitude in relation to the Divine Will and to all other wills so far as accordant with the Divine Will.' *RFL*, 12.

Tyrrell was attempting to develop what he considered to be a practical hermeneutic, a doctrinal map would understand and systematise a certain element of our life. It is a philosophy from which we deduce practical rules for guidance. Affirming Tyrrell's development von Hügel describes it as 'a philosophy of action,' involving the united operation of the whole self. Both agreed that underlying this philosophy of action was the hidden élan of God. Tyrrell insisted that von Hügel hated to get things too clear, in contrast to Le Roy who could not believe unless he could define. The Baron, on the other hand, found one of the bulwarks of belief to be the refusal to define.

Thus Tyrrell came to understand neo-scholastic philosophy and 'mediating liberalism' as two systems or theories amongst many others. He considered religious truth to have both a speculative and practical nature. Religion like ethics and aesthetics may be based on true or false philosophy. As purely human efforts to gain understanding of the practical, the thirst for and the awareness of the infinite, these are universal experiences. Von Hügel, in support of Tyrrell, claimed that the Magisterium had espoused a narrow and unworkable philosophical methodology. He claimed the official Catholic methodology was derived from Greco-Roman history. It was primarily deductive, discursive, and abstract, emphasising the rational faculty to the virtual exclusion of the volitional and emotive. Tyrrell argued that the cultures which now lead in thought are generally apprehending reality as concrete and organic, and by means of intuition during or after practical action and experience. Von Hügel maintained that there are three factors of genuine religion which has not been equally emphasised by the church, i.e. the institutional, the intellectual and the mystical. The latter is of significance for Tyrrell regarding the 'will-union.' Tyrrell breaks the philosophical shackles of neo-scholasticism, referring to God as 'that supreme and Eternal Will.' In practice love of God and this dynamic union with the Infinite-Will, is the very substance and reality of our spiritual living and being. It is this practical application of doctrine as a map, resulting in will-union with the Supreme and Eternal Will, a position which underlies Tyrrell's philosophy of religion. He described it as 'the essence of our blessedness.'⁹³

Tyrrell consistently emphasised that doctrine is the medicine not the food. In this sense doctrine may be likened to a map, an aid to the person of faith, on their journey towards the eschaton. Within the *lex orandi lex credendi* hermeneutic is the ability to return to our original childlike faith, albeit on an appropriate plane. In the process Tyrrell believed we become convinced that God's original way of putting the 'truth' is, after all, the better and the wiser. For example, the purpose of the Incarnation for Tyrrell is to reveal to us the Father, so far as the divine goodness can be expressed in the terms of a human life; to bring home to our imagination and emotion those truths about God's fatherhood and love, which are so unreal to us in their philosophic or theological model. The Incarnation assures us that our simple anthropomorphic understanding of God is no more, but far less than the truth. As soon as we translate God into human language and philosophy we lose track of Him, but in Tyrrell's

⁹³Tyrrell, *RFL*, 11. See also Dakin, A.H. (1934), *Von Hügel and the Supernatural*, see also von Hügel, 'Experience and Transcendence,' *Dublin Review*, (April 1906), 138.

pastoral portrayal of *lex orandi*, if we accept his argument, we move an experiential step closer along our journey of understanding.⁹⁴

Even if the Eucharist was the bare remembrance of Calvary, Tyrrell believed it could still speak to us principally not of that past human passion, but of the present divine passion, whereof Calvary was but the philosophical symbol. But in truth, Tyrrell believed, a better conception of the unreality of time before the divine mind will convince us that the simple devotion which regards God's passion as continually present, as augmented by our sins, as alleviated by our love, is less inadequate and more philosophically true than high sounding phrases, as though they are capable of carrying us upwards on wings of aspiration. Tyrrell was attempting a reinstatement of the tradition, but it is a tradition that must undergo the fires of melting pot of contemporary concern (experience).

Tyrrell applied the *lex orandi est lex credendi* test. The saints have always prayed to a God conceived humanly, albeit with the consciousness of the imperfection of even God's own self-chosen mode of revelation, and it is this consciousness that has saved them from superstition and anthropomorphism. Thus, Tyrrell's *lex orandi* 'map' to God claims to create 'awareness' through which we obtain a more 'real' union with the Divine.

Tyrrell's *lex orandi* was an attempt to ensure that the creed did not become 'abracadabra – and nothing more.'⁹⁵ His introduction of *lex orandi* allowed the 'deposit of faith' to be embodied in doctrine not merely as a symbol or creed, but rather a concrete religion left by Christ to his church, lived, day upon day, life upon life. He believed it is in some sense perhaps more directly *lex orandi* than *lex credendi*; the creed is involved in the prayer, and has to be disentangled from it. As we have seen, Tyrrell highlighted the virtual impossibility of separating the tares from the wheat. But he insisted, in so far as philosophical-theology formulates and justifies the 'form of life, and in so far as it is true to the life of the faith and charity as actually lived, then the *lex orandi* test may direct and formulate our faith. But when it contradicts the facts of spiritual life, it loses its reality and its authority. Tyrrell maintained everything is to be tested by experience – how it works in life.

⁹⁴ Thus Tyrrell believed the revelation of Christ's human heart reveals to us that love is the core, the very central attribute of the Divinity around which all other attributes cluster, from which they spring and upon which they depend. Tyrrell reminds us that: 'the blood and water, guilt and remission, death and life, evil and good, darkness and light, both, stream from and return to the same fountain; both manifest one and the same goodness, narrowness and imperfection of our weak faithless vision.' Petre, *A&L*, Vol. II, 165.

⁹⁵ His creed is 'abra-cadabra to him and nothing more,' Tyrrell, *EFI*, 158-174. Tyrrell highlighted in 'APD' that not all devotion of Catholics is Catholic devotion, in the same way as not all theology is wise and temperate theology. It also has to be brought to the *lex orandi* test. It has to be reminded, like science, that its hypotheses, theories and explanations have to be tested by the facts – the facts in this case being the form of life – as lived by its consistent professors. Tyrrell supplies us with a working model to assess 'right' theology: if certain forms of prayer are undoubtedly Catholic, no theology that proves them unreal or ridiculous can be sound. Furthermore if any analysis of the act of faith or of charity or of contrition would make such acts seem exceedingly difficult to realise, we know at once the analysis to be false. Finally if any theology of grace or predestination or of the sacraments would make men pray less, or watch less, or struggle less then we may be perfectly sure that such theology is wrong. For Tyrrell a man who finds no trace of development in his own religious beliefs since childhood is convicted of never having thought about those beliefs at all; or even of never having attached any sense to the sounds he re-echoes.

Tyrrell's Critics

Consistent with his wider thought, Tyrrell's understanding of *lex orandi*, as we have seen, necessitated a radical appeal to experience. Charles Taylor highlights this 'school of thought,' which he considers to be strongly representational of Tyrrell's epoch.⁹⁶ The expressivist turn, amounted to an appeal to the authority of inner experience, culminating in the Romantics opposition to the classical stress on rationalism. Thus Tyrrell's thought involved an acute suspicion of 'a priorism,' of rationalism. Developing out of *Sturm und Drang* and in opposition to the confines of rationalism, Tyrrell's advocacy of *lex Orandi* (the test of life – prayer, devotion and experience) as the final resting place of his theological journey, aroused considerable ecclesial opposition.

Tyrrell's critics considered this to be an example of his subjectivism. Symptomatic of his radical and sceptical theology, they argued that this amounted to an immanent philosophy, one of the central charges of Pius X against Modernism.⁹⁷ Inadvertently, as with the Neoscholastic revival, Tyrrell became centre stage in a far wider philosophical dispute, affirming in the process the rights of the individual and the importance of sentimentalism. The Roman hierarchy could never accept the 'subjectivist turn,' realising that it challenged tradition, hierarchy and a structured society. Rome also realised the danger associated with pragmatic philosophies that eventually have to fall back, it seems, on non-pragmatic conceptions of truth. How do we determine what is rational? And while this remained an issue for Tyrrell's philosophy, it also illustrated vividly how his adversaries in Rome completely misunderstood his thought, particularly with regard to his 'Kantian presuppositions.'⁹⁸ Indeed, Tyrrell's critics in Rome, France, Belgium and closer to home accused him of a great deal: 'subjectivism,' 'immanentism,' 'agnosticism,' 'atheism,' 'pragmatism,' 'Kantianism,' 'phenomenalism,' and 'anti-intellectualism.'⁹⁹ A further significant issue that continuously appeared throughout any exploration of Tyrrell's life and work, as I have outlined, is the authority question. Regardless of his prophetic pastoral hermeneutic, Tyrrell broke the 'Cardinal rule' when he challenged hierarchical authority, provocatively claiming 'facts are stronger than Cardinals.'¹⁰⁰

⁹⁶ See Taylor, *Sources of the Self*, (1989), chapters 21 and 22. Both works by Taylor, see also *Secular Age* (2007), offer important insights into Tyrrell's particular context and indeed the consequences of overlooking his prophetic pastoral concerns. For example, Pius X, *Pascendi Dominici Gregis* 'On the Doctrines of the Modernists,' 8 September 1907, 'Vital Immanence,' n.7.

⁹⁷ See Tyrrell, G. (1994), 'His Kantian Presuppositions,' *Medievalism*, 104.

⁹⁸ Furthermore, 'a diffuser of poison, none is more skilful in the employment of a thousand noxious devices,' 'pernicious enemy of the Church,' 'the most pernicious of all the adversaries of the Church.' Tyrrell is even ridiculed by Pius X for 'possessing a reputation for irreproachable morality,' while, at the same time, having 'a false conscience, the result of pride and obstinacy.' The list of personal invective directed at Tyrrell remains a living testimony to the nature of his opponents. It was one of the reasons Tyrrell translated the encyclical, and with support from Italian clergy, added a detailed refutation. Cf. *The Programme of Modernism* (1908) published in London by T. Fisher Unwin and of which there is no named author of the 290 page work, only an introduction by Tyrrell's close friend A. Lilley, Vicar of St. Mary's Paddington Green. See. Petre, Pius X and *Pascendi Dominici Gregis*, *Ac&L*, Vol. II, 332-340, for Tyrrell's assessment of the Pope's personal involvement in the encyclical.

⁹⁹ For example, Pius X, *Pascendi Dominici Gregis*, ns.7-12; Lebreton, 542-550; Tyrrell (1994), *Medievalism*, 22-24; and Nichols, 119-120.

¹⁰⁰ For an example, see Tyrrell's letter to Petre, June 21st 1903. See also Pius X, *Pascendi Dominici Gregis*, n.9 and chapter six of this work.

From the outset, *Pascendi* makes a fundamental mistake. It wrongly considered ‘one of the cleverest devices of the Modernists (is) to present their doctrines without order and systematic arrangement, in a scattered and disjointed manner.’¹⁰¹ The authors of the encyclical bring together all the ‘scattered and disjointed’ research and give it the name ‘Modernism.’ Thus the hierarchy gave birth to their own disjointed nightmare – the mother of Modernism is none other than Rome. Having given birth to this child of the age, she systematically set about maternal infanticide.

Pascendi was mistaken in that a perfunctory knowledge of Tyrrell’s work would conclude there is no system. Tyrrell was fundamentally opposed to systems. His work was very much in-progress, developing, and adapting to new research as this illustration of Tyrrell’s transitional thought on doctrinal development clearly demonstrates. Tyrrell did not have a system; at times his work is confused and disjointed, at others it is cleverly or deviously nuanced, so only a close inner cycle of friends were privileged to his true position. Consequently, his critics usually misunderstood him or misused his thought, within a divergent presuppositional context.¹⁰²

According to *Pascendi*, R.P. Lebreton, Mercier and to a certain extent Nichols, Tyrrell’s work is dominated by subjectivism, pragmatism and anti-intellectualism. To a degree they are right in criticising Tyrrell for being vague and at times it is difficult to identify Tyrrell’s precise meaning.¹⁰³ However, his cryptic style was intentional; he considered it, together with the use of pseudonyms and so forth, a legitimate smoke screen, which allowed him a limited amount of freedom to continue his pastoral initiative. In hindsight, perhaps there is some justification in Tyrrell’s critics demanding that he should have fallen on his sword following the publication of the *Joint-Pastoral* in 1900.¹⁰⁴ Eventually smoke-screens clear and Tyrrell became exposed to his critics. One can be certain, due to the climate in which Tyrrell laboured, that his forthright approach to theology would have ensured his removal from the Society and the church at an earlier stage, if he had not adopted a ‘nuanced methodology.’

¹⁰¹ For example, Pius X, *Pascendi Dominici Gregis*, ns.7-12; Lebreton, 542-550; Tyrrell (1994), *Medievalism*, 22-24; Nichols, 119-120.

¹⁰² See Pius X, *Pascendi Dominici Gregis*, ‘The methods of Modernists,’ n.22. For example, see also the confusion which resulted upon Tyrrell’s publication of *Semper Eadem I*, *The Month* (Jan.1904), which Petre described as a ‘veritable bomb-shell which they explored, to the delight of the conservatives and the annoyance of the Liberals,’ Petre, *A&L*, Vol. II. In essence it was a critique of the Ultramontane position.

¹⁰³ For example, Tyrrell’s use of Spirit/spirit without any explanation or differentiation is a case in point.

¹⁰⁴ A number of Tyrrell’s contemporaries apparently shared this view Crehan, J. (1955). ‘Maria Paredros,’ *Theological Studies*, September 1955. The difficulty with this position is that it fails to take into account a number of factors: first Tyrrell’s political naivety, he simply did not realise the vindictive nature of his opponents or how ‘close to the edge’ he really was. The second objection is more fundamental. Presumably it attempts to undermine Tyrrell’s vocation to the priesthood and to theology; withdrawal of the sacraments, when it finally came, was a blow of a magnitude he never foresaw or from which he never recovered.

1. Sentimentalism

Regarding the charge of ‘Sentimentalism,’ Tyrrell understood sound doctrine, the fruit of our philosophical-theological reflection, to be that which conforms to the will-sentiment, that which attempts to articulate facts of religious experience. This is not to argue that Tyrrell is a sentimentalist. He was nervous of critically assessing divergent ‘forms of devotion, or any devotion, which is an ‘all to scarce commodity.’¹⁰⁵ But he did warn, in contradiction to those who criticised him, against ‘direct cultivation of feeling for its own sake.’ This he believed is a ‘corruption and an impoverishment’ of devotion, nothing less than ‘a danger and abuse.’ It is the case that sentiment taken from Ignatius is a component of Tyrrell’s understanding of devotion: ‘we cannot love Christ fully unless it be with every part of our soul;’ but he warns, the ‘error of sentimentalism makes feelings the whole of devotion.’¹⁰⁶

Theology, or from Tyrrell’s perspective *Theologism*, tangled religious knowledge with historical, scientific or philosophical truth, in the process mistaking an inspired prophetic utterance for a given truth, and not a symbolic presentment of the supernatural order of reality. As we have seen, Tyrrell distinguished between two different types of truth. Revealed truth is illustrative, while the true cosmological category remains untouched through time. The problem, however, is that he considered that ‘the illustrative and not the proper values are consecrated or canonised,’ which have the potential to then become obstacles to faith. Tyrrell maintained that there is a generic difference between revelation and theological truth; he suggested that the *lex orandi* test should be applied to theology, if it is to avoid the charge of *Theologism*.¹⁰⁷ Furthermore, theology ‘must take prophecy not as a statement, but as experience.’¹⁰⁸ As the Gospel and subsequent church teaching move beyond this world, into a metaphysical realm, the subsequent theology risked being an object to which the intellect cannot ascend. In contrast Tyrrell’s sense of religion is practical and experiential; it is a pastoral hypothesis that invites personal and collective assent. Consistently from 1899 in the ‘Relation of Theology to Devotion,’ Tyrrell maintained ‘everything is to be verified by experience’ – the *lex orandi* test. It is in this sense that his critics attempted to critique his thought, asserting ‘subjectivism’ and ‘immanentism’ are the primary features of his modernist theology.

¹⁰⁵ For his rejection of ‘Sentimentalism,’ see Tyrrell, *Lex Credendi: A Sequel to Lex Orandi*, 25-31ff, 48, and Tyrrell, *TSC*, 325. Tyrrell believed a chief danger of sentimentalism is that it ‘must lead to a continual falsification of the Christ of the Gospel,’ Tyrrell, *LC*, 27.

¹⁰⁶ See Tyrrell, *LC*, 27-28. Tyrrell complained that we may ‘know more theology than St. Peter or St Mary Magdalene or St. Paul; but do we believe more or hope more or love more?’ Tyrrell, *TSC*, 325.

¹⁰⁷ Tyrrell refers to the same argument as O’Collins, i.e. the temptation to write history backwards is both omnipresent and perennial.’ See O’Collins, *The Case Against Dogma*, 88. Both O’Collins and Tyrrell make reference to the Papal definition of 1854 and the First Vatican Council. The definitions of 1950 and *Humanae Vitae* of 1968 could also presumably be included. Küng goes further and suggests what becomes ‘canonised’ are ‘aberrations, definitions produced just for the pleasure of defining and not through pastoral necessity,’ Dewart, L. (1967), *The Future of Belief: Theism in a World Come of Age*. For example, *Humanae Vitae* illustrates Tyrrell’s point only too well. Many consider it the most single influential factor responsible for the dramatic demise in church attendance. The issue is central to the psycho-sexual development of an individual within a marriage relationship. Clearly Paul VI, like Pius X before him, did not comprehend that which they condemned. Tyrrell’s distinction between revelation, theology, and doctrine would enable the Magisterium to renegotiate with ‘the mind of the Church’ and move forward. Acknowledging the past mistakes would no longer be an obstacle, in an atmosphere inspired by dialogue and pastoral concern. (I will continue this discussion in chapter six with regard to Tyrrell’s *lex orandi* in relation to his thought on the *sensus fidelium*.)

¹⁰⁸ See Tyrrell, *Medievalism*, 104.

2. Transcendence and Immanence

Immanentism is present in Tyrrell's thinking. However, one needs to explore further to understand Tyrrell's jibe to Cardinal Mercier, that he might as well see Kant in the Pentateuch than in his religious formation. Inspired by Blondel and Bergson, Tyrrell defined the 'method of immanence' as a practical methodology that seeks religious truth by action and not by speculation.¹⁰⁹ In the above cited works and particularly in *Religion As A Factor Of Life* and *Lex Orandi*, Tyrrell consistently referred to the 'whole,' a 'healthy Christian life is a labour of the heart, head and the hand' (intellectual, sentiment and activity). For Tyrrell, the transcendent was discovered in the immanent; they were integrally linked. He thus considered that the liberal Protestant's epistemological position did not satisfy the logic of the heart.

Initially, to explain the immanent activity of the Christian God, Tyrrell used the phrase of Arnold, the power that makes for righteousness. He believed this amounted to the individual's subjective experience of God's activity. He would later drift away from this position, in search of the 'whole,' stressing the significance of the *lex orandi*. The experiential dimension of Christianity is conscience and conduct, but for Tyrrell it is more than ethics. It is also a reaction against intellectualist and rationalistic apologetic. Tyrrell was concerned to ground religion in human moral experience. He maintained that the object of religion is 'transcendentalism'; behind his pragmatism is the philosophy of the will-world.¹¹⁰ In *Christianity at the Crossroads*, Tyrrell explained that 'inward experience does not give us any privileged way of conceiving God – images are subject to the test of the transcendent.'¹¹¹ In his

¹⁰⁹ Tyrrell, *Medievalism*, 104. Tyrrell claimed he received his insight from St Ignatius, who 'recommends it to us for finding the will of God.' Tyrrell confirms: 'I am able to put my finger on the exact point or moment in my experience from which my 'immanentism took its rise.' In his 'Rules for the Discernment of Spirits,' borrowed of course from the great Catholic mystic, Ignatius of Loyola. John Macquarrie discusses two senses of immanentism: pure immanentism does not allow supernatural intervention excludes any direct agency in the affairs of the world or any alleged supernatural powers. Nature and history are all of one piece and must be studied in the light of inner – worldly forces. A stress upon God as in the world or indwelling - at the expense of his transcendence. The symbol of depth rather than height – an inner experience rather than an external power. While Tyrrell went very close to the edge in this regard, his focus upon transcendent (e.g. grace from the sacraments) saved him from the liberal protestant position found in Schleiermacher *et al*. While a pure immanentism could end only in Pantheism or atheism, many contemporary theologians agree with Tyrrell that the traditional stress on transcendence needs to be considerably modified in the direction of a greater recognition of immanence. John Macquarrie believes they have moved in the direction of advocating various forms of pantheism (Hartshorne, Robinson, Moltmann, *et al*).

¹¹⁰ See Tyrrell, *LO*, 47-48, and Engels (pseudo.), *RFL*, 1-10.

¹¹¹ Tyrrell, *CC*, 111. Contemporary scholars concur with von Hügel that Tyrrell's Christology avoids any charge of Pantheism. To claim Tyrrell is Pantheist shows a lack of understanding of the man and the evolving nature of his work, in particular his Christological journey discussed in the next chapter. See Sagovsky's excellent chapter on Tyrrell's Christology, where he writes insightfully, 'He [Tyrrell] fought consistently to preserve what he saw as most essential about Catholic Christianity: Christ as the sacrament of the transcendent Power we call God; Christ as the incarnation of essential humanity (in itself a transcendent concept); and the continuity between Christ and the Church.' Sagovsky, *Between Two Worlds*, 90. See also Schultenover, *A Lament, The Foundations and Genesis of George Tyrrell's*

early work, Tyrrell did not argue for the transcendent; he points to it in experience. He believed we can talk intelligently but obliquely about God. His understanding of the transcendent made progress when guided by experience and conscience; for Tyrrell, the voice of conscience is the voice of God. Tyrrell is saved from pure immanentism by his constant, although at times confusing reference to the Spirit present in the church.¹¹²

Tyrrell recognised a necessity to discern reconciliation between an immanent philosophy and a critical interpretation of Christian tradition. It was within the immanent that Tyrrell looked for the transcendent – the critical grounding of the immanent must be found in the mystery of human experience. Pure immanentism would clash with Tyrrell’s sacramental dimension of thought, a fundamental characteristic of Tyrrell’s faith. He consistently referred to the distinction between ‘supernatural’ and ‘natural,’ but he stressed the immanence of the ‘supernatural’ within the ‘natural.’ He saw a tension between the two, but believed it could be solved in their fusion.¹¹³

In his later thought, Tyrrell went to considerable lengths to distance himself from Matthew Arnold’s immanentism. Sagovsky described it as ‘a thumping reassertion of eschatology.’¹¹⁴ ‘Civilisation,’ Tyrrell declared, ‘can do (and has done) all that the purely immanent Christ of Matthew Arnold is credited with.’¹¹⁵ Sagovsky believed Tyrrell ‘judged himself unnecessarily harshly,’ for considering that his work had drifted too close to the Liberal Protestant position. He set about building a viable alternative, using whatever tools were available at the time. As a Liberal Protestant, Sagovsky asserted, ‘His work was never dominated by the Christ of Liberal

Philosophy of Religion and Apologetic, 717-719 and Tyrrell’s last word on the issue, ‘Jesus or the Christ,’ published a few months after his death in *The Hibbert Journal*, Sept. 1909. Here Tyrrell affirms his belief in the Nicene creed, which ‘marked a climax in the exaltation of Jesus.’ 5-16, 5. See also von Hügel’s tribute to Tyrrell’s Catholicism: ‘Father Tyrrell: Some Memorials of the Last Twelve Years of His Life,’ *The Hibbert Journal*, 8/2 (Jan.1910). Here von Hügel described Tyrrell’s final work, *Christianity at the Crossroads* as Tyrrell’s beautiful swan song and homing flight to Catholicism. 248. See also ‘Tyrrell’s Christological Homecoming,’ 151-152 above.

¹¹² See Tyrrell, (1906), ‘The Spirit of Christ,’ *LC*, 1-72.

¹¹³ *A&L*, Vol.1, 16, and Tyrrell, ‘Sacramental Principle,’ *LO*, 10, 165.

¹¹⁴ Sagovsky, ‘Frustration, Disillusion and enduring, Filial Respect: George Tyrrell’s Debt to John Henry Newman,’ *Newman and the Modernists*, 146.

¹¹⁵ Tyrrell to von Hügel, April 19, 1909. For an insightful and detailed analysis of the relationship between Tyrrell and Arnold see Nicholas Sagovsky: *Between Two Worlds: George Tyrrell’s Relationship to the thought of Matthew Arnold*. (1983) For example see Sagovsky, regarding Tyrrell’s rejection of Arnold’s immanentist position. Sagovsky maintains that Tyrrell’s Catholicism is ‘an uncompromising statement of the eschatological roots of Catholicism... when one compares his [Tyrrell’s] Christology with that of Arnold it [Tyrrell’s Christology] has a certain tough conservatism.’ Sagovsky, 106. Sagovsky deals with the relationship between Tyrrell and Arnold brilliantly and devoted whole chapters to this in his book. See literature review above 42-43. Sagovsky came to this study after reading Henri Bremond, who wrote that ‘a third of Tyrrell was in Mathew Arnold.’ Sagovsky, 4, 140; see also Schultenover on Arnold and Tyrrell, *The Foundations And Genesis of George Tyrrell’s Philosophy of Religion and Apologetic*, (1975) 468-470. I recognise this view, but feel my focus is elsewhere. In essence it is important to acknowledge that Tyrrell read widely, guided by von Hügel, and was influenced by English (Arnold) and continental authors (Laberthonnière, Loisy.) My thesis however maintains that Tyrrell’s passion and ‘theological art’ stems from his Irish roots. He was in part rebelling against the very ‘English’ Jesuits of Farm Street and became embroiled in the centuries old English/ Roman dispute.

Protestantism.’¹¹⁶ Tyrrell’s immanentism was no more than an attempt to offer intellectual support for his quest to synthesise Catholicism and the historical critical method. Thus at times the tension is too apparent between the ‘*Scylla* of unyielding Neoscholasticism and the *Charybdis* of omnivorous immanentism.’ Sagovsky illuminated this tension,

He fought consistently to preserve what he saw as most essential about Catholic Christianity: Christ as the sacrament of the transcendent power we call God; Christ as the incarnation of essential humanity (in itself a transcendental concept); and the continuity between Christ and the Church.¹¹⁷

In *Christianity at the Crossroads* Tyrrell concluded that ‘Jesus would have been far more in sympathy with orthodoxy than with liberalism.’¹¹⁸ His final Christological statement contains a radical reassertion of the transcendence of God, and a restatement of Tyrrell’s belief in Christ as ‘conscience incarnate.’¹¹⁹ For Tyrrell, the roots of Catholic doctrine lie in the apocalyptic vision of Christ – an uncompromising transcendent vision. Here Tyrrell sets out his final modernist position, distinguishing it explicitly from Liberal Protestantism, Neoscholasticism, and from Newmanism. Tyrrell maintained that a sound pastoral hermeneutic of Catholicism had to be based not on the three schools of thought above, but rather on a synthesis of first-century apocalyptic, which proved the key to the later development of Catholicism.

Adopting a ‘resourcement’ methodology, Tyrrell went back to the original symbols found in the Gospels believing that they could speak to successive generations. For example, with regard to the resurrection, Tyrrell believed, ‘there can be no doubt of the appearances of Jesus to his Apostles after his death,’ for he has become the ‘effectual symbol or sacrament of the transcendence, through which they apprehend the inapprehensible – the eternal spirit in human form.’¹²⁰ The contrast with a pure immanentist position, such as the one maintained by Arnold could not be stronger. Once again, Tyrrell advocated a return to the faith and symbols of the first hearers. In critiquing Arnold and in support of Tyrrell, Sagovsky asserted: ‘in sweeping away metaphysics, Arnold sweeps away traditional Christology.’¹²¹

Tyrrell remained suspicious of ‘gross anthropomorphic caricatures.’¹²² But he concedes we cannot conceive of God in any other way than by putting together the best of what we know of humanity.¹²³ He rejected pantheism,¹²⁴ and argued God is both immanent and transcendent, ‘...the soul of our soul, the life of our life.’¹²⁵

¹¹⁶ Sagovsky, ‘Frustration, Disillusion and enduring, Filial Respect: George Tyrrell’s Debt to John Henry Newman,’ *Newman and the Modernists*, 90.

¹¹⁷ Sagovsky, *Newman and the Modernists*, 90.

¹¹⁸ Tyrrell, *CC*, 16.

¹¹⁹ Tyrrell, *CC*, 46-47.

¹²⁰ Tyrrell, *CC*, 146, 183-184.

¹²¹ Sagovsky, ‘Newman and the Modernists,’ 111.

¹²² Tyrrell, G. (1897), *NetV*, 232.

¹²³ Tyrrell, *NetV*, 238.

¹²⁴ Tyrrell, *NetV*, 83.

¹²⁵ Tyrrell, *NetV*, 238.

Tyrrell's Ignatian God is a practical God, a God who is radically involved with humanity. In this sense some of his critics believed his position to be pure immanentism. Sagovsky replied, 'the God who emerges from (Tyrrell's) meditations is a God who uses the human heart...not in any mechanical or exploitative sense but in a free union of wills.' Furthermore, 'it is typical of Tyrrell to have written: "we most love God far more than we think."¹²⁶

3. Kantian Presupposition

Tyrrell's assumed 'Kantian Presuppositions,' and Mercier's indictment builds upon the imprecision of *Pascendi*. This accusation directed at Tyrrell deserved little more than the two-page refutation he rewarded it within *Medievalism*.¹²⁷ Tyrrell argued, 'it is superfluous to make Kant responsible for views older than scholasticism and as old as the Gospel.'¹²⁸

Christianity at the Crossroads represented Tyrrell's final thoughts on transcendence. Alec Vidler believed it contains 'extraordinary insight.'¹²⁹ It is a work explicitly outlining Tyrrell's belief in the transcendent nature of Catholicism. Here Tyrrell emphasised Jesus' teaching with regard to the 'other-world.' He wrote freely of the transcendent irrupting into the natural order by a triumph of the Spirit of God. Tyrrell believed this is not the work of nature, but like the foundation of Christian tradition, 'of unmerited grace.'¹³⁰ For Tyrrell unmerited grace flowed out from *lex orandi*, a reference to:

the prayer and belief of the universal Church, of the whole body of the faithful in which the life of Christ is continued, in whose members collectively the spirit of Christ, the spirit of charity, is spread abroad. Prayer is to be taken widely for the life of charity, of divine love, of will-union with God through the sacraments and His saints.¹³¹

¹²⁶ Tyrrell, *NetV*, 105. Sagovsky, 'Frustration, Disillusion and enduring, Filial Respect: George Tyrrell's Debt to John Henry Newman,' 'Newman and the Modernists,' 129.

¹²⁷ See Tyrrell, *Medievalism*, 104-106. Mercier's opposition arose primarily from the concern that he may be implicated in Tyrrell's 'fall from grace.' Maurice Blondel was accorded similar derision as Tyrrell; Alexander Dru records that the 'degree of misrepresentation was informed by a malicious spirit. Blondel was consistently referred to as a Kantian, an immanentist, a subjectivist, and denounced to Rome, and as soon as the word gained currency, labeled a modernist.' See Dru, A. & Trethowan I. (1964), *Maurice Blondel: The Letter On Apologetics and History And Dogma*, 56.

¹²⁸ Tyrrell adds, 'I do not suppose that Pascal or St. Augustine, or the great Catholic mystics, or St Paul, or the Fourth Gospel were influenced by Kant,' Tyrrell, *Medievalism*, 106.

¹²⁹ See Vidler's 'Forward' to *CC*, (1963), 10.

¹³⁰ See Tyrrell, *CC*, 65. For example, see Rahner's claim that the Ignatian maxim, 'finding God in all things' is 'the attempt of the mystic to translate his experience for others to make them share in his grace.' See also Tyrrell, *Lex Orandi, or, Prayer and Creed*: 'Vain is the effort of that false neo-platonic mysticism what would seek him by intellectual abstraction.' Tyrrell advises those who would seek Christ to look for him 'in the living fullness of His spiritual creations.' Furthermore, 'union with God means union with the whole body of His saints, the richest fruits of humanity.' Tyrrell, *LO*, a starting point shared with Rahner Tyrrell, *The Church and the Means to Grace, LO*, 27-35.

¹³¹ Tyrrell, *LO*, 59.

Tyrrell's difficulty remained with the philosophical form of the transcendent world, which the church had clothed in an Aristotelian theological form. 'Philosophy' he argued, 'can neither give us faith nor take it from us.'¹³² He believed the symbolism of the transcendent varied both in value and truth. Tyrrell maintained the 'other-world' could never be expressed adequately in human symbols or language. This is not to say that Tyrrell accepted Kantian epistemological dualism, no more than Blondel, rather, 'to whatever degree we dematerialise our symbols of the spiritual, material they must remain.'¹³³

In essence, Tyrrell's critics, who accused him of Kantianism, fail to distinguish between his use of the terms *transcendental* and *transcendentalism*. He regularly referred to 'transcendental experience,' 'transcendental reality,' 'transcendental life,' and 'transcendental order.' But he also frequently made reference to the 'transcendent,' 'transcendence,' 'metaphysics,' 'other-worldliness,' 'beyond the finite,' 'other-world,' 'the will-world,' 'apocalyptic doctrine' and 'invisible world.'

However, like Rahner, Tyrrell did not distinguish between the two meanings of 'transcendence' and 'transcendental.'¹³⁴ This does not necessarily mean that Tyrrell did not employ a certain kind of inward looking philosophical investigation.¹³⁵

¹³² Tyrrell, *CC*, 97.

¹³³ Tyrrell, *LO*, 207-208. Tyrrell's *Lex Orandi* emphasises that there is a more living language than that of the tongue. Language derived from, and primarily adapted to, the visible, can never be adequate to the utterances of the invisible. The chief use of metaphysics or natural theology lies in the fact that it gives us anymore comprehensive idea of God – but that it impresses upon us the necessary inadequacy of our human way of regarding Him.' Tyrrell, (1898), *HS*, 31. See also Fields, S. (1993), 'Neo-Thomism's Metaphysics of Symbol,' *Philosophy & Theology*, Vol. 8, (1993), 25-40.

¹³⁴ To transcend means to surpass, to go beyond or above and obviously Tyrrell uses the word in this context. Like Rahner, however, Tyrrell often shifts the meaning he is attaching to the words and slips into a discussion of transcendental theology, whereby the discussion focuses upon the nature of the investigation, 'which is occupied not so much with objects as with the mode of our knowledge of objects insofar at this mode of knowledge is to be possible *a priori*.' Kilby, K. (2004), *Karl Rahner: Theology and Philosophy*, 32-33. See also Muck, O. (1968), *The Transcendental Method*, 184.

¹³⁵ See Tyrrell, *CC*, 108. and *TSC*, 162, for examples of a Rahnerian method. See also Kilby, *Karl Rahner: Theology and Philosophy*, 32. 'The transcendental is a description of a certain kind of inward-looking philosophical investigation.' In a second sense Kant 'transfers the term to those things which are discovered in such an investigation – the *a priori* conditions of the possibility of experience which the Kantian transcendental procedure unearths are in turn known as *transcendental* conditions of the possibility of experience. The use of the transcendental argument is elaborated sequentially in Rahner's *Spirit in the World* and *Hearer of the Word*. See also Tyrrell's *CC* for numerous examples of his search for meaning: 'Our symbolisms of the transcendent vary in value and truth' (80), 'the transcendental can never be expressed adequately (81).' 'To understand any construction of the transcendent we need 'not compare symbol with symbol or theology with theology,' but rather, 'we have to compare life with life, feeling with feeling; action with action' (82). 'The range of the objective grows with human experience' (83). Tyrrell puts 'knowing' back on the person: 'This is a difference that can only be learnt gradually by experience' (83). Knowledge of the transcendent 'unfolds itself in definite feelings, impulses, images, and even concepts... It may however have divine authority on a different title – namely, so far as the inward movement from which it springs is Divine' (84). 'The need for harmony between (ourselves) and the transcendent is the essence of the religious "idea"' (85). 'I do not find my fellow man *in* but *through* my experience' (85). 'Only so far as the absolute is also immanent, and mingles with the world's process, can religion have an object' (86). 'As things are the only test of revelation is the test of life' (87). Tyrrell argues: 'I may know everything more easily than what "I" the knower am. Can I know my thinking self apart from the objects of my thought of which that self is co-factor?' (98). 'When I try to think of it I at once distort it into some object – usually my body – which is itself a symbol, in reality, I am dealing with a symbol of myself' (98). 'No doubt that transcendent experience is figured in terms of our present experience' (100). 'If there be not a Divine element in us, the Divine cannot concern us' (121). 'What retards the process of liberation is just the fear of losing the experience and guidance so long associated with simple literalism. But only when the

Furthermore *Christianity at the Crossroads* is overpowered by this fundamental concern. Transcendental for Kant referred to a type of investigation in which one studies not the things that we know, or things which might lie beyond our comprehension, but ‘rather that which is in some sense *before* what we know – the constitution of the subject, of the one who does the knowing, insofar as this is a determining factor in that which is known.’¹³⁶

Tyrrell was investigating, ‘what is it about us that makes it possible to have experiences of the infinite.’ Both Tyrrell and Rahner used the term to refer to a particular kind of investigation, and to the results of such an investigation. Tyrrell’s method entailed a line of enquiry that raised the question of the conditions in which knowledge of a specific object is possible in the knowing subject.¹³⁷ Rahner, like Tyrrell, was impatient with Neoscholastic philosophical accounts of the transcendent that give prominence to metaphysical speculation at the expense of explicating the fundamental experience of the presence of God, which is at the very centre of human existence.¹³⁸

Rahner and Tyrrell were using a transcendental methodology but coming up with different conclusions from Kant. Tyrrell believed Christ is the sacrament of the transcendent power we call God, Christ as the incarnation of essential humanity and the continuity between Christ and the church. As we have shown, for Tyrrell, knowledge of the divine was primarily possible through the experience (*lex orandi*), of the subject. Tyrrell added, ‘if we have no experience of the transcendent, analogy cannot help us. If I have no experience whatever of light, I could learn nothing from the analogy.’¹³⁹ Rahner insisted that ordinary knowledge of particular objects of experience presupposes *a priori* readiness to affirm existence. Rahner and Tyrrell critique neo-scholastic portraits of God that give prominence to metaphysical

liberation is completed will it be possible to go back with safety and profit to the integrity of the Christian revelation, and realise its truth as a guide to spiritual experience and a vehicle of transcendental meanings’ (122). ‘The spiritual utters itself in, and is addressed through, the phenomenal’ – they are inseparable as subject and object’ (140).

¹³⁶ Kilby, *Karl Rahner: Theology and Philosophy*, 32-33. ‘Transcendental’ then, in this context is a description of a certain kind of rather inward looking philosophical investigation that characterises the thought of an extent, Tyrrell and Rahner, based upon the *transcendental* conditions of the possibility of experience. Kant uses the term ‘transcendental’ to delimit what cannot be known – i.e. no knowledge beyond experience, beyond time and space is possible. *CC* (1909) is actually dedicated to transcendental theology. Like Rahner, Tyrrell uses the term in two senses, in the non-Kantian sense, but he also refers to that which transcends. Tyrrell maintains that there is a dimension of us that reaches out and goes beyond all particular limited objects. Tyrrell also undertakes Kantian ‘investigation into the conditions of the possibility sense of transcendentalism’. In this Tyrrell is less radical than Kant. He is attempting to shed light on some particular experience as a foundation for knowing the divine.

¹³⁷ See also Tyrrell: *CC*. 108, 110, 126; *TSC*, 91, 92, 103, 162, 167, 366. ‘According to Rahner, if one undertakes a transcendental investigation in the broadly Kantian sense, then, *pace* Kant, what one will discover is precisely that our experience has a transcendental dimension, that we are transcendental beings, in the non-Kantian sense.’ Kilby, *Karl Rahner: Theology and Philosophy*, 33.

¹³⁸ See Egan, (1998), *Karl Rahner Ignatian Theologian in Karl Rahner: Mystic of Everyday Life*: ‘When asked what he wished to bequeath as his last will and testament, Rahner pointed unhesitatingly to the essay: ‘Ignatius of Loyola speaks to a Modern Jesuit.’ Rahner considered this work to be a résumé of his theology in general and of how he tried to live’ (29). Tyrrell, *Medievalism*, 105. Rahner makes the same claim as Tyrrell: ‘My own theological thinking sprang from the practice of the Ignatian Exercises and so in fact was fashioned in the light of the reflection on the effective operation of the Spirit.’ Rahner, K. (1979), *Theological Investigations*, trans. David Morland, X, 16.

¹³⁹ Tyrrell, *CC*, 137.

explanations of God, at the expenses of understanding and discovering God at the very centre of human experience. Tyrrell maintained that whatever little fraction of experience humankind possesses, the presence of God can never be more than a symbol of the totality of possible experience that lies beyond. And yet we have not to 'compare symbol with symbol, or theology with theology' to find truth, but rather truth is found by comparing 'life with life, feeling with feeling, action with action.'¹⁴⁰

For Tyrrell, experience and the mind supply truth. Truth supplied by the mind is verified by experience. Illusion is the limitation of this natural expedient or instrument of life. Tyrrell believed there are mystical states, when we join with the 'Absolute Will,' obtainable he believed via 'brief flights above the finite.'¹⁴¹

Rahner maintained that, 'Dogmatic Theology today has to be theological anthropology. Such an anthropology must of course, be a transcendental anthropology.'¹⁴² This entailed the necessity of considering every theological question from a transcendental viewpoint. According to Rahner, a transcendental philosophy of human nature established the *a priori* possibilities and limits of all human experience; it also established the possibilities and limits of all religious experience. Rahner's transcendental theology started with the knowing subject, anthropology. Similarly Tyrrell's pastoral theological method, referred to as *lex orandi*, draws its conclusions or validation from the subject. But Tyrrell is not advocating the subject's relativistic presupposition, or objects as supposedly meaningful in themselves. Nor is Tyrrell's transcendental theology focused on subjectivity as something separated from the world. Devotion is most definitely in and of the world. What is important is the very relatedness of the subject and object, knower and knowable. The key concern is the turn to the subject in relation.¹⁴³ With regard to the development of doctrine, *lex orandi* allowed Tyrrell to concentrate on the whole subject (reason, sentiment and action). Whether Tyrrell's work contained a Kantian/Rahnerian transcendental turn remains problematic. Although Tyrrell appeared to apply such a method, he failed to elaborate upon his own understanding of the competing terms he employed. Many religious thinkers have such an incarnational spirituality, but it isn't necessarily transcendental in the Kantian/ Rahnerian sense. Likewise, one can have a 'turn to the subject' without doing 'the transcendental turn,' as for example in Descartes.

¹⁴⁰ See Tyrrell, *CC*, 138. J.A. di Noia argues that 'a distinctive mark of Rahner's conception and practice of theology is his effort to display the inner unity and intelligibility of the Christian proclamation in its simplicity and richness. His pursuit of this richness led to the rejection of certain Neo-Scholastic theological procedures.' See Karl Rahner, *The Modern Theologians*, Ford D.F. (Ed.), (1997), 122-133. See also Rahner, K. (1979), 'Experience of the Spirit And Existential Commitment,' *Theological Investigations XVI*, trans. David Morland, 24-34.

¹⁴¹ Tyrrell, *CC*, 82. The mystical experience Rahner and Tyrrell speak of evokes a person's primordial experience of God. The human person becomes *homo mysticus*, see Egan, *Karl Rahner: Mystic of Everyday Life*, 57. See also Rahner, 'The Mystery of the Trinity,' 'a spiritual experience is not only a private and personal event in the spiritual life of the mystics, but is also a social phenomenon, which is clearly evident in the community insofar as the concrete demands of God's will are expressed in the actual faith of Christians, in and through which they find real salvation.' *Theological Investigations XVI*, 256.

¹⁴² Burke, T.P. (1966), 'Theology and Anthropology,' *The Word in History*, 14.

¹⁴³ See Sheehan, 32.

Tyrrell's pastoral hermeneutic resulted in a critique of Neoscholastic formulations of doctrine. Tyrrell maintained that the neo-scholastic philosophy of his critics had divided reality into two halves, the natural and the supernatural. Tyrrell believed that through a focus on the individual in prayer, the *lex orandi* principle could establish a link between the two. With Ignatius, he understood this to be an example of God in all things. This is not *'theologism,'* it is rather a faith experienced as a concrete life force. Tyrrell's theological apologetics temporarily metamorphoses into an original spiritual dimension. Thus Rahner and Tyrrell could argue that 'reality is the experience of God in daily life.'¹⁴⁴ For Tyrrell and Rahner knowledge of God consisted in the human experience, not in intellectual formation.¹⁴⁵ Tyrrell's Catholicism is felt rather than seen or reasoned about; is loved and lived rather than analysed; is action and power, rather than either intellectual verification or external fact. Tyrrell continually warned against 'a certain narrow, cock-sure orthodoxy.' He opposed those who would 'define a mystery but have never felt one.'¹⁴⁶ Mother Juliana of Norwich, he exclaimed, has solved the problem or dichotomy between the truths of faith and the facts of human life. This she did through 'revelation' or insight received in contemplation, which though related to thought and knowledge, is decidedly different. He distinguished revelation from inspiration as used in common parlance; he did not consider their technical meaning in scholastic theology. He argued Mother Juliana's revelations were really inspirations, for the former word implies some form of conscious communication.¹⁴⁷

Tyrrell believed the true path of life knowledge was found in the mysterious phenomenon of instinct. In this process the Divine Will could work on the human will, bypassing the medium of knowledge and without violating freewill – the 'gentle whisper' prevails. Tyrrell believed that human words and ideas in which eternal truths

¹⁴⁴ Tyrrell, *EFI*, 136. When we feel the presence of God Tyrrell believes: 'Our ties with the phenomenal are loosened, and the world floats away from us, and its voices grow faint with distance, and we stand outside it all, as one who has waked from a vivid dream.' *EFI*, 136. See also, Egan, *Karl Rahner: Mystic of Everyday Life*, 56.

¹⁴⁵ Tyrrell and Rahner concur, 'If we are to have the courage to enter into a direct relationship with the ineffable, incomprehensible God, then 'we do need to work out a certain theology of mysticism, a mysticism that leads to a religious experience.' Egan, *Karl Rahner: Mystic of Everyday Life*, 56; *RFL*.8. Tyrrell argues, 'Speculatively, this view of God as an agency to be dealt with, as a plexus of attributes and properties, is necessarily partial, and so far, even false... our understanding cannot touch God in His reality... it is only through action and will that we have experience' - of God. He belongs to the order of things with which the will is in direct contact; to what is called the world of "will-values." Tyrrell and Rahner both build their theology upon the foundation of the human experience of God, 'all theology is, in an important sense, anthropology.' See 'Theology and Anthropology,' *Theological Investigations*, 9, 28-45. Anne Carr also draws attention to 'experience' as a theological method to 'know' God. Perhaps unaware of Tyrrell, she writes in response to the sixties theological wave of "death of God," "Honest to God" etc., 'new formulations of the question of God emerged in the work of Roman Catholic theologians in Europe and in the United States. Many attempt to demonstrate the reality of God in ordinary human experience and to suggest a more adequate conceptuality of God that took fuller account of experience than was available either in the supernaturalistic tradition of classical theism or neo-orthodoxy.' See Carr, A. (1981), *The God Who is Involved in Theology Today*, 38:3 (Oct.1981). See also Sheehan, 30-32. Rahner and Schillebeeckx maintained that anthropology can no longer be a side issue in theology but is the basis for a fundamental theology involving philosophical reflection on one's own subjectivity. Indeed this perception underpins Schultenover's methodology, *A View From Rome*; see also Pannenberg, W. (1973), *The Idea of God and Human Freedom*, trans. R.A. Wilson, 80-89, 106.

¹⁴⁶ Tyrrell, (1899), *ER*, 125.

¹⁴⁷ Tyrrell, (1902), 'Juliana of Norwich,' *FM II*, 1-39,

are clad cannot convey to us more than a shadow of the realities they stand for. They cannot, like numbers, be added, subtracted, and multiplied together so as to deduce new conclusions with arithmetical simplicity and accuracy.¹⁴⁸ Rahner and Tyrrell both exemplified, in different ways, the theological movement, which sought to ground the implicit knowledge of God in ordinary experience. Motivated by pastoral concern, Tyrrell called for a ‘radical reassessment’ of doctrine, in a fashion similar to Rahner.¹⁴⁹ Tyrrell outlines a way to God based on a relationship of love between the Divine Will and the human will. Tyrrell believed the mystical life consists in this process.

Tyrrell maintained we do not know the Supreme Will directly, but only through its manifestations in every sort of human goodness. It is by attuning ourselves to this world of finite goodness that we come into harmonious unity with God.¹⁵⁰ Thus religious justification for Tyrrell, upon which all religions must be judged, was the extent to which man’s true nature is expressed in his vocation to grow morally toward an increasing intimate will-sympathy (love) with his fellow man and ultimately with God.¹⁵¹ For Tyrrell, the mystical life consisted in religious experience, which is located in the will and conscience. He understood our will-relation to God as a primordial, pre-reflexive, human intuition, which is the foundation of those sentiments or feelings that regulate all our relations. Thus Tyrrell believed,

It is in men that the hidden God is to be sought, studied and loved – not in abstracts like Truth and Righteousness, but in concrete actions and will-attitudes.¹⁵²

Two bedrock principles

Tyrrell believed there are two bedrock principles at the heart of Catholicism. The first is the Apostolic witness, which the church cannot grow out of. The second relates to

¹⁴⁸ Tyrrell, (1899), *ER*, 125-126.

¹⁴⁹ Moreover, Sheehan believed, ‘in Rahner’s critical-transcendental approach, the human essence not only defines the structures and function of the human experience but also delimits the range of objects available to that experience.’ Sheehan, 29-42, 31. Sheehan thus sums up his synopsis: ‘The stark outcome of *Geist in Welt* is that human knowledge is focused exclusively on the material order, with no direct access to the spiritual realm.’ Sheehan 31. Sheehan describes Rahner’s thought (in contrast to Tyrrell’s own description ‘radical reassessment’) as a ‘decisive and irreversible Copernican Revolution.’ One recalls Loisy’s description of Tyrrell’s thought, in the same vein: ‘In contrast to my own, Tyrrell’s work is a revolution.’ Sheehan considers Rahner’s overall project is guided by ‘*qualis modus essendi talis modus operandi* (an entity’s way of being determines its way of acting).’

¹⁵⁰ ‘It is in men that He, the hidden God, is to be sought, studied and Loved – not in abstractions ... but in concrete actions,’ 25. See also Rahner, ‘All Theology is Nuanced Anthropology,’ *Theological Investigations*, 9: ‘To say something about God is to say something about the human being; to say something about the human being is to say something about God.’ Moreover, Rahner maintained, ‘all human beings experience God, though often only in a hidden way.’ Egan, *Karl Rahner: Mystic of Everyday Life*, 55.

¹⁵¹ See Tyrrell, *LO*, 3. ‘As we are constituted, the “real” too often means for us the visible, the palpable, the tangible; that which strikes on our outward senses...Whereas the things which are not seen are eternal, permanent and real in the deepest sense of reality – hoped for – but yet unseen.’ It appears that both Rahner and Tyrrell share inspiration from Ignatius, in particular, ‘love of neighbour is love of God,’ Egan, *Karl Rahner: Mystic of Everyday Life*, 59, 68. Rahner and Tyrrell believe that the mystical approach should provoke a person’s primordial experience of God, indeed mysticism is identified in their work as the primordial experience of God in every human life. Furthermore, with Rahner, Tyrrell believed ‘the mystical life consists in this process’ (22), Livingston, xviii.

¹⁵² For the continuation of this position see Tyrrell, *LO*, Chapter IV, esp, 23-26.

lex orandi, which convinced Tyrrell to defend the immanent logic of a ‘concrete,’ ‘lived,’ (experiential) ‘transcendent’ faith. The remaining difficulty, beyond the criticisms I have examined, regarded the possibility of separating the unchangeable from the changeable. Rahner maintained that it was not possible to do so, because it ‘implied the capacity to isolate the Spirit from its symbol.’¹⁵³ Tyrrell argued that one could delineate the relations between doctrine and later ‘changeable’ theology. The key issue for Tyrrell is whether the *lex orandi* test can support the epistemological weight he placed upon it, in relation to the *concrete* life. Tyrrell believed that it could.

In this regard, we appear to have reached an *impasse*. Three concerns remain: (1) If Tyrrell was right with regard to distinction between doctrine and theology, how can this be determined? Verification of the *lex orandi* axiom appears to be a self-contained circular argument. (2) As with Rahner, how could one possibly begin to disentangle two thousand years of history, theology, revelation, ‘*theologism*,’ doctrine, devotion, political expediency and so forth, into consistent categories? The very prospect is daunting, and again, the possibilities for verification, at best seem problematic. (3) However, notwithstanding the critics, Tyrrell is making a clarion call to contemporary theologians to take up this challenge and to continue theological and ecclesial dialogue with modernity.

Therefore, the questions Tyrrell raised in regard to the relation of theology, doctrine and devotion, have crucial contemporary ecumenical and pastoral resonance. It seems imperative for the future well-being of the church, that the problems Tyrrell confronted, resulting in his ‘radical reappraisal,’ of God and our understanding of him, together with our relationship to fellow Christians, remain at the forefront of contemporary theological faith reflection.

Finally, this chapter highlights Tyrrell’s concern for the ‘whole,’ as a theological method, the whole, the immanent and transcendent, the mind, the heart and action. Sagovsky reminds us that, ‘concern of the whole is characteristic of Catholicism, and it is characteristic of Tyrrell.’¹⁵⁴ Thus Tyrrell’s critics, who accused him of immanentism, would benefit from a closer reading of his work. We have seen, Tyrrell’s thought is in places confusing and muddled; in others it is perhaps too heavily nuanced. Yet it remains a contemporary bridge attempting to link immanentism and transcendence. By no stretch of the imagination is Tyrrell’s later thought ‘vital immanence.’ In fact, traumatised by the Messina earthquake (estimated to have killed 150,000 people), far from seeing God in nature, Tyrrell feels a sense of defeat by the very opposite - the devil.¹⁵⁵

¹⁵³ Rahner, K. (1966), *Inspiration in the Bible*, trans. H. Henkey and M. Palmer, 45; Lennan, R. (2005), ‘Ecclesiology and Ecumenism,’ *The Cambridge Companion to Karl Rahner*, (Ed.), Declan Marmion and Mary E. Hines, 135; and Rahner, ‘Changeable and Unchangeable factors in the Church,’ *Theological Investigations*, 14, 3-23.

¹⁵⁴ Sagovsky, ‘Frustration, Disillusion and enduring, Filial Respect: George Tyrrell’s Debt to John Henry Newman,’ ‘Newman and the Modernists,’ 144.

¹⁵⁵ See Tyrrell’s thoughts on theodicy, inspired by the earthquake in ‘Divine Fecundity’ (1909), Petre, *EFI*, 245-277. See also Daly, G. (1980), *Transcendence and Immanence*. 162.

Unfortunately Tyrrell did not live to complete his pastoral task. He listed a number of chapter headings on a new project, one of which included a pastoral reference to ‘transcendental hope’ as a means to overcoming some of the pain and suffering of this life. In *Christianity at the Crossroads*, in the light of a thoroughgoing eschatology, Sagovsky believes, that ‘Tyrrell was trenchantly critical of all attempts to minimise transcendentalism. He was convinced that transcendence was the essence of Christ’s Gospel and the essence of Catholicism.’¹⁵⁶

In summation, it is clear that Tyrrell recognised the pastoral problems associated with doctrine and development. We have explored Tyrrell’s evolving personal understanding of doctrine through ‘militant dogmatism,’ ‘mediating liberalism,’ culminating in *lex orandi*, which may be regarded as a prolegomenon to a future reflection. We have also considered historical and contemporary understandings of doctrinal development, and clarified Tyrrell’s pastoral hermeneutic with regard to the relation of doctrine, devotion and theology. Essentially, Tyrrell believed Catholicism is ‘governed by a few simple ideas, the Fatherhood of God, the brotherhood of man – there is Christianity in a nutshell. The very kernel of the Gospel.’¹⁵⁷

Furthermore, in evaluating the significance of *lex orandi*, we have assessed the theological stance of those who opposed Tyrrell’s thought, discovering, for the most part, that they are motivated by a defensive ultramontane polemic. We have discovered a number of important conclusions that support the overarching objective of this thesis. For instance: Tyrrell’s work reminds the contemporary church of the necessity of retaining a bridge between immanentism and transcendence; also with *lex orandi*, Tyrrell has given the present day church a means to appreciate doctrine in a contemporary pastoral and ecumenical context. In this sense, aspects of Tyrrell’s evolving pastoral hermeneutic, as well as his life and experiences, are of considerable relevance to contemporary ecclesiology.

Tyrrell came to believe, following his conversion, that a fundamental component of Catholic philosophy entailed the subjection of the individual mind, will and sentiment in matters of religion to the collective of the community – of the private to the catholic, for the Magisterium, no less than the individual lay person. He came to this view during his novitiate at Manresa (1880-1882) while struggling to reconcile in his own mind, ‘the vivid pictures of Christ’s simplicity and poverty,’ with the ‘wealth and parade of popes and prelates.’ Tyrrell confessed, ‘I was seriously disturbed in my mind about the whole matter.’ The novice master, Father Morris, ‘at once his

¹⁵⁶ Sagovsky, ‘Frustration, Disillusion and enduring, Filial Respect: George Tyrrell’s Debt to John Henry Newman,’ ‘Newman and the Modernists,’ 147. Sagovsky believes that Tyrrell’s stress ‘upon the startling symbolic world-view of the first century eschatology, and his stress upon the continuity between Christian life and teaching of the first century, and Christian life and teaching today his one of the most valuable things Tyrrell has to offer.’ This is precisely what exonerates Tyrrell from the charge of pure immanentism. Tyrrell’s position is vindicated by his insistence upon the place of doctrine in relation to the *Lex Orandi* principle. Gabriel Daly adds in this regard: ‘The issues (Tyrrell) faced with toughness and independence of mind are still alive today. Educated in a theology that dealt with confident answers, he graduated to one which raised more questions than it could solve – which in the matter of transcendence and immanence is, or might be taken to be, a symptom of theological health.’ Daly, *Transcendence and Immanence*, 164.

¹⁵⁷ Tyrrell, *TSC*, 36.

ultramontanism was up in arms,' advised the petulant novice to a 'submission of judgement' and to develop an intimacy with the spirit of Christ. Unfortunately, from an ultramontane perspective, Tyrrell conceded, 'the deeper that intimacy grows, the less one seems to fear that freedom and fearlessness of mind, which was Christ's strongest characteristic.'¹⁵⁸

It was 'intimacy with the spirit of Christ,' and the discovery of 'Christ's freedom and fearlessness of mind,' which stimulated Tyrrell's evolving reflection on doctrine and 'The Relation of Theology to Devotion.' This reflection culminated in Tyrrell's subsequent ecclesiology, which history characterised as both prophetic and heretical. However, before one can explore adequately Tyrrell's ecclesial polemic it is first necessary to comprehend his Christology, upon which his ecclesiology is ultimately dependent.

¹⁵⁸ See Tyrrell, *A&L*, Vol. I, 214-215.

Chapter Five

Christology precedes Ecclesiology

That God is “Almighty” is a notion which may give rise to much meta-physical debate; but its relation to prayer, hope, dependence, and humility, is quite a different thing. Thus the absolute infinity of the Divine power is of no practical consequence to our will, if only it be infinite relatively to our imagination.

(George Tyrrell, *Religion As A Factor Of Life*, (1900), 62)

An Ignatian Method

Tyrrell was amongst the first (of twentieth century churchmen) to realise the importance of the modernist imperative to reconcile faith with modernity. Although he was most clearly a man of his time and imbibed numerous Christological elements prevalent in the modernist milieu, Tyrrell did not formulate a systematic Christology. However, motivated by his Ignatian love of Christ and a subsequent pastoral imperative, he clearly attempted to bring Christ into dialogue with the modern mind as he found it.

This chapter will draw together a number of rudiments of Tyrrell’s Christology that are randomly scattered throughout his entire corpus and developed most fully in two posthumous publications.¹ This will initiate a synthesis and reconciliation of various strands of Tyrrell’s Christology. In the process, an exploration of its pastoral hermeneutical application to Christian faith will be facilitated, together with an assessment made of its value to sustain a mystical faith resonance and a coherent ecclesiology (Chapter Six), a theological liberation imperative (Chapter Seven) and a cogent pastoral theology that is capable of dialoguing with the age (Chapter Eight).

If Tyrrell had lived beyond his forty-eight years, it is likely, judging from his last book (*Christianity at the Crossroads*, 1909, published posthumously), that a transparent formulation of his Christology would have developed. Nevertheless, it is possible to detect the foundations of a ‘Spirit Christology,’ animating his prophetic ecclesiology, that is derived from the *Spiritual Exercises* of St. Ignatius.² Through his

¹ Tyrrell, *CC* (1909) and ‘Jesus or the Christ?’ *The Hibbert Journal*, ‘Jesus Or Christ: The Point At Issue,’ (July 1909), 5-16.

² See Tyrrell, *A&L*, Vol. II, ‘The *Spiritual Exercises*,’ 84. Throughout his theological career Tyrrell intended to publish a work on the *Exercises*, in a response to a request from Henri Bremond, Tyrrell confided: ‘a Tyrrellian comment on the *Spiritual Exercises*... as been my dream for years, and is in the rough and ready accomplished.’ Sadly, as the modernist battle intensified Tyrrell destroyed the manuscript informing von Hügel that, ‘I destroyed an almost complete work on the *Exercises* some months ago... it would only have created a false idea of the teaching and principles of the existing S.J. which would be neither fair to the Order nor to the public.’ *A&L*, Vol. II, 80. Tyrrell collected a mass of material for this project, unfortunately it was destroyed by Petre following Tyrrell’s death, all that remains of the ‘great original scheme,’ may be found in Tyrrell’s *Hard Sayings* (1898) and the *Soul’s Orbit*, written in 1903-1904. See Petre, *A&L*, Vol. II, 83. Regarding Ignatian spirituality see also Rahner and the work of the Spirit, *Theological Investigations* Vol. 5, 258-62 & Tyrrell, *LC*, 1-77. Also Dulles, A. ‘The Ignatian Experience as Reflected in the Spiritual Theology of Karl Rahner,’ *Philippine Studies* 13 (1965); Segundo, J.L. (1987), *The Christ of the Ignatian Exercises*.

mystical experiences, Tyrrell realised that awareness of God is always mediated through ‘concrete’ reality, especially through people and events.³ Ignatian spirituality endorsed Tyrrell’s sacramental view of the world as was later echoed in *Lumen Gentium*. Tyrrell regarded St Ignatius as ‘a great innovator’ and that his rules (e.g. manifestation of conscience), has been ‘instituted in the interests of individual liberty.’ Moreover, Tyrrell hoped to ‘give a new age that message of St. Ignatius which was suited to all ages... for I have always regarded the *Exercises* as the finest fruit of Christian teaching and as of a very high “Apologetic” value for that reason; and has set it before me as the work in which all others were to culminate.’⁴ Tyrrell believed that the church ‘was not merely a society or school, but a mystery and a sacrament, like the humanity of Christ of which it is an extension.’⁵ Thus Tyrrell insisted,

If Christ be more than a teacher, the Church is more than a School; if
He be more than a founder, the Church is more than an institution –
though it is both one and the other.⁶

Just as the *Spiritual Exercises* of Ignatius emphasise meditation on the life of Jesus, Tyrrell’s Jesuit superiors at Stonyhurst continued the tradition of Ignatian mysticism with regard to the humanity of Christ. As with all Jesuit students Tyrrell studied the New Testament with diligence in the hope of discovering the Jesus of the Gospels.⁷ Not surprisingly as a Jesuit and through the devotion to Jesus, Tyrrell discovered both ecclesial and theological liberation. This grace shaped the remainder of his life and underscored his forthright practical approach to ecclesiology. Tyrrell acquired the courage to pioneer a pastorally relevant ecclesiology and was able to claim personal knowledge of Jesus Christ enduring what he considered to be the subsequent state of immunity from excommunication.⁸

According to Richard McBrien the fundamental omission of Vatican I, largely repeated at Vatican II, was the failure to formulate an adequate Christological foundation upon which to build an ecclesiology. Vatican II’s implicit Christology did

³ For example see Tyrrell’s ‘RTD,’ *The Month*, (Nov. 1899).

⁴ Tyrrell to Petre, 1 November 1900, see *A&L*, Vol. II, 81-82. See also Rix, E.M. (1899), *The Testament of St. Ignatius*, with a preface and epilogue by Tyrrell. See ‘The Mystery of the Church,’ *Lumen Gentium*, Chapter I. Rahner, K. (1963), ‘The Church as the Fundamental Sacrament.’ *The Church and the Sacraments*, 11-19. Schillebeeckx, E. (1963), ‘The Church, Sacrament of the Risen Christ,’ *Christ the Sacrament of the Encounter with God*, 47- 89.

⁵ Tyrrell, *CC*, 275 and Petre *A&L*, Vol. II, 405.

⁶ Tyrrell, *CC*, 274. Baron Von Hügel refereed to this book, (reprinted in 1963) as ‘certainly the deepest and most characteristic of his books.’ ‘Father Tyrrell: Some Memorials of the Last Twelve Years of His Life,’ *The Hibbert Journal*, 8/2 (Jan.1910), 248. On the cover of the 1963 edition, Alec R. Vidler writes: ‘When this book first appeared in 1909 it quickly achieved a reputation which it has retained ever since. It has come to be regarded as a classic in its own field.’

⁷ See further O’Collins, G. (2006), *Living with Vatican II*, who is convinced that ‘any efforts to renew the Church through the teaching of Vatican II would remain spiritually empty, emotionally hollow, and doctrinally unsound unless they drew inspiration from life from the founder of Christianity himself.’ 18.

⁸ See Tyrrell’s ‘Jesus or Christ?’ *The Hibbert Journal Supplement* (1909), 8-9. In this approach to theology and Christ Tyrrell was a precursor to the later post Vatican II liberation movement. Similar pastoral concern is evident in the work of, for example, Sobrino, J. (2001); Sobrino, J. (1988), *Christ the Liberator*; Sobrino, J. (1988), *Jesus in Latin America*; Sobrino, J. (1985), *The True Church and the Poor*; Segundo, J.L. (1982), *The Liberation of Theology*; Segundo, J.L. (1985), *Theology and the Church*; See also Rahner, K. (1968), *Theology of Pastoral Action*.

attempt to address some of the inadequacies associated with Vatican I. However, the measure to which it achieved this ambitious objective is still open to discussion. Without a firmly based Christological foundation, ecclesiology is exposed to political factions.⁹ With Kasper, we agree that if the aim of Vatican II is to render the Church relevant for the contemporary age, then theologians must engage in appropriate contemporary Christological hermeneutics.¹⁰

Christological Reflection

When one considers the ecclesial world in which he laboured, it becomes evident that Tyrrell made a unique contribution to Catholic Christology. The predominant purpose of Tyrrell's Christological journey was to discover, *if* the Nazarene carpenter is the Christ, the founder of the church, 'the absolute Divine,' and the one worthy of worship.¹¹ This endeavour represented the culmination of Tyrrell's pastoral hermeneutic. Without adopting Liberal Protestant conclusions, Tyrrell was pre-eminent among early twentieth century Catholic theologians, in attempting to liberate the church from the dominant ultramontane straitjacket imposed upon theology by Vatican I. In the second half of the twentieth century many pastorally inspired Catholic theologians, such as Yves Congar, Edward Schillebeeckx and Karl Rahner, 'carried' this type of pastoral hermeneutic into the Second Vatican Council. Tyrrell's critics, in and outside of the church, collectively accused him of a variety of Christological errors. They include his having: a naïve understanding of historical criticism in relation to Christ (Dean Inge); of espousing the 'Christ of his opponents' (Joseph Crehan); of abandoning the 'Catholic belief in the divinity of Christ' (Crehan); of attacking the idea or at least failing to do justice to transcendence, and finally, of negating the role of external religion (Barry).¹²

Criticism of Tyrrell's Christology usually emerged from one of three 'schools.' First, there is the Catholic theologian, usually Jesuit, who supports the general thrust of Tyrrell's thought, but out of necessity, draws back from his apologetics (biblical,

⁹ McBrien, *Catholicism* (1994), argues: 'Catholic Christology from the time of Aquinas to the middle of the twentieth century focused principally on the ontological questions (i.e., who is Christ in Himself?) and only secondarily on the soteriological questions (i.e., who is Christ for us?),' 533. Contemporary Christology is brought into ecclesial focus through six principles: (1) the shift from an uncritical to a critical reading of the New Testament; (2) the shift from a static to an evolutionary and existentialist understanding of human existence; (3) the emergence of a global consciousness and the growth of the ecumenical movement; (4) the development of historical and political consciousness, as reflected in Liberation Theology; (5) the rise of feminist consciousness; and (6) a new interest in the Jewishness of Jesus. McBrien, (1994), 533.

¹⁰ Kasper, W. (1976), *The God of Jesus Christ*, 23-4 and 'The Ratzinger/Kasper debate: The universal Church and local Churches,' *Theological Studies*, (2002), Vol. 63, no.2, 227-250.

¹¹ See CC (1909), & Tyrrell, 'Jesus or the Christ,' *The Hibbert Journal*, (July 1909). 'At most, then, Jesus would be the most Godlike of men. But man owes no adoration, no unqualified self-surrender even to the most Godlike of men - only to the absolutely Divine. Between God and the Godlike the distance is infinite.' Tyrrell, 'Jesus Or Christ?' *The Hibbert Journal Supplement*, (July 1909).

¹² For examples of Tyrrell's critics see: 'Dean Inge's savage review of CC,' *Hibbert Journal*, 8 (1910), 434-8; see also Joseph Crehan, *Father Thurston*, 69, here Crehan rather simplistically asserted, 'that Tyrrell was at the end of his life left with nothing.' Also W. Barry, *Memories and Opinions*, (1926), 'so far as I can judge, Tyrrell was falling away from positive beliefs altogether when the end came,' 266; Sagovsky, (1983), rightly judges, 'Crehan and Barry go beyond the evidence in concluding that Tyrrell was falling away from positive belief at the end of his life. Inge's review is the angry response of an uncompromising liberal Protestant of a Platonist turn,' 105, 170.

philosophical, doctrinal and ecclesiological).¹³ Secondly, there are the Liberal Protestants, who read into Tyrrell's Christology their own presuppositions and determinations, concluding that Tyrrell is 'On God's Side,' if not Rome's.¹⁴ Thirdly, there are those on the conservative side of orthodoxy, ultramontane by persuasion, who considered Pius X's one-dimensional representation of the modernist crisis to be sacrosanct.¹⁵

Along with his own stress on prayer, discernment, and God's inner presence, an adequate exploration of Tyrrell's Christology also requires recognition of the significance of Newman and Ignatius.¹⁶ Tyrrell formulated a Christology that was both conscious of God's action 'within' and aware of the Spirit who pervades all aspects of our life 'without.' His Christology evolved during the course of his theological and spiritual journey. Tyrrell's understanding of Christ remains distinct from that of Newman, Neoscholasticism, and Liberal Protestantism. It was Tyrrell's methodology that enabled him to extract essential relevance from these 'schools of thought' and to disregard possible negative aspects, that he judged might hinder 'will-union' with the Divine. The originality of Tyrrell's thesis may be stated as being

...not of argument, but exposition; we have but to let the truth appear, and then bid men, "come and see!" And of these, some will remain and some will go away, according to the power of seeing they bring with them.¹⁷

Although eclectic theological influences are apparent throughout his work, Tyrrell's commitment to Newman's thought parallels his allegiance to that of Ignatius. It is evident from his later work that Tyrrell went to considerable length to distance himself from Neo-scholasticism and Liberal Protestantism, claiming on occasion to have evolved beyond even the influence of Newman. However, in his reply to Cardinal Mercier (*Medievalism*, 1907), Tyrrell insisted that the Ignatian influence was never disregarded in his work, for as a Jesuit, and having been formed in the tradition of the *Spiritual Exercises*, Tyrrell realised that the primary purpose of the *Exercises* is to lead the pilgrim to God's salvation. The *Spiritual Exercises* had a major impact upon Tyrrell's Christological methodology and pastoral hermeneutic. Tyrrell revered

¹³ For example: 'Tyrrell On The Church,' Charles Healey S.J. *The Downside Review*, 91, (1973), 35-50; Michael Hurley, 'George Tyrrell: Some Post-Vatican II Impressions,' *Heythrop Journal*, 10 (July 1969): 243-55; Francis M. O'Connor, 'Tyrrell: The Nature of Revelation,' *Continuum*, Vol.3 (1965), 168-177; Francis, M. O'Connor, 'George Tyrrell And Dogma – I,' *The Downside Review*, Vol. 85 (1967), 160-182; Charles Healey, 'Aspects of Tyrrell's Spirituality,' *The Downside Review*, 95 (1977) 133-148; Valentine Moran, 'George Tyrrell: Theological Journalist of Genius,' *The Downside Review*, Vol. 103, (July 1985), 161-203.

¹⁴ Ratte, J. (1967), *Three Modernists*; Vidler, A. (1970), *A Variety of Catholic Modernists*; Vidler, A. (1934), *The modernist movement in the Roman church : its origins and outcome*; Sagovsky, N. (1990), *On God's side: a life of George Tyrrell*; Sagovsky, N. (1983), *Between two worlds : George Tyrrell's relationship to the thought of Matthew Arnold*.

¹⁵ Examples include: Cardinal Mercier of Malines, Primate of Belgium; Cardinal Merry del Val, Roman Secretary of State; De La Bedoyère, M. (1951), *The Life Of Baron Von Hügel*; Crehan, J. (1968), 'More Tyrrell Letters,' *The Month*, 40, 78-185 & Joseph Crehan, 'Tyrrell In His Workshop,' *The Month*, 3, (1971), 115-119.

¹⁶ For example, Tyrrell's *CC*, 'Newman's Theory of Development,' 41; David Schultenover, Tyrrell, a 'Devout Disciple of Newman,' 31; and *A&L*, Vol. II, '*The Spiritual Exercises*,' 77-84. 'Preface,' McGinley, A.A. (1907), *The Profit of Love; Of The Imitation Of Christ*, Thomas À Kempis with a powerful reflection written by Tyrrell: 'In thee is all that I need or care about; let the learned hold their peace one and all; let every creature keep silence in thy presence; and do thou speak to me – thou alone.'

¹⁷ Tyrrell, (1906), *ER*, ix.

Ignatius as a great pastoral innovator, whose liberal and flexible spirit was gradually being eroded in the church by Roman intransigence.¹⁸

Tyrrell's early work as a Jesuit priest made him aware of the pastoral needs of Christians to be formed in the spirit of Christ. Pastoral experiences shaped Tyrrell's Christological formulation. Primarily, Christology is not for the intellect, but the heart, rather aimed at the *faith of the millions* than for academic theologians or the Roman curia. Tyrrell hoped to produce a study that would recapture the original spirit of the *Exercises* and pastorally support the modern person in knowing and worshipping God.¹⁹ 'In the face of that tidal wave of unbelief whose gathering forces bids fair to sweep everything before it,' and in parallel with the *Spiritual Exercises*, Tyrrell counselled on behalf of necessity for Christian unity. He wrote simply for *The Faith of the Millions*, 'to resuscitate the broad liberal spirit of Ignatius,' it would be, Tyrrell argued, 'like new wine poured into old bottles, they would either have to stretch or break.'²⁰

Tyrrell's reflections on 'Jesus or the Christ' (July 1909), may be regarded as a prolegomenon to a fully formulated pastoral Christology. In respect to more recent Christology Richard McBrien maintains that Catholic Christology from the time of Nicaea to the twentieth century has remained essentially the same in structure and in content. However, there is a pronounced difference between medieval and Neoscholastic Christology and the Christology of post-Vatican II as expressed in contemporary Catholic theology. McBrien argues that Catholic Christology assumed a new shape in the second half of the twentieth century. In essence, this 'new shape' had already been wrought by Tyrrell and the modernist movement. This pioneering work in the furnace of the modernist suppression, 'advanced twentieth-century New Testament scholarship, and emerging anthropological, evolutionary, ecumenical, liberationist, feminist, environmental and ethnic consciousness.'²¹

Tyrrell understood human beings to be in a continuous movement towards 'will-union' with the divine, towards the unlimited and the incomprehensible. Tyrrell believed that 'this dynamic union with the Infinite will, is the very substance and reality of our spiritual living and being.'²² With Tyrrell, we recognise this union is activated in the turn towards human experience. In a similar fashion, Karl Rahner argued that dogmatic theology must be reformulated as theological anthropology. Like Rahner Tyrrell rejected the Neoscholastic approach to God as fostering an

¹⁸ See Tyrrell (1908), *Medievalism*, 105.

¹⁹ See Tyrrell's commentary on the *Spiritual Exercises*, *Ac&L* II, 77. See also Tyrrell, G. (1907), *TSC*, (1912), *EFL*, published posthumously by Maude Petre.

²⁰ Tyrrell, letter to Pere Henri Bremond, Jan. 11th 1899, *Ac&L*, 77. Tyrrell, *FM*, II, 137.

²¹ See McBrien, R. (1994), *Catholicism*, 491. Examples include: Balasuriya, T. (1997), *Mary and Human Liberation*; Fiorenza, E.S. (1983), *In Memory of Her: A Feminist Theological Reconstruction of Christian Origins*; Macquarrie, J. (1990), *Jesus Christ in Modern Thought*. See Dych, W. (1982), *Foundations of Christian Faith: An Introduction to the Idea of Christianity by Karl Rahner*, and Rahner, K. (1982), *Concern for the Church*, trans. Edward Quinn.

²² Tyrrell, (1902), *RFL*, 11.

external abstract formula devoid of life.²³ Von Hügel, Petre and others considered Tyrrell's Christology to be an idea whose hour had come. It represented an attempt to express the traditional Catholic faith in the context of a new grammar and perspective. Today important aspects of Tyrrell's Christological understanding resonate in contemporary Catholic thought. For example, implicit in the documents and 'spirit' of Vatican II are four Christological expressions found in Tyrrell's work. These may be characterised as dimensions of:

- Sacramentality
- *Lex Orandi*
- The Principle of Probability (as opposed to certainty)
- The Mystic Body of Christ

Collectively over a period of ten years, Tyrrell merged these four dimensions into a Spirit Christology. Importantly, they also lay the foundation for Tyrrell's Spirit ecclesiology. Through meditation on the Gospels Tyrrell discovered that:

The mysticism of Jesus embracing God, embraced the whole world and all its spiritual interests – truth of feeling, truth of conduct, truth of knowledge; that forced Him into conflict with evil, reckless of reward or success, by the mere impetus, the imperative necessity of the Divine Nature – 'driven by the Spirit.' 'A new creature,' a spirit, a personality, a Son of God – this is the full fruit of Christian Mysticism.²⁴

The Sacramental Dimension

Tyrrell believed that it is through the sacraments that we come into 'real' contact with Christ. The sacramental dimension of faith presents a God who is internal and external, immanent and transcendent. Crucially, Tyrrell stressed the necessity of these apparent opposites to create harmony and balance. Central to Tyrrell's sacramentality is the principle of the Incarnation – that is, the use of what is deemed external and bodily to express the internal and spiritual. For Tyrrell this model pervaded every aspect of Catholicism. Every liturgical sacrament of the church has its outward and its inward aspect, its value in the world of sense (matter) and its value in the world of spirit. Tyrrell insisted that if we wish to discover the Christ of Catholicism we must seize the 'idea' embodied in the apocalypticism of the Gospel and compare it with that embodied in Catholicism, to see if matter and spirit are merely different

²³ In his landmark essay entitled 'The Abiding Significance of Vatican II,' Karl Rahner noted the profound deficiencies of the neo-Scholastic method and 'characterized the theology of the Council as representing a transition from the rigid Neoscholasticism of the 20th century to a more biblical and ecumenical theology appropriate to its time.' Harold E. Ernst; *The Theological Notes and the Interpretation of Doctrine, Theological Studies*, Vol.63, (2002), 813. See Rahner's *Theological Investigations* 20, trans. Edward Quinn, 94. For an example of this development in the thought of Tyrrell see 'RTD,' *The Month* (Nov. 1899) and *LO*, (1902). See also Tyrrell, 'The Church and Scholasticism,' *American Catholic Quarterly Review*, 23 (July 1898), 550-61.

²⁴ *CC*, 171.

embodiments of the same reality or whether the latter can be considered a development of the former.’²⁵

Tyrrell advised that it is necessary to distinguish between the substance or content and the form or expression of an ‘idea.’ Given our context, an ‘idea’ for Tyrrell is a concrete end, whose realisation is the term of a process of action and endeavour. Tyrrell held that an ‘idea’

... is akin to that Augustinian *notio* (or *ratio*) *seminalis*, with which every living germ seems to be animated, and which works itself out to full expression through a process of growth and development. It does not change in itself, but is the cause of change in its embodiment.²⁶

Tyrrell considered ‘grace to be the germ of glory.’²⁷ Thus as with the mustard seed of the Gospel, human beings could grow into the transcendent Kingdom of God, and so human beings by a process of moral development, could grow into sons and daughters of God.

In both cases the change – a veritable transubstantiation – is effected by an irruption of the transcendental into the natural order; by the triumph of the Spirit of God over Satan. It is not a work of nature but of unmerited grace.²⁸

Tyrrell was convinced that in Catholicism we find the Jesus of history. Furthermore, ‘the idea of the church is the idea of Jesus.’²⁹ Tyrrell’s pastoral concern remained with regard to the predominance of the ‘modern mind,’ not as a censure of history and Tradition but rather as a pre-requisite for evangelisation. In other words, theology needs to evolve a contemporary nuanced language in which the church can engage contemporary men and women in meaningful dialogue. As Tyrrell wrote:

It is however one thing to recognise that, stripped of its theological form, the doctrine of Catholicism is the same as that of Jesus; it is another to contend that, either in its apocalyptic or in theological form, it can be accepted by the modern mind.³⁰

Tyrrell’s real Christological interest was to lead the faithful to God through faith in Jesus Christ, the sacrament of God. Greek influence, Tyrrell believed, ‘was inclined to be more interested in Christology than in Christ; in the metaphysics of the Spirit than the fruits of the Spirit; in the theory of life than in living.’³¹ Ultimately and when taken to extremes, as in the case of Neoscholasticism, Tyrrell saw how devotion could denigrate into mysticality, when one feeds too exclusively on mysteries, that are,

²⁵ CC, 59, ‘The Christ of Catholicism,’ 59-74.

²⁶ CC, 59.

²⁷ CC, 65.

²⁸ CC, 65 and Modras, R.E. (2004), *Ignatian Humanism: A Dynamic Spirituality for the 21st Century*.

²⁹ CC, 67.

³⁰ CC, 75.

³¹ Tyrrell, ‘The Spirit of Christ,’ LC, 36.

‘revealed in the twilight outside the sphere of our clear intelligence and tempt the further darkness.’³² Tyrrell repeated the warning implicit in St John’s Prologue:

You seek a false *Logos* for your mind alone: here is the true *Logos* for your heart as well. You seek a false light that shines only for the intellectual elite: here is the true Light that enlighteneth every man that cometh into the world.³³

Tyrrell was convinced that Jesus, unlike the Greeks, was less interested in the metaphysical reality of God’s nature than human ethics manifested in the fruits of the Spirit, in grace and in charity. Tyrrell asserted: ‘God is a “spirit” because God is Love.’³⁴ It is important to stress that Tyrrell was not denying the metaphysical or the mystical elements of religion, nor was he suggesting that ‘the Greek’ should not ‘exercise his intellect and feed his religious awe on the mystery of Christ’ as the second person of the Trinity. He argued rather that, ‘the mysterious relationship of Christ to the Father and through the Father to the world and mankind, is wrapped up and implicated in the Way of Life which He taught us, and was the secret of the inexhaustible depth that distinguished it from mere moralism or practicality.’³⁵

Tyrrell believed Christ to be the manifestation of the Father’s love and goodness, as the Word or expression of the divine character and will in human terms, as truth to be lived and not merely contemplated. He taught that:

Mysticality just inverts this order of dependence. It concentrates the soul wholly or principally on the metaphysics of Christ’s being, and not on the aspect of it on which He wishes us chiefly to concentrate ourselves, - not on His life, His spirit, His way. It leads us to adore Him as the incarnation of the First Cause, as the Alpha and Omega of creation, and feed our mystic appetite on our contact through Him with the Eternal and the Infinite.³⁶

Tyrrell acknowledged that there is a latent mysticism involved essentially in the Christian way of life. However, post-Stonyhurst, a consistent anti-rationalistic strand runs throughout his work, culminating in his rejection of the deductive post-Cartesian rationalism so dominant in the scholasticism of his day. In a similar vein Walter Kasper sums up the achievement of twentieth century Catholic theology as, ‘the surmounting of Neoscholasticism.’³⁷ Tyrrell’s pioneering achievement, unlike Newman’s and the Tübingen school, remains unacknowledged in Catholic theology.

Furthermore Tyrrell attempted to locate a Catholic position which encompassed mysticality but remained deeply rooted in the concrete life of faith. He commented:

³² Tyrrell, ‘The Spirit of Christ,’ *LC*, 35.

³³ Tyrrell, ‘The Spirit of Christ,’ *LC*, 36 and John 1:10-14.

³⁴ Tyrrell, ‘The Spirit of Christ,’ *LC*, 36.

³⁵ Tyrrell, ‘The Spirit of Christ,’ *LC*, 36.

³⁶ Tyrrell, ‘The Spirit of Christ,’ *LC*, 37.

³⁷ See Cardinal Walter Kasper, Kerr, F. (2007), *Twentieth Century Catholic Theologians*, 1.

There is a latent mysticism involved in the Christian “Way of Life” and organically inseparable from it. If we separate it from the living unity, we tear it from its roots and source of vitality, and are compelled to nourish it from the turbid streams of philosophical speculation.³⁸

Tyrrell’s *opus* testifies to his primary pastoral motivation. He was destined to navigate the fabled *Scylla* and *Charybdis* in relation to a myriad of theological conundrums. This metaphor is no less germane to his Christological deliberations. Tyrrell attempted to articulate a *via media* between a high Christology that had the potential to move towards superficial mysticality and a ‘low’ static liberalism which had the potential to make religion sterile textualism.

Our position, on the other hand, is that those who really believe in these great truths realise their deep mystery, are much troubled by the vain attempt to describe the Divine relations by the terms of an obsolete philosophy. They object, not because they don’t believe, but because they believe so entirely; because their faith is insight they resent a form of expression which must do injustice to the sublime truths which its aims to unfold. There has been too much worship of high-sounding phrases, as though they must carry us upwards on wings of aspiration.³⁹

Tyrrell contended that ‘no good man says: Knowledge does not matter; Art does not matter; nor is any artist or thinker wholly indifferent to conduct. It is a question of imperfect balance, of undue emphasis.’⁴⁰ Drawing upon the *Spiritual Exercises* of Ignatius and returning to the principle of Ignatian discernment discovered at Stonyhurst, Tyrrell advocated a correction to possible high/low polarisations by returning to the Spirit of Jesus. For Tyrrell,

the correction for mysticality, as for sentimentality (and sterile rationalism), is to be found in the return to the integral spirit of Jesus that still lives for us in the evangelical records, a spirit that satisfies all our needs and delivers us from false pieties that are fostered by its dismemberment. He who dissolves Christ is anti-Christ.⁴¹

Tyrrell found in the Gospels a vision of Jesus as ‘*Caritas Dei*.’ Ultimately Tyrrell’s own experience taught him that a focus upon Jesus in history could sustain the person of faith in times of spiritual difficulty. He took his reference from St Paul, regarding ‘A More Excellent Way,’ ‘a greater gift than all other gifts, a sharing in the spirit of Christ.’ (1 Cor. 12:27) Tyrrell insisted that this Charity is ‘shed abroad in our hearts, by the Spirit of Holiness which is given to us; nay, it is the same Holy Spirit dwelling in us; it is God Himself, for God is Charity.’⁴²

³⁸ Tyrrell, ‘The Spirit of Christ,’ *LC*, 38.

³⁹ Tyrrell, ‘Rationalism In Religion,’ *FM I*, 86.

⁴⁰ Tyrrell, ‘The Spirit of Christ,’ *LC*, 39.

⁴¹ Tyrrell, ‘The Spirit of Christ,’ *LC*, 38. See also *Dei Verbum*, n.3.

⁴² Tyrrell, ‘*Caritas Dei*,’ *LC*, 43.

Through the eyes of faith we too see that God is indeed Love. ‘Here is food for mysticism; for we are dealing with relationships between the divine and the human which necessarily defy and will always defy definition or accurate expression.’⁴³ Building upon the Sacramental principle Tyrrell rejected neo-scholastic procedures. He understood that every religion should have both inward and outward expressions of the human religious instinct. However, he accepted that the great majority could not detect this indwelling spirit of Christ,

The bulk of men were too gross, too self-ignorant, to discern a presence so near them, so subtly intertwined with their own soul; and therefore it was useful that this conscience of theirs, this indwelling Will of God, this Power within making for justice, should go outside them, should become Incarnate and face them, and speak to them.⁴⁴

Tyrrell connected religious experience with Christ’s interior presence, stressing that Christ reveals himself *interiorly* to all people. For Tyrrell, Christ is both internal and external; Christ is the voice of conscience, ‘subtly intertwined with (our) own soul.’⁴⁵ In the resistance we offer to the command of conscience, to this inward impulse of the Divine will, God is continually betrayed. By taking to Himself a suffering body, God has made visible to our bodily eyes the true nature of sin; thus the Crucifix became the collective sin of the world made visible.⁴⁶

The Resurrection too, is the outward counterpart of that ‘inward resurrection of Christ in the soul,’ when conscience, ‘quickened from dead by grace, reasserts itself once more.’⁴⁷ But it is this Christ within us that Tyrrell believed is ‘our inexorable Judge – *Nunc est judicium hujus mundi* – already has the Last Judgement begun with us.’⁴⁸

Tyrrell lamented, ‘but still man did not listen to the divine truth,’ and so this is why the Father sent the Son.⁴⁹ ‘The Word went outside’ and spoke to [us] through [our] senses, as it were to force [us] to listen.’ Tyrrell maintained that this must remain the central objective of the church.⁵⁰ Thus Tyrrell presented a somewhat dualistic presentation of man, who, in virtue of his twofold nature, lives in two worlds, ‘one

⁴³ Tyrrell, ‘*Caritas Dei*,’ *LC*, 44.

⁴⁴ Tyrrell, ‘The Religion of the Incarnation,’ *ER*, 32.

⁴⁵ Tyrrell, *ER*, 32, and Rahner, ‘Sacraments are nothing else but God’s efficacious word to man, the word in which God offers himself to man and thereby liberates man’s freedom to accept God’s self-communication by his own act.’ Rahner, K. (1963), *The Church and the Sacraments*, 415; See also Tyrrell, ‘Who Made the Sacraments?’ *The Month* 83, (Jan. 1895), 120-130.

⁴⁶ Tyrrell, *ER*, 33.

⁴⁷ Tyrrell, *ER*, 33-34.

⁴⁸ Tyrrell, *ER*, 34.

⁴⁹ See also Tyrrell, ‘The Sacramental Principle,’ *LO*, 1-6.

⁵⁰ The religion of the Incarnation is before all else an external religion, approaching the soul from without, just as Christ when on earth spoke to men face to face from without.’ *ER*, 41. For an example of another important signpost with regard to formulating Tyrrell’s spirit Christology, see also Schillebeeckx, E. (1963), *Christ the Sacrament of the Encounter with God*, trans. Paul Barrett, this remains one of the breakthrough texts influential at Vatican II. Also Rahner, K. (1963), *The Church and the Sacraments*, Rahner here explores the idea of the Church as the primordial sacrament. It is interesting to consider that a growing number of critics within the post-conciliar Church strongly oppose the work of Rahner and Schillebeeckx, considering them to be tainted by ‘modernism.’

bodily, the other spiritual; one the shadow and the sacrament; the other, the substance and the signified reality.⁵¹ In emphasising that the development of the spiritual world is reliant upon union with others, Tyrrell considered this communal aspect to be essential for the spirit-life of those who are in union with God.⁵² The orientation of human wills must be directed ‘towards that supreme will so far as it is manifested in the will-attitude of those who live by it - of Christ and all Christ-like men.’ This became Tyrrell’s pastoral manifesto of the Trinity — God the Father, and his covenant with his people; Christ the Son, suffering with his ecclesia; and the ‘body,’ becoming the Temple of the Holy Spirit, active in the community.⁵³

Tyrrell’s sacramental dimension resonates with aspects of post Vatican II Christology.⁵⁴ Tyrrell believed that who Jesus is and who God is cannot be captured in philosophical propositions. One must tell the story of Jesus and live out one’s own story, following the practical example of Jesus in the gospels. In this way one comes to know the God to whom Jesus witnessed.

The progress of revelation from first to last is the result of the continual striving of God’s Spirit in and with the spirit of man, whereby the material furnished by the workings of the human mind in its endeavour to cope with heavenly truths is continually refined and corrected through Divine inspiration into close conformity with spiritual realities. Thus did he patiently and through the course of ages, first, through Moses; then, through the prophets; lastly through Christ, refine upon the grosser and more barbaric conceptions of sacrifice, till the mustard seeds of truth, hidden in those first clumsy efforts of the religious spirit, found its full development in the sacrifice of a sinless humanity in the fires of Charity (Love).⁵⁵

For Tyrrell the role of experience in belief is imperative for communicating revelation. Faith moves beyond rationality and language, in so far as it encompassed the full range of human perception and activities. Revelation remained of immense significance for Tyrrell’s pastoral hermeneutic that propagated a critique of our experience and theological understanding in a dialectical relationship to it. He wrote:

We see through a glass darkly and not face to face. We interpret those impulses and movements by our highest category which is the human category. We express in the highest language which is the language borrowed from the things of sense. And we test and verify our interpretations by the

⁵¹ *LO*, (1903), 10.

⁵² Tyrrell compares man’s life to a water-weed: whose blossom alone floats on the surface, man’s being is, for the most part, merged in a spiritual world, and reaches up to the visible order only in virtue of its psychic and organic manifestations. *LO*, (1903), 15.

⁵³ ‘RTD,’ *The Month*, (Nov. 1989), 422 .

⁵⁴ For example, Schillebeeckx, E. (1979), *Jesus: An Experiment in Christology*, trans. Hubert Hoskins. (‘Jesus as the Parable of God and the paradigm of humanity.’) See also Tyrrell, (1907), ‘The Language of Revelation,’ *OW*, 73-76.

⁵⁵ Tyrrell, ‘The Language of Revelation,’ *OW*, 75. For a critique of religious language see Tyrrell’s ‘The Sacramental Principle,’ *LO*, 2-3.

criterion of spiritual life and fruitfulness; by the light of God's countenance; by the revelation of experience.⁵⁶

Thus for Tyrrell, revelation while being mediated by concepts, was never exhausted by language, concepts or doctrine, Tyrrell insisted '...for it is medicine and not the food.' Tyrrell would describe revelation as a 'concrete coloured, imaginative expression of Divine mysteries.'⁵⁷ He was attempting to respond to the danger of devotion becoming too anthropomorphic and superstitious on the one hand, and overly philosophical on the other, with the potential for excessive abstraction and vague unreality. From Tyrrell's perspective both extremes represented a challenge to the faith of the millions, a faith he sought to defend and enhance.

Ultimately Tyrrell's work attempted to move beyond the Neoscholastic framework while also acknowledging both the advantages and disadvantages of historical scholarship.⁵⁸ Joseph Ratzinger identified a further distinct problem for theology — the need to find 'a better synthesis between historical and theological methods, between higher criticism and church doctrine.' Further, he commented that a truly pervasive understanding of faith has yet to be found which takes into account both the undeniable insights uncovered by historical method, while at the same time overcoming its limitations.⁵⁹ It is noted how Tyrrell's post 1899 work continued to re-accentuate the limits of language and rationality over religious experience in favour of a commitment to the concreteness of history.⁶⁰ Tyrrell also highlighted in one of his most acclaimed articles, his deep reverence for the nature of experience and mystery, what he referred to, as *lex orandi est lex credendi*. He insists,

The saints have always prayed to God, conceived human-wise, albeit with the consciousness of the imperfection of even God's own self-chosen mode of revelation, and it is this consciousness that has saved them from superstition and anthropomorphism. We say "the saints," because purity of heart is the safeguard against superstition. It is the desire to "exploit" religion, to bribe the

⁵⁶ Tyrrell, 'Revelation As Experience:' An Unpublished Lecture of George Tyrrell, edited with notes by Thomas Michael Looe, *Heythrop Journal*, 12 (1971), 117-149. The invitation to give the lecture had been arranged by Tyrrell's friend, George Ernest Newson (1871-1934), at that time Professor of Pastoral Theology at King's College London.

⁵⁷ In essence Tyrrell believed that Jesus can be God in history but this is a mystery that remains unfathomable. See Tyrrell, *Hibbert Journal*, 'The Point At Issue,' (1909) 15; See also Tyrrell, (1907), 'The Language of Revelation,' *OW*, 73-76; Tyrrell, 'Revelation As Experience,' 147.

⁵⁸ For Rahner and Tyrrell the roots of the rejection of neo-scholasticism could be found in the struggle to link what we know of reality with doctrinal concepts in the light of Kant's critique. Thomas Sheehan comments: 'Unlike generations of Catholic philosophers who had studied Kant the way anti-aircraft gunners study enemy planes, Rahner in large measure *presumed* Kant's devastating critique of metaphysics and argued that what little we know of the Divine we know by being irreversibly turned toward the world.' See Sheehan, T. (1982), 'The Dream of Karl Rahner,' *The New York Review of Books*; see also Schreier, R.J. 'Edward Schillebeeckx,' Ford, (Ed.) (1997), *The Modern Theologians*, 157. With regard to historical consciousness, Bernard Lonergan once commented, 'that the whole problem in modern theology, Protestant and Catholic, is the introduction of historical scholarship.' Quoted in Crowe, F.E. (Ed.), (2004), *Developing the Lonergan Legacy: Historical Theoretical and Existential Themes*, Michael Verin, 79.

⁵⁹ Joseph Ratzinger, 'Foundations and Approaches of Biblical Exegesis,' *Origins* 17/35, (1985), 596.

⁶⁰ In chronological order this can be seen in: 'RTD' *The Month*, (1899); *OW*, (1900); *LO*, (1902); *RFL*, (1902); *FM II* (1902); *TSC* (1907); *CC*, (1909).

Almighty, to climb up by some other way, rather than go through the one door of self-denial, that is the source of all corruption.⁶¹

Tyrrell's concern that theology be pastoral or concrete, anticipated the primary objective of many post-Vatican II theologians. For example, R.J. Schreier considers "concrete" to be one of the most important adjectives appropriated in the highly influential work of Edward Schillebeeckx.⁶² This concern is found throughout Tyrrell's theological reflections. For example, Tyrrell referred to: 'the deposit of faith as being not simply a symbol but a "concrete" religion left by Christ to His Church,'⁶³ and further, the superiority of the 'concrete' language of revelation as a guide to truth;⁶⁴ the 'concrete' reality of simple devotion;⁶⁵ the 'concrete' expression of Divine mysteries as it lay in the minds of the first recipients;⁶⁶ and the 'concrete' determinations;⁶⁷ 'concrete' ideas;⁶⁸ 'concrete' reality.⁶⁹ 'Concrete' for Tyrrell was obviously the opposite of abstraction. Concrete experience allows transcendence and will-union with the divine. Wisely Tyrrell understood that devotion and religion existed before theology, in the way art existed before art criticism, or that logic and speech came before grammar.

For both Tyrrell and Schillebeeckx experience is the measure of right teaching.⁷⁰ Schillebeeckx's desire for 'concreteness' led him to the formulation of 'orthopraxis,' as a key concept. Both theologians seem to agree that orthopraxis precedes orthodoxy as essential to a normative Christian life. Right belief must be pastoral and practical and bear fruit in the ordinary life of the faithful.⁷¹

In establishing a pastoral hermeneutic that respects the concreteness of history, Tyrrell showed how human experiences of suffering and injustice must be actively acknowledged. It is not enough to hold right beliefs. Correct belief must be expressed in a dialectic of theory and action. This was the central theme in Tyrrell's most concise work, 'The Relation of Theology to Devotion' (1899). Here Tyrrell argued that the traditional Christian creedal understanding of the triune God must be connected to the inner life of the church as well as to its outward life and structure. Although Tyrrell considered the Creed to be the collective understanding of the

⁶¹ For example see Tyrrell, (1899), 'RTD' 424.

⁶² See Schreier, R.J. 'Edward Schillebeeckx,' Ford, (Ed.), (1997), *The Modern Theologians*, 157.

⁶³ Tyrrell, (1899), 'RTD,' 425.

⁶⁴ Tyrrell, (1899), 'RTD,' 425.

⁶⁵ Tyrrell, (1899), 'RTD,' 425.

⁶⁶ Tyrrell, (1899), 'RTD,' 422.

⁶⁷ Tyrrell, (1899), 'RTD,' 420.

⁶⁸ Tyrrell, (1899), 'RTD,' 420.

⁶⁹ Tyrrell, (1899), 'RTD,' 419.

⁷⁰ In solidarity with South American liberation theologians, for example, see Boff, L. (1988), *When Theology Listens to the Poor* and Jon Sobrino, who argued that the experience of the poor is the ecclesial 'setting' of Christology and offers it a fundamental orientation. See Sobrino, J. (1991), *Jesus the Liberator*; and its sequel, Sobrino, J. (1999), *Christ the Liberator*; along with *Christology at the Crossroads* (1978), *The True Church and the Poor* (1984), *Spirituality of Liberation* (1990).

⁷¹ See Tyrrell, 'RTD,' 425, and Kasper commenting on the pastoral influence of Vatican II and Liberation Theology: 'for what use is all our orthodoxy if it does not bear fruit in practical life? If we were to speak with the tongues of men and of angels, but had not love, we should be sounding brass and tinkling cymbals.' Kasper, W. (1989), *Theology & Church*, 173.

faithful, and as such, the highest formulation and expression of the will-world, he was convinced that Catholicism must be regarded above all as portraying a (form of) life, and as a 'concrete' living spirit, rather than an ideology or a body of doctrine. Tyrrell's Christological thought was primarily pastoral rather than polemical. It embodied essentially a pastoral initiative that would sustain the *Faith of the Millions*, who instead of learning to 'know' the Christ of Scholasticism, would search for the Jesus of the New Testament, whom Tyrrell believed, could be illuminated by the light of criticism.

Tyrrell understanding of the Incarnation to be the sacramental principle evoked faith in the importance of humanity's combined nature, body and soul. As we have seen in Chapter Three, the influence of Sabatier and Blondel, is evident here. From Sabatier, Tyrrell pointed to a *sui generis* principle in humanity, the 'religious instinct that is there by nature.' From Blondel, Tyrrell referred to this instinct in humans as 'an inexorable appetite of his spiritual nature.'⁷² For Tyrrell, the difficulty of seeing the religious instinct as foundational is that it might seem to be adopting an entirely subjective and immanent religion. For Tyrrell's Neo-Scholastic critics this movement amounted to adoption of the Liberal Protestant Christ, or a "high" ethic.⁷³ For advocates of Tyrrell's position, this was a positive development, preparing a pastoral groundwork for presenting Jesus "from below," thus allowing "concrete" access to the Divine. Sagovsky supports this conclusion:

Unerringly, he finds the human point of engagement with the Christ of Catholic orthodoxy and though he does not explicitly deny, he simply omits to refer to the more bizarre conclusions of scholastic teaching. He is neither coldly intellectual, nor is he sentimental, yet a mystical passion is linked with sharpness of mind and clarity of human perception throughout. Hence the freshness that so attracted von Hügel.⁷⁴

Tyrrell refuted the Liberal Protestant charge by arguing that Christianity, unlike other religions, in virtue of the Incarnation, was a divine interpretation of human religious instinct. He presented a 'Christ that is within us and a Christ that is without.'⁷⁵ He further argued that:

it was God who gave us the religious instinct in the beginning. It was his divine will under the abstract name conscience which has been struggling against the selfish and sinful will of every child of Adam so constantly and persistently, that man mistook that presence within them for part of themselves, for one of their natural springs of action.⁷⁶

⁷² See also Sagovsky, N. (1983) 'Christology: the parting of the ways,' *Between Two Worlds: George Tyrrell's Relationship To Matthew Arnold*, 89-116 and Tyrrell, *LO*, (1903), 'The Sacramental Principle,' 1-6 and 'Belief In the Incarnation I & II,' 147-164.

⁷³ For example see Père Jules Lebreton, (1875-1956), Chapter VIII, 'Theism,' of Egerton's *Father Tyrrell's Modernism*, 162-185.

⁷⁴ Sagovsky, N. (1983), 'Christology: the parting of the ways,' 90.

⁷⁵ Tyrrell, *ER*, 33-34.

⁷⁶ Tyrrell, *ER*, 31.

Growing out of his option for devotion above theology, and strongly influenced by Newman, Tyrrell presented the idea that a conscience informed by grace becomes synonymous with humanity's natural religious instinct. Tyrrell's critics subsequently accused him of following Blondel too closely and confusing the supernatural and natural orders.⁷⁷ Prior to the innovative work of Henri de Lubac and Karl Rahner this is a fair charge theoretically, but for Tyrrell and Blondel it was not an issue because the distinction is unreal with respect to a person's 'concrete,' experience. Rahner, for example, was to propose a distinction, not only between nature and grace, but also between 'pure' nature and 'concrete' nature. The latter was construed as human nature as it really exists consequent to God's acts of creating and gracing, the former construed as a theoretical ('remainder') concept referring to what is minimally required for a creature to be human. However, as far as we know, no human beings, exist who have only 'pure nature' as their essence, because all human beings are already graced in their very essence.⁷⁸ Thus the baptised infant is made a divine creature by virtue of 'an irruption of the transcendental into the natural order, by the triumph of the Spirit of God... it is not a work of nature but of unmerited grace.'⁷⁹

Tyrrell envisioned two *Christis*, the 'Christ from within' and the 'Christ from without,' corresponding to his thought about 'internal, and 'external' religion. If humanity's religious instinct is of the Divine will and presence, it follows that in humans the formal basis for religion is somehow divine. It is 'the Christ from without' and the 'Sacramental Principle', which according to Tyrrell distinguishes Christianity from all other religions. 'It is only the Sacraments that make us the sons of God.'⁸⁰ However, on account of the Fall, or humanity's refusal to discern God's inner presence, it was necessary that 'this conscience of theirs, this indwelling will of God... should go outside them, should become Incarnate and face them.'⁸¹

Furthermore, according to Tyrrell this *conscience incarnate*, this Christ that is outside us,⁸² is a divinely revealed standard, meant to arouse and gradually bring to perfection that latent Christ who is within us.⁸³ In turn, through the Incarnation, God provides an infallible articulation of humanity's religious instinct by conforming to our composite nature and allowing us to understand the Incarnation in its material sense. This conviction of Tyrrell personifies the Sacramental Principle whereby we understand the Incarnation in its instrumental sense. That is, God has redeemed the body and

⁷⁷ See Père Jules Lebreton, (1875-1956), Chapter VIII, 'Theism,' of Egerton's *Father Tyrrell's Modernism*, 162-185; Crehan, J., 'More Tyrrell letters - 1,' *The Month*, 40, (1968), 178-85; 'Tyrrell in his workshop,' *The Month*, 3 (1971), 111-15, 119.

⁷⁸ Rahner K, *Theological Investigations*, (1966), Vol.4, 'Creation and Christ,' trans. Kevin Smyth, 210. See also *Theological Investigations*, Vol. 3, (1969), trans. Cornelius Ernst, 297.

⁷⁹ Tyrrell, *CC*, 64.

⁸⁰ See Tyrrell, *OW*, (1906), 96.

⁸¹ Tyrrell, *OW*, 42-3.

⁸² Tyrrell, *OW*, 37.

⁸³ Perhaps for Tyrrell this is an echo of the "two standards" in the Ignatian exercises, whereby Christ through his humanity, and his religion, provides a divine interpretation of humanity's religious instinct. *The Spiritual Exercises of Saint Ignatius*, trans. George E. Ganss, (Loyola Press. The Institute of Jesuit Sources, 1992). The meditation on *the* 'Two Standards' synthesizes the goals of the Christian life: 'The one of Christ, our Commander-in- chief and Lord; the other of Lucifer, mortal enemy of our human nature.' See further the *Spiritual Exercise* of St Ignatius, Week Two, 'The Mediation On The Two Standards.'

soul, taken the corruptible part of religion, its outward expression and embodiment, making it no longer detrimental, but obedient to its inward and spiritual part.⁸⁴

Tyrrell replied to his critics, who accused him of espousing a totally subjective and immanent religion, by presenting the ‘Christ that is outside us.’⁸⁵ Tyrrell proposed that it is essential to religion of the Incarnation for it to be an ‘external’ religion. Catholicism with its dogmas, sacramental rites, hierarchic order, and all the ‘machinery’ is, he estimated, pre-eminently an external religion.⁸⁶ Tyrrell fought consistently to preserve his faith in what he understood to be essential about Catholic Christianity, Christ as the sacrament of the transcendent power of God. In keeping with what Rahner later perceived as the ‘transcendental prophet,’ Tyrrell knew Christ as the incarnation of essential humanity and the continuity between God and the Church. Tyrrell was convinced of the correlation between ‘the internal Christ of our conscience’ and the ‘external and visible Christ, the Word incarnate.’⁸⁷

For Tyrrell Jesus is the ‘sacrament of the Kingdom of God.’⁸⁸ The church is his mystical body and remains for those who come after Jesus an unfailing witness to mystery. The absence of a system in Tyrrell’s Christology does not indicate a lack of consistency. As already seen in previous chapters, it is consistent with his belief in the inadequacy of language, symbol, and doctrine, to formulate a ‘concrete’ understanding of mystical experience. Tyrrell’s theology was not directed toward what we can know, but rather towards faith in the absolute mystery that is Christ, the ‘Human Conscience Incarnate — God made man.’⁸⁹ Adopting the language of post-Vatican II Christological it is possible to detect that Tyrrell built upon an implicit Christology from above, though in an analogous context because we have no option other than to understand the Incarnation, except via words and symbols from below.⁹⁰ Tyrrell’s Sacramental Principle illuminates every aspect of Catholicism, since every sacrament has its outward and its inward reality, its value in the world of sense and its value in the world of spirit. Christ’s is the voice of conscience, subtly intertwined with

⁸⁴ Tyrrell, ‘The Religion of the Incarnation, external and internal,’ *ER*, 19-38.

⁸⁵ For a development of this position see Chapter Four, ‘Tyrrell’s Critics.’

⁸⁶ Tyrrell, *OW*, 36.

⁸⁷ Tyrrell, *ER*, 31. Tyrrell argued, ‘every deed and event of His mortal life was prophetic; was as it were a sacrament or symbol of the mysteries of the Kingdom of God; was crowded with inexhaustible meaning touching the things of the eternal and invisible world.’

⁸⁸ Tyrrell, *ER*, 31; *Lumen Gentium*, ‘The Mystery Of The Church,’ Chapter One; Rahner, K. (1978), *Theological Investigations* Vol. XVI, ‘Experience of the Spirit: Source of Theology,’ trans. David Morland, for example, Chapter Sixteen, ‘The Mystery of the Trinity,’ this line of reasoning, Rahner argued, ‘is to be understood in the light of the general theme of spiritual experience, which is certainly not only a private and personal event in the spiritual life of the mystic, but is also a social phenomenon, which is clearly evident in the community insofar as the *concrete* demands of God’s will are expressed in the actual faith of the Christians, in and through which they find then real salvation.’ 256; Schillebeeckx, E. (1995), *Christ the Sacrament of the Encounter with God*, ‘The Presence of the Mystery of Christ in the Sacraments,’ Chapter Two.

⁸⁹ Tyrrell, *OW*, 96.

⁹⁰ The two terms “from below” and “from above” became widely used following Vatican II, they were clearly defined in a lecture given by Karl Rahner in Munich 1971; see ‘Two Basic Types of Christology,’ *Theological Investigations*, Vol. 13, 213-23. Tyrrell elaborates his explicit Christology from below in *CM*, its very foundation and coherence is built upon an implicit Christology from above. See also De Clerck, Paul, ‘*lex orandi, lex credendi. Sens original et avatars historiques d’un adage equivoque*,’ *Questions Liturgiques* 59, (1978) 193-212.

our soul, Christ's is the suffering body made visible to our eyes. Henceforth, the sacramental becomes a divinely formed channel through which the mind and heart of God flow into the minds and hearts of humanity.

The *Lex Orandi* Dimension

In 'The Relation of Theology to Devotion' (1899), Tyrrell claimed that the dictum *lex orandi lex credendi* is a practical measure allowing theology to function for religious experience.⁹¹ He believed that Christianity is in some sense more a *lex orandi* than a *lex credendi*. *Lex orandi* expresses the primacy (priority) of the 'concrete' experience over the abstract and cerebral, and the spiritual and prayer inducing over the dogmatic and credal.

It is not enough therefore for the apologist to connect the truths of theology with the truths of history and science; he must go on to connect the life of religion with the rest of our life, and to show the latter demands the former.⁹²

Lex Orandi is the law of believing; Christian faith is expressed in the experience of Christian worship. Catholicism is an 'internal religion,' *lex orandi* is logically consistent with Tyrrell's view that whatever the designation – 'instinct,' 'will,' 'conscience' - the basis of religion in humanity is essentially moral (right living) and non-rational (in the sense of its being beyond the empirical and linguistic) immediate.⁹³ The divine interpreter and human analogue of human conscience is Christ. Thus Tyrrell believed that 'the rock of irresistible reality is Conscience – the sense of the right and of its absolute claims.'⁹⁴

To hold a theology or orthodoxy merely by tradition or imitation or inference, and not as a provisional and faulty expression of a real experience, is religious intellectualism, not faith. It is 'idealism' not 'realism;' that is to say, one's life is, in such case, controlled, not by reality, but by a symbol or formula of reality; or if by experience at all, by the experience of others accepted on testimony.⁹⁵

From this foundation *lex orandi* judges not only the relation of theology to devotion, but to internal religion so that 'Christ that is outside us' becomes 'Christ that is within us.' Through a consistent appeal to experience, Tyrrell supported this *lex orandi*

⁹¹ Throughout Tyrrell's thought 'devotion' is inter-changeable with 'experience,' furthermore, Tyrrell's believed 'theology functions for devotion.' Tyrrell, *LO*, (1903), 59-65. See also Rahner, who described theology as 'a secondary level' to man's 'transcendental experience.' *Theological Investigations* 13, trans. David Bourke, 98, and Tyrrell, *LO*, 59-65.

⁹² Tyrrell, *LO*, viii.

⁹³ See also Tyrrell, 'The Return To Self,' (1904), *EFI*, 203. In this context the later work of Wittgenstein is illuminating in understanding Tyrrell's critique of neo-scholasticism. For a detailed exploration in this regard see Kerr, F. (1997), *Theology After Wittgenstein*, Second Edition. Wittgenstein's critique of theology is essentially a critique of neo-scholasticism.

⁹⁴ Tyrrell, 'The Doctrinal Authority of Conscience,' *EFI*, 3.

⁹⁵ See Tyrrell, 'The Doctrinal Authority of Conscience,' *EFI*, 6 and Kerr, (1997), *Theology After Wittgenstein*, 'Suspensions of Idealism,' 'Assurances of Realism,' 101-144.

principle, which understands Christ and his religion in moral and spiritual terms.⁹⁶ He maintained firmly that the truths of religion must be directed to life as their end, and that ‘judged by the test of life and fruitfulness, the symbolism of apocalyptic imagery is truer to our spiritual needs than that of the Hellenic (Neoscholastic) intellectualism.’⁹⁷

For Tyrrell, the articles of the creed expresses God’s relationship to human beings, directed to the life of love that determines more fully and completely our will-attitude with regard to God, and to the entire will-world as united with Him.⁹⁸ Tyrrell considered all doctrine, and indeed our understanding with God, to be supplied by the Spirit of Christ, the *spiritus qui vivificat*. Belief is in accord with the Spirit, a development of the Spirit. It reveals to us the Father and our son-ship.⁹⁹ Tyrrell maintained that

...the Nicene formula marked a climax in the exaltation of Jesus. His Godhead may be made more intelligible, but any formula that excludes the Nicene is another doctrine, and not a more developed re-statement. It must be what is vulgarly called a “climb-down” from *Deus* to *divinus*.¹⁰⁰

Doctrines that have been the mere product of theological curiosity, or of false piety or of superstitions are doomed to wither away. The test for Tyrrell was, *quod semper quod ubique; quod ab omnibus*.¹⁰¹ He held the position that truth is found when, ‘beliefs bring forth the fruit of holiness and charity.’ The truths of the Creed in relation to God have a representative and practical value, even though the affirmations of the supernatural world can only be of an analogical nature. Thus in his final months Tyrrell turned to the Creeds in search of an answer to the question first exclaimed by Jesus of Nazareth: ‘Who do you say that I am?’¹⁰²

It was and remains the question of the age, no less than in Jesus’ day, Tyrrell’s, or our own. Did the creator take upon himself human form? The distinctively Christian answer to this question is central for Christian theology. It poses considerable difficulty for inter-religious dialogue since Christianity is the only major monotheistic religion that claims God became human. The Christian tradition of the Lordship of Jesus is inextricably linked with the Christian belief that God became incarnate, and in the process, bridged the gap between the human and the divine, allowing a vision of an eschatological horizon to emerge. Furthermore, Tyrrell argued rightly that it is impossible to believe explicitly in the mystery of Christ, without faith in the Trinity. For the mystery of Christ includes faith in that mystery whereby the Son of God became man.

⁹⁶ See *Hibbert Journal* ‘The Point At Issue,’ (July 1909), 11.

⁹⁷ *CC*, 140.

⁹⁸ *CC*, 30.

⁹⁹ Tyrrell, ‘The Meaning of the Spirit,’ *LC*, 8-11.

¹⁰⁰ Tyrrell, ‘Jesus Or The Christ?’ *The Hibbert Journal*, (July 1909).

¹⁰¹ ‘*Quod semper quod ubique; quod ab omnibus*’ - what (has been held) always, everywhere, by everybody. See Tyrrell, ‘RTD,’ 424-425.

¹⁰² Tyrrell, ‘Jesus Or The Christ?’ *The Hibbert Journal*, (July 1909), 5-16.

Tyrrell subsequently questioned the ‘Christhood’ and all that it connotes, asking if ‘Christ’ is a ‘legitimate interpretation’ of the historical Jesus as divined by us through the Gospel record. Tyrrell believed this predicate to be a source of great confusion with regard to the orthodox interpretation of the Divine son-ship implied in ‘Christ.’ Tyrrell argued Christ is not the son-ship of a man related in time to God, but that of the Eternal Son hypostatically united in time to an individual and complete human nature.¹⁰³ Tyrrell believed this confusion arose from the popular conception of ‘person’ as distinct from its meaning in the creed as defined in Patristic Theology, whereby the unique use of ‘person’ was shaped by grammatical necessities to explain how the supernatural being Incarnate in Jesus could be the Son of God, personally distinct from the Father, yet of identical and not merely similar substance, in such manner as the Son alone was made man, and not the Father or the Spirit.¹⁰⁴

Tyrrell’s work reminds us how outside of theological context (in devotion) a ‘person’ means a separate spiritual individual, of separate mind and will. Tyrrell is attempting to connect the *Lex Orandi* principle along side creedal statements to engender a concrete relationship with Christ.¹⁰⁵ He insisted,

...the main difficulty of the doctrine of the Christ’s Godhead as understood by the creeds is a rational one: sc., Can we attach any intellectual meaning to it at all? Have we concepts answering to the words? If not, can we intelligently affirm or deny what conveys no more meaning to us than the position Christ is X?¹⁰⁶

Tyrrell argued, that when we find gospel examples giving evidence of the finitude of Christ’s human nature, it can be taken as evidence against his divinity in the orthodox sense. Then, if in reverting to our heresy, one tries to insist on the duality and separateness of the divine and human natures, we almost inevitably imagine a duality of persons and become Nestorian in our thought, while retaining orthodox language. Subsequent oscillation results between the poles of Nestorianism and Eutychianism, through an inability to give any real content to the word “person” as defined by theologians. Of the two heresies, the Nestorian is far nearer to theological orthodoxy than the other, while it is perhaps further from popular Christology, which is prevalently monophysite. Tyrrell maintained that confusion over the person and nature of Jesus has done much to favour a practically monophysite conception of the divinity of Jesus. Tyrrell argued there are no facts or signs by which so transcendental a truth as the hypostatic union could become a matter of historical affirmation or denial.¹⁰⁷

Tyrrell appreciated that Biblical criticism then can tell against the monophysite Christ that so many orthodox are apparently defending, or against certain deductions, *ex congruo*, of Chalcedon Christology, but against the substance of Christology it can do

¹⁰³ Tyrrell, ‘Jesus Or The Christ?’ *The Hibbert Journal*, (July 1909), 5.

¹⁰⁴ Tyrrell, ‘The Point At Issue,’ *The Hibbert Journal*, (July 1909), 12-13.

¹⁰⁵ For a detailed insight into the use of the axiom *Lex Orandi*, see Chapter Four, fn. 80.

¹⁰⁶ Tyrrell, ‘Jesus Or The Christ?’ *The Hibbert Journal*, (July 1909), 13.

¹⁰⁷ For a detailed development of this position see Tyrrell, ‘Mysteries A Necessity Of Life,’ *TSC*, (1907), 155-199 and ‘Juliana of Norwich,’ *FMI*, (1904), Vol. II, 8-9.

nothing.¹⁰⁸ Anticipating the future ascendancy of the scientific method in analytical philosophy, philosophical-theology and their subsequent influence upon popular culture, Tyrrell consistently argued that the mystery of Jesus as the Christ involved experience of the faithful (*lex orandi*), rather than empirical realities. If critical analysis could prove that Jesus was unconscious of his divinity or that his utterances implicitly deny it, this would be a scandal for the ‘orthodox,’ who base their belief on his own claims to divinity. It would not disprove his Godhead, but would abolish what, for them, is the only proof of it.¹⁰⁹

Tyrrell’s critique of the ultramontane position is reminiscent of Wittgenstein and his linguistic school of thought that allowed religion to move beyond a ‘God of the Gaps’ mentality into its own epistemological realm or ‘word game.’¹¹⁰ An understanding of the later work of Wittgenstein illuminates Tyrrell’s *Lex Orandi* principle. ‘Theology after Tyrrell’ also experienced a certain liberation, particularly concerning his approach to Christology. Tyrrell recoiled from rationalist theology and rationalist ethics and true to his pastoral *Lex Orandi* concern, he sought warmth, colour and life in sentimentalism, sacramentalism and above all, in Ignatian spirituality.¹¹¹

The mystery-hunger of the soul, rightly understood, is not to be checked, but rather deepened and fostered as an indispensable condition of subject development. To limit our curiosity to the “exactly knowable” would be equivalently to limit our life-desire to the plane of our present possibilities and to forbid it to look higher; it would be to quench all spiritual aspiration and to preach content with the prospect of some socialist millennium in which life should pass into slumber for lack of further aims.¹¹²

Tyrrell insisted on the necessity of mystery that ‘practical materialism’ is fatal to spiritual aspiration and that ‘the eternal quest for the absolute life, ever to be approached, never to be reached, is the secret root’ by which the soul strains upward and labours for those ‘riches of experience’ which are within the grasp of our present modes of conception and action. ‘Hence the rationalism which would sweep away mysteries as mere cobwebs of the mind would cut at the very roots of all progress, spiritual and temporal.’¹¹³

¹⁰⁸CC, 157.

¹⁰⁹ See Tyrrell, ‘The Point At Issues,’ *The Hibbert Journal*, (July 1909), 11.

¹¹⁰ Arguably the analytical logic (linguistic) school of thought which has dominated much of 20th century philosophy, (for example, Gottlob Frege, Bertrand Russell, A.J. Ayer, the Vienna Circle, early Wittgenstein, D.Z. Philips and Don Cupitt *et-al*) articulated the philosophical-cultural reality of their epoch and foreshadowed the subsequent rise in aggressive atheism (Dawkins, Hitchens, etc) which Charles Taylor attempted to dialogue with in his *Secular Age*, (2007).

¹¹¹ It is in this sense that I find the later thought of Wittgenstein helpful. Upon a close study of Augustine Tyrrell concluded, Christ’s humanity never was a question of science or empiricism but rather a concern of faith. Tyrrell, CC, (1909), 157; Tyrrell, (1899), ‘RTD’ See also Wittgenstein, L. ((1950), *Remarks on Colour*, (Ed.) Anscombe, G.E.M; Sherry, P. (1977), *Religion, Truth and Language Games*; Barrett, C. (1991), *Wittgenstein on Ethics and Religious Belief*; Phillips, D.Z. ‘Wittgenstein’s Full Stop,’ Block, I. (Ed.), (1981), *Perspectives on the Philosophy of Wittgenstein*; Baghrarian, M. (Ed.), (1998), *Modern Philosophy of Language*; Phillips, D.Z. (1996), *Can Religion Be Explained Away?* Kerr, F. (1997), *Theology After Wittgenstein*.

¹¹² Tyrrell, ‘Mysteries A Necessity Of Life,’ 168.

¹¹³ Tyrrell, ‘Mysteries A Necessity Of Life,’ 169.

For Tyrrell, ‘metaphysics plays havoc with genuine faith.’¹¹⁴ He maintained that rational theology failed because it was thoroughly unscientific, based on metaphysics spun from vague mysticism and our analysis of concepts, not endorsed thoroughly by the experience of the mystic.¹¹⁵ It represented Christianity as an *a priori* philosophical intellectual construction and not as a way of life. Nevertheless, Tyrrell continued to regard Catholicism as the highest spontaneous development of the ‘religious idea.’ He therefore considered religion to be most capable of reflective development, in the light of a science of religion, gleaned from historical and psychological investigation. He defined religion ‘as being, practically, the adjustment of our conduct to a transcendent world.’¹¹⁶ Such adjustment supposes that the transcendent is, in some way, revealed and perceived as concurrent with ordinary experience. The crooked tree, the oddly shaped stone, the thunderstorm, the earthquake, prior to any sort of reflection, creates a feeling of wonder and fear, which suggests to the human mind and heart the ‘probability’ or ‘experience’ of an unseen creator.

The Probability Dimension

Reminiscent of ‘Pascal’s Wager,’ Tyrrell understood the ‘principle of probability’ to be the guide of life rather than certitude.¹¹⁷ In this context Tyrrell was appealing to the ‘scientific mind,’ in a manner reminiscent of Rahner’s methodology with regard to miracles.¹¹⁸ This third aspect of Tyrrell’s Christology developed from a wide Trinitarian perspective and allows further insight into his pastoral motivation. Tyrrell continued to present negative critiques of philosophical propositions that he argued confined Christ within human thought and language. Tyrrell believed that:

If the fountains of Divine Love, thus frozen by philosophy, are to flow again, it can only be through some belief that brings back the warmth and wealth of

¹¹⁴ Tyrrell, *CC*, (1909), 157.

¹¹⁵ Tyrrell is challenging those metaphysicians who write on mysticism but have never experienced a mystical event, an experience in which one is ‘overwhelmed by God’s love.’ Tyrrell, ‘True and False Mysticism,’ *FM II*, (1902), 312.

¹¹⁶ Tyrrell, *CC*, (1909), 168.

¹¹⁷ ‘If there is a God, He is infinitely incomprehensible, since, having neither parts nor limits, He has no affinity to us. We are then incapable of knowing either what He is or if He is.’ Blaise Pascal’s *Pensees* Part III (1669) – ‘The Necessity of the Wager argument itself is found in #233. for development of this position see also Newman, *Apologia pro vita sua*, 19. See Tyrrell, ‘Rationalism in Religion,’ *The Month* 93, (Jan.1899), 1-16. Reprinted in *FM II*, 85-114. See also *Pascendi*, n.37, ‘The Modernist as Historian’ & Tyrrell, *LO*, 5-19.

¹¹⁸ Rahner, K. (1975), *Encyclopedia of theology: a concise Sacramentum mundi*, 962. See also Michael D. Barnes has produced a critique of Rahner that is not without value for understanding Tyrrell’s particular pastoral hermeneutic, see ‘Demythologization in the Theology of Karl Rahner,’ Michael D. Barnes; *Theological Studies*, Vol. 55, (1994), ‘Karl Rahner’s theology includes a great deal of demythologizing. He gives two related reasons for this. One is apologetical, to remove unnecessary obstacles to faith on the part of those whose science-formed worldview inclines them to skepticism about miracles and angels and such. The second reason is that demythologizing is intrinsic to his theology. It is in particular the godness of God, the character of God as Absolute and Infinite Creative Mystery that impels Rahner to demythologize ideas about God and God’s activity. He does the same for that which is not God: all that is created, including what are called spiritual beings. An important aspect of this, as later sections will describe, is the place he gives to science in determining how to interpret religious beliefs about the created order.’ See also Tyrrell’s ‘Belief in God’s Fatherhood,’ *LO*, 106.

earlier and more childlike conceptions in some higher form consistent with truth. The Christian doctrine of Grace and Adoption would almost seem to be inspired and dictated by the spiritual needs of souls starved by the abstract and one-sided teachings of purely intellectual thought. Leaving intact the mysteriousness of the Divine Nature and Personality; nay, emphasising that mystery in the dogma of the Trinity, it bridges the gulf between finite and infinite, not by dragging God down to man's level but by raising man up to God's through the grace of adoption.¹¹⁹

Tyrrell's Christology started from below, at 'man's level' and raised humanity 'up to God through grace.' Tyrrell believed that knowledge of God involved complex internal and external structures, that divine knowledge cannot be grasped objectively either directly or indirectly from outside. Tyrrell anticipated the later position supported by Rahner, that 'all clear understanding is grounded in the darkness of God.'¹²⁰

Karl Rahner's theology exhibits pastoral congruence with the thought of Tyrrell's probability dimension. Their Jesuit formation and predilection towards the *Spiritual Exercises*, together with their pastorally motivated critique of neo-scholasticism, prompted concern for those who experience spiritual difficulty with the Neoscholastic propositions of Catholicism.¹²¹ Tyrrell argued that '...both atheism and naïve forms of theism labour under the same false notion of God, only the former denies it while the later believes that it can make sense of it.'¹²²

Tyrrell's mystical faith shaped his pastoral vocation. He believed human beings are forever destined to remain at an epistemic distance from the divine,

...if God is what religion teaches, if He is to man's soul what light is to his eyes, or air to his lungs; if he is the correlate and co-principle of this spiritual life, the medium in which the soul lives and moves and has her being. Is it conceivable that we should hold him merely by a slender thread of obscure reference?¹²³

The obscure reference developed in the *Exercises* of St Ignatius empowered Tyrrell to weave an experience God in ordinary life. Tyrrell is not rejecting the rational, intellectual or philosophical, he simply aims to highlight their deficiencies in construction and recommends a return to the form of words and concepts of Jesus as expounded in the scriptures.

¹¹⁹ Tyrrell, 'Belief in God's Fatherhood,' *LO*, 111. See Rahner, K. (1978), *Foundations of Christian Faith*, trans. William V. Dych, 17.

¹²⁰ Here, Rahner moves on to describe God in the same terms as Tyrrell: 'as the absolute and the incomprehensible,' and further, 'as mystery in its incomprehensibility (this) is what is self-evident in human life.' Rahner, K. (1978), 21.

¹²¹ Rahner, K. (1970/1997), *The Trinity*, trans. Joseph Donceel, 7,11,12,14. See Tyrrell's 'The Dark Glass of Mystery,' *LO*, 70.

¹²² See Tyrrell, 'The Superman, False and True,' *LC*, 68-72. See also Rahner, K. (1978), 63.

¹²³ See Tyrrell's 'Revelation as Experience,' Petre Papers, British Museum, MSS 52369.

In this sense Rahner also insisted that, ‘the ultimate measure cannot itself be measured.’¹²⁴ Tyrrell’s probability principle is an essentially timeless riposte to the sceptic (for example Dawkins and his ilk), and to those who claim religious certainty. Tyrrell believed,

a spirit of rationalism is repellent to those whose best disposition for faith lies precisely in the sense of the extreme feebleness of the human mind in presence of the problems of eternity.¹²⁵

Claims to religious certitude, which leaves no room for faith, compelled Wittgenstein to challenge this stance in his later work.¹²⁶ Tyrrell maintained that,

...without faith it is impossible to please God; for he that would draw near to God must believe that he exists – all our beliefs are but closer determinations of this simple creed touching the fact of God and the nature of God.¹²⁷

Tyrrell placed emphasis on will-union with God; although he considered faith in God to be much more than ethical conduct. He maintained that practical religion is not simply ethical rationalism.

In speaking of the purely, practical aim of religion, we seem to fall into the shallow heresy of ‘rationalism in religion’ which denies all mystery in revelation, and admits nothing as Divine truth – but this is to ignore the life of religion as distinct from the life of ethical conduct; it is to take religion as simply the servant of morality, to make the prophet simply the ally of the moral philosopher and the magistrate. The religionising of conduct is not religion, but only one of the principal fruits. We do not love in order to labour but labour in order to love. This love and sense of will union is the very substance and basis of our spiritual being.¹²⁸

Tyrrell believed our spiritual life is understood when we affirm that Christ lives and dwells in us. For Tyrrell, via Newman, conscience is an important example of human-divine contact. It is a stress on experiential knowledge that comes through the felt experience of the divine will upon the human will.

It is Faith then, Faith in conscience, in God, in the Right, that puts me in touch with reality, and delivers me from the sense of vacuity and ennui that mere understanding rather fosters than mitigates.¹²⁹

¹²⁴ Rahner, K. (1978), 63.

¹²⁵ Tyrrell, *OW*, 53.

¹²⁶ See Wittgenstein, L. (1950), *On Certainty*, (Eds.), G.E.M. Anscombe and G.H. von Wright, trans. Denis Paul and G.E. M. Anscombe, (1969).

¹²⁷ Tyrrell, ‘Faith, As A Necessity,’ *OW*, 46.

¹²⁸ Tyrrell, (1900), *RFL*, 48.

¹²⁹ Tyrrell, ‘The Doctrinal Authority of Conscience,’ *EFI*, 9.

Tyrrell's faith in Christ evolved into a dialogue with the spiritual and personal power within, which 'claims every moment absolute worship and obedience.'¹³⁰ For Tyrrell this concrete experience is self-evident as the most constant impulses of our nature with which it is in perpetual and sensible contact. Tyrrell declared, '...my imagination is quite cured of the outside God, for I feel that the inward spirit pervades and transcends the whole universe.'¹³¹

Yet if God gives himself to us in this life to be felt, tasted and touched rather than seen or pictured to the mind, it must not be forgotten that these forms of direct experience are in their way true knowledge. *Gustate et videte*, says the Psalmist: "Taste, and by tasting see" that God is sweet; as though he would say: it is not the mere idea of God's sweetness that will sweeten life's bitterness, but only the experimental proving of it.¹³²

Tyrrell recognised that truth becomes the object of faith. Although truth may appear to be static, our understanding of it is ever evolving.¹³³ The Spirit characterises and develops the implications of truth in so far as they can be formulated in human understanding. Tyrrell maintained that Christological truth revealed in the New Testament emanates equally from experience and the mind.¹³⁴ Rahner developed a similar position explaining that we come to Christ 'by knowing ourselves in relation to the mystery of our lives.'¹³⁵ For Tyrrell,

truth supplied by the mind is verified by experience, inference is corrected by knowledge. A detected illusion is not an illusion; furthermore, illusion is not in experience but an interpretation of illusion.¹³⁶

Rahner believed, 'we know God in our reflection on experience, not as some entity which we can "prove" independently of experience.' Following in the footsteps of Aquinas, Tyrrell and Rahner agree that this knowledge or experience of God is an *a posteriori* knowledge from the world, because it has to work with human concepts, despite their limitations. Our experience with others, Rahner says, enables us to know ourselves, whom we "see" as we reflect on our experience. So too we know the divine in reflecting on our experience of the world, we know God 'after the fact,' after reflecting upon our experience of meeting our limits, imagining what lies beyond.¹³⁷ Rahner and Tyrrell emphasise that we must accept the fact that when we think and when we exercise freedom, we are always dealing with more than is evident and always have to do with more than that which we are expressing in human words and

¹³⁰ Tyrrell believed, 'Unheeded, the unknown God cries out in the heart of man by the voice of conscience.' 'Christ In Us,' *OW*, 229.

¹³¹ See *A&L* Vol. II, 414.

¹³² Tyrrell, 'God In Us,' *OW*, 210.

¹³³ Von Hügel, 'Experience & Transcendence,' *Dublin Review*, CXXXVIII, (April 1906), 357. See also *LC*, 54; and Tyrrell, 'Religion And Truth,' *EFI*, 128-158.

¹³⁴ See Tyrrell (1914), *EFI*, 'Religion and Truth,' 128.

¹³⁵ See Rahner, K. (1978), *Foundations of Christian Faith*, 'Man in the Presence of Absolute Mystery,' 44-81, 51.

¹³⁶ Tyrrell, 'Religion And Truth,' *EFI*, 130-131.

¹³⁷ Rahner, K. (1978), *Foundations of Christian Faith*, 'Man in the Presence of Absolute Mystery,' 44-81, 51.

concepts. ‘See how God speaks to every soul, to every class in his own language, moulding the truth according to the governing categories and forms of the mind in question.’¹³⁸

However, in this respect Tyrrell does not share the kind of Christomonism for which Barthian and much post-Barthian theology has been familiar.¹³⁹ For Tyrrell every person exhibits or presents glimpses of that divine reality of which they are in some sense a part.

The perfection of manhood is the perfection of a spiritual being made to mirror of the Divine perfection... ‘He that hath seen Me hath seen the Father’. From the very nature and necessity of our thought we can only ‘realise’ and deal with a spirit like, but infinitely more perfect than, our own. We *know* that God is more than this; but for us that “more,” that surplus, is an outer darkness. Christ’s perfect humanity has revealed to us as much of the Father as we can ever imaginatively “realise” love, or deal with; He has translated the Divine life into human life. ‘The Word was made flesh and dwelt amongst us.’ We know by revelation (for Christ *is* that revelation). For all practical purposes of life and religion, our God is in human form, and that form is primarily the form of Christ; secondarily and dependently, that of his brethren of all ages and nations.¹⁴⁰

The Incarnation of Jesus, therefore, has universal significance because it affects all created reality and represents ‘the highest phenomenon of religious life,’ the personification of our religious instinct.

And thus too, religion is tested by the extent to which it develops our religious life, i.e. our correspondence to the Divine Will – the depth, extent, and intensity, of our union with God.¹⁴¹

Christ gives us the real clue to the meaning of the universe. He is finally the hermeneutical model by which God’s activity elsewhere is to be interpreted. In Christ ‘the hidden God, is to be sought studied, and loved – not in abstraction but in concrete actions... what moves us is the concrete deed... these are the real facts’ that bring us into relation with God.’¹⁴² Tyrrell insisted that,

The deeds and words of holy God-loving men and women are the food for our souls, in its organised form it is called the Church, and finds its head or unitive principle in the idea and perfect humanity of Christ. It is to this many-

¹³⁸ Tyrrell, ‘The Language of Revelation,’ *OW*, 74.

¹³⁹ See Rahner’s critique of Christomonism, *The Trinity*, (1970), 11-14, 7.

¹⁴⁰ Tyrrell, ‘God in Us,’ *OW*, 220.

¹⁴¹ Tyrrell, *RFL*, 22.

¹⁴² Tyrrell, *RFL*, 23.

membered Christ of all times and ages that we must go to school in order to perfect ourselves in Divine love.¹⁴³

Tyrrell argued that the experiential nature of medicine exemplifies a close parallel to religion, dealing with a general and permanent need of humanity. In its pre-scientific stage medicine was disordered in its diagnoses, probabilities and prescriptions — ‘a wilderness of fables and superstitions, as various as the vagaries of the human imagination.’¹⁴⁴ There is, at best, the unity of medicine’s idea; looking to that adjustment we call health.

It seeks the causes and cures of disease; it professes to proceed experimentally or empirically; it justifies itself by its fruitfulness. The progress of thought develops gradually separating the series of objective, and universally valid, from all the subjective, experiences. Furthermore, in the measure that their confusion prevails, man is to all intents and purposes mad; and it is this note of insanity that characterises medicine and religion in their early stages. Dreams and reality are mixed up; subjective connections are objectified.¹⁴⁵

Tyrrell argued that probability in religion is enough practically, without any attempt being made at systematic understanding or logical inference. This is not to say that understanding is not present in the believer, ‘only that it is untrained and unskilled in its quest for order, ‘as we see in the whole history of magic, tokens and taboos.’¹⁴⁶ Tyrrell attempted to outline a probability position paralleled to the evolving methodologies of medicine and science, one that could support a developing appreciation of the divine. Tyrrell believed that ‘it is from this ever-flowing stream of wild hypotheses and conjectures that useful and objective valid discoveries are selected.’¹⁴⁷ The modern or scientific mind could be drawn from ‘uncertainty’ into the realm of faith via the probability principle. He also utilised the principle to challenge those who maintained the opposite extreme, namely a form of acute rationalism that insisted upon religious ‘certainty.’ Tyrrell attempted to show that the principle of probability contained within itself an accommodating environment conducive to contemporary faith.

It is only by uncertain analogies that the life of a Nazarene carpenter of two thousand years ago, possessed of unthinkable supernatural prerogatives, with a mission of universal redeemer of humanity, can be positively applied as a pattern to the very unsupernatural man and woman of decadent civilization.¹⁴⁸

¹⁴³ Tyrrell, *RFL*, 23.

¹⁴⁴ Tyrrell, *CC*, 158-9.

¹⁴⁵ Tyrrell, *CC*, 158.

¹⁴⁶ Tyrrell, *CC*, 158.

¹⁴⁷ Tyrrell, *CC*, 159.

¹⁴⁸ Tyrrell, *NetV*, (1897), 376.

In *The Civilizing of Matafanus* Tyrrell made an exploratory quest to draw closer to Christ through vivid analogy.¹⁴⁹ Christ was presented as Revealer, as Alpuca, one who should endeavour to reveal the visible world of form and colour to a race void of the sense of sight and of all language derived from or appealing to that sense.¹⁵⁰ The allegorical Christology presented is linked by Tyrrell to the growth of the church and the development of doctrine. The inadequacy of language fails to contain the concepts which Alpuca's vision for civilisation wishes to impart. Alpuca was forced, therefore, to return, 'weary and disgusted to what seemed his fated folly, to this bootless task of flinging himself against the adamant rock of the impossible.'¹⁵¹ One thing alone offered some hope of saving a remnant of Alpuca's wrecked endeavours – namely to spend the rest of his time making a full record of his teaching. He could then bind together his friends in some more or less secret way, to provide for the perpetuity of that society.¹⁵²

Owing to the 'hopelessly rudimentary state of the symbolism and the graphic art of the Matafanus,' Tyrrell felt drawn towards the principle of probability.¹⁵³ But even granting the possibility of successfully 'transferring warm fleeting words to cold graven tablets,' there was the cumbersome labour of selecting and giving expression to such selected portions of the vast body of his experience, as would be absolutely necessary for the reconstruction of even the rudest outline of the original reality.¹⁵⁴

Tyrrell had no time for the rational apologetic of his day that relied on demonstrating the divinity of Jesus by means of miracles and fulfilled prophecy. Nicholas Sagovsky has shown clearly that Tyrrell's *The Civilizing of Matafanus* brings together in allegorical form almost all the major Christological issues of the day; and how, 'it turns on an unshakable belief in the vitality of a Christology of two natures. He links this brilliantly with the growth of the church and the development of doctrine.'¹⁵⁵ The developing understanding among the Matafanus after Alpuca's death was explored by Tyrrell. The loyal 'orthodoxy' failed to appreciate the inevitably symbolic nature of Alpuca's teaching and take it far too literally.¹⁵⁶ Tyrrell considered this a step backwards, leading to further distortion. The record of Alpuca's life was originally made in the language and symbols and modes of thought proper to the people of the Matafanus civilisation. However, the greatest fallacy in its interpretation was that of a sort of 'realism,' ascribing to the forms of language and thought representing reality, 'ascribing the qualities of the paint and canvas of the original portrait. As so often happens, the means were treated as an end, and the vessel made of equal account with the liquor.'¹⁵⁷

¹⁴⁹ *CC*, (1909), is Tyrrell's most important Christological statement, consolidating his own personal Ignatian quest to know Christ. See *The Civilizing of Matafanus* which is a fundamental exploration indicating his future direction, written no later than the first half of 1900.

¹⁵⁰ See Tyrrell, (1902), *OW*, 74-5.

¹⁵¹ Tyrrell, *CM*, (1902) 50.

¹⁵² Tyrrell, *CM*, 51.

¹⁵³ Tyrrell, *CM*, 51.

¹⁵⁴ Tyrrell, *CM*, 52.

¹⁵⁵ Sagovsky, (1983), 93-96.

¹⁵⁶ Tyrrell, *CM*, 55.

¹⁵⁷ *CM*, 51, 62.

In a thinly veiled attack upon Neoscholasticism, and in self-defence, Tyrrell considered the probability dimension, so important to faith, was eroded by the certainty of the orthodox distortion.

Partly through a reprehensible jealousy and narrowness and partly in obedience to the precepts of their founder, the orthodox stood out obstinately for their system as a whole; sticking blindly and stupidly to their literalism; unwilling ever to distinguish between what belonged to the substance and what merely to the vehicle of their teaching. Anathematising and persecuting the truth if it were not said by them, and in their own way, or were not the whole truth; they resisted every new affirmation or denial of advancing thought until it could be adjusted harmoniously with the entire scheme in which alone they believed. Nor did they ever abandon even the most ludicrously untenable position until they were absolutely driven from it by main force - whereupon they would shamelessly deny that they had ever seriously held it.¹⁵⁸

In portraying Alpuca as the incarnation of the civilisation, Tyrrell critiqued the meaning of orthodox Christology. He found it historically unsupportable, believing that Catholicism was under attack on two fronts:

1. Religious materialism of contemporary Catholic apologetic, which actually produced a form of monophysitism, because there was no way a Christ so obviously supernaturally empowered could be a real human.
2. The reductionism of the scriptural critics whom Tyrrell was avidly reading for their historical insight, but whose scientific rationalism precluded any Christology higher than some form of Arianism.

As the critical worldview expanded, the latter position for Tyrrell became untenable, because ultimately it would not be possible to hold the line on the resurrection and the divinity of Christ. Once religion had been supplanted by science, (*pace* early Wittgenstein), as though religion was the object of science, religious expression would be seen as little more than an expression of functioning morality, to inspire right living rather than leading to a loving relationship with God. Negotiating a *via media* between these two extremes represented a defining moment in Tyrrell's Christological endeavours. It led him into his final Christological principle, and supported his theological foundation upon which it was possible to construct a spirit inspired ecclesiology. He was drawn to the conclusions of radical historical scholarship, but found himself no longer able to express an acceptable liberal Catholicism. He endeavoured to guard religious statements from the vicissitudes of historical scholarship, while at the same time acknowledging their openness to verification.¹⁵⁹

¹⁵⁸ *CM*, 64-65.

¹⁵⁹ Tyrrell works through this dilemma in the appendix of *RFL*, (1902), and *LO*, (1903).

Tyrrell considered psychology and metaphysics to be imperfect ways for descending to the reality where the answer to the God-man problem lies hidden. He confided to von Hügel that,

We must be content with a plexus of mutually exclusive and yet mutually complementary similitudes and with the faith that their unthinkable synthesis exists some where... If we accept the scholastic dichotomy (soul+body = human person) it is almost impossible to escape Nestorianism or to show that in Christ there was not a human as well as a divine personality. If we accept trichotomy (body+soul+spirit or person = human person = me + I) than we can say that A Divine Spirit or Ego assumed a non-personal human nature (i.e. soul+body, which is related to the Divine Spirit becomes the *me* of that I). *Ignoramus et ignorabimus.*¹⁶⁰

Tyrrell believed once one confesses the probability that Jesus is God, you have ensured the dynamic faith of the Christian life. Insightfully, Sagovsky observed that, 'Tyrrell's heart was not in any logical approach to the hypostatic union. In a sense, he had not the patience.'¹⁶¹ Tyrrell maintained that 'error of intellectualism was partly due to the lust of domination in human minds and to the greater ease of being pre-eminent in the theory than in the practice of right living.'¹⁶² It was not that the language for Tyrrell was too full and big for the idea, but rather that the idea and reality so immeasurably transcend the language and poor symbolism through which it is hinted and glanced at.¹⁶³

The Mystical Body of Christ

Rahner's purpose, like Tyrrell's was to find words to express the experience of transcendence. God is disclosed, he taught, by those things that are based and grounded in God. The ground itself (i.e. God) cannot be incorporated into a system alongside what is grounded. The ground is known only by analogy.¹⁶⁴ Human beings represented the tension, says Rahner, between our categorical statements about God and the transcendent reality itself. Analogy is not a hybrid between the univocity of God and the equivocation of categorical statements. Analogy confirms the tension between a categorical starting point (e.g. a statement 'about' God) and the incomprehensible mystery who is God. Categorical language mediates divine meaning. Such language is a point of departure, for in it we glimpse what

¹⁶⁰ Letter to von Hügel, 23 April 1903, see also Sagovsky, (1983), 97.

¹⁶¹ Sagovsky, (1983), 97.

¹⁶² *CM*, 68.

¹⁶³ Tyrrell quotes Robert Browning, 'I say that as a babe, you feed awhile, becomes a boy and fit to feed himself, so minds at first must be spoon-fed with truth: (probability) when they can eat, babe's-nature is withdrawn.' See Robert Browning, a 'Death in the Desert.'

¹⁶⁴ For Rahner and Tyrrell the mystery of faith consisted in mystery itself. See Karl Rahner, The Concept of Mystery in Catholic Theology, *Theological Investigations IV* (1966), 36-73. Here Rahner echoed the experiential position Tyrrell developed. See also John O'Donnell, S.J. 'The Mystery Of Faith In The Theology of Karl Rahner,' *The Heythrop Journal*, Volume 25, Issue 3, (July 1984), 301–318. See Rahner, K. (1998), *Foundations of Christian Mystery*, Chapter Two, 'Man in the Presence of Absolute Mystery,' 51.

fundamentally lays beyond it.¹⁶⁵ Tyrrell attempted to use analogy in examining Christian beliefs in the Trinity and the Incarnation, in order to ‘strike a truth fair in the centre,’ and so affirm seemingly contrary and complementary expressions of inaccessible ideas. Tyrrell contended that, ‘this is My Body, is nearer the mark than metaphysics can ever hope to come.’ What, for example, he asked, ‘is the purpose of the Incarnation, but to reveal to us the Father, so far as the Divine goodness can be expressed in the terms of a human life?’¹⁶⁶ The Incarnation can ‘...bring home to our imagination and emotion those truths about God’s fatherhood and love which are so unreal to us in their philosophic or theological garb?’¹⁶⁷

Tyrrell conceded that the majority of biblical criticism supported the orthodox view that as the Gospels stand, they show us that the substance of Jesus’ teaching was partly ethical and partly eschatological. However, the liberal school assumed that the latter element was accidental, occasional, and negligible; that the former was principal and solely essential. In opposition to the extremes of the Liberal Protestant school Tyrrell parried, ‘His Gospel was of the other world and not of this, a Gospel of individual immortality — of hope in another life against despair of this life.’¹⁶⁸ In *Christianity at the Crossroads* Tyrrell presented a Christ whose inspiration and enthusiasm were entirely religious, mystical and transcendent. A Jesus of this nature was of course far more in sympathy with orthodoxy than with liberalism, but orthodoxy naturally suspected gifts from a perceived hostile hand. Tyrrell’s cultivation of devotion to Christ’s humanity, lead to his formulation of a Christology from below, but one that may ascend in order to accommodate the mysterious reality, a reality that he described as the ‘mystical Christ.’¹⁶⁹

Drawing upon the *Spiritual Exercises*, it is possible to glean an understanding of the Ignatian Christology reflected in the thought of Tyrrell, a Christology that starts from below and ascends.¹⁷⁰ Both Tyrrell and Rahner rejected the Platonic dualism which would separate reality into spiritual and material realms that could correspond to a divided self of soul and body.¹⁷¹ Evolutionary theory is evidently moving towards recognising a unity of matter and spirit, Rahner like Tyrrell conceived this as ‘a becoming higher.’ For Rahner this capacity entailed ‘self transcendence.’¹⁷² Thus he

¹⁶⁵ Rahner, *Foundations of Christian Mystery*, 52.

¹⁶⁶ See Tyrrell, ‘RFL,’ *The Month*, (Nov. 1899), 424.

¹⁶⁷ See Tyrrell, ‘RTD’ 422. ‘The saints have always prayed to God, conceived human-wise, albeit with the consciousness of the imperfection of even God’s own self-chosen mode of revelation, and it is this consciousness that has saved them from superstition and anthropomorphism.’

¹⁶⁸ CC, ‘The Christ of Catholicism,’ 59-75; Tyrrell, ER, 37.

¹⁶⁹ For the development of Tyrrell’s thought in this regard see CC, 178ff; also LC, 1-72. See also Tyrrell, ‘Christ: Faith And Sentiment,’ EFI, 59-63.

¹⁷⁰ Endean, P. (2001), *Karl Rahner and Ignatian Spirituality*, 188.

See Tyrrell, CC, ‘The Apocalyptic Vision Of Christ,’ 110-111.

¹⁷¹ See Tyrrell’s development of this position, RFL, (1902), 30ff. Here Tyrrell talks of a ‘will-union’ or an ‘incorporation with the many-membered mystical body of Christ.’ He believed we each share in its collective action and attitude towards God.

¹⁷² Hegel heavily influenced Rahner’s notion of evolution. Matter and Spirit, Rahner suggested, are intrinsically related. The world and its history are moving i.e. are in evolution, towards a unity of matter and spirit which Rahner (Hegel) conceives as a becoming higher, i.e. self-transcendence. This process he believes must have a ‘permanent beginning,’ ‘a concrete tangibility in history.’ According to Rahner the above presupposes a transcendental Christology, an understanding of relationship. This

introduced a transcendental Christology that interpreted the event and person of Christ in relation to the essential structure of the human person. Rahner appreciated how all human experiences are open to transcend any particular kind of experience.

Tyrrell's understanding of transcendence encompassed what he called a 'will-union with the divine,' or 'a brief flight above the finite.' The unity of matter and spirit reached its climax in the union of Word and flesh in Jesus Christ. Thus Tyrrell believed 'the ideal of the *'Spiritual Exercises* is, therefore found in the Eucharist, the sacrament of incorporation by which the relation created by baptism is developed, deepened and confirmed.'¹⁷³ Here the human soul is 'brought into harmony with the soul and will of Christ.' Every 'will-union,' Tyrrell believed, 'is an element of our spiritual substance and life, and deepens our connection and identification with the spirit world.'¹⁷⁴

Tyrrell, like Rahner emphasised the implications of self-transcendence, it is possible because the divine Presence is the principle of growth and spiritual development. There is therefore, a fundamental will-union or reciprocity between matter and spirit constituting human persons within the world. Rahner maintained that the whole historical process involving spirit and matter moves from lower to higher, from the simple to the complex, from unconsciousness to consciousness, and from consciousness to self-consciousness.¹⁷⁵

Tyrrell and Rahner understood that the Incarnation must be historical because it touches historical beings within the total and *actual* history of the world. Tyrrell asserted unequivocally that the concrete reality who is Christ is *ipso facto*, the final and fullest revelation of God. His transcendental Christology required an historical Jesus to allow God to communicate with the world in human history. For Tyrrell the neo-scholastic Christology attached such prominence to metaphysical speculation that it was severely wanting in the pastoral concern. Tyrrell discovered in the Gospels,

The doctrine of the Church is avowedly nothing more than an unfolding of the implications of the spirit of Christ, of the life of Jesus. That life necessarily implied certain conceptions of God and of man and of the relations one to another.¹⁷⁶

amounts to a mediation in human history between the transcendent and the concrete and contingently historical.

¹⁷³ Tyrrell, RFL, 31.

¹⁷⁴ Tyrrell, RFL, 36.

¹⁷⁵ It is from an evolutionary perspective, Rahner argued, that we must understand the place of Jesus Christ. The process of divine self-communication to the world and human free response to that self-communication of God. The whole of history is a movement towards the goal of history; Tyrrell described this as 'will union with the Divine.' Rahner as 'unity focused in the event of Jesus Christ.' The cosmic implications of Rahner's evolutionary Christology are developed in popular form by the Australian Catholic theologian Denis Edwards, (1991), *Jesus and the Cosmos*. See also Rahner, *Foundations of Christian Faith*, 174. For an example of Tyrrell's understanding of development see Tyrrell, 'Revelation,' TSC, 295.

¹⁷⁶ Tyrrell, 'The Spirit of Christ,' LC, 2.

A fundamental concern for Tyrrell was to retain what he considered a middle ground. He sought to hold in tension the transcendental and the historical.¹⁷⁷ Furthermore it was imperative for Tyrrell that theology must do justice to the realism of the Christian confession and the pastoral experience of the universal personal presence of God. Drawing upon Thomas à Kempis, Tyrrell agrees:

Let it therefore be our chief study, says à Kempis, to mediate upon the life of Jesus Christ. The teaching of Christ excels all the teachings of the saints, and had one His spirit one would find therein the Hidden Manna.¹⁷⁸

Faith: Congruence and Relevance

This work makes no great claim that Tyrrell articulated a pastoral panacea for replacing the perennial ‘God of Gaps.’ Nor does it assert that Tyrrell had a profound and lasting influence upon prominent contemporary theologians. However, it does claim that the movement he represented, in his own epoch, (See Chapters One, Two and Three), played a significant role in the on-going interrelationship between ecclesiology, science, popular culture and pastoral theology. This work further argues that Tyrrell should be acknowledged for earnestly seeking, in good faith, a pastoral *via media*, among three basic theological issues: orthodoxy, orthopraxis and the rise of passive and aggressive secularism. Evidently influenced by Blondel, Tyrrell consistently argued that Catholicism was a way of life and that discipleship was professed through pastoral (social) action. Tyrrell maintained that,

Finally, from the proved practical fruitfulness of belief, from its evident correspondence to the laws of the spiritual life; “always, and everywhere, in every one” just in the measure that it is realised and followed out in action, we infer its fundamental truth as representing analogously and in terms of (outward) appearances the world of invisible reality.¹⁷⁹

Tyrrell consistently taught that as disciples, we have to bring our own ‘power for seeing’ to the Gospels. It is precisely this faith in Christ, found through the Gospels that Tyrrell laboured to promote and protect his readers from the confusion associated with technological and material advance. Previous chapters have shown how significant a pastoral counsellor Tyrrell was in this regard. Even his most zealous critics testified that at the turn of the twentieth-century, Tyrrell was the most sought after spiritual director in Britain.¹⁸⁰ Tyrrell obviously anticipated and influenced a wide spectrum of twentieth-century theologians and theological movements. Evidence of the former is found throughout this work, evidence for the latter is fraught with difficulty, given the nature of the modernist suppression. Ecclesial theologians are not entirely free to espouse the teachings of Tyrrell. Contemporary Christological

¹⁷⁷ See Della A. Candelario, *The Heythrop Journal*, Vol. 50, (2009), ‘The Prophetic Expression of Revelation,’ 48.

¹⁷⁸ Tyrrell, ‘The Spirit of Christ,’ ‘The Method,’ *LC*, (1906), 42.

¹⁷⁹ Tyrrell, ‘Belief In God’s Fatherhood,’ *LC*, 113.

¹⁸⁰ See Chapter Two above.

concerns need to engage with modernism – although scholars such as Rahner generally referred to the ‘modernist’ as a collective unit.¹⁸¹

In *External Religion* (1906), Tyrrell outlined his pastoral methodology and assessed the role of the laity within religion. As we shall see, Tyrrell’s thought amounts to a clarion call to the faithful to come and support ‘the cause of Christ’ against those who oppose Him. In 1902 Tyrrell presented a powerful critique of the growing tide of secularism, one that is prophetic for our time,

...heresy and infidelity, tremendous intellectual forces, irreligious governments, the press, with its far-reaching power; literature that derives its supreme attraction from its unchristian or immoral teachings; art that is the worship of Satan; politics that would exile the Church from the world; social evils that has forced itself to be State recognised; schools from which God is banished; family circles where religion is never mentioned; society that would take offence at God’s name – in a word, against all the professed badness of the world, and against all the unconfessed indifference marshalled in hostile array.¹⁸²

Tyrrell’s pastoral response to this growing tide of secularism was an attempt to cultivate a spiritual awakening to the spirit of Christ in the faithful. There is a significant and evolving Christological perception in Tyrrell’s thought that can be understood in several senses. Most basically, where the phrase ‘mystical Christ’ appears, it is identified with the Holy Spirit’s action of begetting Christ in the heart of the believer, in the church and in the secular world. The mystical Christ is, therefore, the fruit of a spiritually organic process, at times, indistinguishable in Tyrrell’s thought from the third person of the Trinity. The ‘Mystic Christ’ is the ‘Spirit of Christ’ active within the universal church, collectively, and in the individual believer. The ‘mystic Christ’ can also be understood as an idea, a noetic phenomenon in Newman’s sense of a vital, germinating and developing reality. Tyrrell believed that this ‘process’ developed when Christ is fully conceived and formed in our minds, when ‘our heart is at once subdued to Him and we become ‘enthusiasts,’ people possessed by God, dominated by an *idea* which lives and speaks and loves back.’¹⁸³

In *Lex Credendi* and *Christianity at the Crossroads* Tyrrell’s idea of the ‘Mystic Christ’ evolved into the principle of ‘Christ as Spirit.’ Furthermore, Tyrrell argued that those who know the nature of the human mind, will see that there is no way to knowledge of the Father but by the Son – thus Tyrrell believed that we must conceive

¹⁸¹ For example see Della A. Candelario, ‘George Tyrrell and Karl Rahner: A Dialogue On Revelation,’ *The Heythrop Journal*, Vol.50, (Jan. 2009), 44-57; see also Michael Kirwin S.J. ‘It is extraordinary to recognise, one hundred years later, how many specific recent theological movements or projects Tyrrell anticipated.’ See Michael Kirwin S.J., ‘George Tyrrell and the responsibilities of theology,’ *The Month*, (Nov. 1999), 426-430. See also David Wells (1973), ‘George Tyrrell: Precursor of Process Theology,’ *Scottish Journal of Theology*, (Feb. 1973) 71-84, 77.

¹⁸² Tyrrell, *ER*, 143.

¹⁸³ Tyrrell to von Hügel, 19 April 1909.

God human-wise or not at all, that the object of our love must possess a human personality:

Christ in his humanity, is the Way, and no man cometh to the Father but by that Way, for no man hath seen God at any time, that he should have any adequate or proper conception of the Divine nature, or should see otherwise than through the darkened glass of analogies drawn from finite things; or in the enigmas of antimony and paradox.¹⁸⁴

In *Oil and Wine* (1902) Tyrrell stressed the organic unity of the human race, of the 'mystical body' and Christian doctrine in order to emphasise 'the somewhat organic nature of God's entire work.'¹⁸⁵ Therefore, 'the Only-Begotten, has shown us the Father in so far as the Father can possibly be shown to minds like ours or can be spoken of in human language, and therefore expressed in the most perfect human life.'¹⁸⁶

The concept of Spirit of Christ inspired Tyrrell's pastoral hermeneutic. He believed that the Spirit had been given to humanity for expiation of the sin of the guilty and for gracing the saints. The deeper one enters into and realises the truth of our corporate unity with the whole human race, the more one becomes like Christ who so realised the 'mystical body,' that He bore vicariously all the sin and sorrow of the world on behalf of humanity.¹⁸⁷ Tyrrell's purpose was to:

consider, not the teachings of Christianity, but Christ; not the implications of his life, but the life itself; in other words, to give more definitive meaning and content to the term "the Spirit of Christ."¹⁸⁸

Tyrrell believed that the 'conception of spirit' was responsible for the 'distinct and unique character' of Christianity. He advocated a practical hermeneutic by turning to Christ, whose life for Tyrrell exemplified an implicit *depositum fidei*. Thus Tyrrell's faith in Christ's divinity became the eventual keystone of his work.

In fine, we shall learn to love in Christ just what He wanted us to love; to feel about Him just what He wanted us to feel; to know about Him just what He wanted us to know. Our Christ will not be a Christ of our own, a maimed or divided Christ, a Christ "after the flesh;" but the true Christ, Christ "after the spirit."¹⁸⁹

¹⁸⁴ Tyrrell, *OW*, 'The Sacred Humanity,' 102.

¹⁸⁵ Tyrrell, *OW*, 'Faith in Christ,' 98.

¹⁸⁶ Tyrrell, *OW*, 'The Sacred Humanity,' 103.

¹⁸⁷ *OW*, 118. A developing theme of Tyrrell's Christology which directly lays the foundation for his ecclesiology. See also *CC*, 178; also *LC*, 1-72 and *CM*. See also 'Christ: Faith And Sentiment,' *EFI*, 59-63.

¹⁸⁸ Tyrrell, (1906), 'The Spirit of Christ,' *LC*, 3.

¹⁸⁹ Tyrrell, 'The Spirit of Christ,' *LC*, 42. See also Tyrrell, 'Our Apprehension of the Spiritual,' *OW*, 79-89. Tyrrell, 'Jesus or the Christ,' *The Hibbert Journal*, 'The Point At Issues,' (July 1909), 7-8. See also Lampe, (1977), 34-35.

‘The Spirit of Christ’ is the central proposition that links Tyrrell’s four Christological reflections to his prophetic pastoral hermeneutic. For Tyrrell the ‘Mystic Christ’ expands into a Spirit Christology which empowered his ecclesiology. It gives birth and rationale to his ‘Mysticism Contra Realpolitik’ (Chapter Six) and his Liberation Imperative (Chapter Seven). Tyrrell was convinced that:

The correction for mysticality, as for sentimentalism, is to be found in a return to the integral spirit of Jesus that still lives for us in the evangelical records, a spirit that satisfies all our needs and delivers us from false pieties that are fostered by its dismemberment. He who dissolves Christ is anti-Christ.¹⁹⁰

Personal Fidelity to Christ through the Sacrament of Eucharist

It was precisely through his personal relationship with Christ that Tyrrell asserted his right to know and speak of Christ revealed through both word and sacrament.¹⁹¹ Tyrrell explained the Christ-church inter-relationship as person-to-person and as corporal through solidarity with fellow believers, i.e. through the Catholic church. Healy has shown that it is through methods free from ecclesiastical control that Tyrrell, as a liberal Catholic, asserted his right to know Christ. Healy concluded his critique of Tyrrell’s Christology thus:

The weight of evidence seems to tell against the verdict of some of Tyrrell’s critics who claim that in the end he abandoned Catholic belief in Jesus’ divinity. Quite the contrary, for in his life and writings Tyrrell demonstrated how vital a reality the idea of Jesus was. The idea of Jesus made its way into the fibres of believing souls and knit them into the organic unity he called the ‘mystic Christ.’ So pervasive of human experience was the idea of Jesus that for Tyrrell it was an immediate, intuited, non-rational reality.¹⁹²

As we have seen it is through the Sacramental principle empowered by the ‘Mystic Christ’ that Tyrrell asserted his right to know the Spirit of Christ. The sacramental principle appeals to the corporate mind and is effective of corporate union whereby all members of the many-membered Christ, are in will-sympathy with him. Christ’s words, ‘No man comes to the Father but by me,’ may be referred to the visible church, of which Christ Incarnate is the Head and unitive principle, and who is the effective sacrament and symbol of the spiritual church.

¹⁹⁰ Tyrrell, ‘The Spirit of Christ,’ *LC*, 38.

¹⁹¹ Tyrrell to von Hügel, April 1903, BM, Add Mss 44, 928.9. Tyrrell explained to Petre, ‘it is not Caird’s conception – God revealed not merely in the Historic Christ of the critics but in the Christ in the developing Christian conscience... in the Catholic idea of Christ. This is also Bourdonism.’ (Tyrrell’s pseudonym for *The Church and the Future*). See also Tyrrell’s letter to Petre regarding the joint publication of the *Soul’s Orbit*, *A&L*, Vol. II, 83 and Loomer, 290.

¹⁹² See Healy, 48, 49, 57. See also further examples of Tyrrell’s critics: Herbert Thurston, ‘Old Unhappy Far-Off Things,’ *The Month*, 160 (July 1932), 80-82 and Joseph Crehan’s harsh polemic, *Father Thurston: A Memoir with a Bibliography of His Writings*, (1952), 48-72.

For Tyrrell the sacraments were the means of visible union with Christ, and through them the church shares out the riches of divine love bestowed on her corporately. The Eucharist is the sacrament *par excellence* where Tyrrell's four Christological principles come together. 'The probability principle' encompassed a critique of science and philosophy, like Pascal's Wager, the Eucharist is reasonable in that it entails a 'divine knowledge that cannot be grasped objectively either directly or indirectly from outside.'¹⁹³ Building upon Tyrrell's '*Lex Orandi* principle' the Eucharist encompasses an experience of the divine in ordinary life (God in all things – a shared meal). The reality of the Eucharist emphasises the primacy of the 'concrete experience over the abstract and cerebral, the spiritual and prayerful enduring over the dogmatic and creedal.'¹⁹⁴ 'The *Lex Orandi* principle' is the law of believing, the Christian faith is expressed in the experience of the Eucharist, again, the profundity of the Eucharist as expressed in Christian worship is beyond the empirical and linguistic immediate. The Eucharist is an expression of a real experience, the *Lex Orandi* principle is based on faith as opposed to intellectualism, and it is realism (sacrifice, thanksgiving, memorial, charity, community) rather than idealism. The Eucharist is reality rather than a symbol or formula of reality.¹⁹⁵ Tyrrell insists that the Eucharist allows the 'Christ that is outside us' to become 'Christ that is within us.' For Tyrrell, the truths of the Eucharist can be judged by the test of life and its fruitfulness. Thus the truth contained in an "idea" is tested in concrete history. Tyrrell believed that, 'truth is found when beliefs bring forth the fruit of holiness and charity.'¹⁹⁶

In the 'Sacramental principle' the Eucharist brings the believer into real contact with Christ. Central to Tyrrell's sacramental understanding is the ability of faith to express through the external and bodily the internal and spiritual.¹⁹⁷ Further the Eucharist's outward and visible aspect, its value in the world of sense (matter) and its value in the world of spirit, Tyrrell described as 'an eruption of the transcendental into the natural order, by a triumph of the spirit of God, a virtual transubstantiation takes place.'¹⁹⁸ Tyrrell maintained that the Eucharist is the sacrament of incorporation. As considered in the *Spiritual Exercises* the Eucharist remained for Tyrrell the expression and embodiment of that spiritual act of charity, by which God and the church, united with Christ, are bound together by a new bond: 'I in them and thou in me, that we may be perfect in one.'¹⁹⁹ In the 'Mystical Body of Christ principle' an experience of transcendence is enclosed within linguistic limitations. Analogy confirms the tension between a categorical stating point (for example a statement about God) and the incomprehensible mystery who is God.²⁰⁰ Such language Tyrrell insisted is a point of departure, for in it we glimpse what fundamentally lies beyond it.²⁰¹

In describing the spirit of Christ according to Sabatier's psychology and Blondel's philosophy of immanence, Tyrrell appeared to favour a Liberal Protestant stance.

¹⁹³ See further 200 above.

¹⁹⁴ See further 195 above.

¹⁹⁵ See further 197 above.

¹⁹⁶ See further 207 above.

¹⁹⁷ See further 207 above.

¹⁹⁸ Tyrrell, *CC*, 65.

¹⁹⁹ Tyrrell, *CC*, 147.

²⁰⁰ See further 210 above.

²⁰¹ Tyrrell argued, 'this is my body is nearer the mark than metaphysics can ever hope to come.'

Critics of Tyrrell's Christology claim that, in avoiding the dogmatic language of the *hypostasis* to characterize Jesus' relation with the divine spirit, Tyrrell was forced into the logic of his opponents who saw Jesus as 'divine' only in virtue of a moral bond with God.²⁰² Herbert Thurston, a one-time close friend and Jesuit colleague of Tyrrell said that Tyrrell's 'posthumously published essays show him to have abandoned at the last the Catholic belief in the divinity of Christ.'²⁰³ It remains a blessing that Tyrrell did not live to see this critique by a close friend, one who appeared to ignore, or not recognise the nature of Tyrrell's evolving Christology and subsequent ecclesiology.

Tyrrell's fear that he had sided too stalwartly with the Liberal Protestant position (Harnack *et al.*) is articulated in personal letters to friends. He felt that he had given too much ground to his opponents; consequently his critics built upon his anxiety. (e.g. Crehan, Thurston, Franon, Merry del Val, Pius X *et al.*). A critical exposition of *Christianity at the Crossroads* leaves one in no doubt that Tyrrell reconciled his Christology with his Catholic faith. Harnack considered Jesus to be a divine man — because he was full of the Spirit of God, Tyrrell argued this was nothing more than an ethical platitude — 'Religion equals Righteousness.' Tyrrell parodied the Liberal Protestant position, claiming that 'This pearl of great price fell into the dust heap of Catholicism, until Germany should rediscover it.'²⁰⁴ Tyrrell viewed Liberal Protestantism as being well intentioned if seriously misguided. Liberal Protestantism wanted to bring Jesus into the nineteenth century as the Incarnation of Divine Righteousness for the healthy progress of civilisation. Tyrrell unequivocally silenced his critics, by denouncing the Liberal Protestant position encapsulated in Harnack's *Wesen des Christentums* because 'with eyes preoccupied they could only find the German in the Jew; a moralist in a visionary; a professor in a prophet; the Nineteenth Century in the First; the natural in the supernatural.'²⁰⁵

Tyrrell rightly predicted the future direction of Liberal Protestantism to be a form of textualism, 'rather a system of religious ethics than a religion.'²⁰⁶ In the heat of his polemical writing, Tyrrell put so much energy into explaining his rejection of Liberal Protestant Christology that it becomes difficult at times to grasp the kernel of what he actually believed with regard to the Christ of Catholicism. However *Christianity at the Crossroads* clarified his *credo*. He considered Liberal Protestantism to be a purely ethical form of Christianity, for which the Kingdom of Heaven is an ideal term for the moral evolution of humanity on earth. For Tyrrell morality alone will not channel people to become incorporated into the 'Mystic Christ.'

Tyrrell's Christological Homecoming

In *Christianity at the Crossroads* Tyrrell presented his critics with his mature Christology. He considered Jesus to be 'the Divine indwelling and saving Spirit,' which 'seems to me the very essence of Christianity.'²⁰⁷ Tyrrell's faith in Christ never

²⁰² See Healy, 57.

²⁰³ Tyrrell, *CC*, 147.

²⁰⁴ Tyrrell, *CC*, 147.

²⁰⁵ Tyrrell, *CC*, 48-49.

²⁰⁶ *CC*, 171. Regarding nihilist textualism, see Hyman, G. (2001), *The Predicament of Post-modern Theology*.

²⁰⁷ *CC*, 171.

meant merely faith in a teacher and his doctrine, but included an apprehension of Christ's personality revealing itself within us and in the church. In Jesus 'we find two natures — that of the earthly Son of David and that of the heavenly Son of Man — mysteriously united in one personality.'²⁰⁸ Tyrrell stressed the metaphysical sense that Jesus claimed to be the 'Son of Man' — 'Jesus was conscious of differing, not only in degree but in kind from even the greatest of prophets.'²⁰⁹

In an attempt to silence his critics in this regard, it is important to emphasise that Tyrrell believed that Liberal Protestantism's vindictive stifling of transcendentalism, had simultaneously stifled the Jesus of history. He further maintained that Catholicism contained the orthodox understanding of Jesus, although he experienced problems with regard to the theological form of this teaching. From a pastoral perspective, Tyrrell maintained, 'the difficulty remains the assent of the modern mind.' The danger for Catholicism, Tyrrell warned, is following Liberal Protestantism, which has gradually forsaken transcendent doctrine, or interpreted it as symbolic of ethical doctrine. 'Righteousness has introduced a new religion under the old form,' Tyrrell insisted,

The religious idea of Liberal Protestantism is not especially Christian; it is not the 'idea' of Jesus. The chasm that Liberal Protestantism finds between Jesus and the earliest Catholicism is of its own creation; the work of prepossession.²¹⁰

Building again upon the thought of Newman with regard to the development of doctrine, Tyrrell supported Loisy's work on historical development. Newman argued that the idea, like an organic reality, functioned as a seminal force giving rise to various conceptual and institutional forms. Newman's freedom of the 'idea,' that led to Tyrrell's fourth Christological principle, remained an important tenet of Tyrrell's Catholicism, and has perhaps found less contemporary support than his Christology. Tyrrell, *contra* Harnack, asserted that the idea, which propelled Jesus in his mission, concerned a transcendent and immanent kingdom. With regard to his person of Jesus, the 'idea' concerned his own 'Christhood' and destiny as the heavenly Son of Man. For Tyrrell, Catholicism preserved the idea of a transcendent kingdom, which meant that Catholicism has been true, not merely to the religious 'idea' of Jesus, but to its very form. As Tyrrell claimed, 'it is idle to pretend that His influence has been purely ethical... He has satisfied not only the moral but the mystical.'²¹¹

Tyrrell believed that it was, 'His sense of being,' that gave Jesus the authority over people and that his apocalyptic idea entered into and formed his personality. Tyrrell suggested that this is also true of Christianity. If Christianity had been merely moral and not transcendental it would have been purged of all its value. It followed for Tyrrell that if one accepts Jesus' moral pre-eminence then one cannot reject his religious ideas, indeed, the moral and religious ideas of Jesus fuse together to form

²⁰⁸ CC, 69.

²⁰⁹ CC, 70.

²¹⁰ CC, 74.

²¹¹ CC, 80-81.

Christianity. In turn then Christianity allows people to adjust themselves to the invisible world that lies beyond range of sense experience.

Tyrrell believed that religion has to do with the other world, but he also emphasised the ethical nature of religion. Duty towards our neighbour was seen as the highest form of worship. Tyrrell counselled the modern mind that the transcendent is not absolutely unknowable – but humankind will never be able to experience a fraction of the totality of possible experience that lies beyond. Tyrrell illustrated his position clearly by contrasting human knowledge of God to a mouse's knowledge of a man:

A man is not absolutely unknowable for a mouse, but the mouse's knowledge of him can only be in terms of a mouse-life. Man's highest God will be man writ large. By no process of abstraction or magnification or subtraction can the human be purged out of the concepts of God, or of anything else above or below us.²¹²

Tyrrell contended that it is the same with God; human beings are blind in the face of God and therefore we feel our way — we attempt to follow the route map of experience. The religious 'idea' embodied in Jesus exercised the most potent religious mystical experience that the world has yet known. Thus for Tyrrell, truth is the same in the first-century and the twenty-first, if it yields the same control over experience. Through the *Spirit of Christ* principle, Tyrrell taught that we find continuity between the Jesus of the Gospels and the Christ of Catholicism. However, he warned against an excessive transcendentalism on the one hand, and the Christ of Liberal Protestantism on the other, and thus sought to recover the Jesus of history.

'The Spirit of Christ' and the 'Blessed Trinity'

In Tyrrell's *Christianity at the Crossroads*, the 'Spirit of Christ' is seen exclusively as the divine Spirit itself, active within the believer and the community. For Tyrrell, this principle evolved alongside his attempt to present a doctrine of Trinity that is grounded in scripture but retained a practical application for the lived life of faith.

The doctrine of three persons in one God was first revealed in substance by Christ and developed by the faithful under the guidance of the Spirit of Christ. It is a conception of the Divinity...it is the creation of love and life; it was felt and lived before it was expressed in terms of understanding... a mystery it will ever remain, a datum of faith and revelation, a practical truth of the inner life, an exigency of Christian love, but not a necessity of philosophical thought.²¹³

²¹² CC, 80, 73.

²¹³ See Tyrrell, 'Blessed Trinity,' LO, 100.

The significance of the Spirit in Tyrrell's Christology cannot be over-stated.²¹⁴ It becomes synonymous with his understanding of Jesus' mission and the Jesus-religion. The Easter stories pass from the greetings of the disciples by the risen Jesus to their reception from him of the Holy Spirit to empower them to continue his own mission. John's resurrection narrative moves beyond the Easter event: through the Spirit, Christ lives today. 'The way in which the believer dwells in Christ and lives with him is through the indwelling of the Spirit.'²¹⁵

The Spirit, like Jesus, is sent or proceeds from the Father; Tyrrell speaks of God's disclosure experienced as Spirit, that is, in the Spirit's personal outreach. G. W. H. Lampe argued persuasively that 'Spirit' properly refers not to God's essence but rather to his activity.²¹⁶ Tyrrell realised and articulated in *Christianity at the Crossroads* the sense in which Jesus is alive today, through the indwelling presence of God as Spirit found in the believing community.²¹⁷ Tyrrell was in no doubt that when we speak of the 'Spirit' we are referring to the mystery of God himself – to the third person of the Trinity. The term 'Spirit' does not denote an intermediary being or 'angel' or a message from God, Tyrrell used 'Spirit' language in order to speak of the experience of God's dwelling within.²¹⁸

Yet, in speaking faith-language, we are saying something about God himself and not just something about, for instance, humanity's attitude to God. Speaking about God's acting in history therefore has an experiential basis – one that only faith can interpret within the world and history. Religious language draws its material from our experience of contingency, as 'disclosure,' in which a deeper perspective is revealed.²¹⁹

²¹⁴ Examples of contemporary scholars who advocate Spirit Christology include: del Colle, R. (1994), *Christ and the Spirit*. As an alternative Christological model spirit Christology can be proposed as a substitute for traditional Logos-Christology; but for the most part with only slight exception, Catholic theologians have envisaged spirit Christology as a complement to Logos-Christology, hoping to enhance the older model with a much needed pneumatological element. See also the Christologies of Piet Schoonenberg and Frans Jozef van Beeck, 'After Chalcedon: The Revisionary Christology of Schoonenberg,' a Christology constructed upon God's relationship with the world. See Beeck, J. (1995), *God Encountered: A Contemporary Catholic Systematic Theology*. See also 'Speaking in the Spirit: The Rhetorical Christology of van Beeck.' Beeck begins with an approach that is evident in the writings of Tyrrell, i.e. a non-cognitive moment – namely a response to Jesus Christ that precedes reflective Christology, a personal non-cognitive response to Jesus. Van Beeck maintains 'a personal response to Christ is the setting of all cognitive Christological statements,' (221). Tyrrell's *Lex Orandi* dimension supports this view that 'all Christological statements, while having clear cognitive function are embedded in the act — an act of worship and witness — of surrender to Jesus Christ.' (222) See also Tyrrell's 'RTD,' *The Month* (Nov. 1899).

²¹⁵ Lampe, G.W.H. (1976), *God As Spirit*, 'Jesus is the way, the truth and the life, but this life and truth are communicated to believers, not by a personal encounter with Jesus but by the spirit of truth who dwells with you and is in you.' 9, 12. See also Luke 24:13-32. Also John 20:13; John 20: 19-23; John 20: 24-9; John 14:17. See also Tyrrell, CC, 126, 130, 140 and insightful explorations of the term 'spirit,' (*ruach, pneuma* and *spiritus*) in Lampe 35ff and O'Collins, G. (1995), *Christology: A Biblical, Historical and Systematic Study of Jesus*, 146.

²¹⁶ Lampe, G.W.H. ((1976), *God As Spirit*, 'Jesus Is Alive Today,' 11.

²¹⁷ Tyrrell, CC, 174.

²¹⁸ Tyrrell, CC, 173.

²¹⁹ Tyrrell, CC, 173.

From this perspective Tyrrell developed an insightful approach to Christology, one that was grounded on the biblical exegesis of Loisy, inspired by Newman's essay on the development of doctrine and influenced by Blondel's philosophy of religion. In particular, Tyrrell aimed to reconcile the conflict between natural science, ethics and metaphysics, by bringing together speculative and practical reason.²²⁰ Tyrrell was then in a position to acknowledge Kant's *critique of pure reason*, and utilise Aquinas to form a prophetic understanding of Christology. Tyrrell criticised the ancient and inadequate Scholastic formulas, reinterpreting them radically in line with a post-Enlightenment, 'Modernist' Christian anthropology. Tyrrell argued,

No philosophy... could equal the truth implied in Christ's reverence and Mystic awe.

Reverence and love in Him were fed by no inferences of the mind or pictures of the imagination, but were begotten by direct spiritual contact with the divine; in Him vision, feeling and will blended together, independent without priority and succession.²²¹

Tyrrell argued that no relation of closeness that falls short of 'personal identity between the God-Christ and the man-Christ can lend the same emotional and practical value to the life at Nazareth and the death at Calvary.' Consequently, anyone who, 'though still far from any revelation explicitly formulated in words, accepts his existence in patient silence (or, better, in faith, hope and love) and accepts it as a mystery which lies hidden in the mystery of eternal love, is saying 'yes' to Christ even if he does not know it.'²²²

In *Lex Credendi* Tyrrell explained what he considered the Spirit to be, or rather 'we cannot know what the Spirit is; we can only know it by its effects,' the test of life.²²³ Tyrrell would not become involved in metaphysical discussion; his Christological methodology entailed reflection upon the experience of life and the impact of this reflection upon Christian tradition. Tyrrell drew upon Jesus' experience, together with the experience of his followers, and the experience of God in the community. He speaks of the Spirit as 'primarily a sense, feeling or sentiment, or instinct.'²²⁴ He believed this is expressed in every aspect of human life, ethical, intellectual and aesthetic. Tyrrell was concerned with the conformity of the whole person to Christ,

²²⁰ Tyrrell attempted to forge a path between both scholastic rationalism and empiricism (Kant's 'Copernican' turn in philosophy). Tyrrell would have agreed with Kant's assertion in the *Critique of Reason* that although all our knowledge begins with experience, it does not follow that it all arises out of experience. If Kant's critique of reason introduced a radical limitation of what could be known, Kant insisted that there was a realm that lay beyond cognition. Thus Kant declared, 'I have therefore found it necessary to deny knowledge in order to make room for faith.' Building upon his four Christological principles it seems clear that Tyrrell believed the very experience of religion, for example the *Lex Orandi* principle was foundational to belief.

²²¹ Tyrrell *LC*, 'The Prayer of Christ,' 106.

²²² See Tyrrell, *LO*, 152.

²²³ *LO*, 12.

²²⁴ *LC*, 106-7.

and takes the *Lord's Prayer* as a paradigm for the human response to God.²²⁵ The central tenet of Tyrrell's Christology was the primacy of the 'responsive will,' for the hypostatic union exists within the 'cloud of unknowing.' Tyrrell stressed Christ's moral and spiritual relation to the Father and not the metaphysical relation of the personal union, which is its mysterious, inscrutable root.

Tyrrell's Christological position thus emerged from *Christianity at the Crossroads*: he never denied the central truth of the Incarnation; rather, he attempted to express it in accordance with the 'truth' of religious experience. He did not deny the divinity of Christ, or the Atonement, or the Real Presence, partly because they symbolise real religious experience.²²⁶ He attempted to present a Christ of Catholicism that challenged what he called the 'Old Orthodoxy' of scholastic and Ultramontane theology:

According to the orthodox theory, as defended by Bossuet, as assumed by the Councils and the Fathers, the doctrines and essential institutions of the Catholic church have been always and identically the same. The whole dogmatic, sacramental and hierarchic system, as it now stands, was delivered in detail by Christ to His Apostles and by them to their successors. He proclaimed the very substance in all detail of the doctrines of Trent and the Vatican. He instituted the papacy, the episcopate, the seven sacraments. The Immaculate Conception of Mary was familiar, if not to the Patriarchs, as Pius X has taught us in one of his encyclical, at least to the Apostles and the earliest Christians.²²⁷

This Christ is an artificially constructed Christ and certainly not the Christ of ordinary Christian feeling, life and experience. 'He is not the God to which, as to its centre and Rest, the finite spirit is drawn with a profound sense of dependence and awe mingled with trust and confidence.'²²⁸ In Tyrrell's final article he unreservedly committed himself to the Nicene formula, which he considered to be 'a climax in the exaltation of Jesus. Any formula that excludes the Nicene is another doctrine, and not a more developed re-statement.'²²⁹

Long before Vatican II and the development of contemporary theology, Tyrrell challenged the ultramontane view that the whole dogmatic, hierarchic and sacramental system as it now stands was delivered in detail by Christ to his Apostles and by them to their successors. Reminiscent of discussions which took place during Vatican II, Tyrrell believed that the Catholic Christian idea contains within itself, the power continually to renew its categories, and to shape its embodiment to its growth. A transformation or revolution would be within the orderly process of its life – merely a step forward to a fuller and better self-consciousness from a confused and instinctive self-consciousness.²³⁰ Tyrrell maintained that the value of all symbol and

²²⁵ See further, 'The Prayer of Christ,' *LC*, 107.

²²⁶ See Tyrrell to Houtin, 13 December 1907.

²²⁷ See Tyrrell, *CC*, 'The Old Orthodoxy,' 32.

²²⁸ See Tyrrell's Review of R.J. Campbell, 'The New Theology,' *Hibbert Journal* 5, (1907), 920.

²²⁹ Tyrrell, 'Jesus or the Christ,' *The Hibbert Journal* (July 1909), 5-16.

²³⁰ *CC*, 21-22.

hypotheses is the extent to which they anticipate and control the order of experiences, on which they are founded. Hence for Tyrrell, all our ‘theology of the Incarnation deals, not with transcendent realities, but with the visions or revelations in which they are symbolised.’²³¹ Every success in so doing deepens the foundation of and strengthens our faith. For those with faith, ‘Jesus has become, the effectual symbol or sacrament of the transcendent, through which they can apprehend the inapprehensible - the Eternal Spirit in human form.’²³²

However, as we have seen in the previous chapters, for Tyrrell, there was no final accepted formula. He attempted to articulate a statement of the problem rather than a solution. Ultimately he simply left the metaphysical problem open and forbade further useless discussion. It is Christ that distinguishes Christianity from the following of a teacher or a prophet, Tyrrell insisted that

The difficult is not Catholicism, but Christ and Christianity. So far as other Christian bodies are true to Christ, they are faced by the same problem as are modernists. If they escape them, it is because, in defiance of history, they have shaped Christ to their own image, and see in him no more than the Moslem sees in Mohammed.²³³

Tyrrell argued that the exegesis of three centuries of Protestant controversy diverted theology from its normal course, giving it a polemical character that ‘interfered with the noble work of perfecting the synthesis of faith and reason.’²³⁴ Tyrrell believed modern theologians must take up the unfinished work of the Fathers, moving on from the ‘polemical centuries,’ adopting the ‘spirit and method of Aquinas,’ to ‘clear away the mist’ and ‘bridge the gap’ between church and modernity.²³⁵ Stoically Tyrrell advised,

Religion, however, will profit and learn by failure. Fragments of the ruin will be built into some new construction raised on the old site – just as the ethics of Jesus have been built into the structure of Liberal Protestantism.²³⁶

Tyrrell portrayed Christ, as God’s own pastoral bridge-builder uniting the divine and the human, in the same way he saw himself, and people like him, to be bridge-builders between the Church and the modern age.

Men, who know and sympathize with both sides, who have at once a comprehensive grasp of the “ideas” of Catholicism and are possessed with its spirit, and who are no less in touch with the spirit of their own country and age, its strength and its weakness; who can understand and speak both languages, and recognising unity of thought under diversity of expression, can

²³¹ *CC*, 126.

²³² *CC*, 126.

²³³ *CC*, 22.

²³⁴ *CC*, 22.

²³⁵ *CC*, 56.

²³⁶ *CC*, 22.

translate from one into the other, interpreting the age to the Church and the Church to the age.²³⁷

The Principle of Christ as Spirit

Tyrrell's final Christological dimension represented his most significant contribution to Catholic theology, the 'Principle of Christ as Spirit.'²³⁸ It incorporated the previous three dimensions and represents the culmination of Tyrrell's Christological journey. In the process it prepared the foundation for his subsequent mystical theology and Spirit ecclesiology. Indeed, recognition of the Spirit continually being active within the whole *ecclesia* completes and unites Tyrrell's Christological paradigm. Again, Tyrrell's theology mirrored his life. In life as in theology his Christological-resting place was the final principle. He arrived at this position only months before his premature death, rejecting the Christ of Liberal Protestantism because it failed to conform to the 'idea' that Jesus had of his own person and mission.²³⁹

In replacing the Protestant position with what he called 'the Christ of Catholicism,' Tyrrell made a significant contribution to Catholic Christology because he incorporated important aspects of Modernist philosophy into the formulation of a 'Spirit Christology.' Tyrrell's Christology does not rest on metaphysics, but rather, upon a pastoral hermeneutic that engages with the experience of the faithful who are drawn to 'that strange man on his cross who drives one back again and again.'²⁴⁰

Lampe drew close to Tyrrell's Christological methodology when he says, 'we are speaking of God disclosed and experienced as Spirit: that is, in his personal outreach.'²⁴¹ Yves Congar concluded his influential work on the Spirit in a similar way. He argued that, like ecclesiology and theology as a whole, pneumatology can only develop fully on the basis of what is experienced and realised in the life of the church. In this sphere, theory is to a great extent dependent upon praxis. Tyrrell believed that, through the mystical body animated by the Spirit, we are brought into immediate contact with the ever-present Christ. Congar referred to the desire of John XXIII and Paul VI for a new Pentecost. 'The Christology and the ecclesiology of the Second Vatican Council should be followed by a new study and a new cult of the Holy Spirit, as an indispensable complement of the Conciliar teaching.'²⁴² For Tyrrell, Christ lives on in the church, most fully in the Eucharistic community (the sacrament

²³⁷ Tyrrell, *OW*, 37.

²³⁸ See Tyrrell, 'The Spirit Of Christ,' *LC*, 1-81.

²³⁹ Tyrrell, 'The Christ of Liberal Protestantism,' *CC*, 46-50.

²⁴⁰ Tyrrell to von Hügel, 14 February 1900 and Daly, G. (1980), *Transcendence and Immanence*, 153. Tyrrell has a certain affinity to the thought of St Ambrose, who like Tyrrell considered philosophical treatises to be a distraction from more important things. 'What is the significance of trying to contain the heavens or the seas within numbers?' See Ambrose, *De officiis*, 1.5.

²⁴¹ Lampe 11.

²⁴² Congar, Y. (1983), *I Believe in the Holy Spirit*, 172. General audience on 6 June 1973: See Doc. Cath., 1635 (1 July 1973), 601. In the Apostolic Exhortation *Marialis cultus* (22 March 1974), there is also, after a pneumatological discussion of the mystery of Mary (26), an invitation to 'think more deeply about the activity of the Spirit in the history of salvation' (27). See also Kasper, on Vatican II, Kasper, W. (1984), *The God of Jesus Christ*, 198, 176.

par-excellence) but also, we hear Christ in the Gospel, we touch and handle him in the sacraments, and he lives on in the whole Church, not metaphorically but actually.

Ralph Del Colle encapsulates the contemporary post-Conciliar Spirit Christology movement. He laments the ‘perceived neglect in the history of Western theology of the person and work of the Spirit.’ Unfortunately, he also neglects to acknowledge the pioneering Spirit Christology of George Tyrrell.²⁴³ Tyrrell stated clearly, as if he were reading from *Lumen Gentium*, ‘the Church is not merely a society or school, but a mystery and sacrament; like the humanity of Christ of which it is an extension.’²⁴⁴ Tyrrell became convinced that it was the mission of Jesus to ‘fill us with the Spirit and not to teach us metaphysics or science or history or ethics or economics. This idea of Jesus as the Divine indwelling and saving Spirit seems to me the very essence of Christianity.’²⁴⁵

Walter Kasper argues from a contemporary perspective that the ‘loss of the Spirit is perhaps the most profound crisis of the present Time.’²⁴⁶ Unlike the Father and the Son, the Spirit is faceless, as it were; Aquinas acknowledged the linguistic problem in speaking of the Holy Spirit.²⁴⁷ The Holy Spirit is often described as ‘the unknown God,’ von Balthasar called him the ‘Unknown One beyond the Word.’²⁴⁸ Tyrrell believed the Holy Spirit expresses the mystery of God, whose depths human beings will never fathom. Tyrrell believed that one should not simply be an obedient imitator of Christ, but rather, Christ should be born in us, like a ‘fire spreading from soul to soul... we can catch the ‘concrete’ living Spirit from the broken letters and words.’²⁴⁹

Conclusion — A Prolegomenon to a Pastoral Christology

In following the decade-long journey of Tyrrell’s Christology, from the conservative Neo-scholastic professor at Stonyhurst, to the development of his four Christological dimensions via Newman and a liberal protestant critique, to a Spirit Christology, one begins to understand the turmoil in Tyrrell’s life and in his theology, especially it seems in his attempt to conflate Christology and Pneumatology. Tyrrell came to demand that the ‘orthodox’ concede ‘that life was the end of knowledge,’ and that the whole theory of civilization was important, only for the sake of its eventual realization in individuals and in society. However, towards the conclusion of *The Civilizing of Matafanus*, Tyrrell highlighted the importance of the orthodox position, which he considered responsible for ‘the faithful exposition of the record, in sticking to the

²⁴³ See del Colle, R. (1994), *Christ and the Spirit*. I am not suggesting that Tyrrell developed anything like a systematic approach to Spirit Christology (Lampe, del Colle *et al.*), however he did pioneer a Catholic form of Spirit Christology, in the sense of ‘who Christ is,’ and what Christ has done, and in ‘what sense is Christ active’ within the Church today. The latter question is significant with regard to Tyrrell’s ecclesiology. See Tyrrell, *LC*, (1906), ‘The Spirit of Christ,’ 1-82.

²⁴⁴ *CC*, 178 and ‘the light of Christ which shines out visibly from the Church. Since the Church in Christ, is the nature of the Sacrament, that is of communion with God,’ *Lumen Gentium*, n.1.

²⁴⁵ Tyrrell, *CC*, 176.

²⁴⁶ See Kasper, W. (1984), *The God of Christ*, 198.

²⁴⁷ Thomas Aquinas, *ST I*, 37,1.

²⁴⁸ Urs von Balthasar, H. (1967), ‘Der Ubekannte jenseits des Wortes,’ *Spiritus Creator*, 95-105.

²⁴⁹ *CC*, 172.

whole of the legacy of Alpuca — shell and kernel, sound and sense — they were infallibly right.’²⁵⁰

Tyrrell challenged what he conceived to be the ‘usual’ controversial and polemical method of teaching that he considered altogether unsuited for Catholicism. He attempted to present a clear manifestation of the Catholic religion in its ethical and intellectual beauty, not as a religion *per-se*, but eminently *the* religion of humanity, as the complement of human nature, ‘the desire of all nations,’ and pastorally as the one given answer to the problem of life.²⁵¹

Tyrrell was determined to defend the faith that he loved and lived, but he was being torn mentally and physically in opposing directions. He would begin a project with the intention of defending the Catholic position (Christology), from what he considered to be the Protestant attack from a variety of schools of thought. In the process he found himself accepting certain tenets of the historical-critical approach. Subsequently, and within the context of defending the Catholic faith for authentic pastoral reasons, in such a way as to be tolerable to the modern mind, his conflict with the Roman authorities led him into a polemical attack on particular aspects of doctrine. Thus he lamented:

Yet, in this again, she is only blindly faithful to the past. The distinction she ignores is one that has slowly been forced upon us by our growing knowledge of the laws of the human mind. Its recognition in earlier centuries would have been miraculous. To refuse any longer to recognise it is to imperil the Christian religion; and this perhaps is the main contention of the Catholic Modernist.²⁵²

In terms of the Christian tradition, the modern mind is not normative, particularly with regard to relativist assertions and materialistic perceptions. However, from the perspective of pastoral hermeneutics, the ‘modern’ remains and will forever require a sound theological matrix of evangelising endeavours. The four principles outlined above allow access to Tyrrell’s Christological journey. They demonstrate the vitality of the ‘Jesus idea’ in Tyrrell’s evolving pastoral hermeneutic. He recognised that the ‘Spirit’ paradigm made its way into the very fibres of believing souls, and entwined them into an organic unity he called the ‘mystic Christ.’ Tyrrell’s Christology demonstrated an immediate experiential process, an intuited non-rational reality, one in which the role of the Spirit is axiomatic. It is through the Spirit that God remains active in the world, the Spirit allows the first-century Christ to inspire and communicate with twenty-first century humanity.

Unfortunately, Tyrrell did not succeed in achieving a developed Pneumatology, although he insisted the role of the church to do this would be crucial in a concrete

²⁵⁰ *CM*, 66.

²⁵¹ *CC*, 104.

²⁵² *CC*, 143.

sense because it would enhance the historical framework in which modern persons interpret their experience of God. Thus Tyrrell believed,

The doctrine of the Church is avowedly nothing more than an unfolding of the implications of the life of Jesus. That life necessarily implied certain conceptions of God and of man and of their relations one to another.²⁵³

Tyrrell's challenge to 'artificial' theology (*Theologism*) is an endeavour that continues today with various Catholic theologians from Küng to Lash. The North American Systematic theologian, Dan Hardy, made an interesting observation with regard to the British practice of using philosophy to refine and rearticulate Christian faith and its position in civilisation. Philosophy of religion, he argued, employs philosophy for the critique of religious phenomena, and philosophical theology uses philosophy as instrumental for clarification and reconception of substantial issues in Christian faith.²⁵⁴ Tyrrell engaged in the second form of philosophy to communicate his pastoral hermeneutic. Thus he argued that human experience and practice lead to experience and knowledge of the mystery of God and to how God may be recognised in ordinary events.²⁵⁵

One of the primary contributions of Tyrrell's four Christological dimensions for today was his belief that Christological issues will not be resolved by academic theologians promoting systems or rhetoric, but rather by minorities of professed Catholics, practising what Tyrrell referred to as *the test of life*. He believed that

It is through self, through man, through the world of freedom and will, that we get to know God as a personality, as a possible object of personal love and affection. It is in the goodness of the human that the goodness of the Divine Will is revealed to us. Even as the night of the hidden sun might be revealed to us in the reflected brilliancy of the moon or planets.²⁵⁶

²⁵³ 'The Spirit of Christ,' *LC*, 2 and 'The Church and the Means of Grace,' *LO*, 27.

²⁵⁴ Hardy, D. 'Theology Through Philosophy,' in Ford, D. (2000), *The Modern Theologians*, 252-286. Michael Buckley argues that modern atheism grows out of a theology's surrendering of its task of reflecting on God to philosophy, particularly that of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. See Buckley, M. S.J. (1981), *At the Origin of Modern Atheism* and Tyrrell, 'The Christ of Liberal Protestantism,' *CC*, VII.

²⁵⁵ Tyrrell, G. (1912), 'The Return To Self,' *EFI*, 203. And Karl Rahner, 'Experience of the Spirit and Existential Commitment,' *Theological Investigations XVI*, 'Experience of the Spirit: Sources of Theology,' trans. David Morland.

²⁵⁶ Tyrrell, *RFL*, 22. Tyrrell is echoing a traditional argument found in St. Paul's quote re philosophers and many other examples, such as St. Ambrose: '*Non in dialectica complacuit deo saluum facere populum sum.*' Ambrose *De officiis* 1.5. Tyrrell is also pre-empting the popular base communities of Latin America, who drew strength from a pastoral hermeneutic that placed Jesus at the centre of their struggle against poverty and oppression.

Thus Tyrrell's first dimension maintained that the 'Principle of Probability' is the guide to life rather than certitude.²⁵⁷ He looked for proof of God in humanity's religious nature, believing that:

It is in them (our neighbour) that He, the Hidden God, is to be sought, studied, and loved – not in abstractions like Truth and Righteousness, but in concrete actions and will attitudes, in whatsoever things are true, honest, just, pure, lovely, and of good report. This is the proper field of contemplative search. We are not moved to love by the colourless abstractions and thought frames, into which such living realities are forced for scientific purposes – by such divine attributes as Wisdom, Justice, Truth, and the like. What moves us is this or that concrete deed, which reveals the present attitude of the living will that gave birth to it — this unique and never to be repeated act of mercy, or of courage, or of self-sacrifice, or of truth and fidelity.²⁵⁸

For Tyrrell, real facts and events in the world bring us into relationship with God. It is apt to reiterate that his second dimension, the 'Principle of *Lex Orandi*, built upon God's relationship with humanity. Tyrrell argued that the truths of religion must be directed to life as their end. *The Lex Orandi, Lex Credendi* principle dictates for Tyrrell that the Christian Creed should be viewed primarily as a Law of Prayer or of practical devotion, and only secondarily as a theology.

Obviously then it is by conduct, but primarily, by prayer in its widest sense, that this union of the Divine Will is fostered and the soul established and strengthened by the sense of its solidarity with the entire will-world as systematised through Him, who is its indwelling source and end.²⁵⁹

The truths of the creed in relation to God have a representative and practical value, even though the affirmations of the supernatural world can only be of an analogical nature. Tyrrell maintained that:

The attitude of the Supreme Will is not known to us directly, but only through its manifestations in every sort of human goodness, it is by attuning ourselves to this world of finite goodness that we come into harmonious unity with God.²⁶⁰

Again, attention is drawn to Tyrrell's third dimension, the 'Sacramental,' that incorporated both the internal and external aspects of faith. Tyrrell stressed the

²⁵⁷ See Tyrrell's critique of 'Rationalism in Religion,' *FM II*, 85-114.

²⁵⁸ See Tyrrell, *RFL*, 22 and Rahner, K. (1978), 'The Foundation of Belief Today,' *Theological Investigations XVI*, 'The Catholic mind always included respect for human intelligence, for reflection and for intellectual reasoning and argument.' See Rahner, K. (1993), *Foundations of Christian Faith*, trans. William V Dych, 285.

²⁵⁹ Tyrrell, *LO*, 19.

²⁶⁰ Tyrrell, *RFL*, 22.

necessity to create harmony and balance between the external (experience) and the internal and spiritual. For Tyrrell this principle pervaded every aspect of the Christian religion, every sacrament and rite has its outward and its inward side, *its value in the world of sense and its value in the world of spirit*. Tyrrell respected intellectual rigor but he also highlighted the necessity of faith, mystery and religious experience. For Tyrrell religion was a divinely formed channel through which the mind and heart of God flowed to the human mind and heart. He wrote:

For the things of religion are after all the great concerns of life; and what will it profit us to have been wise and prudent in the choice and use of the means, if we are ignorant or mistaken in regard to the end; what avails the swiftest running, if we are pursuing the rainbow?²⁶¹

The means for Tyrrell was living the life of faith in charity, (*Caritas Dei*),²⁶² the church's greatest theologians and philosophers are the 'swiftest runners pursuing the rainbow,' and yet

the ultimate truths, 'we can never get all round them or grasp them comfortably, but at most can touch them with the tip of our finger.'²⁶³

It is important, not least for Tyrrell's pastoral ecclesiology, to realise that he was at the forefront of a movement intent upon the resurgence of the Holy Spirit in the church's theology and spirituality. Sanctioned at Vatican II, contemporary Pneumatology continues to excite interest.²⁶⁴ Tyrrell believed that the essence of Christianity is the indwelling of the Spirit in *all* members of the church. In this sense Spirit Christology is a pastoral Christology of inspiration and renewal. Thus Tyrrell constructed a dynamic foundation upon which to build an inclusive, pastorally orientated ecclesiology.²⁶⁵

John Paul II taught that the church could not prepare for the new millennium in any other way than in the Holy Spirit. In the second year of his Jubilee celebration, John Paul II invited the church to rededicate itself to the Holy Spirit. Tyrrell remained convinced to the end of his days that: 'it is the Spirit of Christ that has again and again saved the church from the hands of her worldly oppressors within and without; for where the Spirit is, there is liberty.'²⁶⁶ 'It is the Spirit of Christ, which itself is the

²⁶¹ Tyrrell, *ER*, 149.

²⁶² Tyrrell, '*Caritas Dei*,' *LC*, 43.

²⁶³ Tyrrell, 'Interior Faith,' *ER*, 150.

²⁶⁴ Marzheuser, R, 'The Holy Spirit and the Church: A Truly Catholic Communio.' *New Theology Review: An American Catholic Journal for Ministry*, (Aug.1998). Marzheuser, the former Academic Dean of Mount St Mary's seminary, Ohio, argues, Pope John Paul II believed the true significance of the Holy Spirit will be uncovered in the new Millennium, inspired by Vatican II, including 'renewal of the liturgy, the empowering of the laity, Episcopal collegiality, a more spiritual understanding of holiness, biblical study, ecumenism, etc., can all be traced to giving a rightful place to the Holy Spirit in the life of the Church.' 60.

²⁶⁵ See Tyrrell, 'The Spirit of Christ,' 1-82; 'The Meaning of the Spirit,' 15 and 'Christ According to the Spirit,' 21. *LC*.

²⁶⁶ *CC*, 182.

criterion of sound teaching.²⁶⁷ And again, ‘The doctrine of the church is avowedly nothing more than an unfolding of the implications of the Spirit of Christ, the life of Jesus, to these conceptions the spirit of Christianity owes its distinct and unique character.’²⁶⁸

Following his conversion, Tyrrell maintained throughout the remainder of his life, that the Catholic religion and that of Jesus are identical. Current reflection may serve to nuance Tyrrell’s Christological conceptions. His most significant contribution to contemporary Christology amounts to a quasi-liberation from pseudo-intellectualism. He maintained,

A refined spiritual and altogether philosophical conception of the Deity will as often leave the heart dead and cold as a stone. Indeed Christ seems to imply that, as a rule, the love of God varies inversely with the power of conceiving Him intellectually: “Thou hast hid these things from the wise and prudent and hast revealed them to babes.”²⁶⁹

To know Christ, Tyrrell turned to the New Testament; to the philosopher seeking truth, (*pace* Erasmus) he advised, that if you want to know the truth, live it:

Eternal life is not a theory. Christ is not merely a truth to be believed, but a way to be trodden, a life to be lived. We get to know Christ as fellow travellers, fellow-workers, fellow-soldiers, get to know one another, - by mingling their lives together.²⁷⁰

Finally, Tyrrell’s writings on Christ portray an intimate relationship with the Triune God. Controversially for his time, he attempted to present the Jesus of poverty, simplicity and above all, of spiritual liberation.²⁷¹ He believed further that ‘the rule of prayer is the rule of belief, prayer being taken widely for the life of charity, of Divine love.’²⁷² Tyrrell challenged the prevailing Catholic Christology of his day. He argued, ‘it left men with the deistic idea of a unipersonal God reigning in solitude and cold isolation from eternity to eternity.’ In contrast, ‘it is to the correction of this idea that the Christian doctrine of the Trinity comes as a relief. God is Love — *Deus est Caritas* — and love is a relation between persons.’²⁷³

In effect Tyrrell challenged ‘the authority of witness’ to the poor Jesus within the hierarchical church. The four Christological expressions outlined above, represent Tyrrell’s attempt to formulate a pastoral Christology that could guide a troubled soul to acknowledge Christ. They also reflect an honest, but unfortunately for Tyrrell, a very public pilgrimage, that was seen to question a theological orthodoxy of

²⁶⁷ *LC*, 2.

²⁶⁸ *LC*, 2.

²⁶⁹ Tyrrell, ‘God in Us,’ *OW*, (1902), 204.

²⁷⁰ Tyrrell, ‘Faith And Action,’ *OW*, 65.

²⁷¹ See Chapter Seven, ‘Liberation Imperative.’

²⁷² Tyrrell, (1902), ‘Belief in the Blessed Trinity,’ *LO*, 59.

²⁷³ Tyrrell, ‘Belief in the Blessed Trinity,’ *LO*, 104.

conservatism emerging after Vatican I. *The faith of the millions* may often be tested, many Catholics make such a similar spiritual journey, but rarely does a Jesuit play this out in the *Times* of London, in the midst of ecclesiastical turmoil threatening early twentieth-century Church.

Tyrrell's Christology demonstrated how the person of Christ is to be distinguished from Christianity. For Tyrrell it is Christ, not the institutional church who remains the *Lumen Gentium*. At the heart of Tyrrell's developing Christology was an insistent Pneumatology. The deeper Tyrrell's own intimacy became with the Spirit, the less he 'feared the freedom and fearlessness of mind, which was Christ's strongest characteristic.' Tyrrell's Ignatian formation prepared the soil for his Spirit ecclesiology to expand the static ecclesiology of his day. Tyrrell keenly appreciated the role of the Spirit as Paraclete, the one sent to the church by the risen Christ to 'correct and reinterpret' ecclesiology.²⁷⁴ He maintained that divine 'revelation was no *summa theologica*;' it was the gift of the Spirit of love who would evoke new mystical and political implications for the future.²⁷⁵

Tyrrell's writings flowed from his pastoral work, in an Ignatian sense, discovering the presence of Christ in ordinary life. Sadly, as Tyrrell's pastoral work ceased, so did the spiritual writings — here lies part of the tragedy that is the life of George Tyrrell, as many of his close friends regretted and von Hügel wisely wrote:

But of this I am sure...you are a mystic; you never found, you will never find, either Church, or Christ, or simply God, or even the vaguest spiritual presence and conviction, except in deep recollection, purification, quietness, intuition, love. Lose these and you lose God. Regain these, helping others, any soul alive, depends upon you keeping or regaining those convictions. Hence these dispositions; not all the wit, vehemence, subtlety, criticism, learning that you can muster (and how great they are!) will ever, without those, be other than ruinous to others as well as to yourself.²⁷⁶

Von Hügel testified to Tyrrell's pastorally inspired sojourn to sail a treacherous route through the *Scylla* and *Charybdis* of ecclesial politics and mysticism. As the storm clouds gathered, at times Tyrrell did languish upon the rocks. Against his critics who accused him of anti-intellectualism, Tyrrell argued that 'intellectualism' also has its counter-fallacy in 'sentimentalism,' that religion is such a matter of the heart and affections that dogmatic beliefs are there to support Christian faith. Tyrrell maintained that religion is an affair of the whole person. Conceptual formulations of the mysteries of faith are essential to a social-political and communicable religion. Christianity without dogma is almost impossible as Christianity without mysteries.

²⁷⁴ CC, 171-172.

²⁷⁵ Tyrrell's developing organic / natural theology via a Christology of liberation to a Holy Spirit inspired ecclesiology mirrors the contemporary organic model which can be seen in the liberation movement of the past forty years. For example, see Comblin, J. (1989), *The Holy Spirit and Liberation*; Lakeland, P. (2004), *The Liberation of the Laity*; Boff, L. (1978), *Jesus Christ the Liberator*.

²⁷⁶ Von Hügel to Tyrrell, 7 December 1908. See also Loisy, A. *L'Evangile et L'Eglise*, (1902), trans. with a preface by Tyrrell, *The Gospel and the Church*, 2nd edition, 1909.

The challenge remains, and it is one that Tyrrell continually struggled with: How do people of faith hold in creative tension an appreciation of the mystical realities of Catholicism and the temporal social-political realities of ecclesial life. Relating to God in this sense, as ‘the God of Love,’ awoke in Tyrrell dormant socialistic and democratic sympathies. He could not see the necessity of ‘mitres of gold on bishops of wood.’ He became convinced that the church had failed, chiefly and primarily, through the neglect of evangelical poverty, and the love of acquisition and display on the part of prelates. He argued, ‘I cannot stomach the notion of a papal court, any more than a court of Christ... it does not in any way dignify, but in every way vulgarises, the office of priest, bishop or pope in my eyes, to see expression in tinsel.’²⁷⁷

²⁷⁷ *CC*, 213-214.

Chapter Six

Mysticism Contra Realpolitik

Expediency must be the supreme rule of government. It is the way of the world. One is sometimes tempted to think it is God's way too.

(George Tyrrell, letter to Colley, Jan 24th 1901)

The Scylla & Charybdis of Being Church

Tyrrell's life and work may be characterised as a bold attempt to avoid the dangers of *Scylla* of Ultramontanism and *Charybdis* of liberalism of early twentieth century Catholicism. Perhaps a more politically astute soul would not have ignored the impending ultramontane clouds building into a storm upon the ecclesial horizon. Indeed a nineteenth-century Jesuitical consciousness may have deferred embarking upon such a perilous voyage. As we have seen, Tyrrell's pastoral endeavours encompassed not merely 'Militant Dogmatism' and 'Mediating Liberalism,' but also, 'uncompromising transcendence' and 'omnivorous immanentism.' The *lex orandi* axiom, while not being Tyrrell's ecclesial panacea, did determine that he should engage with what he considered to be the apparent dichotomy between the 'Spirit of Christ' inspired *sensus fidelium* and the magisterial oligarchy ensconced within the 'court' of Rome.

In the light of Tyrrell's tentative and evolving Christology, this chapter will explore the contextual legitimacy of Tyrrell's ecclesiology against the backdrop of Vatican I and five subsequent hierarchical announcements.¹ This endeavour will augment an historical appreciation of the context in which Tyrrell laboured. It will also probe further the apparent dichotomy between Tyrrell's ecclesial polemic and pastoral hermeneutic. Together they represent Tyrrell's attempts to bridge the void between ecclesial theology and the contemporary scientific milieu. Chapter Seven will focus upon the significance of Tyrrell's theological quest for liberation and the role of the ecclesial theologian. The final chapter will assess the unique character of Tyrrell's pastoral hermeneutic and judge the value of its practical application as an *aide mémoire* for contemporary Catholicism.

Notwithstanding Tyrrell's personal background and temperament, that favoured a religious philosophy subject to the concrete practicalities, it was inevitable that conflict would arise, between what Tyrrell considered to be ecclesial expediency, in contrast to his appreciation of Ignatian spirituality. In effect, Tyrrell gained from Newman a respectable, non scholastic way to express theologically what he had learned from the *Spiritual Exercises*, namely, the priority of the will over the intellect as a means to 'will-union' with the divine mystery.² Rational justification of this position was to prove difficult. Although Tyrrell considered that the Spirit guided 'Mind of

¹ See *The Joint Pastoral* of 15 English Bishops (1900); *Lamentabili Sane* (July 1907); *Pascendi* (Sept. 1907); Cardinal Mercier's *Lenten Pastoral* (Lent 1908); and following Tyrrell's death, *The Oath Against Modernism* (Sept. 1910). It is surprising that the *Oath* was necessary following the relative 'success' of *Pascendi*.

² See also Merry del Val's letters to Amigo, Southwark Diocese Achieves, 'The Tyrrell File.' See also Fleming D. S.J., (1989), *The Spiritual Exercises of Saint Ignatius*, 'The Text of St Ignatius, Week 1, The Foundation: Fact and Practice,' 23-24.

the Church,' as its most crucial validation, in reality, with von Hügel, he believed the *lex orandi* axiom was sufficiently justified itself.

Expediency Violates Witness

The controversy surrounding Tyrrell erupted not over his theology, so much as over his pastoral hermeneutics. Judging from the 'Loisy affair,' it is highly probable, that the Roman Curia led by Cardinal Merry del Val would have welcomed the opportunity to place Tyrrell's books on the *Index* and sanction his immediate official excommunication.³ Tyrrell came to believe that Vatican I had adopted a paradigm of political expediency, which was in danger of becoming an obstacle to faith, hindering 'will-union with the Divine.' Within his *lex orandi* context, Tyrrell set out his pastoral hermeneutic by which doctrine should be judged. Arguably, Tyrrell's negative critique of Vatican I documents, subsequent to Vatican I, was consistent with his *lex orandi* principle, given the context of on-going ecclesial development.⁴ It remains the case that Tyrrell's pastoral endeavours, so highly praised by the Baron *et al*, have been neglected on account of his later ecclesial agitations. He is, then, more the victim than the 'English' perpetrator of Modernism. Tyrrell maintained that there are times when one must put one's head above the parapet, in order to give witness to one's conscience. History testifies that Lord Acton, Döllinger and Bishop Strossmayer felt a similar compulsion.⁵ Tyrrell's ecclesiology is undoubtedly based upon a pastorally inspired critique of Vatican expediency. It represented an attempt to articulate a Spirit ecclesiology encompassing the *consensus fidelium* and engendering the liberation of theology and the laity. Tyrrell acknowledged that the *consensus fidelium* represents the hope of the Church in the future,

It is the collective mind of the Church, not in the separate mind of the Pontiff, that the truth is elaborated... as one must read scripture if one would profess to interpret it, so the Pope cannot be conceived to speak *ex cathedra* except when he professedly investigates the ecumenical

³ David Schultenover, 'Devout Disciple of Newman,' 31. Also of significance in this context is Blondel's (1893) *L'Action* which inspired Tyrrell's *LO* and *RFL* (1902).

⁴ See The *lex orandi* test: 'revelation is the test of all philosophy, the Church needs to continually apply and enforce the original *lex orandi*.' Theology, also, 'had often to be brought to the *lex orandi* test,' i.e. 'it has to be reminded that its hypotheses, theories and explanations have to square with the facts – the facts here being the Christian religion as lived by its consistent professors.' 'Theology, in so far as it formulates and justifies devotion, it is true to the life of faith, but when it begins to contradict the facts of the spiritual life, it loses its reality and its authority; and needs itself to be corrected by the *lex orandi*.' 'RTD,' 425. In this particular instance, we discover a discrepancy in Tyrrell's *lex orandi* position. If the historical accounts are right, with regard to the popular devotion ('consistent professors') of Pius IX, admittedly owing to the political/religious turmoil of the time and the ultramontane campaign, under his own criteria *Pastor Aeternus* would be considered a 'fruitful teaching.' It is also important to distinguish, because Tyrrell does not, between exact references to *Pastor Aeternus*, in contrast to the popular (ultramontane) perceptions. It seems clear that Tyrrell's critique is directed towards the latter, which is undoubtedly more influential than the former. Perversely, it also appeared to suit both sides of the ecclesial divide, to over-emphasise the authority of the pope, in regard to state and religious political aspirations. Tyrrell believed he was 'fanning the flames' of 'authority on the rampage.'

⁵ See Campion, E. (1975), *Lord Acton And The First Vatican Council: A Journal*; Sivrić, I. (1975), *Bishop J.G. Strossmayer: New Light On Vatican I*; Döllinger, I. (1891), *Declarations And Letter on the Vatican Decrees* (1869-1887). In a contemporary context, with regard to 'frontier endeavours' one may include: Rahner, Schillebeeckx, Küng, Congar, Curran, the majority of liberation theologians (black, feminist, South American, *et al*), Balasuriya, Carr, Teilhard de Chardin, de Lubac, Courtney Murray, Tracy *et al*. Together with Newman, Tyrrell would insist upon adding Aquinas to any historical recollection. Through their combined efforts, the unofficial Magisterium, often in juxtaposition with the official Magisterium, both guided by the Spirit, defend the faith deposit; thus, usually through oscillation and tension, we collectively move towards the eschaton.

mind. This investigation is not the cause, but it is the *conditio sine qua non* of an infallible decision whose validity depends upon its objective.⁶

Vatican One & Infallibility

Tyrrell believed that political expediency laid the foundation for Vatican I, and instigated the subsequent hierarchical skirmishes with modernist theologians. The fall-out from this conflict is woven into the polemical ecclesiology that became George Tyrrell's life. He considered that the cramping of originality by 'officialism' and 'centralised hierarchy' was traceable to Vatican I's conception of authority.⁷ In 1870, as today, the church found itself in the midst of a rapidly changing world. Because of the loss of the Papal States, the Magisterium (*Ecclesia Docens*), under severe strain, lost political influence throughout Europe.⁸

Pope Pius IX rightly believed the Church faced a 'grave crisis.' He believed the answer was to call the First Vatican Council.⁹ In the context of Tyrrell's tentative pastoral hermeneutic this act of political expediency is significant.¹⁰ It precipitated Rome's unreflective response to the Modernist crisis and damaged Tyrrell's theological bequest. Bishop Strossmayer and a significant minority of bishops at Vatican I also opposed the dogmatisation of papal infallibility.¹¹ Lord Acton played a leadership role among the opposing bishops, and shared Tyrrell's quest for curial accountability

⁶ Tyrrell, 'S.T.L. letters,' *A&L*, Vol. II, 158. See also Tyrrell to Bishop Herford, 14 April 1907,' *GTL*, 113. See also Tyrrell's 'The Mind of the Church,' *The Month*, (July 1900), 125-142 and 'Mind of the Church II,' *The Month*, (Aug. 1900), 233-240 and Tyrrell, 'Consensus Fidelium,' *New York Review*, (Aug.-Sept. 1905).

⁷ See Tyrrell *A&L*, Vol. II, 190, 348 *GTL*, 54. The following support the view that Vatican I was predominantly a political event: Lease G. (2000), 'Vatican Foreign Policy and the Origin of Modernism' 31-56, in Jodock J. (Ed.) *Catholicism Contending with Modernity*; Misner P. (2000) 'Catholic Anti-Modernism: the Ecclesial Setting,' 56-88 in Jodock. Lash, N. (1997), Review of: O'Connell M. (1994), *Critics on Trial: Introduction to the Catholic Modernist Crisis*, *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, Vol. 48, 391-393; Daly, G. (1994) *Medievalism* 7; Leonard E. (2000), 'English Catholicism and Modernism' 248 in Jodock. This fact remains of considerable importance for this thesis because Tyrrell's critique of authority (the abuse of authority) is built upon a rejection of the Vatican I model in favour of the paradigm elaborated at Vatican II (which is particularly evidenced in the subsequent drafts of *Lumen Gentium*). The political expediency established at Vatican I, later to be rectified by Vatican II, became the inspiration of subsequent magisterial and hierarchical pronouncements. Tyrrell's objection to this radical politically inspired oscillation resulted in his apparent excommunication. In this sense, Vatican II returned the pendulum to the centre in the process vindicating Tyrrell's critique of Vatican I and casting an ominous shadow of doubt over his political excommunication. (If/when the pendulum returns to the centre ground (orthodoxy) the damage inflicted upon theologians 'working on the edge', like Tyrrell *et al*, should be rectified in line with Christians notions of charity and justice.)

The Joint-Pastoral of the English Catholic Hierarchy, 29 December 1900. The document divides the Church into two orders – teachers and taught. The *Ecclesia Docens* needs no help from outside; 'her governing rule and law is the rule and law that brought her into existence, viz. the authority of God.' The *Ecclesia Discens* is made up of the laity, the priests, and of bishops in their private capacity – all these are 'simply disciples.' *A&L*, Vol. II, 150.

⁸ See Vidler, A. (1988), *The Church In An Age Of Revolution*, 181.

⁹ The Council consisted of 737 delegates dominated by Europeans, including European bishops from missionary lands, who were summoned to Rome in an attempt to secure a dogmatic definition of papal primacy, papal infallibility, and restore the Church to its former influential position within European and world affairs. The first Vatican Council was predominantly a political event (1869-1870) regarding the Papal State's final attempt to hold on to power, in the face of the growing movement towards democracy across Europe. The French Revolution had a dramatic impact upon Roman authority and influence. It brought about the end of the feudal, hierarchical society that has been so much a part of medieval Catholicism, and challenged not just its organisational structure but local priests and bishops. The clergy was forced to turn to Rome and the papacy for direction. Thus a rigid traditionalism developed in France (Integralism) dependent upon papal direction (Ultramontanism). The papacy under Gregory XVI (d.1846) and Pius IX (d. 1878) opposed all forms of "modernism;" the latter's *Syllabus of Errors* (1864), proclaimed that the 'Pope cannot and should not be reconciled and come to terms with liberalism and modern civilisation.'

¹⁰ See fn. 7 above.

¹¹ See Sivrić, I. (1975), *Bishop J.G. Strossmayer: New Light on Vatican I*. (Bishop Strossmayer 1815-1905, the outstanding Bishop of Djakovo, Croatia).

and liberty of conscience.¹² Consistently Tyrrell advocated clerical humility and austerity. He strongly favoured the fusion of the Italian States and opposed Papal attempts to hold on to temporal power. Tyrrell declared,

Rome's true evil is that she had inverted her destiny; being made to serve mankind, she was asking mankind to serve her... she had lived for herself and not for her people; now it was time for her to die for them.¹³

Throughout the Council Strossmayer persistently accused it of 'depriving the bishops of freedom,' which should be accorded them on account of their divine rights. Strossmayer (with the support of 90 bishops) complained bitterly, 'there is neither freedom nor truth nor honesty in this Council.'¹⁴ Repeating this sentiment thirty years later, Tyrrell declared in his infamous *Times of London* article (1 November 1907), 'nothing could be done until Rome removed the Pope from the Cross and replaced him with Christ.' When '*De Infallibilitate Papae*' was introduced, Bishop Strossmayer wrote:

Today someone is making himself a God, and we have to attach our signatures to it. I cannot bear the disgrace, and I cannot subscribe to the detriment toward which the Church is heading. May God be with me and the rest of us.¹⁵

The majority of European bishops 'bombarde'd' the Vatican with petitions that papal power should be dogmatised, but Strossmayer, like Tyrrell, questioned the central intent of Vatican I. Strossmayer argued that 'bishops would become chaplains of the Pope,' and that Vatican I was 'deprived of the essential characteristics of an ecumenical council such as freedom of speech and of the due respect for the apostolic rights of the episcopate.'¹⁶ Strossmayer lamented that 'papal

¹² Acton's study, 'The Vatican Council,' is almost totally neglected by Catholic historians and theologians. In all probability the reason for this was the fact that Acton was a layman. See Sivrić, 19. Acton was also a very close friend of Strossmayer, he wrote to Döllinger, 'it appears Strossmayer (no doubt, like Tyrrell) was not afraid of a head-on confrontation with the entire Council,' Sivrić, 36. The Bishop of Birmingham (Ullathorne) recorded, Strossmayer fought valiantly for the decentralization and internationalisation of the central government of the Catholic Church.' Sivrić, 22. Pius IX characteristically described Strossmayer as, 'the enemy of God,' and his 'own personal enemy.' Sivrić, 22.

¹³ Tyrrell, *A&L*, Vol. II, 404.

¹⁴ Sivrić, 173, Strossmayer continually led the minority against the infallibility intention at Vatican I. He complained the initiative had shifted from Bishops to Pope with regard to Trent. Furthermore his continued attempts at protest were suppressed by Pius IX. Twenty-six bishops signed the first objection; forty-one opposed the second; fifty opposed the third and ninety opposed the fourth. Sivrić, 202-205. In his *Pro Memoria*, (20 January 1872) to the Italian government Strossmayer expressed his satisfaction that the Italian armed forces have occupied the City of Rome. The Italian government had rendered a great service, not only to the Italian people, but to the entire Church. Echoing Tyrrell's letter to the *Times* (Sept. 1907), Strossmayer rejoiced in 'the liberation of the Holy See from earthly occupation' and 'the mingling and managing of secular affairs, which was liable to make the Church neglect her divine mission entrusted to her by God.' See Sivrić, 69-70.

¹⁵ Sivrić, 206, n.114 / n.115. In a letter from Rome to Rački, Strossmayer complained, 'they have given up on freedom of speech, and the majority would divide the minority by introducing an ambiguous formula on papal infallibility. At the end of the same letter he declared 'Rome would never see me again.'

¹⁶ Sivrić, 212. 'Eighty bishops signed a letter of protest; they complained that the procedures of the Council were contrary to Trent. They reiterated that a doctrine which is about to be defined as revealed by God cannot be brought to a close without giving a chance to all the Fathers to pass their judgement upon it. The answer came from Cardinal Schwarzenberg that 'the regulations were set down by the Pontiff himself, and subsequently they could not do anything about it.' Sivrić, 224. A moral majority was no longer considered sacrosanct, a simple numerical majority would now suffice. Strossmayer described the procedures as 'immense corruption' regarding 'papal infallibility.' Interestingly, Acton, and according to Russell, Gladstone were in favour of the bishops walking out '*en masse*' in protest; it was only a

infallibility had destroyed the infallibility of the Church and the ecumenical council.’¹⁷

In England, the new hierarchy pledged loyalty to Rome, and became ever dependent upon a more rigid form of Tridentine Catholicism and ultimately of Ultramontanism. Archbishop Manning personified English Ultramontanism. He encouraged Catholics to be ‘more Roman than Rome, and more Ultramontane than the pope himself.’¹⁸ He was an enthusiastic supporter of Vatican I’s definition of papal infallibility.¹⁹ Acceptance of Ultramontanism within the Church marked defeat for liberal Catholics like Döllinger, Petre, von Hügel, Ward, Tyrrell, Strossmayer, Acton and Newman.²⁰ Thus Gerard Connelly described the English Catholic Church in which Tyrrell had made his home as ‘an aggressive and exclusive Roman Catholic Church with an appetite for contentious dogma, authoritarian rubric, clerical omnicompetence and an often tasteless obsequiousness towards the papacy.’²¹

In effect the Catholic hierarchy supported by Rome were re-establishing a position of wealth and influence within the English class system. The opulent grandeur of the English bishops’ ‘palaces’ epitomised the restored position of power and influence that Vatican I desired throughout Europe. Nicholas Lash describes the church of Tyrrell’s day as a ‘fortress constructed against modernity,’ indeed Lash, Daly and O’Connell take the view that *Pascendi* was ‘the cause of the crisis, rather than those whom it condemned.’²² Yet Lash agrees with O’Connell, that ‘curial paranoia was probably more deeply driven by social and political events in France and Italy than by the writings of the Modernists in England.’²³ Misner, Lease *et al*, outline the context of Vatican I and argue that the condemnation of modernism, in reality, had little to do with theology but rather with political gerrymandering on behalf of the Roman authorities.²⁴ Vatican I was preoccupied with authoritarianism – how to strengthen papal authority in the face of the changing reality of European and world politics. The relationship was tense but not hopeless, as those in leadership set the church on a collision course with modernity. Collusion occurred in 1907 upon publication

lack of courage which prevented this possibility. However, for example, the French minority stayed away from the public session, 22 of whom absented themselves from the final vote on 18 July 1870 because they would still have been bound in conscience to vote *non placet*. See O’Gara, M. (1988), *Triumph In Defeat*, 34.

¹⁷ Strossmayer conceded: ‘the triumph of the (papal) infallibility and that of the Society of Jesus is accomplished, but it was purchased by the price of blood. Papal infallibility has destroyed the infallibility of the Church and that of the episcopate united in an ecumenical council; it has crowned the edifice of papal absolutism which has been on the march since the ninth century.’ ‘The Jesuits (in Rome) have debased the episcopate and have canonically destroyed it; the episcopate in return, will revenge and debase the papacy; and the authority will be corroded. So much evil is mutually done that it goes without saying that they fought against themselves and inflicted almost incurable wounds. Hatreds are awakened which neither time nor the change of circumstances will appease and assuage.’ Sivrić, 234-5.

¹⁸ See Manning, H.E. ‘The Work and Wants of the Catholic Church in England,’ *Dublin Review*, 1 (1863), 139-166, 162. Reprinted in *Miscellanies*, Vol. I (1877), 27-71. Tyrrell described Manning as the ‘*enfant terrible* of the ultra-Vaticanists in that he did not shrink from the extremist conclusions.’ *A&L* Vol.11, 156. This point is of no small significance because it allows insight into the English context and the relationship between Manning, Vaughan and Merry del Val in the Tyrrell affair.

¹⁹ See O’Connor, J.T. (1986), *The Gift of Infallibility: The official Relation on Infallibility of Bishop Vincent Gasser at Vatican Council I*, 2. The members of the curia who were entrusted to draw up the draft of papal infallibility came from Manning’s recommendation, he was considered the leader of those who favoured the definition of Papal infallibility.

²⁰ Döllinger for example, made a vigorous attack on the Scholasticism of his age, accusing it of sacrificing historical scholarship to sterile speculation.

²¹ See Connelly, G. ‘The Transubstantiation of Myth: Towards a New Popular Nineteenth Century Catholicism in England,’ *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 35, (Jan.1984), 78-104.

²² Lash, 393.

²³ O’Connell, M.R. (1994), *Critics On Trial: An Introduction to the Catholic Modernist Crisis*, 35-55.

²⁴ Lease, for example, the separation of the Church and State in France in 1905. Jodock J. (2000), (Ed.), *Catholicism Contending with Modernity*; Misner P. ‘Catholic Anti-Modernism: the Ecclesial Setting,’ 56-88

of the encyclicals, *Pascendi* and *Lamentabili Sane*, the direct descendants of ultramontane interpretations of Vatican I. Dramatically, Tyrrell believed these encyclicals endorse ‘a final declaration of war against science, history, criticism, and all that has been gained by years of struggle against the rulers of the darkness in this world.’²⁵

An ever-increasing division opened up between the church and modernity. The burning issue for Rome was how to deal with a world that was denying the church its accustomed place in Western society, an issue revisited at Vatican II, arguably from a pastoral perspective. When Vatican I attempted to reinstate Roman political aspirations, and when the church was slowly losing its land, wealth, army and influence with foreign governments, theology and doctrine became a weapon in the world of realpolitik - a world that Tyrrell previously admired from a distance. He joined the Jesuits, often fondly described as the pope’s ‘storm-troopers,’ when they were locked in a Roman dogfight with the Dominicans for papal patronage. It became a Jesuit task to uphold papal authority and influence in all matters. Obedience to the pope was paramount for the Jesuits in the period leading to Vatican I.

Authority of the church personified in the pope, became the central issue for Vatican I. From Tyrrell’s perspective, predominantly political aspirations led to the pope’s becoming ‘infallible’ in matters of doctrine and morals. Papal infallibility represented Rome’s attempt to rebuild social and political influence across Europe and the emerging new world.²⁶ However, Tyrrell remained in agreement with the Council’s rejection of rationalism and fideism. His pastoral hermeneutic supported the position that critical faculties must be applied to the data of faith, if we are to understand them and put them into practice.

It is important to reiterate that Tyrrell did not oppose the papacy, although in polemical dogfights he did single out a particular pope for opposition. He argued pragmatically in ‘The Mind of the Church,’ that if God had not instituted the papacy it would have become necessary to invent a head of the church on earth. Tyrrell never disputed the fact that a body requires a head to function. He did question a particular individual’s capacity to fulfil such a crucial role, combined with, as we have previously discussed, the Curial propensity to ‘confuse doctrine with theology.’ Tyrrell made an important distinction between the work of theologians and that of the pope. He nominated curial theologians as the enemy, as being the middlemen between the pope and the people, as those ‘who adulterate the goods to their hearts’ content.²⁷ Tyrrell believed the curia are the source of the ‘abuse of power’ within Rome, with their ‘implicit dogma of infallibility of the [curial] theologians, of the scholar, of the consensus *societatis*.’²⁸

Tyrrell came to oppose the ‘judgement of a clique.’ Appropriating Newman’s phrase at the time of

²⁵ Tyrrell to Dell, 2 August 1907, *GTL*, 106-7.

²⁶ See O’Gara, 142-175, ‘On Truth: Papal Infallibility as Proposed Is Not True.’ ‘We should remember that some of the minority bishops showed that they grasped the nuances in the position that advocated a separate, personal, and absolute papal infallibility and nevertheless opposed this position.’ 142.

²⁷ Tyrrell, letter to ‘a fellow priest.’ *GTL*, 67.

²⁸ *GTL*, 67.

Vatican I, he described the Curia as an ‘insolent and aggressive faction’ in the matter of authority, arguing that their peaceful possession of authority would be very alarming.²⁹ Tyrrell favoured waiting for a ‘wide view being tenable in the future.’³⁰ He derided what he perceived as an aggressive, evolving, political dynamic: ‘the New World order undermines the old’ and the ‘ground is shaking beneath their feet, this is what makes them more assertive.’³¹ The ‘Mind of the Church’ (published 1900), represents his first formulated critique of Vatican I and papal infallibility. His concern was to highlight the real distinction between the pope speaking on behalf of the theologians and the pope as the representative of the universal church. It was a ‘political’ theme he would consistently return to, most notably in his *Times* articles.

Tyrrell continued to challenge Ultramontane assessments of papal power and questioned the ambiguity of papal infallibility, in particular, with regard to his own circumstances and the ubiquitous question of obedience required of Jesuits for non-infallible decisions. Tyrrell’s ecclesiology remained consistent with his philosophy of religion and his Christology, for in challenging Papal infallibility he declared that God presents Himself to us as the object of the heart and will rather than as an object of the mind and intelligence. Tyrrell contrasted his own experience with that of Galileo:

This is what makes them so assertive just now – the sense of power slipping from their grasp. Galileo did not doubt that his truth would win, for all the frowns of the Pope and cardinals — *eppur si muove*.³²

Tyrrell came to understand that the whole principle of faith is a holding on by the will, and a testing by the *lex orandi* principle, to truths that the mind does not see, or is incapable of seeing. Ultramontane perceptions of Vatican I, by contrast, attempted to impose understanding in an authoritarian dictate that is ultimately self-defeating. Faith, like love, requires personal assent free from coercion. As with conscience, authority *per se* cannot win the argument. Unbridled power may temporarily silence opposition, but it remains the last resort of the vanquished.³³

Regarding the ultramontane climate that brought about the definition of the primacy, Tillard asked, ‘is the pope in fact, more than a pope in ordinary Catholic attitudes?’ In an accomplished evaluation, which distinguishes between theological complexity and popular piety, Tillard shares with Tyrrell a nuanced critique of papal primacy.³⁴ For many ‘rank and file’ Catholics, the late Nineteenth Century

29 In a private letter to his bishop, William Bernard Ullathorne, surreptitiously published, Newman denounced the ‘insolent and aggressive faction’ that had pushed the matter. For an insightful discussion on the private letter and Newman’s later position see:

<http://www.newmanreader.org/biography/ward/volume2/chapter29.html>.

30 *GTL*, Dec. 1900. 67-68.

31 Tyrrell, *GTL*, 68. Again Tyrrell builds on the thought of Newman. For example, see Newman’s ‘Letter to the Duke of Norfolk,’ (1875), Ker, 231.

32 See *GTL*, 68, and DS, 3026 & *Pascendi* n.6.

33 See O’Gara, ‘The opposition bishops at Vatican I put forward the following critique: i) Is the proposed teaching true? If yes, ii) Is the proposed teaching definable? If yes, iii) should the proposed teaching be defined? We can identify this last case against the schema an answer of *no* to the first question. An answer of *no* to the first question demands also an answer of *no* to the other questions. Thus the schema lacked not merely timeliness, nor even definability, but also truth.’ O’Gara, 142.

34 Tillard with Tyrrell, critique ‘the rank and file thirst for a papacy that will satisfy their taste for marvels.’ Drawing upon his *lex orandi* position Tyrrell considered this to be a theological imposition upon devotion. See Tillard’s assessment with regard to how the pope is perceived in popular devotion to be more than the pope. Tillard, J.M.R.

was a time of religious and political bewilderment. The papacy under Pius IX became a ‘reliable magnetic pole,’ a sign of stability in a confused and rapidly changing world. Tillard described the position, and the state of affairs which Tyrrell attempted to forestall:

The idea of the papacy was thus defined around the image of a pope, a ‘super-pope,’ as was ‘the devotion to the pope’ which developed. The life of the Catholic Church ever since has been deeply disturbed by it.³⁵

Tyrrell’s ecclesiology diametrically opposed the Ultramontane ascendancy following the First Vatican Council. In his own words he rejected ‘papolatry’ in all its forms.³⁶ In *Medievalism* (1908) Tyrrell, pre-empted the post-Vatican II liberation movement, which argued for the redistribution of state and religious political power. Tyrrell regarded his own position as a Roman Catholic to be invalid if he could not show ‘by some *tour de force*, that the Vatican Council did not succeed in its efforts to turn the church upside down and to rest the hierarchical pyramid on its apex.’³⁷ Tyrrell maintained that papal infallibility as a theological statement could not affect the substance of the Christian revelation, and that this revelation included the infallibility not of the pope but of the whole Catholic Church.³⁸

(1983), *Bishop of Rome*, 18-19. Apart from the Ultramontane climate and the ‘political’ situation, Tillard also draws attention to the personality of Pius IX, ‘a personality, (like Tyrrell’s), which leant itself to emotional excesses.’ Unlike Tyrrell, ‘his theological studies had been perfunctory, and he was always supported more by an intense Marian piety than by a deep grasp of dogmatic issues, he often spoke from the heart without listening to the voice of reason.’ See Aubert, R. (1952), ‘*Le Pontificat de Pie IX*,’ *Histoire de l’Église* 21, 290-292. Here, Pius IX’s emotional temperament was often emphasised.

³⁵ See Tillard, 20.

³⁶ In support of Tyrrell’s position Tillard observes, ‘the personality of Pius IX interacted with Ultramontanism to the point of osmosis,’ 20. M. Blacas notes: ‘no public moral or national character without religion, no European religion without Christianity, no Christianity without Catholicism, no Catholicism, without the pope, no pope without the supremacy which belongs to him.’ A passage often cited, see Y. Congar, ‘*Affirmation de l’autorité, L’Écclésiologie au XIXe Siècle*,’ 82. Tyrrell’s *lex orandi* test, concerned the practical reality of devotion, rather than exact theological documentation (*theologism*) emanating from the Council, he realised the long-term consequence of the radical Ultramontane arrangement upon popular piety, an arrangement with devastating consequences for a pastoral hermeneutic that embraced Christian unity.

³⁷ See Gutierrez, G. (1973), *A Theology of Liberation*, for example. Gutierrez repeats Tyrrell’s *lex orandi* assertion that ‘charity has been rediscovered as the centre of the Christian life.’ Gutierrez considers this to be ‘the foundation of the praxis of the Christian, of his active presence in history.’ With Tyrrell, Gutierrez believes ‘the foundation for the synthesis between ‘contemplation and action’ is Ignatian spirituality,’ i.e. the ‘contemplative in action.’ 6-7.

³⁸ ‘In England, Manning went so far as to assert that the Pope is infallible, apart from the bishops.’ This ultramontane theory, combined with Pius IX, Gallicanism, and the collapse of the Papal States as a political power resulted in the First Vatican Council promulgating the constitution *Pastor Aeternus*. Vatican I defined certain conditions for the exercise of the infallibility with which the pope is empowered: only when he is defining a doctrine of faith and morals, speaking as head of the church – *ex cathedra* (from the Chair), with the clear intention of binding the whole Church. Furthermore, in theory, infallibility is not a personal prerogative of the pope, and although Newman goes to great lengths to explicate this position, (see *A Letter to the Duke of Norfolk*, 1875) the minority bishops at the Council and Tyrrell testified that the wording remains cryptic and open to ‘misrepresentation.’ At Manning’s instigation, a clause was added to counter the Gallican position, regarding papal documents requiring ratification, subsequently by a Council. ‘The reporter of the schema on infallibility declared that the *modus* of Mgr Dupanloup, who wanted to assert as a condition of infallibility that the pope should be supported by the witness of the churches (*innixus testimoniis ecclesiarum*) was rejected for fear that it maintained the substance of Gallicanism.’ See Tillard, 25. What till then had been confined to more intellectual circles now became a matter of ordinary devotion, so engrained, that Tyrrell feared it would never be removed. Tyrrell argued, it engendered a devotion to the pope of which Dom Cuthbert Butler later described as ‘something boarding on blasphemy.’ See Butler, C. (1930), *The Vatican Council 1869-70*, 76-77. But of course, Manning, unlike Tyrrell and Butler, saw nothing to revise. Butler gives evidence ‘of hymns where *Deus* has been replaced by Pius,’ Mgr de Ségur records: ‘Pius IX said to Mary, ‘you are immaculate.’ Mary went on to answer the pope, “you are Infallible.”’ 23, 198-199.

Tyrrell constantly reaffirmed his collegial position with regard to the ‘Mind of the Church.’ ‘If I were Pope,’ he declared, ‘I would make the Magisterium’s notion of authority the theme of my first encyclical and remind my brethren that all my authority derives from the *populus Romanus*.’³⁹ According to Tyrrell, Vatican I was predominantly inspired by political ambition, as a consequence the pope was placed upon a pedestal above the church. He was no longer a part of the church, but lord over it. Tyrrell therefore rejected the authority of the Vatican I and its aggrandisement of the papacy. He also supported the inherent autonomy of each diocesan church, subject only to the authority of a truly ecumenical council. He maintained that each diocese is a *societas perfecta* and only of its own free and reversible choice federated with any other; and that the bond of any bigger aggregate is free and spiritual; and in no sense juridical.⁴⁰

Tyrrell believed that true Christian authority comes from the Spirit, found in the community of believers. Thus he denounced the Roman abuse of authority in the form of excommunication. He was also in no doubt that Christ, once again, would reject both the pomp and power of the Papal State, as set down by Vatican I, as a *modus operandi* more in tune with the Roman Emperor than the humble Nazarene carpenter.⁴¹ Tyrrell further maintained, that the Ultramontane mixture of revelation and theology, of spiritual and temporal power, was fallacious. As a man of faith he believed in revelation and as a man of reason he believed in theology; both depend upon each other. ‘But that the bastard (Ultramontane) progeny of their mixture is not a priori only, but historically the enemy of both, the parent of unbelief and ignorance.’⁴²

Tyrrell sees the importance of authority and considered church government to be lawful and necessary. Ecclesial authority is ministerial to spiritual authority – but it is not divine, in the same sense that theology is not divine. In opposition to Ward, Tyrrell drew upon his philosophy of religion, *Religion As A Factor Of Life*, maintaining that Catholicism is a ‘life to be lived.’ He contrasted his pastoral endeavours with those whose interests are primarily intellectual and theoretical. In attempting a synthesis between praxis and theory he claimed ‘I care about religion.’ Tyrrell contrasted the Roman Curia with the lives of the saints and his fellow modernists, von Hügel, Petre and Laberthonnière *et al.* These he considered to be true examples of the Catholic faithful, because for them, Catholic ‘life is more than the theory of Catholicism.’⁴³

Tyrrell offered a further critique of the dominant ecclesiology espoused at Vatican I. He focused upon his understanding of Catholicism as being universal and ecumenical as against identifying, in the process strongly opposing the identity of Catholicism as ‘Vaticanism.’ Similarly he rejected neo-Scholasticism as *the* Catholic philosophy. Writing as Hilaire Bourdon, Tyrrell argued that the ‘abuse of power’ originated from the ‘confounding of spiritual with juridical authority (and) the authority of the preacher with that of the law-giver.’⁴⁴ Tyrrell considered Vatican I’s conception of pastoral authority to be the root of ‘triumphalism,’ ‘clericalism’ and ‘juridicism,’ the stance so courageously opposed by Bishop de Smedt, on the council floor at Vatican II.⁴⁵ Tyrrell complained that

³⁹ Tyrrell, letter to Mathew, 15 December 1908.

⁴⁰ See Tyrrell, *Medievalism*, 123, and *CF*, 167-170.

⁴¹ ‘If Christ, or even Peter, came on earth to govern the Church today, *in propria persona*, do you believe for one moment that they would assume the Byzantine pomp of the Vatican, or should claim temporal power?’ See Tyrrell to Ward, April 8th 1906. *GTL*, 101.

⁴² Tyrrell, letter to Dell, 18 May 1905, *GTL*, 104-5.

⁴³ Tyrrell to Wilfrid Ward, *GTL*, 8 April 1906, 101.

⁴⁴ Hilaire Bourdon is one of Tyrrell’s pseudonyms for *CF*, (1902).

⁴⁵ See Tyrrell, *A&L*, Vol. II, 190, 348 and *GTL*, 54.

‘Vaticanism’ is clericalism’s ripest fruit,’ a sentiment endorsed during the Second Vatican Council, and indeed, one which shaped the final draft of *Lumen Gentium* and arguably, has been supported during the last forty years of ecclesiology.⁴⁶

Authority and Power – ‘The Grip of the Hawk’

In darker moments, Tyrrell questioned whether the church had the strength to escape the grip of the Ultramontane hawk, but he believed, its claim to be the authentic tradition incontestable. Tyrrell slowly came to the realisation that he was defending two contradictory positions. First he challenged the power and authority of Rome, while he became convinced that the religion of the Roman Catholic church and that of Jesus are the same. Tyrrell thought Jesus would be more at home among Roman Catholics (sacraments, temples, priests, altars, miracles, diabolic possessions, exorcisms, devils, angels and all things supernatural) than with Protestants or even Modernists. Tyrrell believed that the Jesus of the first century would be in sympathy with just those elements of Catholicism that are least congenial to the modern mind – not to say the mind of the modernists. Tyrrell maintained that the Catholic church had preserved the earthen vessel with its heavenly treasure, while those who risk ‘carbon dating’ the vessel, (historical criticism etc.) risk charring the treasure during the investigation. The primary concern of Tyrrell’s philosophical theology consisted in distinguishing the treasure from the vessel. But not at any cost. Influenced by Newman, Tyrrell understood his responsibilities as a theologian, particularly one from a Jesuit background.

Tyrrell came to believe that the Roman Curia held the church ‘in the grip of the hawk.’⁴⁷ He considered Vatican I and *Pascendi et al* to epitomise the tyranny which the Catholic faithful were

⁴⁶ ‘When the fruit is quite ripe it falls to earth; and I can only trust that some Pope, blind-drunk with a sense of authority, may someday define himself to be born of a virgin in virtue of his prerogatives as Christ’s *alter Ego*.’ Tyrrell to Dell, 18 May, *GTL* (1905), 104-5. It is not a coincidence, that Cardinal Suenens makes a similar critique as Tyrrell, resulting in the second and third drafts of *Lumen Gentium*. See Thomas P. Rausch, ‘The Church and the Council,’ Hayes & Gearon, (2003), (Ed.), *Contemporary Catholic Theology: A Reader*, 259. Although I doubt the ‘majority bishops’ under Cardinal Manning would ‘receive’ this post Vatican Two insight, the Second Vatican Council, with its own teaching on the Magisterium of the church sets the question of papal infallibility within the context of the infallibility or indefectibility of the entire church. It strives to set forth its position devoid of the ambiguity and animosity which characterised the first Council. The extent to which it may have succeeded in this ambition remains a vexed question within the contemporary Church. For further insight in this regard see Butler, C. (1930), *The Vatican Council*; and O’Connor, *The Gift of Infallibility*, 5. With regard to the problematic relationship between Vatican I and Vatican II, see Hermann Pottmeyer, ‘A New Phase in the Reception of Vatican II,’ 33. Pottmeyer believes, the two Councils remain to be reconciled and suggests a new ‘hermeneutical circle of understanding,’ focusing upon the hermeneutic of the author/s. In this light it is possible to offer a reflective critique of the Ultramontane position and observe the similarities between the ecclesiology of Tyrrell and Cardinal Suenens. See also Rush, O. (2002), *Still Interpreting Vatican Two*, with regard to what he considers to be Vatican II’s ‘intended micro-rupture with the Pian era (Pius IX –XII),’ 38-39. I will return to this issue in the final chapter.

⁴⁷ Tyrrell lamented, ‘I am thinking of the bird free on the wing, not crushed and crumpled in the grip of the hawk; of the Church living, not of the Church dying and dead. Priests and politicians have ever exploited religion, who see in it a means of gripping men by what is deepest in them – their conscience. And so controlling their lives, their service, and their fortune, to their own selfish and ambitious ends. They run it as businessmen, void of all artistic sympathy, might run a theatre, employing the best actors or worst as may prove more profitable. In religion itself they have no sort of interest –only in serviceableness to their own religious interests. They favour laxity or sanctity according to the market value and, as a rule, it pays better to cater for the groundlings than for the elect few. No religion of any duration or influence has escaped this degradation and corruption. Few have had the misfortune to be exploited on so large a scale by their own guardians. Yet, in spite of this misfortune, the Roman Catholic religion still lives in the grip of the hawk.’ *CC*, 146.

forced to endure.⁴⁸ In contrast to the ‘grip of the hawk,’ Tyrrell characterised the ‘Spirit of Christ’ as ‘the bird free on the wing,’ and not ‘crushed and crumpled in the grip of the hawk.’ In this sense, Tyrrell understood ecclesial authority and rationalistic philosophy to be counter-productive to the work of the Spirit. Thus he formulated a critique of ‘the abuse of authority,’ in his exposé of Vatican I and *Pascendi*, believing that here in lay the subsequent ‘abuse of power.’

For Tyrrell, it was not a question of which dogma, but rather, what is dogma? And what are the parameters of ecclesiastical authority? Tyrrell, unlike other so-called ‘Modernists,’ maintained that the issue of the moment was the question of authority, its rights and limits, and only secondarily issues of science and truth. For this reason Tyrrell was nominated as one of the reprehensible leaders of the movement, deserving special attention.

Tyrrell's critique of authority was an essential component of his pastoral idea of Catholicism. It remains the most controversial because ‘it dealt with the curia, which they cannot endure.’⁴⁹ As a Jesuit of his time, Tyrrell continually found himself at variance with his superiors in the Society of Jesus. His writings came to reflect the Society’s internal and external conflicts. Inspired by Newman, especially his writings about the primacy of conscience, led to both animosity and admiration within his religious community (e.g. Stonyhurst).⁵⁰ His disagreement with the Society generally, resulted in Tyrrell’s leaving the Jesuits, and finally, in direct conflict with Roman authorities he was deprived of the sacraments. As Maude Petre stated: ‘if we were to sum up, under one word, the question on which Tyrrell was at odds with ecclesiastical authority, it was authority, itself.’⁵¹ If one were to sum up the reason for his apparent excommunication the answer would be the same – the question of authority.

It is problematic to try to determine Tyrrell’s understanding of the term ‘authority.’ In attempting a definition one is thrown immediately into the centre of the argument. Tyrrell advocated both an “internal” understanding of authority, building upon Newman, and another drawing upon the example of Jesus in the New Testament, where authority is predominantly based on witness. Following protracted skirmishes, Tyrrell came to reject externally imposed authority, believing it to be ‘an abuse of authority.’ He argued that papal and magisterial authority of the pope and the Magisterium is an external entity, attached to an ‘office,’ that the position itself wields power and one obeys such authority by coercion. For example, the authority of Vatican I and *Pascendi*, operate on threats of excommunication and/or eternal damnation. Strongly influenced by Newman, Tyrrell argued for the priority of internal obedience enacted in virtue of suasion or assent derived from one’s reasoned conscience. He pointed to the model of influence evidenced in the New Testament, having internal and external qualities. Jesus and the twelve apostles did not hold power invested from an ‘office’ but rather by freely given internal assent based upon the authority of witness.⁵²

⁴⁸ ‘Needless to say that I entirely deny the ecumenical authority of the exclusively Western Councils of Trent and the Vatican and the whole medieval development of the Papacy so far as claiming more than a primacy of honour from the Bishops from Rome; I also hold to the inherent autonomy of each diocesan church, subject only to the authority of a truly ecumenical Council.’ Tyrrell, letter to Herzog, 4 November 1908. *A&L*, Vol. II, 383.

⁴⁹ Like Molière, Tyrrell dared to challenge the grip of the hawk. See page 15 above, footnote 31, and Tyrrell, *A&L* Vol. II, 320.

⁵⁰ See *A&L*, Vol. II, 212, for an elaboration of ‘the school of Newman’ in opposition to the ‘school of scholasticism’ - in the thought of Tyrrell.

⁵¹ *A&L*, Vol. II, 448.

⁵² Tyrrell, *CF*, 169 and 173.

Gradually the church moved away from a New Testament model of authority. Fixed structures evolved into official practice, allowing external authority to become the sanctioned norm. Once this precedent had become established, later Christian writers could appeal to past authors to validate their own practice, in this case, a questionable interpretation of authority. The model of authority as power arguably inhibits the action of the Holy Spirit, with regard to creating the *consensus fidelium*.⁵³ Today the church is held in place by a vast system of external authoritative structures - it is this model of authority which Tyrrell believed was liable to abuse. He advocated a return to the authority of 'The Corporate Mind,' as in the earlier church.⁵⁴

Tyrrell recognised the need of an ecclesiastical authority that would be true to the nature of the church, while serving justice to the new age of democratic reforms and greater liberty for the individual. Tyrrell's conception of such an authority allowed for a critique of existing authority, while recognising the need for the church to be realistically regulated. Public conflict within other Christian denominations serve as a clear warning that division and disharmony would fill the void created by the absence of practical, transparent and authoritative leadership. Tyrrell also anticipated the later thought of Rahner. 'A Declericalized Church,' Rahner argued will enhance the authority of conscience, so that 'the authority of office will be an authority of freedom.'⁵⁵ Tyrrell believed that the Christian is 'bound to the Church *ex caritate*, and as a condition of his spiritual life; but not *ex iustitia*. For the church, like Christ, draws but does not coerce men into communion with herself.'⁵⁶ Tyrrell distinguished between the authority of the State or a parent with that of the church. The latter he described as 'natural,' the former as 'spiritual.' Tyrrell attempted to establish doctrinal, theological and devotional credibility through application of the *lex orandi* test. In terms of consistency, Tyrrell applied the same measure to his analysis of mysticism contra *Realpolitik*. Tyrrell believed that, 'the direct heir of Christ's spirit is the whole multitude of the faithful.' Those who govern do so by 'the official pastorate.' Therefore, 'they go before the rest of the flock, shepherd-wise, and draw others after them by force of personal grace and witness;' they introduce new 'adaptations which are informally criticised by the *sensus fidelium*, and if felt to be true developments of the Christian life, appropriated.'⁵⁷

Although not immune to official sanction, Rahner also challenged what Tyrrell designated as 'the abuse of power.' The 'higher clergy,' Rahner believed, conformed too much to that of the "managers" in secular society.⁵⁸ Rahner fashioned a way forward for the church, which not only

⁵³ See Tyrrell, 'On Church Governance,' *CF*, 167-170.

⁵⁴ See Tyrrell, 'The Mind of the Church.' Rahner continued this particular critique with regard to the function of an 'office.' The officeholder must carry out his function as part of 'the Spirit-filled community of all who believe in Jesus Christ.' Rahner uses the analogy of the chess club, 'those who support the club and give it meaning are the members,' the hierarch of the club is 'appropriate if and as far as it serves the community of chess players... and does not think that it can play chess better simply in virtue of its function.' *The Shape of the Church to Come*, 56-60.

⁵⁵ In the church of the future, Rahner and Tyrrell argue that 'in practice, officeholders will have as much effective authority as is conceded to them freely by believers through their faith.' While Rahner uses the analogy of the chess club, Tyrrell illustrates the same argument by a recourse to an analogy of 'a ship passenger.' The passenger 'is on board by his own, not by the captain's will, 'in port he has the alternative of stepping ashore; at sea he owes it to himself only, and not to the captain, to remain on board.' Hilaire Bourdon, (Tyrrell), (1903), *CF*, (*L'EGLISE ET L'AVENIR*). 'Printed for Private Circulation Only.' 173.

⁵⁶ Tyrrell, (1903), *CF*, 172-173.

⁵⁷ Tyrrell, 173. See Tyrrell's *EFI*, 128-158, 119-127; examples of specific works on authority include: 'The Mind of the Church,' *The Month* 96, (1900), 125-42; 233-40; *CF*, (1903); 'Consensus Fidelium,' *New York Review*, (1905), 133-138; 'From Heaven or from Men?' *TSC.*, 355; *Medievalism*, (1908).

⁵⁸ Rahner, K (1972), *The Shape of the Church to Come*, trans. Edward Quinn. For Rahner, 'In the very exercise of office there could certainly be much more greater objectivity in judging and deciding, there is no point in being secretive, an

mirrored Tyrrell's critique, but suggested that Tyrrell's ecclesial position was justified. Furthermore, Rahner proposed a scheme by which scholars like Tyrrell could remain in the church, while arguing for contemporary reform to institutional structures.⁵⁹

Tyrrell believed the Roman Catholic hierarchy was stemming the flow of ecclesial reform. He attempted to bridge the gap between the new democratic movements and the absolute authority espoused from Rome. He sought to formulate a conception of authority that could accommodate contemporary Catholic culture, respect for intelligent criticism and value informed conscience, in order to escape the autocracy of the Roman theologians, without suffering the chaos of antinomian Liberal Protestantism. Tyrrell argued for a true synthesis of law and liberty, not simply a juxtaposition of opposites. As defenders of Tyrrell, Maude Petre and Ellen Leonard, have attempted to attenuate his work on authority, perhaps with the hope of establishing Tyrrell's orthodoxy. They claim that a systematic presentation of Tyrrell's conception of authority is impossible, while Leonard is in the position to add that Tyrrell's critique of authority parallels Karl Rahner's. I consider the parallels with Rahner are important for a variety of reasons, to be explored in the final chapter. Concerning the theme of authority, their compatibility is significant, in that it illustrates, against Tyrrell's critics, that he was not a maverick theologian on a personal crusade, but rather, he articulated theological insight that have contemporary relevance.⁶⁰

As stated above Tyrrell recognised the need for an ecclesiastical authority that would be true to the nature of the church, in a new era. The Post-Enlightenment period gave a high priority to individual liberty and freedom. It established governments based on democratic principles. Tyrrell argued for an understanding of authority incorporating democracy. He came to consider the Roman church anachronistic in the modern world. Rahner's critique of the papacy, is strikingly similar to Tyrrell's own assessment. Rahner reminded Christians that 'when they pray the Our Father, they are praying for the end of the papacy;' and, 'there are many charisms in the Church, and the pope does not have all of them himself.'⁶¹

appeal to experience becomes suspect when experience appears to have been conditioned from the beginning by clerical prejudices.' *The Shape of the Church to Come*, 56-60, 59.

⁵⁹ Rahner, 'there must be courage to reverse and withdraw decisions without a false and ultimately unchristian concern for prestige and also to admit it openly if these decisions have turned out to be objectively mistaken or – humanly speaking – unjust.' Rahner insisted, 'Reaction to criticism of decisions must be relaxed and open to enlightenment, and not asserting that the decision is beyond all criticism.' *The Shape of the Church to Come*, 59.

⁶⁰ See Leonard, E. (1982), *George Tyrrell & The Catholic Tradition*, Petre, M. (1937), *My Way of Faith*, Jodock, D. (2000), *Catholicism Contending With Modernity*. Friedrich Schleiermacher distinguished three kinds of systematic speech; poetic (the language of original inspiration), rhetoric (the language of preaching), and what he called 'didactic' speech, that is language in which the highest degree of definite and concise meaning is the explicit aim. Tyrrell's writing on authority is an example of the last mode of discourse, an ambitious attempt to apply human rationality to the Christian faith, in Tyrrell's case, regardless of the personal consequences. A theology and philosophy according to patterns of meaning, patterns of truth, intelligible to a person of faith, struggling within the confines of a normative Catholic theology. An existentialist mentality, 'a bird free on the wing,' allowed Tyrrell to perceive more clearly the inner nature both of Catholic theology itself and also its relation to contemporary culture. Karl Lehmann, Albert Raffelt, and Harvey D. Egan, (1992) *Karl Rahner: The Content of Faith*, xi.

⁶¹ Rahner's argument draws upon the example / experience of the early Church, he believes, 'a number of facts from the early Church make this clear.' 'If a patriarchal and feudal period of society has come to an end, this must inevitably have implications for the Church.' Both recognise that democracy in the Church will be different from democracy of the State, however, 'democracy in the Church means simply, in the first place, that lay people should have an active and responsible part in its life and decisions as possible.' And that such responsibility should be 'institutionalised in Canon Law.' Rahner believes, 'it goes without saying that: the rules of the Church administration and the exercise of teaching authority should in the future be more humane, more just, more concerned about protecting the individual from the arbitrariness of office and in this sense more democratic.' *The Shape of the Church to Come*, 58. *Handbuch der*

The Joint-Pastoral

Schultenover has shown conclusively that the publication of *The Joint Pastoral* in December 1900 was instigated by Pius X, authored in the main by Merry del Val and presented by the 15 bishops of England.⁶² The *Joint-Pastoral* rocked the foundations of Tyrrell's existence, both as a Catholic and a member of the Society of Jesus.⁶³ Although David Schultenover described Tyrrell as 'a consummate master of debate, and in war with words he was practically without peer,' following the publication of the *Pastoral*, a parting of the ways occurred between Tyrrell and Roman authority.⁶⁴ Tyrrell's philosophical theology with its skilled apologetic in support of the Modernist cause was rejected and denounced.

Into this 'little Catholic community of England,' as Petre described it, came the celebrated *Joint Pastoral* of the English Catholic hierarchy, on *The Church and Liberal Catholicism*.⁶⁵ Tyrrell was building towards his third major confrontation with Rome, so the *Joint Pastoral* gave him the motivation and opportunity. The *Pastoral* pointed out the dangers for Catholics living in the midst of those who maintain the principle of private judgement in civil as well as in religious matters. The bishops believed that the writings of certain unnamed Catholics (including Tyrrell), represented a danger to faith. The bishops described the church as being comprised of teachers and those taught. The *ecclesia discens* was designated as comprising laity, priests, and of bishops in their private capacity - all these are 'simply disciples.' *Ecclesia docens* needed no help from outside: 'her governing law is the rule and law that brought her into existence, viz. the authority of God.'⁶⁶

Pastoraltheologie IV, 753-754, trans. Daniel Donovan, University of Saint Michael's College, Toronto. See also Rahner, 'A Letter from the Pope in the Year 2020,' *Theological Investigations* XXII, trans. Donceel, J. (1991), 195-196. Rahner, K. *Theological Investigations*, Vol. 3, (1967), 'The Ignatian Mysticism of Joy in the World,' trans. Karl and Boniface Kruger, 277-293.

⁶² Schultenover, *A View from Rome*, 142.

⁶³ Cardinal Vaughan and 15 bishops of the Province of Westminster issued 'A *Joint Pastoral*' letter on the church and liberal Catholicism (Dec. 29th 1900). See *The Tablet* 5 & 12 January 1901.

⁶⁴ Schultenover, *A View From Rome*, 366.

⁶⁵ See Tyrrell's letter to Rooke Lee, 5 January 1901, *A&L* Vol. II 153.

⁶⁶ Tyrrell, *A&L*, Vol. II, 150. In reality, Catholicism was growing rapidly in England, Cardinal Newman described the period as 'a second spring' in Catholic restoration. Following the restoration of the hierarchy in England by Pius IX, the Catholic population continued to grow, from 846,000 in 1850, reaching 1,691,000 by 1890 and 2,016,000 by 1900. For centuries Catholics had been oppressed, but now numbers were increasing rapidly supported by the conversion of influential people like Newman, old Catholic English families like the Petres, and Irish immigrants crowding into the cities, such as Tyrrell. See Currie, R. (1977), *Churches and Churchgoers: Patterns of Church Growth in the British Isles Since 1700*, 23-29; Newman, J.H.. (1892), 'The Second Spring, Sermons,' preached on various occasions, 163-183; Bossy, J. (1976), *The English Catholic Community 1570-1850*. For example, the Petre family had remained loyal to Rome since the Reformation, Bossy described the Petres as 'the one family of cast-iron landed magnates to remain invincibly Catholic from the Sixteenth Century onwards.' See also Clews, for an account of the importance of this family to English Catholicism. The loyalty and the courage of the Petre family through English history remains an inspiration to contemporary Catholics. It also helps to put into context the vindictive nature of the Southwark "vigilance committee," chaired by Bishop Amigo, who encouraged spying upon Petre's home by the Abbot of Storrington Priory, who frequently sent letters listing all the events taking place at Maude Petre's house. Members of the committee repeatedly called for further 'action' to be taken (excommunication) against Petre, but Amigo refused, fearing that Petre would be driven to writing further letters to a free, sympathetic press, informing the general public of the details of the Tyrrell affair.

The *Joint Pastoral* critiqued perceived errors of the Liberal Catholic school and also described what ‘true’ conformity to the mind of the church consists of. This consisted of the assent of faith to both dogmas revealed or closely connected with revelation, and a duty of ‘religious obedience’ to be rendered to church teachings that ‘do not fall under formal infallibility, as ordinary authority is exercised in feeding, teaching and governing her flock of Christ.’⁶⁷ Significantly, the ordinary authority of the Magisterium covers pastoral letters of bishops, most acts of the Supreme Pontiff that are not *ex cathedra* decisions of the Roman Congregations. The *Pastoral* provides an insightful indication of the extent to which the church moved forward during the Second Vatican Council, at least in theory. Like *Pascendi*, the *Pastoral* used extreme and vitriolic language to condemn those who prescribed a more liberal stance on authority than was being exercised by the ultramontane school in the ascendancy in Rome. In contrast to the language and pastoral methodology employed in the final documents of Vatican II, the 1900 *Pastoral* vilified those who sought change, describing them as: ‘wanting in filial docility and reverence,’ overtaken by ‘rationalism’ and ‘pure pride,’ ‘allured by fashion, curiosity, of desire to taste of the forbidden fruit,’ and ‘full of little but sneering and profane conversation and carping criticism.’ It is not surprising that Tyrrell felt he had no option but to re-enter the fray and defend the Modernist position.⁶⁸

The bishops, described their efforts to oppose the Modernists as ‘defenceless lambs in the midst of wolves.’⁶⁹ Tyrrell depicted their stance as ‘Reaction on the Rampage.’ He believed that those in authority ‘have no ghost of an idea what it is all about... authority is their one note – their whole tune.’⁷⁰ Tyrrell was particularly incensed by what he considered to be ‘the absolute incompetence of our clergy as a body to meet the incoming flood of agnosticism.’⁷¹ He doubted whether the bishops themselves had read thoroughly what had been written on ‘modern difficulties.’ Tyrrell lamented the fact that the bishops were not conversant with issues of the day. ‘They openly show that they speak without their book, when they say equivalently: Don’t look, don’t read, don’t think, listen to us, we know *a priori* there are no difficulties, still don’t look or you might see something.’⁷² He sought to gain liberty for apologetic, to defend the church and oppose the flood of agnosticism, realising that only liberty can render obedience intelligent.⁷³ Tyrrell rejected two central tenets of the *Pastoral*, namely, its conception of the divine origin of ecclesiastical authority and its theory of the relationship between the *ecclesia discens* and *ecclesia docens*. Tyrrell reacted against this conception of the church as creating an artificial two-tier structure based on hierarchical authority; he disputed that this was a legitimate development of earlier teaching.⁷⁴

⁶⁷ Tyrrell, *A&L*, Vol. II, 151. See also Tyrrell’s letter to Rooke Lee, 5 January 1901. *A&L*, Vol. II, 153-4. For further development see Sullivan, F.A. (1996), *Creative Fidelity: Weighing and Interpreting Documents of the Magisterium*, 80.

⁶⁸ Regarding the theory of development, the bishops lay down the only sense in which it may legitimately be accepted: ‘The doctrines of faith have not been cast into the world to be torn to pieces or to be discussed by mankind generally and elaborated at pleasure into a system of philosophy. They have been entrusted, as a Divine deposit, to the teaching Church, and to her alone to guard faithfully, and to develop and to explain, with Divine and infallible authority.’ *A&L*, Vol. II, 151.

⁶⁹ See further *A&L*, Vol. II, ‘*The Joint Pastoral*,’ 151.

⁷⁰ See further, *A&L*, Vol. II, 153.

⁷¹ Tyrrell, *A&L*, Vol. II, 153.

⁷² Tyrrell, *A&L*, Vol. II, 152.

⁷³ Tyrrell believed the real danger of the *Pastoral* was the *reductio ad absurdum* argument, for unfolding extreme conclusions to extreme premises.

⁷⁴ Tyrrell, *A&L*, Vol. II, 150. See *Lumen Gentium*, Chapter Three and in particular, the work of Leonardo Boff and Yves Congar who come to similar conclusions, Congar, Y. (1981), ‘Towards a Catholic Synthesis,’ in *Who has the say in the Church*, Moltmann, J. and Küng H. (1981), (Eds.), *Concilium*, 148-8, 68-80. Boff, L. (1985), ‘The Power of the Institutional Church: Can it be Converted?’ in *Church, Charism and Power – Liberation Theology and the Institutional Church*, 47-64. Boff, L. (1986), *Ecclesiology- The Base Communities Reinvent the Church*, 1986.

For Tyrrell the *Pastoral* was responsible for cleaving the church into two bodies, the one all active (the shepherds), the other all passive (the sheep). This idea of church would destroy its organic unity. It placed the pope (or the *ecclesia docens*) above the church. It stressed an ‘unqualified vicariate,’ that identified the pope with Christ. Altogether, Tyrrell judged that ‘this view is built on various fallacies of metaphor and on puerile exegesis, and on a contempt and ignorance of history.’⁷⁵ From Tyrrell’s perspective, it amounted to unqualified absolutism, ‘*L’Église c’est moi*’ literally seemed to refer to the pope. Writing to a friend, Tyrrell commented regarding the pope: ‘He is the steam engine; the episcopate is the carriages; the faithful are the passengers.’⁷⁶ However, one of the most difficult aspects of the *Joint Pastoral* for Tyrrell, was not the conceited treatment given to laity, nor was it a blatant abuse of power, but rather the neglect of acknowledgement of the Holy Spirit in directing the spontaneous workings of the collective mind.

In opposing the *Joint Pastoral*, Tyrrell presented his vision for the role of laity within the church and his critique of the ‘abuse of authority.’ Tyrrell’s critique leaps from the pages of the 1901 *Weekly Register*, where his vision was declared under pseudonymity. As always, Tyrrell argued from a pastoral perspective, in defiance of the *Joint Pastoral*, and in supporting the work of theologians who dare to ‘venture upon the sea of contemporary thought.’⁷⁷

Pascendi Dominici Gregis

For Tyrrell nothing personified abuse of authority more clearly in the church than the publication and implementation of the encyclical *Pascendi*.⁷⁸ In common with the English *Joint Pastoral*, it signified the beginning of a new epoch in ecclesial history. Its inspiration and justification undoubtedly came from Vatican I. Cardinal Merry del Val, the real power behind the throne, was astutely aware of the French revolution’s ant-religious and anti-traditional emphases. He appreciated an urgency for extending the theological and intellectual implications of the radical otherness of the church as Western societies embraced post-revolutionary modernisation. It must be stressed again, however, that the ecclesiastical character of Ultramontanism was not a mere post-revolutionary reaction. It was the direct heir of medieval papal and Counter-Reformation Catholicism. While Protestantism surrendered to rationalism, Erastianism and/or fragmentation, Catholicism held these forces in check, as *Pascendi* illustrated, through clericalism, triumphalism, juridicism and an enhanced uniformity. Thus, *Pascendi* was not fundamentally a reaction to the specific modernist

⁷⁵ See Tyrrell’s ‘private’ letter to the Editor of the *Weekly Register*, (May 1901), in *A&L*, Vol. II. 156.

⁷⁶ See Tyrrell to Rooke Ley, 27 April 1901, 160.

⁷⁷ See *Docens Discendo*, *Weekly Register*, Vol. 104, 19 July 1901, 68. Tyrrell wrote to von Hügel: ‘Give me not a Pope Angelicus, but a Pope Canute or Knut, who will set the Chair of Peter by the seashore and forbid the tide to wet his feet; and will thereby put his courtiers to shame.’ 17 June 1901 *A&L*, Vol. II, 332. The bishops of Vatican II contrast sharply with the authors of the *Joint-Pastoral*. They realised the legitimacy and necessity of Tyrrell’s ecclesiology and consequently returned to many of the issues he raised. The final public reaction to the *Joint-Pastoral* was the publication *CF*, (1903), in which Tyrrell formally opposed the *Pastoral* and presented his ecclesiology. In his private correspondence, Tyrrell became increasingly bitter and hardened in his attitude, particularly towards the (Roman) Jesuits on whom he laid the blame for this ‘reaction on the rampage.’

⁷⁸ Pius X’s encyclical letter, (8 September 1907), followed on from the Syllabus *Lamentabili*, (3 July 1907). *Pascendi* is the result of a series of backstairs intrigues, the coup of the victorious party in one of the competitive struggles between religious orders, in this case, the Dominicans and the Jesuits. Pius X was deeply attached to the Dominicans, so the Jesuits attempted to destroy the credibility of their rivals by branding them ‘Modernists.’ Thus with the publication of the encyclical the Dominicans were ousted and the Society of Jesus regained its position of influence.

challenge, as its motivation arose from the post-Reformation attempt to regain political power and influence.⁷⁹

Tyrrell challenged the Ultramontane understanding of history, calling into question the ‘idea of the church [as] the [direct] idea of Jesus.’ Tyrrell argued, stripped of its theological form, it is one thing to argue, that the doctrine of Catholicism represents the will of Jesus; it is another to contend that, its apocalyptic or theological form, can be accepted by the modern mind. The task that Tyrrell and other Catholic Modernists set themselves was to demonstrate Catholicism’s relevance for modernity.⁸⁰ The response of the Vatican to the work of Tyrrell and other Modernists was devastating. The language, the systematic methodology, and the proposed action that *Pascendi* demanded, sent shock waves throughout the Catholic world – then and now. During the conflict, Tyrrell’s Jesuit superiors insisted that he use his creative gifts with the spirit of Christian charity, a spirit eloquently outlined by Cardinal Newman.⁸¹ The complete lack of Christian charity contained within *Pascendi* is striking. The Vatican formalised a three pronged military response, culminating in the *Oath Against Modernism* (1910), which every future priest, bishop and professor of religious sciences had to take from 1910 until 1967. The formal condemnation of Modernism stalled the progress which Catholic theology had been making since the Council of Trent, Tübingen School and the *Nouvelle* theology, together with the impact of such scholars as Tyrrell, Möhler, Scheeben, and Newman. After *Pascendi* and until the Second Vatican Council, most Catholic theologians did not feel free to depart from the traditional manual textbook approach towards theological questions, posed in their wider historical and even ecumenical contexts.

Pascendi mounted the most comprehensive critique of Modernism and, by implication, of Tyrrell who acknowledged to Loisy⁸² that a great deal of the language and phraseology condemned in the encyclical was in fact his own.⁸³ ‘When I first read the document, I found myself in every paragraph, but as I said, I may be alluded to in fifty places which condemn what I hold’⁸⁴ *Pascendi* denounced

⁷⁹ See Gary Lease, ‘Vatican foreign policy and the origins of modernism,’ 31-55; and Paul Misner, ‘Catholic anti-Modernism: the ecclesial setting,’ Jodock, D. (Ed.), (2000), *Catholicism Contending With Modernity*, 56-88.

⁸⁰ See CC, 74 and Loisy’s *Évangile et l’Église*.

⁸¹ ‘The Role of the Theologian, *Donum Veritatis* and Newman,’ Amelia Fleming *Irish Theological Quarterly* (Sept. 2004) Vol. 69 no. 3, 263-279.

⁸² Tyrrell to Loisy, *GTL*, (Storrington) 20 October 1907.

⁸³ Loisy asked Tyrrell to note specifically which passages in *Pascendi* referred to his own work, see Tyrrell to Loisy, *GTL*, 20 October 1907. At first Tyrrell believed he saw his work on every page of *Pascendi*. Later he acknowledged that it was impossible to say. Loisy was convinced that the encyclical was aimed at him. Tyrrell wrote to Loisy: ‘When I first read the document, I like others perhaps, found myself in every paragraph; but now I see that, in most cases, it is impossible to say whether I, or Laberthonnière or Ward or Newman, or le Roy etc to be the culprit. He gave four instances in which he thought the reference was to him, complaining that “in all cases, they are *lectiones conflatae* and quite impossible to verify.”’ See Sagovsky, 233, 249 and Tyrrell to Loisy, 20 October, 1907. It is impossible to argue that the encyclical had any one person in mind. Its basic premise consisted of the notion that there is a group of Modernists, with a shared method and objective, see *Pascendi*, 8,9,23,48, ‘The synthesis of all heresies.’ In truth, it is not possible to say who the encyclical was aimed at, most likely the imaginary movement in the mind of Martín, Merry del Val and Pius X. The Most insightful source of information on this issue is Schultenover, *A View from Rome*, 23-24. My aim is to show what Tyrrell thought on this issue, I am writing about the consequences of Tyrrell’s thought and his subsequent action based on his perception, rather than engage with an hypothesis that cannot be substantiated i.e. that *Pascendi* was aimed at Tyrrell.

⁸⁴ Tyrrell to Loisy, *GTL*, 20 October 1907. *Pascendi* contains three parts: the first gives an account of what it means by Modernism, the second assigns its causes and the third indicates the measures to be taken for its extirpation. Pius X begins his critique stating his intention to exhibit the theory as a connected whole, with bearings on philosophy, belief, theology, history, criticism, apologetics, and Church administration. The starting point is in philosophy, from the Kantian principle that confines the limits of human knowledge to phenomena. All that lies beyond is, for our reasoning faculty, the unknowable. For a Christian this is no light claim. Kantian epistemology would destroy a Natural Theology

Modernism as the ‘heresy of all heresies.’ It engaged in a series of allegations that: ‘pride sits in the Modernist house;’ that ‘Modernists have been disfigured by perverse doctrine and monstrous error.’

The encyclical assumed there was a Modernist position and then set about the demise of its own imaginary invention: ‘they are the most pernicious of all the adversaries of the Church’ (n.8), the ‘ignorance of the Modernists’(n.43), ‘the confusion of the Modernists’ (n.46), the ‘temerity of the Modernists’(n.55), There was also a sinister aspect to the encyclical, with regard to the ‘practical implications.’ In rooting out those who may harbour Modernist tendencies, the encyclical called for ‘diligence and severity’(n.49). ‘Anyone who in any way is found to be tainted with Modernism was to be excluded without compunction’(n.40). The encyclical censured anyone who ‘carps at Scholasticism and the Fathers and the Magisterium’ and all who show a ‘love of novelty in history, archaeology, biblical exegesis, and all those who prefer secular sciences rather than sacred sciences’(ns.37-45). The encyclical moved on to inform the faithful that ‘God *hates* the proud and the obstinate mind, and therefore in the future, the doctorate of theology can only be conferred upon those who have made first the regular course of Scholastic philosophy’(ns.45-48).

The *Imprimatur* and *Nihil Obstat* were not sufficient for *Pascendi*. Bishops were moved to extreme measures, banning printing and publications: ‘We order that you do everything in your power to drive out from your dioceses, even, by solemn interdict, any pernicious books that may be in circulation there...the Holy See neglects no means to remove writings of this kind.’ Under the heading of ‘Censorship’ the encyclical argued, ‘it is not enough to hinder the reading and the sale of bad books – it is also necessary to prevent them from being published.’ Finally, as if intoxicated on its own power, *Pascendi* banned meetings, public gatherings and congresses except for very rare occasions and it introduced ‘Diocesan Vigilance Committees,’ whom it stated, ‘we are pleased to name the “Council of Vigilance.”’ It was their role to spy upon and report to the bishops all who they consider to be ‘tainted with Modernism,’ and who were not obeying the prescriptions of the Roman Pontiffs.⁸⁵ The encyclical concluded with a chilling reminder that the salvation of all who espouse modernism is at stake. This final threat towards the Modernists was predicted by Tyrrell in his ‘A Perverted Devotion,’ eight years prior to the publication of *Pascendi*.

The reliance upon vitriolic language and personal threats in the encyclical testified to the philosophical and theological inadequacy of the anti-modernist critique. The hierarchy projected images of intolerance and in enacting retribution helped exacerbate secularisation in Western culture. From today’s perspective, it represented the death rattle of Neoscholasticism, and signposts the twentieth century demise of the church’s influence in secular life.⁸⁶ By way of contrast, Tyrrell,

that attempts to deduce the existence and some of the attributes of God and the claims of Christian revelation to be taken as God’s actual communication with man. The encyclical is destructive, both in its forthright language of condemnation, and the subsequent draconian activities it insisted upon. The authors, under the heading of ‘Agnosticism’ (*Pascendi*, n.10), quote freely from Vatican I : If anyone says that the one true God, our creator and Lord cannot be known with certainty by the natural light of human reason - let him be anathema.(*Divine Revelation*, Canon 1) If anyone says it is not possible or not expedient that man be taught, through the medium of divine revelation about God – let him be anathema (Canon 2). If anyone says divine revelation cannot be made credible by external signs, and therefore man should be drawn to the faith only by their personal experience or by private inspiration - let him be anathema (*De Fide*, Canon 3).

⁸⁵ Southwark diocese vigilance committee spied upon Tyrrell and Petre. The minutes from their meetings are reminiscent of Arthur Miller’s *The Crucible*; in effect they amount to a rather distasteful witch hunt presided over by Cardinal Merry del Val and Bishop Amigo. As painful as it is to recall this action, it must not be forgotten or repeated.

⁸⁶ For a detailed account of the movement towards secularism in the nineteenth-century see Charles Taylor, ‘Nineteenth Century Trajectories,’ *A Secular Age*, (2007), 376-419. Here Taylor argues that, ‘orthodox belief among intellectuals and

Strossmayer, Acton *et al* maintained the principle that a living religion is subject to change, subject to ongoing interpretation of dogma, worship, scripture, ecclesial authority and even faith itself. Yet Tyrrell understood that evolution left to itself ‘runs the risk of bursting the banks of tradition, washing our roots away.’ Nevertheless, like Newman, Tyrrell went to considerable lengths to ensure that papal infallibility did not burst the banks of Tradition.⁸⁷

Strossmayer understood the importance of the role of the papacy for the church, but insisted that the dogma of infallibility debate is ‘about the rights of the Papacy,’ not the Papacy itself.⁸⁸ Strossmayer’s was a coherent position in the light of Newman’s nuanced *Letter to the Duke of Norfolk* noting that the Council aimed at protecting the ‘divine deposit,’ a justified prerogative, but not at the expense of espousing ultramontane consequences of Papal supremacy.⁸⁹ Tyrrell’s position became clearer in his final work, *Christianity at the Crossroads*, where he proclaimed that the foundation of the church is built upon the Gospel of Jesus Christ, a deposit that is sacrosanct, non-negotiable. He distinguished dogma from theology claiming that curial attempts to add to this deposit amounted to an abuse of authority.⁹⁰ Tyrrell acknowledged that the entire church was the sacred guardian of the divine deposit. Pius X mistakenly believed, that the Modernists attempted to diminish and weaken the authority of the ecclesiastical Magisterium, rather than the ultramontane exaggerations, that the Modernist critique was agnostic, immanentist, and evolutionary, and that it sacrilegiously falsified the church’s origin, character, and rights.⁹¹

In a misguided attempt to respond to Pius X, Tyrrell accepted an invitation from the *Times* and the *Giornale d’ Italia*, to reply to the new encyclical. Regardless of the possibilities of retaliation, Tyrrell became convinced that it was his vocation to witness to a pastoral cause, and his personal conviction that Scholasticism was not Catholicism, but rather a medieval ‘school of thought,’ within Catholicism. Most Catholics, and even some non-Catholics, regarded Tyrrell’s action as audacious. Even Tyrrell’s supporters thought that this time the risks were too great. Today it is difficult to imagine the outrage that such a decisive letter to the press could have generated. It was unprecedented for a Catholic priest to openly challenge the pope. To question the action of a pope

social elites comes once again under pressure.’ Taylor believes it is ‘a vector of advance of unbelief,’ 378. It is this ‘vector of unbelief,’ that Tyrrell attempted to challenge. The First Vatican Council, in many respects devoid of a ‘self consciousness,’ decreed that the doctrine of faith revealed by God, has not been proposed to human intelligence, to be perfected by them, as if it were a philosophical system, but rather as a divine deposit entrusted to the Spouse of Christ to be faithfully guarded and infallibly protected. Pius X quotes Gregory XVI (1834): ‘A lamentable spectacle is that presented by the aberrations of human reason when it yields to the spirit of novelty, when against the warnings of the Apostles it seeks to know beyond what it is meant to know, and when relying too much on itself, thinks it can find the truth outside the Church wherein truth is found without the slightest shadow of error.’ Const. *Dei Filius* cap. iv and Pius IX’s *Qui Pluribus*, 9 November 1846.

⁸⁷ See Newman’s ‘Letter to the Duke of Norfolk,’ ‘But a Pope is not infallible in his laws, nor in his commands, nor in his acts of state, nor in his administration, nor in his public policy. Let it be observed that the Vatican Council has left him just as it found him...What have excommunication and interdict to do with infallibility? Was St Peter infallible on that occasion at Antioch when St Paul withstood him? Was St Victor infallible when he separated from his communion the Asiatic churches? And, to come to later times, was Gregory XIII, when he had a medal struck in honour of the Bartholomew massacre? Or Paul IV in his conduct towards Elizabeth? Or Sixtus V when he blessed the Armada? Or Urban XIII when he persecuted Galileo? No Catholic ever pretends that these Popes were infallible in these acts.’ See Ian Ker, 236. Also Strossmayer formulates a similar position: see, Sivrić, 236.

⁸⁸ See Sivrić, 234 see also O’Gara, 72.

⁸⁹ Both Newman, Tyrrell *et al* went to extraordinary lengths to clarify this position, the *Joint-Pastoral, Pascendi* and the ‘Oath Against Modernism,’ etc. serve to vindicate their concerns.

⁹⁰ 40% of the European Cardinals at Vatican I were Italian curia, in this sense one may speak of Vatican II as the first *truly* ecumenical council.

⁹¹ See *Pascendi* – on the Historian, n.37.

was in itself inconceivable, but to answer him so critically, in a Protestant newspaper, remains almost unimaginable. Tyrrell's self-prophecy had come true: he had 'chopped off his own head and lobbed it at his enemy's head.' Petre goes to great lengths to justify his action, but Tyrrell's essay speaks for itself – it remains a masterpiece of church polemic.⁹²

Expediency as an Abuse of Power

Tyrrell rejected the authority of *Pascendi* and opposed every principle and philosophical argument it contained, in the same way as Pius X rejected every aspect and philosophical hypothesis of liberal Catholicism, yet both confessed to being Catholic. Tyrrell insisted Scholasticism and Ultramontanism are not pseudonyms for Catholicism, but rather a wide illumination of Vatican excesses. Tyrrell finally discarded the classification 'Modernism,' in favour of "liberalism" a term already in vogue and for Tyrrell more exact, although this clarification complicates Tyrrell's association with Newmanism. Tyrrell believed *Pascendi* interpreted Scholasticism as Catholicism. For Tyrrell, Modernism was an attempt to: 'separate Catholicism from its philosophical interpretation, as something plastic and neutral from its form.' Tyrrell insisted Catholicism is much more than one medieval worldview. While *Pascendi* intended to prove that the Modernist was not Catholic, 'it mostly succeeds only in showing him that he is no Scholastic – which he knew already!'⁹³

Pascendi was inspired to a large extent by secular concerns. It displayed the animosity and vindictive nature of those who wrote it and the harsh environment Tyrrell was forced to endure. One imagines that Tyrrell was not the only author who penned articles in the heat of the moment which he would later wish to withdraw. With hindsight it is possible to understand the wider context of *Pascendi*. One may also comprehend the significance of Tyrrell's critique. He was 'duty bound' to challenge what he believed to be hierarchical duplicity that became submerged in expediency during times of perceived crisis. It is difficult to find an epoch when the church was not in crisis, of one form or another. This was a clear example of the hierarchy's failure to act with Christian charity, thereby witnessing to Christ.⁹⁴ In this respect Tyrrell 'reminded' his Jesuit superior Fr. Colley that:

⁹² Tyrrell complied with both requests, see 'The Pope and Modernism,' *The Times*, 30 September and 1 October 1907 and *Giornale*, 25 September 1907.

⁹³ Tyrrell, *A&L*, Vol. II, 337. Provocatively Tyrrell praised the Scholastic theologian who penned *Pascendi*, 'for the picture he draws of Modernism is so seductive to an educated mind, and the counterpart so repellent, as to make the encyclical rather 'dangerous' reading for the children of the world.' Tyrrell enquires if the author is 'a traitor in the orthodox camp?' For he criticises Scholasticism 'entirely in the light of his own categories.' Even more controversially, Tyrrell moves on to question the intelligence of Pius X. He suggests that the subtle distinction between science-theory and the principles of criticism is beyond the Pope's understanding, therefore, the Pope: 'condemns because he does not understand'. See *A&L*, Vol. II, 335.

⁹⁴ Regardless of the 'Scholastic pen,' Tyrrell believed the Pope's own 'uncharitable' voice is clearly recognisable, not only in the drastic measures which form the most important part of the encyclical, but also in the 'sundry echoes of the allocation, going outside his own sphere to condemn the characters, secret intentions and motives of the Modernists.' Tyrrell argued the Pope condemns 'the persons,' because he does not understand the theories which deviate from the modern 'form,' an 'excellent precedent' established in the Fathers, and the Prophets, if not in the Gospels.' In a vitriolic personal attack Pius X accuses 'the persons' of 'pride and hypocrisy,' Tyrrell felt he had no option but to defend his Catholic faith. 'In his own voice (*Pascendi*) Pius X condemns *not only* the Modernists,' who must: 'be revealed to the whole Church in their true (malignant) colours, None are more crafty and insidious. Under the pretext of consciousness they try to ascribe to their zeal for truth what is simply the result of their pride and contumacy. Their one desire is to get themselves talked about. They are eaten up with just that indecent inquisitiveness and intellectual pride from which Scholastic theologians, with their well known modest hesitancy and reverently-reined curiosity, are so singularly free. Plainly it is not to such men that God reveals his secrets. It will be a relief, therefore, to turn from the intellectual weeds

‘Expediency must be the supreme rule of government. It is the way of the world. One is sometimes tempted to think it is God’s way too.’⁹⁵

Tyrrell responded to the authors of *Pascendi*, in their own idiom, ‘plainly it is not to such men that God reveals his secrets.’ *Pascendi* condemned the modernist doctrine that religion originates in the human soul, from ‘a certain movement of the heart’ or from an immanent sense of God, such as that of mystical experience.⁹⁶ Tyrrell continued to maintain following St. Augustine’s doctrine, that divine impulses, in the present order, are supernatural gifts of grace, had been ignored. To admit the Augustinian viewpoint would be favouring the modernist interpretation of the role of conscience.⁹⁷

Pascendi anathematized as ‘stupendous and sacrilegious audacity’ the notion that Christ’s religion or revelation was the expression of His own inward experience of ‘a process of immanent life.’⁹⁸

that spring from the soil of the pride and hypocrisy.’ It is worth quoting in part some of the above *Pascendi* text; it highlights why Tyrrell went to great lengths to translate the encyclical, and displayed the true nature of those who would oppose Modernism. In part undeniable it is well composed, but it would not be out of place amongst the script of Marlow’s *Faust*, or Pope’s Dr Arbuthnot, or even characteristic of a dispute between Oscar Wilde and the 9th Marquess of Queensbury, captured in *De Profundis*, prior to the publication of *Pascendi*. In this sense it is a document of its time, although it belongs to a political or satirical genre rather than a religious or spiritual. For a later development of this position see Rahner, ‘A Letter from the Pope in the Year 2020.’

⁹⁵ Tyrrell, letter to Colley, 24 January 1901. In this sense, modernists considered Tyrrell to be the voice of conscience the hierarchy did not want to hear.

⁹⁶ Rahner also shares this inward sense of God, believing ‘it is something which belongs to the constitution of human beings even in independence of revelation and the vocation which raises the Christian by grace to a participation in the life of God in the Trinity.’ Rahner acknowledges ‘an inner illumination by grace.’ In the process neither Rahner or Tyrrell exclude the ‘exterior historical revelation’, and stress the necessity of ‘rational mediation’ to avoid the ‘irrational, emotive’ stance which Tyrrell conceived as Liberal Protestantism. Once more we see Tyrrell’s concern with the ‘whole.’ See Rahner, K. (1961), *Theological Investigation I*, trans. Cornelius Ernst, Baltimore: Helicon Press, 82-83. For Aquinas, Tyrrell and Rahner, ‘The experience of self is the condition which makes it possible to experience God.’ Furthermore, ‘the personal history of experience of the self is the personal history of the experience of God. Aquinas maintained, ‘a complete return of the subject to itself’ (*reditio completa subjecti in seipsum*), takes place.’ Rahner, K. (1975), *Theological Investigations XIII*, ‘Experience of Self and Experience of God,’ trans. David Bourke, 124-129. See also Rahner, K. (1969), *Grace in Freedom*, ‘God is No Scientific Formula,’ trans. Hilda Graf, 191-195 and ‘The True God,’ Rahner, K. (1973), *The Priesthood*, trans. Edward Quinn, 12-15.

⁹⁷ Tyrrell turns to Newman for his understanding of conscience; see Newman’s ‘A Letter to the Duke of Norfolk.’ ‘The centrality of the concept conscience for Newman, is linked to the prior centrality of the concept truth and can only be understood from this vantage point. The dominance of the idea of conscience in Newman does not signify that he, in the nineteenth century and in contrast to ‘objectivistic’ neo-scholasticism, espoused a philosophy or theology of subjectivity. Certainly, the subject finds in Newman an attention which it had not received in Catholic theology perhaps since Saint Augustine. But it is an attention in the line of Augustine and not in that of the subjectivist philosophy of the modern age. On the occasion of his elevation to cardinal, Newman declared that most of his life was a struggle against the spirit of liberalism in religion. We might add, also against Christian subjectivism, as he found it in the Evangelical movement of his time and which admittedly had provided him the first step on his lifelong road to conversion. Conscience for Newman [and therefore Tyrrell], does not mean that the subject is the standard *vis-a-vis* the claims of authority in a truth-less world, a world which lives from the compromise between the claims of the subject and the claims of the social order. Much more than that, conscience signifies the perceptible and demanding presence of the voice of truth in the subject himself.’ See ‘Conscience And Truth,’ Joseph Cardinal Ratzinger, Presented at the 10th workshop for Bishops February 1991, Dallas, Texas.

⁹⁸ See also ‘Pius X, *Pascendi*, A&L, Vol. II, 332-340. The doctrine that dogmas, primary or secondary (as Newman classed them), in which the mind formulating the Divine object of religious experience, are according to *Pascendi* ‘inadequate notions thereof;’ that they ‘do not contain absolute truth,’ that, as such, they may vary and develop – Tyrrell insisted that all this theory, based on St Thomas’s doctrine of analogy, must go overboard as a ‘vast mountain of sophistries, destructive of all religion.’ To oppose *Pascendi* Tyrrell returns to one his most influential and valuable works: ‘RTD’ (1899), that religious formulas should be vital and should live the life of the religious sense, but that they should follow and not lead the process of spiritual development. To do otherwise Tyrrell argues ‘is mere insanity.’ In

Tyrrell maintained that ecclesial formulae at once reveal and conceal a truth, which the language, symbol and analogy strive to compass, but never succeed in compassing. *Pascendi* simply condemned the modernist opinion that religious formulae are ‘inadequate’ for expressing divine mystery. The encyclical described this aspect of the modernist position as ‘manifestly the greatest of errors,’ the authors of the encyclical insist that literally Christ instituted the church and the sacraments during his life.⁹⁹ Furthermore, *Pascendi* insisted that ‘God is the author, nay the dictator, of Sacred Scriptures, in which, therefore there can be no scientific or historical errors.’ It was not until 1943 with *Divino Afflante Spiritu* that Pius XII freed Catholic scripture scholarship to explore historical and form critical methods of the Bible – methods already being employed by Protestant scholarship.

It is perhaps true that the way authority is exercised in times of crisis is different from the way it is exercised at other times. It is reasonable to concede Pius X was right in believing that the church faced great danger if old certainties were questioned. The difficulty for church historians is to find a time when the church was not in crisis. If the church is to operate in opposition to society, that relationship usually will be based upon diametrically opposed philosophies. Therefore the way of the church is to live in constant tension within the cultural milieu. Nevertheless, the church is charged with challenging the value systems of particular cultures if they oppose or contradict the Gospel.¹⁰⁰

Political authority relies upon expediency and Tyrrell argued that expediency is an abuse of power. The pursuit of power belongs to the business of the politician, and of course Christians should be involved in politics, but the politician and the Catholic theologian must have contrasting *modus operandi*. The pursuit of political objectives often entails short term expediency, whilst a Christian pastoral hermeneutic requires theological reflection and discernment. Tyrrell attempted to draw a line in the sand between the two objectives in order to demonstrate that the Catholic principle of authority could be understood in a way that was compatible with long-term values such as liberation, individual freedom of conscience and democracy. He rejected the official interpretation as a

believing in a certain ‘intuition of the heart,’ in a sort of experience higher than any rational experience, *Pascendi* accuses the Modernists of Protestantism. Furthermore, to pretend to get to God except through the argument of causality is, according to the encyclical, ‘to pave the way to atheism.’ Tyrrell cannot help wondering where Rome would place St. John of the Cross, St Teresa and a host of canonised mystics. The object of faith for Scholasticism Tyrrell argued, is ‘a revealed theological statement.’

⁹⁹ See *Pascendi*, n.21, n.22, n.27, n.40, n.47.

¹⁰⁰ See Sullivan, (1996), *Creative Fidelity: Weighing and Interpreting Documents of the Magisterium*, Identifying defined dogmas in papal documents,’ 80-93. Sullivan makes it clear that *Pascendi* was a disciplinary statement and therefore does not carry the full weight of more formal Magisterial or Conciliar statements on doctrine. Tyrrell’s concern that *Pascendi* clearly defines obedience to the church as obedience to Christ, as if Christ and the church (*Ecclesia Docens*) are one. This philosophy would cleave the church into two bodies, the one all active the other all passive, destroying the organic unity of the church by putting the pope outside and above the church, the pope would become equal only with Christ. Tyrrell asks ‘is this Pius X who speaks, or some purple “dignitary”?’ Laymen do not by their learning modify the collective mind of the Church, and so help (as Newman supposed) in the imaginary development of dogma. Nor (apparently) do they understand their own intellectual exigencies better than the pope does – pretences which the encyclical attacks at great length, with satire and ridicule, attributes which may appear at home in the polemical writings of Tyrrell, but must appear strangely out of place in a papal encyclical. There remains the future possibility that if Cardinal Newman was canonised it would result in a resurgent interest in his work, for example ‘the role of the laity.’ See *Pascendi*, 22-26.

distortion of Catholicism and a ‘Vatican Heresy.’ At the same time, he continued to defend what he considered to be the true Catholic principle of authority.¹⁰¹

The Source of Authority and the *Sensus Fidelium*

Tyrrell questioned the source of authority. He asked: ‘is this God or Christ who is the source of all authority? By what vehicle does He speak and communicate with us, by voices from the clouds? Through mysterious intuition given to the episcopate? Or through the gradual evolution of His mind and will in the collective spirit of mankind?’¹⁰² Tyrrell argued that the church needs an institutional tribunal by which the laws and formulas of the pope or council can be revised and allowing for the possibility of a formal appeal to the general vote of the faithful in order to satisfy justice and validity. Ideally, Tyrrell maintained that individual discernment arises out from a Spirit inspired, pope led by an elected ecumenical council, that does not cast the popular or political vote, but one which is inspired by the concept of the ‘*sensus fidelium*.’¹⁰³

Developing his idealistic position further, Tyrrell suggested that authority comes from the Spirit of God working through the ages within the spirit of humanity.¹⁰⁴ The early church was aware of the presence of the Holy Spirit within the community, imparting gifts to each person for the good of the whole collective. In theory this bestows an authority based on *charism*, distinguishable from the institutional or hierarchical authority. The charismatic nature of authority designates the Christian community as guided by the Holy Spirit.¹⁰⁵ Gradually, as history demonstrates, the church moved

¹⁰¹ The issue of authority is the *raison d’être* of *Pascendi* and of Tyrrell’s ‘denial of the sacraments.’ Vatican II corrected *Pascendi*’s claim that, ‘Church authority comes into the Church from God outside’ and not immediately from the Holy Spirit immanent in the Church or from the collective religious consciousness to which the whole Church should be subject. See *A&L*, Vol. II. 320 and *Pascendi*, n.27, n.40, n.47, and *Lumen Gentium* Chapters 2, 4, and 5. See Tyrrell ‘From Heaven or From Men,’ 373, 381ff. In 1907 Tyrrell could assert with all confidence that democracy has come to stay, he argued that any other conception of authority will simply be unthinkable to future generations.

¹⁰² See Tyrrell ‘From Heaven or From Men,’ 381. We have discussed previously Tyrrell’s debt to Newman, perhaps in no other area of theology or ecclesiology is this more apparent than in Tyrrell’s understanding of the role of laity within the Church. See Newman’s *A Letter to the Duke of Norfolk* and ‘On Consulting the Faithful in Matters of Doctrine.’

¹⁰³ Tyrrell argued that, ‘above the constitutional headship, there is the pre-constitutional headship, which is a necessary fact and not a doctrine. It cannot be denied that in the life of that formless Church which underlies the hierarchic organisation, God’s spirit exercises a silent but sovereign power. The path of the Church’s progress is simply littered with the bleached bones of the long forgotten decisions and decrees which, in their day, were revered as immortal.’ Tyrrell, ‘From Heaven or From Men,’ 381. See also the above detailed analysis of Tyrrell’s thought on the *sensus fidelium*.

¹⁰⁴ See Tyrrell, ‘Authority and Evolution,’ ‘The Life of Catholic Dogma,’ *FM II*, 140-141.

¹⁰⁵ See Tyrrell, ‘The Mind of the Church,’ *FM II*, ‘Now the Spirit that speaks to the Church in revelation, and the Spirit of the listening Church are not merely alike, but are one and the same. It is assumed as a corollary, that not only does the Church proclaim the same truth which Christ proclaimed, but also that Christ by His continual living co-operation, lives in and speaks through His Church.’ 163. The Pauline letters show clearly the integration of the charismatic and the institutional aspects of the Church (1Cor.12.12). The Pauline theology of Christian community, after beginning with the fact of unity of the body of Christ in one Spirit, proceeds to the diversity of *charisms* in the body, according to the graces given to each member. ‘The body is one and has many members; there are many different members, but one body’(Rom.13.1-10). ‘Order and harmony in the body follow from the unity-in-diversity assured by the operation of the love given us through the Spirit; and so we must strive for peace among ourselves and with civil authority’ (Eph. 5:22). ‘For domestic peace and order’ (1Cor.13), and ‘for peace in our assemblies’. As we have seen in previous chapters both Tyrrell’s thought on doctrine and his philosophy of religion advocates a turn to the language and symbolism of the New Testament, consequently his leadership paradigm is founded in the historical person of Jesus. It is predominantly a pastoral model of discipleship, it is based on a philosophy which involves ‘assent’ of the will, rather than obligation of the mind derived from legalistic cohesion. Critics proclaim this to be a utopian paradigm, but nevertheless, Tyrrell insists it belongs to the Jesus found in the New Testament.

from a charismatic phase of leadership to an institutional phase. An organised hierarchy replaced charismatic leadership. (This is not to imply that the members of an elected hierarchy are not charismatic – many popes have been so.) The conversion of Constantine in the fourth century and the subsequent transformation of Christianity from an illegal Jewish cult into an official state religion of the Roman Empire, signalled for Tyrrell a failed opportunity for charismatic leadership.¹⁰⁶ Tyrrell struggled to distinguish between what he considered to be Christ's teaching on authority, with his lived experience of hierarchal power within the church. He claimed, perhaps naively, that those who love God need no coercion, pointing to a spiritual and not juridical understanding of leadership, a power over the heart and conscience.¹⁰⁷ He argued that, 'the passive infallibility of the *ecclesia discens* is an infallibility in believing and obeying, not in thinking independently.'¹⁰⁸ Tyrrell adopted what would later be deemed a hermeneutic of suspicion to critique the hierarchical structure within the church. Rationalised by theological theory, the hierarchical structure appeared to allow the ordained class to make all the decisions and develop theologies that justify its monopoly over doctrine by attributing the source of its power and authority to a divine origin. What actually happened was the domination of one group by another, (the *ecclesia Docens* over and above the *ecclesia discens*), resulting in an abuse of authority.

Tyrrell argued that in practice that the relationship between the *ecclesia docens* and the *ecclesia discens* is not equal or part of the whole, but rather distinguished literally as shepherd and sheep, 'the layman having simply to do what he is told.'¹⁰⁹ In its place Tyrrell argued for a return to the teaching of Christ as the source of authority. Tyrrell recalled it was characteristic of Christ that he laid aside His rights: 'you call me Lord and Master, ye say well; if I your Lord and Master wash

¹⁰⁶ Tyrrell anticipates the later thought of Leonardo Boff who observes, 'a paganization of Christianity took place, and not a Christianisation of paganism.' In an attempt to become 'legitimate,' the Church took on the Roman institutions: its laws, its bureaucratic centralisation, its ranks and titles. Even the terms used to describe the Church's organisation – "diocese" and "parish" – were absorbed directly from the Empire. This established the Church's source of authority – authority based on centralised power – exemplified by *Pascendi*. Tyrrell could almost be the author of *Church, Charism and Power* (1985), the similarities of purpose and belief are striking. Boff believes power is a *charism*, a witness essential for the future of the Church, the type of power Jesus used and urged upon his disciples. Boff describes the New Testament word *exousia*, which contrasts dramatically with the Latin *potestas* that characterised imperial Roman officialdom. See Boff, *Church, Charism and Power*, 51. See also Tyrrell, 'From Heaven or from Men.' The power Jesus used is the power to love. He explicitly warned his disciples not 'to lord it over others as the heathen do,' but 'to become like servants' (Mark 10:42-44). When Jesus said he was 'given all power in heaven and on earth,' and passed this power on to the apostles, he projected the power of love, which is different in nature from the power of domination. It is fragile, vulnerable, conquering through its weakness and its capacity for giving and forgiveness. Jesus always demonstrated this *exousia* in life (Matthew 28:18). Tyrrell returned to this theme in *The Church And The Future*, 'Christ took the form of a servant even though he was equal with God.' Christ tells his disciples: 'He who is greatest among you will be the least,' and 'do not lord it over them' (1 Peter 5:3). This represents a pastoral regimen, the rule of the spiritual shepherd who goes before his sheep, as Christ did, not one who drives them on unwillingly. When St. Paul sought a remedy for the disorders of the Corinthian Church, it was not in jurisdiction but in charity which renders obedience and looks to the common good out of love and not out of justice (1 Cor. 13). In this context justice is considered to be a legal punitive concept – although not democratic.

¹⁰⁷ Jesus of the New Testament recognises the futility and superficiality of all merely legal righteousness. If the spirit be there it will restrain the heart no less than the hand. The source of authority and power given to Peter was pastoral and not regal, *poimainein* not *regere*; the power over souls, as Christ exercised on earth. He drew men after Him and did not drive them before Him – by the power of his grace and truth, not by the power of his office. Tyrrell believed there is no evidence in the Gospels that Christ exercised and conferred upon His church a juridical power over souls and engaged to ratify any *bona-fide* blunders the Church might make in the exercise of such power. Yet Tyrrell maintained that such a view is inferred by the conception of juridical power. Tyrrell's equivalent is the distinction between *ecclesia Docens* and *ecclesia Discens*, i.e. the church is artificially divided into two orders – teachers and taught. See *A&L* Vol. II. 150.

¹⁰⁸ *A&L*, Vol. II, 158.

¹⁰⁹ The layman must, 'pay his fare and take his seat as so much ballast in the bark of Peter, while the clergy pull him across the ferry,' 155.

your feet,' and 'Lo I am in the midst of you as one that serveth.'¹¹⁰ The question of authority is complex both in Tyrrell's thought and theology generally. The dilemma Tyrrell sought to resolve arose from the *prima facie* conflicting passages within the New Testament. Accepting Jesus as the suffering servant juxtapositioned with the commendation of Simon Peter at Caesarea Philippi.

Tyrrell developed the position that the source of authority is God, present within the community discovered in the 'Mind of the Church.' Furthermore, Christ bestowed his spirit on the entire Church, and authority resides in the whole Christian community. The final authority is Christ as progressively revealed in the life of the church; from first to last 'it is the *consensus fidelium*.' Tyrrell applied this concept throughout his work.¹¹¹ He believed 'the Spirit of Christianity, (is) embodied in the past, present and future multitudes.'¹¹²

For Tyrrell, the church, and not just the pope, is the *Vicarius Christi*, the source of authority. Thus he claimed to be defending the Catholic principle, *securus judicat orbis terrarum*, against every form of individualism, and against the Protestant and the Ultramontane interpretation of Catholicism: 'which placed all authority in one man rather than the whole body or diluted authority until it became impotent in its transparency.' For Tyrrell, any interpretation that ignored the *lex orandi* dimension of the whole Church damaged the very spirit of Catholicism.¹¹³ He argued

¹¹⁰ Contrast: '*L'Église c'est moi* is literally the pope's attitude. He is the steam engine; the episcopate is the carriages; the faithful are the passengers.' *A&L*, Vol. II, 160. The New Testament does not contemplate explicitly the transformation of 'charismatic' into 'institutional' Christianity; it is only in a secondary and applied sense that utterances in the former can be referred to by the latter. Only gradually did the church move from a charismatic leadership to an organised hierarchy. The democratic nature of authority within the Christian community, which allowed Paul to challenge Peter, was soon forgotten as the church assimilated the imperial conception and source of authority current in society. 'Officers' whose source of authority was determined solely by their position replaced inspired leaders and prophets. This process of 'Catholicizing' Christianity was necessary for the growth and development of Christianity, but the price was institutional authority, which encompassed a movement away from the simple charismatic teachings of Jesus, together with the very human potential, for errors and corruption. See Tyrrell, *CF*, 165-6. For Tyrrell, a pastoral hermeneutic advocates that the source of true authority should be 'spiritual' and not 'governmental,' it acts by suasion and 'witness' and not by authority and law. See Tyrrell, *CF*, 129.

¹¹¹ See Tyrrell, 'From Heaven or From Men,' published originally in *Il Rinnovamento*, although not part of the original work, Tyrrell utilised it to become the concluding chapter (XIII) of *TSC*, with the following explanation: although, 'it does not belong to this sequence... it bears so nearly on the conception of the church assumed throughout this volume, that the whole system stands and falls with its main contention: The authority of the collective over the individual mind as being the adequate organ through which truth, whether natural or supernatural, progressively reveals itself, has always being the fundamental assumption of Catholicism – *Securus judicat orbis terrarum*,' 355. For a detailed historical account of *Sensus Fidelium* in the life of the church, including the New Testament through to the church Fathers, medieval and modern, See William M. Thompson, '*Sensus Fidelium* and Infallibility,' *The American Ecclesiastical Review*, Vol. 167, no.7, (Sept. 1973), 450-486.

¹¹² See Tyrrell, *New York Review*, '*Consensus Fidelium*,' 254. Other Tyrrell works on the theme include *A Much Abused Letter*, 48., *CF*, 'On Church Government,' 165-175. For an informative synopsis validating Tyrrell's position see Thompson, including: *sensus fidelium* in the 'New Testament,' 452; 'Church Fathers' 453; 'Medieval Period,' 455; 'Reformers' Theology,' 457; 'Post Reformation,' 461; 'the Council of Trent offers one of the first instances of an explicit use by the Magisterium of the *Sensus Fidelium*' 468; perhaps more surprising, 'we find cited in annotation 16, Chapter 9 *De Ecclesiae infallibilitate*, of the first draft of the schema, a discussion on Tridentine Theology which emphasises *Ecclesia in credendo*, and illustrates the first scheme, at least intended to give a rightful place to the *Sensus Fidelium*;' 'Newman,' 'whose approach is *a posteriori*, firmly grounded in historical research,' 463; 'Vatican II,' 470.

¹¹³ Tyrrell, 'From Heaven or of Men,' 'any interpretation... which renders futile the collective experience and reflection of the whole Church, destroys the very essence of Catholicism in favour of a military dictatorship which is the apotheosis of individualism,' 355.

consistently from 1899 onwards, that ‘the direct heir of Christ’s spirit is the whole multitude of the faithful,’ the *consensus fidelium*.¹¹⁴

The *Sensus Fidelium* and *Lex Orandi*.

Tyrrell claimed emphatically that his ‘whole system stands or falls with its main contention,’ namely, ‘the authority of the collective over the individual mind.’ He asserted that this font of truth, ‘has always been the fundamental assumption of Catholicism.’¹¹⁵ Focusing upon the significance the Council Fathers of Vatican II gave to the *consensus fidelium* and the development of the expression in contemporary theology, John J. Burkhard, offers a concise and informative synopsis of the axiom.¹¹⁶

¹¹⁴ See Tyrrell, *CF*, 172. Tyrrell categorically opposed the official understanding of authority, which he summarised: ‘Christ and his Apostles are held to have delivered the complete *‘Depositum fidei’* (i.e. the dogmas, sacraments and other essential institutions of Catholicism as now existing) to St. Linus and the episcopate united with him. In turn they have transmitted it infallibly to their successor, without substantial increment but only more fully ‘explicated,’ illustrated, systematised.’ *CF*, 129. and 171. Tyrrell’s position on development oscillates between what may be considered primary and secondary revelation. The teachings of Jesus in their integrity (primary) cannot be surpassed by later ecclesial philosophical propositions. However, theological interpretation remains susceptible to development in the light of new knowledge. This positioned was outline in ‘RTD,’ (1899) and returned to in numerous works of Tyrrell, for example see *LO*, (1902).

¹¹⁵ For example, Tyrrell, ‘From Heaven or of Men,’ 355. See also Tillard, J.M.R., ‘*Sensus Fidelium*,’ *One In Christ*, Vol. XI, (1975), no.1. Here Tillard draws out the full implication of the axiom in a Catholic context: ‘For her, (the Church) in fact, this *Sensus Fidelium* is, together with what she calls the unanimous *consensus* of the Fathers and Doctors, one of the major threads which makes up tradition.’ 5. Tyrrell refers to an underlying reality which takes on specific nuances and characteristics in each ‘theological age.’ And that the underlying reality is ‘the faithful Christian participation in the enduring promises of Jesus Christ.’ 450. William Thompson supports the historical-traditional credibility of Tyrrell’s pastoral hermeneutical assertion. The axiom *Sensus Fidelium*, which is at the heart of Tyrrell’s ecclesiology exists from the time of the New Testament via the Church Fathers (for example, Tertullian and Augustine), the Council of Trent, Newman and the two Vatican Councils. Although the phrases are not identical see previous chapter for historical-traditional credibility of the axiom *lex orandi*. See also Thompson, regarding *Sensus Fidelium*,’ Thompson believes the role of the faithful believer is a central component of Christian theological tradition, drawing upon: ‘the anointing of God’ text from John 2:27, and also the Fathers and theologians, in the recurring phrases: *Sensus Fidei* of the scholastics, in the phrase *Consensus Fidelium*, *Sensus Ecclesiae*, *Sensus Catholicus*; in papal documents, it is also considered as: *Christiani Populis* and *Communis Ecclesiae Fides*. See William M. Thompson, ‘*Sensus Fidelium* and Infallibility,’ *The American Ecclesiastical Review*, Vol.167, no.7, (Sept. 1973), 450-486.

¹¹⁶ See John Burkhard ‘*Sensus Fidei*: Theological Reflection Since Vatican II: I 1965-1984,’ *Heythrop Journal* 34 (1993), 141-158 and John Burkhard ‘*Sensus Fidei*: Theological Reflection Since Vatican II: II 1985-1989,’ *Heythrop Journal* (1993), 123-135. Following this extensive study Burkhard concludes, there appears to be a growing agreement among post Vatican II theologians that: (i) *Sensus Fidei* is seen by the Council in the broader context of the infallibility of the whole Church. This means that it is ultimately an ecclesial reality. (ii) this infallibility, experienced and expressed as a ‘sense’ of the faith, is the direct gift of the Lord of the Church through his Spirit to the whole Church and to each member. (iii) the *Sensus Fidelium*, however one may translate the expression, pertains to the realm of knowledge, but where knowledge is understood to be a form other than discursive reasoning. (iv) It is entirely inappropriate to speak of the *Sensus Fidelium* as something ‘passive,’ in contradiction to an ‘active’ exercise by the hierarchical Magisterium or by theologians. (v) A naïve explanation is to be avoided. The *Sensus Fidelium* brings its own limitations, dangers and temptations. It is something to be welcomed but also achieved. (vi) Believers who receive the gift are also called to realise it. It is never automatic or mechanical and persons bring the weight of their own fragility, desire for power, self-appointed goals and sinfulness into play. See also John J Burkhard’s new work: *Sensus Fidei*: Recent Theological Reflections (1990-2001) Part I,’ *Heythrop Journal*, (Oct. 2005), 450-475; and John J Burkhard, ‘*Sensus Fidei*: Recent Theological Reflections (1990-2001) Part II,’ *Heythrop Journal*, (Jan. 2006), 38-54.

Both Augustine and his contemporary Vincent of Lérins believed that the catholicity of faith is tied to the universal consent of the faithful about the content of faith.¹¹⁷ Following the lead of the sixteenth century theologian Melchior Cano (d.1560),¹¹⁸ Newman distinguished the ‘sense of the faithful,’ from the ‘sense of the Church’ (*sensus ecclesiae*). Ideally there should be an accord (*conspiratio*) of the doctrinal convictions among the faithful and their pastors. Controversially, though, as we have seen, Newman stated that ‘the faithful do not include the pastors.’ Crucial to Tyrrell’s formation, and with reference to the Arian crisis of the fourth century, Newman highlighted the role of the laity regarding the *sensus fidelium* of the laity. The Arian heresy illustrated how many clergy were affected by heresy but that the majority of the laity were defenders of orthodoxy. In this instance Newman writes, ‘the body of the episcopate was unfaithful to its commission, while the body of the laity was faithful to its baptism.’¹¹⁹

The ‘idea’ of the *sensus fidelium* reached its zenith when it became recognised as being of the Spirit. Newman argued that the ‘idea’ moves from the mind of the individual to the mind of the church, where it can be interpreted from a multitude of perspectives. The Holy Spirit inspires both teachers and learners within the church - the *conspiratio pastorum et fidelium*. In our current context this *conspiratio* evokes a tense relationship between the teaching function of the church and the role of the laity in arriving at explicit knowledge of the content of faith.¹²⁰ Newman’s understanding of the *conspiratio* suggested that the teachers become learners, and the learners become teachers. The entire Church is charged with transmitting the faith. Newman also believed the *conspiratio pastorum et fidelium* means more than is found in the *ecclesia discens*. As Tyrrell ironically noted, the relation between the *ecclesia discens* to the *ecclesia docens*, ‘is just a question of the constitution of the Church!’¹²¹

For Newman and Tyrrell the laity provide a mirror in which the bishops could recognise themselves. In the English context, such was not the case. Newman’s dispute with Bishop Ullathorne concerning the specific role of the laity in education, broadened into a deeply theological question over the role of the laity, and therefore involved clarification of the very nature of the church. Towards the end of his influential essay on ‘The Development of Christian Doctrine,’ Newman prophesied with regard to the consequences of the inherent neglect of the *sensus fidelium*: ‘The educated classes will terminate in indifference, and the poorer in superstition.’¹²²

Lumen Gentium (10:3), speaks of the church as one body under Christ; the church is the spouse of Christ. The pope and the magisterium remain a part of the whole, interpreting and transmitting the *sensus fidelium* in unification with the *sensus fidelium*. A practical model of authority is necessary to empower the *ecclesia discens* to remain within the collegial body; the antithesis would see the pope,

¹¹⁷ Lérins is famous for the classic statement on *Cconsensus*: within the Church itself, care must be taken that we hold on to that which has been given everywhere (*ubique*), at all times (*semper*), and by all the (*omnibus*) faithful. For a detailed critique of the ‘reality’ of the *Sensus Fidelium* in the New Testament see Walter Kirchschräger, ‘Was das Neue Testament über den Glaubenssinn der Gläubigen sagt,’ 7-24.

¹¹⁸ See Dobbin, E.J. ‘*Sensus Fidelium* Reconsidered,’ *New Theology Review* 2 (1989), 48-64. Most authors agree that Melchior Cano (d.1560) was the point of departure for the systematic usage of the term *sensus fidelium*.

¹¹⁹ Newman, J.H. (1961), *On Consulting the Faithful in Matters of Doctrine*, (Ed.), Coulson J. and Newman, J.H. (1865), *History of My Religious Opinion*, 323.

¹²⁰ Yves Congar described Newman’s *conspiratio* as a community instinct. Newman believed, ‘The people have a special right to interfere in questions of devotion.’ See Holmes, D.J. (Ed.), (1979), *The Theological Papers of John Henry Newman on Biblical Inspiration and Infallibility*, 104.

¹²¹ George Tyrrell, *The Weekly Register*, 17 February 1901.

¹²² Newman, J.H. (1878), *An Essay on the Development of Christian Doctrine*, Revised Edition, (Ed.), C.F. Harrold, 31.

Christ like, as the spouse of the church. In predicting this eventuality, Tyrrell advocated that *ecclesia discens* must remain with the heart of the faithful.

A reasoned appropriation to Newman's and Tyrrell's reflections on the *Sensus Fidelium* did not materialise until the Second Vatican Council. In this respect, it is as though these two converts to Catholicism set the agenda for Vatican II. It is suggested that *Lumen Gentium* (Chapters 1-7) may be understood as the long waited sequel to 'On Consulting the Faithful in Matters of Doctrine.' Heinrich Fries captures the contemporary moment when he insinuated that the most important guiding principle concerning 'a Magisterium of the Faithful' has been derived from the pronouncements of the Second Vatican Council.¹²³ In particular, Chapter II of *Lumen Gentium* understood the church as the 'People of God;' and before any distinction is drawn between lay and hierarchical roles we read:

The holy People of God shares also in Christ's prophetic office. It spreads abroad a living witness to him ... the body of the faithful as a whole, anointed as they are by the holy One, cannot err in matters of belief.¹²⁴

A forerunner of this approach is found in Newman's *Essay on the Development of Christian Doctrine* (1845), when he argued that faith is shared by a communion of minds, ever engaged in passing judgements on things which come before it. Paul Crowley makes clear that 'by consent' is meant a *consensus* about the faith received and transmitted. He argued that 'such consent rests upon a sense of faith, the *sensus fidelium*, held by all baptised persons. Crowley offers a further insight in noting how a valid understanding could be that it is the collective faith consciousness of all the faithful which leads to a consensus of faith.¹²⁵

Contemporary Relevance of Tyrrell

Vatican II acknowledged a long held ecclesial tradition, that the faith is received and transmitted not solely through the teaching Magisterium, but essentially through all the faithful, by virtue of the *sensus fidelium*. *Lumen Gentium* (n.12) revealed the underlying Spirit of the Council. The People of God aroused and sustained by the Spirit of truth, 'receive not the mere word of men, but truly the word of God' (cf. 1 Th. 2:13). This teaching can be found in a number of places throughout the documents of Vatican II.¹²⁶ *Lumen Gentium* encouraged active participation of the laity in ecclesial matters. It called for a living association of all those who belong to the People of God. To share in Christ's prophetic office requires witness in our families and in our daily social political life; it cannot entail passivity and silence. Active witness to our faith is an essential component of our testimony to Christ in daily life.¹²⁷

¹²³ Heinrich Fries, 'Is there a Magisterium of the Faithful?' *Concilium*, 180, (1985), 4.

¹²⁴ *Lumen Gentium*, n.12.

¹²⁵ For an insightful account of the *Sensus Fidelium* see: Paul G. Crowley, 'Catholicity, Inculturation And Newman's *Sensus Fidelium*.' *The Heythrop Journal*, XXXIII (1992), 161-174.

¹²⁶ *Lumen Gentium* n.12, *Dei Verbum* n.8, *Gaudium et Spec* n.43, *Apostolicam Actuositatem*, n.3.

¹²⁷ Heinrich Fries reminds us that 'witness is eminently a matter of vital activity. It is bound up with the testimony of the world and life.' See Fries, 88-89.

The Franciscan theologian John J. Burkhard is responsible for one of the most sustained and systematic contemporary studies of the *sensus fidelium*.¹²⁸ Considering major contributions to the debate, over a forty-year period, Burkhard attempts to incorporate the notion of *sensus fidelium* organically into a general theory of faith. He believes that post-1965, theologians have been spurred on by the re-discovery of former theological truths, such as the notion of *sensus fidelium* and reception.¹²⁹ For example, Magnus Löhrer is convinced that the whole church shares responsibility for and mediates in history the revelation that comes to it in scripture and tradition.¹³⁰ In as much as the divine truth is entrusted to human beings there is always an inherent danger of dogma (secondary) obscuring and obstructing the *kerygma* (primary). In this regard Tyrrell compiled an elementary test of authenticity: (i) does the dogma make us pray more, (ii) love more (iii) and bring us into closer union with God?¹³¹ Löhrer emphasises the task of mediating revelation in history does not belong exclusively to the hierarchy or to any single group or individual, rather it is the task of the church as a whole. Indeed Löhrer insists that it is necessary to formally adopt the expression ‘Christian People’ to the laity because then we can understand more clearly the specific contribution of the laity in mediating revelation.

The Vatican II ‘Degree on the Apostolate of the Lay People’ (*Apostolicam Actuositatem*, 1965) is clear on this point, that the laity fulfils this role by teaching and witness in every activity, by handing on revelation through personal confession, teaching in a wide variety of capacities, particularly in the family, leading prayer, giving religious instruction, through writing and other forms of creative expression.¹³² Löhrer believes that through these varied forms of mediating revelation the Christian people bring the *sensus fidelium* to expression. While Tyrrell emphasised the need for both the laity and hierarchy to be part of the one body, Löhrer emphasises further the role of the laity in ‘a uniqueness which proves the insight of so many theologians in the church’s history that the *sensus fidelium* of the laity constitutes a genuine *locus theologus* both for the theologians and the hierarchy.’¹³³ The congruence between Tyrrell’s *lex orandi* axiom and the contemporary understanding of the *consensus fidelium* indicates a shift of the balance of power within the church, in returning the faith ‘to the direct heirs of Christ’s spirit – the whole multitude of the faithful, the *consensus fidelium*.’¹³⁴

The Location of the *Sensus Fidelium*

Löhrer locates the *sensus fidelium* within the mission of the church. Its role is to mediate revelation to future generations. The *sensus fidelium* is capable of producing a statement of faith that

¹²⁸ In drawing together contemporary theological reflection on the *Sensus Fidelium* I am indebted to the detailed study of John J. Burkhard of the Washington Theological Union. See, ‘*Sensus Fidei*: Theological Reflections since Vatican II: I 1965-1984,’ *Heythrop Journal* 34 (1993), 141-158; ‘*Sensus Fidei*: Theological Reflections since Vatican II: II 1985-1989,’ *Heythrop Journal* 34 (1993), 123-135; ‘*Sensus Fidei*: Recent Theological Reflection 1990 – 2001’ Part I,’ *Heythrop Journal* (2005), 450-475; ‘*Sensus Fidei*: Recent Theological Reflection 1990 – 2001, Part II,’ *Heythrop Journal* (2006), 38 – 54.

¹²⁹ For example see, ‘Reception as an Ecclesiological Reality’ Alberigo, G. & Walter, A. (Eds.), ‘Election and Consensus in the Church,’ *Concilium* 77, (1972), 43-68; Thomas P. Rausch, ‘Reception Past and Present,’ *Theological Studies* 47, (1986), 497-508; Johann Baptist Metz & Edward Schillebeeckx (Eds.) *Concilium* 180, (1985). *The Teaching Authority of Believers*, with essays by Schillebeeckx, Fries, Vorgrimler, Waldenfels, Duquoc, Fiorenza, Sobrino and Cooke.

¹³⁰ See Magnus Löhrer in Burkhard, ‘1965-1984, Part I,’ 141-143 and Tyrrell’s letter to Abbé Loisy: ‘if the Church is to be reformed it can only be, as in the past, by a strong lay revolt.’ 20 October 1907, *GTL*, 87.

¹³¹ Tyrrell, ‘RTD,’ *The Month*, (Nov. 1999), 423-424.

¹³² *Apostolicam Actuositatem*, n.9, n.11, n.13, n.15.

¹³³ See Löhrer, 45.

¹³⁴ See Wolfgang Beinert in Burkhard, 45.

corresponds to the historical situation. It must have a place within a given time in order to find incorporation into the concreteness of life. Löhrer argues that only the laity '(often) correctly and comprehensively grasp the corresponding situation (reception), especially in the broad area of what touches both the church and the world, and so only they are able to formulate the corresponding imperatives.'¹³⁵

In 1900 Tyrrell argued clearly that the doctrine of the *sensus fidelium* places the infallibility of the Magisterium within the context of the infallibility of the whole church. Vatican II developed this point in terms of the salvific fellowship of the believer with God as mediated by Christ.¹³⁶ Wolfgang Beinert believes that the 'Doctrine of the *Sensus Fidelium* also creates the climate for a broader reception by believers of what the hierarchy teaches by providing more transparency to what is taught.' Beinert defines *sensus fidelium* as 'a free charism of all members of the Church by which they come to an internal agreement as regards the object of faith,' and by which 'the Church in its totality acknowledges the object of belief and confesses this belief in daily life and in constant fidelity to the ecclesiastical Magisterium.'¹³⁷

A mass of contemporary evidence suggests that Tyrrell's work on the *Sensus Fidelium* deserves to be recognised for its theological significance. This indicates the prophetic nature of Tyrrell's theology and suggests that the theological conflict he was engaged in, together with the personal denunciation he experienced from the hierarchy, should be revisited.¹³⁸

Tyrrell's work illustrates that the *sensus fidelium* is located in the context of the infallibility of the whole church, as an active participation of the laity in the church's pursuit of the interpretation of revelation. The *sensus fidelium* is located in the broad scope of action of the Spirit in the church. The *sensus fidelium* is directly empowered by the Spirit; together with scripture and tradition it works through many different people, theologians, hierarchical Magisterium, priests, educated laity and popular faith. It is therefore exercised by prophets, reformers, mystics and saints.¹³⁹ The truth of Christianity creates a salvific reality that is a basis of trust between all these persons and on which the life of the believer can be founded. Beinert highlights this 'salvific, interpersonal truth, (that) reaches the believer through a community which mediates this truth in history.' Newman insisted that:

... the body of the faithful is one of the witnesses to the fact of the tradition of revealed doctrine, and ... their *consensus* through Christendom is the voice of the Infallible Church. I think I am right in saying that the tradition of the Apostles, committed to the whole Church in its various constituents and functions *per modum unius*, manifests itself variously at various times: sometimes by the mouth of the episcopacy, sometimes by the doctors [i.e. theologians], sometimes by the people, sometimes by liturgies, rites, ceremonies, and customs, by events, disputes, movements, and all other phenomena which are comprised under the name of history. It follows that none of these great channels of tradition may be treated with disrespect; granting at the same time fully, that the gift of discerning,

¹³⁵ *Lumen Gentium* n.12 and Tyrrell's 'Consensus Fidelium,' *The New York Review*, (Aug.-Sept. 1905).

¹³⁶ *Apostolicam Actuositatem*, n.18, n.20, n.29.

¹³⁷ See Löhrer, 46 and Beinert, 45.

¹³⁸ Tyrrell, 'The Mind of the Church,' *FM II*, 159, 163, 165, 168, 172, 174.

¹³⁹ Tyrrell, 'On Church Governance,' *CF*, 173-5.

discriminating, defining, promulgating, and enforcing any portion of that tradition resides solely in the *Ecclesia docens*.¹⁴⁰

Today, diocesan synods and various other forms of committees, are attempting to depth an understanding of the *sensus fidelium*. Tillard believed that the primary location of the *sensus fidelium* is the communion of believers, and that each member exercises it only within that communion. Xaver Kaufmann insists that the *sensus fidelium* is located in a 'network of organisational structures' that both facilitate the 'teaching and learning of communicate praxis,' on a local level, but also with the potential to connect to the universal *sensus fidelium*. Dietrich Wiederkehr believes the desire to achieve *consensus* of the faithful is better achieved on a local level within specific cultural circumstances, and with the authority of the Episcopal Conference.¹⁴¹ This would have the advantage of involving individuals and groups meaningfully in the process of the *sensus fidei*. Major difficulties arise during attempts to insert the *sensus fidelium* into concrete history. Only at the level of local struggle can a meaningful process begin, one that requires genuine institutional support and direction.¹⁴²

The Concrete Context of the *Sensus Fidelium*

Beinert argues that the function of the Magisterium and the totality of believers are the same. The difference is found in how they are exercised and not in the content of what is being witnessed. This results in a relationship of complementarity, allowing the *sensus fidelium* to enjoy the privilege of being more complete in its function of witnessing to the truth of the faith. As Beinert insists, since the truth is not only rationally expressed but encompasses the whole person's existence, the *sensus fidelium*, can often be expressed better and more appropriately by the whole church than by the Magisterium alone. Beinert argues that the *sensus fidelium* clearly has a function in the church for two reasons: (i) 'because the *sensus fidelium* cannot be adequately separated from the same witness to faith exercised by the hierarchical Magisterium and (ii) because the way it gives witness in the life of the Church, and hence is unique in exercising its own function.'¹⁴³

The *sensus fidelium* works within the concrete situations of the day because truth is also concrete and to be found both in orthodoxy and orthopraxis. Fries adopts a similar position to Tyrrell's critique of the *Joint Pastoral* (1900) when he asserts that, 'Any understanding of church that attempts to divide the church into a teaching church and a learning church manifests an erroneous and an unhealthy view of the reality of church. This does not exclude a difference of ministries, of

¹⁴⁰ Newman, J.H. *On Consulting the Faithful in Matters of Doctrine*, (1961), 63.

¹⁴¹ Kaufmann, X, (1994), 'Glaube und Kommunikation: eine soziologische Perspektive,' 132-160. Dietrich Wiederkehr (Ed.), *Der Glaubenssinn des Gottesvolkes – Konkurrent oder Partner des Lehramts? Quaestiones disputatae* 151.

¹⁴² If the *Consensus Fidelium* is to be acknowledged as existing, in line with tradition, then means should be discovered to allow it institutional expression to ensure the voice of the faithful is recognised. No doubt this is fraught with difficulty, as was the introduction of democracy into parliament. To ignore the *Consensus Fidelium* is paramount to steering the ecclesial vessel into the iceberg of secularism. Tyrrell also articulated clearly that morality is not an issue to be decided by the majority. (For a development of this argument see Tyrrell's 'The Corporate Mind,' *TSC*, 256.) For example, Cardinal Leo Joseph Suenens attempted to defend the sanctity of conscience, imploring his fellow bishops: 'I beg you my brothers let us avoid another Galileo affair; one is enough for the Church.' In an interview in *Informations Catholiques Internationales* on May 15, 1969, Suenens strongly defended collegiality as defined by the Council. Two months later, the controversial 'Winnipeg Statement' was issued by the Canadian Bishops Conference, stressing the role of conscience. See Hebblethwaite, P. (1993), *Paul VI*, 533; and *A New Catechism*, 402. It is intriguing to ponder in the light of Tyrrell's work, what influence the *Consensus Fidelium* may have brought to bear on attempts to navigated certain icebergs in our history, for example, *Humanae Vitae*, Galileo and even the Reformation?

¹⁴³ Beinert 47.

charisms and of functions, but these have their value when the church is understood as *communio*.¹⁴⁴ In order to achieve consensus in the church, the *sensus fidelium* requires the availability of information, and true dialogue is necessary between all groups. Edmund J. Dobbin adds that, ‘without a healthy dialectical interaction between these two forms or active charisms of truth, inauthenticity in belief would result for individuals and the church as a body.’¹⁴⁵ It is therefore possible in his view that the pope and bishops formulate doctrine from wisdom of the *sensus fidelium* - a fact accountings for change regarding doctrine within the church. The fact that the Magisterium finds it necessary to consult the faithful on matters of doctrine would confirm the reality that the Magisterium appreciates the work of the Spirit in the faithful.

The *Sensus Fidelium* is never passive

Tyrrell insisted that the *consensus fidelium* is ‘the teacher of its teachers.’ Furthermore, ‘no one is fit to teach who has not been taught by it.’ The *sensus fidelium* guards the Tradition.’ Our faith is ‘not merely to be in the hands of others,’ we do ‘not discover but verify. It is a Tradition for which each holds himself responsible, and it is, therefore, not a crowd tradition.’¹⁴⁶ On the other hand, Tyrrell warns that:

The official teaching-class may easily degenerate and take on some characteristics of the crowd. It may and often does, stiffly resist all modification and perfection of tradition, and so cut itself off from the very sources of its life and fruitfulness. And it may, in consequence, try to rule the minority and the multitude by exactly the same methods, with the eventual result of losing credit and influence with both. Or worse still, by a complete inversion of its function, it may become an instrument by which the crowd-mind is imposed on the minority, and “Folly, doctor-like,” assumes the control of skill.¹⁴⁷

William M. Thompson’s work indirectly offers a critical insight into Tyrrell’s prophetic assessment of the *sensus fidelium*. Thompson argues the *sensus fidelium* is not to be conceived as passive reception of Christian truth. The *sensus fidelium* is always active, interactive and embedded in the concrete history of the church. Thompson’s work is rightly regarded as seminal, highlighting the dangers and limitations of understanding the *sensus fidelium* as being ‘extrinsic, juridical, passive and mechanical.’¹⁴⁸ However, in reality it must be said that the vision of Newman, Tyrrell and Vatican II with regard to the role of the laity remains largely academic. As Christain Duquoc writes, ‘Despite the decisions to the contrary of Vatican II, the hierarchical system of government remains dominant, and the people are still confined to a passive role in the doctrinal expression of faith.’¹⁴⁹ Heinrich Fries points out that although Vatican II ‘restored the fuller acceptance of infallibility to include the whole church as well as a specific office for teaching, unfortunately it never explained how these two ministries of the truth are related to one another.’¹⁵⁰

¹⁴⁴ Fries, in Johann Baptist Metz & Edward Schillebeeckx (Eds.), 75.

¹⁴⁵ Edmund J. Dobbin, ‘*Sensus Fidelium* Reconsidered,’ *New Theology Review* 2 (1989), 48-64.

¹⁴⁶ Tyrrell, ‘The Corporate Mind,’ 260-261.

¹⁴⁷ Tyrrell, ‘The Corporate Mind,’ 264.

¹⁴⁸ William M. Thompson ‘*Sensus Fidelium* and Infallibility,’ *The American Ecclesiastical Review* 167 (1973), 450-86.

¹⁴⁹ Christain Duquoc, ‘An Active Role for the People of God in Defining the Church’s Faith,’ 73-81, in J.B. Metz & E Schillebeeckx (Eds.) ‘The Teaching Authority of Believers,’ *Concilium* 180, (1985).

¹⁵⁰ See **Johann Baptist Metz** and **Edward Schillebeeckx**, (1984) (Eds.), **Fries**, *Theologie in Freiheit und Verantwortung*, 15-29, 75.

Rinaldo Bertolino laments the fact that the revised *Code of Canon Law* in 1983 failed to express the role of the laity as participating in the prophetic and kingly roles of Christ, so clearly enunciated in *Lumen Gentium*, n.12 and n.35. This lack of clarity has contributed to the current tension within the church, that ultimately may lead to further division. The Second Vatican Council called for co-responsibility, co-operation and communication, thus echoing Tyrrell's prophetic writings with regard to the role of the laity within the church. Unfortunately there is common agreement that the hierarchy continue to stress centralization and uniformity. Fries' work articulates serious concern over instances of doctrinal selectivity, particularly with regard to collegiality and subsidiarity. He believes that the teaching of *Lumen Gentium* and the Roman Synod of 1987 on the laity are being sidelined with a neo-ultramontane train seemingly picking up speed.

Vatican II officially abandoned the theory of a 'passive' role of the laity *vis-a-vis* the hierarchy. The *sensus fidelium* is not theoretical in nature but is found where faith is central to a lived experience. Consensus is found in the concrete forms of Christian praxis rather in the theoretical matters of faith. Herbert Vorgrimler reminds us that consensus is a task that while constantly seeking to be achieved, is never final.¹⁵¹ The *sensus fidelium* may be understood, with Leo Scheffczyk as a 'relational ontology.'¹⁵² From magisterial wisdom are derived the benefits of direction, leadership, rationality and historical authenticity. At the same time the Magisterium can derive concreteness and wisdom from the 'sense of the faithful - only when we have both can we speak of the Church.'¹⁵³

Burkhard reminds us of an important distinction within the *Sensus Fidelium*. The proximity to certain experience and not to others will mark real differences in the appreciation of certain facets of Christian revelation. Usually, Burkhard claims experiences of family, economics, inflation, taxes, mortgages, salaries, health costs, general living costs, sexuality, politics, culture etc. are experienced with greater intensity by the laity. For the 'traditional' clergy the challenge comes from the increasing movement of the laity into their fields of expertise. Competent members of the laity are increasingly undertaking roles that were the exclusive preserve of the clergy.

The *sensus fidelium* is an ecclesial reality; it is a gift of the Spirit to the whole church, to each member. While the *sensus fidelium* is prone to naïve interpretations and neglect, the faithful are called to realise their gift of active participation in the church, while acknowledging their own fragility. Tyrrell argued for a substantive dialectical interaction between the Magisterium and the *sensus fidelium*:

one must read scripture if one would profess to interpret it, so the Pope cannot be conceived to speak *ex cathedra* except when he professedly investigates the ecumenical mind. This investigation is not the cause, but it is *the conditio sine qua non* of an infallible decision whose validity depends upon it.¹⁵⁴

Gerald O'Collins outlines the potential of the Faithful to share their reflections with the Magisterium on a wide variety of issues, for example: the function of the papacy, elections of bishops and the

¹⁵¹ See Herbert Vorgrimler, 'From *Sensus Fidei* to *Consensus Fidelium*,' 3–11 in Metz J.B. & Schillebeeckx, E.

¹⁵² Leo Scheffczyk, '*Sensus Fidelium* – Witness on the Part of the Community,' *Communio* 15, (1988), 182-198.

¹⁵³ Burkhard, '1985-1989, Part II,' 129.

¹⁵⁴ Tyrrell, *Weekly Register*, 24 May (1901).

function of clerical celibacy¹⁵⁵ Karl Rahner reminded us that the *sensus fidelium* is disclosed in ordinary life. It pertains to all the faithful, from whom we learn of ‘the distracted, confused, ill-informed, sinful and ecclesially marginalised members, e.g. the divorced and remarried, homosexual persons, alienated women etc.’¹⁵⁶

Pastorally inclined theologians share the view that in a pluralistic world, uniformity is not the best way to assure the unity of the faith expressed in the *sensus fidelium*. The *sensus fidelium* requires the active participation of the laity in the church’s pursuit of the confirming of revelation. Critical to this endeavour is the role of the *presbyterium* in passing on the *sensus fidelium* of the local church to the bishop; sequentially the bishop represents the local church to the communion of churches. Here the work of Jean Marie Roger Tillard is seminal. Tillard described a certain ‘osmosis of roles,’ which allows for the two-fold function of the Magisterium firstly its episcopal-pastoral role and secondly its theological-didactic form. Tillard candidly acknowledged that the *sensus fidelium* often engenders tension. However, we should draw attention to the role of the presbyters working towards *communio*, acting as active agents in the local church. Tillard understood the *presbyterium* in their ancient sense as constituting ‘a body of elders’ working for the benefit of the community.¹⁵⁷

Drawing upon the pneumatology of Vatican II, Tillard has shown the charism of episcopal ministry functions in communion with charisms of the Spirit given to all believers. Thus the hierarchy ordinarily acts symbiotically with the *sensus fidelium*, and vice versa. The *sensus fidelium* then effects genuine mediation of God’s revelation; Tyrrell insisted it is a true theological resource (*locus theologicus*) that possesses its own formal authority and as such it is ‘the guardian of tradition.’¹⁵⁸

Arguably the significance of the *sensus fidelium* for Catholic ecclesiology and pneumatology was crystallised at the Second Vatican Council.

Karl Rahner and the Primacy of *Local Societies*

Rahner argued that revelation cannot be restricted to a few. Revelation is addressed to humanity first of all and only secondarily to “qualified persons.” According to Rahner, divine revelation and its response in faith, requires movement not only from its official proclaimers and interpreter to the

¹⁵⁵ Gerald O’Collins examined Newman’s ‘On Consulting the Faithful in Matters of Doctrine,’ interestingly for this pastoral exploration of Tyrrell, O’Collins expands the consultation to include: prophetic persons (Tyrrell), and the oppressed and marginalised. See Burkhard 452 and O’Collins, ‘*Note a proposito della consultazione dei fedeli*,’ *La Civiltà Cattolica*, 138/4 (1988), 40-45. *Sensus Fidei: Recent Theological Reflections (1990-2001)*, Part 1,’ John J. Burkhard, *The Heythrop Journal* Volume 46, Issue 4, (Oct. 2005), pages 450–475.

¹⁵⁶ Rahner, K. (1977), ‘Theology and Anthropology,’ *Theological Investigations* 9, 83; Burkhard, ‘(1990-2001), Part I,’ 452; see also, Karl Rahner: ‘What the Church Officially Teaches and What the People Actually Believe – 1981,’ (Ed.) Gerard Mannion, Richard Gaillardetz, Jan Kerkhofs, Kenneth Wilson, (2003), *Readings In Church Authority*; Rush, O. (1997), *The Reception Of Doctrine: An Appropriation of Hans Robert Jauss*, 317; Paul G. Crowley, ‘Catholicity, Inculturation And Newman’s *Sensus Fidelium*,’ *The Heythrop Journal*, April (2007), Volume 33 Issue 2, 161–174; see also Haers, J. & de Mey, P. (2004), *Theology and Conversation*, 575.

¹⁵⁷ Tillard, J.M. (1992), *Church of Churches: The Ecclesiology of Communion*; Ruddy, C.(2006), *The local church: Tillard and the future of Catholic ecclesiology*; ‘Ecclesiology and Postmodernity: A New Paradigm for the Roman Catholic Church?’ Gerard Mannion, *New Blackfriars*, Volume 85 Issue 997, (May 2004), Pages 304 – 328; Burkhard, ‘*Sensus Fidei: Recent Theological Reflection (1990–2001)*, Part I,’ *The Heythrop Journal*, Volume 46, Issue 4, Pages 450 – 475.

¹⁵⁸ Tyrrell, *The Sensus Fidelium*, *New York Review*, (Aug.-Sept. 1905). Reprinted in *FM II*, 261.

volk, but also the movement of the *Volk* to leaders. This is the clear teaching of *Lumen Gentium*, (n.12, n.35.) and helps explain the authentic character of the *sensus fidelium* of the laity. Difficulties which then arise do not indicate disrespect for hierarchy or a spirit of disobedience; rather, Rahner believed that it might be a calling to those who are responsible for the official proclamation of the faith to greater awareness of the word of God as addressed to men and women today. It can lead to an experience of growth and development.¹⁵⁹

Rahner further reminded us that the church today is a world church, and no longer primarily eurocentric. Yet the global church consists of 'local societies, and faith communities in all their particularity and context. Thus a global church acknowledges inculturated faith and not rigid uniformity of faith expression.'¹⁶⁰ In this changed social condition, the universal church necessarily expresses itself in positively diverse ways that call for genuine inculturation of the faith. The church of the future will grow out from inculturation allowing Tyrrell's understanding of Christian faith to develop. Our thought-world is no longer one dominated by explicit metaphysics or epistemology but by hermeneutical issues of understanding and communication of what is understood. Hans-Georg Gadamer's notion of a 'fusion of horizons' allows theologians to progress beyond past expressions of tradition towards contemporary historically conditioned understandings. New horizons of meaning are born which build upon former understandings. Thus the process of inculturating faith today need not indicate discontinuity with the past, conflict or a clash of cultures, between for example, Roman and local, or traditional and progressive churches, or between clerical and lay, teacher and taught, but rather embraced as a fusion of ecclesial horizons in which all the cultures find expression in the *sensus fidelium*.

From Tyrrell's perspective one must remain ever mindful of the optimism that ignores the unfulfilled potential or the confused status of the *sensus fidelium*. Critics of a contextual model of church, as outlined above, rightly consider this developing reality to be vague and idealistic. A response to such a critique is necessary, since it is not developed in the writings of Tyrrell. Indeed much of his own thought is vague and idealistic, although I suggest that this is the nature of pioneering thought in general. A further difficulty remains the tension between the rigidity of universal principles and the challenges of individual or local pastoral concerns. The finer minutiae remain to be worked out. Burkhard continually alludes to the dangers of 'naïve' or 'romantic' views of the *sensus fidelium*. Xavier Kaufmann highlights two crises that have emerged in the contemporary Catholic church. The first is the crisis of Tradition which the church shares in general with Western societies affected by modernity; the second is a crisis of communicating the faith.¹⁶¹ Because of these crises, Kaufmann offers a pessimistic presentation of the *sensus fidelium*, questioning the very concept. He fears that using the term creates the impression that a *consensus fidelium* actually exists and that the form of such communication is available in the church. He believes that, 'instead of consensus we experience widespread communicated dissent.' Kaufmann doubts whether development is possible without transformation of the current 'ecclesiocentrism' that he believes refuses to become 'communional,' that is, to welcome 'an ecclesiology that makes

¹⁵⁹ See O'Meara, T. (2007), *God in the World: A Guide to Karl Rahner's Theology*, 96; Rahner, K. (2004), *Encyclopaedia of Theology: A Concise Sacramentum Mundi*, 206; McGrath, A.E. (2006), *The Christian Theology Reader*, 3rd Edition, Chapter Seven; Lennan, R. (1997), *The Ecclesiology of Karl Rahner, Chapter Two, 'The Shape of the Church'*; Rausch, T.P. (2005), *Towards a truly Catholic Church: an ecclesiology for the third millennium*; Clark, W.A. (2005), *Voice of Their Own: The Authority of the Local Parish*.

¹⁶⁰ 'Offizielle Glaubenslehre der Kirche und faktische Gläubigkeit des Volkes,' Rahner, K. and Fries, H. (Eds.), *Theologie in Freiheit und Verantwortung* (Munich: Kösel, 1984) 15 – 29.

¹⁶¹ Kaufmann, X. (1994), 'Glaube und Kommunikation: eine soziologische Perspektive,' 132-160. Dietrich Wiederkehr (Ed.), *Der Glaubenssinn des Gottesvolkes – Konkurrent oder Partner des Lehramts? Quaestiones disputatae* 151.

its peace with pluralism, freedom, conscience, participation, consent, an open attitude, and with constructive dissent as a means towards solving the crisis of communicating the faith.’¹⁶²

Because the *sensus fidelium* is exercised in the practice of the faith and is not a speculative or theoretical formulation of the faith, it deserves serious consideration by theologians and the hierarchy. Building upon the thought of Tyrrell *et al*, Roman Catholic theology needs to continue to incorporate pneumatology more effectively into its ecclesial theory and practice. This would enhance the role of the *sensus fidelium*. In a more practical way than at present the Magisterium must give witness to the ‘sense of the faithful,’ determining how it becomes manifest and effective in shaping what is to be believed and what is to be done.

The contemporary Relevance - From Heaven Or Of Men?

Two discoveries emerge from Tyrrell’s broad thought on church governance: first, his claim to formulate a system that validates or justifies doctrine, and secondly, his attempt to construct an authentic epistemological foundation for authority.¹⁶³ As we have seen in this chapter, the relationship between *lex orandi* and the *consensus fidelium* was integral to both. Tyrrell maintained that:

The authority of the collective over the individual mind as being the adequate organ through which truth, whether natural or supernatural, progressively reveals itself, has always been the fundamental assumption of Catholicism. *Securus judicat orbis terrarum*. Any interpretation of papal infallibility which finds the organ of Catholic truth in the miraculously guided brain of one man; which renders futile the collective experience and reflection of the whole Church, destroys the very essence of Catholicism in favour of a military dictatorship which is the apotheosis of individualism.¹⁶⁴

Nonetheless Tyrrell considered the role of the pope’s to be crucial in interpreting the law. Again the position of a judge is not to make the law but to interpret it. ‘He is below it not above it.’ The Magisterium is ‘the witness to, not the creators of, the Church’s faith and practice.’ Tyrrell lamented:

I shall be told [that] in 1870 the principle of official absolutism, after a struggle of two thousand years, was finally victorious in that Church over the antagonist and catholic principle of official responsibility, and that the supremacy which had already passed away from the *orbis terrarum*, first into the hands of the entire clergy, and thence into those of the episcopate, was finally and by logical necessity deposited in the hands of a single bishop; that by gradual process of self inflation the “servant of servants” became the ruler of rulers and bishop of bishops in the precise sense repudiated by Gregory the Great as blasphemous and heretical.¹⁶⁵

¹⁶² Kaufmann, 152. See also Burkhard, 470.

¹⁶³ For example See Tyrrell, *TSC*, 355-386.

¹⁶⁴ Tyrrell, ‘From Heaven Or From Men,’ *TSC*, 355-6.

¹⁶⁵ Tyrrell, ‘From Heaven Or From Men,’ *TSC*, 356.

Yves Congar recalled that when the early church Fathers spoke in terms of the *sensus fidelium*, they made the following assumptions: (i) ‘if one refuses to believe as Catholics believe, he denies the faith of all people, and all cannot err,’ and (ii) doctrine originates ‘from the communal practice and belief of the faithful.’¹⁶⁶ The essence of Tyrrell’s *lex orandi* principle argues for doctrinal authority, to emanate from the ‘common practice and belief of the faithful.’ William Thompson agrees, that the Tradition attests well to this.¹⁶⁷ The Fathers give emphasis to the infallibility of the ‘whole church,’ emanating from the identification of Christ and the church as one; in this sense the church cannot fail.¹⁶⁸

Let me reiterate that Tyrrell acknowledged the body of the faithful, by virtue of the *lex orandi* axiom, the truth of Christ, and that, ‘it is not from a mere headcount of the faithful that we may discern true doctrine [authority], but in a careful discernment of the [faith of] real believers.’¹⁶⁹ When Tyrrell expressed his idea of the *sensus fidelium*, he included the whole church. tradition, with Newman he stressed the imperative of avoiding a purely ‘passive’ role of the laity.¹⁷⁰

¹⁶⁶ See Congar, Y. (1965), *Lay People in the Church*, 465-467, appendix II, ‘the *Sensus Fidelium* in the Fathers.’ See also Tyrrell, ‘On Church Government,’ appendix I, *CF*, 165-175.

¹⁶⁷ For example, ‘Augustine’s emphasis on the laity as a source of Christian doctrine probably comes from his teaching on the prophetic mission of Christians.’ See Hughes, E. (1956), *The Participation of the Faithful in the Regal and Prophetic Mission of Christ According to Saint Augustine*, 43-57. ‘All Christians then according to Augustine are ‘illuminated’ to know the truth, ‘Christ is the internal teacher of men, teaches both bishop and laity.’ ‘This enables Augustine to hold Christians are enabled not just to receive truth, but to make approval of that doctrine, to receive that doctrine has the truth.’ See Congar, and Augustine’s appeal to ‘*dogma popolare*,’ 466. Vincent of Lerins and Cassian are particularly important representations of this school, which Tyrrell represents in an early twentieth century context. Both hold to the axiom, ‘that Catholicity and orthodoxy are that which is believed everywhere and always by all men.’ See Küng, H. (1967), *The Church*, quoting Vincent’s *Commonitorium*, 1,2 (PL 50, 640; Comm., c. 24, PL 50, 679).

¹⁶⁸ See McBrien, R. (1969), *Do We Need the Church?* McBrien maintains this represents a focus upon the ‘body of Christ rather than an imperfect eschatological community,’ 101.

¹⁶⁹ Tyrrell is quite clear with regard to the importance of the distinction between ‘the community and the crowd,’ for example see further: ‘The Corporate Mind’ 254 and ‘Reflections On Catholicism,’ 20. Tyrrell makes the same qualifications as Thompson, 455; ‘To make the collective mind of the Christian community the supreme rule of the Christian faith would be to sanction infinite superstition and folly, if we made no distinction between the community and the crowd, the people and the populace,’ 254. Further in the essay, Tyrrell appears to have a haunting resonance with contemporary culture, lest any critic would suggest that his understanding of the *sensus fidelium* is naïve: ‘The crowd is as non-moral as a dreamer. Hence too, its unthinking mechanical responses to forcible “suggestion;” the subjection of its judgement to the tyranny of “advertisement” in every form. Gregarious imitative as a flock of sheep, it is the prey of panics, moods, fashions, fancies, of which no one of its members could furnish a rational account; all leap at the same spot, yet none knows why; the faith of each is in the faith of all the rest. The poverty of its mind is notorious. Images reign supreme. Principles and ideas in the strict sense it has none; like all narrow minds the crowd-mind is intolerant, extreme, fanatical, impatient of many-sided, well balanced judgements. The crowd confounds facts and fancies, subjective and objective, in all simplicity. Uniformly mendacious in a negative, non-moral sense, its testimony as a witness is immeasurably worse than worthless; for it can neither see right, nor say right. But there are crowds and crowds...’ 257-258.

¹⁷⁰ See Newman’s illustration of the heuristic nature of the *sensus fidelium*, distinguishing five definitions: (i) testimony to apostolic dogma; (ii) a subject feeling of right doctrine; (iii) a method by which the Spirit directs the Church; (iv) an answer to prayer; (v) a determination of true and false doctrine, Newman highlighted the last principle by recourse to the following analogy: ‘Drive a stake into a river’s bed, and you will at once ascertain which way it is running, and at what speed; throw up even a straw upon the air, and you will see which way the wind blows; submit your heretical and Catholic principle to the action of the multitude, and you will be able to pronounce at once whether it is authentic. John Henry Newman, *On Consulting the Faithful in Matters of Doctrine*, *The Rambler*, (July 1859). John Coulson believes, Newman’s ‘publication of this essay was an act of political suicide from which his career within the Church was never fully to recover; at one stroke he, whose reputation is the one honest broker between the extremes of English Catholic opinion had hitherto stood untarnished, gained the Pope’s personal displeasure, the reputation at Rome of being the most dangerous man in England, and a formal accusation of heresy proffered against him by the Bishop of Newport.’ John

Thompson illustrates how ‘the faithful have been seen consistently, by the great tradition, as a true source of the church’s teaching, and that the *sensus fidelium*, in the “active” sense, has been constantly recognised by the Magisterium as belonging to the Magisterium itself.’¹⁷¹ As we have seen above, Catholicism, properly understood, provided a view of authority which avoided extremes of individualism and ecclesiastical dictatorship. Tyrrell opposed what he considered to be an a-historical evolution of the Magisterium itself. Avery Dulles took a similar position: ‘[Catholicism] had not always been equated with the pope and the bishops, as we who have been brought up in the shadow of Vatican I are accustomed to think.’¹⁷² Tyrrell argued such an a-historical view of the origin of development of the church and of its authority no longer seemed tenable. Although given his political naivety, Tyrrell did accept and defend the progression from a spiritual movement to a permanent institution, for ‘only in this way could Christianity be made permanent and universal.’¹⁷³

In a world of political turmoil, characterised by war and revolution, Tyrrell idealistically advocated a leadership built upon ‘charism.’ He recognised the pope’s role for due function and procedure. However, he appeared to lack appreciation of the demands this position holds, or indeed, blinded by his own political situation, he seems not to have given sufficient responsibility to God. Having been denied the sacraments, Tyrrell realised too late, that he should have stepped back from the precipice and avoided scandal. Paradoxically, faith in the Spirit to induce love into a troubled world epitomised the central intention of Tyrrell’s pastoral theology. He believed that:

It was not for our Divine Saviour to invent so contradictory and unserviceable a thing as a final and absolute philosophy and language, and therein to embody exhaustively the inexhaustible meaning of His Love. His revelation was no divine “Summa Theologica” written with the finger of God; it was His own Spirit of Love which he bequeathed with all its implications, to His disciples - thus we see the loving spirit of Christ.¹⁷⁴

Only in the final year of his life (1909) did Tyrrell realise that his pastoral hermeneutic had consumed too much energy in his attempt to critique the political and the expedient (or Realpolitik)

Henry Newman, *On Consulting the Faithful in Matters of Doctrine*, with an Introduction by John Coulson, (1986), 41. See also, ‘Newman On the Laity,’ Michael Sharkey, *Gregorianum*, 68, 1-2, (1987), 339-346.

¹⁷¹ William Thompson also supports his position with convincing historical research drawing upon the New Testament, Augustine, Aquinas, Newman, Congar and the Magisterium, 450-486.

¹⁷² See Dulles, A. (1971), ‘The Magisterium in a Time of Change,’ *The Survival of Dogma*, 126. ‘The New Testament recognised that the Church has a need for a variety of ministers, not all of whom were bishops or presbyters.’ ‘In fact it was not until the counter-Reformation that the equation of the Magisterium with the bishops was firmly established.’ See further Bishop Gasser, who concurs with Tyrrell’s exposition on papal infallibility, which relates the pope to *the sensus fidelium*: ‘*non possumus separare Papam a consensu Ecclesiae, quia hic consensus nunquam ipsi deesse potest.*’ See Butler, 386-399.

¹⁷³ In *CF*, Tyrrell acknowledges that: ‘once the church ceased to be a society of saints, when it became a net containing all manner of fishes, good bad and indifferent, some kind of government was indispensable as in every human society,’ he was convinced that ‘Love needed to be reinforced by law; personal and spiritual authority by official; this is the justification of Catholicism,’ 172. See Thompson, 450-486. Tyrrell’s critic claim his work is subjective individualism (J. Lebreton, *et al*), but again this is a travesty upon Tyrrell’s theological legacy; it is near impossible to overlook the countless references throughout Tyrrell’s work to the necessity of the pope, but also to the ‘Collective Mind of the Church.’ This appears to be a further example of Tyrrell’s focus upon the ‘whole’ church.

¹⁷⁴ Tyrrell, ‘The Spirit of Christ,’ *LC*, 19.

at the expense of the spiritual (or mystical) dimension of religion.¹⁷⁵ For Tyrrell the church's mystical tradition became 'blurred' when the hierarchy of his day, were perceived as allowing the 'Realpolitik' to overshadow a Gospel spirituality. As a consequence, and assisted by the 'gerrymandering' of Vatican I, Tyrrell argued that, the institution became political and thus isolated from the 'Mind of the Church.'¹⁷⁶ Pius IX's Bull *Ineffabilis Deus* and Pius XII's Bull *Munificentissimus Deus*, highlight the significance of the *sensus fidelium* when they claim to be drawing upon a *singularis conspiratio* of bishops and faithful.

Tyrrell advocated the *Lex Orandi* principle and the *sensus fidelium* as a means to focus the church on a realised eschatology. He reminds us to distinguish between 'popular pious belief' of the ultramontane crowd, and the ancient sense of a theologically minded *sensus fidelium*.¹⁷⁷ Tyrrell had the intellectual ability to contribute to a contextual theology, but he did not possess the necessary political acumen, stamina or influence to oppose the ecclesial reaction of his day. History will judge the value of Tyrrell's pastoral hermeneutic, whether his penchant for coupling the mystical and the pastoral elements of religion was praiseworthy. The attempt to undercut political expediency in the church led to his premature death. Unfortunately it was his assault on a prevailing ecclesiology that is most often categorised in popular church history.¹⁷⁸

The following chapters of this work will critique this simplistic characterisation, in order to direct attention to Tyrrell's courageous and, for his day, original pastoral theology. Tyrrell's advocacy of the *consensus fidelium* is the foundation of his critique of Vatican I and the five subsequent hierarchical announcements. There remains an inextricable link in Tyrrell's thought between the axioms *Lex Orandi* and the *sensus fidelium*. The former grounded upon the actual spiritual experience of prayer and devotion of the faithful, culminating in a personal relationship with Jesus Christ. The latter, the *sensus fidelium*, grows out from a reflection (discernment - what is God calling us to do in daily life) upon that relationship in concrete lived reality. Hence the significance within the tradition to 'consulting the faithful in matters of doctrine.'¹⁷⁹ Tyrrell's response to what I have dubbed the Mysticism contra *Realpolitik* dichotomy, that he experienced in the church, is validated by the axiom *Lex Orandi*, the prayer of the faithful. Tyrrell sought to articulate a pastoral hermeneutic that was liberating in the experienced reality (the facts) of ordinary lived faith. A faith determined by its location in human history and by the conditions of knowledge that are understood increasingly as socially and culturally determined. Tyrrell insists that:

¹⁷⁵ As a consequence Tyrrell produced *CC*, (1909).

¹⁷⁶ Tyrrell, for example, 'The Mind of the Church' and Tyrrell's critique of the *Joint-Pastoral*, *A&L*, Vol. II, 146-161; Tyrrell's critique of *Pascendi*, 332-340 and Tyrrell's letters to *The Times*, 'The Pope and Modernism,' 30 September and 1 October 1907; *Giornale*, 25 September 1907. See also the second part of Benedict's *Deus Caritas Est*, 25 December 2005.

¹⁷⁷ It is important to distinguish between two conceptions: the popular perception of Vatican I, popular piety, nurtured by Ultramontanism with the duplicity of the hierarch and the actual reality based upon objective historical analysis e.g. Congar, Newman, Thompson, Burkhard *et al.*

¹⁷⁸ For example at Vatican II, during the heated discussion with regard to *Lumen Gentium*, Cardinal Ernesto Ruffini took the floor and complained bitterly that: (1) Christ founded the church specifically on Peter, thus the doctrine of collegiality had no biblical foundation. Moreover, (2) referring to the church as sacrament, the Cardinal reminded the assembly, 'that George Tyrrell, an apostate priest and virtually the prince of the Modernists, in a heretical fashion, often spoke of the Church this way.' John O'Malley adds, that 'Ruffini gave voice to a spectre that haunted the minority: the council was condoning, even adopting, the Modernist tenets.' See O'Malley, J.W. (2010), *What Happened At Vatican II*, 178, 358, fn.35.

¹⁷⁹ See Newman, 'Consulting the Faithful in Matters of Doctrine: 'Then follows the question, Why? And the answer is plain, viz. because the body of the faithful is one of the witnesses to the fact of tradition of revealed doctrine, and because their consensus through Christendom is the voice of the infallible Church.' Ker, I. (1990), (Ed.), *Newman the Theologian a reader*, 202.

The “deposit” of faith is not merely a symbol or creed, but it is the concrete religion left by Christ to his Church; it is perhaps in some sense more *lex orandi* than a *lex credendi*; the creed is involved in the prayer, and has to be disentangled from it. Not every devotion of Catholics is a Catholic devotion. The Church needs to exercise her authority continually in checking the tendency to extravagate, and in applying and enforcing the original *lex orandi*. In this work she is helped by a wise and temperate theology. But theology is not always wise and temperate; and has itself to be brought to the *lex orandi* test. It has to be reminded that, like science, its hypotheses, theories, and explanations, must square with facts – the facts here being the Christian religion as lived by its consistent professors.¹⁸⁰

¹⁸⁰ Tyrrell, ‘RTD,’ *The Month*, (Nov. 1999), 425.

Chapter Seven

Liberation: A Reverberant Imperative

Your Eminence, will you never take heart of Grace and boldly throw open the doors and windows of your great medieval cathedral, and let the light of a new day strike into the darkest corners and the fresh wind of heaven blow through its mouldy cloisters?

(George Tyrrell, *Medievalism*, 1908)

Vatican II

The story that is ‘Tyrrell’s modernism’ continues in the word, spirit and reception process of Vatican II. Tyrrell’s insistence that the church should communicate the Gospel of Christ to the milieu was replicated in the sentiments expressed in Pope John’s Opening Address of the Second Vatican Council.¹ The above sentiment expressed by Tyrrell (*Medievalism* 1908), corresponds with John XXIII’s vision, which was to bring the Church into a closer relationship with the modern world. The Pope wanted the Council to ‘throw open the windows,’ to ‘let in the fresh air,’ to the ‘mouldy cloisters,’ windows that had been firmly closed since the Modernist crisis. An example of this fresh air is found in *Gaudium et Spes*,

The joys and the hopes, the griefs and the anxieties of the men of this age, especially those who are poor or in any way afflicted, these are the joys and hopes, the grief and anxieties of the followers of Christ. Indeed, nothing genuinely human fails to raise an echo in their hearts.²

Emphasising the pastoral nature of the Council, Pope John challenged the ‘prophets of doom,’ insisting that the world needs not the condemnation of its errors but the full supply of ‘the medicine of mercy.’³ Indeed John XXIII’s open windows heralded the *aggiornamento* of the church to the outside world,⁴ continuing Tyrrell’s efforts’ to translate the Christian message into a pastorally orientated language that could be understood by the modern intelligent person. Catholicism, Tyrrell insisted, ‘remains the highest expression, the most efficacious instrument of the spiritual life so long as it is not robbed of its liberty or tied to a faction.’⁵

Tyrrell’s pastoral hermeneutic was motivated by a sincere desire to save souls, in combination with his Dubliner antinomian spirit and a certain existentialist yearning from within a concrete context for liberation. An in-depth psychological profile of Tyrrell’s early development would cast light upon this reverberant imperative. The majority of Tyrrell’s thought finds liberation as its foundational premise, a premise which we shall see is also central to the major pillars of Vatican II, *Lumen Gentium* and *Gaudium et spes*. Tyrrell’s pastoral hermeneutic is formulated through: liberation of theology (from *theologism* and scholasticism), liberation of the laity; liberation of the clergy and hierarchy; liberation of the *sensus fidelium*; liberation of praxis from material restrictions; liberation of doctrine and devotion; liberation from guilt and fear of eternal damnation; liberation from ecclesial tyranny; liberation from rationalism; liberation from intellectualism; liberation from

¹ See *Gaudet Mater Ecclesia*, (Mother Church Rejoices), the opening declaration of the Second Vatican Council.

² *Gaudium et Spes*, n.1.

³ See Tyrrell’s *OW*, (1902), 14.

⁴ Alberigo, Giuseppe; Sherry, Matthew (2006), *A Brief History of Vatican II*, 69.

⁵ See Tyrrell’s ‘Letter to a University Professor,’ *AMAL*, (1906), 6.

sentiment; liberation from spiritual and material poverty; liberation of the *lex orandi*; liberation towards hope in order to build a personal relationship with God beyond temporal constraints. Tyrrell's call for emancipation recognised the Holy Spirit as the active liberator. Tyrrell dreamed of a Catholic charter of 'hope and joy,' an expression 'of deep solidarity with the human race and its history.'⁶

Building upon Tyrrell's Spirit Christology and in the light of Vatican II, this penultimate chapter will evaluate the application of Tyrrell's pastoral hermeneutic to living the faith. In this process we shall qualify Tyrrell's pioneering witness to Catholicism. This chapter will argue that Tyrrell's pastoral motivation to bridge the divide between church and culture, received posthumous vindication through the reception of his thought in the teaching of Vatican II. In this context, we note the seminal contributions of a number of progressive theologians leading up to the Council.⁷

Tyrrell's liberation motif is built predominantly upon his critique of Vatican I, believing that the Council was subjugated by temporal-political concerns. Tyrrell's response arose from concerns about a Spirit-inspired commission of the laity and liberation of theology. In effect, if Tyrrell were pope, he would abolish the division between the *ecclesia docens* and the *ecclesia discens* and liberate the laity from the clerical abuse of power. Tyrrell was motivated by his belief that '*The ecclesia docens* needs no help from outside, as her governing rule and law is the rule and law that brought her into existence, viz. the authority of God.'⁸

The liberation of the *Ecclesia Discens*

Idealistically, Tyrrell believed that the emancipation of the laity would be brought about through the Spirit inspired 'Mind of the Church,' the *consensus fidelium*. He became convinced that Vatican I had effected a disintegration of Roman authority. Tyrrell argued that the episcopate would be destroyed by their own intolerance of even a moderate liberalism. Furthermore, he rejected Ward's attempt to use Newman as a '*via media*,' and considered Catholicism to be incapable of freeing itself from the three millstones that *would* lead to its eventual destruction:

1. The political conception of a church that focused upon temporal power and was embodied in the 'court of Rome.'
2. The 'protection' system as embodied in Jesuitism, which adapted the environment to the organism and not conversely.
3. The tyranny of the theological schools as embodied in Scholasticism.⁹

⁶ See *Gaudium et spes* - Preface.

⁷ For a detailed insight into Vatican II see, Alberigo, G.(1987), 'The Christian Situation after Vatican II,' *The Reception of Vatican II*, (Ed.), Giuseppe, Jean Pierre, Komonchak; Vorgrimler, *Commentary on the Documents of Vatican II*, (1967); Alberigo and Komonchak, *History of Vatican II*, Vol. 1: *Announcing and Preparing Vatican Council II* (1996); Alberigo and Komonchak, *History of Vatican II*, Vol. 2: *The Formation of the Council's Identity, First Period and Intercession* (1997); Alberigo and Komonchak, *History of Vatican II*, Vol.3: *The Mature Council: Second Period and Intercession* (1996); Alberigo and Komonchak, *History of Vatican II*, (2003), Vol.4: *Church as Communion, Third Period and Intercession*.

⁸ See the Joint-English Catholic Hierarchy, 29 December 1900, 'The Church and Liberal Catholicism.' See also A&L, Vol. II, 150ff.

⁹ For example, see Tyrrell's 'RTD,' *The Month*, (Nov.1999). 'Devotion and religion existed before theology (Scholasticism), in the way that art existed before art-criticism: reasoning before logic; speech before grammar.' 425.

The dilemma that Tyrrell struggled with in the final decade of his life was the fact that he tried naively to consider Catholicism without politics. He could not rest with his idea that Jesuitism, and Scholasticism, equalled Protestantism, (i.e. a break with the Jesus of the Gospels). Thus he set himself the Herculean task of challenging the status quo in the hope that Catholicism could develop a pastoral *raison d'être*. He confided the depth of his anguish (to von Hügel): 'The Church sits on my soul like a nightmare, and the oppression is maddening.'¹⁰

Bishop Vernon Herford, the founder of 'The Church of Divine Love,' visited Tyrrell in Storrington in an attempt to persuade him to join a new liberal church.¹¹ Tyrrell's response to this invitation adds further insight into his understanding of church and his sense of loyalty, coupled with a desire to work for change from within. Tyrrell wrote:

The best way to overcome the lamentable divisions of the Church cannot be to create new division; but for all of us to stick fast ... God knows it is a slow, cramping, thankless task, but as a Roman Catholic, I feel that, though I am a small atom, yet I belong to a well-knit universe where everything tells on everything else.¹²

Tyrrell saw the salvation of the church as being in the hands of the laity, the *modus operandi* through which the Holy Spirit must work. Amidst the modernist crisis, he formed an ecclesiology 'from below.' Claiming, perhaps naively, that there was one thing he was sure of, that in spite of theory, the church is ultimately taught and governed from below and therefore that the formation of the lay mind is the thing to trust in and to work for. He believed all permanent and profitable reform must 'come from below': 'through God's spirit moving, as it is now moving, over the wide surface of the waters; working in a million hearts and minds at once and independently.'¹³

Tyrrell advocated for the English monarchic form of headship and democracy, in contrast to the Russian autocratic model. Only the former, if introduced in Rome, would keep the church alive. This amounted to a revolution that scholastic theologians could never admit, but Tyrrell believed it would be 'quickly and noiselessly imposed by the development of the lay mind, to which any other conception of authority will soon be obsolete and impossible.'¹⁴ In effect, Tyrrell presented what he considered to be a clarification of papal infallibility, as presented in ultramontane rhetoric. In the light of Vatican II this is significant, for Tyrrell advocated a critique of the 'abuse of power' that paralleled the courageous interjection of Cardinal Suenens, the Belgian Primate who carried the day when he opposed the Curia's first draft of *Lumen Gentium*, characterising it as stemming from clericalism, triumphalism, and juridical restrictions.¹⁵

A model of church envisaged by Tyrrell and Suenens would have the potential to liberate the papacy and theology from clerical expediency and temporal constraints. Thus Tyrrell insisted that the church should not be split into two halves (*ecclesia docens* and *ecclesia discens*) and that the

¹⁰ Tyrrell to von Hügel, *GTL*, 109.

¹¹ Bishop Vernon Herford, founded 'The Church of Divine Love,' in the hope that it would become a nucleus for Christian union. See *GTL*, 111.

¹² Tyrrell, to Bishop Vernon Herford, *GTL*, 111-113.

¹³ Tyrrell to W.M. Craig, *GTL*, 110. See also Vatican II, *Apostolicam Actuositatem* for an in-depth reflection on the role of the laity in the Vatican II Church.

¹⁴ Tyrrell to W.M. Craig, *GTL*, 110.

¹⁵ See the critique of the first draft of *Lumen Gentium* by Cardinal Suenens. See also Richard P. McBrien, 'The Church' (*Lumen Gentium*), *Contemporary Catholic Theology: a Reader*, (1998), (Ed.), Hayes & Gearon, 279-284.

function of the *sensus fidelium*, to receive and support the development of doctrine, be understood in an active, positive sense. Tyrrell argued that the consequence of a pastoral revolution would be a spiritual leadership that would result in a 'faith that spurns faith.' Tyrrell hoped for the day when the lay mind would quietly impose a democratic interpretation on the existing ecclesiastical hierarchy. He hoped for a laity that would understand authority in such a way as derived from the whole community. 'That will mean that the pyramid which is now unstable poised on its infallible apex will, without any internal alteration, be dumped down on its base.'¹⁶

In a letter to Robert Dell, Tyrrell proposed a methodology similar to Döllinger's *La Papauté*,¹⁷ namely to, 'remain within the Church, if possible, and work for the unravelling of this gigantic papal imposition, for the restoration of the hierarchy,' and for the 'recognition of the *regale sacerdotium* of the Christian people as the font of all order and jurisdiction.'¹⁸ Tyrrell argued that 'priest power is in the past' and that the 'true repository and source of the power of sacred order is the whole community, which acts through and in its appointed organs'.¹⁹ In Tyrrell's proposition, 'the "deposit" of Christ's revelation lies in the mind of the Church at large,' and the 'mind of the Church' become the organs of tradition, the organ of growth, and the organ of the Holy Spirit.²⁰ Indeed, rather than it being divided at its source from Tradition, the *sensus fidelium* should operate as a conduit for Tradition, the deposit of faith, and the Holy Spirit. As Tyrrell noted, the *sensus fidei* is the '*Vox populi vox Dei* – the voice of the people is the voice of God – not the mob, or of the populace but of the people.'²¹

Unfortunately Tyrrell gives little insight into how one may distinguish 'the voice of God' among the three, apart from reference to the Gospel. Tyrrell considered that formal revelation ceased at the death of St John. Therefore ecclesiastical decisions were restricted to determining the content of what had been revealed by Christ. Following the death of Christ on the Cross, the collective church in union with the successor of St. Peter represents a transition of authority – a transition analogous to that created by the passing of Christ to the Father. Yet it is Tyrrell's understanding of the 'collective' that makes his own work visionary in the sense that it pre-dated Vatican II statements such as *Lumen Gentium*.

Tyrrell believed that the mind of the collective, rather than the inspired utterances of an individual, was likely to be right, and less likely to be disputed. The 'mind of the Church' found through the 'collective,' Tyrrell argued, would be true to honouring all Christ's promises to His church for protection and assistance.²² In Tyrrell's pastoral reflection, the collective mind becomes the living voice of the Holy Spirit. Tyrrell argued, as early as 1900, that the proper receptacle of the entire deposit of faith was not the mind of each individual bishop, but rather the mind of the universal church, discerned, formulated and declared in Ecumenical Councils.²³ Tyrrell presented his

¹⁶ Tyrrell to Hon. W.M. Gibson (Lord Ashborne) *GTL*, 102-3.

¹⁷ The Reverend Professor of Canon Law and Ecclesiastical History tutored at Munich, where he had a profound influence upon Wiseman and Lord Acton. Like Tyrrell, Döllinger had a life-long hatred for bureaucracy, particularly of the Jesuit and Roman Curia variety. For a while the famous professor seemed to stand almost alone, particularly after the stormy scenes of the Munich congress of Catholic savants (28 September - 1 October 1863). Daniel Bonifatius von Haneberg, Abbot of St. Boniface in Munich, opened this Congress of eighty-four members mostly German theologians, on which occasion Döllinger delivered his famous discourse, '*Die Vergangenheit und Gegenwart der katholischen Theologie*,' (The Past and Present of Catholic Theology).

¹⁸ Tyrrell to Dell, *GTL*, 105.

¹⁹ Tyrrell to Bishop Herford, *GTL*, 111-112.

²⁰ Tyrrell, *OW*, 147.

²¹ Tyrrell, *OW*, 146.

²² See Tyrrell, *OW*, 'The Voice of the Multitude,' Tyrrell believed, '*Vox populi vox dei* – the voice of the people is the voice of God – not of the mob, or the populace, but of the people.' 146.

²³ Tyrrell, 'The Mind of the Church,' *FM I*, (1904), 131-2.

visionary pastoral and practical ecclesiology sixty-two years before Pope John XXIII opened the Second Vatican Council. He supported the view that the universal collective mind was pre-eminently the organ of the Holy Spirit. In the process of the discernment of truth, the role of the local bishop was given due significance, within the framework of an ecumenical council and the necessary limitations of authority resting with the hierarchy in Rome.

Tyrrell designed a model whereby development of an organic understanding of ‘infallible Church’ grew from the grassroots, unlike a model that he perceived as ‘a papacy drunk on the power of an obscurantist authoritarianism made newly possible by the definition of papal infallibility in 1870.’²⁴ According to Tyrrell the primary purpose of the church is to preserve the teachings of Christ, both from within and from without, to sustain Christian unity and give a living voice to the Holy Spirit. Individuals and groups are fallible in their isolation, but joined together they constitute the infallible church. In a like manner, we could argue that a crowd of witnesses to the same event will put together a more complete and accurate picture, each seeing something missed by all the others. The individual may at times overlook or ignore vital parts of the body of dogmatic truth – no one mind can contain the totality. The ‘deposit of faith,’ Tyrrell insists, is latent in the collective mind of the audience, but not in each singly let them meet and talk it over, and all know at the end what none knew wholly at the beginning.’²⁵

As a great cloud of witnesses differs from a single witness to the same event, Tyrrell believed that through the collective consciousness an infallible testimony will be agreed upon.²⁶ He uses language as an analogy. Any section of the community that becomes severed from the rest will develop eccentricities as a result of detachment. In this respect the Magisterium is particularly vulnerable. Tyrrell believed that to deny personal development in articles of faith is to deny faith’s seeking of understanding. Tyrrell realised that a man who finds no trace of development in his own religious belief since childhood, is to be ‘convicted of never having thought about those beliefs at all; or even of never having attached any sense to the sounds.’²⁷ Tyrrell claimed that if: ‘sense becomes detached from the sounds that simply re-echo in the mind,’ such a faith would be ‘abracadabra and nothing more.’²⁸ The collective mind must also develop as results of theological reflection are gathered up, sorted, and discerned through conference, dialogue and prayer, allowing for the Holy Spirit to guide the church into truth.²⁹

Tyrrell admits a secondary causality, emphasising God’s intention to allow human beings to help themselves. It is a fundamental principle of God’s economy in our regard, not to help those who can so easily help themselves. He claimed that by needlessly evoking miracles and supernatural interventions we would be hindering human development, seeking gifts and graces, which amount to a sort of cruel kindness and weak indulgence. Tyrrell maintained that it is expected that God made sufficient provision in his church for the settling of controversies inimical to unity, but anything beyond this measure will stifle our own development. Indeed, Tyrrell believed that controversy drives development.³⁰

Tyrrell’s understanding of authority grew out of human insufficiencies, which require us to bind together into one social body whose members are dependent each on all the rest. The individual is dependent on communion with the whole body for light as well as for grace. Tyrrell rejected notions

²⁴ Nicholas Lash, in Sweeney, G. (Ed.), (1977), *Bishops and Writers*, 53.

²⁵ Tyrrell, ‘The Mind of the Church,’ *FM II*, (1904), 174.

²⁶ Tyrrell, ‘The Mind of the Church,’ 174.

²⁷ Tyrrell, ‘The Mind of the Church,’ 176.

²⁸ Tyrrell, ‘The Mind of the Church,’ 176.

²⁹ Tyrrell, ‘The Spirit of Christ,’ *LC*, (1906), 54-61.

³⁰ See Tyrrell’s ‘RTD,’ *The Month*, (Nov. 1899), for a full development of this position.

of separation or elitism. He argued that, no one person within the church is infallible, infallibility comes with collectivity and through union with the whole. ‘The individual has the collective church to fall back on; but the collective church has only God.’³¹

The concept of a deposit of faith, ‘the faith once delivered to the saints,’ although directly referring to the first-hand witnesses of Christ’s ministry; was soon applied to the church collectively. ‘The Mind of the Church’ for Tyrrell meant her collective understanding of the deposit of truth discovered in the living voice of the Holy Spirit and articulated through collective counsel. Unfortunately, Tyrrell’s ecclesiology remains largely unacknowledged in the groundwork of Vatican II, even though Tyrrell’s ecclesiology built upon the thought of Newman, utilised the biblical scholarship of Loisy and provided a Catholic historical foundation and spiritual link to Vatican II. The ‘spirit’ of modernism continued through the works of influential scholars such as Congar, de Lubac, Rahner, Kasper, Schillebeeckx and the theologians of the liberation movement, together with influential churchmen like John XXIII and Cardinal Suenens who played a combined role in the formulation of *Lumen Gentium* and *Gaudium et spes*.³²

Tyrrell argued that words are dead unless the church takes them upon her lips, through the medium of reception. He considered ‘the Spirit that speaks to the Church in revelation, and the Spirit of the listening Church are not merely alike, but are one and the same.’ It can be assumed, as a corollary, ‘that not only does the Church proclaim the same truth which Christ proclaimed, but also that Christ by his continual living co-operation, lives in and speaks through his church, so that both the sayer and what is said are the same.’³³ Thus, the living breath of the Holy Spirit finds a voice to the world.

As early as 1938, Henri de Lubac summed up his conviction that ‘if Jesus Christ could be called the Sacrament of God, then for us the church is the sacrament of Christ.’ Indeed, ‘it is through his union with the community that the Christian is united with Christ.’³⁴ Kasper reminds us that this understanding of church came out from Vatican II, following ‘the devastating criticism’ of previous drafts for their ‘triumphalism, clericalism and legalism.’³⁵ ‘The aim was to get away from the encrusted, narrow and one-sided elements of the traditional view held by scholastic theology.’ Furthermore, Kasper believes that ‘this position was reached by recollecting the full wealth that tradition offers, compared with its narrow neo-scholastic interpretation.’³⁶ In *Theology and Church* Kasper moves on to another central component present in Tyrrell’s ecclesiology, the concept ‘People of God’ popularized by Yves Congar. Kasper agrees ‘the phrase ‘People of God’ is especially important.’³⁷ Tyrrell emphasised its significance sixty years before Vatican II:

Must we not distinguish between the “People of God” and the governing section of the Church? May not our faith in the latter be at times weak or nil, and yet our faith in the former strong and invincible?³⁸

In *Church, Ecumenism and Politics*, Joseph Ratzinger maintains that the concept ‘would confuse simple people;’ and that ‘God becomes an attribute of the people.’ ‘The People of God’ he argues,

³¹ Tyrrell, ‘The Mind of the Church,’ *FM II*, (1904), 178.

³² The impetus for the unprecedented ‘Pastoral’ constitution came from Pope John XXIII and Cardinal Leo-Jozef Suenens, with the support of Pope-John Paul II, than a bishop delegate at the Council, who suggested the adjective *pastoral* for this unusual constitution.

³³ Tyrrell, ‘The Mind of the Church,’ 128.

³⁴ Lubac, H. de, (1950), *Catholicism: A Study of Dogma in relation to the corporate destiny of mankind*, 291. See also his *Méditation sur l’Église*, 2nd Edition, (1953). Schillebeeckx and Rahner together with the German bishops were influential, ensuring this definition was carried through to the Council.

³⁵ Kasper, 112 and Tyrrell, ‘The Pope and Modernism,’ *The Times*, 30 September & 1 October 1907. See also the *Giornale*, 25 September 1907; Tyrrell, *A&L*, Vol. II, 146.

³⁶ Kasper, 113.

³⁷ Kasper, 115 and Ratzinger, J. (1987), *Church and Ecumenism and Politics*, 21-22.

³⁸ Tyrrell, *AMAL*, (1906), 54-55.

lacks biblical foundation.³⁹ In opposing liberation theologians and a central tenet of *Lumen Gentium*, Ratzinger argues that the phrase ‘links the political, the social and the religious,’ a dangerous position ultimately because it has the potential to challenge positions of authority, hierarchy, and power. Writing in 1906 Tyrrell advocated giving a voice to the ‘voiceless,’ the belief also popularized by Congar and adopted by the Second Vatican Council:

Let us clear our mind of illusion and recognise Catholicism of the governing minority is not the whole Church, but only an element, which takes no account of the inscrutable voiceless life which it strives feebly to formulate, of the eternal truths, the Divine instincts which work themselves out irresistibly in the heart of the whole people of God.⁴⁰

Richard McBrien highlights that Karl Rahner is often described as ‘the most important and influential twentieth-century Catholic theologian.’ Edward Schillebeeckx is also acclaimed by many to have produced a Christological masterpiece.⁴¹ The irony remains, that it was Tyrrell who pioneered pastoral hermeneutical principles such as the *sensus fidelium*, the People of God, the liberation of theology, and democratic principles, concepts that Yves Congar and others courageously carried into the Second Vatican Council. The contrast between Tyrrell’s denunciation and Congar’s approbation could not be more apparent. While the issues are complex and multifaceted the disparity helps highlight the importance of distinguishing between Tyrrell’s prophetic ecclesiology and personal apologetic.⁴²

Important theological themes of Tyrrell’s work are paralleled in documents of the Second Vatican Council. Examples include: the sacramental nature of the church, and the self-understanding of the church as ‘the People of God.’ Walter Kasper also develops themes found in Tyrrell’s theology, for example, Kasper believes: ‘the reign of Christ extends beyond and embraces more than the visible church. Wherever there is love, the Spirit of God is at work, and the reign of Christ becomes a reality even without the institutional forms and formulas.’⁴³ Tyrrell’s Catholicism amounted to a Spirit-inspired liberation of the laity. He believed, that ‘the voice of the people is the voice of God, the deposit of Christ’s revelation lies in the mind of the Church at large.’⁴⁴ Tyrrell’s prophetic concept of ‘the mind of the Church’ is central to his thought. One even detects an early coherence within his thinking

with regard to ‘*Vicarius Christi*,’ ‘collective mind,’ ‘Spirit of Christ,’ ‘People of God’ and the ‘voice of the people is the voice of God.’ In effect Tyrrell offered a pioneering (*ressourcement*) understanding of church, to restore the traditional notion of charism, rather than give over-reliance to hierarchical structures and infallibility of the sort enshrined by Vatican I. This is the precise point at which Tyrrell came into conflict with the teaching of the First Vatican Council. In an effort to highlight the inadequacies of the 1870 Council, Tyrrell moved to the other extreme, a position highlighted by his critics. However, if we consider all that Tyrrell wrote on the matter and take into consideration the effect of his declining health, he was, after all, defending reasonable principles.

Naively optimistic perhaps, but nevertheless it is important to remember that Tyrrell was leading a campaign within the church for open discussion with regard to truth, justice and accountability.

³⁹ See Ratzinger, 27 and Tyrrell’s ‘The Great Condé’s Men’ - The Molière Question.

⁴⁰ Tyrrell, *AMAL*, 59; Congar, Y. (1962), ‘The Church as the People of God’ in his *Mystery of the Temple*, original Edition, (1958); Congar, Y. (1965), *Lay People in the Church*; ‘The Church is more than the Roman Catholic Church alone,’ *Divided Christendom*, (1939). Original Edition, (1937). ‘The Church is always in need of reform, its head as well members.’ See *Vraie et fausse réforme dans l’Eglise*, (Paris 1950).

⁴¹ McBrien, 500, 600.

⁴² McBrien, 660.

⁴³ Kasper, *The God of Jesus Christ*, 229. See also Tyrrell’s preface to McGinley, A.A. (1907), *The Profit of Love*, viii-ix.

⁴⁴ Tyrrell, *OW*, 146-7.

These inspirational ideals prevalent in his day were worthy of any institution or society, not least the Roman church.⁴⁵

Tyrrell was convinced that it was necessary to overthrow the elite system of ‘Vaticanism,’⁴⁶ that cascaded into the popular mind, following the ultramontane misrepresentations of Vatican I.⁴⁷ He believed that ‘the juridical conception of pastoral authority is the root of clericalism; and that Vaticanism is its ripest fruit.’⁴⁸ Evidenced by the rejection of the early drafts of *Lumen Gentium*, this was a conclusion many of the bishops and theologians at Vatican II shared. Tyrrell’s idealistic vision of the church of the future emphasised that the life and spirit of Catholicism, empowered and sustained by the collective body of the faithful, and gave legitimate voice to the spirit of Christ. Tyrrell attempted to realign the centrality of the pope and bishops within the body of the ‘People of God,’ as spokesmen for the collective, not as overlords.

Tyrrell’s hope for the future of the Church was derived from his ‘invincible faith... in ‘the collective sub-consciousness of the “People of God.”’⁴⁹ Through personal trauma Tyrrell recognised the limitations of the hierarchy, seeing them as dominated by corporate or class interest and prone to exaggerate their importance to the point of identifying themselves as the Church.⁵⁰ Tyrrell consistently referred to conflicting directions of movement between the ‘faithful’ and the hierarchy and between the progressives and the ultramontanes. With time these opposites neutralise each other and at the same time aid the Church in its continued movement towards the eschaton.

The Papacy

Tyrrell was well aware that the ‘Mind of the Church’ was not a panacea. He envisaged the impending ‘dangers of the mob,’ and so he refrained from making the voice of the community the last word on the Christian faith. Tyrrell referred to the ‘crowd mentality,’ in which the destructive element is allowed to take over by default.⁵¹ Beisheim describes this as ‘quality rather than quantity (which) makes a crowd.’⁵² Tyrrell argued that a crowd is a non-moral agency, in which no one is responsible. The crowd becomes the ‘Mind of the Church,’ by the creative tension between the innovative few at the service of the many. ‘It is only natural that the crowd-mind is educated slowly and raised up by the efforts of the active and progressive minority.’⁵³

In more rational moments Tyrrell agreed with the necessity of a head to direct the body politic; he did not oppose the concept of papacy, in fact he supported it.⁵⁴ Arguably, John XXIII personified Tyrrell’s vision of a pastoral Pope. When elected in 1958 he echoed Tyrrell’s position, insisting that

⁴⁵ Tyrrell, ‘A Liberal Re-Statement of Catholicism: Religion, As A Spirit.’ *CF*, (1903), 33-154. See also Tyrrell, ‘The purpose of the creeds is practical, to promote religious life rather than to inform curious minds.’ ‘The Rights and Limits of Theology,’ *TSC* (1907), 200-241.

⁴⁶ Tyrrell to von Hügel, *GTL*, Jan 22, 1901, 69.

⁴⁷ See Tyrrell, ‘The Vatican Definition,’ *Medievalism*, 79-86.

⁴⁸ Tyrrell to Dell, *GTL*, May 18, 1905.

⁴⁹ Tyrrell, *AMAL*, 55.

⁵⁰ Tyrrell, *AMAL*, 59, 97-98 and Peter Beisheim, ‘The Evolving Church: ‘The Vision of George Tyrrell’ in *Downside Review*, Vol. 102, (April 1984), 290-300. Beisheim believes, this leads to further refinement of Tyrrell’s concepts of ‘Mind of the Church’ and the ‘Mindless Crowd,’ 292.

⁵¹ Tyrrell, *AMAL*, 54.

⁵² Beisheim, 292.

⁵³ Tyrrell G. ‘*Consensus Fidelium*,’ *The New York Review*, (Aug.-Sept. 1905). See also ‘The Corporate Mind,’ *TSC*, 259.

⁵⁴ In this regard Tyrrell considered the role and teaching capacity of the pope to be crucial. ‘It is in authority that the principle of stability is found, whereby the movement of the organism are controlled into agreement with the fundamental idea or plan’. For example, see Tyrrell, ‘Authority and Evolution,’ ‘it is the Pope of Rome who gathers up and gives utterance to the collective sentiment of the faithful in matters of religious doctrine.’ ‘It is the Papacy, which gives voice to the collective mind of the present Church, built upon the past, and so brings the social influence of the whole Christian body from the beginning to bear upon the mind of the individual and to shape religious beliefs.’ ‘Authority and Evolution: The Life of Catholic Dogma,’ *FM II*, (1904), 139, 140, 141.

his was a very humble office of shepherd, not a prince surrounded by the signs of outward power but a priest, a father, a shepherd. Every day he celebrated the 'dialogue Mass;' on Holy Thursday he washed the feet of members of the congregation.

John XXIII declared that a council was not necessary if the preservation of doctrine was to be its principal aim. 'The substance of the ancient doctrine is one thing, and the way in which it is presented is another.'⁵⁵ Tyrrell's ideal Pope would oscillate between the church found in the Acts of the Apostles and a contemporary church that must ever look to the present, to the new conditions and new forms of life. Tyrrell's church of the future would counteract errors by demonstrating the validity of her teaching, rather than by condemnations. The Council (Vatican II) adopted the strategy of Peter, who said to the beggar, 'I have no silver or gold, but what I have I give you; in the name of Jesus Christ of Nazareth, stand up and walk'(Acts3:6).

McBrien believes that John XXIII was the most influential personality associated with Vatican II.⁵⁶ The Pope continually asserted that the church must reflect the 'signs of the times.'⁵⁷ He set the tone of the Council by the 'panegyric' style he himself adopted as Pope, namely that of a 'servant-shepherd.' He drew attention to the fact that the church is continually confronted with the 'twin poles of unity and diversity,' with *aggiornamento* coming to symbolise the aim and method of his pontificate.⁵⁸ John XXIII and Tyrrell both emphasised that faith comes from listening to the Gospel, which is not primarily a passive acceptance of a series of doctrines, but rather a life changing definitive encounter with the Spirit of Jesus Christ. 'St Paul is a true interpreter when he identifies Christ with the Spirit; when he speaks of the indwelling of the Spirit as the indwelling of Christ.'⁵⁹ John XXIII and Tyrrell both expressed a resolve that the church's teaching should be pastoral, 'studied and expounded through the methods of research and through the literary forms of modern thought.'⁶⁰ In his inspirational opening address to the Council, John XXIII insisted that,

The substance of the ancient doctrine of the deposit of faith is one thing, and the way in which it is presented is another. And it is the latter that must be taken into great consideration with patience if necessary, everything being measured in the forms and proportions of a Magisterium which is predominantly pastoral in character.⁶¹

Both believed that the future of the church depended upon the role of the laity. It was the Pope's initiative to invite public discussion with regard to formulating the role and structure of the church in the future. Tyrrell predicted that real change in the church required that authority recognise the power and authority that belong to the faithful by the constitution of the Church. Similarly, John McKenzie notes:

Real change means that the forms and structures reflect the reality of the Church, not the reality of the duchy or the organisation. Real change is real only if it is the work of the whole Church and not exclusively the work of its officers.⁶²

Furthermore, Tyrrell maintained that the hierarchy became self-obsessed and thereby cut themselves off from the 'collective mind;' they became the 'crowd.'⁶³ Tyrrell considered all attempts at

⁵⁵ McBrien, R. (1994), *Catholicism*, 664-6. See also John XXIII's Opening Speech to the Council delivered in St. Peter's Basilica, 11 October (1962). Abbot, W.M. (Ed.), (1966), *Documents of Vatican II*, 710-19, esp. 712.

⁵⁶ McBrien, 664.

⁵⁷ See *Gaudet Mater Ecclesia*, the opening declaration of the Second Vatican Council and *Gaudium et Spes*, n.1.

⁵⁸ John XXIII's Opening Speech to the Council (11 October 1962), 710-19, esp. 712.

⁵⁹ For example see *Dei Verbum* n.4 and Tyrrell, 'The Religion and Personality of Jesus,' *CC*, (1963), 172.

⁶⁰ See Pope John XXIII, Opening Speech for the Council.

⁶¹ Pope John XXIII, Opening Speech for the Council.

⁶² McKenzie, J.L. S.J. (1966), *Authority in the Church*, 162-74. Also in Mannion, Gaillardetz, Kerkhofs and Wilson (Ed.), (2003), *Readings in Church Authority*, 119.

⁶³ Tyrrell, 'Consensus Fidelium,' *New York Review* I, (1905), 260 -1.

coercion as an ‘aberration of the institutionalising process;’ for Tyrrell ‘Catholicism is too complex an idea to be thus put into a nutshell for the benefit of intellectual laziness.’⁶⁴

That Christ was the source of the indwelling Spirit within the church, Tyrrell remained convinced. He believed Christ would be with the church to the end of time. However, the organised hierarchy could only gain and maintain authority by being answerable to the whole collective body. It therefore also remained Tyrrell’s contention that the hierarchy had departed from this collective mind and had therefore lost the ability to determine ‘what is life giving and what should be cast off as destructive.’⁶⁵

Tyrrell argued for complete restoration of active participation by all members in the life of the church, a participation that had gradually been denied to all except for the hierarchy.⁶⁶ Dell and Tyrrell emphasised that this is not simply the fault of the hierarchy,⁶⁷ and that democracy does not imply laicisation of the church, but rather a return to ‘the ecclesial community in which ecclesial structures are to serve through its legitimate hierarchy of gifts and graces.’⁶⁸ It has not happened yet, but Tyrrell believed democracy (the exercise of authority by the collective church) had come to stay and generations of the future would not be able to conceive of any other form of ecclesial government. According to Tyrrell, the most visible sign of a return to the ecclesial concept of authority would be the steady re-reading and re-interpretation of Vatican I. There is no need of a violent revolution, in fact this would be counter-productive for a variety of reasons, Tyrrell is simply advocating a pastorally inspired re-evaluation of church teaching. Tyrrell confided to Lord Ashborne,

My own hope is that the lay mind will quietly impose a democratic interpretation on the existing ecclesiastical hierarchy through its growing inability to understand authority in any other way than as deriving from the whole community.⁶⁹

Critics of Tyrrell rightly point out that his position could in fact lead to an elitist outcome given his understanding of the unique role he presented for the theologian within the church. It is also the case that he did not fully develop his idealistic argument with regard to how in practice the ‘Mind of the Church’ would function in its collegial role. Nevertheless, Tyrrell predicted that it would be through the laity’s emancipation that the monarchical understanding of the church would be diminished.⁷⁰ Beisheim concludes his review of Tyrrell, claiming, that Tyrrell’s ideas on Catholicism ‘can be seen both as fundamentally orthodox and remarkably in advance of his time.’⁷¹

Towards Synergy: Tyrrell & Post-Conciliar Theology

Tyrrell’s rejection of Neoscholastic philosophy forms an integral part of a substantial progressive movement that spans the entire course of the twentieth century. The pinnacle of this evolutionary process was Vatican II, facilitated by the work of influential theologians such as, de Lubac, Rahner, Küng, Lonergan, Schillebeeckx, Congar *et al.*⁷² Tyrrell’s theological and ecclesial insights might be seen as a prolegomenon to post-conciliar theology. Today some aspects of Tyrrell’s thinking have

⁶⁴ Tyrrell, ‘From Heaven or From Men?’ 357.

⁶⁵ Tyrrell, ‘From Heaven or From Men?’ 381.

⁶⁶ Tyrrell, ‘From Heaven or From Men?’ 383.

⁶⁷ See Dell’s letter to *The Times*, 25 July 1909.

⁶⁸ Beisheim, 299.

⁶⁹ Tyrrell to Lord Ashbourne, 7 December 1906, *GTL*, 103.

⁷⁰ See Tyrrell, *GTL*, 103.

⁷¹ Beisheim, 300.

⁷² Kasper believes, ‘There is no doubt that the outstanding event in Catholic Theology of our century is the surmounting of neo-Scholasticism.’ Furthermore, ‘in the long run the restoration of (Scholasticism) was bound to fail.’ See *Theology and Church* (1989), 1. And Kerr, F. (2007) *Twentieth-Century Catholic Theologians*, (2007), vii.

become commonplace ecclesial and theological positions, testifying to ecclesial shifts and the surmounting of *theologism*.

Vatican II was predominately a pastoral council. Its aim was to consolidate and facilitate future dialogue between the church and the contemporary epoch. Tyrrell approached theology and ecclesiology with the same pastoral objective. This was his *raison d'être* for being a Jesuit theologian. In a traditional sense he was inspired by the pastoral care of souls. Both Tyrrell and the majority of the theologians and Bishops of the Council shared the concern that some traditional formulations of Roman theology appeared not only arid but were increasingly unintelligible to a growing number of educated Catholics. The pastoral concerns Tyrrell articulated are incorporated into the 'word' and 'spirit' of the Council. They also resonate through the thought of pre- and post-Vatican II theological discussion. Examples include:

- Scholastic Philosophy should be assigned to the history of philosophy among examples of absolute systems.⁷³
- The liberation of theology, reform of theology and rational theology should take into account modern philosophical and scientific developments.⁷⁴
- History should be written and taught according to modern historical critical methods and principles.⁷⁵
- Dogmas and their developments are to be harmonised with science and religion.⁷⁶
- Devotion (faith, religious experience) comes before theology – *Lex Orandi, Lex Credendi*. Catechism to be duly reformed to be within the capacity (and intellect) of the people.⁷⁷

⁷³ See Walter Kasper and the 'surmounting of Neo-Scholasticism,' Kerr, (2007), *Twentieth Century Catholic Theologians*, 1. Tyrrell considered the abuse of scholasticism had led to a narrow rationalism which was destructive of faith. See *FM I*: 205-207, 85-114. And Tyrrell's letter to Dimnet, *A&L* Vol. II, 164.

⁷⁴ For example of Vatican II's approach to the reform of education, including the sacred sciences, see *Gravissimum Educationis* 11, especially, 'the Church devotes considerable care to higher-level education... with a true liberty of scientific enquiry... every effort should be made in Catholic universities to develop departments for the advancement of scientific research... ecclesiastical faculties should do all in their power to promote the sacred science by the employment of modern methods and aids... they should train their students for higher research.' 10, 11, 12. See also *Gaudium et Spes*, n.44, Tyrrell, 'RTD,' again Tyrrell emphasises the practical, truth to be lived and not analysed. See *TSC*, 22. I.e. a religion is a growth not a manufacture, its adaptation to human nature in its entirety proves the Church's divinity. Further, science is from God and supports faith. See also Pope Benedict's Regensburg Address, September 2006.

⁷⁵ See *Dei Verbum*, esp. Chapter III: 11, 12, 13. See also *Gravissimum Educationis*, regarding the 'intellectual apostolate.' Tyrrell argued Catholicism would have to respond to the questions raised by historical criticism. He became convinced that the results of modern historical criticism could not be ignored; *Gaudium et Spes*, 'at all times the Church carries the responsibility of reading the signs of the times and interpreting them in a language intelligible to every generation.' 4, 5; see also Tyrrell, *Medievalism*, Chapter X, 'Indifference to History and Dogma.' *Gaudium et Spes*, 'We cannot but deplore certain attitudes (not unknown among Christians) deriving from a shortsighted view of the rightful autonomy of science; they have occasioned conflict and controversy and have mislead many into opposing faith and science.' n. 36. See also Pius Paschini, *Vita e opere di Galileo Galilei*, 2 Vol., Vatic., 1964. See also Pope John Paul II, (1998), *Fides et Ratione*.

⁷⁶ *Instruction on the Ecclesia Vocation of the Theologian*, 6-9, and Tyrrell argued there was too much emphasis on particular ways of expressing the truth that was not related to peoples' lives. Catholicism he maintained throughout his work is more than a system of truths or a theology. For Tyrrell truth was to be lived not analysed. See *TSC* (Introduction), dogma for Tyrrell is the mental language in which Christ and his Church have embodied the truth of revelation. *FM I*: 124ff, 130. See also *Dei Verbum*, Chapter n.11-13.

⁷⁷ The central theme throughout all of Tyrrell's work is found in *Gaudium et Spes*, 'One of the gravest errors of our time is the dichotomy between faith which many profess and the practice of their daily lives.' 43 Tyrrell who considered it the task of Rome to sift tradition, to gather up, synthesise and proclaim the *consensus fidelium*. See *TSC*, 65. Tyrrell maintained that there was too literal acceptance of the metaphor that called the church 'Kingdom' was responsible for a false view of the church, and the role of church officials. See Tyrrell, *CF*, 133, 166, *Medievalism*, 57ff. Also Tyrrell,

- Worship - number of external devotions to be reduced and prevention of further increases.⁷⁸
- Develop a practical and concrete manifestation of the *Consensus Fidelium*, authority should be decentralised — a turn to the ‘authority’ of witness and Christian unity.⁷⁹
- Ecclesiastical government requires renewal in all areas, especially disciplinary and dogmatic aspects. Abolish the antiquated seminarian system.⁸⁰
- The Roman congregations and especially the Index and the Holy Office should be reformed.⁸¹
- The spirit of ecclesiastical government should be put in harmony with the public consciousness of democratic government.⁸²
- Lower ranks of clergy and laity should share authority.⁸³
- Clergy are asked to return to their ancient lowliness and poverty.⁸⁴
- Develop the role of pastoral care.⁸⁵
- Develop the role of the laity.⁸⁶

RFL, 1. See also, ‘methodical research in all branches of knowledge... cannot conflict with the faith, because the things of the world and the things of faith come from the same God.’ *Gaudium et Spes*, n.36.

⁷⁸ For example, *Marialis Cultis*, Pope Paul VI, 2 February 1974, ‘Introduction,’ n.31.

⁷⁹ For example, see *Ut unum sint*, Pope John Paul II, 25 May 1995, 3,11,39,94. See especially *Gaudium et Spes*, ‘the encouragement of unity is in harmony with the deepest nature of the Church’s mission, for it ‘is in the nature of a sacrament – a sign and instrument that is of communion with God and of unity among all men.’ 42.

⁸⁰ See esp. *Optatam Totius*, ‘Introduction’ and n.1, n.2, n.4, n.5, n.8, n.13, and n.19 ‘Attention To Strictly Pastoral Training.’ Note the continued emphasis through out on the pastoral dimension of formation. See Tyrrell’s ‘The Relation of Theology to Devotion,’ again truth to be practiced in a pastoral context. See *TSC*, 22 I.e. a religion is a growth not a manufacture, its adaptation to human nature in its entirety proves the church’s divinity. Tyrrell, *CC*, 67. Throughout Tyrrell’s writings there are endless references to what Tyrrell termed ‘the abuse of power,’ he used different words to describe the abuse: ecclesiastical, absolutism, Ultramontanism, Vaticanism, authoritarianism, Sacerdotalism, Theologism and Jesuitism. Gradually, pushed to extremes, he became convinced that the official interpretation of ‘power’ was an abuse and a heresy. Letter to Dell, Jan. 1907, *CF*, 34; *Medievalism*, 165; *LC*, 149. Tyrrell argued that all authority came from the Spirit of God, working through the spirit of humanity. For his ‘abuse of authority’ Tyrrell called Pius X ‘a heretic and a schismatic,’ suggesting that he was leading the Church towards shipwreck and that it was his duty to disobey. See also *Optatam totius*, ‘Priestly Training In Different Countries: in each such program, the general regulations will be adapted to the circumstances of time and place, so that priestly training will always answer the pastoral requirements of the particular area in which the ministry is to be excised.’ n.1

⁸¹ The final edition of the *Index* appeared in 1948. Pope Paul VI issued the *Moto Proprio Integrae serandae*, (7 December 1965) that re-constituted the Holy Office, in the process the *Index* was no longer listed as a responsibility of the SCDF.

⁸² For example, see also *Presbyterorum ordinis*, (1965), ‘Relations of Priests with Lay People,’ i.e. ‘brothers among brothers.’ n9. The document also advises clergy to undertake courses post ordination in ‘knowledge of pastoral methods and theological science,’ and ‘sharing their pastoral experience with fellow priests.’ ‘Tyrrell argued that an ‘instinctive unconscious spirit of sane democracy’ could be found in the New Testament. See *TSC*, 365, 381, 142 etc. e.g. ‘Christ has made us free.’ ‘Through the gifts of each person the Church is enriched.’ All people, ‘no less than the officials contribute to the whole body.’ See *TSC* and Tyrrell’s critique of the *Joint Pastoral* in *A&L*, Vol. II, 146-162. ‘He did not commission some of them to teach and rule the rest, but all of them to teach all nations.’ See *Medievalism*, 138. Tyrrell believed papal infallibility must be viewed within the context of the whole Church; the Spirit has been given to the whole church to preserve her from error. See *CF*, 103 & *Dei Verbum*’s ‘five witnesses to salvific revelation.’

⁸³ *Presbyterorum Ordinis*, Pope Paul VI, (1965), n.2, n.5, n.7.

⁸⁴ *Presbyterorum Ordinis*, n.6, n.15, n.17.

⁸⁵ *Presbyterorum Ordinis*, n.8, n.12, n.13, n.19.

⁸⁶ *Apostolicam actusitatem*, ‘Participation of Laity in the Church’s Mission,’ n.2. See *Gaudium et Spes*, ‘In pastoral care sufficient use should be made, not only of theological principles, but also of the findings of secular sciences, especially psychology and sociology: in this way the faithful will be brought to a purer and more mature living of the faith.’ 62. See Tyrrell, *CF*, 81, ‘Jesus or the Christ,’ *ER*, 32, *LO*, 10, *RTD*, 422, *WO*, 96 & 37. Tyrrell, ‘The Dearth of the Clergy,’ *The*

Tyrrell laboured to create a theology that conformed to the academic conventions of the university, while being pastorally sensitive and spiritually enlightening. At best, we might say, Tyrrell set himself a considerable challenge, a similar call to renewal echoes consistently throughout Vatican II's documents.

'The Universal Call To Holiness'

Karl Rahner described the new millennium as the 'Age of the Spirit,' an emphasis that received validation in the documents of the Second Vatican Council.⁸⁷ Indeed there is congruence between Tyrrell's 'Age of the Laity' and Rahner's 'Age of the Spirit.' Kasper, Rahner, Schillebeeckx, and Congar, support the Council's call for greater collaboration by laypersons in tasks of community leadership.⁸⁸ However, the undertaking still remains to work through the practical implications of this imperative. Kasper advocates the concept of 'pastoral collaborators' and laments the fact that they have not been widely used within the post-Conciliar church. Drawing upon Vatican II, Kasper argues, 'thanks to their own mission, the laity can assume the exercise of particular tasks... the primary affirmation here is that laypersons sharing in the salvific mission of the church, which is rooted in their baptism, can include the call to direct collaboration in the apostolate of the hierarchy.'⁸⁹ However, the 1983 *Code of Canon Law* created the possibility for laypersons to receive a specific commission, where there is a grave shortage of priests.⁹⁰

Lumen Gentium, in particular, supports Tyrrell's assertion with regard to the crucial future significance of the laity within the church. Section 30 points out that 'Christ never established that pastors should carry out the whole salvific mission of the church to the world by themselves.'⁹¹ Section 32 of *Lumen Gentium* refers to a 'wonderful diversity within the church, and declares that there is no inequality in the church based on race, nationality, social condition, or sex.' Here it is worth remembering the contribution of Pottmeyer, that Vatican II is still a work in progress, 'a setting out...an example of a passage to be made over and over again.'⁹²

Contemporary Review, Vol. 95, 574-588, 583. See also *Ecclesiae Sanctae*, 'Those Responsible for Renewal,' 1; *Lumen Gentium*, Chapters Five and Six; *Optatam totius*, for example, 'and that they may win over many by becoming servants of all.' (1 Cor.9:19) n.4. See also *Optatam totius*, n.19, 'Attention to Strictly Pastoral Training.'

⁸⁷ See Karl Rahner, 'Basic Theological Interpretation of the Second Vatican Council,' *Theological Investigations*, Vol. 20, 77-89 and Kasper, W. (2003), *Leadership in the Church*, 68-75. See *Lumen Gentium*, Chapter V: 39 'he joined her to himself as his body and endowed her (the church) with the gift of the Holy Spirit for the glory of God'. (Eph.5:25-26); see also *Gaudium et Spes*, 'The people of God believes that it is led by the Spirit of the Lord who fills the whole world. Moved by that faith it tries to discern in the events, the needs and the longings it shares with other men of our time.' n.11; see also *Dei Verbum* n.5 and *Apostolicam actuositatem*: 'Foundations of the Lay Apostolate,' for example: 'the Holy Spirit in the hearts of all the members;' the Holy Spirit sanctifies the People of God;' 'the freedom of the Holy Spirit breathes where he wills' (Jn. 3:8), n.3.

⁸⁸ See 'The Layman in the Church,' Rahner, K. (1975), *Encyclopedia of Theology: a concise Sacramentum mundi*, 814; Kasper, K. (2007), *Searching for Christian Unity*, 294; Schillebeeckx, E. (1985), *The Church with a Human Face*; Schillebeeckx, E. (1987), *Christ the Sacrament of the Encounter with God*, 52; Congar, Y. (1967), *Lay People in the Church: a study for a theology of laity*, 293.

⁸⁹ Kasper, 69.

⁹⁰ See *cura pastoralis* (canon 517-2) and Kasper, 71. Reservations taken in to account, he insists that it 'would of course be wrong to see only dangers and deficiencies in the present situation, (i.e. increased lay collaboration) since it to has the potential to be what the Bible calls a *kairos*, in which the spirit of God leads us (perhaps indeed compels us) *hominum confusione sed Dei providentia* to discover a new form of church, of the ecclesial ministry, and of pastoral care, a form which is closer on any point to Jesus' original vision of the Kingdom of God to the communion-ecclesiology of Scripture and the patristic age, and to the intentions of Vatican II than the form so familiar to us of the last 150 years.' 73-74.

⁹¹ See *Lumen Gentium* n.30 and Prusak, B.P. (2004), *The Church Unfinished*, 293. 'The Mission of the Nonordained and Nonvowed Faithful.'

⁹² See *Lumen Gentium* n.32 and Pottmeyer, H.J. 'A New Phrase in the Reception of Vatican II: Twenty Years of Interpretation of the Council,' Alberigo, G., Jossus, J.P., and Komonchak, J.A. Eds., *The Reception of Vatican II*, 29.

In *Lex Credendi* (1902), Tyrrell argued for collaboration between the clergy and the laity, in such a way as to include a prophetic understanding of the role of women within the church. He believed, ‘women are more religious than men,’ ‘that religion is far more shaped by women than by men,’ that ‘devotion to Christ has been mostly the devotion of women,’ and that the church’s devotion to Christ ‘is to some extent a women’s creation,’ that ‘our religion has been so much shaped by women that as a fact it has been largely adapted to their temperament.’⁹³ Tyrrell’s argument for a renewed masculinity within the church, resonates powerfully with David Schultenover’s notion of a ‘Mediterranean anthropology.’⁹⁴

While *Lumen Gentium* should be read in the light of all the documents produced by the Council, it does speak of the laity generally as having a vocation to build up the church and described the ‘lay apostolate,’ commissioned by baptism and confirmation, as a participation in the saving mission of the church. Crucially, and with regard to Tyrrell, it adds that the laity can further be called to a more immediate cooperation in the apostolate of the hierarchy. In section 34, the laity are said to share in the priestly office of Christ:

To those whom he intimately joins in his life and mission he also gives a share in his priestly office, to offer spiritual worship for the glory of the Father and the salvation of man. Hence the laity, dedicated as they are to Christ and anointed by the Holy Spirit, are marvellously called and prepared so that even richer fruits of the Spirit may be produced in them.⁹⁵

Lumen Gentium insisted, as did Tyrrell, that ‘the laity should disclose their needs and desires with that liberty and confidence which befits children of God and brothers of Christ.’ The church is the religion of the people of God. Tyrrell was adamant that,

Catholicism is the religion of the poor, of the masses. Anglicanism is too academic, too educated... Protestantism is only for a spiritual aristocracy... Catholicism it is which appeals to the mediocre millions. *However*, it is not in having the poor with it, but in doing them good, that a religion is proved to be Christ’s.⁹⁶

Central to Tyrrell’s ecclesiology is the liberation of the laity from internal and external oppression; indeed Tyrrell believed the desire and practice of liberation makes the church truly the body of Christ. This was, Tyrrell believes, Christ’s method, Tyrrell asks,

What if, for the sake of their peace and their services, it pander to their superstition, their vices and frailties; if it come down to their level instead of rising them to a higher level? Was this the sense in which Christ preached the Gospel to the poor; or was it rather a Gospel of deliverance from the internal and external oppression of a selfish and tyrannical priesthood?

Tyrrell believes the real question is what does the church do to liberate the masses? ‘Not how many millions does it number among its adherents, but rather, ‘what percentage of the poor does it elevate?’⁹⁷

Nor is it enough to get them to go through a routine of religious duties, if there is no moral redemption in the gross. The light of public religion must so shine before man that they may see its good works.⁹⁸

⁹³ Tyrrell, (1906), *LC*, 28-29.

⁹⁴ See Chapter Two above and Schultenover, D. (1994), *A View From Rome*, Chapter Five, ‘Mediterranean Anthropology,’ 161-228.

⁹⁵ *Lumen Gentium*, n.34.

⁹⁶ Tyrrell, ‘The Church,’ *EFI*, 106.

⁹⁷ Tyrrell, ‘The Church,’ *EFI*, 107.

⁹⁸ Tyrrell, ‘The Church,’ *EFI*, 107.

Furthermore, ‘the laity are empowered – indeed sometimes obliged – to manifest their opinion on those things which pertain to the good of the church.’⁹⁹ Critics of this progressive assertion which also emanates from scholars such as Tyrrell and Rahner believe that the authority of the Magisterium and the Pope is being diluted from the formulation of Vatican I. The fact remains that liberating theology from ‘*theologism*,’ as Tyrrell and later Rahner asserts, is ‘so liberating to the educated laity, and was therefore bound to be unwelcome to a certain kind of hierarchical mindset.’¹⁰⁰ Notwithstanding the inner tension within the documents between the progressives and the conservatives, many commentators conclude that there is a true potential with regard to the Council’s vision for the laity. Roger Haight understands *Lumen Gentium* to be ‘the most forceful official statement ever made by the Roman Church about the active ministerial role of the laity.’¹⁰¹ The progressives strongly share the sentiments expressed by Tyrrell, ‘the laity derive their right and duty with respect to the apostolate from the union with Christ.’¹⁰²

This synthesis attempts to represent a broad spectrum of theologians who helped shape the post-Conciliar church. The ‘Decree On The Apostolate of Lay People’ (*Apostolicam Actuositatem*), identifies specific areas of lay involvement in the Church’s mission, drawing on the authority of Scripture to highlight the significance of the laity, in a manner often employed by Tyrrell. It insists that ‘Scripture clearly shows how spontaneous and fruitful was this activity in the church’s early days (Acts 11:19-21; 18:26; Rom.16:1-16; Phil. 4:3).’ The document further insists that ‘present circumstances demand an ‘infinitely broader and more intense activity’ of the laity today.’¹⁰³

The Decree On The Apostolate of Lay People declares that the laity are apostles, ‘by the power of the Holy Spirit... it is by the Lord himself that they are assigned to the apostolate;’ the laity are to ‘bear witnesses to Christ;’ on ‘the national and international level, it is the ‘laity more than others’ (clergy), who ‘are the channels of Christian wisdom.’¹⁰⁴ Tyrrell consistently affirms throughout his work the integral dual role of the laity and the Holy Spirit for the future of the church.¹⁰⁵

⁹⁹ *Lumen Gentium*, n.37.

¹⁰⁰ See Tyrrell’s reply to the scholastic critique of his thought by R.P. Lebreton, ‘“Theologism” – A Reply,’ TSC, 310. Rahner, K. (1972), *The Shape of the Church to Come*, especially: ‘A Declericalized Church,’ 56ff. and ‘Democratized Church,’ 119ff. See also Kelly, G. (Ed.), (1992), *Karl Rahner: Theologian of the Graced Search for Meaning*, 268.

¹⁰¹ Haight, R. (2005), *Christian Community in History*, 393. See also *Lumen Gentium*, n.s 33-38 & Tyrrell, for example, ‘*Docens Discendo*,’ *The Weekly Register*, July 19, (1901), 68-69. Here Tyrrell laments the ‘shape of democracy’ and the apparent ‘revival of absolutism.’

¹⁰² Coulson, J. (Ed.), (1961), *On Consulting the Faithful in Matters of Doctrine*, John Henry Newman; Alberigo, ‘The Authority of the Church in the documents of Vatican I and Vatican II,’ *Journal of Ecumenical Studies* 19 (1982); Without reference to Tyrrell, Congar repeats Tyrrell’s assertion regarding the ‘learning and teaching’ Church almost verbatim. ‘Congar has traced the distinction between a ‘learning and teaching’ Church to the theological discussion of passive vs active infallibility in the eighteenth century. Congar notes that the distinction became frequent in the nineteenth century: *L’Église: De saint Augustin à l’époque moderne*, 389.’ See Prusak, 380. See also Karl Rahner, ‘What the Church Officially Teaches and What the People Actually Believe,’ *Theological Investigations*, Vol. 22, *Humane Society and the Church of Tomorrow*, (1910); and Congar, ‘Teaching Church, Church Taught,’ ‘Towards a Catholic Synthesis,’ in *Who has the say in the Church*, Moltmann, J. and Küng, H. (Eds.), *Concilium*, 148-8 (1981).

¹⁰³ ‘Decree on The Apostolate of the Laity,’ n1.

¹⁰⁴ ‘Decree on the Apostolate of the Laity,’ n.2, n.14; See also ‘*Catholic Action*,’ 20, 782, 787.

¹⁰⁵ See ‘A Plea for Habeas Corpus in the Church,’ *Weekly Register*, 26 August to 16 September, (1899); A&L, Vol. II, Chapter VII, includes numerous letters outlining Tyrrell’s understanding of authority and the role of the laity; interestingly in this debate he places Newman on one-side and the Jesuits upon the other, one in favour of collaboration with the laity and one fundamentally opposed, 154. See also *Consensus Fidelium*, *New York Review* 1, (August-September 1905), 133-138. Reprinted as ‘The Corporate Mind,’ SC, 254-263; ‘The Mind of the Church,’ *The Month*, (Aug. 1900), 125-142 & (Sept. 1900), 233-240. See also ‘The Recent Anglo-Roman Pastoral,’ *The Nineteenth Century* 49, (May 1901), 736-754, signed Halifax, although undoubtedly Tyrrell was the author, Looome, 305, n.127. See also *Humani Generis*, Pius XII, 1950. The Catholic theological scene was not completely ‘blacked out’, some of the groundwork for Vatican II took place between 1920-1960 e.g. ‘ressourcement,’ a return to the sources of Catholicism, represented an attempt to move around Pascendi etc. through a return to the Fathers of the Church. Happel & Tracy, *Catholic Vision*, (1984), 134-136.

The Liberation of Theology

Reminiscent of the dark days of the modernist crisis, the 1950s also witnessed the suppression of a number of progressive Catholic scholars and movements. Examples include the evolutionary writings of Teilhard de Chardin and the worker-priest movement, particularly among the French Dominicans. Many theologians had been forbidden to write on certain topics, silenced or disciplined by removal from office. Examples include: Rahner, Congar, de Lubac, de Chardin, Chénu and Courtney-Murray.¹⁰⁶ The threat of having their books placed on the *Index* was taken very seriously. The oppressive precedent set by Pius X ensured seminary professors were required to continue with the Oath against Modernism.¹⁰⁷

Nevertheless, the Catholic enlightenment continued apace. Courageous theologians adopted a critical approach reminiscent of Tyrrell's *modus operandi*, remaining true to contemporary biblical, patristic and historical scholarship, rather than the neo-Thomist synthesis. Pius XII and the Neoscholastic representatives within the church understood the Catholic revival to be a recurrence of Modernism. Pius XII followed the example of Pius X and produced an encyclical calling for the return to a Thomistic approach in both philosophy and theology.¹⁰⁸ It argued that the proper task of theologians was to show how those things taught by the Magisterium are found in scripture and tradition. A number of theologians associated with the supposed recurrence of modernist tendencies were removed from their professorial chairs, prevented from supporting their views in lectures or writings, and condemned like Tyrrell, to silence and inactivity.

In 1954, three French Dominican provincials were removed from office and a number of Dominican scholars, including Chenu and Congar and the Jesuit, de Lubac, were disciplined at the insistence of the Holy Office, fearful of what they considered to be dangerous modernist innovations. Chenu, a distinguished medieval theologian compared the 13th Century church to the 20th Century. Both Chenu and Congar were dismissed from their teaching positions in the same manner as Tyrrell, but

¹⁰⁶ For example see, 'Karl Rahner, Faith in a Wintry Season: Conversations and Interviews with Karl Rahner in the Last Years of His Life.' Edited by Paul Imhof and Huber Biallowons. Translation edited by Harvey D. Egan (1990), 757; and 'Karl Rahner, I Remember: an Autobiographical Interview with Meinhold Krass.' Translated by Harvey D. Egan, (1985), 63.

¹⁰⁷ 'The Oath Against Modernism,' Pius X (1 September 1910), 'to be sworn to by all clergy, pastors, confessors, preachers, religious superiors, and professors in philosophical-theological seminaries.' Examples from the 'Oath' include: (1) Every definition that has been set forth and declared by the unerring teaching authority of the Church, especially those principal truths which are directly opposed to the errors of this day; (2) God's existence can also be demonstrated; (3) the doctrine of faith was handed down to us from the apostles in exactly the same meaning and always in the same purport; (4) I entirely reject the heretical misrepresentation that dogmas evolve and change from one meaning to another different from the one which the church held previously; (5) I reject the opinion of those who hold that a professor lecturing or writing on a historico-theological subject should first put aside any preconceived opinion about the supernatural origin of Catholic tradition or about the divine promise of help to preserve all revealed truth forever; and that they should then interpret the writings of each of the Fathers solely by scientific principles, excluding all sacred authority, and with the same liberty of judgment that is common in the investigation of all ordinary historical documents. Regardless of the Oath, Catholic scholarship continued to break upon the modernist shore. For example see Pius XII's *Divino Affante Spiritu* (1943), which represented a sorely needed charter of freedom inspired by the Holy Spirit. Furthermore, Pope John XXIII announced the Council with the Modernist mantra of 'opening the church to the world and the world to the church;' it would be difficult to exaggerate the parallels between Tyrrell's and Angelo Roncalli's ecclesiology. Vatican II remains the largest and most representative in terms of nations and cultures, 1,089 European, 489 South Americans, 404 USA, 374 Asia, 296 Africa, 84 Central America, 75 Oceania. Almost all major Christian representatives were present, plus 52 lay auditors. It was the first Council to have available electricity, telephones and mass media communication – one can only imagine the Third Council. See Thomas O'Meara, *The Raid on the Dominicans: The Repression of 1954, America*, 170 (1994) 8-16.

¹⁰⁸ *Humani Generis*, Pius XII, (1950); See also DS 3886.

both later attended and played a considerable role in the Second Vatican Council, shaping a number of Council documents.¹⁰⁹

In the United States two books, (John Tracy Ellis, *American Catholic Intellectual Life* and Thomas O’Dea, *American Catholic Dilemma: An inquiry into the intellectual life.*) captured the general predicament when they asked why the American church and its universities had contributed so little to the intellectual life of the country.¹¹⁰

In 1902 Tyrrell first asked the question which inspired Pope John XXIII, ‘what then is the relation of Christian doctrine to the Christian Spirit?’¹¹¹ Or what has orthodoxy to do with Charity?’¹¹² The story is often told that the Pope once described what he wanted the Vatican Council to accomplish by throwing open the nearest window, to let in the fresh air, a sentiment and philosophy Tyrrell’s expressed in his infamous 1908 letter to Cardinal Mercier.¹¹³ The opening speech of Vatican II and subsequent commentary by John XXIII leaves the contemporary reader in little doubt of the similarities in content between Tyrrell’s and the Pope’s objectives. The pastoral Pope gave to the Council, what Tyrrell earlier advised to all those who sought his counsel:

By bringing herself up to date, the Church will make men, families and peoples really turn their minds to heaven. Our duty is not only to guard this precious treasure, as if we were concerned only with the past, but to dedicate ourselves with an earnest will and without fear to that work which our era demands of us, pursuing thus the path which the Church has followed for twenty centuries. The whole world expects a step forward toward a doctrinal penetration and a formation of conscience ... doctrine should be studied and expounded through the methods of research and through the literary forms of modern thought. The substance of the ancient doctrine of the Deposit of Faith is one thing, and the way which it is presented is another, and it is the latter which must be taken into consideration, everything being measured by a Magisterium which is predominately pastoral in character.¹¹⁴

It is impossible in this context to map in its entirety the oscillating ecclesiology of the twentieth century.¹¹⁵ Pope John XXIII in his opening address attempted to move the church away from the age of *Pascend*.¹¹⁶ The church meets the needs of the present day by demonstrating the validity of

¹⁰⁹ See Thomas O’Meara, ‘The Raid on the Dominicans: The Repression of 1954,’ *America*, 170 (1994), 8-16. See Falconi, *The Popes in the Twentieth Century*, 283. See also Tyrrell’s critique of the ‘Joint Pastoral’ in *A&L* Vol. II, 146-161. The methodology, language, philosophical theology, and ecclesiology are reminiscent of Pascendi.

¹¹⁰ Ellis, J.T. (1956), *American Catholic Intellectual Life*, Chicago: Heritage Foundation; and O’Dea, T. (1958), *American Catholic Dilemma: An inquiry into the intellectual life*.

¹¹¹ See Gaudet *Mater Ecclesia*, (Mother Church Rejoices), the opening declaration of the Second Vatican Council. In his inaugural address to the Bishops, John XXIII opposed the ‘prophets of doom who are always forecasting disaster in the world and in the future of the Church.’ He highlighted ‘the pastoral, not doctrinal, nature of the Council: The Church did not need to repeat or reformulate existing doctrines and dogmata but rather had to teach Christ’s message in light of the modern world.’ He exhorted the bishops ‘to use the medicine of mercy rather than the weapons of severity.’

¹¹² Tyrrell, CF, 84. Today liberation theologians explore the theological implications of orthopraxis, see Gustavo Gutierrez, (1973), *A Theology of Liberation*, Chapter Two, ‘Theology As Critical Reflection On Praxis,’ 6-13.

¹¹³ Tyrrell, *Medievalism*, 165.

¹¹⁴ Pope John XXIII, *Letters from the Vatican City*, Xavier Rynne, (1963), 264, 267, 268.

¹¹⁵ For example see *The Ratzinger Report*, Vittorio Messori, 1985. The Cardinal describes the Post-Conciliar years as a period of ‘self destruction, discouragement and decadence.’ He believes the model of Church as ‘the People of God’ is disturbing (28, 48), so too the prominence given to the teaching role of the Episcopal conference. He highlights the relevant necessity of excommunication as a way to control theologians or others threatening the priority of Church teaching, 24- 6.

¹¹⁶ See Tyrrell’s translation from the Latin, *The Programme of Modernism* (1908), published anonymously, in part with support from Tyrrell to highlight and counteract the influence of the ‘prophets of doom.’

her teaching rather than by condemnation. The Pope believed that ‘the prophets of doom in these modern times... see nothing but prevarication and ruin, they say that our era, in comparison with past eras, is getting worse and they behave as though they have learnt nothing from history, which is, none the less, the teacher of life.’¹¹⁷ John XXIII echoed the sentiments of Tyrrell when he spoke of a renewal that would restore the ‘simple and pure lines that the force of the church of Jesus had at its birth.’¹¹⁸

Tyrrell’s critique of the ‘abuse of authority’ found its justification in the pontificate of John XXIII.¹¹⁹ Roncalli shared Tyrrell’s hope and vision for the future of the church. He believed that the Church should ‘ever look to the present, to the new conditions and new forms of life introduced in the modern world which have opened up new avenues to the Catholic apostolate.’ In a profound way, Pope John XXIII, was ‘the light of a new day,’ and the ‘fresh wind of Heaven,’ which Tyrrell called for, to strike into the darkest Vatican corners and bring regeneration to its ‘mouldy cloisters.’¹²⁰ According to John XXIII, the purpose of the Church was to spread the fullness of Christian charity everywhere: ‘nothing is more effective in eradicating the seeds of discord, nothing more efficacious in promoting concord, just peace, and the brotherly unity of all.’¹²¹

It would be difficult to imagine a greater contrast between John XXIII’s understanding of church, built upon the pastoral principles of Christian charity and unity, and the ecclesiology espoused in the encyclical letter of Pius X, *Pascendi Dominici Gregis* and the syllabus condemning the errors of the modernists, *Lamentabili Sane*. The latter denounces any practical notions of Christian unity, and its denunciation of Modernism is totally devoid of Christian charity. It demands censorship, *imprimatur*, *nihil obstat*, together with the establishment of spies and vigilante committees to report to the Bishop at the slightest hint of liberal progression amongst seminarians, parish priests or theologians. With the Pope’s approval a secret society known as the *Sodalitium Pianum* was set up to keep under surveillance members of the hierarchy suspected of Modernist tendencies. Exploration of Tyrrell’s Catholicism within the contemporary context reminds ‘the People of God’ of the dangers emanating from attempts to return the church to pre-Conciliar models of church.

Lumen Gentium and Gaudium et Spes

The drafting process of Vatican II documents, *Lumen Gentium* and *Gaudium et Spes* in particular, represent an historical moment in the theological reception of the modernist crisis. In that ‘event’ or process the Bishops wanted something significant to transpire. The modernist programme and methodology in all but name was candidly discussed by Bishops on the floor of the Council chamber.¹²² Their pastoral intentions are now immortalised in Vatican II progressive clichés, yet

¹¹⁷ Pope John XXIII’s address at the opening of Vatican II, Oct. 11th 1962. http://www.saint-mike.org/library/papal_library/johnxxiii/opening_speech_vaticanii.html.

¹¹⁸ Rynne, 268. At the Council, Cardinal Augustine Bea, Head of the *Secretariat for Christian Unity* summed up the position ‘while the Church may not reverse dogma, it may clarify it – in other words, reappraisal and reassessment were clearly in order’. It was the idea of change leading to development that inspired Cardinal Newman, moved by the same spirit of progress: in a higher world it is otherwise; but here below to live is to change, and to be perfect is to have changed often. Just as in the third and fourth centuries Clement of Alexandria, Origen, Basil, the Gregories, Jerome and Augustine gave an original Semitic creed a Greco-Roman skin, and in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries Thomas Aquinas, Bonaventure, Duns Scotus and Bernard succeeded in adapting it to the complicated atmosphere of the medieval world. Thus Tyrrell and Pope John XXIII *et al* believed the time was ripe for a rephrasing or restating of the Christian faith, in language, which is comprehensible to the educated, international minded laity of the ‘modern age.’

¹¹⁹ McBrien, 664.

¹²⁰ Tyrrell, *Medievalism*, 165.

¹²¹ John XXIII, See McBrien, 664.

¹²² See O’Malley, *Vatican II did Anything Happen?* 53.

they can still inspire and adequately capture the initial intention of the Council: ‘to read the signs of the times;’ ‘to open the windows to the world;’ to be the ‘universal sacrament of salvation;’ ‘People of God;’ ‘priest, prophet and king;’ ‘collegiality;’ ‘ressourcement;’ *aggiornamento*;’ ‘Christ is the light of humanity;’ ‘*Concilium*’ and so forth.

The Council’s Theological Commission, headed by Cardinal Alfredo Ottaviani, Prefect of the Holy Office, prepared the first draft of *Lumen Gentium*. It resembled the standard textbook understanding of Church with which Tyrrell and all seminary formators would have been familiar. The initial draft was discussed in six separate meetings during the final week of the Council’s first session. The successive drafts (there were four in all) disclose the extraordinary development that occurred in the Council’s self-understanding. The development more or less parallels the evolution in Tyrrell’s thought outlined in this thesis. One of the constitutions is actually called ‘pastoral’, a designation unprecedented in the history of the church, in that it elaborated upon the fundamental relationship of the church to the world. Cardinal Suenens, with the prior knowledge and approval of the Pope urged the Council to do more than examine the mystery of the Church in itself (*ad intra*). The Council should also explore the relationship of the church to the world (*ad extra*). Thus *Gaudium et Spes* represents this ‘hope and joy.’¹²³

Several bishops found the initial draft ‘too juridical’ in tone and too little concerned with the Church as mystery, and complained that it portrayed the laity too much as mere appendages of the hierarchy.¹²⁴ The bishops also expressed concern with regard to the lack of sensitivity towards the legitimate role of the state and deplored the absence of any genuine ecumenical dimension. They also criticised the lack of attention to the Eastern Fathers of the church and to various biblical images of the church, especially that of the ‘People of God.’ Bishop Emile de Smedt of Bruges famously synthesised these criticisms, and distinctly echoed the thoughts of Tyrrell, in a ringing three-pronged attack on the first draft. He challenged its ‘triumphalism,’ its ‘clericalism’ and its ‘juridicism,’ in a manner similar to Tyrrell’s concern with regard to the 1900 *Joint Pastoral*.¹²⁵

¹²³ It was in fact Karol Wojtyla who was to become Pope John Paul II then a bishop delegate at the Council who suggested the adjective ‘pastoral’ for *Gaudium et Spes*. See McBrien, 672 and Abbott, Walter and Joseph Gallagher, (Eds.), (1966), *The Documents of Vatican II*; Alberigo, Jean-Pierre and Komonchak, (Eds.), (1987), *The Reception of Vatican II*; O’Malley, J. (1989), *Tradition and Transition: Historical Perspectives On Vatican II*. See also Bishop Strossmayer’s interjection at Vatican I in Sivrić I, (1975), *Bishop J.G.Strossmayer; New Light On Vatican I*, and ‘The Church (*Lumen Gentium*),’ McBrien, R.P. 666; Hayes & Gearon (Ed.), (1999), *Contemporary Catholic Theology: A Reader*, 280; Francis Sullivan, ‘The Sense of Faith: The Sense/ Consensus of the Faithful,’ Hoose, B. (Ed.), (2002), *Authority in the Roman Catholic Church. Theory and Practice*, 85-93.

¹²⁴ The initial draft was discussed in six separate meetings (1-7 December 1962). Several bishops found the draft ‘too juridical’ in tone and too little concerned with the church as mystery. They also faulted its lack of structural coherence (Cardinal Montini of Milan) and complained that it portrayed the laity as appendages of the hierarchy, and ignored biblical images of the church as the people of God. Bishop de Smedt (Belgium) synthesised these criticisms in a ringing three pronged attack on the first draft: he challenged its ‘triumphalism,’ its ‘clericalism,’ and its ‘juridicism.’ Cardinal Suenens also suggested the title *Lumen Gentium*, noting however, that Christ alone is the real light to the Gentiles. One of the central motifs laid down by the new commission, in the light of the criticism of the first draft, is the stress on the pastoral rather than doctrinal or juridical nature of the Council. See Hayes & Gearon (Ed.), (1999), *Contemporary Catholic Theology: A Reader*, 280-281.

¹²⁵ One wonders what the Belgian bishop, a successor to Cardinal Mercier, might have thought about *Pascendi*? Cardinal Suenens suggested the title *Lumen Gentium*, agreeing with the thought of Tyrrell, that it is not the Pope or the hierarchy but Christ who is the real ‘light of the Gentiles.’ See also Tyrrell’s response to the *Joint Pastoral* of 1900, *A&L*, Vol. II, 146-161. See also Sullivan, F. (1988), *The Church We Believe In*. Sullivan maintains: ‘*Lumen Gentium* represents an attempt to articulate a contemporary self-understanding of the Church that stands in marked contrast to the clerical and monarchical ecclesiology of the nineteenth and early twentieth century Catholicism. Particularly significant is *Lumen*

The ecclesiological manoeuvres within the Council chamber are well documented.¹²⁶ By inference, the key features present in Tyrrell's pastoral theology were scrutinised and debated. On such occasions, the position of the 'Chair' becomes a crucial factor. In this regard both John XXIII and Paul VI espoused similar pastoral theological concerns raised by Tyrrell at the beginning of the century, allowing the progressives to complete and contextualise Vatican I. Specifically, Rausch notes that, 'Vatican I left no doctrine of the episcopate.' One had been prepared but never debated because of the outbreak of the Franco-Prussian War. According to Rausch, Paul VI considered this subject to constitute 'the weightiest and most delicate' subject facing Vatican II. Paul VI considered the Council's 'principal objective the task of describing and honouring the prerogatives of the episcopate.' Otherwise, the Pope feared, 'the false impression would persist that Vatican I had limited the authority of the bishops and had rendered superfluous... the convocation of a subsequent ecumenical council,' by 'placing the Pope outside and above the church.'¹²⁷

The final version of *Lumen Gentium* begins with a chapter on the mystery of the church; it represents a substantial change in emphasis from Vatican I and traditional textbooks which began with an authoritative assertion regarding the church as hierarchical institution. Francis Sullivan is insistent that this is 'more than an editorial move. It reflects a fundamental shift in the way we understand the reality of church.'¹²⁸ Indeed the most radical assessment of this shift comes from Pope John XXIII, in his opening address to the Council, he called for a 'new Pentecost.' This development represents a movement towards the modernist position espoused by Tyrrell. From Tyrrell's perspective this shift restores faith in God as the central act of the church. Chapter Three of *Lumen Gentium*, for example, developed a collegial understanding of the Episcopal office; Bishops are to be understood as heads of local Churches and not just vicars of the Pope; Chapter Four stressed that the laity share in the mission of Christ; Chapter Five stressed the call of the whole church to holiness; Chapters Six and Seven formulated the understanding of the church as a pilgrim church, moving away from the previous dominant notion of the church as the perfect society.¹²⁹

The irony would not be lost on Tyrrell, had he lived to experience Vatican II. In essence, Pope Paul VI continued the work for which Tyrrell had been condemned. Paul VI charged Vatican II with the task of completing the work and clarifying the confusion created by Vatican I. The bishops began this task by rejecting the first draft of *Lumen Gentium*. Milan's Cardinal Montini continued in a similar vein to Tyrrell's *Medievalism*. Perhaps one could be forgiven for believing that the progressive bishops based their position upon Tyrrell's critique of Vatican I, in summary, too juridical in tone and too little concerned with the church as mystery.¹³⁰

Gentium's stress on the Church as the People of God, its doctrine of Episcopal collegiality, and its theology of the laity.' 272.

¹²⁶ For example see Alberigo and Komonchak, (Ed.), *History of Vatican II*, 5 vols. (1995-2006), 1:94, and Hayes & Gearon (Ed.), (1999), *Contemporary Catholic Theology: A Reader*, 280-281.

¹²⁷ For an insight into this development see Rausch, 282, and Tyrrell *A&L* Vol. II, 150.

¹²⁸ Sullivan, F. (1988), *The Church We Believe In*, 272. See also the objection raised by De Smedt at the council with regard to the use of the term *subditi*, referring to church members as "subjects," the subsequent drafts of *Lumen Gentium* never mentioned the word, it was eventually replaced with 'People of God.' See O'Malley, (2010), *What Happened At Vatican II*, 174.

¹²⁹ See Sullivan, 286, 273. And Tyrrell, 'A More Excellent Way,' *FM II*, (1904), 1-24; 'Reflections On Catholicism,' *TSC*, (1907) 20-85.

¹³⁰ Tyrrell's critique of the *Joint Pastoral*, *A&L*, Vol. II, 146-161; and Hayes & Gearon (Ed.), *Contemporary Catholic Theology: A Reader*, 280. See also Schillebeeckx, (1981), 103. See Tyrrell's insistence that 'the Pope should be removed from the Cross and Jesus reinstated.' The final eight chapters of *Lumen Gentium* consider: (1) The nature of the Church

The Church as Sacrament

Tyrrell understood the church as a sacrament. He believed that ‘the Church is a sacrament rather than a society.’ He anticipated to a remarkable extent this Vatican II understanding of Church. *Lumen Gentium* presents the church as itself a sacrament, ‘a sign and instrument, that is, of communion with God and of unity among men.’¹³¹ The document also emphasises that the church is ‘for each and everyone the visible sacrament of the saving unity.’¹³² Sullivan believes this is one of the most important developments in contemporary Catholic theology, linked specifically with the work of Karl Rahner.¹³³ However, this position still awaits universal recognition. For example, some bishops at Vatican II attempted to reject an understanding of the church as a sacrament, (e.g. Cardinal Ruffini, Archbishop of Palermo) because it was an actual expression used by Tyrrell to insist that,

...it is through the instrumentality of the Church and its sacraments that His personality is renewed and strengthened in us; that the force of His spirit is transmitted and felt. The Church is not merely a society or school, but a mystery and a sacrament; like the humanity of Christ of which it is an extension.¹³⁴

In an effort to situate Tyrrell within a contemporary post Vatican II milieu, Charles Mehok compared Tyrrell’s ecclesiology with Hans Küng’s and found that: ‘it is Tyrrell and not Küng who reminds me of the most important teaching of Vatican II, in spite of the fact that Küng participated in the Council itself.’¹³⁵ Supporters of Tyrrell, such as Thomas Foudy, argue this is a further example of Vatican II’s posthumous vindication of Tyrrell’s ecclesiology, and that it carried out this development knowing full well the implications, despite the specific opposition of Cardinal Ruffini.¹³⁶

The Church as Servant

The model of the church as servant, particularly concerning servanthood of the hierarchy, is arguably the most contentious of all Tyrrell’s ecclesial innovations, and the one which he defended most strenuously. Ironically it is also one of the most significant models of church formulated at

Militant, (2) Membership of the Church and the necessity for salvation; (3) The Episcopate as the highest grade of sacramental orders; (4) Residential bishops; (5) the Laity; (6) the teaching office of the Church; (7) Authority and obedience; (8) Relationship between Church and State; (9) the necessity of proclaiming the Gospel to the whole world; (10) Ecumenism and the role of Mary.

¹³¹ Tyrrell believed in the ‘conception of the spirit and personality of Jesus in the mystery of Holy Communion... that, for the Catholic Christian, makes the Church a sacrament rather than a society.’ *CC*, 179. Moreover, ‘it is only the sacraments that make us sons of God. Morality can never do so.’ *CC*, 64-65, 140, 173. See also *Lumen Gentium*, n.1.

¹³² *Lumen Gentium*, n.9.

¹³³ See Tyrrell, *CC*, 179 and Sullivan (1988). Sullivan maintains that this understanding of Church ‘moves away from Augustinian pessimism about salvation to a more hopeful universalistic outlook,’ as reflected in Tyrrell and the documents of Vatican II. See Sullivan, 286.

¹³⁴ In rejecting the concept of the church as Sacrament, Ruffini reminded the Council that the notion of the ‘Church as Sacrament’ came from George Tyrrell. See Kerr, (2007), *Twentieth-Century Catholic Theologians*, 5-7.

¹³⁵ Charles J. Mehok, SJ ‘Hans Küng and George Tyrrell on the Church,’ *Homiletic and Pastoral Review*, LXXII, 4 (Jan. 1972), 58.

¹³⁶ See Foudy, T. (1975), ‘The Ecclesiology of George Tyrrell.’ See also *Lumen Gentium*, n.1 in Abbott, *The Documents of Vatican II* and Grillmeier, A. (1967) *Commentary on the Documents of Vatican II*, 138-152.

Vatican II. The hierarchy of the church is both the servant of God and of the laity. *Lumen Gentium* sees the church primarily as the spiritual fellowship of the baptised and only secondary as a hierarchical communion. Tyrrell argued that:

It was characteristic of Christ that He laid aside His rights: “You call me Lord and Master, ye say well; If I your Lord and Master wash your feet,” etc., and “Lo, I am in the midst of you as one that serveth”. Again St Paul says of Him: “ The Son of Man came not to be served but to serve,” and St Peter warns bishops and elders that they should not lord it over the elect but should lead them by example (1 Pet. V. 3).¹³⁷

Tyrrell was convinced that the New Testament reveals a pastoral rather than a juridical hierarchy. The Pope and other bishops are established for the service of God’s people. The authority of bishops is not their own, but rather that of Christ. In *The Church and the Future* Tyrrell wrote regularly with regard to the metaphor of sheep and shepherd. The authority of the bishop derives from their credibility as ‘servants of the people of God.’ Jesus instituted ‘a pastoral regimen, one that understands the rule of the spiritual shepherd, who goes before his sheep by alluring example as Christ did, not one who drives them unwilling to the brambles.’¹³⁸ Tyrrell’s work reminds the contemporary church that we are still struggling with a model of church that is clerical-elitist, one too often characterised by authoritarian dictates and hierarchical censure. Von Hügel commented poignantly:

I feel sure we should never use the term “Church” pure and simple, for “Official Church,” “Teaching Church.” It is simply un-Catholic to restrict “Church” in such a manner. But let us frankly admit, we have a Pope who will have none of this. It is Tyrrell who, whatever may be his incidental faults of temper, is just now proclaiming this elementary, most dangerously forgotten truth, with splendid insight and courage.¹³⁹

Congar, like Tyrrell, considered the laity to have been treated as appendages of the clergy. Tyrrell referred to them as ‘passengers’ on a train, simply being taken from one destination to another. Congar described the laity as ‘clients’ of the clergy who are the church. Both Tyrrell and Congar considered this model of church to be ‘a betrayal of the truth, a great deal still needs to be done to declericalize our conception of the church, without, of course, jeopardising her hierarchical structure.’¹⁴⁰

Tyrrell maintained that church authority is ‘from the Spirit’ through the community. Vatican II, adopted Tyrrell’s idea that the juridical authority of the Church flows from its sacramental nature. This model allowed Tyrrell to argue that the bishop is rightly returned to his official position, receiving his authority from Christ’s Spirit in his sacramental consecration. Tyrrell wrote: ‘Since it is received in the sacrament of Episcopal consecration it is from the community of the Church because every sacrament is a *sacramentum ecclesiae*.’¹⁴¹

¹³⁷ See Tyrrell, *CF*, (1902), Appendix 1, ‘On Church Government.’ Here Tyrrell sets out a prophetic 15 point thesis on the role of Church government, drawing a clear distinction between pastoral and judicial motivation, 165-176. Peter, E. (1965), *De Ecclesia: The Constitution on the Church of Vatican II*, 9-10.

¹³⁸ See Ps. XXII *Dominus regit me (ποιμαίνειν)* - The Lord is my shepherd, or, shepherds me.’ Tyrrell, *CF*, 166.

¹³⁹ Letter of von Hügel to Ward, 4th June 1907. See also Barman, L. (1972), *Baron Friedrich von Hügel and the Modernist Crisis in England*.

¹⁴⁰ Congar, Y. (1965), *Power and Poverty in the Church*, 139-140. Although these ideas on the Church as community are in Newman, Foudy rightly shows that they are ‘better articulated by Tyrrell.’ See Foudy, 209.

¹⁴¹ Foudy, 216.

Thomas Foudy supports the view that Tyrrell re-introduced the notion of ‘authority as service,’ ‘even though it was forgotten by Newman.’ Tyrrell assimilated the Gospel imperative, as did *Lumen Gentium*, that ministry should be understood as service. Tyrrell described the self-serving desire of ‘ecclesiastical officialdom’ as ‘sacerdotalism’ which is antagonistic to the Gospel of Christ.’ It exists for its own sake and not for the service of the people:

Against this spirit we have the lifelong example and most explicit teaching of Him Who came (He tells us) not to be ministered to, but to minister – the Good Shepherd Who gave his life for his sheep, Whose “good news” was precisely for the “poor” who were so scored by the ecclesiastical aristocracy, Who was in the midst of them as one Who serves, Who warned them that the greatest of them must be the least, and that their serviceableness was the only ground and measure of their greatness.¹⁴²

Tyrrell believed there is nothing more antagonistic to the spirit of the Gospel than a denial of the call to service. For Tyrrell, and evidenced by his life and work, service to the poor is the essence of ministry. Tyrrell directs his pastoral ministry to the spiritually needy. Authority then originates through ministry guided by the Spirit active in the community. Tyrrell understood the importance of the pope and bishops, although he continued to challenge the Ultramontane perception of authority in an effort to invert the hierarchical pyramid carefully balanced on the Pope as its apex, and set it firmly on its base again — to represent it has built up from the earth, not as fallen headforemost from the skies.¹⁴³

Tyrrell became convinced that it was Rome’s ‘dread of lay intervention,’ perceived as a challenge to hierarchal authority, that led to its opposition of the Christian-Democrat movement in Italy and France.¹⁴⁴ Tyrrell insisted that the Ultramontane model of church, at ‘home in the military stage of our civilisation,’ had become an obstacle both to Christian unity and reciprocity with the democratic milieu. He wrote:

There is an uneasy suspicion abroad that if in the military stage of our civilisation the Church could assert herself and prevail only by means of a military polity and a military interpretation of her Divine authority, in these days her success depends on an abandonment of both.¹⁴⁵

It must be stressed again that Tyrrell articulated a movement away from the Ultramontane model of authority, one which understood the church as a logically structured military institution. He thus moved towards understanding the role of the Spirit within the church and a renewed recognition of the church as mystery.

The Church as Mystery

¹⁴² Tyrrell, ‘From Heaven Or From Men?’ *TSC*, 373.

¹⁴³ Tyrrell, ‘From Heaven or From Men,’ 382.

¹⁴⁴ See Hales, E.E.Y. (1954), *Pio Nono: A Study in European Politics and Religion in the Nineteenth Century*.

¹⁴⁵ Tyrrell, ‘From Heaven or From Men,’ 383. See also O’Malley J.W. (2004), *Four Cultures of the West*, ‘Athens and Rome,’ 128, 177. See also Charles Taylor, (1989), *Sources Of The Self*, Chapters 17, ‘The Culture of Modernity’ and ‘the warrior virtues,’ 286ff. Foudy, 208. See also Joseph Ratzinger, (1988), *Church Ecumenism and Politics*, ‘The ‘conciliarity’ of the Church,’ 92.

Tyrrell's conception of church developed from his anthropology, i.e. the 'internal and external' dimension, which he referred to as the 'invisible and visible.' He perceived this as a natural religious state, although he considered aspects of the external church to have become a stumbling block to Christ. In *External Religion* Tyrrell overcomes this problem arguing that Christ reveals himself internally to all people; from this mystical conception, the Christ within, Tyrrell forms a Spirit ecclesiology which structures his belief that authority is invested in the community of the faithful. For Tyrrell, Christ came from the outside to awaken the dormant Christ within and to gradually bring to perfection man's mystical union with the Divine.¹⁴⁶

Through Christ the Spirit becomes active in the world. Through Him we have the embodiment of the religious Spirit of which the Church is the sacrament. The church as mystery is an extension of Christ's Spirit, the Spirit of Christ as the manifestation and operation of God. For Tyrrell, the church is the extension of the Incarnation because it is the church that continues the work of Christ and it is also through the church that we make contact with Christ. Tyrrell used his favourite adjective to describe Christ as 'offering the only true concretisation,' a promise that Christ would be experienced in the church, preserving her through time as 'the universal and lasting beacon of grace and light.'¹⁴⁷

Tyrrell believed that if the church was a mere human constitution exercising government over the Christian people, then there would be no room for growth and progress in our knowledge of her nature. But 'in the study of God's works, natural and supernatural, there is no end, only mystery.'¹⁴⁸ Tyrrell's conception of the church remained 'as mediating between God and the soul, as a mystical body in union with which alone salvation is possible.'¹⁴⁹ When Tyrrell stated that salvation is only through the church, he is not speaking of the 'visible, but the invisible church.'¹⁵⁰ He insisted, 'by the former we are incorporated by a mere profession of faith and obedience, although we be spiritually dead; with the latter we are incorporated only by divine charity.'¹⁵¹

Tyrrell emphasised the mystical aspect of church. He maintained that it is not possible to define one idea truly, that the church is an idea which no one can hope to embrace in its entirety. 'When it comes to concrete realities, to the works of God's hands, we know nothing ... who then shall weigh and measure and sum up in vain words the 'idea' of him who is at once God and man?'¹⁵² Tyrrell came to believe that Catholicism is nothing else than the fuller self-revelation of Christ through and in his mystical body, the church. He knew that no mental analysis of the philosophical terms of the creed can bring us nearer to God, just as no chemical analysis of bread and wine can teach us anything about the Eucharist.¹⁵³

Tyrrell's understanding of church consisted of the entire Christian people, as the 'true and immediate *Vicarius Christi*, the only adequate organ of religious development, as the *orbis terrarum*, whose sure verdict is the supreme norm of faith and in whose life and growth the truth of

¹⁴⁶ Tyrrell, *External Religion*, 30. See also *Lumen Gentium* n.5.

¹⁴⁷ Grady, J. (1968), *The Doctrine of Nature and Grace in the Writings of George Tyrrell*. (Rome: Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Pontifical University of St Thomas), 147.

¹⁴⁸ Tyrrell, *HS*, 'The Mystical Body,' 401.

¹⁴⁹ Tyrrell, *HS*, 'The Mystical Body,' 407.

¹⁵⁰ Tyrrell, *HS*, 'The Mystical Body,' 416, See also *Lumen Gentium* n.12 and n.14.

¹⁵¹ Tyrrell, *HS*, 'The Mystical Body,' 417, *Lumen Gentium*, n.14.

¹⁵² Tyrrell, *HS*, 'The Mystical Body,' 398.

¹⁵³ Tyrrell, *CF*, 112 – 176, 113.

Christ lives and grows from generation to generation.’¹⁵⁴ In Tyrrell’s exposition of *The Church and the Future* he captured the essence of what later became Pope John XXIII’s vision for Vatican II. The faith in the church should not be a theological system binding the intellect with all the coercive force of an imperial edict, which Tyrrell described as a mental tyranny, a stumbling-stone set in the soul’s way creating new sins where none had been before.¹⁵⁵

Tyrrell defined the church as ‘the product of the Spirit,’ the same Spirit that has given us Christ and his Apostles. He radically challenged traditional scholastic theology, saying: ‘Doctrines were brought to the criterion of syllogistic reason, of written authority, but not to the criterion of life as lived by the faithful.’¹⁵⁶ Tyrrell radically declared ‘the Pope as Czar and absolute theocratic Monarch by divine right must, under the logic of the Christian idea, give place to the Pope as really, and not just in name, the “*Servus Servorum Dei.*”’¹⁵⁷

Tyrrell insisted, Christ, therefore, rather than Christology is what has been committed to the church – a living Spirit rather than a system of ideas. It is the system which hardens people’s hearts, when supported by the temporal institutional model alone, it obstructs access to the Spirit of Christ.¹⁵⁸ Tyrrell reminded the contemporary church that the Spirit is the harbinger of liberation, ‘for where the Spirit is, there is liberty...deliverance comes from below, from those who are bound, not from those who bind.’¹⁵⁹ Tyrrell believed that, ‘it is easy to quench a glimmering light caught by the eyes of a few, but not the light of the noonday sun – of knowledge that has become objective and valid for all.’¹⁶⁰

Reception and Vatican II

Those who share Tyrrell’s estimation of church may well see Vatican II as ‘the noonday sun of knowledge,’ but it is far from becoming ‘objective and valid for all.’ The traditional and conservative wing of Catholicism is perhaps less of a concern for the future of the church than the general apathy and disillusionment of the majority. It can be argued that without a specific intention to do so, the Second Vatican Council retrospectively sanctioned Tyrrell’s modernist consideration of church. Tyrrell insisted in his 1902 *Church and the Future*, that theology and canon law had overstepped their rights allowing the church to be put into a legalistic category of a government, commensurable with the power of the State. In Tyrrell’s vision of church Christ supplanted the law of Moses with another code, with the Kingdom of Heaven taken out of the hands of the Levitical priesthood. Tyrrell insisted,

the ideal of canon law is a universal theocracy. Christ’s opposition to the lawyers was not that of a rival lawyer or of a new Moses. Rather, Christ came to fulfil and abolish the law, substituting the Spirit and grace and charity.¹⁶¹

¹⁵⁴ Tyrrell, *CF*, 112. See also *Lumen Gentium*, Chapter II, ‘The People of God.’

¹⁵⁵ Tyrrell, *CF*, 112.

¹⁵⁶ Tyrrell, *CF*, 111.

¹⁵⁷ Tyrrell, *CF*, 111.

¹⁵⁸ Tyrrell, *CF*, 165-176.

¹⁵⁹ Tyrrell, *CC*, 182, see also Tyrrell *CF*, 173.

¹⁶⁰ Tyrrell, *CC*, 182. See for example *Gaudium et Spes*, ‘The Excellence of Freedom,’ n.17; and ‘Christ The New Man,’

22.

¹⁶¹ See Tyrrell, *CF*, 168.

Tyrrell believed that the whole ecclesiastical apparatus stands as ‘something that exists for its own sake,’ a ‘sacerdotalism’ which corrupts the church and perverts the conception of priesthood. Tyrrell’s attempted synthesis of ‘law and liberty’ posited liberation from a sacerdotalism that neglected the fact that the Sabbath and the whole Law is made for man. He was unequivocal that ‘the sacraments are for man and not man for the sacraments; that the priest is for the layman and not the layman for the priest.’¹⁶² This model of authority is one of liberation, for it leads by witness rather than punitive law, following the example of the paradigmatic figure, superseding Mosaic legislation. This synthesis of liberation and authority Tyrrell called for involved not the replacement of existing structures within the church, but simply the reinterpretation of authority. Tyrrell can remind the disenfranchised within the contemporary church that reform does not require violent revolution, but only quiet, steady re-reading and re-interpretation of existing institutions, through what in a post-Conciliar light may be called ‘reception.’¹⁶³

Congar offers an insightful contribution to this discussion. ‘Reception’ he argued, ‘is not constitutive of the juridical quality of a decision, it has no bearing on the formal aspect of the action, but on its content.’¹⁶⁴ The bishop of Meaux, Pierre de Versailles, ambassador of Charles VII to the Pope, put forward this argument: ‘there are two kinds of authority, that of the power one has received, and that of the credence (or credibility) that one may enjoy. Although power is the same power in the case of all pontiffs, the credence accorded to each of them differs,’ Congar suggested this is also the distinction between ‘power’ and ‘authority.’¹⁶⁵

The reception of Vatican II remains a primary concern of Roman Catholic ecclesiology. The ‘credibility’ of Tyrrell’s pastorally inspired theology, together with the work of other more contemporary prophetic theologians, is irretrievably interwoven into the ‘reception’ process of Vatican II. Congar agrees that the interpretation of the meaning of Vatican II and its documents does not end with a historical reconstruction. The history of the Council now includes the history of its reception. Indeed the meaning or significance of Vatican II is dependent upon those who receive it and will (or will not) make it significant.¹⁶⁶ Ormond and Rush remind us that, ‘according to the

¹⁶² Congar, 324. And Congar, Y. (1972), ‘Reception as an Ecclesiological Reality’ in *Election and Consensus in the Church*, Alberigo, G. and A. Weiler (Eds.), *Concilium*, 77, 43-68. Congar argues that reception is much more than subordination and obedience. Furthermore, with Tyrrell, he believes that it involves consent and even, on occasion, judgment. See Tyrrell, ‘From Heaven or from Men,’ 362 and Mannion, Gaillardetz, Kerkhofs and Wilson, 31. Here Congar gives a detailed critique and historical account of ‘reception.’ For example, ‘It also happened that some doctrine or maxim received for a fairly long time might cease so to be accepted: for example, the Pope’s right to depose monarchs. In our own age, we have the case of the constitution *Veterum sapientia* of John XXIII, prescribing the use of Latin in the instruction of the clergy (1960), and cases of non-reception of the papal dogma of July 1870 by a number of Catholics (Tyrrell), and of the teaching of *Humanae vitae* by section (majority) of the Christian laity and even catholic theologians. Is this ‘non-reception,’ or ‘disobedience,’ or what? The facts are there,’ Congar, 321.

¹⁶³ See also the work of Lennan, R. (2004), *Risking the Church*; Rush, O. (2004), *Still Interpreting Vatican II*; Prusak, B. (2004), *The Church Unfinished*; Haight, R. (2005), *Christian Community in History*; Kasper, W. (2003), *Leadership in the Church*; Lakeland, P. (2003), *The Liberation of the Laity: In Search of an Accountable Church*.

¹⁶⁴ Congar, 325.

¹⁶⁵ Congar, 325.

¹⁶⁶ Rush, 52. ‘A Hermeneutics of the Receivers.’ And Kasper: ‘Whether this Council will count in the end as one of the highlights of Church history will depend on the people who translate its words into terms of real life.’ Kasper, ‘The continuing challenge of the Second Vatican council,’ 168. Ratzinger also highlights the importance of post-Conciliar reception by the whole Church: ‘In this way the whole Church participates in the Council; it does not come to an end in the assembly of bishops.’ Ratzinger, 374-375. Alberigo also writes in line with Tyrrell: ‘Only the *sensus fidei* of the Church as a whole can be the adequate interpreter of a major Council. Such a *Sensus Fidei* can reach maturity only slowly, with the concurrence of the entire people of God; it cannot be replaced by an action of the hierarch alone.’ Alberigo, ‘The Christian Situation after Vatican II,’ 24. Likewise, Pottmeyer supports Tyrrell: ‘From the standpoint of an ecclesiology of communion, the entire People of God is the subject that receives.’ If reception is not merely a passive process, then the entire people of God, play an active role in interpreting a council.’ Pottmeyer, ‘A New Phase in the

hermeneutics of reception, a text is dead until it is received, “read” in the sense of ‘understood, interpreted and applied.’ In this sense, Vatican II is not achieved until it is received.¹⁶⁷

Rush maintains that the Council is also ‘an event of ecclesial reception of consensus of contemporary theological scholarship.’ This understanding of reception supported by Kasper, Rahner, and Ratzinger *et al* should not only be applied to the documents of Vatican II, but also to the work of theologians, whose work becomes ‘assimilated’ into Church documents. Ultimately, and regardless of ecclesial politicking, Tyrrell’s pastoral hermeneutic will live or die alongside the pastoral objectives of Vatican II.

Tyrrell’s Catholicism represented an attempt to move beyond the theological theocracy generally associated with the Pian era, towards an authenticity reminiscent of Ignatius’ *Spiritual Exercises*, a vision ever conscious of the mystical, but one which remains engaged within the contemporary, concrete, pastoral reality desired. John O’Malley presents the same ambition in his summary of the aims and goals of the Vatican II.¹⁶⁸ Tyrrell’s synthesis and O’Malley’s summary share the same vision of Catholic enlightenment articulated by Pope John XXIII at the opening of the Council.¹⁶⁹

Rush draws out the specific details: (1) to end the stance of cultural isolation that the church was now seen as having maintained; (2) to initiate a new freedom of expression and action within the church that certain Vatican institutions have previously curtailed; (3) to distribute more broadly the exercise of pastoral authority, especially by strengthening the role of the episcopacy and local church *vis-à-vis* the Holy See; (4) to modify in people’s consciousness and in the actual functioning of the church the predominantly clerical, institutional and hierarchical model that had prevailed; (5) to affirm the dignity of the laity in the church; (6) to establish through a more conciliatory attitude, through some new theological insights, and through effective mechanisms a better relationship with other religious bodies, looking ultimately to healing the divisions in Christianity and entering into fruitful dialogues with non-Christian religions; (7) to change the teaching of the church on ‘religious liberty’ in order to give new support to ‘freedom of conscience’; (8) to base theology and biblical studies more firmly on historical principles; (9) to foster new styles of piety; (10) to affirm clearly that the church was and should be affected by cultures in which it exists; (11) finally, to promote a more positive appreciation of the world in its relationship to the church, with a concomitant assumption of clearer responsibility for the fate of the world in the ‘new era’ that the Council saw opening before its eyes.¹⁷⁰

In reality, *Lumen Gentium* went far beyond Tyrrell’s humble estimations, describing the laity in terms of their royal priesthood:

Reception of Vatican II,’ 30. See also Rahner, ‘Basic Theological Interpretations’, Rahner, ‘The Abiding Significance of the Second Vatican Council,’ Tillard, J.M.R. ‘Reception-Communion,’ *One In Christ*, 28 (1992), and Rush, 108, n.s 1-5.

¹⁶⁷ Rush, 55. Rush adds that the very category ‘reception’ has only recently been retrieved. Tillard called it, ‘certainly one of the most important theological discoveries of our century.’ ‘It was long an axiom of medieval scholasticism: *Quidquid recipitur ad modum recipientis recipitur*, (that which is received is received in the mode of the receiver). ‘Reception’ was a striking reality of ecclesial life in the first millennium, Rush, 54.

¹⁶⁸ O’Malley, J.W. *Vatican II: Did Anything Happen?* 61.

¹⁶⁹ See O’Malley, J.W. (2004), ‘Vatican II: Historical Perspectives on its Uniqueness and Interpretation,’ in *Vatican II, the Unfinished Agenda: A Look at the Future*, (Ed.), Lucien Richard, Daniel J. Harrington, 22-23 and 26-27.

¹⁷⁰ See Rush, 99, fn.56. See also Anthony M. Barratt (2006), ‘Interpreting Vatican II Forty Years On A Case Of *Cavert Lector*,’ *The Heythrop Journal*, Volume 47, (Jan. 2006), 75-96.

The faithful indeed, by virtue of their royal priesthood, participate in the offering of the Eucharist. They exercise that priesthood too, by the reception of the sacraments, prayer and thanksgiving, the witness of a holy life, abnegation and active charity.¹⁷¹

Stephen Schloesser insists that ‘Vatican II broke radically with the past for deeply historical and fundamentally anxious reasons.’ In reality, ‘the Church changed in post 1945 because it had an ethical imperative to do so.’ ‘Vatican II represented the end of the Counter Reformation or even the end of the Constantinian era.’¹⁷² In Tyrrell’s day the Church was seen in an absolute binary opposition set over against the world. In the Vatican Council, ‘the Church represented itself as a sacrament – both sign and instrument,’¹⁷³ and as in Tyrrell’s theology it is both transcendent and immanent. Similarly de Lubac emphasised ‘divine immanence precisely to preserve transcendence – that is, to prevent the mystery of both humanity and God from being reduced to rationally explicable clarity.’¹⁷⁴ On the level of change Schloesser comments, ‘the Council had effected a post colonialist (liberational) sea change so deep that a mere two decades latter, it had become impossible to imagine what had existed before.’¹⁷⁵

Central to this challenge to the prevailing ecclesial culture was an opening up to the world and other faiths and a rejection of the anti-Semitic worldview personified by Pius X. The Ultramontane church opposed political liberation. The Jewish question that erupted during the Dreyfus Affair (1894-1899) became a metaphor for Tyrrell’s understanding of modernity, for centuries Schloesser reminds us that, ‘to kill a Jew was a way to consolidate Christian identity.’¹⁷⁶ Theologians like Teilhard de Chardin, de Lubac, Rahner and Tyrrell encourage the church to ‘step back to see the world.’ Looking out to the world Rahner insisted that:

God must be sought and found in the world; therefore the everyday must become God’s day, going out into the world must become going inward with God, everyday must become a day of recollection. The everyday itself must be prayed.¹⁷⁷

Post-Vatican II Oscillation

The post-Conciliar church continues to experience oscillation, and consequent polarization. Theologians continue to write but the immediate post-Vatican II euphoria has been replaced by a tangible nervousness. Forty five years on, shadows are beginning to appear once again within the Roman walls. Early indications include the *Instruction on the Ecclesial Vocation of the Theologian*.¹⁷⁸ In the succeeding years, from 1990 to the present, Rome has flexed its authoritative

¹⁷¹ *Lumen Gentium*, n.10

¹⁷² Schloesser, (2007), *Vatican II Did Anything Happen?* 94-95.

¹⁷³ Schloesser, (2007), *Vatican II Did Anything Happen?* 107.

¹⁷⁴ Schloesser, (2007), *Vatican II Did Anything Happen?* 129-30.

¹⁷⁵ Schloesser, (2007), *Vatican II Did Anything Happen?* 107.

¹⁷⁶ Schloesses, (2007), *Vatican II Did Anything Happen?* 110.

¹⁷⁷ Rahner, K. (1997), *The Need and the Blessing of Prayer*, trans. Bruce W. Gillette. 15, 20, 45. See also Schloesser 133.

¹⁷⁸ Cardinal Ratzinger, Prefect of the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith, *Instruction on the Ecclesial Vocation of the Theologian*, 24 May 1990. See also Ratzinger, J. (1987), *Church, Ecumenism & Politics*. Contemporary examples

muscle in many areas, particularly with regard to the role of women within the church, the function of the laity and the status of non-Catholic Christians and other world religions.¹⁷⁹ In response, theologians continue to raise the call of *Gaudium et Spes* to articulate the ‘signs of the times,’ and draw out the significance of Vatican II in relation to the *sensus fidelium* and reception. Formulating a riposte to this endeavour, and defining itself in opposition, the Magisterium frequently responds to complaints and seeks out “dissidents” in an attempt to maintain ordained boundaries and objectives.

A further contemporary example of this ‘seeking out’ includes the ordeal experienced by the Belgian Jesuit Jacques Dupuis. It amounted to an exchange similar to Tyrrell’s and is symptomatic of a Roman paradigm, that is devoid of a peer review system, that continually struggles with a plurality of Catholic theological expressions and a common faith within cultural and religious diversity.¹⁸⁰ Inspired by Vatican II the church in the modern world continues to strive to become a world church and less a Western autocracy — the ‘Asian church,’ can renew the ‘church in Asia,’ for example. Scholars like Dupuis, Rahner and in his own time, Tyrrell epitomise the awareness that the Christian proclamation must find expression in each cultural situation and epoch, and that this must be achieved by those who are actually in the particular cultural situation. In so doing, the church becomes truly Catholic. The condemnation of Modernism postponed a response to the questions Tyrrell considered crucial. In ‘opening the windows to the world,’¹⁸¹ Vatican II adopted a theology with strong parallels to Tyrrell’s pastoral hermeneutic. It represents an effort to empower the church to move towards the light of the eschaton, and to ‘let the light of a new day strike into the darkest corners and the fresh wind of heaven,’ and so, in the semblance of the Holy Spirit, renew the church.

The Expansive Walls of Catholicism

Tyrrell’s work reminds the contemporary church that authenticity with Christ can be obtained in the consciousness of being under the force of the Spirit who is working independently in so many hearts and locations. Tyrrell believed that the Spirit of Christ is responsible for drawing together all the ‘scattered children of God.’ Therefore Tyrrell’s pastoral imperative pleads that all the scattered children ‘find a home within the expansive walls of Catholicism.’¹⁸² He maintained that there was

include the pastoral imperative in the theology of: Leonardo Boff, Jon Sobrino, Tissa Balasuriya; Roger Haight and Peter Phan *et al.* The initial censorship of these theologians illustrates the necessity for a rethink with regard to the role of the Curia in theological discourse. It is time the CDF adopted a method of dialogue rather than condemnation, a system of peer review rather than self-defeating accusations of heresy. The oppression and final declaration that Tissa Balasuriya, (a seventy-four year old Catholic priest), is a heretic, and therefore excommunicated remains a contemporary ‘shot across the bows’ of theological endeavour (*carceribus denuo adsumus*). The universal condemnation that greeted this particular example, of the abuse of power, became possible because of access to information created by the World Wide Web. Rome can no longer operate in a relatively secret power vacuum. It needs to be seen by the world church to be acting within its own boundaries, articulated by Tyrrell: ‘Sanctity and Charity.’ See Tissa Balasuriya, ‘What Asian Catholics Know,’ A Reply to Benedict’s assertion that we are suffering from a ‘dictatorship of relativism.’ *On-Line Catholics*, 13 July 2005.

¹⁷⁹ See *Dominus Iesus*, (2005), Benedict XVI. See Jacques Dupuis (1973), *The Christian Faith; Jesus-Christ at the encounter of World Religions* (1991); *Who do you say I am ? Introduction to Christology* (1994); *Towards a Christian Theology of Religious Pluralism* (1997); Kendall, D, and O’Collins, G. (Eds.), *In many and diverse ways: In Honor of Jacques Dupuis* (2003). Karl Rahner offers the same vision, advocating an open church, an ecumenical church, a church from the roots, a democratised church and a church that can engage in social-critical reflection, see Rahner, K. (1975), *The Shape of the Church to Come*.

¹⁸⁰ Dupuis, J. (1997), *Toward a Christian Theology of Religious Pluralism*; see also the ‘Sacred Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith, Notification on the book *Toward a Christian Theology of Religious Pluralism*’ (2000).

¹⁸¹ Tyrrell, *Medievalism*, 165.

¹⁸² *Medievalism*, 165.

room within Catholicism for a transcendence of confessional differences, a sentiment unlikely in the foreseeable future to find support in Rome and yet this hope echoes in the conciliar documents, perhaps most profoundly in *Gaudium et Spes* (reading the signs of the times) and *Lumen Gentium* (universal call to holiness). Thus Tyrrell's life and work can be seen to represent a significant moment in the church's preparation for Vatican II. This Council issues a visionary call for Christian liberation, and offers a pastoral motif that anticipates the dawn of God's new day.¹⁸³

¹⁸³ See Tyrrell to Rooke Lee, 13 October 1906, *A&L*, Vol. II, 293.

Chapter Eight

The Authority of Witness

'We can go to Heaven by sea, as well as by land'

(George Tyrrell, *Oil & Wine*: 1907)

A Pastoral Hermeneutical Coherence

Tyrrell considered himself to be first and foremost an Ignatian theologian; it is from within this particular 'school of thought' that his life and pastoral theology can be understood. However, this work has also shown that Tyrrell's understanding of Catholicism was characterised by certain irrationality, a definite polemical preponderance, and an irreducibility to exact and systematic expression. It seems clear that far from being considered slanderous, and paralleled with his own mystical understanding of Catholicism, Tyrrell would have considered this assessment a presumption in his favour.¹ It is also evident that throughout Tyrrell's work no system can be found, for his theological activities were eclectic, personal, antinomian and prematurely curtailed. However, this work has also shown that Tyrrell's thought does contain a pastoral hermeneutical coherence (See Chapter Three). All his thought leads to the one practical conviction: 'Catholicism is a school of life rather than a school of thought.'² In summary, Tyrrell believed the church's mission is

to carry forward the work of the Spirit which created Christianity. It is primarily a Way or manner of life that has been committed to her guardianship, rather than a body of doctrine.³

The church of Tyrrell's day was the summit of its own horizon. In challenging this world view, Tyrrell sought out new horizons pertaining to the *sensus fidelium*, Christology, development of doctrine, language, and authority within the church. Tyrrell considered that his pastoral hermeneutic was an ethical necessity to stem the rising tide of secularism. To the modern church Tyrrell's significance is unambiguous: however, this work has shown that unwitting ignorance or wilful amnesia should not return the church to the era of Pius X (See Chapter Two). Stephen

¹ See Chapter One and Tyrrell, (1907), 'Reflections On Catholicism,' *TSC*, 24. See also Tyrrell, *OW*, 'In God's house there are many mansions, and there is room for all sorts of men, even for the most unlikely and unimaginable,' 286.

² Tyrrell, (1903), *CF*, 75.

³ Tyrrell, (1903), *CF*, 75. See also Tyrrell's version of Blondel's *L'Action*, *RFL*, (1902). Tyrrell originally felt it necessary to publish the work under the pseudonym Dr Earnest Engles, he confided to A.R. Waller, 'There are about 50 people in the world who would be interested in it, and no sane publisher would take a present of it.' Thomas Michael Loome, 'Published 'Writings of George Tyrrell,' *Heythrop Journal*, Vol. 10, (1969), 280-314.

Schloesser is clear in this regard, he believes for the sake of truth and good, the church should continue the renewal agenda outlined in the documents of Vatican II. Chapter Three of this work, for example, maintained that historical clarity with regard to Tyrrell's legacy will place him within the wider context of Catholic 'enlightenment' developing from the Council of Trent. Indeed, the greater part of Tyrrell's thought passed Jesuit and Roman censors, while his 'denial of the sacraments' derived from his polemical opposition to what he considered to be the abuse of power. Consequently, he openly challenged the Ultramontane interpretation and reaffirmation of Vatican I as well as the nineteenth century revival of Neo-scholasticism.⁴

A Pastoral Response to 'The Signs of the Times'

This work has sought to highlight the significance of historical method - allowing history to inform both contemporary theology and ecclesial practice. Thus Chapter Three draws attention to the social-political milieu, the ecclesial climate and the personal arbitrariness of key ecclesial figures (Pius X, Luis Martins, Merry del Val, *et al*). Consequently the modernist theological witness was provocatively portrayed as the 'synthesis of all heresies.'⁵ However, this work has shown that, despite the modernist indictment, Tyrrell's ecclesial hermeneutics represented a pastoral response to the signs of the times, primarily through the prism of pastoral theology. Tyrrell attempted to support the ecclesial community in moving beyond the straight jacket of neo-scholasticism and Ultramontane misinterpretations of Vatican I. Today, Tyrrell's pastoral intent stands as an attempt to bridge the chasm between faith and culture. Tyrrell's work represents a sincere Catholic endeavour to hold in tension the competing forces of science, history, and the modern intellect, in tension with revelation, tradition and the actual "living" of the life of faith (See Chapter Four).

Tyrrell believed that 'a heresy is only a rejected variation, but the principle of heresy is a principle of progress and life.'⁶ When history judges Tyrrell, it will conclude that his pastoral reflections upon the church resonate resoundingly with the 'spirit' of Vatican II.⁷ It is most likely that Pius X, his Secretary of State, Merry del Val and the Jesuit Superior General, Martin, would also have condemned as heretics the likes of

⁴ Tyrrell believed there is nothing less Catholic than the philosophy on which it is built, see *CC*, (1909), 157. 'It was just scholastic theodicy with the supernatural omitted. Hence its marble coldness, its inability to make any sort of appeal to religious feeling. It had not sprung from the heart and could not speak to the heart. In England it produced an Evangelical and Catholic reaction; from rational theology and rational ethics men sought warmth and colour and life in sentimentalism, mysticism, sacramentalism.' See Charles Taylor, 'Our Victorian Contemporaries,' *Sources of the Self* (1989), 'the remaining expressions of hierarchy were doomed relics of the past and that the concession to equality were the wave of the future.' 394.

⁵ Pius X, *Pascendi. Dominici Gregis*, n.39.

⁶ Tyrrell to Ward, *GTL*, 1 August 1901, 74.

⁷ O'Malley, (2007), *Vatican II did Anything Happen?* 83.

Newman, von Hügel, Congar, Rahner, Kasper, Suenens, Arrupe, Wojtyla and perhaps, the great majority of the bishops in attendance at Vatican II. In effect it is not unreasonable to hypothesise that Pius X and Merry del Val would have excommunicated the entire Vatican II church. Only in Archbishop Lefebvre, an excommunicated renegade, would they have found a confidant.⁸

Lefebvre insisted that the post-Vatican II church was in schism and advocated a return to the church of Pius X. Following his consecration of four bishops 1 July 1988, Archbishop Lefebvre was officially excommunicated by Pope John Paul II. This ecclesial incident clearly demonstrates the degree of theological oscillation that took place during the course of the twentieth century. Thus this work outlines the consequences of a closed (Ultramontane, restorationist) ecclesial culture, it also highlights the congruence between Tyrrell's evaluation of the Church, pneumatology, and the role of the theologian, and Vatican II's pastoral ecclesial formulation (See Chapter Five).

Re-visioning Ecclesiology

A primary concern of this work is to move the theological and ecclesial debate forward with regard to Modernism, Reception and Vatican II. This work has sought to highlight the significance of the Vatican II renewal agenda. Furthermore, Chapter Five spells out the need for a re-visioning of ecclesiology as concrete history. Contemporary scholars such as O'Malley and Schloesser use Lonergan's notion of transition from classicism to historical consciousness to provide some understanding of the nature of the church after the modernist suppression, while Ormerod encourages the use of the social sciences to assist the contemporary church in its mission of engagement with the world. Ormerod maintains that it is not difficult to mount a case that prior to Vatican II the Catholic church approximated a certain ecclesial antitype that rejected the modern world. Theologically the era was marked by an increasing extrinsicism that separated grace from nature and viewed the spiritual life as cut off from the world.⁹ The church Tyrrell experienced was highly resistant to change. 'It does not allow for human creativity to operate either at the social level of organisation and practicality, or at the cultural level of philosophy, theology and critical reflection.'¹⁰

⁸ Archbishop Lefebvre rejected the reforms of Vatican II and founded the ultra conservative *Society of Pius X*. See also Tyrrell to Lord Halifax,' Schultenover, 394.

⁹ O'Malley (2007), Ormerod, 153-177, 165-166.

¹⁰ O'Malley (2007), Ormerod, 165. See also Neil Ormerod, 'A dialectic engagement with the social sciences in an ecclesiological context,' *Theological Studies*, (Dec. 2005) and Neil Ormerod, 'Recent Ecclesiology: A Survey, *Pacifica*, Vol. 21, Issue 1 (Feb. 08). Here Ormerod argues for 'more work in the area of the relationship between ecclesiology and the social sciences,' 66.

The Second Vatican Council continued the unfinished work of Vatican I. Further, the reception of Vatican II remains beyond our contemporary horizon. The task of theology seeking understanding will always remain a work in progress. Thus Chapter Six explored the ancient tradition, found both in Tyrrell and Vatican II of attributing an infallibility of faith to the ‘People of God’ as a whole. ‘The body of the faithful as a whole, anointed as they are by the Holy One cannot err in matters of belief.’¹¹ Yves Congar argued there must be a sound and sufficient theology of laity that is, ‘a total ecclesiology.’ Vatican II attempted a total ecclesiology, although the reception or implementation continues to be open to what Tyrrell often referred to as the ‘abuse of power.’

In relation to Tyrrell’s personal life, it remains necessary to refute the garish assertion of the authors of *Pascendi*. This work has shown that Tyrrell did not seek personal acclaim and notoriety. Hundreds of personal letters, autobiography, biographies, and countless testimonies from friends, colleagues and acquaintances testify to the fact that Tyrrell was a retiring, humble priest, motivated by a pastoral concern for those on the margins of the church.¹² Tyrrell began his priesthood as a pastor to the materially poor, and became a pastoral theologian ministering to those in need of spiritual sustenance. As a Catholic priest, he personified the suffering servant, who sacrificed his own well-being, in his own inimical way, in order to guide those in spiritual perplexity.

Tyrrell’s pastoral hermeneutic remains relevant today. He asks, ‘are the church's roots in Constantine or St. Peter?’ He further predicted the consequences of alienating the laity, ‘of which there are manifest signs all around us.’¹³ To retain the laity or win them back, Tyrrell argued, ‘we must restore them to their original active participation in the church's life of which they have been deprived by the gradual prevalence of the absolutist over the democratic interpretation of priestly authority.’¹⁴ In 1901 Tyrrell confided to Petre: ‘indeed it is impossible to un-see what we have once seen.’¹⁵ Tyrrell came to consider theological dissent as the way to effect development. With reference to St. Thomas Aquinas he argued, ‘no one teacher has taught the church more,’ yet Aquinas was ‘not a member of the official teaching staff.’ In attempting to justify both the modernist critique and methodology, Tyrrell maintained that the

¹¹ See *Lumen Gentium*, n.12 and 1 John 2:20 & 27.

¹² See Robert Dell’s final testimony above.

¹³ Tyrrell, ‘From Heaven or From Men?’ 383.

¹⁴ Tyrrell, ‘From Heaven or From Men?’ 383. In the same vein, Newman in 1859 referred to ‘the consensus of the laity throughout Christendom,’ but his view was considered dangerous. *A&L* Vol. II, 145. *On Consulting the Faithful in Matter of Doctrine*, (Ed.), Coulson, J. (1961), 63. Can there be any real doubt that Newman crosses back and forth across the modernist line? Judication remains problematic due to the challenges associated with determining an appropriate definition of Modernism.

¹⁵ Tyrrell, *A&L* Vol. II, 145.

beliefs of the ‘faithful are *de facto* determined far more by unofficial individuals and by schools of theology than by the episcopate.’¹⁶

Tyrrell initiated an Ignatian approach to ecclesiology, drawing upon the distinction between revelation and theology. For Tyrrell this movement towards a mystical reinterpretation of the Christian life was inspired by Ignatian spirituality, coupled with Blondel’s notion of ‘extrinsicism,’ God as ‘inside,’ as well as ‘outside,’ immanent,’ and ‘transcendent.’¹⁷ The absence of an immanent, experiential dimension in neo-scholastic philosophy led Tyrrell to advocate a model based on what he experienced in the Ignatian *Spiritual Exercises*.¹⁸

Heidegger, Blondel, Wittgenstein, Tyrrell and later, theologians like Henri de Lubac and Karl Rahner *et al* would agree that, while the Christian faith comes as ‘an unanticipatable gift from outside, it nonetheless resonates with a deep desire inside the recipient.’¹⁹ Tyrrell described this desire as ‘the wish to believe.’ Ultimately this work has shown that Tyrrell rejected the Neoscholastic proposition that faith was based upon extrinsic proofs rather than inner religious experience, what Tyrrell referred to as ‘will-union’ with the Divine. Tyrrell’s critics, for example, Cardinal Mercier of Malines, Primate of Belgium, dismissed this perception, as Protestant subjectivism and individualism (See Chapter Four). Gabriel Daly argued, ‘the integralist case could hardly have been put more crudely.’ He believed Tyrrell’s ‘refutation of it is devastating.’²⁰ Tyrrell contended that Catholicism should not be grounded upon extrinsic proofs of miracles and prophecies but rather upon the *raison d’être* of the *Spiritual Exercises*, namely, reciprocity with the Divine Spirit.

Tyrrell reminds the contemporary church that priests and politicians, who use religion to control the conscience of people, have always exploited genuine religion. In this instance, Tyrrell argued the church is run like a business, void of all sympathy, employing the best or worst workers depending on which is the most profitable. In religion itself they have little interest, only in its serviceableness to their own religious interests. They favour laxity or sanctity according to their market value and, as a rule, it pays better to cater for the uneducated than for the elect few. Tyrrell believed no religion of any duration has escaped this degradation and corruption, yet few have had

¹⁶ Tyrrell, *OW*, 180.

¹⁷ Duffy, (1992), *The Graced Horizon*. Interestingly, Blondel (1861-1949) was born in the same year as Tyrrell, but outlived him by 40 years. It remains intriguing to postulate the road Tyrrell may have travelled if he had been granted a further 40 years?

¹⁸ For a contemporary example, see Segundo, J. (1988), *The Christ of the Ignatian Exercises*.

¹⁹ Kerr, F. (1997), *Theology after Wittgenstein*, 193.

²⁰ Daly, G. (1994), *Medievalism*, ‘Forward,’ 7-19.

the misfortune of the Roman church to be ‘exploited on so large a scale by their own guardians.’²¹

Thus for Tyrrell, the Roman Catholic Church is not the bird free on the wing, it still lives in the grip of the hawk. Whether it has the strength to escape, Tyrrell confessed, in his final work (*Christianity at the Crossroads*), he did not know. Although ‘dead or alive, its claim to be the authentic tradition of Christianity seemed to him ‘incontestable.’²² Tyrrell’s response to the immoderation of *Pascendi* sealed his fate as a Roman communicant.²³ His call to reform seminary studies; to hinder the multiplication of new devotions; to give laity and priests a share in church management; decentralism; reform the *Index* and the Roman Congregations; insisting more on ‘active’ rather than ‘passive’ virtues; more simplicity and poverty on the part of ecclesiastics; abolishing or modifying enforced clerical celibacy; critiquing legends and relics and so forth was officially rejected in his day only to find resonances in the documents of the Vatican II church. Recklessly Tyrrell proclaimed: ‘If the Pope is God there is an end to it, but even Pius IX did not define so much as that. If he is not God there may be cases where obedience to him would be treason to conscience.’²⁴

Tyrrell’s importance for the contemporary church moves beyond his Spirit Christology and critique of Neoscholastic philosophy, his understanding of the role of laity and his quest for the liberation of theology, his insistence upon an historical consciousness and the development of our understanding of doctrine. Tyrrell draws our attention to the imperative of articulating a faith that is not only reasonable and resonates with what remains mystical; but also has the intellectual capacity to engage in pastorally enriching dialogue with contemporary culture.

Progressives within the post-Vatican II church (‘Modernists’) like Suenens, Lehmann, and Godfried Daneels, are examples of senior cardinals who appear as leaders of the reform agenda. They consider that the power of the papacy should be reduced and that there should be less focus on the person of the Pope. Archbishop Daneels, told the Rome paper *30 Giorni* that a ‘moment of calm’ was needed in the Church, and that in the third millennium a different style was called for after the Vatican’s ‘centralised control’ of recent centuries. The Cardinal suggested (as did Tyrrell) that the identification between the Pope’s role and personality was not a ‘good thing.’²⁵

²¹ Tyrrell letter to Matthew, 15 December 1907, Jesuit Archives, Farm Street, London.

²² Tyrrell, *CC*, 146.

²³ See Tyrrell to Dell, 16 January^h 1907, *GTL*, 105-6; and Tyrrell, (1909), *CC*, 146.

²⁴ Tyrrell to von Hügel, 14 February 1904, *A&L* Vol. II, 339.

²⁵ Cardinal Daneels, *The Tablet*, 3 January 2004, 24. The irony of a Malines Archbishop following in the footsteps of Cardinal Mercier and Tyrrell’s *succès de scandale*, *Medievalism*, would not be lost on Tyrrell. Furthermore, Daneels suggested that the bishop’s synods should be less formal and more open, and that the ‘endless stream of paper’ from the Curia should be cut back. ‘We are deluged with

Tyrrell clearly warned of the dangers for those caught in the Vatican Palace, amidst the outward semblances of earthly vanity and secular power. This outward worldliness could result in fraud and hypocrisy. Thus he advocated throughout his work liberation from all the pomp and parade of the Court of Rome.²⁶ Tyrrell was not a diplomat; his rhetoric leaves little room for compromise. His language at times is volatile, and he is quite capable of causing considerable collateral damage amongst the faithful whom he claimed to be serving. The contrast with Teilhard de Chardin in this regard is insightful. Under similar provocation, Teilhard de Chardin remained silent and escaped condemnation. Tyrrell adopted a polemical and provocative style; often his preferred response to a situation was ‘to fan the flames’ with burlesque. His ill health and early death, in the heat of the controversy suggest that this may well have been a hollow strategy. Furthermore it prevented him from formulating a considered response to his critics, or perhaps more importantly, developing further characteristics of his visionary Ignatian Christology and ecclesiology.

This work highlights the fact that Tyrrell did not develop the ability to compromise; early personal acrimony with nearly all of his superiors removed his ability to think dispassionately (See Chapter Two). His life and work became a personal campaign with all the incumbent dangers this brings; he was in fact driven to extremes. He burnt too many bridges and had a forthright response to authority. He was quite literally, for the final five years of his life, fighting on the edge of health, sanity, poverty and theological orthodoxy. He was ostracized by the Jesuits, denied the sacraments through the accumulated efforts of officialdom including Pope Pius X, the Superior General of the Jesuits, Luis Martin, (the black Pope), Merry del Val (Secretary of State) and finally his own Bishop, Peter Amigo. Friends further betrayed him, some of whom took the opportunity to publicly distance themselves from him, personally and theologically. He was spied upon by the hierarchy, who publicly admonished him; his income and home were taken away and he spent the remains of his days destitute, in deteriorating health, and reliant upon charity. His life remains a sobering epitaph to the erstwhile pastoral theologian – *in carceribus denuo adsumus*.

Tyrrell highlighted the significance of inward religious experience and will-union with God and challenged those who recognise no logical alternative between extreme Ultramontanism and rank atheism. Following his death in little more than a shed in a friend’s garden, there was no need for a will, for he had no immediate family or possessions (See Chapter Three). He died with nothing but a legacy that this work has

documents, instructions and manuals’ the Cardinal lamented. Tyrrell’s short life (1861-1909) contrasts with the longitude of many of his progressive contemporaries: J.H. Newman (1801-1890; von Hügel (1852-1925); Maurice Blondel (1861-1949); Wilfred Ward (1856-1916); Abbé Loisy (1857-1940); Maude Petre (1863-1942). See also Snape, H.C. ‘Two Jesuits and Their Church: Teilhard And Tyrrell,’ *Modern Churchman*, No.5 (July 1962), 25-260.

²⁶ See Tyrrell, Letter to von Hügel, *A&L*, 347 and Tyrrell’s letter to *The Times* 1 October 1907.

attempted to preserve. Nevertheless this frail, reclusive, former Jesuit became a Nineteenth Century David, challenging the Goliath Holy Roman Empire, Jesuits, bishops, cardinals, popes and Vatican councils. He also turned his quill upon what he considered to be Protestant doctrinal and biblical excesses in his own search for what he believed to be the ‘the Mind of the Church.’ In Tyrrell’s case there is some assurance found in the words of St Augustine: many whom God has, the church does not have; and many whom the church has, God does not have.²⁷

The Consequences of Ignoring the Reform Agenda

This work has attempted to show that Tyrrell reminds the contemporary church of the inherent dangers of ignoring the reform agenda of Vatican II. His legacy warns against interpreting the experiences of the twenty first century using the categories of the thirteenth, what he called in his *Times* essays, ‘a devotion to the principles of Absolutism and centralism, of coming to terms with an age that is dead and buried – in a word, of coquetting with the impossible.’ In Tyrrell’s mind the battle commenced and articulated by *Pascendi* was between unfettered authority and intellectual liberty. The solution he argued for in the *Times* is to go back to the point of divergence, and to question:

whether wisdom may have laid neither with Luther nor with Ignatius, but with Erasmus and Colet; and whether in the light of three centuries of necessary but costly experience, the problem of liberty and authority may not now admit of some happier solution, and that the ruins of the two opposing systems may not now be built up into something more durable than either.²⁸

With reference to Erasmus, John O’Malley also draws attention to this (pastoral) critique of theological method. Even outside humanist circles ‘theologians were considered to be lost in their own world; they spoke an impenetrable jargon; they were constantly at one another’s throats over issues of concern to nobody but themselves; they lived in their heads; they could not touch anybody’s heart.’²⁹ In one

²⁷ ‘The Kingdom is larger than the Church. After all, "Not everyone who says to me, ‘Lord, Lord,’ shall enter the Kingdom of heaven, but he who does the will of my Father who is in heaven,"' (Matthew 7:21). See McBrien, R.P. (June 1980), ‘What Is the Kingdom of God?’ *St. Anthony’s Messenger*.

²⁸ Tyrrell adds: ‘Neither the engineered enthusiasm of *la bonne presse*, nor the extorted acquiescence and unanimity of a helplessly subjugated episcopate, nor the passive submission of uncomprehending sheep like lay multitude will deceive him into thinking that this encyclical comes from, or speaks to, the living heart of the Church – the intelligent, religious minded, truth-loving minority. He knows (the modernist) that it will not change or modify a single opinion among the millions of Catholicism, even if it should silence the tongue.’ *The Times*, 31 October 1907.

²⁹ O’Malley, J.W. (2004), *Four Cultures of the West*. O’Malley can’t resist quoting Erasmus’ critique. It is perhaps one that Tyrrell would have applauded: ‘their brains [theologians] are the most addled,

sense, Tyrrell admired the strength of Pius X's 'vigorous blow from the shoulder,' although he seriously underestimated the inquisitorial resolve of the anti-modernists.³⁰ Poignantly E.E. Hales compares *Pascendi* to 'an atomic mushroom cloud,' concealing what it destroys:

We shall never know how many valuable shoots, which might have brought forth good fruit, were killed, alongside the dangerous errors, when the bomb was dropped, nor how many men were prevented, thereafter, from ever thinking at all because some had fallen into error in their thinking. The price that has to be paid when such high explosive is used can be tremendous; a kind of intellectual sterilisation may be included when thinking becomes so dangerous.³¹

Central to Tyrrell's legacy is his understanding of the 'corporate mind' (See Chapter Six). He maintained that it is composed of the creative, active and progressive members of the community, who are sensitive to the needs of each generation (can read the signs of the times) and who attempt to make conscious the continued presence of Christ and the significance of the Christ-event for humanity. Tyrrell insisted that this initiative has fallen to the official hierarchy by default of a passive majority. Tyrrell challenged both the authority and competence of the hierarchy to do so, together with the apparent duplicity of the laity.³²

Revisiting the life and thought of George Tyrrell may remind the contemporary church that the theologian has a responsibility in this regard, in the sense that they have the skills to articulate the voice of the *sensus fidelium*. Tyrrell believed with Newman, that it is the theologian (lay and cleric) who must carry the flag of service and responsibility, the clergy generally mindful of their bishop, the laity by the need to feed and support their family.³³ Highlighting the movement that has taken place

tongues the most uncultivated, wits the dullest, teachings the thorniest, characters the least attractive, lives the most hypocritical, and hearts the blackest on earth.' 104.

³⁰ Tyrrell, 'As for censure, suspension, and ex-communication, they belong to the logic of their position, and he (the modernist) expects them as a matter of course. They were the portions of his spiritual ancestors, who in the past ages so often saved the Church, sick unto death with the pedantries of scholastic rationalism and the *rabies theologorum*.' *The Times*, 31 October 1907.

³¹ Hales, E.Y. 'The American Controversy,' *The Month*, Vol. 31, (Jan. 1964), 36.

³² See Dell, letter to the *Times* re. 'The compliancy of the laity,' and Beisheim, 'it would appear that there are two options in a black and white world, compliance or the door – Churchmen like Tyrrell offer an alternative to the stampede.' 294. In the West, the millions are voting with their feet, little will be gained from sermons denouncing the 'dictatorship of relativism,' when no one is listening.

³³ See Tyrrell, 'The Dreath of the Clergy,' *The Contemporary Review*, (1909), Vol. 95, 574-588. 'A man may have the right to risk his own neck, but not the necks of his wife and family.' 577. Robert Coffy, 'The Magisterium and Theology,' *Reading in Moral Theology* no.3, *The Magisterium and Morality*, (Ed.) Curran, C. and McCormick., R.

since the publication of *Pascendi*, the former Prefect of the CDF and now Pope, Joseph Ratzinger, acknowledged a concern developed in the thought of Tyrrell:

Criticism of papal pronouncements will be possible and even necessary, to the degree that they lack support in Scripture and the Creed, that is, in the faith of the whole Church. When neither the consensus of the whole Church is had, nor clear evidence from the sources is available ... questions would have to be raised concerning its legitimacy.³⁴

Highlighting further oscillation within the church, Archbishop Robert Coffy noted with apprehension that ‘when the Magisterium does theology, in its authoritative pronouncements, it inevitably makes *theological* options.’³⁵ Francis Sullivan stresses the need for an independent International Theological Commission to be consulted in the preparation of doctrinal statements, arguing, ‘I do not see how one can deny to a theologian the right to express his criticism of what he perceives to be a strictly theological option, even when it is incorporated into a document of the ordinary Magisterium.’ Sullivan insists, ‘dialogue and mutual learning should govern relations between the Magisterium and the Roman Catholic theologian.’³⁶

This work has shown that Tyrrell pioneered the notion of church with an historical consciousness, that is, awareness of the historically conditioned reality of a particular time, place and event. His thought epitomises the liberation imperative of late twentieth century theology, identifying a pastoral tension, which requires a pastoral and practical response (See Chapter Seven). Tyrrell’s thought sanctions a pastoral hermeneutical response to a predicament in ministry. Forty years after the publication of *Gaudium et Spes*, Tyrrell’s work reminds the church that ‘if a theologian is going

³⁴ Ratzinger, J. (1969), *Das Neue Volk Gottes*, Düsseldorf, 144.

³⁵ Robert Coffy, (later Cardinal), ‘The Magisterium and Theology,’ *Reading in Moral Theology* no. 3, ‘The Magisterium and Morality,’ Curran, C. and McCormick, R. See *Readings in Church Authority: Gifts and Challenges for Contemporary Catholicism* (2003), (Eds.), Gerard Mannion, Richard Gaillardetz, Jan Kerkhofs, Kenneth Wilson, 407.

³⁶ Francis A. Sullivan: ‘The Magisterium and the Role of the Theologians in the Church.’ *Magisterium – Teaching Authority in the Roman Catholic Church*, (1983), 190-218; ‘Criticism or Construction? The Task of the Theologian,’ Nicholas Lash, *New Blackfriars* 63 (1982), 148-59; ‘A Theology That We Can Live With,’ Karl Rahner, (1988), *Theological Investigations* 21, trans. H. Riley. ‘The Theologian In the Eyes of The Magisterium,’ Review by John E. Thiel *Heythrop Journal*, XXXII, (1991), 383-387; ‘The Role of the Theologian, *Donum Veritatis* and Newman,’ Amelia Fleming, *The Irish Theological Quarterly*, Vol. 69, no.3. (2004). Here Fleming raises a number of crucial questions relevant to Tyrrell, she contrasts the Congregation for Doctrine of the Faith’s 1990 *Instruction (Donum Veritatis)* on the ecclesial role of the theologian with Newman’s *sensus fidelium* and the role of the *schola theologorum*. Fleming asks what hope does the church have for a *sensus fidelium* in the light of the Declaration and ‘oscillation’ in the direction of *Pascendi*? ‘What We Must Believe,’ Francis Sullivan, *The Tablet*, 26 September 1998, 1250; ‘Muzzling the theologians,’ Richard McBrien, *The Tablet*, 20 March 1999, 397. ‘Theology and Contemporary Reality,’ Hastings, A. (1995), *The Shaping of Prophecy*. See also O’Collins, G. (2006), regarding the ‘International Theological Commission and the CDF,’ *Living with Vatican II*, 24.

to pursue his vocation with genuine freedom, he has to be able to research, to publish the fruits of his research and to teach within the limits of his theological competences.³⁷

O'Malley believes that the two primary issues of Vatican II were (i) development of doctrine and (ii) the relationship of the centre to the periphery.³⁸ The current work highlights that Tyrrell raised these two central issues in his opus a century previously and that they remain contemporary unresolved issues which require change within the church. The majority of the bishops at Vatican II recognised the responsibility of reading the signs of the times and interpreting them in the light of the Gospel (*Gaudium et spes*, n.4). To achieve this aspiration requires open dialogue with the times, in turn these two aspirations in themselves require change to the institutional culture of Catholicism, a culture which Tyrrell described as medieval.³⁹ Only through cultural change to the institution will the universal church experience the (i) development of doctrine and (ii) a constructive dynamic between the centre and the periphery. Tyrrell insisted,

The times are in labour with a new world whose characteristics are hard to divine from the obscure manifestations that herald its advent. But they will certainly be not those of the thirteenth or sixteenth century to which you (Cardinal Mercier) would tie the cause of Christianity finally and forever.⁴⁰

Ormerod believes the church has 'a missiological imperative to change.' *Redemptoris missio* insists, 'building the kingdom requires working for liberation from evil in all its forms.'⁴¹ These works argues one important example of how the church can learn from history and subsequently implement a changed culture of liberation, is in revisiting the pastoral theology and life of George Tyrrell.

³⁷ Rush, (2004), '*Dei Verbum's* five witnesses: scripture, tradition, Magisterium, theology and *sensus fidelium*, 66. See also Sullivan, and *GS*, n.62 'It is hoped that many laymen will receive an appropriate formation within the sacred sciences, and that some will develop and deepen these studies by their own labours... let it be recognised that all the faithful, clerical and lay, possess a lawful freedom of inquiry and of thought, and the freedom to express their minds humbly and courageously about matters in which they enjoy competence.' See also Tyrrell, *AMAL*, 100. See also 'Ecclesiology and Ecumenism,' Richard Lennan: 'Rahner was at pains to aid the appropriation of ecclesial faith by articulating the authentic claims and necessary boundaries of 'the Church,' by promoting reconciliation between Christians, and by sketching the possibilities of the Church's creative engagement with the wider world.' *The Cambridge Companion to Karl Rahner* (2005), 128. See also Lash 61.

³⁸ O'Malley, (2007), *Vatican II Did Anything Happen?* Komonchak, 38, 58, 67.

³⁹ Tyrrell, *Medievalism*, 'The Death Agony of Medievalism,' 155.

⁴⁰ Tyrrell, *Medievalism*, 156.

⁴¹ *Redemptoris mission* n.15 and Ormerod, 163.

Today Western Europe is increasingly characterised as post-Christian.⁴² With the Enlightenment and the scientific revolution, Catholicism increasingly resisted change and consequently lost the intellectual class. This work has shown that Tyrrell attempted to challenge this growth in secularism (see Chapter Three, *A Letter to a University Professor*) by arguing that the Church and science are not incompatible. This work contends that the seeds of this failure to communicate with the contemporary educated classes, an ever increasing entity, (for instance disciples of Richard Dawkins *et al*) were planted during the Modernist crisis. Indeed the Modernist crisis epitomises an Ultramontane approach to theology which depicts the world and the church at war with each other. The church Tyrrell opposed adopted ‘increasingly sect like characteristics’ in presenting to ‘the Western world too stark an option – either Catholic Christianity or modernity.’⁴³

Revisiting Tyrrell’s work represents a timely reminder to the contemporary church that ‘to suppress variation would be to suppress growth.’⁴⁴ Furthermore the thesis highlights that ‘the church needs to acknowledge the pastoral and intellectual damage done to Catholic life by the paranoia of Pius X’s thought police.’⁴⁵ Those in authority today, need to acknowledge their ‘responsibility’ (*Gaudium et spes*, n.4) and the wider cultural, social and political context in which world Catholicism finds itself. Central to this thesis is the need to show that the Modernist movement did not fail in its objectives; indeed the isolation of the Modernist movement to the historical periphery gives rise to a false impression that the movement failed. Any such claim highlights an inadequate understanding of the on-going traditional process of Catholic enlightenment. Ormerod claims that the ‘anti-Modernist measures represented a last ditch effort by the hierarchy to resist change.’⁴⁶ Lash characterises Tyrrell’s pastoral hermeneutical response as a question of our time, in the sense that ‘Modernism is the vast question of the religious future of the human race.’⁴⁷

Pius X acknowledged Tyrrell as the leader of Modernism. This work has shown that Tyrrell’s understanding of Modernism amounted to a pastoral reengagement with the world, a pastoral hermeneutic that received official expression in the documents of Vatican II. In this sense, Vatican II sanctioned change. ‘Theologically, the church’s resistance to change represented a failure in its missionary stance to the world.’ Thus Ormerod laments, its hostility to change was indiscriminate, the church set its face against the world and thus no longer effectively mediated the [grace] needed to help keep a too rapidly changing world in balance.⁴⁸ A contemporary understanding of Tyrrell’s pastoral hermeneutic enhances the mission of the post Vatican II church to

⁴² For a detailed development of this position see Taylor, C. (2007), *A Secular Age*.

⁴³ See Ormerod, 169.

⁴⁴ Tyrrell, *OW*, 285.

⁴⁵ Lash, 54-55.

⁴⁶ Ormerod, 176.

⁴⁷ Lash, 59.

⁴⁸ Ormerod, 176.

continually engage in the world and embrace change. In this embrace there is life and growth.

The condemnation of Modernism, particularly in England, delayed the flowering of the Catholic renaissance. For decades the church remained in a state of siege. As Chapter Two outlined, Modernism was a concrete movement in history heralding the need for Vatican II. Both are components of the same movement towards change, *renaissance* and *aggiornamento*. The reception of Vatican II remains the current epicentre of the church's self-understanding and its relationship with culture and the eschaton.⁴⁹ Vatican II is the reception of the Modernist critique.

This work has also sought to show that Tyrrell was an exceptional theologian with a profound pastoral sense. He moved beyond ideological divisions, with a deep sense of Aquinas, yet remained always in touch with the pastoral desire to read the signs of the times. In the pre-conciliar church Congar disturbed Roman theologians with his assessment that, my answers might be wrong, but the questions are true. This thesis maintains that key Vatican II documents indicate that Tyrrell's questions remain an important part of the church's life. Furthermore reception of Tyrrell's thought remains a 21st century determinate to assess the reception process of Vatican II, in the sense that the Modernist agenda remains the precursor of the progressive's narrative at Vatican II. Tyrrell's life and work represent an attempt to foster hopeful dialogue with the modern world. Thus he insists, the basis of (this) hope, like that of faith, 'is not found in reasoned calculus of odds, but in an intuition, or perhaps, in an intuitive inference of the heart drawn from the totality of our experience.'⁵⁰

⁴⁹ Lash, 73. Lash argues, drawing upon the analysis of Lonergan, in support of Tyrrell's position that 'a shift from a classical to modern concept of culture necessitates a complete restructuring of Catholic theology,' 74. 'Vatican II (and Modernism), is flawed by a residual classicism,' furthermore, 'the classical conception of culture is inevitably, elitist.' See also Rush with regard to the complex questions which require exploration, Rush (2004), 12-13. Ormond Rush claims 'that such selectivity has marked the official reception of the Council by the Roman Curia.' Rush argues that 'in recent decades, the Curia has continued to operate under the shadow of its former head Cardinal Alfredo Ottaviani, with his motto of *Semper Idem*.' Ormond Rush, *Still Interpreting Vatican II*, 59. Norbert Scholl asserts, 'The Church of Rome, perceived as the Barque of St Peter, lists heavily as long as the Vatican only rehabilitates the "lost sheep" at the traditionalist edge of the Church, and makes no similar offer to other excommunicated or marginalised Catholics while at the same time it persists in preventing progressive theologians from teaching and refuses dialogue with all movements in the Church.' (Essen, 28 January 2009) *Angelhofweg 24b, D-69259 Wilhelmsfeld*).

⁵⁰ Tyrrell, G. 'Hope As A Factor of Religion,' *The Catholic World*, Vol. 82 (Nov.1905), 193-198. See also Rahner, K. (1977), 'On the Theology of Hope,' *Theological Investigations*, 10 trans. D. Bourke. 'Hope is not simply the attitude of one who is weak and at the same time hungering for a fulfilment that has yet to be achieved, but rather the courage to commit oneself in thought and deed to the incomprehensible and the uncontrollable which permeates our existence, and, as the future to which it is open, sustains it,' 259. See also *Gaudium et Spec*, 'The future of humanity rests in the hands of those who are capable of handing on to the coming generations reasons for living and hoping.' n.31 and O'Collins, G. (2006), *Living with Vatican II*, 10.

This thesis has sought to show that Tyrrell's thought remains significant in the sense that it is not the meanderings of a theological maverick, but rather the visionary insights of a pastorally motivated theologian. The contemporary work of O'Malley, Ormerod, Komonchak, *et al* identify the necessity of ecclesial change in order to allow the church to remain true to its traditional mission set for it by Christ. Tyrrell insisted, 'the times are in labour with a new world whose characteristics are hard to divine from the obscure manifestations that herald its advent.'⁵¹ The collective challenge within the church is to resist the temptation to stigmatise those who anticipate and plan for ecclesial change. This work has shown that Tyrrell's life remains an inspirational witness of one who endeavoured to fuse collective enlightenment with personal faith. Hopefully it may remind ecclesial theologians and seminary Deans of the dangers of neglecting pastoral concerns and making theology into nothing more than an intellectual pursuit. Tyrrell's thought represents a clarion call to those who 'rely on the philosophy of Aristotle and other "scientific" thinkers and do not know the "philosophy of Christ."'⁵²

Revisiting a Great Issue

Tyrrell's pastoral response to his ecclesial context represents one such call for change. The task of giving structural embodiment to Tyrrell's thinking and that of Vatican II has barely begun – in places it appears to be in reverse. Tyrrell reminds a contemporary church to resist the temptation to persevere with the *status quo*. The times are forever changing; Tyrrell's work insisted that this is a hopeful moment:

Hope is the entrance of the soul into the joy of the Lord; hope is the corrective of these very doubts and fears. Further, if we begin with a conviction of utter helplessness we should never make the experiments which would dispel the illusion.⁵³

This work has also challenged Tyrrell's assumed excommunication, his early death illustrates that he paid the ultimate price in order to convince the church of the future that the modernist experiment must succeed:

What wonder, then, if the influence of the consensus of eternity be felt within us, as something commending the reverence of our understanding for a dimmer and yet higher light already dawning in us, and whose full day may put to flight many a shadow that we deemed substantial.⁵⁴

⁵¹ Tyrrell, *Medievalism*, 156.

⁵² O'Malley, J.W. (2004), *The Four Cultures of the West*, ' 105.

⁵³ Tyrrell G, 'Hope As A Factor of Religion,' 197.

⁵⁴ Robert Dell's Letter to the Editor of *The Times*, 25 July 1909. Following Tyrrell's denial of a Catholic burial.

Robert Dell, writing from Paris, expressed the disillusionment felt by ordinary Catholics, following the death of ‘Father Tyrrell:’

as I stood by his open grave in Storrington Churchyard I could not but feel that we too should be denied Roman Catholic sacraments, if we were as brave and as honest as he was.⁵⁵

Dell continued with a poignant question:

Which of us would not choose to be in communion with George Tyrrell and with all that is best and noblest in humanity rather than with Pius X and the spies, informers and professors of mendacity by whose agency he governs his docile flock of sheep?⁵⁶

Merry del Val’s duplicity in the Tyrrell affair led the despairing Dell to articulate the modernist’s emotive response to Tyrrell’s denial of the sacraments. He concluded in his letter:

that the papacy remains an obstacle to progress and a menace to liberty... a narrow and intolerant sect, acquiescing in religious liberty and equality only where and when it is not strong enough to demand privileges, reframing from physical persecution only because it does not have the power to use it, but persecuting as ruthlessly as ever by all the means that are still in its power. Here before our eyes is an example of intolerant fanaticism pursuing to his grave a man of noblest character, whom nobody could know without loving and respecting him.⁵⁷

Dell’s grief stricken lament continues to echo down the century. He demanded to know why, during Tyrrell’s last illness, when he was incapable of speech, that they (Merry del Val and Amigo), could ‘not allow him the common English standard, (also enshrined in Canon Law) namely, the “benefit of the doubt?”’ Finally, over-taken by grief, Robert Dell berates the laity. He attributes ‘papal despotism,’ in ‘large measure, to our own cowardice... our acquiescence in every succeeding outrage of the authorities.’

This thesis argues that Dell’s critique, including the ‘cowardly complacency of the laity,’ should reverberate in the contemporary church. He wrote:

⁵⁵ Robert Dell’s Letter to the Editor of *The Times*, 25 July 1909.

⁵⁶ Robert Dell’s Letter to the Editor of *The Times*, 25 July 1909.

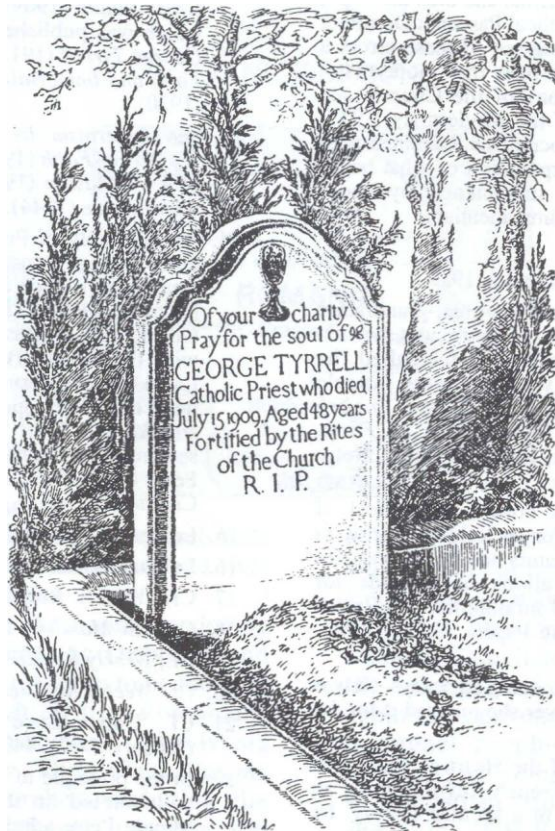
⁵⁷ Robert Dell’s Letter to the Editor of *The Times*, 25 July 1909.

If the English people are not so sodden with amusement and frivolity — as I hope and believe that they are not — as to be indifferent to great issues, these events will open their eyes and stir their hearts to indignation; and July 21, 1909, will be a black day in the history of the Roman Church in England.⁵⁸

Revisiting Tyrrell's pastorally inspired theology allows a rehabilitation of his reputation as an Ignatian Theologian. The narrative which is George Tyrrell is not concluded. The centenary of his death, 15 July 2009, should inspire the church to acknowledge this remarkable Edwardian petrel, who mistakenly believed he could walk on water.

Finally, *pace* Robert Dell, this work has sought to revisit 'a great issue,' the life and thought of a pastoral theologian. It remains to conclude, that English people are 'not so sodden,' that we will allow this 'black day in (our) history' to be forgotten and justice eluded. The pastoral *raison d'être* outlined in this project inspired and unites members of the Tübingen School, John Henry Newman, Maurice Blondel, Fredrick von Hügel, the irrepressible Maude Petre, Father George Tyrrell, the progressive theologians leading into the Council, and the courageous bishops at the Council. Their collective witness is evident in the word and spirit of Vatican II. Furthermore they witness to a heroic, and in no small measure successful attempt to bring Catholicism into the present world. The reception of their endeavours remain in infancy and require protective sustenance at this time; while the audacious Father Tyrrell stands in resolute company as an Ignatian pioneer at the frontier of pastoral theology.

⁵⁸ Robert Dell's Letter to the Editor of *The Times*, 25 July 1909.



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