

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-09770-3 - Between Two Worlds: George Tyrrell's Relationship to the
Thought of Matthew Arnold

Nicholas Sagovsky

Excerpt

[More information](#)

1

Tyrrell and Arnold 'between two worlds'

On 7 September 1851, with his new wife Fanny Lucy, Matthew Arnold climbed through a freezing mist high in the Alps to visit the ancient monastery of the Grande Chartreuse. A stranger, a married man, a Protestant, for one brief night he entered the religious world of the Middle Ages, retiring at half-past seven and rising at eleven to join the monks for midnight mass. Here, in the chill and clinging damp, he watched cowed figures with white faces chant the service by the light of flickering tapers as they had done for almost eight hundred years. Here the monks maintained a belief that had once been that of all Christendom. The son of Dr Arnold was captivated.

Matthew Arnold's own, largely eroded, Christianity had been formed in the demanding atmosphere of Rugby chapel, where the preaching of his father concentrated on moral integrity and maintained towards the imaginative fullness of medieval Roman Catholicism a sharp critical detachment. He had surrendered his belief in the resurrection and atonement some years before,¹ feeling that neither the devotion of the Carthusians, nor that of his father was possible 'for both were faiths, and both are gone'.² Since there was no help on the mountaintop he could only return with his wife from the Grande Chartreuse to the 'darkling plain', and there continue his search for a faith which combined continuity with the past and openness to the future. He was left

Wandering between two worlds, one dead,
The other powerless to be born.³

Nearly thirty years later, George Tyrrell did not find the same impossibility about Roman Catholicism. He had been brought up in the austere evangelicalism of fashionable Dublin, educated at a school modelled on Dr Arnold's Rugby, and he had found his faith in an Anglican church where the most moderate ceremonial (there were not even candles on the altar) and high church teaching had provoked a riot. It was there, at All Saints, Grangegorman, that he met Robert Dolling, later a notorious and impenitent ritualist and outstanding

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-09770-3 - Between Two Worlds: George Tyrrell's Relationship to the Thought of Matthew Arnold

Nicholas Sagovsky

Excerpt

[More information](#)*Between Two Worlds*

Anglo-Catholic priest in Portsmouth. Dolling guided Tyrrell's reading for about two years, leading him towards his own Anglo-Catholicism, and when it became clear that Tyrrell was fatally disenchanted with the Anglicanism of Dublin, he invited him to help at a mission to postmen in London, where he could sample the worship of St Alban's, Holborn, a *real* ritualist church that would never have existed in the polarised atmosphere of Ireland. For Tyrrell, who was then eighteen, this was a chance to break with his childhood and commit himself to the catholic faith for which he yearned. However, on his first Sunday at St Alban's, Palm Sunday 1879, the whole liturgy struck him as an insincere charade. He was seized with a fit of loathing and fled in confusion. Outside, while he paced up and down waiting for Dolling, the largely Irish congregation of the nearest Roman Catholic church, St Etheldreda's, Ely Place, was assembling for mass. He was irresistibly drawn to the crypt church. Here he found none of the immaculate splendour of St Alban's, but, 'Oh the sense of reality! here was the old business, being carried on by the old firm, in the old ways; here was continuity, that took one back to the catacombs' (AL1 p. 153). At this stage the Roman Catholic Church offered both the continuity with the past and the dogmatic certainty which he needed. It never occurred to him that he would later become one of the most notorious critics of the Church, that he would be first suspended and then excommunicated, and that for the last years of his life he would sadly describe himself as a Catholic *in spe*, in hope, for he had now discovered that the Church he thought he had joined, the Church of Augustine, Aquinas, à Kempis and Ignatius Loyola, a Church of flexible spirit which encouraged both holiness and intellectual honesty, had been locked into a dogmatic fortress where unquestioning obedience was the beginning and the end of virtue.

George Tyrrell is known today as one of the leading Roman Catholic Modernists – that heterogeneous group of thinkers and writers condemned in 1907 by the Encyclical '*Pascendi*'. Their concerns were various: Biblical criticism, apologetics, philosophy, science, history, but what they had in common was a desire to relate traditional Christianity to the needs and aspirations of the day. Tyrrell defined a Modernist as 'a churchman, of any sort, who believes in the possibility of a synthesis between the essential truth of his religion and the essential truth of modernity' (CCR p. 5). He believed that there was nothing to lose and everything to gain by learning from the philosophy of Kant and Bergson, the Biblical criticism of German Liberal Protestantism, the work of historians like Harnack; by facing contemporary questions about evolution, socialism and the impossibility of miracles. Most of those with authority in the Church did not share his openness. They were disturbed and threatened by the questioning mood and the scientific progress

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-09770-3 - Between Two Worlds: George Tyrrell's Relationship to the Thought of Matthew Arnold

Nicholas Sagovsky

Excerpt

[More information](#)*Tyrrell and Arnold 'between two worlds'*

of the nineteenth century. In 1864 Pius IX had solemnly pronounced it an error to believe that 'the Roman Pontiff can and should reconcile and adapt himself to progress, liberalism, and the modern civilisation'.⁴ Forty years later, men like Tyrrell, Loisy and Buonaiuti were seen as doubters of the faith, insubordinate to its duly appointed guardians, and ultimately as heretics. Modernism was denounced by Rome as 'the synthesis of all heresies'.⁵ Those who, like Tyrrell, felt that they were being pressurised to renege on intellectual honesty, were left 'between two worlds': the old world of unbending orthodoxy and the new world of incipient secularism. This was the Modernists' tragedy.

It was sixty years before the wind truly changed. At the Second Vatican Council, from 1962 to 1965, the Church belatedly reviewed its self-understanding, its notion of revelation, its attitude to the secular world, to other Christian traditions and other religions; and in doing so it drew upon the researches of those who had learnt from the Fathers, the early scholastics, from Protestant scholars and from Catholics who had in many cases been suspected, silenced or condemned. In the years that followed the Council there was a new willingness to rethink fundamental questions: about authority in the Church, the historical origins of Christianity, questions of Christology, ecclesiology and the relation of the Church to the contemporary world. It is because these questions cannot be balked, or prematurely settled by an illegitimate dogmatism, and because the Church handled them so disastrously at the turn of the century, and might do so again, that the Modernist crisis rightly continues to attract a great deal of attention. It is possible to look back and see in the events of, say, fifteen years a microcosm of the encounter between a Church stuck in its 'medievalism' and a world that cannot be anything but 'modern'. For those who see the issues that were sharply, intemperately raised as unresolved or perennial tensions in the life of the Church the study of the Modernist tragedy is particularly compelling. As yet, it remains impossible to grasp it in its entirety, because the Vatican archives remain closed beyond 1903, but in the meantime specific studies, like this of Tyrrell and Arnold, will continue to illuminate the aims and limitations of individual figures. For a just assessment of their achievements we have to wait.

It is not my intention to tell the story of the Modernist Movement again here.⁶ The aim of this book is much more modest. It is to contribute towards the understanding of one man who was neither theologian nor philosopher, nor even the great spiritual writer he might have been, but who had a superb intuition for the questions that needed to be faced and who burnt himself out in twelve years of frenetic and isolated activity as he struggled for answers. My aim is to look at Tyrrell in a new light, suggested by the comment of

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-09770-3 - Between Two Worlds: George Tyrrell's Relationship to the Thought of Matthew Arnold

Nicholas Sagovsky

Excerpt

[More information](#)*Between Two Worlds*

his close friend Henri Bremond. Bremond surmised that a third of Tyrrell was in Matthew Arnold, especially Arnold's *Literature and Dogma*. This idea is particularly suggestive, because it turns attention away from those continental writers with whom Tyrrell is often associated – Laberthonnière, Loisy (Bremond acknowledged his particular debt to these two), Blondel, Bergson, A. Sabatier, von Hügel – towards a man of whom he was outspokenly critical, who was English, non-Catholic, flagrantly liberal and not even a professional Biblical critic. However, if Bremond is right, we ought to see Tyrrell's Modernism in a different light. We need to recognise the importance of the *English literary tradition* for Tyrrell's profoundly Catholic theology, and also to look at Matthew Arnold afresh, as a serious theological thinker. George Tyrrell was one writer who took to heart Arnold's fundamental point about the fatal confusion in the minds of theologians between scientific and poetic language. I hope this study will bring out the extent to which Tyrrell was prepared to draw on Liberal Protestant methods, filtered by the English literary mind, in the forlorn cause of a renewed Catholicism.

For many, it is not Tyrrell the thinker that attracts so much as Tyrrell the man. He never claimed to have an original or scholarly mind, but he had extraordinarily quick wits, and he was haunted by the questions of intellectuals who, often enough, were referred to him for help. Like his mentor Newman, he had a profoundly sceptical streak about the limits of human knowledge, but, unlike Newman, he tended to be credulous of 'experts'. There is an unevenness, but not an incoherence, about his work. The coherence, will, I hope, emerge in this study. It is largely the fruit of Tyrrell's boundless empathy. With so little conviction of his own worth, he entered passionately into the needs and sufferings of others. He was much too flawed to be a saint, but he was a doughty fighter for liberty and truth. There is a kind of tragic intensity about his life.

The story has been well told by Maude Petre.⁷ What she had to work with was an autobiography written to convince her of Tyrrell's worthless character, and her own close knowledge of him in the last nine years of his life. She loved him, but the love was not reciprocated. She was his most faithful ally, and as a Modernist in her own right knew what it was to be excommunicated and to outlive all the survivors of the *débauche* that 'Pascendi' represented. It would be a mistake to take the *Autobiography* at face value (it is partly modelled on Augustine's *Confessions*), and a mistake to accept Maude Petre's reading of Tyrrell's life as in any sense objective.

Tyrrell was born in Dublin on 6 February 1861, to a family of what has been called the 'professionocracy'. His father, a well-known Protestant Tory

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-09770-3 - Between Two Worlds: George Tyrrell's Relationship to the Thought of Matthew Arnold

Nicholas Sagovsky

Excerpt

[More information](#)*Tyrrell and Arnold 'between two worlds'*

journalist, who moved among doctors, lawyers and clergymen in the better parts of town, died shortly before George was born, leaving his wife to care for William, aged nine and already deformed by a serious accident in the nursery, Louisa, aged one, and the new baby. There was very little money. Tyrrell's early years were dominated by financial insecurity, the struggle to keep the family together, the powerful Calvinism of a widowed aunt, who lived with them, and Willy's academic brilliance. In reaction, he himself cultivated indolence (school magazines bear out his academic mediocrity) and while Willy became an atheist, George began to attend church on his own. When George was fifteen, Willy died after a brilliant career at Trinity College, Dublin. Two months later George joined 'The Guild' of All Saints, Grangegorman. In the next two years he failed to win a sizarship at Trinity College, he came under the influence of Robert Dolling, began to experiment with Catholicism, and, at the end of March 1879, he left Ireland forever.

Once he arrived in London, it took Tyrrell only six weeks to become a Roman Catholic. He received instruction from Father Christie of the Jesuit community at Farm Street, who had been a fellow of Oriel with Newman. Tyrrell was amazed to find that his tentative enquiries about becoming a Jesuit were not rebuffed because he had neglected his Greek. However, as a new convert, it was deemed wise that he spent a year teaching in Jesuit schools, first in Cyprus, where he lived happily with Father Harry Schomberg Kerr, and then in Malta, which was a thorough disappointment. On his return, in 1880, he began a two-year noviceship at Manresa House, Roehampton, with an unsympathetic novice-master who stretched the highly-strung novices to breaking-point. Gerard Manley Hopkins, who was living in the same house as a tertian in his last year of training, wrote, 'Fr Morris's novices bear his impress and are staid: we used to roar with laughter if anything happened, his never do.'⁸

The next ten years Tyrrell regarded as largely wasted because they were spent in teaching him the theology of the Catholic Church as it had crystallised in the rigid scholastic mould. For three years he was at Stonyhurst learning philosophy. Here he found that the rigorism of Father Morris was openly criticised, and he now came under the unsettling influence of Thomas Rigby, who by-passed the accredited commentators on Aquinas to teach 'Aquinas his own interpreter'. This Tyrrell loved, and he entered enthusiastically into debate with Bernard Boedder, the second-year teacher, who was committed to a Suarezian interpretation of Aquinas. In this year his mother died and Tyrrell barely passed his exams. At the end of 1885 he returned to Malta as a teacher.

Three years later, he was sent to study theology at St Beuno's in North

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-09770-3 - Between Two Worlds: George Tyrrell's Relationship to the Thought of Matthew Arnold

Nicholas Sagovsky

Excerpt

[More information](#)*Between Two Worlds*

Wales, where, a decade before, Gerard Manley Hopkins wrote much of his best-known poetry. Here he endured four more years of scholasticism, and he began to write for the amusement of his fellow-students. On 20 September 1891 he was ordained and a year later he left for his tertianship, a further year in which he returned to the regime of a novice at Manresa. Just as he had done shortly after joining the Society, he made the thirty-day retreat, using Ignatius' *Spiritual Exercises*. By the end of the year he had spent thirteen years preparing to begin. After a short time in Oxford, during which he wrote an important review of *W. G. Ward and the Oxford Movement*, Wilfrid Ward's account of his father's early years, he was moved to parish work in St Helen's. Here he spent the happiest year of his life. He was doing the kind of work which had attracted him in Dolling and drawn him to the Jesuits: preaching, teaching, ministering to the poor. When he was recalled to teach ethics at St Mary's Hall, Stonyhurst, he was distraught.

In the next two years Tyrrell began to exercise his intellectual power as he had never done before. Like his teacher Rigby, he drew material direct from Aquinas, in the spirit, as he thought, of Leo XIII's Encyclical *Aeterni Patris*, which had commended a return to the 'golden wisdom' of St Thomas. He and his friend William Roche, another former pupil of Rigby, were in constant conflict with Boedder, who was still on the staff. For Tyrrell, Aquinas was a systematic thinker of genius who should be studied as Dante is studied, not for information, but for his method and his spirit. For Boedder, Aquinas, interpreted by Suarez, had given to the Church a systematic statement of unchanging Catholic truth. He told Tyrrell that some of his views, taken to their logical conclusion, would lead to agnosticism. There were public rows, and Tyrrell, like Rigby and Roche before him, was removed. He had shown his promise and his prickliness. He was not in disgrace, but he was deprived of contact with students. Now he became a staff writer on *The Month*, living with the Jesuits in Mayfair.

These were years of regular literary production, new friendships, preaching and pastoral counselling. Tyrrell clearly identified himself with those Catholics who wanted to pursue a more open and liberal policy towards scientific thought and towards Anglicanism. His important essay 'A Change of Tactics' (*The Month*, 86 (1896), 215–17) was written just before he moved to Farm Street. The Protestant controversy, he argued, had absorbed Catholic energy and distorted Catholic self-understanding for long enough. Now it was time to show the Catholic faith in all its beauty and cohesion to an unbelieving world. This was the keynote for the next four years. In 1897, his first book, *Nova et Vetera*, a series of 'informal meditations for times of spiritual dryness' was published and immediately welcomed for its freshness of approach. One

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-09770-3 - Between Two Worlds: George Tyrrell's Relationship to the Thought of Matthew Arnold

Nicholas Sagovsky

Excerpt

[More information](#)*Tyrrell and Arnold 'between two worlds'*

of those who responded warmly was Baron Friedrich von Hügel, who wrote to thank Tyrrell for the book and to invite him to luncheon.

So began one of the most important friendships of Tyrrell's life. Von Hügel was forty-five, a self-taught scholar of profound learning and wide culture. He had known W. G. Ward and Newman; he was friendly with scholars, historians and critics like Duchesne, Loisy, Laberthonnière and Semeria; he maintained a vast correspondence in French, German and Italian. In the following winter Tyrrell helped his daughter Gertrude through a spiritual crisis, and from then on von Hügel, who became a much respected mentor for the lonely Jesuit, involuntarily brought Tyrrell nearer to the abyss. He introduced him to the work of the French philosopher Blondel, and his exponent Laberthonnière; he discussed with him his critical work on the hexateuch; he asked for his advice when he was writing about the psychology of St Catherine of Genoa. New horizons opened for Tyrrell with each long letter from the Baron.⁹

In the next year, 1898, Tyrrell began a regular correspondence with Henri Bremond,¹⁰ a French Jesuit who had trained in Wales and was well-versed in the tradition of English literature. Bremond was in trouble with his vocation, and questioned Tyrrell closely about his reasons for remaining a Jesuit. Even less than Tyrrell was he a theologian or Biblical critic, although he was a friend of Loisy and Blondel, but he was an outstanding man of letters who later became a member of the French Academy. Bremond was Tyrrell's most intimate friend. Tyrrell's letters to him are the frankest and most outspoken that we have. Whilst at Farm Street, Tyrrell became friendly with Maude Petre,¹¹ who was at that time English superior of an order for women, the *Filles de Marie*. A woman of outstanding courage, who had studied theology in Rome, she was a prolific writer, and close friend, not only of Tyrrell, but also of von Hügel and Bremond. At this time Tyrrell also corresponded with Wilfrid Ward,¹² whose loyalty to Newman he found congenial. Ward introduced him to the Synthetic Society, where he came into contact with the foremost philosophers of religion in his day – men like Arthur Balfour, Henry Sidgwick and Charles Gore.

In this year Tyrrell's second book, *Hard Sayings*, a less successful sequel to *Nova et Vetera*, appeared, and in 1899 he departed from devotion with a little book called *External Religion*, which originated in a number of conferences on the Church given to undergraduates at Oxford. In this the influence of Newman and Blondel was manifest; von Hügel sent a long letter with an appreciative critique. During these years Tyrrell was regularly writing reviews and articles for *The Month*, all, within the terms of the day, of a markedly liberal or progressive type. In December 1899 he published an article entitled

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-09770-3 - Between Two Worlds: George Tyrrell's Relationship to the Thought of Matthew Arnold

Nicholas Sagovsky

Excerpt

[More information](#)*Between Two Worlds*

'A Perverted Devotion'¹³ in which he criticised the over-zealous and over-literal preaching of Hell by two Redemptorists and called for 'a certain temperate agnosticism, which is one of the essential prerequisites of intelligent faith'. The article was condemned in Rome and Tyrrell had to publish a retraction. From now on he was told he could write only for *The Month* and he found himself quietly dropped from giving retreats. He was clearly under suspicion, and it was convenient both for Tyrrell and his superiors when he opted for a life of retirement in Richmond, North Yorkshire.

Such retirement only gave Tyrrell the chance for more reading, writing and thinking. At the end of 1900, the English Catholic hierarchy published a Joint-Pastoral Letter on 'The Church and Liberal Catholicism', based upon a two-tier ecclesiology of the *ecclesia docens* and the *ecclesia discens*. Tyrrell called it 'reaction on the rampage' and set about a campaign of vigorous attack by anonymous and pseudonymous writing. He produced a virtually complete article against the Joint-Pastoral, which was published in *The Nineteenth Century* over the name of Lord Halifax. Utterly alienated from the ultramontane ecclesiology officially endorsed by the hierarchy, for six months he campaigned at white heat.

He was at the same time concerned to establish his own orthodoxy and sort out his relations with his superiors. In 1901 he produced *The Faith of the Millions*, two volumes of essays selected from those he had contributed to *The Month*. He told a correspondent:

Till about the date of my first essay I had, not a firm faith, but a firm hope in the sufficiency of the philosophy of St Thomas, studied in a critical and liberal spirit. The series represents roughly the crumbling away of that hope and the not very hopeful search for a substitute. (AL2 p. 164)

In the years from 1899 to 1902 Tyrrell's views underwent a rapid change. He passed from a moderate liberalism to a radical reappraisal of the whole of Catholic dogma. No longer did he believe in revelation as the communication of propositions; more and more he stressed 'revelation as experience'. From 1902, he clearly saw in the teaching of the Church the attempt of man to express the experience of God's immanent spirit in whatever language or imagery might be to hand. Later, he apparently moved in a more conservative direction as he began to lay more stress upon the normative importance of the apostolic 'form of sound words' in the New Testament, but the fundamental shift in his view of the nature of dogma was not reversed.

These were years in which Tyrrell produced a stream of important books: *The Civilizing of the Matafanus*, a Christological allegory in the style of Swift, published in 1902 under the name of A. R. Waller; *Religion as a Factor of Life*, a short essay in religious philosophy much indebted to Blondel and Bergson,

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-09770-3 - Between Two Worlds: George Tyrrell's Relationship to the Thought of Matthew Arnold

Nicholas Sagovsky

Excerpt

[More information](#)*Tyrrell and Arnold 'between two worlds'*

also published in 1902 under the name of a fictitious Dr Ernest Engels; *Oil and Wine*, Tyrrell's last full-length devotional book; *The Church and the Future*, attributed to a fictitious Hilaire Bourdon in 1903; *Lex Orandi*, a reworked version of *Religion as a Factor of Life*, published in the same year, and the slim *Letter to a University Professor*, later republished as *A Much-Abused Letter*. Tyrrell had learnt German and was working hard to absorb the material sent him by von Hügel: books by Eucken, Troeltsch, Sohm and Schweitzer. In these years he was increasingly influenced by Liberal Protestants like A. Sabatier, Harnack and Arnold. With dismay, he watched Loisy struggle against the condemnation of *L'Évangile et L'Église*. The doubts about his own vocation and faith increased continually. In 1902, he passed a terrible Christmas when, as he told Bremond, he 'could have damned all the critics into hell, if they had but left me such a receptacle'. As far as the Society of Jesus was concerned, he was almost finished.

By 1905 Tyrrell was seeking a way to leave the Jesuits. If he was to remain a priest, it was necessary to find a bishop to accept him, but he was rejected by Westminster and Dublin. Matters came to a head when the *Corriere della Sera* published some poorly translated extracts from Tyrrell's *Letter to a University Professor*. Tyrrell acknowledged authorship, refused to retract what had been published, and was dismissed from the Society. He left Richmond on 1 January 1906.

Tyrrell's position was now very difficult. As a priest, he was suspended, and he could not recover his right to celebrate mass without the help of a friendly bishop. Archbishop Mercier of Malines was ready to receive him, but Cardinal Ferrata, Prefect of the Sacred Congregation of Bishops and Regulars, laid down the condition that Tyrrell was to 'pledge himself formally neither to publish anything on religious questions nor to hold epistolary correspondence without the previous approbation of a competent person appointed by the Archbishop' (AL2 p. 300). Tyrrell chose to be infuriated by the thought that his private correspondence was to be censored, but he also shrank from the yoke of the censor on his published works. He repudiated the condition. *Lex Credendi*, a sequel to *Lex Orandi*, had now been published, and so, too, had the offending *Much-Abused Letter*.

1906 was a year of unsettlement and unhappiness, much of Tyrrell's time being spent in France with Bremond. In February, Tyrrell and Bremond went to Freiburg im Breisgau; later they were in Brittany and Provence. A month was spent in revising Baron von Hügel's massive study of *The Mystical Element of Religion*. When in England, Tyrrell stayed in Clapham to be near his friends, Norah Shelley and her mother. He wrote incessantly, many of the essays from this period being collected in *Through Scylla and Charybdis*, one of his most

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-09770-3 - Between Two Worlds: George Tyrrell's Relationship to the Thought of Matthew Arnold

Nicholas Sagovsky

Excerpt

[More information](#)*Between Two Worlds*

important volumes, mostly concerned with questions of revelation and the development of dogma. This was published in 1907, the very year in which Modernism was comprehensively condemned, first by the decree 'Lamentabili' in July and then by the Encyclical 'Pascendi' of 8 September. On 25 September, Tyrrell replied to 'Pascendi' in the *Giornale d'Italia*, on 30 September and 1 October in *The Times*. These acts of reckless self-destruction sealed his ecclesiastical fate. On 23 October he heard that he had been forbidden the sacraments.

Now began the last phase of Tyrrell's life: a year and three-quarters in which he moved between Storrington, where Maude Petre provided a home for him, and Clapham, where he stayed with the Shelleys, though he also revisited the Continent. Increasingly, he suffered from migraine and kidney disease, but he continued to work desperately. Much time in the first months of 1908 was spent in further revision of von Hügel's *Mystical Element*. In this year also *Medievalism* appeared as a riposte to Cardinal Mercier who had written against Tyrrell in his Lenten Pastoral. For his last months Tyrrell was working on *Christianity at the Crossroads*, a vigorous reassertion of the place of apocalyptic in Christianity, much influenced by Weiss and Schweitzer, and virtually ready for publication when Tyrrell died on 15 July 1909. He had been tempted to return to the 'church of his baptism', tempted to become an Old Catholic, but in the event he waited, unrepentant, on the doorstep of his own communion, where he felt he truly belonged. He received absolution but he retracted nothing. For this reason, when he was buried, prayers were led by his friend Bremond, but there was no funeral mass and his body was laid in the Anglican graveyard.

At the end of his life, Tyrrell wrote to Arthur Boutwood, 'My own work – which I regard as done – has been to raise a question which I have failed to answer' (SL p. 119). That question – in effect, the whole question of Christianity in the modern world – is with us no less today. We owe Tyrrell his due because he explored it with utter disregard for the cost to himself. He may well have been crude in many of his statements, and hasty in his conclusions, but his whole life was devoted to proclaiming that there *was* a question which had to be answered and to proclaiming his faith that an answer would be found.

Tyrrell's important work was done in the decade between 1899 and 1909. Matthew Arnold's most significant works on religion appeared between 1867 and 1877, when he was already known as one of the foremost poets of his age. From 1857 to 1867 he had been Professor of Poetry at Oxford, lecturing three times a year in the midst of a busy schedule as a school inspector. *Essays*