

Til belysning af Grundtvigs Englands-rejse 1843

Af *P. G. Lindhardt*

Grundtvigs tre Englands-rejser 1829–31 havde ikke kirkelige eller teologiske formål, men historisk-videnskabelige. At de alligevel fik stor teologisk og kirkelig, ialtfald kirkepolitisk, betydning er en anden sag. Men den fjerde rejse 1843[1] var helt bestemt af et kirkeligt sigte: Oxford Universitet – som politisk var højre-orienteret og kirkeligt domineret af Church of England (enhver

[1] Om Grundtvigs Englands-rejser i almindelighed: F. Rønning: N.F.S. Grundtvig 3, II, 1912, 1 ff. 4, I, 1913, 34 ff. J. P. Bang: Grundtvig og England, 1932 (jfr. N.F.S. Grundtvigs Breve til hans Hustru under Englandsrejserne, udgivne af deres Børnebørn, 1920). H. Toldberg: Grundtvig og de engelske antikvarer, *Orbis litterarum* V, 3–4, 1947, 258 ff. P. G. Lindhardt: Grundtvig. An Introduction, 1951, 49 ff.

Efter et længere ophold i Cambridge 1948 holdt jeg kirkehistoriske øvelser over Grundtvigs Englands-rejser; en frugt deraf var den sammen med daværende stud. theol. Kaj Båge udgivne afhandling: *Borgerlig indretning – himmelsk gæst* (Dansk Teol. Tidsskr. 1949, 129 ff.). En anden opgave – at arbejde med Nugent Wades breve til Grundtvig – tilfaldt stud. theol. Niels Flemming Lygaard Sørensen; han kom godt igang og tog en foreløbig afskrift af brevene; udfyldt og korrigeret er den her lagt til grund. Da han 1956 blev sognepræst i Jerslev var det hans hensigt at fortsætte studierne, men 1959 omkom han ved en trafikulykke, et stort tab for den kirkehistoriske forskning og for mig personlig. I mange år har andet arbejde hindret mig i beskæftigelse med Wade-brevene, og når de nu udgives sker det i taknemmelig erindring om en højtbegavet og meget beskeden medarbejder.

Publikationen indeholder 17 breve fra Wade og to fra William Palmer af Magdalen College, skrevet i forlængelse af en diskussion med Grundtvig under dennes andet besøg i Oxford i juli 1843. Alle breve findes i Grundtvig-arkivet (Det kongelige Bibliotek), fasc. 448. Wades ikke altid regelmæssige skrivemåde er så vidt muligt bevaret; dog er »&« overalt erstattet med »and« og en vis lempelse er – hvor hensynet til forståelighed gør det absolut påkrævet – sket m. h. t. tegnsætningen; han bruger kun i ringe grad, og uden konsekvens, skille tegn, men til gengæld en mængde ikke videre velanbragte tankestreger.

Der er anvendt følgende forkortelser: *US* = Nik. Fred. Sev. Grundtvigs Udvalgte Skrifter ved Holger Begtrup I–X, 1904 ff. *Bibliografi* = Bibliografi over N.F.S. Grundtvigs Skrifter af Steen Johansen I–IV, 1948 ff. – En oversigt over brevmaterialet i Grundtvig-arkivet findes i den utrykte Registrant over N.F.S. Grundtvigs Papirer XXIV, 1961.

immatrikuleret måtte underskrive de 39 anglikanske artikler) – havde siden 1833 oplevet en åndelig fornyelse, med baggrund i stedets højkirkelige tradition, i romantikken og vækkelsen; udgangspunktet var en skarpt formuleret protest mod al teologisk og politisk liberalisme og en stadig stærkere henvisning til kirken der som et universelt (»katolsk«!) samfund primært byggede på sakramenterne, regnede bibelen for sekundær i forhold til dem, men desuden lagde overordentlig vægt på traditionen og bispeembedets apostolske succession som garanti for lærens renhed og den aktuelle kirkes identitet med den oprindelige (»primitive«). Grundtvig vilde nu overbevise Oxford-bevægelsens ledere – her kaldet traktarianerne, efter de mange »tracts for the times« som kom 1833–41 – om, at det syn på sakramenterne og de til dem knyttede »livsord« han efter 1825 gennem sin »kirkelige anskuelse« havde fundet frem til var det eneste rette grundlag for mellemkirkelig forståelse, også og især i forholdet til anglikanismen. Hans følelse af stammebrødraskab mellem angelsaxer og nordboer – et stærkt motiv bag de første rejser – har vel også spillet ind; derimod synes han ikke at have haft sans for i hvilken grad traktarianismen var en konservativ og kirkelig reaktion på den politiske liberalismes forsøg på at reformere og modernisere den engelske statskirke. Han så udelukkende sagen an i teologisk perspektiv.

Fra 1834 var den britiske præst i Helsingør, *Nugent Wade* [2],

[2] *Nugent Wade* (1809–93) var irer, fik sin uddannelse i Dublin og virkede 1833–39 som britisk konsulatspræst i Helsingør; 1839 blev han præst ved St. Paul's (Finsbury) og 1846–90 var han sognepræst ved St. Ann's (Soho), begge sogne i London; fra 1872 var han tillige kannik i Bristol. 1836 blev han gift med Louisa Fenwick (f. 1817), datter af den britiske generalkonsul i Helsingør Charles Fenwick (1775–1832) og Susanna Johanne f. Berner (1788–1871), jfr. Lensbaron Hans Berner Schilden Holsteins Slægtetabog I, 1940, 261ff. Af papirer, især dagbøger, som H. Toldberg har bygget sin afhandling (*Nugent Wade i Helsingør, Grundtvig-Studier* 1948, 42 ff.) på fremgår, at Wade gennem den britiske chargé d'affaires Peter Browne og hans hustru kom i forbindelse med Grundtvig, havde mange samtaler med ham og beundrede ham grænseløst (»he is decidedly a man of genius & of a first rate order, I don't know that I ever met with so comprehensive a mind, he seems to sweep the whole world history at a glance & philosophise upon it & that soundly & with one scope God & his dealing with man for his Redemption«), og skønt han havde svært ved helt at fatte den »kirkelige anskuelse« forstod han at drage teologisk og homiletisk nytte af den og søgte i den engelske kirkestrid – dog uden større held – at placere den som rette via media mellem højkirkelig traktarianisme og evangelisk lavkirkelighed; især efter sin tilbagevenden til England følte han de to »partier« som Scylla og Charybdis hvorimellem der skulde

en af Grundtvigs vigtigste kilder til oplysning om hvad der skete i England; fra 1837 læste Grundtvig til stadighed traktarianismens hovedorgan, det ultrahøjkerkelige og såre aggressive *The British Critic*, og fulgte med i en del af den store litteratur der opstod omkring bevægelsen. 1835 var en af Grundtvigs yngre venner, Frederik Hammerich, i England. Han boede en tid i den højtansete professor E. B. Puseys hus, informerede ham om Grundtvigs synspunkter og Grundtvig om Puseys, fortalte om kampen i Danmark mellem rationalister og »gammeldags-troende« og bad (10/10-1838) Pusey »give me any notice of your contest for the holy Baptism and the state of the Church of England«. Pusey svarede venligt (7/11-1838), at han var meget interesseret i Grundtvigs anskuelser (»exactly the line which our great Divines have taken against the Ultra-Protestants or Puritans«) – så vidt de rakte, men han burde ikke blive stående ved det apostolske symbol (der kunde tolkes på så mange måder, også som »a dead letter«), derimod gå tilbage til hele den apostolske tradition, sammenfattet i Vincentius' regel (»quod semper, quod ubique, quod ab omnibus«), ifølge hvilken anglikanismen accepterede barnedåben som genfødselsens bad og realpræsensen i nadveren – hvad han nu forstod at også danskerne gjorde – men som denne traditions vogter byggede anglikanerne også på »the successiones certissimæ of Bishops«, og »this succession you unhappily abandoned at the reformation«, hvorfor han måtte anbefale »the Danish body to acknowledge that they had been wrong« og læge bruddet gennem ordination fra den engelske, skotske – d.v.s. The Episcopal Church of Scotland – eller svenske kirke; thi »Episcopacy is an ordinance of God« og har »always been in history the centre of union of different Churches«. Grundtvig skrev et par udkast til et brev til Pusey – det må være sket sidst på året 1838, eftersom han beder Pusey indhente nærmere oplysninger fra Wade der endnu er i Helsingør; han fortalte at engelsk

sejles varsomt; der er dog næppe tvivl om at hans sympati med årene gik mest i højkerkelig retning.

Wade havde venner blandt de danske præster som stod Grundtvig nær (Toldberg: a.s. 53 ff.); flere breve er bevaret, bl.a. fra J. F. Fenger og Th. W. Oldenburg; fra Grundtvig findes et enkelt (udateret, 1838), men ingen efter at Wade var vendt tilbage til England. Kort efter hans afrejse rettede Grundtvig (12/6-1839) sit Aabent Vennebrev til en engelsk Præst til ham; det indeholdt foruden en kort omtale af Wade og af engelske kirkeforhold en del selvbiografi, polemik og Grundtvigs prædiken ved indsættelsen i Vartov (9/6-1839).

kirkeliv havde skuffet ham dybt under de tre besøg, men *nu* havde han hørt at »you were awakened from a long and deep slumber«; utilfreds med Hammerichs gengivelse af sit syn skildrede han sin næsten 30 år lange strid med »the infidels« (rationalisterne) og sin udvikling fra bibelortodoxi indtil han for 12 år siden fandt sandheden (»I found it or rather stumbled upon it«). Fra det øjeblik stod alt klart: den hellige, almindelige kirke hvilede »unmoveable before me upon its rock: the word of His mouth, who is the Word himself«, mens alle ydre kirkeordninger fra Konstantin til nutiden blot var »human fabricks« og kun kristne for så vidt »they kept the essentials or fundamentals of the primitive, Apostolical, Catholic Church«. Grundtvig – der 1827 og 1830 offentligt gav udtryk for en særdeles høj vurdering af den anglikanske bispevielse og i det hele af bispedømmet [3] – erkendte at successionen i Danmark havde været mere forsømt end just foragtet; selv havde han altid beundret »your Establishment« – netop for dets bisper – men frygtede at anglikanerne gjorde så meget ud af successionen, at de vilde udelukke »all congregations without a genuine Bishop from the Catholic Church«, og var »from a long standing and strong experience« vis på at han fuldt ud kunde være tilfreds med sin egen dåb og præstevielser; thi »the fundamentals« er ikke »the Clergy«, men kun dåben og trosordet, omend »among the many things that pertain to »life and godliness« the Clergy especially and the Bishops certainly belong to the principal ones« [4].

Noget svar fra Pusey kendes ikke – det er overhovedet tvivlsomt om brevet blev afsendt – men Grundtvigs interesse for den anglikanske krise voxede, og da Wade 1839 blev præst i London fik han i ham en korrespondent der evnede at holde ilden vedlige. I de nærmest følgende år kom han da også tit ind på det anglikanske problem – koncentreret om Vincentius-regelen og bispevielsen; som

[3] Om Christendommens Sandhed, 1826–27, US. IV, 611: hvor den apostolske succession mangler er der »i kirkelig Forstand, ingen Bisper, men et stort Bispe-Savn, hvorpaa der kunde og burde raades Bod, da Gud har sørget for, at Bispe-Ordinationen er forplantet i den rettroende engelske Menighed«, jfr. Skal den Lutherske Reformation virkelig fortsættes, 1830 (sst. V, 353): skønt den engelske bispekirke ikke for tiden ærer sit eget navn, »saa er det dog en rettroende Kirke, med virkelige (ikke selvgjorte) Biskopper, og jeg veed nu af egen Erfaring, at det har anderledes Fynd, naar en Biskop, end en af os velsigner i Herrens Navn«.

[4] Hammerichs, Puseys og Grundtvigs breve er udgivet af H. Toldberg: Grundtvig og Puseys Oxfordbevægelse, Kirkehist. Saml. 6, VI, 272 ff.

en af de første informerede han jævnlig danske læsere om det kirkelige nybrud i England, men hans uro over udviklingen tog til, hans kritik voxede og des mere brændende blev da ønsket om at bringe traktarianernes førere, især Pusey og J.H.Newman, på ret køl. Chancen kom da dronning Caroline Amalie 1843 gjorde ham det økonomisk muligt at rejse[5] – ledsaget af sønnen, den 19-årige Svend Grundtvig der havde sine egne litterære interesser at dyrke – og Grundtvig var fuld af mod og tro på sin sag: »saa skal jeg da, rimeligviis, for Alvor støde sammen med de halve og hele Papister i Oxford, og det nytter ikke at dølge for sig selv, der vil findes haarde Halse og uomskaarne Hjerter, saa Møien er vis og Virkningen meget tvivlsom«, men han var ingenlunde pessimist, thi »naar jeg kun kan bevare den Sagtmodighed, der bør findes, hvor jeg ikke optræder som Missionær, men som Forsvarer af Mortens og vor Deel baade i den Catholske Kirke og Vorherre Jesus, da tør jeg nok haabe at meddele de Godtfolk i det mindste lidt bedre Forstand paa Kirkehistorien og deres eget Løsen »qvod ubique, semper et ab omnibus«, maaskee ogsaa at give den indbrydende Tydsckhed et Rap, og den folkelige Retning et Skub, thi hvor der ikke er noget i Veien, vil Puseyterne ganske anderledes forstaae mig end Folk heromkring«[6].

I London havde Grundtvig et par værelser tæt ved Wades bolig og spiste for det meste hos ham; de mange oplevelser under den tre-måneders rejse må her forbigås[7]. Til Oxford kom han sidst i juni – Wade havde gjort et stort forarbejde med at skaffe forbindelser og introduktioner – og overværede (28/6) den skandaløse universitetsfest som han dog næppe helt har fattet betydningen

[5] 5/5-1843 skrev dronningen (Grundtvig-Studier 1952, 39 f.) at Vorherre har taget sig af hendes ønske om at sende Grundtvig til England og »ved den kjærlige Konges Godhed« skaffet midlerne, jfr. Breve til og fra N.F.S.Grundtvig, udgivne af Georg Christensen og Stener Grundtvig, II, 1926, 377.

[6] Til Gunni Busck, 6/5-1843, H.Beck: Gunni Busck. Et Levnedsløb i en Præstegaard, 1878, 275 f., jfr. Grundtvig til B.S.Ingemann, 9/5-1843, Grundtvig og Ingemann. Brevveksling 1821-1859, udgivet af Svend Grundtvig, 1882, 259 f.

[7] Om Grundtvigs rejse 1843: N.F.S.Grundtvigs Breve fra England til Dronning Karoline Amalie, 1843, meddelt af F.L.Grundtvig, Danskeren V, 1891, 195 ff. Svend Grundtvig: Englandsbreve, udgivet af Ingeborg Simesen, Gads danske Magasin 1931, 312 ff. 403 ff. N.F.S.Grundtvigs breve til hans hustru under Englandsrejsen 1843, udgivet (med udførlig kommentar) af Jørgen Fabricius, Grundtvig-Studier 1952, 39 ff.

af[8]. Det første indtryk af bevægelsens ledere var positivt. 23/6 skrev han til sønnen (som endnu var i London): »jeg har seet baade Mr. Newman og Dr. Pusey og fundet i dem to overordentlige Mænd, som godt var værd at reise for, og overalt i Kollegierne finde vi yngre Mænd, som betragte Livet fra et ophøiet Stade og forstaae mig langt bedre end Folk almindelig i Hjemmet«. Grundtvig var i strålende humør: »Newman er et stort Geni, og Egnen heromkring deilig dansk«![9] Men allerede 25/6 fortalte han sin kone, at han 22/6 havde besøgt Newmans »Kloster« i Littlemore og »snakkede vel med ham en af de følgende Dage i Oriels-Collegiet. . . men Samtalen var meget fattig, skøndt det af hans Bøger er klart, at han ogsaa indvendig er hvad man kalder en rig Mand«[10]. Samme dag havde han yderligere, og med nogen betagelse, hørt Newman prædike[11] og kunde vel »langtfra. . . underskrive Alt hvad han sagde, men dog var der et Alvor og en Dybde i det Hele, som lod mig be-

[8] Under det første ophold i Oxford færdedes Grundtvig mest i Queens College hvortil en af Wades forbindelser, bibliotekaren J. Barrow, havde skaffet adgang. Universitetsfesten blev en skandale, fordi studenterne råbte sådan op at det var umuligt at høre hvad der blev sagt; heller ikke J. Garbetts (»the poetry professor«) latinske oration kunde man – til Grundtvigs umådelige fornøjelse – fatte ét ord af, og ved en følgende frokost fulminerede han selv lystigt mod universiteternes snobberi for latinen (til Lise Grundtvig, 30/6–1843, Grundtvig-Studier 1952, 47 f., og til dronningen 2/7–1843, Danskeren V, 200 ff.). Han synes at have opfattet det sådan at studenterne ved denne lejlighed nød et særligt »Frisprog«, men i virkeligheden var der tale om en veltilrettelagt demonstration mod at det anglikanske universitet (noget irregulært iøvrigt) havde tildelt den amerikanske gesandt – en unitar! – den juridiske doktorgrad; »studenteroprøret« druknede derfor promotionen i larm, jfr. Svend Grundtvigs brev til broderen Johan Grundtvig, 3/7–1843, Gads danske Magasin 1931, 315, og Owen Chadwick: *The Victorian Church I*, 1970, 205 f.

[9] Gads danske Magasin 1931, 410.

[10] Grundtvig-Studier 1952, 45 f. Formentlig var besøget i Littlemore allerede 21/6. Newmans dagbøger for 1843 er endnu ikke offentliggjort, men ifølge Toldberg (*Kirkehist. Saml. a.s.* 282) har Newman noteret at Grundtvig 22/6 var til breakfast sammen med ham og adskillige af traktarianerne i Oriel College; Grundtvig var 17/6 blevet introduceret til Newman. I brev af 10/8–1871 har C.S. Dessain, *The Oratory, Birmingham*, velvilligt meddelt at der intet er indført i Newmans dagbog for 26/6 og ikke er andre oplysninger om mødet med Grundtvig end den ovennævnte.

Efter tilbagekomsten til London var Grundtvig (9/7) til breakfast hos Newmans fordums ven, ærkebiskop R. Whately af Dublin; indbydelsen (6/7) findes i fasc. 448, jfr. Grundtvig-Studier 1952, 50. Sammenkomsten var højst kedsommelig.

[11] Prædikenen, en af Newmans sidste, er ikke optaget blandt hans trykte prædikener.

klage, at han slet ingen Lyst synes at have til at høre Andre end sig selv«. Det samme var tilfældet med Grundtvig, og kontakt blev der ikke skabt, heller ikke da Newman (26/6) aflagde ham en gen-visit, for »midt under en meget varm Samtale« blev de afbrudt af en pastor Waldegrave (slægtning til den i brev nr. 12, note 13 nævnte admiral) som hørte »til det modsatte Parti«; Newman forlod strax lokalet, og Grundtvig blev så vred at han helt glemte sin »Sagtmodighed« og satte Wade i største undren »over min mage-løse Grovhed«. Newman har i disse uger, hvor han tumlede med tanken om at nedlægge sit præstekald, næppe været meget indladende, og med Pusey gik det ikke bedre: Grundtvig var hos ham to gange, men han var syg og deprimeret, på grund af huslige sorger og fordi han (jfr. brev nr. 10, note 12) netop, på en krænkende måde, havde fået prædikeforbud af universitetsstyret. Det må Grundtvig have vidst, men ikke taget hensyn til[12], og skønt Pusey bad ham komme »saa tit jeg vil« var han bortrejst da Grundtvig kom næste gang; heller ikke Newman så han oftere, »saa de har kun været lidt fornøiede med mig«[13].

Det første ophold i Oxford varede kun fra 19/6 til 29/6; allerede 30/6 skrev Grundtvig fra London til sin kone og 2/7 til dronningen og redegjorde for traktarianismens historie og ideer; han værgede Newman og Pusey mod anklagen for at være »rene Papister«, men var »efter flere samtaler« ikke i tvivl om at »de jo er paa farlige Veje tilbage, om ikke til Paven i Rom, saa dog til det Hierarchi, der, uden Pave, er et Rige uden Konge«, og er »nu Hovedmændene i Grunden Papister, da staar vist nok hele Partiet Fare for enten at blive det Samme eller blive til Intet«. Dog håbede han at netop hovedmændene – der virkelig syntes at være alvorlige og ærværdige, ja retsindige og oprigtige – måske kunde komme på ret vej, ved at acceptere Grundtvigs syn og erkende at det ikke fører til papisme (»netop udelukker det«). – I begge stridende lejre havde han fundet så dygtige folk, at »jeg tør haabe, at mine Bestræbelser for at klare den sælsomt indviklede Kirke-Sag vil, med Guds Hjælp, ikke blive frugtesløse« – thi i England påkalder ingen cancelliet under kirke-

[12] Kirkehist. Saml. a.s. 282, jfr. Newman til W. Dodsworth, 28/6–1843, Correspondence of John Henry Newman with John Keble and others, edited at The Birmingham Oratory, 1917, 237 f.

[13] Til Lise Grundtvig 25/6, 30/6–1843, Grundtvig-Studier 1952, 45 f.

lige kampe! Man havde da også bedt ham komme igen – og Oxford er og bliver »den store Brændpunkt«[14].

Sidst i juli var Grundtvig atter en uges tid i Oxford og holdt nu mest til i Magdalen College[15], hvor han bl.a. tørnede sammen med den rabiate antiprotestant William Palmer (jfr. brev nr. 10, note 14 og p. 153 ff.). Newman og Pusey var ikke at træffe, men han mødte en ny skare af »unge Magistre, som er næsten rene Papister«, og det var »stor Skade, at saamange dygtige og dristige unge Mænd skal være hildede i den gamle papistiske eller hierarchiske Snare«, men godt var det dog at »Kirke-Sagen« nu også i England var taget op, og i det mindste de unge – »Hovedmændene« var øjensynlig opgivet! – håbede han at kunne lære, at »man kan troe paa en hellig, almindelig Kirke uden at have det mindste med Paven eller alle hans Helgene, hans Skiærsild og Rosenkrandse at gjøre«[16]. De 28 boggaver han modtog antyder rækkevidden af hans forbindelser[17], men der kan ikke være tvivl om at det andet besøg var endnu mere »frugtesløst« end det første.

I selskab med sin søn og Wade foretog Grundtvig derefter en lang rejse til Cumberland og Skotland[18]; teologisk og kirkeligt bragte den intet nyt, og under det sidste ophold i London (slutningen af august) følte han sig yderligere frastødt af den anglikanske kirkes kolde stivhed: i dens liturgi »hverken hørde jeg det mindste Suk eller mærkede det mindste til nogen Følelse af, hvor højt vi trænge til Vorherre og hvor god han er«, men hos metodisterne (jfr. brev nr. 2, note 5 og 8) hørte han »en overordentlig god Prædiken« – som kun manglede hans egen mageløse opdagelse for at være perfekt; så måske var der håb om at wesleyanerne – der engang flygtede for bispekirkens dødvande – vilde »endnu avle en Levning af levende Christendom«[19].

Da Grundtvig dagen før sin 60-årsdag atter var i København –

[14] Grundtvig-Studier 1952, 52, Danskeren V, 203 f.

[15] Grundtvig var (Kirkehist. Saml. a.s. 283) introduceret af den siden som konvertit så bekendte Fr. Faber til Magdalen College's master, dr. Routh, den eneste af universitetets spidser som stod anerkendende overfor traktarianerne.

[16] Til Lise Grundtvig, 30/7–1843, Grundtvig-Studier 1952, 54.

[17] Fortegnelse over den af N.F.S. Grundtvig efterladte Bogsamling, 1873. især 56, 82, 85, jfr. Grundtvig-Studier 1952, 63.

[18] Til Lise Grundtvig, 9/8–1843, Grundtvig-Studier 1952, 55 ff. og til dronningen 6/8, 16/8–1843, Danskeren V, 208 ff.

[19] Til dronningen, 28/8–1843, Danskeren V, 217.

og kunde fejre et forsinket sølvbryllup på Eremitagen – var hans interesse for »den sælsomt indviklede Kirke-Sag« kendelig svækket. Rejsen havde været interessant og på mange måder givende, men m.h.t. hovedformålet en total fiasko. Til Peter Rørdam skrev han 15/9–1843: »Om Oxford og Engeland kan De nok vide, jeg har en Slump at fortælle, da jeg talte baade med Pusey, Newman og hartad alle dem, der paa den Side har Noget at sige; men... jeg vil kun sige, at jeg fandt Oxfordernes Principper endnu mere papistiske, end jeg havde ventet, og i Mellempartiet, der altid danner sig, ingen Character, som jeg turde haabe kunde tage Luven fra den, som det synes, iiskolde, men stærke og snilde og utrættelige Newman, som er Sjælen i det Hele, og styrer Bevægelsen fra sit Kloster i Landsbyen Littlemoor«. Alligevel: var end »de fleste ny Anglicaner haarde Halse«, så var det hos de »evangeliske« og i dissenterkredse – om sammenstød med disse folk er kilderne næsten tavse – at ørerne var mest stoppet til; adskillige af traktarianerne »studsede dog ved at see, hvor urokkelig en Klippe Daabspagten er, og selv cursing-Palmer ømmede sig ved de Stød, han fik af den«[20] (jfr. p. 153).

Ikke længe efter sin hjemkomst blev Grundtvig alvorligt syg, og siden fik han meget andet at tænke på, så den engelske fiasko gled hurtigt i baggrunden – men den blev ved at nage. Endnu 1845 rettede han (jfr. brev nr. 12, note 6) et skarpt angreb på traktarianismens romersk-katolske tendens, og ved Newmans – omtrent samtidige – konversion gik hans værste anelser i opfyldelse. Heller ikke den anglikanske kirke viste han siden nogen sympati for – mindst af alt for dens bispevielse. Der ligger skuffet kærlighed bag når det, med grov overdrivelse, i Den christelige Børne-Lærdom hedder, at »vi« roligt kan smile ad pavens band og ad »hvad der langt mere latterlig løber ud paa det samme: den saakaldte bispe-lige Højkirkes medlidende Skuldertræk over os lutherske Stakler, som, fordi vi ingen uafbrudt apostolisk Bispe-Vielse har, naturligvis ogsaa skal fattes Præste-Vielse og Konfirmation, og ikke engang hjemle os mindste Ret til Herrens egne Indstiftelser: Daaben og Nadveren, men maa, uden for begge Pagterne, baade den gamle og den nye, overlades til Guds almindelige Barmhjertighed over

[20] Peter Rørdam. Blade af hans Levnedsbog og Brevvexling fra 1806 til 1844, udgivne af H. F. Rørdam, 1891, 298, jfr. brev til Ingemann, 30/9–1843, Grundtvig og Ingemann, 262 f. og til P. A. Fenger, 7/10–1843, Breve til og fra N. F. S. Grundtvig II, 382.

alle Hedninger.« Uden iøvrigt at »læse den storagtige Bispe-Kirke med sin sorte aandelige Armod« texten vilde Grundtvig dog oplyse at han ganske havde skiftet mening og »til min egen store Forbavselse har opdaget: at den saakaldte apostoliske Bispe-Vielse i uafbrudt Følge, som Højkirken bryster sig med og udleder hele sin mageløse Herlighed af, det er den tommeste af alle Indbildninger, da der i den kristelige Oldtid aldrig har været nogen Bispe-Vielse, følgelig endnu mindre en uafbrudt apostolisk Bispe-Vielse til«[21]. – En ny, mageløs og – som altid – for ham selv overraskende opdagelse gjorde definitivt ende på Grundtvigs forestillinger om at der uden den apostolske succession består et stort »Bispe-Savn«.

1.

June 22. Friday – [1838]

My dear Pastor Grundtvig.

I have had a letter from Fenger[1] asking me to fix next week for my flying trip to Sorøe (I call it *flying* as I can only manage to be absent from Monday to Saturday) they are to have their Summer missionary meeting on Tuesday at Slagelse[2] and he wishes me to join them, this I can do by taking the Diligence from Copenhagen that leaves on Monday night at 9 o'clock and will I suppose arrive early on Tuesday morning or else I may travel by private conveyance from here by way of Fredericksborg and have the day for it – it has just struck me that perhaps you might take the happy thought into your head of accompanying me, and this would make [no one?] more happy than me, I am sure the trip would do you good and the *suddenness* of it would I think be no objection in *your eyes* – if you don't think me too like an *Irish* adventurer in proposing wild schemes pray let me have a line from you by post. I should get it on Sunday morning and will keep my plans in obey-

[21] Den christelige Børne-Lærdom, Kirkelig Samler II, 1856, 303 f. US. IX, 402 f.

[1] Rimeligvis: *J.F. Fenger* (1805–61), sognepræst i Lynge-Bråby 1833–54, i Høje Tåstrup 1854–61, formand for Det danske Missionsselskab 1836–55. Muligvis: *P.A. Fenger* (1799–1878), sognepræst i Slotsbjergby-Sludstrup 1827–55, ved Vor Frelses kirke på Christianshavn 1855–78.

[2] 26/6–1838 holdt Det danske Missionsselskab sommermøde i Slotsbjergby ved Slagelse, jfr. Dansk Missionsblad, juli 1838.

ance on the chance of the possibility of your joining me tho I fear it is a very poor chance – meanwhile Believe me yours very affectionately

Nugent Wade

2.

Kidsgrove – Lanton Cheshire.

May 14. 1839.

My very dear Friend.

Long have I desired to get a quiet moment to sit down to write to you, and gladly avail myself of one of the first opportunities that hurry or sickness have allowed me. I have at length quitted London and am on my way to Dublin to join my wife and children who proceeded thither 3 weeks since before me, and there rest a little, before I begin upon my new and somewhat arduous sphere. Mr. Browne[1] has of course told you of all the changes in my plans, and my being appointed by the Bishop of London[2] to the incumbency of one of the New Churches[3], and I have no doubt you are well pleased with the way in which all matters have turned out and can with me trace the Lords hand in the whole.

It is indeed most remarkable how *He* has brought about all things, and again and again with deep pleasure and I hope gratitude I ponder over the striking manner in which *He* has led me by the hand while I seemed to be wandering in the dark at least only enabled to proceed step by step, always doubtful what was to be the issue, and I enjoy with much comfort the realization of the truths we have so often talked over together that however perplexed we might be, and though mistaken in any present step, if only our hearts sought *his will*, He would be sure to make all right at the last – and so He has done now; when I arrived in London,

[1] *P. Browne* (1794–1872) var med afbrydelser britisk chargé d'affaires i Danmark 1824–57, gift med Catherine f. Puget; der findes (fasc. 465) mange breve fra dem begge til Grundtvig, jfr. N.F.S. Grundtvig: *Poetiske Skrifter* VI, 1885, 260. Ifølge H. Beck: *Gunni Busck*, 168, støttede P. Browne Grundtvigs Sang-Værk økonomisk.

[2] *C.J. Blomfield* (1786–1857), biskop af Chester 1824–28, af London 1828–56.

[3] Om det storslåede kirkebyggeri som The Ecclesiastical Commission af 1836, med biskop Blomfield som ledende kraft, gennemførte, se: S.C. Carpenter: *Church and People* 1789–1889, 1937, 98 ff. jfr. Chadwick: *The Victorian Church* I, 131 ff. 331 ff.

I felt somewhat confounded though not very *uneasy* at suddenly finding that it was now taken for granted at home I was not going to N.S. Wales [4], though rejoiced to hear that my Father had been a new man ever since he received my letter proposing to remain. I was now however altogether at sea, and the position was a little *critical*, you may imagine then that I felt it as a special instance of the Lords goodness and intimation that I had been led to the right course when within a *weeks* time the Bishop, overcoming his fears of my low *churchmanship* and his accorded prejudice against preferring Irishmen in his diocese, gave me this benefice which though not a *fat living* considering the expensiveness of London will be a competency something about £ 300 a year and a good house, the post is however an arduous one, my district will contain about 4,000 as my own express parishioners, but you may fancy there is scope enough for far more than I can possibly reach when I tell you that with mine there are but three churches and I believe but about 3 more clergymen to 50,000 souls, moreover in other respects it will be an arduous post; I am situated in the very hotbed of dissent close to the celebrated *Tabernacle* [5] of Wesley [6] and Whitefield [7], on one side and on the other the Roman Catholic chapel [8], the principal one I believe or amongst the principle in London – here are indeed the two extremes, the opposite forces ought to keep me steady you will say – but I have added to all this to take a stand in reference to the Oxford Tract Controversy, which is going forward with intense heat on all sides, it seems to be the all absorbing topic in all quarters, especially of course among the clergy. I have been *hammering away* at it in various directions in the west of England near Bath, in the South in *Kent* where I attended a clerical meeting, in London, and to day in this region, Staffordshire, and *I* am almost always I find standing alone, none almost going with me, for I will neither stand by the Oxford men, nor absolutely against them and similarly with the opposite party; the

[4] I Aabent Vennebrev til en engelsk Præst (US. VIII, 192) ytrer Grundtvig glæde over at Wade har opgivet Australien for London; vennebrevet er til dels svar på Wades brev af 14/5-1839.

[5] Jfr. A. New History of Methodism, by W.J. Townsend m.fl. I, 1909, 269.

[6] J. Wesley (1703-91), metodismens grundlægger.

[7] G. Whitefield (1714-70), metodismens store prædikant.

[8] Om Grundtvigs besøg (23/7-1843) i det romersk-katolske kapel og i metodist-tabernaklet, se: Grundtvig-Studier 1952, 69.

Evangelicals suspect me of Puseyism, and shake their head in fear that I should be entrapped and be turning my head towards Rome, while the Oxford men think me far too low and perhaps a *hopeful* pupil of their school – you would be amazed had you been with me to day when I had the good fortune to meet indeed for the first time I believe with a *thorough-going* Oxfordman that seemed not only to go the whole lengths of *every* thing in the »Tracts« and other writings such as »Froudes Remains«[9] – but even to think Pusey[10] and Newman[11] rather too moderate, he considered schism such as that of the Dissenters and Presbyterians more *damnable* than a man living in adultery all his life and would not express a *hope* that it could be possible they should be saved, – he would *barely* abstain from declaring the certainty of their damnation, – the question was put to him about the burning of heretics – such he calls dissenters – and he declined answering it, he said he had not *made up his mind* on that point! but would by no means say it was wrong! he quoted one of our Bishops or Archbishops, who had in a sermon at Pauls cross approved of the burning of a heretic, as a proof of the probability of its being right! and in this case at least he must say it was right as our Archbishop had said it!! I thought it might *amuse* you to give you a specimen of a thoroughgoing Oxford man – and this one that seemed to be deeply read, a very clever fellow, and very amiable man in *other* respects. The nucleus of their system, and grand point on which most of their views or errors turn, seems to be with reference to what *essentially* constitutes *the Church*, making the idea of the *clergy absolutely* essential to the *idea* of Church whereby they make the Sacraments *absolutely* dependent on the Priest, on which grounds they deny that dissenters can be members of *the Church*

[9] *R.H.Froude* (1803–36), J.H.Newmans nære ven og en af de mest energiske og antiprotestantiske traktarianere; vennerne udgav 1838 f. *Remains of the late Reverend Richard Hurrell Froude I–II*, der ved sine katolske sympatier og skarpe kritik af reformationen vakte umådelig opsigt, bidrog til at vende stemningen mod traktarianerne og hidføre en spaltning indenfor bevægelsen.

[10] *E.B.Pusey* (1800–82), fellow of Oriel College i Oxford 1823, professor i hebraisk og canon of Christ Church sst. 1828–82; Pusey repræsenterede traktarianismens moderate fløj og blev efter Newmans konversion anglikatolicismens leder.

[11] *J.H.Newman* (1801–90), fellow of Oriel College 1822–45, vicar of St. Mary the Virgin (universitetskirken) 1828–43; efter sin konversion 1845 blev han 1847 romersk-katolsk præst og fra 1848 leder af St. Philip Neri Oratory i Birmingham; kardinal 1879.

not being baptized by *the Priest*, yet they seemed to be puzzled when pressed with the fact of lay Baptism having been admitted in the popish Church which Church they acknowledge – what is *the fact* on this point, is it an *ascertained fact* that from the *earliest* times lay Baptism was admitted?

When I press them, upon the *supposition* of the dissenters being properly baptized, and therefore pronounced *Christians* – they say, that their repulsing to take the Lords supper from the ordained Priest, but administering it themselves, and renouncing the Episcopacy is *deadly sin* after Baptism which *annuls its benefits*.

I should like to know what is to be said upon this point about their not receiving the sacrament of the Lords supper, from the properly ordained minister – and if they are thus utterly without it – and what the consequences of this –? They will also say that those hold not their Baptismal covenant who admit not the proper officers (the Bishops etc) of the Church nor obey them, for that this is included in the article of *believing in »the Holy Catholic Church«*.

But enough of all this for the present, I will only add I wish very much you would *finish* and *publish* your little book[12] on all these points that I might have it to translate – by the way as to translation, the prospects of my being able to execute my cherished project of translating your history are now more hopeful from my remaining in London, both as regards the facility of publishing and also of having correction and hints from you. I have spoken amongst others on the subject to the Archbishop of Canterbury[13] Chaplain[14] and his Librarian *Maitland*[15], a great book worm and *much interested about* the middle ages – he said he thought my translating such a work would be a *very great benefit*, that all was darkness on the subject in England and he had no doubt it would succeed and work its way tho *slowly* – Sir F. Mad-

[12] Se brev nr. 4, note 1.

[13] *W. Howley* (1766–1848), biskop af London 1813–28, ærkebiskop af Canterbury 1828–48.

[14] *W. H. Mill* (1792–1853), leder af Bishop's College, Calcutta, 1820–38, kapellan for ærkebiskoppen af Canterbury 1839–48, professor i hebraisk i Cambridge og kannik i Ely 1848–53.

[15] *S. R. Maitland* (1792–1866), historiker, bibliotekar ved Lambeth Palace 1838–48, udgav *The British Magazine* 1839–49; han stod traktarianerne nær i bevægelsens første stadier.

den[16] I have only seen for a moment but he has promised to speak with me over it, was engaged when I called, and business and ill health prevented me from seeing him again as yet – I lost much time by being laid up with a bad leg as well as troubled with headache, – by the way Pusey has published a volume[17] which he styles a letter to the Bishop of Oxford[18] in which he gives a statement of all their views – it is very interesting and if you do not see it before I shall send it to you on my return to London. – I must not make my letter illegible by writing across and must therefore hasten to conclude with very kind remembrances to your wife[19] and family, Rørdam[20], Kierkegaard[21] and all other our Christian friends.

Believe Me My very dear Friend Yours ever affectionately attached

Nugent Wade

Remember me also very kindly to the Brownes – *remember* that now there will *be house and home* for you in London, I hope you will think sincerely of paying us a visit – direct (– if you write to me before the end of June) to care of A. Wade Esq. Bank of Ireland Dublin.

[16] *Fr. Madden* (1801–73), leder af håndskriftssamlingen i British Museum jfr. Toldberg: *Orbis Litterarum*, a.s. 280 ff.

[17] E.B.Pusey: *A Letter to the Right Reverend Father in God Richard, Lord Bishop of Oxford, on the Tendency to Romanism imputed to Doctrines held of old, as now, in the English Church*, 1839. Skriftet der indenfor et år kom i fire udgaver var – fremkaldt af striden om traktarianernes afvisende holdning til et monument for reformationstidens evangeliske martyrer (en aktion der igen var et svar på udgivelsen af Froude's *Remains*) – et forsvar for traktarianernes anglikanske renlivethed og en stærk understregning af den apostolske succession, H.P.Liddon: *Life of Edward Bouverie Pusey II*, 1893, 52 ff. 76 ff., jfr. Aabent Vennebrev, US, VIII, 193.

[18] *R. Bagot* (1782–1854), biskop af Oxford 1829–45, af Bath and Wells 1845–54.

[19] *Elisabeth Christina Margaretha Grundtvig*, f. Blicher (1787–1851).

[20] *P. Rørdam* (1806–83), lærer i København, sognepræst i Mern 1841–56, i Lyngby 1856–83.

[21] *P.C. Kierkegaard* (1805–88), sognepræst i Pedersborg-Kindertofte 1842–56, biskop over Ålborg stift 1856–75.

3.

22. Bunhill Row London –

August 9. 1839

My dear Friend

A few lines I must write though only as a first instalment of a long threatened epistle, Mrs. Browne is to sail to-night and I am about to hasten to see her off, and be assured when my thoughts turn towards Denmark my *heart* must fix on you, so a few lines must take the same direction, though I cannot now write as fully as I would, it was not until the week before last I received your welcome »*Aabent Vennebrev*«[1] and you may be sure I was most agreeably surprised to find that the *book* which I had heard Mrs. Browne had for me from you was addressed to myself – many thanks for the affectionate way in which you have addressed me in it, and be assured I feel not only gratified but highly honored in Denmark by my name being thus associated with yours in those reminiscences that must so *deeply* interest all your many attached friends – and the friends of *truth* in your beloved country – you rightly judged that such an account of yourself would have interested me deeply and would I could prevail upon you to fill up the sketch on another occasion – it is strange that after all our many and long conversations together about your plans and movements and my own we should both have entered at the same time upon *new* and sometime ago unexpected fields of labor. I trust I may have grace to improve the opportunity the Lord afforded me in Christian intercourse with you, towards clearing off of many of those crude notions and prejudices prevailing here, and attaining clearer views on many important points; I find more and more from day to day the value of many of those views regarding the *Church* in its true sense – the Word and Sacraments – had it not been for the clue thus afforded me I feel that I should have found myself in a continued puzzle in the midst of all the conflicting opinions hotly maintained by the different parties in this country – it is all confusion, all parties seem in the wrong; I should rather say both parties, for after all amidst many minor diversities they may be ranged in two grand parties, the very High Church or *Oxford school* – and the very low or those hitherto styled *Evangelical* – I feel I cannot thoroughly go with either and yet that I have points in common with both. I have therefore hitherto avoided any express identification of myself with either, and anticipate

[1] Jfr. p. 99 og brev nr. 2, note 4.

being set down at one time as an Oxford tract man – when ever namely I speak strongly of the Church and Sacraments – and again as an Evangelical when (as I hope always to do Gods grace enabling me) I preach the simple Gospel, – indeed it is *a pity* that the name Evangelical which should be ever the glory and boast of a minister of Christ, should have become a party name, and stand characteristic of the confused and erroneous views held by those in other respects well deserving of all praise.

I have already broken the ice with regard to those much discussed and now distinctive subjects – the first few Sundays I preached on general subjects – but last sunday gave me a most suitable opportunity for speaking out on the subject of Baptism – we had then our first Baptism – and under most appropriate circumstances – I baptized *two Jewesses a mother and daughter*, before a large congregation – it was an interesting case and I had reason to be satisfied of its genuineness – an adult Baptism of two children of Israel afforded me an easy introduction to the subject and suggested as my text the passage in Act 2 (which happened also to be the 2d lesson for the day) »Repent and be baptised every one of you etc – next Sunday we are to have the Lords Supper and I preach on the subject, so I shall feel the ice broken and dare say the cry of High Churchman may probably be raised – but I must really be off – I send you by Mrs. Browne Puseys celebrated letter[2], it is however a *fair* specimen of the best class of Oxford men and their views – *an apology*, as it were – and *far short* of the extreme views I have heard expressed by some – it gives one a very favorable impression of the authors spirit. – I send also No. 1 of a series of essays on the other side of the question by an author of considerable celebrity (Isaac Taylor)[3] – you may keep them as long as you like – but remember I expect a *book* from *you* on the subject, which you have partly led me and *Denmark* to expect in your Vennebrev – I know indeed you have enough to do with subjects more nearly concerning *home* but hope you

[2] Jfr. brev nr. 2, note 17.

[3] I. Taylor (1787–1865), opfinder, kunstner og forfatter, udgav 1839 ff. i otte hæfter *Ancient Christianity and the Doctrine of the Oxford Tracts for the Times* – med hvas kritik af teorien om anglikanismen som via media mellem Rom og protestantismen og den legitime efterfølger af den »udelte« oldkirke; bogen fandtes i Grundtvigs bibliotek. Jfr. iøvrigt: Günter Biemer: *Newman on Tradition* (engelsk oversættelse 1964).

will have time at least to write some notes upon it – now then I must say Farewell the Lord bless you and your labors remember me affectionately to Mrs. Grundtvig and your children – to the Fengers[4] and Mr. Rørdam and all other Christian friends in Denmark and Believe me my *Dear Friend*

Yours affectionately

N. Wade

I expect to hear from you *very soon*

N. W.

remember I consider you *have half promised to pay me a visit* –

4. Parsonage House St. Pauls Bunhill Row London

Feb. 5. 1840

My dear Pastor

I have long been wishing for a quiet hour to sit down and have a *talk* with you (if we may dare apply the word to the emanations of the pen) but I fear if I am to wait for leisure I may wait long enough so I shall just begin and »dimidium facti qui coepit habet« – I received your little tract on the Church[1] as a *most welcome* boon and read it *with avidity* and am now reading it again thinking much over it. I am more and more convinced every day of the value of your views with regard to the Church, since [no?] one here has a correct notion about it, the Evangelicals are all astray on the point and the Puseymen confound the whole subject with their extreme views about the Clergy that grand error you speak of, of confounding Church and Clergy makes much havoc on all sides –.

The refusal to admit the validity of lay Baptism, coupled with the denial of all priestly powers where the Episcopal succession is lost, is the great stumbling block on the way of the Oxford men, who would otherwise come very near the truth – I was much struck

[4] Jfr. brev nr. 1, note 1.

[1] Kirkelige Oplysninger især for Lutherske Christne I. Den hellige, almindelige Kirke, Nordisk Tidsskrift for christelig Theologi, udgivet af P.C. Kierkegaard og Th.W. Oldenburg 1840, genudgivet sammen med den i brev nr. 8, note 3 nævnte og endnu en afhandling 1870 og påny i US. VIII, 370 ff.

with your happy settling the question of the respective merits of the two parties[2] – the Oxfordmen being sharpsighted enough to trace the *channels*, but [more?] blinded than the others as to the truth itself –.

Would that we could get clearer views here as to the broad basis of the Church as laid down by you (or pointed out by you) in the Baptismal Covenant – it will be a work of time, the way has to be fought inch by inch – I am about translating parts at least of your Tract, and some few questions I shall have to ask you, alas.

I have little time for anything amidst so many calls, with a District of 8.000, and all the concerns of the Church on my own shoulders. My health has thank God stood finely, I have been much better than when in Denmark but I begin to break a little now – however I hope to have help soon, as I have been voted a salary for a Curate, but I had rather have none than one with whom I could not cooperate, and it is hard to get men whose views are not stereotyped; we are now comfortably settled in our Parsonage which is a very commodious house, when do you mean to pay us a visit, that would be a happy day to me; I hope you have some thoughts of it – my castle would be (I hope *not* a castle in the air) that now in the new order of things they would make you a Bishop, and that you would then come over here to receive consecration and reconnect the links – how goes on the matter of the Bishops Prayerbook[3] – I hope you will succeed in fighting him out of it, have you written anything since, has Kierkegaard (to whom give my Christian love and very kind regards) yet brought out his periodical[4], I have written to Mrs. Browne to beg her to order Ditlevsen[5] to send it and any other of yours to me as they come out, perhaps you would tell her when anything interesting comes out that I might get it or write me *a line* yourself.

You may keep Puseys letter as long as you like, and I shall send you the rest of this odd book called »Antient Christianity« there are 3 more numbers already[6].

[2] Jfr. sst. 372.

[3] *J.P. Mynster* (1775–1854), Sjællands biskop 1834–54, udgav 1839 Udkast til en Alterbog og et Kirke-Ritual for Danmark.

[4] Jfr. note 1.

[5] *N.C. Ditlevsen* (1802–53), boghandler og forlægger i København, svoger til A.G. Rudelbach.

[6] Jfr. brev nr. 3, note 3.

I hope I shall soon have a line from you, I value it highly, so I hope you will give me the treat, your English *answers admirably*, but write which ever you feel least troublesome – I wish I might now and then get a copy in *English character* Danish of the Notes of your Sermons – all that comes from you is of value to me, for you have helped me to see my way in the midst of confusion – I hope your »better half« is very well and your children, remember me kindly to them and to Mr. Rørdam, Fengers – and Believe me my dear Pastor

Your ever attached

Nugent Wade

5. Parsonage House St. Pauls (Finsbury) Bunhill Row London

April 2. 1841

My very dear Friend

I feel myself obliged to begin my letter in almost the very same words as your last to me, writing as I am on exactly a similar occasion, namely on Mr. Brownes departure from hence to Denmark as yours was vice versa, and I also have to say that *long* have I been thinking of writing to you and thought so long that now I am run to the last moment, one only counterbalancing advantage is there of such procrastination that the constant recurrence of the *intention* brings ones friend as constantly before ones mind though I do not need this or any such help my very Dear and valued Friend to bring you before my mind, for that you are most constantly, brought up as you are with so many of my thoughts and views on subjects so dear to us both, bright spots indeed in my past life will ever be the remembrance of those happy hours I spent in your society – and great the benefit I still dayly feel from the light in which you were the means of leading my mind to view many of those subjects now so extensively discussed in our inwardly distracted church, your views on these points often serve me as a clue through the perplexities and guard me against the extremes on either side; here I find on all sides the very evils against which both in speaking and in your writings you so often guard by the view you take – would that I were able more clearly or more extensively to bring the correcting light to bear on the confused mass – and often would I gladly oh how gladly take my

quondam monthly flight to Kiöbenhavn and *Christianshavn* that I might enjoy again some of those long *cabinet-councils* we used to have together if council that can be called when the counsel is all on one side – my only substitute now is along with the pleasing remembrance to visit you in your books, which you would call your *sepulchre*, however even thence (*helped with the remembrance*) I get more light and comfort than from most of what is apparently living here, – your sermons are still my frequent study and comfort – by the way I translated one the other day with a view to publication, and lent it to, I may say the *leading* Puseyite of London Dodsworth[1] – though he *by no means* goes *all* the length of these wrong headed men, it was on the much mooted points »*Daaben og Nadveren*«, he was much pleased with it and thought the publication *highly* desirable! I hope soon to be able to prepare a few more and let them see the light in some way or other – but alas! both in this respect and in that of the history how sadly have I hitherto been held back by the innumerable engagements and labor of such a sphere as this is, still I do not give up, »*nil desperandum*« – and I think I have not at all gone back in my Danish practice in reading and the deep interest I take in the matter will I trust prevent this.

While talking of the sermons I am almost emboldened to repeat my old request that you would now and then let me have a copy of your sketch of some of your sermons, if only I could have them in the english *characters*. Mr. Browne would transmit any such to me – I have to thank you for your welcome present of your »Kjærminder[2] etc – the good old king has indeed had his memory embalmed in a way that is not very usual *after Kings have gone* – but this leads me to speak of another matter no less deeply interesting to you, with much interest and indignation did I read your little book, the strictures on Mynsters proposed new alterbook[3], »*o tempora, o mores*« that such *monstrous* attempts should be made at such an age, and by such a man as he once seemed to be – do tell me what is the issue of all this, if as yet any issue – your last

[1] *W. Dodsworth* (1798–1861), præst ved Christ Church i London 1837–51, konverterede 1851.

[2] Grundtvigs hyldestdigt ved Frederik VI.s død (3/12–1839) blev med andre digte i samme anledning 1840 udgivet i Kjærminder til Kong Frederik den Sjettes Krands, optrykt i US. VIII, 318 ff. jfr. Poetiske Skrifter VI, 267 ff.

[3] N.F.S. Grundtvig: Frisprog mod H.H. Hr. Biskop Mynsters Forslag til en ny forordnet Alterbog, udkom 18/12–1839, optrykt i US. VIII, 209 ff.

letter spoke somewhat gloomily as to appearances with regard to your church matters – tho full of cheering Faith in Him who *rules* – how go matters now?

Have you written anything in continuation of »den Hellige Almindelige Kirke« [4], which I read with great interest – is Brage og Idun still continued, I have not seen any since the 2d vol. the close of 1839 [5] – how goes on the Nordisk Tidsskrift [6], I only saw the two first parts, have you written any in it since? the last of your writings I have seen is the »Kiærminder« –. But indeed while I am putting all these questions I feel ashamed of myself and conscious I do not deserve a ready answer having so long neglected writing, I hope you will forgive me, and make me still more ashamed by letting me hear from you very soon, I wish to know how you have been able to bear the change from your happy literary »otium« (if sure that could be called which consisted in such constant labors) to the more stirring scenes of your new post, and how the Lords work is prospering in your hands, in short all you can tell me of yourself and the cause will be a most welcome treat. I go on pretty much in the same way, with more to do than I can do satisfactorily, my health, though thank God not worse but rather better yet still continually obstructing my designs and efforts, would that this were the only obstruction, more Faith more Love, more of the Spirits constraining influence would I know make amends for all else – I hope now that I have again taken up my pen I shall write frequently, particularly as the communication thro Mr. Browne is now opened afresh, but I fear my writing must be too-much one-sided as I feel always when I think of writing so many questions arising to my mind on which I wish to have your opinion that I fear lest they should be only as we say in Ireland a »bother« to you. –

The Pusey movement has been going on with much excitement, at last however the *Tracts for the Times* are *defunct*. This morning a letter from Newman to the Bishop of Oxford announces that they will write no more, his Lordship having intimated his »advice« to that effect – shortly before *the University* had condemned, or ex-

[4] Se brev nr. 4, note 1.

[5] Brage og Ydun, udgivet af Fr. Barfod med Grundtvig som hyppig medarbejder; andet bind første hefte udkom ca. 1/12-1839; tidsskriftet ophørte med bind IV, 1841.

[6] Se brev nr. 4, note 1.

pressed their disapprobation of Tract 90 the last[7], as this has made so great a stir; I send both the No 90, and Newmans letter – tell me what you think of the matter.

»Peter«[8] is waiting, it is near eleven o'clock at night, he is on his way, so my very dear Friend I must say for the present Farewell, pray give my wives and my own united kind regards to Mrs. Grundtvig, remember me very kindly to your sons and daughter[9] – I hope they are all well. Remember me also very affectionately to Fengers, Rørdam, Oldenburg[10] and Kierkegaard. The Lord bless and prosper you always in all your labors and Believe me Yours ever most affectionately

Nugent Wade

PS. May I trouble you with a little commission, if you think the continuation of Brage og Idun and the Nordisk Tidsskrift from the dates mentioned above, would interest me and if you have written anything lately *yourself*, to give the list to Mrs. Browne who has promised to get them for me and send them by Sir Henry Wynn[11], also the Kirke Tidende[12] I have not seen since No 23 1840, if this contains matter to interest me, *specially* if any of your writing. do forgive me and write if only a few lines –

[7] Tracts for the Times nr. 90 (Remarks on certain Passages in the Thirty-nine Articles) blev udgivet af Newman 27/2–1841 for at bevare den romaniserende fløj af traktarianerne indenfor Church of England ved at vise, at reformationens anglikanske bekendelsesskrift ikke skulde forstås ud fra det 16. århundrede, men i overensstemmelse med den udelte, »katolske« oldkirke og uden at være i strid med tridentinum. Ledelsen af Oxford Universitet underkastede traktaten en skarp censur og biskoppen af Oxford bad ham standse serien; det gjorde han og offentliggjorde samtidig sine motiver i A Letter to the Right Reverend Father in God Richard, Lord Bishop of Oxford, on Occasion of Nr. 90 in the Series called The Tracts for the Times, 1841, jfr. J.H.Newman: Apologia pro vita sua, by M.J. Svaglic, 1967, 78 ff. R.W.Church: The Oxford Movement, 1892, 266 ff. Chadwick: The Victorian Church I, 181 ff. og Eugene R. Fairweather: The Oxford Movement, 1964, 144 ff. I Grundtvigs bibliotek fandtes følgende af traktaterne: 74, 75, 83, 85 (Newman), 86, 87 (Isaac Williams) 88 (Newman), 89 (J. Keble), 90 (Newman).

[8] Peter Browne.

[9] Johan Grundtvig (1822–1907), arkivar, historiker. Svend Grundtvig (1824–83), litteraturhistoriker, docent i nordisk filologi 1863, tit. professor 1869. Meta Cathrine Marie Bang Grundtvig (1827–87).

[10] Th. W. Oldenburg (1805–42), sognepræst i Sorterup-Ottestrup 1830–42.

[11] H. W. W. Wynn (1783–1856), britisk gesandt i Danmark 1824–53.

[12] Den af J. C. Lindberg siden 1833 udgivne Nordisk Kirke-Tidende standsede i februar 1841, men fik endnu et år en fortsættelse i Dannebrog.

6. Parsonage House St. Pauls Finsbury London
Feb. 8. 1842 --

My very dear Friend,

You are often present to my thoughts and often do I long for communication with you, I was much grieved to find by Mrs. Brownes letter that it appears you had written to me last and not having received any answer, you must indeed have thought my request sent through her that you should write to me again most strange and unreasonable, but alas! your letter, which would have been most precious to me never reached me, I have not heard from you since I wrote by Mr. Browne when he was leaving this [country?] and sent tract No 90 – I consider the loss of your letter a great one, and may I hope my very dear Friend that if you can snatch a moment from your many important avocations that you will kindly repair the loss by writing to me again, all that concerns you *personally* and in regard of the great cause you are engaged in promoting is *deeply interesting* to me – and I am very anxious to have the large gap in the history of yourself and your proceedings and writings – which the loss of your letter has left – filled up, and indeed I am sure that the same loving friendliness which made you ever so very liberal of your precious time in communicating with me »face to face« will urge you to the same now albeit it be *only* with the *pen*.

How – after your three years experience of it – do you like your altered position? does it afford you as desirable and effectual a field of increased usefulness as you anticipated? are you able to carry on your literary labors without serious interruption? is the cause »*Gammeltdags Sandhed*« and »*Christelig Frihed*« gaining ground? any more of the »*Sang-Værk*« – I have only seen one Number since I left Denmark[1]. I am engaged in translating some of them as specimens for which I have been asked with a view to a similar collection now being made here[2] – by the way what is the *title*

[1] Sang-Værk til den danske Kirke I, 1837. Andet binds første hefte udkom 1839, andet hefte 1841.

[2] Der er muligvis tale om et af de mange forarbejder til Hymns Ancient and Modern, 1861; jfr. Chadwick: The Victorian Church I, 518. Salmer havde hidtil været næsten ukendt og ilde set ved den anglikanske gudstjeneste, men kom efter 1830 i stigende grad i brug.

of the *Greek Liturgy*[3] from which you got those beautiful Hymns – I have also translated some of your sermons on points here so hotly controverted, and read some to a few friends who have been greatly pleased with them; Dodsworth – a leading man of the High Church party in London – said (as perhaps I told you in my last) that he thought the Publication would be highly desirable – but alas! such is the continued occupation and frittering away of time connected with my charge here that I can do but very little in this way tho I keep the project continually before me – as well as that of the History.

Any hopes of the History of Modern Times[4] being continued? but I must not pester you with further questions, *all* you can have time to tell me will be a welcome treat. I suppose you are pretty well acquainted with the state of things here from the Newspapers – for now our Theological affairs are become subjects of Newspaper discussion, you have no doubt viewed with sorrow tho scarcely with wonder the rankness of Puseyism exhibited at its full growth in the Perversion to Popery of *Sibthorp*[5] and *Wackerbarth*[6] – the *Popish* tendency is spreading fearfully – numbers of the young men at Oxford are known to be in the habits of attending the Popish Chapel – several pamphlets have appeared addressed to *Sibthorp* some asking why have you become a Catholic – he has answered in another »My reasons for *becoming* a Catholic[7] – the best part of which of course consists in showing the vital importance of *Catholicity* – but *Dodsworth* has in a new pamphlet put the

[3] Formentlig Liturgicon Gracee, jfr. J. Elbek: Grundtvig og de græske salmer, 1960, 19 ff.

[4] Tredie del af Grundtvigs verdenshistorie (Haandbog i Nytaars-tidens Historie) udkom 1843, jfr. subscriptionsindbydelserne af 1838 og 1841 (Bibliografi nr. 595 og 710).

[5] *R. W. Sibthorp* (1792–1879), fellow of Magdalen College i Oxford 1818–41, konverterede 1841, vendte tilbage til Church of England 1843, men konverterede påny 1865.

[6] *F. D. Wackerbarth* (1813–84), uddannet i Cambridge, konverterede 1841 og blev professor i angelsaxisk ved det katolske St. Mary's College i Oscott, emigrerede 1852, blev svensk statsborger og knyttet til det astronomiske observatorium i Uppsala.

[7] *R. W. Sibthorp*: Some Answer to the Enquiry: Why are you become a Catholic, 1842; A Further Answer to the Enquiry: Why have you become a Catholic, 1842.

proper question – »why have you become a *Romanist*? [8] – this is well done – after all though such are the result and poisonous growth of what is called Puseyism – the movement is doing much good among a better class in awakening our attention to sounder Church Principles, and leading to higher views of the Sacraments – this effect is very general. I am happy to be able from time to time to set some people right with regard to the Lutheran Church – in this country they take their views of it exclusively from Germany – I can tell them a different tale from *the North*, – by the way would you enable me to answer more accurately the question as to the sense in which the »gammeldags« Lutherans in general hold the doctrine of Consubstantiation – I know your views – does the view generally held correspond exactly to that of Luther himself – is there any strong feeling of inclination to restore the lost link of Episcopal *succession* – is it feasible, would the »powers that be« be disposed to acquiesce – I know there would be a strong feeling amongst some here to have it brought about – and as yours is the purest branch of the continental Church, happy would I be to see the bond of *union* with us closer drawn – there is an opinion here that the Swedish Church retained the succession by some means or other, is it so?

My paper forces me to close, and I am half ashamed to send you so stupid a letter full of *questions* – as to myself I have not much to say, my health thank God better, and the work before me in the immense population such as I can never adequately fulfil – family cares increase, I have now *four*, two sons and two daughters – you see the quiver is filling fast. How is Mrs. Grundtvig and how are your children, remember me to them affectionately. I suppose the boys are now entering life, what course have they chosen. Remember me affectionately to the Fengers, Dr. Kierkegaard and Rørdam and Believe me my Very Dear Friend – ever affectionately yours

Nugent Wade

[8] W. Dodsworth: Why have you become a Romanist? A Letter to the Rev. R. W. Sibthorp, 1842; jfr.: Correspondence of John Henry Newman with John Keble and others, 149, 181, 186, 269.

7.

St. Pauls Finsbury. London

Sep. 22. 1842

My very Dear Friend –

Heartily rejoiced was I at once more receiving a letter, and so full and interesting a letter from you, at the same time its opening sentence grieved me to find how great a loss I had experienced from the miscarriage of your former together with the Numbers of Dr. Kierkegaards Review[1] – I was additionally disappointed at this from observing that you had therein sent me an Article of yours on *Baptism* as well as the Church[2], I had already on a former occasion received the latter from you in a separate form, and understanding it to be the commencement of a series was longing for the continuation – my longing you may well conceive is now increased from finding that in so far a continuation exists, and that it had *seemed* to have nearly reached me yet verified the old adage »many a fall between the cup and the lip« – add to all this that I have of late been particularly anxious just on this very subject to have as clear and full a development of your views as possible, and had been just thinking of writing to you on the subject – so close to the root does it lie of *all* the great questions now agitated among us, so I am sure you will allow me to ask you to send me a copy the first opportunity that arises and perhaps you will forgive and indulge me on the score of »*Irish audacity*« when I also ask another letter after having kept you so long waiting – to my surprise I find such an opportunity is at hand for Mrs. Browne writes that they expect to be in England in November – it will be a double joy if she be also the bearer of Despatches from you, perhaps among the rest my eyes may be greeted by so much of »*Nytaarstidens Historie*«[3] as has as yet seen the light, albeit considered by its Parent as »too young as yet to cross the seas alone« – surely you will commit it to such safe conduct as Mrs. B.

If you can find time to touch on Baptism in your letter – I wish you would say whether in your view of it we are authorised to say that in all cases where Baptism is duly administered whether to Infants or Adults, *grace is actually conveyed* – regenerate grace

[1] Se brev nr. 4, note 1.

[2] Se brev nr. 8, note 3.

[3] Se brev nr. 6, note 4.

– what we are to say with reference to those who grow up and live in utter ungodliness and unbelief, that that grace died away (like a once living seed in an unwatered soil) they not having fulfilled the conditions? or that there was only the covenant Promise waiting for its realisation on their fulfilling the conditions on the supposition of which – *professed* in the »*Daabs Pagt*« – they were baptised? the former solution plainly involves the Defectibility of Grace – the falling away even from the grace of Regeneration – and that in such a multitude of Instances. I have however been greatly struck by the fact into which I have lately examined somewhat closely that *all* the Fathers of the first 3 or 400 years *uniformly* call Baptism *Regeneration*, and that in no *loose* way, as some moderns, as if it meant only a change of *state* – but in its one sense of *new life* with the washing away of original sin – and that as taking place in every instance – is it not so that they do thus speak – I see if I thus run on with questions, I will be asking you to write me a book.

I suppose you are not unacquainted with the still sustained vigor with which the movement is going on here – High Church Views continue to spread – and I think too in a happier channel, without running to the Popish heights of the *Critic*[4], taking a lower but more pervading course – I believe the restless troubled spirits whom the Critic represents are comparatively few – they however audaciously would fain speak of themselves as the only enlightened – »and despise others«, they seem to be daily throwing off the mask and speaking *out* – they now sneer at the *Anglicans!* – there are however many choice spirits who are not to be confounded with them, and who must be looked on as representing to a certain extent a large mass of less prominent pious evangelical Highchurchmen. I am sure it would be with pleasure you would

[4] The British Critic var traktarianismens førende organ; Grundtvig læste det til stadighed efter 1837 (Nordisk Tidsskrift IV, 120). 1838–41 var Newman redaktør, derefter hans svoger, T. Mozley, men tidsskriftet blev nu især præget af radikale ånder som W. G. Ward og Fr. Oakeley der med stigende voldsomhed angreb reformationen og protestantismen og på alle måder fremhævede romerkirken som idealet; derved fremkaldtes en dyb splittelse indenfor traktarianismen (jfr. brev nr. 11, note 1–2). Newman trak sig efter kritikken af Tract nr. 90 mere og mere tilbage og Pusey blev den moderate fløjs leder, jfr. Chadwick: The Victorian Church I, 199 ff.

find your review of 90[5] applied rather to the former class whom the choicest spirits of our Church repudiate – you have doubtless seen the late number of the *Quarterley* in which even *Sewell* in an able Article on our Church stands off from them.[6]

The Bishop of London also in 3 Sermons lately published has taken occasion in the strongest manner to denounce their treatment of the Lutheran Church and to speak in *very different* language[7]. I wish I had an opportunity of sending them to you – indeed I anxiously wish we could make arrangements with some Copenhagen Bookseller who does business with London (I suppose there is some such) thro whom and his London Correspondent we could interchange such works of immediate interest as appear, it is quite impossible for you in Denmark to get a fair idea of what is going on here from such works only as make the loudest noise, these *Criticisers* are wise in their generation and take good care to keep themselves above the surface – but the ugly ever bounding Porpus is not to be looked on as representing all the fishes of the sea that swim below it – perhaps Dr. Kierkegaard, and his Co-editors would also like some such arrangement. I have filled my paper, and have no room for much more I should wish to have said,

[5] I artiklen De Nye Anglicaner (Nordisk Tidsskrift IV, 1842, 117 ff.) tog Grundtvig udførligt afstand fra Tract nr. 90 og Newmans brev til biskoppen af Oxford (brev nr. 5, note 7).

[6] *W. Sewell* (1804–74), fellow og sub-warden of Exeter College i Oxford, professor i moralfilosofi sst. 1836–41, teologisk og skønlitterær forfatter, grundede siden to store anglikanske kostskoler, men pådrog dem ved manglende økonomisk sans umådelig gæld. Sewell der synes at have været en af Wades teologiske autoriteter skrev (The *Quarterly Review* LXIII, marts 1839, 525 ff.) en anmeldelse af »the tracts« og anden traktariansk litteratur siden 1833, som han trods nogen kritik fandt overensstemmende med anglikanismens ældre autoriteter og i det hele »a very seasonable and valuable contribution to the cause both of the Church and the State«, men da Tract nr. 90 udkom tog han (A Letter to the Rev. E.B. Pusey on the Publication of No. 90 of the Tracts for the Times, dateret 17/3–1841) afstand og foreslog serien standset. Samme synspunkt udfoldede han samtidig i The *Quarterly Review* (LXIX, marts 1842, 471 ff.), hvor han nu anførte de ældre anglikanske autoriteter mod traktarianerne. De to tidsskriftsartikler var anonyme, men i The *Church of England Quarterly Review* (XII, 1842, 224 ff.) nævntes Sewell som forfatteren og kritiseredes for sit omsving, jfr. Mary C. Church: *Life and Letters of Dean Church*, 1894, 33, og H.P. Liddon, II, 287. Om Sewells ejendommelige personlighed, se: T. Mozley: *Reminiscences chiefly of Oriel College and the Oxford Movement* II, 1882, 23 ff.

[7] C.J. Blomfield: Three Sermons of the Church, preached in the Parish Church of St. James, Westminster, during Lent, 1842.

I can only hasten to thank you for the welcome little parcel of Pamphlets that accompanied your letter – which by the way I did not receive for a long time – Mr. Chapman did not bring it – are we ever to see you in England – how happy I should be to have you as a guest – do try and come – affectionate regards to your wife and children – to the Fengers also, and Rørdam and Dr. Kierkegaard – and Believe me my Very Dear Friend yours ever affectionate

N. Wade

You may always write in Danish – it will perhaps be less trouble to you – and I am still *hiemme* in your style –

8.

St. Pauls Finsbury. London.

Nov. 30. 1842.

My very dear Friend –

At length I have had the good fortune to recover the long lost but most precious packet you sent me a year and a half ago, and which it appears has been lying all that time at Lord Sligo's[1] house in London; how it got stranded there without my having heard any thing about it I scarcely can say, but you may be sure on »Peters« announcing to me the fact, I was rejoiced to find it was in existence, and felt as I carried it off I had possessed myself of a treasure, your letter tho covered with dust I read with avidity and great pleasure, coupled with regret at not having received it before – many thanks for the books and pamphlets, you may be sure, as written by *you* they must have interest for *me* – The *Tidsskrift*[2], I should in any case have been glad to see, but doubly so for the sake of your contributions to it – as yet I have had them only a couple of days and the little available time that I have had has been – as you might well fancy – *absorbed* with your *intensely interesting* essay on Baptism[3], my last letter which I hope you have ere this received, will have shown you how anxiously I was

[1] *Peter Howe*, 2nd Marquess of Sligo (1788–1845).

[2] Se brev nr. 4, note 1.

[3] Kirkelige Oplysninger især for Lutherske Christne II. Daaben efter Christi Indstiftelse, Nordisk Tidsskrift II, 171 ff. US. VIII, 407 ff.

looking out for this, and how much I must prize it – but I must say no more of it till I have touched on some points in your letter; I quite feel with you, with reference to the Oxford Divines – and in discussing with their followers and reading their books I have always felt the absurdity and inconsistency of their system, while professing to maintain, and in many respects very well maintaining Primitive and Catholic Truth in opposition to the *Ultra-Protestant* Theories of Private Judgment[4] – yet continually with extraordinary blindness making *then* Primitive age to begin some hundreds of years after the Apostles, from the time of *Cyprian* onwards, I have often thought of what your History pointed out[5] – that just then began the development of the seeds of Popery – and I doubt not this their blindness is to be attributed to their lurking affection for Popery – often have I striven to point out the grand and vital distinction you allude to between the Baptismal Creed and all others – and all else – but most deep rooted and wide-spreading is this confusion in their minds, and except with a few I have seldom been able to gain a hearing for this wide distinction (*as vital*), they will always fall back upon the idea of a »written« creed, and then go on to talk of early acknowledged variations and additions to the Apostles Creed!! as the times required – as for instance the article of the descent into Hell. I always refuse to be dragged into the discussion of it as a *written* document but endeavour to take up the position you have so powerfully held in your essay not fearing the »mad-dog« cry against »*Tradition*«!![6] however that the thick cloud is not wholly impenetrable there seem to be some indications. I send you a little Tract on the Unity of the Church written by one of the *Wilberforces*[7] who bears the character of a strong Puseyite, with which I was much struck, as he there seems to dwell on the fact that the Church of England requires no more from her Laity as essential to their Churchmanship than the Apostles creed – in a way that indicates a sense of this vital

[4] Jfr. brev nr. 12, note 5.

[5] Haandbog i Verdens-Historien I, US. VI, 571, jfr. VIII, 383.

[6] Jfr. US. VIII, 428 ff.

[7] Af den berømte W. Wilberforces sønner blev Samuel Wilberforce (1805–73) biskop i Oxford og Winchester, mens tre andre konverterede, bl.a. de to teologer R.I. Wilberforce (1802–57), archdeacon of East Riding (York), og præsten H.W. Wilberforce (1807–73); han stod Newman meget nær, konverterede 1850 og udgav 1842: *The Tractarian Doctrine on Christian Unity*.

distinction – if I can lay hands on it I will also send you a copy of a late number of the British Magazine partly as a specimen of another more modified organ of the party – and partly to let you see an article, on the *Apotheosis of the Church* [8], in which – (if you can tolerate the somewhat pedantic *hard* words new-coined from your »beloved« (! Latin) there seems to be something of that »følelse af Christi virkelige Liv i Hans Menighed« [9] which you feared was scarcely at all to be met with. I am for every reason delighted to get this essay of yours on Baptism, I have long as I have said been anxious to make some of your writings and proceedings known here, I have striven to do so by *word of mouth*, which you will of course say is not a bad way as far as it can go, but tho I have found myself tolerably well able to do so *thus* I have not felt myself as yet »voxen nok« to take the *pen* in hand and attempt in that far more arduous way to make known the *Catholic* views held in the Danish Lutheran Church – then as to Translation I have as I mentioned translated some sermons but they still lie in MS. – something constituting a *whole* in itself or specific subject was most desirable and this Essay on Baptism seems just the thing – I purpose setting to work to translate it immediately and perhaps also that on the Church – I think it might do well to publish it as a *Voice from the North* or Lutheran Testimony to or Vindication of Catholic Truth – I have a mind at all events to send the MS. to Dr. Pusey himself – and let him see what Lutherans – at least in Denmark think of »Gammeldags Christendom« – but I am puzzled with one part – from page 192 – as to what you there speak of as ogsaa hørende til Daabens *Væsen* [10] – 1. What is the »ord af Herren som helliger Vandet og optager det i sig – do you mean anything distinct from what went before or from the words »in the name of the Father etc – 2. I am at a loss as to the »Erklæring der lød over vor Daab og har giennemlydt Kirken fra Arildstid« »Den almægtige Gud etc – we have a passage similar – but not in

[8] The British Magazine var grundlagt 1832 af den højirkelige Cambridge-teolog H.J. Rose der fik så afgørende betydning for traktarianismens tilblivelse. Bind XXII, 1843, 513 ff. bragte et indlæg (underskrevet »H«) – On the Apotheosis of the Church – der i højest spekulativ form og med udnyttelse af paulinsk og især johanneisk »mystik« skildrede kirken som corpus mysticum Christi.

[9] Rimeligvis citat af et brev fra Grundtvig til Wade, jfr. Nordisk Kirke-Tidende 20/10–1839, især 746.

[10] Nordisk Tidsskrift II, 192 ff. US. VIII, 423 ff.

the same terms, but you speak of it as *Catholic*, »til Daabens Væsen – do you mean *essential* to its *validity* – 3. the »*Fred med dig*« – we have not this – *more's the pity* – but do you then consider we want what »hører til dets *Væsen* – or *validity* – and how are we to know that these hold so essential a place – where do we find, or how do we judge that they were from the beginning. I always thought – the *Renunciation* of the Devil – The Creed – and the *words* »in the name of the Father etc – over the water that these constituted the Essentials however other things *ought* to be – how would you translate and explain respectively »*Pagtens* og *Optagelses* ord«? as to our words on signing with the cross, why seem to forget women – cannot women fight »manfully«? why these words only suitable to Adults[11]. –

I hope you will excuse these questions, but I do think this Essay affords a fine opportunity for introducing your writings and I want to be clear about it, your remarks about Infant Baptism are very valuable, as the whole indeed is – in page 205, when you speak of Infants as *uskyldige*[12] – I suppose you mean as to actual sin – do you not consider that *original* sin is then first washed away; –but I must have done – if I were to attempt to give vent to all I wish to say and ask, I should only send you a *volume* and tire your patience. Remember me affectionately to Mrs. Grundtvig and your children – also to Pastors Fenger and Rørdam and Oldenburg – I should like to see his review of the Oxfords[13] – also to Dr. Kierkegaard. I send you also the Bishop of Londons charge[14]

[11] Hentyder til Grundtvigs bemærkning (US. VIII, 425): »I den Engelske Kirke siger man: »til et Tegn, at han ei skal skamme sig ved Bekiendelsen af den Korsfæstede Christus, men mandelig kæmpe under hans Banner mod Synden, Verden og Djævelen, og forblive Christi tro Tjener og Stridsmand til hans Livs Ende«, men deels synes man her at have glemt, at »Kvinden« er ogsaa »Medarving til Livet«, og deels vilde den Anmærkning kun passe ved Voxnes Daab og Confirmationen«.

[12] US. VIII, 434.

[13] Th.W.Oldenburg døde 26/5-1842; en afhandling om traktarianismen kendes ikke fra ham, men Wade kan i deres private brevvæxling have hørt om planer desangående.

[14] A Charge delivered to the Clergy of the Diocese of London at the Visitation in October, 1842. Denne skrivelse – som fandtes i Grundtvigs bibliotek – offentliggjordes 10/10 1842, opnåede syv udgaver samme år og vakte umådelig opsigt; den fremkaldte den første af århundredets mange ritualstridigheder, fordi den befalede præsterne nøje at følge Common Prayer Books »rubrikker« og derved – mod biskop Blomfields hensigt – syntes at støtte den højkirkelige linie, jfr. Chadwick: The Victorian Church I, 214. ff.

about which there has been so much noise – I fear you will scarcely be able to read this – I have written in a hurry – I am overdone with work – and rather poorly – oh would you could realise your wish and pay us a visit – The Lord bless you and your work

Yours ever affectionately

N. Wade

If you can write to me, Peter Browne says any letter sent to Sir H. Wynn directed under cover to him (Peter Browne) will be forwarded – but perhaps the safest way during Peters absence would be to send by direct Post directed to me – St. Pauls – Finsbury Bunhill Row London –

9.

St. Paul's Finsbury

May 19. 1843.

My very dear Friend,

With the greatest delight have I received by your letter this day the news that you are »virkelig« coming to pay us a visit[1], and I hasten to send you off a line at once to say you must remember *my house is your home* as long as you are in London, and all I can possibly do in facilitating the *very important* object you have in view, you may surely reckon upon, I think I must accompany you myself to Oxford, in which I should have a double inducement first to be of any use I may in acting the »Jackall«[2] and secondly enjoy as much of your company as possible and have the gratification of being present perhaps at some of your interviews with the »great abused« of the movement party, to one a leader in London Dodsworth I am myself [to?] introduce you, and I shall now make it my business to reconnoitre the ground and find out all I can as to the others and procure the necessary introductions – I consider the step you are taking as one of the *greatest importance to the cause at large* and most well-timed, there is indeed great need for some decisive measures to set them right as to »gammeldags Lutheraner« – they have very vague ideas about the Lutheran Church, I must

[1] Grundtvig rejste fra København 8/6 og var tilbage 7/9–1843.

[2] Sjakalen antoges at jage byttet op for løven!

do them the justice however to say that those of the party to whom I have spoken with reference to the state of things in Denmark and the views and proceedings of yourself and friends have received the intelligence with very great interest and pleasure, and manifested then anything but »Luther-had«. I believe the fact is their books are worse than themselves and *ignorance* of anything more than what swims on the surface and makes a noise and so passes for genuine Lutheranism albeit little else than *Prussian* medley and German neology will account for much of their notions and feelings on the subject; certainly there is a most extraordinary coincidence in their church views in the main with your own, a work that has lately appeared is a remarkable illustration of this, »Sewells Evidences«[3] in some very important parts particularly on the Creed and generally in speaking of Historic Christianity – I could almost fancy I was listening to yourself, – but I must now say no more, – and as I hope so soon to have the great pleasure of seeing you – what is the pen to the tongue – just write me a line to say how far your movements are fixed and when I may be on the look out for you, should I not meet you at the steamer, just put your things in a Cab, and tell the fellow to drive you to Bunhill Row near Finsbury Square, my house is beside the Church, – and *dont be afraid to bring your pipe* [4], my study shall be your sanctum, and if the odour remains behind all the better, it will serve to keep up the recollection by association of the happy hours which (as I fondly hope) I shall have enjoyed with you and remind me too, all the more strongly, of the *many many happy* hours I have passed in your little *sanctum* in »Christianshavn«, give my very kind remembrances to Mrs. Grundtvig and your children, Dennis[5] is quite rejoiced at the thought of your coming, He joins in line with your ever affectionate

Nugent Wade.

[3] W.Sewell: Popular Evidences of Christianity, 1843.

[4] Grundtvig nænnede dog ikke at fylde Mrs. Wades pæne stuer med røg! jfr. Grundtvig-Studier 1952, 42 f.

[5] *Peter Dennis Browne*, søn af P.Browne og ven med Grundtvigs sønner, jfr. Poetiske Skrifter VI, 260.

10.

St. Pauls Finsbury

Sep. 30th. 1843

My dear Pastor,

A few days since as I was sitting in my now lonely study in came a great big parcel with your name upon it and on opening 16! what a treasure the famous Richardsons Dictionary[1] a prize indeed it is to me, but tenfold shall I prize it for your sake, and all I can say is »mangfoldige tak«, I hope I may make a good use of it, and by becoming thereby better master of my own language (which I deeply need) be better enabled to make some of the treasures in yours known to my countrymen; I congratulate you in having once more »Foden under deres eget Bord«. I know what a delightful feeling this is after a long ramble, you must indeed find the quiet refreshing after such a tossing about – I have scarcely been able to settle down yet, to anything like study and now have all the duties to myself, as my brother has left me for a months holidays. This evening I am engaged in cooperating in another Danish migration the 5th this year for (which I dare say will surprise you) two more of the Miss Fenwicks, Eliga and Octavia[2], are on the point of starting, as the others already there liked their quarters so well that they had no mind to return this winter and these determined to follow them, Octavia will now have an opportunity of strengthening her already pretty warm Danish predilections – I have been afraid lest as Mrs. Fenwick is not returning I should lose my expected store of Danish books which Svenn was so kind as to undertake to procure for me, I write however to Dennis to ask him to take them, but I must not be too sanguine as to his execution of commissions. I happened to look into a tolerably lengthy History of the Middle ages – a short time after you left – published (in the Series called Lardners Cyclopedia) in 4 vols, and there my eye was attracted by a notice in the index to the Anglosaxon period – of an extract from Dr. Gruntrig[3] – turning to the text I found the

[1] Ch. Richardson (1775–1865) udgav 1836 f. det filologisk-etymologiske værk: A New Dictionary of the English Language I–II.

[2] Mrs. Wades yngre søstre.

[3] D. Lardner (1793–1859) udgav 1830–49 i 133 bind The Cabinet Cyclopedia, et populær-videnskabeligt værk hvori S. A. Dunham (1796–1858) i fire bind skildrede Europe during the middle Ages; Grundtvig-citatet findes i IV, 1834, 49 ff.

author expressing his indignation at our neglect of our Anglo-Saxon Mss, »A learned Dane he says would have presented us with this and many other treasures, let us hear his language as to Beowulph and then follows the extract alluded to from your »prospectus[4] – he proceeds – »Dr. Grundtvig (at last catching the right spelling) may reproach the literary indifference of the English with whatever force he is able, he will make no impression on either the government or the people etc – in a note he says – »the contempt which he sometimes expresses and which he every where intimates for the current literature of this country is most richly warranted, *Englishmen as we are we thank him for the lesson* even though it will have no effect – again – »what has become of this eminent Scholar and his Proposals«? could not 80 subscribers names be procured? or has the Editor *as is reported* from some cause still more disgraceful to the country left it in disgust?[5] etc etc – all this was before the Aelfric Society (Published in 1834) – I thought it might be interesting to you to see this, it shows that your labors in the cause were not without producing some effect, and perhaps led to this same Aelfric.

I find that in the same series (the Lardners Cyclopedia) there has lately appeared a Scandinavian History in 3 vols, in which the Northern Mythology is given at considerable length[6], this and Pigotts book[7] shows that attention is beginning to be directed to the subject. As to the great Theological question, the Bishop of Ossorys Charge – a bulky volume of about 300 pages has lately appeared on the Anti-Pusey side, and has made some noise – he is a very able man and writes with considerable vigor, this is of

[4] N.F.S.Grundtvig: Bibliotheca Anglosaxonica. Prospectus and proposals of a subscription, for the publication of the most valuable anglo-saxon manuscripts, illustrative of the early poetry and literature of our language, 1830. Bibliografi nr. 487A–B, jfr. Toldberg: Orbis litterarum, a.s. 285 ff. og P.G.Lindhardt: Grundtvig. An Introduction, 53 ff.

[5] The Ælfrich Society for the Illustration of Anglo Saxon and early English History and Philology, stiftet 1842 og opkaldt efter abbed Ælfric af Eynsham (Grammaticus), jfr. Danskeren V, 206.

[6] S.A.Dunham: History of Denmark, Sweden and Norway I, 1839, 1 ff., jfr. note 3.

[7] G.Pigott: A Manual of Scandinavian Mythology, containing a popular Account of the two Eddas and the Religion of Odin, illustrated by Translations from Oehlenschläger's Danish Poem The Gods of the North.

course highly applauded[8] – it is worth seeing; Garbett[9] – the Poetry Professor has published some letters to the Bishop of Ossory relative to Puseys Sermon[10] – and I see notice of a *volume* by him as a Review of the Sermon and generally on the doctrine of the Eucharist[11] – Newman it appears has again tendered his resignation of his living of St. Marys[12] – but nothing more is known about it – it is said there has been a conclave of the Party to discuss whether they should withdraw bodily from us – and that the decision was – *not yet* – one of the Newman monastery has gone over to the Romanists – but it appears he had been placed with Newman

[8] Blandt de mange bisper – ialt 24 – som i henvendelser til stifterne tog mere eller mindre skarpt afstand fra traktarianismen efter udgivelsen af Tract nr. 90 (H.P.Liddon II, 237, Chadwick: The Victorian Church I, 187 ff., jfr. W.S.Bricknell: The Judgment of the Bishops upon Tractarian Theology, 1845, og M.Trevor: Newman. The Pillar of the Cloud, 1962, 257 ff.) var også J.T.O'Brien (1792–1874), biskop af Ossory, Fern and Leighlin (Irland) 1842–74, hvis første »Charge« til stiftets præsteskab (sept. 1842) opnåede tre udgaver 1843. Han karakteriserede Newmans forsøg på at gøre de 39 artikler »katolske« som uærlig og dobbeltbundet kasuistik, fuldt af jesuistisk sofisteri. Gladstone der stod traktarianerne nær betegnede i et brev (30/10–1843) til den senere kardinal H.E.Manning denne charge som det betydeligste af de biskoppelige indlæg (»the heaviest blow that has ever been aimed at the tractarian theology«), Correspondence on Church and Religion of William Ewart Gladstone, by D.C.Lathbury, I, 1910, 287.

[9] J.Garbett (1802–79), professor of poetry i Oxford 1842–53, archdeacon of Chichester 1851–79. Det stormfulde valg af Garbett til professor i poesi (1842 – efter J.Keble og frem for den traktarianske digter I. Williams) opfattedes som en styrkeprøve mellem traktarianerne og deres modstandere, Church, 314 ff., Chadwick: The Victorian Church I, 203 ff., jfr. Grundtvig i Nordisk Tidsskrift IV, 146 f.

[10] Et »brev« til biskop O'Brien af Ossory kendes ikke; formentlig drejer det sig om: J.Garbett: Dr. Pusey and the University of Oxford. A Letter to the Vice-Chancellor of the University, 1843.

[11] J.Garbett: A Review of Dr. Pusey's Sermon; and the Doctrine of the Eucharist according to the Church of England, 1843. Puseys universitetsprædiken (14/5–1843: The Holy Eucharist a Comfort to the Penitent – som fandtes i Grundtvigs bibliotek) førte til at universitetsstyret gav ham prædikeforbud i to år (»a munere prædicandi intra præcinctum Universitatis per annos duos suspendere placuit«), fordi man anede transsubstantiationslære i prædikenen, H.P.Liddon II, 306 ff., Church, 328 ff. og Fairweather, 271 ff.

[12] Newman opgav 18/9–1843 sin stilling ved St. Mary's; hovedårsagen var biskoppernes kritiske holdning som ifølge hans syn på bispeembedets autoritet gjorde hans forbliven som præst uholdbar, Apologia 187 ff., jfr. 123 ff., Church, 232 og W.Ward: The Life of John Henry Cardinal Newman I, 1913, 76.

by his friends to save him if possible from so doing[13] – and now I must for the present close my budget, it is late on Saturday night and as the Miss F.s would not be allowed to go on board tonight I have to accompany them early in the morning – so I must say good night and for the present farewell, remember me very kindly to Svenn and thank him for me for his letter, give my very kind regards to all your family – and Believe me My dear Pastor

Your ever affectionate friend

Nugent Wade.

PS. – should I see Palmer[14] I shall not forget your message – I hope you will soon let me hear from you again.

11.

Ap. 30. 1844

London.

My very Dear Pastor –

I just attempt to write you a few words to send my affectionate love to you and Svend by Denis, who is just packing up to be off – I intended writing you a long letter, but alas I have had one of my very bad head-aches these two days, and can scarcely write, I long to hear from you again, Svend held me out a hope that you were about to write to me, but the desired messenger has not come to

[13] Den unge W.Lockhart – som var med da Grundtvig var til breakfast i Oriel College (p. 102) – blev af slægt og venner anbragt i Newmans »kloster« i Littlemore for at hindre ham i at konvertere; Newman tog imod ham på betingelse af at han blev i tre år, men i august 1843 brød han løftet, blev katolik og snart efter munk. Newman mente strax at dette vilde være »a good excuse for giving up St. Mary's« og betegnede siden begivenheden som »the immediate cause« til at han gjorde det, Correspondence of John Henry Newman with John Keble and others, 248 ff. 258 f., jfr. Apologia, 162, 192 f. og Chadwick: The Victorian Church I, 195, 197, 276.

[14] Formentlig W.Palmer of Magdalen College (1811–79), som Grundtvig traf under det andet besøg i Oxford og siden brevvoxlede med (p. 104 og p. 153 ff.). Palmer var stærkt optaget af den græsk-ortodokse kirke – var i Rusland 1840–41 – og søgte (forgæves) optagelse i den; han tilhørte traktarianismens mest radikale og antiprotestantiske fløj og konverterede 1855; jfr. brev nr. 12, note 9.

hand – you observe the »Critic« is dead[1], I believe Palmer of Worchester[2] had a hand in the murder. Have you seen the first number of the New Review the *English Review*[3] which has succeeded as its substitute of a more moderate tone, Palmer is the Editor; I have had several interviews with him, and some correspondence about Denmark – he says he is very anxious to make one departement of the Review the channel for communicating accurate information with reference to the Lutheran Church and other Foreign Churches, and wished me to give him all I could about Denmark. I wrote him a pretty full account to the best of my knowledge chiefly in what concerned your own career taken very much from the »Vennebrev« – he expressed himself as intensely interested and more than ever anxious to have full information and make the state of things in Denmark known extensively through his review – he proposes as soon as he is in possession of enough to have an article on the Danish Church – it just occurs to me that it might give you a better idea of Palmers object to send you a few of his notes to me on the subject – he wished me if possible to give him for *the present* even half a page to introduce the topic – until he should afterwards have fuller matter – but I thought it as well to defer information for *the public* until it could be more full and accurate and give him for his own use the history to which

[1] The British Critic blev under indflydelse af bl.a. W.G. Ward (brev nr. 12, note 4–8) mere og mere romersk-katolsk og måtte – af mangel på støtte og for at holde bevægelsen sammen – standse i efteråret 1843; dermed kom spaltningen i traktarianismen klart frem, se T. Mozley: *Reminiscences* II, 385 ff., jfr. Chadwick: *The Victorian Church* I, 171, 180 og især 201.

[2] W. Palmer of Worchester College (1803–85), præst, teologisk og især liturgihistorisk forfatter, spillede en afgørende rolle da traktarianismen 1833 blev til, men tilhørte snarere »what was commonly called the high-and-dry school« (*Apolo-gia*, 47). Efter publikationen af Froude's *Remains* (brev nr. 2, note 9) blev han kritisk overfor bevægelsen, men støttede dog Newman efter udgivelsen af *Tract* nr. 90. Da redaktørskiftet (brev nr. 7, note 4) i *The British Critic* samtidig gav den katoliserende fløj lejlighed til frit at udfolde sig angreb han den skarpt og gjorde i *A Narrative of Events connected with the Publication of the Tracts for the Times*, 1843 – der sammen med andre af hans skrifter fandtes i Grundtvigs bibliotek – rede for de to linier, den anglikanske og den romaniserende, i bevægelsen og kritiserede især Ward for at have omdannet *The British Critic* til værktøj for pavelig propaganda (jfr. *A Narrative*, 2. udg. 1883, især 136 ff.). Om Wards »svar«, se brev nr. 12, note 5, jfr. iøvrigt Chadwick: *The Victorian Church* I, 186, 270, 541 f.

[3] *The English Review*, *Quarterly Journal of Ecclesiastical and General Literature*. Første hefte kom i april 1844.

I alluded – I wish you would turn your thoughts to such an answer as *you* would be *the best person* to furnish, to the queries or any of them which Palmer has put forth in his letter, I think the opportunity ought not to be lost, as the *feeling is now excited* with regard to what is going on with you[4].

I am at present full of perplexity, my situation here in a pecuniary point of view becomes daily more difficult, it has been proposed to me to go to India as Principal of the Diocesan College or Institution at *Madras*, the main and ultimate object of which is training for the Ministry and Missionary purposes – there would perhaps be added to it some more direct Ministerial work, at all events ample scope for it – independently of any such duty however the income is £ 500 a year and an excellent house – I am much perplexed, whether I should consider this an opening which I ought to accept while difficulties thicken around me here, or whether I should stand my ground – I trust I can say with truth my only desire and prayer is to know what the Lords will is and I am ready to go or stay – I wish I had you by my side my very dear Friend to aid me by your council, at all events *I wish* you would write to me, as soon as you can, for tho it may not be fair to expect you to advice at such a distance, a letter from you has often been most cheering and may prove a word in season – give my very kind remembrances to Mrs. Grundtvig – and tell Svend with my love that I fully intended to have answered his kind letter by Denis and thanked him for his very kind execution of my commission with regard to the books but alas! I am not now able for more than to assure you that I am my very Dear Friend

Your very affectionate

Nugent Wade.

[4] I fasc. 448 findes tre breve (10/1, 22/1–44 og et udateret) fra Palmer til Wade som denne foruden at sende dem til Grundtvig har refereret i brev nr. 11. Det fremgår at Palmer ikke har ment at kende Grundtvig godt nok til selv at henvende sig og heller ikke har vidst om det var »advisable«; men han bad Wade give oplysninger om alt vedrørende dansk kirkeliv og teologi (især om rationalismens indflydelse og den grundtvigske kreds, ligeså om bøger og tidsskrifter etc.). I det andet brev takker han Wade for tilsendelse af Grundtvigs »essay« – formentlig det om dåben (brev nr. 8, note 3) – og i det sidste for en yderst interessant »communication« som han vil bruge »in some future time«. Det synes dog ikke at være sket. De få notitser om Danmark i *The English Review* handler ikke om Grundtvig.

12.

St. Pauls Finsbury *Bunhill Row*

Feb. 25. 1845.

My dear Pastor

I cannot let the Homilies[1] go off to you without claiming a place in the package for a few lines, and right heartily do I wish that instead of my lines, myself were to be of the party, for I long to see you and talk with you as of old over subjects that are every day becoming more and more matter of practical anxiety.

I had hoped to have visited you last summer but this hope was completely knocked in the head by my being left without a curate, a position in which by the way I still am, though I have had one temporarily at the close of the year – I was rejoiced to see your handwriting once more by your letter of Nov. 3. and grieved to hear you had been so very poorly but delighted that the next sentence told me you were »rask« (that most expressive word) again[2]; right glad am I also to find that things have at length taken such a turn in Copenhagen, and the Church finding who is their real friend, I hope you will not fail to let me know when the *Psalmebog* is completed and *established*[3], of course I shall be most anxious also to see it – alas! I have no such good account to give of the state of things here. The popish »developments« endanger a reaction against Church principles, and yet I am not without a hope that even so the Devil is overreaching himself, for though the quondam foes of the true principles of the Church take occasion from all this to become more rabid, those on the right side have been startled to their watch and without relinquishing what is *Catholic*, seem more ready to repel the intrusion of what the Development people[4] now plainly acknowledge to be simply Popish – I suppose you have scarcely seen Wards book, though doubtless you have heard enough of it »The Ideal of a Church« in which he unhesitatingly acknowledges that the *Roman* is that Ideal, to

[1] The Homilies of the Anglo-Saxon Church. In original Anglo-Saxon with an English Version I–II, udgivet 1844 ff. af B. Thorpe, jfr. Danskeren V, 205 f.

[2] Grundtvigs sindslidelse i 1844.

[3] Jfr. brev nr. 13, note 3.

[4] W. G. Ward (note 5) optog allerede 1842 ideen om »development« som argument for at romerkirken var den sande kirke, jfr. brev nr. 13, note 12. Om forholdet mellem Ward og Newman på dette punkt, se Owen Chadwick: From Bossuet to Newman. The idea of doctrinal development. 1957, 120 ff.

which it should be our most earnest wish and effort to conform our own, it is indeed an *extraordinary* book, many good things indeed in it, much that one can sympathise with and must agree to, while he points out our *deficiencies*, but all this by the side of the most atrocious wrongheadings and ignorant calumnies, the great bugbear with him is the Lutheran doctrine of Justification by Faith, and he seems at [a] loss to find language sufficiently strong to characterise that »fearful, detestable diabolical heresy«, which indeed he treats as at least as bad if not worse (I think he says *worse*) than *Atheism* itself – he devotes a large portion of his work to this subject, and the description he gives of the doctrine, and of the extent to which as he alleges its promoters *allow* of the most immoral life argues a degree of either ignorance or lying that seems almost incredible as coming from one who could write the style and spirit evinced by other parts of the work [5] – for a »giænsmæle« from the North! you have heard of course that the convocation at Oxford have condemned his work and deprived him of his degrees [6] I am happy to say however that one of the most atrocious attempts at spiritual tyranny which has been made in latter days, has been

[5] *W. G. Ward* (1812–82), fellow of Balliol College i Oxford, den mest yderliggående af traktarianerne, udgav i juni 1844: *The Ideal of a Christian Church in Comparison with existing Practise* – et svar på *W. Palmers* (Worchester) kritik af den romaniserende fløj (jfr. brev nr. 11, note 2); heri hed det bl. a.: »Of the Lutheran doctrine of justification and the principle of private judgment, I have argued that, in their abstract nature and necessary tendency they sink below atheism itself«, og »a religious person who shall be sufficiently clearheaded to understand the meaning of the words, is warranted in rejecting Lutheranism on the very same grounds which would induce him to reject atheism, viz. being contradiction of truths which he feels on most certain grounds to be first principles«, *The Idea* etc. 587, 305, jfr. *Church*, 336 ff. og *Fairweather*, 157 ff. *Newman* (og *Palmer* af *Magdalen College*) var nogenlunde af samme mening: Lutherdommens »main heresy, as it appears to me, is its doctrine of justification which Melancthon could only defend by explaining away, but which in spite of Melancthon has succeeded in destroying belief in the »Holy Church Catholic« far and wide. *Magd. Palmer* considers the heresy to lie in its doctrine of Private judgment – which perhaps is another side of the same substantial error«, *Correspondence of John Henry Newman with John Keble and others*, 182.

[6] Om det store opgør som førte til at *Wards* bog blev fordømt af Oxford Universitet og han mistede sine akademiske grader (13/2–1845), se *Church*, 383 ff. og *Chadwick*: *The Victorian Church* I, 209 f. En resolution som også fordømte *Tract* nr. 90 blev standset. – Grundtvig mente at universitetet »i et latterligt Arrigskab« havde berøvet *Ward* hans grader, men anmeldte meget skarpt hans bog i *Dansk Kirketidende* 23/11–1845, optrykt *US*, IX, 55 ff.

defeated; The Hebdomadal Board had proposed to introduce a *new Test* as to the sense in which the members of the university subscribed the articles which would have enabled the party in power to turn off and degrade every man whose conscience was not of that elastic and easy kind; that would enable them to bolt whatever was dictated to them – this was too much even for the amount of intolerance still prevailing amongst us, and they had to give it up [7].

Do you see any of our Reviews as a substitute for the Defunct British Critic, The English Review [8] edited by Palmer (not cursing) [9] is that which has aimed at replacing it by more moderate views but the »Christian Remembrancer« [10] borders more closely on what it was, and is very ably conducted.

How gets on your »Modern History«? [11] I am longing for its completion and the commencement of your Church History [12], I hope the Lord may spare you many years to enable you to accomplish that long cherished enterprise; I am still as you see in Bunhill Row but my financial position becomes daily more embarrassing, now that the »quiver« has been furnished with a 6th »arrow«, for Mrs. Wade presented me with another daughter last month, I have lately been again on the point of honorary! *banish-*

[7] Som et led i kampen mod traktarianismens radikalisering, især efter udgivelsen af Wards bog, foreslog Oxford Universitets Vice-Chancellor en resolution om at de 39 artikler stedse skulde forstås i den mening deres oprindelige forfattere havde haft (december 1844). Dette forsøg på konfessionel stramning vakte stor modvilje, ikke mindst i alle liberale og »bredkirkelige« kredse, og tre uger før dommen over Ward blev forslaget trukket tilbage, jfr. Chadwick: *The Victorian Church* I, 208 f.

[8] Se brev nr. 11, note 3.

[9] Til forskel fra Palmer of Worchester gik Palmer of Magdalen under navnet »cursing-Palmer« – på grund af hans grove antiprotestantiske polemik og kætterjagt, jfr. p. 153.

[10] The Christian Remembrancer, redigeret i de første 10 år af J.B. Mozley, (broder til Newmans svoger T. Mozley, brev nr. 7, note 4), afløste 1844 The British Critic som traktarianismens organ.

[11] Se brev nr. 6, note 4.

[12] 26/7–1842 skrev Grundtvig (H. Beck: Gunni Busck, 262) at han håbede at komme igang med den kirkehistorie som skulde være »Hoved-bogen«, og 28/8–1843 (Danskeren V, 219) meddelte han dronningen, at han efter de engelske inspirationer agtede »om Gud vil, at lade en Kirkehistorie blive mit første boglige Værk herefter«, men en egentlig kirkehistorie fra hans hånd kom først med de 1871 udgivne foredrag han holdt 1860–63: Kirke-Speil (jfr. Bibliografi nr. 1461A).

ment from the shores of old England, the Bishop offered me the chaplaincy of Monte Video in South America 6 or £ 700 a year, but after mature deliberation, though the difficulty of holding my ground here owing to the smallness of my means made the apparent largeness of the income a momentary temptation, I declined the appointment, finding it would cost me some hundreds before I should get there, and that the expense of living was much greater than in London, another serious consideration being that place has long been in a state of siege, and the people are cutting one anothers throats, – His Lordship has now offered me another Church better situated at Fitzray Square near the Regents Park, (close by Portland Plan which you remember, where Lady Radstock[13] lives). I have not yet accepted it as it is as yet uncertain whether the income would be much better than this, I think it most likely however that I will, for at all events it would be a great gain to have done with the abomination of dependance on *Pew Rents*; there whatever the income is it will be *fixed*, and I shall have nothing to do with the hateful system of »buying and selling« (i.e. pew letting)[14]. The Church will not be opened until Easter 1846. I do not yet give up the hopes of paying you a visit, should matters so turn up as to enable me to afford the time and *cash*, how delighted should I be, once more to be closeted with you in your little study! Give my very kind remembrances to all your family not forgetting my old friend Svend – all here join in sending their love. Arthur (my son) has just told me to send his and Susannahs, and now my very Dear Friend grant my earnest request to let me *soon* hear from you and Believe me Your ever affectionate and deeply obliged Friend,

Nugent Wade

[13] *Esther Caroline Puget*, søster til Mrs. Browne, gift med viceadmiral G. W. Waldegrave, 2nd baron of Radstock (1786–1857), jfr. Grundtvig-Studier 1952, 43.

[14] Om det uheldige system at skaffe kirkerne indtægt ved at udleje kirkestole, se Chadwick: The Victorian Church I, 329 ff. 520 ff. Mange af de nye kirker havde frie stole.

13.

St. Pauls Finsbury

Oct. 21. 1845.

My dear Pastor

Once more the Parsonage resounds with all the preparations for a descent upon your beloved land by a party of Anglo-Danes from the territories of Finsbury. Nicholas Fenwick[1] after his seven years exile in the other world and Isabel are about to start tomorrow morning, and amidst all the bustle of packing and parcels as I cannot as I should wish have *myself* packed up with the rest and enjoy the delight of visiting you in person, I must content myself with sending you a line; I had indulged a hope that it might have been possible for me to have seen you in Denmark before this, but I dare say you can well understand how difficult it is to fulfil such hopes; amongst other things holding me to the spot, I have been since midsummer 1844 without a settled curate, it is only just now that I have succeeded in making a satisfactory arrangement which will relieve me a little from some of my overwork; you must have thought it strange not to have heard from me in answer to your letter of the 5th of February accompanying your *most welcome* present of the lectures on Mythology[2] and the *Prøvehefte* til en ny Psalmebog[3] – but it is only *lately* that it at length came to hands – I was amazed when I looked at the date and puzzled to think how it was so long upon the road, but I suppose Magister *Allen*[4] must have taken some wide detour, – I was at first uneasy at observing that you had not received the additional numbers of the Saxon Homilies[5] as I had procured them nearly a year ago when I was laid up with my broken leg, and had sent them as I supposed by Mr. Wake[6] – but observing the date I hoped you might have received them since your letter

[1] *N. Fenwick* (1806–63), Mrs. Wades broder, var britisk vicekonsul i København, jfr. iøvrigt brev nr. 10, note 2.

[2] Brage-Snak om Græske og Nordiske Myther og Oldsagn for Damer og Herrer, 1844, optrykt i US. VIII, 493 ff.

[3] Kirke-Psalmer udgivne til Prøve af Kjøbenhavns geistlige Convents Psalme-Comitee, udkom 8/1–1845, jfr. Bibliografi nr. 796, 804A, 825, 829A-F, 832.

[4] Historikeren *C.F. Allen* (1811–71) opholdt sig fra juni til oktober 1845 i London.

[5] Jfr. brev nr. 12, note 1.

[6] *C.D. Wake* (1791–1864), kaptejn og baronet, forfatter af opbyggelige bibel-kommentarer; flere breve fra ham til Grundtvig findes i fasc. 448.

was written, particularly as Mr. Wake wrote me [a] word to say that though he was not going back to Denmark he had taken care to forward the parcel to you through the Foreign Office (by Mr. Bidwell)[7] and that he meant them as a present to you (and paid for them accordingly) – I hope to hear you have got them.

I have been going on here much the same as usual; the feeling amongst the low Church and anti-Church people against me continuing as usual though I trust my own congregation – the more earnest at least – go on hopefully and have learned to be less startled at what are distinctively church principles – the present however is again a trying crisis, you may fancy what a new impulse must be given to anti-church feeling even amongst those who were creeping on to better views by the recent secessions and the anticipations of many more; you have heard of course of *Wards* perversion to Romanism,[8] and heard it without the least surprise but *Newmans* going over is another matter which will be received by vast numbers with very different feelings – about a week or so since he resigned his Fellowship at Oriel and the day or a few days after was received into the Romish Church by – would you believe it – re-baptism!![9] this to me is awful, how such a man after writing as he once and for long did could take a step like this is amazing, a step by which he denied not only the Christianity of us all but his own during all his previous life! – he will be followed of course by several – *Christie*[10] whom we met at Oriel is they say already gone and I dont know how many more – Dr. Pusey has written a letter to one of the Journals[11] or inserted in one – in which he mourns it, but I fear in rather too uncertain terms (I send you the Journal the English Churchman) – all this however though it will grieve will not surprise you – two years ago you foresaw that all this might come any day in the case of Newman

[7] *J. Bidwell* (1783–1853), chef for det konsulære departement i Foreign Office 1826–51.

[8] Ward konverterede 5/9–1843.

[9] Newman opgav 3/10–1843 sit fellowship ved Oriel College og konverterede 9/10; ved den lejlighed blev han af den italienske passionist, fater Dominic, som optog ham i romerkirken døbt »sub conditione«, jfr. fater Dominics beretning i *W. Ward*, I, 95.

[10] *A. J. Christie* (1817–91), fellow of Oriel College 1842–45, konverterede med flere andre i sommeren 1845, sst. I, 84.

[11] Puseys brev i *The English Churchman* (16/10–1845) er optrykt i *H. P. Liddon*, II, 460 ff.

and those who with him adopted the *Development Theory* [12]. *Sewell* remains very firm and had lately written strongly on this subject and generally against the Popish movement in rather a strange form a *novel* called *Hawkstone* [13] published however without his name – it is a curious and very interesting book; it seems pretty certain that my time here is drawing to a close, I believe I am to move Westwards in the Spring or beginning of the Summer to a new Church in the neighbourhood of Fitzray Square near the Regents Park, as soon as I know more about I will let you know, it has been uphill work with me for some time past in more ways than one with an increasing family and a decreasing income – but I must now ask you to tell me something of *yourself*, what you are doing, what you are writing, whether you have finished your *Modern History*? – whether your hopes for your Church have approached any nearer to realization? how Svend is? what he is at? how go on the Scottish Ballads? [14] *Pray do* write very soon and Believe me with affectionate remembrance to all your family Your affectionate and grateful Friend

Nug. Wade.

14.

London

Jan. 22. 1846

My dear Pastor –

I sent you a letter by Fenwick, which I hope he delivered, and I had written you one some time before that in reply to yours of last spring, I have been anxiously looking out for even a few lines from you, and I earnestly hope if you can possibly snatch a moment,

[12] 6/10–1845 skrev Newman forord til *An Essay on the Development of Christian Doctrine*, hvis tese var at romerkirken havde bevaret de sande tegn på genuin udvikling af den oprindelige kristendom. Newman havde accepteret teorien 1842 og første gang offentligt fremsat den i sin sidste universitetsprædiken (2/2–1843), *Apologia*, 178 ff. jfr. Chadwick: *From Bossuet to Newman*, 120, 139 ff. Diskussionen om »udviklingslæren« gik livligt i Oxford i foråret 1843, og Grundtvig må adskillige gange have hørt derom.

[13] W. Sewell udgav 1845: *Hawkstone; a tale of and for England in 184–*.

[14] Hovedformålet med Svend Grundtvigs rejse var at samle materiale til de afsluttende hefter af *Engelske og Skotske Folkeviser*, som han udgav 1846, jfr. *Grundtvig-Studier* 1952, 65, og *Gads danske Magasin* 1931, 313.

you will soon let me hear from you, for it is a very great pleasure to receive any communication from you and to hear how you are going on, what you are doing, and how the great cause is prospering in Denmark.

I send you a letter from Barrow [1] whom I saw lately at Oxford, where I spent a few days, reviving old recollections – he was so busy as it was term time that I could see very little of him, I had rooms in Exeter, which Sewell gave me, and I lived there during my stay – it was the time of the excitement on occasion of Newman's perversion, and Sewell was engaged in answering at least reviewing his book on Development (see the English Review, Dec. 1845) [2]. He had also preached before the University on the occasion and published his sermon, it was examining »*the Plea of Conscience*« made of these men for going over [3]. How true a prophet you have proved about the issue of the New Theory of Development – it has just landed there where you said it would –

I wish you would write to me – I go (D.V.) to my new charge in spring, it is at Fitzray Square, near the Regents Park – but no diminution of burden as you may fancy being a population of 16,000 – with kindest Remembrances to all your family, Believe me my Dear Pastor Your ever affectionate

Nugent Wade.

15.

Rectory St. Anns Soho London

Aug. 29. 1851

My Dear Pastor Grundtvig

I am ashamed and vexed with myself that I should have allowed so long time to elapse without writing to you, and was very sorry that in the midst of hurry and bustle I should have let one and another cross from London to Denmark without a scrap of my pen, by the way I hope you got the Saxon Homilies [1] pens etc – all

[1] J. Barrow (1810–81), bibliotekar ved Queens College i Oxford, konverteret 1864. Grundtvig nød godt af hans gæstfrihed under det første ophold i Oxford 1843 og stod i brevveksling med ham, jfr. fasc. 448 og Grundtvig-Studier 1952, 45, 67.

[2] The English Review VIII, 1845, 386 ff.

[3] W. Sewell: The Plea of Conscience for seceding from the Catholic Church to the Romish Schism in England, 1845.

[1] Se brev nr. 12, note 1.

right by Mr. Earles friend[2]; Mrs. Browne lately wrote to me but she could not tell me much about you as she said she had only seen you once for five minutes since her return, I have not heard from you since the successful issue of the war, which I have no doubt rejoiced your heart, are your sons at home with you and have they been able to settle down from being warriors to works of peace, has Svend yet substituted the pen for the sword?[3] how go on Church matters? I hear that now there is entire religious liberty[4], Mrs. Browne mentions this and that some are looking forward to the eventual formation of a frie Church, and a Pastor Hasse has sent me through her a request to know the necessary conditions for receiving ordination in England,[5] what do you think?[6] could not steps be now taken to get the succession restored by Episcopal ordination and consecration from this country? not that we can boast much of our present Episcopal bench, there are some very good, but the less said about others the better, however we must look through and beyond the men to the ordinance and grace of God in his Church with the hopes of its fertilising when and where he pleases; we are still sadly troubled with Romanising tendencies and as now one now another drops or rushes over the precipice we suffer from reactionary tendencies and Church principles are brought into disrepute, and those Clergy (and laity too) who desire to maintain them and the *sound* practice of Catholic truth are subjected to every species of suspicion and abuse, howe-

[2] *J. Earle* (1824–1903) fellow of Oriel College 1848–58, præst i Swanswick fra 1857, professor i angelsaxisk i Oxford 1849–54 og igen fra 1876. I fasc. 448 findes (1848–51) fire breve fra ham til Grundtvig, dog ikke om kirkelige forhold, jfr. iøvrigt Toldberg: *Orbis litterarum*, a.s. 307. 1848 var Earle på et længere besøg i København og kom hyppigt hos Grundtvig; 23/8–1851 introducerede han Mr. Thornton (fellow of St. John's College i Oxford): »a pupil of mine in Anglo-Saxon who knows 300 times as much Anglo-Saxon as I did when I was with you»; Thornton vilde studere skandinaviske dialekter og Earle bad Grundtvig bistå ham under opholdet i Danmark.

[3] Grundtvigs sønner deltog, først som frivillige, siden som officerer i treårs-krigen, jfr. Ingeborg Simesen: *N.F.S. Grundtvig og hans nærmeste Slægt under Treårskrigen*, 1933.

[4] Hentyder til Grundloven af 5/6–1849, §§ 81, 82, 84.

[5] *L.D. Hass* (1808–81), missionær i Smyrna, sognepræst i Hals 1847–58, i Nibe 1858–69. Om hans iver for at få indført anglikansk succession i en kommende dansk frikirke, se brev nr. 16, note 2.

[6] Grundtvig havde forlængst tabt al interesse for anglikansk bispevielse, jfr. p. 105f.

ver strongly opposed in reality to Popery they may be, this is the case with myself, troubles of this kind assail me on all sides; how earnestly I do long for opportunities of that happy communion and intercourse I used to enjoy with you my very dear Friend, I wish you *could* spare me a few minutes to write to me now and then, at all events *do* try and write to me now, at the present moment I am enjoining a little quiet having just escaped from London for my summer holiday with my wife and *ten* children, having about six weeks since had the *tenth* arrow added to my already tolerably full quiver[7], Mrs. Wade joins me in kindest remembrances, and give my very affectionate regards to Mrs. Grundtvig[8], Svend, your eldest son and your daughter and her excellent and kind hearted husband[9]; ever your affectionate

Nugent Wade.

16.

Rectory St. Anns Soho London

March 14/ 52

My very Dear Pastor Grundtvig.

It is long long since I have heard from you, and I long very much to see the scratch of your pen once more and know how you are, what you are doing, and what you have been doing since I saw you on occasion of my visit[1], would that I could repeat it and indeed I do not despair that I may; I have even been indulging a dream of the possibility of such a thing this summer it would indeed be a great treat to me specially to see you and have some of our old talks together, I want very much to know how *Church* matters are going on with you. I hear you have got »religious Li-

[7] Der var i Wades ægteskab ialt 14 børn – man må uvilkårligt mindes Anthony Trollopes kostelige roman om anglikansk gejstlighed (Barchester Towers, 1857), hvor den arme pastor Quiverful også har »fourteen arguments« for et bedre kald!

[8] Lise Grundtvig var død 14/1–1851.

[9] Meta Grundtvig blev 1847 gift med *P.O. Boisen* (1815–62) der fra 1854 var kapellan ved Vartov.

[1] 10/7–1847 meddelte P.Browne at han havde besøg af Wade og indbød Grundtvig til at mødes med ham. Under dette besøg har Wade sikkert også truffet Grundtvigs svigersøn som han (jfr. brev nr. 15, note 9) synes at have kendt personlig.

berty« *fuldstændig*? what does this mean and is it true, would this for instance allow you if so disposed to get the link of Apostolic Succession restored by receiving consecration from us? there is a very strong feeling of interest in the Danish Church springing up in this country amongst High Churchmen and a desire for intercourse and communion with it, it would be a matter of great joy to us if by the restoration of the succession we might be in actual communion and so this lead on to the union of the non-Papal Churches at least; is there any strong feeling amongst you – »*your high-churchmen*« at least – of a desire for the succession and for closer communion accordingly with the Church in England, there seems to be a yearning for unity spreading in many parts of Christendom. I have had a letter from a Pastor Ludvig D. Hass expressing on his part a wish for the extension of our orders to Denmark [2], who is he? is he a »good man and true«, he seemed to be one who harmonised in the main with you, he would wish to receive orders himself from England, I should like very much to know your opinion of him and of such a course, I know *your* view is never to stir but *with* your Church bodily; *do do* my very dear Friend write to me even a few lines that I may *see* you do not forget your old and affectionate Friend

Nugt. Wade.

Certain New Post-office regulations have wonderfully facilitated the transmission of Books and Pamphlets *by the Post* to and from Denmark. I wish in this way you could send me any little thing you have lately written especially on Church matters – and give me your address and I may be able to send you something –

[2] The Lambeth Palace Library (Ms. 1543) rummer – en oplysning jeg skylder bibliotekar E. G. W. Bill tak for – det andet af de to breve Wade modtog fra Hass (jfr. brev nr. 15, note 5). Det er udateret og oversættelsen er korrigeret af Wade: Dear Sir and Brother.

I received your letter of Augt. 29 and it rejoiced me much to find how great interest you take in this matter. You have conjectured rightly as to my personal wish and the grounds of it, for I have always looked upon *the true Apostolical Ordination as a great good and a great blessing*. I foresaw however the possible consequences [indskud af Wade: alluding I suppose to the probable *exclusion* of any one from their Church who should as he wished to do have received ordination from another Church] it might be attended with in a State Church. – Now on the contrary as the State Church in this Country is dissolved and something indefinite is come in its place – something which has not as yet assumed an organised form

– whilst full and unlimited Religious Liberty is established as a Fundamental Law of the Kingdom, I consider the time is come to enter into communion and connection with your Church, as that which has best preserved what is Primitive and Apostolic, and cheer myself with the hope that the Lords Will will be brought about thereby whether he bow the hearts of few or many to the same view. – I will endeavour to express my view in a few words in English [indsatud af Wade: his English sentences being a *literal* translation of Danish idiom would have been unintelligible, so I have been obliged to correct it by re-translating his Dano-English].

I do acknowledge your Church as genuinely apostolic with the most perfect ordination amongst Protestants – but I am not contented with her condition as a Government or State Church with the supremacy of the Queen and other things likewise!

I conjectured that the conditions for Ordination in your Church were such as you mention. As I have now found my supposition correct, I have gone through the 39 Articles again with which I was also before acquainted, and find that on the whole I could subscribe them with a good conscience, and in certain particulars agree with them still more than with the »Augsburg Confession«. – I have also carefully examined the »Common Prayer Book« and must confess that on the whole it is the best Protestant Liturgy I know.

The particular things to which I have some objections to make I will here mention. In the 27th Article on Baptism: it is said: »Baptism is not only a sign – – but it is also a sign of Regeneration or a new Birth«. This is too little to say as I understand the matter, for Baptism is not a sign of Regeneration or New Birth but it is the New Birth itself by Spirit and Water; but perhaps »Sign« is here meant to signify the same as »Sacrament« in the 28th Article. In this last Article »of the Lords Supper« I could have wished the words »only after an heavenly and spiritual manner« omitted, for this too according to my view is to say too little – it follows from this that neither can I be quite satisfied with the words with which – in the Administration of the Sacrament – »the consecrated Bread and Wine« are given to the communicants, for it seems to be both too little said and too indefinite, when it is said »The Body of our Lord Jesus Christ – – – take and eat this«.

I should find it far more in accordance with my conviction if these concluding words »take and eat this« were wholly omitted – but it would be still far better if it were expressly said »This our Lord Jesus Christs Body which was given for thee preserve thy body and soul unto everlasting life«; then also the concluding clause was unnecessary.

The same observation applies to the consecrated wine. – Further, I am well pleased that the Priest in your communion receives the Sacrament with the communicants, which he must not do in the Lutheran Church.

You will see from this – my Dear unknown and yet well-known Friend – that I cannot otherwise than approve »consubstantiation« as that Doctrine which seems to me best to satisfy the language of Holy Scripture respecting the Sacrament of the Altar and the very words of its institution.

* * *

Then follows a sketch of his own personal history and the circumstances under

which he became acquainted with the English Church, after which he proceeds to speak of the state of things in Denmark consequent upon the troubles of 1848.

* * *

It is true that here in Denmark along with the political changes Religious Liberty (and that a complete Liberty) was established, but this, no more than the civil Liberty which also stands in the Statute Book, has been turned to account for the real benefit of the people or even for the better part of them. The major part of the people as well as of the clergy are dead and indifferent not only to Christianity, but to everything spiritual. The Priesthood is on the whole embittered against religious Liberty, which has only been made use of by Baptists and Mormons, and which is defended by me and some few others – while therefore we have religious Liberty according to Law (*de jure*) it seems to me best for the true Church of Christ – The Holy Catholic Church – and the true Ordination – to use our Liberty also «in Life» (*de facto*) which in time will result in great blessing to the whole people; and as this my view founded on Gods Word and the History of the Church urges me just now earnestly to desire Ordination in your Church's Communion, *I will hereby crave it*, as I am firmly convinced that in the Lords Hand and with His Holy Spirits help it will contribute mightily to preserve here the true Church's Liberty from the worlds might and force and to strengthen it in its battle with all the Prophets of Lies. –

I hope therefore that you will speak with the Bishop of London on the subject and thereupon give me the necessary instructions.

Yours united in the one Faith and Baptism

Ludvig Daniel Hass

To dage efter at Wade havde skrevet brev nr. 16 til Grundtvig sendte han (16/3–1852, Lambeth Ms. 1543) ovenstående brev fra Hass til den særdeles højkirkelige anglikaner og konservative politiker A.J.Beresford Hope, vel for at han skulde forelægge det for biskoppen af London. Wade fandt det glimrende at Hope påtænkte at udbrede nogle »Church Tracts« i Danmark, men det burde kun ske i forståelse med Grundtvig og (J.F.) Fenger, og det allerbedste var om man kunde sende »a mission« (på tre medlemmer deriblandt gerne en skotsk biskop) til Danmark for at skabe personlig kontakt og gensidig sympati. Iøvrigt mente han at Hass var for pessimistisk, thi mange danske præster var dog kommet til bedre anskuelser under påvirkning af Grundtvig – »the Dr. Pusey of Denmark«! – som havde haft »a marvellous effect« gennem sine prædikener og bøger: »an able man with sounder and more lucid views of catholic truth I never met«. Wade tumlede stadig med planer om at oversætte Grundtvigs prædikener og afhandlingen om dåben (jfr. brev nr. 8 og passim).

I Dansk Kirketidende (13/6–1852, jfr. sst. 16/5 og 26/9–1852) oplyste Hass at han »gennem en engelsk Geistlig« havde forhandlet med »den biskoppelige Kirke om Betingelserne for Ordinationens Modtagelse af den«. Rimeligvis var Hass en af de grundtvigske præster der 1854 bad Martensen lade sig bispevie under svensk medvirken (H.Martensen: Af mit Levnet III, 1883, 6 ff.).

17.

St. Anns Rectory Soho London

Ap. 29. 1852.

My Dear Pastor Grundtvig –

Allow me to introduce the Rev. I.M. Neale[1], Warden of Sackville College, author of *many* highly esteemed Theological works, especially one extensive one on the *Eastern Church*. He is now proceeding to Denmark on an Ecclesiological tour, anxious to make himself acquainted with your Church from personal intercourse with such a man as yourself and others who can give and put him in the way of obtaining the most accurate and fullest information, He is as you will soon perceive one of the *very High Church* party in this country and highly esteemed, my knowledge of him is rather as a public character than from private acquaintance, indeed our nearest acquaintance was in the way of friendly collision a little time since at a meeting of the London Church Union, when much interest was excited and feelings running high on the subject of the condition of the Foreign Churches, for and against, and when I took occasion to speak somewhat warmly of what I *knew* of the »Church« movement long going on in Denmark mainly under your auspices, and of the extent to which *Catholic* principles have pervaded the Lutheran Church among you; a very strong yearning after *Union* with other branches of the Church Catholic is now, and has long been pervading Churchmen in this country – Rome is practically out of the question – she closes the door; the feeling turns towards the Northern Church, and men are deeply interested by hearing of the Catholic Sympathies in your branch, the question of »the *succession*« naturally arises as to what pro-

[1] *J.M. Neale* (1818–66), stifter (1839) af The Camden Cambridge Society (siden kaldet The Ecclesiological Society), warden of Sackville College 1846–66. Neale stod traktarianerne nær og var specialist m.h.t. de østlige kirker, skrev bl.a. det højt ansete værk: *An Introduction to the History of the Holy Eastern Church* I–II, 1850; han oversatte adskillige salmer fra græsk og latin til brug for den anglikanske gudstjeneste og var en fremragende arkæolog og liturgihistoriker; det af ham stiftede selskab blev årsag til en gennemgribende romantisk (ny-gotisk) fornyelse af anglikanske kirker, kirkeinventar og udsmykning, og dermed til dels også til de ritualstridigheder som snart fulgte, jfr. Chadwick: *The Victorian Church* I, 212 f. og samme: *The mind of the Oxford Movement*, 1960, 55: »Cambridge, as the original centre of that group of church-restorers and decorators and designers known as the Cambridge Camden Society, was till 1845 more important than Oxford in the matter«.

spect there might be of our being linked together through this bond, by the restoration of Apostolic succession in the Episcopate to you, I remember what *your* feeling was on this subject, how desirable could it be effected without however denying what you have received through the presbyterian line, how far does this feeling prevail with others likeminded with yourself in respect of Catholic truth? is there any opening now or facility on your side which did not exist when I was in Denmark. I have been informed that there is – the facility on ours exist in the strong desire to be in union with you, and the interest excited on the subject in the minds of the Scotch Bishops who you know are entirely *free* and unfettered by any state regulations[2] – many as I have mentioned among us feel warmly on the subject; *Neale* is *not* among the sanguine, but the contrary, hence a great desire to visit the country and judge for himself, and glad will he be to find the prospect more hopeful than *he thinks* it. He means to take an extensive tour in Denmark, he is anxious to make himself acquainted with all your Church matters, he wishes to visit some of your country clergy in the midst of their parochial work, if you could give him introduction to such as *Fenger* a visit to whom I enjoyed so much, it would be very kind of you, how I wish I was able to accompany him and have the very great pleasure of visiting *you* and other old friends in Denmark, I am not without hopes I *may* be able to do so this year later in the season, meanwhile do let me have, if it were but one line from you, I think the sight of your handwriting would stimulate my desires to make the attempt not a little; did you receive a letter from me about a month since? give my kindest remembrances to Svend, and your daughter and her husband and Believe me My dear Pastor

Your affectionate Friend

Nugent Wade.

[2] Den anglikanske kirke i Skotland (The Episcopal Church of Scotland) er til dels synodalt ordnet og bisperne vælges af præsteskabet: »There is no tradition of connexion with the State, and Scottish bishops are free from the legal impediments which formerly tied the hands of the English bishops. For this reason they have several times been able to consecrate bishops for foreign countries, who could not be consecrated in England for legal reasons«, The Anglican Communion. A Survey by J.W.C.Wand, 1948, 258.

18.

St. Mary Magdalen College Oxford

August 25. 1843

My dear Sir.

You sent me a letter when you were on the point of leaving Oxford[1] – to which I was in hopes of being able to write some short answer, besides a mere acknowledgement to be sent you together with my note or letter for the Russian Chaplain in Copenhagen which you were so good as to offer to deliver for me. I am sorry to say that the continued weakness of my eyes has made and still make it impossible for me to write more than a few words; It is true that we differ considerably in our views both about Baptism and Ordination of Priests, that both the one and the other can be so validly perpetuated in Societies pretending to subsist apart and in perfect independence even of the whole Apostolical Episcopate, or that they should have a right to be recognized by it; I thinking on the contrary that Baptism so administered can only be recognized on the part so Baptized submitting himself to the Episcopal communion and then only so far as to have what is lacking supplied by reconciliation without repetition of the Form, while Ordinations of Priests or Pastors by Priests whether within or without the Episcopal communion, I regard as utterly invalid and as incapable of being recognized at all; on these Points

[1] 30/7-1843 fortalte Grundtvig sin kone at han just var ved at skrive til »en af de Romerske Magistre«; det må være William Palmer af Magdalen College – kaldet »cursing-Palmer«, jfr. brev nr. 10, note 14 – som hører til de »næsten rene Papister« og nylig var »kommet hjem fra Sverige og havde saa tit hørt af de Svenske Præster, at det var »Grundtvigske« Ideer han kom med, at han var glad ved at finde mig her; men naturligviis kunde vi ikke enes, da vi vel tale meget ligt om »Kirken« men han taler om den, som om den kun bestod af Bisperne og hvem de vil lukke ind, istedet for at jeg veed den, med og uden Bisper, bestaaer af alle dem »som troe og er døbte«, troe hvad vi alle ved Daaben bekiende og er døbte derpaa til Samfund med Faderen og Sønnen i den Hellig-Aand« (Grundtvig-Studier 1952, 53 f.). På Grundtvigs brev svarede Palmer 25/8 og modtog derefter endnu et brev som han besvarede 3/9-1843. Begge breve giver et klart indtryk af hvad diskussionen har drejet sig om. 15/9-1843 karakteriserede Grundtvig sin kombattant således: »i den saakaldte »cursing-Palmer«, som aabenlyst har bansat Protestantismen, fandt jeg vel en forvoven, aabenhjertig og i Grunden godmodig Karl, men han er reen catholsk i Hovedet, og for Øieblikket et af Papisteriets bedste Redskaber«; andre af de »ny Anglicaner« lyttede villigt og »studsede dog ved at see, hvor urokkelig en Klippe Daabspagten er, og selv cursing-Palmer ømmede sig ved de Stød, han fik af den« (Peter Rørdam. Blade af hans Levnedsbog og Brevvexling fra 1806 til 1844, 298).

my opinion agrees with that of my Russian friend at Copenhagen and with the doctrine of the Greek, Roman Catholic, Armenian, Syrian and all other Eastern Churches whether heretical in any point or orthodox, and so far as I can understand with the Tradition of the whole Church from the beginning and with Scripture: you think that I mistake the true sense of Scripture and the early Fathers: I think however you must agree with me that *some* force must be allowed to the concurrence of testimony from all the actually existing Churches which are of more ancient origin than the 16th Century. But whatever you may think of my views I hope you will not be displeased with me for avowing my sincere conviction and will agree with me in thinking that if we both endeavour to follow after truth where ever it may lead and at whatever cost, there will be a deeper inward unity between us in spite of any outward differences (however great) than there could be even if we were joined in the most exact unity of outward confession and in the same Church, without having inwardly a convergency of will and desire towards *the one* point, and so with the greatest respect and regard I remain my dear sir yours most sincerely

W. Palmer

PS. I may make my compliments to Mr. Wade – through whom I am in hopes of being able to procure a copy of the Danish agenda, if he will kindly bear me in mind where ever there should be an opportunity.

19.

St. M. Magd. Coll. Oxford

Sept. 3. 1843

My dear Sir.

Thank you for your kind note. I cannot write much on account of my eyes, but still there are one or two expressions in it upon which I must offer a remark for fear of seeming to affront by my silence. Firstly I never have said nor written any story tending to show that I consider it improper to recognize any one in your circumstances as a fellow member of the visible Church of Christ – on the contrary you will find on the last page of my printed letter

to a Protestant Catholic which I think I gave you[1], the expression of a contrary opinion, namely that if Foreign Protestants did not place themselves in a heretical position by their acts and public professions, the mere historical circumstances of their original excommunication by the Pope or the Latin Bishops who were under him would not necessarily require that other Bishops and Churches should excommunicate them too. What I said with respect to yourself was not that you were or were not a fellow member of the visible Church, not that you were or were not in some sense a Servant or »Minister« of Christ working among your fellowmen for good, and it may be in a high degree as instrument of Grace to them – but *this* is what I did and do say, that you cannot (in my judgment) be recognized as a »Clerk«, a »Presbyter«, »Priest«, »Sacerdos« or ἱερεύς in the Ecclesiastical and Canonical sense of the word. I cannot make things to be other than they are by my opinion about them – otherwise I hope I should have charity enough to make all people in the world whom I now think to be wrong in opinion or position to be right – all I can do or you or any other man is to bear witness to truth so far as we are convinced we know what is truth. If I seem to the Roman Catholic to be out of the visible Church, I am far from complaining of his opinion on the contrary – I would assume in conversation with him his own theory, I would argue with him even as if he were right and say that still even if so, if I am honestly following truth according to my power and knowledge – I am in some sort a Catechumen rather than a heretic or schismatic and am drawing nearer and nearer to his opinion if it be the truth – which however for the present I cannot allow it to be. I put this parallel case, however, in spite of all your generosity and kindness there is a sort of reproachfulness lurking under some of your expressions which I do not quite like, because they seem to me to be hard upon me and what I really do not deserve: If I know myself I would willingly exchange places with any man whom I now think to be in the wrong, so as to give them my position which I deem better and have theirs myself though I think it worse, provided only I might keep an honest intention, and so do not reproach me for what I cannot help – but believe me to be always with great respect and

[1] W. Palmer: A Letter to a Protestant-Catholic, 1842. Bogen fandtes i Grundtvigs bibliotek.

affection for all the zeal which you show for what you know and think to be catholic and sympathy for all the difficulty and reproach you must encounter from heretical Protestantism in so far as you diverge from or are opposed to its spirit, I remain my dear sir
yours most sincerely

W. Palmer