

Grundtvig og Puseys Oxfordbevægelse.

Af **Helge Toldberg.**

J. P. Bang har (Grundtvig og England. 119 ff.) skildret Gr.s fjerde Englandsrejse og ligefrem undret sig over konstellationen: Grundtvig overfor Newman-Pusey. I virkeligheden kunde sagen stilles paa hovedet. Det har ikke mindst været for at træffe og tale med Pusey, Gr. har været interesseret i at foretage sin rejse.

Ønsket om at foretage rejsen skal sandsynligvis føres tilbage til en begivenhed i 1838, en i grundtvigsk mening uheldig brevveksling mellem hans discipel Frederik Hammerich og Pusey. Hammerich havde i 1835 opholdt sig i Oxford, hvor Pusey ikke bare havde vist ham interesse, men endog haft ham boende (Et Levnetsløb (1882) I. 329f.); og Hammerich synes bagefter — parallelt med Nugent Wade efter dennes hjemkomst til England i 1839 — at have ønsket at koordinere sine to lærermestre Grundtvig og Puseys virksomhed til fremme for evangeliet. I den stærke pointering af betydningen af kirkefædrenes overlevering har han ment at finde et virkelig holdbart fællespunkt, hvorfra resten — fuldt naturligt indenfor den protestantiske kirkes rammer — skulde kunne bringes i orden eller i hvert fald føres til en nærmelse, hvis bare Pusey kunde faa øje paa den parallelbevægelse, Grundtvig havde indvarslet i Danmark.

Efter en lang betænkningstid paa grund af de sproglige vanskeligheder, der skulde overvindes, tog han sig for at skrive nedenstaaende brev, der i afskrift findes i Pusey

House¹, Oxford, i et bind mærket »German Correspondents of E. B. P.« (pp. 147 ff.), afskrevet af Miss Milner, Liddons sekretær. For afskriftens paalidelighed taler foruden en række grove danismere, som i enkelte tilfælde har været umulige at gennemskue for afskriveren, en kladde til brevets første del i Hammerichs efterladte papiser paa det kgl. bibliotek (Nks 2076, fol., henlagt mellem »Defekte og ubestemmelige Sager«). Efter afskriften er brevets ordlyd følgende:

Copenhagen, the 10th of October. 1838.

Dear Sir¹

I don't know, whether you have forgotten that young Danish traveller, who visited, for some years ago, the seat of England's sciences, your renowned Oxford, and who was so heartily received at yours. In my sake I never have forgotten you, and never shall forget you, nor that friendship, you have exerted towards me. Very often I have thought of writing to you, dear Sir, and writing at least to repay unto you that thank, for which I am in debt to you, || (148) but my bad English always affrightened me. Never the less now I would beg you pardon my bad English, and, as good as possible, return the thanks unto you, and dear mistress Pusey for all your friendship and kindness towards an unknown traveller.

From the reviews I observe, that you, dear Sir, and the foremost champions of the Church of England are engaged in a contest about our holy Baptism and her efficacy to regenerate the sinful mankind. This matter as well as all true fundaments of the church are also just at this time very fervously bespoken in my dear fatherland, and I cannot refuse unto me the pleasure of speaking some few words with you about these things. I || (149) hope, you will not be tired with listening for a moment to my explications. I believe, I spoke once of Master Grundtvig as one of the first champions for our holy Creed and Church. In the great battle, which he and other Christian friends fought against the Rationalists, it was the principal question: what is the fundament of our Church. The common answer to this question

¹⁾ Ved venligheds fra bibliotekaren, Rev. Arthur Parker, fik jeg under et studieophold i Oxford i Juli 1947 — med understøttelse fra den Grevelige Hjelmstjerne-Rosencroneske stiftelse — adgang til at gennemse hele materialet; men det lykkedes mig ikke at finde originalen.

in all countries since the Reformation, was, as you know: the Bible; and all Rationalists, which had a good exercitation in depravating that holy but never the less in itself dead word, were soon to exclaim, the Bible is our protestant palladium, the fundament of our Church. No, he answered, the death cannot be the fundament of life, a || (150) dead book not of the living Church. You tell me, that your explication of that book is the true, and I tell you, that mine is the true; so there always will be quarrel about the fundament, but there cann't be quarrel about a fundament, because then it is no fundament. But ask the times, what they do proclaim as fundamental Christian faith. All times, and almost all churches agree in one holy creed, agree in one symbolum, about whose sense in the whole there cann't be quarrel among rational men. That is the symbolum apostolicum. And that symbolum was living in the church through all times, to that creed every one was bound in the baptism, upon believing in its articles we were all made Christians. Take away || (151) the Bible, and there can still be a Church, because there was a Church, before her Christian part, the New Testament, was written, but take away the symbolum apostolicum, and there is no Church, because the articuli fidei then depend upon a new and human authority, not the authority of the Church in that symbolum.

The holy Baptism connected with the forsaking of the devil and the symbolum apostolicum, the Lord's supper, the Lord's living word are then the fundaments of our holy Church. The Bible is a good book, a holy book, inspired by the holy Ghost, but not the fundament of the Christian Church. It could not be avoided, that such principles, new as they are, must have || (152) many antagonists, even among true Christians, but the truth, we know shall at last be victorious.

Even in another respect the genius of Grundtvig has thrown a new light upon the state of our Church. You know, dear Sir, that in Denmark, as in the whole continent, perhaps in England too, Rationalists and orthodox are mixed together in the established Church. Except in the metropolis, every one is bound to have his children baptized and be partakers of the Lord's supper in that parish, where he resides; but very often it happens, that a true Christian believer belongs to the parish of a heterodox Clergyman. Such || (153) a man must necessary take an offend and be scandalized and enjoys not the liberty of a child of God. If he could apply for the Baptism and the Lord's supper of another Clergyman, his brother in faith, all should be

altered, his conscience should be free. About these matters Master Grundtvig has written much: the praxis of our Church in this case must be altered or we must secede from her. But we hope that the Danish estates¹ (our Parliament, to speak in English), to which petitions, concerning a free parish, are delivered, will have wisdom enough to arrange || (154) better the state of the Church.

I hope that these short illustrations about religious matters in my native country, will not be uninteresting for a man as you, an Englishman, a Christian and the foremost champion for the Church of England. If now you would be so kind, dear Sir, to give my any notice of your contest for the holy Baptism and of the state of the Church in England, I should return you many thanks. And, be sure, not only I, but many friends here in Denmark, which love our Lord Jesus Christ. I beg you address the letter to »Magister Fredrik Hammerich. || Addresse Agent J. Hammerich, Nybrogade No. 5, Copenhagen.«

God bless you, dear Sir, and dear Mistress Pusey and your whole family. His blessing return to you what you have done towards me.

I am, dear Sir,
Your most obliged, ever faithful
P. F. A. Hammerich.

Dette brev tilfredsstillede med visse modifikationer Pusey, der besvarede det som følger (7/11 1838, NkS 3405, 4°):

My dear Sir.

I was very glad to receive your letter, and much interested in its contents. There certainly is a most extraordinary movement, going on, in which good and evil are being developed and the events seem to be clearing for a very fearful contest. Among the clearing signs, is this return to Catholicity, of which you speak, for² if the Church but know her own strength and character, one shall have better hope of her prospects not only in the end, but for the present.

I was especially interested in your account of Mr. Grundtvig;

¹⁾ *Rettet fra*: estater. Stedet har været komplet uforstaaeligt for den engelske afskriver.

²⁾ *Overstr.* tho.

it is exactly the line which our great Divines have taken against the Ultra-Protestants or Puritans, as far as it goes; but he must not stop in the Symbolum Apostolicum, (because that also might be a dead letter, and might be, as it has been, interpreted in different ways,) but must go on to that of which the Symb. Apost. is a main part, namely, the teaching committed to the Church, & carried on by her; in a word, Apostolical tradition, which is to be ascertained according to Vincentius' rule »quod semper, quod ubique, quod ab omnibus«^{1a}. Thus, when the question was raised, in what sense¹ Jesus Christ is our Lord, which the Apost. Symbolum could not in itself determine, the Church met at Nicæa, and confessed the Apostolic tradition, which they had always received² in all their Churches, that Jesus Christ was Θεός ἐκ Θεού αὐτοθεός ἐξ αὐτοθεοῦ³, and so the Apostle's Creed was expanded into the Nicene, the Church at the one time, veiling her doctrine, & confessing openly as much as was necessary, & then, when it became necessary to add more, embodying in her Confession the Apostolic Tradition, which she had always held. This Church, we believe, can never err by virtue of our Lord's promise »Lo! I am with you always even to the end of the world« and »The gates of hell shall not prevail against her.« This doctrine differs from that of the Church of Rome, in that she limits this authority to the Chambers in communion with her. We say, it belongs to the Universal Church; she says, that a modern Council may correct antient tradition, we say that they must decide according to it; and so our great Divines have uniformly appealed to the 6 1st centuries, as comprising the Apostolic Tradition, or, as our good Bishop Kent⁴ said »I die on the faith of the Church Catholic before the Division of the East and West.« So then whatever can be proved to be || really Catholic tradition i.e. to have been received by the Church Universal throughout the world, that we believe to have been derived from the Apostles and so from God. And we are sure that no such tradition can be proved to be contrary to God's words. On this ground we receive Infant Baptism, Confirmation,

^{1a)} Vincentius af Lerinum (jfr. hans Peregrini adversum hæreticos II,3).

¹⁾ *Rettet fra*: senses.

²⁾ *Overstr.* at all times.

³⁾ Vel afledt af udtrykket αὐτοθεός καὶ ἀληθινός Θεός, der bruges om Faderen hos Origines, jf. Comm. in Joann. 2. 3. Det forekommer dog ikke i Nikæa-Symbolet.

⁴⁾ Den jacobitiske biskop i Bath, som i 1691 blev afsat, fordi han nægtede at aflægge troskabsed til Vilhelm af Oranien.

believe in Baptismal regeneration, the Presence of our Lord in the holy Eucharist, which you also hold; but on this ground, we also receive what was ever¹ looked upon as a safeguard of this tradition, the »successiones certissimæ« of Bishops, as S. Aug.² calls them, i.e. a line of Bishops, which had been consecrated and received their commission, each from his predecessor, until the chair mounted up to the Apostles, who received them from our Lord, & so our Bishops have received their authority transmitted to them, thro' successive generations, from our Lord, who promised to be one with his Church. This succession you unhappily abandoned at the reformation; and it would be a joyous return to Catholicity, as well as an act of³ childlike dutifulness towards God, were the Danish body to acknowledge that they had been wrong, and seek their ordination from Sweden, Scotland, or us. For whatever any may say as to the importance, it is a *fact* that everywhere in the Church down to the beginning of the 15th century, the Bishops did so receive their commission, and therefore, it seems at all events most according to His will, and to adopt any other plan seems very like the sin of Jeroboam, who made priests of any of the people indiscriminately, not of the seed of Aaron, which God appointed, and so your reformers would have Bishops, but not in the way of succession which He prescribed. I cannot but attach a good deal of importance to this, one has no rights to look upon any appointment of God as indifferent; every thing down to the fringes of the High Priest's garments should be adhered to, because He has appointed it. It is a part of human self's will, the origin and consequence of the folly to vary from the pattern, which he has given if we have but reason to suspect that He has given. If it could not be absolutely proved, that a transmitted Episcopacy is an ordinance of God, yet if there seemed good reason to believe it, or but probable that it is so, then it were the dutiful part to⁴ take care to have it, and any || Christian body which should forego it, must expect that in that trespass they had lost a portion of the favor of God. Episcopacy also always has been in history the centre of union of different Churches, in that the own Episcopacy every where was derived from one common source, and the Bishops were the representatives of the chief Pastor. We have no grounds to think that that unity and Communion between the Churches

¹⁾ *Overstr.* received.

²⁾ Augustin.

³⁾ *Overstr.* obedience.

⁴⁾ *Overstr.* adopt.

can ever be restored, until this be. To attempt union in any self-chosen way will be like building a tower of Babel, to end in a wider diffusion.

I am now engaged in a revision, of my work on Baptism; it proceeds slowly because it has pleased God to send a very heavy illness¹ upon my dear wife, from which few recover; yet God does sometimes raise up those whom He has brought thus low, so I have hoped that He may even yet do so for us, since many pray for us. There are some things, which make me think, that He does hear them; but the disease (consumption) is such that one must not look beyond the present day, taking thankfully our daily bread.

We have just begun publishing a »Library of Fathers of Christ's Holy Catholic Church anterior to the division of the East & West.« Translations & Original Texts following as soon as we can. We have published S. Augustins Confessions Lat. Eng. St. Cyril »Cathetical discourses« Eng. and are to go on with four vols a year. I look to much good from it.

If you think any of our books will do good, translated into Danish, I shall be very glad to send you the names or the book,
Christ Church Nov. 7 1838

Christ Church
Nov. 7 1838

With every good wish
your's most faithfully
E. B. Pusey.

Der er ingen tvivl om, at Hammerich har været ked af, at Pusey ikke kunde acceptere Gr. uden forbehold; og for at klare sagen har han henvendt sig til Gr. I fasc. 446 i Grundtvigarkivet paa det kgl. bibliotek ligger to udkast til svar til Pusey; men svaret er rimeligvis aldrig blevet sendt, da der i indholdsreferatet i Oxford umiddelbart før Hammerichs brev (p. 146) tales om »One Master Grundtvig, one of the foremost Champions against Rationalism«.

Hos Grundtvig synes Hammerich dog ikke at have mødt udeligt glæde, som vi kan se af udkastene, hvoraf det sidste skal citeres. Det er interessant at se Gr. paa den ene side optaget af, hvad der sker i England, men paa den anden side uvillig til at acceptere alle saadanne tankegange blindt:

¹) Heri rettelse. — Maria Catherine Pusey f. Barker døde 26. Maj 1839.

Dear Sir

My friend Mr. Hammerich has shown to me a letter of yours, from which I apprehend that his statement of what is going on here must have been very imperfect, and as I have no doubt lest you take a great deal of interest in the sake of Christianity even in a corner, without excuse I will tell you the fact.

For almost 30 years I have preached the Gospel under a hard struggle with the infidels, who at the beginning of this century had got almost full possession of our establishment and were about to abrogate even the Baptismal Covenant. For a long time I certainly would prove all from the Bible as I was taught, but finding it impossible, I very earnestly sought for a clearer and surer testimony, of which I felt truth divine must carry along with it, and twelve years ago I found it out or rather I stumbled upon it, as it is laid open to our eyes, tho' we did not see with eyes nor hear with ears. From that moment the »Holy Catholic Church« stands unmoveable before me upon its rock: the word of His mouth, who is the Word himself, and all the State-Establishments, from that of Constantin to the last, that may be sunk down as human fabricks and platforms, christian only so far as they kept the essentials or fundamentals of the primitive, Apostolical, Catholic Church. Under these circumstances || I must be quite a stranger to church history if I could overlook the Bishops or that gross mistake of ours by which they have been not despised but neglected, and upon that score I have always admired your Establishment, the only Protestant one where the Bishop really has been kept, for in Sweden they have kept appearances only.

In the mean time I dare not say, that you and I do agree on all great points, for I am certainly afraid, we do not, as you seem to exclude us and all congregations without a genuine Bishop from the Catholic Church, and on the contrary, from a long standing and strong experience I am fully satisfied that not only my Baptism but also my Ordination as a presbyter has been valid. But on the other hand it will appear strange if we should not agree upon the fundamentals, as we fully agree on the principle, that to these there ought to be reckoned neither more nor less than »quod semper, ubique et ab omnibus,« and I feel assured that if you will keep closely to this ancient rule, we shall agree, for when we don't care for what the Nicæan Bishops under the wing of an *unbaptized* Emperour have concluded, neither what Cyprian, || the *Neophyte* Bishop dreamed of the unity of Church and Clergy, but ask the Reverend Fathers in Christ, Polycarp

and Irenæus, St. John, St. Peter and St. Paul, what has been primitive in all congregations, we shall hear, that not the Clergy, but only the Creed and the Baptism are »the one needful thing«, tho' among the many things that pertain to »life and godliness,« the Clergy especially and the Bishops certainly belong to the principal ones.

Thus much I found myself obliged to state, but as my knowledge of your language is very imperfect, I will limit myself to this short explanation, that proves, how far I am either from thinking the bare Creed enough, or from slighting the Bishops. If else you should desire to know more of the little Danish Reformation, that now about thirty years has been cutting its way through the Protestant wilderness, and is now, I trust to God, approaching »a city, wherin to dwell,« the English Clergyman at Elsenor Rev. Mr. Wade¹, an intimate friend of mine, who understands Danish, would, I am sure, be happy to give you a full account, and the Lord has done so much here with little means, that our fellow Christians ought not to be ignorant of it.

Fik Pusey end ikke noget brev fra Grundtvig, tog denne dog sagen op i et trykt indlæg nogle aar efter (*De Nye Anglicaner*, Nord. Tidskr. f. christ. Theol. IV (1842). 117 ff.), som ikke er saa ensidigt polemisk mod Oxfordbevægelsen, som J. P. Bang (Grundtvig og England. 113 ff.) lader skimte igennem², men er skarpest, hvor det gælder, hvad Grundtvig havde paatalt i det uafsendte brev. Det er ikke en insinuation paa løst grundlag, men et svar paa det faktisk foreliggende i Puseys brev, der gives i følgende udtalelse (Gr.s afh. p. 121):

Vi veed jo nok, at ved vort første Møde og enfoldige Spørgsmaal om deres »Daabspagt«, vil de sætte sig paa den høie Hest og spørge, hvilken Biskop af Apostolisk Afkom (Apostolical Succession) der har enten *confirmaret* eller *ordineret* os, siden vi

¹⁾ Nugent Wade, paa denne tid engelsk legationspræst i Danmark. Hans samtaler med Grundtvig og Mynster er nu efter hans dagbog offentliggjort i Grundtvig-Studier I (1948).

²⁾ Den ældste reaktion paa tryk (Nordisk Kirke-Tidende 1839, 747 f.) er dog — i frisk minde om Puseys arrogante paaberaabelse af ordinationen — rent afvisende.

er saa dumdristige, paa *Catholsk* og *Apostolisk* Kirke-Grund, at kalde *dem* til Regnskab, istedenfor angergivne at krybe til Korset og giøre Bod baade for Morten *Luthers* og vore egne grove Synder.

Det er den haardnakkede hævdelse af ordinationens betydning og den deri implicerede underkendelse af lægmandsdaaben, Gr. paa det bestemteste træder op imod (pp. 121 f., 135 f.); og han udtaler sig skaanselsløst om det Nicæniske Koncilium og ethvert forsøg paa noget lignende nu (p.133). Men ellers er det meget væsentligt, hvad Bang ikke har taget hensyn til, at Gr. i sin afhandling (eller efter opsætningen recension) holder den engelske statskirke i dens traditionelle form og Oxfordbevægelsen som en »bevægelse«, et enkeltfænomen, vel ude fra hinanden. Sit kendskab til denne har han fra gode venner, Hammerich og Wade (Bang p. 117); og det er fra 1837, den uhedlige brevvekslings aar, Gr. følger med i dens fjerdingaarsskrift, *The British Critic* (afh. p. 120).

Den ydre anledning til, at Gr. netop nu rykker i marken, er, at Oxfordbevægelsens publikationsrække, *Tracts for the Times*, er blevet standset efter henstilling af biskoppen i Oxford, fordi den sidste, nr. 90, *Remarks on Certain Passages in the Thirty-Nine Articles*, har rokket ved den engelske kirkes bekendelsesgrundlag, parallelten til den Augsburgske Konfession i de lutherske lande. Dette kan Gr. kun se som en anmasselse, da en statskirke blot er en statsinstitution, ikke en organisation til bestemmelse af den rette tro; og det harmer ham, at loyaliteten mod bisperne, bevægelsens grunddogme, skal gøre den til redskab i disses haand, skønt dens medlemmer har en mulighed, han haardt savner her-hjemme, og som han ikke forstaar, at de ikke benytter sig af, retten til at træde ud af statskirken (p. 123 f.).

Alt i alt finder Gr. bevægelsen uafklaret, men ser den som et bemærkelsesværdigt tidens tegn. Et bevis paa, at det ikke er den, men selve statskirken, der er »papistisk«, er dens tilhængeres forstaaelse af poesien som hjælper til at forkynde

deres ideer (p. 144). Midt i deres altfor store selvsikkerhed er der noget, der kan retlede.

Efter dette skulde det synes indlysende, at et hovedmaal for Grundtvig i 1843 har været at træffe Pusey. Mødet blev dog en skuffelse, aabenbart fordi Gr. har lukket øjnene for Puseys særlige situation netop da. Pusey havde 14/5 1843 holdt en prædiken om nadveren, der havde vakt en saadan forargelse blandt de lærde gejstlige i Oxford, at han efter en række lange møder af de seks teologer, der skulde dømme ham, uden selv at blive hørt var suspenderet, saa han i to aar ikke maatte prædike i Oxforduniversitetets omraade (jf. H. P. Liddon: *The Life of Edward Bouverie Pusey II* (1893). 306 ff.). Dette kan Grundtvig ikke have været uvidende om; thi Andreas Hauge fortæller Wade i sit brev af 1/7 1843, at han har læst om sagen i norske og tyske aviser, og Liddon fremlægger (p. 338) materiale, der viser den almindelige bekymring for visse af Puseys tilhængere, specielt C. Marriott, som Gr. traf; og særlig ophidset var Francis Faber, som spillede en rolle under Gr.s ophold paa Magdalen College. Naar dertil kom, at Pusey paa dette tidspunkt var svagelig, som vi kan se af papirer i Pusey House, baade et brev til sønnen fra begyndelsen af juli, hvor han maa skuffe ham med, at han ikke kan være sammen med børnene i sommerferien, og et notat i den meget sparsomme »Date Book« (dagbogsuddrag), begge dele afskrift, hvor det 16/7 hedder: »Dr. Pusey not well enough to go to Church«, burde Gr. have forstaaet, at situationen for Puseys vedkommende var ligesaa exceptionel som hans egen i aarene efter 1825.

I Newmans dagbog for 22/6 1843 findes derimod en notits¹, som dog intet siger om samtale eller indtryk:

M. Grundtvig, Mr. Wade, Bowden, C. M.², A. Mozley, Duncan, Oakley, Anderdon and Lockhart to breakfast in Common

¹⁾ Velvilligst meddelt af The Rev. Henry Tristram, The Oratory, Birmingham. Grundtvig var introduceret i et brev til Newman fra William Scott og Hoxton 17/6.

²⁾ o: Charles Marriott.

Room with me. I walking in¹ with Lockhart and Anderdon who went.

Ud over dette er det lykkedes at finde brevet fra Francis Faber, som introducerede ham for Routh, jf. *N. F. S. Grundtvigs Breve fra England til Dronning Karoline Amalie* (Danskeren V (1891). 208). Efterskriften til det udaterede brev, som findes i Magdalen College Library og delvis er citeret af W. D. Macray (*A Register of Members of St. Mary Magdalen College, Oxford. New Series* V (1906). 125 fodn.) lyder :

I forget to say that a Danish clergyman of ye name of Gruntvig, is in Oxford at present — He is a Divine & Poet in his own country. About five weeks ago he was here, when you were at Tilehurst, & he expressed a great desire to see you before his return. I told him that if he was here *after the twentysixth*, he would have an opportunity — Mr. White² knew him in Denmark some years ago.

Naar dertil kommer, at det bl. a. var mænd fra Oxford-inderkredsen, der gav ham dedikationseksemplarer af deres bøger, Charles Marriott og William Palmer (to breve fra sidstnævnte aug. 1843 i fasc. 448), forstaar vi, at Gr. ikke er mødt uden interesse i denne kreds. Der er ingen tvivl om, at J. P. Bang i sin fremstilling har underkendt den positive betydning af kontakten i 1843; men specielt med kendskab til Pusey-kladden maa man undres over, at Gr. ikke trængte dybere ned i, hvad der egentlig foregik, især, at han ikke til bunds satte sig ind i suspensionssagen. Var han i 1843 alligevel for gammel til at tilegne sig en fremmed kirkes former og inderste liv paa fuldt effektiv maade ?

¹⁾ Fra Littlemore.

²⁾ F. W. White, som havde været der 1839 (breve til P. O. Brøndsted paa kgl. bibl.).
