Strachey wonders why the Victorians accepted Manning who was not cut out for a priest. Could it be that losing faith in Science, in Democracy and in the emerging Liberalism they welcomed a person who represented the ancient traditions and beliefs which they thought were long lost? Or could it be that Manning made himself accepted by clever art avoiding force? To find out the answers Strachey unfolds the story of Manning's life and considers it rather amusing.

The exact time of Manning's baptism is really unimportant. But when Strachey writes that little Henry was baptised late at eighteen months for want of a Bishop, he has a definite purpose. He cleverly conceals his opinion by commenting that Manning's biographer noted this incident as the first stumbling block in Manning's spiritual life. Strachey's allusion to this ironical remark "... but he surmounted it with success", is meant to hold Manning up to ridicule. Even as a child, Strachey tells us, Manning always spoke the truth and said his prayers everyday not for his love of God but for his fear of Hell.

As a student at Oxford Manning's successes at the Union marked him out for a glorious political career. He had a great

1. E.V., p. 3.
ambition but due to his father's sudden losses in business he had to take up a clerical job and then with great reluctance took holy orders as a Merton Fellow. With these changes in circumstances Manning became a priest and Strachey wants to drive home the point that such an unwilling person could not be expected to become a holy man. He did not take up a church career out of his love for God, he was rather forced into it. He would definitely pursue his ambition here also, and to gain his ends he would apply all unsaintly methods. Manning rose to an important position in the Church of England as well as in the Catholic Church, not by his spiritual qualities; it was by his intrigues that he won his way. Strachey cites incident after incident to prove that Manning was always involved in intrigues.

According to Strachey, Manning was out and out a careerist, and he brooked no brother near him. He became involved in the Oxford Movement with a hope of pursuing his ambition. He became intimate with Newman. Strachey juxtaposes Newman and Manning to the latter's disadvantage. Manning exploited Newman, then denounced him to prove his own exit from the Oxford Movement and Strachey laments that Newman, a person of extraordinary qualities, remained unnoticed because he was too polite, too honest, and too refined to see through Manning's machinations to keep him down always.
Strachey succeeds in showing how Manning had carefully built up a brilliant career in the Church of England; after his conversion to Roman Catholicism it seemed that he would not rise any further, his career was doomed; but Manning rose to the supreme position in England in the Catholic Church too. Strachey builds up the facts in such a way so that it becomes apparent to us that Manning must have leapt after he had looked; he must have got assurance from the Pope that he would be looked after well if he became a Catholic. And he was well looked after. Time and again the Pope went out of his way to elevate Manning from rank to rank till he became the ruler of the Roman Catholic Church in England, and Strachey comments that it was evident that as a ruler"... he would rule". 2 Inwardly Manning was conscious that Newman was far superior to him in spiritual qualities, the people felt it too. Now being the ruler he would wipe out the existence of Newman's influence. He also knew how to achieve his ends. The picture that Strachey draws of Manning in this connection is that of an intriguing priest. He made acquaintances with people who were not well reputed. Monsignor Talbot the private secretary to Pope Pius IX was one such man. Around this man Manning buzzed like a bee, says Strachey, because he was the one who would convey Manning's

2. Ibid., p. 74.
words to the Pope's ears. The Pope made Manning the Archbishop of Westminster. Strachey also cites many instances of the humiliation Newman suffered in the hands of Manning. Again Monsignor Talbot conspired with Manning to undo Newman's doing. The two together dashed Newman's hopes of forming an Oxford Oratory. Whatever Newman tried to do was thwarted by some vicious priest. Here Strachey attacks the other priests too. The Pope was also a puppet in their hands. He had to reckon with them. For them he could not elevate Newman to a bishop inspite of his desire to do so. When Monsignor Talbot retired to a lunatic asylum, Manning did not stop pestering Newman. He worked out many obnoxious means himself to stop Newman from being made a Cardinal. Strachey pictures Manning as a frustrated politician; all his unsatiated ambition was directed into ruthless ecclesiastical careerism from which arose his conflict with the great Newman. Strachey writes that Manning's hatred for Newman continued till Newman's death. Overtly he delivered a touching funeral oration, yet privately his comment betrayed the genuineness of his feelings. As for his feelings for Monsignor Talbot when he became a lunatic, Strachey writes, he remained untouched. His hard heartedness is again taken into account when years afterwards when he was rising from rank to rank in the Church he counted his wife's premature death as a blessing. Being a priest with a living wife he could not possibly make a career in the Church.
Strachey writes that in old age Manning had strange people visiting him, much to the disliking of his associates; many eccentricities had also come upon him. Strachey also feels that till the end Manning could not forget his disappointment in not being able to get into a political career.

Though his other biographers Hutton, Bodley and Purcell to some extent are all praises for Manning's philanthropic activities, Strachey is of a different opinion. In his eyes whatever good Manning did was done for self aggrandisement. All his acts were prompted by hypocrisy: his persuading the Dockers to resume work for their wives' and children's sake, fighting for the teachers' rights, for the Temporal Power or the Pope's infallibility, his contributing a paper or a lecture at a learned society or abstaining from good food and liquor, or his deep involvement with the Irish poor or any other poor.

Strachey is critical about the feeling displayed by the people at Manning's death; most of them had hardly seen him, leave alone knowing him. He questions why the people felt the loss of a great friend in Manning.


Though Strachey borrows facts from Purcell his attitude to life-writing is completely different. He destroys Purcell's two volume epic form to create a comic epic form of biography. Simson further modifies this by stating that "there is neither form nor theme in Purcell's Life of Manning." Therefore Strachey's random sampling destroys no form. Strachey, in his first biography "Cardinal Manning" borrows largely from Purcell's book because Purcell, unlike the other two biographers Bodley and Hutton, was rather impatient with Manning and gave his actions the worst possible interpretations. This method suited Strachey's purpose best.

A comparative study of the books used by Strachey will show how much he deviated from them and for what reasons.

Concerning the dispute regarding the year of Manning's birth, Strachey does not deviate from his chief source at all. As Simson notes, Strachey at one point actually quotes Purcell without acknowledgement. The difference is really in the viewpoint. Purcell is genuinely concerned about the possible spiritual effect of late baptism. Strachey quotes him with tongue in cheek, humourously anticipating his later allegation of hypocrisy against Manning.

The way Strachey begins his biography proves that he is not going to spare Manning. He takes up the role of a psychologist to enlighten the modern inquirers about "... the psychological problems suggested by his inner history". According to Strachey, Manning was widely known not for his saintliness but for his practical ability. To Strachey Manning belonged to that class of disreputed ecclesiastics who in the Middle Ages, were more diplomatic and administrative than religious. In fact Strachey thinks that the Middle Ages were heralded into the Nineteenth Century with Manning's mode of life and labour. He disapproves of Manning's performing High Mass at the Oratory, his performance at philanthropic gatherings at Exeter Hall, his persuading the dockers to withdraw the dock strike, his granting pardon to the distressed women. In his view religion and administrative ability could never go together even if the combination helped the society or the poor. He seems to have a dig at the Victorian people for allowing Manning to rule over them as a spiritual guide. He interprets the outward action of the man in a different light. The kindly courteous manner of the Cardinal was nothing but a delicate art and a camouflage to win over his enemies. Purcell's book provides Strachey with this kind of view. The same outlook is found in Purcell. After being refused into Newman's recluse in Littlemore, Manning wrote

a reconciliatory letter to Newman. Commenting on Manning's action, Purcell says:

Such an approach or apology was a characteristic act on the part of Manning, and in harmony with the principle on which he consistently acted... 8

In another place Purcell says:

Manning, on the occasion of Newman's conversion, had a double duty to perform — the duty of private friendship and the duty of public faith and policy. Each duty was discharged with consummate tact and skill... No one could perform the duties of friendship or affection, whether of condolence or congratulation, of sympathy or advice, with greater delicacy or tenderness of expression than Manning. 9

The idea that we form of Manning after reading Purcell's Life of Cardinal Manning or Strachey's "Cardinal Manning" in the Eminent Victorians is altered the moment we turn to Bodley's book or Hutton's book. Bodley and Hutton both Anglicans, were profuse in their praise of Manning for those very qualities which Strachey denounces. Bodley knew Manning with "extraordinary intimacy", 10 he says:

I was probably the only young man of my day who enjoyed his close friendship and the only Protestant of that time. 11

He is full of adoration and presents his hero as a simple and humble messenger of God. Bodley came to know Manning towards the end of the latter's life, yet his charm was such that Bodley could not help loving the Catholic Cardinal. Hutton is also fair to Manning and his work. In his Preface he says... I wish to put on record here my vivid impression of his kindly, courteous manner, his dignity, earnestness, and patience. He unhesitatingly compliments Manning on his extraordinary guiding power and zeal for hard labour by saying... he possessed and exercised the qualifications of a leader; and the extraordinary change in the position of the Roman Church in England during the last thirty years may be ascribed, so far as it can be ascribed to the exertions of any one man, to Manning's skilful guidance and unremitting toil.

Manning's life and labour suggested no psychological problem to these two writers.

Two different views appear regarding Manning's father's desire about his son's career. Strachey writes:

It had been his father's wish that Manning should go into the Church; but the thought disgusted him; and when he reached Oxford, his tastes, his ambitions, his successes at the Union, all seemed to mark him out for a political career.

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13. Ibid., p. 2.
14. E. V., p. 5.
Regarding Manning's father's wish Purcell says that Manning had spent most of his time in indolent and desultory reading at Harrow. As a result he was ill prepared to go up to Oxford. Purcell comments:

His father and his eldest brother Frederick were greatly disappointed; for Henry Manning had from the first been destined for the Church, and in consequence for a university education, which none of his elder brothers enjoyed. There was for a time some idea, since his studies at Harrow had been so unprofitable, of putting Henry Manning into his father's house of business as preparation for a commercial career. This determination was a great disappointment to the idle but clever boy. 15

In Hutton there is no mention of a Church career for Manning. He says:

Before sending him to Oxford, his father had planned for him a commercial career; but this was now set aside in favour of the service of the State. 16

Bodley does not say anything regarding this. This makes it clear that Strachey ignored his sources when they said that Manning's father also had thoughts of a business career for Manning. After saying that Manning's father wanted his son to go into the Church on completion of his university education Strachey adds that Manning was disgusted with such a thought. But after reading Purcell's comment it appears that Manning

was disgusted with the idea of a commercial career. Strachey does this on purpose to prove to his readers that Cardinal Manning whom all hailed as a man deeply devoted to religion actually wanted to avoid what was to become his vocation of life. Regarding his success in the College Union, his desire to enter a political career and his sudden abandonment of the desire Strachey says:

... on his leaving Oxford, the brimming cup was dashed from his lips. He was already beginning to dream of himself in the House of Commons, the solitary advocate of some great cause whose triumph was to be eventually brought about by his extraordinary efforts, when his father was declared a bankrupt, and all his hopes of a political career came to an end for ever.17

Purcell quotes from a letter written to him by C. Wordsworth, Bishop of St. Andrews "... external circumstances drove him to his books, which was, I think, very soon after he went to Oxford".18 This will make it clear that Strachey is again at fault in giving the exact time of Manning's father's losses in business.

That the mention of "external circumstances", mentioned in the letter is a reference to Manning's father's losses is made clear by Hutton who writes that Manning withdrew

17. B.V., p. 5.
... almost entirely from the society of the young men about him, so as to read steadily for the schools. Circumstances had occurred about this time to make his place in the class-lists a matter of the greatest moment. His father had sustained severe losses in business, and was no longer in a position to leave his sons independent of any necessity to work for their livelihood. 19

Hutton continues that this disappointment, transformed Manning into a thoughtful and industrious man. He began to take his education more seriously and obtained a first class in the final examination.

Hence it was not, as Strachey says, that Manning's father's losses in business occurred after Manning had left Oxford. It took place while Manning was still pursuing his studies at Oxford; as a consequence he was prepared to face the hazards of life after graduation. Strachey, in order to hold up his own image of Manning's character, creates a fictional situation in which we find Manning absolutely helpless and dejected on coming out of Oxford, and having to sacrifice the dream of a political career for a religious one.

The seeds of religion were dug into Manning's mind from his Oxford days. In this connection Purcell quotes a letter written by Lord Forester, Canon of York, to the Times, dated 20th January 1892, a few days after Cardinal Manning's death. The 19. Hutton, p. 9.

letter showed the spiritual influence exercised over H. Manning's mind by Miss Bevan, while he was still a student in Oxford. The letter says that it was Manning's desire to enter Parliament, but his father's losses in property meant an end to his desires. He was extremely ambitious and this, Miss Bevan held, was his chief failing in those days. During his visit to Trent she found that he was very dejected and she suggested that they read the Bible together as a remedy. Her consolation was that heavenly ambitions were not closed upon him. This letter just describes the talk between Manning and Miss Bevan. But interestingly Strachey makes it as a talk the two had one day "... in the shrubbery". The phrase "in the shrubbery" is Strachey's own addition. Its earthyness takes away or at least lessens the spiritual importance to the original account that Purcell attaches to the conversation. From Strachey's account we come to know that Manning had become "intimate" with a pious lady, and that the lady noticed that Manning revealed "bitterness" and "disappointment" at his father's losses in business. But such terms were not present in Lord Forester's letter. Strachey has a definite purpose for making Manning bitter and disappointed. A priesthood accepted out of bitterness and disappointment is bound to lack in saintliness. He also does not mention "Miss Bevan" by name. Robert, her brother too joined in the reading.

21. E.V., p. 6
This was the beginning of Manning's religious life. He considered her as his spiritual mother from then on. When the vacation came to an end and it was time for Manning and Robert to return to Oxford she suggested that Robert and he should continue reading the Bible together at Oxford and she at Trent, and discuss the subjects in letters. This resulted in a long and fruitful correspondence. Lord Forester's letter has another importance. It corroborates the fact that Manning's father's misfortune took place while he was still at Oxford and he was prepared to some extent for a religious life. Strachey is of the opinion that Miss Bevan's influence on Manning did hardly anything to him or his secret ambitions for he writes:

Yet, in spite of these devotional exercises, and in spite of a voluminous correspondence on religious subjects with his Spiritual Mother, Manning still continued to indulge in secular hopes. He entered the Colonial Office as a supernumerary clerk, and it was only when the offer of a Merton Fellowship seemed to depend upon his taking orders that his heavenly ambitions began to assume a definite shape.22

Purcell writes about Manning's entering the Colonial Office:

Mr. Gladstone expressed his belief that this appointment was obtained for Manning owing to his father's bankruptcy, 'but', he said by way of caution, 'don't mention this in the 'Life', unless you find the statement confirmed by other authority'. He then added, 'A subordinate post in the Colonial Office must have been intolerable to a man of Manning's great mental powers.'23
Hutton disagrees with those who think that Manning was prompted by material necessity to take Holy Orders. He thinks that retaining the Government job would have been comfortable enough for Manning even if he had not become a clergyman. "Already he had learnt to discriminate between 'the Church' and 'the world', and to hold the latter in something like contempt."  

Strachey is again harsh when he writes that "All he could do was to make the best of a bad business," meaning that to Manning a religious career was most hateful and since there was no alternative he had to remain satisfied with what little he got; also, the Fellowship was the first consideration, not religious devotion. A careful reading of Hutton will show that Manning chose a church career of his own and was content with it. Hutton says that though it is unprofitable yet it would be interesting to speculate what would have been the result had the position of Gladstone and Manning been interchanged. There are many who believe that Gladstone as the Archbishop of Canterbury and Manning as Prime Minister, would have occupied posts better suited to their characters and abilities. Hutton attributes Manning's success as a clergyman to the fact that, apart from

a literary and theological training, he had a knowledge of economic affairs also. His interest in the problems of poverty and the relations between capital and labour "... proved to be of no little practical value to him."

He adds that in Manning's time social work by a priest was not favoured by many; but days and ideas have changed, and it is agreed since then that social reform is the most important sphere of work of all sects and churches.

Though Manning could not become a statesman, Strachey continues, his ambition would not be daunted. He would follow it in whatever profession he took up. In this strain Strachey writes:

... forgetting Miss Deffell, he married his rector's daughter. Within a few months the rector died, and Manning stepped into his shoes; and at least it could be said that the shoes were not uncomfortable.

Purcell however states definitely:

... in the spring-time of 1833, not very long after the death of her father, Caroline Sargent accepted Manning as her husband. On the death of Rev. John Sargent on the 3rd of May, 1833, Sargent of Lavington House, as patron of the benefice, presented the living to Manning as she had presented it twenty seven years before to her son, the late rector.

27. E.V., p. 7.
Strachey has distorted a fact by pushing back the time of marriage to the period before the rector's death. He has also suppressed Purcell's statement regarding the late rector's mother's presenting the living to him. This detail makes Manning seem less ruthless than Strachey would have us believe. Strachey says that the shoes which Manning stepped into at the Rector's death were not uncomfortable. He stops at that. But Purcell explains matters which led to his success:

Manning's personal piety was beyond question. He was a devout believer in God and in the Bible. To preach His Word to the poor and to the ignorant was the aim and delight of his life at Lavington ... Manning followed in his (his father-in-law's) footsteps. It was not long before the rector knew not merely by sight but by name every one of his scattered flock. He visited their homes and established Bible reading. ... His kindness of heart and sympathy drew by degrees almost the whole parish to the little church.29

Strachey implies that both the choice of profession and the choice of the wife were prompted by his yearning for material comfort. Purcell's account makes this assessment of Manning's character unacceptable.

Describing the Oxford Movement Strachey gives all importance to Newman. He describes Dr. Pusey's role not very seriously. But F. Warre Cornish in his book confers on Dr. Pusey

A greater role in the Oxford Movement. Strachey makes a passing comment on Dr. Pusey:

Amongst the earliest of the converts was Dr. Pusey, a man of wealth and learning, a professor, a canon of Christ Church who had, it was rumoured, been to Germany. Then the Tracts for the Times were started under Newman's editorship, and the Movement was launched upon the world …. Dr. Pusey wrote learnedly on Baptismal Regeneration; he also wrote on Fasting. His treatment of the latter subject met with considerable disapproval, which surprised the Doctor …. 31

Newman speaks highly of Dr. Pusey's contribution to the movement:

Without him we should have had no chance, especially at the early date of 1834, of making any serious resistance to the liberal aggression. Dr. Pusey was, to use the common expression, a host in himself; he was able to give a name, a form, and a personality to what was without him a sort of mob; ... 32

Cornish quotes the passage and says that Newman was not flattering when he praised Pusey:

Pusey's adhesion unquestionably gave stability and coherence to the party, which, like all newly formed parties, was in danger from partial views and hot headed projects. 33

All these stress Dr. Pusey's importance to the movement.

31. E.V., pp. 16-17.
But Strachey denies him this importance and transfers it wholly to Newman, thus humiliating Manning who is compared unfavourably with Newman. Other than these minor things Strachey does not deviate from his sources in the part dealing with the Oxford Movement, the Tracts and men like Keble and Froude. Froude is drawn from his "Remains", Newman from his Letters and correspondence and Pusey from H.P.S. Liddon's Life of Edward Bouver Pusey.

Ward writes in his book that William George Ward loved opera and once forgetting that Dr. Pusey's room was next door, sang loudly a piece of light music. Strachey over-dramatizes this incident when he writes that the abstention from music during Lent began to affect the health of a young penitent. He sought permission from Dr. Pusey to indulge in a little sacred music which was granted. But forgetting to keep to sacred music only he gradually became intoxicated with the merriment of singing and began singing light songs. Then there was a persistent knocking on the wall and it was remembered at once that Dr. Pusey's room was next door.

Newman joined the movement with all sincerity of heart, he tried to purge the evil out of the Church of England and

35. E.V., p. 31.
transform it into such an institution as had never existed before. Though Strachey's tone is light when he writes:

... the waters of the true Faith had dived underground at the Reformation, and they were waiting for the wand of Newman to strike the rock before they should burst forth once more into the light of day. 36

Yet he reserves his sting for Manning. Gradually Manning was influenced by Newman and the Oxford Movement. Strachey says that when Manning's attachment was leaked out he became afraid that it would come in his way of rising in the Church of England and he had far to go; so, as was natural for a selfish careerist, he denounced outright his relationship with the Tractarians publicly. Purcell says he took part in it according to the measure of his abilities and opportunities and it must be borne in mind that Manning adopted this attitude because his new office had put upon him a greater responsibility; besides it was a keen desire of his heart to preserve the concord and unity in the Church of England which were so dear to him. He could not possibly be on good terms with those who were looked upon as the trouble makers, threatening the Church's unity. Purcell also gives a psychological tag to Manning's severing of ties with the Tractarians:

Tractarianism was a losing cause. To a losing cause Manning was never partial, early in life.

36. Ibid., p. 16.
or late. His nature instinctively shrank from them that were failing, or were down. On the winning side, he could render, as he knew, far more effectual service to the Church. ... 37

Side by side Purcell gives vent to another statement.
Manning did everything in his means to clear up the doubts formed in the minds of his superiors regarding his religious beliefs and his connection with the Tractarians. He even let down some friends to prove himself innocent. In Purcell’s words:

... he made a supreme effort to clear himself once for all of the charge of ‘Romanising tendencies,’ so damaging to his position and prospects. To preach an ultra-Protestant sermon on Guy Fawkes’ day was a daring and desperate stroke of diplomacy. But Manning, counting the cost, was equal to the occasion. 38

It worked wonders on all those whose minds were in doubt and those concerned with his elevation were reassured. Purcell further thinks that the end of Manning’s friendship with the Tractarians and Newman’s retirement to Littlemore opened up before the Archdeacon of Chichester prospects of a great ecclesiastical and public career. It revived the ambition of his undergraduate days and he worked towards that end. He aspired now not to a seat in the House of Commons but to a seat in the House of Lords as a spiritual peer. Strachey grabs this

idea from Purcell and interprets Manning's movements in this light. Newman was free from ambition but not Manning. It was as if Manning joined the movement with an aim and when chances of his rise in career seemed to be at risk by continuing in the movement he denounced his relation with Newman. In this way Manning promoted his own career while Newman was left in the lurch.

There was no ambition or political disputes to urge Newman on to the Church of Rome. He became a convert simply to satisfy the religious turmoil that was going on in his mind. But Manning went over for other reasons. He could not agree to the judgement passed by the Judicial Committee in the Gorham judgement. He had risen to the office of Archdeacon in the Anglican Church by applying various means; he had denied his relations with the Tractarians when occasion arose. He had hopes of rising further. This becomes apparent from the sentence by which Strachey seems to sum up Manning's inner thoughts; "Nobody could wish to live and die a mere Archdeacon". Even if Manning did not think that way Strachey makes him think so. Probably he became a convert not to appease his troubled conscience but because he had scented greater opportunities. Strachey deviates from Purcell regarding the conversion of Manning. Strachey states that the final step of becoming a Catholic was taken by

Manning after the Gorham Judgement was passed. But Purcell says, "But for Manning the Gorham Judgement was not yet God's final call." Then he writes:

Another call like to that of Laprimaudaye's conversion, and Dodsworth's and Henry Wilberforce's, comes to Manning, standing on the edge of deep waters, from yet another of his friends, Lord Campden, who had made the plunge. In reply, Manning attributes to the 'anti-Roman uproar' his resolution to wait no longer in obedience to others, but to take at once the final step.\(^{41}\)

Purcell in this connection quotes a letter of Manning to his friend Lord Campden. In the letter Manning writes:

My convictions had long been formed that I could not continue to hold on, under oath and subscription, but obedience to others made me wait. When this anti-Roman uproar broke forth I resolved at once.\(^{42}\)

Strachey omits this and writes:

'What an escape for my poor soul!' Manning is said to have exclaimed when, shortly after his conversion, a mitre was going a-begging. But, in truth, Manning's 'poor soul' had scented nobler quarry. To one of his temperament, how was it possible, when once the choice was plainly put, to hesitate for a moment between the respectable dignity of an English bishop, harnessed by the secular power, with the Gorham

\(^{40}\) Purcell, Vol. I, p. 551.

\(^{41}\) Ibid., Vol. I, pp. 597-598.

\(^{42}\) Ibid., Vol. I, p. 598.
judgement as a bit between his teeth, and the illimitable pretensions of the humblest priest of Rome? 43

Purcell plainly states:

But the rising dignitary of the Anglican Church rose superior to the temptations of ambition, and for conscience' sake forewent the chance of winning an Anglican mitre at Canterbury or Durham or York. Obeying the Divine call henceforth he devoted himself heart and soul as a catholic to the service of the Holy Roman Church, to the work and will of God. 44

Strachey ironically says that the splendid career which Manning had built up was shattered. He was once again placed in the bottom rung of the ladder besides his new superiors hardly knew him to give him special attention.

Both Purcell and Bodley hold the same opinion that Manning was unconcerned about personal ambition and comfort. Bodley writes that Newman's mind was subjective; while Manning could look objectively at things and put himself in the background. He did not moan over the fact that he would start anew as an insignificant priest in the Catholic Church. 45

Strachey's Manning is ambitious. Perhaps even in his own days Manning was attacked by his opponents who thought he

43. E.V., p. 50.
45. Bodley, pp. 21-22.
was possessed with ambition. Purcell gives Manning's own views regarding this. He writes:

In his Journal, under date 17th February 1889, Cardinal Manning defended himself against the charges of ambition; "I have been accused both by friends and enemies of ambition. Every man who rises is supposed to have desired and sought it. Have I done?

I think I had very strong ambitions for public life from 1829 to 1832.

But when I was in the Colonial Office and might have gone onwards I gave it up for conscience sake, and took Anglican orders". 46

That Manning took no time in asserting his influence in the Catholic church is clear from Cardinal Wiseman's remark. Wiseman's high opinion of Manning's character, and abilities is evident from the remark quoted by Purcell. "I hope soon he will be one of us". 47 Cardinal Wiseman cherished this wish of Manning's becoming a bishop even when Manning had just been received into the Catholic Church as a priest and had not yet commenced his theological studies and training. Then Purcell unkindly remarks that "Wiseman's hope, which was akin to a prophecy, may not have been without its effect on Manning's susceptible nature". 48

47. Ibid., Vol. I, p. 638.
Strachey emphasises that all Manning's actions were prompted by ambition. But he faces an awkward problem in handling Manning's conversion. Manning gave up the splendid career which he had so labouriously built up and which was sure to lead him to the highest rank had he continued in the Church of England. Manning, at forty four, began life again from the very bottom rung of the ladder in the Catholic Church. Strachey in order to get over the difficulty says that:

Nevertheless it is difficult to feel quite sure that Manning's plunge was as hazardous as it appeared. Certainly he was not a man who was likely to forget to look before he leaped. ... In the light of after-events, one would be glad to know what precisely passed at that mysterious interview of his with the Pope, three years before his conversion. It is at least possible that the authorities in Rome had their eye on Manning; they may well have felt that the Archdeacon of Chichester would be a great catch. What did Pio Nono say? It is easy to imagine the persuasive innocence of his Italian voice. 'Ah, dear Signor Manning, why don't you come over to us? Do you suppose that we should not look after you?'.

At any rate, when he did go over, Manning was looked after very thoroughly. 49

The dialogue between the Pope and Manning is Strachey's creation. It is fictitious and unsupported by evidence.

49. E.V., p. 51.
Hutton writes that even at the risk of tediousness he gives the entire details of the episode connected with Manning's migration from the Anglican to the Roman Church, because people will form their judgement on Manning's moral integrity from these actions. If they form an unfavourable judgement Manning will fail to command respect as an English leader in religion. Hutton thinks that Manning's undoubted greatness as an administrator is less important than his moral or intellectual eminence; for this reason he thinks it important that he should show as far as possible from Manning's own words and actions that these qualities did not desert him at this crisis of his life.

The Anglican Church incurred a great loss at Manning's going over to Rome and that Manning after all was not greedy for power is evident from the remark by Archdeacon Hare of Lewes which Hutton cites:

The Church of England, he added, in Manning's secession, 'mourns over the loss of one of the holiest of her sons.' Such words, spoken at such a time, are an honour no less to the speaker than to his subject; and they contrast favourably with sneers and innuendoes about 'restless ambition', and the like, which would fall from the lips of Oxford High Church Professors at a later date...

Cornish is also of the opinion that at Manning's conversion the Anglican Church had to incur a great loss. To quote his words:

50. Hutton, p. 53.
He had the faults as well as the merits of the priestly; he was ambitious because he commanded; an actor, but sincere; a convinced rhetorician; clear in his ends, not always scrupulous in his means; a powerful administrator and ruler, one whose place must always be in the analysis. So conspicuous a desertion caused much dismay in the Church.  

Strachey succeeds in showing how Manning had carefully built up a brilliant career in the Church of England. His going over to Rome seemed to check further rise; his career seemed to be doomed. But Strachey again builds up facts in such a way as to show that in the Catholic Church too, Manning rose to the supreme position in England, because he was "well looked after". In the Catholic Church Manning got himself involved in a quarrel. Trouble was raging between Cardinal Wiseman and Manning on the one hand and Dr. Errington and Canon Searle on the other. In order to show how Manning won in this battle, Strachey again dexterously builds up the plot according to his own convenience and in Manning's disfavour. More in the fashion of a writer of thrillers than that of a biography, Strachey writes of Manning going in search of Talbot who had the ear of the Pope.  

His sagacity led him swiftly and unerringly up the little winding stair case in the Vatican and through the humble door which opened into the cabinet of Monsignor Talbot the private Secretary of the Pope. ...  

52. E.V., p. 60.
Regarding this quarrel Purcell mentions a letter of Manning to Talbot where he wrote that the Protestant world did not know how the work of the Catholic Church was hindered by domestic strife. There is no mention of Manning going up the winding steps to meet the Pope's private Secretary personally. Probably Strachey was enthused by the sentence which in Purcell read thus: "Manning had the advantage of telling his own story in letters to Mgr. Talbot, with the full knowledge that they would be duly reported 'in the proper quarter'." About Talbot, Purcell writes:

The Hon. and Rev. George Talbot, a younger son of Lord Talbot of Malahide of that day, was received into the Church in the year 1847 and ordained by Bishop Wiseman, to whom he was devotedly attached.

This may well be the reason why Talbot sided with Manning who was fighting for Wisemen wholeheartedly. Purcell further writes that in truth Wiseman himself would have Dr. Errington thrown out at any cost because Errington was constantly in accord with most of the suffragan Bishops thwarting his own work and Manning's. But since he did not possess the nerves, the firmness and tenacity of purpose as Manning he "in 1859, appointed Manning 'procurator'," that is, entrusted to

53. Purcell, Vol. II, p. 84.
54. Ibid., Vol. II, p. 86.
55. Ibid., Vol. II, p. 91.
him the office and duty of appearing before the courts or tribunals of Propaganda as the defender of the Cardinal's cause.

This official position, which Manning held for three years, gave him a foothold at Propaganda, brought him into a closer relations with the leading cardinals and official personages at the Curia, and led to frequent and friendly interviews on Wiseman's and his own behalf with the Pope.56

Purcell writes that the voice which complained at the Vatican was indeed Wiseman's but the hand which struck the fatal blow was the hand of Manning. It was even felt in those days that there would have been no Errington Case at all had it not been for Manning.57 The tussle between Dr. Errington and Manning appears through the pages of Strachey's description as that of a purely personal one. Nowhere does Strachey mention the reason which made Manning so violent.

After Wiseman's death the question arose who would become the next Archbishop of Westminster. Manning is accused of having ambition and desire to occupy the vacant seat. So again around Talbot he buzzed like a bee, says Strachey, knowing well that the Pope would come to know of it through his Secretary. Strachey makes the nomination of Manning as Archbishop of


57. Ibid., Vol. II, pp. 96-97.
Westminster the result of intrigues and clever manipulation by Manning and Talbot, aided by the Pope's supernatural inspiration. Purcell cites in detail letters exchanged between Manning and Talbot where Manning writes of his indifference to the matter regarding his selection; Strachey ignores them. Purcell also tells us that Cardinal Barnabo, one of the selectors, disfavoured Dr. Errington's selection to the vacant seat of Cardinal Wiseman at his death. At this Talbot was encouraged to suggest Manning's name but he was exceedingly distressed to find that Cardinal Barnabo not only opposed Manning's appointment but was hostile towards him. Manning did not feel any pain at the selectors' hostility towards him. He wrote to Talbot:

I have therefore never, as you once said people thought, 'aimed at it', or desired it. God knows, I have never so much as breathed a wish to Him about it, .... I have lived for work and not names or promotions. 58

Strachey makes Manning's triumph as Archbishop of Westminster the doing of Talbot. Though Purcell states other details contained in letters but his personal feeling is the same. The Pope, brushing aside all other recommendations chose Manning as successor to Wiseman. Not only on this occasion but time and again the Pope went out of his way to elevate Manning from rank to rank till he became "the ruler of Roman Catholic England", 59 and Strachey comments that it was evident that as a

ruler: "he would rule". 60 Inwardly he felt that Newman was far superior to him in spiritual qualities, the people felt it too. Now being the ruler he would wipe out Newman's influence. He also knew how to achieve his ends. The picture that Strachey draws of Manning in this connection is that of an intriguing priest. He looked up to Talbot again for help. Help came at once because Talbot in Strachey's eyes

... was a master of various arts which the practice of ages has brought to perfection under the friendly shadow of the triple tiara. He could mingle together astuteness and holiness without any difficulty; he could make innuendoes as naturally as an ordinary man makes statements of fact, he could apply flattery with so unsparing a hand that even Princes of the Church found it sufficient; and, on occasion, he could ring the changes of torture on a human soul with a tact which called forth universal approbation. 61

Monsignor Talbot is drawn by Strachey on the lines of Purcell. Strachey with utmost zeal tries to prove that as soon as Manning was made the Archbishop of Westminster, he pounced on Newman with his newly acquired power and Talbot's help:

Newly clothed with all the attributes of ecclesiastical supremacy, Manning found himself face to face with Newman, upon whose brows were glittering the fresh laurels of spiritual victory — the crown of an apostolic life. It was the meeting of the eagle and the dove. 62

60. E.V., p. 74.
61. Ibid., p. 60.
62. Ibid., p. 74.
Strachey compares the two men. Newman had no rank and no power. But he was superior to Manning in the spiritual world. Manning was conscious of his own drawback and with his rank and power, he was determined to crush Newman's interest in establishing a Church at Oxford and a "House of the Oratory". If Newman was allowed to achieve his proposed scheme his supremacy over Manning would be evident. Accordingly Manning sought Talbot's help by pouring into his receptive ears reflections which cleverly hid his own fear. Instead he reflected that if Newman was allowed to pursue with his plan he would lead the Catholic youths into a different path. Oxford was a seat of liberalism; also, Newman's orthodoxy was doubted. So, how could the youths be placed under a person whose influence would prove fatal? Talbot was already infuriated with Newman. He had been snubbed by Newman after asking him in a letter to preach before a fashionable congregation which gathered in the Vatican during Lent. Newman considered this to be a great act of insolence and regretted that he had neither the taste nor the talent for which he was selected. Talbot, feeling insulted, at once complied with Manning's wish of putting down Newman. His letter to Manning contained the words — "His spirit must be crushed". Manning's reply was: "You will take care, that things are correctly known and understood where you are ...." Obviously

63, 64. Ibid., p. 77.
meaning the Pope. While Strachey's comment runs — "The con-
federates matured their plans." With the conspiracy of the
two, Newman was stopped from proceeding with his plan. They
really crushed his spirit. Strachey uses Ward and Purcell in
stating how Newman's plan was thwarted by Talbot and Manning.
He seems to have followed his sources in doing this though in
his bid to establish Manning's villainy, he makes Newman milder
than he really was. It appears from his sources that Newman
was not mild or tame or weak. Strachey has purposely softened
Newman's strength in order to make the dove and eagle imagery
forceful. In order to achieve his end he invents little things
relying upon his sources. He leaves out a stanza while quoting
a poem by Newman entitled "The Two Worlds" taken from Ward's
Newman. It seems that he purposely left out the fourth stanza
because its manner was direct and bold. It reflected a sterner
Newman. Naturally it would tarnish the image of his simple
hearted Newman. Newman appears in Strachey to be careful before
accepting the editorship of The Rambler:

This time he hesitated rather longer than
usual; he had burnt his fingers so often;
his must be specially careful now. ... 67

65. Ibid., p. 77.


67. E. V., p. 70.
In Ward this state of mind of Newman appears not before but after he gave up the editorship of The Rambler. Strachey makes Newman helpless in the face of Manning's misdeeds. Strachey is not serious when he mentions in short that Manning tried for a reconciliation with Newman. To make things clear Purcell writes that Manning was eager to renew the old friendship but Newman could not be easily convinced, Purcell quotes some letters of Manning written to Newman requesting Newman to enter "into the openest and fullest explanation of all my acts and thoughts towards you ..." but Newman turned down the request with the words:

I should rejoice, indeed, if it were so easy to set matters right ... There is no short cut to a restoration of confidence, when confidence has been seriously damaged.

Purcell also tries to give the reason for Manning's ill feeling towards Newman. Manning from the first did not trust Newman as a Catholic. He stated the reason for his mistrust in his letters to Talbot and Purcell thinks that to suppress such letters would be an injustice to Manning. Purcell states that Manning was against Newman because he indenfied Newman sympathising with

an anti-Papal party in England. Bodley writes that one night Cardinal Manning chose to speak to him on the Oxford Movement. Then he went on to talk of Newman. So long as his allusions were to their personal relations there was no bitterness in his words. He lamented that Newman slighted him. Then the conversation moved to theological ground, and Manning's tone changed. It only proved that Manning had doubts about Newman's religious beliefs. Somehow he could not be one with them, hence all the fundamental antagonism arose. Strachey accuses Manning of withholding the Cardinal's honour from Newman out of vengeance. His description of Manning in this role is that of a clever manipulator. When Manning was requested to recommend Newman to the Vatican for such an honour:

A letter was drawn up by Manning for the eye of the Pope, embodying the Duke of Norfolk's proposal; but there was an unaccountable delay in the transmission of this letter; months passed, and it had not reached the Holy Father.

Bodley who claims that he knew Manning with "extraordinary intimacy" writes on this matter that Wilfréd Ward does loyal service to Manning's memory by refuting the suggestion that he tried to prevent Newman being made a Cardinal. He blames Manning's biographer for making that suggestion, and

71. Bodley, pp. 16-17.

72. E. V., p. 102.
also showing the two eminent converts as enemies. Manning being a "self-seeking master of dissimulation" and Newman his "guileless victim."  

In another place Bodley comments:

*It has always been incomprehensible to me why Manning's hostility to Newman should be imputed to him as a sin, while Newman's hostility to Manning is held to be a virtue."*

Though Newman was forced to remain unimportant yet Strachey thinks that Manning could not succeed in this completely. He brings in points to show how Newman triumphed over Manning spiritually. In this connection Strachey makes good use of a particular point mentioned in a letter of Captain Laprimaudaye the son of Manning's much beloved friend and curate. The letter is from Purcell's book. It relates to the days when both Newman and Manning were still Anglicans. Captain Laprimaudaye with great admiration writes about Manning:

*I was struck by his having a lamp in it (his carriage) for reading purposes, so as to waste no moments of his long winter drives, — at that time Godalming was our nearest railway station going North.*

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74. Ibid., p. 15.
There is nothing sarcastic in this description. But a touch of sarcasm is present in the description by Strachey when he uses the lamp in the carriage in a special context. Strachey chooses the occasion of Manning's delirious state of mind when he had lost faith in his own church but still had to rescue men and women from going over to Rome. He longs for solace himself. Here Strachey attackingly writes:

He had a lamp put into his phaeton, so that he might lose no time during his long winter drives. There he sat, searching St. Chrysostom for some mitigation of his anguish, while he sped along between the hedges to distant sufferers, to whom he duly administered the sacraments according to the rites of the English Church. 76

The lamp in the phaeton becomes, in Strachey's essay, a symbol of hypocrisy. A sting underlies Strachey's comment. Strachey is of the opinion that Newman was superior to Manning in every quality. Yet Manning rose to supreme heights while Newman remained unknown. Newman possessed a delicate and a subtle mind full of imagination. Strachey writes that had Newman gone to Cambridge instead of Oxford the course of his life would have been different. He would have been a successful artist or writer, and there would not be an Oxford Movement nor would Newman remain a non-entity. He was doomed because he was unfortunate enough to go to Oxford for his studies. However

76. E.V., p. 44.
all through he was guided by his intellect. He derived much benefit from the writings of the ancient Saints. But on the other hand Manning found no peace of mind from the same authors because he was of a completely different temperament. He suffered from a strange malady, a malady from which a worldly man may suffer but never a holy man. Temptations in his path were many and he was conscious of his leanings towards worldly success. He poured out his thoughts in his diary and tried to keep them in check. So naturally the peace of mind which the simple hearted Newman obtained easily Manning could not. He took resort to all sorts of strange deeds and did much harm to many. In other words Strachey wishes to emphasise Manning's intellectual inferiority.

Strachey with all sympathy for Newman attacks the other Cardinals of the time. From Eminent Victorians we learn that Newman was misunderstood by the Catholic Cardinals. Strachey names Cardinal Barnabo, Cardinal Reisach, Cardinal Antonelli and mentions that they could never understand Newman's ideas with their little knowledge and then he writes that Newman realized this and tried in vain to pour "... into their ears — which, as he had already noticed with distress, were large and not too clean — his careful disquisitions;" 77 Strachey seems

77. E.V., p. 67.
to have got this hint out of Mozley's *Letters from Rome*\(^{78}\) where appears this question of filth regarding the priests of Rome.

But interestingly Strachey transfers it to Newman as his view regarding the priests. Strachey does all this in his bid to establish Newman's intellectual superiority.

Hutton clearly states that those who refer to Manning as a "thinker" or a "man of letters" do not speak the truth; they are flatterers. To him these are terms more fitly used for Newman. Nor did Manning pretend to be either the one or the other:

> It was in regard to social problems that he made the nearest approach to being a 'thinker', for he certainly thought about them in his own practical way not a little. But no special element of genius or of insight ever entered into his thoughts; he neither discovered nor pretended to have discovered any epoch-making solution to any economic puzzle...\(^{79}\)

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Simson writes that Strachey correctly states what would happen if one possessed views in the days of Newman and Manning. In Church affairs skill only was needed to earn good will. So when Newman had views in those days it was most objectionable. His individual brilliance would have been appreciated in a later decade or century. But in his days he could not be allowed to have views. Hence all the misunderstandings. (Simson, pp. 122-123).

According to Hutton he was guided throughout by his heart and not by his head and that explains fully that he was not a "thinker".

Manning supported wholeheartedly the issue of Papal Infallibility. During the settlement of the Infallibility question Manning was busy fluttering like a moth at the Council in Rome. This time it was the semi-official agent, Mr. Odo Russell round whom, in Strachey's words:

Manning set to work to spin his spider's web of delicate and clinging diplomacy. Preliminary politenesses were followed by long walks upon the Pincio, and the gradual interchange of more and more important and confidential communications. Soon poor Mr. Russell was little better than a fly buzzing in gossamer. And Manning was careful to see that he buzzed on the right note. 80

He made Russell send dispatches to the foreign secretary, Lord Clarendon, that described the true nature of the Council. Manning had to adopt this strategy because Lord Acton began to send in reports from Rome which convinced his friend Gladstone that the Pope could err. Gladstone thought of calling upon the powers of Europe to interfere in the Council's affairs and for a time it appeared that Lord Acton's efforts would be successful. But "Manning sniffed out the whole intrigue", 81 and Russell's counter-reports had a greater effect upon the people. Mr. Gladstone's cabinet did not agree with him and the idea of

80. E.V., pp. 88-89.
81. Ibid., p. 88.
inviting the European Powers to intervene at the Vatican was dropped. Manning's success was complete. This is how Strachey makes Manning appear a crafty priest, attaining his purpose with clever manoeuvring.

Hutton writes that Manning had to face the persistent hostility of the Press. But it did not deter him from going ahead with the two causes, the Temporal Power and the Pope's Infallibility to which he devoted his whole heart and soul and these were the two issues which aroused the British public's implacable hostility. His preachings and lectures on the Temporal Power supplied the reporters with ample material for their pens. Sometimes they were hostile. Hutton states with regret that the press, often ill-informed, attacked the Archbishop's Ultramontanism:

Perhaps the only exception in the London secular press was to be found in the Spectator, which treated both these burning questions with fairness, respect and intelligence.82

Manning's part in the Vatican issue aroused Gladstone's attack. Hutton thinks that Gladstone was wrongly briefed on the Catholic debate regarding the definition of the Pope's Infallibility. Gladstone strengthened his attack by circulating widely a pamphlet on the Vatican decrees, affirming that they were

82. Hutton, p. 108.
inconsistent with civil allegiance. This forced Manning to reply through the papers. Relations between the two became extremely strained. But Hutton comments that a quarrel cannot last long when there is magnanimity on both sides. The two were reconciled and Gladstone frankly and fully withdrew his charge of impaired allegiance against the Catholics. He writes that Manning by his defence of the Pope's Temporal Power and in securing the definition of the Pope's Infallibility earned such a bad name that people failed to recognize his true greatness. It was only in the last ten or fifteen years of his life when these prejudices against him became faded that people came to know his worth and value.

At Pope Pius's death Leo XIII (Cardinal Pecci) was elected Pope. Strachey hints that Manning was no longer in favour:

But a change had come over the spirit of the Holy See. Things were not as they had once been. Monsignor Talbot was at Passy, and Pio Nono was where?

Strachey's view is influenced more by Purcell than by Hutton. The latter states that after February, 1878, Manning lost much of the influence he had enjoyed in Rome during Pius' lifetime. Soon, however, a strong and genuine sympathy united Manning and

83. E.V., pp. 105-106.
the new Pope who was ready to confess that he owed much to Manning's counsel and support. And this special regard continued during the twelve years that the two were thus associated. Visitors to his Holiness so recently as 1890 have reported that his face brightened at once with pleasure when they were able to report that they knew Cardinal Manning. As the preacher at his funeral said: 'Our Holy Father loved him and leaned upon him'.

Purcell however treats the situation differently. He writes, "Pope Pius IX. did not appreciate Cardinal Pecci. Cardinal Manning, not unnaturally, shared the Pope's opinions". Strachey too not unnaturally shared Purcell's opinion.

Strachey does not probe deep into the heart of Manning. He judges him superficially. Strachey's lines ring with a delicate irony when he describes Manning sitting on Royal Commissions, corresponding with Cabinet ministers, or appearing among fashionable people:

He was a member, too, of that distinguished body, the Metaphysical Society, which met once a month... to discuss, in strict privacy, the fundamental problems of the destiny of man. After a comfortable dinner at the Grosvenor Hotel, the Society,... would gather round to hear and discuss a paper read by one of the members upon such questions as 'What is death?' 'Is God unknowable?'

84. Hutton, pp. 157-158.
86. E. V., p. 98.
Strachey selects the details from Hutton but deliberately omits those parts of his source which state that there was nothing exclusive about Manning's social habits, that he gave the poor and the middle class as much of his company as he gave the fashionable society. No wonder he was seen everywhere, even at fashionable assemblies. Though he was busy preaching and celebrating high mass, organizing schools, building cathedrals, yet he found time to move philanthropic resolutions at middle-class meetings, attend learned associations and he even sent in a paper or two to the Royal Society. He did all these with such freshness of mind that it appeared he had no other work to do the rest of the year.

Strachey after writing that Manning was a member of the Metaphysical Society writes that the Society after a comfortable dinner would settle down to discuss or read papers written by its members. He leaves things vague. By the way he joins Manning's name with the rest, it appears that Manning too enjoyed a dinner. But his sources have a different tale to tell. Hutton writes that "He was a frequent guest at banquets which he never tasted..." Hutton goes to the extreme by writing that no other recluse could live a more severe or pen- tential life than Manning. Similarly Bodley states that:

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Manning's ascetic repute was enhanced by his dietary prudence, in eating nothing at the raie dinners where he was seen. 89

Bodley writes that at one such dinner in 1884 he sat beside Manning and he watched with admiration Manning's tactful skill in accepting some of the dishes so as not to embarrass the other guests and refusing others without conveying a single morsel to his mouth.

According to Hutton Manning was a keen-sighted and able administrator, and such a man is bound to make enemies. It was also certain that Manning was not always loved by all his clergy, but those who were able to understand him were genuinely proud of him and loved him. He will be remembered as an Archbishop "... who lived among his people, and their feet wore the threshold of his door". 90 Instead Strachey writes that in order to maintain the eminence of his office he kept himself aloof from the ordinary men of the society. 91

Hutton states that the interest and work which Manning took up in reclaiming and retaining within the Church the children of the Catholic poor won admiration from all who came

89. Bodley, p. 6.
90. Hutton, p. 132.
91. E. V., p. 98.
to know about it, but Hutton regrets that the full extent of his work is hardly known yet. Purcell however states that Manning's activities in social reforms were well known and quite popular. People recognised his greatness while he was still living. He writes that his singleness of mind and oneness of heart with his non-Catholic fellow-workers in the cause of philanthropy or charity, had such happy results that his presence was welcomed and his aid eagerly sought for in every social or charitable movement. He also tried to banish drunkenness as he noticed that the Catholics were falling from religious observances and his fierce denunciations of drinking, were almost as familiar in Manchester and Liverpool and other large cities as in London:

He never spared himself; his autumn holidays for years were spent in the North of England in carrying on his crusade against drunkenness.

Magistrates in the police court bore public testimony to the improvement that had taken place. 92

Purcell also says that in the course of Manning's campaign against intemperance the single glass of wine was dropped out of his menu.

Hutton writes that in preaching others giving up drinking altogether, he had practised the same himself. So much so

during his illness he refused to take any alcoholic stimulant prescribed by his doctor. 93

Hutton states that circumstances had forced Manning to be a strict ruler because his predecessor Cardinal Wiseman had left the reins loosely. Moreover he says the Catholic clergy some thirty or forty years before were different because many of them were educated on the continent. They had less of the ecclesiastical spirit, they drank whiskey, and played whist; naturally they were looked upon as aliens. Manning took over with a firm determination to crush this past. Something of the military element was present in his ideas of a Church Government, and believed that a priest should be ready to move at a brief notice from one end of the diocese to the other at the bidding of his superior.

Strachey does not spare the dying Cardinal. Borrowing his facts from Hutton, he describes Manning facing death:

... in his archiepiscopal vestments, his rochet, his girdle, and his mozzetta, with the scarlet biretta on his head, and the pectoral cross upon his breast ... Towards those who gathered about him the dying man was still able to show some signs of recognition, and even, perhaps, of affection; yet it seemed that his chief preoccupation, up to the very end, was with his obedience to the rules prescribed by the Divine Authority.

'I am glad to have been able to do everything in due order', were among his last words.94

But Hutton's description is free from the sting present in Strachey. He had faith and respect in the greatness of his subject and at the same time was conscious of the misunderstanding which might arise in the readers' minds. He probably foresaw that men like Lytton Strachey would attack his subject in unexpected places. Following the last actions of Manning he explains:

To those who did not understand the man it must have seemed histrionic and formal, that, when he knew he was within a few hours of his death, he should desire to be duly vested in the imposing full dress of a Cardinal, with rochet, girdle and pectoral cross, surmounted by the scarlet biretta and cappa magna, and so make a solemn profession of the faith of the Holy Roman Church. But it was all of a piece with the rest of his life — obedience to the prescribed rules; — and, when it was over, and he had given the last kiss of peace to Provost Gilbert and the other Canons, he said, exhausted but fully conscious of all that was passing around. 'I am glad to have been able to do everything in due order.'95

While conceding that Manning's funeral proved the popularity of the man, Strachey suggests that the reason for the great gathering of people lies somewhere else. With the help of few questions he overcomes the fix.

94. E.V., p. 111.
95. Hutton, p. 259.
Many who had hardly seen him declared that in Cardinal Manning they had lost their best friend. Was it the magnetic vigour of the dead man's spirit that moved them? Or was it his valiant disregard of common custom and those conventional reserves and poor punctilios which are wont to hem about the great? Or was it something untameable in his glances and in his gestures? Or was it, perhaps, the mysterious glamour lingering about him of the antique organisation of Rome? For whatever cause, the mind of the people had been impressed; and yet, after all, the impression was more acute than lasting.96

Hutton pays a glorious tribute by writing:

He died, as he had lived, with courage and dignity; and the thousands who patiently awaited their turn to see the withered body lying in state in the reception-room in Archbishop's House, or crowded to hear his requiem sung and his panegyric preached, or lined the roads along which he was carried to his resting-place, were conscious, many of them dimly perhaps, but not the less sincerely, that in him England had lost a venerable figure, the Church a great ruler, the poor a true friend, and the world a prophet of righteousness.97

The extent of Manning's popularity bewilders Strachey. He asks question after question but does not bother to go deep into his relations with the poor which would have answered all his queries. Strachey leaves out important activities taken up by Manning. Hutton writes page after page on Manning's inter-mingling with the poor, be they Catholics or Anglicans. He

96. E.V., p. 112.

worked among their children, and for the cause of their education he spent fifty to sixty years of his life. He lamented the secularization of the University and the belief that education was the business not of the Church but of the State. In his preachings he quoted French and American writers to prove the failure of the secular system of education in those countries. He was deeply concerned for the position of teachers, especially after retirement. Nuns would be provided for by their convents, but not the others. During his last illness, it was upon the schoolmasters' superannuation that he was working. The Queen gave him a dignified position in the Royal Commission appointed by her to enquire into and report upon the whole subject of primary education. What he did, took shape in the Free Education Act of 1891 with its new grant of 10 shillings per child on an average. Thousands of Catholic children got the chance to attend school. And in Hutton's words:

If Manning had done nothing else for the cause of Catholicism in England, he would deserve the grateful remembrance of Catholics for what he did in this matter.98

We miss this point in Strachey. He was involved in many other problems. The Irish people acquired his sympathy, writes Hutton, because Manning felt they were poor, they suffered and

98. Ibid., p. 176.
they were wronged. He associated himself with the work of establishing in Ireland a legislative body empowered to deal with national affairs. When Mr. Gladstone's Home Rule Bill of 1886 was published he was happy, but the exclusion of the Irish members from Westminster pained him. To a question raised by the opposition whether by the Home Rule religious liberty would not be imperilled in Ireland? Hutton quotes Manning's reply as:

'... the Catholics of Ireland have never persecuted their Protestant neighbours in the matter of religion, and have been always the conspicuous examples of respecting the liberty of conscience which has been so cruelly denied to them. The children of martyrs are not persecutors.'

Naturally all Irishmen and not only Catholic Irishmen felt great attraction towards Manning. They adored and worshipped him. Cardinal Manning was deeply interested in the Labour Question and the relations between capitalists and the working classes:

The Jews of London ever found in the Prince of the Roman Church a sympathetic advocate in lifting up an indignant protest against the cruelties inflicted on their race and religion in Russia.  

Purcell states that to the afflicted in spirit, to the oppressed, to the poor and homeless, Cardinal Manning was always

99. Ibid., p. 184.

at home; his heart was ever open, his hand ever ready to give succour, too often beyond the measure of his limited means. He was the father of the poor, for they were his own special people.

Hutton writes that though Newman's fine literary instinct, his mastery of English prose would have placed him on a pedestal higher than that of Manning, yet Manning's most abounding virtue in his latter days, his love for the poor will always find increasing scope for its practice; whereas Newman's precious gift of literary expression will probably become a lost art in the progress of the mechanical age.

Strachey merely hints at the genuineness of Manning's relation with the poor, and emphasises his cruel treatment of Newman. Hence Strachey does not go deeply into Manning's involvement with the poor but from Hutton we learn that Manning's involvement in the affairs of the poor earned for him the reproach of being a socialist and a revolutionist. He led a deputation against an exceptional lack of employment, and unusual poverty among the poor. Manning's declaration:

'Every man has a right to work or to bread', was very widely denounced as communistic, socialistic, anarchistic, and generally dangerous to society. 101

Hutton elaborates that though Manning was officially

101. Hutton, p. 206,
bound to neutrality in matters of party politics, he could not help disliking Gladstone's policies, nor could he help taking sides with the poor when their interests were at stake. He earned the name of a socialist.

... because he was convinced that until the working classes have secured a better economic condition, a condition enabling them to possess comfortable homes, sufficient fare and reasonable leisure, there will always be discontent, upheavals and uneasiness. Such a condition he also believed to be a necessary preliminary to their return to some kind of a spiritual life. The abolition of poverty he did not look for, but the abolition of pauperism and wretchedness.

Strachey writes about the Dockers' strike but somehow his readers fail to get a true picture of Manning's oneness with the thousands of labourers. Their victory over the Dock directors, was Manning's victory. Manning's persuasion, writes Hutton, brought tears into the eyes of his hearers who were labourers turned rough with hard labour. He pleaded on behalf of their wives and children, their hearts were touched by his paternal sympathy. By reading Strachey alone we do not get a picture of the dedicated service Manning rendered towards the cause of labour and reforms. All these made him extremely popular with the poor. All the questions which Strachey asks at the beginning or at the end regarding Manning's popularity

102. Ibid., p. 242.
are answered if a reader reads the sources as well. Hutton writes:

Among the working-men of London, however, he will not quickly be forgotten in this his character of advocate of the cause of labour. There was not one but on the morning of the Cardinal's death was conscious that he had lost a tried and faithful friend. The delegates of the London Trades' Council, at a crowded meeting held in the Memorial Hall, Farringdon Street, a night or two after his death, passed a resolution unanimously, expressing their 'keen sense of an irreparable loss', adding that 'by his tender sympathy for the suffering, his fearless advocacy of justice, especially for the poor, and by his persistent denunciation of the oppression of the workers, he has endeared his memory to the heart of every true friend of labour'. The mover of the resolution, Mr. Bateman, a compositor, said that 'English, Irish and Italian workers in London felt that by the death of Cardinal Manning they had lost their very best friend'. Such a testimony is probably unique, nor can it be accounted undeserved.

103. Ibid., p. 214.