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THE USE OF THE CHURCH FATHERS IN JOHN HENRY NEWMAN'S *AN ESSAY ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF CHRISTIAN DOCTRINE*

Salvador G. Agualada, Jr., CMF

Abstract. This paper offers a systematic summary of John Henry Newman's *An Essay on the Development of Christian Doctrine*, with particular attention to his sustained and methodical use of the Church Fathers. It traces how Newman consistently appeals to patristic testimony in articulating and illustrating his seven "notes" of authentic doctrinal development, showing that the Fathers function not merely as historical witnesses but as integral components of his theological reasoning. By following the structure of the *Essay* itself, the study highlights the role of patristic sources in Newman's distinction between genuine developments and corruptions of doctrine. The paper is primarily expository in nature and aims to clarify Newman's argument by presenting how the Fathers shape his understanding of doctrinal continuity, growth, and ecclesial identity.

Keywords: John Henry Newman, *An Essay on the Development of Christian Doctrine*, Catholic Doctrine, Doctrinal Development, Seven Notes, Church Fathers, Patristic Theology

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Introduction

The life of John Henry Cardinal Newman (1801-1890)—beatified by Pope Benedict XVI in Birmingham, England, on September 19, 2010, and canonized by Pope Francis in Rome, Italy, on October 13, 2019—spanned almost the entire nineteenth century. The literary testament that provides the philosophical arguments and theological justifications for his celebrated conversion from Anglicanism to the Catholic Church in 1845 (at his life's midpoint) was said to be his famous book, *An Essay on the Development of Christian Doctrine*.[1] It is Newman's magisterial work which, in the words of Gerard McCarren, "enabled him to find intellectual warrant for his departure from Canterbury for Rome."[2] The book examines the developments of doctrine that have occurred in the Catholic Church since the time of the Apostles, providing a set of criteria for distinguishing true developments from corruptions and establishing a rationale for doctrinal developments that seemed not to be part of the explicit beliefs of the early Church.

After spending significant time discussing—and ultimately refuting as flawed—the pedagogy employed by the Anglican Divines in distinguishing developments from corruptions, Newman turns to a more constructive task in his work. He demonstrates that the fundamental rule by which Christianity has progressed through the ages in creative fidelity to the teachings of Christ, received by the Apostles and later by "the Church of the Fathers,"[3] is to be found in the principle of development. For him, this principle was what protected

[1] J. Gaffney, "Foreword," in J. H. Newman *Conscience, Consensus, and Development of Doctrine* (New York: Doubleday, 1992), vii.

[2] G. H. McCarren, "Development of Doctrine," in I. Ker and T. Merrigan (eds.) *The Cambridge Companion to John Henry Newman* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 118.

[3] According to James Gaffney, Newman applied this phrase "to that period of early Christianity, mainly in the fourth and fifth centuries, when the main lines of Christian belief and worship were definitively laid down" (Gaffney, "Foreword," ix).

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the Christian faith from corruption through the centuries. Newman argues that all the Christian doctrines that developed over time existed in implicit and rudimentary form since the earliest times as part of the Apostolic tradition. They only came to full development and explicit elucidation when the Church, after periods of intense persecution, achieved peace during the reign of the Christian Emperors, and when waves of controversies and heresies started to besiege her from within and without, which precipitated conciliar debates, reflections, and doctrinal formulations.[4] In an earlier essay, entitled "The Theory of Developments in Religious Doctrine," considered "an eloquent prelude" to the *Essay*, Newman already argues that

> [t]he absence, or partial absence, or incompleteness of dogmatic statements is no proof of the absence of impressions or implicit judgments, in the mind of the Church. Even centuries might pass without the formal expression of a truth, which had been all along the secret life of millions of faithful souls.[5]

Newman's *Essay*[6] consists of twelve chapters, excluding a lengthy introduction and a mere one-paragraph conclusion. After his long Introduction, Newman lays out seven principles, which he calls "notes" (Chapter V), which he describes with secular and religious illustrations, and which, for him, serve to differentiate developments that illuminate

[4] For Newman, "an international bond and a common authority could not be consolidated, were it ever so certainly provided, while persecutions lasted… The Creed, the Canon, in like manner, both remained undefined. The Creed, the Canon, the Papacy, Ecumenical Councils, all began to form, as soon as the Empire relaxed its tyrannous oppression of the Church" (Chapter IV, Section III, Par. 5).

[5] J. H. Newman, "The Theory of Developments in Religious Doctrine" in *Conscience, Consensus, and the Development of Doctrine* (New York: Doubleday, 1992), p. 12.

[6] J. H. Newman, "An Essay on the Development of Christian Doctrine" in *Conscience, Consensus, and the Development of Doctrine* (New York: Doubleday, 1992), pp. 38-385. Henceforth referred to in this paper as *Essay*. Since this book is divided into chapters, chapters into sections, and sections into paragraphs, references to this work are to chapter, section, subsection, and/or paragraph numbers.

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an original idea from corruptions that distort it. The remainder of the *Essay* explores Newman's application of these principles to specific historical developments in Christian doctrine (Chapters VI-XII), showing how each of the seven "notes" is applied to instances in history of what appear to be alterations in doctrine.[7]

This paper aims to demonstrate how Newman consistently engages the Church Fathers in his *Essay*, particularly in illustrating and supporting his seven "notes" of authentic doctrinal development. In doing so, it seeks to show that Newman's appeal to the Fathers is neither incidental nor merely illustrative, but constitutive of his theological method and decisive for his judgment concerning genuine doctrinal development, as highlighted in this summary of his work.

II. Newman's Theory of the Development of Doctrine, Its Seven Notes, and Their Applications to the Writings of the Church Fathers

A. The Seven Notes in Newman's Theory of the Development of Doctrine

In the *Essay*, Newman examines the state of Christian life during the Antenicene period of unrelenting persecutions in the Church, which produced scores of martyrs and fortified the Christian faith, as well as the different heresies and controversies that plagued the post-Nicene Church in the earlier centuries of Christianity. He also considers the various beliefs embraced by Catholics, the Eastern Churches, and Protestants, and seeks to establish, through the historical records, the distinctions between "developments" of doctrines and their "corruptions." He attempts to look at the whole range of Christian history with an eye toward elucidating how often those tenets that

[7] In 1990, the International Theological Commission came up with a document entitled, "The Interpretation of Dogma," in which John Henry Newman's Seven Notes/Criteria are endorsed (Cf. International Theological Commission, "The Interpretation of Dogma," in *International Theological Commission Texts and Documents 1986-2007*, Volume II [San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 2009], p. 52.).

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appear to be "additions" to the Christian faith are simply developments or a greater and deeper explicit understanding of what was once merely held implicitly in earlier times.

Newman begins the *Essay* with a declaration about the historical character of Christianity: that it is "a fact in the world's history," whose "home is in the world" (Introduction, Par. 1), and thus criticizes those (in Par. 2) who claim that "there is no sufficient body of historical proof" to ascertain that Christianity is a religion of history (Introduction, Par. 3). For him, "the society of Christians which the Apostles left on earth were of that religion to which the Apostles had converted them; that the external continuity of name, profession, and communion, argues a real continuity of doctrine" (Introduction, Par. 3). Hence, "the Christianity of the second, fourth, seventh, twelfth, sixteenth, and intermediate centuries is in its substance the very religion which Christ and His Apostles taught in the first" (Introduction, Par. 3). How one accounts for the lack of concurrence between the early and later aspects of Christianity—such as the absence of a Trinitarian doctrinal formulation in the Antenicene period—if it is assumed that "there has been no variation in the teaching of the Church from first to last" (Introduction, Par. 20), is initially explained by Newman through his appeal to the principle of *Disciplina Arcani*—that is, "the primitive Church's reticence to speak openly to non-Christians about her sacred mysteries."[8]

> It is maintained that doctrines which are associated with the later ages of the Church were really in the Church from the first, but not publicly taught, and that for various reasons: as, for the sake of reverence, that sacred subjects might not be profaned by the heathen; and for the sake of catechumens, that they might not be oppressed and carried away by the sudden communication of the whole circle of revealed truth (Introduction, Par. 20).[9]

[8] J. Carola, "John Henry Newman," in *Dispensa* in *L'uso Dei Padri Della Chiesa Nella Teologia* (Rome: Pontifical Gregorian University, First Semester, School Year 2010-2011), 3.

[9] Joseph Carola, however, observes: "As Newman's own understanding of Christian antiquity evolves, he will appeal less and less to the Disciplina

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Having judged Protestantism right away as "not the Christianity of history" (Introduction, Par. 6), Newman excluded it from being considered a genuine outcome of a true and faithful development of Christian doctrine. For him, "whatever history teaches… whatever it says and unsays, at least the Christianity of history is not Protestantism," and "[t]o be deep in history is to cease to be a Protestant" (Introduction, Par. 5).[10] What he means by this is that when Christianity is examined seriously through its historical development, Protestantism cannot be identified with the faith of the early Church. He argues that a serious study of Christian history leads away from Protestantism because Protestantism lacks continuity with the beliefs, practices, structures, and authority of historical Christianity. Newman admits, though, that "there are to be found, during the eighteen hundred years through which it has lasted, certain apparent inconsistencies and alterations in its doctrine and its worship," yet those are not enough to nullify the general character and direction of Christianity (Introduction, Par. 7).

Arcani in order to explain the pre-Nicene Church's 'silence' regarding classical Trinitarian doctrine" (Ibid., p. 7). In his *The Fifteenth Oxford University Sermon*, Newman, according to Carola, "no longer appeals to the primitive Disciplina Arcani to explain the ancient Church's 'silence' on key doctrinal matters. Rather, he outlines his theory of development in religious doctrine—a theory which he will elaborate fully in his *Essay on the Development of Christian Doctrine*" (Ibid., p. 20). Brian E. Daley, likewise, argues: "By the early 1840s, Newman seems no longer to have been content with pointing to the 'discretion' of early Church teachers in expressing doctrine, as he had done in Arians, and to have moved more and more directly towards the conviction that the conceptual content of Christian doctrine—what the Church knows and says of God—itself develops, in an organic but unpredictable way, within the bounds of a living community that is itself the sole herald and interpreter of the Gospel: a theory that clearly relied, for intelligibility, on some kind of institutional teaching office within the Church's leadership" (B. E. Daley, "The Church Fathers" in I. Ker and T. Merrigan [eds.] *The Cambridge Companion to John Henry Newman* [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009], p. 35).

[10] For Joseph Carola, "[i]n its own way, the comment proved autobiographical for the High-Church Anglican. Newman was received into the Catholic Church [on October 9, 1845] shortly before its publication" (J. Carola, "Pre-conciliar Patristic Retrieval" in *Augustinian Studies* 38/2 [2007]: 386.

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In paragraph 21 of the Introduction, Newman begins expounding his Theory of the Development of Doctrine, which he will elaborate in Sections I and II of Chapter I, even providing secular examples both of the process and of the kinds of development in ideas. According to him, the human mind needs time "for the full comprehension and perfection of great ideas," since "the highest and most wonderful truths, though communicated… once for all… could not be comprehended all at once by the recipients, but… [require]… the longer time and deeper thought for their full elucidation" (Introduction, Par. 21).

Building on this claim, Newman argues in Chapter 1 that the process of "germination and maturation" constitutes a true "development" only if "the assemblage of aspects which constitute its ultimate shape really belongs to the idea from which they start." (Chapter 1, Section 1, Par. 5). By a "great idea," therefore, Newman understands a revealed truth or principle that is given "once for all" and in its fullness from the beginning, yet remains only implicitly grasped and not immediately comprehended "all at once" by the human mind, requiring instead "longer time and deeper thought" for its meaning and implications to be gradually unfolded. For him, the development of an idea has several characteristics, the first of which is that "it cannot progress at all without cutting across, and thereby destroying or modifying and incorporating with itself existing modes of thinking and operating" (Chapter I, Section I, Par. 5). Second, such development "is carried on through and by means of communities of men and their leaders and guides[,]… employs their minds as its instruments, and depends upon them while it uses them" (Chapter I, Section I, Par. 5). Third, "it develops by establishing relations between itself and them; it employs itself, in giving them a new meaning and direction" (Chapter I, Section I, Par. 5). Fourth, "[i]t grows when it incorporates, and its identity is found not in isolation, but in continuity and sovereignty" (Chapter I, Section I, Par. 5). Fifth, "[it] not only modifies but is modified, or at least influenced, by the state of things in which it is carried out, and is dependent in various ways on the circumstances which surround it" (Chapter I, Section I, Par. 6). Finally, "[i]t is elicited and expanded by trial, and battles into perfection and supremacy" (Chapter I, Section I, Par. 7).

In Chapter II, Newman shows how the development of doctrine is not merely consistent, but necessary and to be expected, in the course of time; for to remain static in one solitary interpretation or understanding of Christian doctrine is to deny the Church her life, vitality, and intrinsic dynamism. This is captured in his famous line: "In a higher world it is otherwise, but here below to live is to change, and to be perfect is to have changed often" (Chapter I, Section I, Par. 7). For him, "it is precisely the development that discloses the idea," and the rest of the *Essay* is an exposition of the argument that an "original idea" of Christianity has "developed" over the centuries into a much greater, deeper, and ever more expounded elucidation and formulation of Christian faith and doctrine, "apply[ing] the theory of developments so carefully to the writings of the Fathers, and to the history of controversies and councils" (Introduction, Par. 21). Newman's thesis is based on "an argument from antiquity in favor of this organic principle of continuity-in-development applicable to the Church in every age."[11] Thus, after an initial survey of various doctrinal developments, Newman concludes: "No one doctrine can be named which starts complete at first, and gains nothing afterwards from the investigations of faith and the attacks of heresy" (Chapter II, Section I, Par. 12), and that "Christian doctrine admits of formal, legitimate, and true developments, that is, of developments contemplated by its divine Author" (Chapter II, Section I, Par. 17).[12]

[11] Carola, "John Henry Newman," p. 21.

[12] Elsewhere in the *Essay*, Newman also affirms: "Thus developments of Christianity are proved to have been in the contemplation of its Divine Author, by an argument parallel to that by which we infer intelligence in the system of the physical world" (Chapter II, Section I, Par. 8). "[D]evelopments of Christianity were but natural, as time went on, and were to be expected; and that these natural and true developments, as being natural and true, were of course contemplated and taken into account by its Author, who in designing the work designed its legitimate results" (Chapter II, Section II, Par. 1). As to who determines the correctness of the developments of doctrines, Newman offers his insight on the doctrine of the infallibility of the Church: "[I]n proportion to the probability of true developments of doctrine and practice in the Divine Scheme, so is the probability also of the appointment in that scheme of an external authority to decide upon them, thereby separating them from the mass of mere human

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Chapter III offers the historical argument on behalf of the existing developments. Chapter IV provides historical instances that illustrate proofs, arguments, and evidence of the intimate connections and oneness between the teaching of the primitive Church and the Catholic faith, the latter being the historical prolongation of Christianity through the past centuries and, indeed, the successor, representative, and heir of the religion of the Fathers of the Church. Among other things, Chapter IV explains the canonicity of the New Testament as it came to us and why such canonicity could be established only in the fourth and fifth centuries: "on the ground that… [n]ow… facilities were at length given for deciding once for all on what had been in suspense and doubt for three centuries" concerning the canon of Scripture due to the lack of "opportunities for research, discussion and testimony" during the great periods of persecution (Chapter IV, Section I, Par. 3). It also explains why, despite the examples of great Fathers and Saints such as St. Gregory of Nazianzen, St. Basil, St. Augustine, and St. Ambrose, who did not receive baptism until they reached adulthood, it could still be said that the "observance of the rite [of infant baptism] was the rule, and the non-observance [of these great men, or by their Christian parents] the exception" (Chapter IV, Section I, Pars. 5–7). Finally, it addresses why, in such a sensitive issue as the Supremacy of the Pope, Protestants and others who do not recognize Papal Supremacy can never be more mistaken, given that "[s]upposing there be otherwise good reason for saying that the Papal supremacy is part of Christianity, there is nothing in the early history of the Church to contradict it" (Chapter IV, Section III, Par. 7).

The silence of St. Ignatius in his Epistles on the question of the authority of the Pope is, for Newman, understandable. The state of

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speculation, extravagance, corruption, and error, in and out of which they grow. This is the doctrine of the infallibility of the Church; for by infallibility I suppose is meant the power of deciding whether this, that, and a third, and any number of theological or ethical statements are true" (Chapter II, Section II, Par. 4). Hence, "[t]he most obvious answer, then, to the question, why we yield to the authority of the Church in the questions and developments of faith, is, that some authority there must be if there is a revelation given, and other authority there is none but she" (Chapter II, Section II, Par. 12).

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Christianity during his time was such that "there was the display neither of bishop nor of Pope" (Chapter IV, Section III, Par. 2), since authority was still exercised by the Apostles. "St. Peter's prerogative would remain a mere letter till the complication of ecclesiastical matters became the cause of ascertaining it" (Chapter IV, Section III, Par. 3), such as local disturbances giving exercise to bishops, and ecumenical disturbances giving exercise to Popes. "[A]nd whether communion with the Pope was necessary for Catholicity would not and could not be debated till a suspension of that communion had actually occurred" (Chapter IV, Section III, Par. 4). Another quite obvious reason, as already mentioned above, is that such centralized power and authority were not possible during the time of persecutions.

In the succeeding seven paragraphs (10–16), Newman mentions Church Fathers (St. Clement, St. Ignatius, St. Polycarp of Smyrna, St. Irenaeus, St. Cyprian, St. Athanasius, St. Augustine, and St. Jerome, among those cited), Popes (St. Damasus, St. Siricius, St. Innocent, St. Celestine, and St. Leo, among others), an Emperor (Emperor Aurelian), and even heretics and schismatics (Marcion, Maximus, Theodoret, and a few more). Their words or conduct (of making recourse to Rome in instances of disputes, for help, or on questions of doctrine) testify to the great truth that, as early as their times, the Church of Rome was held to be "the greatest Church, the most ancient, the most conspicuous, and founded and established by Peter and Paul" [St. Irenaeus], and that the occupant of the See of Peter was regarded, exaggeratedly (at least to modern sensibility) as "the head of the world" [Vincent of Lerins] (Chapter IV, Section III, Pars. 10-16, 10, 13). Indeed, "it is true… that the writers of the fourth and fifth centuries fearlessly assert or frankly allow that the prerogatives of Rome were derived from the apostolic times, and that because it was the See of St. Peter" (Introduction, Par. 19).

At the beginning of Chapter V, Newman enunciates the question he intends to study and answer in the remainder of the *Essay*: "The only question that can be raised is whether the said Catholic faith, as now held, is logically, as well as historically, the representative of the ancient faith" (Chapter V, Par. 1). In this chapter, which deals with

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"genuine developments contrasted with corruptions," he describes the word "corruption" as "a word attaching to organized matters only," such that "a stone may be crushed to powder, but it cannot be corrupted," since corruption is "the breaking up of life preparatory to its termination" (Chapter V, Par. 3). Newman, then, offers to set down

> seven Notes of varying cogency, independence, and applicability, to discriminate healthy developments of an idea from its state of corruption and decay, as follows: There is no corruption if it retains one and the same type, the same principles, the same organization; if its beginnings anticipate its subsequent phases, and its late phenomena protect and subserve its earlier; if it has a power of assimilation and revival, and a vigorous action from first to last (Chapter V, Par. 4).

Let me now briefly discuss these seven "notes"[13] before proceeding to how Newman views the developments of doctrines in relation to doctrinal corruptions in the first six centuries of Christianity.

The first of these seven notes necessary to guarantee the healthiness and soundness of development is the "preservation of type," which, for Newman, simply means that "the parts and proportions of the developed form, however altered, correspond to those which belongs to its rudiments" (Chapter V, Section I, Par. 1), and that "one security against error and perversion in the process is the maintenance of the original type which the idea presented to the world at its origin, amid and through all its apparent changes and vicissitudes from first to last" (Chapter VI, Par. 1). In other words, while a doctrine may evolve and adapt over time, such a doctrine, according to the first note, must always retain its essential character and identity.

The examples given exhibit more clearly and unambiguously the meaning of this note: "The adult animal has the same make as it had on its birth; young birds do not grow into fishes, nor does the child generate into the brute… In like manner every calling or office has its own type, which those who fill it are bound to maintain; and to deviate from the type in any material point is to relinquish the calling" (Chapter

[13] In the 1845 edition of the *Essay*, Newman employs the word "tests" to refer to what he, in the 1878 edition, calls "notes."

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V, Section I, Pars. 1–2). Newman, writes Carola, "remains confident that, despite modifications for good or ill on account of human affairs over the centuries, the Christianity which Christ revealed and the Apostles transmitted remains substantially the same in subsequent ages."[14] Carola likewise observes: "Repeating the refrain 'if there is a form of Christianity now in the world which…,' Newman masterfully illustrates contemporary Catholicism's direct link with the Church of the first six centuries in the first note of his seven-part theory of development: preservation of type."[15]

The second note, "continuity of principles," emphasizes that genuine development upholds and preserves the integrity of the underlying principles, ensuring that while a doctrine may evolve and grow over time, these foundational principles remain unchanged. In Newman's words: "While doctrine organically expands under the guidance of the Holy Spirit operative in the Church's living magisterium, the principles of their development remain a constant."[16] For a doctrinal development to be faithful, it must preserve not only the teaching (doctrine) itself but also the underlying principles that gave rise to it. Without these principles, a doctrine may exist in form but is essentially lifeless, as Newman observes in the case of the Greek Church. Principles are more reliable than doctrines for discerning truth, because heretics may change their doctrines constantly, but they remain consistent with their own guiding principles. Doctrines of heresy are

[14] Carola, "Pre-conciliar Patristic Retrieval," p. 384.

[15] Ibid. Two things, however, must be taken into account in our consideration of this note, at least based on my observation of Newman's elucidation of this principle: First, that "this unity of type, characteristic as it is of faithful developments, must not be pressed to the extent of denying all variation, nay, considerable alteration of proportion and relation, as time goes on, in the parts or aspects of an idea" (Chapter V, Section I, Par. 4). Secondly, that "[a]n idea does not always bear about it the same external image; the circumstance, however, has no force to weaken the argument for its substantial identity, as drawn from its external sameness, when such sameness remains" (Chapter V, Section I, Par. 9).

[16] Carola, "John Henry Newman," p. 21.

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temporary and unstable, while the principles behind them endure (Chapter V, Section II, Par. 3).

In essence, Newman's third note, "the power of assimilation," posits that genuine doctrinal development involves the capacity to incorporate and integrate new ideas and insights while remaining firmly rooted in its core principles. This note, which Carola observes, "Newman first encountered in the ancient Alexandrian Church's understanding of the divinity of traditionary religion, remains a vital part of the Church's evangelical mission and enriches the doctrinal expression of her revealed faith in every age."[17] Newman believes that "[i]n the physical world, whatever has life is characterized by growth, so that in no respect to grow is to cease to live," that "[i]t grows by taking into its own substance external materials," and that "this absorption or assimilation is completed when the materials appropriated come to belong to it or enter into its unity" (Chapter V, Section III, Par. 1).

"Logical sequence," the fourth note of true development, which "assures a faithful intellectual development without rupture,"[18] argues that the development of doctrine is not arbitrary but exhibits a coherent and orderly progression, unfolding in a manner consistent with the internal logic of the faith and its historical development. For Newman, "[l]ogic is the organization of thought, and as being such, is a security for the faithfulness of intellectual developments" (Chapter V, Section IV, Par. 1). Two instances in the history of the early Church where this note was in place or absent can be mentioned: St. Justin or St. Irenaeus might not have any digested thoughts on Purgatory or Original Sin, yet they had a strong feeling both of the sin of our original nature and of the duties of our fallen nature. On the contrary, after much labor and having died in peace, having Saints and Church rulers as his students and receiving the praise of great Saints like St. Athanasius, St. Basil, and St. Gregory Nazianzen, and having provided theological materials to St. Ambrose and St. Hilary, the great Origen, three hundred years after his death, was condemned by a Church Council for the

[17] Ibid.

[18] Ibid., pp. 21-22.

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heterodoxy that was growing out of his theology (Chapter V, Section IV, Pars. 3–5). Newman, thus, concludes this section: "A doctrine, then, professed in its mature years by a philosophy or religion is likely to be a true development, not a corruption, in proportion as it seems to be the *logical issue* of its original teaching" (Chapter V, Section IV, Par. 5).

In the fifth note, which is the "anticipation of its future," "[a]nother evidence… of the faithfulness of an ultimate development is its *definite anticipation* at an early period in the history of the idea to which it belongs" (Chapter V, Section V, Par. 4). Future developments of doctrine are said to be "often anticipated at an early period—revealing, as it were, a clear family resemblance."[19] In other words, a true doctrinal development is never a later invention but grows organically from earlier beliefs, with its later, mature form already implicitly present in the initial stages. Hence, even as doctrines become more complex and articulated, they retain recognizable features of their original form ("family resemblance"), showing continuity of identity and distinguishing genuine development from corruption or rupture. For Newman, when an idea is alive, it is certain to progress and mature according to its nature, and its tendencies, given the presence of auspicious circumstances, will inevitably manifest themselves over time, whether earlier or later. Its development, even if unclear and isolated, may take place at an early stage, even if a period may be needed to bring such development to perfection (Chapter V, Section V, Par. 1). Newman provides some examples of great men in history whose lives, or at least a portion of them, exhibit such an "anticipation of its future": "The child Cyrus mimics a despot's power, and St. Athanasius is elected bishop by his playfellows" (Chapter V, Section V, Par. 2).

The sixth note means that "[d]evelopment… does not admit of doctrinal reversal… [but rather]… exercises a *conservative action upon its past*"[20] (which is its name), believing that "a developed doctrine which reverses the course of development which has preceded it, is no true development but a corruption" (Chapter V, Section VI, Par. 4). This

[19] Ibid., p. 22.

[20] Ibid. Emphasis mine.

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note means that a true doctrinal development is always faithful to what has come before, preserving and building organically upon the Church's historical beliefs and core tenets of the faith without reversing, contradicting, or nullifying them. While allowing for new articulations and deeper insight, such development refines, clarifies, and integrates these truths, ensuring an organic continuity in which the Church's past beliefs remain operative within its present understanding. In light of this, corruption is "a development in that very stage in which it ceases to illustrate, and begins to disturb, the acquisitions gained in its previous history" (Chapter V, Section VI, Par. 1).

The seventh and last note, which is "chronic vigour," means that true developments endure because they exhibit chronic vigor.[21] For Newman, authentic doctrines possess an enduring vitality that sustains them over time, allowing them to persist, adapt, and flourish despite challenges, thereby revealing their resilience and life-giving strength. Unlike the enduring vitality and resilience of authentic Christian doctrine, the corruption of an idea, "being the end of a course, and a transition state leading to a crisis… is… a brief and rapid process… [and]… cannot… be of long standing" (Chapter V, Section VII, Par. 1). Its opposite, then, which is "*duration* is… a test of a faithful development" (Chapter V, Section VII, Par. 1). Applied to heresies, Newman contends, thus: "The course of heresies is always short" (Chapter V, Section VII, Par. 2).

According to Newman, modern Catholicism is simply the natural and necessary growth of the doctrine of the early Church, and its divine authority comes from the divinity of Christianity itself (Chapter V, Par. 1).

B. Their Applications to the Writings of the Church Fathers

From Chapters VI to XII, Newman ventures to apply the seven notes of faithful developments to the case of Christian doctrines by looking at the testimonies and writings of the Church Fathers, as well as the role that the different heresies played in doctrinal developments.

[21] Ibid.

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As regards the first note, the "preservation of type," Newman spends considerable effort examining the early history of Christianity—from the first centuries to the fourth, and up to the fifth and sixth centuries—inspecting doctrines and heresies to determine whether the Church, across these diverse periods, was able to maintain its original type and preserve itself from corruption. He argues that a serious investigation of the first Ecumenical Councils demonstrates that, just as the Catholic bishops appended the Creed against the objections of heretical and schismatic groups—who claimed that by rejecting doctrinal developments they remained more faithful and closer to the primitive Church—these bishops, in communion with the Pope, preserved the authentic meaning of the scriptural formula.

Unlike heresies, each of which was "a family… [that]… continually divides and sends out branches, founding new houses, and propagating itself in colonies, each of them as independent as its original head" (Chapter VI, Section II, Par. 4), whose only universal point of unity among themselves was hatred for the Church (Chapter VI, Section II, Par. 5), the Church basked in "a title of honor, which all men agreed to give her… [the] title of the 'Catholic' Church" (Chapter VI, Section II, Par. 6). It was a title that, for Newman, was recognized by Saints, Martyrs, and Church Fathers, from St. Ignatius to St. Augustine, and used by some as an argument against the heretics (Chapter VI, Section II, Par. 7). This was "a confirmatory proof of what is otherwise so plain, that she, as St. Pacian explains the word, was everywhere one" (Chapter VI, Section II, Par. 10), a truly "universal Church" (Chapter VI, Section II, Par. 15), whose bishops were, according to St. Gregory of Nazianzen, not merely bishops of their own respective localities but bishops of the whole world (Chapter VI, Section II, Par. 14). According to Newman, even if the Catholic Church everywhere seemed to have been "buried beneath [the] populations of [the Arian] heresy" (Chapter VI, Section III, Par. 1) during the fifth and sixth centuries, "[t]he Arians seem never to have claimed the Catholic name" (Chapter VI, Section III, Par. 5). Instead, an additional feature was added to the name "Catholics," namely the title of "Romans," as attested by St. Gregory of Tours, Victor of Vite, and the Spanish Councils (Chapter VI, Section III, Par. 5). This title possesses "an allusion to the faith and communion

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of the Roman See" (Chapter VI, Section III, Par. 6), even though the association of Catholicism with the See of Rome was introduced as early as the fourth century (Chapter VI, Section III, Par. 8).

Newman identifies himself with the tradition of the Alexandrian Fathers and remains consistent in his dislike of the Antiochene school, which theologically produced figures such as Arius, even though he was born in Alexandria and held a clerical appointment there. According to Daley, central to the appeal that the proponents of the Alexandrian school held for Newman was their strong stress on "the organic unity, and the divine subjective centre, of the person of Christ."[22]

> This is particularly clear in his long-lived predilection for the theological position of Athanasius, the fourth-century opponent of Arius and promoter of the Nicene formulation of Christ's person, and for that of Cyril, his fifth-century successor as Bishop of Alexandria, who opposed the tendency of the later Antiochene theologians to see in Christ two closely entwined but ultimately distinct realities, one eternal and divine, one historical and human."[23]

This prompts Newman to write: "It would have been well had the genius of the Syrian theology been ever in the safe keeping of men such as St. Cyril, St. Chrysostom, and Theodoret" (Chapter VI, Section III, Subsection 2, Par. 4). In the Catholic Church's fight against the Monophysites, the Church found her champion and most zealous defender of her doctrine in the person of Pope Leo, the Bishop of Rome, who "introduces us to the Council of Chalcedon, by which he rescued the East from a grave heresy" (Chapter VI, Section III, Subsection 3, Par. 10).[24]

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[22] Daley, "The Church Fathers," p. 39.

[23] *Ibid.*

[24] Newman later comments: "That the definition passed at Chalcedon is the Apostolic Truth once delivered to the Saints is most firmly to be received, from faith in that overruling Providence which is by special promise extended over the acts of the Church; moreover, that is in simple accordance with the faith of St. Athanasius, St. Gregory of Nazianzen, and all the other Fathers" (Chapter VI, Section III, Subsection 3, Par. 15).

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Concerning the second note, the "continuity of principles," such "type" is also preserved when development takes place "on definite and continuous principles" (Chapter VII, Subsection 1, Par. 1). Newman discovered in the doctrine of the Incarnation, which, for him, is "the central truth of the gospel," several Gospel principles such as those of dogma, faith, theology, sacramentality, the mystical sense of the Scripture, sanctifying grace, asceticism, the malignity of sin, and the capacity of matter for sanctification (Chapter VII, Subsection 1, Pars. 3-4).

As regards the principle of the "supremacy of faith," Newman does not mean to imply that "the Fathers were opposed to inquiries into the intellectual basis of Christianity, but that they held that men were not obliged to wait for logical proof before believing; on the contrary, that the majority were to believe first on presumption and let the intellectual proof come as their reward" (Chapter VII, Subsection 2, Par. 4). The life of St. Augustine shows Newman that the human search for truth must be guided by authority, and when the former Manichee asked God to help him choose which authority to follow among so many, Augustine was led to the Catholic Church (Chapter VII, Subsection 2, Par. 5).

Also, though reason may be considered subservient to faith, theology's first step is investigation, which encourages that "loving inquisitiveness which is the life of the *Schola*," and which finds excellent examples in the lives of Ignatius, Irenaeus, Hippolytus, Tertullian, Athanasius, and Augustine (Chapter VII, Subsection 3, Pars. 1-3). Likewise, doctrinal development respects the spiritual and mystical interpretation of Scripture, as exemplified, for example, in St. Irenaeus' proclamation of the dignity of Mary based on his comparison of the Gospel of Luke and the book of Genesis. While the school of Alexandria embraced such a way of scriptural interpretation, the Antiochene school adopted the literal interpretation (Chapter VII, Subsection 4, Pars. 1-2, 5). "The use of Scripture then, especially its spiritual or second sense, as a medium of thought and deduction, is a characteristic principle of doctrinal teaching in the Church" (Chapter VII, Subsection 4, Par. 8).

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Moreover, the development of doctrine values the dogmatic nature of Christianity, as shown by Ignatius, Irenaeus, Polycarp, Clement, and Anicetus, who exercised severity toward the heretics and converted some of them to the Church (Chapter VII, Subsection 5, Pars. 1–4). Tertullian was also vigorous in defending the dogmatic principle (Chapter VII, Subsection 5, Par. 5). In contrast to the doctrinal development in the Church, which is grounded in these immemorial principles, the heresies—characterized, according to Newman, by disdain for mystery, reverence, piety, and holiness—violated those principles: "Thus Arian and Nestorian schools denied the allegorical rule of Scripture interpretation; the Gnostics and Eunomians for Faith professed to substitute knowledge; and the Manichees also" (Chapter VII, Subsection 6, Par. 3).

As for the application of the third "note" of a genuine development, which is its "assimilative power," Newman inquires:

> When we consider the deep interest of the controversies which Christianity raises, the various characters of mind it has swayed, the range of subjects which it embraces, the many countries it has entered, the deep philosophies it has encountered, the vicissitudes it has undergone, and the length of time through which it has lasted, it requires some assignable explanation, why we should not consider it substantially modified and changed, that is, corrupted, from the first, by the numberless influences to which it has been exposed" (Chapter VIII, Par. 1).

Newman believes that, far from losing its identity and essence in its encounter and interaction with the world in its different milieus, Christianity has exhibited "the power, while keeping its own identity, of absorbing its antagonists… [of] incorporat[ing] them into itself… [and of] assimilate[ing] them into its own substance" (Chapter VIII, Par. 1). Also, Christianity has "that hold of truth which gave its teaching a gravity, a directness, a consistency, a sternness, and a force, to which its rivals for the most part were strangers" (Chapter VIII, Subsection 1, Par. 2).

> His Apostles, and they alone, possessed, venerated, and protected a Divine Message, as both sacred and sanctifying; and, in the collision and

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> conflict of opinion, in ancient times or modern, it was that Message, and not any vague or antagonist teaching, that was to succeed in purifying, assimilating, transmuting, and taking into itself the many-coloured beliefs, forms of worship, codes of duty, schools of thought, through which it was ever more moving. (Chapter VIII, Par. 1).

The assimilative power of dogmatic truth rests on a conviction that truth, which is a gift from above, a sacred trust, an immeasurable blessing, is one; that it has to be reverenced, protected, defended, and transmitted; that its disappearance is a dreadful dearth, and its loss an unimaginable catastrophe (Chapter VIII, Subsection 1, Par. 4). Doctrine, too, undergoes a process of development in and through various minds, "beginning with writers of inferior authority in the Church, and issuing at length in the enunciation of her Doctors," as seen in Origen, Tertullian, Eusebius, and the Antiochenes, who provided theological materials developed by later Fathers. "St. Gregory Nazianzen and St. Basil digested into form the theological principles of Origen; St. Hilary and St. Ambrose are both indebted to the same great writer in their interpretation of the Scripture;… The School of Antioch, in spite of the heretical taint of some of its Masters, formed the genius of St. Chrysostom" (Chapter VIII, Subsection 1, Par. 10). Paragraph 11 offers many examples of the next generation of teachers completing and perfecting the work of their predecessors. The theology of the Church is a product of "a diligent, patient working out of one doctrine from many materials," and "[t]he conduct of Popes, Councils and Church Fathers, betokens the slow, painful, anxious taking up of new truths into an existing body of belief" (Chapter VIII, Subsection 1, Par. 10).

The sacramental principle, on the other hand, affirms that the Gospel possesses a certain grace or virtue that transforms the quality of doctrines, opinions, usages, and personal character when integrated into it. Eusebius relates that Constantine, "in order to recommend the new religion to the heathen, transferred into it the outward ornaments to which they had been accustomed in their own" (Chapter VIII, Subsection 2, Par. 6). "The use of temple… incense, lamps, and candles… holy water… holidays and seasons… sacerdotal vestments, the tonsure, the ring in marriage… are all [of] pagan origin and

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sanctified by their adoption into the Church" (Chapter VIII, Subsection 2, Par. 6). The introduction of images is, according to Newman, based on the same lofty principle, and was zealously defended by the great St. John Damascene: "Wherefore the death of Saints is made a feast, and temples are raised to them, and Images are painted… For the Image is a triumph, and a manifestation, and a monument in memory of the victory of those who have done nobly and excelled, and of the shame of the devils defeated and overthrown" (Chapter VIII, Subsection 2, Par. 9).

> So far then from her creed being of doubtful credit because it resembles foreign theologies, we even hold that one special way in which Providence has imparted divine knowledge to us has been by enabling her to draw and collect it together out of the world, and, in this sense, as in others, to 'suck the milk of the Gentiles and to suck the breast of kings' (Chapter VIII, Subsection 2, Par. 12).

The fourth note of an authentic doctrinal development, in Chapter IX, which is its logical sequence, is explained by Newman in the development of theologies and institutions attendant to the consideration of post-baptismal sin. If baptism, which is non-repeatable, produces a plenary forgiveness of past sins, the necessity of being forgiven and absolved from sins committed after baptism developed into various forms and degrees of penances, as well as the doctrine of satisfactions (Chapter IX, Subsections 1-3). Clement of Alexandria contends that if the purifying discipline imposed upon the sinner is not performed and completed in this life, such discipline must be fulfilled after death, hence the doctrine of purgatory. Such a view is confirmed by the story of St. Perpetua and her brother Dinocrates. Purgatory, then, was "brought home to the minds of the faithful as a portion or form of penance due for post-baptismal sin. And thus, the apprehension of this doctrine and the practice of infant baptism would grow into general reception together" (Chapter IX, Subsection 4, Pars. 1-3). The doctrine of post-baptismal sin and the doctrine of purgatory together engendered the development of the necessity of meritorious works, based on the conviction that sin must have its punishment now or in the afterlife, and that such works can make one's penance for one's sin lighter. According to Newman, one form

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of such penance is the Monastic Rule, which later gave birth to the Benedictine Order, to the Dominicans and Franciscans, to the Jesuits, and to the many Congregations that emerged much later on (Chapter IX, Subsection 5, Par. 1, and Subsection 6, Pars. 1-5).

The fifth note, the anticipation of its future, argues that if "the so-called Catholic doctrines and practices are true and legitimate developments, and not corruptions, we may expect from the force of logic to find instances of them in the first centuries" (Chapter X, Par. 1). The beliefs and usages of relics, for example, originate from the doctrine that Matter, being God's creature, is "very good," and thus capable of union with the Divine or of being an instrument of divine influence. Hence, "when death is for Christ, the relics of Saints are precious," that "if any one shall touch a Martyr's bone, by reason of the grace dwelling in the body, he receives some participation of his sanctity," and that "the blood of the Saints received from the grace of the One Redeemer a certain expiatory power" (Chapter X, Subsection 1, Pars. 4, 6). The virgin life, too, has its merit, which is acknowledged by the Antenicene writers, as demonstrated by St. Methodius (who refers to the profession of Virginity as a vow) and his work, *Convivium Virginum*. Tertullian employs the metaphor of marriage to describe a Virgin's relationship with Christ, emphasizing that this union involves a solemn vow. Origen describes chastity as dedicating one's body to God. Cyprian refers to a Virgin as someone committed to Christ and ordained for His holiness. Eusebius speaks of those who have consecrated themselves fully (body and soul) to God as living lives of purity and holiness (Chapter X, Subsection 2, Pars. 1-3).

As for the cultus of saints and angels, the Council of Illiberis in Spain, held shortly before the Council of Nicaea, offers an anticipation of the subsequent devotions to angels and saints. The Council says: "It is decreed, that pictures ought not to be in Church, lest what is worshipped or adorned be painted on the walls" (Chapter X, Subsection 3, Par. 1). For Newman,

> This inference then seems to be undeniable, that the Spanish Church considered the Saints to be in the number of objects either of 'worship or adoration;' for it is of such objects that the representations are

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> forbidden. The very drift of the prohibition is this – *lest* what is in itself an object of worship… should be worshipped *in painting*; unless the Saints and Angels were objects of worship, their pictures would have been allowed (Chapter X, Subsection 3, Par. 1).

Another passage, from St. Justin, demonstrates that there was a worship of Angels as early as during his time (Chapter X, Subsection 3, Par. 4).

As regards the office of the Blessed Virgin Mary, Newman contends that even if her prerogatives had not been fully acknowledged in the Catholic ritual until a late date (for the doctrine of the Incarnation had to be settled first before she could be venerated as the Mother of God), they were not something novel for the Church or the early Church Fathers. This is evident in the treatises of St. Justin, St. Irenaeus, and Tertullian, who discussed Mary's obedience and role in the process of redemption, as well as Eve's disobedience that led to Adam's fall. St. Gregory Nyssen relates that St. Gregory Thaumaturgus "received in a vision a Creed… from the Blessed Virgin at the hands of St. John" (Chapter X, Subsection 4, Pars. 1-2). St. Irenaeus and other Church Fathers describe her also as Patroness and Paraclete (Chapter X, Subsection 4, Par. 3).

Regarding the sixth note, which speaks of a true development as characterized by "conservative action upon its past," Newman, in the example given—devotion to the Blessed Virgin—offers a response to the inquiry of "whether the honours paid to St. Mary, which have grown out of devotion to her Almighty Lord and Son, do not, in fact, tend to weaken that devotion; and whether, from the nature of the case, it is possible so to exalt a creature without withdrawing the heart from the Creator" (Chapter XI, Section II). Newman, looking at the Council of Ephesus, claims that this question was answered by the Fathers' sanction of *Theotokos*, or "Mother of God," as Mary's title, as well as through an answer given in light of the doctrine of the Incarnation. He observes that, at least in Europe, "[t]hey who were accused of worshipping a creature in His stead, still worship Him; their accusers, who hope to worship Him so purely, they… have ceased to worship Him altogether" (Chapter XI, Section II, Par. 1). Also, an investigation of the Catholic services demonstrates that the character of the devotion

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accorded to the Blessed Virgin is altogether different from that which is paid to the Eternal Son and the Trinity, as seen in "the tone of the *Dies Irae* from that of the *Stabat Mater*," or "the language of the Breviary services on the Festival of Pentecost, or of the Holy Trinity, from the language of the services for the Assumption" (Chapter XI, Section II, Par. 2). He notes that "[t]he supreme and true worship paid to the Almighty is severe, profound, awful, as well as tender, confiding and dutiful… On the other hand, towards St. Mary the language employed is affectionate and ardent, as towards a mere child of Adam" (Chapter XI, Section II, Par. 2).

The devotion that Catholics pay to the Blessed Virgin indeed has "a special office" and is more connected to the public services and festive dimension of Christianity than to the personal and primary aspect of religion (Chapter XI, Section II, Par. 11). This explains why, in the *Spiritual Exercises* of St. Ignatius of Loyola, "a work so highly sanctioned, so widely received, so intimately bearing upon the most sacred points of personal religion, very slight mention occurs of devotion to the Blessed Virgin, Mother of God" (Chapter XI, Section II, Par. 5). It also explains why, though Mary is "absolutely the first of created beings" (Chapter XI, Section II, Par. 10) and incomparable with all other Saints, she is mentioned very little in the devotional books that Newman refers to in Paragraphs 7, 8, and 9. Such minimal reference, for Newman, does not imply the authors' intention to negate the lofty place of Mary in the devotional life of Catholics, but to show that such devotion does "not interfere[] with that incommunicable and awful relation which exists between the creature and the Creator," and that honoring Mary does "not… obscure the divine glory of her Son." (Chapter XI, Section II, Pars. 9, 11).

In the seventh note, its "chronic vigour," Newman argues that, given the many challenges, hardships, and tribulations the early Catholic Church faced, it is unthinkable that it would have survived if, as its enemies claimed, it were merely a corruption of Christianity, corruption being "of brief duration, [running] itself out quickly, and [ending] in death" (Chapter XII, Sections 1-2). Yet, despite the fiercest doctrinal controversies that put the Catholic faith in great peril, assaulted by

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scores of heresies and schisms on all sides, the Catholic Church witnessed "the sustained and steady march of the sacred science from implicit belief to formal statement," and that, despite the failure of some of the most gifted Fathers and Saints, "the Church… wrought out the one and only consistent theory which can be taken on the great doctrine in dispute, proves how clear, simple and exact her vision of that doctrine was" (Chapter XII, Section 4).

III. Conclusion

James Gaffney, in his "Foreword" to the compendium that contains the 348-page *Essay*, describes Newman's authoritative work in this way: "Newman's most homely way of explaining what he attempted to do in the *Essay* on development was to say that he was trying to decide where, among the multidenominational churches of Victorian England, a reincarnated St. Athanasius or St. Ambrose might find himself religiously at home."[25] Throughout his career as an Anglican, Newman believed that if a time traveler from the Church of the Fathers were to visit nineteenth-century Christianity, he would discover that "essential omissions disqualified Protestantism, while incongruous additions discredited Roman Catholicism"; and that "[b]etween these two extremes of doctrinal barrenness and overgrowth there lay… a middle ground, what he called a *via media*, within the Church of England,"[26] in which this traveler from the early centuries would feel a deep sense of spiritual belonging. Yet, some six years before his conversion to Catholicism and the publication of the *Essay*, Newman realized something that "seriously alarmed" him, and which he later reflected upon in his autobiographical work, *Apologia Pro Vita Sua*:

> I began to study and master the history of the Monophysites. I was absorbed in the doctrinal question. This was from about June 13th to August 30th. It was during this course of reading that for the first time a doubt came upon me of the tenableness of Anglicanism… My stronghold was Antiquity; now here, in the middle of the fifth century,

[25] Gaffney, "Foreword," ix.

[26] *Ibid.*

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> I found, as it seemed to me, Christendom of the sixteenth and the nineteenth centuries reflected. I saw myself in that mirror, and I was a Monophysite. The Church of the *Via Media* was in the position of the Oriental communion, Rome was, where she now is; and the Protestants were the Eutychians.[27]

On October 9, 1845, at exactly the midpoint of his life, and after years of self-examination and soul-searching, he converted to the Catholic Church. The rationale for such a pivotal decision is crystallized in the *Essay*: "I have maintained that modern Catholicism is nothing else but simply the legitimate growth and complement, that is, the natural and necessary development, of the doctrine of the early church, and that its divine authority is included in the divinity of Christianity" (Chapter V, Par. 1).

Hence, in a long paragraph that deserves to be cited—because if the *Essay* is "[t]he literary monument of that transition, and fullest record of the argument of which it was for Newman the compelling practical conclusion,"[28] this paragraph contains the very conclusion to his philosophical and theological argumentation for his landmark conversion—Newman proclaims:

> No one doubts… that the Roman Catholic communion of this day is the successor and representative of the medieval Church, or that the medieval Church is the legitimate heir of the Nicene…. On the whole, all parties will agree that, of all existing systems, the present communion of Rome is the nearest approximation in fact to the Church of the Fathers, possible though some may think it, to be nearer still to that Church on paper. Did St. Athanasius or St. Ambrose come suddenly to life, it cannot be doubted what communion he would take to be his own. All surely will agree that these Fathers, with whatever opinions of their own, whatever protests, if we will, would find themselves more at home with such men as St. Bernard or St. Ignatius of Loyola, or with the lonely priest in his lodging, or the holy sisterhood of mercy, or the unlettered crowd before the altar, than with the teachers or with the members of any other creed (Chapter II, Section III, Par. 5).

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[27] J. H. Newman, *Apologia Pro Vita Sua: Being a History of his Religious Opinions* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990), p. 114.

[28] Gaffney, "Foreword," vii.

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Indeed, as Newman would later admit to his former colleague Edward Bouverie Pusey: "[T]he Fathers made me a Catholic."[29]

In conclusion, this paper has traced the intellectual and spiritual journey that led Newman from Anglicanism to the Catholic Church, showing how his engagement with the Fathers of the Church, sustained historical study, and critical reflection on doctrinal development culminated in the *Essay on the Development of Christian Doctrine* and enabled him to articulate a method for discerning authentic doctrinal development from corruption or heresy. In doing so, the work has sought to situate Newman's *Essay* within the concrete context of his personal struggle and encounter with historical Christianity, highlighting that the study of doctrinal development is not just an abstract exercise but is closely connected to lived faith and the life of the Church. Finally, by revisiting Newman's seven notes of doctrinal development, the *Essay* continues to serve as a valuable point of reference for theologians and Church historians who seek to reflect on the faithful growth of doctrine amid the challenges of change, innovation, and diversity within the Christian tradition.

About the Author. **Salvador G. Agualada Jr., CMF** is a Claretian priest who earned his Baccalaureate in Sacred Theology from the Loyola School of Theology, Ateneo de Manila University, and his Master's degree in Theology also from the Ateneo. He completed his Licentiate and Doctorate in Systematic Theology at the Pontifical Gregorian University in Rome. Currently, he serves as the Dean of the Institute for Consecrated Life in Asia (ICLA), while teaching Systematic Theology at both LST and ICLA in Quezon City, Philippines. He is the author of six books and numerous scholarly articles.

[29] Daley, "The Church of the Fathers, p. 45.

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