

# THE SECRET HISTORY

OF

# THE OXFORD MOVEMENT.

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## CHAPTER I.

### THE SECRET HISTORY OF THE OXFORD MOVEMENT.

Birth of the Movement—Its Secret Teaching—Promoters dislike their names being known to the Public—Tract "On Reserve"—Newman writes against Popery—"Eats his dirty words"—Ward on Equivocation—Newman Establishes a Monastery—Pusey gives his approval—Newman's double dealing about it—Lockhart's experience in this Monastery—Mark Pattison's experience—"Stealing to Mass at the Catholic Church"—Faber's visit to Rome—Faber kisses the Pope's foot—Desanctis on Jesuits in Disguise—Midnight secret Meetings at Elton—Dr. Pusey privately orders a "Discipline with five knots"—Dr. Pusey secretly wears hair shirts—Ritualistic Sisters of Mercy to take the "Discipline"—A Ritualistic Sister whipped most cruelly—Romanists sell articles of "Discipline" to Ritualists—Maskell's Testimony as to Tractarian evasions and trickery.

THE late Cardinal Newman, the first leader of the Tractarians, has stated in his *Apologia* that he ever considered and kept July 14th, 1833, as the start of the Tractarian Movement. Within three months from that date he published his work on the *Arians of the Fourth Century*, in which the "Disciplina Arcani," or the "secret teaching," which found such favour with a few of the early Fathers, was held up to the admiration of English churchmen of the nineteenth century. It was most appropriate that a religious movement in which secrecy has played so important a part should be inaugurated by the publication of such a work. It has served as a seed from which many a noxious weed has grown. Closely connected with the "Disciplina Arcani" is what is termed the "Economical" mode of teaching and arguing. The difference between the

two is thus defined by Newman himself. "If," he writes, "it is necessary to contrast the two with each other, the one may be considered as withholding the truth, and the other as setting it out to advantage."<sup>1</sup> As an illustration of this "Economy" he quotes with approval the very objectionable advice of Clement of Alexandria:—

"The Alexandrian Father," he affirms, "who has already been quoted, *accurately* describes the rules which should guide the Christian in speaking and writing economically. 'Being fully persuaded of the omnipresence of God,' says Clement, 'and ashamed to come short of the truth, he is satisfied with the approval of God, and of his own conscience. Whatever is in his mind, is also on his tongue; towards those who are fit recipients, both in speaking and living, he harmonizes his profession with his thoughts. He both thinks and speaks the truth; *except when careful treatment is necessary*, and then, as a physician for the good of his patients, *he will LIE, or rather utter a LIE, as the Sophists say. . . . Nothing, however, but his neighbour's good will lead him to do this. He gives himself up for the Church.*'"<sup>2</sup>

As to the "Disciplina Arcani," Newman justifies it on several grounds, and affirms that in the Church of Alexandria the Catechumens were not taught all the doctrines of the Christian Faith. Many of these were treated by their teachers as secret doctrines to be held in reserve. "Even to the last," he asserts, "they were granted nothing beyond a formal and general account of the articles of the Christian Faith; the exact and fully developed doctrines of the Trinity and the Incarnation, and still more, the doctrine of the Atonement, as once made upon the Cross, and commemorated and appropriated in the Eucharist, being the exclusive possession of the serious and practised Christian."<sup>3</sup> It is worthy of note that Newman affirmed that these secret doctrines were not learnt from the Scriptures. "Now first," he writes, "it may be asked, How was any secrecy practicable, seeing that the Scriptures were open to everyone who chose to consult them? It may startle those who are but acquainted with the

<sup>1</sup> Newman's *Arians*, p. 65. Seventh edition. <sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 73, 74. <sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 45.

popular writings of this day, yet, I believe, the most accurate consideration of the subject will lead us to acquiesce in the statement, as a general truth, that *the doctrines in question [i.e., the secret doctrines of the early Church] have never been learnt merely from Scripture.*" And then he adds:—"Surely the Sacred Volume was never intended, and is not adapted, to teach us our Creed."<sup>4</sup> Thus early in the Tractarian Movement were its disciples taught not to look to the Bible only for what they should believe. The traditions of men were set up as of equal value with the Written Word. No wonder that such a Movement led to many and grievous departures from Christian truth. Teaching like this was eagerly imbibed by the disciples of Newman, who very naturally, though without sufficient reason, inferred that, if the Alexandrian Fathers were justified in hiding certain doctrines of Christianity from the popular gaze, as secrets to be made known only to the initiated whom they could trust, the Tractarians of the nineteenth century might lawfully imitate their example. Accordingly, they, at first, from their pulpits preached the ordinary doctrines of the Church of England, as they had been taught for nearly three hundred years; while secretly, and to those only who could be trusted, they taught those Romish doctrines and practices which they dared not then expose to the light of publicity.

There was a measure of secrecy observed even in the formation of the Tractarian Movement. As early as September 3rd, 1833, one of the party—the late Professor Mozley—writing to his sister, after announcing that with his letter she would "receive a considerable number of Tracts, the first production of the Society established for the dissemination of High Church principles," proceeds to give particulars of the plans of the party; but finds it necessary, before closing his letter, to add this caution for her guidance:—"But for the present you must remember all

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 50.

these details I have been going through *are secret*.”<sup>5</sup> Here, it will be observed, the real object of the Movement is frankly revealed. It is to be a Society for “the dissemination of High Church principles.” But when the prospectus of the Society was made public, there was not one word in it which might lead the public to suppose that “The Association of the Friends of the Church”—as it was termed—had the slightest desire to promote High Church views. *That*, the *real* object, was kept back in reserve, to be imparted only to the elect of the party. In a letter to a friend one of the members of the new Association actually went so far as to assert:—“We want to unite all the Church, orthodox and Evangelical, clergy, nobility, and people, in maintenance of our doctrine and polity.”<sup>6</sup>

“There was, indeed,” writes one of the leaders of the Tractarians, the Rev. William Palmer, “much misapprehension abroad as to our motives, and we had no means of explaining those motives, *without the danger of giving publicity to our proceedings, which, in the then state of the public mind on Church matters, might have led to dangerous results.*”<sup>7</sup>

This dread of the light of day was fully shared by Newman, who, writing from Oriel College, Oxford, to his friend Mr. J. W. Bowden, on August 31st, 1833, remarks:—“We are just setting up here Societies for the Defence of the Church. *We do not like our names known*, but we hope the plan will succeed.”<sup>8</sup> The very same day Newman wrote to another intimate friend, Mr. F. Rogers—subsequently known as Lord Blachford—as follows:—

“*Entre nous*, we have set up Societies over the kingdom in defence of the Church. Certainly this is, you will say, a singular confidential communication, being shared by so many; but the *entre nous* relates to *we*. *We do not like our names known.*”<sup>9</sup>

This dread of having their names “known” to the public

<sup>5</sup> Mozley's *Letters*, p. 33.

<sup>6</sup> Palmer's *Narrative of Events Connected with Tracts for the Times*, p. 212. Edition, 1883.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 108.

<sup>8</sup> Newman's *Letters and Correspondence*, Vol. I., p. 448.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 450.

is still felt by the members of several Ritualistic societies of the present generation. It is a noteworthy fact that for fifteen years—from 1880 to 1896—no list of the Brethren of the secret Society of the Holy Cross—though a fresh list is printed and circulated every year—came into Protestant hands. When the “Suggestions” for the formation of “The Association of the Friends of the Church” were printed and circulated, care was even taken that no outsider, into whose hands a stray copy might chance to fall, should be able to discover from it whence it came, or who were responsible for it. This was a matter for astonishment on the part of Mr. J. W. Bowden, who, writing from London to Newman, on November 4th, 1833, mentions that:—

“Those to whom I have shown the ‘Suggestions’ say, ‘But where are the names? Who are they? Where are they?’ For even the word Oxford does not appear thereon. For aught the ‘Suggestions’ say, the founders of the scheme might belong to the *operative* classes of Society, and their head-quarters might be in some alley in London. The year, too, should be put; a reader might, if he found a dirty copy, suppose the whole scheme ten years old.”<sup>10</sup>

Amongst the prominent laymen who supported the Tractarian Movement was Mr. Joshua Watson. He drew up the first Lay Declaration organized by the Tractarians at the close of 1833. His brother wanted to know too much about the objects of the Declaration and was refused the information by Mr. Joshua Watson in the following terms:—

“As to the query, whence it comes and whither it goes, the only answer is, what does that signify? Never mind, if it dropped from the clouds. If you like it, sign it; if you do not, let it alone. As to its *ulterior destination*, I reply that, without the gift of second sight, I pretend not to answer.”<sup>11</sup>

Dr. Pusey, at this time, had not publicly joined what Newman termed “the grand scheme.”<sup>12</sup> But on November 7th, 1833, the latter was able to announce to the Rev. Hurrell Froude, then the most advanced Romanizer of the new

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 472.

<sup>11</sup> *Memoir of Joshua Watson*, by Archdeacon Churton, p. 209. Second edition.

<sup>12</sup> *Newman's Letters*, Vol. I., p. 478.

party, that Pusey was circulating the recently issued *Tracts for the Times*.<sup>13</sup> Six days later Newman privately informed Mr. Bowden that Pusey had joined the new party, but he adds the caution that his name "must not be mentioned as of our party."<sup>14</sup> It is interesting to note that Newman, at the same time, mentioned that Mr. Gladstone "has joined us." At this period Newman was writing a series of anonymous articles in the *Evangelical Record*, over the signature of "Churchman."<sup>15</sup> It is certain that if he had made known his High Church views to the then editor of that paper, his articles would have been refused.

Already Newman was himself practising his doctrine of Reserve. He had departed, in his own mind, from several of the Protestant doctrines of his forefathers, but the world knew nothing at all about the change in his views. What he kept secret from the public, he made known to his trusted friends. Thus, for example, he wrote, on November 22nd, 1833, to the Rev. S. Rickards:—

"I must just touch upon the notice of the Lord's Supper. *In confidence to a friend*, I can only admit it was imprudent, for I do think that we have most of us dreadfully low notions of the Blessed Sacrament. *I expect to be called a Papist when my opinions are known*. But (please God) I shall lead persons on a little way, while they fancy they are only taking the mean, and denounce me as the extreme."<sup>16</sup>

Here a truly Jesuitical spirit manifests itself. Hurrell Froude acted in a similarly underhanded manner. In one of his letters to a friend, written only one month after the commencement of the Movement, he remarked:—"Since I have been at home, I have been doing what I can to *proselytise in an underhand way*."<sup>17</sup> Is there not reason to fear that many of the clergy, who do not *call* themselves Ritualists, are in our own day imitating the bad examples shown by Newman and Froude, more than sixty years ago? The danger

<sup>13</sup> Newman's *Letters*, Vol. I., p. 476.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 483.

<sup>17</sup> Froude's *Remains*, Vol. I., p. 322.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 482.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 490.

is to be looked for in nominally Evangelical parishes, as well as in those under avowedly High Church management. In looking through the privately printed Annual Report of the Merton College (Oxford) Church Society, for 1892, which supports several Ritualistic causes, and advocates reunion with the corrupt Eastern Church, I was surprised to read, in the list of members, the names of several clergymen who at the present time hold Evangelical incumbencies or curacies. These gentlemen would, no doubt, be considerably annoyed, were their connection with this private Society made known to their present congregations. It may, however, be fairly asked, why should they in *secret* be members of a High Church Society, while in *public* they profess to be Evangelicals? Let them be consistent, and if they do not hold High Church views, withdraw from such an organization. I do not assert that these gentlemen are insincere, for we cannot read the secret thoughts of others, but, until they cease to be members, I cannot help wondering whether they are acting on the Ritualistic principle of "Reserve in Communicating Religious Knowledge?"

Newman's views on Reserve and Economy when first published in 1833, created a great deal of interest; but this was as nothing when compared with the effect produced, in 1838, by the publication of Isaac Williams's pamphlet "On Reserve in Communicating Religious Knowledge." It formed No. 80 of *Tracts for the Times*, and this he subsequently supplemented by another and larger pamphlet on the same subject, being No. 87 of *Tracts for the Times*. The doctrine taught by Williams set the whole of the Church of England in an uproar. His Tracts were condemned by almost every Bishop on the Bench. In Bricknell's *Judgment of the Bishops upon Tractarian Theology*, pp. 424-472, there are printed extensive extracts from Episcopal Charges in which the doctrine of Reserve is condemned in the strongest terms. Tract 80 commences with a clear exposition of its purport.

"The object of the present inquiry," writes Isaac Williams, "is to ascertain, whether there is not in God's dealings with mankind, a very remarkable *holding back* of sacred and important truths, as if the knowledge of them were injurious to persons unworthy of them" (p. 3)

Amongst the doctrines which Williams mentions as those which are to be held back in Reserve from the uninitiated, as great secrets of Christianity, are those of the Atonement, Faith and Works, the free Grace of God, the Sacraments, and Priestly Absolution.

"Not only," he writes, "is the exclusive and naked exposure of so very sacred a truth [as the 'Doctrine of the Atonement'] unscriptural and dangerous, but, as Bishop Wilson says, the comforts of Religion ought to be applied with great caution. And moreover to require, as is sometimes done, from both grown persons and children, an explicit declaration of a belief in the Atonement, and the full assurance of its power, appears equally untenable." (*Tract 80*, p. 78.)

"These riches" [*i.e.*, certain 'sacred truths'] are all *secret*, given to certain dispositions—not cast loosely on the world. . . The great doctrines which of late years have divided Christians, are again of this ['secret'] kind very peculiarly, *such as the subjects of Faith and Works, of the free Grace of God, and obedience on the part of man. . . They appear to be great secrets, notwithstanding whatever may be said of them, only revealed to the faithful.*" (*Ibid.*, pp. 48, 49.)

"With respect to the *Holy Sacraments*," Williams remarks, in his second pamphlet on *Reserve*, "it is in these, and by these *chiefly*, that the Church of all ages has held the Doctrine of the Atonement after a certain manner of Reserve. . . . Now here it is very evident at once that the great difference between these two systems [*i.e.*, what Williams terms the true Catholic, and the modern Protestant system] consists in this, that one holds the doctrine *secretly* as it were, and in Reserve; the other in a public and popular manner." (*Tract 87*, pp. 88, 89.)

"The same may be shown with respect to the powers of *Priestly Absolution*, and the gifts conferred thereby. It is not required for our purpose to show the reality of that power, and the magnitude of those gifts which are thus dispensed. But a little consideration will show that if the Church of all ages is right in exercising these privileges, *the subject is one entirely of this reserved and mystical character.* Its blessings are received in secret, according to faith: they are such as

the world cannot behold, and cannot receive. The subject is one so profound and mysterious, that it hardly admits of being put forward in a popular way, and doubtless more injury than benefit would be done to religion by doing so inconsiderately." (*Ibid.*, p. 90.)

No wonder that the Bishops condemned such doctrines as these. "Far from us," wrote Dr. Musgrave, Bishop of Hereford, "therefore, be it to withhold from our Christian people any doctrine revealed in God's Word as needful for salvation, or to impose upon them for such, anything not there revealed."<sup>18</sup> Dr. Blomfield, Bishop of London, indignantly rejected the secret teaching of Isaac Williams. "Anything," he declared, "of the nature of a 'Disciplina Arcani,' I as promptly reject."<sup>19</sup> It is worthy of note here that in his *Autobiography*—which was not published until 1892—Williams admits that the Evangelical party, when his Tract on Reserve was published, took a right view as to its real meaning. "With regard to the great obloquy," he writes, "it [Tract on Reserve] occasioned from the Low Church Party, this was to be expected—it was against their hollow mode of proceeding; *it was understood as it was meant*, and of this I do not complain."<sup>20</sup> It is certain that Evangelical Churchmen understood it as meaning that the Tractarian clergy felt themselves justified in imparting to those only whom they could trust their real and Romish doctrines concerning the Atonement, Faith and Works, Grace, the Sacraments, Priestly Absolution, and other doctrines; and to Protestants this naturally looked like double-dealing and Jesuitism. No wonder they were indignant.

It is admitted by one who for many years held a prominent position amongst the advanced Ritualistic clergy (the Rev. Orby Shipley) that this "Doctrine of Reserve" was "both taught and acted upon" to "a *wide* extent" by the Tractarians.<sup>21</sup> And the Master of the secret Society of the

<sup>18</sup> Bricknell's *Judgment of the Bishops*, p. 434.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 436.

<sup>20</sup> *Autobiography of Isaac Williams*, p. 91.

<sup>21</sup> Orby Shipley's *Invocation of Saints and Angels*, p. xi. London, 1869

Holy Cross, addressing the May, 1873, Synod of that Society, said :—

“ We look back to a time when Catholic truth and worship were in a condition almost resembling that of the Church of the Catacombs, *when the utmost reserve was thought necessary*, even in speaking of simple facts of the Creed. The Gorham case, and the intrusion of the Schismatical Hierarchy of Rome, with the anti-Catholic *animus* to which they gave force, were still hanging over us, and what was done for the truth *was mostly done in a corner*.”<sup>23</sup>

The subtlety of a Jesuit could not have invented a more ingenious scheme.

Early in 1836, both the *Standard* and the *Edinburgh Review* censured the Tractarian Party in strong terms. These attacks greatly annoyed Newman, who, writing to Keble on January 16th of that year, remarks :—“ Now, since many of these notices are made under the impression that we are *Crypto-Papists*, here is an additional reason for tracts on the Popish question.”<sup>23</sup> Dr. Pusey readily fell in with this subtle scheme for writing against Popery. He evidently thought it a clever dodge for throwing dust in the eyes of the public, and leading many Protestants, thus blinded, to adopt High Church principles, before they were aware of it. On this subject Pusey wrote to a friend :—

“ I know not that the Popish controversy may not just be the very best way of handling Ultra-Protestantism, *i.e.*, neglecting it, not advancing against, but setting Catholic views against Roman Catholicism and *so disposing of Ultra-Protestantism by a side wind, and teaching people Catholicism, without their suspecting*, while they are only bent on demolishing Romanism. I suspect we might thus have people with us, instead of against us, and that *they might find themselves Catholics before they were aware*.”<sup>24</sup>

The impression that the leaders of the Tractarians were secretly Papists was a very natural one. Those who doubted could not produce legal evidence in proof of what they

<sup>23</sup> *S.S.C. Master's Address*, May Synod, 1873. p. 3.

<sup>23</sup> *Newman's Letters*, Vol. II., p. 153.

<sup>24</sup> *Life of Dr. Pusey*, Vol. I., p. 332.

feared: but the knowledge of the suspicions which existed led Newman to adopt a course to ward off suspicion, which, had it been understood by his opponents, would have greatly increased their impressions as to Crypto-Papists being at that time in the Church of England. He determined, as we have seen, to write against Popery. How could anyone, then, suppose that the man who said such strong things against the Church of Rome was in any sense a disguised Romanist? It was not the first time he had written against portions of the Roman system. No Protestant could have said fiercer things than he had said in the past, and continued to say, so long as it answered his purpose. Here are a few extracts from his utterances, beginning with the year 1833, and ending with 1839. I take the extracts as cited by Newman himself, in his famous letter to the *Oxford Conservative Journal*, January, 1843. In the *Lyra Apostolica*, published in 1833, he declared that the Church of Rome was a "lost Church." At page 421 of the first edition of his work on the *Arians of the Fourth Century*, he wrote of "the Papal Apostacy." In No. 15 of *Tracts for the Times*, in 1833, he wrote:—

"True, Rome is heretical now. . . If she has apostatized, it was at the time of the Council of Trent. Then, indeed, it is to be feared the whole Roman Communion bound itself, by a perpetual bond and covenant to the cause of Anti-christ."

Again, in the same year he wrote, in *Tract 20*. "Their [Papists'] communion is infected with heresy; we are bound to flee it as a pestilence. They have established a lie in the place of God's truth, and by their claim of immutability in doctrine, cannot undo the sin they have committed."

In 1834 Newman affirmed that:—

"In the corrupt Papal system we have the very cruelty, the craft, and the ambition of the republic; its cruelty in its unsparing sacrifice of the happiness and virtue of individuals to a phantom of public expediency, in its forced celibacy within, and its persecutions without; its craft in its falsehoods, its deceitful deeds and lying wonders; and its grasping ambition in the very structure of its policy, in its

assumption of universal dominion ; old Rome is still alive ; nowhere have its eagles lighted, but it still claims the sovereignty under another pretence. The Roman Church I will not blame, but pity—she is, as I have said, spell-bound, as if by an evil spirit ; she is in thralldom.”

In the same year, in No. 38 of *Tracts for the Times*, Newman termed the Church of Rome “unscriptural,” “profane,” “impious,” “blasphemous,” “gross,” and “monstrous.” In the year 1838, in his lectures on *Romanism and Popular Protestantism*, he said of the Church of Rome:—

“In truth she is a Church beside herself, abounding in noble gifts and rightful titles, but unable to use them religiously ; crafty, obstinate, wilful, malicious, cruel, unnatural, as madmen are. Or, rather, she may be said to resemble a demoniac, possessed with principles, thoughts, and tendencies not her own. . . Thus she is her real self only in name, and till God vouchsafe to restore her, we must treat her as if she were that evil one which governs her.”

What Protestant could utter abuse of Popery more fierce than is contained in the above extracts from Newman’s own words ? But there is this marked difference between the two. The Protestant means what he says when he denounces Rome ; while Newman did nothing of the kind. He meant his denunciation of Popery to be dust with which to blind the eyes of his opponents, and prevent them discovering his real aims ; and there can be no doubt it, for a time, in a large measure served its purpose. When the denunciations had done their work, however, they were unreservedly withdrawn, and that by the author himself. In the letter to the *Oxford Conservative Journal* mentioned already, Newman cited all the extracts given above from his writings, together with other similar statements, and then he adds this remarkable confession of his guilt :—

“If you ask me how an individual could venture, not simply to hold, but to publish such views of a Communion [*i.e.*, the Church of Rome] so ancient, so wide-spreading, so fruitful in saints, I answer, that I said to myself, ‘I AM NOT SPEAKING MY OWN WORDS, I am but following almost a *consensus* of the divines of my

Church. They have ever used the strongest language against Rome, even the most learned and able of them. I wish to throw myself into their system. While I say what they say I am safe. SUCH VIEWS, TOO, ARE NECESSARY FOR OUR POSITION.' Yet I have reason to fear still, that such language is to be ascribed, in no small measure, to an impetuous temper, a *hope of approving myself to person's respect*, AND A WISH TO REPEL THE CHARGE OF ROMANISM."

Accordingly he withdrew all the charges made against the Church of Rome in the above quotations from his writings. In those writings his denunciations of Rome are put forth, not as those of a "*consensus of divines*" of the Church of England, but as *his own*. And yet, all the while, he tells us, he was "*not speaking his own words!*" It was "*necessary for our position*" to write thus. There was no other effectual way to gain "*person's respect*" for his consistency, and to "*repel the charge of Romanism.*" In short his conduct was a practical illustration of the doctrine of the "*Economy*" advocated in his book on the Arians, in which, as we have seen, he cites with approval the doctrine of Clement of Alexandria, that a Christian "*Both thinks and speaks the truth; except when careful treatment is necessary; and then, as a physician for the good of his patients, he will lie, or rather utter a lie, as the Sophists say.*" Can we wonder that the men and women of that generation doubted the word of Newman? He did not tell the world at that time—so far as I can ascertain—that he had ever believed in his own denunciations of Romanism when he wrote them. It was nearly a quarter of a century after, that, in his *Apologia*, he let the public know that he "*fully believed*" all his accusations against Rome at the time he made them; but in the same book he admitted that his letter to the *Oxford Conservative Journal* was, after all, but "*a lame apology.*"<sup>26</sup> There can be no question as to its lameness, and not all the subtlety displayed in the *Apologia* is able to deprive it of its crippled character. A few days before the retractation

*Apologia Pro Vita Sua*, pp. 201, 204. Edition, 1889.

was published at Oxford, Newman wrote to his friend, James R. Hope-Scott, to announce the coming event. "My conscience," he told his correspondent, "goaded me some two months since to an act which comes into effect, I believe, in the *Conservative Journal* next Saturday, viz., to eat a few dirty words of mine."<sup>26</sup> A few days later Mr. Hope-Scott acquainted Newman with the effect his retraction had produced on his acquaintances. "People whom I have heard speak of it," he wrote, "(few, perhaps, but fair samples) are rather *puzzled* than anything else."<sup>27</sup> Newman's conduct for several years before this date had fairly "puzzled" everybody, both friends and foes. They could not make him out; he was a mystery they could not penetrate. The suspicion that he was acting in an underhand way was not confined to Protestants, as the rejoinder he wrote to the last quoted letter of Mr. J. R. Hope-Scott, clearly shows. Writing to him, on February 3rd, 1843, Newman gives the following additional explanation of his retraction:—

"My reason for the *thing* was my long-continued feeling of the great inconsistency I was in of letting things stand in print against me *which I did not hold*, and which I could not but be contradicting by my acting every day of my life. And more especially (*i.e.*, it came home to me most vividly in that particular way) I felt that I was *taking people in*; that they thought me what I was not, and were trusting me when they should not, and this has been at times a very painful feeling indeed. I don't want to be trusted (perhaps you may think my fear, even before this affair, somewhat amusing); but so it was and is; people *won't* believe I go as far as I do—they will cling to their hopes. And then, again, *intimate friends have almost reproached me with 'paltering with them in a double sense, keeping the word of promise to their ear, to break it to their hope.'* They have said that my words against Rome often, when narrowly examined, were only what I meant, but that the effect of them was what *others* meant. I am not aware that I have any great motive for this paper beyond this—setting myself right, and wishing to be seen in my proper colours,

<sup>26</sup> *Memoirs of J. R. Hope-Scott*, Vol. II., p. 19.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 20.

and not unwilling to do such penance for wrong words as lies in the necessary criticism which such a retractation will involve on the part of friends and enemies."<sup>28</sup>

Turning back to August 9th, 1836, we note that, on this date, one of Newman's friends, the Rev. R. F. Wilson, wrote to complain of his "unnecessary" Economy, and mentioned a case in which he had so acted. "By-the-bye," he asked Newman, "why will you economise so unnecessarily at times? as if to keep your hand in. You sent Major B. away with a conviction that you looked on D. as a very fine, noble character. As he had this information fresh from you, I did not venture to say anything subversive of your judgment; so now he will probably publish the high admiration and respect with which D. is looked up to by his late comrades—more especially by Mr. Newman."<sup>29</sup> There is something truly Jesuitical in the way Newman acted towards "Major B." on this occasion. Unfortunately there is reason to fear that it was by no means an exceptional case either with himself or his disciples. There is an absence of English straightforwardness and plain dealing in the whole business which is far from satisfactory.

The conduct, I may here remark, of Newman's successor as leader of the advanced Tractarians, viz., the Rev. William George Ward (author of the *Ideal of a Christian Church*) was even more Jesuitical. Writing of the period when Mr. Ward was still a clergyman in the Church of England, his son informs us that—

"He had long held that the Roman Church was the one true Church. He had gradually come to believe that the English Church was not strictly a part of the Church at all. He had felt bound to retain his external communion with her members, *because he believed that he was bringing many of them towards Rome*; and to unite himself to the Church which he loved and trusted, to enjoy the blessings

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 20, 21. This remarkable letter is not reprinted in Newman's *Letters and Correspondence*. Why was it suppressed?

<sup>29</sup> Newman's *Letters*, Vol. II., p. 207.

of external communion for himself, if by so doing he thwarted this larger and fuller victory of truth, had seemed a course both indefensible and selfish."<sup>30</sup>

No man could have acted like this, unless his views of truthfulness had been strangely perverted. And this was markedly the case with Mr. Ward in his Tractarian days. His son relates of his father, that—

"In discussing the doctrine of equivocation, as to how far it is lawful on occasion, he maintained, as against those who admit the lawfulness of words literally true but misleading, that the more straightforward principle is that occasionally when duties conflict, *another duty may be more imperative than the duty of truthfulness*. But he expressed it thus: 'Make yourself clear that you are *justified in deception*, and THEN LIE LIKE A TROOPER.'" <sup>31</sup>

The establishment by Newman of a Monastery at Littlemore, near Oxford, affords another specimen of the secrecy and crookedness which characterized the Tractarian Movement. His plans for such a Monastery, which was first started in Oxford, and subsequently removed to Littlemore, appear to have been in a partly developed condition early in 1838; but at that time were shrouded in secrecy. On January 17th of that year he wrote to his friend Mr. J. W. Bowden:—

"Your offering towards the *young monks* was just like yourself, and I cannot pay you a better compliment. It will be most welcome. As you may suppose, we have nothing settled, but are feeling our way. We should begin next term; but since, *however secret one may wish to keep it*, things get out, we do not yet wish to commit young men to anything which may hurt their chance of success at any college in standing for a Fellowship."<sup>32</sup>

The scheme for a Monastery was, for some unknown reason, postponed for a time, but not abandoned. It was evidently in Newman's thoughts very much during the following year. "You see," he wrote to Mr. F. Rogers,

<sup>30</sup> *William George Ward and the Oxford Movement*, p. 356. First edition.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 30.

<sup>32</sup> *Newman's Letters*, Vol. II., p. 249.

September 15th, 1839, "if things came to the worst, I should turn Brother of Charity in London—an object which, quite independent of any such perplexities, is growing on me, and, peradventure, will some day be accomplished, if other things do not impede me."<sup>33</sup> The secrecy so much desired by Newman, as mentioned in his letter cited above, seems to have been successful, at least in one instance. One of the body of young men who were Newman's disciples, succeeded, in 1840, in gaining a Fellowship at Lincoln College, Oxford, which certainly would not have been the case had the authorities been aware that he was at the time a "monk." The success of his policy of secrecy, in this instance, appears to have given Newman intense satisfaction. He wrote, on January 10th, 1840, in great glee to his friend Bowden, announcing the joyful news:—

"To return to Lincoln; after rejecting James Mozley for a Fellowship two years since for his opinions, they have been taken by Pattison, this last term, *an inmate of the Coenobitium*. He happened to stand very suddenly, *and they had no time to inquire*. They now stare in amazement at their feat."<sup>34</sup>

This letter implies that the "Coenobitium," or Monastic Establishment, was already in existence. It was possibly the same Institution as that mentioned in the late Professor Mozley's *Letters* as a "Hall" (p. 79). Professor Mozley was one of the first inmates of this "Hall." He was, as is well known, one of the most enthusiastic supporters of Tractarianism in its early days; but he failed to keep up with the pace at which its leaders were marching Romeward, and drew back. His subsequent work on the *Baptismal Controversy*, in which he justified the Gorham Judgment, gave great offence to his former friends. But at this period he enjoyed the fullest confidence of Newman. There are several allusions in Mozley's *Letters* to the mysterious "Coenobitium," though it is not mentioned by that name.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 285.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 297.

Writing on April 6th, 1838, to his brother, the Rev. Thomas Mozley, the future Regius Professor of Divinity, announces that "Newman intends putting some plan or other of a Society into execution next term, and I am to be a leading member—though whether principal or vice-principal I cannot tell you. But if there are only two of us, which seems likely at present, I must either be one or the other. Johnson, of Magdalen Hall, will join; he is the only one we are certain of. But after the Oriel contest is over, others may be willing."<sup>35</sup> Three weeks later Newman's plans were in a more developed condition, for Mozley writes to his sister:—"I must inform you that Newman has taken a house, to be formed into a reading and collating establishment, to help in editing the Fathers. We have no prospect of any number joining us at present. Men are willing, but they have Fellowships in prospect, as R. And P., who stood at Oriel, and passed a very good examination—the best, as some have thought—has a Fellowship at University in prospect, which would be interfered with by joining us, for we shall of course be marked men."<sup>36</sup> Though the house was taken in April, it was late in Autumn before it was occupied. To Mozley was entrusted the task of furnishing it, and getting it ready as a place of residence for the embryo "Monks." It was to be a comfortable place after all, and it is somewhat amusing to read Mozley's description of his preparatory labours, as sent by him to his sister on October 18th:—

"I have been busily engaged ever since coming up with making arrangements for the Hall—bustling about, calling at the upholsterers, giving orders for coal. The place is at present airing and warming. It will look decent enough when everything is in it. There are quite gay carpets in both sitting-rooms; as is natural in fitting up, one forgets the commonest things at first, till they come upon one by one. I shall expect to find numerous deficiencies after all, when I come to the actual habitation of the place, and just at this moment, the

<sup>35</sup> Mozley's *Letters*, p. 75.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 78.

thought of coal-scuttles has flitted by me, and I have booked it in my memoranda." <sup>37</sup>

In March, 1840, Newman seems to have been considering the advisability of moving his Monastic Establishment to Littlemore, about three miles from Oxford, and making it a Hall attached to, and recognized by, the University of Oxford. On the 21st of that month he wrote to his friend Rogers, asking for his advice on this subject :—

"Supposing I took theological pupils at Littlemore, might not my house be looked upon as a sort of Hall depending on Oriel, as St. Mary's Hall was? And if this were commonly done, would it not strengthen the Colleges instead of weakening them? Are these not precedents? And, further, supposing a feeling arose *in favour of Monastic Establishments*, and my house at Littlemore was obliged to follow the fashion, and conform to a rule of discipline, would it not be desirable that such institutions should flow from the Colleges of our two Universities, and be under their influence? I do not wish this mentioned by Hope to anyone else. I may ask one or two persons besides." <sup>38</sup>

Four days before this letter was written Newman wrote, from Littlemore (March 17th), to his more intimate friend, Dr. Pusey, putting his plans before him in a more unreserved fashion. "Since I have been up here," he wrote, "an idea has revived in my mind, of which we have before now talked, viz., of building a Monastic House in the place, and coming up to live in it myself." <sup>39</sup> Dr. Pusey appears to have heartily approved of his friend's monastic scheme. Pusey's biographer informs us that "the plan of life contemplated [by Newman] was substantially his [Pusey's] own." <sup>40</sup> On March 19th, Pusey replied to Newman's letter: "Certainly it would be a great relief to have a *μονή* in our Church, many ways, and you seem just the person to form one. . . . I hardly look to be able to avail myself of the *μονή*, since I must be so busy when here on account of my necessary

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 83.

<sup>38</sup> Newman's *Letters*, Vol. II., p. 303.

<sup>39</sup> *Life of Dr. Pusey*, Vol. II., p. 135.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 136.

absences to see my children, unless indeed I should live long enough to be ejected from my Canonry, as, of course, one must contemplate as likely if one does live, and then it would be a happy retreat."<sup>41</sup>

The subtle scheme of attaching his Monastery to a Protestant University under the guise of "a sort of Hall," fortunately did not succeed. But the scheme for erecting a Monastery at Littlemore was at once acted on. On May 28th, 1840, Newman informed Mrs. J. Mozley:—"We have bought nine or ten acres of ground at Littlemore, the field between the Chapel and Barnes's, and, so be it, *in due time shall erect a Monastic House upon it.*"<sup>42</sup> It was not, however, until February, 1842, that Newman actually removed to Littlemore, and started there his new Monastery. We gain some idea of the kind of building it was from a passage in the Rev. Thomas Mozley's *Reminiscences of the Oxford Movement*:—

"The building," writes Mr. Mozley, "in which Newman had now made up his mind to resume the broken thread of these noble [Monastic] traditions was a disused range of stabling at the corner of two village roads. Nothing could be more unpromising, not to say depressing. But Newman had ascertained what he really wanted, and he would have no more. He sent me a list of his requirements, and the only one of a sentimental or superfluous character was that he wished to be able to see from his window the ruins of the Mynchery [an ancient Convent] and the village of Garsington. There must be a library, some 'cells,' that is, studies, and a cloister, in which one or two might turn out and walk up and down—of course, all upon the ground floor. The Oratory or chapel was to be a matter altogether for future consideration."<sup>43</sup>

The Rev. Frederick Oakeley, one of Newman's early friends, and subsequently a pervert to the Church of Rome, tells us that this new building was known as the "Littlemore

<sup>41</sup> *Life of Dr. Pusey*, Vol. II., p. 137.

<sup>42</sup> *Newman's Letters*, Vol. II., p. 305.

<sup>43</sup> *Mozley's Reminiscences*, Vol. II., p. 213.

Monastery";<sup>44</sup> and that "the fact is generally known, that the life at Littlemore was founded upon the rule of the strictest Religious Orders"<sup>45</sup>—that is, in the Church of Rome.

Of course Newman's removal from Oxford to Littlemore, and the erection in the latter place of a new Monastic-looking building, excited the greatest curiosity in the University. Visitors came to Littlemore in abundance, anxious to fathom the mystery, and to discover Newman's great secret; very much to his annoyance, since for many reasons he did not wish his privacy to be disturbed. In his *Apologia* he reveals to the world what his indignant feelings were like at the prying curiosity of his visitors:—"I cannot walk into or out of my house," he exclaimed, "but curious eyes are upon me. Why will you not let me die in peace? Wounded brutes creep into some hole to die in, and no one grudges it them. Let me alone, I shall not trouble you long."<sup>46</sup>

It was not the common members of the University only who took a natural interest in his new Monastery. "Heads of Houses," he tells us, "as mounted patrols, walked their horses round those poor cottages. Doctors of Divinity dived into the hidden recesses of that private tenement uninvited, and drew domestic conclusions from what they saw there. I had thought that an Englishman's house was his castle; but the newspapers thought otherwise, and at last the matter came before my good Bishop."<sup>47</sup>

The interference of the Bishop of Oxford annoyed Newman more than anything else. The Bishop wanted to know the whole of the facts of the case, and this was exactly what Newman did not wish to let him know. His lordship, in a gentlemanly and straightforward manner, sent him a letter, asking for full information; and Newman replied in accordance with his "Economical" policy, in which by

<sup>44</sup> Oakeley's *Historical Notes on the Tractarian Movement*, p. 93. <sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 94

<sup>46</sup> Newman's *Apologia*, p. 172. Edition, 1889. <sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 172.

this time he had become quite an adept. The reader is already in possession of proofs, which cannot be refuted, that Newman *had* set up a Monastery at Littlemore, and that its rules were of the strictest kind. Bearing this in mind, the future Cardinal's Jesuitical dealing with his Diocesan can best be shown by reprinting here in full the Bishop's letter of inquiry, and Newman's evasive answer, as published by the latter himself, in his *Apologia*. The Bishop wrote on April 12th, 1842 :—

“ So many charges against yourself and your friends which I have seen in the public journals have been, within my own knowledge, false and calumnious, that I am not apt to pay much attention to what is asserted with respect to you in the newspapers.

“ In (a newspaper), however, of April 9th, there appears a paragraph in which it is asserted, as a matter of notoriety, that a so-called Anglo-Catholic Monastery is in process of erection at Littlemore, and that the cells of dormitories, the chapel, the refectory, the cloisters of all may be seen advancing to perfection, under the eye of a parish priest of the Diocese of Oxford.

“ Now, as I have understood that you really are possessed of some tenements at Littlemore, as it is generally believed that they are destined for the purposes of study and devotion, and as much suspicion and jealousy are felt about the matter, I am anxious to afford you an opportunity of making me an explanation on the subject. I know you too well not to be aware that you are the last man living to attempt in my Diocese a revival of the Monastic Orders (in anything approaching to the Romanist sense of the term) without previous communication with me, or indeed that you should take upon yourself to originate any measure of importance without authority from the heads of the Church, and therefore I at once exonerate you from the accusation brought against you by the newspaper I have quoted ; but I feel it, nevertheless, a duty to my Diocese and myself, as well as to you, to ask you to put it in my power to contradict what, if uncontradicted, would appear to imply a glaring invasion of all ecclesiastical discipline on *your* part, or of inexcusable neglect and indifference to my duties on *mine*.”

On April 14th, Newman sent his reply to the Bishop of Oxford (Dr. Bagot). It was as follows :—

“ I am very much obliged by your lordship's kindness in allowing

me to write to you on the subject of my house at Littlemore; at the same time, I feel it hard both on your lordship and myself that the restlessness of the public mind should oblige you to require an explanation of me.

“It is now a whole year that I have been the subject of incessant misrepresentation. A year since I submitted entirely to your lordship's authority; and, with the intention of following out the particular act enjoined upon me, I not only stopped the series of Tracts on which I was engaged, but withdrew from all public discussion of Church matters of the day, or what may be called ecclesiastical politics. I turned myself at once to the preparation for the press of the translation of St. Athanasius, to which I had long wished to devote myself, and I intended, and intend, to employ myself in the like theological studies, and in the concerns of my own parish and in practical works.

“With the same view of personal improvement, I was led more seriously to a design which had been long on my mind. For many years, at least thirteen, I have wished to give myself to a life of greater religious regularity than I have hitherto led; but it is very unpleasant to confess such a wish even to my Bishop, because it seems arrogant, and because it is committing me to a profession which may come to nothing. For what have I done that I am to be called to account by the world for my private actions, in a way in which no one else is called? Why may I not have that liberty which all others are allowed? I am often accused of being underhand and uncandid in respect to the intentions to which I have been alluding; but no one likes his own good resolutions noised about, both from mere common delicacy, and from fear lest he should not be able to fulfil them. I feel it very cruel, though the parties in fault do not know what they are doing, that very sacred matters between me and my conscience are made a matter of public talk. May I take a case parallel, though different? suppose a person in prospect of marriage: would he like the subject discussed in newspapers, and parties, circumstances, &c., &c., publicly demanded of him at the penalty of being accused of craft and duplicity?

“The resolution I speak of has been taken with reference to myself alone, and has been contemplated quite independent of the co-operation of any other human being, and without reference to success or failure other than personal, and without regard to the blame or approbation of man. And being a resolution of years, and one to which I feel God has called me, and in which I am violating no rule of the Church any more than if I married, I should have to answer for it, if I

did not pursue it, as a good Providence made openings for it. In pursuing it, then, I am thinking of myself alone, not aiming at any ecclesiastical or external effects. At the same time, of course, it would be a great comfort for me to know that God had put it into the hearts of others to pursue their personal edification in the same way, and unnatural not to wish to have the benefit of their presence and encouragement, or not to think it a great infringement on the rights of conscience if such personal and private resolutions were interfered with. Your lordship will allow me to add my firm conviction that such religious resolutions are most necessary for keeping a certain class of minds firm in their allegiance to our Church; but still I can as truly say that my own reason for anything I have done has been a personal one, without which I should not have entered upon it, and which I hope to pursue whether with or without the sympathies of others pursuing a similar course.

"As to my intentions, I purpose to live there myself a good deal, as I have a resident Curate in Oxford. In doing this I believe I am consulting for the good of my parish, as my population in Littlemore is at least equal to that of St. Mary's in Oxford, and the whole of Littlemore is double of it. It has been very much neglected; and *in providing a parsonage-house at Littlemore, as this will be*, and will be called, I conceive I am doing a very great benefit to my people. At the same time it has appeared to me that a partial or temporary retirement from St. Mary's Church might be expedient during the prevailing excitement.

"As to your quotation from the (newspaper) which I have not seen, your lordship will perceive from what I have said that *no 'Monastery is in process of erection,'* there is no 'chapel,' no 'refectory,' hardly a dining-room or parlour. The 'cloisters' are my shed connecting the cottages. I do not understand what 'cells of dormitories' means. *Of course I can repeat your lordship's words, that 'I am not attempting a revival of the Monastic Orders, in anything approaching to the Romanist sense of the term,'* or 'taking on myself to originate any measure of importance without authority from the Heads of the Church.' I am attempting nothing ecclesiastical, but something personal and private, and which can only be made public, not private, by newspapers and letter writers, in which sense the most sacred and conscientious resolves and acts may certainly be made the objects of an unmannerly and unfeeling curiosity."<sup>48</sup>

<sup>48</sup> Newman's *Apologia*, pp. 172-176.

So it was only a "Parsonage House," and not a Monastery at all that Newman was setting up at Littlemore! Twenty-two years later, in his *Apologia*, he wrote that:—"There is some kind or other of verbal misleading, which is not sin."<sup>49</sup> This was no doubt a case of the kind. His previous statements, however, and the after history of the building, flatly contradict his assertions made in his truly "Economical" letter to his Bishop. As we have seen above, when Newman bought the land on which to build, he wrote to Mrs. Mozley that "in due time" he would "erect a Monastic House upon it"; and there is nothing to show that he ever altered his mind. His brother-in-law, the Rev. Thomas Mozley, refers to the building also, in his *Reminiscences*, as a Monastic establishment; and Newman's friend Oakeley, as we have seen, admits that it was known as the "Littlemore Monastery." Only three months before his reply to the Bishop, Newman wrote (January 3rd, 1842) to his friend, Mr. James Hope-Scott, in a way which clearly shows what were his real objects at the time:—"I am," he declared, "almost in despair of keeping men together. *The only possible way is a Monastery.* Men want an outlet for their devotional and penitential feelings, and if we do not grant it, to a dead certainty they will go where they can find it."<sup>50</sup> I do not assert that in thus wilfully deceiving his Diocesan, Newman thought he was doing anything wrong. There is such a thing as a "conscience seared with a hot iron" (1 Tim. iv. 2); and his certainly appears to have been at this period in that condition. Men may come to that lamentable state that they think it a duty to deceive others. And what sort of place was this "Parsonage House," which Newman falsely declared to his Bishop was not a Monastery? Let Father Lockhart answer. He and Mr. Dalgairns were the first inmates, and were actually in the Monastery at the very moment when the Bishop of Oxford wrote his anxious

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 348.

<sup>50</sup> *Memoirs of J. Hope-Scott*, Vol. II., p. 6.

letter of inquiry. The following is Lockhart's own description of the life they were then leading :—

“We had now arrived at the year 1842, when we took up residence with Newman at Littlemore. Father Dalgairns and myself were the first inmates. *It was a kind of Monastic life* of retirement, prayer and study. We had a sincere desire to remain in the Church of England, if we could be satisfied that in doing so we were members of the world-wide visible communion of Christianity which was of Apostolic origin. We spent our time at Littlemore in study, prayer, and fasting. We rose at midnight to recite the Breviary Office, consoling ourselves with the thought that we were united in prayer with united Christendom, and were using the very words used by the Saints of all ages. We fasted according to the practice recommended in Holy Scripture, and practised in the most austere Religious Orders of Eastern and Western Christendom. We never broke our fast, except on Sundays and the Great Festivals, before 12 o'clock, and not until 5 o'clock in the Advent and Lenten seasons.”<sup>61</sup>

One day when the Evangelical Warden of Wadham College, Oxford, knocked at the door of the Littlemore “Monastery,” *alias* “Parsonage House,” Newman himself opened it. “May I see the Monastery?” asked the visitor. “*We have no Monasteries here,*” replied Newman, who, thereupon, angrily and uncivilly slammed the door in the Warden's face!<sup>62</sup> The Roman Catholic author to whom I am indebted for this story gives us further evidence tending to prove that it was a “Monastery” notwithstanding Newman's denial.

“The story of the life at Littlemore,” he writes, “has never yet been told; and it would be impossible to glean from Newman's scanty allusions in the *Apologia*, or even from his letter to the Bishop, any idea of its primitive austerities and observances. I tell these as nearly as possible as they are told by Littlemore men to me. Lent was a season of real penance for the inmates. They had nothing to eat each day till 5, and then the solitary meal was of salt-fish. No wonder Dr. Wootten, the Tractarian doctor, told them they must all die in a few years if things went on so; and no wonder Dalgairns had a serious illness, at which some relaxations were

<sup>61</sup> *Biography of Father Lockhart*, p. 35. Leicester: Ratcliffe College.

<sup>62</sup> *Cardinal Newman: A Monograph*, by John Oldcastle, p. 23. The author of this work is editor of the *Weekly Register*.

made—a breakfast, of bread and butter and tea, at noon; taken standing up at a board—a real board, erected in the improvised refectory, and called in undertones by some naturally fastidious ones a ‘trough.’ The ‘chapel’ was hardly more pretentious than the dining-room. At one end stood a large Crucifix, bought at Lima by Mr. Crawley, a Spanish merchant living in Littlemore. It was what was called ‘very pronounced’—with the all but barbaric realism of Spanish religious art. A table supported the base; and on the table were two candles (always lit at prayer-time by Newman), the light of which was requisite; for Newman had veiled the window and walls with his favourite red hangings. Of an altar there was no pretence; the village church at Littlemore being Newman’s own during the first years of his residence there. A board ran up the centre of the chapel, and in a row on either side stood the disciples for the recitation of Divine Office, the ‘Vicar’ standing by himself a little apart. The days and hours of the Catholic Church were duly kept; and the only alteration made in the Office was that Saints were invoked with a modification of Newman’s making—the ‘*Ora pro nobis*’ being changed in recitation to ‘*Oret.*’”<sup>53</sup>

Amongst the inmates of Littlemore Monastery were Frederick S. Bowles, subsequently a Roman Catholic priest; and, as I have already stated, John B. Dalgairns, afterwards a priest at Brompton Oratory; Ambrose St. John, who became a priest at the Birmingham Oratory; Richard Stanton, subsequently an Oratorian priest; Lockhart (from whom I have quoted), who died, in 1892, as a Roman priest; and Albany Christie, who joined the Jesuit Order. Mark Pattison, afterwards the well-known Rector of Lincoln College, Oxford, paid a fortnight’s visit to the Monastery, commencing at the close of September, 1843. He kept a diary while he was there, from which I take the following extract as exhibiting the kind of life which was led in the establishment:—

“Sunday, October 1st.—St. John called me at 5.30, and at 6 went to Matins, which with Lauds and Prime take about an hour and a half; afterwards returned to my room and prayed, with some effect, I think. Tierce at 9, and at 11 to Church-Communion.

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 25.

More attentive and devout than I have been for some time; hope I am coming into a better frame; thirty-seven communicants. Returned and had breakfast. Had some discomfort at waiting for food so long, which I have not done since I have been unwell this summer, but struggled against it, and in some degree threw it off. Walked up and down with St. John in the garden; Newman afterwards joined us. . . At 3 to Church; then Nones . . . Vespers at 8, Compline at 9; the clocks here very backward. Very sleepy, and went to bed at 10."<sup>54</sup>

When Newman seceded to the Church of Rome in 1845, the Littlemore Monastery was broken up, and most of its members followed their leader to Rome, and thus closed a noteworthy chapter in the secret history of the Tractarian Movement.

This may, perhaps, be an appropriate place to mention that some sort of a "religious community" was established at about this period, by the Rev. Frederick W. Faber (subsequently known as Father Faber of the Brompton Oratory), in the Parish of Elton, of which he became Rector in 1842, though he did not enter into residence until the following year. Meanwhile, between his acceptance of the living, and commencing work as Rector, Faber travelled abroad, and became desperately enamoured of the Roman Catholic system and religion. "He saw then," writes his biographer, "that he must within three years either be a Catholic, or lose his mind."<sup>55</sup> Faber went abroad with letters of introduction from Dr. Wiseman, subsequently Cardinal Wiseman, addressed to Cardinal Acton, and to the Rev. Dr. Grant, a Roman Catholic priest, both then resident at Rome. It was by no means uncommon at that time for young Tractarians to visit the continent, where, unknown and unobserved by prying eyes at home, they could indulge their taste for Popery to their hearts' content. "The disciples of the Oxford School," writes

<sup>54</sup> Mark Pattison's *Memoirs*, pp. 190, 191.

<sup>55</sup> Bowden's *Life of Father Faber*, p. 168. Second edition.

Father Oakeley, from personal experience, "had a general sympathy with all foreign churches."

"We endeavoured," Father Oakeley relates, "especially the younger and less occupied members of our Society, to improve our relations with foreign Catholics by occasional visits to the continent. For this purpose Belgium was preferred to France, because of the greater external manifestation of religion in that country. Whatever our Tractarian friends may have been on this side of the channel, there could be no doubt of their perfect Catholicity on the other. It was, in fact, of so enthusiastic and demonstrative a character as to astonish the natives themselves, and sometimes, even, perhaps, to shame them. Our friends used to distinguish themselves by making extraordinarily low bows to priests, and genuflecting, even in public places, to everyone who looked the least like a Bishop. In the churches they were always in a state of prostration, or of ecstasy. Everything, and everybody, was charming; and such a contrast to England! Catholics might have their faults like other people, but even their faults were better than Protestant virtues. There was always a redeeming point even in their greatest misdemeanours; their acts of insobriety were far less offensive than those of Englishmen, and evidences of their Catholicity might be traced in their very oaths."<sup>66</sup>

Of course, when these young gentlemen came back to England from their continental trips, they were careful not to let the English public know where they had been, what they had said, and what they had done, when abroad. At home they passed as faithful sons of the Reformed Church of England; on the continent they were seen in their true colours. Yet, even when at home, in Oxford, some of the young Tractarians indulged their passion for real Popery, in a daring though secret manner. The Rev. E. G. K. Browne, who, before his secession to Rome, was for some years a Tractarian clergyman in the Church of England, writing of events which transpired in the early period of the Movement, informs us that then men of the Tractarian party might "be found studying S. Thomas Aquinas, Bellarmine, and Perrone, and using the *Garden of the Soul* and the

<sup>66</sup> Oakeley's *Historical Notes*, pp. 73, 74.

*Paradisus Animæ* as books of private devotion, but secretly, for fear of their fellow men—some might be seen stealing to Mass at the Catholic chapel—humble and mean as it was—but disguised, and pouring out their hearts to their God, concealed from the view of man by some pillar, beseeching Him to guide them into the truth, for none dared trust another, or confer with the friend of his bosom, or the companion of his earlier days, on so sacred, so awfully sacred a subject as the salvation of the soul.”<sup>57</sup> When Faber arrived at Rome, in 1843, he was “not scandalized” even by the “relic worship” he beheld there.<sup>58</sup> He wrote home, under date May 20th, 1843, to state that Dr. Wiseman’s letters had engaged for him “the cheerful kindness of several of the Roman clergy, and a portion of almost every day is spent with them, either visiting the *holier* Churches, and Convents famous for miracles and the residence of Saints, or in amicable discussion of our position in England.”<sup>59</sup> Paradoxical it must seem to my readers to know that in the same letter Faber declares:—“I find my attachment to the Church of England growing in Rome, the more I bewail our position.” He rejoiced that “Protestantism is perishing,” and that “what is good in it is by God’s mercy being gathered”—not into the Church of England, but—“into the garner of Rome”; and he assured his correspondent that his whole life, “God willing, shall be one crusade against the detestable and *diabolical* heresy of Protestantism.” On Holy Thursday he went to the Church of St. John Lateran. The Pope was present, and Faber was in an ecstasy. “I got,” he says, “close to the altar, inside the Swiss Guards, and when Pope Gregory descended from his throne, and knelt at the foot of the altar, and we all knelt with him, it was a scene more touching than I had ever seen before. . . In the midst that old man in white

<sup>57</sup> Browne’s *Annals of the Tractarian Movement*, p. 41. Third edition.

<sup>58</sup> Bowden’s *Life of Faber*, p. 156.

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 156.

prostrate before the uplifted Body of the Lord, and the dead, dead silence—Oh what a sight it was! . . . I bared my head and knelt with the people, and received with joy the Holy Father's blessing, till he fell back on his throne and was borne away.<sup>60</sup> On June 17th Faber had a private audience with the Pope. He appeared in "full dress" at the Vatican, and was told that "as Protestants did not like kissing the Pope's foot," he would "not be expected to do it." But this clergyman of the Reformed Church of England—Rome's greatest enemy—scorned to avail himself of the proffered dispensation! On entering the audience chamber—to quote Faber's own report of the interview—"I knelt down, and again, when a few yards from him, and lastly, before him; *he held out his hand, but I kissed his foot*; there seemed to me a mean puerility in refusing the customary homage. . . . I left him almost in tears, affected as much by the earnest, affectionate demeanour of the old man, as by his blessing and his prayer. I shall remember St. Alban's Day, in 1843, to my life's end." Faber prayed at the shrine of "St." Aloysius, the Jesuit, on the feast of that "Saint;" and his biographer, Father Bowden, says that "he left the Church as if speechless, and not knowing where he was going." Twice he took up his hat to go to the English College at Rome, for the purpose of abjuring the Church of England; but on each occasion some unrecorded event prevented him from carrying out his impulse. The longer he stayed in Rome the more he loved both it and its Church. On July 5th, he declared:—"The nearest approach I can make to an imagination of heaven is that it is like Rome." He went to a Pontifical Mass, and the sight filled him with rapturous joy. "When the Pontiff, his eyes streaming with tears, slowly elevated the Lord's Body, suddenly from the roof some ten or twelve trumpets, as from heaven, pealed out with a long, wailing, timorous jubilee,

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 162.

and I fell forward completely overcome."<sup>61</sup> From Rome Faber went to Florence, and while there he had gone so far away from the sound judgment of an English Churchman, that he was actually "persuaded to wear a miraculous medal"; and "on his return home he brought with him two rosaries blessed by the Pope."<sup>62</sup> After all this he actually began once more to act as a Church of England clergyman, by taking up his residence at Elton as its new Rector. How he could do so with an easy conscience is a mystery to any truth-loving Englishman. It certainly was not honest on his part; and the whole transaction has a very ugly look about it. I do not say that Faber was at this time a Papist in disguise, for I cannot prove it. But if anyone came forward now and proved it I should not feel the least surprise.

I am not one of those who suffer from "Jesuitism on the brain," and I do not, so to speak, see a Jesuit round every street corner. But I certainly am inclined to attach a good deal of importance to the revelations made by the late Rev. Dr. Desanctis, formerly parish priest of the Madallena, Rome, Professor of Theology, Official Theological Censor of the Inquisition, and subsequently Minister of the Reformed Italian Church at Geneva. Desanctis was a man of high personal character, and from the offices he held while at Rome was enabled to obtain an intimate acquaintance with the inner working of Romanism and Jesuitism. In his work on *Popery and Jesuitism in Rome in the Nineteenth Century*, a translation of which was published in London, in 1852, he gives a great deal of valuable information concerning the secret and inner working of Tractarianism, which, at that period, was popularly known in England and abroad as Puseyism.

"My Jesuit Confessor," says Dr. Desanctis, "was Secretary to the French Father Assistant [of the Jesuit Order], and as he esteemed me

<sup>61</sup> Bowden's *Life of Faber*, p. 170.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 175, 177.

much, and accounted me an affiliated member of the Society, he made many disclosures to me."

Amongst these disclosures were the following :—

"Despite all the persecution they [the Jesuits] have met with, they have not abandoned England, where there are a greater number of Jesuits than in Italy; that there are Jesuits in all classes of society; in Parliament; *among the English clergy*; among the Protestant laity, even in the higher stations. I could not comprehend how a Jesuit could be a Protestant priest, or how a Protestant priest could be a Jesuit; but my Confessor silenced my scruples by telling me, *omnia munda mundis*, and that St. Paul became as a Jew that he might save the Jews; it was no wonder, therefore, if a Jesuit should feign himself a Protestant, for the conversion of Protestants. But pay attention, I entreat you, to my discoveries concerning the nature of the religious movement in England termed Puseyism.

"The English clergy were formerly too much attached to their Articles of Faith to be shaken from them. You might have employed in vain all the machines set in motion by Bossuet and the Jansenists of France to reunite them to the Romish Church; and so the Jesuits of England tried another plan. This was to demonstrate from history and ecclesiastical antiquity the legitimacy of the usages of the English Church, whence, through the exertions of the Jesuits concealed among its clergy, might arise a studious attention to Christian antiquity. This was designed to occupy the clergy in long, laborious, and abstruse investigation, and to alienate them from their Bibles."<sup>63</sup>

On another occasion a Roman priest was asked by Desanctis :—"But do you not think it would be for the greater glory of God, that all the Puseyites should become Catholics?" The reply to this question was :—

"No, my son, the Puseyite movement must be let alone that it may bring forth fruit. If all the Puseyites were to declare themselves Catholics, the Movement would be at an end. Protestants would be alarmed, and the whole gain of the Catholic Church would be reduced to some million of individuals and no more. From time to time it is as well that one of the Puseyite leaders should become a Catholic, in order that, under our instructions, the Movement may be better conducted; but it would not be desirable for many of them to come over to Catholicism. Puseyism is a living testimony to the necessity

<sup>63</sup> Desanctis, *Popery and Jesuitism in Rome*, pp. 128, 134.

of Catholicism in the midst of our enemies; it is a worm at the root which, skilfully nourished by our exertions, will waste Protestantism till it is destroyed."<sup>64</sup>

I know very well that Ritualists will pooh pooh and laugh at these statements of Desanctis. But, for my part, I cannot see that I should reject his testimony merely because he was a convert from Rome. Why should I not trust the word of a Protestant, against whose character—so far as I can ascertain—nothing can be said, and who had exceptional opportunities of getting at the real facts of the case? If we reject the evidence of reliable persons, how can history be properly written? In dealing with the Secret History of the Oxford Movement it would be highly improper not to quote what Dr. Desanctis has written on this important subject. And those who have most closely studied the Secret History of Tractarianism, Puseyism, and Ritualism, will be more disposed than others to give credence to his statements.

To return to Faber. When he commenced his work at Elton, as Rector, he determined, says his biographer, "to model his pastoral operations on the system pursued by the [Roman] Catholic Church, and to work his parish, as he expressed it, 'in the spirit of St. Philip and St. Alphonso.'"<sup>65</sup> No doubt these two "Saints" were "St." Philip Neri, founder of the Oratorian Order, of which Faber subsequently became a member; and "St." Alphonsus Liguori, author of the *Glories of Mary*. Faber circulated amongst his parishioners a *History of the Sacred Heart*,<sup>66</sup> in which he advocated the adoration of the material heart of our Lord—a modern custom invented by the Jesuits. His biographer has to admit of this practice that it cannot "be said that it belongs to the genuine spirit of the Established Church." After he had been at Elton about six months, Faber found that it was not so easy as he expected to pervert his parishioners to his Romanizing views. On March 24th,

<sup>64</sup> Desanctis, *Papery and Jesuitism in Rome*, p. 17.

<sup>65</sup> Bowden's *Life of Faber*, p. 179.

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 180.

1844, he wrote to a friend:—"I feel impatient, *thinking I could do all things in my parish as if I were a Roman.*" After a time, a measure of success attended his efforts, and he was able to start in his parish the Religious Community to which I have already alluded. The mystery and secrecy with which Faber shrouded this Community cannot be better described than in the words of Father Bowden:—

"A number of persons, chiefly young men, began," writes Faber's biographer, "to go to confession to him, and to receive Communion. Out of the most promising of these penitents he formed a sort of Community. *They were accustomed to meet in the Rectory every night at twelve o'clock, and to spend about an hour in prayer, chiefly in reciting portions of the Psalter. On the eves of great feasts, the devotions were prolonged for three or four hours. The use of the DISCIPLINE was also introduced on Fridays, eves of festivals, and every night in Lent, each taking his turn to receive it from the others.*"<sup>67</sup>

It may be well to explain here, for the benefit of the Protestant reader, who may be pardoned for want of information on the subject, that the "Discipline" secretly used by the fanatics at Elton, is a kind of cat-o'-nine tails, knotted, and made with either cord or steel, with which each penitent is whipped on the bare back, either by himself or another, as a penance for his sins. Very early in his career the late Dr. Pusey seems to have fallen in love with this form of Romish superstition; but his early regard for it remained concealed from the public gaze, until the publication of the *Memoirs of James Robert Hope-Scott*, in 1884, when a letter from Dr. Pusey to Mr. Hope-Scott, dated September 9th, 1844, first saw the light of day. The latter was travelling abroad at the time he received this letter, which contained two or three commissions for him to execute while on the continent. One of these was to purchase a number of Roman Catholic books, for Dr. Pusey's use; the second, to collect information concerning "the system as to Retreats" amongst Roman Catholics; and the third was, to

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 183.

purchase a specimen "Discipline." The latter commission was put into the postscript of his letter, and was as follows:—

"There is yet a subject on which I should like to know more, if you fall in with persons who have the guidance of consciences,—what penances they employ for persons whose temptations are almost entirely spiritual, of delicate frames often, and who wish to be led on to perfection. I see in a spiritual writer that even for such, corporal severities are not to be neglected, but so many of them are unsafe. *I suspect the 'Discipline' to be one of the safest, and with internal humiliation the best.* Could you procure and send me one by B.? What was described to me was of a very sacred character; *5 cords, each with 5 knots*, in memory of the 5 wounds of our Lord. I should be glad also to know whether there were any cases in which it is unsafe, e.g., in a nervous person."<sup>68</sup>

One cannot help wondering, if a cat-o'-nine tails, or rather of five, with five cords, was not thought too severe for persons of "delicate frames," what would be the penance inflicted on those who possessed strong constitutions?

About two years after his letter to Mr. James Hope-Scott, Dr. Pusey appears to have commenced the use of "Hair Cloth" and "Disciplines." On the "Feast of St. Simon and St. Jude," 1846, he wrote to the Rev. J. Keble, who at about that period became his Father Confessor,—“Will you give me some penitential rules for myself? I hardly know what I can do, just now, in a bodily way, for nourishment I am ordered; sleep I must take when it comes; cold is bad for me; and I know not whether *I am strong enough to resume the Hair Cloth.* However, I hope to try.”<sup>69</sup> The word "resume" in this letter proves that Pusey had used "Hair Cloth" before the date of his letter; but for how long I cannot tell. Later on in the same year he wrote again to Keble:—

"I am a great coward about inflicting pain on myself, partly, I hope, from a derangement of my nervous system. Hair Cloth I know not how to make pain: it is only symbolical, except when worn to an extent which seemed to wear me out. *I have it on again, by God's*

<sup>68</sup> *Memoirs of J. Hope-Scott*, Vol. II., pp. 52, 53.

<sup>69</sup> *Life of Dr. Pusey*, Vol. III., p. 99.

*mercy.* I would try to get some sharper sort. Lying hard I like best, unless it is such as to take away sleep, and that seems to unfit me for duties. Real fasting, *i.e.*, going without food, was very little discomfort, except in the head, when the hour of the meal was over, and Dr. Wootten said and says, 'It was shortening my life.' Praying with my arms in the form of a cross, seemed to distract me, and act upon my head, from this same miserable nervousness. *I think I should like to be bid [i.e., by Keble as his Father Confessor] to use the Discipline.* I cannot even smite upon my breast much because the pressure on my lungs seemed bad. In short, you see, I am a mass of infirmities."<sup>70</sup>

This is, indeed, a most pitiful letter, and one to be wondered at. Instead of saying that he was wearing Hair Cloth again, "by God's mercy," it would have been more accurate to have said that he was wearing it through his own folly and superstition. He certainly could not plead either Scriptural or Church of England authority for the practice. One might make some excuse for Dr. Pusey on the score of his then enfeebled state of health, were it not that when he regained his ordinary health there is no evidence to show that he gave up the use of either Hair Cloth, or the Discipline. On the contrary, in his *Manual for Confessors*, published in 1878, he recommends both as penances for sinners. His biographer informs us that "with Keble's sanction" Pusey made it a rule "to wear Hair Cloth always by day, unless ill"; and that "he was very anxious to use '*the Discipline*' every night with Psalm li. Keble did not advise it. Pusey entreated. 'I still scruple,' wrote Keble, 'about the Discipline. I could but allow, not enjoin it to anyone.'"<sup>71</sup>

The use of the "Discipline," and of other penitential "articles of piety," as they are sometimes termed, is, almost of necessity, kept secret by those who adopt them. Some idea, however, of the extent to which these articles of torture are used at the present time within the Church of England may be gained from the following article, which appeared

<sup>70</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 100.

<sup>71</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 104, 108.

in the *Westminster Gazette*, of September 9th, 1896—a paper which cannot be accused of any undue partiality for Protestantism :—

“John Kensit, ‘the Protestant Bookseller,’ has given Paternoster Row a new sensation this week. For some days past a large part of his window has been used for the exhibition of a large sheet displaying half a dozen ‘instruments of torture,’ *said to be used and recommended by ‘members of the Church of England.’*

“Whoever they are used by—and it is pretty certain they are not mere ornaments or playthings—these ‘instruments of torture’ by no means belie the name Mr. Kensit has bestowed upon them. Take that broad stomacher of horse-hair, for example, and place it next to the skin; imagine the discomfort of the first five minutes as each bristly hair presses against the body, and picture the torture of each succeeding five minutes it is worn. Then turn from this mild ‘Discipline’ to the severer penance of the Barbed Heart. This is a maze of wire, the size of the palm of one’s hand, upon one side of which barbs project, finer than the ends of the barbed fences of our fields. How many of these are pressing to-day against lacerated breasts! Of similar construction, and equally fiendish in purpose, are the Wristlets and Anklets and the broad band of netted barbs which the penitent fastens around his or her leg. All of these may possibly be worn under conditions which will mitigate the severity of the torture; but there would seem to be no way of softening the lash when applied to the bare skin, so what can be said of the two Scourges exhibited by Mr. Kensit? One is of hard knotted ropes, half a dozen ends attached to a pliant handle; the other is of well-hardened and polished steel, each end of the five chains neatly finished with a steel rowel. Every blow from this, when the penitent swings it over his shoulder upon his bare back, must produce five wounds, bruises, or sores. No wonder the crowd gazes incredulously until ordered to ‘move on.’

“Since this queer little exhibition opened, the bookseller has stood a running fire of question and expostulation. The instruments had not been on view an hour before a gentleman entered the shop and delivered himself after this fashion :—

“‘Look here, sir, whoever you are, if you’re the proprietor of this place take those things out of your window. It’s a lie. It never could be done. I believe it’s just one of your advertising dodges. I won’t believe that those things were ever made to be used in this day.’

"Mr. Kensit is accustomed to that sort of salutation, so he waited till his visitor had ended a long tirade, and then quietly remarked:—

"Will you take the trouble to go into the shop next door and ask the shopman to show you a selection of these things. Ask him [a Roman Catholic publisher] to name his price, and let him tell you who buys them. Then you can come back and apologise to me.'

"The gentleman,' said Mr. Kensit, when he told a representative the story on Monday, 'went into the shop next door. In five minutes he was back again with a bundle under his arm.' 'Mr. Kensit,' he said, 'you're right. They sell them, and I've bought a few to take home and show to my family. They'll never believe it unless I do.'

"Well,' said Mr. Kensit, 'did you ask who purchases them?'

"I did,' said the gentleman, 'and if you'll believe me, *the shopman said that for every one he sold to a Catholic he sold three to Church of England people!*'

"I not only believe it,' said Mr. Kensit, 'but I know it.' "

There is certainly, as I have already said, no Scriptural authority for the use of the "Discipline." We do read that "By His stripes we are healed" (Isa. liii. 5); but never that we are spiritually healed by the stripes and bruises inflicted by ourselves. How far the use of the "Discipline" has spread amongst Ritualists at the present day is one of those secrets which have not been fully revealed. Yet there is reason to fear that it is on the increase, and is much more widespread than is generally supposed. There is cause to believe that in some Ritualistic Convents the "Discipline" is not unknown. Dr. Pusey, as is well known, in conjunction with the late Miss Sellon, founded several Convents, and retained spiritual authority over them until his death. In his *Advice on Hearing Confession*, for the use of Ritualistic Father Confessors, directions are given as to the penances to be imposed by the Confessor on Ritualistic Sisters of Mercy. One of these, if "the Superior of the Convent approves," is as follows:—For mortifications; the Discipline for about a quarter of an hour a day."<sup>73</sup> It may here be asked, if a

<sup>73</sup> Pusey's *Manual for Confessors*, p. 243.

Sister refused to undergo this severe and cruel penance, would she be considered as having broken her Vow of Obedience? The answer to this question is given by Dr. Pusey himself. His advice to Sisters of Mercy is:—“Study to be perfectly obedient to your *spiritual father*. . . . Now perfect obedience implies prompt, punctual, willing, *unquestioning* obedience, unless the thing commanded be evident sin.”<sup>73</sup> There can be no doubt, therefore, that the Sister would feel it a bounden duty to take the “Discipline for about a quarter of an hour a day,” if ordered to do so by her “Spiritual father,” the Confessor. The subject is not a pleasant one to those who hate cruelty; but it is of so secret a character that it seems almost impossible to discover the priestly culprits who order English ladies to be thus whipped on their bare backs, as *they* may think right and proper. One of these cases has fortunately come to light, in which the Discipline was used most cruelly and shamefully in a Ritualistic Convent, inflicted on the Sister, not by command of her Confessor, but by a “Mother” of the Convent. The story is related by Miss Povey, who, as “Sister Mary Agnes, O.S.B.,” was for seventeen years a Nun in Convents controlled by the notorious “Father Ignatius.” She writes:—

“One day I was coming from Nones at 2.45 P.M. This ‘Mother’ [‘Mary Wereburgh of the Blessed Sacrament’] commanded me to stay where I was, and not to return to work, and then said:—‘You have got the Devil in you, and I am going to beat him out.’ All left the sacristy but myself, the Mother Superior, and one Nun, who was ordered to be present at the casting out of the devil. I was commanded first to strip. I saw ‘*the Discipline*,’ with its seven lashes of knotted whipcord in her hand, and I knew that one lash given (or taken by oneself) was in reality seven. I should mention that at certain times *it was the rule to Discipline oneself*. . . Then I began to undress; but when I came to my vest, shame again overcame me. ‘Take that thing off,’ said the Mother Superior. I replied, ‘I cannot, reverend

<sup>73</sup> Pusey's *Manual for Confessors*, p. 245.

Mother; it's too tight.' The Nun who was present was told to help me to get it off. A deep feeling of shame came over me at being half-nude. The Mother then ordered the Nun to say the '*Miserere*,' and while it was recited *she lashed me several times with all her strength*. I was determined not to utter a sound, but at last I could not restrain a smothered groan, whereat she gave me one last and cruel lash, and then ceased. Even three weeks after she had 'Disciplined' me, I had a very sore back, and it hurt me greatly to lie on it (our beds were straw put into sacks). There was a looking-glass in the room I now occupied (Nuns do not usually have them), and I looked to see if my back was marked, as it was so sore. Never shall I forget the shock it gave me. I turned quickly away, for *my back was black, blue, and green all over.*"<sup>74</sup>

Many of my readers, on reading this horrible yet true story, will naturally ask themselves, are there any other Mothers Superior who act in a similar manner? If the secrets of Convents were revealed, how many more tales of "Discipline" cruelty should we hear? We need not make rash and wholesale assertions, but is there not cause for inquiry and anxiety?

Faber, to whom we once more return, not only used the "Discipline" himself; he also, as a penance, wore "a thick horse-hair cord tied in knots round his waist."<sup>75</sup> He still, however, continued to act as Rector of Elton. On August 12th, 1844, he informed Newman:—"I seem to grow more Roman daily, *and almost to write from out the bosom of the Roman Church*, instead of from where I am."<sup>76</sup> By December he made the discovery—which he ought to have made long before—that his position in the Church of England was a dishonest one. "I feel as if I was living a dishonest life,"<sup>77</sup> he wrote to Newman. And yet, strange as it may seem to some, with this conviction upon him he continued for nearly another year to officiate in the Church of England. At this time he published a *Life of St. Wilfrid*, of which Father

<sup>74</sup> *Nunnery Life in the Church of England*, by Sister Mary Agnes, O.S.B., pp. 97-99.

<sup>75</sup> *Life of Faber*, p. 187.

<sup>76</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 187.

<sup>77</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 189.

Bowden says:—"It is difficult to conceive how" certain passages in it "could have been written by a member of the Church of England"<sup>78</sup>—so thoroughly Roman were they. Bowden quotes several passages from this "Life," from which I take the following specimens:—

"He (Wilfrid) saw that the one thing to do was to go to Rome, and learn under the shadow of St. Peter's Chair the more perfect way. To look Romeward is a Catholic instinct, seemingly implanted in us for the safety of the faith" (p. 4).

"Certainly, it is true that he materially aided the blessed work of rivetting more tightly the happy chains which held England to St. Peter's Chair—chains never snapped, as sad experience tells us, without the loss of many precious Christian things" (p. 84).

At last the time came when Faber publicly renounced his connection with the Church of England. On Sunday, November 16th, 1845, he addressed his congregation in Elton Church for the last time. He told them that "the doctrines he had taught them, though true, were not those of the Church of England; that, as far as the Church of England had a voice, she had disavowed them, and that consequently he could not remain in her communion."<sup>79</sup> The next day he left the parish, accompanied by his two servants, and by seven members of his "Religious Community," all of whom were admitted the same evening at Northampton, by Bishop Wareing, into the Church of Rome.

It would have been well for the Church of England had the case of Faber been the last of its kind. But I think that anyone who, during the past twenty years, has carefully read the Ritualistic newspapers, must be of the opinion that Faber's example is more or less followed at the present time by many hundreds, not to say thousands, of Ritualistic clergy, who have no greater moral right to remain in the Church of England than Faber had during the last two years of his ministry as Rector of Elton. The gates which admit to the ministry, be it remembered, are kept by the

<sup>78</sup> *Life of Faber*, p. 190.

<sup>79</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 201.

Bishops, who have admitted to the ranks of the clergy of the Church, by ordination, every one of these traitors and conspirators, and therefore on the Episcopal Bench the responsibility of the mischief caused by them primarily rests. It is certain, therefore, that greater care is needed now than ever before, on the part of the Bishops, to prevent the ordination of men who hold Roman doctrines. And the laity have a right to complain, and they do complain justly and bitterly, that in many instances these Romanizing conspirators are preferred by the Bishops to influential dignities and valuable livings in their gift, while hard-working and law-abiding clergymen are coldly passed by, as quite unworthy of Episcopal notice or favour. These things are alienating the hearts of multitudes of the laity from the Church of England; and it is the truest wisdom of our rulers in Church and State to reflect that widespread discontent is not a thing to trifle with. The results of Archbishop Laud's efforts to Romanize the Church in the seventeenth century ought to serve as a salutary warning to Statesmen and Bishops of the nineteenth century. The dangers arising from the labours of the Ritualists are far greater than from those of their predecessors two hundred and fifty years ago. Laud and his party would never have dared to make such strides Romewards as have been made by our modern Ritualists. May God grant that the civil wars which were largely the result of Laud's foolish and disloyal operations, may not be repeated in England ere the close of the forthcoming century! We make no rash prophecy: no one can tell what the future may bring forth. But are there not already clouds in the ecclesiastical and political sky, which may suddenly grow larger and larger, until they burst forth in civil and religious convulsions which every lover of his country must dread?

I do not think that I could more appropriately close this chapter than by citing a very accurate description of the secret policy of the early Tractarians, given by one of the

party, the Rev. William Maskell, Vicar of St. Mary's Church, in a letter which he published, in 1850, shortly before his secession to Rome.

"As a fact," wrote Mr. Maskell, "the Evangelical party, plainly, openly, and fully, declare their opinions upon the doctrines which they contend the Church of England holds: they tell their people continually, what they ought, as a matter of duty towards God and towards themselves, both to believe and practise. Can it be pretended that we [Tractarians], as a party, anxious to teach the truth, are equally open, plain, and unreserved? If we are not so, is prudence, or economy, or the desire to lead people gently and without rashly disturbing them, or any other like reason, a sufficient ground for our withholding large portions of Catholic truth? Can any one chief doctrine be reserved by us, without blame or suspicion of dishonesty? And it is not to be alleged, that only the less important duties and doctrines are so reserved: as if it would be an easy thing to distinguish and draw a line of division between them. Besides, that which we are disputing about cannot be trivial and unimportant; if it were so, we rather ought, in Christian charity, to acknowledge our agreement in essentials, and consent to give up the rest.

"But we do reserve vital and essential truths; we often hesitate and fear to teach our people many duties, not all necessary in every case or to every person, but eminently practical, and sure to increase the growth of the inner spiritual life; we differ, in short, as widely from the Evangelical party in the manner and openness, as in the matter and details of our doctrine. Take, for example, the doctrine of Invocation of Saints; or, of Prayers for the Dead; or, of Justification by Faith only; or, of the merit of good works; or, of the necessity of regular and obedient Fasting; or, of the reverence due to the blessed Virgin Mary; or, of the Propitiatory Sacrifice of the Blessed Eucharist; or, of the almost necessity of Auricular Confession and Absolution, in order to the remission of mortal sin;—and more might be mentioned than these. Now, let me ask you; do we speak of these doctrines from our pulpits in the same manner, or to the same allowed extent, as we speak of them one to another, or think of them in our closets? *Far from it*; rather, when we do speak of them at all, in the way of public, ministerial, teaching, *we use certain symbols and a shibboleth of phrases, well enough understood by the initiated few, but dark and meaningless to the many.* All this seems to me to be, day by day and hour by hour, more and more hard to be reconciled with the real spirit, mind, and purpose of the English Reformation, and of

the modern English Church, shewn by the experience of 300 years. It does seem to be, daily, more and more *opposed to that single-mindedness of purpose, that simplicity and truthfulness and openness of speech and action, which the Gospel of our Blessed Lord requires*. We are, indeed, to be 'wise as serpents'; but has our wisdom of the last few years been justly within the exceptions of that law? Let me not be understood as if supposing that any motive, except prudence and caution, has caused this reserve; but there are limits beyond which Christian caution *degenerates into deceit*, and an enemy might think that we could forget that there are more texts than one of Holy Scripture which speak of persecution to be undergone, for His sake, and for the Faith.

"And if reserve in teaching carried to such an extent be, as I conceive it to be, unjustifiable, it is equally wrong, and to be condemned, in the practice of those who listen to, and endeavour to obey such teaching. What can we think—when honestly we bring our minds to its consideration—what *can* we think, I say, of the moral evils which must attend upon and follow conduct and rule of religious life, *full of shifts and compromises and evasions?* a rule of life based upon the acceptance of half one doctrine, all the next, and none of the third; upon the belief entirely of another, *but not daring to say so*; upon the constant practice, if possible, of this or that particular duty, *but secretly, and fearful of being 'found out'*; doing it as if under the pretence of not doing it; if questioned, explaining it away, or answering with some dubious answer; creeping out of difficulties; **ANYTHING, IN A WORD, BUT SINCERE, STRAIGHTFORWARD, AND TRUE.** It would really seem as if, instead of being Catholics—as we say we are—in a Christian land, we were living in the city of heathen Rome, and forced to worship in the Catacombs and dark places of the earth."<sup>80</sup>

<sup>80</sup> *A Second Letter on the Present Position of the High Church Party in the Church of England*, by the Rev. William Maskell, pp. 65-68. Third edition. London: Pickering, 1850.