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Reproduced by the kind permission of the Poor Servants of the Mother of God

Frances Margaret Taylor

Receipt for original mss for Newman's *Dream of Gerontius*

Letter from J. H. Newman to Br Henry Foley

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Marriage certificate of Henry Foley

List of penances of Br Foley

Editorial Notes

This — the 31st issue of *the Journal of the Catholic Archives Society* — is my first as its editor. I am delighted to have been asked to take over the baton from Fr Stewart Foster who edited the *Journal* for fifteen years. If I can run with it as he did I will have achieved much, and no doubt the readership will remain more than satisfied. The articles in this issue are nicely topical: Paul Shaw especially, and Br James Hodgkinson, SJ, both speak of John Henry Newman, whose beatification we have celebrated less than a year ago. Fr Nicholas Paxton's contribution on the early stages of the liturgical revival in an English diocese is most appropriate as we await the introduction of the new Roman Missal. Mgr Gordon Read's paper, read at last year's Conference and reproduced in this current volume, is a timely reminder that archives are the treasures of the Church's memory and thus a vital component in the 'New Evangelization' — which Pope Benedict has recently instigated. Dr John Davies's article on parish logbooks is a perfect example of how we might go into the archival memory store in order to help the teaching of history. He touches upon an important issue. The closure and amalgamation of parishes has signalled a critical moment for the ensured safekeeping of parochial records and archives. What for years may have been ignored and forgotten — yet at least 'safe and sound' in the keeping of individual parishes — now stand in danger of being lost or destroyed. There is need of a greater awareness and of a general policy applicable at parish, diocesan and national level which will ensure that these and other 'treasures' will be carefully preserved. The outcome of the now immanent closure of Ushaw College, and the way its unique and valuable library, archives and artefacts are to be disposed of, will no doubt be indicative of the extent and depth of the value and importance currently invested in the treasures of the Church's memory. Mgr Read's paper is therefore of wide and critical importance. Finally, the article by Fr Peter Philips on 'The Papers of Canon John Francis McHugh' — who taught at Ushaw for many years — signals a further effort to make more widely known the archives of yet another English Catholic scholar. Such articles will be a regular feature I hope in future editions of the *Journal*. If I may end this brief editorial note with a request for things to be included in future volumes: firstly, for notices/reviews of local studies of Catholic interest; and secondly, for the notification and a description of any papers or archival collections recently deposited into diocesan and other Catholic archives.

Access to Archives in Civil and Canon Law

(A paper read at the CAS Annual Conference 2010)

Mgr Gordon Read

Introduction

'In the mind of the Church, *archives are places of memory of the Christian community and storehouses of culture for the new evangelization*. Thus they themselves are a cultural good of primary importance whose special merit lies in recording the path followed by the Church through the centuries in the various contexts which constitute her very structure. As places of memory archives must systematically gather all the data making up the articulated history of the Church community so that what has been done, the results obtained, including omissions and errors, may be properly evaluated.'¹

'Church archives while preserving the unique and spontaneous documentation produced by persons and events, cultivate the memory of the life of the Church and manifest the sense of Tradition. In fact, the information stored in archive collections enables the reconstruction of the daily occurrences involved in the evangelization and education to the Christian lifestyle. They represent a primary source for writing the history of the multiple expressions of religious life and Christian charity.

The will on the part of the community of faithful and, in particular, of Church institutions to gather from apostolic times onwards the witnesses of faith and cultivate their memory expresses the oneness and the continuity of the Church. The venerated recollection of what was said and done by Jesus, by the first Christian community, by martyrs and Church Fathers, by the expansion of Christianity in the world, is sufficient motive to praise the Lord and thank Him for the "great deeds" which have inspired His people. Thus in the *mens* of the Church, a chronological memory carries with it a spiritual reading of events in the context of the *eventum salutis* and imposes the urgency of conversion in order to reach *ut unum sint*.'²

For the Church archives have a spiritual and pastoral role. Preservation and access are at the service of this wider role. These roles justify the resources spent on archives from the point of view of the Church's mission and should also shape policies concerning both preservation and access. Documents and artefacts are preserved in order to be available for study and to serve the needs of the Church, not simply as a legal requirement or desire to squirrel things away.

¹ *The Pastoral Function of Church Archives*. Circular Letter of The Pontifical Commission for the Cultural Heritage of the Church (Vatican City, February 1997), p.5. Hereafter, *Circular Letter*.

² *Ibid.* 1.1

General Principles

The term 'archive' covers many different types of material and storage. It refers to material of historical interest, but also to current working files. These comprise not only traditional paper based documents, but also electronic records of varying kinds, and materials such as microfilm or microfiche. They include photographic records and items of historical interest or cultural and religious value. They include not just Diocesan archives but those of parishes, religious communities and other institutions within a diocese. Some but not all of these bodies are subject directly to the oversight of the Bishop in this field. For others diocesan guidelines and policies provide a useful model.

'One should underline the primary responsibility of the particular churches in terms of their own historical memory. Accordingly, the Code of Canon Law specifically charges the diocesan bishop, and consequently his equivalent according to can.381.2, to have careful care that "archive records and documents of cathedral, collegial, parochial, and other churches that are present on his territory be adequately conserved" (canon 491-§1). To this must be added the duty to establish within the diocese "a diocesan historical archive and to see that documents of historical value be carefully kept there and be systematically organized" (canon 491-§2). The diocesan bishop must, in addition, according to can. 491-§3, provide such an archive collection with specific regulations, which may ensure its correct function in relation to its specific goals.

The correct organization of the diocesan historical archive can set an example to other Church entities and organizations present in the territory. More specifically it can constitute a useful paradigm for institutions of consecrated life and societies of apostolic life, where there is often an abundant archival deposit, so that the latter institutions' historical archives can be established following similar criteria.'¹

Church and State

At times there can be a tension between civil and canon law. This is not just a question of safeguarding ownership or discrepancy between particular regulations. It can indicate different perspectives on the role of such archives. The state can see them from a purely civil and historical point of view. Equally the Church can see them as purely private property and resist civil regulation as a form of trespass; this is not how the *Circular Letter* sees things.

¹ *Ibid.*, 2.1

'In many nations there is already an advanced policy for the cultural heritage currently in place, established through specific laws, regulations, agreements with private entities, and concrete projects. In her relationship with nations, the Church stresses the pastoral aims of her cultural goods and their persistent up-to-date role in obtaining these aims. This position does not exclude but rather renders more vital the use of the documents gathered in a specific territory and of a certain cultural conjunction to the advantage of both the Church and civil communities.

Such attention on the part of the political community involves the cultural heritage belonging to official Church bodies in various ways. We often encounter mutual agreements drafted in order to favour the harmonization of specific actions. In fact, there is a widespread belief that historical archives of ecclesiastical entities are also part of the national heritage, even if they remain autonomous. In this sense, norms must be guaranteed and promoted by which their ownership, nature, and origin should be respected. In addition, initiatives aimed at making known the action carried out by the Church in a certain political community through archival documents should be favoured and supported.

Regarding the political community it is the duty of the diocesan bishops and all those responsible for Church archives to maintain an attitude of respect for the laws in force in the various countries, keeping in mind the conditions foreseen in can. 22 of the Code of Canon Law. It is also desirable that the particular churches work in collaboration with the political community on the basis of the proper agreements drawn up by the Apostolic See or by its express mandate.¹ Moreover the document strongly encourages common guidelines for the Episcopal Conference:

'Such interaction between competent Church and civil authorities urges national and regional Episcopal Conferences to promote a common orientation in the particular churches in order to better co-ordinate the actions taken in favour of historical-cultural goods and more specifically archives, with due respect for the legislative power proper to the diocesan bishop by divine right (canons 381, 375-§1, 455-§4).

It is therefore considered suitable:

- to reaffirm the respect that the Church has always shown towards cultures, even classical non-Christian ones, of which it has preserved and handed down many written documents, often saving them from total oblivion;
- to stimulate the belief that the care and appreciation of archives assumes an important cultural importance and can have a profound pastoral significance as well as become an efficient instrument of dialogue with contemporary society;

¹ *Ibid.* 2.3

- to preserve in archives the acts established and all that which can help make better known the concrete life of the Church community;
- to encourage the drafting of diaries where the principle local events of the individual Church entities are recorded in order to provide a valid point of reference for the daily documents which are gathered in archives;
- to have particular care in gathering (also with the help of new technologies) documents on those religious traditions and ecclesial initiatives which are dying out in order to perpetuate their historical memory;
- to converge on common practical guidelines the effort of the particular churches concerning the methodology followed for the arrangement, appraisal, protection, use of the documents in the archive collection;
- to study the possibility and the way to recover archives which have been confiscated in the past, often as a result of complex historical circumstances, and dispersed in other locations, by drawing up agreements of restitution or by using computerized reproductive means (microfilms, optical discs, etc), especially when they contain documents concerning the history of the Church community;
- to remind each administrator of Church goods of their responsibility regarding the protection of material documents in accordance to the canonical guidelines set forth;
- to encourage archivists in their responsibility to protect the collection by promoting adequate up-to-date training programs, inviting them to take part in national associations competent in this field and by organizing seminars and congresses for a better understanding of the problems involved in the appraisal and management of Church archives;
- to reawaken in pastors and in all those responsible for the juridical persons subject to the diocesan Bishops a greater sensitivity towards the archives under their care so that they might contribute a stronger effort in properly collecting, ordering, and appreciating this type of material.
- to encourage efforts to see that 'parish registers be correctly inscribed and duly safeguarded...' (canons 555 §3 & 535)¹

General Principles of Access

The *Circular Letter* sets out some general principles on the beneficiaries of Church archives and access to them in Section Four: '*The Appreciation of the Patrimony of Documents in the Historical Culture and the Mission of the Church*'

¹ *Ibid.*, 2.4.

'The documentation contained in archives constitutes a heritage that is preserved in order to be transmitted and utilized. Its consultation allows an historical reconstruction of a specific particular church and the society in which it operates. In this sense the papers of memory are a living cultural good because they are offered for the training of the Church and civil community and handed down for generations to come. Therefore it becomes our duty to protect them carefully.'¹

4.1 The Universal Destination of the Archival Patrimony

'Archives, as part of the cultural heritage, should be offered primarily at the service of the community that has produced them. But in time they assume a universal destination because they become the heritage of all of humanity. The material stored can not be, in fact, precluded to those who can take advantage of it in order to know more about the history of the Christian people, their religious, civil, cultural and social deeds.

Those responsible must make sure that the use of Church archives be facilitated further, that is not only to those interested who have the right to access but also to a larger range of researchers, without prejudice towards their religious or ideological backgrounds, following the best of Church tradition yet while respecting the appropriate norms of protection offered by universal law as well as the regulations of the diocesan bishop. Such an attitude of disinterested openness, kind welcome, and competent service must be taken into careful consideration so that the historical memory of the Church may be offered to the entire society.'²

4.2 On Regulations Concerning Archives

'Given the universal interest which archives must arouse, it would be desirable that individual regulations be made known publicly and that norms be harmonized with state or civil ones as much as possible. This would serve to underline the common service which archives in general are destined to give.

Besides the rules and regulations concerning the diocesan archives, it would be wise to establish common guidelines also concerning the use of parish archives in respect of the canonical norms, as well for other archives, in order to avoid mistakes in the recording process of data or in the gathering of documents. This type of co-ordination can favour an eventual computerization of data within one's diocese in order to obtain some statistical information regarding the entire pastoral activity of a certain particular church. It would also be wise to co-ordinate these rules and regulations also with the archive collections of other Church entities, especially those of institutes of consecrated life and societies of apostolic life while respecting their legitimate autonomies.

¹ *Ibid.*, 4.

² *Ibid.*, 4..1.

However, it would also be desirable that limits be placed on the consultation of personal files and other documents whose nature make them confidential or are retained so by bishops (canon 491-§3). We are not referring to the bishop's secret archive, as explicitly described in canons 489-490 of the *Canon Law Code*, but to the Church archive in general. In this respect, some archival methodologies suggest that confidential papers be well marked in the inventories and catalogues which are made accessible to researchers.¹

Freedom of Information Act (2005)

The Church is not a public body from the point of view of the Freedom of Information Act (FOIA), but consideration of how this act is applied in relation to the Data Protection Act may be helpful. The guidance provided by the FOIA is that requests for information should be blind to both the identity of the applicant and their motivation. There are, however, exemptions, e.g. where this would conflict with Data Protection principles concerning third parties, or other exceptions, e.g. vexatious requests. The FOIA and the EIR (Environmental Information Regulation) apply to information held by public authorities. They do not have to create new information to respond to requests. A public authority is not creating new information where:

- it presents information it holds in the form of a list or schedule;
- compiling an answer to a request involves simple manual manipulation of information held in files; or,
- it extracts information from an electronic database by searching it in the form of a query.

What do the Act and the Regulations say?

Section 1 FOIA states that any person making a request for information is entitled to be told whether the public authority holds the information requested and, if held, to be provided with it. Section 84 FOIA defines information for these purposes as information recorded in any form. Section 11 FOIA requires a public authority to provide information.

When it comes to personal information about deceased persons the exemptions under the Act no longer apply. The exemption for personal information (section 40) only applies to living individuals. This exemption cannot be used for information about someone who has died. However, the exemption may still apply if the information in question is also personal information about another identifiable living person. Requests for information about a person's own data are exempt and

¹ *Ibid.*, 4.2.

cross referred to the Data Protection Act, even when the information also refers to third parties.

Data Protection Act (1998)

Introduction

This is a lengthy and complex piece of legislation, amending previous legislation on this subject. It did not enter into effect immediately. Initially only electronically stored data were covered, but as of **24 October 2001**, the Act applies also to *manual files*. This includes both files in the traditional sense, and also card indexes, registers and similar ways of retaining records. Each Diocese and Religious Order must be registered with the Data Protection Commissioner. The responsibility ultimately falls on the Diocesan Trustees. Legal advice has been sought on this subject on behalf of the Bishops of England and Wales, and also from the Data Protection Commissioner. The response of the latter has been totally non-committal on the matters raised. Legal advice is that, in general the Data Protection Act applies as much to the Church as anyone else. However, certain categories of data may be covered by various exemptions contained in the Act. The full text is available at: www.hmso.gov.uk/acts/acts1998/80029--a.htm

Meaning of the Act

Data means information which is being or intended to be processed by automatic equipment, or which is part of a filing system, or forms an accessible record. A *Data Subject* is any living person who can be identified from the data, or additional information likely to come into the possession of the processor. *Processing* means any kind of organisation, adaptation, retrieval, consultation, disclosure, or even destruction of the information. Sensitive personal data includes information on religious beliefs, physical or mental health, sexual life, allegations of any offence or proceedings relating to such an allegation.

Right of Access to Personal Data

The Data Controller (i.e. on behalf of the Diocesan Trustees) must inform the data subject whether he is processing any personal data, stating its nature, the purpose for which it is being processed, and to whom it may be shown, the content of the data and its source. However this obligation arises only on the receipt of a written request and the appropriate fee. He is not obliged to comply with the request if this involves disclosing information about someone else without that person's consent. This information must be supplied within forty days of application. If necessary the applicant can seek a court order. The data subject may also require the processor to cease processing such data if this is likely to cause substantial damage

or distress. If the processor does not intend to comply, he must give reasons, and again the matter can be taken to court. Note that the court may order the obliteration, amending or destruction of data, or where it is an accurate record of information received, order a supplementary statement of the true facts to be added.

Exemptions

Personal data processed for certain purposes are exempt from the first principle of the Act (see below). This includes: the prevention of crime, apprehension and prosecution of offenders, protecting the public against dishonesty, malpractice or improper conduct, or incompetence on the part of persons authorised to carry on any profession or other activity, protecting charities against misconduct or mismanagement. Data may also be processed for statistical or historical research, in which case it may be kept indefinitely. Information which is of its nature public is likewise exempt (e.g. sacramental registers). Personal data are exempt from non-disclosure provisions when this is required in connection with legal proceedings, or to establish, exercise or defend legal rights.

The Eight Data Protection Principles

1. Personal data shall be processed fairly and lawfully and, in particular, shall not be processed unless-
 - (a) at least one of the conditions in Schedule 2 is met, and
 - (b) in the case of sensitive personal data, at least one of the conditions in Schedule 3 is also met
2. Personal data shall be obtained only for one or more specified and lawful purposes, and shall not be further processed in any manner incompatible with that purpose or those purposes.
3. Personal data shall be adequate, relevant and not excessive in relation to the purpose or purposes for which they are processed.
4. Personal data shall be accurate and, where necessary, kept up to date.
5. Personal data processed for any purpose shall not be kept for longer than is necessary for that purpose or those purposes.
6. Personal data shall be processed in accordance with the rights of data subjects under this Act.
7. Appropriate technical and organisational measures shall be taken against accidental loss or destruction of, or damage to, personal data.
8. Personal data shall not be transferred to a country or territory outside the European Economic Area unless that country or territory ensures an adequate level of protection for the rights and freedoms of data subjects in relation to the processing of personal data.

Data Protection Act and the Church

Unfortunately only court cases will establish the extent to which there is any incompatibility between civil and canon law in this area. However, in my view the likelihood of such conflict has been overstated, and can be minimised where the Church acts in accordance with its own laws. For example, in marriage nullity cases both parties already have the right to inspect the acts of the case and make comments to correct anything that appears erroneous. It seems likely that the actual processing of such data would be covered by the exemptions in the act. A potential area of difficulty might be the transmission of a case to the Holy See. If the Church is entitled to hold the data in the first place, it is likely to be entitled to process it in other ways.

Data protection good practice note: checklist for handling requests for personal information (subject access requests)

(This guidance aims to assist small and medium sized organisations that receive requests for information covered by the Data Protection Act 1998 (the Act)).

Individuals have a right under the Act to make a request in writing for a copy of the information you hold about them on computer and in some manual filing systems. This is called a subject access request. They are also entitled to be given a description of the information, what you use it for, who you might pass it on to, and any information you have about the source of the information. Organisations have been dealing with requests from individuals for many years, certainly well before there was a formal right of access. Where you are happy to provide the information requested it often makes sense to do so as part of your normal course of business, rather than treating any written request for personal information as a formal request under the Act. At other times you will need to consider the request in the light of the specific provisions of the Act. This simple checklist should help you deal with subject access requests.

1. Is this a subject access request?

Determine whether the person's request will be treated as a routine enquiry or as a subject access request. Any written enquiry that asks for information you hold about the person making the request can be construed as a subject access request, but in many cases there will be no need to treat it as such. If you would usually deal with the request in the normal course of business, do so. Examples of such requests might be:

- 'I've lost the guarantee number for my fridge. Can you tell me what it is please?'
- 'How many cash withdrawals did I make from my account last month?'

The following are likely to be treated as formal subject access requests.

- 'Please send me a copy of my staff records.'
- 'I have a right to see all the invoices issued to me for the last three years. Please send copies to me.'
- 'I am a solicitor acting on behalf of my client and request a copy of his medical records. An appropriate authority is enclosed.'

If you are in any doubt how to respond, go back to the individual or their representative and clarify the situation. Train your staff so they are able to recognise subject access requests when they receive them and know what to do.

No Handle the query as part of your normal course of business.

Yes Go to 2.

2. Do you have enough information to be sure of the requester's identity?

Often you will have no reason to doubt a person's identity. For example, if a person with whom you have regular contact sends a letter from their known address it may be safe to assume that they are who they say they are.

No If you have good cause to doubt the requester's identity you can ask them to provide any evidence you reasonably need to confirm it. For example, you may ask for a piece of information held in your records that the person would be expected to know, such as membership details, or a witnessed copy of their signature. Once satisfied, go to 3.

Yes Go to 3.

3. Do you need any other information to find the records they want?

No Go to 4.

Yes You will need to ask the individual promptly for any other information you reasonably need to find the records they want. You might want to ask them to narrow down their request. For example, if you keep all your customers' information on one computer system and your suppliers' information on another, you could ask what relationship they had with you. Or, you could ask when they had dealings with you. However, they do have the right to ask for everything you have about them and this could mean a very wide search. You have 40 calendar days to respond to a subject access request after receiving any further information you need and any fee you decide to charge. Go to 4.

4. Are you going to charge a fee?

No Go to 5.

Yes If you need a fee you must ask the individual promptly for one. The maximum you can charge is £10 unless medical or education records are involved. The 40 calendar days in which you must respond starts when you have received the fee and all necessary information to help you find the records. Go to 5.

5. Do you hold any information about the person?

No If you hold no personal information at all about the individual you must tell them this.

Yes Go to 6.

6. Will the information be changed between receiving the request and sending the response?

No Go to 7.

Yes You can still make routine amendments and deletions to personal information after receiving a request. However, you must not make any changes to the records as a result of receiving the request, even if you find inaccurate or embarrassing information on the record. Go to 7.

7. Does it include any information about other people?

No Go to 8.

Yes You will not have to supply the information unless the other people mentioned have given their consent, or it is reasonable to supply the information without their consent. Even when the other person's information should not be disclosed, you should still supply as much as possible by editing the references to other people.

Go to 8.

8. Are you obliged to supply the information?

There may be circumstances in which you are not obliged to supply certain information. Some of the most important exemptions apply to:

- crime prevention and detection;
- negotiations with the requester;
- management forecasts;
- confidential references given by you (but not ones given to you);
- information used for research, historical or statistical purposes; and
- information covered by legal professional privilege.

No If all the information you hold about the requester is exempt, then you can reply stating that you do not hold any of their personal information that you are required to reveal.

Yes Go to 9.

9. Does it include any complex terms or codes?

The information may include abbreviations or technical terms that the individual will not understand, for example, '02' means a monthly account, '03' means 'paying on receipt of goods' and so on.

No Go to 10.

Yes You must make sure that these are explained so the information can be understood. Go to 10.

10. Prepare the response

A copy of the information should be supplied in a permanent form except where the individual agrees or where it is impossible or would involve undue effort. This could include very significant cost or time taken to provide the information in hard copy form. An alternative would be to allow the individual to view the information on screen. You have 40 calendar days to comply with the request starting from when you receive all the information necessary to deal with the request and any fee that is required. Individuals can complain to the ICO or apply to a court if you do not respond within this time limit.

Protection technical guidance note: dealing with subject access requests involving other people's information

This technical guidance note replaces the previous guidance on this subject ('Subject Access Rights and Third Party Information') published in March 2000. It deals with the potential conflict between an individual's right of access and a third party individual's rights to privacy or confidentiality, which can arise when dealing with a subject access request. In particular, this guidance sets out the main factors you need to consider when you receive a subject access request which involves information which relates to other individuals as well as the individual making the request.

Legal framework

Section 7(1) of the Data Protection Act 1998 (the Act) gives individuals the right to access their personal data. By making a written request and paying a fee, an individual is entitled to see (among other things):

- the information which is the personal data;
- any information available to the data controller about the source of the data.

Responding to such subject access requests may involve providing information relating to another individual (a 'third party individual'). For instance, if the requested information is a personnel file on an employee, it may contain information identifying managers or colleagues who have contributed to (or are discussed in) that file. This may lead to a conflict between the requesting employee's right of access and the third party's rights over their own personal information.

Section 7(4) of the Act provides that if you cannot comply with the request without disclosing information relating to another individual who can be identified from that information, then you do not have to comply with the request unless:

- the third party has consented to the disclosure; or
- it is reasonable in all the circumstances to comply with the request without the consent of the third party individual.

To help you decide whether to disclose information relating to a third party individual, follow this three-step process.

Step 1 Does the request require the disclosure of information which identifies a third party individual?

Section 7(4) of the Act is only relevant if information about a third party individual is necessarily part of the information which the requesting individual is entitled to. You should consider whether it is possible to comply with the request without revealing information which relates to and identifies a third party individual. In doing so, you should not only take into account the information you are disclosing, but also any information which you reasonably believe the person making the request may have, or get hold of, that may identify the third party individual. For instance, in the personnel file example discussed earlier, even if the third party individual is only referred to by their job title then it is likely they will still be identifiable based on information already known to the employee making the request. As your obligation is to provide information rather than documents, you may delete names or edit documents if the third party information does not form part of the requested information. However, if it is not possible to separate the third party information from that requested and still comply with the request, you need to take account of the considerations in section 7(4).

Step 2 Has the third party individual consented?

The practical effect of section 7(4) and associated provisions of the Act is that the clearest grounds for disclosing the information is to get the third party individual's consent. However, there is no obligation to try to get consent. There will be some circumstances where it will clearly be reasonable to disclose without trying to get consent, for example, where the information concerned will be known

to the requesting individual anyway. Indeed it may not always be appropriate to try to get consent (for instance, if to do so would inevitably involve a disclosure of personal data about the requesting individual to the third party individual).

If the third party individual has consented, you would be obliged to comply with the subject access request and disclose all the relevant information, including that relating to the third party individual. However, in practice, it may be difficult to get consent. The third party may be difficult to find, they may refuse to give consent, or it may be impractical or costly to try to get their consent in the first place. In these situations, you would then need to consider whether it was 'reasonable in all the circumstances' to disclose the information anyway (section 7(4) (b)).

Step 3 Would it be reasonable in all the circumstances to disclose without consent?

Section 7(6) of the Act provides a non-exhaustive list of factors to be taken into account when deciding what would be 'reasonable in all the circumstances'. These are:

- any duty of confidentiality owed to the third party individual;
- any steps you have taken to try to get the consent of the third party individual;
- whether the third party individual is capable of giving consent; and
- any express refusal of consent by the third party individual.

We would expect you to be able to justify and keep a record of your course of action and reasoning, including, for example, why you chose not to try to get consent or why it was not appropriate to try to do so in the circumstances.

Confidentiality

Another factor to be considered in assessing how reasonable a disclosure would be is whether a duty of confidence exists for the third party information. This would arise where information which is not generally available to the public (that is, genuinely 'confidential' information) has been disclosed to you with the expectation that it will remain confidential. This expectation might result from the relationship between the parties. For instance, the following relationships would generally carry with them a duty of confidence in relation to information disclosed.

- Medical (doctor/patient)
- Employment (employer/employee)
- Legal (solicitor/client)
- Financial (bank/customer)
- Caring (counsellor/client)

However, you should not always assume confidentiality. For instance, just because a letter is marked 'confidential', a duty of confidence does not necessarily arise (although this marking may indicate an expectation of confidence). It may be that the information in such a letter is widely available elsewhere (and so it does not have the 'necessary quality of confidence'), or there may be other factors, such as the public interest, which mean that an obligation of confidence does not arise. However, in most cases where a clear duty of confidence does exist, it will usually be reasonable to withhold third party information unless you have the consent of the third party individual to disclose it.

Information generally known by the individual making the request

If the third party information has previously been provided to the individual making the request, is already known by them, or is generally available to the public, it will be more likely to be reasonable for you to disclose that information. It follows that third party information relating to a member of staff (acting in the course of their duties), who is well known to the individual making the request through their previous dealings, would be more likely to be disclosed than information relating to an otherwise anonymous private individual.

Similarly, where the third party individual is the source of the information held about the person making the request, there may be a strong case for their identification if the person needs to correct some damaging inaccuracy. However, it will always depend on the circumstances of the case and in the *Durant v Financial Services Authority* case ([2003] EWCA Civ 1746), the Court of Appeal decided it would be legitimate for the Financial Services Authority (the data controller) to withhold the name of one of its employees who did not consent to disclosing the requested information because Mr Durant (who made the request) had abused them on the telephone.

Information relating to certain professionals

There is separate legislation relating to access to education records, health records and social services records (see note 1). In practice this means that if the third party individual is an education, health or social services professional, information relating to them can be disclosed.

Circumstances relating to the individual making the request

These will also be relevant in assessing how reasonable it is to disclose third party information – in particular, how critical access to the third party information is in preserving the privacy rights of the individual making the request. This approach reflects the judgement in the *Gaskin* case. In this case, the individual, who had been

in local authority care for most of his childhood, wanted to see the local authority records relating to him as they were the only coherent record of his early childhood and formative years. The court held that the local authority had to weigh the public interest in preserving confidentiality against the individual's right to access information about his life, even where consent to release the information had been withheld.

Disclose or withhold?

If you have not got the consent of the third party individual and you are not satisfied that it would be reasonable in all the circumstances to disclose the third party information, then you should withhold it. However, further to section 7(5) of the Act, you are obliged to communicate as much of the information requested as you can without disclosing the identity of the third party individual. So, disclosing the information with any third party information edited or deleted may be the best way to meet this request if you cannot disclose all the information.

Comment

While the Freedom of Information Act does not apply to Church archives, the Data Protection Act does. When read carefully it is clear that the conflicts are less than might be expected. It is important to bear in mind that in neither civil nor canon law are you required to hand over documents – only information in the form of a certified copy. Equally access may and perhaps must be restricted in certain circumstances.

Diocesan Archives

It is the responsibility of the Diocesan Bishop to ensure that documents pertaining not only to the diocese, but to all the churches and parishes within the diocese, are carefully preserved and to establish detailed regulations for his diocese (canon 491). In addition there is to be a central historical archive where materials of historical interest are kept.

At diocesan level, each Curia is to have its own archive, which is the responsibility of the Chancellor. He or she may be assisted by a vice-chancellor (canon 482), and also professionally trained archivists (*Circular Letter*, n.2.5). The Archive must be kept locked, and only the Bishop and Chancellor are to have the key (canon 487). Access may be granted by the Bishop alone, or by the Chancellor and Moderator of the Curia jointly. There should be a separate area where documents may be studied under supervision. People are entitled to a copy of documents **'which are of their nature public and which concern their own personal status'**, can. 487-§2. This refers to documents such as extracts from baptismal registers. It does not refer to private documents such as letters. Access to these is

granted on a discretionary basis. Note that article 4.1 of the *Circular Letter* encourages an open and generous spirit with regard to access. In principle access should be available to all who can take advantage of it, not just from a religious point of view, but also historical and cultural and regardless of their religious or ideological backgrounds.

Archives for current affairs

In addition to the 'Archives' as such there will be large numbers of documents in current use for the work of the Diocese and retained in the appropriate offices. There needs to be a policy as to when items are transferred from one to the other, but also about access to current files. Clearly these are far more likely to contain confidential and sensitive materials as well as posing practical problems with regard to granting of access. The *Circular Letter* refers to these in section 2.2. It emphasizes the distinction between the short, medium and long term and areas that are ongoing or have a limited time-span. Not specifically mentioned but of great significance today is whole question of e-mails.

The secret archive

In addition, there is a Secret Archive. Access to this is granted to the Diocesan Bishop alone; even when the see is vacant a Diocesan Administrator can have access only in a case of real necessity (canon 490). Certain documents **must** be stored here: criminal cases concerning matters of a moral nature; documentary proof of canonical warnings or reproofs in the context of canonical offences or scandalous behaviour (canons 489-§2 and 1339); acts of a preliminary investigation for a penal process closed without formal trial (canon 1719); dispensations granted from occult impediments in the internal non-sacramental forum; secret marriages. The Bishop **may** use it to store other matters of a particularly confidential nature. The only circumstance in which it is foreseen that documents may be removed from the Secret Archive is when needed to complete a penal process (canon 1719).

Preservation

In general all documents should be kept indefinitely, though there is no need to retain duplicates, e.g. typed copies and original hand-written text or notes. Clearly some discretion is needed in this, and in the absence of concrete guidelines, parishes and Commissions will make their own judgement. However even apparent trivia may be of historical interest in the future.

Documents relating to formal canonical processes have set time scales for retention. These are related to the possibility of appealing or re-opening cases. Cases relating to personal status can always be re-opened, even, in certain situations,

by the heirs, when both parties are deceased. The acts of such cases must be kept in perpetuity. Civil suits for damages have a more limited life-span, but are extremely rare. Penal actions are extinguished after ten years, and a statute of limitations prevents action being taken over alleged offences that occurred more than ten years before. They are also extinguished by the death of the accused. In consequence documents kept in the secret archives which relate to moral or other accusations of a penal nature must be destroyed on the death of the person accused, or after a time gap of ten years. All that is to be retained, and only where a penal case has led to conviction, is the text of the judgement and a summary of the facts (canon 489-§2). Since no one else has access to the Secret Archive, it is the personal responsibility of the Diocesan Bishop to go through the Secret Archive annually, to ensure that such documents are destroyed. The only documents retained indefinitely in the Secret Archive, then, are the registers of internal forum dispensations and of secret marriages.

Access

The Code of Canon Law restricts access to the Secret Archive to the Diocesan Bishop. This does not imply that no one else may see items contained in it. For example, if a further penal case arises concerning an individual the Bishop may retrieve them and make them available to those concerned in handling the fresh allegations. It does mean that they are not open for research. Since the Holy See makes some documents in its own Secret Archive available in due course there is no absolute prohibition on transferring documents to a more open archive when sufficient time has elapsed so that no one may be injured by this. Access may be granted for legitimate reasons to all other documents, subject to guidelines laid down by the Bishop, or custodian of the archive. The policy of Brentwood Chancery is to grant access after thirty years, unless a Commission has set a longer period of reservation on a particular document. A reservation of one hundred years is set on Tribunal files. Each Commission has its own policy as to when working documents are transferred from office filing cabinets to the Diocesan Archive.

Guidelines or regulations will also be needed as to how access is provided in terms of suitable facilities for study or the copying of documents in a way that is secure. This concerns not only physical arrangements but also the marking of files with any reservations or restrictions as to access. A particular issue, mainly at parish level, will be the granting of access to sacramental registers since this will allow enquirers to study entries not relating to their own personal status and at times reveal sensitive information about marital status, etc. Note that canon 487-§2, unlike the original draft of the Code does not grant the right to inspect the original document but only to receive an authentic copy, whether transcription or photocopy. On the

other hand it does not restrict the giving of a copy of the documents concerned only to those entitled, nor of other documents of a more private nature. Canon 488 makes a clear distinction between being granted access and permission to remove documents from the archive. This should not be given if a copy will suffice. Moreover, permission is needed either from the Diocesan Bishop or from both the Moderator of the Curia and the Chancellor, not the Chancellor (or archivist) or Moderator alone.

Church and Civil Law

Clearly the provisions of civil and canon law may differ. However, as far as possible, Diocesan Bishops, and all responsible should show respect for the civil laws in these matters, and harmonise their own regulations with these (*Circular Letter*, n.2. 3). From this it will be clear, that, unless there is a clear contradiction, civil law on the retention of documents and the granting of access to them should be obeyed, not just because civil law requires it, but also the Church's law. This has relevance to the application of the Data Protection Act, and other legislation such as the Human Rights Act. In a paper given to this year's annual conference of the Canon Law Society of Great Britain and Ireland Edward Morgan drew attention to four points that help to avoid conflict:

1. Devising and Adopting a Data Protection Act Policy. Often decisions are made in a reactive and ad hoc manner. There should be policies indicating:
 - a. The purpose for which data is collated
 - b. The means by which consent is obtained from the data subject
 - c. The use to which data is put
 - d. Duration of storage
 - e. Processes to be followed when data requests are received
2. Protocol Documentation. A set of correspondence templates to deal with such requests would help reduce the level of stress and allows a timely response.
3. Audit and review: policies and practices should be reviewed annually.
4. Reference to the Information Commissioner: they are always willing to offer advice on policies or queries.

Particular issues for discussion

- **Sacramental Records**

A Catholic who left the Church would be entitled to insist that his details be deleted from parish records, but not that they be removed from a public record such as the baptism register. He could only insist on a marginal note being added to update the entry.

- **Clergy Personnel Files**

Evidently the person in question has the right to know what is in such a file, and insist on the correction or elimination of erroneous or defamatory material. If it is needed for a penal process of some kind then it should be in the Secret Archive, and would be covered by the appropriate exemption under the Act. He would in any case have a canonical right to see the material if it becomes part of a penal process. Should the material not be used for this purpose, the Code already provides for its destruction on an established time-scale, and prevents its disclosure. One would imagine that the Bishop would not, in any case, wish to retain erroneous or defamatory material on file, and that he would wish to obtain the cleric's comments on such matters. Clearly anonymous allegations are of no value, even if the substance should be true.

A cleric, then, has the right to see what is in his own personnel file, and insist on corrections or deletions. He does not have a right to access to the Secret Archive, but if the material in it relates to accusations against him, then he will have a right to see its content in the context of a canonical penal process, and to make appropriate comments. If the case is proven, and he is convicted, then there is a presumption as to the truth of the data retained, and a time-scale set for its destruction. The latter is in accordance with the provision that data be not kept longer than necessary. The data contained in such files are protected from unauthorised disclosure, by appropriate restrictions on access.

- **Minutes of meetings**

The FOIA only requires these to be made available in the case of meetings that are of their nature public, or where policy decisions are made, not of lesser meetings. One should apply the same principles even if not required by civil law.

The Liturgical Revival in the Diocese of Salford under Bishop Casartelli, 1903-1906

Fr Nicholas Paxton

'The average English Catholic is not interested in the liturgy and does not even know what the word means. And if I ask a Catholic what Sunday it is or what is the liturgical season generally speaking he does not know.'¹

'(Great Britain and Ireland) can hardly be said to be deeply affected by the Liturgical Movement ... the clergy are generally disinterested ... participation by the great masses hardly exists.'²

'England played virtually no part in developing the early stages of the modern liturgical movement ... it was left to the mainland of Europe to produce the blend of scholarship and pastoral concern which marks the liturgical movement proper.'³

These three statements, published at almost exact quarter-century intervals between 1930 and 1980, clearly take a low view of the state in England of the Liturgical Movement, that is, 'the new awareness of public worship's primary place in the Church's life ... as expressed in retrieving tradition and implementing renewal in the Church's current worship'.⁴ In the following, however, I wish to describe how Louis Charles Casartelli, Bishop of Salford from 1903 to 1925, made sure that his diocese did not conform to the trend which these statements indicate by actually anticipating Pius X's legislation on church music and by insisting that his diocese follow the Bishop's directives. I therefore wish to indicate the course of the nineteenth-century plainsong revival and then discuss Bishop Casartelli's pastoral letter of 3 October 1903, the teaching of Pius X on church music and active participation in the liturgy by the congregation, Casartelli's response to that teaching and the way in which the 77 documents, mostly letters, in Folder 1 of Box 193 of the Salford diocesan archives, show the fulfilment of the Bishop's requirements between 1903 and 1905.

¹ F. Cabrol in *Questions Liturgiques et Paroissiales*, 1930, quoted in J.D. Crichton, *Lights in the Darkness: Forerunners of the Liturgical Movement* (Dublin, 1996), p. 81.

² E.B. Koenker, *The Liturgical Renaissance in the Roman Catholic Church* (Chicago, 1954), p. 17.

³ K. Donovan, 'Influences on the English Liturgical Scene', in *English Catholic Worship: Liturgical Renewal in England since 1900*, eds. J.D. Crichton, H.E. Winstone & J.R. Ainslie (London, 1979), pp. 110-111.

⁴ N. Paxton, 'The Liturgical Movement and the Roman Missal', *Southwark Liturgy Bulletin*, No. 102 (2003), p. 2.

The Nineteenth-Century Revival of Plainchant

The leading nineteenth-century figure in reviving plainsong was undoubtedly Dom Prosper Guéranger who re-founded the abbey of Solesmes and was its abbot from 1837 to 1875. 'The work of the Solesmes monks in restoring the plainchant led to a long-lost appreciation of a form of music that in a deep sense was an enhancement of the verbal texts.'¹ This is particularly true since Solesmes used mediaeval – not post-mediaeval – sources in its work of revival. On the one hand, much Renaissance and post-Renaissance plainsong was written for effect, an excellent example (which Koenker quotes), being the Mass *Si diligis me* for the Common of Popes, even though Credo III (which has played a significant part in promoting congregational participation) dates only from about 1600. On the other hand, Solesmes's plainchant scholarship may, not necessarily rightly, have assumed that each piece of plainsong had a single correct form. It is noteworthy that Cardinal Bartolucci, formerly the director of the Sistine choir, has expressed serious misgivings over the accuracy of Solesmes's work.²

However, in restoring the liturgy's chant, Guéranger also sought to restore its spirituality. While his work is usually seen as a prologue to the Liturgical Movement proper, one should note that he seems (in 1851) to have been one of the first to use the term 'liturgical movement'. Though such writers as Koenker and Every have seen the work of Guéranger and his immediate followers as not meant to promote popular liturgical participation, Franklin has since shown that Guéranger sought to promote it by recommending that people join in bodily postures, bodily actions and such responses as were possible, for example 'Amen' and 'Alleluia'. Guéranger thus sought 'to give, to such of the laity as do not understand Latin, the means of uniting in the closest possible manner with everything that the priest says and does at the altar'.³ His work thus served as a foundation for the later liturgical movement because of its stress on community, not individualism.⁴

¹ Crichton, *Lights in the Darkness*, p. 150.

² Koenker, p. 153; Crichton, *Lights in the Darkness*, p. 141; T.E. Muir, *Roman Catholic Church Music in England, 1791-1914: A Handmaid of the Liturgy?* (Aldershot, 2008), pp. 195-197; D. Bartolucci, interview of 21 July 2006 with S. Magister, online at <http://chiesa.espresso.repubblica.it/articolo/72901?eng+y> [23/11/2010]. Also interview of 12 August 2009 with P. Cipriani & S. Carusi, online at <http://uvcarmel.org/2009/08/19/a-bombshell-of-an-interview-mons-domenico-bartolucci-on-the-liturgical-reforms-and-the-reform-of-the-reform/> [23/11/2010], also at <http://wtdptrs.com/blog/2009/08/frank-interview-of-msgr-domenico-bartolucci-maestro-in-perpetuo/> [23/11/2010].

³ P. Guéranger, *Liturgical Year: Advent* (London, 3rd ed. 1910), pp. 12-13, quoted in R.W. Franklin, 'The People's Work: anti-Jansenist Prejudice in the Benedictine Movement for popular Participation in the nineteenth Century', *Studia Liturgica*, Vol. 19 No. 1 (1989), p. 64.

⁴ J.H. Emminghaus, *The Eucharist: Essence, Form, Celebration* (Collegetville, 1978), p. 91; Franklin, pp. 62-63, 74; Koenker, pp. 10-11; G. Every, *The Mass* (Dublin, 1978), p. 149.

Though the plainsong revival's monastic beginnings place this aspect of the Liturgical Movement's background well outside parish life, 'the monasteries preserved and renewed the liturgy at a period when other institutions in the Church did not understand it and would probably have made matters even worse if they had attempted anything in this field.'¹ However, Guéranger abolished genuine mediaeval Gallo-Roman material in his imposition of the 'pure' Roman liturgy in France up to about 1860. Nonetheless, it is important to note that other Benedictine houses took up the Solesmes revival, particularly Beuron (re-founded by the brothers Wolter in 1863) and houses founded from Beuron, including Maredsous (1872), Maria-Laach (1892) and Mont-César (1899). But it remains a paradox that, in seeking a supposedly authentic return to the Middle Ages, Solesmes and its school made plainsong into a dead tradition by not allowing composers to write in it. Meanwhile, in England, the First Synod of Westminster (1852) commended plainchant as church music's highest form. In Salford diocese, the 1880 diocesan synod under Bishop Vaughan forbade women singers and imposed Pustet's editions of plainsong – two measures which anticipated Pius X's 1903 letter to Cardinal Respighi about church music in the Diocese of Rome. This raises the question of how and why Bishop Casartelli's work anticipated Pius X's.²

Bishop Casartelli's Rulings on Church Music before those of Pius X

Casartelli, in section IV of his first pastoral letter, 'The Signs of the Times' (3 October 1903), wrote: '(Pius X) is credited with an intention to prosecute with vigour at no distant date the much-needed Reform of Sacred Music'.³ Clearly, this statement, made against the background of the nineteenth-century plainsong revival, led Casartelli to anticipate Pius' work. What is less clear is how he knew that Pius was to intervene in reforming church music, but one indication may be seen in a comment by Pius in the introduction to *Tra le sollecitudini* (hereafter TLS), his *Motu Proprio* of 22 November 1903 on church music and congregational sharing in the liturgy (otherwise called *Inter Pastoralis Officii*), where he mentioned 'the great number of complaints' he had received even in the short time which had elapsed between his election as Pope and the date of TLS.⁴ Casartelli wished his diocese to take a leading part in this reform; indeed, he 'placed high on his priorities the reform of church music within his diocese in order that its people might be re-introduced to the primary source of the Christian life, which was the liturgy'.⁵ He regretted the

¹ Priests of St Severin (Paris) & St Joseph (Nice), revised & transl. L.C. Sheppard, 'What is the Liturgical Movement?' (London, 1964), p. 15.

² J.A. Jungmann, *The Mass of the Roman Rite: Its Origins and Development*, Vol.1 (New York, 1950), p. 158, Franklin, pp. 70-71, Muir, pp. 188, 191, 200.

³ This letter's text is in *Acta Salfordiensia Episcopi Quarti* (hereafter ASEQ), Vol. 1, in Salford Diocesan Archives. The items in ASEQ are arranged chronologically.

⁴ Pius X, *Tra le sollecitudini*, online at <http://www.adoremus.org/MotuProprio.html> [7/12/2010]

⁵ M.J. Broadley, *Louis Charles Casartelli: A Bishop in Peace and War* (Manchester, 2006), p. 107.

theatrical style of much church music (as Pius was to do) and called for the introduction of spiritually beneficial short and simple settings of the Mass. He also renewed previous condemnations of women soloists in church, instead stating that boys' choirs could be trained to sing simple Gregorian masses.

Casartelli, in conformity with his organizing temperament,¹ would not tolerate half measures. In 'The Signs of the Times' he specified that, whenever he was called on 'to assist at High Mass or Benediction in any Church of the diocese', a list of the music was to be sent to him a week beforehand and that no music which he did not approve would be performed. He also stated that he had appointed an advisory committee on church music in the Salford diocese; in this, he conformed to a requirement which Pius X was later to lay down, as the next section will show.

The Work of Pius X

Pius X's purposes in TLS were to legislate about church music, to suppress the operatic style of so much church music, to encourage participation in the liturgy by the congregation and to make certain that everyone knew the law. The last paragraph of the decree's introduction fulfils the last aim. As to the others, Pius, while drawing attention to the advances already made (of which Bishop Casartelli's work formed an important part in England) noted that 'the good work already done is very far indeed from being common to all' (TLS Introduction). As part of his revival of plainchant, Pius commissioned improved versions of the *Kyriale* with the Order of Mass, the *Graduale* and the never-finished *Antiphonale*. Though these versions were Solesmes-inspired, this inspiration did not prevent mutual opposition between those who favoured the Vatican and the Solesmes editions. Such disagreement was not entirely in accord with Pius' teaching on Gregorian chant's universal nature, to which distinctively local music was subordinated (TLS 1-2).²

Pius also encouraged the revival of polyphony, most of all Palestrina, while noting that modern music was to be treated more cautiously but was permissible if it conformed to the liturgical laws which he laid down (TLS 4-6, see also TLS 23). However, he insisted that, in terms of sanctity, art and universality, Gregorian chant 'has always been regarded as the supreme model for sacred music' (TLS 3) and was thus to be restored, both by its presence in the liturgy and 'so that the faithful may again take a more active part in the ecclesiastical offices, as was the case in ancient times' (TLS 3). He developed this communal liturgical spirituality by writing that

¹ Broadley, p. 5.

² See also Pius X, Letter to Cardinal Respighi, Cardinal Vicar of Rome, 8 December 1903, online at <http://www.adoremus.org/MotuProprio.html> [7/12/2010]; Jungmann, Vol. 1 p. 160; E. Duffy, *Saints and Sinners: A History of the Popes* (New Haven & London, 3rd ed. 2006), p. 323; Muir, pp. 207ff.

'the faithful assemble for no other object than that of acquiring (the Christian) spirit from its foremost and indispensable font, which is the active participation in the most holy mysteries and in the public and solemn prayer of the Church' (TLS Introduction). TLS therefore 'contained the germ of what became the pastoral liturgical movement: it stated that the foremost and indispensable source of the true Christian spirit is the active [liturgical] participation of the people'.¹

TLS 12-13 provided for a choir of laymen; the choir could thus include boys but not women, though this situation was to change by 1912. The importance for present purposes of TLS 24, which specified on 22 November 2003 that bishops were to establish a sacred music commission in their dioceses if they had not done this already, is that Bishop Casartelli had already set up the Salford Diocesan Church Music Commission by 3 October that year.

On 8 December 1903, Pius wrote to the Cardinal Vicar of Rome, Cardinal Respighi, that a return to plainsong and Renaissance polyphony would 'at first ... produce some wonder among individuals'. This happened in England, where not everyone was happy about the restoration of plainchant; some church choirs resigned, either in protest or on their parish priests' initiative. At Salford Cathedral, Aloysius Norris suffered much from adverse congregational reaction, as I will show. It seems that numerous English parishes took no notice of *Tra le sollecitudini*. But Bishop Casartelli, with his provision of a church music commission, an approved music list and a requirement that he receive the musical liturgical programme before visiting a church or chapel, had made sure that the people, particularly the clergy and church musicians, of Salford Diocese took notice.²

Casartelli's Response to Pius, 1903-1906

On 4 May 1904, Casartelli sent a questionnaire, mainly about church choirs, to the different missions in the Salford diocese, in preparation for the discussion of church music by the bishops of England and Wales at their meeting of the following June. In the questionnaire, he asked whether TLS was already being implemented in each mission. He also enquired as to the number of Catholics in the mission and the

¹ C. Howell, 'The Eucharist: From Trent to Vatican II', in *The Study of Liturgy*, ed. C. Jones, G. Wainwright, E. Yarnold & P. Bradshaw (London, 1992), p. 290. See also A. Shaw, 'The importance and development of the concept "*actuosa participatio*" in the Roman Catholic Church from Pope Pius X to Pope Benedict XVI', unpublished B.A. Honours in Religions and Theology dissertation, University of Manchester, 14 April 2008, pp. 13-15.

² 'Mixed Choirs: Opinion by Rev. Prof. Bewerunge, St Patrick's College, Maynooth', undated but datable to 1912 or later, Salford Diocesan Archives (SDA-0017-001); J.D. Crichton, 'The Dawn of a Liturgical Movement', in *English Catholic Worship*, p. 36; J.R. Ainslie, 'English Liturgical Music before Vatican II', in *English Catholic Worship*, pp. 49-50; Broadley, p. 121; 'Diocese of Salford Episcopal Commission on Sacred Music, List of Church Music Approved for Use in the Diocese', 1904, in ASEQ Vol. 1.

number of boys in its schools, whether there was a choir of men and boys and/or a mixed choir, whether or not the choir was paid and how much it cost the mission every year, whether it would be feasible for the mission to substitute a men and boys' choir for a mixed choir and whether the missionary rector could form a choir from the boys in the mission's schools.¹

Three months later, Casartelli – in section II of his *ad clerum* letter of 12 August 1904 – wrote that he was enclosing two copies of TLS to each mission, one for the missionary rector and one for the choirmaster, and that TLS was to be put into practice at once. While he added that 'the English Bishops will shortly issue joint instructions on the subject [of church music]' after receiving answers from Rome over details connected with TLS, one should remember that he had placed his own diocese in the forefront of liturgical progress, since he had already issued guidelines in October 1903 which promoted similar aims to those of TLS. Reiterating two of these aims here, he called for choirs of schoolboys, and for congregations, to sing 'simple Masses and Benediction services', and he drew attention to the Salford diocesan church music list, which accompanied this *ad clerum*.²

It may at this point be useful, both to describe the church music commission which Casartelli had instituted for the Salford Diocese as far back as October 1903, and to explain that each item in the Salford Diocesan Archives has both a box number and an item number within the box: thus, for example, SDA-193-001 is Salford Diocesan Archives, Box 193, item 1. In 1903, the chairman of the commission was Dom Anselm Turner OSB and the other commission members were Frs A[nselm] Pooch and Francis Daniel and Messrs W.A[loysius] Norris (the Salford Cathedral choirmaster) and H.P. Allen (a church music expert, frequently consulted by Casartelli), who was the secretary. The 'Honorary Consultants' were Mgr [Henry] Parkinson, Rector of Oscott, Fr [Henry] Bewerunge, Professor of Music at Maynooth, who did important work in producing performing editions of Renaissance polyphony for male choirs in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (see SDA-193-050), Fr Michael Maloney, a priest at Westminster Cathedral and a plainsong expert (see SDA-193-054), Fr J.J. Dunne of Holy Cross College, Clonliffe (see SDA-193-057) and Messrs R[ichard] R[unciman] Terry of Westminster Cathedral (see SDA-193-002) and Alfred Booth of St Joseph's, Liverpool (see SDA-193-050). By the time the 1906 Supplement to the diocesan church music list was issued, Dom Anselm Turner had died on 2 December 1905 and Fr Daniel had succeeded him as chairman, Fr T. Donovan of St Bede's College, Manchester (SDA-

¹ Letter of 4 May 1904 and questionnaire, in ASEQ Vol. 1. See also Broadley, pp. 121, 250 note 107.

² *Ad clerum*, 12 August 1904, in ASEQ Vol. 1.

193-058) and Fr Joseph Dohmen had joined the commission as members, and Mr R.W. Oberhoffer of St Wilfrid's, York (see SDA-193-050) had become an honorary consultant, replacing Fr Moloney who had died on 24 May 1905. Clearly, Casartelli had assembled a body of people who had between them a great amount of talent and who knew what they were doing, even though a certain amount of classical Viennese and stylistically somewhat secular contemporary music was left on the list.¹

On 20 January 1906, Casartelli issued 'A Letter on Church Music'. Since he strongly wished for congregational liturgical singing, he recommended teaching schoolchildren 'to sing simple unison masses'² and strongly recommended simple psalm tunes for use in churches with inadequate facilities to sing the Gregorian Mass Propers. While still forbidding women's solos in church, the letter allowed for choirs of men and women in smaller churches without sufficient choirboys.³ For the plainsong of the Order of Mass, the Vatican version of the *Kyriale* was to be used.⁴ Finally, I wish to trace the ways in which the contents of Folder 1 of Box 193 of the Salford Diocesan Archives indicate the implementation, and fulfilment, of Casartelli's aims and policies on plainsong and the congregation's sharing in the liturgy.

Salford Diocesan Archives, Box 193, Folder 1: Corroboration of Casartelli's Work

As a result of the section on church music in 'The Signs of the Times', Casartelli received numerous letters of congratulation. Box 193 provides instances of such letters. Some of Casartelli's correspondents wasted no time. Although 'The Signs of the Times' was only issued on 3 October 1903, James Britten, editor of *Catholic Book Notes*, 126 Kennington Park, London SE wrote to the Bishop in support of his stance on church music as early as 5 October (SDA-193-005), as did a Mr Mitchell from Longsight, Manchester, four days later (SDA-193-004). A.K.B. Brandreth of Crewe went out of his way to thank Casartelli for his pastoral letter, writing on 11 October (SDA-193-022). William Colegrave of West Brighton wrote to the same effect on 13 October (SDA-193-008), to be followed the next day by Fr E. Gaynor, a Vincentian priest from St Vincent's Church, Cork (SDA-193-015). Gaynor's letter is particularly interesting in that he enclosed five programmes of the plainchant and Renaissance polyphony which were sung at that church (SDA-193-009 to 012 & 014). Suffice it to say that the choir must have been good and the parishioners fortunate. Meanwhile, Norris consulted Charles Gatty, a church

¹ 'Supplement to the List of Church Music Authorised for Use in the Diocese', 1906, in ASEQ Vol. 3; Muir, pp. 129-130, 235.

² L.C. Casartelli, 'A Letter on Church Music' in ASEQ Vol. 3, # 5.

³ 'A Letter on Church Music', ## 2, 4, 6.

⁴ 'Supplement to the List of Church Music', Part IA, in ASEQ Vol. 3.

musician of some significance (who had written to Cardinal Vaughan on the improvement of church music the year before and who included a copy of his letter to Vaughan when writing to Norris). Gatty replied to Norris on 20 October, praising him and the diocesan church music committee which Casartelli had set up (SDA-193-027 to 030). The next month, Percy FitzGerald MA, FSA wrote on 1 November from the Athenaeum Club in Pall Mall, London SW to Casartelli, with thanks and congratulations regarding the Bishop's church music policy (SDA-193-026),¹ while Dudley Baxter from Colchester followed suit on the 9th (SDA-193-030). Additionally, in an undated letter at SDA-193-003, Casartelli was told that Sir Thomas Wardle had approved of his work on church music despite not being a Catholic.

Composers, also, expressed approval. Among other matters, Joseph Short of Birmingham praised Casartelli's stand on church music on 13 January 1904 (SDA-193-040); two days later, Alfred Harborough of Southport agreed to emendations in some music, which Casartelli had called for (SDA-193-041), while Émile Wambach, of Antwerp, also sought Casartelli's patronage (SDA-193-037/8). Meanwhile, Abbot Hugh Edmund Ford OSB of Downside proposed on 15 March 1904 to visit Casartelli the following Thursday to hear him talk about his policy on church music (SDA-193-052) and Fr A. Dekkers of Sacred Heart, Leeds, expressed his warm thanks to Casartelli on Ash Wednesday (SDA-193-042). On 14 August that year, Allen reported that he had visited the Solesmes monks (who were in exile at Appuldurcombe, Isle of Wight, because of strongly anti-clerical legislation by France's Third Republican government) and wrote to Casartelli: 'They are very interested in our work and are delighted we had already chosen their edition of Gregorian Chant' (SDA-193-057). Also interesting is an article, 'English Music Commission's Work' in the North American journal *The Teacher and Organist*, at SDA-193-045. The article attributes the formation of a church music commission by 'the Bishop of the Sanford (*sic*), England' to the influence of the Archbishop of Cincinnati and his diocese, but this is surely only coincidence. More to the point, this article lists the music which the Salford commission considered suitable and unsuitable for use in church. Likewise, SDA-193-002 gives a short list of works which the commission considered unsuitable at an early meeting, and SDA-193-048 provides undated lists from Allen of music recommended for use in church and music forbidden as unsuitable.

Box 193 of the Salford archives also makes clear that the commission was well able to give frank advice to Casartelli when the need arose. In October 1903, a

¹ This letter does not have a year in its date, but its contents and its item number in Box 193 both indicate 1903.

Jesuit priest from Stonyhurst submitted a programme of music for a forthcoming visit by Casartelli. The Bishop must have got in touch with Allen, who advised the rejection of Schubert's Mass in F, for which a further letter from Stonyhurst accordingly substituted Perosi's *Missa Pontificalis* (SDA-193-023 to 025). On 5 June 1904, Allen, writing to Casartelli, considered that the commission would reject some music Casartelli had sent him (SDA-193-053). On 17 August 1904, the commission gave up the 'tolerated' category of music in its list, having found agreement as to the contents impossible for practical purposes (SDA-193-058). Also in 1904, Allen, writing from Appuldurcombe, told Casartelli that a Benedictus by [T.J.] Bordonel, proposed by Canon Tynan for a visit to St Gregory's, Farnworth, was not on the diocesan list and not acceptable to the commission (SDA-193-062/3).¹ Avoiding such situations as this would seem to be one of the reasons why the commission resolved to ask Casartelli to specify that all church music in the Salford Diocese was to be chosen 'from the official Diocesan List' (SDA-193-060).

SDA Box 193 also provides examples of the direct implementation of Casartelli's requirement that the programme of music for pontifical functions should be submitted to him in advance. Fr Ward, SJ, of the Holy Name, Manchester, sent Casartelli a list of the music to be performed there on Sunday 11 October 1903. Casartelli urgently enquired of Allen as to whether this music was suitable, and Allen duly replied that it would pass muster (SDA-193-006/7). SDA-193-016/7 give the programme for Sunday 25 October 1903 at St Mary's, Oswaldtwistle, with Allen's comments on it. SDA-193-024/5 are two documents on which I have already remarked, from a Stonyhurst Jesuit and dated 19 October and 26 October 1903, while SDA-193-035 lists the music for High Mass on 29 October at St Chad's, Manchester. Canon Boulaye, Vicar General, sent in the list of music for a visit by Casartelli to St Joseph's, Halliwell, Bolton on 10 April 1904, on which Allen commented that it would be tolerable (SDA-193-046/7). As already noted, SDA-193-063 is a memorandum from Canon Tynan at St Gregory's, Farnworth, giving no date but apparently listing the music to be performed at a Pontifical Solemn Mass. The musical programme for Sunday 4 September at St Francis', Gorton can be seen at SDA-193-066.

The next item (067) in the box is a letter from Fr Lynch, (missionary rector of St Wilfrid's, Hulme, Manchester) advising Casartelli that the *Missa de Angelis* would be sung at St Alphonsus', Old Trafford, the following Sunday, after the Solesmes fashion and 'in the strictest accordance with the recent law of the Holy Father'. The Father Cantor of St Sebastian's Dominican Priory, Salford, wrote to

¹ While Allen's letter at SDA-193-062 gives no date other than 'Thursday', its position in Box 193 indicates a date in 1904.

Casartelli's secretary about the music for the following Sunday (SDA-193-072).¹ Lastly, the same Jesuit from Stonyhurst who wrote SDA-193-024/5 sent two programmes of music, for Masses, dated 24 June and 20 July 1905 (SDA-193-076/7). Significantly, SDA-193-077 also gives a note in Casartelli's handwriting as to whether the music mentioned there was on the 'tolerated' list published in the Salford diocesan periodical *The Harvest*. This is surprising inasmuch as the church music commission had previously given up the 'tolerated' category in their classification of music; one can only suppose that the category must have been revived.

However, mention of *The Harvest* invites consideration of a memorandum to the Bishop of 5 November 1904 from Fr C. Rothwell, who was the parish priest at Urmston and also had responsibilities about the production of *The Harvest* and the running of the Catholic Truth Society (SDA-193-068). This memorandum, unfriendly both to Casartelli and to the publication of items of music in *The Harvest* which formed part of his work on church music, described Fr Rothwell's unwillingness (mainly for financial reasons) to publish items connected with the diocesan church music list in *The Harvest*, and also his wish to resign from the CTS. The memorandum's main significance is that it shows that there was opposition to Casartelli's policies, either actively or by inaction. As noted above² and as Crichton has shown, some church choirs resigned either in protest at the plainchant revival or at the behest of their parish priests. Irrespective of the circumstances of their dissolution, opposition to TLS can clearly be seen to have been present.

SDA-193-069 to 071 provide another instance of this, in Casartelli's own Cathedral, in the form of three letters from Norris (who, as well as being on the commission, was the Cathedral's choirmaster) to Casartelli. In them, Norris described the opposition of some (though not all) of the leading parishioners at Salford Cathedral to Palestrina and, more especially, Gregorian chant. He observed, on 6 December 1904, that some of these opponents were going to Mass 'somewhere else where they find the style of music that suits their ears' (SDA-193-069). Since Norris had only done what the Bishop had instructed and the commission had decided, he wrote in item 069 that the state of affairs at the Cathedral had reduced him to tears. He was therefore much heartened to receive a letter from Casartelli affirming the value of his work (see SDA-193-070). As to another member of the Commission, SDA Box 193 tells us that Mgr Parkinson invited Casartelli to Oscott to sing Vespers and High Mass on 23-24 November 1903 (SDA-193-020/1).

¹ This letter has no date other than 'Thursday', but its position in Box 103 indicates late 1904.

² See above, text and note 17; J.D. Crichton, 'The Dawn of a Liturgical Movement', in *English Catholic Worship*, p. 36.

Bishop Whiteside of Liverpool wrote to Casartelli on 21 December 1904, commending Casartelli's decision to allow only church music which was on the diocesan list (SDA-193-073). Two other items in SDA Box 193 clearly show Casartelli's enforcement of his ruling that he was to be notified in advance of the music for pontifical functions in the Salford diocese. The parish priests of St Mary's, Burnley (SDA-193-031) and St Wilfrid's, Hulme (SDA-193-067) had evidently forgotten to supply this information, and these letters from the priests in question show that Casartelli or his secretary had followed up these omissions by contacting them.

The most important point to make by way of conclusion is how forward-looking the Diocese of Salford was in the early 1900s, under Bishop Casartelli, about church music and the congregation's actively sharing in the liturgy. The Bishop had anticipated a Papal document, had provided structures which facilitated its implementation, had thrown himself behind its being put into practice, had gained favourable attention nationwide for his policy and, in his diocese, had reduced the inevitable opposition as far as possible. Clearly, his liturgical work was a story of success.

Frances Taylor and Cardinal Newman: A Literary Relationship from the Archives

Paul Shaw

In this article I have the modest aim of drawing attention to the archival evidence for the relationship between the Blessed John Henry Newman and a notable Victorian Catholic writer and religious founder, Frances Margaret Taylor (1832-1900), whose desultory but nonetheless significant intrusions into his life and work cast interesting side-lights on both of their careers. In particular, I hope to assist in further elaborating the precise circumstances of the original publication of Newman's well-known poem *The Dream of Gerontius* in 1865. Taylor, known in religion as Mother Mary Magdalen of the Sacred Heart, was the founder and first superior in 1872 of a religious congregation of women, which is still in existence, the Poor Servants of the Mother of God. Two writers who I am greatly indebted to are Joyce Sugg,¹ whose book is the only one to deal in any depth with the relationship between Taylor and Newman; and Norma Hollingsworth, whose doctoral thesis² has greatly clarified the somewhat vexed issues surrounding the role of Frances Taylor in the publication of the 'Dream', and the relationship between various manuscript versions which are extant. Both Newman and his greatly lesser-known contemporary Frances Taylor are going through the rigorous procedures demanded by the Catholic Church as a hopeful prelude to the immense honour of canonisation, and I will take the opportunity initially to draw some parallels between their careers.

At the outset it should be noted that both Newman and Frances Taylor were converts from the Church of England. In the case of Taylor, she was the tenth and youngest daughter of a moderately 'High Church' Lincolnshire clergyman. Her conversion took place in 1855 whilst she was serving as a volunteer nurse during the Crimean War. Secondly, they were both in some sense religious founders: Newman, famously of an English branch of the Oratorians, Taylor of an entirely independent English congregation dedicated particularly to the service of the urban poor. Thirdly, both were to a large degree dedicated to literary labours. Frances Taylor was the author of over twenty books, fiction and non-fiction, in the capacity either of author, editor or translator, in addition to numerous works in popular Catholic journals and magazines; she was always noted for her spirit of unflinching hard-work and self-effacing humility.

1 Joyce Sugg, *Ever Yours Affly – John Henry Newman and his Female Circle* (Leominster, 1996).

2 Norma Hollingsworth, *The Dream of Gerontius Poem and Oratorio* (PhD thesis University of Keele, 2008).

Taylor's interests are reflected in her archive, which is currently in the process of being catalogued. The great mass of material, particularly her correspondence, is concerned with the practical and businesslike concerns of running a growing congregation and administering the institutions which it controlled, but her literary activities are also represented to a lesser degree amongst her correspondence. The letters from Newman are a tiny part of a very large correspondence in the archives between Frances Taylor and many leading Catholics of her day, including a particularly extensive correspondence with her two leading lay benefactors, her great friend Lady Georgiana Fullerton (1812-1885), the famous Catholic writer and philanthropist, and Lady Georgiana's husband, Alexander George Fullerton (1808-1907); the archive also includes important letters from Newman to both of the Fullertons. However, this article will focus on the material relating to the relationship between Frances Taylor and Newman, which was overwhelmingly related to their mutual interest in Catholic writing and publishing.

The letters in the SMG central archive¹ in Brentford from Newman to Frances Taylor cover the years 1862 to 1886, and are ten in number. There is additionally relevant material amongst Newman's papers in the Birmingham Oratory: one further letter to Frances Taylor, and two drafts which relate to originals which do not appear to survive. Where reference is made to these items below they are to the published *Letters and Diaries* of Newman produced by the Birmingham Oratory. Regrettably, no copy or draft 'out-letters' to Newman have survived in the SMG archives. Additionally, some of the letters which Frances Taylor wrote to Newman have recently come to light in the Oratory collections: these are 17 in number, and appear to cover the period from March to November 1864, when she was most concerned to obtain his assistance with her journal the *Month*. They unfortunately arrived too late to contribute materially to this article, but some brief notice will be made of them. Two letters at Brentford dated 1867² relate to an effort by Frances Taylor to re-establish contact with her sister who had joined an Anglican Sisterhood, hoping that Newman would intervene on her behalf with his old Anglican friend, Dr E. B. Pusey. There is insufficient space to discuss this fascinating story here, though it is interesting to note the effort which Newman made to assist Frances Taylor over this difficult family crisis.

In referring again to the documentary evidence for the relationship between Taylor and Newman, we should note that their first contact appears to have come indirectly via the agency of her friend Lady Georgiana Fullerton. Taylor was responsible at this time for the publication of a collection of stories and poems called

¹ Formally, the Central Congregational Archive of the Poor Servants of the Mother of God.

² SMG archive ref. IN/1/3-4

Offerings for Orphans (1861), which was intended to provide support for the Fund for Orphan and Destitute Catholic Children, to which Newman offered two poems. The first letter extant from Newman to Lady Georgiana, dated February 1861, is a response to her request for a literary composition for her use, which suggests that the original connection between Taylor and Newman may be linked to Lady Georgiana.¹

The first direct contact between Taylor and Newman which is documented came in December 1862, she having written to him seeking contributions to a popular Catholic literary journal *The Lamp*. Her editorial activities may be easily summarised. From January 1863 to June 1871 she was proprietor and editor of the (already existent) *Lamp*. She was also founder of a new Catholic periodical *The Month*, which she edited for just a year, from July 1864. At a time when the need to provide literary nourishment for the Catholic community was seen as increasingly pressing, Taylor had set about the task of editing *The Lamp* with characteristic vigour and industry, contacting many notable Catholics and even gaining favourable notice from Pope Pius IX. Given Newman's notable literary achievements in such a variety of genres, it was inevitable that she should also seek him out as a contributor, even though, as is well known, his career was at something of a low ebb at this point. Newman seems to have been ambivalent, on the one hand expressing his admiration for the determination of someone who had the persistence to approach him twice and the 'selfdenying [sic] toil'² which she had expended in re-establishing *The Lamp*, whilst at the same time expressing some ambivalence as to the role of her chosen mediator Father Henry Formby, which had led him to be suspicious as to the tone of the publication.

However, Newman did eventually show great interest in *The Month*, and offered an article for it in June 1864. Taylor had written to Newman on 12 March 1864, stating that she intended 'a monthly magazine for the educated and keeping *The Lamp* for the poor and middle classes of readers'.³ The first volume came out in July 1864, described as 'an Illustrated Magazine of Literature Science and Art', with the editor characteristically remaining anonymous. Taylor's biographer stated that the motive was 'to have an organ in which serious subjects and important questions of the day – from the Catholic standpoint – could be dealt with at sufficiently frequent intervals'.⁴ It is clear that this also struck a chord with Newman who was friendly to the establishment of a magazine which 'without effort or pretence...took part in all questions of the day'⁵ and whilst taking an overtly Catholic stance did not

¹ SMG archive ref. IN/3/2.

² C.S Dessain (ed.), *Letters and Diaries of John Henry Newman*, vol XXI (London, 1971), p.75.

³ *Ibid.*, p.76.

⁴ F. C. Devas, *Mother Mary Magdalen of the Sacred Heart* (London, 1927), p.320.

⁵ Quoted in Ian Ker, *John Henry Newman* (Oxford, 1988), p.574

do so in a provocative way which could be interpreted by Protestants as being unpatriotic.

Taylor continued to edit *The Month* until it was taken over by the Jesuits with Father Henry Coleridge, S.J., as editor. Her precise role in the enterprise, and in the publication of *The Dream of Gerontius*, has been questioned.¹ She herself was typically self-effacing, stating for instance, that she was only an 'avant-courier' and also that 'Cardinal Newman took it up from the first'.² Whilst accepting to some degree Taylor's protestations about her eagerness to put aside these labours, at a time when she was already editor of another journal, we may in fact doubt that she played as small a role as she liked to suggest. It is clear that, as with *The Lamp*, she made great efforts to obtain supporters and contributors; these included Cardinal Wiseman, Father Coleridge, and, unsurprisingly, Lady Georgiana Fullerton, who's 'recusant' novel *Constance Sherwood* was serialised in the magazine.

The case of Newman may be considered to be paradigmatic in this regard, as it is clear from his published letters that Frances Taylor was most assiduous in pursuing him for 'copy', which he did not always find it easy to provide. One of her clerical associates, Father William Ronan, SJ, recollected later: 'Her writings caused her immense labour and she nearly broke down under her editorship of *The Month*.'³ From her letters in the Birmingham Oratory, we can see that she was greatly determined both to interest Newman in the future of the magazine, and to obtain his contributions, not least due to the considerable cachet which would be obtained from his illustrious name. She was also quite clear, despite later protestations, that she was the sole owner of *The Month* and fully responsible for its content.

In general, we may be unsurprised, therefore, that much of the short correspondence between Newman and Taylor relates to literary matters, this providing both the occasion and the rationale for their relationship. In relation to *The Month* they include a request for the dispatch of a copy of the magazine to Italy,⁴ and a reply, sent in March 1865, to a reminder from Taylor for an article, in the series 'Sayings of the Saints of the Desert' (which appeared in *The Month* between October 1864 and March 1866), delayed, according to the author, because of work on the second edition of his *Apologia pro vita sua*.⁵ The somewhat gnomic tone of these 'Sayings' resulted in a satire in *Punch*, and may have traded on their author's

¹ See, for example, M. Katherine Tillman, 'An Introduction to The Dream of Gerontius' in *Newman Studies Journal* vol 1 no. 1 (Spring 2004), p.45

² Quoted in F.C. Devas, *op.cit.*

³ SMG archive ref. C.G5 p.4b

⁴ SMG archive ref. IN/1/1

⁵ SMG archive ref. IN/1/2

reputation for asceticism. His other contributions to *The Month*, excepting of course *Gerontius* – which will be discussed below – were two short poems, both appearing under the pseudonym ‘Daleth’, and appearing in September 1864 and February 1865.

Whilst unfortunately no correspondence survives to cast light on this episode, it is clear that Newman’s famous poem *The Dream of Gerontius* first appeared in the two editions of *The Month* in 1865, whilst the periodical was still under the editorship of Frances Taylor. The manuscript of this published version was later sold by Taylor to the British Museum. Despite these simple facts, Frances Taylor’s role in the publication of the *Dream* has, as we have noted, sometimes been overlooked or challenged the past. The poem first appeared in the May and June 1865 editions, and famously describes the drama of the journey of a soul from the verge of death to purgatory, guided by its guardian angel. Of the circumstances surrounding the publication of the poem, Frances Taylor’s contemporary and first biographer Sr Mary Campion Troughton SMG wrote: ‘...the story has been told in another Catholic magazine,¹ and repeated with modifications by Frances Taylor herself, how a “distressed editor” once went to Dr. Newman to implore him for a contribution, and how, after a plea of want of leisure, he took from his waste-paper basket, a manuscript thrown in as valueless, and told her to use it, if she thought it worth anything. This proved to be the now world-famed “Dream of Gerontius”, and the distressed editor was Fanny Taylor in search of copy for “The Month.”’²

A receipt relating to the sale of the manuscript, with Newman’s permission, is held in the congregational archives, recording the sum of £30 obtained.³ The receipt is undated, but the headed paper, which is from the convent at 4, Percy Street in London, implies that its sale took place between 1886 and 1898, the years during which this address was used by the congregation. The archives of the British Library record that the transaction was completed in March 1891; the original asking price of the manuscript may have been £100! Frances Taylor had a great admiration for Newman, and it is noteworthy that nonetheless she was prepared to sell the manuscript, no doubt to support the work with the poor.

The story is not, however, as straightforward as it sounds. Newman’s fair copy of the poem made in early 1865 is separate both from his rough ‘working’ copy, and from the copy which Frances Taylor published in *The Month*, which had been

¹ Probably a reference to a brief notice in the popular American Catholic journal, *Ave Maria*, January 1903.

² The manuscript of the biography, completed in 1908, was printed privately by the Poor Servants of the Mother of God for internal use in 1972. SMG archive ref. IV/ [Sr Mary Campion] *Memoir of Mother Magdalen Taylor*, Chapter 5 p.7.

³ SMG archive ref. IIIH/1/6.

prepared especially for this purpose by a secretary. It is very difficult to believe that Newman intended to dispose of the manuscript that he had worked on for so long, which would be entirely out of character. However, it may be that he showed Frances Taylor his rough manuscript of the poem, and realised that in releasing the poem for publication by this determined and painstaking woman for her literary journal, he would be doing a service both for himself and for the Catholic literary community. If the poem did not prove to be popular, then at least it was published at a slight remove from its author, through the organ of a periodical. If it did strike a chord with the reading public, then his own fair copy was at hand to be utilised in whatever way he thought fit. It may be perhaps said, therefore, that Frances Taylor's determination to obtain 'copy' from Newman generated the *occasion* of the publication of the poem, rather than the ensuring its *survival* as the traditional account would suggest; but it is nonetheless a great tribute to her acumen and abilities that she obtained such a prize for her journal.

The remaining letters may briefly be reviewed. In general it may be said Newman's correspondence with Frances Taylor is occasional and mainly businesslike, being generally related to specific events in Taylor's life and career when she had a need to call upon his assistance. One may be linked to the appearance of Newman's *Verses on Various Occasions* in January 1868. A letter from Newman dated February 1868, thanked Taylor for sending a copy of her 'Meditations', and asks, in an exchange of literary courtesy, whether she had received a copy of his *Verses*.¹ The 'Meditations' were the *Practical Meditations for every day of the Year*, also published in that year, and translated by the author from the French. A copy of Newman's *Verses*, complete with the author's 'compliment' slip is still extant in the SMG archives: Newman's autograph, presumably from a covering letter, including his 'best wishes of this sacred season', has been carefully pasted into the volume. Another 'literary' letter dates from over ten years later, and is a brief but polite acknowledgement of the receipt of a copy of a book from Taylor; most likely this was the collection of stories entitled *Stoneleighs of Stoneleigh*.²

In a rather different category is a simple and touching letter written in March 1869 to conveying Newman's condolences, in reply to a letter from Frances Taylor informing him of her mother's death, in which he stated: 'God will sustain and comfort you, and you will be able to bless Him and thank Him (as indeed you do, but) with joyfulness, for what at first causes you such sharp suffering.'³ Frances

¹ SMG archive ref. IN/15

² SMG archive ref. IN/1/9

³ SMG archive ref. IN/1/6

Taylor appears here to have been referring to the impact on her at this time of his poem 'To F W N – A Birthday Offering' with its ardent expressions of grief.

Going almost from the sublime to the ridiculous, there are two letters from Newman relating to a Miss Emma Crofts, who had sought assistance from Frances Taylor and Lady Herbert, falsely claiming that she had been authorised by Newman (January-February 1873).¹ Taylor's final letter, dated 1885, relates to her efforts to obtain recollections from correspondents of her great friend Lady Georgiana, to which unfortunately Newman felt unable to contribute, perhaps surprisingly giving the correspondence which he had exchanged with the Fullertons over the years, and given their mutual literary interests.²

Overall, we may say that the evidence examined in this article may be said to be paradigmatic of the courtesy, respect and concern with which Newman treated his female correspondents, even those with whom his relations were largely of a businesslike nature. Though his relations with Frances Taylor are largely reflective of Newman's willingness to support Catholic literary activities with his pen, it is impossible not to be aware of the mutual regard of the two authors, both dedicated to forwarding the cause of Catholicism in England through their writing and their Apostolic works.

¹ SMG archive ref. IN/1/7-8

² SMG archive ref. IN/1/10



CONVENT OF SS. ANNE AND JOSEPH.

4, PERCY STREET,

RATHBONE PLACE, OXFORD STREET, W.

Received from the Trustees
of the British Museum
for the original MS.
of Cardinal Newman's
Dream of Gerontius,
the sum of thirty
pounds. £30. 0. 0.

Fanny Charles [unclear]



Evacuation Logbooks: St Peter's, Seel Street, Liverpool

Dr John Davies

September 2009 marked the seventieth anniversary of the beginning of World War Two. The early days of September 1939 saw an unprecedented mass migration of children, their teachers and helpers, and, in some cases, parents, from areas which were considered to be at risk from German bombing attacks to safer regions. In most cases this meant the evacuation of children from densely urban areas into rural and small town environments. Central government agencies and local authorities had been preparing their plans for this mass migration from 1937 onwards.¹ As well as the logistical problems in transporting children from towns and cities into the rural hinterland there were anticipated social problems when education was disrupted and when urban and rural cultures and ways of living collided. The Catholic community, particularly in its urban heartlands in London, the Midlands and the North of England, was greatly affected by this social upheaval. Whole schools left their familiar surroundings and were transplanted into the safer rural and semi-rural areas where they began to share buildings with local schools, usually on a part-time basis. Many of these safer areas had very small Catholic populations. Catholic children were billeted with non-Catholic host families and provision had to be made to enable them to continue the observance of their Catholic religious practices, particularly their attendance at Mass each week.

From the material deposited in Catholic diocesan archives, including the correspondence of the bishops with each other and with central and local government, and their instructions to their clergy, we can learn a great deal about how the Catholic authorities responded to these challenges.² These sources provide us with an overview of the evacuation process as it affected the Catholic community, and the community's response to the challenge presented by evacuation. We are also fortunate in being able, in many cases, to study evacuation at micro or parish level through the evacuation logbooks which were kept by the parochial schools. Sadly not all of these have survived but many have and can be found in some of the diocesan archives, in local record offices, and in the archives of the teaching religious orders. The archives, for example, of the Sisters of Notre Dame, who provided the head teachers for many parochial schools, in Liverpool and the North West of England and

¹ Helga Jones, 'The Preparation and Implementation of Evacuation from Birkenhead, 1938-1940', in J.A. Davies and J.E. Hollinshead (eds.), *A Prominent Place: Studies in Merseyside History* (Liverpool, 1999) pp.97-112.

² J. Davies, 'Evacuation During World War Two: The Response of the Catholic Church', *North West Catholic History*, vol. XXV (1998) pp.38-61. See for example the material on evacuation in the Salford and Shrewsbury diocesan archives.

elsewhere, have over many years proved a particularly happy hunting ground for students writing undergraduate and post graduate theses on evacuation and related topics. Additionally the Notre Dame archives contain records of the evacuation experience of various groups of teacher training students at Notre Dame College of Education – an invaluable source for the successors in Liverpool Hope University of those wartime students. These evacuation logbooks, wherever they are located, enable us to examine the process of evacuation in some detail. They also have the added advantage in that they are essentially lay Catholic records – if we count religious sisters as lay people – as opposed to the official clerical narrative available to us in the various diocesan archives.

The evacuation logbooks of St Peter's, Seel St, Liverpool were deposited, along with many other records of the parish, in Liverpool Record Office in the 1960s. These logbooks were the final ones for the parish's schools. Evacuation proved to be a swansong for the schools whose foundation dated back to the 1850s. Because of bomb damage the school buildings proved to be no longer usable and eventually after the return from evacuation the Infants' and Girls' Schools were merged with the nearby Notre Dame Demonstration School and after a long, but finally unsuccessful, struggle by the parish priest, Fr Bruno Dawson, to persuade the Board of Education and the Local Education Authority to agree to its re-opening, the Boys' School was closed in 1943 and the pupils were dispersed to nearby Catholic schools. The parish itself after serving the Catholic community in Liverpool for two hundred years closed in 1988.

The evacuation logbooks are an invaluable source for this final period of the schools' history. The Infants' and Girls' Schools had Notre Dame Sisters as head teachers while the Boys' School's head was the long serving Robert Mooney. The logbooks they produced are written in contrasting styles, perhaps reflecting the differing approaches to evacuation of the two nuns and Mooney. The logs for the Infants' and Girls' Schools provide brief but clear narratives for the first weeks of evacuation but with little extraneous detail. They record the salient points of what their head teachers saw essentially as a temporary measure which involved transporting the children to Chester, seeing that they received suitable accommodation, while attempting to insure that their education was disrupted as little as possible. The evacuation log of the Boys' School, written by the head who, apart from his army service in the First World War, had spent all his adult years as a teacher, and since 1927 as head teacher, in St Peter's, contrasts sharply with the other two log books. The brisk, spare prose of the logs produced by the two Notre Dame Sisters is replaced by Mooney's attempt to capture every detail of the evacuation experience. Mooney was prepared for the long haul, seeming to expect

that evacuation would continue as long as the war itself. He did not envisage, unlike the majority of the parents of the pupils and his colleagues in the Infants' and Girls' Schools, that there would be a speedy return to Liverpool. Even when the Infants' and Girls Schools had formally returned, and the majority of his own pupils had been taken back to Liverpool by their parents, he resisted the pressure of the parish priest to come back and re-start the school in Liverpool in 1942, seeking reasons to stay in Chester with his rapidly dwindling band of evacuees.

The Evacuation Logbook for St Peter's Infants' School – Seel St is a mere five hundred yards from the centre of Liverpool – gives no account of the journey of the children to Hoole, a suburb of Chester, some fifteen miles from Liverpool. There is merely a bald statement that fifty-five children and four teachers were evacuated on 1 September 1939 but added that 'during the following week twenty children returned to their homes in Liverpool.'¹ For the next three weeks the remaining thirty-six children occupied a room in Westminster Road Infants' School from 1.30p.m. to 5.30p.m. each day. After three weeks the Cheshire 'County Inspectors' suggested that 'as the numbers were so reduced' they should be transferred to the Westminster Road Girls' School so that the 'resident Infants' School was thus able to resume normal sessions'. Once the transfer of St Peter's was completed in the first week of October the children were taught from 9.00a.m. to 12.30p.m. In the afternoons they enjoyed 'recreation in the local park'. Within a couple of weeks, however, with evident signs of the 'approach of winter' the park sessions were replaced by recreation in a room provided by Westminster Road Infants' School.² By the beginning of November full day schooling for the children had been resumed; once again back in the Westminster Road Infants' building. By the end of that week there were only eighteen evacuated infant children left in Chester and two teachers were recalled by St Peter's School Managers – effectively by the parish priest – to Liverpool to start a 'Home Teaching' programme for the returned evacuees. During the Christmas holidays a further teacher was recalled; after Christmas, in the third week of January, the remaining infant refugees were stricken by an 'epidemic of scarlet fever, diphtheria and measles'. The epidemic continued into February.³

The entries in the Infants Logbook for the remainder of the stay in Chester, until August 1940, were brief in the extreme. When the school closed for the summer holidays in July there were only seventeen children 'on roll'. School restarted on 29 July but a month later there was a 'severe' air raid in the Chester

¹ Liverpool Record Office (LRO) 282 PET/7/14.1, St Peter's, Seel St, Liverpool, Evacuation Logbook, Infants' School. (Infants' Evacuation Log) p.1.

² Infants' Evacuation Log, p.1.

³ Infants' Evacuation Log, p.2.

area, only a few miles from the Luftwaffe's target of Liverpool's docklands. On the morning after the raid: 'Only four children were present. They were transferred to one room, with the All Saints [Westminster Road] children, owing to a delayed action bomb in the adjoining fields.'¹ This was the final entry for the evacuation period. The next phase of the Infants' School's wartime life was back in Liverpool in its own building. During the 'May Blitz' of 1941 St Peter's, close to Liverpool's south docks, suffered severe damage. The Gilbert St building which housed the Infants' and Girls' School suffered a direct hit. The Infants' Log, in its somewhat understated fashion, recorded: 'Gilbert St premises "blitzed", burnt out completely, by enemy action. Stock, work, everything destroyed'.² The children were accommodated in the nearby Notre Dame Demonstration School in Maryland St next to the Notre Dame Mount Pleasant Training College, a short walk from Seel St and within St Peter's parish boundaries. By 1943 St Peter's Infants' School had been formally incorporated into the Demonstration School. Evacuation was thus the swansong of a parish school whose life had begun in the 1850s in the early days of the Catholic Poor Schools' Committee.

The treatment of the evacuation process by the Evacuation Logbook of St Peter's Girls' School was as brief as the account in the Infants' log: 'Evacuation to Westminster Road Girls' School, Hoole, Chester, took place September 1st 1939.' Three of the teachers' helpers returned to Liverpool the following day, 'chiefly because of unsatisfactory arrangements with regard to billets'. The remaining helper stayed in Chester until mid-October, supervising children 'going to the clinic' and looking after those 'children living at a distance'. She returned home on 13 October 'as the need for her help had ceased'.³

School sessions for the evacuated girls were for half a day, 'alternating from a.m. to p.m. every four weeks'. Westminster Rd Girls' School used the premises for the other half of the day. During the part of the day the girls were not in school they were taken for games in the park, walks to Chester and for 'homework and knitting etc.' in the local Mission Hall, which the school had been allowed to use. There were seven teachers, including the head teacher for the 102 pupils who had left Liverpool. Not all parents agreed to the evacuation of their children. It was decided to group the girls: Standards I and II, III and IV, VI and VII together, while Standard V was taught separately. In the early days of September the teaching staff received first aid and air

¹ Infants' Evacuation Log, p.3.

² Infants' Evacuation Log, p.3. See also J. Davies (ed.), Louis Joseph D'Andria, O.S.B., *Coping With the Blitz: St Peter's Seel St, Liverpool 1940-1941* (Wigan, 2000)

³ LRO 282 PET/7/13.1.1. St Peter's Seel St, Evacuation Logbook, Girls' School, (Girls' Evacuation Log) p.1.

raid protection training along with the local teachers. Members of the Chester police force spoke to the pupils about basic safety-first procedures.¹

In line with typical Notre Dame teaching methods and traditions there were extensive attempts to use the local environment as fully as possible as an educational tool and stimulus to learning for the pupils. One teacher worked with the senior girls to 'arouse interest in the study of Chester from the historical point of view'. Another visited the centre of Chester with 'small groups for art'. Visits were organised and made 'with enjoyment and profit' to Chester Cathedral, St John's Church, the museum, (Grosvenor Museum), the River Dee, the residence of the Duke of Westminster at Eaton Hall, the home of William Gladstone at nearby Hawarden, Chester Zoo, the City Walls, Handbridge – a suburb across the Dee from the city centre, and the local villages, now Chester suburbs, of Chrisleton and Upton. In return for a concert given in October by the girls of Westminster Rd School, St Peter's gave a November concert, followed by 'plays, songs and dances' to which the Chester residents who had housed the St Peter's girls were invited.²

By the end of the October mid-term holiday almost half of the original contingent of girls had returned, or been taken home, to Liverpool by their parents. The official number on the school roll was down to fifty-three. The head teacher was growing increasingly irritated by this trend and objected strongly to 'the casual way returning to Liverpool is taking place'. The drift back, however, continued; and a week later, at the end of October, the number of girls left in Chester had further fallen to forty-eight. Full day teaching for this dwindling number was restored in the first week of November.³ But the pattern had been set. After each school holiday the numbers returning to school declined and, as with the Infants' School, the Girls' School was back in its Liverpool premises in Gilbert St. by the autumn of 1940. Eventually, like the Infants' School, it was absorbed into Notre Dame Demonstration School after the blitzing of Gilbert St in May 1941.

The Boys' School's experience of evacuation was broadly similar to that of the Girls' and Infants' with the majority of the children eventually returning to Liverpool within a few weeks. The boys' evacuation, however, did have one distinguishing feature from the other two schools. What clearly differentiated it was the attitude towards evacuation of the head teacher, Robert Mooney. It emerges clearly from the logbook he kept that he saw evacuation as a long rather than as a short term venture. Even when the majority of his pupils had been taken back home he believed that

¹ Girls' Evacuation Log, pp.2-4.

² Girls' Evacuation Log, pp.5-6.

³ Girls' Log, pp.5-6

there would be a re-evacuation programme. For that reason he insisted on staying in Chester even after the majority of his teaching staff had also returned to Liverpool and the manager of the school, the parish priest, Fr Bruno Dawson was urging his return also. Mooney's commitment to the evacuation process is also perhaps reflected in the detailed account he was prepared to write, particularly at the end of each of the first few hectic days. His narrative enables us to follow St Peter's Boys' School almost step by step through the early weeks of evacuation. Mooney, who had served in the British Army during World War One, seems to have seen evacuation as a military campaign and his, perhaps unconscious, choice of language reflects that view. Reading his detailed account some seventy years later the reader begins to get some understanding of how this unprecedented national mass migration of children and their teachers was acted out at local level.

Mooney was not satisfied with the brief statement of his fellow head teachers that the pupils were evacuated to Hoole, Chester. He provides no introduction to his account so we learn nothing of any prior planning of the events beginning on 1 September 1939. His narrative plunges immediately into a description of the evacuation.

The children, teachers and helpers to be evacuated met at Seel St Schools, Liverpool, at 9.30 a.m. with equipment, food and gas masks and picking up the Girls' and Infants' Departments proceeded to Central Station.

Central Station was some four hundred yards from Seel St and once there 'the entrainment by families' was carried out 'in splendid order and fine spirit'. Chester is some fifteen miles from Liverpool but it was 2.45 in the afternoon before Hoole, a mile from the town centre, was reached. In Hoole the children were given 'two days' rations' and then taken by bus or private car to All Saints Church of England Schools. There they were 'medically examined' and only then 'after much confusion finally distributed to billets over a wide area'. The confusion for many of the children continued as they 'were brought back to the centre and new billets had to be found for them'. Presumably the children involved in this re-allocation had been rejected by their original hosts despite having passed the earlier medical examination which had been intended to eliminate any possibility that these children from the slums of Liverpool would spread any infection to the 'receiving areas'. In the meantime after the relocation had been completed Mooney complained that the teachers 'had to fend for themselves'. It was 8.00 p.m. before he and his fellow members of staff 'found billets'. By the end of this long day the 250 children who had been evacuated from St

Peter's Schools, Boys', Girls' and Infants', along with sixteen teachers and a small group of helpers were 'well-scattered and thoroughly fagged out'.¹

On Saturday morning, 2 September, Mooney, with two of his senior assistant teachers, commenced the next stage of what he undoubtedly saw in terms of a military campaign. They set out to try to establish exactly where in Chester their pupils had been 'billeted'. Equipped with their nominal rolls they descended on the offices of the local authority, Chester Urban District Council, 'commandeered the billeting books (very poorly kept in many cases) and tried to check the disposition of our children'. They had completed this task, so far as it was possible to do so, by one o'clock. Later in the day these three senior teachers 'went right through the billeting area' and organised an assembly for the following morning in preparation for attendance at Sunday Mass.² They had successfully contacted 'many of the boys' and had met 'the people on whom they were billeted'. For these host families and the way in which they had coped with enormous difficulties 'no praise was too high' from Mooney. There was a slightly unfortunate ending in the evening to the day's work for, as they were about to return to their 'billets', Mooney's team were 'caught in a downpour of rain'.³

Mooney's account of events on Sunday 3 September began: 'Sunday and war declared by Great Britain on Germany.' The children, however, had 'responded splendidly 'to Mooney's house calls on the previous evening and to his 'impromptu call for Mass'. As a result 'a good crowd' met at 9.30 in Falkener St, Hoole, and 'marched' the mile or so to St Werburgh's Church in the centre of Chester. Arranging the 'parade' for Mass had enabled the teachers to 'keep up contact with the children as no assembly point or school had as yet been allotted to us'. The head teacher of All Saints School, Mr Hullah, had, however, allowed St Peter's the use of part of his school for Tuesday morning. This gave Mooney and his staff time to carry out on Monday, 4 September, 'a thorough census of our party'. He commented that Hullah's gesture was 'the only help, little or none coming from the UDC Office'. On that Monday morning the teachers from the three St Peter's Departments met in Hullah's room at 9.30 and 'divided the billeting area into three groups'. The teachers then visited these areas, Mooney himself taking the Hoole Lane area, 'warning all children to assemble at school at 9.30 a.m.' the following morning.⁴

¹ LRO 282 PET/ 7/12.1.4, St Peter's Seel St, Evacuation Logbook, Boys' School (Boys' Evacuation Log) p.1.

² Boys' Evacuation Log, p.2.

³ Boys' Evacuation Log, p.3.

⁴ Boys' Evacuation Log, p.3.

The children 'rallied well to the roll call' on Tuesday morning but Mooney insisted that the 'nominal roll' be 'thoroughly checked' and 'absentees noted'. Having done this Mooney clearly felt some cause for concern because he then 'adjourned to the UDC Offices over the latter problem'. Once there he found that parents 'had been withdrawing their children without any form of notice and nothing could be done about it'. However, he consoled himself with the thought that he had done all that he could to carry out and complete the evacuation procedure: 'Still our list was completely checked'. The checked rolls and a list of the 'absentee families' were sent to the Director of Education, C.F. Mott, in Liverpool 'for his action'. Mooney rounded off his day by completing a report to be sent to the 'Rev. Manager', the parish priest, Fr Dawson. There were, however, still a number of procedures to be completed before school for the evacuated children could begin. The teaching staff met at All Saints School, Hoole on Wednesday morning, 6 September, at 9.30. There they received two instructions: all teachers were to attend a meeting in Chester Town Hall on Thursday morning at 10.30; the evacuated children were to assemble at Hoole and Newton School in the afternoon at 2.30 for a further medical inspection. This latter instruction 'necessitated the dispatch of teachers' to 'warn all children to parade' and to allocate them 'a spot for all to be examined medically'. In Mooney's view the medical examination 'seemed a superficial affair, as two doctors and a nurse could hardly be expected to cope with five hundred or more children'. (Other Liverpool schools, including St Peter's near neighbours, St Patrick's, had also been evacuated to Chester.) Later that day Mooney received two visitors from Liverpool who had come to review the progress made in the evacuation of St Peter's, a Board of Education H.M.I and one of the parish clergy, Fr Louis D'Andria.¹

The teachers, local and evacuated, 'acting on instructions' attended a further meeting in Chester Town Hall on Thursday, 7 September, where they were 'instructed' to open the schools on Monday 11 September. The evacuated children of St Peter's were to be taught initially in the afternoons from 1.30 until 5.00 p.m. The teachers were also given instructions about 'requisites, registration, curriculum and care of children under existing conditions'. Mooney arranged to meet his own staff on Friday morning at All Saints. He was increasingly concerned about children being taken back by their parents to Liverpool, a short train journey away. He therefore returned to the UDC Offices to check once again the nominal roll as 'the homeward trek continued, resulting from all sorts of rumours being carried back to Liverpool by the parents of returned evacuees'. For the teachers' meeting the next morning he had to draft 'an adaptable temporary timetable', individual timetables for each teacher, and to 'answer correspondence' so that he could 'have everything ready for

¹ Boys' Evacuation Log, pp.4 and 5.

school on Monday'. In the meantime he 'dispatched' two teachers to visit the 'billets' to 'check addresses and deal with complaints'.¹

At the staff meeting on Friday morning the teachers received 'nominal rolls of classes' and timetables. They were then 'dispatched round their districts' to 'warn those in charge of billets' that the boys were due to start school on Monday, 'the 11th instant' at 1.30 p.m. Mooney and one of his assistants took the 'Hoole Lane billets' and 'contacted in almost every case'. With another assistant he then 'motored to school' in Liverpool, arriving at 4.00 p.m. Once there he 'loaded up half sets, 20, of Literary, History and Arithmetic books for all classes, together with other necessities for carrying on work without loss of time.' These books were then to be collected by a further member of staff and transported to Chester. At this stage of the campaign 'Mr Henin and I took our first leave of 48 hours'.²

While enjoying this 'leave' on Sunday Mooney received news of a 'successful church parade' in Chester. On Monday, 11 September, 'Schools started for instruction at 1.30 p.m.' The teaching session lasted till 5.00 p.m. and he was able to report a 'good attendance', 111 out of 112 on the roll, one boy having gone on weekend leave. Work in school 'proceeded normally' and 'any deficiencies of stock or apparatus' were noted. These deficiencies would have to be 'rectified' at the weekend.³

In spite of Mooney's military-style planning and careful attention to detail not everything in the first week the school was operating went exactly to plan. The incident which caused the greatest concern to Mooney, and which he documented fully, was the case of boy R. On the morning of Tuesday 12 September, one of St Peter's staff visiting the UDC Offices was informed that this boy had not been seen since six o'clock the previous evening. Mooney went to boy's 'billet'. Not finding him there he decided to wait until the roll call at the beginning of school at 1.30 before taking further action. 'As he had not shown up by then we informed the police.' An hour later, however, news arrived that R. had been found on the Warrington road the previous evening, wandering and confused because of 'a change of billet'. He had been taken home by the Chester resident who had found him. Apart from this one boy the attendance at school was 'excellent'.⁴

¹ Boys' Evacuation Log, pp.5 and 6.

² Boys' Evacuation Log, pp. 6 and 7.

³ Boys' Evacuation Log, pp.7 and 8.

⁴ Boys' Evacuation Log, pp.8 and 9.

The next morning, Wednesday, Mooney was 'dissatisfied' that he had still not made 'personal contact' with boy R. He, therefore, with one of his assistant teachers, Henin, went to the address of the Chester resident who had found boy R. When he arrived there he was shocked to find R. 'in the back shop, wearing a butcher's apron, and warned him to be in school for the afternoon shift. He was.' This was either a case of enterprising behaviour by the young man, R., or exploitation of child labour by the shopkeeper. Mooney offered no explanation in the logbook, possibly because having successfully dealt with this case he was almost immediately called to another incident, which tested further his fire fighting skills. On that Wednesday afternoon he found himself having to deal with a clash between the mores and culture of the Chester householders, who had offered accommodation to the St Peter's children, and the expectations of their Liverpool parents, some of whom had travelled over to Chester. The two ladies in charge of billeting confronted Mooney with letters of complaint from householders against the behaviour of some parents. Mooney did not specify the nature of these complaints but the next morning he toured the billets, listening to complaints in an attempt to defuse the situation. After the afternoon school session ended he had to leave for Liverpool to meet the mother of boy R. 'who had decamped on Monday night previous and gave her full details of his escapade with my opinion'. He did not specify what that opinion was but he was clearly greatly displeased. Mass at St Werburgh's on Sunday morning, after which Mooney and Henin 'marched' the children back to Hoole, marked the end of the first stage of what for Mooney would be a long 'campaign'.¹

For those of us reading these logbooks from the early days of World War Two one of the attractions is the 'unwitting testimony'² they provide. The brief accounts given by the Notre Dame Sisters who led the Infants' and Girls' schools set out to give us an overview of what they clearly saw as a brief interruption to the normal life and routine of the school. They deal with the exigencies of the war in a brisk, businesslike fashion and clearly were anxious to return to Liverpool as soon as possible. But while they were in Chester its educational opportunities should be exploited. This is left un-stated or at least under-stated in their logs. But their training in the Notre Dame tradition of pedagogy compelled them to look at what they and their pupils could learn from their unaccustomed surroundings. Mooney's logbook in contrast to the other two is meticulously detailed. Evacuation to him was part of the overall struggle against the enemy. As a young teacher he had volunteered to fight in World War One and in this later war he would lead his troops in another 'campaign'. His account is replete with military terminology, some of which, such as 'billets', was in general usage, but teachers were 'dispatched', and children

¹ Boys' Evacuation Log, pp. 9-12.

² The expression is that of the late Professor Arthur Marwick of the Open University.

'marched' to 'church parade', and he took 'forty-eight hours leave'. Also, unlike the Notre Dame Sisters, he was prepared for a long 'campaign'.

The logbooks of St Peter's Seel St Schools are merely one example of a wonderful resource for the historian and the teacher. Individual logbooks give us the opportunity to understand the evacuation process, its challenges to teachers, pupils, parents and host communities at a local level, to sense its impact on specific localities and parishes. Sadly, many of these logbooks have been lost in recent years. Seventy years after the Second World War started it would be greatly to the advantage of historians, teachers and students if at least some of them were 're-discovered' and their treasures made available.

The Theological Papers of Canon John Francis McHugh

Fr Peter Phillips

(Shrewsbury Diocesan Archivist)

Recently the theological papers of Canon John Francis McHugh have been deposited in the Archives of the Diocese of Shrewsbury. John Francis McHugh was born in Stalybridge on 3 August 3 1927. He left for the junior seminary at Ushaw in September 1939. Having completed his schooling there in 1946, he was sent to the English College, Rome, where McHugh completed his training for the priesthood, and was ordained priest in St John Lateran by Archbishop (later Cardinal) Luigi Traglia on July 6th 1952. In Rome he was awarded the degree of Licentiate in Philosophy (*De questione an S. Thomas Aquinas libertatem arbitrii humani cum natura omniperfecta conciliaverit*, 1949), and Doctor of Divinity for a thesis on *The Exaltation of Christ in the Arian Controversy* (1954) under the supervision of P. Galtier, S.J. (SHRDA/J McH/2). He continued his studies as *élève titulaire* at the *École Biblique* in Jerusalem (1955-1956). On his return to Rome he received the degree of Licentiate of Sacred Scripture.

After finishing his studies, McHugh spent a brief spell of eight months as curate in Shrewsbury Cathedral during 1957, before taking up a post on the staff at the seminary at Ushaw that autumn. Here he lectured in Scripture, and in other areas, from 1957 to 1976. These courses (typescripts deposited in Ushaw College Archives) offer a useful illustration of the move away from the theology of the manuals that occurred at the time. In 1976 he was appointed to a lectureship in the theology department in the University of Durham, becoming senior lecturer in 1978. From 1980 to 1982 he was dean of the Department of Theology.

John McHugh's hope was to contribute to the creation of an educated clergy and laity whose scholarship could respond to the needs of the times. His first two books, translations of Roland De Vaux's *Ancient Israel* in 1961 and Xavier Léon-Dufour's *The Gospels and the Jesus of History* in 1968 (SHRDA/J McH/4), were important attempts to make the fruits of European scholarship accessible to the English reader. His own book, *The Mother of Jesus in the New Testament*, published in 1975, combined his deep love for Scripture and his concern for ecumenical relations with his devotion to Our Blessed Lady: he wished to contribute to ecumenical relations by revealing how the recent developments in Catholic Marian theology could be reconciled to Scriptural understanding. This study provoked an important disagreement between McHugh and Raymond Brown about the relationship between history, exegesis and dogma (SHRDA/J McH/6-8). He was a long time member of

the Ecumenical Society of the Blessed Virgin Mary, contributing much to its discussions. He also attended and contributed to the Marian Congress in Sydney, 1976.

Much of McHugh's work was done behind the scenes. In 1967 McHugh was invited by Archbishop Dwyer to act as a consultant to the newly created Episcopal Theology and Doctrine Commission (Dwyer, Butler, Fox), and he accompanied the Archbishop as *peritus* to a meeting in Rome called to discuss the relationship between National Theological Commissions and the International Theological Commission (1969) (SHRDA/J McH/9-12). After the publication of *Humanae Vitae*, he contributed a detailed analysis of the doctrinal authority of the encyclical in a series of three articles in *The Clergy Review* (Aug – Oct 1969) (SHRDA/J McH/13-14). In 1969 Denis Nineham invited him to join a regional study group for the Faith & Order Commission of the World Council of Churches to work on a report on 'The Authority of the Bible and Eternal Life' (1969-1970) (SHRDA/J McH/15). In 1972 he was proposed by Bishop Wheeler for membership of a Hebrew panel commissioned to produce a new translation of the psalms for liturgical use in the Church of England (SHRDA/J McH/24-29). It is a mark of the respect in which he was held in the Church at large that he was called to be a member of the Pontifical Biblical Commission from 1984 to 1990, and, on completing his term of office, received a warm letter of thanks from the then Cardinal Ratzinger. (SHRDA/J McH/34-35).

McHugh's involvement in liturgical translation led to a wide involvement with the liturgy. While at Ushaw he translated Vespers and Compline for use in the college, sending proposals on the new English breviary to Bishop Cunningham of Hexham and Newcastle, and corresponding with Bishop Wheeler of Leeds on this and other matters. He contributed sample translations of several collects to the International Commission on English in the Liturgy (ICEL), but was severely critical of their work. He submitted translations of Eucharistic Prayers II and III, as well translations of prayers for the first ten weeks of the year, as his entry for the Ronald Knox Prize of 1996. His open letter, *On Englishing the Liturgy*, addressed to Bishop Gray (1983) – his own ordinary and chairman of the English and Welsh Bishops' Committee on the Liturgy – provoked considerable interest at the time and much correspondence. This was published first in *Liturgy* (vol. 8 ns 1 & 2, pp. 17-39; 61-88) and then, privately, as a separate pamphlet; it includes McHugh's fine English version of the *Exultet*. (SHRDA/J McH/16-23)¹

¹ McHugh's papers on the liturgy complement the liturgical papers of Bishop Joseph Gray, Bishop of Shrewsbury and secretary of the Bishops' Conference of England and Wales' Liturgy Commission (1975-1983), already deposited in the Diocesan Archives.

McHugh was appointed Honorary Canon of the Diocese in 1981 and Diocesan Censor of Books in 1988. After retiring from Durham University in 1988, following a brief spell at Our Lady's, Edgeley, Stockport, he spent four and a half years as parish priest in Alderley Edge (1989-1993), before retiring to devote himself to writing, first, in 1993, to Langley Park in Durham, and then, to the Convent of Mercy, Alnwick, Northumberland. Here he settled down to continue a long planned and major commentary on St John's Gospel at the invitation of the editorial board of the International Critical Commentary. John McHugh died very suddenly in Alnwick on February 3rd 2006, aged 78. His commentary on the first four chapters of John's gospel was published by T & T Clark three year later (SHRDA/J McH/44-45).

The Papers of John Francis McHugh

SHRDA/J McH/1 Sermons and Retreat Talks.

SHRDA/J McH/2 Ph L Dissertation (*De questione an S. Thomas Aquinas libertatem arbitrii humani cum natura omniperspecta conciliaverit*, 1949); DD thesis (*The Exaltation of Christ in the Arian Controversy* 1954); published extract from latter, *The Exaltation of Christ in the Arian Controversy*, Shrewsbury, 1959.

SHRDA/J McH/3 The Virtue of Faith.

SHRDA/J McH/4 Reviews of *Ancient Israel*, *The Gospels and the Jesus of History*.

SHRDA/J McH/5 The Biblical Institute in Rome (important letter from Ernest Vogt on schema *de fontibus revelationis* and Holy Office interference at Council) and teaching at Ushaw (1962).

SHRDA/J McH/6-8 Reviews and Correspondence about *The Mother of Jesus in the New Testament*, including correspondence with Raymond Brown and Harald Reisenfeld (Uppsala) about history, dogma and exegesis; file relating to the French translation (3 files).

SHRDA/J McH/9-12 Papers, Correspondence and Minutes relating to Theology and Doctrine Commission of Bishops' Conference and meeting with SCDF (4 files).

SHRDA/J McH/13-14 Papers and Correspondence relating to *Humanae Vitae* (1968ff), including correspondence with Butler, Dwyer and Beck (2 files).

SHRDA/J McH/15 World Council of Churches, Faith and Order Commission Report on Authority of the Bible (1969-1970).

SHRDA/J McH/16-23 Liturgical Translation, ICEL, and related Correspondence: pre-1960 work and publications of the Vernacular Society of Great Britain (C R A Cunliffe); Compline & Other Psalms 1971-2 (translation); *Varia Liturgica* 1965-1971; ICEL Psalter 1978-9, 1983-5; *On Englishing the Liturgy* (1983), with responses; *Exsultet* (translation); Knox Prize Submission 1996; printed

comments on ICEL's work; papers by Ephrem Lash, and others, on translation; correspondence with ICEL and others.

SHRDA/J McH/24-29 Modern Liturgical Psalter, Church of England Liturgical Commission, published by Collins (1972-78), Psalm texts, correspondence. Correspondence related to *The Psalter 1998* (Anglican), 1998-1999 (6 files).

SHRDA/J McH/30 ARCIC 1 (Feb-May 1992) & ARCIC 2 (the latter mainly printed material).

SHRDA/J McH/31 Papers on (In)dissolubility of Marriage.

SHRDA/J McH/32 Lectures on Matthew (1980).

SHRDA/J McH/33 The Situation of Catholics in England (English and German) Vallendar 1983.

SHRDA/J McH/34-35 Papers, Correspondence and Documents relating to Pontifical Biblical Commission (1984-1990) (2 files).

SHRDA/J McH/36 Ordination of Women in Anglican Communion (1990): Marginal Notes, Correspondence, and Newspaper cuttings.

SHRDA/J McH/37-38 Catechism of the Universal Church (provisional text with additional documents and observations (1990) (2 files).

SHRDA/J McH/39 'Neo-Triumphalism': reflections on a petition to beatify Challoner.

SHRDA/J McH/40 'Seripando': 1. Reflections on the Diocesan Priesthood in a Time of Change, and various responses. 2. Reflections on ordaining *viri probati*, and responses.

SHRDA/J McH/41 Lectures and Lecture Outlines: Jesus God & Man; Mary; Prayer; Church, etc; unfinished pieces and pieces in need of revision.

SHRDA/J McH/42 Miscellaneous Translations (including poems offered to Bishop Alan Clark).

SHRDA/J McH/43 Miscellaneous biblical translations.

SHRDA/J McH/44-45 Draft texts on St John's gospel (2 files).

SHRDA/J McH/46 Miscellaneous correspondence (including letters from Cardinals Daly, Hume, Ratzinger).

SHRDA/J McH/47-55 Book Reviews, manuscript, and printed; published articles (1950-2002) (9 files).

Henry Foley: Jesuit Brother, Historian and Saint of God

James Hodkinson, SJ

(Most of the material for this article was obtained from the Jesuit Archives in London and Rome. Many thanks to Anna Edwards, the assistant Archivist British province, and Fr Robert Danieluk, SJ, at the Roman Archives. The section about Mother Magdalen Taylor was provided by Mr Paul Shaw, archivist of the Poor Servants of the Mother of God.) James Hodkinson, SJ.

Brother Henry Foley, SJ, is considered to be one of the great historians of the English Province of the Society of Jesus. He is most famed for his, *Records of the English Province of the Society of Jesus: Historic Facts illustrative of the Labours and Sufferings of the Members in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (published 1875-1883). The amount of research he did in a relatively short space of time is amazing. His father, the Rev. John Foley, was curate-in-charge at Astley, Worcestershire. Henry was born at Astley on 9 August 1811. The family was of moderate means and were distant cousins of Lord Foley; Br Foley's parents bore the same arms and had the same motto: *Ut proxim*. It was he, Lord Foley, who gave Henry's father the living of Hotton-cum-Witley in 1812. Henry was educated first at home by his father, then, at a private school at Woodchester. He was articled early in life to a firm of solicitors in Worcester prior to going to work in Dursley, Gloucestershire. During his time there he became a member of the 'Irvingites'. Founded around 1830 by Edward Irving, and referring to themselves as the 'Catholic Apostolic Church', they represented a very ritualistic sect who looked for a speedy second coming of Christ. So influenced was Henry by their teachings that he gave up his Articles and for a time went about as a preacher. This did not last long; the law firm for whom he had been working kindly took him back to finish his Articles. Soon after he went into partnership with a Mr Cameron; but only for a year, for he then set up business for himself. Though never very successful, he was known as a painstaking lawyer.

It was at Dursley that he came into contact with the Vizard family. Through his future brother-in-law, Mr John Vizard, Henry came under the influence of the Oxford Movement. Evidence of this is found in the fact that he did not return to the Irvingite church of St Clement's, he went instead to the more ritual services at the Cathedral – attracted no doubt by High Church notions. He also began to read some Catholic books – most likely the lives of some of the saints. It was about this time that he started to use the discipline as part of his daily mortification, a practice he was to continue until the end of his life.

It was from Mr Vizard's house that he left to get married to Anne Elizabeth Vizard, a native of Dursley, at St Pancras Church, London, on 10 June 1834.¹ The officiating minister was Henry's brother, the Rev. Edward Walwyn Foley. At the time he was a Fellow of Wadham College, Oxford; later he became vicar of All Saints, Derby, and then, in 1872, rector of Jevington, Sussex. Whether it was the influence of Mr Vizard or not, both husband and wife were received into the Catholic Church by Fr Beeston, SJ, on 3 January 1846. There is a legend that neither knew the other was going to be received until they arrived at the altar. Henry's wife was almost continuously an invalid; they had no children. Sadly his wife died in February 1851.

Between 1846 and 1851 – when he joined the Society of Jesus – Henry went to Hodder to make a retreat, probably more than once. During his first year as a member of the Society, he, along with some other novices, suffered scarlet fever. It was during this illness that the two novices who were looking after him learned a little of how he came to join the Society. The first was when he fell off his horse. While he was lying on the roadside Our Lady appeared to him and told him to become a Catholic. From that day forward he had a great devotion to Our Lady, even though he had shared in the usual Protestant aversion to this devotion. The second was when he was in retreat just prior to joining the Society. Our Lady again appeared to him, telling him to join as a Brother, not as a priest. When Fr Tracy Clarke, presuming Henry was entering as a Scholastic Novice, was about to write this down Br Foley said, 'Our Lady has settled that I am to be a Brother.'

He took his first vows on Easter Sunday, 27 March 1853. A year or so after he became Brother *Socius* to the Provincial. In 1854 he was sent to Rome to be *Socius* to the English Assistant, Fr Etherridge. He enjoyed Rome and was very sorry to leave there a year later; he was probably unaware of the great task which lay ahead of him. The General at that time, Fr. Peter Beckx, wanted Br Foley in Rome, but as far as can be made out the needs of the Province were deemed more urgent than those of Rome. Henry returned to England and carried on his work as Brother *Socius* to the Provincial, a position he was to hold for the next thirty years. His *Records of the English Province*, which he wrote over the next twenty years, are a treasure house of materials which have been widely used in the past, in the present, and no doubt will continue to be used in the future.² His literary style may not be of the best, but the historical details are enormous. A couple of insights into his work on the *Records* are to be found in letters to Frances Margaret Taylor, foundress of the Poor Servants of

¹ See below for a copy of their marriage certificate.

² See below for J. H. Newman's letter to Br Foley requesting that his name be added to the subscription list for the *Records*.

the Mother of God and first editor of the *Month*. She had been received into the church by Fr. Woolett, SJ, whom she had met in the Crimea. In a letter to Mother Taylor in 1875 Br Foley writes: 'If you ever have an opportunity of saying a word for my arduous and gigantic undertaking, it will be serviceable and in a good cause. It is a labour of love, but you little know what labour the MS. has cost me, with my other duties.'

His first book as a historian was concerned with Jesuits involved in conflict of one sort or another; this eventually became Volume 2 of the *Records*. Along with editing the *Records* and day-to-day administrative duties, Br Foley also carried out much legal work for the Province. When the Society sought to purchase Beaumont in September 1854, delicate negotiations were necessary owing to its proximity to Windsor. This was done via a third party; a solicitor by the name of Mr Tucker, who was considering his vocation to the Society, was chosen; Br Foley acting as his conveyance clerk.

His eyesight was never very good; most of the time he was writing the *Records* he had vision in only one eye. A cataract operation in 1881 helped him greatly, as even his good eye was beginning to fail him. The last volume of the *Records* was published in 1883; based on the *Collectanea* by Dr Oliver, which Br Foley corrected and enlarged, some see it as the most useful as it lists the short lives of all the deceased members of the Province. When finally the last volume of the *Records* was complete he undertook the task of compiling the *Catalogues* – a list of houses and the Jesuits in them, dating from the early years of the Province following the restoration of the Society in 1803.

Of his own personal holiness there seems little doubt that he led a strict life. His penances were, by to-day's standards very severe. He took the discipline at least twice a week, and wore a chain around his body. Once a week on Mondays he wore a hair shirt all day, and fasted on the eve of great feasts; it is said he slept on a board with a brick for his pillow. His spiritual Father asked him to write down the penances he observed, this has been preserved in the archives.¹ After finishing the *Catalogues* his mind seemed to fail as quickly as did his eye-sight. He needed constant attendance; some restraint was necessary as he thought a job was still to be done. He died at Manresa House, Roehampton, on 19 November 1891. His body was buried in the grounds there. At the end of the entry for Br Foley in the Register – a short CV of Province Jesuits written upon their death – it is written in brackets: 'a Saint of God'.

¹ See below.

Wm. Coley Esquire of *the* Parish
of Saint Peter in the County of Worcester Bachelor
and *Anne Elizabeth Vizard* of *this* Parish
Spinster

were married in this Church by *License* with Consent of
this *Tenth* Day of
June in the Year One Thousand Eight Hundred and Thirty *Seven*

By me *Edward Walwyn Esq. officiating Minister*

This Marriage was solemnized between us

Wm. Coley
Anne Elizabeth Vizard

In the Presence of

John Vizard
Anne Vizard *Ed. Vizard*

No. *399*

Edgar Tom

The Oratory

June 3. 1877

Dear Mr Foley

I thank you
very much for your kind
letter. Pray place my
name on your subscription
list for the Series of Records
on which you are engaged

Very truly Yours

John W Newman

Monday Hair shirt all day.

Small chain (all day generally)

uesday - small chain at coffee

Wednesday Discipline paper from
or perhaps more. I & D. M. (copy)

various papers - (Litho. etc.)

hair shirt chains

Thursday chain

Friday - Discipline for about three

times at school (copy 3 sheet school

chain of - small chain from

W. I. & T. L. L. 5 and 6

the taking down (copy) - with

other papers & Litho. of some

Lady & St. Joseph Hair shirt

chain

Saturday - Let in remembrance

of our B. Lady's sufferings

for us - chain

Sunday chain

Feeling on the back of all

parts of our B. Lady's

In between 5 & 6 years I have

day & night worn vesting skin
a large chain, going from the
thru the waist to the lady.

For several years a small chain
with - little nails, which when
pressed or struck pricked the hand.

For between 5 & 6 years I have
slept on the floor, with either
a stone, or a slate or wooden
board, for my pillow. The chain
did not seem to be really long.

After drawing the tongue over
the ground in the form of a
cross, 45 times or more, a rope

was used to our B. Lady's

I have used the Discipline

about 9 years - It is almost

to be used in the form of a

stick - sweeping with a wire

or having

been there have called to the
water, little journal, the memory
of the B. Lady's sufferings

Catholic Archives Society Annual Conference 2010

Jenny Smith

(Archivist for the Union of the Sisters of Mercy)

High Leigh Conference Centre, Hoddesdon, provided the venue for the recent annual meeting of the Catholic Archives Society. This was to be my first conference, as a soon-to-be qualified archivist looking forward to taking up a position as archivist for a Catholic religious Order in June 2010. The programme was set out with seven sessions from guest speakers, a trip to either the Essex or Hertfordshire Record Offices for those who wished to learn more about the functioning of a local archives service, time for the Annual General Meeting and an open forum for the airing of issues of general interest. In between all this of course there were many opportunities for more informal discussion and, especially valuable for someone just beginning their professional career in this arena, a chance to make invaluable future contacts – it is a small world after all!

The guest speakers discussed an interesting and useful range of topics. Dr Kate Thompson of Downing College, Cambridge, addressed the question, 'What is an Archivist?' by highlighting legislative and professional duties of access and preservation in the context of shrinking budgets. We also heard some amusing anecdotes and stereotypes of archivists that are no doubt familiar to us all – 'has a cat' or 'bad dress sense' being typical examples! The first day ended with a presentation by Dr James Kelly from Queen Mary, University of London, who, from an academic's perspective, discussed the use of archives in the project, 'Who were the Nuns'? The difficulties created by the scattered nature of convents and issues of access were acknowledged; yet generally Dr Kelly saw a keenness to encourage interest in the convent sources, which should result from the project. The second day brought a talk by Fr David Lannon on the Salford Diocesan Archive's Pamphlet Collection, highlighting the importance of pamphlets in reflecting the place of Catholic communities in their historical context. This was followed by a discussion of appraisal from Susan Flood (Hertfordshire Record Office), Tamara Thornhill (Archdiocese of Westminster/Bishops' Conference) and Annaig Boyer (Medical Mission Sisters). As is often the situation of archivists nationwide, issues of space (or lack of it!) were apparent as a major concern amongst those responsible for Catholic archives. We were reminded of the importance of appraisal policies for providing a consistent framework of collection and to help fill gaps. The need to build flexibility into an appraisal scheme was also raised, drawing upon the archivist as decision maker.

At the Open Forum on the third day, a paper from the Catholic Family History Society on their revived 'Index to Nuns' project was read and briefly discussed, many of the members present had contributed data to the original project. There was also a progress report on the CAS survey of archives of lay societies. The response rate to this had been very good and, after discussions on their wider survey with the Religious Archives Group and the National Archives, it had been agreed to do some further work together. Staff involved with the National Archives Religious Archives survey highlighted its importance for assessing the state and needs of Catholic archives. It was clear that many attendees were either in the process of or had completed this survey, we await the results.

The final session of the conference was the paper read by Rt. Rev. Mgr. Gordon Read, a consultant to the Murphy Commission, entitled 'Access to archives in civil and canon law.' This promised much for resolving at least some of the personal concerns a new professional in the Catholic archives domain might have about possible conflict in this area. Although some tension was acknowledged – while the state allows the majority of records to become public after a set period of time, the Church often keeps certain classes of documents private for a longer term – I did come away feeling reassured. Church Law is seen to be urging a collaborative approach and an attitude of openness as far as possible. Catholic archivists are encouraged to consider F[reedom]O[f]I[n]formation as useful for setting out reasonable parameters.

The conference motivated me about my new role within the unique and dynamic sector of Catholic archives. The variety of topics discussed and the people I met more informally during the conference left me in no doubt that there is a wealth of good and progressive work being done by a myriad of people within the sector. I very much look forward to keeping up with issues and events through the Society's newsletters and bulletins, and to next year's Conference where I hope to contribute from my own experience of Catholic archives.

BOOK REVIEWS

Jerome Bertram, *Vita Communis: The Common Life of the Secular Clergy* (Leominster, Gracewing, 2009, ix + 316 pp., £15.99)

The importance of Father Bertram's book lies in its being a major work by an English scholar-priest that relies heavily on archival material which, while mostly published, still remains scarce. After an opening chapter devoted mainly to definitions, Bertram goes on to provide a well-organized account of the scanty, sometimes questionable, evidence for clerical common life before the Council of Nicaea. He well explains primitive Christian communism's restricted nature and the *collegium* concept under Urban I in the 220s. While community life was not the only model for secular priests, the period from the fourth to the seventh centuries provides considerably more evidence, and Bertram admirably synthesizes earlier research with reference to local conciliar acts. This period also opens the mediaeval flowering of clerical colleges, later codified principally in the Rule of St Chrodegang (c. 753), the *Institutio Canonica* of the 816 Council of Aachen and the Longer Rule of c. 900. While the tenth century saw disturbance (usually for political reasons) among secular clerical communities, it also saw reform and extension, particularly in England. Eleventh- and twelfth-century practice introduced vowed canons following St Augustine's Rule, bound to full personal poverty and termed Canons Regular, and restructured many secular cathedral chapters. The rate of new collegiate foundations increased further after the reforming Fourth Lateran Council (1215) and again – largely for political and educational reasons – after 1350. During the late antique and Middle Ages, there was repeated legislation that secular canons observe church discipline on sexual continence and share a common dormitory, though later mediaeval practice widely abolished the latter. Concerning the Catholic Reformation (c. 1400 – c. 1650), Bertram duly notes the importance of the Brethren of the Common Life and the Oratory of Divine Love. While chapter 11 can over-generalize, Bertram's later, expert, treatment of Oratorian movements, the French Revolution's dreadful effects on clerical communities, and nineteenth-century reconstruction repays close study. Bertram ends by discussing twentieth- and twenty-first-century models of collegiate bodies, either needing much organization, or more practicable, or else loose (to sell community life on understandably unwilling clergy?). While it is impossible for one scholar to agree with every single comment of another, Father Bertram's thoroughly-researched book is historiographically important. A bibliography and five indices further enhance its usefulness as a tool for archival research.

Fr Nicholas Paxton

Rosemary Hill, *God's Architect: Pugin and the Building of Romantic Britain* (London, Penguin, 2008, xiii + 598pp., £14.99)

The appearance in paperback of this lengthy and attractively produced biographical study, published to considerable acclaim and widely reviewed in the mainstream press, may be said to mark the culmination of a revolution in the reputation of Augustus Pugin: a figure who is both one of the most important and influential of English designers, architects and polemicists, and also one of the most notable English Catholic converts of the nineteenth century. The most perfect parallel is perhaps with the composer Sir Edward Elgar, whose artistic productions, beyond the enthusiasms of a dedicated coterie, had also fallen into a kind of musty twilight of critical disdain in the thirty years or so following the Second World War. The revolution in Pugin's reputation has gone hand in hand with a revival of interest in the products of that extraordinary and peculiarly English aesthetic movement, the 'Gothic Revival' of the nineteenth century. In his pioneering essay on this movement, originally published in 1928, Kenneth Clarke explained that 'the real reason why the Gothic Revival has been neglected is that it produced so little on which our eyes can rest without pain'. However, just as we can now appreciate the rich late Romantic harmonies of Elgar without deriding him as a reactionary, we now seem able to look at Pugin's voluminous literary, artistic and built legacy without adverse comparisons with the worth the work of other eras. One of the great values of this study is that it places Pugin firmly in the context of the Romantic Movement of the early nineteenth century, rather than looking back on his achievements through late Victorian spectacles, an approach which has inevitably tended to see him merely as an antecedent of later developments of which, as Hill demonstrates very skillfully, Pugin was himself a pioneer. His work has a protean quality which meant that he was constantly evolving stylistically throughout his tragically brief career, though his pungent literary works and apologies had never quite the same flexibility and sophistication as those by men such as John Ruskin and G. E. Street, which left him sometimes appearing to defend entrenched positions which he had already superseded. It needs to be said that, particularly since the major exhibition at the Victoria and Albert Museum in 1994, there has been a tremendous labour of describing, identifying and re-evaluating Pugin's built works and his literary and artistic achievements. Hill's biography very much builds upon this legacy and is indebted to it, and much of what she says is prefigured in work by historians and

critics such as Andrew Saint, Alexandra Wedgwood, and the late Clive Wainwright. Hence, the story of the enormous body of work which Pugin managed to produce in his short life - which included churches and cathedrals across the length and breadth of Britain and Ireland, and the designs for virtually every detail of the new Houses of Parliament at Westminster - has already been documented in a number of specialist studies. Hill's great achievement is that she manages to create a stirring narrative which is rich in detail, and based very firmly on Pugin's diaries and correspondence, but which also manages to weave into a fluent, chronological account an assessment both of the impact of Pugin's theoretical works, and also judicious assessments of the major historical questions and controversies relating to his career. Comparison with the earlier and very assured monograph on Pugin by Phoebe Stanton (1971) is instructive. Stanton's aesthetic judgements on Pugin's work still stand up very well, and in certain areas, such as her descriptions of Pugin's Irish works, her account provides a fuller and more satisfactory account. However, the wealth of detail of Pugin's personal and family life is entirely new, as is the description in particular of the religious and social milieu in which Pugin operated; the parallels and troubled relationship with that other leading convert and aesthete, J H Newman, are particularly well handled and documented. Whilst there is no separate list of archives consulted, the appendix, with a very full list of Pugin's executed and unexecuted schemes, the book clearly documents the wealth of archives and secondary sources consulted. There are over 60 photographic plates, which are well described, and grouped throughout the text, but they are rather stereotyped and over-familiar to those who have read widely on the subject, and in this Stanton's monograph is undoubtedly superior, even given the absence of colour in her book. Hill also deals with Pugin's sons and successors in a rather cursory and dismissive manner in her epilogue, but a certain exhaustion by that stage can certainly be forgiven.

Paul Shaw

Maura Duggan, OP, *In Search of Truth: Journeys of nineteenth century Irish Dominican Women* (Dublin, Linden Publishing Services, 2010, 526pp., £30)

The author of this long, detailed and very readable book is Sister Maura Duggan, a Cabra Dominican sister with a life long interest in history. In the foreword, Sister Helen Harmey OP, Congregational Prioress, rightly refers to Sister Maura's skill in story telling and eye for detail. In the informative introduction that

follows, Sister Maura outlines the early history of Dominican women, beginning in Prouille in the 13th century even before the Dominican order was founded and then summarises their beginnings in Ireland, their exile, their return to Galway and their move to Dublin and late 18th century decline. The scene is therefore set for the subsequent chapters that cover their growth and development in Ireland and overseas from a small group in 1800 to large numbers at the end of the century (part I), the involved question of their status (part II) and relations between the various communities (Part III). Some chapters are extended by appendices, which cover building and domestic accounts, constitutions, biographies of Dominican and other priests and a list of prioresses. The journeys of the title are therefore not only the travels, adventures and successes arising from making foundations outside Ireland but also the practical and emotional journeys of the individuals involved. They are shown to be intelligent, committed and determined women, with charm, strength and qualities of leadership. The book is noteworthy for its wise approach to archives. Sister Maura refers to visits to other foundations in Ireland and elsewhere and her lists of references show that she used their archives extensively. However, her practical approach is evident from her admission, early in the introduction, that her original plan for the work was not possible because of the limitations of the surviving source material. Instead, she has used what is available to provide details of the lives of Irish Dominican women, to set them in context and to examine their ministry. The sources used include annals, profession books, accounts and other financial records, boarders' account books and school brochures as well as printed books, theses and oral reminiscences. The result is a factual account of Dominican life, growth, success, problems and individuals, with sufficient background to guide anyone unfamiliar with Irish religious history. The descriptions of extended families, of relations who were bishops or priests or members of Dominican or other religious orders and their influence on community life and management also help set the context. The range of work carried out was formidable and much of the book describes how the sisters founded and sustained their educational mission in Australia, New Zealand, South Africa and New Orleans as well as in Ireland. They taught the middle classes and the poor; they had night schools, industrial schools and schools for the deaf and they carried out religious instruction for adults, helped young priests and interacted with local groups. Towards the end, the author explains that 'the purpose of this book was to tell the story of nineteenth century Irish Dominican women, their recovery from near extinction, the development of their ministry, their heroic foundations abroad and to convey something of the price paid for their growth and expansion'. Maura Duggan has meticulously covered what she describes as 'a very human story of success and failure' to reveal a fascinating history.

Margaret Harcourt Williams

Stephen Ball (ed.), *Dublin Castle and the First Home Rule Crisis: The Political Journal of Sir George Fottrell, 1884-188*

(Camden Fifth Series Vol. 33; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press for Royal Historical Society, 2008, xii + 342 pp., no price given)

The diary which Ball has edited, now National Library of Ireland MS 33,670, is that of the period as Clerk of the Crown for Dublin of Sir George Fottrell (1849-1925), Catholic Irish nationalist, solicitor, tenant farmers' champion, civil servant and educational reformer. Fottrell was an intermediary during public hostility between Dublin Castle and Parnell in the socio-politically unstable Ireland of the mid 1880s – times which 'demonstrate that, by 1885, important figures in Irish government believed that the time had come for the Irish people to be given ... "the right to regulate their own internal affairs, the right to preserve their revenues for their own advantage, and to make their own laws" ' (p. 74). This study contains three main sections: an extensive, well-referenced editor's introduction, Fottrell's 1885-1887 (not 1884-1887 as in Ball's title) political diary and 47 archive documents, usually by other writers. The documents and letters in the third section refer to events mentioned in Fottrell's diary or illustrate the context within which he worked; Ball has usefully cross-referenced all these with the diary and vice versa. Indeed, the care with which Ball has referenced Fottrell's diary and the remaining documents, particularly as regards the careers of the people Fottrell mentions, is noteworthy. The many archive sources consulted by Ball include: British Library (Althorp, Carnarvon, Gladstone and Edward Hamilton papers); National Archives: Public Record Office (Cabinet and Carnarvon papers, Records of the Metropolitan Police Office); Gloucestershire Records Office (St Aldwyn papers); Bodleian Library (William Harcourt Papers); Birmingham University Library (Joseph Chamberlain Papers); Churchill Archives Centre (Randolph Churchill Letters), Public Record Office of Northern Ireland; and National Archives of Ireland (Chief Secretary's Office Registered Papers, Dublin Metropolitan Police Reports, Irish Land League and Irish National League papers, Irish National Land League Proceedings). Misprints are virtually absent, though 'Eldon Hall' for 'Eaton Hall', the Duke of Westminster's Cheshire house, (p. 41) is unfortunate. A series of brief biographies and a thorough index complete this worthwhile study of an important stage of Catholic-influenced politics in Great Britain and Ireland.

Fr Nicholas Paxton

Martin John Broadley, *Bishop Herbert Vaughan and the Jesuits: Education and Authority* (Woodbridge/Rochester NY, Boydell Press/Catholic Record Society, 2010, xxxvii+248pp., £45).

As the former Editor of **Catholic Archives** it gives me much pleasure to review a publication edited by my successor, Father John Martin Broadley, in this the

first number of the journal for which he is responsible. The dispute between Herbert Vaughan, second Bishop of Salford (1872-1892), and the Society of Jesus in the matter of secondary education was a significant, and enduring, controversy within late nineteenth-century English Catholicism. The present work charts the affair in great detail, utilizing five major collections in the process: viz. the Archives of the Archbishop of Westminster; the Archives of the British Province of the Society of Jesus; the Archives of the Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith (Propaganda Fide, Rome); the Archives of the Society of Jesus, Rome; and the Salford Diocesan Archives – the author being a member of the latter repository's team. The bulk of the publication comprises a chronological presentation, superbly edited with footnotes, of correspondence to and from Vaughan on the matter of Jesuit education, followed by the bishop's diary written on his visit to Rome in the spring of 1875. The book also has a scholarly introduction, not the least useful part of which is a summary of the archival sources employed. Likewise, the Appendices and Bibliography (of both archival and printed sources) serve to make this publication not only a source-book for the history of Jesuit education in Victorian England and for Vaughan studies, but also a most useful tool for considering the wider question of the struggle for power and influence, especially in educational matters, that marked so much of the relationship between diocesan bishops and religious congregations in the post-Restoration era. The Catholic Record Society, in conjunction with the Boydell Press, must be congratulated on the appearance of what constitutes volume 82 of its Records Series.

Fr Stewart Foster

Robert Whiting, *The Reformation of the English Parish Church* (Cambridge, CUP, 2010, XX+298pp., 60 b+w plates, xii colour plates, £55)

Archives consulted: British Library, Cornwall Record Office, Devon and Cornwall Record Society Library, Devon Record Office, Exeter Dean and Chapter Library, Public Record Office, Trinity College, Cambridge, Library.

This study begins by an imaginative, exploratory visit to the very sensory world – taking in the sight, sound and smell – of a typical English parish church of 1530, which formed the indispensable hub of communal life. This is then compared by a further imaginary visit in 1630 to the same church – the reader has entered a world dramatically changed by the events of the intervening years. Was the reformation generally welcomed and assisted, or often resented and obstructed? Was it a rapid or an extended process? What motives were behind these differing responses? These are fundamental questions in the debate about the English Reformation, a debate advanced by numerous local studies focussing on various counties (Kent, Suffolk, Lancashire, Lincoln, Yorkshire Devon and Cornwall). Studies have also been made of towns and villages, including London, York and

Morebath. Whiting in his new book seeks to answer the above questions by looking at the material objects that may still be seen in England's parish churches: rood screens, altars, fonts, communion tables, bells, pulpits, pews, church plate etc. Written documents also form the basis of his research: letters and diaries, tracts and chronicles, documents produced by central, regional or local government, visitation returns. As Whiting puts it in the preface, 'Sources both material and documentary can thus allow us to imaginatively recreate the interior appearance of the parish church on the eve of its reform, and to envisage the additions, subtractions and modifications that it experienced in the ensuing era of religious revolution' (p.xi). In the first part of the book, 'Ritual Requirements', Whiting investigates how the various screens (parcloses and roods) define sacred space within the parish church. To moderate Protestants the rood screen was permissible; for the more radical both parcloses and roods were symbols of sacerdotalism. By 1530 a substantial number of roods were still relatively new. Date evidence suggests that production fell soon after the accession of Edward VI, and revised only moderately under Mary Tudor. The official campaign against the Mass and altars came in the reign of Edward VI. Church warden accounts record a general suppression of the Mass and a wider spread deposition of altars. During the time of Mary Tudor, in the churches where records are still extant, the majority replaced their altars. During Elizabeth I's reign most parishes seemed to have acquiesced in the renewed official campaign against altars, now replaced by protestant tables – thus symbolising a communion service and not a sacrifice. Baptismal fonts were, pre-reformation, often decorated with sacramental details and symbols, images of saints and requests for prayers for the donors. These suffered mutilation at the reform. Likewise, the imagery on church plate was removed in the reformation period; the Catholic chalice becoming transformed into the Protestant communion cup. Much plate was confiscated and sold. Church cloth was often associated with the Mass, and in the form of vestments and altar cloths highlighted the role of the sacrificing priesthood. The reformation decades saw a distinct fall in expenditure on cloth. The second part of the book is dedicated to 'Additional Components' namely: paintings, glass, images, organs, bells, seats, benches, pulpits and memorials. There was a shift in the form and content of depictions, a moving away from saints and sacramental symbolism to verses from Scripture and the royal coat of arms in place of the doom above the entrance to the chancel. During the reign of Mary there was only a partial renewal of such imagery. The pulpit became obligatory during Edward's reign – although a feature before 1530 in many parish churches – where Protestant homilies replaced the reading of the bede role. The Edwardian attack on religious images spelled the virtual cessation of construction of rood lofts; again, only a handful were reconstructed in the reign of Edward's success, Mary Tudor. The post-1530 era saw a radical transformation in most parish churches. Catholic furnishings were removed or defaced or destroyed.

This saw only a partial halting in the time of Mary. Regional differences are apparent in the rapidity of the deposing. The speed of change was never uniform, often fastest in the south and east, slower in the north and west. The fact of a supportive attitude to traditional furnishings was not always a consequence of religious convictions. As Whiting points out, before about 1536, and again in 1553-8, conformity was in part compelled by fear of punishment and also compelled by a sense of duty to the crown. Evidence does suggest that antipathy to the traditional artefacts was increasingly a consequence of Protestant beliefs. Yet, until at least the middle of Elizabeth's reign, such beliefs were only of a minority. Protestant convictions can therefore only partly explain why most parishes accepted or even supported the reformation of their churches. Hence he concludes that duty, conformity, obedience were just as powerful as spiritual convictions or material interests. One criticism of this book I would make would be to highlight certain theological and liturgical inaccuracies regarding the Catholic doctrine of the Eucharist. Referring to belief in transubstantiation (p54) Whiting states how: 'God himself was thought to be *physically* [my italics] present in the consecrated bread.' This needs to be expressed with more theological subtlety if it is to truly reflect the Catholic doctrine of the day. Also, regarding the use of the *piscina* (p106): 'Wine left in the chalice after mass was believed to be Christ's blood: the drain conveyed it safely in to the churchyard's consecrated ground.' The contents of the chalice, should there be any after the priest's communion, are, and always have been, consumed by him and never disposed of in the way suggested by Whiting. The *piscina* or *sacrarium* was for the disposal of the water used at the *lavabo* i.e. the washing of the celebrant's hands at the offertory of the Mass. A minor detail is that the references to the illustrations are not always very clear to follow and thus the relevance of them is lost at times. This book is meticulously researched and carries an excellent bibliography.

M.J.B.

James R. Lothian, *The Making and Unmaking of The English Catholic Intellectual Community, 1910 – 1950*
(University of Notre Dame, Indiana, 2009, xxiii+487, £30)

'Political Catholicism' was a feature of inter-war England. This consisted of an articulate group of writers, artists, publishers, historians and journalists. They were neither of recusant nor Irish stock, though many were converts. The importance of this intellectual community has, in general, been lost. Lothian's book – the first full study of the English Catholic intellectuals in the inter-war years – argues that the group, united by an ideology, formed a genuine community. The primogenitor of the fundamental political and economic creed which bound together this group was Hilaire Belloc who had been deeply influenced by the thought and public spiritedness of Cardinal Henry Edward Manning. During the years 1912 to

1920 (when he published *Europe and the Faith*) Belloc laid the community's foundations, the blueprint being *The Servile State* (1912). The thesis of this work was that medieval England had been a just society and so provided a model for a radical overhaul of contemporary England. Belloc challenged the progressive Nineteenth Century Whig interpretation of history. For him the Reformation represented the severing of the trunk from its roots. History was for Belloc a branch of apologetics. Lothian defines the central tenets of Bellocianism as: emphasis on social justice, antipathy to parliamentary democracy accompanied by an enthusiasm for authoritative regimes, a vision of history that saw England as having Catholic roots, Distributism. The first Bellocians, which the author refers to as 'The Greater Servants', were Fr Vincent McNabb, OP, Eric Gill, G. K. Chesterton; each seized on Belloc's political economy. McNabb added to Belloc's influence Leo XIII's *Rerum Novarum* (an encyclical fundamental to all of the English Catholic intellectual community). Eric Gill for his part provided a sense of Beauty to Belloc's Truth and McNabb's Goodness. The Ditchling community, very much run by Gill, became the embodiment of the Distributist ideal. The second generation Bellocians – 'The Lesser Servants' – Douglas Jerrold, Douglas Woodruff, Christopher Hollis, Evelyn Waugh and Arnold Lunn ensured that Belloc's ideas became the operating political philosophy of the English Catholic intellectual community. By means of journalism they were instrumental in bringing Belloc's ideas into the mainstream of English Catholic thinking. A change began to appear with the historian Christopher Dawson, who began to move steadily away from Bellocian orthodoxy. A further shift became apparent thanks to the lessons which Frank Sheed and Maisie Ward had learned from their experience in the Catholic Evidence Guild. Rather than concentrate on Protestantism, as Belloc had done, they saw the necessity of confronting the secular world and addressing those ignorant of Christianity. In doing so Sheed and Ward helped to foster a new focus in theology. Their publishing house made available in English the work of the French philosopher Jacques Maritain, and the German theologian Karl Adam who called for the truths of Catholicism to be rearticulated for the benefit of the contemporary world. This represented a shift in focus away from, and a weaning of, Belloc's insistence on politics and economics. Dawson for his part 'stood for a distinct turning away not only from Bellocian solutions to contemporary ills, but in large part from the Bellocian diagnosis of these ills' (p.266). With Dawson the English Catholic intellectual community became less provincially tied to Belloc's 'Europe is the Faith and the Faith is Europe.' Unlike Belloc, history for Dawson was not a weapon with which to wage war upon the modern age. By the 1930s the bonds of the Catholic intellectual community were beginning to unravel. The younger generation were beginning to question the central tenets of Bellocianism. Tom Burns, Frank Sheed and Maisie Ward looked to Christopher Dawson for intellectual sustenance. The community thus developed two hubs:

Dawson and Belloc. Further instability stemmed from reaction to the Spanish Civil War. Jerrold, Lunn and Belloc supported Franco; it was not a forgone conclusion that Dawson and his followers would do so. The *Tablet* supported Franco, but the *Catholic Herald*, edited by Michael de la Bedoyère, having Dawsonite ties, was more circumspect. Despite these differences both Dawsonites and Bellocians agreed on the substantial issues and sided with the Nationalist cause. The community's cohesiveness was finally lost with the advent of the Second World War. The anti-democratic view of the English Catholic intellectual community proved problematic – it ran the danger of seeming unpatriotic. What were they to think of hostility toward Catholic countries – Italy, Vichy France? Jerrold and Hollis favoured Britain becoming more associated with the Latin Catholic bloc countries i.e. a triumvirate of France, Italy and Spain in opposition to the liberal-secularist-protestant-popular front tendencies of Britain, America and Russia. In March 1940 the *Catholic Herald* proposed a peace plan that effectively meant capitulation to Germany. Dawson, now editor of the *Dublin Review*, believed that the root of liberal democracy was essentially Christian in its foundations. He excluded contributors who were hostile to parliamentary democracy, favoured accommodation with Nazism or who still held Bellocian ideals of Italian Fascism. This support of liberalism was a sea change within the thinking of the English Catholic intellectual community. How were Catholics to respond to the war and be, and seen to be, patriotic? The answer came with the movement known as the 'Sword of the Spirit'. The idea was first conceived by Barbara Ward. She had come into the community in the early 1940s, believing that Britain's involvement in the war was in the cause of a restoration of the spiritual and intellectual tradition of the West. The Sword of the Spirit won the full support of Cardinal Hinsley and the intellectual support of Dawson. Woodruff, Hollis and Lunn contributed to Hinsley's efforts and so compromised the central planks of Bellocian orthodoxy. With the condemnation of parliamentary democracy dissipated and Britain's victory over an enemy that included Italian Fascism – which Belloc had so praised – parliamentary democracy had been vindicated and Bellocianism eclipsed. Lacking a unified theory of Catholic politics, economics and history the community, which had ceased to replenish itself by the later 1930s, fragmented, there was no replacement ideology. This is an important and very readable account of the largely lay inhabited English Catholic intellectual community. It draws on carefully researched archival sources held at the Westminster Archdiocesan Archives, Boston College, the British Library, Georgetown University, University of Notre Dame and University of St Thomas, Minnesota. Lothian's study is of a wide compass and a vital contribution to the understanding of twentieth century English Catholicism.

M.J.B.

Penelope Harris, *The Architectural Achievement of Joseph Aloysius Hanson (1803 – 1882)*

(Lampeter, The Edwin Mellen Press, 2010, viii+200pp., 12 colour and 30 black and white illustrations, available from the publisher at the special price of £39.95, incl., p&p., The Edwin Mellon Press, College Street, Lampeter, SA48 7DY).

'Joseph Aloysius Hanson (1803-82) was one of the most important and innovative architects of nineteenth century Britain, whose ecclesiastical designs defined and distinguished the Roman Catholic revival' (p.iii). His surname is still in common usage, spelt in lower case – a distinction granted to few people – it describes the cab he invented. He is also remembered as the founder of the architectural magazine the *Builder* and as the 'failed' architect of Birmingham town hall. Given all this, Hansom has not received the attention of a full biography. Penelope Harris has begun to readdress this lack. Of this present book she says that it represents '...only the tip of the "Hansom" iceberg. It has glimpsed briefly at a few of their pinnacles, but its function has been more the laying of a foundation stone for future work' (p.176). The image we are given is that of a restless man faced by 'continual crossroads and twisting paths' (p.2). He was driven by a passion for architecture, a thirst for learning and an untiring willingness to try new ideas and techniques. Joseph Aloysius Hansom was born in York in 1803. His early career was shaped by the artisan background of his family and their strong Catholic faith; among their descendents was the Yorkshire recusant Christopher Stonehouse. He left school, with very little formal education, at the age of 13. A compulsive workaholic, the lack of business acumen meant financial hardship was to be a constant feature of his entire life. He acquired a sound knowledge of architecture, especially Classical Roman and Gothic styles, at the hands of the Halifax firm of John Oates. Shortly after finishing his training he entered a competition for the design of Birmingham town hall. Unfortunately this venture turned sour, due partly to Hansom's naivety and his strong-headed nature. He stood as financial guarantor for the project, while also agreeing to the responsibility for both the design of the building and for the builders involved. As a result he found himself in a very difficult financial position. A failure to protect his ideas left him vulnerable to exploitation (as witnessed by his making very little money from the invention of the hansom cab owing to a lack of protection of the patents). Evidence of his wide concerns and interests, as well as being a caring employer, is found in his encouraging his employees to join trade unions. In certain circumstances Hansom deprecated the use of machines, believing that it would cause redundancies. For a time he was actively involved with Robert Owen – an alliance which did not always meet the approval of local officials. His attempts at being a social reformer sometimes brought him into conflict with his role as an architect. In the 1830s his contemporaries gave him the sobriquet 'the socialist

architect'. The changing circumstances of the Catholic Church at the time: émigrés from the French Revolution, Irish immigration and the general relaxation of legislation meant more churches were needed to provide spiritual and pastoral care for the increasing number of Catholics in England. Hansom is above all best remembered for his ecclesiastical work. It was in this area that he made such an important contribution to the life of the Catholic Church in England. Throughout his whole life Hansom's work was interjected with work by the Pugin family. He was for a brief period in partnership with Edward Welby Pugin, a partnership that was soon dissolved. His most prolific years, 1845-1858, saw the building of twenty-two churches and six school or convents. His move to Lancashire was to see a life-long connection with the Jesuits. In Preston he built St Walburge's; in part inspired by Westminster Hall, it incorporates a medieval technique never before used on such a scale whereby by employing pairs of horizontal beams great arches could be raised and so used to span the central space. The book contains illustrations of some of his most important and stunning ecclesiastical work: St Walburge's, Preston, Mount St Mary's, Spinkhill, St Beuno's College, St Asaph, the Holy Name, Manchester. This is an expensive book; the cost puts at a disadvantage what is an important contribution to the history of the Church in England. Penelope Harris has promised us more on this Catholic, philanthropic, devoted family man of an architect, we can look forward to it with eagerness.

M.J.B.

BOOK NOTICES

The Life and Times of Venerable John Lion, Rutland's Only Martyr, 136pp & 12 illustrations, £6.50 plus £1.50pp, all proceeds to go to Aid to the Church in Need. Contact: elizabeth.keogh@talktalk.net

A History of the Diocese Brentwood

Fr Stewart Foster, 200pp & maps and illustrations, £5, post free, available from Brentwood Diocesan Archives, Cathedral House, Ingrave Road, Essex CM15 8AT (please make cheques payable to BRCDT).

Historical Guide to St Edmund's College, Ware

60pp & bw and colour illustrations, £10 plus £1.50p&p. Available from: www.edmundianassociation.org.uk

The Catholic Parish of Our Lady of Compassion, Green Street, Upton Park, London. A history to mark the centenary of the opening of the church, 1911-2011

Fr Stewart Foster, 50-page illustrated A4 booklet , £5 plus £1p+p, available from:
'Parish History', The Presbytery, Green Street, London E13 9AX at £5 per copy
plus £1 postage. Please make cheques payable to 'Catholic Church Upton Park'
uptonpark@dioceseofbrentwood.org