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## Contents

# EDITORIAL

The 32nd edition of *Catholic Archives* appears in the midst of a recession; it is appropriate then that the first article should deal with the historical importance and archival significance of a source often overlooked and under-estimated: financial records. Sarah Flew in her article 'Valuable Volumes' has breathed life into the dust of facts and figures. Likewise, Sarah Benson has brought to life, and made walk, the bones of a 12th century Cistercian monk. One question she asks is: what constitutes appropriate material for inclusion in an archive repository? Her article 'A Voice from the Past' chimes in nicely with the recent 'The Treasures of Heaven' exhibition at the British Library, (a review of the catalogue appears later in this edition of the Journal). James Hagerty opens for us the treasure trove of Fr Stephen Rawlinson's papers held at Downside Abbey. This article clearly and generously points the way for future researchers. This is especially appropriate as the centenary of the beginning of the First World War will be with us in two years time. It is planned that the 2014 edition of *Catholic Archives* will carry several articles relating to this. Another area of potential research has been identified by Mrs Margaret Osbourne in her article on the papers of Fr Frederick Charles Husenbeth, of whom a biography is long overdue. In a more practical vein, John Hodgson offers skilled and welcome advice on the use of digital cameras by researchers. His article – a case study from the John Rylands Library – deals with an issue now pertinent to all archivists. The purpose of archives is well illustrated by Sr Lorraine Campbell's contribution on school archives; the title has it: 'the preservation of Catholic heritage'. On a similar theme Paul Shaw's article gives a good overview of the archival collections of the Poor Servants of the Mother of God. John Davies's article makes use of sources which were once meant for 'the eyes of the clergy only': the letters *ad clerum* of a bishop to his clergy. In this case they are those of Bishop Marshall of Salford. As in the subject of the first article in this edition, such sources might seem unimportant. However, their vital importance resides precisely in the fact that they are 'mundane'. *Mundane* refers to 'belonging to the world', belonging as they do to a world now past they are its voice in the present..

# Valuable Volumes: the vital importance of financial records to the historical researcher

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There is a certain reluctance by historians of religion to grapple with the "nitty-gritty" of financial detail in balance sheets and cash books; holding the view that such things are the sole preserve of economic historians and accountants. But there is a wealth (excuse the pun) of material, in such sources, that can illuminate further the life of the parish and of the religious voluntary organisation. The Church of England project 'Building on History', for example, recommends that finance should be one of the key themes used to interrogate different aspects of parish history. In a case study of Finchley, for the project, Professor John Wolfe discusses the funding of the new church of St Paul's, Long Lane.[1] The information that can be drawn from financial records can be extremely enlightening: Jeffrey Cox's survey of religious life in Lambeth between 1870 and 1930 discusses financial support to the parish by wealthy patrons.[2] And Robin Gill's research on the building of nonconformist chapels analyses the psychological impact of the empty church and the burden of financial debt on the community.[3] Studies, such as these, that actually consider financial aspects of parish life are unusual. The aim of this article is, therefore, to persuade archivists of the value and significance of such financial records in their care.

[1] 'Building on History' is a currently ongoing knowledge transfer project funded by the Arts, Humanities and Research Council, in partnership with the Diocese of London, Lambeth Palace Library, King's College London and the Open University. The aim of the project is: 'to contribute to the self-understanding of the Diocese of London by transferring the insights of historical research into the people and buildings of the diocese and encouraging new historical enquiry amongst people among the diocese'. The project's website is www.open.ac.uk/Arts/building-on-history-project/. See section 'Project Case Studies'.

[2] Jeffrey Cox, *The English Churches in a Secular Society, Lambeth 1870-1930* (New York & Oxford, 1982), pp. 109-120.

[3] Robin Gill, *The "Empty" Church Revisited* (Aldershot, 2003)

An examination of the source working records, with the side notes of the treasurer, can quickly paint a more nuanced picture of a health and wealth of an organisation than that gleaned from the general, and often superficial, public reports made in newspapers and periodicals. The lack of interest in such records has, unfortunately, meant that: firstly, it is very rare for such records to survive; and secondly, that those few records that have survived lie gathering dust on the shelves. The study that follows, of the London Diocesan Home Mission, is indicative of the valuable information that can be unearthed on studying these rare under utilized records.

**The Funding of the London Diocesan Home Mission**

The London Diocesan Home Mission, an Anglican voluntary organisation, was established in 1857 as one of the first initiatives undertaken by Bishop Archibald Campbell Tait at the start of his episcopate in London. The establishment of this society, formed part of the Anglican Church's response, in London, to the publication of Horace Mann's Census report in 1854.[1] Mann's findings prompted the churches en masse to reinvigorate church extension in their localities, particularly in working-class areas. The objective of the London Diocesan Home Mission was to go into areas where the existing parochial machinery was inadequate and to promote the Gospel; for example, in densely populated parishes or in special missions aimed at particular workers, such as navvies, cabmen, omnibus men and railway labourers. Its method was to 'employ a certain number of clergy, under the Bishop's direction, for distinctly evangelistic or 'aggressive' work in crowded districts, with a view in most cases to the ultimate formation of new parishes'.[2] The clergy would officiate in temporary buildings of all kinds, and would preach, if need be, in the open air. Its aim was to provide immediate and

[1] Census of Great Britain, 1851 : religious worship in England and Wales / abridged from the official report made by Horace Mann to George Graham (London, 1854), p. 97.

[2] R.T. Davidson, *Life of Archibald Campbell Tait*, 2 vols (London, 1891), Volume 1: pp. 261-62.

emergency mission; to address the spiritual destitution at once, without the delay entailed by the erection of a church. Once having established a temporary base, the London Diocesan Home Mission would continue to work in a parish until it became fully organised with a permanent church. Its principal expense, therefore, was the payment of an annual stipend to the clergyman establishing the new mission.

The financial information available for this organisation comes for a variety of sources. Firstly, newspaper reports and entries in charity directories gave basic annual income figures for the London Diocesan Home Mission. Secondly, the entries in Church of England periodicals, such as 'The Official Yearbook of the Church of England' and the 'London Diocesan Magazine', gave slightly more information stating annual expenditure as well as income.[1] The basic information, however, contained in these public reports was less than transparent. In the second half of the nineteenth century two charitable directories were published annually giving short informative entries for charities based in London. These two directories were Herbert Fry's 'Royal Guide to the London Charities' (published between 1863 and 1942) and the W.F.Howe's 'Annual Edition of the Classified Directory to the Metropolitan Charities' (published between 1876 and 1919). The editors of these two directories compiled their statistics from the published annual reports of charities in London. In Fry's 'Guide' for 1865/66, the income for the London Diocesan Home Mission for the year 1864/65 was reported as being £5,300. This, however, is a slightly deceptive figure; the end of year financial reconciliation for the London Diocesan Home Mission, in its annual report published in 1865, shows that the £5,300 actually represented the total cash assets of the Fund at 30 December 1864 rather than reflecting a statement of income for the year.[2] The figure of £5,300 included a brought forward balance of £273 from the previous accounting

[1] *The Church of England year book: the official year book of the General Synod.* (London, 1883 to date); *London Diocesan Magazine* (London, 1886-1927.)

[2] *Eight Annual Report of the London Diocesan Home Mission*: (London, 1865), p. 44. This is the report for the calendar year 1864.

year and £1,495 realised from the sale of £1,500 nominal of Exchequer Bills. The actual income figure for the year 1864 should in reality be in the region of £3,569. This demonstrates that the publicly reported figures should be used as a guide and not as an accurate statement of income.

The third useful source of financial information relating to voluntary organisations in this period, was the printed annual report; it was the principal means by which the organisation would publicise its "good works". A typical annual report contained a list of trustees; list of objects of the fund; rules of the fund; a full list of subscribers; a list of bequests; a report of the good work of the fund for the previous year; summary of grants made; and a summary of the annual accounts. In the case of the London Diocesan Home Mission, only four annual reports survive; all dating from between 1858 to 1865.[1] Taking the information from all of these available sources at face value, the income for the London Diocesan Home Mission remains quite consistent in the period 1857 to 1914 within the £4,000 to £5,000 range; thereby giving the appearance that public support for the society remained quite buoyant within the period.

These different types of sources are usually the only records containing financial details available to researchers looking at religious voluntary organisations. Unusually though, in the case of the London Diocesan Home Mission, both the financial records and Minute Books have survived and are lodged at the London Metropolitan Archives.[2] The financial records consist of the organisation's General Ledger (covering the period 1884 to 1924) and Cash Books (covering the period 1891 to 1955).[3] These accounting books acted as the source records for producing the society's annual report. The Cash Books show detailed entries for all income payments; either those sent to the office or paid in directly at the

[1] In the collections of the British Library and Lambeth Palace Library.

[2] The records of the Diocese of London are kept by the Guildhall Library, except for manuscript records which are kept by the London Metropolitan Archives.

[3] LMA DL/A/H. General Ledger: DL/A/H/020/Ms31994. Cash Books: DL/A/H/021/Ms31995.

bank. The General Ledger show both income and expenditure figures; this information is organized into accounting years and into specific categories. It therefore gives a detailed financial breakdown covering income categories such as: subscriptions; donations; mission payments; repayment of income tax; sale and maturity of stock; dividend payments; legacies; grants from other organisations; Inland Revenue rebates; and bank loans. The financial information contained in these two sources gives a far more nuanced picture than that shown in their public financial returns in newspaper and periodical sources. The ledgers and cash books when analysed show that while the income for the society remains quite steady within the period 1857 to 1914, there was a striking change in the society's sources of income. In particular, it indicates that there was a quite dramatic falling away in subscriptions and donations from the general public.

The Minute Book of the London Diocesan Home Mission first started recording a concern for its diminishing income in the 1870s. The society's expenditure exceeded its receipts for the first time in 1870.[1] This persistent concern regarding their state of finances continued throughout the 1870s. In 1873 the committee decided that they needed to raise money for a Reserve Fund and from 1874 onwards they recorded a financial statement at nearly every meeting of the Council. Throughout the 1870s, the Minutes recorded the Council's concern that they would end the year in deficit; this deficit often being met by a timely anonymous donation (presumably from a committee member). For example, the £400 deficit at the end of 1878 accounting year is covered by 'the liberality of a friend'.[2] The anticipated deficit for the year 1879 is covered by the receipt of a bequest of £500 from Miss Hurst.[3] Analysis of the subscriptions and donations, listed as receipts, in the Cash Books show that from 1893 there was a gradually falling away of subscribers. In 1864 there were 272 subscribers and donors; by 1894 this had fallen to

[1] LMA Ms 31992/1 Minute Book of LDHM, 14 July 1870 & 10 November 1870.
[2] LMA Ms 31992/1 Minute Book of LDHM, 13 March 1879.
[3] LMA Ms 31992/1 Minute Book of LDHM, 11 December 1879.

97. This number then continued to fall year on year: in 1899 there were 57 subscribers and donors; in 1904 55; in 1909 44; and, finally, in 1914 there were only 30.

Table 1 (see over) gives a breakdown of funding streams for the London Diocesan Home Mission. The most consistent source of funding to the London Diocesan Home Mission, throughout the period, came from the annual block grant (of around £1,500) from the Bishop of London's Fund. The Bishop of London's Fund was a funding body established by Bishop Tait in 1863: it made grants to Anglican home mission organisations and projects (such as the building of a church or parsonage) that fitted with the Fund's aims for London. This annual grant was responsible for approximately 30% of the organisation's annual income. Before 1863, and the establishment of the Bishop of London's Fund, all of the London Diocesan Home Mission's income came from subscriptions, donations, church collections or from contributions from parishes as part payment towards cost of the mission. It is in the subscription and donation categories that the most dramatic changes can be observed. In 1858, the first accounting year of the London Diocesan Home Mission, 100% of income came from subscriptions and donations. In 1864, subscriptions and donations represented 34 %. By 1894 this had fallen further to 6% of total income. And finally, by 1914, income in the form of subscriptions and donations from the public had fallen to being a negligible 1% of annual income.

In the 1880s, the organisation's persistent concern with money disappears with receipt of one large bequest in 1881. Consequently, after 1882 the society's principal source of income (in the region of 60%) came from dividend income.[1] This one bequest from Miss Maria Mary Fussell (1834-1881), of £111,000, single-handedly rescued the society's fortune. At this point I will digress slightly with Maria's fascinating back story. In 1846, Maria's father, John Fussell inherited the family

[1] *The Times*, 19 January 1904.

**Table 1: Analysis of the income of the London Diocesan Home Mission**

| LDHM INCOME | 1858 | 1860 | 1864 | 1894 | 1899 | 1904 | 1909 | 1914 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Annual Subscriptions | 621 | | 744 | 233 | 135 | 115 | 91 | 49 |
| Donations | 1095 | | 460 | 54 | 55 | 45 | 46 | 6 |
| Dividends | | | | 2493 | 2685 | 2622 | 2691 | 3073 |
| Mission Payments | | | 219 | 255 | 290 | 240 | 322 | 441 |
| BLF & BIF* | | | 1000 | 1500 | 1700 | 1500 | 1500 | 1500 |
| Church Collections | | | 672 | 0 | 0 | 18 | 5 | 0 |
| Legacy | | | 422 | | 45 | | 50 | |
| Inland Revenue | | | | 65 | 100 | 127 | 142 | 193 |
| Interest on Deposits | | | 49 | 7 | 12 | | 12 | 42 |
| Miscellaneous | | | 3 | | | | | |
| TOTAL INCOME | £1,716 | £1,549 | £3,569 | £4,607 | £5,022 | £4,667 | £4,859 | £5,304 |

*Sources:* Figures for 1858 to 1864 are taken from London Diocesan Home Mission annual reports. The annual report for 1860 does not categorise the income. Figures for 1894 to 1914 are taken from the London Diocesan Home Mission General Ledger. *BLF & BIF – Grants from the Bishop of London's Fund and the Bishop of Islington's Fund.

ironworks company in Somerset on the death of his older brother: the company had a national reputation for its edged tools.[1] In the first of many Fussell court cases relating to the family fortune, in 1852, it was estimated that John Fussell's financial worth was £200,000. In 1853, John Fussell died leaving his estate to his wife and two daughters. By 1865, however, Maria was the sole heiress of this fortune; her mother and sister having both died. Meanwhile Maria had been, in 1858, duped into marrying an unscrupulous Swiss lieutenant who had married her for her money; he subsequently used her money to buy himself the title of Count from the Pope. The marriage was an unhappy one and Maria, or the Countess de Gendre as she was now styled, divorced him in 1871.[2] The Times newspaper, reported the divorce case and the granting of the decree nisi, saying that: 'The marriage was an unhappy case, and they had various differences, chiefly on money matters. He was a man of violent temper, and Mrs De Gendre gave evidence of a few acts of personal violence, such as striking her with a stick, and a blow on the breast which had severely injured her. Evidence was also given of an act of adultery'.[3] As the marriage had ended without children, it was resolved after more court cases, that Maria was entitled to retain her fortune. In 1881, when Maria died, her estate was valued for probate purposes at £134,000. Under the terms of the Will, the great bulk of Maria's fortune was left to the London Diocesan Home Mission, with a few annuities being left to family and friends; these annuities reverting to the London Diocesan Home Mission on their death.[4] The Fussell bequest was commemorated in 1904 in a memorial in the crypt of St Pauls' Cathedral. The Times reported this commemoration and explained the reason why Maria had left her fortune to the London Diocesan Home Mission. It stated that: 'It was the sight of a street fight while she was passing in her carriage which

[1] Robin Thornes, *Men of iron : the Fussells of Mells* (Frome, 2010), p. 59.
[2] Newton Crosland, *Rambles round my Life. An autobiography, 1819-1896* (London, 1898), *p. 258 & p. 271.*
[3] *The Times,* 9 February 1871.
[4] The final annuitant died in 1916, LMA Ms 31992/3 Minute Book of LDHM, 13 April 1916.

stirred her to consider what she could do to remedy the vice and crime of London, and introduce a more Christian Spirit'.[1] Maria's aunt, Mrs Elizabeth Kent, challenged the terms of the Will, in 1884, in the final court case regarding this fortune: the case was dismissed by the judge with costs. An initial sum of £67,000 nominal of consolidated stock was transferred into the London Diocesan Home Mission's hands with further sums becoming available to the society on the deaths of various annuitants; the final annuitant dying in 1916. In total, the general ledger reports that London Diocesan Home Mission received a total of £111,805 in stock from the Fussell bequest. In the period up to 1905, the society sold £15,000 of stock in order to meet annual deficits.[2] All dividend payments are listed in the dividend category of the general ledger. The general ledgers, therefore, demonstrably show a voluntary organisation that is in a healthy state. This is quite at odds with the other Anglican Home Mission organisations in London of the same period, whose financial reports have a constant air of disappointment and desperation.

Another unexpected outcome of using these sources was that they revealed the identity of anonymous donors. The treasurer had noted in the general ledger the full name of a few donors in brackets: only the initials appearing in the printed annual reports. This has made it possible to identify three of the anonymous donors to the LDHM. The divulgement of the identities of these three individuals reveals that they donations are entered in a variety of ways during the period: "Anonymous"; "MSR"; "MS"; and "XYZ". Mary Sworder (1835-1915) was the daughter of John Sworder, a maltster. Between 1893 and 1913 she donated £77; donating five Guineas most years. Mary's occupation in the Censuses between 1861 and 1881 is listed as daily governess. Her

[1] *The Times*, 19 July 1904.

[2] LMA Ms 31992/1 Minute Book of LDHM, 12 June 1884; & LMA. DL/A/H/024/Ms31998, Transcript of shorthand writer's notes of the proceedings of a case concerning the bequest of Maria Fussell's estate to the London Diocesan Home Mission; & DL/A/H/025/Ms31999, Retrospective narrative of the dealings of the trustees with the trust fund established for the bequest of Maria Fussell in 1884.

estate was listed, for probate purposes, as being £2,432. Stephen Smith Duval (1842-1926) is entered in annual reports as "SD": he gave two Guineas in 1913 and 1914. His occupation is listed in the 1901 census as colonial broker. The size of his estate was £35,958. Miss J. E. Richards is entered in annual report as "JR". She subscribed £5 most years from 1904 to 1914; in total giving £65 in subscriptions.[1] The concealment of identity was not at all unusual by donors and subscribers. The most common forms of anonymous donations were under the names: 'Anonymous'; 'A Friend'; 'A Thank Offering' or under some initials. To take 1864 as a sample year, 24% of the income from donations and subscriptions in that year came from anonymous sources. However, anonymous donors and subscribers only represented 4% (in terms of the volume of donors and subscribers) of the people making payments that year. So, of the 272 payments in the form of donations and subscriptions that year: 68% of the payments came from men; 24% from women; 4% from anonymous sources; 2% from groups; 1% from couples (Mr and Mrs); and 1% from collecting cards. The discovery of the very ordinary identities of these individuals reinforces the idea that their philanthropy had positive underlying motives based on a collective sense of duty and responsibility. And also that they shared the belief that voluntary social action could alleviate social ills, and that the Church had a vital role to play in this social action.

Finally, these sources also reveal some of the financial mechanics of running the London Diocesan Home Mission. For example, the general ledger and cash book entries show that the bulk of subscriptions and donations were paid in January and December, at the very start and end of the accounting year. These late December payments reveal the last minute scramble for donations to balance the books at the end of the year. Also, the expenditure entries indicate that the missionary's received their

[1] I was unable to trace Miss JE Richards with any certainty. The only unmarried JE Richards I was unable to trace in the 1901 Census was a Miss Jane E Richards who was working in a house in Regents's Park as a cook, aged 39.

stipends quarterly in March, June, September and December; consequently, bank loans were more frequently needed in the autumn period. Other sundry bits of information are revealed by the accounting detail contained in the general ledger: commission payments to the collector; the size of the clerical secretary's salary; advertising fees; interest payments on overdraft; office rent; and the printing cost of the annual report.

**Conclusion**

In this article, I have made use of the financial records of one organisation as a case study to demonstrate the fruitful material that such records can yield. Unfortunately, these records survive in only a few cases because previous generations have failed to appreciate their value. Looking back on the historiography of church extension in the nineteenth century, very little work has been done on the financing of religion and on the relationship between the funder and the institution; the aim of this article has been to highlight the value of financial records as research sources. In the future, archivists and researchers must work together to raise the awareness of the value of such records, both to ensure their survival but also to promote their value to reluctant researchers who don't immediately grasp the riches that such records contain.

## Catholic Army Chaplains in the Great War 1914-1918: the papers of Fr. Stephen Rawlinson O.S.B. in the archives of Downside Abbey

Dr James Hagerty

In recent years there has been increased interest among military and ecclesiastical historians in the role and ministry of British military chaplains. Smyth's *In This Sign Conquer: the Story of the Army Chaplain* (1968) and Taylor's *The Sea Chaplains* (1978) were pioneering works, but dealt largely with Anglican chaplains.[1] Johnstone and Hagerty's, *The Cross on the Sword: Catholic Chaplains in the Forces* (1996)[2] was the first study devoted exclusively to Catholic chaplains. Subsequently, other studies have added significantly to our knowledge and understanding of the chaplain's ministry. Among these, Bergen's *The Sword of the Lord* (2004); Snape's, *The Royal Army Chaplains' Department* (2008); Madigan's *Faith Under Fire* (2011) and Rafferty's 'Catholic Chaplains to the British Forces in the First World War' (2011), are significant contributions.[3] In the build-up to the centenary of the Great War, it is likely that more studies will appear and historians wishing to recount and understand the role of the Catholic army chaplain in that war should consult Fr. Stephen Rawlinson's important and substantial collection of papers of at Downside Abbey.

Born in 1865, Bernard (in religion Stephen) Rawlinson was professed in 1882 and ordained in 1892. During the Boer War (1899-1902), he served as a temporary chaplain with the Royal Irish Regiment and was twice Mentioned in Despatches. One officer wrote: 'Fr. Rawlinson is a man out of the ordinary, a man of notable ability and

[1] J. Smyth, *In This Sign Conquer* (Oxford, 1968); G. Taylor, *The Sea Chaplains* (Oxford, 1978).

[2] T. Johnstone and J. Hagerty, *The Cross on the Sword: Catholic Chaplains in the Forces* (London, 1996)

[3] D. L. Bergen (ed.) *The Sword of the Lord: Military Chaplains from the First to the Twenty-First Century* ( Notre Dame, Indiana, 2004); M. Snape, *The Royal Army Chaplains' Department* (Woodbridge, 2008); E. Madigan, *Faith Under Fire* (Basingstoke, 2011); O. Rafferty, 'Catholic Chaplains to the British Forces in the First World War' in *Religion, State & Society*, vol. 39, no. 1, March 2011.

commanding presence.'[1] On the outbreak of the Great War, Fr. Rawlinson again volunteered for active service and, with the rank of Captain (Temporary Chaplain 4th Class), resumed his connection with the Royal Irish Regiment. He was with the 2nd Battalion when it suffered considerable casualties at Mons, Le Cateau, the Marne and the Aisne in the early part of the war.[2]

In 1915, over the heads of longer serving and more experienced chaplains, Fr. Rawlinson was promoted to Assistant Senior Catholic Chaplain with the rank of Lieutenant Colonel (Temporary Chaplain 2nd Class) and was entrusted with routine affairs while Mgr William Keatinge, the Senior Catholic Chaplain and like Rawlinson a former student of St. Gregory's, Downside, toured the front and visited hospitals and bases. It was a staff-officer position which Fr Rawlinson filled admirably. When Mgr Keatinge became Principal Chaplain in Salonika in early 1916, Fr. Rawlinson, at the request of Dr Simms, the Principal Chaplain, became Senior Catholic Chaplain to the British Army on the Western Front, Assistant Principal Chaplain, and was promoted to the rank of Colonel (Temporary Chaplain 1st Class).[3] As Assistant Principal Chaplain, with responsibility for chaplains of all denominations, and as Senior Catholic Chaplain, Rawlinson's position could have been difficult with confessional concerns being compromised by military considerations but he appears to have effectively managed both.

From 1916 until the cessation of hostilities, Fr Rawlinson directed and deployed all Catholic chaplains to the British forces in France and Flanders and his role was to be of considerable importance. *The Downside Review* later stated:

[1] *The Downside Review*, vol. I, July 1901, p. 339; vol. II, April 1902; vol. II, July 1902; vol. III, July 1903; vol. LXXII, Jan. 1954, pp. 3, 6; Downside Monastic Records G.D. 885.B (1). See also *The Catholic Who's Who* (1952), p. 381 and *The London Gazette*, 10 Sept. 1901.

[2] Johnstone and Hagerty, *The Cross on the Sword: Catholic Chaplains in the Forces*, p. 77.

[3] Fr Rawlinson's appointment was part of the re-organisation of the Army Chaplains' Department in France in 1915. See Johnstone and Hagerty, *The Cross on the Sword: Catholic Chaplains in the Forces*, pp. 78-79.

> Like every other unit in the Army, the number of chaplains had to be increased out of all proportion to anything previously known or needed. Dom Stephen was transferred to G.H.Q. in 1915 and with the able help of Dom Dominic Young as Secretary, began the work of posting priests to every infantry brigade in the front line, to every base hospital, and many casualty-clearing stations. This work entailed much travelling and many contacts with members of the High Command, and the exercise of the gifts, charm, tact and wisdom so conspicuous in Dom Stephen's character.[1]

When Rawlinson attended a dinner party given by Field Marshal Douglas Haig in October 1917, Haig said that he was a 'most agreeable fellow and seems to have all the qualities of an efficient Jesuit Father.'[2] Rawlinson was well rewarded for his contribution to the war effort. In addition to his campaign, service and victory medals, he was Mentioned in Despatches five times, received the Cross of St. Michael and St. George in 1916, was awarded an O.B.E. in 1918, became an Officer of the French Legion of Honour and received the Portuguese Order of Christ. He was demobilised in 1919.[3]

Fr Rawlinson's papers are of great significance for historians interested in Catholic chaplains in the Great War. He occupied a pivotal position in the complex and frequently fractious relationships between the British hierarchies, the hierarchies and the War Office, chaplains and their military and ecclesiastical superiors, and Catholic chaplains and of those of other denominations. His papers reflect almost every aspect of wartime army chaplaincy and are divided into the following boxes:

| | |
|---|---|
| 3231 VII A 3F | Correspondence with Bishops and Superiors 1916-1919 |
| 3232 VII A 3F | Roman Catholic Census 1916; Converts 1916-1918 |
| 3233 VII A 3F | Miscellaneous Correspondence |
| 3234 VII A 3F | Correspondence 1916-1917 (file A, A – L) |

[1] *The Downside Review*, vol. LXXII, Jan. 1954, p. 6. Fr Dominic was also a monk of Downside.

[2] R. Blake (ed.), *The Private Papers of Douglas Haig 1914-1919 (London, 1952)*, pp. 261-262.

[3] L. Graham, *Downside and the Great War 1914-1919* (Downside, 1925), p. 28 & 37.

| | |
|---|---|
| 3235 VII A 3F | Correspondence 1916-1917 (file A, M – W) |
| 3236 VII A 3F | Correspondence: War Office, 1915-1919, 'Intelligence' |
| 3237 VII A 3F | Cardinal Bourne's Visit to the Front, 1917 (with photographs) |
| 3238 VII A 3F | Correspondence with Mgr Keatinge, 1914-1919 |
| 3239 | |
| 3240 | |
| 3241 VII A 3F | Shortage of Catholic Chaplains |
| 3242 VII A 3F | Military Awards and Honours |
| 3243 VII A 3F | Personal Correspondence 1914-1940 |
| Ephemera | Information and Hints for Roman Catholic Chaplains 1914-1918 |
| No reference | Enquiries, Casualty Reports and German Prisoners of War |
| No reference | Correspondence with French Priests; recommendations for French Honours |
| War History Box | War History material; memorandum of proposed reconstruction of Royal Army Chaplains' Department; list of secular and regular priests who served as chaplains[1]. |

The box titles are not exclusive and there is overlap between the contents of each box. Material on the shortage of Catholic chaplains, for example, may be found in boxes 3231, 3233, 3234, 3235, 328 and 3241.

The procedure for granting commissions was heavily bureaucratic. Priests wishing to be chaplains had to receive permission from their bishop or religious superior and then apply to the Ecclesiastical Superior of all Catholic military chaplains who was Cardinal Bourne, Archbishop of Westminster. Bourne alone recommended priests to the War Office. Episcopal reluctance to free priests was compounded by Bourne's inadequate administration and War Office officialdom. As Senior Catholic Chaplain in the theatre of war with the largest concentration of

[1] P. Jebb, 'The Archives of the English Benedictine Congregation Kept at St .Gregory's, Downside' in *The Downside Review*, vol. XCIII, no. 312, July 1975, pp. 208-225.

armies, Rawlinson struggled to balance the immediate spiritual needs of soldiers with the distant and drawn-out procedures of dioceses, religious communities, Westminster and Whitehall. Only when a priest arrived in France could he be deployed by Rawlinson.[1]

The shortage of Catholic army chaplains was one of the most protracted problems faced by the War Office and Catholic authorities throughout the war. The number of Catholic chaplains in France never matched the War Office's quota. Early in the war, the Catholic community was outraged as some Catholic soldiers fought and died without spiritual comfort. The problem persisted. In May 1916, Rawlinson calculated that there were nearly 60,000 Catholic soldiers on the Western Front including a significant number of conversions (3232). In October 1916, he wrote that he needed 76 chaplains (3234). In January 1917, the War Office told Rawlinson that applications from Catholic priests had 'practically dried up' (3236). Fr. Ambrose Agius O.S.B., attached to the Royal Artillery, wrote in May 1917 that Catholic soldiers 'have not seen a padre for months' (3234). From Salonika in July 1917, Mgr Keatinge identified the reason: 'How miserably our English and Irish bishops have failed in this war, to rise to the occasion. They cannot see beyond the petty wants of their dioceses' (3231). Rawlinson wrote to Bishop Amigo of Southwark in October 1917: 'I suppose you have no more priests to spare for the front? We are terribly hard up, needing over 90 to make up our establishment' (3231). In 1918, he wrote to Mgr Keatinge that 'we are the only denomination that is not fully up to strength' (3231).

In contrast to the dioceses, the religious orders supplied priests well beyond their means. Fr John Charlton, Provincial of the English Redemptorists, wrote to Rawlinson in 1917 that he had provided 17 priests and nearly half of their 'effectives' were 'engaged in military work' (3231). Abbot Butler of Downside wrote that 13 monks were serving as chaplains and this, together with the loss of lay masters, 'had left the school short of staff' (3231). Rawlinson wrote to the Provincial

[1] Johnstone and Hagerty, *The Cross on the Sword: Catholic Chaplains in the Forces*, pp. 100-101 & pp. 137-138.

of the English Jesuits in 1919 to thank him for 'the magnificent way' in which the Society 'had responded to the needs of the Army' (3231) and his post-war statistics indicated huge variations in diocesan and religious contributions. The English and Welsh dioceses provided 194 chaplains, the Scottish dioceses 21, the Irish dioceses 73, religious orders 220, and foreign dioceses 10 (War History Box). At the armistice, bishops and religious superiors were adamant that their men were demobilised as soon as possible. Rawlinson could only proceed at the speed dictated by the War Office (3231). In December 1918, he wrote to the chaplains to thank them: 'Whilst the work of the Catholic chaplains has been most faithfully performed, it has been seriously hampered by the shortage of priests in the Field' (3233).

Deaths and casualties among chaplains were sad but effective ways of reducing their number. Thirty-nine Catholic army chaplains died in the war. While the Irish bishops wanted chaplains alongside soldiers in the trenches, the army and Rawlinson did not. The War Office directed that 'No chaplain will go forward with attacking troops' (War History Box). Rawlinson instructed that while a chaplain might go to the trenches to administer the sacraments, he must not expose himself needlessly: 'He should remember that one live chaplain is worth more than 50 dead ones.' (Ephemera) Inevitably, chaplains were killed or died of wounds. Fr. William Finn, Fr. Donal O'Sullivan, Fr. Willie Doyle S.J. and Fr. John Fitzgibbon were among those killed in action while Fr. Simon Knapp O.C.D., like some others, died of wounds. Fr. Fitzgibbon was buried by Fr. Rawlinson. At the Third Battle of Ypres, 7 chaplains were killed and 17 were wounded or gassed (3231; Enquiries, Casualty Reports and German Prisoners of War). Fr. John Nevin and Fr. John Birch had legs amputated (3234). Chaplains were injured accidentally or unnecessarily. Fr. Lane-Fox O.S.B. of Fort Augustus was seriously injured 'fooling about with bombs' (3231).

The strain endured by chaplains was intense. Rawlinson told Abbot Butler that Fr. Odo Langdale O.S.B. 'was thoroughly done up and had to be taken out for fear of a breakdown' (3233). Fr Lane-Fox told Rawlinson that he had been in several 'pushes' which had led to 'some loss of nerve' and he needed a rest (3234). Fr. Edmond Cullen asked for

a change, 'having been the last three months under constant shell fire' (3238). Asking to be moved from a Casualty Clearing Station, Fr. Bernard Fleming wrote to Rawlinson: 'You see I am after the Victoria Cross or Military Cross, anything save that little wooden cross' (3238). Conducting endless burial services, hearing confessions, writing letters to families, answering queries from loved ones wishing to trace missing relatives were new experiences to all but the regular chaplains and even they had not witnessed carnage on such a dreadful scale. (Enquiries, Casualty Reports and German Prisoners of War) One priest pleaded with Rawlinson to be released from duties as he was 'useless for pastoral work under such circumstances.' The situation, he wrote, 'has become so repugnant as to be intolerable' (3233). Stress came in many undreamt of ways. Fr. Henry Gill found having to attend executions for court martial offences 'very difficult' (3238).

Some bishops allowed priests to become chaplains for the wrong reasons and consequently they proved unsuitable for military duties. Others were dismissed for bringing the priesthood into disrepute. Of one chaplain, Rawlinson wrote: 'He is a naturally objectionable, cantankerous fellow, and I feel sure he was sent out here by Bishop Amigo for the usual reasons' (3231). One priest left as 'grave charges had been preferred against him.' Another was dismissed 'for dereliction of duty and scandalous behaviour' (3231); in April 1918, Rawlinson sent a priest home for being 'under the influence of drink on many occasions.' Action was taken, he wrote, 'For the sake of religion and the fair name of the Chaplain's Department' (3231). Of foreign priests, Rawlinson wrote to the War Office: 'these people are no help, but simply hamper the work out here...' (3236)

Correspondence between chaplains and Rawlinson indicate how much the soldiers valued the presence of the chaplain in and out of the line. The chaplain celebrated Mass, heard Confessions, gave absolution, tended the wounded, administered the last sacraments, buried the dead, wrote letters for the troops, and was available for counselling. He was the source of a different kind of authority (Ephemera). Fr Willie Doyle was a huge presence and held in high esteem by all ranks (3238). On the death of Fr Simon Knapp, Rawlinson wrote to the Prior of the Carmelite

Church in Kensington that: 'No words can express what a loss he is to the Chaplains' Department, or how highly he was thought of by the whole of Guards Division.' (Enquiries, Casualty Reports and German Prisoners of War) Fr Ambrose Agius O.S.B., attached to a Dressing Station, told Rawlinson that the wounded, 'so wonderfully composed in their pain', were 'so grateful for any attention' (3234). When mud-covered Australians were returning from the trenches in 1915, excited cheering suddenly broke out. 'The men had recognised amongst themselves their beloved padre, covered with mud and as unkempt as themselves...they had given him up for dead...He had been for five days in the fighting, administering to the needs of the men'[1] (3237). When Fr Francis Gleeson left the Royal Munster Fusiliers in 1915, he wrote to Rawlinson: 'I love the poor men ever so much' (3238).

Relations between Catholic and Anglican chaplains were not always harmonious and Rawlinson received complaints from the Principal Chaplain that Catholic priests were proselytising among the soldiers. In April 1916, Rawlinson recorded that 103 chaplains had received 26 officers and 447 other ranks into the Church, some *in extremis*. Mgr Keatinge wrote to Principal Chaplain Simms that: 'many men have been led into our Church by what they have seen of the Church in France.' All had been done according to Army regulations. He added: 'You must remember, it is a great responsibility for us, to receive a man into our Church, and we must be sure as to his motives' (3232).

Far away from the front line, there were attempts to remove Cardinal Bourne as Ecclesiastical Superior of all Catholic chaplains serving the British Forces, a position he had held since 1906. Dissatisfaction with Bourne's administration and dislike of him personally was widespread. He was particularly unpopular among pre-war chaplains who resented his decision to end permanent commissions and his agreement, in 1915, to all non-Anglican chaplains being placed under the control of a Principal Chaplain who was an Ulster Presbyterian. This led to serious unrest among the chaplains. Further War Office attempts to reduce the authority and status of Senior Catholic Chaplains

[1] The chaplain was the Irish-born Fr Patrick Tighe. *Irish Catholic Directory* (1917), p. 452. He was later invalided home.

caused Mgr Keatinge to write to Rawlinson from Salonika that 'the whole Catholic position seems to be merged into 'non-C. of E.' which seems an absurd title and rather brands us as 'Dissenters' (3231). On his return from a visit to the Western Front in 1917, Bourne wrote that: 'I was able to see at close quarters the satisfactory results of the re-organisation of the Chaplain's Department' (3237). It was to Rawlinson's credit that such a position had been achieved. Relations between him and the Principal Chaplain were harmonious and his firm administration was effective.

Aided by Cardinal Gasquet O.S.B. in Rome and Bishop Amigo in Southwark, some bishops, particularly in Ireland, petitioned the Vatican for Bourne's replacement.[1] Despite large numbers of Irish men volunteering, the Irish hierarchy was lukewarm about fighting England's war and resented Bourne's control of Irish chaplains. The slogan became Irish priests for Irish regiments controlled by Irish bishops. The alternatives to Bourne were either a Catholic Chaplain-General, the Irish controlling their own chaplains, or an *Episcopus Castrensis* - a Bishop of the Army. Rawlinson, as Bourne's effective nominee at the front and responsible for the operational deployment of chaplains, was caught up in a complex web of ecclesiastical politics and Anglo-Vatican diplomacy.[2]

Bourne fought hard to retain his position. In December 1916, Mgr Keatinge wrote to Rawlinson that he had heard that Bourne was 'going to win over the *Episcopus Castrensis* affair' (3231). In June 1917 Amigo told Rawlinson that he feared the Pope would cede to Bourne's wishes to have his assistant, Mgr Manuel Bidwell, made Bishop of the Army while at the same time being allowed to keep his parish in Chelsea (3233). Keatinge was so certain that Bidwell would be created *Episcopus Castrensis* that he asked Rawlinson: 'When is Bidwell going to be made Auxiliary Bishop to assist Cardinal Bourne?' (3231). Ultimately, Keatinge himself, the most experienced and competent of Catholic chaplains with permanent commissions, was created *Episcopus*

[1] Cardinal Gasquet was a monk of Downside, where his papers are kept. They should be consulted for further correspondence on Bourne's removal as Ecclesiastical Superior of Catholic Military Chaplains in the British armed forces.

[2] Johnstone and Hagerty, *The Cross on the Sword: Catholic Chaplains in the Forces*, ch. 14.

*Castrensis* in October 1917 with responsibility for Army and Royal Air Force chaplains (3236). Bourne retained jurisdiction over Naval chaplains. He was to discover that his position was weak: the British hierarchies shunned him as a neutral and refused him attendance at Bishops' Conferences. Bishops with army garrisons in their dioceses sought clarification from Rome regarding his exact jurisdiction. Ever the military man, Keatinge told Rawlinson in September 1918 that 'I have found out already that some bishops are not, to put it mildly, 'business-like'' (3231). The War Office, meanwhile, was to maintain its position that Keatinge's episcopal status and high military rank would be unnecessary in the post-war army (3231).

After the war, Rawlinson began to gather material from which to compile a history of Catholic army chaplains on the Western Front (War History Box). While that project was never completed, Fr. Rawlinson's papers contain much that is of value to historians of military chaplaincy in the Great War. They are particularly useful in that they shed much light on the workings of the Chaplains' Department on the Western Front while at the same time offering insights into the varied and often harrowing experiences of individual chaplains. Rawlinson, himself, emerges as a man of sympathy for those who suffered but also as a man of strength and determination to advance and protect the name and reputation of Catholicism and the chaplaincy service to which he was so obviously dedicated.

## The Preservation and Indexing of the Papers of Fr Frederick Charles Husenbeth

Margaret Osbourne

The son of a Hessian aristocrat exiled in Bristol during the French Revolutionary Wars, working as a wine merchant and tutor, Frederick Charles was educated by Bishop Milner at Sedgely Park and Oscott. He was placed in the Cossey recusant centre as the Jerninghams' chaplain and here, except for a short time at Oscott, Frederick spent his life. He became the Confidante of Catholics in Queen Victoria's Court, and helped the 17th Earl of Shrewsbury when he acceded to his title. He was a diligent parish priest, only leaving the village once a month to visit the priests at Norwich and occasionally visited the Lord Arundell. He gathered a congregation of 400, built a church, school and men's club and promoted pilgrimages to St Wulstans's Well. He became a renowned theologian and scholar, publishing works on England's Roman Catholic history, including biographies of Bishop Milner, Dr Weedall and his 'fellow Parkers' and a comprehensive work on medieval emblems. He helped other Catholic historians with their research, politely correcting errors and translated continental devotional works into English. He advised new bishops on ceremonials and services being re-created in the middle of the century. Personally he was passed over for a bishopric because of his expressed disapproval of Cardinal Wiseman's policies. With Bishop Wareing of Northampton he led Father Faber into the Catholic Church. His life became solitary as Cossey Hall was closed, and his friends died. He disliked the Industrial Age. His papers from 1813-1872 illustrate a century of change.

### Preservation

The earliest collection of papers in Bishop's House, Northampton, belonged to its first Provost F. C. Husenbeth whose life spanned most of the nineteenth century. They were found in a rusty metal book and were damaged by ingrained dust, damp, rust staining, elastic bands, staples and filthy string. Some of the original pencil markings had faded away, making identification of some sermons impossible and there were fragments of papers which would need matching by handwriting and

content. It was found that inadequate file descriptions hid many important papers; 'Jones of Edinburgh' contained the Provost's own letters revealing his views on Church developments. The collection was placed in acid free boxes, folders were replaced by manila paper and the staples, string and rubber bands were carefully removed. Ten years later, part of the Collection was found at St John's Cathedral, Norwich; they had been temporarily borrowed by Provost Freeland in the 1920's and a catalogue of these papers were kindly sent to Northampton.

**Indexing**

In order to access the collection properly a comprehensive Place, Persons and Subject index was required and, as the words were fading, working copies were urgently required to preserve the information. The computer used for copying had its spelling and grammar sections demobilised as it was not designed for nineteenth-century Latin and Greek, Germanic script, the colourful West Midlands dialect and the private language of Sedgely Park pupils. Gaps were left for the writers' illustrations which were traced and added later. Working copies of the collection were deposited in the Birmingham Diocesan Archives as they contain a great amount of Midland District material. A computer sort through a data base, revealed the importance of the collection to historians.

**Usage**

**1.** The collection is essential for biographers of Provost F.C. Husenbeth as they reveal his private opinions.

**2.** The papers are of use to general Catholic historians of the nineteenth century as they record the transformation of recusant Georgian Catholicism into a confident church body. There are opinions expressed of 'Italianization' within the Church, of the Oxford Movement, Anglican converts, personal descriptions of the National Synods, Chapters and the Errington dispute. They describe the establishment of new diocesan liturgies and structures, the Old Brotherhood, clergy funds and committees 1840-1860.

**3.** Rome's reorganisation of the English Hierarchy, the first Vatican Council, Catholic emancipation, English Peers and their diplomatic work, Oxbridge students, anti-Papalism, Freemasonry, legislation on weddings

and funerals, and financial crashes. Methodism and the Anglicanism of Brother Ignatius are also discussed.

4. For landscape historians the letters chart the development of an industrial landscape especially in Bristol and the West Midlands.

5. Students of the Victorian Church and aristocracy will find that the papers contain details of Husenbeth's work with the Jerningham, Arundell and Shrewsbury families and others members of the British aristocracy, and discuss likely gentry conversions. His poetry amused Queen Victoria.

6. Scholars of Roman Catholic publishers and authors will find relevant material, especially of the works of Husenbeth himself, and Frs Lingard, McDonnell and Oliver, the *Dublin Review* and the *Catholic Miscellany*.

7. Debate with G. S. Faber and Husenbeth's translations of the works of the Bishop of Strasbourg illustrate the theological positions of Anglicans and Catholics in the nineteenth century.

8. Students of Victorian convents will find the letters of Carisbrooke of interest as well as correspondence about Husenbeth's convent histories.

9. Correspondence with Dr Wilson gives an insight into Tasmanian life.

10. Pilgrimage centres of Lourdes, Loretto and Cossey Well are discussed.

11. Within England, there is much information on Bishop Milner, Sedgely Park School and Oscott, including the vocation of Walston Ribband of Cossey and biographies of deceased Parkers. They are especially important for the 1840 changes, and clergy gossip.

12. Students of England's Western District, will find discussions of Dr Baines, Prior Park, the Benedictines and the Jesuits. There are also References to the Trelawney and Weld families and information on the Cliffords tutored by Husenbeth snr. And the local history of Dr Oliver.

13. For scholars of the Midland and Eastern Districts and the diocese of Northampton the papers include Milner's pastoral letters, Vicar Apostolic and clergy appointments, bereavements and gossip for all missions. They are especially important for the foundation of the Northampton and Cossey missions and 1840s Oscott. For a person who hardly moved out of Cossey village F. C. Husenbeth was remarkably connected with the wider world.

## A Voice of the Past – can human remains have a place in a modern archive?

Sarah Benson

Occasionally, an article comes along which has the effect of provoking numerous questions. I was recently recommended an entertaining article in *Valladolid College News* entitled 'Return of the Exorcist' which details the recent travels of the skull of Fr William Weston, rector at Valladolid until 1615.[1] The author, Fr Peter Harris, honorary archivist at the Royal English College, Valladolid, explains that the body of Fr Weston has been buried under the chapel floor in Valladolid since the 17th century. It becomes apparent that his head, along with a 17th century note, has been residing some 700 miles north in the British Province of the Society of Jesus Archive, Farm Street, London. There it had remained until its journey back to Valladolid in 2008 accompanied by Fr Harris. The main reason behind this exportation appears to have been the opinion of the current archivist that 'his archive was not the place for relics' and hence the journey to reunite head with body in Valladolid.[2]

Reading this article led to the formation of many questions in my mind: what does belong in an archive? Should documents alone make up an archive? How about other forms of evidence, photos, maps, diaries, and the vessels which contain them? What or who makes this distinction? Could it be argued that all artefacts which belong to the past have a claim to be catalogued, examined, preserved and ultimately be treasured due to the wealth of knowledge that they can hold. Throughout my study of history and in my practical experience in archaeology I have learnt that any artefact can in effect speak volumes about the person, place, culture or time – you only have to ask the right questions.

This has been my experience completing practical, hands on work as a student and volunteer at the Poulton Research Project in Cheshire in the summer of 2009 and 2010. The Project comprises a team of

[1] Fr Peter Harris, 'Return of the Exorcist', *Valladolid College News*.
[2] *Ibid.*

archaeologists, local enthusiasts, volunteers and students focused on the study of one small but important rural site where Poulton Abbey once stood. The site has a vast heritage spanning from the Mesolithic period (7000-4000 BC) through to the Middle Ages (AD 1000-1600), it has a wealth of evidence of its constant use in the religious and ceremonial history of the local people.[1] One only has to spend a short period of time at the site to feel this connection to the religious landscape and to understand its significance and choice as a sacred site.

The Abbey of St. Mary and St. Benedict was founded around 1147 by Robert the Butler, a hereditary member of the Earl of Chester. It was one of three daughter houses of Combermere Abbey along with Stanlaw and Hulton. Poulton Abbey was once the home of a small community of Cistercian monks. The abbey was located more or less on the banks of the River Dee, forty metres from the Welsh border. It is easy to see why this site was chosen due to practical and religious reasons. Its close proximity to the River Dee enabled the small community of monks, through their experience in hydraulic engineering, to harness the power of water; there is plenty of earthwork evidence to suggest that the area was used in this way with field drainage systems and fish-ponds.[2] The site also has a long history as an important location in the local religious landscape, for example a Neolithic (c.3000 – 2300BC) 'timber henge' of silver birch trunks surrounded by a central oak post has been found in the area. This was later modified in the Bronze Age period (c.2000-1500 B.C) to consist of eighteen silver birch posts, an inner ring-ditch surrounding a number of small pits containing cremated human remains, handmade pottery and purposefully placed blue river cobbles.[3] There is also a growing body of evidence that the Roman finds on the site such as pottery, brooches, roof tiles, window glass, could be remains of a sacred temple or rural shrine.[4]

[1] M. Emery, 'Poulton Henge, experiencing bronze age ritual', *Current Archaeology*, 213. Dec 2007, p. 21.

[2] M. Emery, 'Poulton: The Search for a Lost Cistercian Abbey', *Current Archaeology*, 180. July 2002 p. 524

[3] M. Emery, Poulton Henge, p. 22

[4] M. Emery, *The search for 9,000 Years of a Buried Past 1995-2009, Poulton Research Project. 2009*

The abbey was moved for reasons unknown, only sixty or so years after its foundation in 1214. The reason behind the decision to accept an offer by the 4th Earl of Chester to move to Dieulacres Abbey, near Leek in Staffordshire remains obscure. However the Dieulacres Chronicles document continued incursions by the Welsh, and the abbey's situation in such close proximity to Wales was therefore likely to have been a decisive factor.[1] Poulton's relatively short existence as a fully functioning abbey means that the architecture is likely to have been preserved and not developed and adapted over time as many other Cistercian sites have been. This is why the site has captured the imagination and interest of local historians and archaeologists; it could offer invaluable insight into the early Cistercian monastic life and architecture.

Following the relocation of the abbey to Staffordshire the existing area was converted into a monastic estate worked by *conversi* (lay brothers) for around three hundred years. Unfortunately knowledge of the abbey's location was lost over time, the only hint of its existence being a 17th century estate map that referenced a 'lost chapel', and local knowledge of surrounding field names such as "cloister" and "great chapel".[2] The location of this small chapel was discovered by R. G. Williams in 1892 where a number of floor tiles were found.[3]

The main focus of my experience at the site has been the excavation of the small 'lost' Cistercian chapel and cemetery (dated to the 12th century). The original features of this chapel are very humble, initially a single nave with a stone slab for an altar, plain walls and mud floor. Mike Emery, the leading authority at the site has suggested that it may have initially served as a temporary site of worship during building of the abbey or as a visitors' chapel. Later it is likely that it served as a 'chapel at the gates' of the abbey to serve the local population. The chapel remained in use throughout the monastic grange phase of the area and was later used by the local population with a monk as the priest. The chapel underwent several modifications over the centuries, at first

[1] Emery, 'Lost Cistercian Abbey', p. 512.
[2] Medieval history of the site project webpage.
[3] See M. Emery, et al. *The Poulton Chronicles*, (2000).

enlarged, then when the Poulton estate was leased to the Manley family in 1487 a chancel and tower were added with refurbishments such as a new slate roof, floor tiles and stained glass.[1]

The initial objectives of the Poulton Research Project were to find the abbey; however, as a wealth of archaeology from numerous periods in history has been discovered around the chapel area, the site continues to be excavated.[2] The project is now particularly interested in the hypothesis that the chapel is sitting on a much earlier ritual site dating back to the middle Bronze Age, due to evidence of pottery and cremated bone in the locality. In addition to this many of the Christian burials predate the earliest phase of the chapel which suggests that the site was used by early Christians as an area designated to meet, to pray and say Mass in the open air.[3] There are estimated 1200-1800 burials in the chapel area, of which 610 have been excavated to date in the hope of finding evidence below of a much earlier occupation of the site.[4] Of these human remains the majority are local peasants, but it is highly likely that the cemetery site also holds lay brothers and monks from the early monastic days.

Following excavation of burials the human remains are examined and catalogued; students at John Moores University in Liverpool are undertaking research projects to help understand the people who once lived in the area. Following this the human remains are then reburied at Mount St. Bernard's Abbey in Leicestershire. The Project states that 'It is our duty to rebury (them) in the Christian manner and environment in which they expected to stay when they were interred in the cold clay of Poulton'.[5]

In the summer of 2009 I assisted fellow volunteers in the excavation of an adult male skeleton, initially the burial seemed typical to most found in the chapel area. The orientation of the burial was the head facing east in a supine position, arms crossed over the body. Information about

[1] Emery, 'Lost Cistercian Abbey', pp. 252-525
[2] Emery, 'Poulton Henge', p. 21.
[3] M. Emery, *The search for 9000 years.*
[4] M. Emery, *Friends of Poulton Newsletter*, Autumn 2011, Issue 4, p.1
[5] R. Carpenter, and S. Crane, *Awakening the Dead*, Poulton Research Project, 2009 p. 8.

the individual such as age and gender could be found by visual examination of the bones. We were able to make an educated guess, due to certain features in the pelvis, and also the skull, that this was a male. Age can be determined by dental attrition and changes at the front of the pelvis and sacrum.[1] Initially it was assumed from the above techniques that that this was likely to have been a middle-aged man.

A closer look at the skeleton led to the realisation that it had some striking abnormalities. There is clear excessive bone growth, known as hyperostosis, of the left tibia (shin bone). In addition to this, definite bowing of the left tibia could be seen. Closer examination of the skeleton by experienced site members found other changes to the skeleton such as a grove and 'spurs' in the left fibula and an unusually thick skull. Disorders such as these typically result in pain and occasionally this can be acute if abnormal growth of bone impinges a nerve or leads to the wearing of cartilage in the joints. Abnormal bone growth and bowing can also put extra stress on nearby joints which can have an impact on the position of those joints. For this reason we can make some assumptions as to how this man's posture and gait could have presented, in a left 'knock knee' with a difficult and awkward limping gait.[2]

Through scientific analysis at the laboratory in John Moores University it was confirmed that this was a man between 50 and 59 years old and 1.67 metres in height. X-rays have been taken and show definite bowing of the left tibia. Currently there is no definite diagnosis for this man's pathology and further analysis which could confirm a diagnosis is not yet available to the Project. It has been suggested that this disorder could be Paget's disease which is a chronic metabolic disorder resulting in excess growth or misshapen bones, typically localised to just a few bones in the body and commonly the shin and skull.[3] Despite a lack of clear diagnosis for this condition the physical remains of this man and

[1] For further information in age and gender estimation see S. Mays, *The Archaeology of Human Bones*, (1998 Routeledge: London).

[2] A. C. Gainey, et al. 'Gait Analysis of Patients who have Paget Disease'. *The Journal of Joint and Bone Surgery*, 1989, pp. 568-569, vol 79, no. 4.

[3] A. Sutcliffe, *Pagets Disease, epidemiology, causes and clinical features*. Nursing Times, vol 105, no.6. 2009.

knowledge of how similar conditions affect people today provide us with a unique insight into his daily life.[1] This case illustrates my point that every artefact from the past, even human remains, can tell a story, can impart volumes of information about a person and their lived experience.

Skeletons are frequently found at Poulton with evidence of ill health and trauma still marked on the body hundreds of years later. Evidence has been found in the Poulton population of bone fractures, periodontal disease, caries, genetic dental malformations, osteomata, excessive bone growth, arthritis, DISH (diffuse idiopathic skeletal hyperostosis) fused or crushed vertebrae.[2] As an occupational therapist I can think of numerous ways that an individual's life can be affected by long term health conditions and even the difficulties recovering from a specific trauma. However, due to the nature of the human body no two experiences are identical in the impact that ill health, trauma and long term conditions can have on a person's ability to carry out day-to-day activities. It becomes fascinating to consider the implication this would have had in a historical context, particularly considering the hard physical labour that this population were accustomed to. Ill health and trauma would have had devastating economic and social effects on the individual, family and community.

It is possible to find evidence in skeletal remains of the past occupations and activities of a population or socioeconomic group. Injuries sustained from accidents are closely related to way of life. Fractured clavicles are often found in the skeletons of agricultural communities as it is an injury mainly sustained from a fall on an outstretched arm, often seen from horse riding or agricultural occupations such as tilling the land. If we look at other societies in history such as 20th century London it is evident that the most common fractures are in the hand. Frequent hand injuries such as these are often in populations working in factories with dangerous equipment such as the loom.[3] The skeletons of longbow archers found on board the wreck of the *Mary Rose*

[1] Gainey, et al, Gait Analysis of Patients, pp. 568-569, vol 79, no. 4.
[2] R. Carpenter, *Osteology at Poulton*. Poulton Research Project.
[3] C. Roberts, and K. Manchester, *The Archaeology of Disease*, (Sutton Publishing, Stroud 2005) p. 57-8

are recognisably deformed, with enlarged left arms and bone spurs on right fingers and left shoulder and wrists.[1] Many of the bones found on the chapel site at Poulton bear evidence of hard, physical labour often described as 'robust' and showing signs of 'wear and tear', often with fractures being sustained during the life of the individual, as evidence of healing can be seen around the fractured area.[2]

As the skeleton in life is sensitive to the environment in which we live, even a small tooth can impart much knowledge about the lifestyle, health and age of a person. The recent 'Treasures of Heaven' exhibition at the British Museum brought together hundreds of relics and reliquaries from across Europe and the world. [3]One exhibit being the Reliquary with the tooth of Saint John the Baptist, the reliquary itself produced by a Saxon goldsmith c.1400 is a silver gilt frame with a much older rock crystal flask c.1000 containing the tooth of St John the Baptist. This tooth has been examined by a dentist who has been able to confirm through analysis that it is indeed from a 30 year old man who ate a course diet.[4] Evidence of medical practices and beliefs can also be found on the skeleton, for example cut marks on the bone showing methods of amputation, holes in the skull providing evidence of trepanation are a few examples of this.[5]

Occasionally the human skeleton can bear marks of the religious and political climate, used grotesquely to scare opponents and dissuade followers. The skull of St. Ambose Barlow, currently housed at Wardley Hall, Worsley, Lancashire, is an example of how human remains can bear evidence of the life and death of the individual in such a political climate. St Ambrose Barlow was born Edward Barlow in 1583; wishing to become a priest in a time of religious persecution for Catholics he studied

[1] See A. Stirland, *The Men of Mary Rose; Raising the Dead*, (The History Press Ltd. 2008)

[2] Carpenter and Crane, *Awakening the Dead*, p. 6

[3] M. Bagnoli, et al (eds.) *Treasures of Heaven: Saints, Relics, and devotion in Medieval Europe*, (The Walters Art Museum, Baltimore, 2010).

[4] H. A. Klein, 'Sacred things and holy bodies: collecting relics from late antiquity to the early renaissance', in Bagnoli, *Treasures of Heaven*, p. 64.

[5] S. Tarlow, *Ritual, Belief and the Dead in early modern Britain and Ireland*, (Cambridge University Press, 2011) p. 66.

at Douay, France, then at the English College, Valladolid, Spain.[1] He returned around 1641 in order to serve in the Lancashire area. In such dangerous times for Catholic priests Ambrose continued to say Mass before being arrested by a mob of 400. He was hung drawn and quartered on Friday 10th September 1641 at Lancaster Gaol. His head was then severed from his body and displayed on a spike in Manchester as a warning to Catholics. Local legend holds that a relation of St Ambrose (Francis Downes) rescued the head and took it to Wardley Hall where it was securely kept hidden from view.[2]

In 1745 during demolition work to the house, the removal of one of the chapel walls uncovered a casket with a skull. Without written evidence it cannot be conclusively proved that this is the skull of Edward Barlow, canonised by Pope Paul VI on 25 October 1970. However, evidence to support the fact that it is genuinely the skull of St Ambrose can be found by examining the bone matter itself. Forensic testing in the 1960s at St Bartholomew's Medical School indicated that the skull is from a man about Ambrose's age and stature. Evidence could also be found in the damage to the skull. Trauma to the bone indicates that it was violently removed from the body and stuck on something sharp like a spike or lance.[3] The skull of St. Ambrose Barlow can tell a story. In the absence of written accounts or papers attesting to its authenticity the skull itself can provide the vital information linking the remains to this dramatic and tragic part of our history, in effect the evidence of the religious and political unrest can be told by the skull itself.

The artefacts that are associated with human remains can also tell us a lot about religious, economic and cultural history. For example at Poulton occasionally burials have been found to include stones positioned carefully under the head ('pillow stones'). This hints at a perception of the time that the deceased body is 'resting' in death ready to rise again and it is understood that the head was positioned in this way in order to keep the face upright facing east on judgement day. The position of the

[1] *The Skull and the Story of St Ambrose Barlow* http://www.dioceseofsalford.org.uk/the-work-of-the-bishop/wardley-hall?start=2. Date Accessed 11 Jan 2012.
[2] *The Skull and The Story.*
[3] *Ibid.*

body in the church or graveyard and its treatment in death can tell us about the person's status in life. Elaborate coffins and expensive embalming processes, for example, would not have been accessible to the poor. At Poulton evidence that would suggest the use of nails or other iron fittings in coffins is very rarely found; but such discoveries do not conclusively prove that a coffin was in situ as other disturbed structures in close proximity could account for their presence. Shroud pins are also occasionally found at the site, providing evidence that this is a poor rural community.[1] The position of the body in relation to the chapel altar can also indicate wealth and status. One of the arguments for a skeleton found within the chapel site being Sir Nicholas Manley who died in 1519 is that it was found centrally facing the altar, an indication of a high status individual.[2]

It is also possible to discover trends in culture, fashion, and language through the study of artefacts associated with human remains. The reliquaries displayed in the 'Treasures of Heaven' exhibition can inspire a wealth of discussion about the history, culture and religious beliefs from which they derive, not just in relation to the saints themselves but also in the way that they have been preserved, presented and adorned. Take for example the reliquary bust of St Balbina c.520-30, an early virgin martyr of Rome containing a fragment of skull. The reliquary depicts the head, shoulders and chest of St Balbina, dressed in a golden gown with a jewelled necklace, an elaborate coiffed hair style and a creamy complexion with rosy cheeks.[3] Strikingly similar in style is the reliquary bust of an unknown saint likely to have been a companion St Ursula. This reliquary is also dated at c.1520-30 from the South Netherlands area and interestingly based on a similar style. Could this be a representation of what was considered saintly in the 16th century or an idea of what would be saintly for the early Christians? It is more likely that this is a depiction of the current fashions of the early 16th century in the Brussels area. It provides us with valuable knowledge about the context in which it was conceived and constructed. Just as works of fine art can tell us much

[1] R. Carpenter, and S. Crane, *Analysis of Human Skeletal Material from the Poulton Research Project: 1995 -2008.* (2008), p. 5.
[2] Emery, Lost Cistercian Abbey, pp. 524-525.
[3] See Bagnoli, *Treasures of Heaven,* p. 194

about the lives of individuals, through depicting occupations, fashions, foods, and buildings, so can many of these reliquaries, as works of art in their own right.

The way in which these remains have been preserved, displayed and treated over time can shed insight into the changing perceptions of the body in death. For this reason it is invaluable to cultural, religious and social history. An interesting example is the head of St Ambrose Barlow. Following his death it was initially displayed on a spike or lance as a reinforcement of a political ideology. The ruling Protestant elite utilized it as a warning against further public displays of Catholic worship. On its rediscovery in 1745 it then became an item of curiosity and displayed at Wardley Hall and was later an object of terror by being linked to local ghost stories as a 'screaming skull'[1] In the later 20th century the head of St Ambrose became an object of forensic testing. Throughout its history the significance of the skull has depended on the changing social, political and cultural environments that it has been exposed to. Whether an object of punishment, warning, ridicule, rebellion, secrecy, mourning, scientific enquiry, horror, or curiosity. The work of archaeologist Dr Sarah Tarlow explores similar case histories in depth and discusses the changing perceptions of the deceased body from the 16th century to the 20th century.[2]

Similar themes emerge when considering the history of human remains as relics. The leaders of the Christian community in the first to fourth centuries AD who refused to renounce their faith were executed as were seen as a threat to the authority of Rome.[3] These saints were executed as a warning but in fact became heroes to the early Christians, their remains such as hair, teeth, fingernails and later whole body parts were separated in order for them to be visited with ease in a persecuted environment. They were fragmented, distributed and displayed by these communities as solidarity of faith as it was believed that they retained the

[1] D. Parkinson, *The Screaming Skull of Wardley Hall* http://www.mysteriousbritain.co.uk/hauntings/screaming-skulls-an-introduction.html

[2] Tarlow, *Ritual, Belief and the Dead.*

[3] D. Krueger, 'The Religion of Relics in Late Antiquity and Byzantium', in Bagnoli, *Treasures of Heaven,* p. 6.

entirety of the saint's holiness in each fragmented part.[1] Initially such relics were seen as political and religious artefacts, and possession of them was seen as a political and religious statement. Many centuries later the symbol of the relic once again became political when many churches and their contents including paintings, sculptures and relics were destroyed during the Reformation.[2]

The veneration of body parts as relics had an impact on religious language of the era and also in the metaphors used in religious literature. In fact they were of most importance in shaping the literature, hierarchy, architecture and worship of the Catholic Church. Examples of this can be seen in the importance of touch, symbolised in popular reliquary arms caught in action 'blessing' the congregation.[3] In religious language we talk about the Pope being the 'Head' of the Church. In architecture churches were constructed to house their relics, the relic itself lending its sacred presence to the building in which it was contained, these churches were then in effect named after the saints which contained them.[4]

The physical connection to the relic for the early Christians and in the Middle Ages was important through the practices of touching and kissing. Relics were also kept close to the body by containing them in rings and necklaces. However, during the Age of Enlightenment in the 18th century, warnings against physical contact with human remains were made by notable philosophers and scientists of the day. They postulated that kissing bones and also displaying flesh could spread contagion which infused fear and caution into the population, so that human remains in this period became an object of fear.[5] This was a marked difference from the ideas of earlier Christians that that the saintly body in death remained untarnished and pure.

[1] Krueger, 'The Religion of Relics', p. 8.
[2] D. Angenendt, 'Relics and Their Veneration' in Bagnoli, *Treasures of Heaven*, p. 26.
[3] C. Hahn, The spectacle of the charismatic body patrons, artists and body part reliquaries, p. 166.
[4] Krueger, 'The Religion of Relics', p. 8
[5] Angenendt, 'Relics', p. 26.

If we consider the relics and reliquaries within the 'Treasures of Heaven' exhibition it could be said that they are currently being displayed as objects of curiosity. The relic as an object of curiosity began in the high Middle Ages when there was a shift away from the reluctance to display relics, and consequently they were often placed directly in view in glass vessels.[1] Take the tooth of St. John the Baptist as an example. It has been pointed out that the difference between a natural curiosity and relic was never clear cut throughout the ages. In the 16th and 17th centuries in particular various collections of relics, such as the Gualdo in Venice, contained ancient antiquities and natural marvels such as a claw of a great beast alongside relics such as a piece of the True Cross and saints' body parts.[2] So are we now at the stage where the relic is a curio, displayed in an exhibition far removed from their original context within the chapels, monasteries and churches of which they named?

These relics and reliquaries are on display for the world to appreciate them not only for their place in our history but also for the true pieces of astonishing art they are. This is not to say that they are being venerated purely for the art itself, the aim of the patrons and artisans who produced them was to inspire the soul, to consider the wonder of God's creation and the talents that the human hand can create. These impressive reliquaries and the relics contained within are occasionally owned by private collections and museums. The questions relating to ethical ownership are not the focus of this piece; however, it should be said that most of the information that can be gained from artefacts and human remains can only be discovered when they are in their original context. It is interesting to consider that the head of Fr William Weston still remains Jesuit property but is on 'indefinite loan' to the remainder of his body in Valladolid.[3]

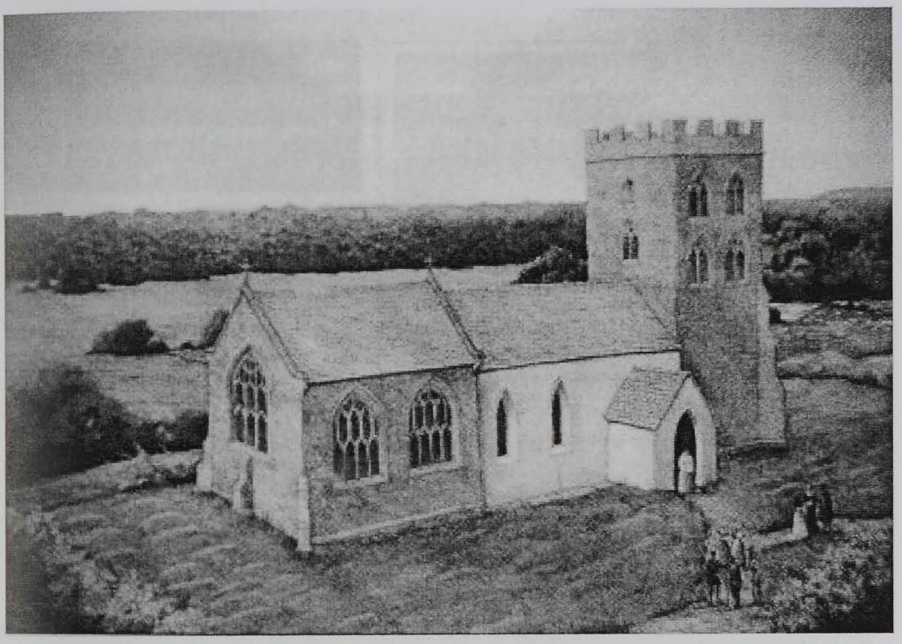
It is often said that a human skeleton is a voice of the past. Bone can bear physical signs of a person's diet, disease, lifestyle and trauma. In fact the skeleton can serve as a kind of memory of the environment and culture in which the person lived, it can tell a unique life story that

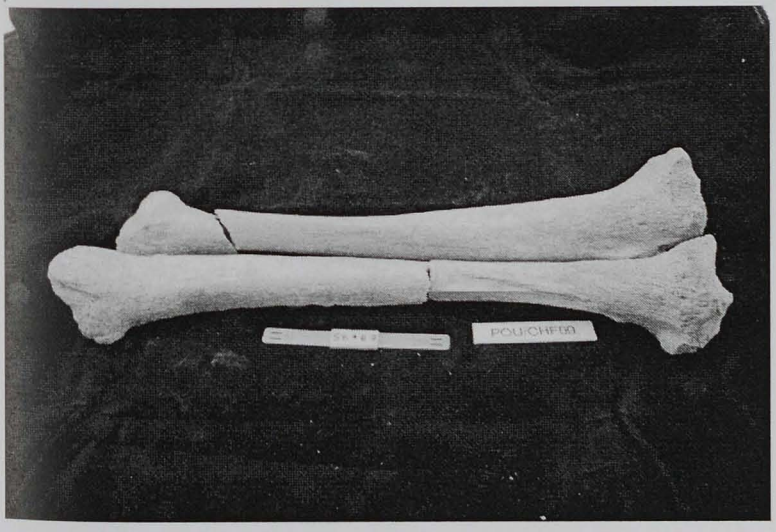
[1] *Ibid.* p. 25-26.
[2] A. Nagel, The Afterlife of the Reliquary, in M. Bagnoli, et al (eds.) *Treasures of Heaven: Saints, Relics, and devotion in Medieval Europe*, p. 213.
[3] Harris, *Return of the Exorcist.*

otherwise may never have been told. With an open and enquiring mind it is impossible to view these human remains and the vessels which have contained them for centuries as anything other than a unique insight into the life and times of the person and society in which they lived. In addition to this the way in which these remains have been preserved, displayed and treated over time can shed insight on the changing perceptions of the body in death and is invaluable to cultural, religious and social history.

Illustrations overleaf:
(Above) *Reconstruction of the chapel in the late 15$^{th}$ century.*
(Artist Jane Brayne).

(Below) *Photograph showing excessive bone growth of the skeleton's left tibia.*




POUCHER


*Photograph of the skeleton excavated at Poulton 2009*
(Images and photographs reproduced by kind permission of the Poulton Research Project)

# Self-service photography in archives: a case study from the John Rylands Library

John Hodgson
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## Introduction

One of the areas of current debate among archive repositories and special collections libraries is the question of whether and how to permit self-service photography in search-rooms and reading-rooms. Little consensus has emerged thus far, and researchers are faced with a confusing spectrum of approaches across institutions, from complete prohibition to *de facto* free-for-all. It is hoped that this paper, outlining the experience at the John Rylands University Library, will assist repositories who are considering whether to implement self-service photography, and it may prompt those that have already introduced a service to review their procedures.

It may be helpful to begin by setting out the context in which the University of Manchester's John Rylands University Library (JRUL) operates. The JRUL was formed in 1972 by the merger of the University Library with the independent John Rylands Library. Both institutions had very rich special collections, particularly the John Rylands Library, so the combined holdings are exceptionally significant, with huge research potential across an array of subjects. Printed books range from the peaks of European printing, such as Gutenberg and Caxton, to examples of street literature. Manuscripts span four thousand years and over fifty languages, from the Epic of Gilgamesh to Elizabeth Gaskell. There are hundreds of archives, with particular strengths in modern literature, nonconformity, and British economic, social and political history. Most of the collections are housed in the gothic splendour of the John Rylands Library, Deansgate, while many university, medical and scientific archives are located in the Archive and Records Centre at the Main Library. While the Library's primary audience comprises staff and students of the University of Manchester, over half of our readers are external, including local historians, genealogists and life-long learners, as well as researchers from other HE and FE institutions in the UK and overseas.

Before discussing the process by which we introduced self-service photography at the JRUL, I think it would be useful to summarise the pros and cons of instituting the service in any archive or special collections library.

**Benefits**

- Self-service photography is a service that is greatly appreciated by researchers, and they are increasingly coming to expect it as the norm. In an era of Customer Service Excellence, self-service photography is a significant improvement in the service we provide to researchers, which can be implemented relatively easily and cheaply.
- Self-service photography relieves staff of the burden of photocopying. In a time of budget cuts and staffing shortages, the time and effort required to supply photocopies can have a significant impact on a service, which is inadequately recompensed by the modest fees that archives and libraries have traditionally charged for photocopies.
- In an era of smart phones and cameras smaller than match boxes, it is increasingly difficult to prevent readers taking illicit photographs. There is therefore an argument that it is better to introduce a scheme that can be properly policed than to have an outright prohibition.

**Drawbacks and Issues to Consider**

- Permitting self-service photography obviously involves a risk that researchers will infringe copyright law, either deliberately or inadvertently, thus making themselves and repositories liable to legal action. Under the Copyright Designs and Patents Act 1988, unpublished manuscript material is subject to perpetual copyright, at least until 2039, so even medieval documents are theoretically still in copyright. Indeed the vast majority of documents within archives and special collections libraries are subject to copyright, as well as most twentieth-century printed material. However, fair dealing permits limited copying of copyright material for private study purposes but not for publication. Allowing researchers to make their own copies does not absolve repositories from their legal responsibilities: if an institution authorizes, or appears to authorize, an infringement it is committing a primary infringement of copyright and is just as liable as the offending researcher.

- The introduction of self-service photography may arguably result in a reduction in the number of researchers in search-rooms and reading-rooms, which is often used as a Key Performance Indicator for archives and libraries. Photography relieves researchers of the burden of compiling detailed notes and transcriptions of documents; they can view in a couple of hours what would previously have taken a day or more to study, compiling detailed notes by hand or on a laptop. It may also result in researchers ordering far more documents, which could place an extra burden on the staff responsible for retrieving and issuing material.
- There is concern that self-service photography may compromise the well-being of the material that is being copied. Readers may be tempted to strain tightly-bound volumes by opening them too wide, or to flatten deeds and single-sheet documents, in order to obtain a better image. There is also the risk of accidental damage caused by trailing camera straps, dropped cameras, etc.
- Self-service photography may result in the loss of income from photocopying and photographic charges.
- Some deposited collections may be subject to specific restrictions on copying, imposed by owners; there is a risk that these limitations may be infringed unless self-service photography is carefully policed.
- There is also some understandable concern that a chorus of clicking, whirring and beeping digital cameras will intrude into the silence of search-rooms and reading-rooms, causing annoyance to other researchers.

## Copyright and Personal Data

The danger of an infringement of copyright law is the most serious objection to self-service photography. Any institution contemplating the introduction of a service must address this issue and develop robust procedures in order to minimize the risks. We took advice from Tim Padfield, the copyright expert at The National Archives, and author of the invaluable *Copyright for Archivists and Records Managers*.[1] He advised us not to give readers explicit permission to copy any particular item; instead to make it clear that we cannot authorize readers to do anything that infringes or that might infringe copyright, and to explain in general terms what readers are

1 Timothy Padfield, Copyright for Archivists and Records Managers, 3rd edition (London: Facet, 2007).

allowed to do. It is then the readers' responsibility to decide whether to copy material. Staff should never assist readers to make copies, in order to protect them from claims of having authorized an infringement if a reader goes beyond the bounds of fair dealing. Notices should be prominently displayed in reading-rooms, making it clear that the copying of copyright works is an infringement of copyright except under certain conditions.

There is a related concern over personal data in archives, which are covered by the Data Protection Act and Freedom of Information Act. In the JRUL and any professionally managed repository, personal data should already be covered by procedures for vetting requests to consult modern archive material. So the introduction of self-service photography should not bring any significant increase in the risk of breaching DPA/FOI regulations. Nevertheless, reading-room staff need to be particularly vigilant in these cases, since there is a risk that readers may make illicit copies.

**Introduction of Self-Service Photography at the JRUL**

Responding to frequent requests from readers, in 2009 the JRUL introduced self-service photography in the Special Collections reading-rooms, on a trial basis. Prior to implementation, there was a great deal of discussion within the Library about the benefits and risks of the initiative, and the practicalities of implementation. In developing our proposals we formulated the following principles, to guide us through the process:

- The scheme must be affordable, and not involve additional staffing or major physical alterations to the reading-rooms.
- Our procedures must be straightforward to implement, and easy for both staff and customers to understand.
- We must comply with statutory requirements and professional best practice.
- We must as far as possible satisfy customers' requirements; when we cannot fulfil their requirements, we must explain why.
- Our procedures must not place Special Collections material at undue risk.

Among the concerns expressed by staff during the planning phase were: reputational and legal risks to the Library if readers breached copyright and data protection laws; risks to items being photographed, due to inappropriate handling, flash photography, etc.; concerns over the status of deposited collections, and how to enforce any restrictions on copying imposed by the owners of material; potential disruption and noise in the reading-rooms; the additional burden imposed on reading-room staff from administering the service; and the loss of revenue to our in-house imaging service, which is required to show an operating profit. In our case, none of our depositors have stipulated any restrictions on copying, but this is an issue that affects many archive repositories.

In order to address these concerns, we developed the following procedures, which we believe balance the demands of readers for unrestricted copying with the constraints imposed by the legal framework, the safeguarding of the collections, and operational and financial requirements.

- Most material that is deemed physically suitable for issue to a reader may be photographed, with the exception of any codices earlier than 1600 and tightly bound volumes of any age (volumes that open to less than 120 degrees). In these cases customers are referred to the JRUL's own imaging service.
- Material covered by copyright law can only be copied subject to copyright restrictions, in exactly the same way as standard imaging orders are dealt with.
- Readers must sign a copyright and Data Protection declaration as a part of registration procedures and they must be made aware of what their obligations are.
- Notices are displayed in the reading-rooms informing users that self-service photography is permitted at the discretion of staff and setting out the rules.
- Permission is never granted for the publication of self-service images; readers wishing to obtain images for publication must do so through our in-house imaging service, in order to ensure that published images are of high quality.

- Customers wishing to take their own images are asked to fill in an order form and hand this in at the counter, for approval by a member of the Customer Services team. In cases of doubt over the permissibility of copying, a member of the Collection Care team and/or the relevant curator is consulted.
- The form contains instructions on what the reader is and is not permitted to do, i.e. no flash; cameras must be set to silent mode; tripods and stands are not permitted; camera straps must be placed around the neck or wrist to prevent them dangling onto material and to reduce the risk of the camera being dropped; cameras must not be held directly over material.
- Once a request has been approved, the researcher is issued with a 'flag' carrying a camera symbol. This serves as a visual indication that they have been authorized to make copies. Conversely, the absence of a flag indicates that a customer is taking images without permission.
- Customers must take images at their allotted desk rather than at a separate photographic station as is the case in some repositories. This minimizes the risks inherent in moving material across the reading-room. If reading-room staff have concerns about the location of a reader, they may ask him/her to move to a more easily observable desk. However, the two reading-rooms at the JRUL are relatively small, so invigilation is not difficult.
- Customer request forms are filed by the counter staff under the customer's name.
- Counter staff and others are given regular refresher training in copyright regulations.

**Charges**

Some institutions impose a flat-rate fee for granting permission to take photographs. This provides a modest income stream, and is justified either on the grounds of the administrative costs of providing the service, or as recompense for the loss of income from photocopying charges. At the JRUL we decided not to levy a fee. We felt that the legal and moral grounds for charging were dubious; members of the University of Manchester in particular might object to paying for the service within their 'own' library, and we did

not wish to establish differential fees for external readers; any charges would tend to undermine the goodwill engendered among researchers for a service that we wanted to encourage and promote; charges could lead to illicit copying by researchers who wished to evade payment; and any income would be modest, and would be at least partially offset by the costs of processing the charges. Having introduced the service, I am sure that the decision to waive fees was the right one.

**Impact on the Service and the Reading-Rooms**

The introduction of self-service photography at the JRUL has resulted in a significant improvement in the service we provide to our readers, and very few of the negative effects that were feared have actually been realized. A significant proportion of our readers, perhaps one-third, has taken advantage of the service, and feedback has been very positive; readers certainly appreciate the ability to take their own photographs. It is a particular boon for overseas researchers on limited budgets, since they are able to consult many more items during a short visit to Manchester.

From the point of view of JRUL staff, the service is straightforward to administer, and reading-room staff have noticed a (welcome) reduction in photocopying orders. Conversely, the initiative has had a minimum impact on our in-house imaging service, now known as CHICC (Centre for Heritage Imaging and Collection Care).[1] The CHICC studio is equipped with high-resolution digital cameras (up 80 megapixels), and supplies TIFF files both for external clients wishing to publish images from our collections, and for our own digitisation programme, as well as providing digitisation services for other institutions on a commercial basis. In other words, it is not in competition with self-service photography. Even if the dramatic improvement in digital camera technology continues, the quality of images obtained by a hand-held camera in a reading-room will never match what professional photographers can achieve in a well-equipped photographic studio where lighting is closely controlled and cameras are mounted on stands.

1 http://www.library.manchester.ac.uk/ourservices/servicesweprovide/chicc.

Inevitably there have been a few drawbacks. Readers sometimes question the restrictions we have placed on certain categories of material, such as illuminated manuscripts, but when we explain the reasons behind them, they are generally happy to accept them. Reading-room staff are sometimes required to ask readers to switch noisy cameras to silent mode (perhaps we should not be surprised that many readers don't know how to adjust their camera's default settings). And once or twice we have had to intervene when readers have handled materially inappropriately, in order to obtain a better image: such as placing documents on the floor under a window! We have gently pointed out that this isn't acceptable, and that if readers want high-quality images they should use our in-house imaging service. However, these are isolated cases, and the overwhelming impact has been positive. Following a six-month trial period, we decided to implement the service permanently without any alteration in procedures.

## Conclusion

I hope that this short paper has demonstrated the benefits of introducing self-service photography at the John Rylands University Library. Our experience has shown that, subject to the obvious safeguards necessary for legal compliance and for protecting the collections, self-service photography can bring major improvements in customer service with minimal cost and administrative burden.[1]

## Appendix: Reading-Room Notice

In order to comply with copyright law and to explain the procedures for self-service photography, the following notice is prominently displayed in reading-rooms:

### SELF-SERVICE PHOTOGRAPHY

Self-service photography is now permitted in the Special Collections Reading Rooms. You must fill in an application form for each item you wish to copy, and hand it in to a member of the Library staff. You must observe the rules for self-service photography printed on the reverse of the form. Many items within the Library are covered by Copyright Law, including all

[1] I am grateful to my colleagues Stella Halkyard and James Peters for commenting on an earlier draft of this article. I am entirely responsible for any remaining errors and deficiencies.

unpublished manuscripts. Copying of copyright works is an infringement of copyright except under certain limited conditions. These include:

- Copies of more than an insubstantial part of a copyright work may be made solely for research, private study, criticism, review or (except photographs) current news reporting.
- Only one such copy may be made.
- Further copies may not be made from such a copy for the use of anyone else.

The Library gives no authority for the making of any copies of copyright works. All responsibility for any infringement of copyright is borne by the person making the copy and the person (if different) for whom the copy is being made. It is your responsibility to determine whether you can legally copy an item. Staff cannot assist with the making of copies.

# The central congregational archive of the Poor Servants of the Mother of God: a summary overview

Paul Shaw

In this article I am aiming to give an overview of the archival collections of the Congregation of the Poor Servants of the Mother of God, held at their central archive at St Mary's Convent Brentford, Middlesex. The article is based firmly on the presentation which I gave at the Catholic Archives Society Conference at Brunel Manor, Torquay, in 2008, and also on a shorter summary which was provided for the Catholic Archives Society Bulletin. The collections are extremely rich and varied, and perhaps contain items that one would not expect to find in the central archive of a congregation of Catholic sisters founded only as recently as the nineteenth century. In order to provide a logical structure to this article, as in the presentation, I will use the classification scheme of the archives as a reference, and a summary of the classification scheme is attached as an appendix. The archive is a large and complex one, and I have chosen to focus on the archives relating to the founder, which are additionally those which have been most used and have been the focus of cataloguing and transcription.

The collections are based in St Mary's Convent, Brentford, in an upper room which was once a chapel, and here also most of the other heritage collections are stored and maintained, with the exception of the artefacts displayed and stored in connection with the sisters' heritage centre, which is currently being developed and expanded. Many of the books are currently being transferred to a library and reading room nearby, with other material being housed in a separate library elsewhere in the convent. The heart of the archival collections comprises the administrative material which largely originates with the founding of the congregation in the late nineteenth century by Frances Margaret Taylor (1832-1900), known in religion as Mother Magdalen of the Sacred Heart. Frances Taylor was a convert from the Anglican faith, daughter of a clergyman, who before founding the congregation had had an active career as a Catholic author and journalist, notably as founder editor of the leading Catholic journal the *Month* (1864-5). The official date of

foundation of the Poor Servants of the Mother of God is now given as 12 February 1872 when Mother Magdalen, as we may most conveniently refer to her, took her final vows as a religious.

Some historical context must initially be given to explain the origin of the collections. The congregation may trace its origins to October 1868 when a humble set of rooms off Fleet Street in London were rented and occupied by two Catholic ladies with the aim of establishing a religious community to offer material and spiritual support to the poor of central London. Mother Magdalen soon became the leader of this community, whose title was derived from a Polish congregation now known as the 'Little Servant Sisters of the Immaculate Conception'. The sisters considered themselves to be a province of this congregation until around 1871, when they effectively became a separate English foundation, with Mother Magdalen being recognized by the Holy See as the founder. Most of the records in the archives date back little before the founding of the congregation, as one might expect, though there are important exceptions.

Great assistance was given was given to the congregation in its early years by the support of distinguished clerical and lay Catholics, including Cardinal Manning; the novelist and philanthropist Lady Georgiana Fullerton, and her husband Mr. A. G. Fullerton. The archives contain interesting papers relating to all of these figures. By the year of Frances Taylor's death, the congregation administered over 20 houses and institutions, including the Providence Free Hospital, St. Helens. The congregation was focused upon work in the British Isles and Ireland, but also had houses in Italy and France. In the twentieth century it extended its charitable work to the USA, Africa and South America. Houses were acquired in Roehampton in 1876 and 1927, and the Generalate continues to be based there. The archives thus may be said to provide good documentary evidence for all of the activities of the congregation, including art works, many produced by the Sisters, and photographs; but there is also now an Irish regional archive, and many archives relating to American and other institutions continue to be held in their country of origin. The records of the Sisters' convent in Rome, which were recently surveyed, are particularly rich and varied. In London, the Sisters' principal work was the visitation of the poor in their own homes,

instructing them in the faith, and also rescuing young women from prostitution. The early foundations of the congregation included refuges, night shelters, schools, a workhouse, and a home for the elderly. Laundries were frequently utilised for the support of the Sisters, where the young women under their care could be trained in laundry work and so helped to find work. A particular feature of the congregation was that there was no division into lay/choir sisters, and no dowry was demanded. The congregation was intended by its founder to labour both *with* and *for* the poor. The survival of records relating to the Sisters' early works is extremely impressive, including many printed documents and fliers produced to record and publicise the work; for many years the congregation had its own printing press.

When I took over as 'Generalate Archivist' in 2001, as someone who had worked in a variety of institutions in the public and private sector, I might say that one of the most immediately striking aspects of the job was that any of the records series accumulated by the Sisters over the years may be traced back to models - such as the keeping of chronicles or 'annals' – which date back far into the traditions of the Church. As such the collections are part of that proud and ancient tradition of record-keeping by religious which in many ways may be said to be one of the gifts of the Church to humankind. What was less surprising, - for this is common with many archivists working for smaller organisations – is that the collections included artefacts, paintings, books and journals and it can be seen that there are advantages in administering these diverse collections as one; and certainly the collecting and cataloguing of books and journals has turned out to be a very important part of the task of the archive team. The archive was shortly after renamed as the 'Central Archive of the Poor Servants of the Mother of God', and this partly reflects the rather centralised structure of the organisation down the years. Under the rule and constitutions of the institute, an advisory council and secretariat were established in order to assist in the governing of the congregation, and this machinery expanded and developed in the 1890s. However, the evidence of the correspondence and other records in the archives suggest that Mother Magdalen played a central co-ordinating role in all of the business affairs of this expanding community up until her death. She seems to have herself overseen or directly carried out the

production of valuable early annals and records of the personnel of the congregation.

The collections are certainly also reflective of the enormous expansion in orders or congregations of 'active' religious which was typical of the Catholic Church in Europe in the nineteenth century. Also, the growth in academic and wider interest in female religious, as reflected for example in the establishment of the network known as the 'History of Women Religious in Britain and Ireland', has certainly resulted in fruitful on-going research projects being written by external users of the archives. Considerable research has also been done into the early life of the foundress, and into her family, largely in connection with the cause for her beatification, which was first established in 1982. The late Sister Rose Joseph Kennedy was the co-ordinator of this work, and her papers, some of which have come to the archives, and some of which are still in use for the cause, provide and will continue to provide a marvellous interpretive tool for the history of the founder and the early years of the congregation.

To refer now to the classification scheme, it is based on that produced some years ago by the Catholic Archives Society, though revised to take account of the particular attributes and idiosyncrasies of the SMG archives. I will now explain the main divisions, which are broadly representative of the organisation and arrangement of the material as it was transferred to me, largely coming from the Generalate in Roehampton, with the exception of Mother Magdalen's own papers, which were largely held by Sr Rose Joseph.

The key divisions are into 'Foundation documents', broadly the material which was held by Sr Rose in relation to the 'cause', and which reflects the activities of Mother Magdalen and the early Sisters in administering the congregation and drawing up the early versions of the rule and constitutions (ref I/-); Generalate central administrative files, which covers the central administration of the congregation since Mother Magdalen's death, including records of the erstwhile SMG London region (ref. II/-); internal files and documents originating with particular houses and institutions, including standard format of documents such as convent diaries (ref. III/-); personal papers donated by or inherited from individual Sisters, such as research notes, diaries and art works (ref IV/-); and

related library (ref V/-) and artefact collections (ref VI/-). There is an additional category of material relating to individuals linked to the early history, mainly comprising papers of Lady Georgiana Fullerton (ref VII/). I will expand on this later on. In terms of quantity, when fully classified and organised, the central administrative files will certainly be the largest division of the archives, comprising about a third of the whole. Much work on the cataloguing and organizing of the material prior to its transfer to Brentford had already been carried out by Sister Sheila Lee and Sister Joseph O'Rourke, who continue to work with the records and archives.

In terms of the quantity of archives, a recent measure for those who have the imagination to visualise such things is that it consist of approximately 160 linear metres, most of which is now boxed in sturdy archival containers; of this total, approximately 42 linear metres consists of library items, books and journals. The archives currently take two periodical titles and the quantity of archives includes some photographic material and a small amount in other formats, which are generally treated as an integral part of other collections. The measure given for 'books' includes the historic collection of journals, and accruing periodicals. The library constitutes both historic collections, and a reference library to support the archive collections.

To give a complete overview of the collections in the space which I have would be impossible, and the broad outline given in the figure will have to suffice for most. However, I would like to describe in more detail certain of the more historical collections connected with the early years of the congregation.

Of all the collections, certainly the most valuable to the congregation, and arguably also those of most value historically, are the personal papers and correspondence of Mother Magdalen Taylor, under the heading 'foundation documents'. I have already stated that the focus of the archive is on the period following the foundation of the congregation in 1869; it is interesting to note one exception within the collections; a lovely leather bound book of psalms, dated 1700, which may have been the gift of Mr Fullerton, husband of Lady Georgiana who will be referred

to later; others may be able to tell me whether the inscription linking it to the 'Poor Clares of Gravelines' may also link it with Mary Ward, founder of the Institute of the Blessed Virgin Mary (now the Congregation of Jesus). Mother Magdalen's own papers include a small but very valuable collection of family correspondence, which is currently being catalogued by a volunteer, Mrs Alison Quinlan, and greatly worthy of note is a the hand-written diary of Frances Taylor' mother Mrs Louisa Taylor covering the years 1842 -1869, comprising an account of the last illness and death of her husband Rev Henry Taylor (1842), and of family life in London up to the year of her death (1848-1869). A few other letters exist under the heading 'family papers', mainly comprising correspondence with members of Mother Magdalen's extensive and fascinating family, and there is a very valuable family photograph album donated by one of Mother Magdalen's descendants. Regrettably, Frances Taylor did not retain much relating to her work and journalistic activities before founding the congregation. She did, however, retain a small but immensely valuable small connection of spiritual notes, consisting of prayers, devotions and commentaries on her retreats. The great bulk of the material in this section consist of letters and papers relating to the founding and running of the congregation in its early years, including letters to her own Sisters, consisting of approximately 1,200 items, which are an incredible resource, and give tremendous insights, not only into the running of the institute in its early years, but also into the personal character of Mother Magdalen. They include letters relating to congregation business, such as, instructions to Superiors; letters conveying news about Mother Magdalen's activities and whereabouts; and letters conveying spiritual advice and greetings, particularly on individual Sisters' feast days. The extensive correspondence with priests and bishops with whom Mother Magdalen came into contact is largely businesslike and can be used to chart in great detail the establishing of new convents and the activities of the congregation in its early years. Particularly valuable in this context is the correspondence with Cardinal H. E. Manning, whose support was very valuable to the congregation in its early years when much of the work was focused on his own Diocese of Westminster; his relations with Mother Magdalen were very cordial, he being one of her early supporters following her conversion to the Catholic faith. One can also not fail to mention the letters from Cardinal Newman,

largely relating to Mother Magdalen's literary activities before she founded the congregation, and including letters to Mother Magdalen's benefactors Lady Georgiana and Mr A G Fullerton.

The correspondence between Mother Magdalen and the Fullertons is particularly worthy of note. Lady Georgiana Charlotte Fullerton (1812-1885) and her husband [Captain] Alexander George Fullerton (1808-1907) were the most important individual early supporters of the congregation, and their correspondence in the archive comprises over 1,000 items. Lady Georgiana was the youngest daughter of the first Earl Granville, the English Ambassador in Paris and a leading figure in Catholic literary and philanthropic circles. At the risk of causing confusion by going out of sequence, I will at this point refer to the Fullerton papers which are listed separately under ref. VII/-. The heritage collections include a very extensive and valuable collection of literary papers, correspondence and artefacts connected with Lady Georgiana and her husband. The literary and devotional papers of the Fullertons seem to have been kept separately from the material relating to directly to their relations with Mother Magdalen and this is therefore reflected in the classification; it may be speculated that this material was donated to Frances Taylor separately in connection with her work on the spiritual biography of Lady Georgiana of which she was the anonymous author, *The Inner Life of Lady Georgiana Fullerton* (1899).

In addition to the correspondence, the other most historically valuable collections of papers are surely the MS early annals and accounts of the work of the congregation in its early years. The annals provide an invaluable chronological account of the founding, membership and work of the congregation, and they exist in more than one version, covering the years from 1865-1896. Two versions were written by Mother Magdalen herself, and one apparently by her secretary Sister Mary Colette. These are supplemented by various other accounts and recollections of the early works of the congregation, some of which appear to have been produced following her death so that the recollections of those who remembered 'Mother Foundress' could be preserved for posterity. In a very real sense, these documents have provided the foundation for all of the historical and

biographical works which have followed relating to Mother Magdalen and the history of the congregation.

## Outline Classification Scheme

**I. Foundation Documents**

**A.** Mother Magdalen Taylor's Papers

**B.** Annals and related documents

**C.** Papers relating to the foundation of the congregation, early houses and missions

**D.** Personal accounts and narratives by Sisters

**E.** Correspondence with clergy and religious

**F.** Correspondence between Mother Magdalen and Lady Georgiana and Mr A. G. Fullerton

**G.** Documents relating to Mother Magdalen's final illness and death

**N.** Letters from Cardinal Newman

**II. Generalate, governance and constitutions**

**A.** General Chapters

**B.** Superior and Council

**C.** Revision to rule and Constitutions/spiritual direction

**D.** General administration/officials, including London Region

**E.** Personnel

**F.** Administration of Houses, institutions and properties

**G.** Generalate photographic collection

**H.** Papers relating to SMG publications

**III. Convents and institutions**

**IV. Personal papers of members of the congregation**

**V. Library**

**A.** Books related directly to the history of the congregation

**B.** General books on religion/Catholicism

**C.** Reference books (non-religious)

**D.** Journals/periodicals

**E.** Material published by the Catholic Church/Holy See

**F** Theses

**G** History, General

**H** Publications

**VI Artefacts**

**A.** Objects/ artefacts of Mother Magdalen Taylor

**B.** Objects/artefacts of other members/sections of the congregation

**C.** Objects/artefacts of individuals connected with the congregation

**VII Papers of individuals linked to the history of the congregation**

**A** Papers of Lady Georgiana and Mr A G Fullerton

**B** Letters to Miss Neville and from Father Henry Young

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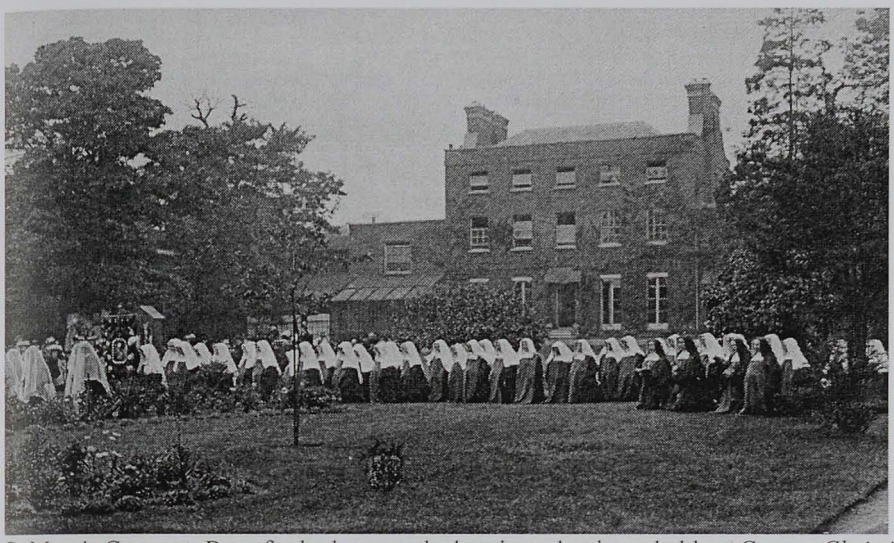

St Mary's Convent, Brentford, photograph showing what is probably a *Corpus Christi* Procession. *n.d., c.1880-1913. [ref. IA/1/(pt)].*

St Mary's Convent, Roehampton, photograph (detail) showing the novitiate chapel. *n.d., c.1889-1894. [ref. IIG/Jubilee Album]*

## School archives and the preservation of Catholic heritage Aotearoa, New Zealand

Sister Lorraine Campbell sm

*The preservation of archives and records at Marist College is a service to our past and a gift for the present and future members of the College community. ... Some years ago, Sr. Karin began to record and organize the archives, particularly the photographs. My involvement with the recent jubilee leads me to consider that this work needs to be taken up again and expanded. We run the risk of losing valuable historical material and may already have, through the lack of an archives policy, inadequate records of the material currently held, and poor storage methods and facilities. Archives and records seem to be dispersed around the school. There is no collection policy. Sisters who know the early history are in the older age group, so vital information could be lost. For these reasons, and in preparation for our Jubilee in 2028, some immediate action is needed.*

This was the introduction to a proposal to the Board of Trustees of Marist College, Auckland New Zealand, made in October 2008. The Board responded positively and in the past three years a concerted effort has been made to initiate the redevelopment of the archives.

This article will briefly outline the development of a national education system in New Zealand in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, describe the beginnings of Marist College in the context of this history, discuss some of the major achievements in the development of the archives in the past three years and the attempts in New Zealand to retain school archives and to support the work of school archivists

### A Brief History of New Zealand Education

The earliest Catholic school in New Zealand was opened by lay people in 1841 a year after the Treaty of Waitangi had established a relationship between the British Crown and the indigenous Maori people. Bishop Pompallier and his successors throughout New Zealand, sought

religious congregations to establish schools. Initially, under a provincial system, some financial support was provided. But when the provincial governments were abolished in 1876 and a national government established, the provision of primary education aroused debates over the place of religious education and the practice of a denominational faith in the new system. Primary Education, free, compulsory and secular since the Education Act of 1877, concluded with the Proficiency Certificate.[1] The Catholic response was to build their own parochial schools usually staffed by a congregation of religious sisters or brothers and sometimes priests.

Students in State schools could, after completing their Proficiency, compete for scholarships to secondary schools. Fr. Gobillot notes "Since the latter are now only for State Colleges, as neutral as primary school, Catholic teachers, obviously, do not encourage their pupils to compete"[2]. The Education Act of 1917 required all secondary schools to offer free places to those who passed Proficiency. By 1917, 37 percent of students attended secondary school compared with 10 percent in 1900. There were several secondary schools for Catholic boys. But with the all students receiving primary education the demand for secondary education for girls was increasing. Though required to be registered after a certain time, these primary and secondary schools were considered private schools. The State gave no assistance to cover costs. The entire Catholic system was built on the sacrificial generosity of parents, parish communities and religious congregations.

The other factor that muddied efforts to obtain state aid was the interdenominational rivalry of the Catholics and Protestant churches at the time exacerbated by rigid positions defending one's own denomination, and bitter arguments during World War One over "the conscription of clergy, Papal neutrality and Irish-self-determination."[3]

[1] Abolished in 1936.

[2] P. Gobilott, *The History of the Marist Sisters in Europe and Oceania, 1934* (English Translation 2008) p. 398.

[3] R. Sweetman, *A Fair and Just Solution? A History of the Integration of Private Schools in New Zealand*, (Palmerston North, Dunmore Press 2002) p. 29.

This state of affairs continued through the twentieth century, the church repeatedly putting a case for "state aid". Secondary education became compulsory to age 15 in 1945. The decline in the number of religious to staff schools and the need for more lay staff to be employed, the demands of a widening curriculum and the financial costs of maintaining significant capital expenditure brought the Catholic system to the brink of collapse in the 1960's. Since the 1940's, Catholic schools had fallen behind other private schools and state schools in terms of class sizes, facilities and buildings.[1] A uniquely New Zealand solution, based on a Scottish model, was finally agreed to with the Private Schools Conditional Integration Act 1975, "after much soul searching and long negotiations between Church leaders and Government"[2] The Act integrated Private schools, all the Catholic schools by 1983, and some other denominational schools, into the state system in such a way that they could preserve and develop their "Special Character". All running costs and salaries were met on the same basis as state schools. It remained the responsibility of the church to bring buildings and facilities up the standards of state schools. While the government assisted with loans a considerable debt remains which parents continue to pay off through Attendance Dues.

**The Marist Sisters in New Zealand 1927**

It is into this earlier context that the Marist Sisters came in 1927. The two pioneers were Mother Bernard (Mary Gorman) an indomitable and resourceful Irish woman and Sister Austin, an Australian. Born in county Sligo in 1882, Sister Bernard made her profession as a Marist Sister in October 1907. A few months later she set out for Australia with four companions to establish the first house of the Marist Sisters in Sydney. She taught in both primary and secondary schools there. There was difficulty gaining government registration for the secondary school by satisfying the requirement for a student to matriculate. This was overcome when she wrote the name Mary Gorman on the candidate list, put on school uniform and successfully passed the exam. In 1925 she was a foundation member of the new mission school at Lautoka, Fiji.

[1] *Ibid.* p. 40 quoting Spencer 1967.
[2] Catholic Education Office Information Brochure. 2005.

The bishop in Fiji was none too pleased when she was sent to New Zealand to begin the mission there in 1927.

"In the years that followed her foresight and enterprise earned her the title 'Bernard the Builder'. Not only did she govern her immediate communities, but her interest and practical help extended to other New Zealand houses as well. She became a well-known figure from Waitaruke [in the far north of the North Island] to Wellington. Indeed when the pioneer Sisters in Karori were unable to find a house - those were the war years [1939-1945] - it was Mother Bernard who, after making several attempts through lesser channels to secure a house for the Sisters, asked for an interview with the Prime Minister and gained her point. It was jokingly said, by an eminent member of the clergy after Mother Bernard's departure from the capital, that the government would now be able to resume its work, which had to take second place until her problem had reached a successful issue."[1]

Born in 1904, Pearl Woodbury, made her profession as a Marist Sister in September 1924. In 1925 she began her teaching career of forty-eight years as a foundation member of the community at Lautoka with Mother Bernard. She was to be a foundation member of four more communities during her life - Mount Albert, Herne Bay, Karori in New Zealand and of the Blacktown community in Sydney.[2]

These two sisters had come to New Zealand at the request of the parish priest of Mt Albert, Fr. Gondringer sm, to establish a primary school in the developing suburb. Within a year he had encouraged them to purchase the land the parish had bought for them in order to build a High School, but also to reduce the considerable debt of the fledgling parish. "The Bishop has given permission to have a high and boarding school, and says "open soon even if you have only 2". [3] The permissions were obtained. "Towards the end of 1927 a two storey building

[1] Sr K. Christieson, *Necrology of Sisters who have ministered in New Zealand*, (2005), p. 11.
[2] *Ibid*, pp. 11&37.
[3] Letter from Mother Bernard to Mother Marie Joseph, Superior General, 18 September, 1927, ASM-GA.

containing a classroom, dining room and a dormitory divided into cubicles was commenced."[1] It was in effect a private school. Mother Bernard was not enthusiastic about the purchase of "such a small property" for "they had aspired to purchasing a property suitable for a boarding establishment"[2], no doubt with the models from England and Ireland in mind. She also notes "Fr. Gondringer in his zeal for the Congregation had pointed out reasons for opening a boarding school as soon as possible." Without specifying what these were she says they "proved later on to be quite unfounded." [3]

"We began with three students..." This phrase has often been repeated down the years by staff and students alike at Marist College. Mother Bernard's description of the building in a letter to Mother Marie Joseph, September 1927, when negotiations are going on, stated "It will be a two story and 55 feet long. There will be two classrooms – upstairs landing, lavatory, dressing room with basins and cupboards, two bathrooms, and dormitory (Made wide enough to have corridor later on and two rows of cells. The chapel of course would be under [the] dressing rooms. A great deal can be done in wood – and New Zealand wood is beautiful – a change from Sydney. Now that music lessons are coming on (we have just got three new ones) I think we would easily carry a debt of £2,000 and it will be less about £1700."[4]

Sr. Alexius arrived New Zealand in February 1928 and later wrote her recollections of the beginnings of the High School. "Mother Bernard and I were the teachers. [The school] was so small that all classes and pupils fitted into one room. Later when numbers increased a room was added at right angles to the verandah and later still a very small portion was added to this and fitted up as a Science room. It was at this stage that we applied for government registration which was not granted until the

[1] Christieson, p. 22.
[2] Mother Bernard personal papers A/5/3 1.3 Mother Bernard on Mt Albert, AMSPANZ.
[3] Mother Bernard personal papers A/5/3 1.3 Mother Bernard on Mt Albert, AMSPANZ.
[4] Mother Bernard Letters on the beginnings in New Zealand, 18th September 1927 Mt Albert OC51/73D, AMSPANZ.

required number of pupils attended ... and a larger Science room was provided".[1] Mother Bernard herself writing to the Superior General in March 1928 say, "We cannot get any further without a Science room. The Inspector who came last year proposed to register our High School as a Secondary the standard of education being all that is required, but we would have to put up a science room. There is absolutely no question of registration without this–and we may never use it. But that is their law."[2] Registration was eventually obtained in 1945.

Her letter also indicates Catholic efforts at the time to receive some state aid and her canny arguments for permission to be granted for further expansion which show her determination to succeed. "It would be better to wait, unless the Catholic system schools obtain what they are fighting for e.g. to be allowed to take bursary children and be paid by the government for them. Of course if that bill goes through it would be wise, I think, to register before. At present only St Mary's and Remuera are registered.[3] So we would have a better chance while there are only a few schools qualified – Secondary schools are few here, so we have a chance to succeed with God's help. It is a big sacrifice to have everything in the line of exams and studies up to standard and to lose all for the want of a science room."[4] In a letter to Mother Elizabeth in April of the same year she again refers to the issue that was at the heart of Catholic efforts to get state aid, namely the fear of state secondary schools as "Protestant. "You would not be surprised at our endeavours to keep the girls with us for Secondary work if you knew the conditions. Children of seven talk of going to the "Grammar" (Public sch[ool]) only, but it gets a swank name – "Grammar School" – hence our ambition to have a classroom in the Convent - it is large enough for 40 girls – we continue the work – Just to tell you how inebriated with the idea of Public School the children are: When we took over four girls from the Primary

[1] Sr Alexius , Personal Papers "Memories of Early Mount Albert Days M3.1 A/5/3 AMSPANZ.

[2] Mother Bernard to Mother Marie Joseph, 11 March 1928, ASM-GA.

[3] St Mary's was a college run by the Mercy Sisters who had welcomed the Marist sisters to Auckland. Remuera was Baradene College of the Sacred Heart, run by the Sacre Coeur Sisters.

[4] Mother Bernard to Mother Marie Joseph, 11 March 1928, ASM-GA.

and Secondary the children went about telling everyone that "there is a new Grammar School at the Convent" and they added "Do you know that now we can go to the "Grammar" at the convent. So when we finish at the primary school we shall go to the Convent Grammar School."[1]

The roll grew in 1929 to ten boarders, both primary and secondary. The focus was mainly on commercial subjects.[2] In 1936 the primary school boarders joined the classes at the parish primary school as the secondary school roll began to grow. This approach of a private primary and secondary school in the convent seemed to be modeled on the experience of the Marist Sisters in England and Ireland. Though the Marist Sisters were founded in France in 1823, their first mission overseas was to Spitalfields, London in 1858. Further foundations followed in Highgate 1863, Richmond 1879, Peckham 1879, Tottenham 1888, Fulham 1889, Paignton 1901, Nymphsfield, 1929, and Eccles 1930. The first foundations in Ireland were Carrick-on-Shannon 1873 and Tubbercurry 1901. In almost all these settings they ran a parish school and a private convent school.[3] The parish schools did not bring the necessary finances to both provide education and to meet the sisters' financial needs. Thus the private school in the convent, teaching a more limited secondary curriculum and music lessons, was necessary for their sustenance. Rose Bourke, a local girl at the time of the arrival of the sisters, and later a Marist Sister, Sr. Margarita, recently gave her impressions of Marist Convent High School she attended in 1936. The teachers were Sr. Kostka – English language and literature, Sr. Alexius – Maths, Botany, Singing, Sr. Mary Mullen – the first New Zealand vocation to the Marist Sisters, French and Latin, Mother Therese - Religion. Sport at the time consisted of nine-a-side basketball (Netball) and tennis.[4]

Over the years the roll grew steadily, and the boarding facility catered for 65 girls at its maximum. These girls came from country areas in New

[1] Mother Bernard to Sr. Elizabeth 22 April 1928, ASM-GA.
[2] Mother Bernard personal papers A/'5/3 1.3 Mother Bernard on Mt Albert, AMSPANZ.
[3] Gobillot, 2008.
[4] Sr Margarita Bourke, sm., Reflections 2010.

Zealand and from overseas. From the beginning the College had links to the Marist Sisters missions in Fiji and Tonga, both through students who came as boarders and sisters transferring from one place to another in Oceania and sisters newly arrived from France, England and Ireland. Marist Sisters' communities had been established in Fiji (1892) Australia (1908), Tonga (1924). In 1955 there were 93 students at Marist College, in 1963 – 250; 1974 – 335 students. The roll at Integration in 1981, was capped at 471, 411 in the College and 60 in the attached Intermediate School. Over the years applications to the Ministry of Education for a roll increase have been granted up to the maximum of 750 girls in 2010. Each successive wave of immigration to New Zealand society has continued to make the College a reflection of the multicultural nature of this society

**Preservation of Catholic Heritage**

It is to this heritage that the current archival efforts are being addressed. Until the year 2001, the College was owned by the Marist Sisters. Its archives, therefore, were intertwined with those of the Marist Sisters who had largely staffed the school until that point. Under Sr. Karin Christieson, the teacher librarian, a small archival collection was begun in the College in the 1980's. At the time of the 80th jubilee in 2008, it was recognised that further development of the archives needed to be done.

The school had been under lay leadership since 1991 and had also been gifted by the Marist Sisters of New Zealand to the Bishop of Auckland in 2001. As a Marist Sister, and an ex-student, I was conscious that we could be in danger of losing parts of the story and was sure that some records and memorabilia had probably already been lost. The Board of Trustees endorsed a proposal to examine the issues. The principal has been most supportive.

In my report to the Board of Trustees I indicated that "future preservation policy will be directed largely toward those artifacts which reflect aspects of the College's history, those of symbolic or religious importance to the special character of the College, and student/ staff

activities and performances."[1] At that time I also gave them the following description of the collection and digital issues as far as I could ascertain at that time.

Description:

- The collection is largely *paper based items* - administrative records, student and staff records, admission registers from 1934, minutes of various Boards, committees, and groups within the college, the strategic plans, the complete series of the college magazine 1949-2008, scrap books of newspaper clippings and a large collection of photographs, some of which are held in digital formats.
- In addition there is range of *audio visual recordings in various formats* – slides, videos and DVDs of school events and student activities, sound recordings from reel to reel players, cassettes, CDs, and long playing records.
- Some textile based items are also held. There are past uniforms or parts thereof, and the first uniform for the Maori Club from the 1960s. In addition there are wall hangings to commemorate historical/religious events and occasions. The textiles are not stored according to good archival practice.
- Descriptions of art work and statues, which are student work or have been donated by benefactors, have not been made.
- Records of the donors and the date they were first awarded for the cups/shields have been recorded but not collated.
- Memorabilia of all kinds such as Marist Day ribbons, badges of office, are in the collection but not stored or organised in a systematic way which would show changes

[1] Report to Board of Trustees, October 2008.

in office designation and style. Some of these are textile based, others are metal.

Digital Issues

- Digitalization of the administrative systems took place in 2002 using the MUSAC Suite. Upgrades of the software occur regularly for student manager, classroom manager, staff manager, accounts, timetables and the library. An intranet makes resources available to all staff and students.
- Digital preservation of archives is a specific challenge into the future. It seems that no planning was done at the time of their creation as to the retention and use of electronic records for archival purposes. Discussion around this issue is essential in the immediate future. It may be that it is best to have hard copy of all material we wish to preserve.
- Clarity is also needed on the relationship between records creation and their final end either as archives or in deletion/disposal. The Ministry of Education guidelines provides a useful schedule (2006 pp. 18-49). A survey of four independent schools in Australia discovered that little connection was seen by administrators between record keeping and archives. The writer has argued that for educational, administrative, business, heritage, marketing, and pedagogical reasons this connection needs to be made. "In this way, archival goals and school business needs will be better aligned and the archival role will be seen as integral to, rather than apart from, normal business processes."(Riley, 1997, p.52 )
- There are privacy and intellectual property issues around the retention and/or destruction of the various kinds of records, which will need to be considered.

The redevelopment work began in February 2009. A place was designated for the archives and another area close by for records, mainly financial records. The archives area was made secure and is now a space that can be worked in. The remainder of the surrounding environment and the archives area itself remain in need of further refinement! It is a work in progress. Using the Ministry of Education and Archives New Zealand School Records Retention and Disposal Information Pack (2006) and my archival studies in Preservation Management, I prepared a report on the current issues and made suggestions for a way forward. The Ministry requires Marist College as a state integrated school to retain records to "comply with legal requirements such as tax and education legislation," and under the Public Records Act 2005 "to keep good records as part of New Zealand's archival history."[1] Although they have not yet decided on the format, the Ministry intends to begin audits of record keeping processes from 2010[2]

The Mother Bernard Archives, as the area was named, was officially opened in February 2010. A key goal for the future use of the archive is to incorporate it into the curriculum and wider projects to preserve Marist College's heritage. Already Year 7 students (11years old) annually hear part of the story and create a small production from it. Relevant displays are prepared. For example, in 2011, a musical production was done for the first time in five years. Research in the archives revealed that 26 musicals had been produced since the 1950s, the producers and musical directors ranging from the Marist Sisters to lay staff. Some of those who participated in and who produced the first musical – The Gondoliers – are still associated with the College. The demolition of a building from 1945, Colin House, also provided a focal point for retelling its story, as well as facilitating a greater awareness of what might be important to keep for archives as rooms were cleared. Staff engaged with me in their decision making. As a boarding facility it was dear to the hearts of ex-students.

Other sessions have been held with staff to enable them to recognize the significance of archives. As a result, a steady stream of artifacts and

[1] Ministry of Education and Archives New Zealand, *School Records Retention and Disposal Information Pack* (2006) p. 8.
[2] *Ibid* p. 17.

records come my way for appraisal. I can also consult long serving staff to clarify information. Gradually simple guides to records management will be developed using the School Records Retention and Disposal Information Pack. This will give staff confidence to manage their records and to know what is necessary to send to the archives. Requests of ex-students are met in a timely manner.

Students have had opportunities for work experience in the archives and receive credit for it toward their qualifications. A range of projects is envisaged each tailored to the particular skills and interests of the students. But both parties will benefit. Essential archival work, research and displays will be facilitated and students will gain credit. Perhaps it will lead them to consider a career in the heritage sector.

In 2011 a further project to reformat the photographs of principals which had been sun damaged, was begun. The desire to include key aspects of our history has led to the inclusion of photographs and some documents to tell our story. Thus a display of the A2 size for each principal is being researched, photographs scanned, and a format is being developed. It could be another year, subject to time available and finance, before this project can be completed. One of the earliest students was interviewed and several others from the earliest days will be interviewed as time permits. The earliest photos were sent to the students from 1930's in order to identify all students before 1934 as the official admission register dates from this year. The entire paper based admission register has been transferred to a data base to reduce the need for handling of the early books which are in poor condition.

In order to prevent isolation and having realized the growing digitization of records and the limitations of my archival and technical skills, I formed a group to offer support, guidance, to help to develop policy and increase awareness in the school community. Thus MARG was born – Marist Archives and Records Group. It includes the principal and representatives of the administrative staff, teaching staff and Board of Trustees and myself as the archivist. It has been very helpful in setting priorities, giving other perspectives on issues, highlighting areas of operations with which I was unfamiliar and beginning to engage the

whole staff. A significant challenge remains in how to manage digital records. The admission register has been kept electronically since 2000 and much recordkeeping is held on the intranet. Negotiations are moving slowly to establish policies and procedures on the retention of digital files and their removal from the active system to an archival area where they can be appraised and listed.

Work in the archives is part time, but assistance has come from the Bank of New Zealand, who organize all their staff for assistance in the community on their Closed for Good Days. The presence of four keen adult workers for a day has enabled the reorganisation of the student records and the boxing and brief description of photographs. More regular voluntary assistance is needed.

**Support for School Archivists**

The Archives and Records Association of New Zealand (ARANZ) has a number of special interest groups (SIG.) The Schools' Interest Group also includes solo archivists from community groups such as the Auckland Athletics' Association and St John's Ambulance Association. It meets annually for a workshop and in association with the ARANZ Conference/Annual General meeting. As most school archivists operate as sole archivists, the networking and input enable professional development and open up opportunities to approach others for assistance. Catholic/Church Archivists also gather from time to time usually in association with the ARANZ Conference. Some of the most significant material related to the earliest history of European contact with Maori and the role of the missionaries is held in the Diocesan Archives.

This then is the current situation at Marist College. The preservation of our Marist heritage is an integral part of the day to day life of the College in organisation, pastoral care, prayer, liturgy and curriculum. Mother Bernard began a tiny College on a small piece of land, with a debt and a huge determination to see Catholic young women have access to secondary education. Naming the archives after the first principal and pioneer Marist Sister, Mother Bernard, reinforces the fine heritage of the College. The preservation and use of the archival collection to support

and enhance this heritage is a key to the future of the College, and integral to our Catholic tradition of honouring our forebears.

C.1929-30 Primary and secondary boarders, outside the first building of Marist College
(Reproduced by kind permission of Marist College)

## 'For the private use of the clergy': *Ad Clerum.*

Dr John Davies

Easier access to the archives of the Catholic dioceses of England and Wales in recent years has opened a treasure trove of source material for historians, whether they be family historians, social historians of the Catholic community at local and national level, or those with an interest in the often complex relations and interaction of members of the English and Welsh Hierarchy. A day conference organised under the auspices of the Salford Diocesan Archives Service and the North West Catholic History Society, held in October 2011 at St Augustine's, Manchester, attempted to illustrate the rich variety of source material available in diocesan archives. One of the types of sources explored was that provided by *Ad Clerum*, letters from the diocesan bishop to his clergy.

Historians and the Catholic laity have long had access to the official statements of the bishops, usually in the form of their Pastoral Letters. Traditionally these statements of Church policy have been read from the pulpits of 'all churches and chapels' of the diocese. Printed versions and summaries were customarily published in the Catholic press. Past editions of *The Tablet*, carrying full versions of Pastoral Letters, have been an invaluable source for the historian. Pastoral Letters from the late 1930s and 1940s allow us to examine the official response of the hierarchy and of individual bishops to the problems and challenges of life for the Catholic community in wartime Britain. What the Pastoral Letters do not reveal, however, is the often complex decision making process and the discussion, if not argument, which preceded the official statements of the bishops. We get the 'official line' or what the bishops wanted the laity to know but not usually what the thinking behind their decisions was. The *Ad Clerum*, which would not be seen by lay people at the time, while not answering all the questions historians would like answered, do help them part of the way into the hinterland of the episcopal decision making process.

At the Salford conference extracts from the wartime *Ad Clerum* of Bishop Henry Vincent Marshall were used to illustrate the pastoral challenges facing the diocese posed by the national policy of the evacuation of children in World War Two.[1] Evacuation of children, and in some cases their parents, usually mothers only, was from 'danger areas', the crowded urban areas, to 'safe areas', the rural areas of England and Wales. The 'safe areas' were often not necessarily any great distance from the major towns and cities, many children from Liverpool, for example, being evacuated to the suburbs of Chester. One of the major concerns of the leaders of the Catholic community was to ensure the continued Catholic education of children evacuated to rural areas where the local Catholic population was often sparse and where there was often little or no Catholic infrastructure in the form of school buildings, teaching staff, and clergy.

Three extracts from Marshall's *Ad Clerum* were used to illustrate the related issues of evacuation and the provision of Catholic schools.

Extract One:

I have no objection to a Catholic school making use of a non-Catholic school, as long as the Catholic school preserves its identity: that is, as long as the children are taught by their own teachers. Indeed, in these days of national emergency and danger, we must be ready to accept any arrangement suitable to the civil authorities, provided our children are taught by Catholic teachers; but we cannot accept a system which would make our children part and parcel of a non-Catholic school, even though the Catholic Religion be taught during the time for religious instruction.

(Marshall to Deans, 3 March 1941)[2]

[1] The *Ad Clerum* used were from the Papers of Bishop Marshall and were made available by Fr David Lannon , archivist of the Diocese of Salford.

[2] *Marshall Papers*, 200/13, Marshall to Deans, 3 March 1941.

This is taken from a letter written by Marshall to the senior parish clergy, the deans. Each dean was entrusted to pass on this message to the clergy in his deanery. There were regular deanery meetings, at least one each month. Marshall was writing in the early spring of 1941. There had been heavy German bombing of many major urban areas in Britain in the last months of 1940. That bombing campaign would culminate in the May Blitz of 1941. The Government, anticipating the continuing German onslaught, was pressing local authorities to implement a second evacuation of children from the urban danger areas. The first evacuation of children had begun at the outbreak of war in September 1939 but during the 'Phoney War' of late 1939 and early 1940 many of the evacuated children had been brought back by their parents to their homes in the towns and cities. A second evacuation would present the same kind of problems for the various authorities, including the Catholic Hierarchy, as the first had done. For the Hierarchy the major priority was to ensure that Catholic children were taught in Catholic schools and not in non-Catholic schools. Marshall spelled out what this meant in practice. The Catholic school might well be housed in the same building as a non-Catholic school but it must preserve its 'identity'. The children must be taught by their own teachers. There could be no question of them becoming 'part and parcel' of a non-Catholic school even when there were separate religious instruction lessons for the Catholic children.

It is clear from Marshall's letter that his major concern in the evacuation was what he considered the spiritual safety of the children. It was his duty to see that their Catholic faith was protected. At the end of the letter, (not included in the extract), he insisted that the parish clergy should make 'careful enquiries'. If they found any cases of 'merging' or any other form of 'interference with the religious rights and spiritual needs of our children' he was to be informed 'without delay'.

Extract Two

Evacuation of Children: although it would not be advisable for me to say so publicly, I am not in favour of future evacuation of our School

Children. THIS OPINION IS FOR THE PRIVATE USE OF THE CLERGY AND MUST NOT BE COMMUNICATED TO THE LAITY. The risk to the souls of the children is too great, and I have had experiences of proselytism and the merging of our children in non-Catholic schools. As far as I can see we have no Government guarantee that our children will be billeted near Catholic Schools...I repeat that I would rather see our children killed than that they should lose their precious gift of Faith, purity and piety. Many of the evacuated children come from homes where there is little faith; if they are sent to districts where there is no Catholic School their parents will not help us to transfer them to safer billets. Hence while I recognise that there are some suitable places to which our children may be sent, the undesirable places are so many that we priests must be constantly on the watch to prevent quietly any evacuations to such areas.

(Marshall to Deans, 2 November 1941)[1]

The second extract makes it even clearer that Marshall's prime concern in the evacuation process was the safeguarding of the Catholic faith of the evacuated children. This came before all else, even the physical safety of the children. He was afraid of 'proselytism and the 'merging' of Catholic schools with non-Catholic schools in the safety areas. He would 'rather see our children killed' than expose them to the risk of losing their 'precious gift of Faith, purity and piety'. This letter addressed to his deans and to be communicated to the parish clergy was clearly not for public consumption. Lay Catholics certainly were not to learn of its content, a tacit recognition by Marshall of its highly controversial nature. One can but wonder what the response of many lay Catholics would have been to Marshall's statement, if they had known of it, that he would rather see Catholic children killed by German bombs than that they should lose their Catholic faith through attendance at a non-Catholic school in one of the 'safe areas'.

[1] *Marshall Papers*, 200/16, Marshall to Deans, 2 November 1941.

It is perhaps difficult for a lay reader some seventy years after this letter was written to fully understand the mind set of a Catholic diocesan bishop, such as Marshall, in late 1941. In its ecclesiastical context this was written in pre-Vatican Two days. It illustrates if 'unwittingly'[1] a paternalistic view of the relationship of a bishop, and his clergy, with the laity. Marshall argued that there was 'little faith' in the homes from which these evacuated children came. The 'little faith' needed to be protected. Implicitly stated here is Marshall's belief that without the protection offered by Catholic schools these children would cease to practise their Catholicism. The laity left to their own devices would lapse. Evacuation to 'undesirable places' must be 'quickly' prevented by the clergy.

The letter illustrates very graphically the relationship between clergy and laity at this time. A priest contributor to the Salford seminar commented that we were probably the first group of lay people to have read and discussed this letter or similar ones from bishops to their clergy. Implicitly Marshal's letter makes it clear that in matters of faith and its practice lay people were children. They needed not merely guidance and encouragement but also protection. Critics have described the Catholic Church in Britain at this time as a 'Church of children'. Sadly Marshall's letter of November 1941 could be seen as confirming this criticism.

Extract Three

I have been greatly distressed by the report of the clergy, concerning the number of children who are attending non-Catholic schools. Those of the clergy who reported large numbers, will not, I'm sure, conclude that I consider it is due to any neglect on their part. My experience as a Parish Priest proves to me that intensive parochial visiting always discovers the magnitude of this evil. I intend to write to the clergy in a few days, requesting them to let me know how many of these children are the off-spring of mixed marriages, or so-called

[1] The Professor of History at the Open University, the late Arthur Marwick, argued that historical source material provided 'witting' and 'unwitting' testimony for the historian.

Catholic marriages, attempted outside the Church. It is quite evident that most of those people who send their children to non-Catholic schools, have little or no faith themselves, and do not bother about the Sacraments.

(Marshall to parish clergy, 5 March 1943)[1]

By the spring of 1943 evacuation was no longer such a pressing issue. Urban areas in Britain were now less under threat of attack from the German Luftwaffe and many evacuees had returned to their families and schools in the cities and towns. For Bishop Marshall, however the question of Catholic children failing to attend Catholic schools was still one of his major concerns. Some of his parish clergy may have felt they were being blamed by him for Catholic children not attending Catholic schools. Marshall attempted to reassure them that no blame was attached to them, rather they were to be commended for their vigilance. He indicated that he himself when serving as a parish priest had reported many such cases. Such reports from his parish clergy reassured him that 'intensive parochial visiting' was being carried out. He believed that the 'magnitude of the problem' of Catholic children going to non-Catholic schools was linked directly to the numbers of mixed marriages, (Catholics to non-Catholics), and 'so-called' marriages (between Catholics but contracted not under the auspices of the Church but in civil registry offices). In the Catholic Church in Britain in the 1930s and 1940s mixed marriages and 'so-called' or 'mock' marriages were regarded by the Church authorities as a major evil and a prime cause of 'leakage', or lapsing from the practice of their religion by Catholics. Control of marriages and the insistence on the attendance of Catholic children at Catholic schools were the two major means used by the Church authorities to impose religious discipline and to maintain the cohesion of the Catholic community and thereby prevent 'leakage'. The view expressed by Marshall in this *Ad Clerum* of March 1943 was certainly not unique to him but rather was the broadly expressed view of the Catholic

[1] *Marshall Papers*, 200/17 Marshall to parish clergy, 5 March 1943.

Hierarchy in general and also of many regularly practising Catholic laypeople. At the top of the Hierarchy's list of priorities were the provision of Catholic schools and attendance at them by Catholic children, and the discouragement of mixed marriages.

The *Ad Clerum* deposited in diocesan archives provide the historian of the Catholic community with valuable insights into the thinking and concerns of the bishops. Some of these concerns may be known from publicly available sources, such as Pastoral Letters or press summaries of them, but generally, as we see from the above extracts from Bishop Marshall's *Ad Clerum*, bishops felt freer to express themselves more forcefully than they would necessarily have done in public, on matters such as mixed marriages and attendance of children at Catholic schools. Apart from the obvious message which they were intended to convey, because they were addressed to the small group in which the bishops felt most at home and in which they controlled the agenda, these letters very often provide what Professor Arthur Marwick called 'unwitting testimony', particularly about how bishops saw their role in the Church and their view of the relationship between clergy and laity.

## Catholic Archives Society Annual Conference
## 23rd – 25th May 2011

**Jenny Smith**
Archivist, Union Sisters of Mercy GB

The annual conference of the Catholic Archives Society took place recently at Hinsley Hall, Leeds. This was to be my second CAS conference and my first since taking up a post as Archivist for the Union Sisters of Mercy GB. The conference proved extremely useful due not only to the practical content of the talks, but also for the support network of other archivists working in similar circumstances and the opportunity to share support and advice on a range of issues.

The conference took the form of seven sessions given by guest speakers, as well as time to split into interest groups with several topics to choose from; a chance to visit Leeds Diocesan Archives (at Hinsley Hall); the AGM of the Society, and an Open Forum.

In Paul Shaw's talk on 'Cardinal Manning Papers in the archives of the Poor Servants of the Mother of God' he related how archives can evidence viewpoints of prominent individuals in Catholic History. In this case, Paul discussed Manning's consideration of the useful work done by the Poor Servants of the Mother of God, and similarly the mentions of Manning in annals/histories of the order. There are no doubt similar connections and references with regards to influential individuals in our own archives, making an important potential contribution towards research of Catholic History.

We also heard an extremely interesting talk from Dr Roberta Cowan on Recordkeeping in the Catholic Schools and Institutes in Australia. An account of the arrival of the Sisters of Mercy to the Perth area of Australia, and of the Sisters of St John of God to Western Australia gave

an international flavour to the conference and a chance to see images from the archives of the early Sisters and scenes from 19th century Australia. Discussion moved then to practical recordkeeping matters, with Dr Cowan discussing the use of the continuum model of recordkeeping in Australia, where the disposal of a record is decided at the time of creation. The importance of archive policies, retention and disposal schedules and accession registers was also highlighted.

A particularly useful session on the second day was the question and answer session with professional conservators from two local record offices. As most of us are not lucky enough to have the day-to-day assistance of a conservator, this was an opportunity to put any issues or questions of concern forward. Issues discussed included options for dealing with smoke damaged paper, best materials for the storage of photographs, and the use of environmental controls.

We heard a very thought-provoking account from Claire Walsh, Archivist with the Notre Dame Sisters, about her use of archives (particularly photographs) for reminiscence therapy with elderly Sisters in care homes. This highlighted the potential uses to which archives can be put, and Claire discussed the positive effect not only on the Sisters themselves, but also on the Care Home Staff.

The Open Forum saw a discussion of the 'Who who were the nuns' project, it's possible extension and potential issues raised by this. Paul Shaw also raised the issue of the usefulness of a standard copyright form and highlighting need for acknowledgement when providing images from the archives, particularly for availability on the web. This was obviously felt by many to be an issue of importance and one of which we all need to be aware in the online age.

Various training days were discussed at the AGM, and we heard from Margaret Harcourt-Williams that there are plans for a training day in the North West, for which content has not been decided.

There is to soon be an occasional paper on Disaster Planning by Tamara Thornhill (late of Westminster Diocesan Archives). Calls were given for suggestions for future papers, and also for advice leaflets and training days.

The final day brought some very interesting talks on writing histories – with Sr Helen Forshaw (Society of the Holy Child Jesus) and Sr Claire Veronica (Assumption Convent) coming to the rescue after Anselm Nye, one of the speakers, was unfortunately involved in an accident and unable to make it. In terms of archives, these speakers highlighted the vast array of archives available for writing congregational histories, discussing the use of oral history interviews; annals; official correspondence; school magazines; obituaries of sisters as well as 'external' sources such as the census – to name just a few!

Finally, the topic turned to the issue of volunteering in archives. We heard from Louise Ray from the National Archives, who has written a report on volunteering in archives for the National Council on Archives. Louise related how her report had found unexpected benefits for volunteers in archives – in terms of skills and also 'softer' outcomes around social engagement – and highlighted for all the potential for a two-way benefit if using volunteers in archives. Leading on from this Claire Muller discussed her experience of using volunteers at Westminster Diocesan Archives. We heard how Claire approaches the practical recruitment and management of volunteers, how they have brought skills and knowledge about collections, but the potential challenges and work involved in using volunteers. I believe we all went away with a realisation of the potential benefits, but also recognising that this was not a way to get work done for free. This was a very useful session for CAS members in the Big Society climate and is an area many of us will no doubt consider the benefits of.

That provided a good conclusion to a very beneficial and enjoyable conference. I certainly look forward to many more to come.

## Book Reviews

Janet Burton and Julie Kerr, *The Cistercians in the Middle Ages*, (Woodbridge, The Boydell Press 2012), viii+239 pp., £25.

This volume is one of a projected series entitled 'Monastic Orders', of which four volumes have now appeared. Both authors have already published a great deal on the history of English medieval monasticism. The work is designed as an 'authoritative and accessible' account of the medieval Cistercians in England and Europe and is written for a general readership. Burton is responsible for the first chapters on the origins of the Cistercian Order and on its tangled constitutional history, while the bulk of the book is Kerr's work. The development of the Benedictine reform as a reaction to Cluny and the return to the desert tradition as well as the religious context of the twelfth-century reform within which the Cistercians developed are all given adequate treatment. The suggestion that the Order's structure reflected in microcosm Gregory VII's vision for the church as a whole is particularly striking. Citeaux's distinctiveness as possessing no one founder and its novel congregational structure is noted, and especially valuable is an evaluation of the latest reassessment of the foundation documents of the Exordia and Carta Caritatis where the recent research of Chrysogonus Waddell is acknowledged. Early Cistercian expansion was proactive in terms of acquiring new sites and making abundant use of lay and ecclesiastical patronage. We now know how much women were involved in the establishment of various houses. Incorporation of monasteries into the Order, it is argued, preceded the system of filiations which was a particular characteristic of the Cistercians. The foundation of the well-known English and Welsh monasteries, such as Waverley, Tintern and Fountains, is chartered in some detail, and much space is devoted to Mellifont and Hailes. Burton's research on the Welsh Cistercian monasteries is acknowledged. The map on p. 43 giving the European expansion of the Order is, however, too congested to be of much use. There are some examples of loose terminology and theological woolliness: the monastic vows are not

charity (nor chastity, which is what is presumably meant here), poverty and obedience (p. 85), and what would a dogmatic theologian make of this statement: 'Whereas Bernard of Clairvaux and others held that Jesus was separate and distinct from God and that to know Christ was a step towards knowing God, for Aelred they were one and the same' (p. 141). The Cistercian General Chapter, which provided a model for monastic reform after the Fourth Lateran Council of 1215, is given extended treatment while the weakening in its authority and the fragmentation of central control in the later Middle Ages is highlighted. This decay was to be arrested in the seventeenth-century by the reform of the Cistercians of the Strict Observance and by La Trappe. For the general reader the chapters on daily life in the cloister will probably be of most interest, and the author has obviously been amused in her cataloguing the various methods employed to prevent 'habitual snoozers'. These included Christ appearing in a vision to wallop a monastic sleepyhead, hammers dangling above choir stalls, and, the image of an energetic St. Christopher opposite the night stairs to encourage the sleepy. The summary of Stephen of Sawley's treatise on the novitiate is useful and the account of the gradual laboration of the monastic diet and descent into meat-eating by the late Middle Ages striking. Much modern research has been devoted to the participation of the Order in the new humanism of the twelfth-century and the evolution of a characteristic Cistercian mystical spirituality, and the book devotes much space to these topics, examining especially the Cistercians' devotion to the Mother of God and to Christ as friend. The miracles in which Christ appeared physically in the Eucharist were not, however, a strictly Cistercian phenomenon: they are associated with various churches in the Low Countries and elsewhere during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. No study of the Cistercians would be complete without attention being given to the conversi or illiterate lay-brothers. Although these were not unique to the Cistercians, it was the Cistercians who integrated this workforce into the Order. Discussion of these conversi fittingly introduces the reader to the Cistercians as something of an economic miracle whose 'managerial efficiency' was reflected in their land-leasing policies, in their establishment of granges, and their

commercial acumen. The book concludes with a useful glossary, an up-to-date bibliography, and an index of those Cistercian monasteries mentioned.
Geoffrey Scott

Cambers, A. (ed.), *The Life of John Rastrick, 1650-1727*, Camden Fifth Series, vol. 36 (Cambridge University Press for Royal Historical Society, 2010), x + 216 pp., no price given

The archive source published here for the first time is MS San Marino California, Huntington Library HM 6131, probably written in 1713. Cambers calls the MS 'a treasure trove of information about religion, politics and culture in the half-century after the Restoration' (p. 1). It comprises the autobiography of John Rastrick (1650-1727), an Anglican clergyman who left that church for Protestant nonconformity in 1687 and was a Presbyterian minister in King's Lynn from 1701 till his death.

For readers of *Catholic Archives*, this source's main interest probably lies in the comparison of the Dissenting Protestant spirituality of Rastrick's day with Catholic spirituality of that time. Two similarities are that the spirituality of Rastrick's spiritual soliloquies (e.g. pp. 54-57, 71-75, 128, 197-199), while individualistic, is far less removed from contemporary Catholic spirituality than one might have expected. Again, Rastrick's awe of the Eucharistic sacrament echoes contemporary Catholic spirituality: indeed, Rastrick refers to 'this Blessed Sacrament' (p. 71) and prefers its regular celebration (p. 142), though, in a Protestant style, he scrupulously refused to admit to Communion those whom he considered unworthy.

However, the extempore public prayer which Rastrick mentions at, for example, pp. 60, 130, 133 was certainly not part of the Catholic tradition, while Rastrick was ill-disposed towards Catholics. Page 100 gives his reaction to the 1678 'Popish Plot'; this reaction specified that more freedom should be allowed to Protestant Dissenters. Similarly, he refers to 'Papists' as 'bloody' at p. 166.

Rastrick's attitude to preaching deserves mention. On the one hand, he played his part in perpetuating the widespread sixteenth- and

seventeenth-century revival of preaching found in both Protestantism and Catholicism: pages 175-184, most of all, describe the close study and great care with which he prepared his sermons. On the other hand, detailed expository preaching such as Rastrick's, however admirable, does not necessarily include the liturgical and moral catechesis which Trent envisaged as part of preaching.

Cambers' well-researched footnotes are very helpful in identifying individuals and published works, usually from around Rastrick's time, though the list of illustrations gives no indication of their whereabouts in the book. The archive sources used by Cambers in preparing this edition include the Heinz Archive and Library at the National Portrait Gallery, as also the National Archives, Public Record Office, Norfolk Record Office, Lincolnshire Archives, Mercers' Company Archives and Brown University Archives (USA). Libraries consulted include Dr Williams' Library, London; Magdalen College Library, Oxford; the John Hay Library at Brown University, the Folger Shakespeare Library, the University of South Carolina Libraries, the Grolier Club collection, New York, and the British Library.

Nicholas Paxton

D. Hey, L. Liddy and D. Luscombe (ed.), *A Monastic Community in Local Society: The Beauchief Abbey Cartulary*, Camden Fifth Series, Vol. 40 (Cambridge University Press for Royal Historical Society, 2011), viii + 304 pp., no price given

Beauchief (pronounced beechif, formerly rural, now a suburb of Sheffield) had from 1183 to 1537 an abbey of Premonstratensians. While the site was mostly excavated and further investigated in 1923-1926, 1953-1954 and the 1990s (pp. 24-25), its only surviving pre-Reformation building is the church tower, reduced in height sometime between 1727 and c. 1801 (pp. 24 & frontispiece). David Hey, Lisa Liddy and David Luscombe have produced a critical edition of Beauchief Abbey's cartulary, written up about 1400, now MS Sheffield, Sheffield Archives, MD 3414. This document "is a collection of deeds that, for the most part, formally record the grants made to the abbey by holders of property,

many of these grants being recurrent" (p. 20). For instance, reference can be found at pp. 74-75, 85, 90, 272 for a grant made before 1312, confirmed in that year and reconfirmed in 1316. The great majority of these deeds are from before c. 1330 (p. 10), reflecting the fact that "most of Beauchief's endowments were received in the first century and a half of the abbey's existence" (p. 13), "the latest dated charter being from 1382" (p. 33).

The thorough introduction (pp. 1-33), in setting Beauchief in its social context, is a treasury of information about mediaeval monastic life as seen through the lens of an individual abbey without great national importance but with much and varied local significance. There follow 226 charters; these deeds refer mostly to land, but not exclusively: gifts of, for example, annual rents, coal-mining rights and mills also occur. Pages 35-37 and 261-304 give useful material: two maps, three appendices, a bibliography and two indices, and a glossary on p. 35. This last, while useful, is perhaps too selective. For instance, entries for burgage, quitclaim and toft might have been helpful to some readers.

Libraries containing archives, and other archive sources, are duly cited in this book. They include, as well as different collections in the Sheffield Archives (the city archives of Sheffield), the Derbyshire Record Office, National Archives, Nottinghamshire Archives, British Library, Library of the College of Arms, Bodleian Library, Oxford; Queen's College Library, Oxford; Cambridge University Library, Sheffield Local Studies Library and University of Sheffield Library.

Rev. Nicholas Paxton

Katy Gibbons, *English Catholic Exiles in Late Sixteenth Century Paris*, (Royal Historical Society & Boydell Press, 2011), pp 206, £50.

Past studies in Catholic Recusancy have tended towards a disappointingly Anglocentric approach, isolating the English Catholic community from the unfolding pattern of religious ideas and politics in Europe. This ambitious study of a community of about 400-500 English Catholics, for the most part laity, resident in Paris during the last decades of the sixteenth century, challenges thus approach by exploring the role

that this diverse group played, not only for English Catholicism under Elizabeth I, but also for the French during the French Wars of Religion, as well as illustrating the wider experience of religious exile in the period. To do this Dr Gibbons has familiarized herself with an impressive range of primary and secondary sources both in French and English.

The exiles in Paris came from among the English gentry, forsaking the familiarity of a manorial rural environment for the very different challenges provided by the sophisticated life of the French capital. They formed a disparate group, but valuing kinship and keeping close ties with family at home, provided an important network for communication of news in both directions across the Channel. Gibbons offers a fascinating picture of the life of this group, living in precarious poverty and, often dependent on the uncertain delivery of a pension, cadging a meal at the tables of the Spanish ambassador, or Mary Stuart's ambassador in Paris, Archbishop Beaton. Cardinal Allen described the condition of exile as breeding 'murmurings, complainings, contradictions and discontents'. This was not a situation which bound the English Catholic exiles into a coherent community.

The stories of the sufferings of English Catholics under Elizabeth published by the exiles offered an important contribution to the programmes of the Catholic League's campaign against Henri III's attempts at religious toleration and the threat of a Protestant succession to the throne of France. The popular Catholic attack on Elizabeth's favourite, Robert Dudley, *Leicester's Commonwealth* of 1584 had its part play in an English context, but a French translation, *Discours de la vie*, contributed also to the League's attempts to undermine Henri's Anglo-French entente. It was not the only work of this sort.

The question of the loyalty of these English exiles loomed large in the literature and Protestant propaganda tied all subsequent Catholic plots to the rising of the Northern Earls in 1569. Cecil's *Execution of justice in England* (1583) made a strong case for suggesting that having 'forsaken their native countries' Catholics were at best of dubious loyalty. It was a hard case to answer. By the 1580s there was a drift away from France, the exiles looking once more to Spanish support. Nevertheless some

Englishmen survived the Leaguer's takeover of Paris in 1588 and the subsequent siege; with the stabilisation of the regime of Henri IV in the mid-1590s, Henry Constable and William Bishop at the Collège Mignon were proclaiming a message of compromise which offered a foretaste of message of the Apellants. By the late 1590s it was increasingly appreciated that there was not going to be a sudden restoration of Catholicism and that Spanish aid was not the answer. A continued English presence in Paris remained: English religious houses were founded and these, in turn, became an important focus for Protestants as well as Catholics finishing their education by embarking on the Grand Tour.

In this impressive study of a group of English Catholic exiles, Gibbons makes it clear that, though at times prevented from concerted action at home by their internal divisions, their sufferings acted as a rallying cry for Catholics across Europe. They were far from isolationist. This community made a significant impression on Catholics who struggled on at home and the Parisian exiles, in particular, caught up in the politics of the Catholic League, became more directly involved in the city's religious and political turmoil than exile communities in other parts of Europe. The history of early recusancy in Britain cannot be understood unless we set it in its appropriate European context.

One tiny niggle: rather strangely Gibbons dates the opening of the English College, Douai, to 1574 rather than to the usually accepted date of 1568. 1574 had its own significance for the College as this was the date that newly ordained priests first determined to return to England and begin the mission. This is a well produced volume with an excellent bibliography and good index.

Peter Phillips

Martina Bagnoli, Holger A. Klein, C. Griffith Mann & James Robinson, eds. *Treasures of Heaven: saints, relics and devotion in medieval Europe*, (British Museum), £30.

We have become accustomed to the lavish catalogues produced by major exhibitions. This catalogue recording artefacts reflecting the central role played by devotion to the saints during the Christian era, gathered by the Cleveland Museum of Art, the Walters Art Museum, Baltimore, and the British Museum itself, is no exception, and provides in its own right an important study of relics and their context. The catalogue is divided into five sections, organized for the most part chronologically. The essays which divide the sections, although overlapping occasionally, explore the history of, and devotion to, these relics, now enshrined by the work of the greatest craftsmen of the age. The photographs are a joy to behold, the catalogue notes exemplary.

We are taken from the catacombs of Rome, early pilgrimages to the Holy Places in Palestine, to the exquisite craftsmanship of the high Middle Ages. In the earliest days it was deemed inappropriate even to move a saint's body, but, in moving the bodies of Gervasius and Protasius, Ambrose initiated a process which would lead eventually even to the division of bodies and the creation of reliquaries for the various parts acquired. Although Constantinople had not the holy places of Rome and Palestine it soon gathered a prodigious number of relics. A delightful sixth century ivory (catalogue 14) illustrates the welcome given by the Emperor and Empress surrounded by the citizens to some of these relics to the city. Many of these were in turn brought to the West during the horrors of the Fourth Crusade and its aftermath. Guido Cornini contributes a particularly fascinating chapter describing the Palatine chapel of the Sancta Sanctorum in the Lateran and the opening and cataloguing of Pope Leo III's (795-816) cypress wood chest of relics in 1905. Two items from this collection were exhibited in the exhibition: a sixth century painted box containing stones from the Holy Land (catalogue 13) and an exquisite enamelled reliquary of the True Cross (catalogue 36); a number of other are illustrated in the catalogue.

Relics have a context. Éric Palzzo explores the performative role which relics play in liturgy and there influence on the architecture of church buildings. Reliquaries themselves should be understood as miniature churches as their shape invariably suggests. But there was also

a fashion for smaller, personal relics like the beautiful amethyst and enamel reliquary pendant for the Holy Thorn, now in the British Museum (catalogue 74).

The symbolism of gold and precious metals and the particular spiritual, and even magical, significance attached to gemstones was also utilized to activate the minds eye, leading the beholder from the reality of earthly things to a vision of the sacred. The very skill of the artist was understood as revealing the creative presence of the Holy Spirit, a theme which emerges particularly in the writings of Hugh of Saint-Victor and Rupert of Deutz. As the Middle Ages developed an increasing emphasis on engaging with the relic itself led in the thirteenth century to a proliferation of rock crystal reliquaries through which the relic itself could be seen, marking a clear shift, as Martina Bagnoli suggests, 'from materiality to visuality'. This theme is reinforced by the sudden proliferation of body part reliquaries, discussed by Cynthia Hahn, which allows also an examination of the important relationship established between patron and artist and especially the role played by Abbot Wibald of Stavelot (1098-1158). This was not simply, however, simply a return to realism. As Hahn demonstrates, many of these body-part reliquaries have symbolic significance, 'an uncanny hybrid between the natural and the artificial': the hand raised in blessing; the feet of those who spread the good news; the head reliquary which allows the saint to act as 'judge and witness'.

The remarkable work of the enamellers of Limoges and the goldsmiths of Cologne is given an individual chapter by Barbara Drake Boehm. This includes illustrations of the shrines of St Herbert, as well as Nicholas of Verdun's stunning masterpiece which enshrines the relics of the three kings in Cologne Cathedral: a work 'without peer'. Such illustrations complement the smaller Limoges pieces exhibited in the exhibition, a number of which illustrate the martyrdom of Thomas Becket.

A final chapter by Alexander Nagel discusses the afterlife of the reliquary. He explores the criticism of Erasmus and Calvin and the iconoclasm of Reformation and Enlightenment. Relics are now, he thinks,

for the curious, and museum replaces church as their home. Often the artwork takes the place of relics in modern secular culture and found work of such as Kurt Switters and the collections of Robert Smithson play a similar role. All this I find rather disappointing; there is an alternative not mentioned in the catalogue. It is forgotten that relics and the saints still play a vibrant part in devotion and a more suitable ending to this celebration of the treasures of heaven would be an account of the quiet devotion prompted by the relics of St Thérèse of Lisieux as she lay in cathedral, church, and prison on her journey round Britain in 2009.
Peter Phillips

James Clark, 2011, *The Benedictines in the Middle Ages*, (The Boydell Press), x+374 pp, £25.

This book forms part of a long needed series of histories of the major religious orders of the Middle Ages. Like its counterparts that deal with reform movements, it is outstanding in its breadth of analysis. With the figure of Benedict and the Regula Benedicti standing behind the developments of the Orders and Congregations which bear his name, he traces the form which this powerful influence had upon Europe over 1000 years. Every major aspect in the creation mediaeval and early-modern Europe has this movement behind it, shaping and directing the seminal forms of society. Not only Church practice, with its liturgical and devotional life, but also the organisational structures, intellectual environments, economic markets and politics of mediaeval Europe were consolidated as this body reached through all aspects of social strata.

Given such longstanding and widespread influence, and literature from the seventh to the sixteenth centuries, the archival deposits are very extensive. Yet the recording of the lives and achievements of members of the Order came about only after 1350, after witnessing the struggles of competing self-definitions within the mendicant Orders and the proliferation of heresy. There was no single Benedictine Order as we might understand it today, exhibited in various Congregations. Particular local histories, magnates, reforms and even topographies formed these various families of monasteries, and so some common account was

necessary in a conscious bid to defend the collective whole against the dangers which had plagued other Religious. Significant too in the need to write down common histories and the lives if significant individuals was the increasing periods of pestilence from 1347-1439, which completely altered the resources of the Order within a shattered Europe and exacerbated the nascent moves to reform, at least socially and economically.

Again it was external factors of the European Reformations that brought about the first grand-narratives of the Order from the time of Gregory the Great. Subsequent upheavals in the Enlightenment era, particularly in France, brought its own impetus to record and present the meaning of the Order to a modern European readership. The Order's restoration in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries in an increasingly ultramontane atmosphere meant that its autobiographies, particularly its central role in the strengthening of Christendom in the Middle Ages, presented it according to this politicised light. Popular narratives were now published along with the resumption of the scholarly multi-volumed histories. And so it is conflict, heresy, theological polemic, confessional identity, social topography and Papal centralisation, which form the rationale for the writing of the autobiography of the Order, particularly from English, French and German sources.

This present volume is the first scholarly history of the Order since the Second World War, and perhaps the first to examine the vast development from the beginnings, through the series of reform, repression and counter-Reform reorganisation.

Individual monasteries and convents are not scrutinised, but a general picture of the evolution of the Rule is offered, and the customs by which it became so much a part of the economic, political and cultural mediaeval European scene. Perhaps some caution should be shown here, as there has been a move in recent years away from the Soviet-style grand-narrative towards the force of the particular. This is the danger of a work examining any single body within such a long period of time, which has very many forms. Still, at the same time, it uncovers the currents of

life in the enclosure of the monastery, between church, chapter house and cloister, dormitory and frater, not only the daily and seasonal obligations of the Rule, but also the patterns of spiritual, intellectual and social behaviour that they fostered, to a greater or lesser degree.

Unlike previous works, especially the auto-biographical or hagiographical and apologetic histories from the within the Order, this work is neither an apologia nor a celebration, but is rather a reflection on the role of the Regula in the complexities of mediaeval Europe. We see them both directive and responsive as the political and economic ground shifts, which contributed greatly to their success as the pre-eminent mediaeval religious order.

The chapters themselves are comprehensive; the Making of a European Order, Observance, Society, Culture, Later Middle Ages and Reformation. Each chapter concludes with a very useful summary, but the real delight are the comprehensive footnotes. Sources for each chapter are listed either as sources or studies, and to these comprehensive chapter bibliographies are added the others covering the periods and specific themes foundational to this book's opening chapter; general Benedictine histories, pre-Benedictine Monasticism, St Benedict and his Rule, Early Benedictines, Carolingian Reform, Anglo-Saxon England, and the Gregorian Age.

This much needed work collects together disparate sources and studies in its wide-ranging analysis of the extent of the formative influence of the Regula Benedicti. In this it provides, along with the others in the series, an important text book.

Rev Christopher Hilton

Alejandro Cifres & Marco Pizzo (eds.), *Rare & Precious: modern and contemporary documents from the archives of the Holy Office* (Gangemi Editore, 2010), 208 pp., $56.95.

A highlight of the Catholic Archives Society study tour to Rome in autumn 2011 was the visit to the historical archive of the Vatican Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith, formerly known as the Holy

Office of the Inquisition. At the end of an interesting and informative afternoon, Alejandro Cifres, archivist of the Congregation, presented the Society with the catalogue of an exhibition in 2008 of which he had been joint curator.

An international conference on the history and archives of the Inquisition was held in Rome in 2008 to mark the tenth anniversary of the opening of some of the Holy Office archives to scholars in 1998 and to acknowledge the growth and development of the Archive. The exhibition and catalogue grew from this and Alejandro Cifres in a preface to the catalogue refers to his 'exciting and delicate task' of painting a 'non-stereotyped picture of the Holy Office'. He summarises the reasons for opening the collections, their subsequent use and contribution to scholarship.

The preface is followed by an article on presentation that draws attention to the diversity of the Archive, which includes drawings, engravings, objects, relics and books in addition to documents. The contents of the *Staza Storica* (case records) are outlined and the loss of ancient trial documents (a significant gap in the archives) explained. This ends by saying 'The exhibition – and this catalogue – intend to present and illustrate the documentation in the Archives of the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith which, apart from exceptional value and historical importance, is often aesthetically beautiful and remarkable. This is a unique opportunity to see and appreciate documents that accurately portray certain crucial periods of our past'.

A further introductory chapter concentrates on Pope St Pius V, described as 'the inquisitor pope *par excellence*' and the miracle of the crucifix. The background to biographies and pictures of him is clearly summarised and the items themselves set in context.

The catalogue itself consists of eight sections: the Sacred Tribunal, economics (the Conca estate), the Jews, architecture (the Inquisition's palaces) iconography and sainthood (the longest), index and censure, the new Italy (the Risorgimento) and finally political religion and totalitarianism, each with an informative and extensively footnoted introduction. The introductions are not summaries of the content of the

catalogue but instead are studies of the era, opinions and conditions that led to the creation of the numerous books, documents and objects in the Congregation's archive. This allows the items to be considered in context.

Further historical summaries are included with each illustration, together with descriptions and archival or bibliographical details. The Sacred Tribunal includes pictures of St Pius V and St Robert Bellarmino together with engravings of abjurations and sentencing. The section on the Conca estate (a property granted to the Holy Office by Pius V and sold in the 1870s) includes Pius V's grant of the estate, several attractive plans and a 17th century edict against poachers.

The section on the Jews focuses both on legal proceedings and on the Jewish community, illustrated by examples of Papal briefs and plans of ghettos. This section also includes an impressive photograph of some of the fonds of the CDF archives. The architecture section consists of engravings, plans and photographs of the Inquisition's buildings, including the one visited by the CAS.

In the section on Iconography and sainthood, numerous images of miracles and devotions reinforce the importance of images to people unable to read. Their value to the processes of beatification and canonisation is also stressed. Index and censure begins with a picture of the large card index of the Index and this is followed by title pages of prohibited books and of decrees relating to them. Finally, the sections on the Risorgimento and on totalitarianism consist largely of covers and title pages of books and pamphlets, supplemented by examples of artwork of the period.

The catalogue is presented in both Italian and English, set in columns side by side. Many of the illustrations are in colour and are full page. Although based on a non-permanent exhibition, it is a hardback book in its own right and a most valuable source of information for anyone interested in the Holy Office, Vatican administration and wider Catholic history. As the CAS does not have its own library, it will be given to the President, Abbot Geoffrey Scott, for Douai Abbey Library.

Margaret Harcourt Williams

Emma Fattorini, *Hitler, Mussolini, and the Vatican: Pope Pius XI and the Speech that was Never Made*, (English edition, Polity Press, 2011), xvi + 260 pp., £20.

This book is of particular interests to *Catholic Archives* as it draws on new sources from the archives of the Congregation of the Faith and the Vatican Secret Archives. A documentary appendix provides translations in English of some very interesting primary sources: a letter of Edith Stein to Pius XI; a meditation of Pius XI, his letters to Cardinal Pacelli, to the papal nuncio in Paris and his last discourse of 31 January/1 February 1939.

Using such sources Fattorini traces the growing awareness – more clear than that of others – of Pius XI that the world was heading down a precipice; as he did so he was 'at first surprised, then disappointed, and finally angry' (p. *xiii*). His clarity of vision allowed him to intuit and decipher the immanent catastrophe threatening the world. Just hours before his death he had revised his strongest condemnation yet of Fascism. After his death this text disappeared. Many have maintained that Pacelli's role as *camerlengo*, the one charged with the responsibility of administering the vacant Holy See, had no option but to destroy what Pius had written. Fattorini questions this; believing him to have been within his rights to so act, yet not forced to do so.

The intent of the book is to reconstruct the climate of the last days of Pius XI rather than to a judge single act. Pius XI during his last years developed a sharp rejection of totalitarianism. Documents in the Vatican Secret Archives demonstrate that he did so largely in isolation. The focus of the book is on the final years of Pius's papacy, when he broke with both Fascism and Nazism. This opposition grew out of Pius XI's profound 'interior conversion' (p. 2).

Seeking to understand the personality of Achille Ratti, Fattorini explores the experiences which helped form him, these being: librarian at the Ambrosian and Vatican libraries and nuncio to Poland. His initial close affinity with Fascism derived from his belief that he and Mussolini shared a common goal i.e. a revival of the values dear to nineteenth century intransigents: authority, family, order and moderation. Opinion

over whether this illusion characterised his entire papacy has split historians. As for his interior conversion, the figure of St Thérése of Lisieux is central; whom the author describes as an 'interpretative filter' in his, Pius's, life. In reference to the role played by Thérése, Fattorini has used Pius XI's general audience notes.

Documentation, only recently available, offers confirmation that he had little sympathy with General Franco. In 1938 Pius made his strongest speeches against racism and separatism; these were to be the source of the encyclical that was never to see the light of day. The Pope asked a Jesuit, Fr John La Farge, to draft an encyclical against racism and anti-Semitism. He told him, 'say simply what you would say if you yourself were pope' (p. 153). Two other Jesuits, working in strictest secrecy, assisted La Farge. Fattorini is of the opinion, based upon evidence of one of these assistants, Gustav Gundlach, that the Jesuit Superior General, Wlodmir Ledochowski, harbouring 'scant sympathy for the Jews', intentionally delayed the delivery of the final draft to Pius (p. 155). The recently opened archives seem not to contain any trace of the planned encyclical. MJB

Barry Williamson, *The Arundells of Wardour*, (The Hobnod Press, Salisbury, 2011), *viii* + 242 pp., 87 b+w illustrations; 13 maps.

The story begins with the death of the last of the Arundells in September 1944, when John, 16th Lord Arundell of Wardour, died after being repatriated from Colditz. With this nearly 500 years of history came to an end.

The earliest Arundells had been taught by Thomas Wolsey and had lived close to King Henry VIII; the estates came to the family in reward for services rendered to the King. The family also served Elizabeth I; later they were to see their castle destroyed during the Civil War. Eventually the Arundells built the largest Georgian mansion in Wiltshire. At its height the estates amounted to 40,000 acres. The centuries of history, high office and achievement were enlivened even further when the explorer Sir Richard Burton married into the family. One of the jewels of this long history is the steadfastness with which the Catholic

Faith was adhered to, despite nearly 250 years of fines, prohibitions and persecutions.

The book does not aim to be a detailed study of every generation of the Arundell family. The author has chosen a select number of its members and has used the family papers in the Wiltshire and Swindon archives – 'a rich collection' – in order to tell the tale. The first of the family members whose story is told is that of Thomas Arundell, the 'Founder', who went from Cornwall to London in search of fame and fortune. He was already a wealthy man, his family being the richest and most powerful in Cornwall. Thomas became a member of Wolsey's Privy Chamber and collected evidence for the King in pursuit of his dispensation suit against Catherine of Aragon. He later became Sheriff of Somerset and Devon. During the years of the Protectorate and the ensuing power struggles Thomas supported the Earl of Warwickshire rather than the Duke of Somerset, in the end this served him little good. When Somerset was released from prison Thomas changed allegiance; he was now arrested, along with Somerset, for planning to overthrow the government. He was found guilty of conspiracy and beheaded on 26 February 1552 on Tower Hill. The Arundell estates were forfeited to the Crown. Wardour Castle was later repossessed from the Earl of Pembroke in exchange for some land.

'Thomas the Valiant', grandson of 'Thomas the Founder' and a distant cousin of Queen Elizabeth, is the next character to be studied. During a tour of Europe he made contact with the Duke of Guise, the first cousin of Mary Queen of Scots; this made Thomas suspect of treason. He later admitted that he had been sympathetic to Mary's cause and offered his services to her via the Duke. When the meeting with Guise was discovered Thomas was banished from court for thirteen months. He married Mary Wriothesley, the daughter of the second Earl of Southampton, in 1585. Her grandfather had been secretary to Henry VIII and later Lord Chancellor. Thomas gave £100 in 1588 for the defence of England against the Spanish Armada; though he tried to be both a loyal Catholic and a patriotic Englishman. He was imprisoned several times in the 1590s under suspicion of sheltering priests, yet he took the Oath of

Allegiance in 1610. For the part he played in capturing the Turkish standard at the fortress of Gran in 1595 Thomas was made a Count of the Holy Roman Empire; Queen Elizabeth was not amused and had him thrown into the Fleet prison, where he remained for just over two months. He later sailed to the Netherlands to fight for the Spanish army against the Dutch rebels. His absence removed him from any suspicion of being involved in the Gunpowder Plot of 1605.

Among many its achievements the family had the rare privilege of having been involved in the foundation of the American state of Maryland. Henry, the 3rd Lord, served for nearly two years as Lord Privy Seal to James II and was imprisoned in the Tower for five years for his alleged role in the Titus Oates Plot of 1678.

This book is a must for anyone interested in Catholic family history; it provides a fascinating and detailed insight into one of the most important Catholic families, its members, estates, treasures and grounds. By placing the family in a wide historical context, Barry Williamson – while creating a series of vignettes of a family's history – has at the same time produced something that is much more than "family history", a subject which he himself recognises 'can be as boring as reading a telephone directory' (p. 4). *The Arundells of Wardour* is the history of a family in a wide context, told from a personal and well informed angle.
MJB

Dom Aidan Bellenger (ed.), *Downside Abbey An Architectural History* (London, Merrell, 2012), 224 pp., + 240 colour plates, hardback, £45.

In the 1990 issue of *Catholic Archives* Dom Aidan Bellenger, the current Abbot of Downside, told readers of the Society's journal: 'English Catholic historians have paid insufficient attention to buildings as a source of historical information.' He added: 'For the historian or the archivist there is probably no more useful introduction to the study of buildings than architectural drawings' (p. 26). Twenty-one years later he has put right, at least as far as Downside Abbey is concerned, the insufficiency previously discerned. The drawings from the abbey's archives, as well as other primary sources, have been employed to create

a book that is scholarly written, exquisitely illustrated and beautifully produced.

*Downside Abbey An Architectural History* charts the organic development of one of the great masterpieces of the Gothic Revival. Nikolaus Pevsner described the abbey as, 'Pugin's dream of the future English Catholicism at last come true' (p. 13). The buildings that make up the monastery and school at Downside are symbolic of 'a developing modern view of the revival of monastic life' (p. 13). The book traces the history of the monastery from its roots at Douai in Flanders, via Acton Burnell Hall, Shropshire, to Downside, Somerset. The abbey church was built by successive architects, yet maintains the integrity of being 'a complete model of a developed monastic view' (p. 32). Dom Aidan notes how monastic buildings help to contextualise the monastic ideal. Gothic architecture was meant to recapture the spirit of medieval monasticism. Henry Edmund Goodridge in his design of the 'Old Chapel' epitomised this ideal. The "stones of Downside" tell of the renewal of the monastic life over the last 100 years. For example, the transept of the abbey church (completed 1882) 'dates from a time of great internal controversy in the community...Whether the community was to be missionary or monastic' (p. 16). Stress was also laid upon the need to recognise the roots of English monasticism: the high altar was built from stones taken from the ruins of Glastonbury Abbey.

When the first buildings at Downside were completed in 1823 it was one of the most significant new monastic buildings to have been constructed in England since the Reformation. Pugin's ambitious plans for Downside, although never realised, set a standard, a benchmark, for others to follow. The mutual and harmonious relation between liturgy and architecture was brought into relief by the Guild of SS Gregory and Luke; the fruit of its members' historical and liturgical scholarship benefitted both the physical and spiritual dimensions of Downside.

The essays contained in the book, produced by specialist in the field of architectural history, follow a chronological approach and so chart the work of the respective architects as each made their own contribution to the steady development of the buildings themselves: Henry Edmund

Goodridge, A.W. N. Pugin, Edward Joseph Hansom & Archibald M. Dunn, Thomas Garner, Sir Ninian Comper, Frederick Walters, Sir Giles Gilbert Scott and Francis Pollen.

One review has described this as a 'coffee table book', which it is, but only in appearance. For those interested in the revival of monasticism and of Catholicism in England in the 19th century, as well as architectural history in general, this is a work which, though expensive, ought to be their shelf.

One observation – a mere minor detail – the schematic plan of the abbey and school on page 9 would, in the mind of this reviewer, have benefitted from the identification of each and every one of the buildings illustrated therein. This would have facilitated the relating of each chapter, dealing with an aspect of the abbey's development, to the overall layout of the monastic and school buildings, and so help the reader to visualise them in their context and in relation to the entire complex of Downside.

MJB

Peter Lake and Michael Questier, *The Trials of Margaret Clitherow*, (London, Continuum, 2011), xix+244 pp., 23 colour plates; £19.99.

'What happens when the authority of the State is confronted and challenged by the presence of a refractory religious minority within its midst'? (p. xi). The usual response is to profess loyalty. In some cases a very small minority of that religious minority is equivocal in its pledge of loyalty. This can, and does, lead to subversive action on its part, with a corresponding reaction by the State so threatened. This paradigm is applied by the authors to an analysis of many of the ideological, social, political and cultural dynamics of the tensions and confrontations between the Elizabethan State and the Catholic minority. At the centre is 'the godly life and horrifying death of Margaret Clitherow' (p. xiii). She is set in a series of contexts or, better said, put back into such contexts, as so often she has been removed from these and seen in one light only: that of 'a glorious martyr for the faith' (p. xiii).

Peter Lake and Michael Questier seek to reconstruct the narrative, and in so doing wish to 'analyse the impact of post-Reformation religious conflict' on such things as: religion, politics and society. In this way the experience of contemporary Catholicism becomes a window through which central items can be illuminated. This aim has been achieved by the careful re-reading of previously studied archives: the Archives of the Archbishop of Westminster; the Jesuit Archives, Farm Street, London; Oscott College, Birmingham and the Archives of the Bar Convent, York. In the first chapter, entitled 'The Controversial Mrs Clitherow', we are introduced to one of the characters of the best-known stories of the post-Reformation English Catholic community. Her story has come down to us largely through the account written by her chaplain, John Mush, after her execution on 25 March 1586, its two-fold theme comprises her sanctity and the brutality of State forces. Margaret Clitherow's cruel execution – she was crushed to death – raises questions about the nature of the relationship between State and Catholics of that period. The answer to these questions is often derived from contemporary narratives, which gloss over the many causes of conflict that led to such cruel treatment. In time these become the sources drawn upon by historians (exemplified by Philip Hughes's three volumes, *The English Reformation*) whereby the State is seen as having introduced a quasi-totalitarian regime. Such a view, standard among Catholics of the 19th and 20th centuries, is now 'out of fashion' (p. 6). The materials for a new reading of the episode 'have been laying around, more or less in plain view, and sometimes even in print, for many years' (p. 7). More by lateral thinking than by new archival finds the authors use the documents already to hand to say what happened and why and 'what political significance her gruesome fate held for her contemporaries' (p. 7).

Even when alive, Margaret Clitherow was a controversial woman. It seems that she remained so, for her inclusion in the list of those to be canonised in 1970 was a contentious issue; some considered her death to be virtual suicide. The contemporary Catholic account of her case masked a radical political agenda.

Into this radicalisation process Margaret Clitherow was swept up into a campaign of civil disobedience centred on the Act of 1559 and the issue of church attendance. 1575 saw resistance among the Catholics of York increase, a significant number being women. Traditionally this is put down to the presence in York of priests from Douai, but no evidence supports this. The effects of the Jesuit mission of 1580 stirred up latent Catholic discontent. Catholics reacted differently to the demands of the 1559 Act, some favouring compromise in order to safeguard the identity of Catholics as Catholics. The Jesuits Robert Persons and Edmund Campion declared such compromise illicit and sinful, for them recusancy was the only valid response. So Margaret Clitherow is drawn into another sphere of disagreement: whether recusancy was necessary or whether 'church popery' was an acceptable solution. For those opposed to such a compromise attendance at a Protestant service was a "sign distinctive", the litmus test, of whether a person was truly Catholic or not. Representative of the opposing view was the seminary priest, Thomas Bell. Lake and Questier see Bell and Persons as being in competition for the same ideological terrain among Catholics.

With Margaret Clitherow's death the focus shifts to the issues which framed her life. Here, 'we are dealing with debates about whether recusancy really should be the sign distinctive...of Catholicism under a heretical regime' (p. 109). She becomes a lens through which to see the practical ramifications and political context of the arguments about recusancy and church popery. The account written by John Mush carried the underlying intention of setting recusancy as a form of martyrdom and so the only true response to the Elizabethan State. Thomas Bell presented an opposing approach. This ideological struggle was the stuff about which Catholic households wrangled.

Margaret Clitherow presents 'a wonderful microcosm' of the struggles, both political and religious, of the day (p. 151). Her death provides, what the authors term, 'a window' onto the micro-politics of religious change in the era of post-Reformation England. This book is not the 'life of a saint', but 'a densely contextual reading of' one whom the Church has, in the last analysis, declared to be a saint (p. 201). MJB

# Publications

*Catholic Archives* nos. 1-29 (1981-2011) £5.

Index to *Catholic Archives* nos. 1-12 (1981-1992) £3.

Index to *Catholic Archives* nos. 13-22 (1993-2002) £4.

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*Archive Principles and Practice* (E. Semper O'Keefe, 2008) £4.

*General Sources for Family History Research: Advice for Catholic Archivists* (Maureen Fitzgibbon, 2010) £3.

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The following Advice Leaflets are also available, price 50p each or maybe downloaded from: www.catholicarchivesociety.org

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*Retention of Financial Records* (2001)

*Establishing an Archive III: Basic Classification and Cataloguing* (2000/2004)

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## THE CATHOLIC ARCHIVES SOCIETY

The Catholic Archives Society was founded in March 1979 to promote the care and preservation of the archives of the dioceses, religious foundations, institutions and societies of the Roman Catholic Church in the United Kingdom and Ireland, in order that these may be of greater service to the organisations they concern and may become accessible for academic research and cultural purposes. The Society seeks to attain these objectives by promoting the identification and listing of Catholic archives, by providing Catholic archivists with information, technical advice and training opportunities, by arranging an annual conference and occasional seminars, by publishing ***Catholic Archives***, a yearly periodical devoted to the description of the archives of the Roman Catholic Church in the United Kingdom and Ireland, and by circulating a newsletter, ***CAS Bulletin***, and information sheets among its members.

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