CATHOLIC ARCHIVES

The Journal of
THE CATHOLIC ARCHIVES SOCIETY

NUMBER 34

2014

www.catholicarchivesociety.org

Catholic Archives

Number 34 2014

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Editorial

In the first editorial I wrote for *Catholic Archives* on becoming editor I echoed a concern then being voiced regarding the future and assurance of the archival holdings at Ushaw College. It would now seem that these fears have largely been allayed. Jonathon Bush, archivist at Ushaw, in his article on the college's archival holdings demonstrates their importance in the history of the Catholic Church in the north of England, as well as in the wider national and European spheres. In the centenary year of the opening of the 'war to end all war', this 2014 edition of *Catholic Archives* focuses particularly on the theme of war as experienced by the Catholic community. James Hagerty identifies issues and sources relating to the English and Welsh Hierarchies and the First World War; thus facilitating the researcher in their work. Alison Quinn, in her use of several archival sources, beginning with the Central Archives of the Poor Servants of the Mother of God, effectively and movingly constructs a vignette of just one casualty. The way the Great War has been remembered and commemorated has been a subject of much analysis. Robert Finnegan, of the Leeds Diocesan Archives, explores this theme with reference to the archives of the Cathedral parish of St Anne, Leeds; an exercise which could fruitfully be repeated in the writing of parish histories, or indeed, in stand-alone accounts of a parish's war dead. Stephen Kelly, Liverpool Hope University, details the digitisation project of the personal papers of Blessed John Henry Newman. This project will result in the making available of Newman's vast personal archive. Along with ensuring its preservation for future generations, the project realises the Church's approach and attitude to archives: that they be made available in order to encourage scholarship and participate in dialogue. The relevance of digitisation at a local level and for much smaller repositories is the theme of Emma Wotton's communication on the digitisation of school magazines and archives for the period 1914-18. Fr Nicholas Paxton's use of archives relating to developments in the liturgy from 1904-1939 is a timely reminder that we remain within the ambit of the Golden Jubilee years of the Vatican II, fruitful use is still to be made of archives relating to liturgical changes/developments.

The Ushaw College Archive

Jonathon Bush
(Ushaw College Archivist)

The Roman Catholic seminary of Ushaw College was founded in 1808 by former refugees of the English College in Douai, whose staff and students had fled France following the occupation of the college by French soldiers in 1794. The initial establishment of Crook Hall by the returning refugees shortly after was only supposed to be a temporary measure which, by 1804, had clearly served its purpose. That a more permanent settlement was not established until 1808 can be partly explained by the long and protracted power struggle between the Vicars Apostolic and the English Catholic clergy over control of the new college. In short, the clergy favoured the system adopted at the English College in Douai which limited the involvement of the local bishop and allowed for greater presidential autonomy. By contrast, the Vicars Apostolic, notably Bishop William Gibson, wished to see a more direct rule by the episcopate. In spite of these internal tensions, land was eventually acquired from a landowner and devout Catholic, Sir Edward Smythe, near a village called Esh, situated four miles west of Durham.[1]

Following its opening, the college expanded rapidly in the nineteenth century. This was particularly evident in the ambitious building programme undertaken by Mgr Charles Newsham, who was president of the college between 1837 and 1863. The college's golden age was the nineteenth century but it continued to attract large numbers of students well into the twentieth. As late as 1954, for example, there were 30 professors and 395 students resident at the

[1] For the full story behind the establishment of Ushaw College, see David Milburn, *A history of Ushaw College: a study of the origin, foundation and development of an English Catholic seminary, with an epilogue 1908-1962* (Durham, 1964).

college.[1] Indeed, Ushaw boasts distinguished Catholic alumni, including no fewer than five archbishops of Westminster (notably the first, Nicholas Wiseman). Nevertheless, by the early years of the twenty-first century, Ushaw's decline was noticeably evident as the college rarely saw more than half a dozen students enrolling. This reflected the decline in vocations to the priesthood; a decline of course not exclusive to Ushaw College and the north east of England. The decision to close the college in October 2010 was not one which was taken lightly but it was quite clear that its role as a seminary had run its course.

When the decision was made to close Ushaw College, there was a real possibility that its heritage collections would be broken up and sold off. Since its establishment in the early nineteenth century, the college has acquired a vast treasure trove of archives, books, art-works, and other artefacts relating to the history of the Catholic Church in the north of England, as well as the wider history of religion in the country at large, and in mainland Europe, stretching back to the Middle Ages. This material includes many rare books, manuscripts, vestments, gold and silver vessels and other objects. Ushaw's internal history and wider social context is itself of major scholarly interest: its institutional, financial and personal records, buildings and material culture represent a largely unexplored and rich field of study.

In June 2011, the Trustees of Ushaw College agreed to enter into a Memorandum of Understanding with Durham University to explore, as part of a feasibility study, a proposal put forward by the University to create a Centre for Catholic Scholarship and Cultural Heritage at the college, run by the university's Centre for Catholic Studies. It was thus envisaged that the library, archives and other collections remained at Ushaw and used as part of this facility and made

[1] Peter Phillips, 'Pitched between heaven and Charing Cross: a tradition of education in common', in Campbell, W. J. (ed.), *Ushaw College, 1808-2008: a celebration*, (Keighley, 2008) p. 88.

available to a wider public.[1] In order to realise this plan, three heritage professionals were appointed to catalogue the rare books, archive and object collections at Ushaw College. I was appointed to the position of archive cataloguer with a view to improving the visibility of the Ushaw College archive collections and, if possible, to complete the cataloguing of the Lisbon College archive too.[2]

My role began in the dark days of December 2011, when the building was virtually empty and freezing cold: my recollections of my first day include walking through pitch-black corridors in an attempt to find my way out of the building at the end of the day because the light switches proved elusive! Prior to starting my role, I had pre-conceived notions about what state the archive would be in but I'm happy to report that these proved to be, if not totally unfounded, then certainly exaggerated. As part of the library, the archive had been well utilised in the past and a series of Librarians, notably Fr Michael Sharratt, have ensured that not only were the major collections made available to researchers but most of these collections were catalogued on very detailed card indexes, stored in relatively good conditions and easily retrievable with a sophisticated referencing system. Without these card indexes, my job would be infinitely harder. There were however significant challenges. While most of Ushaw's most important collections were catalogued to archival standards, some of its other archive material, notably the records relating to the administration of the college, had not even been listed. The college archives, particularly those of the former procurators of the college which did not fall under the remit of the library, were stored in old cardboard boxes where signs of

[1] Durham University, *Ushaw College and Durham University Lighting an Education Beacon*
http://www.dur.ac.uk/news/newsitem/?itemno=12272 (accessed 15 July 2013)

[2] New collection catalogues are being uploaded on to the Durham University Library web pages on an ongoing basis and these can be searched or browsed at the following web address:
https://www.dur.ac.uk/library/asc/localother/ushaw.htm/collection.catalogues/

deterioration were noticeably evident. A series of colliery records stored in solicitors' boxes were, for example, thick with coal dust!

In light of the fact that many collections had no referencing system, it made sense to try and simplify the classification system of the archive materials at Ushaw. The following is my attempt to divide the archive into separate series.

Ushaw College Papers (UCP)
These are essentially 'named' collections donated to the archive by individuals. This includes collections such as the Newman Papers, Lingard Papers, Newsham Papers, as well as substantial collections which have been artificially brought together pertaining to Catholic history; for example, the Catholic History Research Papers or the English Martyrs Papers. This amalgamates and supersedes the original referencing system which included Old Series, Old Series 2, and other minor referencing systems, as well as collections with no referencing system or listing at all. The cataloguing of this series is now complete and the collections are available online.

Ushaw College Administration (UCA)
This series includes the records of the administration of Ushaw College and has been arranged into distinct categories, including Administration Records, Financial Records, Estate Records, Building Records, Teaching Records, Chapel Records, Library Records, College Life Records, and Photographic Material, and is now complete. There are, however, issues of data protection and closure of records of a sensitive nature which need to be addressed before these catalogues are uploaded. Further additions are regularly discovered which hinders progress. The director, for example, recently found over one hundred architectural plans stored in a cupboard. It stands to reason that no-one previously knew of their existence.

Ushaw Manuscripts (UCM)
This series includes the Ushaw Collection of Manuscripts which contains some of Ushaw's most important archive documents on Catholic history from the seventeenth to the nineteenth century. There are five bound volumes of manuscripts and each volume contains a

rolling number which has been retained. It also includes the medieval manuscripts (which will not form part of the cataloguing project), as well as the sub-series Ushaw College Additional Manuscripts which incorporates single items and very small collections.

Ushaw College History Papers (UCH)
This series was retained as a simple rolling number sequence. These papers complement the Ushaw College Manuscript series, being significant documents relating to the history of Ushaw College rather than Catholic history specifically.

Ushaw Presidents' Archive (UCPA)
This consists of another rolling number series, including collections of documents arranged by various presidents of Ushaw.

In the short term, the introduction of a new referencing system may cause confusion with old references appearing in secondary works. In order to alleviate this problem, custodial history notes have been included in each archive catalogue detailing old reference numbers.

Why are the collections in the Ushaw Archive historically important and how can they be exploited by researchers? Broadly speaking, although there is significant overlap, the importance of the collections at Ushaw fall into two subject categories: history of Ushaw College, including its foundation, development and daily life; history of the Catholic Church (mostly from the seventeenth century to the present day).

HISTORY of USHAW COLLEGE

Building Records

The architectural records in the archives, mostly plans and specifications, document virtually every aspect of the college's development towards the impressive complex of buildings evident today. Unfortunately, the plans for the original building of the college in 1808 no longer survive, although there are a series of William Gibson's accounts.[1] However, from the early nineteenth century onwards many of the major architectural innovations (both to the

[1] Ushaw College Administration: Building Records, UC/AD4/1.

interior and exterior of the college building) are well documented. There can be no doubt that the major inspiration behind the sheer size of Ushaw, and its staggering beauty, was Ushaw's fifth president, Mgr Charles Newsham. Newsham's ambitious architectural innovations included the building of the library, infirmary, museum, exhibition hall, lavatories, kitchens, farm buildings, and the junior seminary. Perhaps best known, although sadly no longer evident, was the Pugin-designed chapel. By the beginning of Newsham's presidency the original chapel was proving to be too small to accommodate the growing student population. Newsham therefore commissioned the famous Catholic architect, Augustus Welby Pugin, to design a new chapel in keeping with his burgeoning vision for the college. It is no exaggeration to say that the Pugin chapel, when it was completed in 1847, was a masterpiece in design and construction that mirrored the splendours of the collegiate chapels of Oxford and Cambridge.[1] The major building project of the late nineteenth century was the demolition of the Pugin chapel and its replacement with the present one, designed by Dunn and Hansom. Completed in 1884, the new chapel aimed to preserve as many of Pugin's design features as possible. The general character of the exterior, although much larger, is strongly reminiscent of its predecessor.

The last decade of the nineteenth century also saw the addition of an indoor swimming pool and a gymnasium, as well as the West Wing of the quadrangle and the west dormitory. In the early twentieth century, further lecture rooms and dormitories were built to house the expanding student population and a new laboratory replaced Pugin's 1854 building. The final piece of Ushaw's architectural jigsaw was the East Wing (known more commonly as the Margaret Clitherow Conference Centre) which was completed in 1964.

The daily routine of the college is well represented in the archive record. The registration books and class photographs reveal that students commenced in the class known as Underlow, progressing

[1] W. J. Campbell, 'The Architecture of Ushaw', in *Ushaw College 1808- 2008*, p. 22.

through Low Figures and High Figures. They then entered the college proper and joined the class of Grammar, followed by Syntax, Poetry and Rhetoric, at which point the remaining lay students left the school and the Church students embarked on their vocational training.[1]

The 'Reading Up' books in the college archive may, at first glance, appear little more than rather ornate numbered student lists but they actually highlight an important and unique aspect of college life. The event of 'Reading Up' was conducted in the Exhibition Hall at the end of each academic term. Every year, groups were lined up facing the teaching staff and the assembled college. A reader then began to announce, in Latin, the position of each student in the Latin examinations. As the name of each student was announced, starting with the first, he returned to his seat leaving his less successful colleagues waiting anxiously to hear their fate, until the last youth made his embarrassed way back to his place. This was an experience not relished by the fainthearted, and few mourned the passing in the 1960s of a rather sadistic practice.[2]

The daily religious and academic routine was underpinned by a rigorous recreational programme and the photographic material is particularly rich in documenting Ushaw men at play. The culture of ice-skating on the 'Pond' was a recreation enjoyed by students and faculty alike and the archive abounds with photographs of skating 'trains' which often included the occasional bishop or dignitary. There is also an interesting handful of photographs from the 1950s showing convent sisters aiding the young Junior Seminary boys in their first skating lessons.[3]

Like any other public school, sport played a large part in Ushaw life; but the photographic record shows that, although the traditional sports of football, tennis, and cricket were represented, they were not

[1] For the class lists, Ushaw College Administration: Management Records, UC/AA4/3. For the photographs, Ushaw College Administration: Photographic Material (various examples).

[2] Reading Up Book.

[3] Ushaw College Administration: Photographic Material, UC/AJ2/7/11-20.

the most popular sporting activities. Indeed, some of the more well-loved Ushaw games were little known outside its grounds. Handball, for example, was imported from Douai and played by two or four players in a 'Racket House', a three-walled court with an elliptical roof, as well as the 'Ball Place'. Similarly 'Keeping Up' (also known as Battledore) was normally played in singles or doubles on the 'Ball Places' which form the north eastern perimeter of the 'Bounds'. However, the quintessential Ushaw sport was the game of 'Cat'. Brought to Ushaw by Douai refugees, its pre-Douai provenance is a source of dispute. The mystery surrounding its origins has even led to suggestions that it gave birth to America's beloved baseball, although there is no evidence to support this theory.[1]

Aside from sport, producing and performing in plays and operettas provided entertaining diversions for the participants and their fellow students during the long winter evenings. There is an extensive series of playbills, scripts, and music scores dating back to the mid-nineteenth century, which are also complemented by group photographs of cast members for various plays, including H.M.S. Pinafore, Robin Hood, and Bluebeard, to name just a few.

Other College Records

Aside from the records documenting the life of the college, a significant number also cover its legal and financial side. These include journals, cash books and ledgers, as well as staff wage books which have proved to be a potentially fruitful area for family historians. There is also a significant amount of material on the running of the large college estates, including deeds, accounts, and correspondence. These, particularly the deeds, stretch back beyond the foundation of the college to the sixteenth century.[2] Within the estate records, there is something of a hidden gem for social historians: ten boxes of unexplored correspondence and financial records relating to the administration of the coalmines which the

[1] Ushaw College Administration: Photographic Material (various examples).

[2] These can be found in the Financial Records and Estate Records of the Ushaw College Administration series.

college owned, dating from the mid nineteenth century until the post-World War II nationalisation.[1]

HISTORY of the CATHOLIC CHURCH

The importance of the Ushaw College Archive lies not only in its documentation of the life of a Catholic seminary. Indeed, the Ushaw Archives comprise one of the major national deposits of source material for the history of Catholicism in Britain and the wider world. The following are some of the major Catholic history collections and their potential importance for researchers.

The Ushaw Collection of Manuscripts (UCM/1-5)

The Ushaw Collection of Manuscripts is a very rich collection of more than seven hundred items covering many aspects of the life and organisation of the English secular clergy, in England and abroad, from the late seventeenth to the early nineteenth century. In addition to many documents relating to the routine administration of the English mission by the Vicars Apostolic, there are notable files on the English Catholics and Jansenism, on conflict with the religious orders, on Catholic loyalty to the Stuart and Hanoverian dynasties, on the legal and financial implications of anti-Catholic legislation, and on the difficulties of marriages between Catholics and Protestants.

Eyre Manuscripts (UC/P28)

The Eyre Manuscripts include three volumes of manuscripts collected by Vincent Eyre, lawyer and brother of Ushaw College's first president, Rev. Thomas Eyre. The manuscripts are chiefly legal papers shedding light on the operation of the penal laws in Britain during the eighteenth century. The manuscripts cover various court cases, mostly legal opinions, briefs, and letters, on the interpretation of the penal laws against Catholics relating to the inheritance or sale of their estates, prosecutions brought against certain Catholics for failing to attend Protestant services, and Catholic priests for saying Mass. There are also manuscript and printed copies of the various bills and acts of penal legislation, as well as a number of documents highlighting the

[1] There appears to be no evidence of any scholarly use of the colliery records.

involvement of prominent individuals in the Jacobite Rising of 1715, including the earl of Derwentwater and Lord William Widdrington.

Jacobite Papers (UC/P23 & UC/P30)
The political difficulties of English Catholics for much of the eighteenth century were closely bound up with the fate of the exiled Stuarts and the college holds notable Jacobite material. These include the papers of Walter Thomas Tyrrell, canon of Liege Cathedral, whose nephew, Lieutenant John Dempsey, fought for the Jacobites in the 1745 rebellion. Although Dempsy was predominantly stationed in France awaiting orders for embarkation to Scotland during the '45, his letters provide a unique perspective on continental support for Jacobitism. The letters also contain news from the battlefield itself, as Dempsy appears to have been well informed of the major events. The correspondence also sheds light on the personal and courtly lives of James Francis Edward Stuart (the "Old Pretender" or "James III") and Charles Edward Stuart (the "Young Pretender" or "Bonnie Prince Charlie") during their exile in the aftermath of the '45, as Tyrrell maintained close connections with both men throughout this period.

PAPERS OF NOTABLE CATHOLICS
The Ushaw College Archive also contains the papers of the most important English Catholics in the nineteenth century.

John Lingard Papers (UC/P25)
The Reverend Dr John Lingard (1771-1851), some-time Vice-President of Ushaw, was the most celebrated English Catholic writer of his times. His multi-volume History of England set new bench-marks for accuracy and rigour in historical writing. He was also a vigorous controversialist on behalf of Catholic civil and religious rights, and against what he saw as florid Italianate innovations creeping into English Catholic worship. Lingard was a central figure in the life of the English Catholic Church for half a century, and his papers include the notes and working papers for his History of England series and other writings, and many boxes and bound volumes of letters to and from a wide range of contemporaries.

Nicholas Wiseman Papers
Nicholas Wiseman was the first Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster, a gifted writer and lecturer, and the most flamboyant English Catholic prelate of the nineteenth century. The Wiseman papers at Ushaw, encompassing more than a thousand items, include letters, drafts of published work, and manuscript lectures, sermons and dramatic work, and cover almost all his major concerns.

Bourne Family Papers (UC/P18)
Another archbishop's collection at Ushaw is the letters and papers belonging to Cardinal Francis Bourne and his family. These include papers relating to Henry Bourne (sr) and Henry Bourne (jr) who were post office clerks in New Brunswick, Canada, and Newcastle-upon-Tyne; letters from Henry Bourne (jr) to his son, Henry J. Bourne, during the latter's time at Ushaw, which include information on the Catholic missions in the east end of London and Kent during the mid-nineteenth century; letters from Henry J. Bourne to his mother, Ellen, which describes his life at Ushaw; and papers of Francis Bourne, archbishop of Westminster. The papers also include miscellaneous items which were probably collected for historical or genealogical research into the Bourne family.

Presidents' Papers
The presidents of Ushaw College in the nineteenth century, and especially Mgr Charles Newsham and Mgr Robert Tate, were immensely influential figures in the church of their time. They form a uniquely rich source for the religious and social history of the Victorian North East and elsewhere.

Tate-Slater Letters (UC/P8)
The correspondence between the Rev. Robert Tate and the Rev. Thomas Augustine Slater runs to more than five hundred items and are especially valuable for their insight into the development of local Catholic missions in Yorkshire from the 1830s to the 1870s, including the foundation of missions and churches, the role of local Catholic gentry families of Yorkshire and South Durham, and the attitude of

the Protestant community towards Catholics following the restoration of the hierarchy. As Tate was heavily involved in Catholic ecclesiastical administration, the letters also provide a wealth of information on all aspects of the running of the Catholic Church and its often stormy internal disputes, particularly those involving Bishop John Briggs, that characterised mid-nineteenth century Catholicism. The letters also detail Tate's role in the administration of Ushaw College as vice-president and, later, president. Throughout the correspondence, Tate pulled no punches in expressing frank and forthright opinions on the changing nature of Catholicism in England, in particular his own intense dislike of the new Ultramontanism, contrasting his own traditional views with its development and its influence on devotional practices and clerical attitudes, and how these changes influenced the wider political situation.

Charles Newsham Papers (UC/P26)

As previously described, Charles Newsham was the president who perhaps made the most important contribution to the architectural development of Ushaw College. His own papers are also interesting in what they tell us about Catholic history generally during this period. He corresponded with most of the major Catholic figures of the nineteenth century and the subjects in the letters vary widely and include: internal Catholic disputes, particularly a controversy surrounding the possible transformation of St Edward's (Lancashire) into a seminary and its likely impact on Ushaw, as well as his various disputes with the northern bishops over Ushaw's constitution and alleged misappropriation of college funds; the administration of Ushaw, including donations, payment disputes, admissions, investments, the college jubilee and Newsham's building programme; the administration of other Catholic colleges in England, including Oscott and Stonyhurst; and the situation of Catholicism on the continent, particularly the Venerable English College in Rome and the wider political situation during the 1848 Revolutions.

PAPERS of CATHOLIC CONVERTS

The nineteenth century was something of a golden age for Catholicism; numbers were buttressed by a large number of notable

converts, influenced by the Oxford Movement. The archive holds collections of papers from many of the movement's most influential figures.

John Henry Newman Letters (UC/P20)
John Henry Newman was perhaps the most important and influential theologian of the nineteenth century and the Ushaw College Archive boasts some of his more candid and personal opinions. Indeed, his letters to the Wilberforce family and, in particular, Henry W. Wilberforce, cover many of the major events in Newman's life, including the development of the Oxford Movement and the controversies surrounding the publication of the *Tracts for the Times* series; his growing anxieties over his position within the Anglican Church and subsequent conversion to Catholicism; the early formation of his ideas on Anglican and Catholic doctrine published in his many works; and the foundation of the Birmingham Oratory. They also reveal a very intimate friendship between Newman and fellow convert Henry Wilberforce which, although somewhat strained in the years immediately following Newman's conversion, remained close until Wilberforce's death in 1873.

Wilberforce Letters (UC/P21)
The archive also contains the letters of the Wilberforce family, mostly Henry E. Wilberforce and Arthur Wilberforce to their father (Henry Wilberforce) written during their time at Ushaw College. The letters are rich in detail and cover most aspects of college life. Some letters are also written from the Oratory at Birmingham and include references to conversations with John Henry Newman.

Manning Letters (UC/P22)
The letters of Henry Edward Manning are another notable collection of a Catholic convert. In 1865, Manning succeeded Wiseman as Archbishop of Westminster. In this role, he was particularly active in promoting improved social conditions amongst the Catholics of Ireland, which included encouraging total abstinence, a better education system, improved labour relations, and social welfare. The letters at Ushaw, however, mostly relate to the period prior to his

appointment to this role and are mostly personal and, like Newman's papers, highlight Manning's anxieties before his conversion to Catholicism, as well as his role in the Catholic Church during the mid-nineteenth century.

Thomas Wilkinson Papers (UC/P16)
Ushaw also holds the letters of a local Catholic convert, Thomas Wilkinson, who became Bishop of Hexham and Newcastle. These letters cover a broad range of religious and political topics in the second half of the nineteenth century, including his father's attitude towards his conversion to Catholicism; the local Catholic community in Crook where Wilkinson ministered; support for the pope during the Risorgimento; a controversy between George Lane Fox and H. E. Manning; the non-Catholic university question; opposition to the Education Bill; protests against the papal decree on censorship; and other matters of episcopal administration. A number of letters also refer to Wilkinson's role as president of Ushaw College, most notably opposition to Herbert Vaughan's plans to reform Ushaw into a purely ecclesiastical seminary. The collection also contains a series of letters from his sister residing in the Convent of Perpetual Adoration in Taunton.

RESEARCH PAPERS
John Lingard's contribution to history has already been noted but he was not the only Catholic historian. Indeed, historical research seemed to be a pastime shared by a number of clergy and Ushaw men alike.

Joseph Bamber Papers (UC/P1)
The research papers of Canon Joseph Bamber, of St Roberts, Dodding Green, cover the subject of Catholic martyrology in Lancashire. The papers are mostly articles, talks and research notes but they also include historical material, presumably collected by Bamber as part of his research, notably a manuscript written in 1722 by Christopher Tootell on the martyrs of the seventeenth century, as well as indentures relating to Catholic-owned land in Lancashire. There is also a separate series of document transcripts and printed items

relating to the English martyrs at Ushaw which may (or may not) have belonged to Bamber.

Philip Hughes Papers (UC/P38)
Another notable priest-historian was Rev. Philip Hughes, archivist at Westminster, whose manuscript of his first published work, *The Catholic Question*, published in 1929, can be consulted at Ushaw.

G. E. Phillips Papers (UC/P37)
There is also correspondence, source material and other papers collected by Rev. George Phillips, Master of Low Figures and Head of Junior House during the late nineteenth century/early twentieth century, for the publication of his 1905 work on the extinction of the ancient hierarchy.

Ushaw College Catholic History Research Papers (UC/P34)
There is also a series of miscellaneous research papers brought together under the imaginatively named Catholic History Research Papers. These include mostly notes, transcripts and catalogues on a disparate range of topics relating to Catholic history, including Catholic martyrology, aspects of Ushaw College history (notably Ushaw men in the First World War), the 1851 and 1861 census, priest indices, and family trees of Catholic families.

LISBON PAPERS
Finally, no survey of the archive collections at Ushaw College would be complete without reference to the Lisbon Archive. This vast collection of over a hundred boxes contains the entire archive of the English seminary at Lisbon, from its foundation in 1628 under the patronage of King Philip IV of Spain, until its closure in the 1970s. These include the correspondence of the founder of Lisbon College, Dom Pedro Coutino, as well as the college registers, annals, minute-books and letter-books, covering every aspect of the life of an exiled British community in Catholic Europe for three and a half centuries. There are more than 150 letters of Bishop Richard Russell (1630-93), personal confessor to Queen Catherine of Braganza. Many of these deal with his work as a Portuguese diplomat, shedding light on Anglo-Portuguese relations under the Stuarts, including the delicate

negotiations for Catherine's marriage to King Charles II. There are deposits of personal and business papers of families and individuals associated with the college and its members, making the Lisbon collection an important source for the history of Anglo-Portuguese trade in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The collection also includes a unique and copious series of manuscript sermons preached in the college in the eighteenth century, probably the largest single collection of English recusant preaching in any archive. Much of the Lisbon material is in Portuguese but (thankfully) an excellent calendared card system is available in English for most of the major collections. This is supplemented by a very useful biographical register of Lisbonians compiled by Fr Michael Sharratt for the Catholic Record Society, as well as a PhD thesis by Dr Simon Johnson on the history of Lisbon College which draws extensively on its archives.[1]

[1] Sharratt, Michael, *Lisbon College Register, 1628-1813*, (Catholic Record Society, 1991); and Johnson, S. P., 'The English College at Lisbon from 1622 - 1761: a Missionary College from the Reformation to the Age of Enlightenment' (unpublished doctoral thesis, 2006).

The English and Welsh Hierarchy and the First World War: Issues and Sources

James Hagerty
(Leeds Diocesan Archives)

The purpose of this article is to define some of the issues which confronted the English and Welsh Hierarchy during the First World War and to identify the nature and location of ecclesiastical sources available to those embarking upon research into the history of the Church during this important period.

The Hierarchy 1914-1918

In 1911, the Apostolic Constitution *Si Qua Est* sub-divided England into three ecclesiastical Provinces: Westminster, Birmingham and Liverpool. The Metropolitan of Westminster in 1914 was Cardinal Francis Bourne, Archbishop of Westminster. The suffragan bishops were Peter Amigo of Southwark, Frederick Keating of Northampton, William Cotter of Portsmouth and Robert Brindle of Nottingham. Bishop Thomas Dunn succeeded Bishop Brindle in 1916. The Diocese of Brentwood was erected in 1917, with Bishop Bernard Ward as the first bishop. The Metropolitan of Birmingham was Archbishop Edward Ilsley. The suffragan bishops were George Ambrose Burton of Clifton, Hugh Singleton of Shrewsbury, John Keily of Plymouth, John Cuthbert Hedley of Newport, and Francis Mostyn of Menevia. The Metropolitan of Liverpool was Archbishop Thomas Whiteside. The suffragan bishops were Joseph Robert Cowgill of Leeds, Louis Charles Casartelli of Salford, Richard Lacy of Middlesbrough, and Richard Collins of Hexham and Newcastle. In 1916, the Archdiocese of Cardiff was erected on the geographical territory of the former Diocese of Newport. Archbishop James Romanus Bilsborrow became the first Metropolitan of Cardiff, while the suffragan was Bishop Francis Mostyn of Menevia. Bishop Hedley died in 1915.

A Just Cause

The Hierarchy did not doubt the validity of the Allied cause. Cardinal Bourne called for prayers for victory and for God's blessing 'on the

country, its rulers and the Empire'; Archbishop Ilsley appealed for prayers for 'the success of our arms'. Bishop Whiteside wrote that 'we are conscious of the justice of our cause'; while the jingoistic Bishop Burton said that British forces were opposing 'the savage aggression of a would-be Attila'. To Bishop Collins, Germany was 'an enemy that had forgotten the usages of Christian peoples'. Bishop Hedley claimed that 'true patriotism had its roots in the great cardinal virtue of justice'; while Bishop Singleton wrote that the country had not sought war but now it rightly claimed 'the help of her children' and 'the loyal service of her sons'.[1] All bishops prayed for peace, however, and saw war as God's retribution for the sins of mankind.

Bourne and the Hierarchy

Bourne's leadership and management of the Hierarchy aroused episcopal animosity. As permanent president of the bench of bishops Bourne had the strategic advantage and determined episcopal priorities. Cardinal Aidan Gasquet, an influential English cardinal in Rome and no admirer of Bourne, was in regular contact with Bishops Amigo and Casartelli about Bourne's singular approach to a number of issues. Bishop Dunn made a complaint to Rome about Bourne's machinations regarding the division of the dioceses;[2] meanwhile Archbishop Whiteside wrote that Bourne ignored his recommendations and opinions on a range of issues.[3] Casartelli described the Hierarchy's reaction to Bourne's sole command of negotiations over the Education Bill of 1918 as 'acquiescent silence and apparent apathy'.[4] This approach typified the episcopal approach to Bourne throughout the war: fractious and disgruntled, but unable or unwilling to change the situation.

[1] Salford Diocesan Archives (SDA), *Acta Episcoporum Angliae*. Bourne Pastoral, 9 Aug 1914; Ilsley Pastoral, 7 Aug 1914; Whiteside Pastoral, 13 Aug 1914; Burton Pastoral, 23 Aug 1914; Collins Pastoral, Lent 1915; Hedley Pastoral, Advent 1914; Singleton Pastoral, Advent 1914.

[2] Nottingham Diocesan Archives (NDA), Dunn's Papers, G03.03

[3] Archdiocese of Liverpool Archives (ALA), Early Bishops' Collection, Whiteside Papers, Series 2, V, Letters.

[4] K. Aspden, *Fortress Church* (Leominster, 2002) p. 115.

Military Chaplains

Bourne exercised ecclesiastical control over Catholic military chaplains. The War Office and Admiralty conducted all negotiations through him and bishops and superiors ceded control of priests to Westminster and military authorities. A groundswell of opinion rose against Bourne's administration of the chaplains. Led by Gasquet, Amigo and Cardinal Logue of Armagh, some bishops tried to wrest control of the chaplains from Bourne and correspondence between the Vatican, Westminster, Whitehall, and the British Hierarchies indicates huge tension surrounding this issue. Some ordinaries, especially in Ireland, were reluctant to provide chaplains. Others, trying to address the spiritual needs of soldiers while endeavouring to maintain a normal diocesan liturgical life, were ill-disposed to tolerate maladministration where their priests faced death. In 1917, Bourne was divested of his army, but not naval, chaplaincy responsibilities and Mgr William Keatinge, a senior army chaplain was appointed *Episcopus Castrensis*.[1]

The Irish Problem

This was a sensitive issue for the bishops; Keily, Cotter and Lacy were Irish-born, Bourne was of Irish extraction. Serious points of episcopal stress were the 1916 Easter Rising in Dublin, the execution of Roger Casement, and the Archbishop Mannix affair of 1920. In the face of considerable opposition, including that of Bourne, Amigo allowed the requiem of Terence McSwiney the IRA hunger striker and Lord Mayor of Cork to be held in Southwark Cathedral in July 1920. It was offered by the Cork-born Cotter. Cowgill of Leeds supported their actions while McIntyre of Birmingham was pro-Irish.[2] Bourne meanwhile offered Mass at Westminster for three Catholic English officers shot in Dublin.

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

[2] Michael Clifton, *Amigo: Friend of the Poor* (Leominster, 1987), chapter 7.

The Neutral Papacy

Pope Benedict XV's peace-making efforts were an embarrassment to the Hierarchy and won him no supporter among the bishops. While they supported his call for prayer and praised his humanitarian work, they communicated his peace initiatives without enthusiasm. When the Catholic Guild of Peace was established, it received no episcopal backing and Bishop Burton condemned its attempt to take the Pope seriously. No bishop openly welcomed Benedict's call for a peace conference however much they respected his neutrality and admired his humanity.[1] Burton wrote: 'I am quite prepared to denounce Germans, Pacifists and Conscientious Objectors'.[2] No bishop could afford to be unpatriotic.

War and Religious Practice

Bishops used the war to call their flocks back to God's ways and encouraged contrition and prayer. The war was seen as God's reaction to humanity's sinfulness. An optimistic Bishop Cowgill thought that war would lead to 'a great revival of religion'. Cardinal Bourne wrote that 'present grief' and 'uncertainties of the future' must not be allowed 'to deaden the sense of the supernatural'. [3] To combatants, eternity was in close proximity and chaplains testified to the religious devotion of soldiers while post-war studies reflected upon the conflict's effects on the fighting-man's Christian faith. There was a significant number of converts to Catholicism among combatants on the Western Front.

Peace and Reconstruction

In Advent 1914, Bourne said: '...we realise...the terrific consequences of this worldwide struggle; we see in our midst victims of injustice and oppression; we are able to understand the price of victory.' In 1918, he warned that that if justice was not also applied at home men

[1] E. I. Watkin, *Roman Catholicism in England from the Reformation to 1950* (London, 1957), pp. 220-221; J.D. Holmes, *The Papacy in the Modern World* (London, 1981), chapter 1.

[2] J. A. Harding, *The Diocese of Clifton: 1850-1950* (Bristol, 1999), p. 266

[3] SDA, *Acta Episcoporum Angliae*. Cowgill Pastoral, Advent 1914; Bourne Pastoral, Advent 1918.

would become 'revolutionary'. In Advent 1918, Cowgill wrote that God had given the Allies victory and the peacemakers at Versailles had a responsibility to act fairly and with justice. Reconstruction, he continued, had to be undertaken quickly and that failure to do so honourably and without charity might lead to bitter social strife.[1] Bishop Dunn wrote about the importance of Catholic participation in the General Election of 1918.[2] In 1920, Archbishop Bilsborrow wrote of 'troubles and dangers abroad and unrest and disquietude at home'.[3]

Toleration of Catholicism

The Catholic community made an immense contribution to the war effort and the Great War 'accelerated public toleration of Catholicism, putting any vestigial suspicions of Catholic loyalty to rest'. From this improved situation, bishops derived a greater public confidence and assertiveness and became more willing to engage with issues such as reconstruction. This did not guarantee episcopal unanimity, however, as witnessed by the debate surrounding the Fisher Education Act of 1918.[4] The bishops forbade Catholic involvement in peace parades with a religious element and in the unveiling of civic war memorials.

Diocesan Sources

The Hierarchy's *Acta* do not include minutes of its debates and thus fail to give the background leading to episcopal decisions. However, they refer to the issues faced by the bishops. Episcopal dislike of Bourne's leadership and management is not obvious in the *Acta*; for a fuller understanding and appreciation of their contents, they have to be used in conjunction with other sources.

Pastoral Letters justified the conflict, encouraged prayers for victory and peace, and sought assistance for Belgian refugees and those afflicted by death or injury. Some are forthright in their support for

[1] SDA, *Acta Episcoporum Angliae*. Bourne Pastorals, Advent 1914 and Advent 1918; Cowgill Pastoral, Advent 1918.

[2] NDA, Dunn Papers, G02.

[3] SDA, *Acta Episcoporum Angliae*. Bilsborrow, Pastoral, Lent, 1920.

[4] Aspden, *Fortress Church*, p. 9.

the war; others reflect episcopal suffering and doubt. The *Tablet* and Catholic newspapers contain copies of Pastorals.

Within the *Ad Clerum* will be found requests for volunteers for military chaplaincy, rules on fasting and abstinence, and details of special liturgies *pro tempore belli*. Bishops wished to maintain a normal diocesan life amid widespread suffering and disruption and episcopal calls for prayers for Catholic Belgium or Catholic Poland are intermingled with traditional requests for funds.

Correspondence between bishops on strictly war-related issues is rare. Letters referring to the shortage or deployment of army chaplains were seized upon by some bishops, especially in Ireland, as an indication of Bourne's administrative inadequacies. The existence of such evidence is patchy, as are letters from chaplains and combatants to bishops.

Newspapers, diocesan journals and *parish magazines* are a rich source of information. The *Tablet* is particularly useful and includes comprehensive reports, analysis and a useful index.

War Memorials and records of unveiling ceremonies should not be overlooked as records of the fallen or as sources for episcopal and confessional sentiment towards the recent conflict.

Diocesan Collections

The quantity and range of material in diocesan archives varies enormously as does the state of sorting, cataloguing and storage. Some catalogues are available on-line; many are not.[1]

Westminster

Cardinal Bourne's position as senior bishop in the British Empire makes his correspondence and papers invaluable for a study of this period. The following is but a sample: British League of Help for Devastated Areas of France (AAW B5/45C); First World War Misc.

[1] Descriptions of some diocesan collections are in editions of *Catholic Archives*: Shrewsbury (14), Brentwood (15), Salford (16), Liverpool (19), Hexham and Newcastle (19), Northampton (21), Birmingham (22).

(AAW Bo/42e, 50c, 52f); Girl Guides (AAW Bo 5/31); India (AAW Bo 1/68); Ireland (AAW Bo 5/36a); Palestine (AAW Bo 1/93); and Prisoners of War 1914-1918 (AAW Bo 5/42d). The *Tablet*, the *Dublin Review* and the *Westminster Cathedral Chronicle* may be consulted at Westminster.

Birmingham

Archbishop Ilsley's papers contain material on national and international events and comments about the situation in Ireland and the popularity of Sinn Fein in the period up to 1920. A further series includes correspondence between Archbishop Ilsley and Cardinal De Lai, Secretary of the Sacred Consistorial Congregation, concerning the Newport Diocese following the death of Bishop Hedley, and outlining the continuing disagreement between Bourne and the Hierarchy over the Cardinal's management style and autocratic manner. [1]

Liverpool

Archbishop Whiteside's Collection includes letters from military chaplains, details on spiritual support for German prisoners of war, and correspondence with other bishops regarding Bourne. Bound volumes of *Liverpolitana* contain *Acta*, Pastorals and *Ad Clerum* from 1873.[2] As at Salford, there is a good collection of Pastorals and *Ad Clerum* from other dioceses.

Newport and Cardiff

Bishop Hedley's and Archbishop Bilsborrow's papers are in the National Library of Wales. Copies of their Pastorals and some *Ad Clerum* may be found in Salford and Liverpool.

Brentwood

Archives date from only 1917 but are useful for Ward's disagreement with Bourne over the Cadet Force at St Edmund's College, Ware, and Ward's part in the debate about the New Code of Canon Law.

[1] Archdiocese of Birmingham Archives, Episcopal Papers 'EP' and 'D' Series of Historical Documents.

[2] ALA, Early Bishops' Collection, Whiteside Papers, Series 2, I-V.

Clifton
Pastoral letters and letters *Ad Clerum* are available. Bishop Burton's correspondence includes references to Belgian refugees and troops. There are papers on wartime burials and records of the Catholic Women's League. Some parish histories contain references to the war.

Hexham and Newcastle
Copies of Bishop Collin's Pastorals and some *Ad Clerum* may be found in Salford and Liverpool.

Leeds
There are Pastorals and *Ad Clerum* in the Diocesan *Acta* but a paucity of other relevant wartime material. There is a copy of Cardinal Mercier's 1915 appeal for Belgium.[1]

Menevia
As with Newport and Cardiff, there is nothing on the war period other than routine documents. Copies of Bishop Mostyn's Pastorals and some *Ad Clerum* may be found in Salford and Liverpool Archdiocesan Archives.

Middlesbrough
Bishop Lacy's papers include Pastorals and *Ad Clerum* with references to an appeal for the Polish Victims Relief Fund and a collection for 'suffering Lithuania'. The *Hull Catholic Magazine* (1915-1918) is available at Middlesbrough.

Northampton
A full collection of Bishop Keating's wartime Pastorals, sermons and speeches are to be found in Liverpool Archdiocesan Archives. Keating's writings contain an interpretation of German *Kultur*.[2]

Nottingham
Bishop Dunn's papers are useful for those interested in the division of the dioceses and the Hierarchy's approach to the introduction of the new Code of Canon Law in 1917. There are interesting comments

[1] Leeds Diocesan Archives, *Acta Ecclesiae Loidensis*.
[2] ALA, Early Bishops' Collection, Keating Collection, Series 7.

from Keating about Bourne and from Bilsborrow on the implementation of the New Code of Canon Law.[1]

Portsmouth

A collection of Bishop Cotter's wartime Pastorals and *Ad Clerum* are to be found in Salford and Liverpool.

Plymouth

A collection of Bishop Keily's wartime Pastorals and *Ad Clerum* are to be found in Salford and Liverpool.

Salford

Like Bishop Keating, Casartelli wrote about the theological significance of the war and the social issues it raised. His utterances were measured, lacked bellicosity and were more international than jingoist. Casartelli's papers are an important source for researchers. [2] Wartime editions of the *Catholic Times*, the *Salford Federationist* and *The Harvest*, the diocesan magazine, are available as are the war diaries of Fr Frederick Gillett CF.

Shrewsbury

A collection of Bishop Singleton's wartime Pastorals, sermons and speeches are to be found in Salford and Liverpool.

Southwark

Amigo's *Ad Clerum* relate to military permits, chaplaincies, Belgian refugees, national savings, and prisoners of war. His correspondence with Bourne, Gasquet, other bishops, Mgr Hinsley at the *Venerabile*, and Dom Stephen Rawlinson on the Western Front is of great value. In the *Amigo and Ireland* file are Amigo's letters on the Irish Question and his role in McSwiney's funeral. [3] Fr Herbert Rochford, Southwark Diocesan Archivist, brought together Amigo's wartime Pastorals in *A Bishop To His People.* [4]

[1] NDA, Dunn's Papers, G03, G03.03.
[2] SDA: DR18.01-DR20.01; SD160.01-SD163.01; DR24.01-DR26.01.
[3] Michael Clifton, Southwark Diocesan Archives' in *Catholic Archives*, no. 4, 1984.
[4] H. Rochford, *A Bishop To His People: Pronouncements* (London, 1934).

The Military Ordinariate

Bishop Keatinge's correspondence was destroyed by his executors. Extant material covers his appointment as *Episcopus Castrensis* and subsequent negotiations regarding his territorial jurisdiction. Some of Bourne's chaplaincy papers originally housed at Westminster are now in these archives. This collection remains the best source of information on military chaplains.

Other Collections

Cardinal Gasquet's Papers at Downside Abbey[1] shed light on episcopal relationships during the Great War. Based at the Vatican throughout the war, Gasquet was a conduit between the Hierarchy and Rome. His correspondence, especially with Amigo, indicates his attempts to thwart Bourne's plans for diocesan re-arrangements and control of military chaplains. Gasquet was instrumental in ensuring that Bourne was divested of his responsibility for Catholic army chaplains.[2]

Dom Stephen Rawlinson's Papers, also at Downside, provide a very important source of information relating to military chaplains and are best used in conjunction with papers at the Military Ordinariate. In his attempt to maintain the establishment of Catholic army chaplains, Rawlinson entered into much correspondence with ordinaries and religious superiors.[3] The Imperial War Museum and The National Archives hold the personal records of military chaplains. Royal Navy records contain details of naval chaplains. The *Downside Review*, the *Ampleforth Journal* and house magazines of religious orders have reminiscences of chaplains. There is a growing corpus of research and published material on this topic.

[1] Aidan. Bellenger, 'Cardinal Gasquet's Papers at Downside in *Catholic Archives*, no. 4, 1984.

[2] Aidan Bellenger, 'Cardinal Gasquet 1846-1929: an English Roman' in *Recusant History*, 24, 1999.

[3] J. Hagerty, 'Catholic army chaplains in the Great War: the papers of Fr Stephen Rawlinson OSB, Downside Abbey' in *Catholic Archives*, no. 32, 2012; S. Bellis, 'The Rawlinson Papers in Downside Abbey Archives' in the *Downside Review*, vol. 130, no 459, April 2012.

Secondary Sources

Secondary works stimulate further lines of inquiry and supplement diocesan and other archival material. Of value, especially concerning episcopal relationships, is Shane Leslie's *Cardinal Gasquet: A Memoir*.[1] No fan of Bourne, Gasquet liaised closely, some would say intrigued, with Amigo but was also in contact with other bishops. Leslie quotes useful and illustrative extracts from Gasquet's correspondence and diaries. Oldmeadow's *Cardinal Francis Bourne* is a hagiographical treatment of the Cardinal's life but has informative chapters on wartime and post-war issues, chaplains, the Irish problem, Zionism and the League of Nations.[2] Dingle's *Cardinal Bourne at Westminster* contains references to Bourne's Pastorals and speeches and his views on reconstruction. [3] Fr Mark Vickers's recent biography, *By the Thames Divided: Cardinal Bourne in Southwark and Westminster,* provides a more objective and nuanced analysis of Bourne's approach to the war and the episcopal tensions surrounding the control of military chaplains and other issues.[4] McInally's *Edward Ilsley, Archbishop of Birmingham* covers diocesan life during the war and highlights the liaison between the Westminster Suffragans over Bourne's leadership and the division of dioceses.[5] Fr Broadley's *Bishop Casartelli: A Bishop in Peace and War* addresses issues both informing and arising from the Bishop's Pastorals, *Ad Clerum,* speeches and published material. Casartelli and Keating of Northampton addressed the theological and social significance of the war. Among the many important issues raised by Broadley, his comparison of Casartelli's and Bourne's Pastorals is of particular interest and highlights Casartelli's more subtle approach.[6] Fr Clifton's *Amigo: Friend of the Poor* has three very useful chapters - The First World War, Ireland, and Education - on this important

[1] S. Leslie, *Cardinal Gasquet* (London, 1953).

[2] E. Oldmeadow, *Francis Cardinal Bourne* (London, 1944).

[3] R. J. Dingle, *Cardinal Bourne at Westminster* (London, 1934).

[4] Mark Vickers, *By the Thames Divided: Cardinal Bourne in Southwark and Westminster* (Leominster, 2013).

[5] M. McInally, *Edward Ilsley, Archbishop of Birmingham* (London, 2002).

[6] Martin John Broadley, *Louis Charles Casartelli: A Bishop in Peace and War* (Manchester, 2006).

Churchman's wartime ministry. Amigo's differences with Bourne on a number of issues stand out strongly. Clifton cites illustrative extracts from Amigo's collection. For a Welsh perspective, Hughes's *Winds of Change: The Roman Catholic Church and Society in Wales 1916-1962*, and O'Leary's *Immigration and Integration: The Irish in Wales 1798-1922* are good starting points but much research is still needed.[1] Kester Aspden's *Fortress Church* deals with the social and political issues that exercised the minds and emotions of the bishops and their communities during the war. Hachey's *Anglo-Vatican relations, 1914-1939: confidential annual reports of the British Ministers to the Holy See* is a mine of information concerning the wartime British mission to the Vatican.[2] Rockett's *Held in Trust* is a pioneering study which examines the impact of the war upon parishioners and parish clergy and by implication, the bishops.[3] Useful articles include John Davies's, '"War is a Scourge": The First year of the Great War 1914-1915: Catholics and Pastoral Guidance' and Michael Snape's, 'British Catholicism and the British Army in the First World War'. Davies considers important points such as the episcopal interpretation of the concept of a just war, war perceived as being a divine retribution, patriotism within the Catholic community, support for Belgian refugees, recruitment, papal neutrality, and the effects of the war on dioceses.[4] While Snape's focus is on Catholics in the British army, he identifies wider issues, skilfully deals with episcopal responses to the war, and argues that the history of British Catholic involvement in the First World War has been curiously neglected in view of the huge commitment of the Catholic

[1] T. O. Hughes, *Winds of Change: The Roman Catholic Church and Society in Wales 1916-1962*(University of Wales Press, 1999); P. O'Leary, *Immigration and Integration: The Irish in Wales 1798-1922* (University of Wales Press, 2000).

[2] T. Hachey (ed.), *Anglo-Vatican relations, 1914-1939: confidential annual reports of the British Ministers to the Holy See* (Boston, 1972).

[3] J. Rockett, *Held in Trust: Catholic Parishes in England and Wales, 1900-1950* (London, 2001).

[4] J. Davies, '"War is a Scourge": The First year of the Great War 1914-1915: Catholics and Pastoral Guidance' in *Recusant History*, vol. 30, no. 3, May 2011.

community in the conflict and the importance of religion in the war.[1] Similarly, Fr Oliver Rafferty's 'Catholic Chaplains to the British Forces in the First World War' goes beyond the title and covers many important issues.[2] Hagerty's 'The Diocese of Leeds During the First World War' considers Bishop Cowgill's response to the war and the conflict's effects on the diocese from 1914 to the erection of war memorials.[3]

[1] M. Snape, 'British Catholicism and the British Army in the First World War' in *Recusant History*, vol. 26, no. 2, Oct 2002.

[2] O. Rafferty, 'Catholic Chaplains to the British Forces in the First World War' in *Religion, State and Society*, vol. 39, no. 1, March 2011.

[3] J. Hagerty, 'The Diocese of Leeds During the First World War' in *Northern Catholic History*, no.37, 1996.

I wish to thank those Archivists who kindly assisted in the preparation of this article.

'He was a 2nd Leut. and a Child' Second Lieutenant C.E.B. Dean: reconstructing a shattered life.

Alison Quinlan
(Archives of the Poor Servants of the Mother of God)

At 11.00 hours on Friday 15 September 1916, in the middle of a field on the Somme, a shell burst directly behind a boy of 19, destroying his life so completely that no body could be found to bury (though his family were informed that it had been). What remained of his effects were sent back to his widowed mother in Ealing, but many of these were presumed later destroyed in a major fire at the family home at Ankerwycke Priory, Wraysbury, Berkshire. Only fragments remained, both of the physical body and of the archive that chronicled the life of Edward 'Boy' Dean, Second Lieutenant, Royal Garrison Artillery, 1897-1916. There is no diary, no bundle of letters from the trenches, yet what is held in the Congregational Archive of the Poor Servants of the Mother of God (SMG) is enough, when taken in conjunction with other sources from the National Archives in Kew and the Royal Artillery Library in Woolwich, to build up a picture of this short life: just one of the millions that perished in the Great War, far from family and home, each one with a unique history.

The Archives

The SMG Central Archive, at St Mary's Convent, Brentford, was thoroughly discussed in Paul Shaw's 'The Central Congregational Archives of the Poor Servants of the Mother of God', *Catholic Archives* 2013.[1] While the greater part of the papers relate to the foundation and work of the congregation, there is a small but significant collection of the founder's family papers.[2] The SMG founder was Fanny Margaret Taylor (1832-1900), known in religion as Mother Magdalen, an English

[1] See also the article by Paul Shaw entitled: 'Sister Mother Magdalen Taylor and the Poor Servants of the Mother of God: genealogical sources at the SMG Central Congregational Archive' in *Catholic Ancestor* vol 14 no 4 (April 2013).

[2] SMG Archive ref I/A/-

convert from the Church of England, who founded the SMG congregation in 1872, mainly to work with the urban poor. Her archive includes correspondence and other material concerning her siblings' families. The two major branches of these are the Australian family of her eldest brother, and the descendants of her closest sister, Charlotte Dean. Charlotte's daughter, Amy Lucy Sobieski Dean, with her sister, followed their aunt into the SMGs in 1885 becoming Mother Magdalen Aimée, and, after Mother Magdalen's death in 1900, was the driving force in preserving the archive of the founder, and material concerning the family. She, like her aunt, was intimately concerned with the affairs of her relatives. She kept diaries, of which several decades remain, though with some significant losses, which illustrate this and throw much light on the period of her brother Cyril's last illness.[1] These are a currently untapped source of much potential. Edward (Eddie) Dean (the young lieutenant of our story, born 1897) was the son of Cyril, and hence grandson of Charlotte and great-nephew of Mother Magdalen Taylor.

It is to Eddie's siblings' descendants, and their concern for family research, that we owe in part the sizeable collection of correspondence, photographs and other documents concerning the Deans in the SMG archive, as significant items in the archive were clearly donated by the family.[2] His grandparents, Charlotte and Edward Dean, were both Catholic converts like Mother Magdalen, and one letter from Charlotte gives her reasons for converting,[3] while a beautiful watercolour portrait shows Edward Dean, Fellow of All Souls, the 'Rose of Oxford', in his prime before losing his living: the price of his conversion. Their story features in the rather eccentric memoir *Some Sidelights on the Oxford Movement* by 'Minima Parspartis' (Mrs Bertram Currie), published in London in 1895. Both Edward and Charlotte suffered subsequently from ill health and died early, leaving a surviving family of four of which Cyril, Eddie's father, was the only

[1] Personal papers of SMG Sisters, archive class IV/-

[2] SMG Archive ref I/A1/2-1/A1/12. Kenneth Campbell and his late father, Keith, have been most generous in this.

[3] SMG Archive ref I/A1/2/3

son, a solicitor who dealt with the legal business of the Congregation.[1] He married, in 1896, the daughter of an Anglican military family, Georgina Wilson, (known as Georgie), whose father, a major, had been in the Balaclava Charge with the Scots Greys. While this grandfather, living to 93, must have been a great inspiration to Eddie in seeking a military career, there was little Protestant influence on him from his mother's family. Indeed, Georgina surprised her husband by converting around 1900, described in a very revealing letter[2] and, according to her grandchildren, she remained a Catholic all her life.

There is little Wilson material in the archive, but a quantity of correspondence relating to the death of Cyril in February 1916 and sadly comparatively far less survives concerning his son Eddie (Cyril Edward Brietzcke Dean) who died in September the same year.[3] There are no condolence letters or indeed anything relating to his life apart from some delightful photographs taken in childhood with the family, and in his uniform before going to France and on leave.[4] However, some new items have recently been generously donated by his niece, Caroline Taylor, including Eddie's Christening bracelet and a few items relating to his training and war service, with two brief letters from the front and his mother's last letter to him returned 'Deceased'.[5] Fortunately, some most poignant mementos of Eddie's death survive, as we have his Commanding Officer's and his batman's accounts of it. In addition we have, both in both draft and published form, two poems of his mother's written 'in *memoriam*'. These provided a substantial impetus to further research and indeed form the distinctive climax to the story.

The rest of Eddie's life has been filled in from a variety of sources, starting with a search of the genealogical website ancestry.co.uk

[1] SMG Archive ref I/A1/2/3
[2] SMG Archive ref I/A1/7/3/2
[3] SMG Archive ref I/A1/7/1-4
[4] SMG Archive ref I/A1/7/3/4 and I/A1/12
[5] SMG accession SMG 1052

which produced a very full entry in de Ruvigny's *Roll of Honour 1914-1924* and his Thiepval memorial details. The cadet lists for the Royal Military Academy Woolwich are also available online as is a great deal of secondary source material and information from websites dealing with World War 1, such as www.ww1battlefields.co.uk and www.1914-1918.net. De Ruvigny's outline of his life led to enquiries at St Benedict's School Ealing, so far unsuccessful, and there appears to be nothing published on the school or any papers available at the Westminster Archdiocesan Archives. Wimbledon College (which had an army class 'crammer' for Woolwich), however, has an excellent history written by Anthony Poole, *A History of Wimbledon College*, published by the College in 1992, and memorial chapel with Eddie's name on the commemorative boards. For his military training at the Royal Military Academy Woolwich, long since closed, there is a detailed history of Eddie's period, *The Shop Story 1900-1939* by Colonel K. W. Maurice-Jones (Woolwich 1953). The two other main archival resources are the National Archives, where thankfully both his Officer's Record and all the relevant War Diaries survive, (both 121 Heavy Battery and the Heavy Artillery Group diaries), and the Royal Artillery Library.[1] Here there are second copies of the unit War Diaries and, of particular interest, the letters of Second Lieutenant John Wakeling Baker and reminiscences in correspondence of Gunner Godfrey Bevan Cochrane, both from Eddie's 121 Heavy Battery during his time there, though both unfortunately were in the Right and not Eddie's Left Section. *The Gambardier* by Mark Severn also gives useful first hand evidence of the life of an officer in a heavy battery.[2]

Perhaps the most helpful secondary published sources have been General Sir Martin Farndale's *History of the Royal Regiment of Artillery Western Front 1914-1918* (London, 1986), Peter Barton's recent book *The Somme: the Unseen Panoramas* (London, 2011), the Battleground

[1] The War Diary was a detailed official record, army regulations required that one be kept.

[2] Cf., Mark Severn *The Gambardier: giving some account of the heavy and siege artillery in France 1914-1918* (London, 1930)

Europe series, (published by Leo Cooper, Pen and Sword), which cover individual battles in detail, and the only book I have found which deals specifically with the effects of loss in war on the families at home, Richard van Emden's, *The Quick and the Dead: fallen soldiers and their families in the Great War* (London, 2011). In addition, there is no substitute for visiting the sites of battle themselves, in conjunction with the relevant Trench Maps (Ordnance Survey reprints from the National Archives). To see the landscape (albeit neatly rectified from its 1916 chaos) brings everything to life and the museums and Commonwealth War Graves Cemeteries, especially the Thiepval Memorial, speak louder than words. Small wonder that it was the desire of so many of the bereaved to go where their loved ones had fallen.

I have pieced together, for a full account of Eddie's life, a quantity of detailed facts, background information and relevant comparisons, but for the purposes of this article, after an outline of his short life and its key events, with particular reference to his life as a Catholic, I shall focus on the most interesting of the SMG archives, which relate to his death and the response of his family, particularly his widowed mother, to it.

Early Life and Training

Cyril Edward Brietzcke Dean, known as Edward, or 'Boy' or 'Eddie' to his close family, was the firstborn in a Catholic middle-class family of nine children. His father, Cyril, was prominent both in the Middlesex Volunteer Regiment and the Catholic Federation in Ealing and beyond, and Eddie was educated as a dayboy at St Benedict's Abbey school nearby. With a reputation for making model guns and fuses, he spent two months only at Wimbledon College (a Catholic boarding school) before gaining 85% in the entrance exam for the Royal Military Academy, 'The Shop', Woolwich, aged seventeen and a half.[1] In the tiny minority of Catholic and middle-class boys, he was made Captain of Soccer (not a popular public school sport at the time)

[1] Royal Artillery and Royal Engineers officers were trained at Woolwich rather than at Sandhurst during this period.

and passed out six months later, on 22 April 1915, as a commissioned Second-Lieutenant, Royal Garrison Artillery. Less prestigious than the Field Artillery, their guns were heavier, in 1915 using 4.7-inch guns with a five-mile range. Each battery had four guns, two in Right Section and two in the Left, the battery being the basic operational unit of the artillery. 121 Heavy Battery, which Eddie joined, had been formed and drilled on Woolwich Common while he was there. On leaving he did four months' further practical training in gunnery before leaving for Flanders on 19 August 1915 to join his battery. His faithful aunt, Mother Magdalen Aimée, was at Waterloo Station with his mother to see him off.

Flanders

Eddie arrived in the Ypres Salient a year into the war when huge losses had already been suffered and both sides had dug in for lengthy trench warfare. His battery was sited for the whole period beside a narrow irrigation channel due west of Ypres, the Dickebuschbeek, with their guns frequently firing on the Hooge area to the east of Ypres. This winter proved eventful as before the year turned he had been home to see his dying father, the battery had received the new 60-pounder guns, and their billet had been 'strafed' (shelled) by the enemy causing three fatalities on December 29. Eddie was mentioned in despatches for his brave conduct in taking a group down to rescue the survivors and staying with a dying man who could not be moved; 'a grim task enough for the bravest', as his loyal young servant put it.[1] A large pond possibly indicates the site of the underground billet. The bodies were buried, in the damp and bitter cold of winter, up the road in the now beautiful little Divisional Cemetery, the officer and two gunners close together. A month later Eddie wrote tersely to his mother, 'Everything is quiet and wet and I am quite fit and well,' and in a fortnight was on the leave train again, but too late for his father's funeral.[2] The family was supported by many friends and their Catholic faith over Cyril Dean's death, but

[1] SMG Archive ref I/A1/7/3/1

[2] SMG Archive accession SMG 1052

emotionally and financially it was a disaster for them, and a month later, Eddie, as the new family head, was encouraging his mother Georgie to move to a smaller house and cut her expenses. In April his section was moved twelve miles south to Le Bizet near Armentières, and he must have been glad of the change.

France - Le Bizet

This period seems to have been one of relative calm, though with constant skirmishes with enemy batteries. John Wakeling describes the prettier side of life in the countryside and gives useful detail of the life of the Forward Observation Officer (FOO) which was Eddie's role in the Left Section from now on. Their job was to go forward of the battery, with an observation party laying communication wires, select or build an observation post (OP), and guide the firing onto the target, correcting the guns by calculating distances and angles required. This meant often spending long stints in the forward trenches or up a church tower, even in a 'sausage' balloon basket: all dangerous places and especially so in an advance. The Commanding Officer, Captain H.W. Goldney, thought highly of Eddie's ability in this job, as well as of his character. In his condolence letter to Georgie he wrote:

> His was the most loveable character I have ever known. He was my observation officer during the six months I have commanded the battery and I never hope to have a better one. We have been in many hot corners together and a pluckier or cheerier companion it is impossible to imagine. Everyone who knew him loved him, myself I think the most. I wish I could express what I feel...[1]

By the end of these ten weeks - Eddie's second sphere of service on the Western Front - he had gained some good experience in a dangerous, frustrating and generally challenging post. On 13 June they moved south in preparation for the Somme offensive.

[1] SMG Archive ref I/A1/7/3/1

France – The Somme

After a thirteen-hour train journey and two marches, Eddie's section arrived at Morlancourt, just south of Albert, and dug in about five miles north-east of there, at the head of 'Happy Valley', a key transit point for supplies and infantry, and a place full of artillery, according to Gunner Cochrane. It took three days of heavy work to build the bombproof gun emplacements and every night was spent by the observation party building the Observation Post in the reserve trenches. With a dressing station, cook house and communication trench to make, in all it was ten days before they were fully set-up and approved by Brigadier General Napier. They were attached to XV Corps, under Lt Gen H.S. Horne, whose attack on Mametz Wood they were supporting. In preparation for the major attack of 1 July they took part in the week-long preliminary bombardment of enemy trenches in that area, designed to terrify and knock out the German opposition, sometimes firing continuously for three hours at a time. Unfortunately, due to the German underground bunkers, the subsequent attack was largely a failure with devastating casualty figures. However, at Eddie's southern end of the line there was success in the capture of Fricourt on 2 July, causing the battery to be moved forwards in a north-easterly direction to a new position east of Carnoy, in 90 degrees Fahrenheit. Here the tunnellers and the new British flamethrowers had been effective on 1 July. The battery remained at Carnoy for two months, supporting the move to take the German second line, including the fiercely-fought over Mametz Wood, which only fell to the 38th (Welch) Division on the 12 July. Another co-ordinated 'push' was attempted on 14 July, this time the guns were focused around Bazentin-le-Grand and High Woods, and this attack was largely successful. The constant heavy firing had taken, and continued to take, its toll on the guns themselves, and all four of 121 Heavy Battery's guns had to be replaced because of wear and tear. The replacements had sometimes fired thousands of rounds already, there were frequent breakages and shortages of ammunition and problems with cables snapping or being shelled. The toll on the men involved is not recorded but even Eddie's mother could appreciate the strain Eddie was under when she wrote, 'You seem to

be having a tremendously hard time and your work must be very hard indeed...How I wish that you could get off for a bit and have a short spell of rest.'[1] A total of thirty to forty targets daily, as in the first week of August, was considered quiet. In the second week much effort was wasted in digging new approved gun positions from which they were ejected by a change of mind by another corps whose area they were in. Exhaustion from constant noise and heavy work, often undertaken at night, with the stress of the ever-present threat of injury or death, and the searing heat on top of these daily frustrations, makes a potent cocktail.

We know from Captain Goldney's letter that Eddie had been chosen as the Forward Observation Officer for the Heavy Artillery Group in both the above attacks, of 1 and 14 July, which dangerous work he had done 'always in the most efficient and plucky way' and was to be selected again for the 'Big Push' of 15 September 'as he was the best subaltern in the group for the work', (possibly out of up to ten junior officers).[2] It was vital but very dangerous work as it involved moving forward with the infantry in an attack, so as to set up an Observation Post in the enemy's captured trench (often deep in mud and bodies), a popular target for the retreating enemy's guns. Cable had to be carried and unwound across No-Man's-Land by a gunner, and that cable mended when it was broken by the shellfire, enemy or friendly, that was an ever-present danger to the party. This OP could be up to four or five miles ahead of the battery. Twice this had been successfully completed in July, and August brought a comparative lull in proceedings, but from September 3, when XV Corps attacked Ginchy, the firing increased daily. That day 121 Heavy Battery received a sixth 60-pounder gun to make up its full complement but the mud was so bad that it took twenty horse teams to pull it into place. 121 was now by far the strongest battery in the 18th Heavy Artillery Group of seventeen guns in five batteries, between them firing 3,300 rounds that day. On 11 September the battery moved forwards about three miles

[1] SMG Archive accession SMG 1052
[2] SMG Archive ref I/A1/7/3/1

to a point west of Bernafay Wood, on a line going north-east through Longueval and Delville Wood to Flers. From 13 September the bombardment mounted again with constant firing day and night rising in an unbearably intense crescendo to the zero hour of 6.20am on the 15th, when uncannily both sides stopped and an agonizing silence fell over all before the attack proper began.

The objective of this third offensive was the German third line of defence - the Switch Trench - which ran across in front of the village of Flers, beyond the now captured Delville Wood and crossing the top corner of High Wood. Beyond that, Flers was the prize. September 15 was an historic day in military history as the tank made its very first appearance and was strategically used in this attack, probably observed by Eddie. His battery's initial target was the Switch Trench which spanned the Longueval-Flers road. The bombardment started at 6.00am and the attack at 6.20am, the length to the left of the road being captured by the New Zealand Division by 6.50am. The intervening hours are not explained, but we know that at 11.00am, Eddie, with two telephonists, 'had laid out his telephone wire to the German Switch Trench, which had just been captured, when a shell fell behind him, killing him and the telephonist instantaneously'.[1] This was witnessed by the third gunner, who collected what effects he could and reported back to the HAG by 11.10am, when the guns stopped firing, briefly. His death occurred on Friday 15, the Feast of Our Lady of Dolours, but the telegram did not reach Georgie until Tuesday 19, when she had already written him the letter quoted above, asking if he was warm enough and what new underwear he needed and giving family news. She was told he had been buried where he fell but it would have been impossible to do so at the time, and when the fighting had died down, two days later, Switch Trench had suffered much retaliatory shelling and any remains would have been irretrievably lost. Meanwhile, on 20 September, Second Lieutenant G. H. G. Stanley joined the battery from base.

[1] SMG Archive ref I/A1/7/3/1

In *Memoriam*

One of the overriding needs of bereaved families was to have a body to mourn, or at least a place to picture their loved ones, and if possible to visit later. Typically, part of the grieving process was to pursue this with letters to the War Office, of which Georgie must have written four or five in her search to discover the truth. There were several false hopes but the last surviving official letter to her, in 1920, was frank about the situation, explaining the difficulties of locating a body and regretting the distress caused. Official letters concerning her son's death were agonising to deal with at first, as her completion of his Effects Form, requesting the return of his belongings, graphically shows. Here she has written in a firm hand against the possible relationship of the claimant to him, having crossed out 'widow', 'He was a 2nd Leut [*sic*] & a Child' followed by six words erased and ending with, 'he was 19 years of age'. Under 'capacity in which signing' she has written firmly, 'Mother of the Boy' - also a reference to his family pet name. The pain and anger shout through these few words to officialdom.

Certainly, Requiem Masses were said, and Mother Magdalen Aimée designed a beautiful prayer card showing a young soldier at the foot of the cross which was used for Eddie,[1] but if any memorial was put up in Ealing Abbey it was lost when the memorial chapel was bombed in World War II. He is not inscribed in Westminster Cathedral chapel (the letter offering it for £10 was used as scrap paper), but he does still have his name read out at the annual requiem on November 11 in Wimbledon College Chapel. Georgina talked about him to her grandchildren, so he was not forgotten nor did he become a taboo subject as was sometimes the case.

Possibly the most healing occupation for her in the immediate time following Eddie's death was the writing of poetry about him and to him, encouraged by her sister-in-law, Mother Magdalen Aimée, who

[1] Multiple copies are to be found in an envelope entitled, 'War pictures designed by M. M. Aimée for 1914-1918 War which were welcomed by all.' SMG Archives ref IV/(M.M. Aimée).

also inspired her Sisters to write verses on the subject. The following poem, printed on loose sheets, possibly for a requiem for Eddie, and later published in the periodical *Stella Maris*,[1] was written in first draft by Mother Aimée, yet clearly expresses Georgie's sentiments:

C.E.D. KILLED IN ACTION
Aged 19 Years

And where you lie, do the sunbeams come,
To play with the gold of your hair?
Just as they did when you were a child
And the garden's sunshine and you seemed one.
Scarce could the gold be guessed from gold -
To eyes that were dazzled by sun and love -
Till a kiss upon golden curls made sure
Where was the sunshine of my heart!

And now you are buried just where you fell
With a cross to mark your grave!
Away, in those battle-fields of France,
The shadowy arms stretch over you
That once held the Son of God!
Wide they stretch, from your grave to me,
And at night I come to those lonely fields,
To fold you warm to my heart again -
Till I see the Cross - and cry aloud:
"Oh God! Must the arms of the Cross,
Not mine, hold the child of my heart?" -
Out of the darkness a Voice replies:
"Mother, behold thy Son." - "Yes, Lord -
I remember, the arms of the Cross,
Held you, - Her child - and Her God!" -

Pitiful Mother, oh help me to say: -
"Lord, into Thy Hands, I commend my child. -
You gave him, give him again to me,
When you wipe away earth's anguished tears,

[1] *Stella Maris* vol V no 52 April 1917

In the love-lit fields of eternal peace."

Between Flers and Denville Wood,
lies the child of my heart,
The heart of my child - and my heart - my heart.[1]

The reversal in the last couplet seems to bring a resolution of some kind in which both hearts are at one, reflecting the movement from grief at the loss of childhood to the prayer of relinquishment of him into God's hands. It is a powerful and expressive poem as it rises through the climax of the challenge directed to God himself asking why Boy had to be taken, through the imagery of the cross, to make the link with the loss of the Mother of God, with whom Georgie can identify. Mother Aimée was presumably responsible for both the spelling mistake of 'Denville' for 'Delville' and the encouragement to hold fast to faith. Echoes of Captain Goldney's letter, 'And now you are buried just where you fell, with a cross to mark your grave' and one of the War Office letters, 'Between Flers and Denville Wood' somehow highlight the pitiful lack of information available and suggests a fairly early date for it.

A second poem, in draft entitled 'Georgie's Verses', was published in the *Middlesex County Times* under the title '1916' a year later, and shows the progression of her grieving process. We can see that, from the double use of the word 'fragments', she seems to have realised that her son had been blown to pieces, and yet, without overt religious references, she appears to have a calm acceptance of what has happened:

1916

I will arise and go into those fields
All strewn with English blossoms on the way
That I may see what that fruit yields
Which fell before their dawn of day.

[1] SMG Archive ref I/A1/7/3/1

I will go forth into the fields of France
And gather up the fragments of the storm,
Gently, as beauteous flowers, binding those
Sent forth from England's homes in angel form.

O, fields of France wherein such treasures lie,
The jewels of this England's proud brave race
Poured forth in millions at that cry,
Leaving enshrined the memory of their grace.

When all the raging of the storms do cease
And all, expectantly, do wait for them
Think you the thought will bring us peace
That they come not, but overwhelm?

Go! gather up the fragments, an' thou wilt.
Yester'en they filled with plenteousness our home.
Go! drink the dregs - the cup up-tilt,
Be brave as they - the dawn will come![1]

G.D.

The strong elements in this poem are both the desire to go to France, to be where he fell, and also the solidarity with all other bereaved families, as if both of these were significant stages in the healing process. Already she looks ahead to that day of Armistice when the lucky ones will rejoice to have their loved ones back, but she, in company with all those who have suffered loss, will find it 'overwhelming'. The only change in meaning from the draft occurs in the last line, where the finished version is far more positive than the original. In the draft she admitted both her own courage in public and her own private sorrow in the words, 'Go drink the dregs, the cup uptilt, And murmur not unless - alone.' Better obviously, for public consumption, to encourage a stiff upper lip with, 'Be brave as they - the dawn will come!'

In the absence of surviving family condolence letters, we can know from the collection sent on Eddie's father's death that there would

[1] *Middlesex County Times* Saturday May 26 1917. SMG Archive ref I/A1/7/3/1.

have been many. Other means of comfort and support were the very appreciative letters sent by Captain Goldney and Eddie's anonymous batman which show how much he was loved: (from Captain Goldney)

> ...since I took over the battery...his conduct has been splendid, particularly during the present long battle. Personally he was the most lovable boy with the most charming manners that I have ever met, I feel as if I had lost a much-loved younger brother.

And from his batman:

> I can truly understand your grief, would that I could amend it, but such things have to be...People say forget, they don't realise how hard it is to forget one so dear, so gentle, and oh so kind-hearted...I have been so very lonely since I lost him...Your boy always shared his parcels with me. He was kindest of kind to all.[1]

Coming from a boy his own age these words must have touched Georgie deeply, expressing as they did so much of her own feelings.

Eddie Dean's story is one of sorrow and yet one of survival: of his memory, of his family and of the documents that tell his story. He is commemorated with around 73,000 others on the Thiepval Memorial - which pays tribute solely to those with no known grave who fell only on one battlefield of the Great War. The numbers are mind-numbing and the loss can only truly be experienced through the lives and deaths of individuals. It is particularly important that the story of Catholic soldiers is told, since they are so often written out of English history, and Eddie stands as an example of an eminently good and caring young officer amongst the stereotypes of the many who cared little for their men. His is indeed a story worth the telling and the documents well worth the finding and preserving as we commemorate the centenary of the Great War.

[1] SMG Archives ref I/A1/7/3/1

Eddie photographed on Commissioning at Woolwich 22 April 1915. Reproduced by permission of the Generalate of the Poor Servants of the Mother of God (SMG Archive ref I/A1/12).

"As one whom a mother comforteth."—(*Is. 66.*)

R. & T. W., London. Copyright.

"MOTHER, BEHOLD THY SON."

* * * *

"BEHOLD THY MOTHER."

(*St. John. xix. 26, 27.*)

Prayer card designed by Mother Magdalen Aimée, and almost certainly executed by Sr. Mary Tommaso SMG. Reproduced by permission of the Generalate of the Poor Servants of the Mother of God. (SMG Archive ref IV/[M.M.Aimée])

'World War 1 School Archives': an opportunity for schools to share their heritage

Emma Wotton

The vision for the 'World War 1 School Archives Project' is to enable schools to share their heritage and legacies in this Centenary Year and over the next four years to 1918. Thus, an online archive is being currently developed at: www.worldwar1schoolarchives.org where school magazines, images, memorabilia and resources are on display. These resources are freely accessible to pupils, teachers, former pupils, researchers and all who have an interest in the role schools played during the First World War. The project is coordinated by Emma Wotton, former teacher at Stonyhurst College, and Ian Smith of House of Images, a digitisation specialist with in-depth experience of the school sector. Key contributors to the project are school archivists, alumni/ae associations and history departments who have a vital role to play in sharing and promoting the heritage of their school. The idea to publicise 1910-1920 editions of school magazines was proposed by House of Images, who have already digitised the entire magazine collections for a number of schools including Stonyhurst College, Durham School, Dollar Academy Scotland and Gordonstoun.

School magazines were an important means of communicating news during the Great War; today they provide us with valuable insights into school life at the time. The magazines were a source of information to those at home, publishing news from the Front as well as producing supplements containing "war lists" of those wounded or killed. The role of school magazines is touched on in Anthony Seldon and David Walsh's recently published *Public Schools and the Great War*:

> Schoolboys wrote avidly back to their old school magazines throughout the war. Originating in the nineteenth century and boosted by the formation of old boys' associations, the magazines in the years before the war appear pretty turgid to outsiders, little more than a compilation or chronicle outlining in unremarkable prose, the various events that

made up the school calendar. The war, ironically perhaps, was the making of the school magazine, for the duration at least. The appetite to hear news about school and how old boys had fared grew stronger.[1]

The magazines helped to bolster the morale of those serving on the Front Line, as a Catholic military chaplain from Stonyhurst noted: 'I must send you a word of thanks for the Stonyhurst Magazine, which was most welcome. I am passing it on to one or two O.S.'s about here. The last number too was tremendously appreciated in the officers' mess...'[2]

The creation today of an accessible World War 1 magazine archive enables schools to share the past experiences of their former pupils and enables current pupils to gain a better understanding of their school's heritage and history and of the role that their school played in the Great War. In addition to the magazine archive, the website also contains an image archive and a resource area for teachers and pupils. Twelve schools are now adding material to the site, including the magazine collections from Bloxham, Bury Grammar School, Durham School, Langley School, Dollar Academy Scotland, Manchester Grammar, Reigate Grammar, St Ronan's and Stonyhurst College. A newly developed section on girls' schools includes magazines from Sutton High School and a wealth of material from Manchester High School for Girls.

The site is open to all schools to add their own material and there is no cost for this. Interested schools and those wanting to hear more about the project should contact Emma Wotton at:
emma@worldwar1schoolarchives.org

[1] Anthony Seldon & David Walsh, *Public Schools and the Great War* (London, 2013), p. 128. This book is reviewed below.
[2] *Ibid. p. 129.*

Fr Leslie Walker SJ: Artist and Poet

The image illustrating the front cover of this issue, along with the other two images reproduced below, are the work of Fr Leslie Walker SJ, who served as a military chaplain during the First World War. Due to his talent for art, which he had studied prior to his entry to the Society in 1899, he was occasionally requested to sketch parts of the battle front 'which he did, undeterred by shot and shell'.[1] The following is taken from his obituary in the *Catholic Herald.*

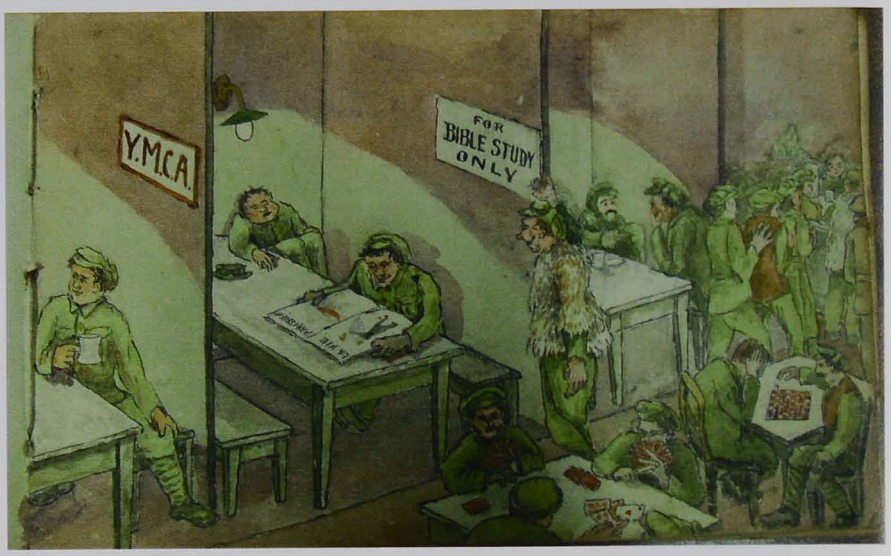
Fr. Leslie Ignatius Walker was born in Birmingham of non-Catholic parents in 1877 and was educated at King Edward's School, Birmingham. He was received into the Church in 1898 and the following year entered the Society of Jesus. He graduated M.A. of London University in Philosophy in 1909 and was ordained priest in 1911. Later he taught at Mount St. Mary's College and St. Francis Xavier's College, Liverpool. In 1915 he was appointed a Military Chaplain and served in France until 1919. In 1919 he was appointed to Campion Hall, Oxford and remained there for nearly 40 years. In addition to supervising the philosophical studies of the Jesuit undergraduates he also lectured on the history of Mediaeval Philosophy. In 1928 he received the degree of M.A. Oxon conferred by decree of Congregation. He was a frequent contributor on philosophical subjects to various periodicals Catholic and others and published books on: "Theories of Knowledge" (Stonyhurst Series), "Indifference," "The Problem of Reunion," "Why God became Man," "Science and Revelation," "The Return to God," "The Discourses of Machiavilli." As a member of the Community he was in many ways a "character", combining a bluff Birmingham downrightness with a geniality of manner and a fundamental simplicity, to win him a wide circle of friends. He died in September 1958, aged 80.

The second sketch by Fr Walker depicts one of the most famous icons for the British in the Great War - the Golden Virgin on top of the Basilica in Albert. Albert was the main town behind the lines for the

[1] *Letters and Notices*, vol. 64 no.318 p.118, 1959

Allies nearest to the 1916 Somme battlefields. The golden statue of Our Lady holding aloft the Child Jesus was visible from far away, and of course was an excellent target for enemy artillery. It was damaged fairly early on, in January 1915, and the statue was knocked from its perch but stayed leaning at an angle before being secured by the French in that position. A superstition grew up that the war would end only when the statue finally fell. It remained, somewhat improbably, in the same position all the time that Albert was in French and then British hands. The Germans advanced into Albert during their Spring Offensive in 1918, and well aware that the tower could be used as an excellent observation point by the Germans, it was British artillery that then deliberately targeted it and the statue finally fell. Albert was retaken by the British four months later, but it was another three months after this until the Armistice. After the war, Albert was 'adopted' by Birmingham - Fr Walker's hometown.

Fr Leslie Walker SJ



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The preservation of the John Henry Newman Papers: digitisation and dissemination

Stephen Kelly
(Liverpool Hope University)

In May 2013 the Centre for Heritage Imaging and Collection Care (CHICC), John Rylands Library, the University of Manchester, announced the commencement of a three-year project to digitise approximately 250,000 archival documents relating to Blessed John Henry Newman (1801-1890). Why undertake this mammoth project? Newman stands as a Victorian giant in the fields of theology, philosophy and education. Although he died over a century ago his influence today is still felt by many academic and spiritual disciplines. His writings and his lifelong search for religious truth continue to inspire scholars throughout the world. In acknowledgement of his lasting legacy in September 2010 Newman was beatified by Pope Benedict XVI (Pope Emeritus since February 2013).

The digitisation project is funded by the American based National Institute for Newman Studies (NINS), under the direction of executive director, Dr Kevin Mongrain and project manager, Dr Mary Jo Dorsey.[1] The estimated cost of the digitisation project is in the region of £386,000. The John Henry Newman archive, located at the Birmingham Oratory, Edgbaston, will be digitally captured and re-housed by a team of experts under the supervision of CHICC and transformed into a comprehensive digital library. It is envisaged that the digital library will eventually include all of Newman's personal letters, memoranda, published and unpublished works. According to the project manager Dr Dorsey, an important goal of the digital library is 'to not only preserve and extend the Newman Archives to scholars around the globe, but to build a multidimensional research tool for the humanities'.[2] This article tells the story of Newman's personal papers,

[1] For further details of the NINS see http://www.newmanstudiesinstitute.org/.
[2] The University of Manchester press release, 'Cardinal Newman archive to become digital library', 22 May 2013.

from a history of the Newman archive at the Birmingham Oratory to the current digitisation project. I explain the processes involved in this valuable undertaking and outline the importance of making this research tool accessible to academics and the general public, alike.

A timely undertaking

Readers may be surprised to learn that prior to the recent commencement of the digitisation project Newman's personal papers were in a state of disarray. Due to a chronic absence of funding, together with inadequate storage facilities - which failed to meet even basic modern day archival environmental protocols - the existence of the papers was in jeopardy. While the Fathers of the Birmingham Oratory have worked tirelessly over the past century to preserve Newman's legacy and promote his study, in recent times they simply did not have the adequate professional resources at their disposal. As recently as July 2012, former Birmingham Oratory librarian and archivist Fr Paul Chavasse spoke of the 'parlous state' of the archive and the urgent need to secure financial assistance in order to 'preserve the heritage for the future'.[1]

I speak with some authority on this subject. On three separate occasions between November 2010 and March 2011, I visited the Birmingham Oratory to examine and digitise the 'Newman Dublin Papers'.[2] During my visits to the Oratory I spoke candidly with the Fathers about the inadequate state of the Birmingham Oratory archive. Stemming from our conversations, the then Provost of the

http://www.manchester.ac.uk/aboutus/news/display/?id=10076 (accessed, 12 Nov. 2013).

[1] Author's correspondence with Fr Paul Chavasse, 18 July 2012.

[2] This collection of the 'Newman Dublin papers' was originally arranged by Newman, during the early 1870s, in fifty-two packets. Over the course of forty-four days of archival work at the Birmingham Oratory, Professor Teresa Iglesias, formally Director of the International Centre for Newman Studies, UCD, sorted and catalogued approximately 2,410 files, into seventy-four folders. These papers, which remain in the Birmingham Oratory, are stored in five large archival boxes and are accompanied by a new typed catalogue book. I have copy of this catalogue in my possession (both a hardcopy and digitised edition). A copy is also available from the Birmingham Oratory.

Birmingham Oratory, Fr Richard Duffield requested that I write a memorandum outlining the inadequate state of the archive and for the urgent need to digitise the Newman papers and to build a new *archivium*. In this memorandum, produced in April 2011, I sadly noted that 'it is apparent that the current condition of the archival material is unsatisfactory. Archival boxes, of which I counted to be at the very least 200, are scattered throughout several rooms at the Oratory'. 'The majority of archival boxes', I explained, 'remain on the floor and are susceptible to water damage...not to mention the high risk in the case of fire'.[1]

It is for this reason that the Fathers of the Oratory have been reluctant in recent years to permit scholars access to view the Newman papers: the facilities were simply not available to accommodate researchers' requests to consult the relevant primary source material. Therefore, news that CHICC, in conjunction with NINS, is currently in the process of digitising Newman's personal papers is a welcome and long overdue measure. This project, therefore, is to be highly commended.

The history of the Newman archive

I have previously described Newman as a 'master archivist'.[2] From 1870 to 1890, at the Birmingham Oratory, Newman dedicated the remaining twenty years of his life to one last great task: the correlating and filing of his vast amount of personal papers. These papers, consisting of letters, sermons, memoranda, journals, notebooks, manuscripts of published and unpublished works, proof sheets and account books, were collected by Newman over the course of his lifetime. They run into the thousands and most were stored in loose-leaf binders and boxes, which comprise of over four hundred volumes; Newman's personal letters alone stand at approximately 21,000. Indeed, during Newman's own lifetime, on walking into his small

[1] Stephen Kelly, 'Memorandum on the current position plight of the Newman papers, Birmingham Oratory archives', April 2011.

[2] See Stephen Kelly 'A history of John Henry Newman's archival papers', *Newman Studies Journal*, Vol. 10, Issue 1 (spring, 2013), 68-81; 68.

Oratorian study, located on the upper level of the Oratory house, the visitor was greeted by a mountain of manuscripts stacked in bundles or placed in boxes.

In 1870 Newman first began to sort the correspondence associated with his connection with Ireland; then in 1872 his personal and family letters began to be sorted. In 1873 two of his greatest friends died, Henry Wilberforce (1807-1873) and James Hope-Scott (1812-1873). Their letters were sent to Newman, who transcribed them at length, making holograph copies, before returning them.[1] Two years later, in 1875, the letters he had written to his dear friend Ambrose St. John (1815-1875) were returned to him, upon the latter's death.[2]

Writing in June 1874 Newman explained the motives for compiling such a vast amount of personal archival material. Although he felt that his autobiographical study, *Apologia Pro Vita Sua* (London, 1864) was a worthy measure of his life between 1833 and the mid-1860s, he predicted that in the future full length biographies of his life would be written. He feared that those who undertook this task would know 'little or nothing about me'. In anticipation of this, he wrote that he had arranged 'portions of my private memoranda by way of assisting and supplementing their recollections of me, leaving to their affection for me and their discretion, to deal tenderly with what in the first instance is confidential and sacred'.[3] In 1884 Newman invited Anne Mozley (1809-1891), his sister-in-law, to edit the publication of a selection of his letters and correspondence. The *Letters and Correspondence of John Henry Newman*, a two volume series, was published shortly after Newman's death in 1890.[4] The *Letters and*

[1] See Charles Stephen Dessain's comments, *The Letters and Diaries of John Henry Newman* (hereafter cited as *L&Ds*), Vol. XI, Oct. 1845 to Dec. 1846 (London, 1961), vi-vii.

[2] *L&Ds*, Vol. XI, xxi.

[3] See Newman to Mozley, 20 November. 1884. Anne Mozley (ed.), *Letters and Correspondence of John Henry Newman, During His Life in the English Church. With a Brief Autobiography*, vol. I (London, 1903), Introduction.

[4] Mozley (ed.), *Letters and Correspondence of John Henry Newman*, vol. I, advertisement.

Correspondence covered Newman's life prior to his conversion to Roman Catholicism in 1845. Newman was therefore the first 'archivist' of his personal papers. Obsessed with recording his life through his writings, he left behind him a plethora of archival material. Since his death in 1890, to the present day, the Birmingham Oratory has retained the custodianship of the Newman personal papers. Under the supervision of a small number of influential Newman scholars, including William Pain Neville, Fr Charles Stephen Dessain and Gerard Tracey, the Oratory has housed and protected the Newman archive.[1] These papers, stored in oversized archival boxes, survived two world wars, the possible threat from fire or water damage and witnessed a visit to the Birmingham Oratory by Pope Benedict XVI in September 2010. It is only now, with the financial support of NINS, that attention has refocused on Newman's personal papers.

The digitisation of the Newman archive: photographing and cataloguing

CHICC, which has been charged with digitising the Newman archive, is a cutting edge centre for the preservation of archival material. The centre is only one of a few organisations in England that specialises in the bespoke digitisation and collection care of heritage materials and cultural collections.[2]

In May 2013 the digitisation process first commenced. The initial stages of the project involved the transportation of twenty-four boxes of the Newman archive from the Birmingham Oratory to CHICC in

[1] Following Newman's death in 1890 William Pain Neville was appointed archivist at the Birmingham Oratory until his death in 1905. In the same year brothers, Fr Richard Garnett Bellasis and Fr Henry Lewis Bellasis replaced Neville as archivists at the Birmingham Oratory. Following their respective passing Fr Henry Tristram assumed the role of archivist from 1939 to 1954. In 1954 Fr Charles Stephen Dessain was appointed archivist at the Birmingham Oratory, a post he retained until 1976. Most recently Gerard Tracey (1976-2003), Fr Dermot Fenlon (2003-09) and Fr Paul Chavasse (2009-2013), held the post as archivist.

[2] For further information about CHICC see: http://www.library.manchester.ac.uk/ourservices/servicesweprovide/chicc/ (accessed, 12 Nov. 2013).

Manchester. Despite being a rather tedious venture the next stages of the digitisation process are relatively straight forward. Before digitisation gets underway a member of CHICC care team offers advice on the suitability of each document and produces a condition report. Once complete, the digitisation process can begin. Using a state of the art digitisation camera and a conservation cradle, each document is photographed, processed and awarded a unique reference, with accompanying searchable description tag.

According to Jamie Robinson, senior photographer at CHICC, of the first batch of twenty-four boxes, a total of 17,625 images were digitised. At the time of writing this article Mr Robinson and his team, comprised of photographer Tony Richards and digital assistant Cerys Speakman, are working on a second batch of the Newman archive. As of December 2013, the team have digitised a further twenty-two boxes, totalling approximately 23,225 images; one box, alone, contained 6,780 images.[1] Mr Robinson explained that the process of photographing and correlating the Newman archive is 'an enormous task, requiring two extra full time staff to cope with the workload'.[2]

Once the documents are digitised they are then rehoused and placed in bespoke acid free conservation boxes and stored in the climate controlled strong room at the John Rylands Library. During the final months of 2013 the first batch of the newly custom made archival boxes were transported back to the Birmingham Oratory. According to Dr Dorsey the Fathers of the Oratory have designated a remodelled room on the second floor of the Oratory for storage of the archival boxes in 'suitable environmental accommodations'. Dr Dorsey noted that there is also an archivist available who will grant pre-approved requests to view the Newman archive.[3] The order of the Newman archive is to follow the original 1920s Bellasis catalogue of Newman's

[1] Author's correspondence with Jamie Robinson, 20 Nov. 2013. For an up-dated progress of the digitalisation process see the Newman Archive blog available at: http://newmanarchive.wordpress.com/.

[2] The University of Manchester press release, 'Cardinal Newman archive to become digital library', 22 May 2013.

[3] Author's correspondence with Dr Mary Jo Dorsey, 25 Nov. 2013.

personal papers. According to the Bellasis catalogue, 'Catalogue, content of the Cardinal's cupboards, completed by November 19th 1920', each item of Newman's personal papers was given a unique cupboard number.[1]

News that the Fathers of the Birmingham Oratory have assigned a designated room to store the newly acquired bespoke archival boxes containing Newman's personal papers is very much welcomed. However, this should only represent the start of the process to protect the physical collection of Newman's archive. It is essential that a world-class *archivium* be constructed, which can house and safely store the relevant archival materials in a specially designed environmentally neutral facility. Apart from Newman's personal papers, the Oratory contains a treasure chest of primary sources. Not only does the Oratory house Newman's magnificent personal library, but there are also hundreds, if not thousands, of un-catalogued archival photographic and music memorabilia, much related to Newman. There are also in existence an extensive number of archival boxes, which contain hitherto un-catalogued private papers of several Provosts and archivists of the Birmingham Oratory, including the great Newman scholar, Fr Henry Tristram.

With adequate funding the Newman archive could be built adjacent to the existing Oratory, on land already owned by the community of the Birmingham Oratory. Accompanying this new archive should be a new reading room/Newman Library, where academics and the general public, would have direct access to catalogued primary and secondary source material. With the agreement of the Fathers a professional full-time archivist would be employed.

The Newman digital library and microfilm collection: accessibility and scholarship

The digitisation of the Newman archive is the first stage towards creating a multidimensional research tool for the humanities. Dr Dorsey notes that the digitisation project is intended to bring

[1] For further information on the history of the Bellasis catalogue see Stephen Kelly 'A history of John Henry Newman's archival papers', 72-77.

Newman's 'teachings to the community of Newman scholars as well as to today's pluralistic, diverse society'.[1] Once the approximately 250,000 documents have been digitised an online digital library will be launched. This new digital library will represent a second milestone of NINS's commitment to making Newman's writings accessible online, having previously financed the digitisation of over forty of Newman's own published works, via the 'Newman Reader'.[2]

To facilitate wider accessibility to the digitised Newman archive NINS plans to create a 'robust Digital Library and research platform', which will be a full-text anthology of Newman's letters, diaries, manuscripts and documents.[3] This massive project will be supported by programmers, Crivella West, under the supervision of Mr Dean Seeman.[4] Mr Seerman is under contract by NINS to organise the physical Newman archive and to lend his expertise in the creation of a digital library and accompanying catalogue of the images. This includes the creation of workflows procedures for NINS, CHICC and the Birmingham Oratory.[5]

This search engine digital library will be free-of-charge to scholars, as well as to the public. Dr Dorsey explains:

> In the current world of "Googling" and web surfing, our aim is to produce a digital library that is every bit as easy to use. While we will provide advanced searching features for academics and scholars, the average user will be able to retrieve images on a more general level. We are building the first potential "Saint's" library! So, we are working hard to include as much depth and precision to the library as the

[1] *The Guardian*, 23 May 2013.
[2] See http://www.newmanreader.org.
[3] The University of Manchester press release, 'Cardinal Newman archive to become digital library', 22 May 2013.
[4] For further information on Crivella West see www.crivellawest.com.
[5] Author's correspondence with Dr Mary Jo Dorsey, 25 Nov. 2013.

> Cardinal himself has provided us in his writings! We have developed our own metadata schema to catalog the images.[1]

An integral component of the digitisation project is the creation of a 'crowd-source' catalogue of the Newman archive. Due to the fact that the metadata is so specific (focused on Newman's personal papers) and because the collection is so massive (approximately 250,000 documents), Dr Dorsey envisages that '...we will be calling for volunteer scholars to use our metadata schema to be a part of the cataloging process'.[2] NINS will accept applications from qualified individuals to whom they will grant 'back stage' access to the Newman database in order to provide metadata. This access will be password protected and the contributed metadata assignments must meet NINS guidelines in order to be accepted into the catalogue. Dr Dorsey notes that the catalogue will be 'a work-in-process for a while', but that they intend to provide 'real-time' access to the images as the project grows.[3]

Apart from the creation of a proposed Newman digital library, not to mention the thirty-two volume series, *The Letters and Diaries of John Henry Newman*, published between 1961 and 2008,[4] scholars also have access to the John Henry Newman microfilm personal papers. During the early 1950s, under the supervision of A. Dwight Culler, Yale University Library undertook the mammoth project of microfilming a sizeable proportion of the Newman papers. The Fathers of the Birmingham Oratory granted Culler, then Assistant Professor of English at Yale University, exclusive access to these papers and with the technical support of a local photography company, F. R. Logan

[1] *Ibid.*
[2] *Ibid.*
[3] *Ibid.*
[4] The *Letters and Diaries* series began with Vol. XI, under the editorship of Fr Charles Stephen Dessain, which covered the time of Newman's entrance into the Roman Catholic Church: Oct. 1845 to Dec. 1846. From 1961 to 1977, Dessain supervised the editing of twenty-one volumes of Newman's *Letters and Diaries*. Following Dessain's death, an additional eleven volumes of the *Letters and Diaries* were published between 1978 and 2009.

Ltd., the first microfilm collection of Newman's personal papers was compiled.

This project culminated with the publication of Culler's seminal work, *The Imperial Intellect: A Study of Newman's Educational Ideal* in 1955.[1] Culler and his team compiled approximately one hundred and forty reels of microfilm. At least four microfilm copies of Newman's papers are located in North America.[2] My home institution, Liverpool Hope University, is the only known university outside North America to have a complete copy of the Newman microfilm, having purchased a copy in the summer of 2013.[3]

My interest in the Newman personal papers was first awakened following the startling realisation that the Newman community at large - and this includes experts in Newman studies - were seemingly unaware of the existence of Newman's personal papers in microfilm form. Over the past decade, hundreds, if not thousands, of monographs, edited collections, articles and dissertations have been produced on various aspects of Newman's life and legacy. However, out of all the Newman related publications only a small percentage of writers felt is necessary to consult either the microfilm editions or the original copies of the Newman papers housed at the Birmingham Oratory.

For example, since 2002, only a handful of scholars utilised the Newman personal papers microfilm; most notably, the late Frank

[1] A. Dwight Culler, *The Imperial Intellect: A Study of Newman's Educational Ideal* (New Haven, 1955).

[2] Yale University Library, University of Illinois, University of Notre Dame, and Fordham University, each have a copy of the Newman personal papers in microfilm form.

[3] For further details of Liverpool Hope University's copy of the John Henry Newman microfilm collection (including a PDF copy of the microfilm catalogue) and the 'Newman section', housed in the Gradwell Collection of the Special Collections, the Sheppard-Worlock Library, see: http://www.hope.ac.uk/lifeathope/libraryandlearningspaces/hopecollections/specialcollections/#d.en.3338.

Turner[1] and Benjamin King.[2] Indeed, the late Avery Dulles's 2002 short biography, *John Henry Newman,* did not make use of the Newman personal papers microfilm; this is very surprising considering that a copy of the microfilm was available from Dulles's own academic library at Fordham University.[3] A survey of those that have examined the Newman archive at the Birmingham Oratory is equally dismal. Again, apart from my own monograph on the subject of Newman's political and social thought,[4] only a select few writers felt it necessary to consult the Newman papers in hard format.[5] Even those scholars who have written PhD dissertations in recent years

[1] Turner utilised the Newman personal papers microfilm collection housed at Yale University Library. He was unaware that a copy existed at the University of Illinois. See Frank M. Turner, *John Henry Newman, The Challenge to Evangelical Religion* (Yale, 2002).

[2] King also utilised the Newman personal papers microfilm collection housed at Yale University Library. See Benjamin King, *Newman and the Alexandrian Fathers, Shaping Doctrine in Nineteenth-Century England* (Oxford, 2009).

[3] Dulles was, until his death in 2008, Laurence J. McGinley Professor of Religion and Society at Fordham University, New York. See Avery Dulles, *John Henry Newman* (London, 2012). Also, the late Vincent Ferrer Blehl did not cite either the microfilm collections or the original Newman papers in his 2001 publication, *Pilgrim Journey, John Henry Newman, 1801-1845* (London, 2001).

[4] Stephen Kelly, *A Conservative at Heart? The Political and Social Thought of John Henry Newman* (Dublin, 2012).

[5] See, for example, John Henry Newman, *Letters on the Present Position of Catholics in England* (Notre Dame, 2000), with introduction and notes by Andrew Nash; Colin Barr, *Paul Cullen, John Henry Newman and the Catholic University of Ireland, 1845-1865* (Notre Dame, 2003); Simon A. Skinner, *Tractarians and the Conditions of England, the Social and Political Thought of the Oxford Movement* (Oxford, 2004); and Peter B. Nockles, *The Oxford Movement in Context, Anglican High Churchmanship, 1760-1857* (Cambridge, 2004); and Kenneth Parker and Michael Pahls (ed.), *Authority, Dogma and History: The Role of Oxford Movement Converts and the Infallibility Debates of the Nineteenth Century, 1835-1875* (California, 2008). See also Kenneth Parker and E. Moser (eds.), *The Rise of Historical Consciousness among the Christian Churches* (Lanham, 2012).

failed to access either the microfilm collections or the original Newman personal papers.[1]

All is not lost, however. In recent years there have been attempts to re-engage with the Newman personal papers microfilm. Under the supervision of Kenneth Parker, Associate Professor of Theological Studies, Saint Louis University, a team of doctoral students, led by C. Michael Shea, have spent considerable time examining the Newman personal papers microfilm collection, housed at the University of Illinois at Urban-Champaign Library.[2] By employing scanner technology the Louis circle have commenced a project to compile a PDF collection of the Newman personal papers in microfilm form.[3]

Given the ongoing digitisation of the Newman archive at the Birmingham Oratory some may argue that the microfilm collection is now redundant. However, this is to miss the point. Due to the availability of scanner technology the Newman microfilm personal papers can easily be converted into PDF format. The microfilm collections, therefore, are an invaluable research tool towards advancing Newman studies along an empirical framework.

Conclusion

For those interested in the progress of the digitisation of Newman's archive one can keep abreast of the project by signing up to the Newman Archive blog.[4] This project is a worthwhile cause and must

[1] See, for example, Paul Antony Shrimpton, *John Henry Newman and the Oratory School, 1857-72: The Establishment of a Catholic Public School by Converts from the Oxford Movement.* PhD Dissertation, Institute of Education, University of London, 2000; and, Nancy Maries de Flon, *Edward Caswall, Priest of the Oratory of St. Philip Neri at Birmingham: His Contribution to the Works of John Henry Newman, His Poetry, and His Hymns, Original and Translated.* PhD Dissertation, Union Theological seminary, New York City, 2001.

[2] See 'John Henry Newman papers, 1804-1920', [microfilm], film B. N553 NIM. Available from University of Illinois at Urban-Champaign. A hard-copy of the Bellasis catalogue of Nov. 1920 is also available from film B. N553 NIM.

[3] Other members of the St Louis Circle include Dan Handschy, Michael Pahls, Ryan Marr and Matthew Muller.

[4] See http://newmanarchive.wordpress.com/.

be encouraged and applauded. Once complete, this digitalised archive will permit Newman's private thoughts and writings to become available to the academic community and, more generally, to all those interested in the advancement of Newman studies. No doubt Newman would have welcomed this project, in which his ideas and teachings can continue to have relevance for today's society. To conclude in Newman's own words, to gain knowledge is 'simply the cultivation of the intellect'.[1]

[1] John Henry Newman, *The Idea of a University* (London, 1907), p. 121.

Aspects of the Liturgical Movement in the Salford Diocese, 1905-1939

Nicholas Paxton
(Salford Diocesan Archives)

The Salford Diocesan Archives provide interesting coverage of the Liturgical Movement's progress in a diocese with a large Catholic population. Here I will look at the Movement's extension in Salford diocese in terms of conscious, active congregational sharing in church services from Pius X's 1905 restoration of frequent Holy Communion to the outbreak of World War II. I will describe different aspects of the topic, as specified in the subheadings below, using certain sources within the archives. Among other sources as cited, the Bishops' visitation records from 1905 to 1940 in SDA-F121-001[1] and SDA-C103-001, the bound Acta of the Bishops of Salford, and the Salford Diocesan Almanac, for different years between 1905 and 1939, liturgical material in SDA-084, *The Golden Manual* (in SDA-272) and the Deans' Annual Reports in SDA-208 have been researched.

The Nature of Conscious and Active Participation in the Liturgy

The phrase 'conscious and active participation', which translates the Latin phrase *actuosa participatio*, denotes, both sharing in the liturgy by way of responses, acts and bodily postures, and attaining to the best possible understanding of the liturgy's purpose. One can see these two forms of participation in the 'Instructions for Hearing Mass' in the edition in the Salford Diocesan Archives of *The Golden Manual*,[2] a book of devotion for lay people. The Salford archives' copy of this is historically particularly significant since it carries Bishop Wiseman's *imprimatur* dated 1 January 1850, on the eve of the Restoration of the Hierarchy. Pius XI also described these two ways of *actuosa participatio*

[1] SDA-F121-001 is Salford Diocesan Archives, Box F121, item 001. References to the Salford Diocesan Archives have this form.

[2] This edition London, Burns & Oates, undated save for *imprimatur*; 'Instructions for hearing Mass', see pp. 289-302.

in 1928 in his Apostolic Constitution *Divini Cultus;*[1] he noted that, wherever the rules on church music 'have been carefully observed ... the faithful have gained a deeper understanding of the sacred Liturgy, and have taken part with greater zest in the ceremonies of the Mass, in the singing of the psalms and the public prayers'. Again, 'when the faithful assist at the sacred ceremonies...they should not be merely detached and silent spectators, but, filled with a deep sense of the beauty of the Liturgy, they should sing...'

In promoting *actuosa participatio,* Pius X had already taken the leading world role in his 1903 *Motu Proprio Tra le sollecitudini*[2] by reforming church music, partly to help the congregation join in the singing. He had taken an even greater initiative in re-introducing frequent communion, for adults and young children alike, in *Sacra Tridentina Synodus* (1905)[3] and *Quam Singulari* (1910)[4]. In providing 'the breakthrough for a pastoral liturgy',[5] these decrees 'did begin the renewal of the sacramental centre of Catholic life, stimulating the liturgical movement.'[6]

In Salford diocese, Bishop Casartelli took a strong line in promoting *actuosa participatio.* As he wrote in *The Catholic Federationist* for January 1913: 'The Holy Sacrifice of the Mass is *not* merely a quiet half-hour in which to "get in" one's daily prayers. It is an *act* which we ought to follow with the most careful attention and to *participate* in. The faithful attending Mass are true co-partners in its offering.'[7] Since church music could engender such participation, Casartelli wrote of musical reform in his first Pastoral, 'We hope that this Diocese of Salford will

[1] Online at http://www.adoremus.org/DiviniCultus.html [12/2/2014]
[2] Online at http://www.adoremus.org/MotuProprio.html [12/2/2014]
[3] Online at http://www.ewtn.com/library/CURIA/CDWFREQ.HTM [12/2/2014].
[4] Online at http://www.papalencyclicals.net/Pius10/p10quam.htm [12/2/2014], also at http://www/ewtn.com/library/curia/cdwfirst.htm [12/2/2014].
[5] J.H. Emminghaus, *The Eucharist: Essence, Form, Celebration* (Collegeville, 1978), p. 93.
[6] A. Hastings, *A History of English Christianity 1920-1985* (London, 1986), p. 151.
[7] Quoted in M.J. Broadley, *Louis Charles Casartelli: A Bishop in Peace and War* (Manchester, 2006), hereafter Broadley, *LCC*, p. 108.

be in the van of progress.'[1] He achieved his aim;[2] his work's continuing impact bears this out.

The continuance of at least some of the results of Casartelli's work in the decades after his death in 1925 was specially remarkable in that four factors in particular worked against active liturgical participation in Salford diocese. One was the lack of strength in the Liturgical Movement nationwide in England in the early 1920s, largely due to the Catholic Church's financial poverty and the strains on its clergy.[3] Another was the level of education in a mainly working-class diocese such as Salford, which made the explanation and use (mostly in song) of Latin texts more difficult in a Catholic population not commonly educated beyond elementary school. Two additional factors - particularly significant in Salford diocese, with its compact, heavily-populated area - were the high priorities placed by the clergy, and expected by the laity, on (i) work in connection with Catholic schools, and (ii) house-to-house visiting. These activities could mean that the clergy had such strong alternative priorities as not to leave much room for promoting active liturgical participation. However, there were still opportunities for clergy and teachers to promote conscious participation in the liturgy, if they chose, by working for greater understanding of it. Here, the medium of schools must have been very important.

One can note such alternative priorities in the episcopate of Casartelli's successor, Thomas Henshaw. The subjects of Henshaw's Pastorals throughout his time as Bishop make clear that his overriding priorities - which he pursued with definite success - were the establishment and maintenance of parishes, Catholic schools, and

[1] Quoted in Broadley, *LCC*, pp. 119 & 250 n. 96.

[2] N. Paxton, 'The Liturgical Revival in the Diocese of Salford under Bishop Casartelli', *Catholic Archives*, No. 32 (2011), pp. 21-31.

[3] J.D. Crichton, '1920-1940: The Dawn of a Liturgical Movement', in *English Catholic Worship: Liturgical Renewal in England since 1900*, ed. J.D. Crichton, H.E. Winstone & J.R. Ainslie (London, 1979), pp. 20-21.

clergy recruitment and training.[1] His bound Acta show that between February 1928 and April 1931 he had two encyclicals of Pius XI read in churches, and summarized two other papal letters in his 1930 Lenten Pastoral, but *Divini Cultus* is not included in the bound Acta, despite the presence of Pius' Apostolic Constitution about the 1929 Jubilee Year.[2] However, some items are connected with the liturgy. For instance, Henshaw called for special prayers in 1931 at a time of political difficulties, provided ways to mark liturgically in parishes the 1932 Eucharistic Congress in Dublin and called for an announcement about the prayers after Low Mass - which he wanted fervently said - being for Russia. He also inaugurated the still-observed custom of a deanery Requiem Mass each November for each deanery's deceased clergy. Additionally, Henshaw drew the clergy's attention to Roman decrees about different matters including reading the final Prayer of Expiation from Pius XI's encyclical on the Sacred Heart annually in churches on the Feast of the Sacred Heart, a canonical requirement to hold the Forty Hours' Devotion (*Quarant'Ore*), a Requiem Mass 'in each church on Armistice Day' for the following five years and one Marian Mass on the third Sunday of Advent, 1931 to mark the 1500th anniversary of the Council of Ephesus.[3]

One evident lack of conscious, active sharing in the liturgy was the practice of people arriving late for services. In 1905, Casartelli spoke to the people at English Martyrs' and Holy Family in Manchester about this. Dean James Murray, of St Wilfrid's deanery, Manchester, expressed concern in his annual reports between 1931 and 1935: he mentioned that the number of those arriving late for Mass was increasing, that 'unpunctuality at Mass' indicated a self-indulgent spirit 'amongst our Catholic people' (SDA-208-041) and that 'in most, if not all the [deanery's] churches large numbers come late for Mass on

[1] M.J. Broadley, 'The Episcopate of Thomas Henshaw, Bishop of Salford', MPhil thesis, University of Manchester, 1998, pp. 237-239.

[2] *Acta Salfordiensia Episcopi Quinti*, Vol. 1 (1925-1929), Vol. 2 (1930-1934) in SDA.

[3] ASEQuinti, Vol. 1, pp. 559, 561-562, 719; Vol. 2, pp. 79, 201-202, 311, 489.

Sundays' (SDA-208-023; see also SDA-208-042, 074).[1] Sunday evening services in his deanery did not escape his concern in 1931/2, since they only drew small congregations, though those grew somewhat in 1934/5 (SDA-208-041/2, 023, 074). Such smallness of evening congregations was unfortunate since these services included congregational participation in prayers and in hymn-singing, which could be enthusiastic.[2] The revival of participation in church music under Casartelli was an important means of *actuosa participatio* in the Salford Diocese.

Church Music in the Salford Diocese after 1905

Casartelli had established a church music commission in 1903, which specified what music was acceptable in church by compiling a diocesan list of approved music.[3] Nonetheless, three unsigned articles in the diocesan journal *The Harvest* in 1905 show that there was some opposition to *Tra le sollecitudini* and sought to counter that by explaining the *Motu Proprio*'s positions.[4] Casartelli continued his reform with his 'Letter on Church Music' (1906). The reports in SDA-F121-001 between 1905 and 1921 show that Casartelli's reform was having results. In 1905, he noted that the diocesan list of church music was being followed at the Holy Name, Manchester and St Gregory's, Farnworth, that 'the music is being gradually improved' at Sacred Heart, Accrington, that St Anne's, Accrington, had a good choir of boys and men, that the music was satisfactory at the Cathedral and 'Music all right' at Sacred Heart, Colne. In 1913, he noted 'Church music rules all observed' at St Ann's, Stretford, and 'Boys' choir excellent' at Corpus Christi, Manchester, in 1914. In 1915, he could note 'I was very much pleased with the choir and the music' at the

[1] SDA-208-042 is undated but apparently dates from 1931- cf. SDA-208-041.

[2] J. Ainslie, 'English Liturgical Music before Vatican II', *English Catholic Worship*, p. 48; K.F. Pecklers SJ in *Renewal and Resistance: Catholic Church Music from the 1850s to Vatican II*, ed. P. Collins (Berne, 2010), p. 160.

[3] Paxton, pp. 23-24.

[4] *The Harvest*, Vol. XIX, No.227,pp. 176f, No. 228, pp. 198-201; No. 229, pp. 233-234. One instance which indicates some opposition to Casartelli's work is a memorandum from Fr C. Rothwell to Casartelli of November 1904 (SDA-193-068).

Holy Name, Manchester, and 'music good' at St Mary Magdalene's, Gannow, Burnley. The 1917 entry for St Joseph's, Bury reads 'The music and singing of Choir particularly good and correct in style'. In June 1940, St Mary's, Billington (now Langho) had a men's choir whose repertoire was stated as 'plain chant' on the canonical visitation form which every parish priest had by that time to fill in (SDA-C103-001).

According to SDA-F121-001, there were mixed choirs in 1905 at St Joseph's, Longsight, Sacred Heart, Gorton, St Mary's, Burnley and St Alban's, Blackburn (contrary to Pius X's opposition to these in article 13 of *Tra le sollecitudini*). However, Casartelli allowed such choirs where necessary in his 1906 'Letter on Church Music'.[1] Later, moreover, the Vatican seems to have taken a gentler line on mixed choirs: a learned opinion by Fr [Henry] Bewerunge, following the Vatican's Congregation of Rites, specified that 'where a choir of men and boys cannot be had conveniently, you may have a choir of men and women' (SDA-017-001).[2] The earliest document which Bewerunge quotes dates from 1908; one can thus consider as pioneering Casartelli's 1906 permission for mixed choirs. By December 1939, Salford Cathedral had a mixed choir, as the administrator stated on the canonical visitation form in SDA-C103-001. Also in Casartelli's visitation book, solos by women in church - which Pius X and Casartelli had forbidden - are mentioned. In 1905, Casartelli noted of St Anne's, Ancoats, St Alban's, Blackburn and St Mary Magdalene's, Burnley that these were still being sung, and of St Joseph's, Reddish, St Edward's, Rusholme and Holy Trinity, Brierfield that 'female solos are strictly forbidden'. However, he approvingly observed their absence at St Joseph's, Longsight, Sacred Heart, Accrington, Sacred Heart, Gorton and St Gregory's, Farnworth in 1905. Such solos seem to have

[1] *Acta Salfordiensia Episcopi Quarti*, An. III, Vol. 3, p. 67.

[2] Bewerunge was Professor of Music at Maynooth College. While the document is undated, Bewerunge writes that his opinion is corroborated by two decrees of the Congregation of Rites from 1908 and 1912 together with a 1908 statement of the President of the Congregation's Liturgical Commission.

decreased eventually: in 1917 he mentioned female solos at St Anne's, Ashton-under-Lyne and in 1919 at St Edward's, Rusholme.

Even so, the reforms of church music required yet further implementation. Theatrical, principally operatic, styles of church music figured primarily among the styles which Pius X and Casartelli intended to abolish. At St Mary's, Ashton-under-Lyne in 1917, Casartelli required the diocesan list of approved music to be followed. In 1915, he also questioned whether the list was being followed at Sacred Heart, Accrington; he wrote that its music sounded 'theatrical'. Again, he wrote 'Music sung during Mass shockingly operatic!' at St Peter's, Middleton in 1916, 'Music of very objectionable type' at St Edward's, Rusholme in 1919, and 'Music at Mass *atrociously* operatic!' at St Cuthbert's, Withington in 1920. Whatever the music's style at St Joseph's, Stacksteads in 1915, Casartelli records 'very noisy and long'. Also in 1915, St Edward's, Rusholme had *Missa Cantata* only once a month and St James the Less, Rawtenstall 'only on a few great Feasts'. In June 1940, St Peter's, Newchurch-in-Rossendale 'very rarely ha[d] ...Missa Cantata', according to the canonical visitation form in SDA-C103-001, under Bishop Marshall, Bishop Henshaw's successor. Unfortunately, whereas the records in SDA-F121-001 and SDA-C103-001 of Casartelli's parish visitations (1903-1925) give a wealth of information, the records of Henshaw's visitations (1926-1938) in SDA-C103-001 give very little except the name of the parish visited and the number of Confirmations. Nonetheless, mention of sacramental celebrations calls for discussion of the effects in Salford diocese of Pius X's re-introduction of frequent communion.

Frequent Communion and First Communion

Once Pius X's re-introduction of frequent communion, in his decrees *Sacra Tridentina Synodus* and *Quam Singulari*, was taken up into the Liturgical Movement, it engendered the Movement's greatest single achievement in promoting the congregation's conscious, active sharing in the liturgy. This remains true even when communion is given outside Mass: the rite for that purpose is itself a liturgical celebration. In the Salford diocese, 'within his lifetime Casartelli witnessed, and furthermore was instrumental in, a profound development in the

understanding of the Eucharist'.[1] He clearly encouraged people to deepen their experience of the Eucharistic mystery through receiving Holy Communion, in addition to the continuance of adoration and Benediction. Casartelli's Allocution to the 27th Salford diocesan synod (May 1906) drew attention to *Sacra Tridentina Synodus,* with two associated decrees, and added, 'The Clergy would do well to preach to their people on these decrees and explain them.'[2]

Again, the 1910 Supplement to the 1909 synod (written or approved by Casartelli) noted of *Quam Singulari,* 'It is evident that the new regulations will affect the Syllabus of Religious Instruction in the Schools. The Revision of the Syllabus is in hand and will shortly be issued. The English version must be carefully kept so as to be read to the people every Lent.'[3] One instance of this discipline's effect is SDA-F121-001's record of a May 1921 visitation at St Mary's, Blackburn by Bishop Hanlon MHM, who, in a comment Casartelli transcribed, stated 'Last Sunday morning, Fr Bamber told me they had one of the largest Communions he had ever known'.

Two other points are worth making. Firs: if Pius X's decrees on communion 'were in fact the point of departure for recovering the concept of the Mass as being a meal as well as a sacrifice',[4] Casartelli anticipated this *retour aux sources* by noting of St Edward's, Rusholme in July 1905 (five months before *Sacra Tridentina Synodus*), 'The small hosts in [the] ciborium are *too* small; larger ones to be used' (SDA-F121-001). Secondly, Casartelli, in his Lent Pastoral for 1908, saw service to others as a moral requirement resulting from Eucharistic worship: 'The love of Christ is primarily and chiefly maintained in and by the Holy Eucharist. From this Divine Love will overflow, of necessity, the supernatural love [of] our brethren'. In its time, this view represented a reform by way of counterbalancing individualist

[1] Broadley, *LCC,* p. 115.
[2] ASEQuarti, An. III, Vol. 3, p. 346, in SDA. A second decree was on indulgences arising from confession and communion, a third was a letter from Propaganda Fide to Cardinal Bourne about communion in convents.
[3] ASEQuarti, An.VII – An. VIII, Vol. 7, p. 202.
[4] Emminghaus, p. 93.

spirituality.[1] In addition, the cultivation of both individual and communal spirituality was facilitated by service-books with English texts as well as Latin.

The Use of English in Liturgical Books

Though not the first version of the missal to provide English texts, F.C. Husenbeth's 1837 version of the Roman Missal was an important development in liturgical translation for its time.[2] The Salford diocesan archives contain a worthwhile example of such translation in their edition of *The Golden Manual*; this gives the Ordinary and Canon of the Mass with a full series of parallel texts, as well as 'A Method of hearing Mass for the Souls of the Faithful Departed' with some parallel texts from Mass for the Dead.[3] The work of two notable priest-liturgists, Fr Adrian Fortescue (1915; a further anglicization of Husenbeth) and Fr Fernand Cabrol (1920) provided further English texts of the Mass.[4] From as early as 1913 onwards, Casartelli encouraged the use of missals providing both Latin and English texts.[5] In 1940, the Catholic Truth Society's *A Simple Prayer Book*, with a 1925 *imprimatur*, gave a series of parallel texts for Mass interspersed with prayers, some of which were translations, and others adaptations, of the priest's prayers. This low-priced book must have been used in Salford diocese as well as nationwide.

As to the *Rituale*: sadly, with Canon Law's resurgence after the 1917 Code, some valuable liturgical material for the administration of the sacraments and similar services in English, edited by Bishop Challoner, was largely abandoned. Then, in Salford diocese as elsewhere, at funerals 'mourners went away unconsoled by the slabs

[1] ASEQuarti An. V, Vol. 5 p. 61; see also Broadley, *LCC*, p. 116.

[2] G. Every, *The Mass* (Dublin, 1978), p. 145; J.D. Crichton, *Lights in the Darkness: Forerunners of the Liturgical Movement* (Dublin, 1996), p. 103; J.D. Crichton, *Worship in a Hidden Church* (Dublin, 1988), pp. 88-89.

[3] *The Golden Manual*, pp. 231-288.

[4] Crichton, *Worship in a Hidden* Church, pp. 88-89; Crichton, *Lights in the* Darkness, p. 113: J.D. Crichton, '1920-1940: The Dawn of a Liturgical Movement', pp. 21-22.

[5] Broadley, *LCC*, pp. 121-122.

of Latin that assaulted their ears'.[1] Later on, while the partial vernacularization of the Roman Ritual into German (1935, 1939 and subsequently) was significant in the Liturgical Movement, the English and American bishops did not decide to seek similar permission from Rome until 1953.[2] Regarding the Liturgy of the Hours, or Office, there were books which provided parts of it in parallel translations. Sunday Vespers were widespread in London churches at the time of Catholic Emancipation;[3] likewise, Husenbeth published 'a book for Sunday Vespers'.[4] SDA's copy of *The Golden Manual* gives a sequence of offices with parallel texts: Sunday Vespers, Vespers for feasts, Compline, the Little Office of Our Lady and that of the Immaculate Conception.[5] The availability of bilingual Mass and Office texts requires discussion of the Dialogue Mass, and of public celebrations of the Office, in Salford diocese.

The Dialogue Mass

The Dialogue Mass grew from the great expansion in missals with vernacular texts. Since those who used them tried to follow the priest, it made much better sense for the congregation to make the responses with the server in accordance with the Roman Missal's rubrics for Low Mass, which provided for the presence of a congregation.[6] The Dialogue Mass began in Belgium; in Germany, Mgr Volker was a pioneer in introducing it between the World Wars.[7] In England, Fr C.C. Martindale SJ, contributing to an important correspondence in

[1] Crichton, '1920-1940: The Dawn of a Liturgical Movement', p. 36; see also Hastings, p. 150.

[2] E.B. Koenker, *The Liturgical Renaissance in the Roman Catholic Church* (Chicago, 1954), p. 148.

[3] L. Sheppard, 'The Liturgical Movement in English-speaking Countries', in Priests of St Séverin (Paris) and St Joseph (Nice), *What is the Liturgical Movement?* (London, 1964), pp. 24-25.

[4] Crichton, *Lights in the Darkness*, p. 103.

[5] *The Golden Manual*, pp. 549-653.

[6] J.A. Jungmann, *The Mass of the Roman Rite: Its Origins and Development (Missarum Sollemnia), Vol. 1* (New York, 1950), pp.162-163, 164 n. 21.

[7] Crichton, '1920-1940:The Dawn of a Liturgical Movement', p. 23; Priests of St Séverin and St Joseph, *What is the Liturgical Movement?*, p. 38.

the *Catholic Herald* in 1938 about Rome's toleration of the Dialogue Mass in 1922 and 1935, commented on its possibilities for spiritual renewal.[1] Nonetheless, most English bishops either allowed the Dialogue Mass unwillingly or proscribed it, though Archbishop Williams permitted it in Birmingham diocese from 1929.[2] It is unknown why lay liturgical participation in speech could be disapproved of in Rome and England when Pius X (and, from 1928, Pius XI) had already encouraged it in song.[3]

At St Bede's College, Manchester, where Casartelli lived, the dialogue Mass was encouraged as early as about 1916. This development's pioneering status, well in advance of Roman decrees, is noteworthy.[4] As to the parishes: while the Deans' annual reports to Bishop Henshaw between 1931 and 1936 (SDA-208) do not mention the Dialogue Mass, one cannot reasonably expect that a usually hard-worked Salford diocesan clergy would have sought to promote during these years something which Rome had been reluctant to allow, among a diocesan laity mostly not educated beyond parish elementary schools. As late as November 1946, the Manchester University Catholic chaplain wrote to Bishop Marshall, seeking permission for a Dialogue Mass every week. To this, the Bishop replied that he did not grant permission for regular Dialogue Masses but conceded that 'the occasional use of the Missa Dialogata can be helpful' in allowing it to the chaplaincy twice a year (SDA-098-225/6).

[1] C.C. Martindale, Letter 'Missa Dialogata', *Catholic Herald*, 22/7/1938, online at http://archive.catholicherald.co.uk/article/22nd-july-1938/6/missa-dialogata [17/1/2014].
See also http://archive.catholicherald.co.uk/article/8th-july-1938/6/missa-dialogata [17/1/2014]; http://archive.catholicherald.co.uk/article/22nd-july-1938/6/a-clarification [17/1/2014].

[2] J.D. Crichton, 'The Liturgical Movement from 1940 to Vatican II' in *English Catholic Worship: Liturgical Renewal in England since 1900* (London, 1979), p. 68, also p. 78 n. 10; with information given by Fr Clifford Howell SJ.

[3] Crichton, '1920-1940: The Dawn of a Liturgical Movement', p. 43.

[4] Broadley, *LCC*, p. 122; W.F. Brown, *Through Windows of Memory* (London, 1946), p. 113, quoted in Broadley, *LCC*, p. 122.

The Public Celebration of the Office

Adrian Fortescue is known to have encouraged public celebrations of the Liturgy of the Hours in his church at Letchworth from 1908 as part of promoting *actuosa participatio*.[1] In Salford diocese, according to the 1905 diocesan almanac, Sunday Vespers were celebrated at the Holy Name, St Mary's, Mulberry Street, Our Lady of Mount Carmel, Blackley and St Mary's, Levenshulme, all in Manchester, St Peter's, Greengate in Salford, St Alban's, and St Ann's, in Blackburn, St Mary's, Bacup and St Peter's, Stonyhurst. In addition, Compline was celebrated daily at St Sebastian's, Pendleton and on Sundays at St Patrick's, Manchester. Regarding the parish of St Wilfrid's, Longridge, an abbreviation for 3pm on Sundays is ambiguous but seems to denote Catechism rather than Compline. Religious Orders played a part in seeking to popularize the Office: St Peter's, Stonyhurst and the Holy Name were Jesuit and St Sebastian's, Dominican. Again, the Levenshulme parish had close links with the Poor Clare convent there. While it is gratifying that the public celebration of the Office in Salford diocese anticipated Fortescue's efforts at Letchworth, such celebration included only a small fraction of the diocese's 124 missions in 1905. The relevant entries in the 1910 almanac are as for 1905 except that Sunday Vespers at St Mary's, Mulberry Street and Sunday Compline at St Patrick's had ceased, while Salford Cathedral had Sunday Compline.

In 1915, Sunday Vespers continued at the Holy Name, Mount Carmel, Blackley, St Peter's, Greengate, Salford, St Alban's, Blackburn, St Ann's, Blackburn and St Peter's, Stonyhurst, while daily Compline continued at St Sebastian's. But Sunday Vespers at St Mary's, Bacup had been abandoned for the rosary. So too had Sunday Compline at the Cathedral, which is mentioned in the 1914 almanac but replaced by the rosary in that for 1915. Again, 'ev[ening] serv[ice]' had replaced Sunday Vespers at St Mary's, Levenshulme, despite the parish's links with the Poor Clares. The abandonment of Vespers or Compline in

[1] J. G. Vance & J. W. Fortescue, *Adrian Fortescue – A Memoir* (London, 1924), p.53; Crichton, *Lights in the Darkness*, p. 114.

different places may denote either a change of parish priest or an attempt to attract a larger congregation to the evening services, about which Dean Murray in St Wilfrid's deanery, Manchester, mentioned that congregations had become small by the 1930s (SDA-208-041/2, 023, 074).

The diocesan almanac for 1930 shows a continuance of this decline. Out of 148 parishes, Sunday Vespers continued at Mount Carmel, Blackley, St Alban's, Blackburn and St Peter's, Stonyhurst. At the Holy Name, Devotions, Sermon and Benediction had replaced them; while Vespers are listed there in the 1924 almanac, that for 1925 specifies devotions. Vespers had been replaced at St Peter's, Greengate by 'ev[enin]g ser[vice]' and they had also ceased at St Ann's, Blackburn. At St Sebastian's, Compline was by this time confined to Sundays, the rosary having replaced weekday Compline. By 1939, Sunday Vespers remained at Mount Carmel, Blackley and St Peter's, Stonyhurst but not at St Alban's, Blackburn, though SS Peter and Paul, Ribchester, had replaced Benediction by Vespers at its 2.30 pm service on Sundays; this substitution first appears in the 1936 almanac. Sunday Compline continued at St Sebastian's. Even so, the public celebration of the Office in Salford diocese declined between 1910 and 1939, despite the celebration of Terce at the Cathedral by the chapter, before the monthly Chapter Mass, throughout the period 1905-1939. Lastly, it is useful to summarize the Salford diocesan clergy's contribution to the Liturgical Movement as described in the Deans' annual reports in SDA-208.

The Work of the Clergy in the 1930s

In their reports for 1935, Mgr Tynan in Burnley recorded 'clergy in constant residence and industrious' (SDA-208-027), while Dean Murray, in Manchester's St Wilfrid's deanery, stated the clergy's chief duties as 'administration of the sacraments, preaching, pastoral visitation' (SDA-208-023). Murray's statement thus indicates that the clergy gave the sacraments conscientiously and preached regularly. Even if Murray had sermons at evening services in mind as well as Mass homilies, listing preaching among the clergy's main works may

be significant in an age when Sunday Masses did not necessarily include preaching.

But Dean Maspero at St Patrick's, Manchester bears clearer, more sustained witness to the Liturgical Movement's effect on the clergy's work. Reporting on his deanery in 1933, Maspero wrote: 'The children are instructed; the Sacraments are administered and your orders are faithfully carried out' (SDA-208-072). This implies that children were catechized about, *inter alia*, their first communion, and that the diocesan rules on such matters as church music, the annual reading of *Quam Singulari* in English and of Pius XI's Expiation Prayer to the Sacred Heart, and the Forty Hours' Devotion were being followed. The next year, Maspero recorded that adult instruction was being given and that 'the sick are attended to with care' (SDA-208-077, see also SDA-208-084). This connotes that the sacraments of communion and of the anointing of the sick were regularly and frequently given, though one cannot tell how much the priests who gave them necessarily sought to involve the sick as actively as possible in the rites, particularly in an age in which the anointing of the sick was more closely associated with imminent death than nowadays. As to liturgies in church, Maspero noted in 1935: 'Church services are carried on according to the decrees' (SDA-208-029). While his phrasing may nowadays sound juridical, its content is clear, namely that Roman and diocesan liturgical regulations were being carried out carefully enough in his deanery. In his 1934 and 1936 reports, Maspero stated the diocesan element in the liturgical movement as in other matters in writing to Bishop Henshaw, 'Orders from your Lordship are carried out as soon as it is possible to do so' (SDA-208-077) and 'Your Orders are carried out in the different parishes [of the deanery]' (SDA-208-084).

It is worth considering, in a Salford diocesan context, John Ainslie's nationwide view that 'by 1928 it could be said that liturgical practice and church music in parishes had reached a state of stagnation. Westminster Cathedral continued its tradition, monasteries and seminaries were singing plainchant and a little polyphony, but all this seems to have had little or no effect on worship as ordinary Catholics

experienced it.'[1] True, the Liturgical Movement in Salford diocese, as elsewhere, impinged little on the majority who went to (said) Low Mass on Sundays and did not attend evening services. Yet, even here, 'the fact that most of the congregation at any Mass said their own private prayers during it does not detract from their awareness that here was a particularly sacred moment in which to say them'.[2] Also, to the minority who participated in evening services and/or went to sung Mass, Bishop Casartelli's pioneering work to engender *actuosa participatio* had its effect. As to Henshaw's episcopate, Henshaw did not wish to neglect the liturgy. Although the diocese had not maintained the vanguard position in English liturgical renewal which Casartelli had successfully engendered in the 1900s, there remained sufficient awareness to enable the diocese to internalize the liturgical reforms of Pius XII and his successors, most of all at Vatican II, and so to play its part in the Liturgical Movement by promoting people's conscious, active participation in the Church's worship.

[1] Ainslie, p. 50.
[2] Ainslie, p. 47.

A Community Commemorates: St Anne's Cathedral parish, Leeds

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In 1914 the city of Leeds had a Catholic population of 27,000 and after more than a century of pastoral development nine parishes had been established by this date. Of these the Cathedral parish of St. Anne, whose origins went back to the eighteenth century Dominican mission in Leeds, was the fourth largest, home to some 3,130 souls. As well as the Cathedral church it also contained within its boundaries three chapels-of-ease, a convent and a Jesuit community house, a parish elementary school and two Catholic high schools. On the eve of war it was these elements that made up the infrastructure of a diverse urban parish which extended outwards from the back-to-back terraces of the inner city neighbourhoods to the leafier suburban areas such as Headingley. The purpose of this essay is to explore how in the period after November 1918 this particular community set about the commemoration of its war dead.

Five days after the outbreak of the First World War, on Sunday 9 August 1914, the Bishop of Leeds, the Rt Rev. Joseph Robert Cowgill, issued a Pastoral Letter to the people of his diocese. He reflected that at the outset 'It is impossible to tell what will be the extent and duration of the struggle...It is impossible, too, to form an idea of the terrible sufferings and misery that will result therefrom'. In the fullness of time the 'terrible sufferings and misery' of war would be countless and felt by virtually every family in the diocese and across the country. In due course 'the war overwhelmed Cowgill with grief'. His Pastoral Letter for Advent 1916 tells of his anguish: 'Our hearts are sad and our homes are desolate. The dark shadow of death has settled down upon the nations blotting out the sunshine from life.'[1]

[1] *Acta Ecclesiae Loidensis*, Vol. XVI (Leeds Diocesan Archives)

In the following year he wrote that 'after forty months of dreadful slaughter the war goes on and the peace which we are all longing for and praying for does not seem to be within sight'.[1] The end came, of course, with the signing of the Armistice on 11 November 1918. Two weeks later he wrote his Advent Pastoral and the weariness of total war is evident. He refers to 'the unspeakable suffering and world-wide misery of the past four years'. 'We have fought' he said, 'in the cause of Justice and Right, and the triumph of Justice and Right must be the results of peace, or we shall have fought in vain'. Abroad he prays for the leaders who will gather at Versailles to formulate a peace treaty; at home he is concerned that 'the work of reconstruction must be undertaken with the least possible delay'. There is a sense that he is not wholly optimistic: 'Grave problems will have to be faced and much will depend upon the way they are handled. If they are handled justly and with Christian charity, all will be well; if not, God only knows how bitter social strife is to be avoided'.[2]

On Low Sunday, 11 April 1920, Bishop Cowgill visited the mother church of his diocese, St Anne's Cathedral. On this occasion, perhaps, he did so more in the role of parish priest than bishop. He was there to dedicate the War Memorial Chapel in memory of the servicemen from the Cathedral parish who had been killed during the Great War that had ended exactly seventeen months previously. During the war some 90,000 men from the city of Leeds had served in the armed forces and of these 9,640 had lost their lives in combat, including nearly 2,000 from the city's Catholic community. The War Memorial Chapel at the Cathedral commemorated the ultimate sacrifice of 190 men from St Anne's parish. I wrote about the War Memorial Chapel, albeit briefly, in 1988 in *The Cathedral Church of St Anne, Leeds – A History and Guide*.[3] Today, in the centenary year of the outbreak of the First World War, it seems to me that the back story to this feature of the Cathedral's heritage merits further investigation and in part that is the purpose of

[1] *Ibid., Vol. XVII*

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] R. E. Finnigan, *The Cathedral Church of St. Anne, Leeds: A History and Guide* (London, 1988) pp 86-7

this essay. But I am also looking at two other aspects of remembrance at the local level using the resources of our own Diocesan Archives to portray how a Catholic community in urban England set about commemorating the 'war to end all war'.

In 1920 St Anne's had a parish elementary school for boys located a short distance from the Cathedral (and just down the road from Bishop Cowgill's residence at Springfield House). The building that housed the boys' school closed nearly twenty-five years ago and has since been demolished; on closure the school records were deposited with the Diocesan Archives along with three plaques which had formed a memorial to former pupils who fell in the war of 1914-18. Similarly, the Cathedral parish also included within its boundaries St Michael's College, established by the Jesuits in 1905 as Leeds' first Catholic boys' grammar school. When the school closed its doors in 2005 the Diocesan Archives acquired an extensive collection of its records. However, by then and for reasons still unexplained, the College's 1914-18 War Memorial had long since disappeared. Fortunately, a descendant of one of the alumni named on the Roll of Honour kindly supplied us with a photograph of it, after attending a lecture on the history of the school at a Leeds Catholic History Day. Therefore, this essay will also examine how these two Catholic schools sought to remember their dead in the aftermath of the Great War.

Leeds Cathedral

A report in the *Tablet* describes the dedication of the War Memorial on 11 April 1920 in the following terms:

> A memorial to the men fallen in the war was dedicated by the Bishop of Leeds in St Anne's Cathedral on Sunday in the presence of a large congregation. The memorial takes the form of a chapel on the north side of the Cathedral, the altar of which is given by Colonel and Mrs Coghlan, in memory of their son, Humphrey. On the walls of the chapel are four tablets, surrounded by bay leaves, containing the names of 190 men who sacrificed their lives in the war. A decorative feature is a series of mural paintings by Chevalier Formilli,

depicting the Last Supper, the Agony in the Garden, and the Resurrection. The iron rail is the gift of Mr and Mrs Platt.[1]

Today the chapel remains much as it was in 1920, with the exception of the murals. There is no sign of them now and they do not appear on photographs of the chapel taken more than fifty years ago.

Undoubtedly, the Coghlans were chief among the instigators of the Cathedral's War Memorial. For many years Colonel Coghlan had been 'in the van of lay activity in the Diocese of Leeds', and in particular he was a major benefactor of the new Cathedral, which had opened in 1904. He was born in 1852 at Blenheim Square in the Cathedral parish. Educated at Ratcliffe College and in Belgium, in 1872 he joined the family firm, the Coghlan Steel & Iron Company based at Hunslet Forge. He became chairman in 1889, two years after his marriage to Josephine Mary Kenworthy, the daughter of the Rector of Ackworth, near Pontefract. In 1899 he was appointed a magistrate and for some years thereafter he was the only Catholic J.P. in Leeds. His entry in *Who's Who* reveals that his recreations were 'nothing special, unless being a keen Territorial soldier can be deemed a recreation'. His involvement began in 1874 when he joined the 1st West Riding Brigade of the Territorial Army, the 'Leeds Artillery'. From 1896 until 1910 he was the brigade's commander and known to all as Colonel Coghlan. He was appointed a Deputy Lieutenant for the West Riding in 1910.[2]

Col. and Mrs Coghlan had five children, two sons and three daughters. Their son Humphrey was a Second Lieutenant, 11th Battery, Royal Field Artillery when he was killed in action, just three weeks after the outbreak of the war on 26 August 1914 at Le Cateau, during the retreat from Mons, when the British army encountered a greatly superior German force. His final resting place was to be the Military Cemetery at Le Cateau, along with almost 700 other Commonwealth war dead. Lt Coghlan was twenty-four years of age. His parents had educated him at the Oratory School in Birmingham, founded by

[1] The *Tablet*, 17 April 1920, p. 530

[2] *The Catholic Who's Who and Year Book 1918* (London, 1917) p.80; *The Times*, 15 Oct., 1921 and 25 Nov., 1921; *The Yorkshire Post*, 15 Oct., 1921

Blessed John Henry Newman in 1859 as an attempt to create a Catholic Eton, and from there he went up to University College, Oxford. In short, he was the scion of a wealthy upper middle-class Catholic family (his father left over £6 million at today's prices when he died in 1921) and his loss at such an early stage of the conflict must have been a devastating blow to his family. At the same time it was the spur to their patronage of the War Memorial project.[1]

The *Tablet* report also tells us something of the sermon preached during the dedication service by Fr. Bernard Vaughan, S.J. He was the younger brother of the late Herbert Vaughan, Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster, and by 1920 a national figure, and a renowned, if sometimes controversial, preacher. Indeed, it was claimed that such was his reputation that in Catholic England 'no civic occasion was complete without him'. Before the war he had not been greatly enamoured of contemporary culture and a series of lectures he delivered in London in 1907 entitled 'The Sins of Society' brought him to the attention of the press and the public at large.[2]

In Leeds, on this occasion, he said that 'the war had been a purging, cleansing, sanctifying fire for the Catholic boys'. Whether the bereaved felt quite the same, must be open to question. But, as a result of the response by 'Catholic boys' to the call to arms he thought that 'the Catholic Church in this country had not stood as high, or in such a healthy, prosperous position in his lifetime as she held today'. Indeed, once and for all, the country's Catholics had proved their loyalty to King and Country and thus established their credentials as loyal subjects and good citizens. But in turn this placed a responsibility on the Church in a post-war world 'where everything was being sacrificed for what the world called a "good time"'. 'Never', he said, 'had England stood in greater need of a religious revival'. He was critical of current trends on the continent of Europe, in America and, of course, in Soviet Russia, which he characterised as 'present-day

[1] www.cwgc.org; www.forces-war-records.co.uk

[2] Dom E. Cruse, 'Development of the Religious Orders' in G. A. Beck, (ed.) *The English Catholics 1850-1950* (London, 1950) pp 454-456

Paganism'.[1] The only force that could fight and conquer this phenomenon was 'whole-hearted Christianity'. In this regard Fr Vaughan may well have struck a chord with some, perhaps many, of his listeners given that historians have subsequently shown the extent to which people in the aftermath of the war felt that over and above the loss of life and the material destruction it had been a catastrophe in a broader sense that resulted in a 'crisis of civilisation'.[2]

How did the bereaved in the congregation feel about these comments? At this distance and in the absence of any evidence it is impossible to say but probably few of them had thought of the war in terms of a 'purging, cleansing, sanctifying fire'. They must have been torn between the pain of their loss, and a sense of pride at the valour of their boys. Foreboding about the state of the unfolding post-war world, however, may have given some of Fr Vaughan's views more resonance.

St Anne's Boys School

The first entry in the school log book which refers to the war is dated 5 October 1914 and notes that three Belgian refugee children had been admitted to the school; by November they had been joined by another nine boys. When the school broke up for Christmas on 23 December the Belgian boys, together with the sons of British soldiers fighting on the Continent, received gifts of toys and clothing that had been 'sent by the American children'.[3]

There is a later entry, matter of fact and without comment yet the sense of loss is evident nonetheless. It is dated Wednesday 13 September 1916 and records that: Joseph Mongan RAMC, who was a teacher here, has been killed in France. He enlisted in October 1914 and was only 20 years of age when he died.[4]

[1] The *Tablet*, 17 April 1920, p.530
[2] R. Overy, *The Morbid Age: Britain and the Crisis of Civilisation, 1919-1939* (London, 2010) p. 2
[3] St. Anne's R. C. Boys' School, Leeds – Log Book 23 Dec., 1914 (LDA)
[4] *Ibid.*, 13 Sept., 1916

Private Mongan was also an old boy of St Michael's College in Leeds and at the time of his death on 26 August 1916 he was serving with the Royal Army Medical Corps 77th Field Ambulance. Today his name is inscribed on the Thiepval Memorial on the Somme, as it was on the Roll of Honour at St Michael's College. Born on 22 March 1896 he entered St Michael's in September 1908 from St Joseph's Elementary School in Hunslet, Leeds. His father Thomas was employed by the Leeds Education Committee in its Fees & Enquiry Office. His was a lower middle-class background as the notes in the college's admissions register indicates. In the five years that Joseph was at the college the family moved twice - from Belle Vue Road first to Ash Terrace in Headingley and then to Norwood Terrace in Hyde Park, both superior suburbs to the north of the city centre. In his final year at St Michael's, 1913-14, Joseph obtained an Oxford Local Senior Pass and then spent the year leading up to the outbreak of the war as a Pupil Teacher, hence his connection with St Anne's Boys School in the autumn of 1914.[1]

Monday 18 November 1918 is recorded in the log book as the first working day since the signing of the Armistice, as the school had been closed since 20 October 'on account of the influenza epidemic'. On their return to school,

> the boys were gathered together and addressed by the Head Master. Patriotic songs were sung and cheers were given for the King, the Army and the Navy. Reference was also made to our Roll of Honour, which now contains the names of 92 "Old St Anne's Boys" who have lost their lives in the War.[2]

The final number of old boys who were killed in the war was ninety-five. A permanent memorial to them - and the former teacher Private Joseph Mongan - was installed in the school in September 1920. On the afternoon of the 23rd Bishop Cowgill together with *the boys ... and a very large gathering of parents, priests, inspectors and others* gathered for the unveiling of the school's War Memorial. Among the guests was Fr

[1] Leeds Catholic College, Admission Register 1905-1912 (LDA)
[2] St. Anne's R. C. Boys' School, Leeds – Log Book 18 Nov., 1918 (LDA)

Joseph Walsh, an old boy of St Anne's and former Army chaplain. He had previously visited the school in January 1918, dressed in uniform and prior to his departure for Egypt.[1]

It goes without saying that this was a momentous occasion and the log book duly includes two newspaper cuttings reporting the event, one from the *Yorkshire Post* and the other from the *Catholic Herald*. From these we learn that the Bishop led 'a simple but deeply moving ceremony' to unveil the War Memorial. It consisted of three mural tablets in white marble; two were circular and bore the names of the dead, surrounded by a golden wreath of bay and laurel. The third tablet took the form of a shield and was inscribed: In proud and loving memory of old St Anne's boys who gave their lives for their country in the Great War 1914 - 1919.[2]

The ceremony began with 'a beautiful rendering' of Gounod's *Ave Maria* by the boys and following the unveiling by Bishop Cowgill, the Administrator of the Cathedral, Canon Shine, addressed the assembly. The fallen were, he said, 'martyrs to a sense of duty, and that was the greatest thing that could be said of them. The good were always brave and the best bravest'. The occasion was one of real sadness but also one of rejoicing because it meant that the dead were not forgotten and the memorial was also a tribute to the present scholars and their teachers, because it showed a generous spirit. The cost of the memorial had been met by contributions from current pupils and old boys, over 400 of whom joined the forces. St Anne's was said to be the first elementary school in Leeds to erect a war memorial and 'justly proud of its war record'. Twelve old boys won the Military Medal and a number were 'Mentioned in Despatches'. The boys of 1920 contributed over thirty pounds towards the cost and it was acknowledged that in many cases it 'must have meant the making of genuine sacrifices' by them and their families. Indeed, we are probably talking about the

[1] *Ibid.*, 24 Sept., 1920
[2] *Ibid.*

equivalent of nearly £3,000 at today's prices from a school of no more than 200 pupils.[1]

At the conclusion of the Canon's remarks the Headmaster, Mr J. de Rome, read out the names which appeared on the tablets and in conclusion one of the old boys sounded the 'Last Post'. Later in the term, on Armistice Day, 11 November, the War Memorial became the focal point for the Two Minutes Silence and the school's own act of remembrance. Two hymns were sung and prayers were said. In the log book the Headmaster noted that *a large number of flowers and some wreaths had been sent by parents of the dead soldiers.*[2] The same log book ends in the early 1930s and the entry for 11 November 1932 points to a subtle but significant change. As ever the boys assembled for the Two Minutes Silence but between 10.30 and 11 o'clock it was noted that 'they will listen to the Guards' Bands playing at the Cenotaph in Whitehall'. After the silence they were to say the Prayers for the Dead and then listen to the concluding part of the ceremony from London.[3]Clearly, in the years since 1920 the advent of the BBC and the wireless had begun to unite the local and the national elements of Remembrance in a way that is still familiar to people today.

St Michael's College

Originally known as the Leeds Catholic College, the city's first Catholic boys' Grammar School opened in 1905. How this came about is neatly explained in an edition of the college magazine dating from 1944. At the opening of the twentieth century Bishop Cowgill's immediate predecessor, the Rt Rev. William Gordon '...asked the Jesuits to start a secondary school in his diocesan city, where he declared that his people were almost entirely composed of the working class and could never hope to attain to positions of prosperity and influence until they were afforded some means of higher education than that of an elementary grade.[4]

[1] *Ibid.*
[2] *Ibid.*, 11 Nov., 1920
[3] *Ibid.*, 11 Nov., 1932
[4] *St. Michael's Magazine*, July 1944 – p. 12 (LDA)

The school began with eighty-four boys on roll in September 1905 and was initially housed in part of the Leeds Seminary before moving to new premises in St John's Road, Leeds in the following year, where a purpose-built school was opened in 1909. By the late 1930s the College leadership was confident that 'in large part' Bishop Gordon's ambitions had been fulfilled. That much is evident from comments made in October 1938 by the Prefect of Studies, Fr. Charles Somerville S.J. He noted how St Michael's and the other Catholic secondary schools in Leeds

> ...carry our children with the best of education to the threshold of the Universities, give our boys and girls better chances than most of their parents ever had, and are building up a middle class out of what was once an almost exclusively working-class population, so that Catholics may be in positions to exercise their legitimate influence in the life of the community.[1]

Indeed, modern research into the early years of the school confirms that this was much more than mere assertion. A detailed study of 400 boys who were pupils at St Michael's from 1905-15 concluded that, 'Over one third of the boys in the school in its first decade came from working-class backgrounds and the great majority of them found some social promotion on leaving.' The data obtained from the college's own records show that 62% of these boys subsequently found employment in occupations with a higher social status than those of their fathers.[2]

Fr Somerville's comments were made in the shadow of the Munich Crisis and after the college had carried out 'gas mask drill' during the week of its patronal feast when the college community was 'pretty sobered by the war fears of that week'.[3] Twelve months later war

[1] *Ibid.*, Dec., 1938 p.27 (LDA)

[2] I. D. Roberts, 'Social Mobility and the School: St. Michael's College, Leeds 1905-1915' in *Journal of Educational Administration and History*, vol. 21 (1), 1989, pp. 9-16

[3] *St. Michael's Magazine*, December 1938, p.12 (LDA)

became a reality and in a sense the Second World War would be the 'Great War' in the history of St Michael's College. By late 1945, and following the end of the war in the Far East, the college looked back on the past six years and took great pride in the contribution of its alumni to the war effort:

> The names are known of fifty-five who have given their lives or who are missing presumed killed, and three others are still missing. Eighteen were wounded and eighteen taken prisoner. Well over seven hundred names of men who served are known and fourteen decorations have been reported.[1]

In 1914 St Michael's was still a relatively new institution, in existence for less than ten years. On the occasion of its Golden Jubilee in 1955 the college magazine recalled the opening day, 18 September 1905, by reprinting a contemporary report in the *Tablet*, from which we learn that:

> Long before the hour fixed the boys began to arrive, each anxious to be the first to enter the College on its opening day. Towards 11 o'clock a number of the clergy and laity of the city and surrounding district assembled in the Seminary library, which had been transformed into a large schoolroom...Eighty four boys had already been enrolled on the college books and all were present for the opening ceremony.

Naturally, Bishop Gordon was there, along with his coadjutor, Bishop Cowgill and among the guests were Col and Mrs Coghlan. At the end of the formalities the boys gave Bishop Gordon 'three hearty cheers'. He responded by saying that the opening of the college was 'the crowning act' of his episcopacy.[2]

The 'college books' referred to above have survived and using this source together with the Roll of Honour we know that of the eighty-

[1] *Ibid.*, Dec., 1945, p.1
[2] *Ibid.*, Dec., 1955, pp. 4-5

four boys who joined St Michael's on that first day, nine were later killed in the Great War. The Roll of Honour installed at the college after the war comprised the names of 183 servicemen in total, of whom twenty-six lost their lives between April 1915 and April 1918.

Among the dead from the first intake were Private Joseph Mongan, referred to above in connection with St Anne's Boys School and Private John Garvey of the Royal Fusiliers who died on 17 February 1917. He was remembered more than twenty years later in an article in the college magazine looking back at the school's early years and bringing to mind the boys of Form IIA who featured on a class photograph taken in July 1906. The author, Patrick Crotty, recalled that as a boy Jack 'had a first class soprano voice' and remembered 'him signing the *Ave Verum* at the Mass we had in IIA classroom on the first morning we started in St John's Road after leaving the Bishop's Seminary'.[1]

At the entrance to the War Memorial Chapel in the Cathedral stands a fine wooden statue of Our Lady mounted on a stone plinth and this forms a memorial to another old boy from the 1905 intake, Private Rowland Richardson who was killed in action on 28 March 1918 while serving in France. He was born in North Wales at Llandudno in 1898 and later moved to Leeds. At the time of his death he was serving in the 1st Battalion of the King's Own (Royal Lancashire Regiment) and was killed during the first battle of Arras. His name is also recorded where he fell, on the Commonwealth War Graves Commission memorial at Arras in the Pas de Calais. He was only eight years of age when he arrived at St Michael's and joined the Preparatory Department, having previously been a pupil at St Anne's. The Admission Register from St Michael's tells us that his father was a 'Provision Dealer' and that when he left school in 1911 aged thirteen his occupation was described as 'Assisting Father'. Clearly he was

[1] *Ibid.*, Dec., 1938, p.49

joining the family firm. He died three months after his twentieth birthday.[1]

Given the motivation behind the setting up of St Michael's College it is interesting to note the number of alumni who served as officers during the war. Out of the total number who fought in the war (183), twenty-five old boys became officers and 158 were in the ranks. Amongst the officers the casualty rate was somewhat higher: five officers (20%) were killed compared to twenty-one other ranks (13%).

The highest ranking old boy of St Michael's to be killed in the war was Lieutenant Frederick Henry Evans who died on 9 October 1917 aged twenty-three while serving with the West Yorkshire Regiment (Prince of Wales's Own) during the Third Battle of Ypres. Today his name is inscribed on the Tyne Cot Memorial in Flanders, which bears the names of almost 35,000 officers and men whose graves are not known. The CWGC database informs us that Lt Evans was the son of Charles and Katherine Evans; the college records state that his father's occupation was 'Commercial Traveller'. Fred, born on 27 July 1894, was part of the initial 1905 intake. He had previously been a pupil at Leeds Modern School, a local authority secondary school for boys. Presumably he was sent there by his parents in the absence of an equivalent Catholic school in the city and transferred to St Michael's at the earliest opportunity. He left the college in July 1910 in the week of his sixteenth birthday to become an 'Apprentice Wholesale Clothier'.[2]

In the years after the end of the war in 1918 the memory of Lt Evans and his comrades was at the heart of the college's annual Armistice Day ceremonies, a ritual well-established by the late 1930s, as a chronicle entry in the college magazine for December 1937 testifies:

> November 11th Armistice Day. Requiem Mass was said in the crowded chapel at 9.00 a.m. for the repose of the souls of all past pupils now dead, especially for those who fell in the

[1] www.cwgc.org; www.forces-war-records.co.uk; Leeds Catholic College, Admission Register 1905-1912 (LDA)

[2] Leeds Catholic College, Admission Register 1905-1912 (LDA)

War of 1914-18....At the two-minute silence later in the morning we had prayers for the Dead.[1]

Conclusion

On the day the Armistice was signed Prime Minister David Lloyd George expressed his wish that 'this fateful morning, came to an end all wars'.[2] We know well enough that this was not to be. But at the time it must have been an aspiration universally held. Certainly it must have been the hope of all those across the British Isles who contributed to the erection of a War Memorial, who attended an unveiling or dedication ceremony or who had a loved one and their sacrifice thereby recorded for posterity. By the early 1920s three national memorials had been completed in the capital - the Cenotaph, the Imperial War Museum and the Tomb of the Unknown Warrior. The price of victory in 1918 had been high and today every memorial to the fallen of the Great War prompts a simple response: *Lest We Forget.*

In the Leeds diocese several projects have already recorded this aspect of our collective history. In the second city of the diocese, the Bradford Family History Society have photographed and transcribed all the memorials in the five Catholic churches in central Bradford. This record includes the war memorials and notably the one in St Mary's church (which closed in 2006). This comprises a Pieta, three marble memorial tablets and four mosaic panels which together comprise a lower section surmounted by murals depicting the Crucifixion and the lives of the Apostles. In total it measures 56 feet across and extends across the whole of the west end of the nave. It is probably the finest Great War memorial in the diocese and rightly so, as it records the names of 248 men from this one parish who died in the conflict. The parish of Our Lady and St Paulinus, Dewsbury, has published a 300 page history of the men who fell in both world wars, including 107 casualties of the Great War. Similarly the History Group of Our Lady and All Saints parish, Otley, in conjunction with the local

[1] *St. Michael's Magazine*, Dec., 1937, p. 11 (Leeds Diocesan Archives)
[2] A. J. P. Taylor, *English History 1914-1945* (Harmondsworth, 1970) p. 157

museum, assisted a member of the parish in producing a pamphlet with biographical details of the servicemen from the parish who died in the two wars – nineteen in the Great War and nine from the 1939-45 conflict.[1]

The centenary period 2014-18 provides Catholic historians with an opportunity and an incentive to do more in this regard. Commemoration has ever been central to the Catholic tradition and the fallen of the Great War deserve to be remembered today every bit as much as they did in the immediate aftermath of the conflict itself. Perhaps this brief study suggests that our diocesan archives are an important resource that enables us to do so.

[1] Bradford Family History Society, *Roman Catholic Churches in Central Bradford: Transcriptions of Memorials at the Churches* (Bradford, 2011); N. Hird (ed.), *The Men of Our Lady and St. Paulinus: A History of the Men who fell in the Two World Wars* (Dewsbury, n.d.); C. Power (ed.), *Our Lady and All Saints War Memorial and Roll of Honour* (Otley, n.d.)

Book Reviews

John Wolffe (ed), ***Protestant-Catholic Conflict from the Reformation to the 21st Century: the Dynamics of Religious Difference*** (Palgrave Macmillan, 2013) 296 pages. £60. ISBN 9781132289728.

Professor John Wolffe is a leading authority on the subject of Protestant-Catholic conflict. He specialises in British anti-Catholicism during the Victorian period but he has also written a number of articles on its manifestations over time and place. He is therefore well-placed to edit this ambitious volume of essays which adopts a global approach to religious conflict from the Reformation to the present day. The essays themselves are essentially refined versions of papers given at a project symposium on anti-Catholicism held at the Open University (Milton Keynes) in May 2011. As Wolffe posits in his lucid introductory essay, historians have tended to examine Protestant-Catholic conflict through the limitations of their own specialisms (early modern, Victorian, etc). Religious conflict, however, is a subject which lends itself well to what is termed the 'longue duree' (long term). Indeed, many of the central arguments used by anti-Catholic or anti-Protestant polemicists are unchanging whatever the period or geographical location. Conversely, one of the fascinating aspects of anti-Protestant/anti-Catholic ideology is the way in which it is moulded by peculiarly local, often secular, social, political, and cultural considerations. Aside from Wolffe's analytical introductory and concluding essays, there are eight contributors to this volume. There is something of a British-centric approach, with four of the eight essays set in either Ireland or England (the other areas of study are America, France, Germany and Sweden). It would have perhaps added to the credibility of the project if a more global approach had been adopted and more contributors were found from non-European countries. Of the essays themselves, a number provide fresh approaches to existing debates. The opening essay by Mark Greengrass examines the 'Wars of Religion' in France, their treatment by historians, and the legacy these events created. Helmut Walser Smith addresses the problem of Protestant-Catholic conflict in

eighteenth and nineteenth-century Germany to build a powerful case for the role of secularisation in religious tensions and its influence on the development of the modern German state. Andrew Holmes's survey of the history writing of the religious conflict in Ulster from the 1780s to the 1880s provides a useful introduction to Catholic-Protestant conflict in this region to show how entrenched divisions were not inevitable and were largely a result of the development of specific forms of political, social and communal relationships. To a certain extent, Holmes's conclusions are mirrored in John Bell's essay on contemporary Northern Ireland. Bell conducted oral interviews with 52 Protestants and Catholics of varying levels of religious commitment to highlight the role of religious identity and perceptions of the 'Other' in Northern Irish society. Philomena Sutherland also reassesses Liverpool's sectarian culture by contrasting it with Birmingham to demonstrate the factors which influenced anti-Catholic feeling in both cities. Other essays also open up new avenues of previously unexplored research. Yvonne Werner's highly revealing analysis of anti-Catholicism in Sweden during the inter-war years argues that anti-Catholic feeling became central to the development of a Nordic national identity and its relationship with the pro-Nazi attitudes of certain Swedish Protestant evangelicals. Furthermore, Thomas Carty contrasts the role of Protestant-Catholic conflict in the election campaigns of John F. Kennedy and Ronald Regan to demonstrate how the former was encouraged to adopt a strictly neutral stance to religion while the latter embraced both conservative Catholics and Protestants to try to resist the marginalization of religious belief from public policy. The only disappointing chapter is Colin Haydon's analysis of anti-Catholicism in eighteenth-century England, which is essentially a summary of a book he wrote twenty years earlier. Many Catholic Archives Society members may question the relevance of this book to their work as archivists. Certainly none of the essayists researched extensively in archives (this perhaps reflects the public nature of religious conflict in which the printed proclamation, tract or newspaper dominate). Nevertheless, as guardians of Catholic heritage we need to be aware that religious

persecution and conflict are very much a part of our history and identity. Indeed, as Wolffe posits in his concluding essay, the more we understand differences and tensions between Protestants and Catholics, the better we are able to predict and prevent future religious conflict of all faiths and denominations. For this reason alone, the book should be required reading for Catholics and Protestants alike.

Jonathan Bush

Pope Francis, ***Encyclical Letter Lumen Fidei, The Light of Faith*** (London, Catholic Truth Society, 2013), 56 pp. £3.50

While *Lumen Fidei* is the first encyclical of Pope Francis' papacy, it is based on a draft left by Pope Benedict on leaving office, to which Pope Francis has added some material of his own (see article 7 of the encyclical). This review's purpose is, not to comment on *Lumen Fidei* theologically, but instead to look at it in terms of the documents to which it refers, as is appropriate for a journal devoted to archival material and management and hence to the study of sources. As might be expected, patristic references occur most often in the encyclical's footnotes (biblical quotations are given in brackets in the text). The Augustinian emphasis of *Lumen Fidei* is specially important, particularly in view of the number of Augustine's works which it quotes or alludes to. While such relatively familiar works as the *Confessions* and *The City of God* are cited, lesser-known writings such as the *De Sancta Virginitate* are also used. A quotation from the *De Continentia* is perceptively used to point up faith's nature as a divine gift to be acknowledged by people (article 19) and the *De Trinitate* is helpfully quoted to illustrate a point in art. 33. However, other patristic writers are not neglected. Among others, Irenaeus and Tertullian from the West and Clement of Alexandria and Origen from the East are cited. As one might expect from the encyclical's clear patristic basis, mediaeval sources are much fewer. However, reference is made to Leo the Great at the very beginning of the Middle Ages, Gregory the Great from the turn of the sixth and seventh centuries and William of St Thierry, Bonaventure, Thomas Aquinas and Dante

from later centuries; indeed, William is helpfully used in art. 27 to illustrate a quotation from the Song of Songs. As to the decrees of the Vatican Councils, the First Vatican Council's Dogmatic Constitution on the Catholic Faith (*Dei Filius*) is cited in the encyclical, while, among the documents of Vatican II, repeated reference is made to the Dogmatic Constitution on Divine Revelation (*Dei Verbum*). The Constitution on the Liturgy (*Sacrosanctum Concilium*) is cited. So too is the Dogmatic Constitution on the Church (*Lumen Gentium*) which, along with a quotation from Justin Martyr, helps in art. 58 to explain Our Lady's status as the exemplary Christian. The Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith's 2000 Declaration *Dominus Iesus* and the *Catechism of the Catholic Church* are among the encyclical's sources, while Pope Paul VI and Pope John Paul II are cited. Romano Guardini, Ludwig Wittgenstein and Heinrich Schlier are among the contemporary theologians and philosophers referred to. It is heartening for English readers to note that Newman's *An Essay on the Development of Christian Doctrine* is cited in art. 48 and that lines from T.S. Eliot's 'Choruses from The Rock' are quoted in art. 55. Despite the CTS edition of the encyclical being an English translation, two points need to be raised. Firstly, the abbreviations for the different books of the Bible are not those commonly used in English. While the abbreviations found here are usually intelligible enough, it may not be clear to all readers that I S and 2 S in art. 51 denote 1 and 2 Samuel. Likewise, it is only clear from the text that Sg in art. 27 stands for the Song of Songs. Secondly, there are footnote quotations from Augustine in articles 43 and 48 which have been left in Latin and not quoted in translation in the text (although, in art. 43, Augustine's name is mentioned in the text with a summary). These could usefully have been translated, as has been done with footnote quotations from Paul VI (art. 6 note 6) and *Dei Verbum* (art. 29 note 23). Though all the encyclical's archival sources have been published, not all their contents are easily accessible to English speakers. The distinctive insights of Nietzsche's letters to his sister, two other German works, by Martin Buber and Heinrich Schlier respectively, and two Rousseau citations are thus helpfully disseminated by being among the

encyclical's sources. The use of such material is made more significant by the junction of two pontificates which the encyclical represents.
Nicholas Paxton

The English Catholic Community 1688-1745, Politics, Culture and Ideology (Studies in Early Modern Cultural, Political and Social History, vol.7) Gabriel Glickman (The Boydell Press, 2009) pp 306, paperback £25. ISBN 978 1 84383 8210

The publication in the mid-1970s of John Bossy's *The English Catholic Community 1570-1850* (1975) and JHC Aveling's *The Handle and the Axe* (1976) which covered the period 1534 to 1830 inaugurated a new phase in the study of English Catholicism. The authors made extensive use of existing publications, in including those of the Catholic Record Society (the Records Series and *Recusant History*), other printed primary sources and studies of local communities, as well as the results of their own researches. From the pages of these two books there emerged a detailed picture of the Catholic community in England over three centuries. Clouds of myth as well as obscurity began to be dispersed and the position of Catholics in England was recognised. Furthermore, the detailed study of Catholic families, social groups and religious communities, often held to be the preserve of dedicated amateurs, became respectable in academic circles. Since then, generations of undergraduate and postgraduate students have mined the rich seams of archive material held in national and local repositories, in private collections and religious houses, in England and abroad, and have produced theses which continue to increase our knowledge and challenge our established views. Glickman's is one such study. Developed from his doctoral thesis, it challenges our understanding of the structure and working of the English Catholic community, and the Catholic gentry in particular, and its relationship to the State in the years between the Glorious Revolution and the failure of the second Jacobite uprising, a period during which the Catholic community was previously believed to have been in decline. He points out that the results of studies carried out since the 1970's do not demonstrate signs of the decay of the

Catholic gentry and quotes (p.3) from an article by Eamon Duffy to explain one reason why a truer understanding of the community has not developed: 'Catholic history, as it has been written by Catholics, has been constantly plagued by a sort of historical myopia, a lack of proportion in which 'the sufferings of our Catholic forefathers' have been wrenched out of the context of the wider community, to which even Catholics belonged.' To some extent, this is already understood: for example, although in the past emphasis has been placed on the suffering caused by the imposition of harsh penal laws, contemporary documents reveal that fines for recusancy were not always collected and that laws relating to possession of arms, ownership of horses and freedom to travel were generally imposed only at times of crisis. Glickman's contention is that the view of the community has not changed because historians have been looking in the wrong places and that what is lacking is a study of the mental framework of recusant gentry life. He sets out to rectify this by a detailed examination of the family life, spirituality, education and scholarship of the Catholic gentry in England and in the English communities in exile: the members of the Jacobite court and those who lived and studied in the convents, seminaries and schools established in various parts of Europe. He builds a clear picture of their hopes and fears, their politics and political rivalries, the close links between the communities in England and abroad and their relationships to the English Crown, the court in exile and the other political powers in Europe. This study succeeds in transforming our understanding of the English Catholic community in the eighteenth century and of its place in the social, cultural and political life of England and of Europe. In doing so it also demonstrates that any examination of England and England's relations with European powers is incomplete if it excludes the Catholic community. The extent of Glickman's research in a wide range of archival sources is indicated by the lengthy bibliography of manuscript sources, which is followed by lists of printed primary and secondary sources. Catholic archivists will applaud him as much for demonstrating the importance of archives as for successfully re-

interpreting the position of Catholics in English society in the eighteenth century in this eminently readable volume.
Judith Smeaton

Jonathan Bush, **"Papists" and Prejudice: Popular Anti-Catholicism and Anglo-Irish Conflict in the North East of England, 1845-70**, (Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2013), pp 274. £44.99
ISBN 1443846724

Although this fine study of anti-Catholic prejudice is focussed on the North East of England, it has significant implications for both the situation nationally and in providing a methodology for such a study. Bush's great strength is his impressive familiarity with the nuances and varied approaches of local newspapers: he gives a valuable table of the political and religious stance taken by these in an appendix. Bush successfully challenges the often held view that the liberal-radical traditions of the North East were more accepting of Catholicism and the Irish immigrants than other parts of England, and he provides ample evidence to show that this is not true. Anti-Catholic feeling in the area took many different forms. He points out that anti-Catholicism can not be considered a unified set of beliefs but an ideology which, linked to other aspects of Victorian philosophy, had a wide and long lasting appeal. The flurry of concern generated by the restoration of the hierarchy in 1850 produced a somewhat superficial wave of anti-Catholic posturing and activity with its local petitions and speeches, but created little long term damage to relations between Catholic and non-Catholic communities, one of the main victims here being the High-Church Tractarians, and their 'semi-popery'. Issues which were considered to undermine the Protestant constitution, such as concessions to the Irish and the Maynooth grant, caused a consternation that was to flare up once more at the time of the Irish Disestablishment Bill of 1868, yet Bush also shows how the Conservatives attempted also to court the Catholic vote during these years. After 1869 'No Popery' became increasingly marginalized and ceased to offer a realistic political rallying cry. Concessions to Catholics in relation to the 'Protestant Constitution' provided one type

of anti-Catholic fervour. Liberal opposition to 'Popish' tyranny provided another distinct form with its support for Garibaldi and the Risorgimento. As the *Northern Tribune* reported in 1855; 'Newcastle has come to be looked upon as the headquarters of national patriotism'. Support was give to fund movements for constitutional democracy in Russia, Poland and Hungary, but enthusiasm for Italian independence claimed pride of place. A more local issue had also been raised by the question of convents, and numerous petitions from the area, fuelled inevitably in the press by gruesome stories of incarceration and worse. Here local Catholics gave as good as they got: Catholic agitation in the North East against the Convent Inspection Bill made a major contribution to what must be considered the first national political campaign mounted by Victorian Catholics. Political campaigns were not the only source of anti-Catholic agitation. The rapid growth of the Catholic population in the North East, swollen as it was by Irish immigration, as well as its increasing militancy, was also a source of concern to many Protestants, Anglican as well as Free Church. Anti-Catholic firebrands delivered lectures on the evils of Popery in many centres in the area, and a series of evangelical missions were established to distribute Protestant Bibles and to proselytize in the poverty-stricken streets on which sited the homes and tenements of urban Catholics. In many places concern to educate the children proved to be the focus of contention and the Ragged Schools began to invoke increasingly aggressive tactics to win Catholic children with their free education, meals and gifts of clothing. Catholics were prepared to resist such Protestant proselytism and many local clergy and groups, such as the Saint Vincent de Paul Society, and the Newcastle upon Tyne Catholic Tract Society, worked painstakingly to combat the Protestant missionaries' attempts to suborn members of local Catholic communities. The Catholic community worked assiduously to raise funds to provide adequate schooling for Catholic children and, in spite of opposition from the Boards of Guardians, to provide Catholic chaplains to local workhouses. A final chapter explores the question of Irish immigration and sectarian violence and demonstrates just how much

sectarian violence has been underestimated by historians. Bush points out that such violence can be attributable to a variety of causes and was as likely to originate in the response of Irish immigrants to anti-Catholic rhetoric as to be an expression of anti-Catholic prejudice itself. It could also be a product of intra-Irish party faction. The book is very well produced and provided with a comprehensive bibliography, and list of primary sources and archives consulted.
Peter Phillips

Leo Gooch, ***Persecution without Martyrdom, The Catholics of North East England in the Age of the Vicars Apostolic 1688-1850,*** (Gracewing, 2013), pp. 462. £20. ISBN 9780852448199

Leo Gooch has published extensively on Catholicism in the North East and in this book he draws together many aspects of this previously published work. In a careful analysis of the various Papists returns called for in the eighteen century and a re-examination of the 1851 census he builds a clear picture of the nature of North-Eastern Catholicism in the period, challenging the stirring, but incorrect, picture drawn by Newman in the 'Second Spring'. This, he rightly suggests, owes more to Dickens' *Barnaby Rudge* of 1841 than the reality of Catholic life. In the second half of the book Gooch shows just how active Catholics in Northumberland and Durham were during the long eighteenth century in establishing missions and laying down an essential structure for the future of North Eastern Catholicism. Dr Gooch points out that the Catholics were to be found at all social levels and in all situations; there was no Catholic ghetto and Catholics were well assimilated into local life. His new analysis of the 1851 census figures suggests a number of about 27,000 Catholics in the area, well below the remarkably enhanced figure presented by the *Status Animarum* 1830-1930 of 46,000. By the mid-century indigenous English Catholics may have become a minority in the face of Irish immigration, but until this time to speak of the history of Catholicism in England as a study of the Irish is far from accurate: it was the tenacity of the English Catholics which ensured the survival of Catholicism in the region and the achievement of the Relief and

Emancipation Acts. It was the Catholic gentry, particularly in the earlier part of the period, who, by prudent estate-management and an astute matrimonial strategy, preserved the Catholic community across the region. Collieries brought considerable wealth to Catholic landowners. Catholics were generally on affable terms with their non-Catholic neighbours. Educated abroad, the sons and daughters of such families often had a better education and an access to European culture than was provided to non-Catholics attending schools in England. In some ways their rather different situation allowed Catholics rather more social mobility than their neighbours and they were better able to engage with industrial projects and the early stages of railway development than their non-Catholic neighbours. Exclusion from formal political life in the country was less irksome to many than their exclusion from holding commissions in the army, although the long and frustrating struggle for emancipation led, at the end of the eighteenth century, to a number of apostasies, notably John Swinburne of Capheaton. Dr Gooch concludes the first part of his book with a survey of the relations between Catholics and politics in the first half of the nineteenth century. He sketches the acrimonious battle of pamphlets between John Lingard, at this time based at Crook Hall and Ushaw and the Anglican Bishop Shute Barrington and offers a fascinating survey of the complex politics of local elections in the build up to Catholic Emancipation. Gooch does not note the strange irony that it was Henry Phillpotts, one of Barrington's most vociferous supporters, who first showed Wellington a way in which he might reconcile himself to emancipation in 1829, and by his support for Peel in the Oxford election, earned himself the sobriquet 'the great rat', as well as the bishopric of Exeter. By the mid-century the focus of local Catholic leadership moved from the gentry to an increasingly self-confident urban class more sympathetic to the concerns of the working class represented by figures such as the indefatigable Charles Larkin of Newcastle, an avowed revolutionary, who worked hard for the urban poor and espoused the cause of Irish nationalism. In the second part of his book, Dr Gooch examines various aspects of the Catholic mission in the North East by telling the story of the founding

of the various Catholic mission stations in the area. For the end of the eighteenth century he is able to illustrate his text with letters from his earlier publication of the correspondence between Henry Rutter, chaplain at Minsteracres and his uncle, Robert Baninster, missioner at Mowbreck in Lancashire. After a general chapter, there are chapters on the missions of County Durham and of Northumberland. While offering interesting sketches of the establishment of these missions, and the building of their chapels, material often available elsewhere, this approach weights his account heavily in favour of the eighteenth century seigneurial missions, as the majority date from this period or even earlier. There is relatively little discussion of the development of early nineteenth century urban Catholicism. Indeed more detailed information about the communities which inhabited these chapels would have strengthened this study considerably. The book has a useful bibliography of primary and secondary material, which includes a list of parish histories, an often unregarded source for Catholic historians.

Peter Phillips

J.T. Rhodes, (ed.), **Catalogue des Livres Provenant des Religieuses Angloises de Cambray - Book List of the English Benedictine nuns of Cambrai c. 1793, Analecta Cartusiana 119:42** (2013), 240pgs. £25. obtainable from Stanbrook Abbey. bookshop@stanbrookabbey.org.uk.

The French Revolution and its aftermath destroyed many libraries across Europe, the libraries of religious houses suffering particularly. The letters of George Haydock to his brother James and to his uncle Robert Bannister record his own 'bookanisting' or bookaneering' as he rummaged through Douai's second-hand book shops to collect a small library of theology books. Dr Rhodes's painstaking transcription and editing of the manuscript preserved as Ms 1004 in the Médiathèque de Cambrai provides an important description of a complete English convent library, and other books scattered around the house, in the late eighteenth century. This is the catalogue of the books of the English Benedictine Community of Cambrai, founded in 1623, and to which Dom Augustine Baker served as chaplain after his

arrival the following year, was most probably made by the French revolutionary authorities after the nuns were brutally expelled from their home in October 1793. An unfortunate typographical error on both the cover of the book and on its title page, gives the date as 1739, rather than the correct date of 1793. The rather curious, and endearing, misspellings of English words in the catalogue itself indicate a transcriber who was not conversant with the English language, and Dr Rhodes preserves these in her edition. Although the *Analecta Cartusiana* allows a very brief introduction in its volumes, this volume calls out for a lengthy and detailed analysis of its contents and it is to be hoped that Dr Rhodes can be encouraged to back up her splendid initial exploration of the catalogue in a larger study elsewhere. The first half of the catalogue lists the books alphabetically, and contains nearly four thousand entries; some of these entries include multiple volumes, and there are some duplicates, which suggest a total of about three thousand books in the collection. The second half of the volume lists books under subject headings: theologie, jurisprudence, sciences et arts, etc. Notes, when added, are in French. Few of the actual books survive, but Dr Rhodes adds references to standard reference works: COPAC; Alison & Rogers; Clancy; Blom, Blom, Korsten & Scott, enabling the contemporary scholar to reconstruct the library from other holdings. The catalogue lists books used in the liturgy, breviaries and diurnals, but the bulk of the collection, as might be expected, consists of devotional works, heavily influenced by the early presence of Augustine Baker; there are editions of Baker himself, and translations by him, as well as copies of books by authors recommended by him. Serenus Cressy's compendium of Baker, the *Sancta Sophia* is represented by 23 copies. There were works by members of the community: 9 copies of Dame Gerturde More's two works, edited by Baker; Dame Pudentiana Deacons' translation of parts of Francis de Sales; Dame Agnes More's translations of Jeanne de Cambrai. Later English works by Richard Challoner (45 volumes) and John Gother (90 volumes) are matched by works in French by Avrillon and other French authors. A lot of Bibles are represented here, 56 in English, 11 in Latin, and well as Psalters and various

commentaries. Some theology is represented in the collection, but relatively little. A sprinkling of Anglican authors were represented, perhaps to sharpen the edge of controversy, and the occasional Jansenist text, Nicole, Arnaud, Quesnel, Pascal and Jansenius himself. History is well represented: Fleury; Yepes mutivolume *Chroniques generales de l-ordre de St Benoist* (editions from 1619 and 1647); Rayner's *Apostolatus benedictorum in Anglia* (1626); Cressey's *Church history of Brittany* (1668); as well as a number of Maurist works. These volumes were complemented by a large range of books on British history (Bede and Simeon of Durham to Camden, Dugdale, Goldsmith, Smollet, and others), with local studies, and guide books, including Anstey's *New Bath Guide* and *The Margate Guide*. Some of the latter reflect the presence of a small school: English girls in their teens who spent three or four years with the Cambrai community to receive a rounded education. There is a representative collection of school books, English grammars, geographies, and music books. To these must be added an array of Classical, French and English literature, as well as runs of the *Spectator*, the *Idler*, the *Adventurer*, the *London Magazine*, and others. Dr Rhodes has done great service in preparing this catalogue and allowing us, by way of their books, to gain a fascinating glimpse into the lives and concerns of this expatriate community of English nuns and of those whom they educated.

Peter Phillips

Stewart Foster, ***The Deceased Clergy of the Diocese of Brentwood: Biographical Summaries***, (Brentwood Diocesan Archives, 2013) pp. 315.

Several dioceses have now brought out bibliographies of their deceased priests. Fr Foster's *Deceased Clergy* is exemplary: a model for future studies. In the first place it includes all the deceased clergy of the diocese, deacons as well a priests. Each entry is set according to a detailed template, and is, as far as possible, illustrated with photographs of the subjects from different periods of their lives. As a relatively new diocese, dating from 1917, Brentwood is more able to do this than dioceses which reach to the Restoration of the Hierarchy

in 1850, though *Cartes de Visite* from soon after this date exist in many dioceses, sadly, often with few names recorded. There is a fairly full section on family background, education, and preparation for ordination. When the subject is a convert clergyman information is provided about any previous ministry. A section is dedicated to ordination itself, and, where possible offers details of minor orders/ministries, major orders, as well as ordination to the priesthood. A fairly full account of their ministry in the diocese follows, then a note about their death, and a section recording references. Dr Foster seems to have made a decision only to include clergy ordained for the diocese. This could be challenged, for it excludes the bishops who served the diocese: its founding bishop, Bernard Ward (1917-1920); Arthur Doubleday (1920-1951); George Andrew Beck (1951-1956); Bernard Patrick Wall (1956-1969); Patrick Joseph Casey (1969-1979). Perhaps Fr Foster should have included a section on deceased bishops. Cardinal Heenan, a Brentwood priest, and later Archbishop of Westminster does receive a very full and comprehensive entry. So, too does, John Edward Petit, a diocesan priest, who went on to be Bishop of Menevia. Brian Foley, of course, named third bishop of Lancaster in April 1962, receives a full entry: he was a fine historian, and, together with Mgr Daniel Shanahan (q.v.), a founding member of the Essex Recusant Society. Foley published much on Essex recusants, and, as Bishop of Lancaster, was instrumental in founding the North West Catholic History Society, identifying himself with the recusants of Lancashire, and publishing further important essays in this area. President of the Catholic Records Society from 1964-1980, Bishop Foley was also first President of the Catholic Archives Society (1979-1999). The most extensive entry seems to be that on Joseph Louis Whitfield (1876-1961), a fascinating character. A junior seminarian for Westminster at St Edmund's, Ware, then one of the first students at St Edmund's House, Cambridge where he read for the Natural Sciences Tripos, after which he studied for the priesthood at Oscott. He returned for a while to teach at St Edmund's before becoming Vice-Rector back at Oscott. His service as chaplain during the First World War was exemplary, being mentioned

twice in despatches, and receiving the Distinguished Service Order: an award 'for not getting killed', was how he put it. Fr Whitfield joined the Brentwood diocese after the war. His scholarship is revealed in his joint editorship of Phillimore's *Warwickshire Registers*, contributions to the Catholic Record Society volumes, and, like Bishop Ward himself, articles in *The Catholic Encyclopaedia*. After a brief, and rather unhappy, period as Master of St Edmund's House, he worked assiduously in a number of diocesan parishes. He would have written much more but for his scholarly diffidence, and a dedication to pastoral duties. Fr Foster is to be commended in producing a very well-arranged volume, which rightly honours the deceased priests of the diocese, and makes an important contribution to the history of the Brentwood diocese. Just after the publication of Dr Foster's study came the announcement of the death of Fr Andy Dorricott, a doyen of the diocese; his biography awaits a further edition. It might be just wondered whether, now electronic books are so readily available, this sort of work would be better produced electronically, allowing regular revisions. One must admit, however, it is very good to have such a study in hard copy available for regular use and referral. It provides a mine of information, and is a joy to dip into.

Peter Phillips.

Anthony Seldon & David Walsh, ***Public Schools and the Great War***, (Pen and Sword, 2013) xiv+317 pgs, 3 maps, 1 illustration, 34 b+w plates. £25. ISBN 9781781593080.

Drawing upon data supplied by 192 public schools from Great Britain and Ireland, and a further twenty-one public schools from 'former Dominions', given in response to a questionnaire sent to school archivists, this book examines the part played by those schools in the Great War. In its early pages the book acknowledges the role played by school archivists: 'The archivists are an under-recognised part of school life'. By inference it may therefore be implied that the archives themselves are worthy of greater recognition and attention. Seldon and Walsh, in giving school archives deserved attention, have clearly demonstrated how

important these are. In doing so they provide an excellent example of the value of preserving heritage, prioritising it, and disseminating it. The authors have drawn upon school magazines, unpublished letters and memoirs, school histories and war memorial books. The percentage of those from public schools who were killed in the Great War represents 3% of the total fatalities, and less than 2% of those who fought. However, these facts and figures do no reflect the disproportionate influence the public schools exerted on strategic decisions. To readjust the focus so that this may be fully appreciated is the book's *raison d'être*. The bad press which public schools have been subject to vis-à-vis the Great War is duly acknowledged. In seeking to address the charge of incompetence and lack of feeling shown by public school officers, the authors do not seek to, nor do they in fact, over compensate by special pleading. The death rate among public school teachers amounted to 26%; this was twice the national rate. The average death rate for pupils from public schools was on average 20%. This study is a model of how archives might be used to 'tell a story'. Though this particular one relates that of public school pupils and staff its method and purpose could fruitfully be emulated for other institutions. As the writers point out: 'We have spent too little time immersing ourselves in the reality of the lives and experience of those who participated in the war, who have left behind for us a mass of primary evidence. We have not focussed enough on the sacrifices of participants of all kinds, public school and otherwise. During the centenary and beyond, we would do well to immerse ourselves in the experience of men and women who participated in the Great War, and whose lives were affected by it, rather than in the theorising of subsequent generations.' There is an excellent bibliography of primary and secondary sources.

M. J. Broadley

Publications

Catholic Archives nos. 1-34 (1981-2014) £5.

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

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Church Archives: The Pastoral Function of Church Archives & Archives in Canon Law (Rev. S. Foster, ed., 2nd edn 2001) £3.

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Archival Cataloguing Standards and Information Technology (P. Shaw 2004) £3.

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