CATHOLIC ARCHIVES

The Journal of

THE CATHOLIC ARCHIVES SOCIETY

NUMBER 35

2015

www.catholicarchivesociety.org

Catholic Archives: Number 35 (2015)

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Editorial

When taking over the editorship of any publication, there is always the temptation to make sweeping stylistic changes. I'm happy to say that this will not be the case with *Catholic Archives*. Fr. John Broadley has done such an excellent job with this publication over the last five years that any changes would be completely unnecessary. Over the coming years, I do intend to try to steer the journal more towards an 'archival' edge, with the emphasis being on articles which offer best practice on a wide range of archival issues. Of course, this relies on members writing the articles in the first place so any contributions on any aspect of archival practice would be most welcome! This edition contains the usual wide range of articles which give a unique insight into archive repositories and specific collections. The first article by Judith Smeaton offers an update on the important work of the National Catholic Archive Strategy. Claire Marsland provides a case study of the museum collections at Ushaw College with useful advice for archivists on the care of religious objects. There are also a number of articles on prominent Catholics and their archive collections. Serenhedd James investigates the letters of George Errington, coadjutor to Cardinal Nicholas Wiseman. Two other articles focus on Catholic laymen who made notable contributions to the Catholic Church, with Louis van den Berg concentrating on Dr James Walsh who established the English Lieutenancy of the Equestrian Order of the Holy Sepulchre of Jerusalem in 1954, while Stephanie and Stephen Nield have written on the personal papers of Leonard Cheshire and his charitable foundations. This is followed by two nineteenth-century articles on Catholic history supplemented with the use of archives: Paul Leavy's research into the reception of Catholic churches and John Davies's article on Irish Catholic immigrants in the parish of St. Mary's in Liverpool. Geoffrey Scott's article on the Stuart Papers is a timely one, given that 2015 marks the tercentenary of the first Jacobite Rising. In this edition, there are obituaries for Cardinal Francesco Marchisano, a patron of the Catholic Archives Society; the Dominican Archivist, Fr. Bede Bailey; and Dr Jan Rhodes. Fr. Peter Phillips's diligently researched article on the latter is a poignant reminder of the important contribution she has made to Catholic historiography. Finally, I would like to thank Fr. John Broadley for all his support over the last year in assisting me with the complexities of typesetting.

Jonathan Bush

Archives as Memory of the Christian Community[1]: Towards a National Strategy for Catholic Archives

Judith Smeaton

> When I first learned of the founding of the Catholic Archives Society I felt a sense of deep relief.....Every now and then one had heard of the irreparable loss of Catholic documents and wondered what future generations would think of us for allowing such things to happen. Mgr. Philip Hughes once stated that more than one third of the Catholic papers listed in the last century by the Historical Manuscripts Commission had been lost by the time he became archivist at Westminster.[2]

With these words the late Bishop Brian Foley, first President of CAS, welcomed the setting up of the Catholic Archives Society [CAS] and the launch of the Society's journal in his foreword to the first edition of the journal in 1981, almost 50 years after Hughes took up his post at Westminster. Most readers of the journal will know that the society was established in 1979 to promote the care and preservation of Catholic archives. Its objectives, and means of achieving them, were set out on the inside back cover of the same publication. 2015 is the 50th anniversary of the Second Vatican Council and it is important to note that the teachings of the Council were the inspiration for the formation of CAS. The decree on the renewal of religious life urged 'both a constant return to the sources of the whole of the Christian life and to the primitive inspiration of the institutes' and that 'the spirit and aims of each founder should be faithfully accepted and retained'.[3]

It was soon realised that a return to the sources and a rediscovery of the charisms of founders meant a rediscovery of the archives which, with some notable exceptions, did not feature prominently in the lives of most institutes and congregations at that time. A request for help from a religious sister

[1] *The Pastoral Function of Church Archives*, Pontifical Commission for the Cultural Heritage of the Church, Vatican City (1997), published in England by Catholic Archive Society (April 1997) , p.3.

[2] *Catholic Archives*, 1 (1981), p.2.

[3] *Perfectae caritas* (28 October 1965).

prompted Fr. Conrad Pepler, O.P. to organise a conference at Spode House for sisters who had been put in charge of archives but who had no training or experience. Fr. Conrad was able to call on the expertise of eminent Catholic archivists and librarians as speakers, and adverts in the Catholic press resulted in a gathering of more than 30 people at Spode in July 1978. This response convinced the organisers of the need for further action and a second conference was arranged in March 1979, at which CAS was born. However, a glance at the list of attendees of the two conferences indicates that interest in Catholic archives was shared by a much wider section of the Catholic community than the conference organisers had anticipated. In addition to the religious sisters, participants included representatives of male orders and congregations, diocesan archivists (clergy and lay) historians and professional archivists. This meant that in the title of the new society, as well as in the catechism, 'the word Catholic means universal'. The Society was, and remains, interested in all archives created by the Catholic community in England and Wales although, in practical terms, the archives of Catholic families do not feature largely in its activities as these are generally cared for by local record offices and other public institutions. I attended both of the conferences. As a professional archivist, I was sent to the first conference by my office in order to learn about Catholic archives, about which neither I nor my work colleagues had much idea. It was the beginning of a learning process which continues to the present day although at the time I was taken aback to find myself, along with other archivists, in the role of teacher rather than student, talking about basic archival principles of sorting and listing, conservation and storage.

Since 1979 CAS has achieved more than we thought possible in those early days. The conference remains an annual event, providing some elements of training and continuing to offer members, and others, the opportunity to get together and share knowledge and experience, which is an important aspect of the society's work. There are now dedicated training days, study visits and a range of publications, in addition to the journal, to support the aims of the society. The publication of *The Pastoral Function of Church Archives* in 1997 gave great encouragement, confirming the importance of archives in the life and mission of the Church and setting out clearly the need for archives to be preserved and promoted. By 2013 all dioceses in England and Wales had established an archive, although these were not all at the same stage of development, many institutes, orders and communities had made

arrangements for their archives and interest in the study of Catholic history continued to grow. However, CAS was aware that the risks to archives, highlighted by Bishop Foley, still remained. There was no national Catholic archive for England and Wales and no obvious place of deposit for any records of organisations which became defunct or were unable to make proper provision for their own records. The society was often asked for advice about possible places of deposit and was becoming increasingly concerned about the situation. There was also increasing awareness of the records of lay organisations and it became clear that these records were particularly at risk. Robin Gard, the first Editor of this journal, drew attention to these archives by identifying collections and writing about them in the journal. In 2009 CAS conducted a survey of lay societies, to find out which held archives, what provision they made for them and what concerns they had for their future. The results of the survey confirmed that there was cause for concern and so CAS continued to explore opportunities which might provide a solution to the problem.

Initially, there seemed little hope of significant progress but gradually it began to seem that a combination of circumstances and a combined approach might yield results. Things were starting to happen in the field of Catholic archives. For example, in 2010 the Archbishop of Canterbury, Rowan Williams, opened the new library and archive building at Douai Abbey. This was the culmination of several years of detailed planning and serious fundraising by Abbot Geoffrey Scott and his team. The building was designed to meet the required standards for the storage of archives and now provides accommodation not only for the abbey's own collections but also for the archives and books of several other monastic orders. Development there has now moved to the next stage and the collections are being catalogued by a professional archivist. Developments are also taking place at Downside Abbey, where Heritage Lottery funding has resulted in the appointment of a team of professionals to oversee the conservation of the library building and the care, conservation and cataloguing of the collections. A two-year project is also underway at Stonyhurst, to house and care for the collection and make it more accessible, as well as providing study facilities and educational resources. In 2013 the seminary at Ushaw College closed and proposals for the future of the building included its development as a centre for the preservation and study of items of Catholic culture (works of art, books and archives) linked to the University of Durham. The possibility of it becoming a

national place of deposit for Catholic archives was also raised. In the course of informal conversations with all of these parties, and with others concerned about the care and preservation of Catholic archives, it became clear that all were willing to co-operate in developing a national strategy for Catholic archives in England and Wales.

In December 2013 CAS facilitated a meeting which was attended by representatives from Douai, Downside, Stonyhurst, the Diocese of Westminster and Durham University/Ushaw College as well as CAS, to explore the possibilities of joint action. The aim is to promote the care and use of archives, to offer advice on best practice, such as selection of archives for preservation, collecting policies and terms of deposit, and to identify places of deposit for archives. A working group was established to carry out a scoping exercise. Its brief included collecting information from holders of Catholic archives about their holdings, policies, needs and long-term concerns and to consult the wider Catholic community, especially custodians and users of archives, about the need for a national Catholic archive. It was agreed that the parties represented at the initial meeting would meet a year later to review progress. The review meeting took place on 30th January 2015 to consider the report of the working group, which summarised work done in the previous twelve months.

In the spring of 2014 a brief questionnaire was circulated to all diocesan archivists to establish an up-to-date picture of the situation of diocesan archives, to find out if diocesan archives hold any archives other than those of the dioceses and to collect any information which diocesan archivists might have about other archives in their localities which might be at risk. This exercise was extremely successful, as over 80% of questionnaires were returned. The information gathered in this way and also during a discussion of the survey report at a meeting of the Association of Diocesan Archivists in October, is very helpful, sometimes raising issues which were not anticipated initially and emphasising the need for common policies, sharing of best practice and a higher profile for archives within dioceses and other organisations.

During the year the results of the 2009 survey of the archives of lay societies was re-examined and updated where possible. Some records have been at risk, for a number of reasons, in the five years since the survey was undertaken. One group of records was rescued from a skip and is now

deposited at a diocesan archive. The future of the archives of several related organisations, including the Catholic Social Guild, formerly held at Plater College, was uncertain when the college closed but these are now deposited at the Jesuit Archives. The archives of several other lay societies have been accepted by Durham University and are held at Ushaw College. These include the Newman Association, the University Catholic Federation, the Catholic Student Council, Catholics for a Changing Church (formerly the Catholic Renewal Movement) and the Vernacular Society of Great Britain. Negotiations about the potential deposit of archives of other societies are in hand.

CAS has not carried out any survey of the archives of religious communities, although it is aware, through its members, of communities which have made provision for archives and of others which may need help. Information gathered during 2014, through surveys and contacts with a variety of individuals and organisations, indicates that there is widespread concern about the future of some of these archives. This is an area where further research is needed to identify the scope of the problem and possible solutions. A survey of all religious communities, enquiring about their archive holdings, their storage facilities, collecting policies, current and future needs and aspirations, would be a massive undertaking and needs careful consideration.

Another aspect of the work done in 2014, harder to quantify than written surveys but equally important, is the many conversations about a national Catholic archive strategy which have taken place, with CAS members, within the wider Catholic community and beyond, with creators and custodians of archives, archivists and researchers. These conversations confirm there is considerable interest in and support for the idea and that people want to be kept informed about progress. Personal contact is an effective way of expanding the existing Catholic archives network and encouraging others to become involved.

Whilst all of these activities come within the remit of CAS, the review meeting confirmed the value of the strategy group, as a distinct although related body, in helping focus on specific issues, particularly in identifying a place or places of deposit, and agreed that it should continue to meet annually. As yet no final decision has been made about future developments at Ushaw. It was noted that if the Ushaw Project does not go ahead the

archives of lay societies deposited at the college will be transferred to Durham University and their future will be secure. While we continue to hope that negotiations between the university and Ushaw reach a conclusion that will benefit all concerned, including Catholic archives, CAS and its partners must continue to explore other possible places for the deposit of Catholic archives. The records of some lay societies have been deposited in public institutions, mainly university libraries. The meeting agreed with the working group's recommendation that details of these should be collated and made available and suggested that, at the same time, the institutions concerned could be asked about their current and possible future collecting policies, as they may be willing to accept additional collections of a similar nature. It was agreed that this could be a possible target for the coming year, as could the recommended survey of the archives of religious communities. The strategy group will meet again in February 2016.

Looking back to 1979, I realise that most of the founding mothers and fathers of CAS shared Bishop Foley's relief as well as his conviction that now all would be well. After almost 40 years it is reassuring to know that our optimism was not entirely misplaced, even though our objectives, like those of Vatican II which inspired them, have taken many years to be absorbed into the life of the Church in England and Wales and to be translated into action. Finding secure places of deposit for what some of us have come to call 'orphan archives', those with no obvious home, has been one of the harder challenges for CAS. The work of the strategy group has already helped identify some potential places, in addition to Ushaw, with partners and other institutions clarifying what archives they already hold and may be able to accept in the future, and work during 2015 to 2016 may extend the list. If by 2019, the fortieth anniversary of the founding of CAS, the society is able to contribute to the safeguarding of Catholic archives otherwise at risk by directing them to places of deposit, in addition to continuing its present programme of training and publication, I believe it will have achieved all that its founders hoped, although its work will never be completed and new challenges will continue to arise.

Hidden Gems:
The Object Collections of Ushaw College

Claire Marsland

> Money is never so well spent as in forming the minds of Priests. At a seminary everything should be first-rate, so that young minds may become familiarized with what is beautiful, otherwise they will form bad taste and like what is ugly. They leave the College, go to their mission, build an ugly church, have ugly pictures, buy ugly statues etc. etc.

This quote from a letter from Mr Eyre to the President of Ushaw College in 1853, Dr. Charles Newsham, perfectly encapsulates the collecting policy of the College in the nineteenth century. The Catholic seminary became a benefactor to the arts and a collector of Catholic heritage, so as to inspire the new generations of post-emancipation clergy. At its opening in 1808, the College's interior corridors and Chapel were described as very simple because they could not afford to re-create the grandeur of the English College in Douai. However, by the mid-nineteenth century, President Newsham was able to enact a grand building programme, following the new designs of the Gothic Revival, and establish Ushaw as a centre for arts and heritage. The collections of Ushaw College today, therefore, reflect this period. This article will introduce some of the most important objects in the collection and address some of the issues surrounding their care and storage.

The history of Ushaw College, like all seminaries in the United Kingdom, finds it roots in the post-Reformation settlement of English seminaries on the continent. Cardinal William Allen established Douai College in 1568, in what is now northern France, training numerous priests that returned to England to practice the faith in secret, with many becoming martyrs to the cause. The danger of the French Revolution in 1793 resulted in the students having to abandon Douai College but with the relaxation of the penal laws they were able to return to England.The student body initially resided in a number of different small establishments around County Durham provided by supportive recusant gentry, the decision was made in 1799, however, to set up a new 'Douai' in County Durham to be the main seminary for the Northern District. An old recusant family, the Smythes, provided a large amount of

land near Esh about four miles outside of Durham City for this purpose. In 1808, the first students arrived to occupy a simple Georgian building designed by architect, James Taylor of Islington. Life during the first few decades at Ushaw was basic and hard; a far flung experience from the prestige of Douai. However, by the mid-nineteenth century, the new President, Charles Newsham, hired architects including Augustus Welby Pugin and Joseph Hansom to ensure Ushaw became one of the most important examples of the Gothic Revival in the North.

Ushaw is home to a unique and fascinating collection of church vestments that reflect the changes in form and design over the centuries. The textile collection contains a small number of vestments bearing medieval fabric and embroidery. This includes the Esh Stole, 14th century embroidery panels given to Ushaw from the Parish of Esh in the 1920s. They are a fine example of Opus Anglicanum, English embroidery that became a highly desired commodity during the medieval period. Our most precious vestment is the Westminster Chasuble, dating between 1460-1490. Research suggests it was refashioned from a cope that belonged to the Royal Wardrobe of King Richard III. It was given to the College by the Walton family in the nineteenth century and originally owned by the Rt. Rev. William Walton, who was Vicar Apostolic of the Northern District in the late eighteenth century. Its ownership prior to this is unknown. A vestment of significant local importance was presented to the College in 1866 by Rev. Michael Trappes. It is believed that the Chasuble is made from a cope that once belonged to Cuthbert Tunstall, last Catholic Bishop of Durham (1530-1559), who died in prison under Elizabeth I. It was directly from the Tunstalls that the Trappes family received the vestment.

The College is home to a set of three eighteenth century French red vesper Copes that once formed part of a full High Mass set. They were the gift from a former student, Francis Joseph Sloane, for the consecration of A.W. Pugin's Chapel in 1848. Interestingly, Sloane had difficulty sending them to the College as Augustus Pugin disapproved of the Roman style being worn in his new gothic creation, stating: *'This stuff and this style of vestment will not suit the new church at Ushaw, and if sent there all my ideas will be deranged, and the unity of my plans will be destroyed.'* Eventually Newsham received the vestments and it is recorded that they were used at the College one day a year. They are of fine French silk and are an example of the eighteenth century trend to re-use

secular fabric for Church vestments; they are embroidered with secular images of foliage and architectural scenes. The College also possesses vestments designed by Pugin in the gothic form that he approved of, including a beautiful red high mass set.

An interesting twentieth century vestment is the Tindall family cope. It was created for Mgr. Charles Tindall by his sister, Miss Jane Tindall. Begun three years after Mgr. Tindall's ordination in 1907, the cope took nearly 23 years to complete and was ready for Charles's silver jubilee in 1932. During the rationing of the war years, Miss Tindall searched wholesalers and found gold thread where she could. The silks come from the imperial Russian court dating to the 1820s and the brocade was made in Vienna. The cloth of gold panels between the orphreys on the front are part of a material that was commissioned for Edward VII's coronation but was ultimately rejected. The orphreys and hood are embroidered with the patron saints of the Tindall family and the hood was designed by the son of Francis Barraud, who painted the famous 'His Master's Voice' picture. The morse, which fastens the cope, is made from an Ushaw College medal, as Mgr. Tindall was a student at Ushaw and later its spiritual director.

Vestments do pose a challenge in terms of storage and conservation due to their complex shape and size and they are also often a target of pests and susceptible to mould. Ideally vestments should be kept in a dry environment away from damp conditions and bright light. Due to limited storage space it is often tempting to fold vestments; however, overtime the material will wear away along the crease line. If a vestment has to be folded it is better to re-fold at a different angle every time it is taken out. Textiles are better stored lying flat in specialist drawers or hung on padded hangers. Hangers should be padded with polyester wadding and calico and covered with a cotton or tyvek dust cover. Drawers should be lined with acid free tissue and this should also be used to support the weak spots of a vestment such as the shoulder and neck when in the drawer. The materials mentioned are readily available online.

Textiles are very vulnerable to pests such as the clothes moth and carpet beetle and once infested these can be very difficult to restore. The best method is prevention; if a carpet is present in the same room as the vestments, vacuum regularly and use pest traps to keep an eye on any insects which may

be active in the area. Insects like dark, damp areas so storing your vestments in dry, ventilated conditions is the best option. If an infestation does occur there are several options for treatment. If it is a particularly historic vestment then the safest method is to freeze it. Facilities are available at Tyne and Wear Museums Service and at various museums across the country. Otherwise chemical sprays are available but the potential impact on health and historic interiors must be carefully considered and professional advice taken.

The College has a large and varied collection of chalices that show the change in popular style throughout the centuries, from the simple recusant to the elaborate metalwork of the Gothic Revival. Of particular note is a collection of silver with a direct link to Ushaw's roots on the continent. In 1793, when the revolutionary guard took over Douai, the students had time to bury a box of its silver under a classroom floor. There it remained untouched throughout the revolution and Napoleonic wars until in 1863 men from Ushaw received permission from Napoleon III to look for the treasure. It was subsequently found and divided up between Ushaw, Oscott and St. Edmund's Ware. The silver is hallmarked from Douai itself, a famous town for silverwork dating to the mid-eighteenth century. There is a selection of drinking beakers that vary in size depending on the position of its owner in the College; the President of course was served the most wine. Interestingly the beakers and spoons are engraved with the names of their owners, indicating that each person had their own dinner set.

The College possesses another impressive gift from Francis Joseph Sloane, the same alumnus who donated the red vestments. Sloane was among the first students to attend the newly established Ushaw College in 1808 and he formed a strong bond with the College when President Gillow arranged to pay his tuition fees after the failure of his father's business investments. As an adult he became a successful tutor in the family of the Russian Count Boutourlin in Florence and went on to own copper mines near Volterra. He is best remembered in Florence for funding the completion of the marble exterior of the Santa Croce. In gratitude to his *alma mater* he sent Ushaw a number of fine gifts. A chalice of seventeenth century silver chiselled work arrived at the College in 1840. It was commissioned for Pope Paul V and given to a prominent Florentine family. After being acquired by Sloane he asked Cardinal Wiseman to present the chalice to Pope Gregory XVI for consecration and it was used at Mass in the Vatican on 16 March 1840.

One of the earliest recorded pieces of liturgical silver in use at the College is a large Dutch monstrance. Hallmarked for Antwerp in 1670, it has an interesting story attached to it. In the 1830s, it was spotted in the window of a Liverpool second hand jeweller. It was being sold as a watch stand and was recognised as a monstrance by a former student of Ushaw. Dr. Newsham was told of it, and the monstrance was acquired for the college by a group of benefactors.

A silver-gilt chalice was the gift to the college of Mgr. Witham of the Silvertop family. Decorated with enamels, clusters of stones and silver mounts, the node is ornamented with angels' heads and the stem with a vine pattern. Its hallmarks indicate that it was made by the famous Augsburg silversmith, Johann Zeckel, who died in 1728.

During the recusant period, liturgical objects had to be created with the need for concealment in mind. Ushaw is home to a number of chalices designed to be hidden. A silver chalice dating to the 1630s is a simple design reminiscent of the old gothic chalices in use before the Reformation. Stylistic evidence indicates that it is the work of William Rainbow, a Protestant silversmith who made chalices for the High Church Anglican party under Bishop Lancelot Andrews. It is, however, un-hallmarked to protect Rainbow's identity. A smaller chalice dating to the 1650s also indicates the shift in designs away from the gothic and towards the baroque with angels adorning a pear shaped node. A key feature of these chalices is that they unscrew into three pieces so they could be easily hidden and transported.

Silverware can tarnish over time through handling and exposure to high humidity. The overuse of abrasive cleaning products, however, can also cause damage by wearing away the top layers of metal. The key thing is to be gentle and careful when cleaning church plate. It is therefore better to avoid using harsh brushes and abrasive polishing creams. Clean church plate initially with water and a mild detergent and dry with a soft cotton cloth. Silver with wooden, ivory, enamel or jewelled attachments should not be immersed in water. If there are tarnish spots, start by using white or methylated spirit to remove grease and dirt then, if tarnish remains, rub a silver cloth gently over the surface. If further cleaning is needed, use a mild paste, cream or foam. Dilute a cotton swab in water and wrap the cotton swab around a satay stick. Gently rub the cream over the surface in circular motions until the swabs stop

becoming black but make sure all cream has been removed out of crevices. Valuable items in need of conservation should be checked by a professional conservator who can be contacted through your local museums service. When in storage for a long period of time church plate should be wrapped in acid free tissue paper, do not store in plastic bags as they can create a layer of condensation on the inside. Silver should also not be wrapped in newspaper as it can be highly acidic.

The collections of Ushaw College are fascinating and varied and the examples given in this article are only a small selection. Further details of these objects are contained in the publication 'Treasures of Ushaw: Durham's Hidden Gem', Feb 2015. Also, details for visiting Ushaw can be found on www.ushaw.org. Further advice on collection care can be found online on the V&A website, your local museums service and in the *National Trust Manual of Housekeeping* by David Winfield.

Rediscovering Archbishop Errington

Serenhedd James

George Errington (1804-1886) divided the opinions of his contemporaries during his lifetime, and after his death has continued to baffle those who have written on the history of Catholic Church in England and Wales. An intimate of Newman, Errington's star rose alongside that of his friend and contemporary, Nicholas Wiseman. He was Wiseman's vice-rector at the English College, his prefect of studies at Oscott, and, after a brief spell as Bishop of Plymouth, became his coadjutor *cum jure successionis* at Westminster in 1855. Had Wiseman died in 1860 - as it seemed for a few weeks that he might - he would have become second Archbishop of Westminster and leader of the English Catholic Church.

However, by the time of Wiseman's death five years later, Errington had been deprived of his coadjutorship by Pope Pius IX, and it was Henry Edward Manning upon whom the Pope's favour fell. The rest, as they say, is history - except that the generally received wisdom of the last century has fallen short of the mark. In my forthcoming book, *Archbishop George Errington (1804-1886) and the Battle for Catholic Identity in Nineteenth-Century England*, I argue that Errington was misunderstood and unfairly maligned in his own lifetime, and that since his death he has been effectively written out of the history of the English Catholic Church, or at best consigned to a footnote or two; when in fact he was one of the most important figures in the life of the Catholic Church in England for over five decades - a fact borne out in his extensive and far-flung correspondence.

The Errington Papers

The lion's share of the surviving material relating to George Errington is found in the archives of the diocese of Clifton. William Clifford (1823-1893) was Errington's secretary when he was Bishop of Plymouth, and was bishop of Clifton from 1857. Although he was his junior by some twenty years, Clifford became Errington's closest friend and confidant, and - importantly for my purposes - his executor. When Errington died in 1886, Clifford, as was customary, burned his personal papers (although a handful exist - a few letters received in the last week of his life - among Clifford's own surviving personal papers in the archives at Ugbrooke Park). The papers relating to Errington's life as a churchman, however, he preserved, and when he died

they found their way, with his own papers, into what is now Clifton Diocesan Archives. After a spell at Bristol Record Office, the archives are now under the care of Canon Anthony Harding and his team.

The material relating to Errington at Clifton amounts to three distinct items. The first, discovered only a few years ago, is Errington's diary of his journey to join the English College in 1821. It is not at all clear whether this slim volume is the only one he wrote, or the only one that survives. However, the little work that we have is a straightforward account of his passage to Rome. What is puzzling, however, is the fact that it is written in Spanish. Clifford could not have been aware of this, because he dated Errington's acquisition of Spanish to over ten years later. But had the hispanophonic Wiseman, the bosom friend of Errington's youth, taught him at Ushaw? And, if he had, was Errington's diary an exercise work, to be shown to Wiseman, who was already established at the *Venerabile*?

The second item is a small but attractive book, bound in vellum, which had previously belonged to Bishop Thomas Burgess, whose name appears on the front. In this book Errington recorded all the official business he transacted in the name of the Holy See while he was Apostolic Administrator of Clifton from 1855 to 1857.

The third item is an enormous leather volume, complete with strap and buckle, marked 'The Errington Papers'. A more accurate description would be 'Most of the Errington Papers', but it certainly contains the core: hundreds of documents and letters – and many of them copies in Errington's own hand of letters sent to others – all of which, with a few exceptions, relate to his ecclesiastical activities in the 1850s, 1860s, and 1870s.

From Seminarian to Bishop

For information on the early parts of Errington's life I relied on the baptism registers of the Anglican parish of Marske, in which his family lived, which are now deposited in the North Yorkshire County Record Office at Northallerton. I also consulted the will of his father, Thomas Errington, in the National Archives at Kew. The Ushaw College Diary gave a good deal of administrative information about his progress at school, and the *Liber Ruber* at the Venerable English College noted his arrival in 1821. His progress there was discussed by the Rector, Robert Gradwell, and Bishop Thomas Smith of the Northern District, whose student Errington was. Both men were clear that in Wiseman and Errington they had seminarians about whom Rome was

buzzing with interest, and their correspondence survives in the Gradwell Letters in the archives of the archbishop of Westminster, and in the Smith Papers in the archives of the diocese of Leeds.

When Gradwell – another great what-might-have-been in the history of the English Catholic Church – was consecrated to be coadjutor vicar apostolic in the London District in 1828, Wiseman was the natural choice to succeed him as rector of the *Venerabile*. Errington, with the oil scarcely dry on his hands, became vice-rector. Among the projects on which they collaborated was one of lasting significance for the Church in England, because in the late 1830s they assisted the president of Ushaw, Charles Newsham, with the creation of a new programme of studies for their *alma mater*. There were two driving forces to this: first to raise Ushaw's game so that the students who arrived in Rome might hit the ground running; and second, so that Ushaw might be eligible to be affiliated with the new non-confessional University of London, and, more pertinently, compete and hopefully outshine the other Catholic colleges. I found Wiseman's letters relating to this new course of studies and its implementation in the letter-books at Ushaw (Wiseman VII), but Errington's were in an enormous box of uncatalogued papers.

The then librarian, Dr Alistair MacGregor, had taught me Liturgy as an undergraduate and was my first introduction to Ushaw on a sunny but freezing day in 2001, with the snow waist-deep in the grounds and a path dug from the bus stop to the front door. It was a happy reunion for both of us, because he soon realised that I could spot Errington's handwriting at a glance, and put me to work sorting through the box and dividing the papers into piles of 'Errington', 'Wiseman', and 'Unknown'. Sadly, Alistair died in 2008: Jesu mercy; Mary, pray.

Errington and Wiseman's next collaboration was to do *in situ* at Oscott what they had done at a distance for Ushaw. Wiseman arrived as President in 1840 with the mitre fresh on his head, as he was to be also coadjutor to Thomas Walsh, vicar apostolic of the Midland District. He was soon joined by Errington, whom he had named his prefect of studies. There is not much correspondence from this period, but what there is survives in the archives at Birmingham: mainly exasperated letters from Walsh to Errington, and soothing letters from Errington to Walsh, about matters that Wiseman – never one for the *minutiæ* of administration – had failed to address and that Errington was attempting to put right. The well-archived letters at

Birmingham, in their pristine plastic wallets, speak in a small way of the challenges and frustrations of running of a District in the years before the restoration of the hierarchy in 1850.

Wiseman followed Walsh to London in 1848, by which time Errington was working in the cholera-gripped slums of Liverpool. Soon afterwards he took on the task of raising the money to complete St John's, Salford (soon after the cathedral of the new diocese). There exists only scant material for this period of his life – mainly a few letters in the Lancashire Record Office – but it produced his only published work: *Four Lectures on the Hierarchy of the Catholic Church* (London: Thomas Richardson & Son). Delivered in 1850, their aim was to alleviate the uproar caused by Wiseman's already-notorious *From Without the Flaminian Gate*. The *Four Lectures* are an eloquent analysis of what the restoration of the hierarchy meant for Catholics and non-Catholics alike; and had Wiseman commissioned Errington to write *From Without the Flaminian Gate*, he might have saved himself a lot of trouble.

When Rome came to fill the still-vacant sees of Salford and Plymouth in 1851, it surprised some by appointing William Turner to Salford, and Errington to Plymouth. There was method in the madness, however: Errington had proved himself the master of a tricky balance sheet, and so was the perfect candidate for Plymouth, which was impoverished. My work in the Plymouth archives – then at Buckfast Abbey and now at Exeter – probably represented the only time in the project that I ever felt I was working on a mainstream topic, because all the material relating to Errington – logically, since he was the first bishop of the diocese – was in a box labelled 'A1'. It contained all his pastorals – mainly concerned with money – and his letters relating to the governance of the diocese, many of them to and from William Clifford, then his secretary. Errington was very happy at Plymouth, and some of his letters even have cartoons scrawled in the margins: bishops, processions, and cherubs.

Errington's time at Plymouth came to an abrupt halt in 1855, when Wiseman insisted that he, much against his will, be made Archbishop of Trebizond *in partibus infidelium* and be sent to London to act as coadjutor archbishop: a collaboration that was doomed from the start.

Breakdown of relationship with Wiseman

Errington's correspondence with Wiseman after 1855 is found mainly at Westminster, and at Clifton, where it includes meticulous copies of letters

sent. It charts the almost immediate breakdown of their relationship over the position of W. G. Ward at St Edmund's, Ware, and Errington's subsequent appointment as apostolic administrator of Clifton. It covers their temporary reconciliation in 1857, the visitation of the diocese, and their final rupture in 1859. Errington took advice from his two closest friends, William Clifford, and Thomas Grant, Bishop of Southwark, whose papers are at Archbishop's House, Southwark. The story is also borne out in Wiseman's correspondence with others: including significant letters to and from George Talbot and Henry Edward Manning, and letters written to, and received from, *Propaganda Fide.*

The Clifton Dominicanesses

During his time as apostolic administrator of Clifton, Errington clashed spectacularly with Mother Margaret Hallahan, foundress of the Dominicanesses at Stone, over changes he had required to be made regarding canonical irregularities relating to the manner of the sisters' reception of Holy Communion during mass in their daughter house next to the pro-cathedral at Clifton. The argument drew in William Ullathorne, Bishop of Birmingham, and the correspondence – at Clifton and in the convent archives at Stone – includes cold but courteous letters between Errington and Ullathorne, a series of increasingly angry letters from Mother Margaret to Errington, and Errington's own furious comments about her in letters to Clifford.

Removal from the coadjutorship

In 1860 Pius IX removed Errington from his coadjutorship at Westminster. Wiseman had wanted him sacked for months, although right to the end he failed to see the irony of his having been instrumental in his appointment five years earlier. Errington, insisting that he had done nothing wrong, refused to resign on principle, and, being an expert canon lawyer, knew that there was no canonical reason for which he could be dismissed. The Pope established a commission of cardinals, which, it transpires, was little more than a stitch-up. Wiseman presented his case against Errington, who was then prevented from seeing the accusations that had been made against him. Not unreasonably, he refused to have anything more to do with the process, and the Cardinals made their report accordingly.

The whole tale is told in the letters sent back and forth between Wiseman and Talbot and Manning; Errington and Clifford and Grant; and between most of them and Alessandro Barnabò, Prefect of *Propaganda.* I found them at

Clifton, Westminster, in the Talbot Papers at the Venerable English College, and in the archives of *Propaganda Fide*. Most spectacular was one in which – after Clifford had attempted to obtain a copy of Wiseman's accusations – Errington was warned, in beautiful and courtly Latin, full of *reverendissimes* and *Monsignores*, that he was trying the commission's patience to an extent beyond that which they intended to tolerate, and which would have serious consequences for him if he tried again.

The Isle of Man

Having been dismissed from London, Errington set to work as a parish priest for his friend Alexander Goss, bishop of Liverpool, on the Isle of Man. Goss was one of Errington's doughtiest supporters during his difficulties with Wiseman, and remained so until his death. Goss's letters to, and about, Errington survive in the Lancashire Record Office, where a good deal of material from archives of the archdiocese of Liverpool has been deposited. The Catholic Record Society has recently published Dr Peter Doyle's *The Correspondence of Alexander Goss, Bishop of Liverpool 1856-1872* (Boydell & Brewer, 2014), an invaluable and definitive contribution to the field.

While on the Isle of Man, Errington was also in regular contact with Paul Cullen, Archbishop of Dublin, who had been one of his co-consecrators in 1851 and to whom he had remained close. Their letters cover all sorts of topics, from the threat of Fenian violence to the loan and return of vestments, and are deposited in the archives of the archdiocese of Dublin. I was very pleased to be able to access their internet catalogue, and to receive by email facsimile copies of the letters I needed to see.

A fateful terna

When Wiseman died in 1865, there was a scramble to have the right man succeed him. There existed a doubt in the minds of some as to whether Errington's deprivation of the coadjutorship necessarily meant the loss of his *jure successionis*, although doubts were dispelled when the Chapter of Westminster was called upon to send in their *terna*. Their duty was to provide the names of three men whom they felt would do for their bishop, and they named Errington, Grant, and Clifford. With the terna on its way to Rome, Grant and Clifford wrote after it, declining to be included. Pius IX's only option became Errington: it was unthinkable, and he was apoplectic, and the recriminations and hand-wringing over the *terna* are well-documented in letters in Rome and Westminster.

However, the British Government still needed to be placated, and for the story of how the appointment of the turncoat Archdeacon of Chichester was made acceptable, I was partly reliant on Noel Blakiston's edition of Odo Russell's dispatches from Rome, *The Roman Question* (Rowman & Littlefield, 1980, and Dom James Flint's *The Attempt of the British Government to Influence the Choice of the Second Archbishop of Westminster* (Catholic Historical Review, January 1977). As Flint pointed out, *Propaganda* allowed Russell to think that they intended to appoint Ullathorne, so that Manning appeared to be a reasonable alternative. The Talbot Papers at the Venerable English College, however, showed how deep Talbot's finger had been in the pie - and he took a great deal of the credit in a letter (now missing) reproduced by E.S. Purcell in his sensationalist *Life of Cardinal Manning* (Macmillan, 1896): 'I took care', he told Manning, 'to tell him [the Pope] over and over again what was against all the other candidates; and in consequence he was almost driven into naming you'. Meanwhile, Errington wrote to Grant and Clifford, thanking them for their support.

A meddlesome monsignor

George Talbot's letters survive in the archives of the *Venerabile*, where they were catalogued in the 1950s by Sir Anthony Kenny. They represent one of the most fascinating collections of nineteenth-century papers available to historians of the Catholic Church. Talbot was the *eminence grise* of English affairs at Rome, and there do not seem to be many controversies into which he did not intrude himself. Promoted far beyond his capabilities, and with a bizarre and quasi-medieval influence over Pius IX, he seems almost constantly to have been seeking the preferment of men of whom he approved. In 1855 it was Errington himself, and Talbot was instrumental in his appointment to Westminster. By 1860 Errington was *persona non grata*, and Manning's ascendancy had begun.

Talbot's letters are fascinating, because in addition to being a great schemer, he was also deliciously indiscreet. It never seems to have occurred to him that when he criticised his correspondents' friends - which he did frequently - they might then pass the information on. He caused no end of offence in London, and received blistering letters from Errington, who, as we have seen, was meticulous in the keeping of copies. What is particularly interesting is that letters from Errington which took Talbot to task, including at least one that exposed him as a fantasist, exist only in copy at Clifton. The letters at the

English College have been carefully filleted - either by Talbot himself, or by another.

Talbot, as is generally well known, eventually suffered a complete mental breakdown, and was invalided to an asylum at Passy, near Paris. What has not been known until now is that he did not die there; rather, he recovered, was released, and lived out his days in works of charity by which he wished 'to make amends to God for the sins of my past life'. Among Clifford's personal papers at Ugbrooke Park I found two letters from Talbot, written in January 1875, that show he had asked for forgiveness from Errington for his actions against him fifteen years earlier, and that he had received from him 'a most kind, Christian, and affectionate letter'. Frustratingly, neither Talbot's letter to Errington nor his reply appear to have survived.

Primate of Scotland?

Once it was clear that Errington would not be archbishop of Westminster, the question arose of how he might best be put to use in the service of the Church. *Propaganda* had wanted him to go to Trinidad, but for various reasons - not least the heat - he declined. (The man they eventually sent, Ferdinand English, succumbed within eighteen months.) Manning and Propaganda seem to have determined to send Errington to be apostolic administrator in Scotland in 1868, with a view to re-establishing the hierarchy there, with him as first Metropolitan. Letters to-and-fro between Manning and Errington chart the course of the proposal, which Errington in the end declined. However, Propaganda sent letters of appointment anyway, to Manning's embarrassment and Errington's bemusement. The Catholic Archives at Edinburgh and the Diocesan Archives at Glasgow proved useful resources as I engaged with peripheral material relating to the period. I do not agree with the conclusions drawn by Professor Alan McClelland in his 1957 Innes Review article *Documents Relating to the Appointment of a Delegate-Apostolic for Scotland, 1868.*

Last things

Errington lived out the last fifteen years of his life at Prior Park, in the diocese of Clifton, where he taught the divines and saw much of his old friend William Clifford. He died there in 1886, after which Clifford wound up his estate and dealt with his papers. In the archives at Ugbrooke Park, which the present Lord Clifford kindly gave me permission to consult, I came across a box containing a few documents that, to anyone else, might have seemed out

of place. They were Errington's passport, signed by the then Foreign Secretary, the Earl of Clarendon; a letter sent from Italy by one of the Medici Spada family - Errington's kinsmen through his sister's marriage - before news of his death had reached them; and the letters to Clifford from Talbot mentioned above. It soon became clear that the other documents in the box were the personal effects of Clifford himself, archived after his own death. Why he had kept those particular items relating to his dead friend will remain a mystery. But they serve well to remind us that human relationships lie as much at the heart of history as the reigns of popes and the triumphs of kings.

Where now?

Being on the 'Errington trail', as my work affectionately became known at Oxford, has made me appreciate above all the value of three abiding truths in today's world of instant communication, social media, and increasing digitisation of archives. The first truth is that digitisation is all very well; but, when it comes to collections of papers that have been bound together, the order of binding is, of itself, an important consideration. I found letters in the archives of Propaganda Fide that, for my purposes, were pure gold - but I found them only because they had been bound together with letters for which I *was* looking. Had I been able to access remotely the papers in which I was interested I would never have seen them, unless there had been a tool that allowed me to flick back and forth through the collection. Even then, a document available in another internet tab would probably not have caught my eye in the way that it did as I thumbed through a letter-book. That is not in any way to call into question the value of the digitisation of archives, which of itself can only be a good thing. But it is, I hope, ongoing food for thought.

Second, word-searchable digitised resources mean that the way in which we now can approach archival research has been changed forever. For example, by using the Nineteenth Century Newspapers database at the British Library I was able to see, at the touch of a few keys, every instance in which phrases like 'Dr Errington' and 'Archbishop Errington' appeared in over *three million* newspapers. To have performed the task manually would have taken, quite literally, years - in fact so long that I would never have attempted it. This development can hardly be underestimated.

The third truth is more profound. Even with the glories of the internet at our fingertips, there is no substitute for time passed in the company of a polymath. My own genial oracle in this particular project was Canon

Anthony Harding, who will be known to many readers of these pages as the archivist of the diocese of Clifton. Canon Harding entered the Venerable English College not long after the end of the Second World War, and was ordained to the priesthood in 1955 - three years before the avuncular Cardinal Roncalli was called to the Throne of Peter. The Rome that he knew as a young man, therefore, was that of Pius XII: he was there for the definition of the Assumption in 1950, spent seven years in parish ministry before the Second Vatican Council had even been convoked, and celebrates the diamond jubilee of his priesthood later this year. He has been an expert guide to the way in which priests were formed at the *Venerabile*, and was able to illuminate what Errington's life at the college must have been like - as both seminarian and Vice-Rector - because, until the changes of the 1960s and 1970s, the customs, discipline, and habit of the *Venerabile* had hardly changed in over a century. Events that I have regarded as part of history were, at different points in time, part of Canon Harding's future. Those of his kind are living springs of knowledge and wisdom; and anyone who discounts the analysis of a scholarly eyewitness is a fool.

I could hardly have begun to write the book without Canon Harding's wisdom and help, nor indeed without the assistance of Gill Hogarth and the rest of the archives team at Clifton. I owe many others, too, a debt of gratitude, from as far afield as Rome and Atlanta, Dublin, London, Glasgow, Bristol, Durham, Plymouth, Birmingham, Edinburgh, Leeds and Salford. My work on Errington has taken me to places that I could never have imagined I would need to visit, and, although the book is almost on the shelves, there is plenty of other work still to be done. I hope, in time, to be able to publish an edition of some of the material relating to Errington that space constraints meant I was unable to quote in full: including particularly his diary, and the accounts of his life by John Morris and Frederick Rymer. An edition of his correspondence would also be a valuable contribution to the history of the period - although I find myself shying away from such a monolithic undertaking.

In need of perhaps more urgent attention are the Talbot Papers at the Venerable English College. There is something irresistible about those letters, and I suspect that anyone who is able to produce a critical edition of them might well find that they hold the answers to a number of questions that

continue to puzzle historians of the nineteenth-century Catholic Church, and also to quite a few that have not even yet been asked.

Dr James Walsh: An Outstanding Layman of the Mid-Twentieth Century

Louis van den Berg

Introduction

My interest in James Walsh began when I was researching the part he played in the establishment of the English Lieutenancy of the Equestrian Order of the Holy Sepulchre of Jerusalem in 1954 and thereafter. It soon became clear that the KHS (Knights of the Holy Sepulchre) connection, however significant, was but one of many contributions to Catholic life in this country during the middle years of the last century by this remarkable man. My original research in the KHS archive soon led me to wider sources: the Westminster and Southwark Diocesan archives, the British Newspaper Library; and a treasury of personal documents held in the Douai archive, which include several unpublished accounts of significant periods, people and events in his life.

James Walsh was a staunch Catholic in the Benedictine tradition. He gave the impression of being unshakeable in his views and attitudes, even though these were not always consistent. In spite of his years in the seminary, he always insisted that he never had a priestly vocation, although he was proud to parade his degree in Canon Law. He was a horrified witness to the rise of Fascism under Mussolini yet he went on to support General Franco in the Spanish Civil War. He was a successful businessman, newspaper proprietor and editor. A friend and confidant to senior members of the hierarchy, in this country and in Rome. A generous supporter and benefactor to friends and institutions. A model of Catholic Action.

Early Life

Walsh was born on 8 September 1900 in Dowlais, South Wales, the second of six children, two of whom died young. His father Thomas worked as a printer compositor, later to own his own print business; and a trace of printer's ink seems to have stayed with the son when, as proprietor and editor of the *Catholic Times*, he would occasionally try to set the paper himself on an antiquated Linotype machine.[1] Both his parents were active in Church work. His father was awarded the cross 'Pro Ecclesia et Pontifico' in recognition of

[1] Griffiths, D., (ed), *Encyclopedia of the British Press 1422 – 1992* (Macmillan, 1992).

fifty years' service to his parish church. His mother was treasurer to the Women's Guild. A pious child, it was no surprise that he talked about becoming a priest from an early age.

Douai Abbey

James's association with Douai Abbey started when he joined the school at the age of 14, and lasted a lifetime - his funeral homily was given by Fr Godric Timney OSB, who was also an Executor of his Will.

In an unpublished memoir[1], he draws a picture of the school during its critical years of transition from 1914 - 20. 'It was a time of change.' he writes. 'The Great War had not long ended, and the 1918 Education Act had opened up new vistas in secondary education. But before that, Fr Ignatius Rice had seen the need for an educated Catholic laity, and from the moment that he was appointed Headmaster in 1915, he had set himself to make Douai a *School.* For before that it was not a school in the sense that he felt was wanted and needed, it was the amalgam of two seminaries.'

The process of transformation, which coincided with Walsh's school years, was completed in 1920, when Douai was admitted to the Conference of Public Schools. By this time the school had its own Cadet Force, and had given up Football for Rugby. Fr Ignatius cultivated leading literary figures, such as Chesterton and Belloc, and this helped raise the school's profile. No doubt it was their influence which inspired Walsh to become a founder member of the 'Social Study Club' which met to discuss the doctrines expounded in the Papal Encyclicals 'Rerum Novarum' and 'Quadragesimo Anno'. Later in life this interest surfaced in a short-lived plan to found a new political party based on the principles of Distributism.

Academically, Walsh was not an outstanding pupil. His sole honour was the Form V History Prize awarded in 1919 (which he nevertheless considered significant enough to preserve for the rest of his life). He was a keen rugby player, captaining the 1st XV in his last year, and he continued to play regularly for the Old Dowegians until he broke his ankle playing against the Law Society in 1931. Away from study and sport, he also found time to chair the Debating Society, to act as librarian in the junior library, and to serve as Vice-President to the Sodality of the Blessed Virgin Mary.

[1] Walsh Papers, Douai Abbey Archives.

Walsh's attachment to Douai continued seamlessly from the moment he left. Even before he entered the English College, he is recorded as a guest in the monastic visitors' book, and his reports from Rome to the *Douai Magazine* have already been mentioned. His benefactions started early with a gift of books to the Ward Library in 1923. More books were donated from time to time, and in 1933 the new Church benefited from his contribution to the choir stalls. In 1989, the residual legacy in his will provided substantial funding towards the completion of the Abbey Church.

Clearly, though, he wanted to give more than money back to Douai. 1934 finds him back at school to give a lecture on accountancy to the senior boys. The Douai Society also benefited from his service as Secretary in 1936 and Treasurer in 1937. In his professional capacity, Walsh provided accountancy services to the Abbey and the school until shortly before his death. His correspondence reveals a deep and personal interest in the Abbey, and a willingness to share his personal feelings with his friends in the community.

The Venerabile

On leaving school in 1920 James enrolled at the Venerable English College in Rome to study for a double doctorate with a view to becoming a priest. Cardinal (then Mgr) Hinsley was Rector at the time and his teachers included the future Cardinal Griffin, Archbishop Masterton and Bishop Ellis. 'There is a saying about the English College...that to become an English Bishop you must be male, unmarried and a former student of the English College'.[1] His years in the Venerabile may not have paved the way to high ecclesiastical honours, but there were memories to be stored and connections to be made that became invaluable in later years. The austere discipline of the college under Mgr Hinsley had a profound effect on the young seminarian, and in later years he was prepared to admit that his theological training at the Venerabile had inculcated an image of the Church as being 'unchangeable and immutable'.[2] In a memoir written more than half a century later,[3] Walsh describes the life of a student, both in Rome and in Palazzola during the Summer months. He paints a vivid picture of the birth of Fascism and its effects on Rome society, and discusses the issue of whether the Venerabile should regard itself as a seminary or a university college.

[1] Quoted by John Cornwell in his book *Seminary Boy* (Doubleday, 2006).
[2] Godric Timney OSB: JW obituary, *Douai Magazine* (1989).
[3] Walsh Papers.

Professional Life

Contrary to the expectation of his friends, James did not find his vocation in the priesthood and, having taken his degrees, he is next found in 1926 back in London and articled to the accountant brother of John Carmel Heenan, the future Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster. For several years he practised accountancy, writing occasionally in his spare time and taking an active part in the work of various Catholic societies. His professional help was sought by many religious bodies and organisations. He understood their ways and commanded authority with sympathy and respect.

The first step towards a new profession was taken in 1933 when he accepted an invitation to join the Board of the Catholic Publishing Company, proprietors of the Catholic Times. Two years later, having brought the paper round from the brink of extinction, he bought the company, became Managing Director and in 1937 added the role of Editor.[1]

The Abdication Affair

In 1936 the editor of the *Catholic Times* was Fr. Bernard Grimley. Gregory Macdonald, a former contemporary of Walsh's at Douai, and subsequently Head of Central European Services at the BBC, was a features writer. That autumn, Fleet Street was buzzing with rumours about King Edward VIII and Mrs Simpson. On Thursday 3 December the story broke in the press. Macdonald, in Walsh's words 'a fervent monarchist with a weakness for conspiracy theories and a strong hostility towards Stanley Baldwin'[2], persuaded Fr. Grimley to air the affair in the following week's edition. Accordingly the paper went to press with the front page devoted to an editorial which, even at a distance of 80 years, vividly reflects the torrid atmosphere, wild speculation and violently polarised opinions which gripped the country during that short fortnight. It was headed:

'THEY TRAPPED HIM'

[a quotation from GK Chesterton's poem on Charles 1]

The editorial went on:

> **Money's Ramp Against the King.**
> **Financiers use the Moral Issue to Force An Artificial Crisis.**

[1] *Catholic Herald*, 5 March 1948.
[2] Walsh Papers.

> We are for the King. We are against the financial and political powers who are forcing the King from the throne. What we want is the re-establishment of the monarchy as a power in Government. A power which must increase.
>
> Let us not be misunderstood. We are not condoning - no Catholic can condone - the re-marriage of any person who has been divorced after a valid marriage. But the King's proposed union was not the cause of the crisis, but a weapon in the hands of those who made the crisis, a cudgel with which to smash the crown.
>
> An effort is being made to crush the King in order to weaken the nation, frighten money in New York, wreck the stabilization pact and so give international finance once more the control of the people's destiny. It is the last desperate plunge to force the King to serve money and not the people.
>
> The King's marriage to a married person whose husband is still living would be a great scandal, but it would not absolve us from our allegiance to our King.

Unfortunately, by the time the paper hit the news stand the next day, the King had abdicated, leaving Walsh, as proprietor, deeply compromised. In a spectacular volte-face, the front page of the following week's issue was devoted entirely to a picture of the new King and Queen, and captioned 'To King George VI and his Queen, we offer our allegiance and loyal service.' Grimley publicly retracted much of what he had written, describing himself as 'a bewildered patriot'. However, Arthur Hinsley, now Archbishop of Westminster, and stung no doubt by the hundreds of condemnatory letters he had received, was induced to write:

> Sir,
> In political questions each paper is free to follow the just and truthful principles of the side conscientiously adopted. Loyalty, however, prompts me explicitly to dissociate myself from certain unrestrained reflections which have appeared in some Catholic papers on the recent crisis.

Arthur
Archbishop of Westminster.[1]

One must assume that the goodwill Walsh had built up through his voluntary work and ecclesiastical connections came to his rescue at this critical moment in his career. On the day after the paper came out, he records that he was summoned to Archbishop's House and told by a smiling Archbishop "Don't worry"[2]. Two years after the Abdication he was appointed Privy Chamberlain of Cape and Sword by Pope Pius X1, a post he continued to hold under the following three Popes. (One suspects a connection between this appointment and his professional services as auditor of the Pope's household accounts during the previous decade[3]). It is clear from his frequent visits to Rome that he took his appointment as Chamberlain seriously.

In 1959 the *Catholic Times*, with sales of 50,000, celebrated its centenary, but with the launch of the Catholic Pictorial it quickly lost circulation. Walsh offered to give the paper to the Catholic Mission Society, but its head, Cardinal Heenan, turned him down. It went instead, in 1962, to the *Universe*, under whose ownership the title folded.

Marriage

Walsh married, in 1928, Margaret Marion (Meta) Boyson, daughter of Sir John and Lady Boyson. and went to live in Pembroke Road, Earl's Court. Mrs Walsh had been invested as a Dame of the Holy Sepulchre by Pope Pius X1 in 1938. She was a strong supporter to her husband when he became the first Lieutenant of the newly-established English Lieutenancy, adopting a maternal role among the new Dames and accompanying the Lieutenant on pilgrimage. After her death in 1970, Walsh was offered ordination (at the age of 70) but declined. They had no children.

The War

The profile of Dr Walsh published in the *Catholic Herald* on 5 March 1948 throws light on an undertaking which exemplifies his generosity of spirit:
'During the Second World War the Vatican Information Office was set up by Pope Pius XII. Its purpose was to bring relief to war victims, to trace refugees, and, where possible, to reunite dispersed families, and to establish contact

[1] *Catholic Times*, 11 December 1936.
[2] Walsh Papers.
[3] *Catholic Herald*, 13 October 1989.

between prisoners of war and their anxious relatives. News obtained through nunciatures and delegations was circulated to all the belligerent countries, and registers were compiled of missing combatants who, when traced as prisoners, were given the opportunity to send personal messages to their relatives. Apart from the large volume of correspondence to and from the Secretariat of State, regular broadcasts from Vatican Radio gave names and home addresses of prisoners of war, in the hope that relatives would be freed from anxiety, without having to wait for the slow action of official machinery.

> To further the work of Vatican Radio, Dr. Walsh and his secretary, Miss Lord listened day after day to the broadcasts, compiled lists of British prisoners, and relayed information by post to relatives. Sometimes, listening was hazardous, particularly during the length of the blitz. It became difficult as well when the offices of the paper were rendered uninhabitable by bombs and new offices had to be found in Fleet Street. There was, however, no interruption in the compilation of the names, which relieved the fears of thousands of families.... In the experience of one helper, every name conveyed verbally to relatives reached them before news was received through official channels and in not a single instance were the relatives Catholics.
>
> In recognition of this work of mercy, Dr Walsh was personally invested Knight Commander of St Gregory by the Pope. His faithful secretary Miss Lord [herself to be invested DHS in 1960] was also honoured.

The English Lieutenancy

As early as 1950, plans were being made to create a Lieutenancy of the Equestrian Order of the Holy Sepulchre of Jerusalem in England & Wales. Lord Tredegar, who had earlier been invested in Jerusalem and claimed the right to wear his cloak on the sanctuary at Mass, was mooted as Lieutenant, with Walsh as Secretary. However Tredegar made an irregular marriage and was disqualified. Cardinal Griffin immediately turned to his old pupil and confidant Dr. Walsh, who was invested KCHS and nominated Lieutenant at an investiture on 4 Dec 1954, the official foundation day of the English & Welsh Lieutenancy. At the same time Cardinal Griffin was appointed Honorary Grand Prior, and Bishop Cyril Cowderoy as the first Grand Prior.

It is apparent from his correspondence that Walsh was not fully aware of what he was letting himself in for when he accepted the role of Lieutenant. In common with Cardinal Griffin, he appears to have viewed admission to the Order more as a reward for services past (or future) than a commitment to his fellow-Christians in the Holy Land.[1] Financial contributions were understood as a one-off condition of entry, and personal commitment satisfied by ceremonial attendance rather than pilgrimage. To his credit, Walsh immediately applied himself to learning what the Order was really about, using his status as Papal Chamberlain to network with members of the Grand Magisterium in Rome, and attending Investitures in the Netherlands and Germany.[2] The first pilgrimage was already being planned in 1960, and the first of many financial grants went to Roussifa School in 1963. The issue of annual donations, however, continued to affect relations with the Grand Magisterium; and this, together with a less than supportive attitude amongst some of the hierarchy,[3] held back the growth of the Lieutenancy during its first decade. So frustrated did he become that he tendered his resignation more than once.[4]Notwithstanding these setbacks, during his 11 years as Lieutenant, Walsh set the infant Lieutenancy on the course which it has followed for sixty years. He established a pattern of regular pilgrimages and financial contribution to the Christian community in the Holy Land and built up a committed membership which numbers over 500 today.

Character and Personality

Some idea of the complex character of Dr. Walsh can be gained from comments made by his contemporaries. 'James Walsh often commented with pride that he was probably the only accountant with a degree in Canon Law' wrote his life-long friend and Executor Fr Godric Timney in his obituary. 'He was far from being a proud man but his boast epitomised his devotion to his professional life and his love of the Church'.[5] Another long-standing friend, C J Woollen, comments: 'Friendship is a 'give and take' business. But one always feels that Dr. Walsh is happy to put more into it than the other person: he is the reverse of exacting. And I imagine that he has many friends who,

[1] Griffin Papers, Westminster Diocesan Archive.
[2] Council minutes, KHS Archive.
[3] Walsh Correspondence, KHS Archive.
[4] Cowderoy Papers, Southwark Diocesan Archives.
[5] Godric Timney OSB, op cit.

like myself, have no reticence in drawing, when necessary, on his large store of out-of-the-way knowledge, and profiting, when there is good reason, by his unusual influence.'[1]

As his reaction to the Abdication in 1936 shows, Walsh was a traditionalist, both politically and theologically. 'Dr. Walsh was a Conservative in the best sense' wrote his erstwhile colleague Gregory Macdonald: 'he would have conserved the baby while ditching the bathwater... I have often wondered if the face of the Church in this country might have been different today if he had felt able and willing to continue editing the *Catholic Times*. Had he remained in control, he might have given us a Catholic weekly which, despite all the changes and novelties of the post-Vatican II era, remained utterly loyal to the Magisterium and therefore to all it has taught before, at, and since Vatican II.'[2]

His somewhat reserved and abrupt manner was at odds with the generosity of his nature. When Archbishop Godfrey was appointed Apostolic Delegate in 1938 there was no provision for a Residence. Eventually the Nunciature was established in Wimbledon, but in the meantime Walsh persuaded his wife to pack up their personal belongings and move from their house in Kensington to her mother's house nearby, leaving his house fully furnished and ready for occupation by the Archbishop and his staff.[3]

Many Talents

Those who knew him were invariably astonished at the number and variety of commitments he took on. 'I sometimes wonder whether Dr. Walsh has the gift of multi-location' remarks C J Woollen. Aside from his workload as a practising (and very successful) accountant and proprietor/editor of the *Catholic Times*, Walsh was in great demand as a speaker on Catholic subjects and a regular guest at Catholic functions. His work on behalf of prisoners of war has already been mentioned, as has his service as Papal Chamberlain. After the 1948 Olympic Games, during which he arranged a reception for over a thousand Catholic athletes and managers at Archbishop's House, he took over the sponsorship and organisation of the European Catholic Schools games. In his professional capacity he acted as confidential counsellor to at

[1] *Apostle Magazine*, February 1953.
[2] *Catholic Times* 24 October 1993.
[3] Walsh Papers.

least one Pope and to numerous senior members of the English hierarchy, as well as the many friends and colleagues who came to him for advice.

Faith in the Archive: The Leonard Cheshire Disability Archive

Stephanie Nield and Stephen Nield

The Leonard Cheshire Disability Archive was set up by Leonard Cheshire, the famous Second World War RAF bomber pilot, holder of the Victoria Cross, and humanitarian, towards the end of the 1980s. It was intended as a way of providing an information resource on his own life's work, but more importantly, a way of recognising and remembering those volunteers who had helped him along the way: 'we wanted to keep a record of all the people who worked in the early days and got Homes started. While memories were still alive we wanted to record it so that we did not forget our debt to these people'.[1] The archive is owned by the charity Leonard Cheshire Disability, established by our Founder Leonard Cheshire in 1948 in his own home, Le Court, in Hampshire. It is open to anyone with an interest in our founder and charity.

The archive holds the personal papers of Leonard Cheshire, dating from his time as Wing Commander of RAF 617 Squadron in 1943 up to his death in 1992. It also holds the administrative records of the charities he founded, Leonard Cheshire Disability (including the residential services or 'Cheshire Homes'), Ryder-Cheshire (founded jointly with Sue Ryder) and the World Memorial Fund for Disaster Relief. There are smaller special collections deposited by residents of Cheshire Homes, Trustees and staff, some of whom were Christians or Catholic converts inspired by Leonard, some of whom had Papal awards for their faith.

The record types of the archive collections include correspondence, reports, film and VHS tape (reel to reel films from this collection are curated by the British Film Institute at Berkhamstead), sound tapes, photographs and published books including three biographies of Leonard, two autobiographies of Sue Ryder and brief histories of the organisation and homes. There is a small, but growing digital collection. All of this material is cared for by a full-time archivist in a purpose built building constructed in 2005 in the grounds of Newlands House Cheshire Home, Netherseal, South Derbyshire. The

[1] Leonard Cheshire Archive GLC/21/11.

extent of the total archive collection comprises 115 linear metres, and continues to expand.

As a research resource, the archive has been used for a comprehensive biography by Richard Morris in 2000,[1] in many ways written along the lines of the *vita* of a saint.[2] The archive is accessible by an online catalogue[3] and has a social media presence on Flickr[4] and Twitter,[5] but there is much to do to increase public awareness of this fascinating resource. The Heritage Lottery Fund has awarded Leonard Cheshire Disability development funding to plan a project to improve access to the archive by disabled people which, if successful at stage 2, will start a programme of digitising some of the archive material. This is considered the first step on a long road.

I am often met with some surprise when I mention to those who use the archive the amount of religious material we have here. As an archivist to the archive of an individual or a single organisation, you get to know some of the inner thoughts and motivations of the person whose effects you look after. As part of my daily role I see how Leonard's faith ran through everything he did in his private and public lives and also how this attracted like-minded people to his cause. It is my intention here to give a brief overview of the material we have here, and encourage anybody keen to find out more to go to our pages on Leonard Cheshire Disability's website.[6]

To start this exploration it is worth mentioning how the charity came to be, as its inception also corresponded with Leonard's conversion to Catholicism. Leonard had struggled with adjusting to life after the war and searched for meaning and a vocation. He had started a communal living experiment called *Vade in Pacem* (VIP) for those like himself who struggled with the transition

1 Richard Morris, *Cheshire The Biography of Leonard Cheshire, VC, OM* (Penguin Books, London, 2000).

2 Morris, *op.cit.*, p.xvi.

3 Leonard Cheshire Disability Archive URL: https://archive.lcdisability.org/calmview [12 February 2015].

4 Leonard Cheshire Disability Archive URL: https://www.flickr.com/photos/lcdarchive/ [12 February 2015].

5 Leonard Cheshire Disability Archive URL: https://twitter.com/LCDArchive [12 February 2015].

6 http://www.leonardcheshire.org/who-we-are/history/archive [accessed 12th February 2015].

between fighting in the Second World War and peacetime. It was not practical and failed after two years, but one of its members, Arthur Dykes, developed terminal cancer and returned to him asking for a place to live. Leonard agreed and nursed the man himself (there was no money to employ a nurse). Eventually other people with complex needs, impairments and illnesses came to him for a home. Leonard Cheshire Disability the charity had begun.

There is more to be said about Arthur, who as he was reaching the end of his life, began to rediscover his faith and it was through the late night discussions that the two men had together that persuaded Leonard to become a Catholic. He later said of this, 'there was no greater gift that Arthur could have possibly given me'.[1] Later on, there was another important figure in Leonard's life who shared his faith; he married the humanitarian Sue Ryder in a private chapel at Mumbai's Roman Catholic Cathedral on 5 April 1959, officiated by Cardinal Valeria Gracias. As a couple they had a shared experience of conflict because both had served their country during the Second World War (Sue Ryder in the First Aid Nursing Yeomanry and Special Operations Executive in Poland). They both felt it their duty as survivors to remember the sacrifice that people had made for peace and both had their respective charities and a charity together, Ryder-Cheshire, as a way of enacting this duty.

Their shared faith sustained them and informed every stage of their life. Sue writes in her autobiography,

> 'As Mother Teresa told us years ago in Calcutta, marriage would mean more sacrifices, but we would be the better for it. Sharing problems has made all the difference to both of us. Our feelings are best expressed in the following prayer we composed together:
>
> To Thee, O my God,
> Who art infinite Love,
> Yet Who hast called us to be perfect, even as Thou art perfect:
> Who so loved the World,
> That Thou didst give us Thine only begotten Son,
> And who hast thereby given Thine all, Thine everything:

[1] Leonard Cheshire, *The Hidden World* (Hong Kong: The Royal Air Force Benevolent Fund Enterprises,1998), p.26.

Who emptied Thyself of Thy Glory,
And became obedient unto death,
Even the death of the Cross,
For us:
To Thee,
We surrender our all, our everything.
To be consumed by the unquenchable fire of Thy Love:
We desire to love Thee even as Thy own Mother loved Thee,
To be generous as Thou only art generous,
To give our all to Thee as Thou givest Thine to us:
Thou hast called us, O Lord, and we have found Thee,
In the poor, the unwanted, and the suffering,
And there we will serve Thee,
Unto death.
Amen'.[1]

It will be useful to give an overview of Leonard's faith based activities during his life. He makes this easy for us, as he wrote autobiographies, starting with *Bomber Pilot* in 1943 and ending with a posthumously published collection of observations taken at the end of his life, *Crossing the Finishing line*, edited by his spiritual advisor, Fr Reginald C. Fuller. In all of these publications, barring the first, Leonard discusses his faith and its influence on how he lived his life and carried out his work. The most comprehensive book on his faith is *Where is God in all this?*, in which he is interviewed by Alenka Lawrence. Copies of these books are available in the archive library, along with some of the original manuscripts.

Leonard's faith lay behind some of the organisations he set up, the most significant being the Mission for the Relief of Suffering, established around 1953 whilst a patient at the Midhurst TB Sanatorium in Surrey. The Mission, as far as can be concluded from the archives, eventually became subsumed by Ryder-Cheshire and then Leonard Cheshire's own foundation (now Leonard Cheshire Disability) but at the beginning it was its own entity and very much involved with Leonard's interest in the Holy Shroud of Turin, about which he

[1] Sue Ryder, *Child of my Love an autobiography* (Collins Harvill, London, 1986), p. 285.

lectured and wrote books and even embarked upon a pilgrimage to Turin with a young disabled girl and her family.[1]

The mission had a logo, a gold M for the Virgin Mary, topped with a crown surrounded by seven stars for the seven mysteries, which appeared on the side of its Mission Bus. This 'mobile missionary unit', fitted out with tape recorded speeches on Christ's life, had a place to view a film on the Holy Shroud (which Leonard had a picture of at the foot of his sanatorium bed, and attributed to his recovery from TB). This bus was parked in central London to attract passing shoppers, and publicity stunts included a 'live crib' built by patients at Midhurst, starring two live lambs with the Mission bus as the stable. It stood until 4am on Christmas morning 1953 at Leicester Square, after a road trip through Eltham and Tottenham during Advent.[2] Some copies of the taped speeches still survive in our sound collection.

From Leonard's correspondence it is clear that he was a man of great activity and many projects were on the go at once, not all of them successful. Mission for the Relief of Suffering projects that were never realised included plans for a community in a building in the grounds of Ushaw College[3] and an attempt to buy Walsingham shrine.[4] But it is from those Mission documents that survive in the archive that we can begin to understand his faith and motivations. Like all survivors of conflict, Leonard had suffered himself as a participant in battle and had also inflicted and witnessed suffering during service to his country.[5] Those he had trained with in his first squadron were

[1] The trip to Lourdes, with Josie Woollam and her family, came about as the result of a last rites request from the young girl to be blessed with a relic of the Holy Shroud. Leonard pulled out all the stops to arrange a trip to the Shroud itself, which became highly publicised in the press and resulted in a book and film. Leonard Cheshire's account can be read in Leonard Cheshire, *Pilgrimage to The Shroud* (Hutchinson, London, 1956).

[2] Morris, op.cit., p.291 and Leonard Cheshire Archive LCF:UK/13/27.

[3] Letter 7th January 1975 to Right Reverend Mgr P. Loftus at Ushaw College, Durham: Leonard Cheshire Archive GLC/3/1309.

[4] Letter 27th September 1954 to Father Fuller: Leonard Cheshire Archive GLC/24/2/8.

[5] 'The last mission accomplished, I felt lost and empty, and asked the RAF for a discharge. They said I was close to a breakdown and put me in a hospital near the Crystal Palace for a fortnight. I think, perhaps, it had all been a bit much for me'. Leonard Cheshire, *The Light of Many Suns*. (Methuen, London, 1985) p. 68. As he

all dead, he was the only survivor.[1] Leonard had to find a meaning or truth after living through the tragedies of war and he found this in the Holy Shroud. He wrote in a statement released on behalf of the Mission, *'without Christ, suffering is a meaningless misfortune'*.[2] Finding a way to ensure such a war never happened again was a driving force behind his humanitarian career.[3]

Perhaps the best account of Leonard's conversion to Catholicism can be found in his book *The Face of Victory.* It is his explanation of how and why he began to change from war to peace and seek proofs of true religion. The 'Face' of the title is that on the Turin shroud and the need for order, truth and mission become a journey of discovery for him and are developed into a belief in salvation through a moral life. The evidence for that moral life and his struggle to apply it to his thoughts and deeds can be found in the documents he left behind in the archive.

A subject that Leonard was often called upon to discuss was the nuclear deterrent. He was the British official observer at the dropping of the atom bomb on Nagasaki, and wrote and lectured on the morality of force as a result of that experience. Publications include *The Nuclear Dilemma a Moral Study* and *The Light of Many Suns: the Meaning of the Bomb.* He was a member of the Commission for International Justice and Peace of England, and his contribution to and minutes of that committee can be found in the archive. His stance on this issue was informed by his faith, as he saw the issue as a moral one, rather than simply a matter of encouraging disarmament.

One thing that it is worth remembering is that in his lifetime, Leonard was a very famous man. His correspondence shows that he took the time to read the thousands of letters sent to him on many matters (including those of faith)

told Primrose [his mother]: 'I have had no trade but killing...That's what they taught me to do for six years. I've had enough'. Morris, op. cit. p. 225.

[1] Leonard Cheshire Disability Archive. 1990. Transcript from an interview for 'A Home for Life', December 1990.

[2] Leonard Cheshire, *The Relief of Suffering: A personal message.* (R.H. Johns Ltd, Newport. 1954).

[3] '55 million people have died ... And I thought I've got a kind of duty to those who didn't survive. [To] somehow get involved in the struggle to help build a better peace. A better world'. Leonard Cheshire Disability Archive Centre. 1990. Transcript from an interview for *A Home for Life,* December 1990.

from all walks of life, and to respond. We have newspaper clippings from gossip columns that chart his every move. He still has admirers and critics today. Yet he wasn't interested in his fame for its own sake, rather he was more concerned how it could help him take the path that God had chosen for him. His biographer Morris suggests that Leonard considered himself 'less as an instigator than as a length of copper wire through which the charge of God's power might run. In the face of vast public admiration, he saw himself as unimportant'.[1] This combination of duty and capacity for work goes some way to explain the extent of his personal collection here at the archive, some 17 linear metres.

As any archivist will know, one archive can contain so many interesting aspects of history that there is not enough time to explore them all. Perhaps this isn't the role of the Archivist at all, who should simply be the guardian who 'exists in order to make other people's work possible'.[2] This article is my attempt to show how the Leonard Cheshire Disability archive's possibilities are wider then they may at first seem. I'm aware that it only touches the surface of what I hope has proved to be an interesting overview of one man's practical application of faith, and how this can be interpreted from the archive he left behind. Any further more scholarly investigations are only to be welcomed.

Leonard died in 1992, aged 74, as a result of motor neurone disease. *Crossing the Finishing Line* brings together all the thoughts that Leonard had before he died, both on matters spiritual and on his work. He had wanted to have a future United Nations role in co-ordinating disaster relief; his work with the World Memorial Fund for Disaster Relief had set him on that path, but it was not to be.[3] How his foundation would fare after his death was also on his mind: 'praying that they get the strength to go on and on, improving both the quality of life within the Home and extending the help they can give, but also realising more and more that all of us must work for the common good of the whole of the human family'. [4]

[1] Morris, op.cit., p.xvii.
[2] Sir Hilary Jenkinson, *The English Archivist : A New Profession* (London: H. K. Lewis, 1948), p.38.
[3] Reginald C. Fuller, (ed.) *Crossing the Finishing Line.* (St. Pauls, 1998), pp.71-72.
[4] Reginald C. Fuller, (ed.) op. cit. p.70.

Leonard realised that by working with disabled people, he could help create a world where everyone was equally valued. He believed in the human family and that every person has the ability to build unity amongst us.[1] Leonard Cheshire Disability continues to build upon our founder's values and support disabled people to live the lives they choose, with the same opportunities as any other person to live independently, contribute economically and participate in society as they wish.

[1] Leonard Cheshire, *The Hidden World* (Hong Kong: The Royal Air Force Benevolent Fund Enterprises,1998), p.158.

Progress, Publicity and Protest: New Catholic Chapels in Nineteenth-Century Britain

Paul Leavy

Introduction

Surviving evidence of nineteenth-century Catholicism in Britain most apparent today is surely the numerous Catholic churches of the period. This article looks at how these churches or, in the contemporary language, chapels were received by the general population, the Catholic population and the authorities as they were planned, built and opened. The first part of my argument is that the study of the events surrounding the opening of the chapels shows that the Catholic Church grew in size and stature and become more confident of its place in British society. The opening of the chapels was a source of publicity and an opportunity for public ceremony, becoming more so as time went by, and serving as high points in what might have been Newman's 'Second Spring.' It is apparent there was support for the Catholic Church by the state and by some sections of society and the press throughout the century.

The second part of my argument is that such study shows that there was genuine Protestant fear of the growth of Catholicism in the first part of the century but by the end of the century, the Catholic Church was no longer seen as a threat. There was not great opposition to the opening of new Catholic chapels, perhaps because there was not in fact opposition to Catholicism as such. Rather, there was a fear that, if the Catholic Church became a significant influence in the country, the Protestant character of the British State would be destroyed and the Protestant ethos in the Established Churches could be undermined. Opening Catholic chapels did not in itself add to these fears. Thus, anti-Catholicism in nineteenth-century British society was not just something overhanging from penal times: witness the indifference of much of the press when the Jesuits opened their chapel in Mayfair and the lack of concern of most of the population when Gladstone challenged the First Vatican Council's codification of the Doctrine of Papal Infallibility.[1] After covering these two themes, case studies of two major London churches, the

[1] Denis Paz, *Popular Anti-Catholicism in Mid-Victorian England*, (Stanford, 1992), p.18.

Jesuit Church in Farm Street and the Brompton Oratory will be presented.

Growth and Confidence

The first Catholic Relief Act of 1778 enabled Catholics to buy land, but only in 1791 did it become legal to build Catholic chapels. Thomas Weld of Lulworth built the first free-standing chapel on his estate in 1786-7.[1] In 1799-1800, the first convent chapel since the reformation was built in Cornwall for refugee Antwerp Carmelite nuns.[2] The 1850 edition of The Catholic Directory details the increase in number of Catholic chapels in the first part of the century: the London District had eleven chapels before 1820 but 104 by 1850; and in England and Wales as a whole, the number had grown from less than fifty to 587, with a further ninety-three in Scotland.[3]

The main reason, why so many Catholic chapels opened in the nineteenth century was the massive increase in the Catholic population, largely because of immigration of working class Irish Catholics. The Catholic Directory recorded 700,000 Catholics in 1840 and 1,500,000 by the end of the century.[4] In 1841, there were 400,000 Irish in England, Wales and Scotland and by 1861, 620,000 in England and Wales alone.[5] Thus, ten new chapels were opened in the entry port of Liverpool in the period 1850-56[6] to serve the Irish population (12.8% in 1881).[7] For Irish immigrants, in addition to its religious role, the church was a symbol of national identity. Thus The Illustrated London News of 29 July 1848 reported how a great number of the members from several working class Irish Confederate Clubs met and proceeded with military order to a large open space beside the new Catholic Chapel and gave three cheers for the (Chartist and nationalist) 'cause'. Note that the new Catholic Chapel

[1] Nigel Yates, *Eighteenth-Century Britain: Religion and Politics 1714-1815* (London, 2008), pp.38-40.

[2] Ibid., p.44.

[3] *The Catholic Directory and Ecclesiastical Register, 1850* (London, 1850), pp.30-41, 100.

[4] Owen Chadwick, *The Victorian Church*, pt.2 (London, 1970), p.402.

[5] Edward R. Norman, *Anti-Catholicism in Victorian England*, (London, 1968), p.16.

[6] K. S. Inglis, *Churches and Working Classes in Victorian England*, (London, 1963), p.125.

[7] Chadwick, *The Victorian Church*, pt.2, p.401.

was chosen as the rallying point. [1]

The restoration of the Catholic hierarchy in 1850, and the re-establishment of monastic communities, were further drivers to build more churches. It could be difficult for the rate of church-building to keep up with the high rate of growth in Catholic population: Gateshead in 1851 had 3,000 Catholics, but the chapel was a derelict warehouse that could only accommodate 300.[2] Lord Braye complained that chapels for the rich were being built using money that should have been spent on chapels for the poor.[3]

The objectives of the Catholic Church in Britain, as reflected by its church-building and associated pronouncements, shifted from self-preservation at the beginning of the century, to catering for the increased numbers of existing Catholics and then to actively seeking conversions from the middle of the century. Denis Paz suggests that Catholicism could be regarded as a regional phenomenon in the first half of the nineteenth century. Most chapels existing in 1814 fell along a line linking Lancaster to London and were clustered around London, the West Midlands and the cotton district of Lancashire and Cheshire.[4] As the century progressed, the chapels became more ornate and church-like in keeping with the more continental styles of worship, illustrating the increased confidence of the Catholic Church in Britain.[5] The opening of St Joseph's Church in Bromley in 1892 demonstrates the desire to attract greater congregations. Although the church was a temporary construction of tin, the opening ceremonies included a Mozart Mass, presumably at least in part as a crowd-puller. There were prayers for the conversion of England and the Bishop of Southwark remarked, in his sermon, that the new church 'would give the inhabitants of the town an opportunity to go and hear something of the Catholic Faith.'[6]

Outside the Catholic fold, there were many instances of public jubilation at

[1] 'Confederate Club in Manchester,' *The Illustrated London News*, 29 July 1848, Issue 328, p.4.
[2] Inglis, *Churches and Working Classes in Victorian England*, pp.125-6.
[3] Ibid., p.129.
[4] Paz, *Popular Anti-Catholicism*, p. 81.
[5] Ibid., p. 84.
[6] *The Bromley* Record, 1 April 1892.

the opening of new Catholic Chapels. As early as 1817 a report in the London Morning Chronicle, recounts the 'gratifying emotions,' on witnessing the laying of the foundation stone of the new Chapel in Moorfields. The article suggests that they were now living in an enlightened period without the previous bigotry and uncharitableness that had alienated various classes of the Christian community. Likewise, the 'sacred edifice' was to be built in a public situation not in an 'obscure alley or deserted bye way' and without the need for the foreign protection afforded to embassy chapels. Official approval can be assumed since the site was purchased from the City of London on favourable terms and the Chief Magistrate actively participated. Spectators crowded into the windows of houses which overlooked the enclosed area. Overall, the article is extremely positive with the only regret being directed at what went on in the past.[1]

The *Hereford Times* reported on the laying of the foundation stone of a chapel in Broad Street, Hereford in 1837. The writer noted that 'most perfect good order and friendly feeling prevailed throughout the ceremony' and, even though it was exclusively Catholic, it commanded 'respect and becoming attention of the whole audience' and promoted 'good humour and congratulatory expressions.' Official approval was confirmed by the presence of the High Sheriff for the 'first time in five centuries in the realm' for such an event.[2] The chapel building itself was commended as a 'great ornament to our principal street' with its 'handsome Grecian portico' and 'tasteful' dome over the altar. The sermon preached by the Reverend Richard Boyle, S.J. at the laying of the foundation stone was conciliatory, with calls for unity like primitive Christians with hearts and souls being as one and exhortation to love one another.[3] A few years later, the foundation stone of a new Catholic chapel at Woolwich was laid. The Illustrated London News in October 1842, described the ceremony as 'imposing' and stated that the site was granted by the Board of Ordinance. The new church was to be dedicated to St Peter, which invoked papal overtones, presumably with agreement of the

[1] 'New Roman Catholic Chapel,' *The Morning Chronicle,* (London), 6 August 1817.

[2] 'New Catholic Chapel, Broad Street Hereford,' *The Hereford Times,* 19 September 1837.

[3] Richard Boyle, *Sermon Preached by the Rev. Richard Boyle SJ on the laying of the foundation stone of the new Catholic Chapel in Broad Street Hereford on September 19th 1837* (London 1838), pp.6-7.

authorities since this was government land.[1]

The Moorfields Chapel building pre-dated the major Irish immigration of the century and the Hereford Chapel was a substantial church (115 feet long by 47 feet wide with a cross on top of the dome extending to 63 feet above ground level),[2] so these two chapels were probably built with middle and upper class worshippers in mind and such people likely would have been part of the newspapers' readership. The 1817 report in particular runs counter to the strong anti-Catholicism at the beginning of the nineteenth century. Perhaps the writer was putting an unduly positive gloss on the event, yet the involvement of the City Corporation and the Chief Magistrate are hard facts which suggest that anti-Catholicism was certainly not ubiquitous. The later reports are also notable for the support from officialdom in the form of the High Sheriff and the Board of Ordinance.

For the Catholic Church itself, the opening of new chapels was more significant than just serving a local need. Pages of The Tablet abound with advertisements appealing for funds to support new church building projects. The issue of 30 April 1884 includes an appeal for the Church of Our Lady of the Sacred Heart, Wellingborough, for funding to replace a chapel like a 'garret bedroom.'[3] The opening of a chapel in Stowmarket was a sufficient occasion for public celebration to merit a train being chartered from London.

What does the story of new Catholic Chapels in the nineteenth century tell us? First, the Catholic Church was growing; perhaps one could draw an analogy with the expansion of the railways in the nineteenth century. The opening of each new church or each new station was a cause for celebration and rejoicing and represented an extension of the Church or railway as a whole; what Paz calls the fillip of new churches.[4] Secondly, there was an attempt to provide for all levels of society. Thirdly, just as the chapels multiplied and became more imposing, so did the presence of the Church in society.

1 'New Catholic Chapel at Woolwich,' *The Illustrated London News*, 29 October 1842, Issue 25, p.387.
2 'New Catholic Chapel, Broad Street Hereford,' *The Hereford Times*, 19 September 1837.
3 *The Tablet*, 30 April 1885, p.672.
4 Paz, *Popular Anti-Catholicism*, p.84.

Opposition and Controversy

The forgoing picture of growth and confidence must be balanced with evidence of the anti-Catholic tradition. My argument here is that rather than an inherent anti-Catholicity, there was a fear of Protestantism being undermined.

How might opposition to building or opening a Catholic chapel have been manifested? Violence related to religion, such as bonfire riots, street riots and pub brawls, was common in the nineteenth century and Protestant mobile bands known as 'Wycliffites,' disrupted High Anglican services during the 1890s.[1] There were no reports of riots or protest marches or disruption of ceremonies in connection with the opening of Catholic chapels. However, there were riots in Stockport in 1852 as labourers feared that their jobs would be taken by Irish Catholic immigrants[2] and in Birmingham in 1867-8, sparked off by itinerant 'no Popery' preacher William Murphy.[3] In both cases a Catholic chapel was attacked, but the chapels were long established and not the real cause of the protests.

There were protest letters and articles in the press from extreme Protestant organisations, but few if any letters of protest from individuals other than Protestant clergymen. Protests were often scaremongering or trivial in nature but they could involve more serious theological arguments. In many cases, the opening of a new Catholic chapel prompted an outburst of anti-Catholic theological and doctrinal arguments, which were not directly related to the new chapel at all, but were part of the general attack on Catholicism. The opening of a Chapel in Bradford in 1827 included a dedicatory sermon preached by the Western District Vicar Apostolic, Dr. P.A. Baines. The sermon was criticised by an Anglican clergyman Reverend J. Taylor, and the local Catholic priest, Frances Murphy, responded to this criticism. The disagreement related to common Protestant denials of Catholic doctrines including charges of idolatry, the Blessed Virgin Mary, praying to saints and papal supremacy, but in this case Murphy took Taylor to task as someone who should have known better: doctrinal arguments were acceptable but references to the Catholic Church as the old enemy that immersed Christians

[1] Ibid., pp.20, 300-1.
[2] Norman, *Anti-Catholicism*, p.16.
[3] Inglis, *Churches and the Working Classes*, p.27.

in ignorance, idolatry and slavery were out of order.[1] The Catholic Church was no longer fighting for survival but was on an intellectual par with the Established Church.

By the mid-century, some Protestants saw the growth of Catholic chapels as a challenge to their own position and their opposition was motivated by fear. The British Reformation Society reported that 'in 1796 there were but twenty-four Catholic chapels in Great Britain but in 1834 there were over five hundred with a high proportion being built in the last few years.'[2] London Sunday newspaper, John Bull, in 1827, seized on the opening of a Catholic chapel at Thetford, to be followed within days by two more chapels at Ipswich and Stoke by Nayland as evidence that Popery was thriving in the Anglican Diocese of Norwich.[3] The Times, in December 1834, reported that a magnificent Catholic chapel was being built in Clifton with 'peculiarly fine architecture', but the 'British Society for Promoting the Religious Principles of the Reformation' was 'deeply alarmed by the rapid increase in these buildings, and of Popery itself in every part of the country.' Protestants were exhorted to wake up. The Times continued that 'God forbid Protestantism should be swamped by Catholicism' and although The Times was in favour of Catholic freedom, decline of Protestantism was to be deplored.[4] Noting the cry of woe from the 'Protestant pope' of Cheltenham, Francis Close, that Catholics have been liberated but now 'beautiful cathedrals are springing up,' Denis Paz wryly comments that Catholic were 're-paying their gift of freedom by exercising it.'[5] The population of Reading was alerted to preparations for building a new Catholic Chapel on the site of the ruins of the old abbey, 'where in days of yore mummeries and juggleries of superstition were produced on a larger scale.'[6] In Manchester, Protestants were said to be 'infuriated' by the 'graven images' when the new St Chad's Chapel was

[1] Francis Murphy, *A letter to J Taylor in reply to his attack on the dedicatory sermon preached by Dr Baines, on the opening of the New Catholic Chapel, Bradford,* (Bradford, 1827), pp.3-5.

[2] Edward Miles Rudd, *Lines on attempts to diffuse Popery,* (Oxford, 1835), pp.3-4.

[3] 'Clerical Intelligence,' *John Bull,* 23 July 1827.

[4] *The Times,* 4 December 1834, p.2.

[5] Paz, *Popular Anti-Catholicism*, p.100.

[6] 'Popery in Reading,' *John Bull,* (London), 26 November 1837.

opened at Red Bank in 1849.[1]

There was horror in some Protestant quarters in 1837, as relatives of Prince Albert attended High Mass at the private Chapel at Clever. The Protestants saw this as evidence that there was to be a new Catholic Chapel in Windsor 'worthy of Romish visitors to the English Court ' to the detriment of the Protestant religion, and as the harbinger of 'the Protestant Throne passing into Popish hands.'[2] An 1845 edition of The Age and Argus warned Protestants to beware of the Catholic advance on every side.[3]

Towards the end of the century, the potential challenge of Catholicism was recognised but not seen as dangerous. The Bromley Record in 1892, commenting on the opening of two new Catholic churches in Bromley and the adjacent Beckenham within days of each other, stated that the Catholicism in the area has been sparsely represented but 'now perhaps they intend to get level with their Protestant brethren - though it must be admitted that they will have a difficult task.' [4]

How did the Catholic side respond to the opposition? A report in The Tablet in July 1845 provides some indication that Catholic fears of opposition to the establishment of new chapels did exist.[5] At the laying of the foundation stone of the church dedicated to St Peter in Great Marlow, a Buckinghamshire town with a population of six thousand but, according to the report, 'only five or six Catholics,' there were a bailiff and a few assistants on hand to police the event and keep order, although 'the respect and reverential behaviour of the people were such as rendered their assistance superfluous.' The preacher at the ceremony, Rev. Thomas Sisk, seems to have felt a need to justify the event contrasting it with vain outward ceremony without heart, emphasising the Old Testament reference of Jacob pouring oil on stone, and arguing that others could not object to Catholics having a suitable building for worship of the one Christian Lord. A dinner followed in the town hall where Lord Camoys spoke of the 'high moral courage' of Mr Scott Murray and the 'bold

[1] Paz, *Popular Anti-Catholicism*, p.90.
[2] 'The Coburgs,', *The Age,* (London), 13 October 1839, p.325.
[3] 'Romanism Rampant,' *The Age and Argus* (London), 19 April 1845, p.10.
[4] *The Bromley Record,* 1 April 1892.
[5] 'Great Marlow – Laying the foundation stone of the new church in honour of St Peter,', *The Tablet,* 12 July 1845, p.438.

display' that had taken place; some may have questioned how far it could have been risked, yet order and regularity pertained. Scott Murray was one of the leading gentry and had led a procession of the robed clergy along the main street to the site. The bishop remarked that no interruptions to the ceremony had taken place and there was 'every sign of respect and attention' at the 'interesting and remarkable occasion.'

Farm Street and the Oratory

This chapter covers two case studies of the building and opening of two famous London churches, the Jesuit Church in Farm Street and the London Oratory. Both sparked controversy as they were being planned and built. Farm Street church opened in the middle of the century with limited press coverage and before the restoration of the Catholic Hierarchy, whereas the Oratory opened nearer the end of the century to a blaze of publicity and press comment.

The Jesuits' attempts to establish a chapel in London encountered internal difficulties early on. The Vicar Apostolic, Thomas Griffiths, accused the Jesuits of opening a subscription list for a new church before obtaining his permission to build.[1] By 18 May 1840, the London Jesuits applied to Bishop Griffiths for permission to start raising a subscription.[2] His Lordship objected because no site had been specified whereas the Jesuits were unwilling or unable to purchase a site until the funds were forthcoming.[3] The bishop then offered a site in Bethnal Green.[4] Unsurprisingly, the Jesuits rejected it; it was too far out of London and they were hoping to make converts. They reported to Rome suggesting that the bishop knew that the Bethnal Green offer would be declined.[5]

The backstreet site in Farm Street was acquired later in 1840, the foundation stone was laid in 1844, and the chapel was opened on 31 July 1849. Entry to the opening ceremonies was by ticket only, but the church was visited by

[1] Archives of the British Province of the Society of Jesus (henceforth ASJ), reference no. 6, Thomas Griffiths, Letter to Richard Norris, 3 October 1836.
[2] ASJ, reference no. 17, Letter to Thomas Griffiths, 8 May 1840.
[3] ASJ, reference no. 18, Edward Morris, Letter, 18 May 1840.
[4] ASJ, reference no. 29, Thomas Griffiths, Letter to Provincial, 8 July 1840.
[5] ASJ, reference no. 34, Letter to Thomas Glover, Al Gesu, Rome, 29 July 1840.

crowds all day and into the evening.[1] The opening received relatively little press coverage, and a guide book, attributes this to an abundance of news items at the time, including a by-election at Reading.[2] Perhaps the discrete location of the chapel, in the words of a German visitor 'up a stable yard,' was another reason.[3] By this time, the media were probably quite accustomed to new Catholic chapels being opened and the event slightly pre-dated the restoration of the Catholic hierarchy and ensuing controversy. Nevertheless, considering the Jesuits had notoriety amongst Protestants, this lack of reaction is a little surprising or could indicate that a new era of tolerance had arrived. Even the dedication of the church to the Immaculate Conception of Our Lady does not appear to have promoted Protestant protests. The Illustrated London News did report on the opening of the church and while acknowledging that the site was bad, commended the beauty of the building.[4] The church mirrored the course of chapel building in general as the century progressed, in that it became grander and more ornate. South and north side aisles were added in 1878 and 1898 respectively together with side chapels and other decoration, such as a candelabra for the St Ignatius Chapel in 1890.[5]

Turning to the London Oratory, the same elements of controversy and increased grandeur occur. Popularly known as the Brompton Oratory, the building of this church was always going to represent a milestone in the progress of Catholic chapel construction. Gone were any thoughts of keeping a low profile and discreetly hiding the Catholic building in a back street. The Oratory Church was built on a grand scale and on a main road. The Survey of London defers to the *Tablet* report of 26 April 1884 which suggests that the building was expressing the Ultramontane trend in the thoughts of Victorian Catholics.[6] The Survey covers the earlier history of the London Oratorians: the selection of the Brompton site was itself controversial because it was too remote from the urban population for their evangelisation. Newman referred to the 'neighbourhood of second rate gentry and second rate shops.' In early

[1] Bernard Basset, *Farm Street Church,* (London, 1948) p. 5.
[2] *Ibid.,* p. 7.
[3] ASJ, reference no. 97, H. R. Brewer, Letter to Rev. Fr. Bampton, 3 June 1897.
[4] 'Opening of the Church of the Jesuits in Mayfair,' *The Illustrated London News,* 4 August 1849, Issue 383, p.71.
[5] Basset, *Farm Street Church,* p.11.
[6] 'The London Oratory', *Survey of London: volume 41: Brompton* (1983), pp.50-57.

1853, the Vicar of Holy Trinity, Brompton tried to prevent the Oratorians from establishing themselves so close to his church. More controversy occurred over the design for the new church: its architect, Herbert Gribble, was forced to declare that a published design was only a suggestion and later when a competition was held the Oratorians did not follow the recommendations of the architect, Alfred Waterhouse, who they had commissioned to judge the entries.

The Times reported the opening of the church, describing the 'stately magnificence' of the ceremony and the 'nobly proportioned' church in detail, including a full report of the sermon preached by Cardinal Manning.[1] Other papers contained equally supportive reports. The Morning Post told of the magnificence of scale of the ceremony, and the architect deserving warmest congratulations.[2] Separately, *The Times* leader commented that had such an event happened thirty years earlier, 'painful apprehensions' would have been aroused amongst non-Catholics taking it as a sign of 'papal aggression' but 'we are unable to interpret this indisputable change of material feeling as indicating any material alteration in the sentiments with which the great mass of the English people regard the pretensions of the Church of Rome.' The Times suggested that the real fear was of disruption to the Church of England caused by the conversion of Newman and Tractarian and ritualistic movements within the Established Church. Furthermore, if the same fears were reignited, it would be apparent that Protestantism as manifested by anti-Catholic resistance remained 'a potent force'. The editorial went on to say that the Catholic Church had changed and the charitable works of religious and generosity of the laity had won support for Catholics from the just and tolerant English. The writer concluded that there remained a gulf between England and Rome and therefore the English could afford to be tolerant of the Catholic Church.[3] There was a veiled warning that tolerance would only predominate while the Catholic Church was not perceived as a threat to the establishment. This did not come out in the other papers and could have been wishful thinking on the part of the writer.

Conclusion

[1] 'The Oratory, South Kensington,' *The Times,* Saturday 26 April 1884, p.12.
[2] 'The Opening of the Brompton Oratory,' *The Morning Post* (London, England), Saturday, 26 April 1884, p.5, Issue 34896 .
[3] *The Times,* Saturday 26 April 1884, p.11, Issue 31118.

For much of the first part of the nineteenth century there was a tacit welcome from British society for new Catholic chapels. There was some scaremongering from Protestants as the century progressed and as the Catholic Church became more firmly established. From the middle of the century, it was apparent that that the Catholic Church was not merely serving the existing Catholic population, but was opening new churches with the hope of attracting converts. By the end of the century, Protestant society felt sufficiently secure not to see the Catholic Church as a threat.

I have argued that lack of opposition to new Catholic chapels suggests that anti-Catholicism in British society was due to fear that the Protestant character of the state and the Established Churches could be undermined, rather than an ethos overhanging from earlier centuries. At the official level, problems concerning the opening of new Catholic chapels arose more from conflicts of interest within the Catholic Church and not because of opposition from the British State. To me, the most surprising aspect of my research has been the positive reception of new Catholic chapels by the secular press. Perhaps, society of today should not be too disturbed as different faith groups open new places of worship. More generally, this research suggests that new movements will be accepted by society, provided they do not pose a threat to the existing ethos.

'The chief fever district of the town': St Mary's Highfield Street, Liverpool, 1866-1871

John Davies

One of the challenges facing those who write parish histories, as is also the case with those pursuing family histories, is the historical reconstruction of the communities in which those missions and parishes were established, developed, flourished and later declined. This becomes a particularly difficult problem where the mission or parish had now closed and the community it served has been long dispersed and where, in some cases, not only have the former social and political structures disappeared but the physical and built environment have undergone a complete change. St Mary's, usually referred to as St Mary's Highfield Street, although it was only re-located there in 1885[1], Liverpool's first Catholic mission, was closed a decade ago, by which time the resident Catholic population had long left the area, and even the post-World War Two replacement church has been obliterated from the landscape and replaced by an apartment block for those working in Liverpool's business community.

The mission was founded in the eighteenth century to serve Liverpool's emerging Catholic commercial middle classes but by the 1860s it was at the centre of the densely populated districts of Exchange and Vauxhall, just north east of the town centre. What do we know of the Irish Catholic working class communities living in tightly packed together back-to-back court houses and in narrow terraced streets, in an area which was described by Liverpool's medical authorities as the 'chief fever district' of the town? There is perhaps little that the existing standard parish records tell us about daily life in these communities, though it is possible to track the birth rate and the alarmingly

[1] St Mary's was originally located in Edmund Street. The church was designed by Augustus Welby Pugin and had been opened in 1845. To accommodate the building o8f Liverpool Exchange Station the church was removed brick by brick and re-erected in Highfield Street, being opened in 1885. At the time covered by this article it was still, therefore, in Edmund Street but it is customary to refer to the mission throughout its history, dating back to its foundation in the eighteenth century, as St Mary's Highfield Street. John Davies, 'Vanishing Churches', *North West Catholic History*, vol. XXXIX (2002), pp.134-139.

high death rate through the registers.[1] We do, however, have the minutes of the St Vincent de Paul Society, SVP, for two years in the mid-1860s and the historian is fortunate also in being able to turn to the reports, prepared for the town council, on the social and environmental conditions in which many of the parishioners, largely the Irish poor, lived, who were served by St Mary's.

In the 1860s St Mary's served the Vauxhall/Exchange area north east of the town centre. When the mission had been founded in the eighteenth century it had served the Catholic commercial middle class in this business district of the town. By the mid-nineteenth century, while keeping their business premises and offices in the area the middle classes, including the growing Catholic middle class, had left for Liverpool's newer suburbs. In 1843, in a famous lecture to the town's Literary and Philosophical Society, Dr William Duncan, soon to be appointed Liverpool's and the country's first Medical Officer of Health, had described Vauxhall as the part of the town in which 'fever is most prevalent'. Half of its population were living in cellars or in courts of back-to-back housing with no internal sanitation. The Irish[2] population, he argued, were especially exposed to the 'physical causes of fever'. They inhabited the 'filthiest courts and cellars' and 'congregated the most numerously in dirty lodging houses'. They were the 'least clean' in their habits and the 'most apathetic about everything that befalls them'. As a result, in Vauxhall the rate of mortality exceeded that of 'tropical regions'.[3]

Duncan's lecture to the Literary and Philosophical Society was given in March 1843 some four years before the major wave of immigration into Liverpool which followed in the wake of the Irish Famine. Frank Neal in his *Sectarian Violence* calculates that in 1841 the Irish-born population of Liverpool was just under 50,000. In 1851, after the famine, it had climbed to almost 84,000.[4] These Irish migrants were Catholics and many of them would join

[1] The baptismal registers for St Mary's are available in Liverpool Record Office.

[2] The description 'Catholic' was very rarely used in official or semi-official reports but the general assumption was that the Irish were Catholics, at least nominally.

[3] Dr William Duncan, *On the Physical Causes of the High Rate of Mortality in Liverpool* (Liverpool 1843), pp.45, 56, 60.

[4] Frank Neal, *Sectarian Violence: The Liverpool Experience 1819-1914* (Manchester, 1988), p.81.

their compatriots in the poorer areas of the town, notably Vauxhall/Exchange. This poor Irish Catholic population left virtually no written records of their own. However, we can learn a great deal about this community from Liverpool's municipal records, although many of the authors of these reports lacked any real empathy for the poor Irish Catholic communities they were describing. To supplement these, at times, perhaps hostile sources we are fortunate in the case of St Mary's that for the period 1867-1868 we can draw on a more sympathetic source from within the Catholic community itself, the record of the work of the Society of St Vincent de Paul (SVP) in the parish.

In 1865 Liverpool town council set up a sub-committee to enquire into the 'high rate of mortality' in the town especially from typhus fever and infantile diarrhoea. The report of this enquiry was submitted in 1866. The report's authors were convinced that the 'proximate' causes of the increased death rate were the three evils of 'intemperance, indigence, and overcrowding'. The latter two, poverty and over crowding, it was argued, were usually found in the 'train' of intemperance. The evidence collected by the enquiry team seemed to indicate that the 'vice' of intemperance was 'alarmingly prevalent' among the poor working class of the town. As a result of intemperance the 'wretched victims' and their families rapidly sank further into 'squalid poverty', which itself led to overcrowding.

To illustrate their conclusions the authors of the report highlighted the cases of a number of streets in the Vauxhall area. These streets were not in themselves 'bad in construction' but had a very high death rate from typhus fever. One of the streets used as an example was Kew Street, which was next to Edmund Street where St Mary's church was then located. The people who lived in these streets were largely unskilled labourers or casually-employed dockside porters. Generally each family occupied only one room in the house where it lived. The one room was used as 'living and sleeping accommodation' which produced the 'most wretched state of poverty and dirt'. The report's authors went on to claim that the people who lived in these streets spent Monday and often Tuesday in 'drunkenness and riot'. It was not unusual to see these people at six o'clock on Monday mornings queuing outside the pawnbrokers' shops waiting for them to open so that they could raise some money on clothes or on any other possessions they had to hand to

pawn. As soon as they laid their hands on this money they made for the public house and seldom left before it was 'all spent'.

After this extremely negative and depressing analysis of the living conditions and lifestyle of the poor, Irish and Catholic, in this crowded part of the town the recommendations of the committee were rather more positive in tone. It was argued that the remedy for the evils of intemperance, indigence, and overcrowding was to provide 'decent dwellings' for the poor. The mass of crowded 'dwellings', courts and narrow streets should be broken up. Thoroughfares should be driven through these crowded areas to let in 'light and air'. The closed courts should be opened up and 'cleanliness' should be encouraged through the provision of an ample supply of 'pure water'. All privies in these streets and courts should be converted into water closets and the 'midden system' for the disposal of rubbish should be 'got rid of'.[1]

The sub-committee's preferred solution was an indication of the enlightened views about the improvement of the living conditions of the urban working class that were held by many liberal minded social reformers and medical professionals of the time. These enlightened liberal views, however, were not always accepted or indeed understood by the working class subjects of such reports as those commissioned by the town council. There was often evidence of a culture clash. A graphic example of this clash of cultural values can be seen in the report of Liverpool's Medical Officer of Health, Duncan's successor, Dr Trench, in 1866.

On Monday morning 2 July 1866 Trench's office was notified of a death from 'English Cholera' that had occurred on 1 July in Number Two Court Bispham Street in Exchange ward. The 'sanitary officers' knew the area well. It was 'inhabited by the lowest of the Irish population' and was in the 'worst part' of the 'chief fever district' of the town. Number Two Court, according to Trench was 'so close confined' as to make it unfit for 'human habitation'. In 1865 he had had applied to the Grand Jury[2] to have two of the three houses demolished and for the common cesspool to be replaced by a water closet. His office was only waiting for the legal formalities to be completed before this improvement work was carried out.

[1] Liverpool Record Office (LRO), *Council Proceedings 1865-1866*, 'Report of the sub-committee on the causes of the excessive mortality of the town', pp.667 ff.

[2] Such an application would now be made to the local magistrates' court.

When he received notification of the death it seemed to Trench only too likely in this 'squalid and overcrowded' neighbourhood with its 'wretched' and 'indigent' population that the 'spark' of the extremely contagious cholera would 'burst into a conflagration'. He and his officers, therefore, tried immediately to persuade the family and friends of the dead woman to agree to a 'speedy burial of the corpse'. However, the woman's family refused to accept this advice and decided to continue with a wake for her during Monday night. Her body was laid on a board on the floor of the south wing of the cottage and in the room where men and women ate, drank and slept, the orgies of the coronach[1], embracing the cooperation of scores of people were maintained, amidst drunken and profane ribaldry, during the day and night.

On Tuesday morning when Trench returned in a further attempt to 'hasten' the funeral, either by 'threats or persuasion', he found that the court reeked of tobacco and with the 'loathsome and disgusting emanations of drunken unwashed bacchanals'. The three houses in the court were crammed with men, women and children. Outside of the open door of the house, in which the dead woman's body lay, 'drunken women' squatted on the flagstones of the court. Trench was clearly horrified by what he saw. He commented:

> There had been in the presence of death, one of those shameful coronachs, which to the disgrace of the enlightened progress and advanced civilisation of the nineteenth century, still linger as dregs of ancient manners among the funeral customs of the Irish peasantry.

He condemned the wake as a 'rash challenge to the dreaded pestilence'. The consequences, he added, could be seen in the 'mortality returns' of the weeks following. Within one week John Boyle, the husband of the dead woman, had died of cholera and before the end of the month of July forty-eight people who had lived within a radius of one hundred and fifty yards of the Bispham Street court, the scene of 'ill-time revelry', had also died of the same cause.[2]

[1] Coronach was the term used by the Irish for a wake. Trench, himself, was a member of an Anglo-Irish family and was fully familiar with, if not approving of, 'the funeral customs of the rural Catholic Irish.

[2] LRO, *Council Proceedings 1866-67*, B.W.S. Trench, 'Report on the Health of Liverpool, 1866', p.448 ff.

In Trench's report we have an example of the sheer incomprehension with which members of the professional middle classes, committed to the improvement of social conditions, regarded the behavioural norms and social conditions of these recently urbanised Irish Catholics. Trench's reaction as well as being one of sheer incomprehension is also one of outright disgust that any sane, rational, decent, human beings could live in this way.

In August 1871 two Liverpool doctors, Parkes and Burdon Sanderson, presented their commissioned report on the 'sanitary condition' of Liverpool. In it they compared the mortality rates of various parts of the town, ranging from the 'respectable' Rodney Street through the middle and lower middle class areas to those wards where the poor working class lived. Among this latter group were a number of notorious locations within St Mary's mission. In these streets the annual date rate ranged between forty-five and fifty-five per one thousand of the population, as compared with that in the Rodney Street area of ten per thousand.[1] Particularly disturbing to Parkes and Burdon Sanderson was the difference in the mortality rate of children under the age of five. In Rodney Street they calculated it as four children in every one hundred while at the other extreme it was twenty-six per one hundred in Sawney Pope Street. They found this contrast 'appalling'. In Sawney Pope Street one in every two deaths each year was that of a child under five years of age.

Parkes' and Burdon Sanderson argued in their report that poor sanitary conditions were an important factor in these differences in the death rate between these various localities. In the Bispham Street/Sawney Pope area the town council had clearly done a great deal to improve the 'cleanliness' of peoples' homes by lime washing walls and by compelling those living there to 'clean the houses'. Despite this 'enforced' cleaning, however, 'nothing could exceed the dirt of the people and the foetid condition of the atmosphere at night'. Parkes and Burdon Sanderson found it difficult to understand how 'human beings could tolerate such a state of things'. Their only possible explanation was that account had to be taken of the 'deadening influence of custom'. They did, however, accept that the 'construction' of the courts and

[1] Of interest to historians of the Catholic community in Liverpool is that some fifteen years before this report was published the Sisters of Notre Dame had established a teacher training college and school on a site stretching up Mount Pleasant from Rodney Street to Hope Street. The teachers trained here would serve schools in Catholic parishes such as St Mary's.

houses and the 'entire want of ventilation' contributed significantly to the 'uncleanliness'. Because of sub-letting with one family occupying only one room it was virtually impossible for the people living in that one room to keep themselves clean while 'others are dirty'. Many of these people tended to give up in despair and abandon any attempt to keep themselves clean. The only 'clean' houses Parkes and Burdon Sanderson had seen were in those courts where there was no sub-letting.

Parkes and Burdon Sanderson asked what were the causes of the 'foetid atmosphere' in these courts and streets. They concluded that there were a number of causes:

> ...the effluvia due to the filth of the persons and clothes; the exhalations from the unstopped drains and wet filthy floors of cellars; the excretions of the skin and lungs which are not removed by ventilation; the effluvia from fish and other foods; and the dirt of walls, floors and furniture, where there is any.

A further factor, however, was drink. For many of the workers, particularly for those reliant on dock work, employment was very 'uncertain'. In times of 'destitution' they accepted an 'enforced' temperance but this was 'compensated for at the first opportunity on the return of plenty'. The report claimed that in these streets fewer than twenty per cent of the population were 'leading lives of ordinary restraint and decency'. However, Parkes and Burdon Sanderson accepted that these 'unhappy people' knew 'none of the comforts and few of the decencies of life'. As a result widespread habits of drunkenness, and consequent want of food and their wretched homes all conspire in destroying their health.

Some improvements, such as the paving of courts, the provision of stand pipes to ensure a supply of clean water, and the installation of effective drainage systems, had been achieved by the town council. The ' essential features of the labyrinth of courts', however, remained. The only solution to the sanitary problems of this area, Parkes and Burdon Sanderson concluded was 'demolition on a much larger scale' than had hitherto been the case.[1]

[1] LRO. *Council Proceedings 1870-1871*, Drs. Parkes and Burdon Sanderson, 'Report on the Sanitary Conditions of Liverpool, August 1871', p.672 ff.

Two months later in October 1871 Fr James Nugent[1], who along with his other pastoral duties, acted as the Roman Catholic chaplain to Liverpool Prison, submitted his annual report to the town council. He struggled to come to terms with his analysis of the committal figures for the previous year. This examination showed that of the eleven thousand, seven hundred men and women serving prison sentences in Liverpool Gaol that year seven thousand, seven hundred were Catholics. Of these Catholic prisoners three thousand, three hundred and eighty-seven were men and four thousand, three hundred and twenty-six were women. These figures, he lamented revealed 'a sad and humiliating condition of the people who come under my charge'. Closer examination of these figures indicated that most of these offenders came from areas of Liverpool like St Mary's parish. Nugent painted a picture of the desperate social conditions in this area of Liverpool from which most of these prisoners came:

> from the lowest quarters of the town, from densely populated locations where a number of families are crowded together in courts and often where several families are huddled together in the same house.

Sadly, Nugent concluded that in this kind of environment 'self-respect, morality and the sacredness of family life are soon destroyed.' Intemperance reigned 'supreme'. There was little sense of 'shame or social degradation'. There could be no surprise then that 'drunken brawls, assaults and riotous conduct' became almost the norm. His experience as a prison chaplain had led him to conclude that 'drunkenness overcrowds this prison more than crime'. The prisoners he ministered to came from a social class and group who knew only casual employment. They were a class who were forced to 'get bread as best they can'. These people were the first to suffer in any economic downturn or 'check to trade and commerce'. They sadly knew nothing of the habit of thrift and thus 'made no provision' for the future.

[1] Fr (Monsignor) James Nugent, 1822 –1905. His 'Christ-like compassion...resulted in his name becoming synonymous with practical charity.' Brian Plumb, *'Found Worthy': A Biographical Dictionary of the Secular Clergy of the Archdiocese of Liverpool (Deceased), 1850-2000* (Wigan, 2005), p.122. See also John Davies, 'Fr James Nugent, Prison Chaplain', *North West Catholic History*, vol. XXII (1995) pp.15-24.

Unfortunately, what money they did manage to earn, no matter how little, was often 'squandered improvidently'.[1]

The obvious poverty of so many of those who lived within its pastoral area led to the establishment in St Mary's of the charitable organisation of the Society of St Vincent de Paul (SVP) by the 1860s. This international Catholic lay society had only been founded some thirty years earlier by Frederick Ozanam to serve the people of the Paris slums. It is not clear when the society was founded at St Mary's but the minute book of the conference for the years 1867-1868 has survived and is deposited in the Liverpool Record Office.[2] These minutes from 1867-1868 give some indication of the range of the St Mary's SVP Conference's activities and the attitudes of its members. There is no explicitly stated rationale for the charitable work that was undertaken but the intention of the members seems to have been to alleviate the suffering of the poor in the district. The Conference's work might be described as a 'fire fighting' activity, to quench the flames but not to remove the source of any conflagration. There was no attempt to campaign for any improvement in social conditions or to use political means to bring about social change. The Conference was apolitical in its approach to the neighbourhood's problems. Implicitly its members seem to have accepted the existing political social conditions. They merely sought as good Christians to help those who were most adversely affected by those conditions. Relief of the poor was a corporal work of mercy.

The membership of St Mary's SVP Conference during this period consisted, at its maximum, of a dozen and a half men[3], although for much of the time the active members were much fewer than that number. Analysis of the names of the active members suggests that the majority of them were Irish or of Irish extraction, as one would expect in this strongly Irish district of the town. It may well be that they were predominantly respectable working or lower middle class men. The secretary, Augustine Quinn, was certainly literate although other members may have been less so as minutes of meetings were generally not kept when Quinn was absent.

[1] LRO. Council Proceedings 1870-1871, Roman Catholic Prison Chaplain's Report, October 1871, p.598 ff.
[2] LRO 361 VIN, *The Society of St Vincent de Paul, Highfield Street.*
[3] The SVP was a male only society at this time.

The main duty of the members was to visit the poor and give relief. This relief was to be given to those who were 'worthy' or deserving and was on occasion refused to those who were judged 'able to work'. How was this decision reached as to who was 'worthy'? It seems that the clergy from St Mary's and from neighbouring parishes in the adjacent Scotland Road area made recommendations. Usually the priest confirmed that the applicant for relief, as, for example, in the case of the widow Bridget Keefe, 'attends her religious duties'. Other 'respectable' members of the parish, such as the parish schoolteacher, Kelly, supported applications for help from the Society. In many cases the poor themselves also made direct requests for help. It was unusual for any such request for help to be met with an immediate favourable response. The usual procedure was for the Conference to appoint one of its members, the 'brothers', to investigate the case. The brother then reported back to the weekly meeting of the Conference and his judgement on the worthiness or otherwise of the applicant was usually accepted by the Conference. Many of these investigative visits must often have been very difficult for the Conference members. They were working in the poorest areas of the town, there was a multitude of demands on them, and their resources were pitifully limited. They could not satisfy all the requests for help and had to decide which cases were the most 'deserving'. Their task was neither easy nor enviable.

Where did the financial resources for the Conference's charitable work come from? The bulk of the money, distributed in the form of 'tickets'[1], came from collections taken at the church door as Mass-goers left. Although no regular financial accounts are recorded in the minutes it seems that the church door receipts were supplemented by grants from the Central Council of the Society, as in June 1868 when £5 was received by the Conference.

This, admittedly limited, record of the activities of the SVP Conference at St Mary's gives us a rather different perspective on the lives of the Catholic poor in the district than the one that we get from the official municipal reports, including that of Fr James Nugent in his official capacity as prison chaplain. The brothers of the SVP did not see themselves as political or social reformers, which the municipal authorities did. The tone of condemnation is almost entirely lacking in the Conference's reports, in contrast to the reports of the

[1] The tickets were exchanged for food at designated local shops.

various official enquiries. The work of the Conference was to give relief to the Catholic poor and it went about this work without comment on the political and economic causes of the atrocious social conditions or of the responsibility of the poor themselves for these conditions. Conference members did decide who was 'worthy' of their charity. The use of 'worthy' would seem to imply a judgemental element in their work but its use is perhaps better seen as merely a point of reference in the assessment of the rival claims to their very limited resources. Certainly the tone of these SVP reports on visits to the poor is in marked contrast to those of town council officials. There was a fundamental empathy between the 'brothers' of the SVP Conference and their poor parishioners. They came from the same church community and shared heritage and culture. There was perhaps an element of 'There but for the grace of God go I' in their relationship with the poor.[1]

Many of the local sources, reports written by individual council officials or the records of specially commissioned enquiries, could be described as hostile sources when referring to the local Irish Catholic community but their authors would have regarded them as objectively impartial or, at the very worst, neutral in their analysis of local social conditions. However for historians writing from within the Catholic community these records can provide valuable insights. These reports were produced by liberally-minded reformers and professionals who campaigned to improve the abject living conditions of the poor and by so doing hoped and aimed to bring about a marked improvement in the health of the community generally. The poor in question here were the Irish Catholic population of Vauxhall and Exchange wards, Liverpool. In the eyes of the reformers this poor Irish population was either unable or unwilling to help itself. Even Fr James Nugent, broadly far more sympathetic, stands back a little from these poorest members of the Catholic community. In his role as a local official, the Roman Catholic prison chaplain, he finds it difficult to answer the question, no doubt often put to him by other officials, 'Why are so many Catholics being sent to prison?' The Liverpool Catholic Irish poor would probably reject these official opinions and judgements. Unfortunately they have left no written records of their own. The nearest we get to hearing how the members of this poor Irish Catholic

[1] John Davies, 'Parish Charity: The Work of the Society of St Vincent de Paul, St Mary's Highfield Street, 1867-1868', *North West Catholic History*, vol. XVII (1990), pp.37-46.

community felt about the wretched social conditions in which they lived is from the record of the pastoral work of the SVP Conference of St Mary's. This record produced by members, albeit better educated and in more fortunate economic circumstances, of their own Catholic community is more sympathetic and less judgemental in tone.

English Catholicism and the Archives of the Jacobite Movement

Geoffrey Scott

Since loyal Jacobites will be commemorating the 300th anniversary of the 1715 Northumbrian Jacobite Rebellion in 2015, the editor of *Catholic Archives* felt it fitting to include something on Jacobite archives in this present number. What follows is a summary of principal archival collections, with a few items of local interest and colour added.

The Jacobite Movement can be said to have begun with the Revolution of 1688/89 when the Catholic king, James II and his family and court, sought refuge in France. In England, the crown was offered to William of Orange and his wife, Mary, daughter of James II by his first wife, Anne Hyde. The Jacobite Movement ended with the death of Henry Benedict, Cardinal York, and to the Jacobites, Henry IX, *de jure* king, the grandson of James II, in 1807. For over a century of its existence, the Movement generated a considerable archive which was centred on a royal court which gradually reduced in size and variously settled in France (1689-1716), Lorraine (1716-18), the papal enclave of Avignon, and Pescaro and Urbino in the papal states (1716-18), Rome (1719-74), and Florence (1774-88 - 1788 marking the death of the Young Pretender in Rome; his brother, Henry Benedict, Cardinal Duke of York, died at Frascati in 1807). The Jacobite Movement created a widespread diaspora made up of Irish, English, and Scottish exiles who had their continental sympathisers and hosts. Until the second half of the eighteenth century the principal Jacobite objective was the reclaiming of the English crown by the Stuarts, but there was little chance of a Stuart restoration, following the Jacobite defeat at Culloden on 1745 and the death of the Old Pretender, James III to the Jacobites in 1766, when the pope refused to recognise his son, Charles Edward ('Bonnie Prince Charlie'), the Young Pretender, as rightful king of England.

Because the exiled Stuarts had a court without an established home, a great deal of Jacobite archival material is now scattered throughout many diverse collections both in the United Kingdom and in Europe. Although a sizeable amount of Jacobite material survives, Jacobite archives relating to the movement's Catholicism forms only a small part of this greater collection. There are a number of collections of Jacobite archives still in Catholic hands. The material bought together by the secular priest, John Kirk (1760-1851) is at

Ushaw and at Douai Abbey, Berkshire, are the six volumes of 'Memorials' (1707) of Dom Benet Weldon, who was received into the church in the chapel of St James's Palace and became English Benedictine of St Edmund's, Paris. These 'Memorials' contain important contemporary details of James II's dealings with the monks and a full description of his funeral in September 1701, and the miracles later associated with the king. But Weldon's manuscript 'History of England's late Most Holy and Most Glorious Royal Confessor and Defender of the True Fatih, James II' is now in the British Library having been taken from the monastery library during the French Revolution. For the continuing attachment of the English Benedictines to the Jacobite cause in the later eighteenth century, the correspondence of the Benedictine President General is of great importance, although no longer in a Catholic archive. It is to be found today in Lille, Archives du Nord, series 18 H.

The Catholic life in the Stuart Court

The court at Saint-Germain-en-Laye, to the north of Paris, was the closest that the Jacobites came to re-establishing in France the court which the Stuarts had known in London before the Revolution. The château at Saint-Germain contained a number of chapels, and a numerous body of chaplains to officiate within them. Details of the religious life in the court can be found in Marchesa Campana de Cavelli, *Les derniers Stuarts à Saint-Germain-en-Laye. Documents inédits et authentiques puisés aux archives publiques privées* (Paris 1871, 2 vols.) and *Stuart papers relating chiefly to Queen Mary of Modena and the exile Court of James II, printed from the official copies of the original, with facsimiles, under the superintendance of Falconer Madan*, (London, for The Roxburghe Club, no. 120, 1889, 2 vols.). The names of Catholic members of the court at Saint-Germain can be traced in the local parish registers (C. E. Lart, *Jacobite extracts from the parochial registers of Saint-Germain-en-Laye: Jacobite Extracts*, London, 1910). Whilst at Saint-Germain, James II kept up a devotional diary, entitled 'The Papers of Devotion', which was destined for his son. These papers, of which there are a number of contemporary copies, have been published in Godfrey Davies, ed., *Papers of Devotion of James II* (Roxburghe Club, vol. 181, 1925). The Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal in Paris holds two further books of devotions compiled by James II.

Since a number of retainers who had fled to France with James II remained Anglicans, there was provision made for Anglican chaplains within the

château. Catholic liturgical books and devotional primers survive in printed and manuscript form, which were used within the Catholic chapels. In exile, James II was determined that his son, James, the Old Pretender, would remain a committed Catholic like his father, and so James II's manuals for the instruction and education of his son, were compiled in 1692 and 1696, and survive today in the Royal Archives at Windsor. Accompanying these rules of good conduct was a commentary on the Our Father, with coloured miniatures, presented to the young prince in 1692. Armand de Rancé (1626-1700), regular Abbot of the reformed monastery of La Trappe, was an influential spiritual director of James II, and the king visited him at La Trappe. On his first visit James was accompanied by the Maréchal de Bellefonds, the duke of Berwick and Lord Dunbarton. Eighteen original letters of the abbot to James II survive, whilst 38 letters of the king, and a handful from Queen Mary of Modena, to de Rancé are extant (A. J. Krailsheimer, ed., *Abbé de Rancé. Correspondance*, (Paris, 1993), vols. 3 & 4, *passim*).

The Archives Nationales in Paris have assorted papers relating to the Catholicism of the Jacobites. Some of these derive from the Visitation Convent at Chaillot, just outside the city, which was much frequented by Queen Mary of Modena. Her correspondence with the community survives. The nuns of Chaillot were ardent promoters, through published broadsheets, of the cult of King James II after his death on 1701.

The Collections of Stuart Papers at Windsor and elsewhere

A court on the move has little opportunity for depositing its papers in any permanent place which explains why Jacobite political material is dispersed throughout Europe. This article, however, will concentrate on surviving archives which reflect the close links between Jacobites and the Catholic Church. The international character of Catholicism meant that it had certain affinities with the Jacobite diaspora. Both had agents in many countries who sought to widen the influence of the Catholic Church and Jacobitism respectively. The bond between the two was particularly strong when both found themselves oppressed and persecuted, as they were in England until the last decades of the eighteenth century. The symbiotic relationship of both meant that their archives are interwoven. The largest deposit of Jacobite material, the 'Stuart Papers' (RA SP), is presently housed in the Round Tower of Windsor Castle and consists of over five hundred bound volumes and many boxes, arranged chronologically. The bulk of this collection's presence

at Windsor among the Royal Archives is due to a Catholic priest, the Benedictine, James Placid Waters *alias* Duvivier (1740-1808). Waters was the English Benedictine Procurator in Rome during the time that Prince Charles Edward had settled in Florence, On the death of the prince, who was latterly known as the Count of Albany, his illegitimate daughter, the Duchess of Albany, became dependent on Waters who acted as her major-domo, and on her death, she left him, as her executor, this substantial Stuart archive. Waters subsequently sold the collection to the Prince Regent in 1805 in return for an annuity and eventually it became part of the royal archive.

Among the papers bequeathed to Waters was the manuscript life of James II completed by William Dicconson between 1710 and 1715, at the behest of the Old Pretender. This biography is the basis of J. S. Clarke's life of James II published in 1816. From 1902, the Historical Manuscripts Commission began to publish selected extracts from the Stuart Papers at Windsor. Most of the Stuart papers are political and diplomatic, and reveal an extensive intelligence network and fund-raising campaigns by English Catholics. Of particular Catholic interest is the frequent recourse by individuals to royal Jacobite patronage in the appointment to ecclesiastical benefices and to episcopal office in England, Ireland and Scotland. The Windsor papers contain a great deal of correspondence between Stuart sovereigns and the papal court, but they also hold more ephemeral Catholic items, such as the lace cut-out birthday cards sent by various English convents exiled in Europe to the Stuart children. Placid Waters's own correspondence, now mainly in Lille, Archives du Nord, and in the Diocese of Clifton archives, provides the last glimpses of the Jacobite circle in Rome in the two decades before the invasion of the Papal States by the French Revolutionary armies. Waters's contemporary in Rome was John Thorpe, who also comments a great deal on Roman Jacobite affairs during his sojourn in the city between 1756 and 1792. His letters are now in the archives of the English Province of the Society of Jesus, Farm Street, London.

Moving away from the surviving central Jacobite archive, there is Jacobite material dispersed throughout various collections in what is now the National Archives (originally the Public Records Office). The best summary guide to Catholic material in the National Archives is to be found in J. Anthony Williams, 'Sources for Recusant History (1559-1791) in English Official Archives', *Recusant History*, vol. 16, no. 4, October 1983. This summary points

to important Jacobite material in the Registers of the Privy Council and in the eighteenth-century proceedings of King's Bench. It also notes various Treasury papers generated by eighteenth-century seizures for Jacobitism as well as those created in the aftermath of the 1715 Jacobite Plot which include the papers of the Forfeited Estates Commission set up in 1716. The National Archives also holds papers relating to local Jacobite interest. These include Lieutenancy papers which throw light on how acts of central government and directives of the Privy Council dealing with Jacobite emergencies were enforced by Lords-Lieutenant in the localities. For printed pamphlets in the National Archives, R. J. Goulden's 'Jacobite pamphlets in the Public Record Office', *Antiquarian Book Monthly Review*, 3, (1976) is of some use. Finally, the published *Calendars of State Papers Domestic* are particularly revealing for government reactions to Jacobite papists in the decade after the 1688/89 Revolution and list warrants, seizures, and information of alleged Jacobite activity.

There are substantial deposits of Jacobite material in other major collections in England, some of it relating to Catholic Jacobites. One such collection is the Carte papers in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, which was compiled by the Jacobite, Thomas Carte (1686-1754). In the surviving collections of official papers of the eighteenth-century English Catholic Vicars Apostolic, there remains a certain amount of Jacobite material found mostly today in diocesan collections. The amount is not large because of the danger of exposure of senior Catholic ecclesiastics, subject to penal legislation, who were found to be receiving letters from Jacobite sympathisers viewed as enemies of Protestant England.

Jacobite Diplomatic Archives

Even if in exile, the Jacobite court was recognised by many Catholic European countries as a properly constituted government. This ensured that there was constant correspondence between Jacobite agents and emissaries and these countries. These accredited Jacobite ambassadors to various courts have left behind them their correspondence and letter-books which are now dispersed through a number of private and public archives. Included in a large collection of Jacobite material in the National Library of Scotland in Edinburgh is the journal of David Nairne, James II's under-secretary of state, which covers the period 1655-1708.

Since the papacy was the most enduring ally of the later Stuart dynasty, it is

not surprising that the Archivio Segreto Vaticano (ASV), essentially a diplomatic archive, has preserved much Jacobite correspondence. Within its collections of the Segreteria di Stato papers, is the correspondence between the Holy See and various monarchs ('Lettere di Principi'). The Stuart kings' letters to the Secretary of State are to be found in volumes 119, 123, 125-131, 135, 140, 144-146A, 209, 213, 217, and 218, and also in the Nunciature 'Inghilterra' volumes 21, 22, and 25. Within ASV is the Fondo Albani, wherein is to be found six volumes of Jacobite papers (vols.163-168) which relate to the period of the court's sojourn at Saint-Germain-en-Laye and extend to *c.*1720. These volumes have a bearing on the constitutional, religious, and social history of Britain, and are described by B.C. Foley in 'James II's Court at St. Germains and The Holy See (1688-1701), in his *Some Other People of The Penal Times*, (Lancaster, 1991), pp. 125-31. Besides ASV, there is some duplicate Jacobite material in the archives of Propaganda Fide in Rome which is found under 'Anglia'. Finally, in other Roman archives of the Holy See there is Jacobite material within the papers of the Roman Inquisition, now housed in the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith. Here, 'St. St. UU 22' deals with oaths and abjurations, and 'D.V. 1669-1707 n. 33' contains Jacobite material originating from the reign of Queen Anne (died 1714).

Letters from the governments of host countries to the Jacobite court are to be found in profusion in the Stuart Papers at Windsor. Given the furtive nature of the Jacobite Movement, and the perception that it threatened the stability of government in England, there was an elaborate espionage system developed in which spies and double agents sought access to Jacobite diplomatic channels. That Jacobites were clearly aware of this infiltration can be seen in the large number of documents written in various cyphers and codes by Jacobite agents. In such correspondence, for instance, 'Hill-town' often denotes Rome or the papacy. The funding of an elaborate ambassadorial network was expensive and as, the eighteenth-century wore on, the Stuart monarchs were forced to cut back on this heavy drain on their tight finances. As to real and sham Jacobite plots, which kept spies occupied, there is material to be found dating from the last decade of the seventeenth-century and through the following century in national archive repositories in England, one common item being lists of local papists suspected of being disaffected or dangerous.

Throughout much of the eighteenth century, King James III exercised a

great influence over the nominations of English vicars apostolic, a prerogative deriving from papal recognition of him as the *de jure* King of England. Such examples of royal patronage, often revealed in correspondence between the king and the Cardinal Protectors of England, are to be found in ASV and English Catholic diocesan archives such as the Main Series volumes in the Westminster Diocesan archives.

Jacobite archives and British Catholics in exile

We are apt to forget that by the time of the 1688-89 Revolution, Western Europe was home to many English monasteries, convents, colleges and schools. Some of these, James II, as Duke of York, had visited during the 1650s when the royal family had been in exile during the Protectorate of Oliver Cromwell. These institutions remained fiercely loyal to the Stuarts until they were dispersed during the French Revolution and eventually returned to England. Archives survive of their associations with the royal family. Gifts of relics were made by the royal family and formal greetings were exchanged, royal benefactions were acknowledged in the communities' archives, and various forms of royal patronage were bestowed. Not surprisingly, a number of these exiled communities acted as post offices for Jacobite mail and were ready to act as hosts, providing accommodation for Jacobite travellers and refugees. The principal archive repository for Jacobite studies among these institutions was the Scots College, Paris, where King James II deposited his manuscript memoirs, believed to consist of some ten or twelve volumes. The king had been unusual among British monarchs of the time in that he kept a detailed diary. The loss of these memoirs in 1793, during the French Revolution was irreparable, although some copies of them had fortunately been made. Many eye-witness accounts of the death and funeral obsequies of members of the royal family were compiled and these were copied and circulated within the exiled religious communities. Richard Sharp, *The Engraved Record of the Jacobite* Movement, (Aldershot, 1996) provides an exhaustive list of portraits of the Royal Family, but also of the engravings of its obsequies and associated funeral processions The enthusiasm for details of the funeral of James II encouraged his cult, as did a number of contemporary hagiographical accounts of the king's fortitude in his sufferings. Similarly, the obsequies of prominent Jacobites were also meticulously recorded by the communities abroad who offered burial space to distinguished Jacobites in their chapels. The surviving engraved Jacobite tombstones in the chapel of the Scots College, Paris, are important examples of this beneficence.

Jacobite collections as cultural archives

James II inherited his father's appreciation of art and music, and much recent work has focused on the Jacobite court abroad as a centre of cultural and artistic excellence. The royal family in its various residences commissioned work from distinguished European musicians and painters, some of whose work enhanced the chapels royal. Much of their work is extant, dispersed through public and private collections. The breadth of this Jacobite patronage is revealed in the magnificent illustrated catalogue for the exhibition on the Stuart Court in France held at Saint-Germain-en-Laye in 1992 (*Le Cour des Stuarts à Saint-Germain-en-Laye au temps de Louis XIV*, Paris 1992). Portraits of leading Jacobites and especially of the royal family itself are relatively common, at least as engravings by European artists. We might mention here the portraits in pen and pastel of Jacobite royalty and members of Catholic families executed by Giles Hussey (1710-88), himself an English Catholic who frequented the Stuart court. There are few English Catholic gentry houses which have no examples of his work. In terms of English Jacobite musical compositions, the work of John Francis Wade (1711/12-1788) deserves a mention. Wade's manuscript liturgical compositions survive in abundance and are sometimes provocatively illustrated with portraits of the Young Pretender and Jacobite emblems around the time of the 1745 Rebellion. His most famous composition, the Christmas carol, *Adeste fideles,* has been interpreted as a call to the Jacobite faithful to pay homage to the Old Pretender, their rightful king (B. Zon, *The English Plainchant Revival,* (Oxford, 1999), *passim*).

Jacobite archives and recusant centres in England.

Recusant families and centres in England were often crypto-Jacobite, secretly preserving mementoes and relics of the exiled royal family. There are a number of local studies relating to their Jacobite attachments which list the archival evidence, e.g. J. Anthony Williams, 'Catholicism and Jacobitism: The Wiltshire evidence', *The Dublin Review,* Autumn 1960, pp. 245-54. These Catholic families were also responsible for dispersing large numbers of Jacobite engraved portraits to locations which shared their attachment to the movement. Such propaganda was essential to keep the Jacobite memory alive, and often the portraiture depicted the sanctity of members of the royal house.

The Jacobite Rebellions of 1715 and 1745 generated a great deal of interest

and archival material relating to them, rich and varied, is either to be found in central and national archive collections, or, at the local level, among Catholic families who sometimes had had their members imprisoned or their houses searched during the Rebellions. R. C. Jarvis, ed., *Collected papers on the Jacobite risings*, (Manchester 1972), 2 volumes, provides details of the effects of anti-Catholic legislation which was passed in the wake of the Rebellions. In 1716, following the failure of the Rebellion, a number of Catholic estates were seized by the government's Commissioners for Forfeited Estates who maintained that some of the properties were devoted to 'superstitious uses'. *The Records of the Forfeited Estates Commission* (London, 1968), which is a calendar of the Commission's papers now housed in the National Archives at Kew, provides valuable material of Catholic gentry support in England for the cause, including much detail on the confiscated Derwentwater estates in Northumberland. James Radcliffe, 3rd Earl of Derwentwater (1689-1716), had been a leader in the 1715 Northumbrian Jacobite Rebellion and was executed after its failure. The Commission was wound up in 1723.

Many surviving recusant families, of course, treasure documents and artefacts relating to the Jacobites. Ushaw, for instance, has the 'Derwentwater treasure', recently returned from Dilston, Northumberland, to Ushaw, and which consists of engraved portraits and manuscripts of the Radcliffe family. Sizergh Castle, Cumbria, has one of the finest collections of royal Jacobite portraits in private hands, as well as numerous other items associated with Jacobitism. There are examples of Catholic families concealing incriminating Jacobite papers at the height of the Jacobite stirs. Thus, two cartloads of Derwentwater papers were hidden between two walls and behind a chimney at Capheaton Hall, seat of the Jacobite Swinburnes, at the time of the 1715 rebellion, and only discovered by a slater in 1745. In 1694 evidence for a supposed Jacobite Plot at Standish Hall, Lancashire, was deemed insufficient to continue legal proceedings, and the suspects were acquitted. However, the discovery of archives in cipher, concealed in a coppice wall of the Hall in 1757, point to a genuine plot.

The majority of printed books from the Jacobite court which survive are either liturgical or devotional, and a number of these are now to be found in English and Scottish national and private collections. Thus, Stonyhurst College and the National Library of Scotland possess copies of the Office of Holy Week (Paris, 1690) which was used by James II in the royal chapel at

Saint-Germain, and the Royal Library at Windsor holds a similar copy, published in 1691, which bears the arms of Queen Mary of Modena. Among the Jacobite missals which survive is one in the National Library of Scotland (Paris, 1684), the property of Mary of Modena which, after her death in 1718, was given to Lewis Innes (1651-1738), principal of the Scots College in Paris. Another missal of the same date, now at Stonyhurst, belonged to Princess Louise-Mary, the daughter of James II who had died prematurely in 1712.

Contemporary Jacobite studies

The concentration on Jacobite archival sources mainly in Britain has formed the basis of essential commentaries of the movement by Henrietta Tayler , editor of *The Jacobite Court at Rome 1719* (Edinburgh, 1938), *Jacobite Epilogue* (London, 1941) and with her brother, Alistair, *The Stuart Papers at Windsor* (London, 1939). Later, Eveline Cruickshanks gradually moved away from the predominantly British material used in her *Political Untouchables. The Tories and the* '45 (London, 1979) and her *By Force or Default? The Revolution of 1688-1689* (Edinburgh, 1989), and with her co-editors and authors, began to introduce Jacobite material from continental archives in her *Ideology and Conspiracy: Aspects of Jacobitism. 1689*-1759, (Edinburgh, 1982); *The Jacobite Challenge* (Edinburgh, 1988); *The Stuart Court in Exile and the Jacobites,* (London 1995); and *The Atterbury Plot* (Basingstoke, 2004). This concentration on European sources has expanded over the last two decades. It was pioneered through the distinguished Professor Bruno Neveu's comprehensive picture of European Jacobite sources in, 'A contribution to an inventory of Jacobite sources', which is chapter 7 of Eveline Cruickshanks's edition of *Ideology and Conspiracy,* (Edinburgh 1982). Professor Edward Corp has succeeded Professor Neveu, following the latter's untimely death, by systematically exploiting these continental sources and making them available to an English readership for the first time as he plotted the travels of the Jacobite court from France to Italy. He was the mastermind behind the most important Jacobite exhibition of the past century, mentioned earlier, which was held at Saint-Germain-en-Laye in 1992 and which brought together a wealth of papers and Jacobite memorabilia (*Le Cour des Stuarts à Saint-Germain-en-Laye au temps de Louis XIV*, Paris 1992, the catalogue). In the wake of this exhibition came his books which used much original French and Italian archival material: *The Stuart Court in Rome. The Legacy of Exile* (Aldershot, 2003); *A Court in Exile. The Stuarts in France, 1689-1718,* (Cambridge, 2004); *The Jacobites at Urbino. An*

Exiled Court in Transition (Basingstoke, 2009); and *The Stuarts in Italy 1719-1766. A Royal Court in Permanent Exile* (Cambridge, 2011). This trend is set to continue with the publication of proceedings of regular international conferences on Jacobitism, the next scheduled to take place in Ireland in 2016.

Jan Rhodes (1945-2014): A Brief Memorial and Bibliography[1]

Peter Phillips

Jan Adamson was born and brought up on the Wirral, attending Birkenhead Grammar School for Girls, and moving on to read English at Liverpool University. Awarded a two year Liverpool University Postgraduate Studentship, she arrived in Durham in 1966 and completed a Postgraduate Diploma in Theology in 1968. She was awarded the Durham University Jenkins Scholarship and the Bishop Robertson Divinity Prize and proceeded to work in the field of bibliographical studies, under the supervision of Revd. R P McDermott, with additional advice on bibliographical sources from Dr A. I. Doyle, and David Crane, submitting a PhD thesis on *Private Devotion in England on the Eve of the Reformation, illustrated from works printed or reprinted in the period 1530-40* (1974). John Bossy described the work as 'indispensable' (*TRHS*, 1991, p. 139). After completing her thesis she was employed to go through the rare books in Durham University Library, and later those in Durham Cathedral and Ushaw College Library, identifying them within the scope of Wing's *Short Catalogue of English Books 1475-1640*, working with the editors of its revisions in the USA, producing many thousands of entries, some rare, or indeed unique. This research also contributed to later bibliographical catalogues.

In these early years in Durham she met and married Peter Rhodes of the Classics Department in the University. Jan was also an excellent calligrapher: hers is the prayer on the prayer desk before the tomb of St Bede in Durham Cathedral. During this period she began to work on the Special Collections in the University Library. She also became a regular visitor to the Library of Ushaw College, to which she devoted many hours of service. She gave occasional lectures both at Ushaw and St John's and Cranmer Hall in Durham. It was at Ushaw that she was received into full communion with the Catholic Church on January 25th 1978.

[1] I thank of number of Jan's friends for helping me to put this note together: the infelicities are mine alone. I would be grateful for information of any articles omitted from the bibliography.

For a short period Jan turned away from bibliographical studies and trained in Speech Therapy in Leeds, completing a BSc in Clinical Language Sciences at Leeds Polytechnic, and receiving a Licentiate from the College of Speech Therapists in 1988. The pull of Durham was strong and she resumed her work in the University Library and Ushaw College Library. From 1992 to 1995 she held the post of Librarian at Ushaw. She was meticulous in her scholarship and ruthlessly self-critical, often discarding and destroying large portions of type-script with which she was unsatisfied. Like many bibliographers her most important contribution to the field lay behind the scenes: Eamon Duffy was to acknowledge his thanks to her for 'her unrivalled knowledge of Tudor devotional literature and her apparent gift of total recall' in his *Stripping of the Altars* (Yale, 1992). Jan left Durham, moving first to Coxhoe, and then, in 2005, further afield to Settle in North Yorkshire, where she contributed her skills to the Library at Stonyhurst. The lure of Durham was too strong and she returned to the city in 2009.

Jan was a keen sportswoman and loved the countryside. She was an enthusiastic cyclist and one was warned not to telephone her during the *Tour de France*. For a number of years she worked with the Durham Rangers in clearing areas of undergrowth and establishing footpaths. To add focus to this work, she signed up for a course of plant identification at Houghall College and could reel of numerous species of trees and fungi, recognizing all their quirks. In her late fifties she determined to complete 'the Wainrights' (the 214 fells listed in A. Wainwright's guides to the Lakeland Fells), celebrating her sixtieth birthday sharing a glass of champagne with friends on the summit of Great Gable.

In what were to be the final years of her life she plunged back into bibliographical work, cataloguing the books of the Poor Clare Convent in Darlington (founded in Gravelines, 1607), which were given to the Durham University Library. She worked on the collections of two communities of English Benedictine Nuns, Our Lady of Consolation, Stanbrook (Cambrai, 1625) and Our Lady of Good Hope, Colwich (Paris, 1651), travelling over to Paris to work in the Mazarin Library on the Paris Library Catalogue (*Book List of the English Benedictine Nuns of Cambrai* c 1793, see below, 2013); she worked closely with the AHRC funded partnership led by Queen Mary University, London, *Who were the Nuns?* Jan became an oblate of the community of Our

Lady of Consolation in 2013, and, after her funeral in St Cuthbert's, Durham, her ashes were laid to rest there.

Unpublished Thesis

'Private Devotion in England on the Eve of the Reformation, illustrated from works printed or reprinted in the period 1530-40', PhD, Durham 1974. [a copy of which has been deposited in the Ushaw College Library].

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Sermon for the Funeral of Fr. Bede Bailey, O.P., 19th August, 2014

By Richard Conrad, O.P.

Readings: Isaiah 25:6-9 and John 6:51-58

With the death of Fr. Bede Bailey at the age of 97, we have lost an important link to a key part of our English Dominican history, for Bede was the last surviving Dominican to know, personally, Fr. Bede Jarrett, who, as Provincial, brought us back to Oxford and Edinburgh. I presume David Bailey, as he then was, met Fr. Bede Jarrett through growing up near Hawkesyard. His mother became a Catholic early on; his father, courageously, did so some years after her, and was instructed by Thomas Gilby. David Bailey was schooled at Ampleforth, but feared he would be too comfortable as an English Benedictine, & the family connections were Dominican, so he decided to join the Order of Preachers. That was at the time Fr. Bede Jarrett was ill, too ill in fact for David to visit him in hospital. Bede Jarrett died in 1934; David entered the novitiate a year later, and was delighted to 'inherit' the earlier Fr. Bede's religious name. This went well with his veneration for what might be called 'continuity of line'.

Bede studied at Hawkesyard and Oxford; he was pleased that his 'ordination line' took him back to Archbishop Ullathorne and, through him, to the Vicars Apostolic - a precious part of English Catholic history. Bede's ordination was followed by a dizzying series of moves, 8 in 16 years. In each place he was assigned, he held several jobs at once. Often he was cantor, owing to his musical voice and, I guess, the feel for the Chant he had picked up at Ampleforth. For some of the time he was in Edinburgh, decades later, he taught the novices to sing, and used to encourage them to 'soften their endings' - not always with success. The job of guest-master was also often undertaken by Bede, going well with his sense of hospitality - and with his skill at being 'conversible'. When I was in Edinburgh with him, I noticed that if he was away we didn't always know what to talk about at supper, whereas when he was present there were no embarrassing silences.

Bede also had a pastoral streak: he was often assigned roles such as curate or air-force chaplain - and (in those early years and later) he was sometimes chaplain to the St. Vincent de Paul Society. He had a real concern for the poor: when he was Prior in Newcastle, he was proud that the men's club in

the parish had good, and *cheap*, beer; and he was assiduous in visiting the poor.

During a short time in Oxford around 1948, Bede worked with Conrad Pepler for Blackfriars Publications, and, because of Conrad's Ditchling connections, I'm sure this helped develop Bede's interest in Eric Gill and David Jones. But his interest in the work of these craftsmen would also have struck a family chord, for Bede's father had been managing director of Royal Doulton. At that same period, Leonard Boyle was a student in Oxford, and remembered later how easy it was to tease Bede, who was rather solemn, and very English.

When I was Prior in Cambridge in the early 90s, Bede visited and complained, 'When I was young I had to kow-tow to the old, and now I am old I have to kow-tow to the young.' But he glossed over the middle period of his life, when he made something of a career of being Prior himself in various places! - though I am not sure to what extent people did kow-tow to him, given that he always seemed to have to take on himself several jobs he should have been able to delegate.

This phase of Bede's ministry began in 1956, when he became Prior of Newcastle; he held that post for 6 years. After 2 years as parish priest in Woodchester, he was Prior in Oxford for 3 years. Then after 3 years as university chaplain in Leicester he was Prior there for 3 years. He spent 2 years as chaplain to the Dominican nuns in Carisbrooke, then returned to Newcastle as curate & after 2 years was elected Prior there again.

It was in 1965, when he was Prior of Oxford, that Bede became Archivist of the Province. He was given 2 shoe-boxes of materials, and set himself to build up the archives. He was not trained as an archivist - he used to boast that he only had two letters after his name, O.P., and none of these pretentious doctorates - but several publications emerged from his time as Archivist, notably the entry on Gerald Vann in the great *Dictionnaire de Spiritualité*, and of course the letters and other papers of Bede Jarrett that he selected for publication in 'Dominican Sources in English'. Bede had a profound interest in our heritage, and a passion for its preservation. His time as Archivist began traumatically: we had closed our novitiate house at Woodchester, and a certain brother sold off a great deal of the library, including some rare books that were very valuable for our history. Bede tried, without much success, to recover some of them, and years later, was still trying to make good some of

the gaps. He went to Rome once or twice around 1990 to obtain replacements for some items, and was received kindly, but was much distressed at the state of the library in our mother-house at Santa Sabina: 'The library,' he wrote, 'is in a most disgraceful state, and is used more by the [book]worms than by the brethren.'

After his final 3 years as Prior in Newcastle, Bede returned to Carisbrooke. I visited the nuns there a couple of times, and put up some extra shelves for the archives. There were two friars living there: Bede - and the brother who had dispersed the Woodchester library! I was amazed at how kind and solicitous Bede was to the older brother, despite what had happened. He could be critical, he could recognise mistakes and injustices; with a deft turn of phrase he could sum up people's foibles (he sometimes referred to the Provincial Council as 'that quango') - but he was also aware of the need to forgive, and to put the past into the past. When he was around 75, he wrote about the importance of 'denying oneself the right of disappointment even for 5 minutes or so,' and about how brooding can destroy one's obedience to the brethren - and can even destroy oneself in some degree. When Carisbrooke closed, Bede and the archives moved to Edinburgh. He filled a huge basement with material relevant to our history, to the context of our history, and illustrative of our influence.

Bede's interest in our past went with an interest in people - a wide-ranging and largely non-judgmental interest, an attitude which also made him a very kind confessor. All sorts of people came to visit Bede and the archives, including Dame Edna Everage (in her male persona). Of course Bede was upset by things like betrayal of confidence and by the Order's failures to appreciate and cherish its past and the people who were important to it, notably David Jones. He was (rightly) angered by stupidities and injustices in the Church. It was notable that along with his interest in the past, he was in many ways forward-looking. He was struck by the work of Conrad Pepler at Spode House, and how this prepared English Catholics for Vatican II. Bede was aware that many old rigidities and fussy rules would have to go - I guess he saw them as unnecessary, un-Dominican, un-English. His 3 years as Prior of Oxford, 1964-67, were rather traumatic, and I am not sure he ever referred back to them. He was denounced to the Provincial by one of the more rigid brethren because, for example, he began taking a turn serving at table rather than always being waited on; he let the Dominican students go to the cinema;

he allowed concelebrated Mass!; *evening* Mass!!; *he even allowed the lay brothers and students to enter the Fathers' common room* to read the *newspaper*! and watch *television*!!

Bede was also interested in ecumenism, and when he was in Oxford set up some joint lectures with Pusey House. Later he invited Michael Ramsey to lecture in Newcastle. Bede was himself a visiting lecturer for a term at Lincoln Theological College.

In 1996, at the Diamond Jubilee celebration that Bede shared with Columba Ryan and Bernard Jarvis[1], Malcolm, then Provincial, spoke of the determination that had kept them faithful for 60 years, a determination born of love of the brethren, love of the project set for us by St. Dominic, and above all love of the Divine Word whom we have to preach. That determination kept Bede faithful during tough periods. But a few years earlier he had written, 'I am quite convinced that I have been given more happiness by the Order, province, than most people in life experience, and I am happy and hope to help in other people being happy... our province is blessed more than most in that. On the whole we don't seem to bicker.' Then he added, 'One has to prepare for old age just as one has to prepare all the time for dying, and dying happy.' That fits with a story Bede sometimes told of a renowned monk and teacher at Ampleforth, who was asked what he was concerned to impart to the young, and replied, 'I prepare them for death.'

Almost exactly 10 years ago, Bede reported that his doctor had said he might live another ten years - 'A prospect that does not fill me with enthusiasm.' But he was given all of 97 years. I feel that the last 8 or so of them were years of waiting, in the spirit of our first Reading: 'Lo, this is our God; we have waited for him, that he might save us.' So we pray that Bede will 'be glad and rejoice in [God's] salvation.'

A great deal of Bede's ministry was of course sacramental, and he had a profound sense of the power of the Sacraments. He once remarked to me that *if* we had to choose between keeping Mass going without preaching, or keeping preaching going without Mass, the Mass would do more to build up the Church. It is that Eucharistic Sacrifice that we now offer for the repose of his soul, that Eucharist which, as we heard in the Gospel reading, is pledge and cause of the final resurrection. Here, the Word who became flesh still lives among us, to impart grace and love. This grace and love must 'take flesh' in the fabric of our lives and relationships, in our historical 'locatedness'. Bede

could see how grace and love 'took flesh' in the lives of real people, not bypassing their characters and their connections, their strengths and their foibles. He could see how grace and love had to 'take flesh' in the life of the Province, the Order, and the Church - and often had to empower the forgiveness of mistakes, betrayal, injustice, enabling us to build for the future rather than brood on past hurts. We saw grace and love 'take flesh' in Bede's own life and ministry, not bypassing his own talents and foibles. So we pray that God 'who began the good work in' him, may 'bring it to completion in the Day of [our Lord] Jesus Christ' (Phil. 1:6).

1. Bede joined with Angus Buchan, who soon left; Rupert Grove, who died in 1966; Ivo Thomas, who left in 1971; and Columba and Bernard.

Obituary: Cardinal Francesco Marchisano

Cardinal Francesco Marchisano , one of the Patrons of the Catholic Archives Society, died in Rome on 27 July 2014 at the age of eighty-five. His Funeral Mass in St. Peter's Basilica on 30 July was followed by burial in his home town of Racconigi in the Piedmont region of northern Italy. Dr. Maria-Cristina Carlo-Stella, who worked with Cardinal Marchisano at the Pontifical Commission of the Cultural Heritage of the Church and then at the Fabbrica di San Pietro for many years, organised a Memorial Mass for the late cardinal in the Pontifical Philippine College, Rome, on Friday 21 November 2014. Cardinal Luis Tagle, Archbishop of Manila, was the chief celebrant at the Mass and some twenty priests concelebrated the Mass with the cardinal. Also present were the Philippine and Australian Ambassadors to the Holy See together with a number of other friends and former colleagues of the late cardinal. The sermon at the Mass was given by Canon Anthony P. Dolan, Archivist of the Diocese of Nottingham and a former Chairman of the Catholic Archives Society.

Book Reviews

Anthony H. Forman, ***In at the Deep End Memoirs of a Catholic Priest* 1941-1976 (part 1)**, (privately published by Lidgate Publications, Suffolk), 14 colour illustrations, 361 pgs. £10 plus £2 p&p. ISBN 9 780953 609116.
Available from: humph.foreman@btinternet.com

This memoir rests upon primary sources: the very detailed diaries kept by the author since his schooldays and the letters he sent home to his family during those days and later as a student for the priesthood at Oscott College, and as a curate in Cambridge and Norwich. In the preface, Fr Foreman recognises that they narrate the sometimes sad story of the Church during its years of travail in the 1960s and '70s. The heightened expectations offered by the Second Vatican Council were only to be followed by subsequent disillusionment in the minds of many who had entertained hopes. During the telling of the story - which is at times an intimate glimpse into the private world of a dawning vocation to the priesthood - we stumble across fascinating characters and events that helped form the history of the English Catholic Church in the twentieth century. For example: the Dominican school at Laxton, inspired by the great spiritual writer Gerard Vann OP, with its fascinatingly broad curriculum, its teachers: including Fr Hugh Pope and Fr Laurence Bright - a onetime nuclear physicist at Harwell, and its innovations such as the dialogue Mass in the Dominican Rite. Some of the priests at the school could say Mass in fifteen minutes flat! The author notes how the 'training of future priest has been radically overhauled', such need is illustrated in the following humorous and quaint anecdote. Bishop Leo Parker advised the students at Oscott that it was useful for them to wear a top hat when visiting 'the homes of the poor' with Holy Communion, as it would provide a suitably clean 'altar' on which to place the pyx and candles. The need for liturgical reform is also clear: on the occasion of the consecration of the new bishop of Northampton several of the other bishops who were present read their breviaries throughout the liturgy. That said, 'few clergy were enthusiastic for the revision of the liturgy', and very tellingly: 'the changes would be introduced piecemeal without any real sense of where they were going' (p.194). Clearly the lack of formation regarding the liturgy of Vatican II was the cause of much misunderstanding, from which we have still not recovered. Discussions at deanery conferences on the subject are described as 'desperate'; priests seemingly had no idea of what to do or what was expected

and wanting all directions to come from 'on high'. Being a curate in the centre of Cambridge at the time of the Council gave the author the advantage of hearing visiting Catholic intellectuals give their views on the 'changes' being muted at Vatican II, some of these he reports with detail. The re-ordering of churches to fit into the new liturgical landscape inevitably caused upset and pain. At the Catholic of Our Lady and English Martyrs, Cambridge, Sir John Betjeman was enlisted to help in the campaign to prevent the pulling down of the *baldachino* above the high altar. Recollections such as Fr Foreman's help us to understand our present situation to some degree. In this the fiftieth year since the closing of the Second Vatican Council, *In at the Deep End*, is a timely reminder of the importance of personal diaries and correspondence and the need to 'capture' the history contained, but un-written, in the memories of those who lived through the upheaval.

Martin J Broadley

English Jesuit Education: Expulsion, Suppression, Survival and Restoration, 1762–1803 Maurice Whitehead (Ashgate, 2013) xviii + 266 pgs., 12 illustrations, 4 tables, 9 appendices, biblio., index. ISBN 9781409448822 (hbk) ISBN 9781409448839 (ebk)

Focussing on events during the years 1762 - 1803, Professor Whitehead, using many hitherto un-exploited primary sources in numerous European archives, as well as in the United States, narrates a little-known chapter in the history of the English Province of the Society of Jesus *vis-à-vis* its charism as educator. Founded in 1540, by the time of their Founder's death in 1556 the Jesuits had over 1,000 members. By 1640, a multi-national membership had reached 15,000; having recruited some of the finest contemporary minds, the Jesuits provided 'the first global system of education' (p.xv). Success as the chief provider of the intellectual leadership of the Counter-Reformation, being a major influence in the Baroque, and having influence as the spiritual directors of many European monarchs, engendered jealousy and the fomenting of hostility. Political circumstances, coupled with the desire to curb their power led to the expulsion of the Jesuits: beginning in Portugal (1759); France (1762 and 1768); the Kingdom of Naples (1767); and Spain and its colonies (1767-68). Finally the papacy imposed a universal suppression in 1773. Yet, by the nineteenth century the Jesuits had recovered and become the largest religious order within the Church. One might speak of there being something 'Darwinian' in the Society's ability and agility to adapt and develop according

to new, and often hostile, circumstances. This phenomena is especially evidenced in the period of the Jesuit English Province's history covered by Whitehead. Furthermore, it represents a window onto the world of education during the Enlightenment and 'a pivotal period in international Jesuit history' (p.6). The story ends with the establishing of Stonyhurst College, in Lancashire: the oldest Jesuit educational institution in the English-speaking world and the only one to have an unbroken history dating back to the sixteenth century. One notable milestone leading up to this event was the expelling from St Omers of the first English Jesuit college. Founded 1593 it had consolidated the role of the Society as missionary and educators to England and Wales. The impetus of the expulsion was fuelled by a certain Jesuit being embroiled in a financial scandal: the Lavalette Affair; described as 'remarkably akin to those...which attended the collapse of Barings Bank in 1995' (p. 42). This led to the closure of all Jesuit colleges, seminaries and associations in France. The Jesuits removed to Bruges. There they developed the curriculum by the introduction of the teaching of geography – at the time a subject being taught nowhere else in the Austrian Netherlands. Jesuit manuals of spirituality produced there were formative among Catholics of the British Isles in promoting devotion to the Sacred Heart. At its height the college had 230 students. With the universal suppression in 1773 the college was brutally dealt with, thus forcing another re-location, this time to Liège, where the theologate and philosophate of the English Jesuit Province had been based. Again, the ex-Jesuits were to prove resourceful. The *Ratio Studiorum* (the Jesuit plan of Studies) had been suppressed along with the Society in 1773; however, this was taken as an opportunity to effect curricular reform. A tradition of scientific teaching had developed in Liège, this, along with the philosophical tradition referred to previously, was mingled with the classical traditions. The result was the putting of the college in a position whereby it could meet with the challenges of the Enlightenment. This initiative, and the granting of the status of a pontifical academy, form the root of English Catholic higher education. The Suppression prevented the ex-Jesuits from observing their particular customs, but among staff and students a spirituality strongly influenced by the Ignatian spirit was maintained, this would be fundamental in ensuring that moral leadership among the English ex-Jesuits was in Liège. The college was truly international, with students from England, America, the Caribbean, the Low Countries, France and Spain. A third crisis, this time in 1794, when the French revolutionary army was

advancing on the city, signalled more upheaval. Leaving Liège, and after a long and arduous journey, the Jesuits arrived in England to found Stonyhurst College in Lancashire, bringing with it the experiences learned under great travail. These events mark simultaneously times of crisis and a stimulus for growth and adaptation. With great attention to detail and within a very readable narrative the author has painstakingly documented: 'The unbroken continuity of the educational work of the English Jesuits from 1593, down to the present day via St Omer, Bruges and Liège, despite repeated adversity and the almost total loss of their possessions in 1762, 1773 and again in 1794, must constitute one of the most extraordinary phenomena of British educational history' (p.179).

Martin J. Broadley

Lawrence R. Gregory, ***A History of St Bede's College Manchester. Vol. I: A Commercial Dream 1876 -1891*** (Salford Diocesan Archives, 2014) 33 b&w illustrations, 2 maps, 103 pgs. £10, ISBN 9780992 812805
Available from the Diocesan Archives, Manchester.

The author has set himself the task of writing a three volume history of an important venture begun by Herbert Vaughan, the second bishop of Salford, subsequently the third archbishop of Westminster. This, the first volume, charts the 'rise and fall of Vaughan's ambitious experiment' to open a commercial college in Manchester (p.9). Previous histories of the college and biographies of Vaughan - there have been three - have, in Gregory's opinion, left unanswered two fundamental questions: why did St Bede's College merge with the older Salford Catholic Grammar School - when its "instrument of foundation" was precisely that it not be a grammar school? Secondly, why was the grand college building never completed? These questions may have the initial appearance of being potentially interesting to those who attended the school, yet the part played by the foundation of the college, which would have ramifications for the universal Church in the form of the decree *Romanos Pontifices*, coupled with the important national Catholic figure of Vaughan, make this short study significant to a wider audience. By using primary and secondary source material we are introduced to the history of the college and its context within the educational provision of Victorian Manchester. On becoming bishop of Salford, Herbert Vaughan quickly voiced his intention of founding a commercial college to serve the middle class Catholics of Manchester. The venture was, from the beginning, fraught with

difficulties: a long and acrimonious dispute with the Jesuits who were claiming the right to open a grammar school in the same city, and to do so without the permission of the Ordinary; lack of funding; and not least a lack of pupils: of the original student body eight were under eleven years of age (the youngest being seven), eighteen were aged eleven to fourteen, a further eight were aged fourteen to sixteen. These statistics lead Gregory to conclude, 'Vaughan was desperate to fill the school with anybody he could get, regardless of age' (p.35). From the beginning the college ran at a deficit; Vaughan having to borrow money from the diocese and from the Mill Hill Missionaries (another of his foundations). A large percentage of the pupils left after only one. In the years covered by this volume most of the students were either foreign or of primary school age. An example of Vaughan's self-confidence is seen in how he personally drew the plans for the roof of a covered playground for the college. Given the weight of the cast-iron and glass structure, the builder who was to carry out the work demanded that the bishop sign a disclaimer absolving him, the builder, from any liability should the structure collapse. Plans to have an extension college in Germany - St Bede's on the Rhine - was a further failure; Vaughan having borrowed a further £3,500 of a diocesan money to fund the plan. A French visitor to the college in 1890 concluded: 'St Bede's has not been entirely successful. The Bishop of Salford was clearly deceiving himself when he thought that a commercial school for the use of the leisured classes would be a success in Manchester. True, there are 110,000 Catholics in this city, but almost all are a poor and the few rich families prefer to give their children a classical education' (p.74). This merger with the Salford Catholic Grammar would both boost numbers and provide the arm of a classical education. In general the book is critical of Herbert Vaughan, accusing him of being obsessed 'with one-upmanship over the Jesuits' (p.82). However, his actions must be seen within the context of a recently restored hierarchy in 1850, who were having to slowly re-establish themselves and also within an even wider context. Philip Hughes, the Church historian and himself an Old Bedian, saw in the dispute between Vaughan and the Jesuits, and its subsequent resolution, the ending of a controversy reaching back to 1623.

Martin J. Broadley

Archives and Archivists 2: Current Trends, New Voices, ed. by Ailsa C. Holland & Elizabeth Mullins (Four Courts Press, 2013) pp. 248. £45.
ISBN 978 1 84682 3657

Archives and Archivists 2 is a compendium of recent research by students from the University of Dublin's archive course. That the term 'archivistics' is used in the opening sentence of the blurb to describe the study of archives is initially a worrying one. Indeed, academic books on archives are so theoretical and overladen with impenetrable jargon that they often seem designed primarily to satisfy the requirements of the ivory towers of a university rather than offering anything as useful as practical advice in the running of an archive. At least in the case of this book, however, this would be an unfair accusation, particularly as the emphasis is placed as much on the practical as the theoretical challenges faced by archivists. What can archive theory teach us about our role as archivists? It would be tempting to answer 'not much' when one reads the title of the opening chapter by Antoinette Doran ('Custodians of memory/creators of his(story): archives, power dynamics and social-cultural sites of contestation'). This essay, taken from the first section on 'Postmodernism and Theory', highlights the 'postmodern turn' in archives. This concept, crudely defined, is an attempt to view the archive repository not so much as a storehouse of records, whose neutrality and objectivity 'speak for themselves', but as sites of power privileging those records favourable to an individual or institutional agenda. This has important implications for archivists, as the second chapter by Julie L.N. Brooks argues. Rather than merely serving the interests of the historical profession, Brooks suggests archivists become custodians of memory and identity insomuch as what they collect and destroy has a bearing on what society chooses to remember and, crucially, what is forgotten. The practical implications of the role of memory and archives are addressed in section 2 ('Perceptions and Memory') where the authors draw on a number of case studies. There can be no graver illustration of this than the records of a totalitarian regime, as Emma Saunders shows through an examination of the Stasi Archive. If, as the philosopher Milan Kundera has argued, 'the struggle of man against power is the struggle of memory against forgetting', then archives become the main weapon in this struggle. Although Catholic archivists will never be at the forefront of such life or death situations, we would do well to take a broader view of understanding our researchers and ensure that archive policies are tailored towards them. Indeed, the perspectives of the archive user are addressed in the final section of this book. Niamh Collins and Catherine Wright's essays both examine the perceptions

and requirements of family historians through practical case studies in Irish archives, Brian Kirby shows how teachers perceive the role of archives in the history syllabus and, in the final essay, Louise Kennedy employs qualitative analysis to investigate how the University College Dublin archive is perceived by students and academics. The academic nature of this book is likely to be off-putting to the average reader but behind the jargon there are some very important essays here that have much to say about how we perceive our role as archivists from both the theoretical and practical standpoint.
Jonathan Bush

David Kirtzer, ***The Pope and Mussolini: The Secret History of Pius XI and the Rise of Fascism in Europe*** (Oxford University Press, 2014), pp. 592. £20. ISBN 978 0 19871 6167

The question of how far the papacy sided with the totalitarian dictators of the early twentieth century remains a contentious one. John Cornwell's controversial book, *Hitler's Pope*, set the benchmark, arguing that Pope Pius XII not only legitimised Hitler's regime in Nazi Germany but did little to assist Jews during the Holocaust. In this new book, David Kirtzer makes a similar claim for his predecessor, Pius XI (Damiano Ratti), and his relationship with the Italian fascist dictator, Benito Mussolini. Employing newly-released documents from the Vatican Archives, Kirtzer attempts to overturn the accepted viewpoint that the Catholic Church heroically fought against the Italian fascists. The story of Mussolini's early days and chaotic rise to power is a familiar one but Kirtzer draws particular attention to the striking contrast between the different personalities of the young Mussolini and Ratti. The former, boorish and violent; the latter quiet, studious and deeply religious. Mussolini, like many Italian nationalists, was also virulently anti-clerical (he was famously dubbed "the priest-eater"). Prior to his elevation to the papacy, Ratti had no liking for Mussolini and the feeling was mutual. Neverthless, Kirtzer shows how, by the time of Mussolini's accession to power, the two men had much in common. Both were authoritarian, had a strong loathing of democratic institutions, and, in spite of Mussolini's former left-wing past, anti-communist. Indeed, Mussolini realised very early on that the Catholic Church's support for the legitimisation of his reign would be invaluable. He introduced a raft of reforms designed to appease the Church, including bringing back crucifixes into school classrooms, and increasing subsidies for priests. Mussolini's anti-communist crusade in particular was

welcomed by the Pope, who saw in Mussolini the only possible means of keeping the socialists and anti-clerical element of the Fascist party in check. The high point came with the signing of the Lateran Pact in 1929 between the Italian government and the papacy. This marriage of convenience - Mussolini described it like two people sharing a bedroom with two separate beds - was not to last. This was particularly evident once Mussolini increasingly fell under the spell of Hitler in the late 1930s. Although the Pope initially shared the ubiquitous anti-Semitism prevalent in Europe during this period, he also became increasingly alarmed by Nazi Germany's persecution of the Jews as the decade progressed. Ratti remained a lone voice, even within his own Church, opposing Mussolini's transparent attempt to ape Hitler's popularity through increasingly anti-Semitic policies. Ratti died in February 1939, on the verge of delivering a speech denouncing the fascist regime. This is an unashamedly 'popular' history book; the large, bold typeface on the front and 'cast of characters' in the opening pages are staples of this genre. By using previously unknown archive sources, however, Kirtzer manages to combine rigorous scholarship with a high degree of readability. The blockbuster narrative style occasionally grates but Kirtzer cannot be faulted for bringing an important and generally unknown aspect of papal history to the attention of a mainstream audience. Catholics may, at times, find the revelations in this book uncomfortable reading but the refusal of Pius XI, unlike his successor, to acquiesce with the dictator's anti-Semitic policies should provide at least some comfort. Pius XI was not, it should be stressed, 'Mussolini's Pope'.
Jonathan Bush

Alana Harris, ***Faith in the Family: A lived religious history of English Catholicism***, Manchester University Press, 2013. pp ix + 310, £65.00. ISBN 97807190-85741

This is an excellently documented and multi-layered study of the changing shape of popular piety in the English Catholic community from the end of the Second World War to the visit of John Paul II in 1982. By exploring a whole range of material in newspapers, pamphlets, bishops' letters and books, Harris focuses on three aspects devotion: the Mass and the Eucharist; Mary and the Holy Family; devotion to SS Thérèse of Lisieux, Bernadette, and the Forty Martyrs. This material is backed up by a series of interviews with parishioners of various ages in two Manchester parishes. Her researches demonstrate forcefully how popular devotion modulated over the period, a

period which, of course, included the Second Vatican Council, the publication of *Humanae Vitae*, and the National Pastoral Congress of 1980. Harris' study ably challenges both the view that the Council represented a clearly marked disruption, as well as the secularization thesis of some recent scholars, in revealing how Catholic devotional life preserved strong elements of continuity and consistency while, at the same time, allowing an ongoing transformation of Catholic life. What has emerged is a pilgrim people, a Church on the move, 'in dialogue with the outside world and comfortable with plurality'. Harris points out how 'an intensely incarnational, experiential and familial-focused religiosity runs through this period of profound transition and experimentation'. Harris' examination of changing approaches to the Mass reveals that, although the Eucharist remained throughout a place of encounter with Christ, a 'sacrificial, suffering and "seen" Christ' became increasingly replaced by a Christ encountered in communal meal invoking 'imagery which resonated with a society craving community, solidarity and a proactive identity' with the world around it. Similar modulations can be seen in devotion to Our Lady and the Saints. The family rosary and the picture of family life modelled on the Holy Family give way to a much more rigorously critical appreciation of the problems and stresses of married life, yet Mary remains central to Catholic devotion. The saccharine and rosy pictures of the Little Flower have modulated into what Katherine Harrison terms 'the Little Nettle', suggesting that 'those who look beyond the smile to the doctrine will find themselves provoked and stung'. The Thérèse we revere now reveals a deeply Christological and Incarnational theology, advocating the priesthood of the laity, and wrestling with the world of unbelief. Indeed she is understood as a prophet and forerunner of the Council itself. Devotion to Bernadette changed in the same way. As Harris demonstrates, it did not always work out thus. Devotion to St Joseph 'the worker and May day comrade' never quite captured the imagination, and devotion to the forty martyrs, canonized by Paul VI in October 1970, challenged perhaps by the ecumenical sensitivities of post Vatican II English life, never really entered the life-blood of 1970s English Catholicism. While this study allows Harris to touch on wider themes of Catholic life, such as the impact of *Humanae Vitae*, and the National Pastoral Congress, on the Catholic community in England, it would be to misunderstand it as an in depth history of English Catholicism in the period. Its depiction of the National Pastoral Congress is disappointing. Although, with an eye to Rome, the final document, *The Easter People*, toned

down many of the themes discussed, the event was much more radical than Harris suggests, and the lack of response from official channels in the Church (apart from strong support from Cardinal Hume and Archbishop Worlock at the Synod on the Family in Rome in 1981) caused much angst amongst Catholics and considerable disillusionment. Nor does the study deal with some of the more radical elements running through the Catholic community: the growth of CAFOD, and the burgeoning work of justice and peace. While Harris does touch on the Young Christian Workers (rightly inevitable in interviewing parishioners from Trafford Park, whose parish priest, Joe Carter was central to the movement) there is little mention of the Young Christian Students, nor, for that matter, of their more radical allies in Slant. This makes one wonder that, while Harris shows that the inclusion of oral history strengthens her argument considerably, and although she gives cogent reasons for picking two Salford parishes to provide this information, it might have been wise to take similar soundings in other areas and constituencies of English Catholicism. Be that as it may, this book offers a thought-provoking study of popular piety, a theme which we have, in the papacy of Pope Francis, rightly learnt to take much more seriously.

Peter Phillips

Jay P. Corrin, ***Catholic Progressives in England after Vatican II*** (University of Notre Dame Press, 2013), pp 523. £42.50. ISBN 9780268023102

The book really begins with chapter 8, a study of the Catholic new left in England, and from here on it is excellent, offering a fine examination of the *Slant* circle. It draws heavily on conversation and correspondence and is significantly strengthened by a series of interviews the author was able to have with members of the group just before some of the older members died. Its context, shaped in the chaplaincies of British universities, and its important links with Dominicans, especially Herbert McCabe and Laurence Bright, is well explored. The *Slant* circle tried to transform British society by way of a socialist revolution. With an English version of Marx's early 1844 *Paris Manuscripts* coming out in 1959 (only originally published well into the twentieth century), a Marx was revealed with whom Catholics felt they could do business. Here was a social humanism which had something to offer the Catholic world. The *Slant* group thus wanted to go further than Vatican II, which was thought still to be flawed by the receding strands of a neo-Thomist dualism between body and spirit. They dismissed the best of their fellow

Catholics as lost to a liberalism which had infiltrated both Catholic Church and the British political system: 'a willingness to genuinely engage in problems of contemporary society but one that crucially stopped short of a systematic critical enquiry into the fundamental structures that undergirded the sociopolitcal order'. Their heroes were Camillo Torres and Mao Zedong. One of their chief objects of criticism was that doyen of the Catholic left, Jacques Maritain. As Corrin points out, this was particularly unfair. The book goes on to develop *Slant's* link with the emerging movement of liberation theology in South America, the European Christian-Marxist dialogue and the involvement of figures such as Roger Garaudy and Milan Machoveč, before returning to the British scene with a reflection on the British Labour Party and the Wilson government, as well as the student unrest at the LSE in 1966. There is a good chapter examining the resignation of Charles Davis from the priesthood and McCabe's subsequent article asserting that the Church was corrupt, but that this was no reason for leaving it. For this, McCabe was subsequently disciplined, but the issues here are not quite the same as the issues raised by *Slant*. Some of the links I find a little tenuous. The great tragedy of *Slant* was that it never really found a home amongst working class Catholics or Catholics in general. In fact as Corrin points out 'they were not convinced that the British working classes were able to serve as the avant-garde of their revolutionary agenda'. Corrin should have perhaps paid a little more attention to the Young Christian Workers and the Young Christian Students. *Slant* produced some important writings but remained merely an irritant, a challenge to the complacency of what Corrin dubs 'the great liberal agenda of the bourgeois political elites'. It remained a theory, never becoming a movement. A final chapter deepens our understanding by considering *Slant's* critics. The conservative editor of *The Tablet* summarily dismissed its members as 'among the long haired and the beatniks'. Donald Nicholl took the Catholic New Left much more seriously, and his criticisms sharpened their ideas considerably. Corrin here turns again to Maritain in a perceptive discussion of his attempt to forge a third way between capitalism and socialism, something insufficient for those of the Catholic left who sought revolution. At last Benedict XVI in, *Caritatis in Veritate*, his scathing criticism of unfettered free-market economics after the banking crisis of 2008, and his plea for a radical transformation of global capitalism brought to the centre of Catholicism something of the vision *Slant* sought unsuccessfully to achieve. My chief concern with this study is the series of introductory chapters; a

sketch of the English Catholic community in the nineteenth century, a look at the Distributist movement, an account of relationships between Catholics and the Establishment, and then a rather superficial introduction to Vatican II. Corrin considers the nineteenth century English Catholic community as shaped largely by Irish immigrants, English bishops and priest failing to distinguish themselves as intellectuals, and educated in Ireland. This will not do; the nineteenth century Catholic community is much richer, and much more diverse than this. What is said of the Distributists is good and the author demonstrates that 'there was a considerable resonance between Distributist economics and Marxist radical theory', but, sadly, dominated by a fear of communism, the heirs of Chesterton and the accentuated anti-statism of Belloc's *The Servile State*, in their turning away from democracy, seemed to incline towards fascism, rather than socialism. The author of this study does not take seriously enough the deep links forged between the Catholic working classes, the Trades Union movement and the Labour Party in general. The notes are full, helpful and thorough. One might be generous in dismissing mistakes as mere typographical error, but surely not for attributing the condemnation of Action Française to Pius X, long dead by 1926, who claimed Action Française as an ally in his opposition to Modernism; in referring to Pio Nono as 'Pio Nino' throughout both text and index; although George Andrew Beck did indeed become an archbishop, he was not one in 1950. And so it goes on. An interesting work is marred by slips of this sort. It is a great pity. On the whole this is a fine study, but the early sections need serious reworking.

Peter Phillips

Teresa White FCJ, ***A Vista of Years: History of the Society of the Sisters Faithful Companions of Jesus 1820-1993***, published privately, 2013, pp. 334.

'To approach history as story is the aim of this book' (p.1). The story begins with the foundation of the FCJ congregation by Marie Madeleine de Bonnault d'Houet and her first companions through the ministry of the various superiors general to the 1990s when the author invites her sisters in religion to 'face upstream'. The work is a worthy addition to the literature on the history of female religious life, although limited in its target audience to the writer's fellow religious. The history, in fact, has been written with a view to offering some indications for the future, for by 'reflecting on the past, history raises

questions about where we are now'(p.1).The work is structured in four main sections: the formative years (1820-1858); the years of growth (1858-1914); the silent years (1914-1966); the creative years (1966-1993). This enables the author to deal with the very large amount of archival material involved in the research spanning 173 years and five continents. Each section traces the spiritual and material development of the religious congregation with the opening, or closing, of houses and the extension of the congregation beyond the boundaries of France. While in part 1 the various early companions of Mother Marie Madeleine are noted, from part 2 onwards each section concludes with short biographies of three sisters of the era who exemplified in different ways the FCJ charism in action. The initial section situates the life and mission of Mother Marie Madeleine against the background of the French political and social history of the nineteenth century with its growing awareness of child poverty and exploitation. Her response was to alleviate the poverty of ignorance through offering an education especially to poor girls, a legacy and charism which she passed on to her disciples and which remains the bedrock of the FCJ mission in the Church. The author underlines the influence exerted on the foundress by her early encounters with the Jesuits and Ignatian spirituality. While initially encouraging her foundation, they later became increasingly opposed to aspects of it, notably the very use of the title of the congregation and, above all, by the intention to adopt the Jesuit Constitutions for a female institute. Although she obtained papal approval for the title of the Society, it was only many years after her death in the 1980s that permission was given for the use of the SJ Constitutions. Within the lifetime of Marie Madeleine the congregation had spread to northern Italy, Switzerland, Ireland and England where foundations were made in London, Liverpool, Birkenhead, Manchester, Salford and Chester. The half-century following the death of the foundress in 1858 saw a flourishing of works not only in Europe but also in USA, Canada and Australia. The narration is everywhere underpinned, though not always stated, by the charism and spirituality of the FCJs. Mother Marie Madeleine believed that she was inspired by God to dedicate her life to the education of poor children. This gift transmitted to her followers was strongly educational, with religion and faith at the centre of well-prepared instruction. For herself and her sisters the strength to achieve this was to be found in a deep spiritual life based on Ignatian spirituality and nourished according to the devotions of the time, particularly in nineteenth-century France, such as the Sacred Heart and the

Immaculate Conception. While the author has outlined the rapid development of the Society, not least in England and English-speaking countries, and its continuity, though less spectacular, through what she terms 'the silent years' 1914-1966, in the final section which takes the Society from the renewal prompted by Vatican II to 1993, she charts the beginnings of change in the 'creative years'. Throughout the volume, alongside the opening of many flourishing works, many of which still exist today in one form or another, she has not hesitated to note the reasons for closures as well. A similar honesty of approach is manifested in her evaluation of the impact of some figures in leadership roles within the Society. While never losing sight of the charism of education as numbers declined, the sisters began to diversify their activities in response to the needs of the Church: parish ministry; seminary teaching; some schools became co-educational; student hostels took over parts of convents which had served large communities; women's day centres were opened. The author shows the strength and flexibility of the charism in the creative response to changing times in the Church, in religious life and in forms of education itself. The tapestry that Sr. Teresa has woven is made of many threads: persons who understood in diverse measure the essence and implications of the charism, bringing with them their differing strengths and limitations; conflicts with clergy and hierarchy wishing to control the Society; successful foundations and problematic ones; the struggle for the Constitutions; the commitment of many generous women in embracing the FCJ way of life. The latter 'salute the wisdom and dedication of the sisters who lived before them [...] Facing upstream, clear-eyed about the present diminishment, they greet the 'now' and look to the future with courage and hope' (p. 362).

Sr. Mary C. Treacy

THE CATHOLIC ARCHIVES SOCIETY

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

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