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Contents

Editorial

Welcome to the 2018 issue of Catholic Archives. Last year's issue included images in articles for the first time and the feedback I received was overwhelming positive. I would strongly encourage any future contributor to consider this (where appropriate). The use of photographs, diagrams etc. can greatly enhance content which is sometimes difficult to articulate through text alone. This year's issue again continues what I hope is informative and practical guidance for archivists, whether qualified or not, working in Catholic institutions, as well as valuable perspectives from users of archives. Two articles highlight the pressures faced by Catholic archivists, and the wider archive community generally, in complying with legal requirements. The first of these, written by Justine Rainbow, deals with the essential work being carried out by the Independent Inquiry into Child Sexual Abuse (IICSA). Complying with the requirements of IICSA may appear to be a daunting prospect for archivists of any institution but Justine, the Information Manager for IICSA, argues that there are tangible benefits in compliance to any organisation and these should not be underestimated. Equally daunting is the introduction of new data protection legislation, the General Date Protection Regulation, which comes into force in May. Susan Healy's article provides a timely introduction to this legislation and how it is likely to impact on religious archives. Within this legislative environment, it is important that Catholic archivists do not lose sight of their spiritual mission and two articles by Jim Ranahan and Maurice Whitehead deal with the pastoral function of Catholic archives. Collections development and outreach is an important function of any archive and Maurice's article also highlights current initiatives in the archives of the Venerable English College in Rome, as does Hannah Thomas's article on the development of the Bar Convent archives. Three articles in this issue examine archives from the user's perspective. Carmen Mangion situates the importance of previously-neglected convent archives and their place in women's history and the history of education. Carmen's call for more historical work on Catholic education is answered, albeit from a lay rather than religious perspective, by Marie Rowlands whose article on lay Catholic teaching is based on the archives of the Catholic Richmond family. The last two issues of Catholic Archives feature articles by Jim Hughes describing his research on the historian John Lingard. Jim has now turned his attention to the poetry and life of Francis Thompson, using the collections in Ushaw College Library. The practical and user perspective on Catholic archives is once again reflected in the book reviews section.

The Independent Inquiry into Child Sexual Abuse: Learn how to stop worrying and to love your information

Justine Rainbow

Back in May 2017, I gave a presentation to the annual conference of the Catholic Archivists Society, explaining a bit about the work of the Independent Inquiry into Child Sexual Abuse (IICSA), with a particular focus on record keeping and provision of evidence to the Inquiry. My talk was titled 'The farther backward you can look, the farther forward you can see', which is actually a slight misquote of a comment by Sir Winston Churchill (according to WinstonChurchill.org, he actually said 'The longer you can look back, the farther you can look forward'). Despite the subtle differences in meaning, both are applicable to IICSA, which has on occasion been criticised for looking too much at the past and not being focused enough on the present and future.

Personally, I disagree for two major reasons. Firstly, it is difficult to assess the present and make recommendations for the future if you do not understand how things have gone wrong in the past. Secondly, it is becoming clear from media reports alone that the number of children abused in England and Wales over many decades is both astonishing and sobering and that for years, many of these victims have gone unheard. One of the most important offerings the Inquiry can make is the opportunity for victims and survivors of abuse to tell IICSA what happened to them: they are best placed to tell us what could have prevented it and what could be in place to protect children today.

To achieve its aims, the Inquiry's work is formed of investigations of past failings through collation of evidence from numerous institutions and which lead to public hearings - this is the main area in which records obviously play an important part - IICSA has already made hundreds of requests for evidence to a wide variety of establishments. IICSA's Research Team looks at what is already known from published literature about child abuse in England and Wales as well as conducting and commissioning new research. The Truth Project is that all-important gateway for victims and survivors to talk to someone in a one to one setting about their experiences.

One of the themes that we hear repeatedly during truth sessions is the difficulties victims and survivors have in locating records relating to the time spent in institutions, be that a social care, school or religious organisation setting. We have heard accounts of organisations refusing to provide records due to incorrect application of the Data Protection Act or records of abuse

allegations being destroyed after only 10 years. It is evidence of what most readers of this article will already understand: that effective record keeping is essential for organisations *and the public;* without it, we simply do not exploit information effectively and it is often unavailable to those who most need it. When information and records managers look at retention of information, they need to look beyond the organisational context and immediate business requirements; the needs of the wider public that have interacted with the institution are not always taken into account. In the case of abuse victims, the trauma they suffered as children can mean that they do not start to look into their own history for many years, sometimes decades; they are being failed by existing retention policies which generally ensure that the information they seek has long since been (legitimately) destroyed by the time it is requested.

One of the main difficulties of course is that case files, which are generally what individuals try to obtain, are almost always numerous and take up a lot of physical space. This often means they cannot be accommodated by local authority or private archives (even The National Archives, with its extensive record repositories, resists selecting them wherever possible) and it is easy to argue that retaining them is in conflict with data protection legislation. But a greater public appetite for accountability on personal histories as well as on a policy level is increasing the value of historic case files in society. With the digital age, the cost of retaining case files is greatly reducing and the time may be approaching when large scale retention of case files could be reconsidered. However, times are hard for many organisations and it is hard to see how increasing record keeping resource is likely to be high on the list of priorities for most institutions.

Against this background, I can completely understand that IICSA is an intimidating prospect to organisations that fall within its remit, when faced with low staffing levels and wide ranging requests from an inquiry. I too have been a records manager on the receiving end of letters from inquiries seeking potential evidence that I have (or should have) in my record store and know that it can be stressful being unable to produce relevant documentation. But I also believe that IICSA provides an opportunity for information and/or records managers and archivists to demonstrate their value to the organisations that employ them.

IICSA has very broad, wide-ranging terms of reference which puts very few limits on its remit - almost any institution that interacts with children could fall within its scope and there is no point in time that IICSA cannot look at. To date, it has received over 1.5 million pages of evidence and held almost 70 days

of preliminary and public hearings. Another 75 days' worth during 2018 will cover a wide range of investigations, such as the role of the internet in facilitating child sexual abuse, children in the care of Nottingham councils, children in custodial institutions and the Anglican and Roman Catholic churches. Being approached for papers can be daunting but there are ways organisations can prepare and make the experience easier for themselves.

The most important thing anyone who manages information can do is to know what they hold, know where it is held and in what format/condition it is in. The prospect of a request for evidence by IICSA could provide a lever for records staff to discuss resource requirements with senior staff to help the organisation achieve these basics and put them in a good position to respond. It will also enable institutions to work with the IICSA Information Management Team to provide evidence, and to discuss potential difficulties or outdated formats that they may already be aware of.

Despite the vast number of documents already provided to the Inquiry, we have encountered numerous issues in accessing the information needed for investigations. Some of the records are no longer in existence, some organisations know they should hold records but struggle to find them and some records have been held in formats that make it difficult for the inquiry to store and make them available.

The fact that records no longer exist can be due to a number of legitimate, if sometimes regrettable reasons e.g. they have been destroyed in line with approved disposal schedules or they have been destroyed by fire, flood or similar accident/disaster, which (it appears) happens more often than you might think.

Difficulty in identifying records is a preventable issue but takes substantial effort to correct retrospectively. The main causes of the problem are fourfold. Organisations simply don't know how to find the records due to a lack of corporate knowledge - this can be a particular issue for collections that have been inherited through custody changes; poor levels of indexing (or no indexing at all), meaning retrieval is simply not possible; large legacy collections of digital records cannot be searched without e-discovery tools which are not readily available or affordable to some organisations. Finally, the issue of formats is one that all archivists and record/information managers will be familiar with. Some organisations still hold data on floppy disks, DAT tapes, CDs/DVDs, USBs, video tapes and a multitude of long-outdated media. Like most modern digital organisations, IICSA does not have means to access

these formats and generally has to outsource attempts to get at the data.

The means by which IICSA receives digital data can also be an enormous problem for the Inquiry. To give some examples, it has received 1000-page long pdfs containing hundreds of documents, which makes cataloguing, review and disclosure problematic. Several zip files have been submitted in excess of 3GB in size and whilst the Inquiry is set up to deal with large volumes of data, such large files can be difficult to open. Some scanned images are of poor quality, occasionally with odd images rendered upside down or back to front, or scanned at too high or low a resolution, rather than the ideal 300dpi. Finally, the option to send IICSA large and entirely unreviewed collections of 'born-digital' data has proved too tempting to resist for some institutions, putting the onus on IICSA to identify material relevant to the request. Review has to be completed by the providing organisation - unreviewed 'data dumps' are rejected by the Inquiry!!

In June 2015, IICSA sent a letter to the Head of the Civil Service, Sir Jeremy Heywood for dissemination. It required the following:

> *Government Departments, Agencies, and all other public sector bodies, are instructed to retain any and all documents; correspondence; notes; emails and all other information – however held – which contain or may contain content pertaining directly or indirectly to the sexual abuse of children or to child protection and care. For the purposes of this appendix, the word "children" relates to any person under the age of 18.*

Similar letters were also sent to religious leaders, police Chief Constables, the NHS Chief Executive, and Local Authority Chief Executives. An appendix gave guidance on the types of documents which may be relevant, which *include*: information about allegations of child sexual abuse; institutional failures to protect children; statutory responsibilities for the care of children; development of policy or legislation on child protection; the award of Honours to persons who are now demonstrated to have had a sexual interest in children or are suspected of having had such an interest.

These letters, designed to both protect information relevant to the Inquiry and assist institutions have caused a degree of confusion, with some organisations interpreting the moratorium on destruction of relevant information as a moratorium on destruction of anything, and consequently deciding to retain all their records for the life of the Inquiry. This is not what the letters intended. However, institutions do need to take care over how they review information

for disposal. Several organisations have asked IICSA to 'approve' their disposal arrangements: the Inquiry has neither the authority nor the knowledge of an organisation's records to give such an approval. It has been recommended to a number of institutions however that they a) take a risk based approach to disposal of information that has passed its retention date, b) record how it has considered the content for relevance to IICSA's terms of reference and c) that a senior member of staff approves the disposal before it is enacted.

Records of disposal and how decisions were reached should be retained for at least the duration of the Inquiry. In the event that an organisation receives a request for information from IICSA, it is also recommended that a record is maintained of the searches undertaken, the results and details of any records provided. These steps should ensure that organisations do not fall foul of s35 of the Inquiries Act 2005, which makes it illegal to dispose of information relevant to statutory inquiries.

Victims and survivors of child sexual abuse have always been at the heart of everything that IICSA does and its focus is always going to be on getting the best possible outcomes for them and for all children now and in the future. But the Inquiry could bring other benefits as well and I firmly believe that raising the profile of information management and archives on the corporate agenda could be one of them. So whilst I understand that the possibility of a request for information from IICSA can be quite daunting for organisations, it is also my hope that it will help archivists and records staff to demonstrate the importance of organisational information to senior staff and in turn increase the reputation and value of those entrusted with managing it. May they all learn to stop worrying and love their information!

Data protection and religious archives

Susan Healy

There is no denying, although it makes a somewhat negative start to this article, that the technicalities of data protection are not for the faint-hearted. The underlying rationale is straightforward enough: personal information about other people should be treated in accordance with their wishes and with the respect with which you would like information about yourself to be treated. But even that basic statement is an over-simplification. Personal information must be handled fairly and lawfully and specific obligations and rights are set out in various pieces of legislation. In this article I will give an introduction to the provisions and requirements most relevant for archives but I will not cover all the detail and complexities of the legislation.

Scope and terminology

Let me start by reassuring you about one point: data protection applies only to personal information about identified or identifiable living individuals. It does not apply to information about the deceased, which narrows considerably its scope and your obligations. I will explain what counts as personal data shortly, but first let me mention a complicating factor.

We are dealing with two separate pieces of legislation which must be read side by side. The first is the European General Data Protection Regulation (GDPR),[1] which replaces current data protection legislation and comes fully into effect across the European Union on 25th May 2018. The UK government has committed to implementing GDPR so, BREXIT notwithstanding, GDPR affects us and our work. The second is a Bill which at the time of writing is making its way through Parliament and is expected to be the Data Protection Act 2018 by the time GDPR applies.[2] This Bill does a number of things: it clarifies how GDPR will be enforced after BREXIT, when the EU enforcement mechanisms no longer apply; it sets out how the UK will apply the parts of GDPR that allow

[1] https://publications.europa.eu/en/publication-detail/-/publication/3e485e15-11bd-11e6-ba9a-01aa75ed71a1/language-en

[2] https://services.parliament.uk/bills/2017-19/dataprotection.html . I refer to the Data Protection Bill throughout this article, using the clause numbers etc as they were on 26th January 2018. Those references may change as the Bill makes its way through the Parliamentary process, and by the time this article is published the Bill is likely to have become an Act.

scope for national approaches; it carries forward some particular provisions of the current UK legislation, the 1998 Data Protection Act, which I shall return to also; it brings into UK law a separate Directive providing for the processing of personal data for law enforcement purposes; and it makes additional provisions for the processing of personal data for national security purposes. The Bill does not include the text of GDPR, hence the need to look at both pieces of legislation. For those unfamiliar with the structure of EU legislation I should explain that the requirements are set out in the Articles, while the Recitals are akin to Explanatory Notes in UK legislation in that they clarify and help in interpretation but are not themselves obligations.

So what is personal data? As indicated above, it is personal information about an identified or identifiable living individual. What makes a person identified or identifiable? If a name is attached to the data then the individual is likely to be identified, especially when accompanied by extra information such as a workplace. Identifiable takes it further to consider whether other data could be used to identify an unnamed individual, for example a postcode combined with gender and age. Personal data includes factual information, such as name, date of birth, National Insurance number etc, and subjective information, such as expressions of opinion by or about the individual. Whether personal information is personal data will depend also on how it is being processed (processed is the term used in the legislation for absolutely everything that is or can be done to or with personal data, including collecting, using, sharing, eliminating and even just storing without using). GDPR applies to personal data being processed automatically, e.g. anything on a computer, on a portable device such as a laptop, tablet or mobile phone or on CCTV, and to personal data being processed within a manual filing system. A manual filing system is a structured set of personal data that is accessible according to specific criteria, for example a set of files about individuals, one for each person, with the person's name of the cover.[3]

Unless the body holding - processing - the personal data is a public authority under one of the UK Freedom of Information Acts, GDPR does not apply to data outside such a filing system, for example random occurrences of personal names and addresses within a subject file. This is the position with personal

[3] Note that guidance on the website of the Information Commissioner's Office suggests that chronologically ordered sets of records containing personal data are included in their definition of personal data – see https://ico.org.uk/for-organisations/guide-to-the-general-data-protection-regulation-gdpr/key-definitions/ . This interpretation could include sacramental registers.

information being processed manually by a religious body. If, however, the religious body deposits or donates its records to a local authority or university archive or similar body, the position changes. This is because these bodies are defined as public authorities under GDPR and UK freedom of information legislation. For UK public authorities, all manual personal information is defined as personal data, although some exemptions from GDPR provisions are included in UK legislation.[4]

Manual unstructured data also features in another clause of the Bill;[5] this allows continuation of long-time processing (since before 24th October 1998) for historical research purposes and provides an exemption from some of the data protection principles.

One step to be taken by those responsible for archiving in their organisation is to determine which of their archives are subject to the provisions of GDPR and the Bill.

There is a sub-set of personal data called the special categories of personal data,[6] previously known as sensitive personal data, which attracts additional protection. It includes data relating to someone's religious or philosophical beliefs as well as data relating to someone's health, sex life or sexual orientation, racial or ethnic origin, trade union membership, and genetic and biometric data when processed in order to uniquely identify someone. Processing of personal data about criminal convictions and offences is identified separately in GDPR and the Bill; this may be particularly relevant in relation to data about dealings with offenders.[7] Another step to be taken by those responsible for archiving in their organisation is to determine which of their archives contain any special categories of personal data and hence need additional protection.

Two other terms used throughout the legislation are important. The data controller is the person or body that decides what processing should take place for what purposes and is primarily responsible for compliance, for example a religious order or a diocese. The data processor is the body that processes

[4] See clause 22 of the Data Protection Bill

[5] Clause 23 of the Data Protection Bill

[6] GDPR Article 9

[7] GDPR Article 10. Clause 9(4)-(5) of the Data Protection Bill provides a legal basis for processing and Schedule 1 paragraph 4 requires processing to be necessary, in the public interest and in accordance with the safeguards mentioned elsewhere in this article.

personal data on behalf of a data controller, for example contracted-out storage or IT cloud storage providers, like Google, Microsoft and DropBox. Data processors act under instructions from the data controllers and are required to comply with their contract. The legislation specifies that certain things must be covered in the contract.[8]

Processing for archiving purposes in the public interest

Before moving on to explain the data protection principles at GDPR Article 5 I want to highlight a particularly relevant new provision in data protection law. GDPR introduces a new purpose of processing: processing for archiving purposes in the public interest. This is in addition to the existing processing for research purposes. The new provision is important because it recognises the distinction between, on the one hand, preserving and managing archives and, on the other hand, research using those archives. Research use is still recognised as a valid purpose of processing and shares some provisions with processing for archiving purposes in the public interest, but archiving is no longer considered to fall within research purposes. This is an improvement because it better reflects the fact that many archives containing personal data are not actually available for research – research is a potential future use, not a current use.

GDPR does not define 'processing for archiving purposes in the public interest,' and questions have been asked about the scope of 'processing for archiving purposes' and its meaning in this context of 'in the public interest'. Some preliminary work has been done to develop criteria for the application of the concept, including by this author, and the intention is for the sector to be in a position to raise the issue with the Information Commissioner's Office (the regulator of data protection within the UK). The draft criteria include factors such as the particular purpose of the archiving by an organisation (this may differ from one body to another); the activities involved (which may be shared between two organisations, e.g. a religious order and a diocesan archives); the nature of the material being archived (i.e. not records being stored pending their destruction); transparency; conformance to agreed standards; and access or potential access at some future date by people outside the organisation, either directly or indirectly by providing information in response to enquiries. Why is this important? It matters because there are real benefits to an organisation when a claim that processing is for archiving purposes in the public interest can be sustained.

[8] GDPR Article 28

Archiving purposes in the public interest is mentioned throughout GDPR, generally in connection with exemptions[9] and derogations[10] from various obligations. Derogations for processing for archiving purposes in the public interest are listed at GDPR Article 89(3). They are to be specified in UK legislation but to apply only if complying with the obligation would itself undermine the archiving purposes and if safeguards to protect the interests of data subjects are in place.[11] The safeguards in the Bill carry forward the existing approach at section 33 of the 1998 Data Protection Act. The derogations do not apply if the processing for archiving purposes is likely to cause substantial damage or substantial distress to a data subject; nor do they apply if the processing is being done in order to make decisions affecting the data subject. The obligations from which derogations are provided include these rights given to data subjects: subject access, i.e. to be told what personal data is held and how it is being processed, and to be provided with a copy of it (at GDPR Article 15), rectification (at Article 16), restriction of processing (Article 18), notification of restriction, rectification or erasure to third parties to whom the data has been disclosed (Article 19), portability (Article 20) and objections to processing (Article 21). The right of subject access in particular has proved problematic for archivists in the past, given how difficult it can be to find information sought by a data subject, so the derogations are to be welcomed.

You may already be aware that doubts have been expressed as to whether the concept can apply to archiving other than by public sector archive services. GDPR Recital 158 assumes that archive services undertaking archiving in the public interest have a legal mandate. However, Recital 41 clarifies that a legal basis need not necessarily be set out in legislation, although it should be made known to those affected by it in comprehensible terms.[12] There is a link here to the transparency forming part of the first data protection principle, which I shall describe shortly.

[9] An example of an exemption is at GDPR Article 17(3)(d), where there is an explicit exemption from the much-publicised right to erasure (right to be forgotten) when processing is for archiving purposes in the public interest.

[10] Derogations are provisions in GDPR allowing Member States to make specific provision for how that part of GDPR is to be applied in a national context.

[11] The derogations are at Schedule 2 paragraph 26 and the safeguards are at clause 19 of the Data Protection Bill currently going through Parliament.

[12] The actual wording is 'clear and precise and its application should be foreseeable to persons subject to it.'

The UK government is aware of sector concerns in this regard and the Minister, Matt Hancock, provided reassuring words in a Written Answer to PQ 111382 of 3 November 2017.[13] The question was:

> *To ask the Secretary of State for Digital, Culture, Media and Sport, what definition her Department uses for the phrase archiving in the public interest.*

The Answer read:

> *We recognise the importance of the permanent preservation of archives for long-term public benefit by museums, galleries, archives and libraries. The General Data Protection Regulation (GDPR) and the Data Protection Bill permit such organisations to process personal data (including sensitive personal data) without consent, where necessary for "archiving purposes in the public interest", subject to appropriate safeguards for the rights and freedoms of data subjects. It also exempts archiving services from complying with certain rights of data subjects (for example, rights to access, rectify or erase their data), where the exercise of such rights would seriously impair or prevent them from fulfilling their objectives.*
>
> *'Archiving in the public interest' is a new term in data protection law. The Data Protection Act 1998 made no express reference to it and it is not defined in the GDPR, but Recital 158 to the GDPR may help to understand it. It says:*
>
> *"Public authorities or public or private bodies that hold records of public interest should be services which, pursuant to Union or Member State law, have a legal obligation to acquire, preserve, appraise, arrange, describe, communicate, promote, disseminate and provide access to records of enduring public value for general public interest."*
>
> *This is likely to apply to a wide variety of community, private, public sector, charitable/trust and voluntary sector archives. It could also include archives that may be closed to researchers at the present time, but which would become accessible at some future date, and archives which are held in analogue or digital format. The definition would not, however, cover organisations which gather and use data, information and records purely for their own commercial gain or that have no enduring public value.*

[13] https://www.parliament.uk/business/publications/written-questions-answers-statements/written-question/Commons/2017-11-03/111381/

We recognise that concerns have been raised about the reference in the Recital to archiving organisations being under a 'legal obligation' to archive. While this may reflect the archival system in some other EU member states, it does not reflect the position in the UK. Many smaller archives, particularly in the private sector, are unlikely to have any statutory obligations to archive.

We do not think the best approach is to create new statutory duties requiring organisations to archive. This could force organisations to archive that had no intention or means of doing so. Instead, we want to reassure bona fide archiving services that they will be able to continue to process personal data for the purposes of archiving in the public interest, regardless of whether they have a statutory obligation to do so. The reasons for this are:

- *Recitals act as explanatory notes to European regulations and have no direct legal effect. They may be taken into account by regulators and the courts when interpreting and applying the law, but they are not the law.*
- *In any event Recital 158 should be read in conjunction with Recital 41 which says that "where this regulation refers to a legal basis or legislative measure, this does not necessarily require a legislative act adopted by a parliament", providing that such a legal basis is clear and precise and its application is foreseeable to persons subject to it.*
- *In the UK, most archives operate on a permissive basis under the general provisions of common law or statutory permissive powers, such as the British Library Act 1972 or the Local Government (Records) Act 1962. It may be open to organisations to rely on such a basis to satisfy the requirements of Recital 158.*
- *Where there are no clear permissive powers, organisations may still be able to point to funding agreements, management agreements or constitutional documents which set out the purposes of the archive, particularly if the failure to adhere to such purposes could have legal or quasi-legal effects, for example for a body's charitable status. Although this may not amount to a statutory obligation to archive, it would give organisations a legal basis upon which to rely.*
- *Up until now, organisations responsible for archiving may have relied on exemptions from subject access rights under the 'historical research' provisions in section 33 of the Data Protection Act 1998. These provisions will continue in the new Data Protection Bill, and have not been abolished by GDPR. Most of the exemptions from data subjects' rights in relation to archiving also exist in relation to historical research. If archiving services cannot confidently rely on the exemptions for archiving in the public*

interest, they may be able to rely on exemptions for historical research as an alternative. We recognise that there is some debate about this point within the sector because some archives may not exist for historical research purposes. In that case, a legal basis for archiving will be needed, but it does not need to be statutory.

This Answer provides some reassurance although it does not, of course, give a cast-iron guarantee that all archiving will be accepted by the Information Commissioner as archiving for the purposes of GDPR - hence the relevance of agreed criteria.

The data protection principles

A key part of GDPR is the set of principles at Article 5. These are based on the existing principles but there are some significant changes. All processing of personal data is supposed to be in accordance with these principles and they are so important that I will quote them in full:

(1) Personal data shall be:

(a) Processed lawfully, fairly and in a transparent manner in relation to the data subject ('lawfulness, fairness and transparency');

(b) Collected for specific, explicit and legitimate purposes and not further processed in a manner that is incompatible with those purposes; further processing for archiving purposes in the public interest, scientific or historical research purposes or statistical purposes shall, in accordance with Article 89(1), not be considered to be incompatible with the initial purposes ('purposes limitation');

(c) Adequate, relevant and limited to what is necessary in relation to the purposes for which they are processed ('data minimisation');

(d) Accurate and, where necessary, kept up to date; every reasonable step must be taken to ensure that personal data that are inaccurate, having regard to the purposes for which they are processed, are erased or rectified without delay ('accuracy');

(e) Kept in a form which permits identification of data subjects for no longer than is necessary for the purposes for which the personal data are processed; personal data may be stored for longer periods insofar as the personal data will be processed solely for archiving purposes in the public interest, scientific or historical research purposes or statistical purposes in accordance with Article 89(1), subject to implementation of the appropriate technical and organisational measures required by this Regulation in order to safeguard the rights and freedoms of the data subject ('storage limitation');

(f) Processed in a manner that ensures appropriate security of the personal data, including protection against unauthorised or unlawful processing and against accidental loss, destruction or damage, using appropriate technical or organisational measures ('integrity and confidentiality').

(2) *The controller shall be responsible for, and be able to demonstrate compliance with, paragraph 1 ('accountability').*

The most significant provisions for archives are likely to be the first (lawfulness fairness and transparency), the sixth (integrity and confidentiality) and the seventh (accountability). The others are, of course, important, but of less significance for archives: the second and fifth because they make explicit provision for archiving in the public interest and the third and fourth because they are linked to the purposes of processing. For example, the fourth principle requires personal data to be accurate and up to date. Most archives are by definition out of date and we cannot guarantee their accuracy - they are what they are, and our concern is to maintain their integrity and authenticity. The Article goes on to say *'having regard to the purposes for which they are processed'* and, given that processing is for archiving purposes and their value as archives requires they remain unchanged, there are good grounds to refuse to make any changes requested.

The first element of the first principle is lawfulness. This includes having a legal basis for processing - GDPR Article 6 which I shall return to - and there being no other legal impediment to processing, such as breach of confidence or a statutory prohibition (relevant particularly if immediate public access is planned) or defamation. The second element is fairness, which is inherently subjective - what seems fair to one person may seem unfair to another. This is where the safeguards I mentioned above are relevant: might the proposed processing cause substantial damage or substantial distress to the data subject and, if so, is there nevertheless an overriding public interest in carrying out the processing? So, for example, would granting public access for research purposes be fair to data subjects if no restrictions on use of the personal data were imposed? Would it be fair to destroy personal data which a data subject would expect you to retain, such as details of their treatment during their residence in a church-run children's home? Difficult decisions can be required and it is important to document both the decision and the decision-making process. That takes me to the third element, i.e. transparency. A key factor here is whether the organisation makes known to data subjects the types of personal data held and how it is used. Transparency can be achieved by ensuring there is relevant information on the organisation's website, including a description

of the types of personal data held, a data protection or privacy policy and, if applicable, relevant procedures.[14]

The sixth principle, integrity and confidentiality, is about data security, taking steps to prevent unauthorised access or deliberate or inadvertent destruction. At its simplest it is about ensuring that access to storage areas for archives containing manual data is controlled and that technology is used and good practice in place to ensure the protection of archives containing personal data processed automatically.

The seventh principle, accountability, is about being in a position to show how you comply with GDPR requirements. I have already mentioned the need to know what personal data you have, and in particular what of the special categories of data you have, the need to have policies and procedures in place, and the importance of documenting decisions and the decision-making process. Furthermore, GDPR contains some specific requirements[15] concerning the records you should keep of your processing of personal data, particularly if you are a large organisation. These include details of the kinds of personal data and data subjects, how it is being processed and what measures are in place to protect it.

As part of their preparations for GDPR, those responsible for archiving in their organisations should, in conjunction with the person responsible for data protection, assess their processing against these principles, including how they would demonstrate compliance as required by the seventh principle.

Legal basis for processing

All processing of personal data must have a legal basis and the options are set out at Article 6. The two most likely to be relevant for religious archives are at paragraphs 1(e) and 1(f) which read:

(e) Processing is necessary for the performance of a task carried out in the public interest or in the exercise of official authority vested in the controller;
(f) Processing is necessary for the purposes of the legitimate interests pursued by the controller or by a third party,

[14] The EU Article 29 Working Party has issued some draft guidance on transparency – see http://ec.europa.eu/newsroom/just/item-detail.cfm?item_id=50083 . Accessed 29 Jan 2018.
[15] GDPR Article 30

Note the test of necessity - you may need to be able to show how and why the legal basis you have chosen applies. This may entail explaining why the archives are worth preserving and should not, therefore be destroyed. GDPR disallows use of the legitimate interests legal basis for public authorities but it is available for use by other bodies such as religious orders. Public authorities, however, should be able to show that processing for archiving purposes in the public interest satisfies the first of the two legal bases above (a further reason for agreeing the criteria for application of processing for archiving purposes in the public interest mentioned earlier in this article).

As a general rule, processing of the special categories of data, such as information relating to an individual's religious beliefs or their health, is prohibited unless one of the conditions set out at GDPR Article 9 applies. The good news is that one of those conditions is specifically about processing for archiving purposes in the public interest.[16] However there are caveats: the processing must be in accordance with the safeguards mentioned earlier; it must have a legal basis; and it must be in the public interest.[17] You should bear in mind when dealing with the special categories of personal data that you need both a legal basis under Article 6 and a condition under Article 9; it is not a matter of one or the other.

What this means is that archivists need to know what personal data they have in their archives and how they are processing it, and they need to be able to show that this processing is in the public interest - which is where the criteria mentioned previously is relevant. They also need to be able to show that they recognise their responsibility for safeguarding the interests of data subjects and have put in place appropriate measures, including good practice in storage, handling and access. Archivists responsible for religious archives are advised to review their storage and handling of archives containing personal data and relevant policies, procedures and arrangements.

Sectoral guidance is expected to be developed and will be more comprehensive than I can be in this article.

Other GDPR provisions

[16] GDPR Article 9(2)(j)

[17] Schedule 1 paragraph 4 to the Data Protection Bill, as mentioned earlier, provides the necessary basis.

I want to mention briefly three other aspects in this article - data protection impact assessments, data breaches and dual-purpose processing - before concluding with the special provisions in GDPR for religious archives.
Data protection impact assessments are required when new initiatives, processes or systems, especially using new technology, are planned.[18] They are about identifying privacy risks and considering how data protection obligations might be affected by the proposals. It is a way of identifying problems that could have an impact on privacy and fixing them, preferably before rather than after implementation.

Data breaches are security incidents that lead to accidental or unlawful destruction, unauthorised disclosure or access or the like. They are taken seriously in GDPR.[19] Data controllers are required to identify and record breaches and to notify the Information Commissioner's Office if the privacy and other interests of data subjects are at high risk.[20] The level of risk will depend on the nature of the data and the impact of the breach and the important thing is to assess it and take appropriate action if a breach occurs. Data controllers are also required to inform data subjects if the risk is high. The Information Commissioner has the power to impose administrative fines and there is a right to compensation for damage through the courts. Altogether, given the possible financial impact and damage to reputation, it makes sense to ensure good data security is in place.

Dual-purposing processing occurs when the same personal data is being processed for more than one purpose simultaneously. So, for example, the same set of health data might be processed both for research purposes and for the purposes of providing health care. Dual-purposes processing could apply also to processing for archiving purposes if, for example, archived data were re-activated for business purposes or for use in an official inquiry. GDPR does not rule this out but makes it clear that it is only the processing for archiving purposes in the public interest that can benefit from the derogations mentioned earlier.[21]

The special provisions for religious archives are set out at GDPR Article 91 and are somewhat curious. The first paragraph recognises that 'churches and

[18] GDPR Article 35
[19] GDPR Articles 33-34, 58 and 82-83
[20] The EU Article 29 Working Party has issued guidance on breach reporting - http://ec.europa.eu/newsroom/article29/item-detail.cfm?item_id=612052
[21] GDPR Article 89(4)

religious associations or communities' may have comprehensive rules in place already and allows their application to continue, but it goes on to say that those rules must be made compliant with GDPR. This, of course, raises the question of whether such comprehensive rules exist. I am aware that the Vatican has issued documents relating to archives and canon law makes some provision,[22] but whether they count as comprehensive rules is another matter. I do not feel competent to assess this and suggest it is a matter for discussion with the Information Commissioner's Office. The second paragraph seems to allows a separate regulator to be involved but this is dependent on the existence of the comprehensive rules at paragraph 1. It seems likely, therefore, that at present GDPR Article 91 has no practical application.

I hope that this article has provided some insight into the main obligations that will affect religious archives from 25th May 2018. For further information I recommend the guide to GDPR that is available on the Information Commissioner's Office website[23] and, for those who do not regard themselves as faint-hearted, the legislation itself, references to which have been provided in footnotes.

[22] Canons 482-491 about diocesan archives and 535 about parish archives are relevant but not comprehensive. I am also aware that in November 2014, the Catholic Bishops' Conference of England and Wales passed a resolution requiring registers containing personal data to be closed to researchers for 110 years (with exceptions for extracts requested by the person themselves, information required for canonical purposes, and if it can be shown that the subject/s of the record is dead). I am indebted to Dr Tim Powell of The National Archives for this information.

[23] https://ico.org.uk/for-organisations/guide-to-the-general-data-protection-regulation-gdpr/

Perspectives on Archives for Pastoral Work

Jim Ranahan

I have been a personal member of the Catholic Archives Society for 15 years and I have a general interest in religious archives. Last year I was fortunate to be entrusted as Jenny Smith's maternity cover at the archive of the Union of the Sisters of Mercy. I hope that my personal perspective on the pastoral role of archives will be of interest and of assistance to busy archivists.

I want to explore examples of archives employed in pastoral work, directly or indirectly. The initial inspiration for this came from conversations in 2011 with a colleague who had been given responsibility for her Order's archive, after having spent many years in South America. She sought ways to communicate the importance and relevance of archives to colleagues who were (as she had also been) focused on 'active ministry' across the world. At that time, I had very little direct experience of religious archives and was not able to provide much guidance. However, my subsequent time with the Sisters of Mercy has now given me a useful insight [this was not the Order to which the 2011 discussions related].

I was fortunate to gain an understanding of the Mercy charism in action: tending to the sick, midwifery, welfare services, and teaching. These were hard, sometimes challenging ministries and the archives were critical both to the religious congregation through evidence of its work in such ministries and to the marginalised women and children to whom the Order ministered, and to those who were victims and survivors of abuse. In line with other religious and secular institutions across the world, the Sisters of Mercy required that the archives could ensure its obligations to all affected were fully met.[1]

[2]This commitment by the Sisters of Mercy has ensured that their heritage is seen not as marginal or somehow sentimental. They recognise that archives can provide effective tools for Ministry, both as evidence of past activities and as inspiration for new activities. Thinking about secular archives, the work of business archivists in strengthening brand recognition and loyalty,

[1] Guidance issued by the Sisters of Mercy – see 'What are Archives and Why Do We Keep Them?' by Marianne Cosgrave, Congregational Archivist http://www.mercyworld.org/heritage/index.cfm?loadref=139

fortuitously also succeeded in altering the perception of archives from a marginal to a core business activity. So, if this can happen in commercial operations, why not also in religious institutions?

Whilst the manner in which the Mercy charism is discharged has altered over time, the driver for it has remained constant – and the archive has an important role in demonstrating both change and continuity. For instance, during most of the twentieth-century, London's 'Providence Row' was a Mercy Order service for the homeless and those requiring immediate respite. Changing circumstances in recent times has meant that, like elsewhere, the Sisters are no longer so directly involved. However, the archives show a continued concern with the needs of vulnerable people, not least through the Sisters serving on the Board of Trustees for the Dellow Centre, the modern-day successor to Providence Row. Their resources are now channelled into providing management capacity to ensure that the Mercy Charism can still be delivered to those requiring it.

Archives can also support spiritual activities. At a fundamental level, a record can demonstrate past evidence of a person's spirituality. However, they can also contribute to current spiritual development, For the recent Jubilee Year of Mercy, St Mary's Convent in Handsworth, Birmingham (the home of the Union's archive) was designated a site of pilgrimage, attracting visitors of all faiths and none, from around the country. As part of the spiritual guidance offered, visitors were invited to sit in the chair of Blessed Dominic Barberi and to pray, contemplate or reflect in accordance with personal preference. Many felt rewarded by the opportunity to take personal time in a religiously significant piece of furniture – used by the confessor to the Convent community in the mid-Victorian period – whose provenance and wider context was supported by the archive. Pilgrims (whether Catholics or not) consistently reported how moving it was to be invited to sit in the chair and to contemplate for a while. Without the archives providing the provenance for the chair, this exercise would have lost much of its impact.

The Sisters of Mercy are rightly proud of their heritage, but not for sentimental reasons. They recognise that it can help them both to explain the Mercy charism and to relate it to their core values. This is crucial at a time when Faith in general and religious life specifically becomes more marginalised and mistrusted within society. It has become essential to demonstrate both how necessary the Mercy charism is and how routed in faith it is. For instance, work supporting AIDS / HIV sufferers at the Bethany Centre, Bodmin, is reflected in the archives. These records also show just how

isolated sufferers and their carers felt in the early days of the AIDS emergency and an understanding of this also helps place the Mercy response in context. At a time when society in general was struggling to provide meaningful responses, the Sisters are shown providing meaningful support in a non-judgmental manner – a point that resonates thirty years later when diversity debates sometimes seek to marginalise Christianity from discourse and pillory it as prudish and discriminatory.

An evocative photograph from the 1970s shows Sister Paula Maher of Wolverhampton in religious habit and crash helmet, whilst riding a moped. This seems quaint now but reflects a time when the 'Walking Sisters' had mechanised to bring their skills as district nurses, midwives and welfare workers to populations in dispersed estates. From an archive perspective, such images are helpful to capture people's attention, so that wider issues can be explored – the fact that the Sisters of Mercy have never been an enclosed order; the nature of the 'Walking / Scooting Sisters' as peripatetic care visitors; the use of distinctive religious garb at a time when overt displays of Catholicism were not encouraged within society etc. Sister Maher's example of active, practical ministry through her choice to make a difference to the lives of people in Wolverhampton is both reflected within the archive, but also imbues the archive with the potential for ongoing force for pastoral work – if used to demonstrate continuity of charism with change of approach over time.

As the example of Dellow House management reminds us, the archives should capture what is happening NOW. So, for example, the work of 'Conscious Café' at St Mary's Convent, Handsworth features in current collecting policies. Sisters provide a 'safe space' where women from various backgrounds gather for mutual support and skills enhancement. This contemporary Mercy response to female marginalisation within multi-cultural Birmingham is recorded through the annals, board minutes and official records of the Sisters of Mercy, but also in newsletters, ephemera and social media presence which the archives now pay attention towards.

As an archivist working with religious records, I have learned that evidence of past spirituality is important to inspire future spirituality and to permit considered contemplation of spirituality through time.

The Pastoral Functions of Archives: some thoughts and reflections from the *Archivum Venerabilis Collegii Anglorum de Urbe* (AVCAU)

Maurice Whitehead

The following article is based on a keynote lecture given on the opening day of the annual conference of the Catholic Archives Society, held at Brunel Manor, Torquay, on 22 May 2017

Introduction

It was a privilege and pleasure to be invited to present the keynote lecture at the 2017 Catholic Archives Society (CAS) conference, a digest of which appears below. Though I have been a member of the CAS since its inception in 1979, this was only the second annual conference that I had managed to attend in all those years: academic commitments, particularly during the busy summer university examination period in May, when the CAS conference normally takes place, had precluded my attending over the previous three decades.

When I joined the CAS, I did so as a recently qualified school teacher grappling with the challenge of cataloguing, in a voluntary capacity, the archives of Wimbledon College, London, where I was then teaching. Unbeknown to me at that time, that experience was to prove formative, shaping much of my subsequent career: it was to lead me on to doctoral research and then on to a series of university posts, most recently at Swansea University, where I taught History from 2004 to 2015, immediately prior to taking up my current position at the Venerable English College (VEC) in Rome.

I was particularly delighted to be asked to speak on the subject of *The Pastoral Functions of Archives*. Monsignor (later Cardinal) Francesco Marchisano (1929–2014), the late President of the CAS, and the author of the 1997 document, *The Pastoral Function of Church Archives*, was very kind to me personally many years ago, helping me to gain access to a normally impenetrable church archive in Rome. His great wisdom as an archivist is reflected in the following three documents which he wrote and to which I regularly refer in my own current work at the VEC:

- *Circular letter regarding the cultural and pastoral training of future priests in their upcoming responsibilities concerning the artistic and historic heritage of the Church* (1992)

- *The Pastoral Function of Church Archives* (1997)
- *The Pastoral Function of Ecclesiastical Museums* (2001)[1]

The position that I currently enjoy is a hugely responsible one. It involves providing the lead in taking the oldest English and Welsh archive outside the kingdom, which has been located on the same site in the Via di Monserrato in central Rome since 1362, into the next stage of its development in the context of a three-year project (2015–18). As a British academic historian who, for more than three decades, has been privileged to use archives all over the world, who has been living and working in Italy since February 2015, and who is now working with an Italian colleague – a professional archivist – on the current project at the VEC, these international experiences have provided me with a host of fresh perspectives. I have subtitled the talk '*some thoughts and reflections from the Archivum Venerabilis Collegii Anglorum de Urbe* (AVCAU)' – and my remarks are largely shaped by this background.

Establishing and publishing the official name of the archives of the Venerable English College, Rome

I should first explain that the above-mentioned Latin name is, and has been for many decades, the official title of the archives of the VEC (hereafter referred to as 'the Archives'). The official seal of the Archives bears this name, as do those documents which have been stamped with that seal. However, until recently, the VEC had never defined or published that name for use in academic citations beyond the College walls. This has led to an unintended academic 'free-for-all', with individual scholars in their theses and publications creating all sorts of different names and acronyms of their own, such as 'VEC – Archives of the English College, Rome', or 'ECA – English College Archives, Rome', or even 'VECR – Archivio del Venerabile Collegio Inglese'.

At the start of the project in 2015, I asked the College's trustees to confirm the official Latin title and to authorize its publication: this was readily agreed to and the name is now in general use. The use of a Latin name is in no sense

[1] These three documents can be found in these three locations respectively: http://www.vatican.va/roman_curia/pontifical_commissions/pcchc/documents/rc_com_pcchc_19921015_futuri-presbiteri_en.html http://www.vatican.va/roman_curia/pontifical_commissions/pcchc/documents/rc_com_pcchc_19970202_archivi-ecclesiastici_en.html; http://www.vatican.va/roman_curia/pontifical_commissions/pcchc/documents/rc_com_pcchc_20010815_funzione-musei_en.html (all accessed 23 February 2018).

meant to be pretentious: it simply provides a neutral linguistic appellation and acronym, obviating the need for both an English and an Italian form of the name of the Archives. Though not a matter covered in the three above-mentioned guidance documents, the question of how an archive is referred to in published references externally is certainly one worth considering carefully by archivists, if the matter has not previously been addressed and resolved.

The principal generators of the documents of the AVCAU – the community of the English Hospice and of the Venerable English College, Rome, 1362–2017

The VEC was founded originally in 1362 as a hospice for pilgrims to Rome from England and Wales. During the mid-1570s, the number of English and Welsh students wishing to study for the priesthood and then serve on the mission to England and Wales following ordination increased rapidly, despite growing penal legislation against Catholics at home. By 1575, the then newly established English College at Douai, founded in 1568 by the future cardinal, William Allen (1532–1594), simply could not accommodate any more students: as a result, those students unable to find a place at Douai began making their way towards Rome. The growing international academic reputation of the relatively new *Collegio Romano*, which had been founded by Ignatius Loyola in 1551, drew them there. Needing lodgings on their arrival in Rome, these students gravitated to the existing English Hospice: once there, they enrolled as students at the *Collegio Romano*.

It soon became clear to William Allen that such a situation was unsustainable, both organizationally and financially, and that a more formal structure was urgently required. Accordingly, he successfully persuaded Pope Gregory XIII to transform the existing Hospice into a modern Tridentine seminary, adapted to the particular needs and peculiarities of the post-Reformation mission to England and Wales.

Though the Pope granted the new College the full powers of a pontifical university in his Bull of Foundation of 1 May 1579, it was not necessary to utilize all of these. As the earliest students of the College were already enrolled at the *Collegio Romano*, soon itself to be renamed as the Gregorian University, following Gregory XIII's major strengthening of that institution, the VEC continued to function as a house of studies and seminary, rather than as a fully fledged degree-awarding university college-*cum*-seminary – a situation which has not changed in over four centuries.

As a result of this history, the Archives, in broad terms, contain documents generated by the following five main groups of people:

- English and Welsh secular clergy belonging to the Hospice, 1362–1579 (217 years);
- Italian and (*post-1598*) English and Welsh Jesuits as administrators, and English and Welsh seminarians, 1579–1773 (194 years);
- Italian secular clergy as administrators, following the suppression of the Society of Jesus, and English and Welsh seminarians, 1773–1798 (25 years);
- The administrators of the College, following its sequestration by the French in 1798 and its continued institutional existence throughout the Napoleonic period, during which time the seminary did not function until its re-opening in 1818 (20 years);
- English and Welsh secular clergy as administrators, and English and Welsh (and, latterly, Scandinavian) seminarians, 1818–2017 (199 years).

The remarkable survival of the Archives

That any archives survive at all at the VEC is remarkable. Over the centuries, the Hospice and College have passed through many dangerous situations, any one of which might have led to the destruction of the collections.

First, the survival of the medieval Hospice records, the earliest of which is dated 1280, is especially noteworthy. In the middle ages, many national pilgrim hospices were located in the Borgo, close to St Peter's Basilica. These buildings were largely timber constructions, many of which perished, along with their records, during the numerous fires that plagued that densely inhabited area of Rome in the early modern period. In contrast, the English Hospice and the later VEC and their records have been on the same site, in a brick and stone building, for over 650 years: thankfully, they have never suffered damage or loss through fire. Certainly, there appears to have been some loss of records during the sack of Rome by the mutinous troops of the Emperor Charles V in 1527 (how much is difficult to estimate), but a significant part of the archival collection of the English Hospice would appear to have survived.

Just before the French invaded Rome in 1798 and sequestrated the College for a period of twenty years, the Archives were removed to a safe place, most probably a nearby *palazzo* belonging to a friendly neighbour, and they re-emerged, seemingly unscathed, in 1818.

In 1940, during the Second World War, when the College was evacuated and relocated temporarily, first briefly to Ambleside in the Lake District, and then to St Mary's Hall, Stonyhurst, until 1946, the Archives were moved in their

entirety into the vaults of the Vatican Archives for greater safety and then returned to the College intact after the war.

Given the remarkable history of the survival of the records of the Hospice and the College, a particular passage in the Introduction to the 1997 document, *The Pastoral Function of Church Archives*, has a strong resonance and poignancy:

Since, providentially, adverse historical circumstances have not destroyed the memory of major events, we must make **a special effort** [*my emphasis*] to protect and appreciate surviving documents in order to use them in the *hic et nunc* of the Church.

The genesis of the VEC archival project, 2015–2018

Thanks to a very generous donation from Urs and Francesca Schwarzenbach, 'a special effort to protect and appreciate surviving documents' was brought about in 2007 through the complete rehousing of the AVCAU in state-of-the-art archival storage facilities. That episode in the history of the Archives was reported upon by the archivist at the VEC at that time, Iris Jones, who did so much of the work needed to effect that transition smoothly.[2]

Having an archive preserved in excellent facilities is one thing: but, particularly in a seminary context, where finances are largely dependent on student numbers and, for a variety of reasons, can be subject to all sorts of unpredictable fluctuations, finding the financial resources to make such an archive available to researchers on an on-going basis is quite another.

The trustees of the VEC were, around 2007 – and are today – acutely aware of the unique heritage represented by the College Archives. By 2012, owing to financial constraints, the Archives had for some time been lacking a professional archivist and documents were accessible to researchers only on a severely limited basis, as and when a student archivist might be available to supervise visiting researchers. Aware that a solution to this situation needed to be found, the trustees and the then Rector of the College, Monsignor Nicholas Hudson, invited me, as an academic researcher who had been using the VEC Archives on and off for some thirty years and who already knew the collection well, to spend a semester in Rome (February–June 2013) on secondment from my work at Swansea University. My brief was to prepare for the trustees a

[2] See Iris Jones, 'The Venerable English College, Rome: Archives Restoration Project', *Catholic Archives*, 28 (2008), pp. 45–47.

report detailing what needed to be done, from an academic perspective, to make the Archives fully available to researchers in the future.

My completed report, submitted to the College's trustees in the summer of 2013, recognised the sterling work that had been undertaken by generations of student archivists in keeping the Archives intact and trying to develop them. It also recognized the important work more recently undertaken by Iris Jones, not least in protecting the most fragile parts of the collection through a thorough programme of rehousing unbound manuscripts in new acid-free folders and boxes and storing the entire collection appropriately in its new location.

The report went on to focus on the complex history and nature of the Archives and the intercultural nature of the collection. It is, first and foremost, the record of an English and Welsh pilgrim hospice and then of an English and Welsh seminary which, together, have been interacting with Roman and wider Italian society and culture for over 650 years, as well as with the mission back at home, leaving behind an intricate series of records, mainly in Latin, Italian and English (with many other languages also represented). Layered over all of that is a complex politico-religious history involving the lives and interactions with others of more than 4,000 students and priests who have resided and worked in the seminary over the past 440 years or thereabouts.

A large number of these men in the late sixteenth century, throughout the seventeenth and well into the eighteenth centuries adopted at least one alias and often several, to confound English government spies often present in Rome. This scenario provides another layer of complexity for the twenty-first-century archivist trying to record, in an electronic archival catalogue, the identity and activities of these men, preserved in surviving records. To provide one brief example, a Lancashire student, Henry Morley (1602–1684), arrived at the VEC in 1621 and took the alias, Lawrence Rigby. He had been reconciled to the Church through the ministrations of Fr Lawrence Anderton, SJ (*c.*1576–1643), hence his taking the Christian name, Lawrence: the surname, Rigby, was probably the maiden name of his maternal grandmother. The surviving published version of Henry Morley's philosophical thesis, defended at the *Collegio Romano* in 1624, bears the name *Laurentius Rigbeus*, but there is no indication whatsoever in that imprint of his real name, attested to in the College

register, the *Liber Ruber*, and elsewhere in the Archives.[3] This example is a relatively straightforward one: other examples could be given which are much more complex.

I argued strongly in my 2013 report that, given such archival and historical complexity, it was unlikely that any archivist, however highly skilled and competent, would possess all the knowledge necessary to make the fullest sense of the Archives in preparing a new electronic catalogue – an essential future tool if the collection were to be opened up fully to the world of scholarship. In the light of this, I suggested that, as a next step in development, the Archives ideally required the attention of an Italian professional archivist and a British historian, well versed in the history of the English and Welsh Catholic community, working together for a period of three years if serious progress were to be made. Having filed my report with the trustees, I returned to my work at Swansea University.

The completion of the 2013 report coincided with a change of Rector at the VEC. Fifteen months later, following the appointment of a new Rector, Monsignor Philip Whitmore, the recommendations of the report were accepted by the trustees. Thanks to continuing generosity from Urs and Francesca Schwarzenbach, I was invited to direct, from February 2015, the three-year project that I had put forward in my 2013 report. With the help of a project archivist, Dr Orietta Filippini, much progress has been made to date.

Transmission as a pastoral instrument

Historical memory constitutes an integral part of the life of every community. The knowledge of all that ... creates a sense of continuity between past and present. Therefore, if documents are known and communicated, archives can become useful instruments for an enlightening pastoral action because through a memory of the facts Tradition becomes more concrete.[4]

[3] *Triumphus religionis, virtutumque ancillatium illustrissimo principi Ioanni Garziae Card. Millino dictatus a Laurentio Rigbeo* (Romae: Ex typographia Alexandri Zannetti, MDCXXIV [1624]). A copy of this work, in pristine condition, can be found at the Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington, DC, and other copies can be found in a number of libraries in Rome. None of the catalogue entries for these surviving copies mentions the true name of the author, Henry Morley. No copy is known to survive at the Venerable English College.

[4] *The Pastoral Function of Church Archives*, §1.3

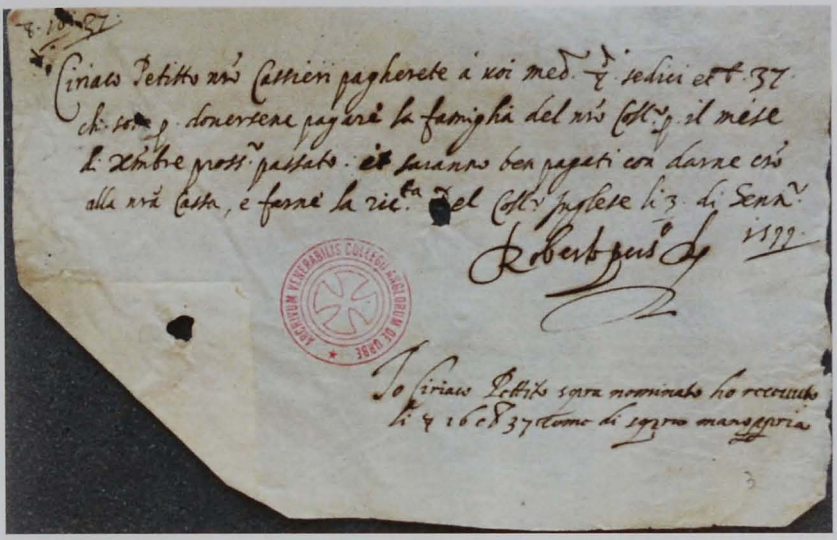
Historical memory, or institutional memory in the case of a college or seminary, is a matter of great importance and one particularly to be cherished and nurtured in an age of rapid, global change. One of the great traditions of the VEC is the annual *gita* or day excursion, normally held on a Saturday in May, for the whole College, including cleaners, kitchen staff and porters and their families. As guests of the Vice-Rector, whose duty it is to organize the day, staff and students are typically taken by coach on a mystery tour to a destination an hour or two's drive from Rome. The programme for the day generally includes Mass at a church or abbey, followed by lunch and an afternoon visit to a site of historic or cultural interest, with a return to Rome by early evening. On such occasions, during the sermon in Italian at the Mass for the day, the staff or *personale* of the VEC are always given a warm, traditional welcome as members of "la famiglia del Collegio".

When I first heard this expression being used during the sermon at Mass on my first *gita*, I was immediately reminded of an early document that I had already seen in the Archives describing the lay staff of the College as "la famiglia del n[ostr]o Coll[egio]". When, two days later, I asked the then Vice-Rector, Fr Mark Harold, why he had used that particular expression in his sermon, he informed me that it was a phrase that he himself had learned as a student at the College more than two decades earlier. When I produced a digital image of the document reproduced below – a request of 3 January 1599 signed by Fr Robert Persons, SJ (1546–1610), then Rector of the College, authorizing the payment of moneys to the College's lay staff – "la famigilia del n[ostr]o Coll[egio]" – the Vice-Rector and Rector were fascinated to discover that the phrase has been handed down orally and kept alive within the College for over four centuries. As we are reminded in the 1997 document:

Church archives ... manifest the sense of Tradition. In fact, the information stored in archive collections enables the reconstruction of the daily occurrences involved in the evangelization and education to the Christian lifestyle.[5]

When the antiquity of the phrase was referred to during the sermon at the Mass during the following year's *gita*, it hopefully helped strengthen further a real sense of collegiate identity among the full College family.

[5] *The Pastoral Function of Church Archives*, §1.1



Fr Robert Persons, SJ, Rector, authorises payment of the Venerable English College lay staff ('la famiglia del n[ostr]o Coll[egio]'), 3 January 1599

Transmission of historical awareness among the student body of the VEC

From the outset of the project in 2015, while considering ways in which the Archives might be made more visible within the daily life and work of the VEC, I have found a particular passage from the writings of Cardinal Francesco Marchisano especially relevant in a seminary context:

The educational programs of seminaries and houses of studies must enrich themselves in many ways and on selected and planned occasions by suitable experiences and stimuli aimed at increasing ... global maturity [among seminarians in sensitivity towards the artistic and historic collections of the Church]. It is wise to recall here that the environment where this education takes place represents already in itself a place for educational potential. Even a simple or modern environment will be more or less able to facilitate an atmosphere of recollection and to increase the growth of an adequate aesthetic

sensitivity. **This is even more true if one lives in places filled with history and art** [*my emphasis*].[6]

Since September 2015, historical awareness among the student body at the VEC has been enhanced by a visit to the Archives being built into the induction programme of every new student arriving at the College – an initiative of the Rector very much in the spirit of the 1992 circular letter referred to above. On each occasion, I provide an introductory talk on the history and significance of the Archives and reinforce this by showing every student, *inter alia*, the nine volumes of the *Liber Ruber*, or College register of students. This runs from the granting of the Bull of Foundation of the College in 1579 down to the present day and provides an outline record of every student.When new students are shown the first entry in the first volume of the *Liber Ruber*, recording the name of St Ralph Sherwin (1550–1581), the College's proto-martyr, who was executed at Tyburn, London, just two years after the entry was made in the register; when they learn that the first five years' entries in the first volume are in the handwriting of the great Elizabethan Jesuit and poet, St Robert Southwell (*c.*1561–1595), who was a member of the VEC staff; and when they are informed that their individual names will shortly thereafter be entered into the ninth and most recent volume of the *Liber Ruber*, the new students rapidly understand that they belong to a great tradition and are already part of the living history of the College.

This sense of belonging is further heightened when the histories of those parts of the College they use daily are explained: these areas include the College Church of St Thomas of Canterbury, built in the fourteenth century, extended in 1497, consecrated in 1501, and rebuilt in 1888; the Martyrs' Chapel (formerly the Sodality Chapel) and the Refectory, both designed and decorated in 1685 by the great Italian Jesuit brother, Baroque painter and architect, Andrea Pozzo (1642–1709), just two years before he began perhaps his greatest masterpiece, the apse and the ceiling of the Jesuit church of Sant'Ignazio in Rome; and the crypt of the College Church, today used as a lecture hall and theatre, but also containing within its walls an ossuary within which lie the mortal remains of many distinguished English and Welsh Catholics. These include Christopher Bainbridge (1462/3–1514), cardinal archbishop of York and Henry VIII's

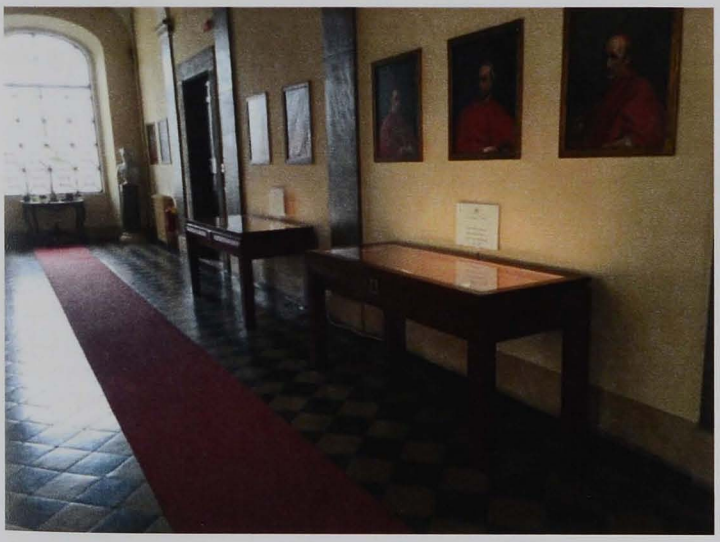
[6] *Circular letter regarding the cultural and pastoral training of future priests in their upcoming responsibilities concerning the artistic and historic heritage of the Church* (1992), §§14–15.

ambassador to Pope Julius II; Cardinal William Allen (1532–1594); and Fr John Gerard, SJ (1564–1637), who famously escaped from the Tower of London in 1597.

The exposure of seminarians to these types of experience is hopefully in the spirit of the 1992 circular letter mentioned above:

A direct encounter with the world of art and history, either through a personal acquaintance with those working in this field or through a personal contact with works of art and historic documents, constitutes a particularly efficient educational experience which can not be substituted by theoretical lessons given in school.[7]

In 2015, to reinforce efforts further in this area, two new specially designed archival display cabinets were installed in the historic Cardinals' Corridor immediately outside the Library, a place passed many times daily by every member of the College and also by many visitors.



New archival display cabinets on the Cardinals' Corridor at the VEC, 2015

[7] *Ibid.*, §24.

With thought and care, displays in a seminary context can be linked both to the rhythm of current events and also to anniversaries which might otherwise be overlooked in the rush of daily life. They can also help showcase the rich and varied range of material available in the Archives, further raising awareness of the importance of our heritage. Displays organised at the VEC from 2015 to date include the following:

- **April 2015:** *Sacred images for Holy Week and Eastertide: a selection of seventeenth-century engravings from the College Archives*

- **June 2015:** *Examinations through the ages: some documents from the College Archives*

- **December 2015:** *The Closing of the Second Vatican Council, 1965: a selection of documents from the papers of Cardinal William Theodore Heard (1884–1973)*

- **January 2016:** *Jacobites in Rome: marking the 250th anniversary of the death of James Francis Edward Stuart (1688–1766)*

- **May–June 2016:** *The Vatican stamp collection of Bishop Brian Charles Foley (1910–1999)*

- **September 2016**: *Anglican-Roman Catholic relations: celebrating the 50th anniversary of the first post-Reformation official visit of an Archbishop of Canterbury to the Pope in 1966*[8]

[8] This display, timed to coincide with the 50th anniversary visit to Pope Francis of the present archbishop of Canterbury, the Most Reverend and Right Honourable Justin Welby, was particularly appreciated by the archbishop and his senior Anglican colleagues during their stay at the VEC. It was also visited by members of the Anglican-Roman Catholic International Commission (ARCIC).

- **October 2016**: *1956–2016: Celebrating the 60th anniversary of the ordination to the priesthood of His Eminence Cardinal Cormac Murphy-O'Connor*[9]

- **December 2016:** *In Nativitate Domini: a selection of documents from the College Library and Archives relating to the liturgy for Christmas*

- **December 2016:** *Recent conservation work in the College Archives*

- **January 2017:** *Some recent donations to the College Archives*[10]

Displays can also be helpful in explaining succinctly the outline history of the College, as was the case in April 2017 when I had the privilege of introducing His Royal Highness Prince Charles, the Prince of Wales, to the Archives on his first visit to the VEC.

[9] The display celebrated the life and work of Cardinal Cormac Murphy-O'Connor (1932–2017) with a series of photographs and documents from the Archives from his time as a student at the VEC in the 1950s, through his time as Rector of the VEC (1971–77), and subsequently bishop, archbishop and cardinal. It coincided with what subsequently proved to be the Cardinal's last visit to Rome and to his beloved *alma mater*, to which he had been a frequent visitor over many years. The images displayed included some striking, dynamic photographs of a young Cormac Murphy-O'Connor in mountain gear at the summit of Gran Sasso (2,912 metres/9,554 feet), the highest peak on the Italian peninsula, in 1956, towards the end of his student days at the VEC.

[10] Subsequent displays have included: **June 2017**: *Ordination cards of College students through the ages*; **Christmas 2017**: *Christmas cards of yesteryear: some items from the 1950s from the personal papers of the Reverend Henry Edward George Rope (1880–1978), College Archivist, 1936–1957*; **January 2018**: *An architectural sesquicentenary: the unexecuted plans of Edward Welby Pugin (1834–1875) for the Church of St Thomas of Canterbury, Rome, 1868.*

HRH Prince Charles being shown by Maurice Whitehead some documents from the VEC Archives, 4 April 2017
(Reproduced by kind permission of the Rector of the Venerable English College)

This regular work in raising the awareness of members of the VEC and visitors of the rich resources of the Archives has led to unexpectedly positive developments. Each student at the VEC has a particular responsibility for one aspect of the life and work of the seminary, normally for one year, as a "house" job, with many of these posts generating their own sets of records. Since 2015, independently of one another, a number of students either beginning or ending a term of office in their particular area of responsibility have sought advice from me as to whether records in their possession might be of interest to the Archives. Invariably, such material has proven to be of significance and has subsequently been placed in the Archives. What has been heartening in such instances is that the initiative has each time come from individual students apparently sensitized to the preservation of records through exposure to a regularly changing series of archival displays.

Other positive effects

While it is impossible to know precisely what effects such experiences may have on seminarians and future members of the clergy in the longer term, early signs are encouraging. Beyond the question of "house" job records already

referred to, a group of students, including the holder of the post of student photographer, approached me informally in 2016 expressing concern about the long-term destiny of so many contemporary digital images of College events and activities. Many of these are stored randomly on student and staff computer hard drives, USB pen drives, smartphones or in cloud locations and, in the absence hitherto of any clear policy about archiving at least some of this record, it is all in grave danger of being lost in the longer term.
During the course of 2016 and 2017, an interested volunteer group of four or five students met with me regularly and informally to try and work out a practical solution to a very real present-day challenge. Following much discussion, the students themselves came to the conclusion that there was probably a two-fold solution to the problem. Realising that it would be impossible to retain all of the relevant digital photographs stored in so many diverse locations, they decided to retain a representative selection of digital material and to preserve it for posterity.

The students themselves worked out a clear set of criteria for the selection of digital images. These criteria took full account of the fact that any selection process needed to capture and record *all* aspects of the life and work of the College, from the sacred to the secular, and from the serious to the light-hearted. The students next determined that the images selected should be preserved in two formats: first, by creating an annual yearbook, printed in full colour, with a copy being retained in the Archives; and, secondly, by preserving the digital images used in the production of the yearbook on a dedicated server in the Archives. The students' conviction that current photographs should be preserved in hard-copy format, as well as digitally, was influenced both by their having seen that the Archives contain photographs and photographic albums dating from the 1870s onwards and by the fact that nobody at present knows for sure whether or not digital images will deteriorate over time or how quickly the platforms on which they sit will become obsolete.

The student-created *VEC Photographic Yearbook 2015–16* proved to be such a success that, without the need of any reminder from the Archives, the students subsequently went on to assemble a *Yearbook* for the academic year 2016–17.

Such grass-roots commitment from students to the creation and preservation of contemporary archives is very welcome.[11]

Transmission and making tradition more concrete: creating a new electronic archival catalogue for the AVCAU

In terms of specific content, archives preserve the sources describing the historical development of the ecclesial community as well as those relating to the liturgical, sacramental, educational, and charitable activities which the clergy, religious, and lay members of the Church have carried out throughout the centuries up to the present day. Often they preserve documents regarding the achievements of these individuals as well as documents regarding the juridical relationship between communities, institutions, and individuals.[12]

The creation of an effective electronic archival catalogue for the AVCAU requires prior mastery of the complex historical development of the *fonds* – the totality of the surviving documents of the English Hospice and of the Venerable English College. The earliest known manuscript catalogue of the collection, in use from 1630 down to the suppression of the Society of Jesus in 1773 and the expulsion of the College's English Jesuit administrators, happily survives in the Archives. This volume indicates precisely – on which shelf and in which position – documents were stored in each of the three great wooden presses then housing the collection. A pre-1773 shelfmark, such as C.III.2, for example, indicates that a document was housed as the second item on the third shelf of *Armadio C*.[13]

At the moment of the suppression, the then cardinal protector of the VEC, Andrea Corsini (1735–1795), who was also a member of the commission for the suppression of the Society of Jesus in the Papal States, sealed the Archives and commissioned a Roman notary and his assistant to draw up a new manuscript catalogue of the entire collection. These volumes, too, survive.[14] In or around 1773, the coherence of the Archives was severely compromised when documents were regrouped by format – into *Membrane* (parchment scrolls),

[11] The success of this student initiative has subsequently led to further development. The informal discussion group on digital archives has been elevated, at the request of the Rector, to the status of a formal student archival committee as from February 2018.

[12] *The Pastoral Function of Church Archives*, Introduction.

[13] AVCAU, Liber 277.

[14] AVCAU, Libri 1593–1600.

Libri (bound manuscripts) and *Scritture* (unbound manuscripts). This arrangement of the documents has been subsequently retained and added to over more than two centuries and cannot now be altered. An excellent typescript catalogue of the Archives was prepared in 1978 by the then student archivist, Jerome Bertram, now a priest of the Oratory in Oxford, and this has remained the main guide to the collection down to the present day. The present challenge is to create, within the *fonds*, new 'virtual' series which will encompass all the documents in the Archives and allow the efficient and effective creation of an electronic catalogue.

In 2000, Daniel Huws, then Keeper of Manuscripts at the National Library of Wales in Aberystwyth, was invited by the VEC to address this problem in preparation for a future time when, finances permitting, it might prove possible to embark on the creation of a new electronic catalogue. Helpfully, he undertook a complete survey of the *Libri* section of the Archives - physically the largest section - and drew up an outline of how documents might be regrouped virtually. As time on that pilot project had not allowed a comparable survey of the *Membrane* and *Scritture* sections of the Archives, the first challenge of the 2015–18 project was to complete this work.

Following much detailed research into the history of the Archives, and careful analysis of the contents of the *Membrane* and *Scritture* sections, it was possible to draw up a list of twenty-three series into which the collection might be organized virtually. Daniel Huws, now retired, was invited to offer his frank opinion about the additions to his original draft scheme. Following his helpful advice, just one minor change was needed to the draft plan: a twenty-fourth virtual series was added, better to take account of the variety of records surviving from the pre-1579 English Hospice.

In 2015, it was decided to adopt *SHADES (Ecclesia)* software for the creation of the new electronic catalogue. Unlike much other archival software which is developed by technicians with some input from archivists, *Software for Historical Archives Description (Ecclesia)* was designed the other way round, by two archivists, with technical support.[15] Designed originally for the Archives of the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith (CDF) in Rome, the software is built around ISAD(G), the 1999 General International Standard Archival

[15] The two archivists in question were Monsignor Alejandro Cifres, Director of the Archives of the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith (CDF) in Rome, together with Dr Marco Pizzo, deputy Director of the *Museo Centrale del Risorgimento*, also in Rome.

Description.[16] It is web-based and largely intuitive to use. Results to date have proven very satisfactory and a much clearer picture of the richness of the holdings of the Archives is beginning to emerge thanks to the creation of the 'virtual' series. As *SHADES* provides the facility of recording former shelfmarks, which so many of the of pre-1773 documents still carry, these details are being added as subsidiaries of the present-day identities of the same documents. In this way, in time, a greater understanding of the pre-1773 organization of the Archives will be achieved.

The VEC has now merged its existing Library catalogue of some 18,000 items into the *SHADES* database, providing for the first time ever an invaluable, integrated search tool for Library and archival holdings: for example, the search term 'John Henry Newman' will reveal that seventeen original Newman letters and a number of photostat copies of Newman letters held elsewhere are to be found in the Archives, and that the College Library holds a wealth of books on the life and work of Newman.

An enormous amount of work remains to be done to develop and improve the archival catalogue before it can be made available online: this includes adding into the system the many useful data contained in typescript and manuscript catalogues of discrete collections of papers within the Archives, developed over decades by conscientious student archivists. These are epitomized by the magnificent manuscript catalogue of the papers of Monsignor George Talbot (1816–1886) compiled in 1954 by Anthony Kenny – now Sir Anthony Kenny – during his time as student archivist at the VEC. It was a particular pleasure to hear Sir Anthony recalling his archival work of more than sixty years ago during a visit that he made to the VEC in May 2016.

[16] International Council on Archives/Conseil International des Archives, *ISAD(G): General International Standard Archival Description – Adopted by the Committee on Descriptive Standards, Stockholm, Sweden, 19–22 September 1999* (Second edition: Ottawa, 2000), available at: https://www.ica.org/en/isadg-general-international-standard-archival-description-second-edition (accessed 23 February 2018).

Sir Anthony Kenny revisiting his scholarly 1954 manuscript catalogue of the Talbot Papers in the AVCAU, 21 February 2016

The future of the AVCAU beyond 2018

Archives, as part of the cultural heritage, should be offered primarily at the service of the community that has produced them. But in time they assume a universal destination because they become the heritage of all of humanity.

An attitude of disinterested openness, kind welcome, and competent service must be taken into careful consideration so that the historical memory of the Church may be offered to the entire society.[17]

In March 2015, just a month into the 2015–18 archival project, I was asked by the trustees of the VEC, chaired by Archbishop Bernard Longley, the Archbishop of Birmingham, to consider the future of the AVCAU beyond the end of the project in 2018 and to prepare some recommendations for the 2016 annual meeting of the trustees in Rome. In January 2016, a two-day meeting of an archival advisory committee was held at the VEC. This comprised people

[17] *The Pastoral Function of Church Archives*, §4.1

who know the Archives well - Professor Eamon Duffy of Cambridge University, Dr Carol Richardson of the University of Edinburgh, Dr (now Professor) Judith Champ of St Mary's College, Oscott, Monsignor Anthony Wilcox, then chair of the Roman Association - the alumni association of the VEC - and myself. The meeting was chaired by Fr Mark Harold, then Vice-Rector of the VEC. Following extensive discussion, a forward-looking development plan was drawn up. This included the suggestion of launching a major appeal for the creation of an endowment fund to try and assure the long-term future of the AVCAU fully under the umbrella of the VEC, but without the Archives being a financial burden to the College. A key theme of the document was that any future development of the Archives as a place for external visiting researchers needed to be undertaken with great sensitivity, respecting, complementing and enhancing the life of the seminary and in no sense compromising it.

The plan was duly submitted to the trustees in March 2016. Following careful preparation of potential costings, and much further discussion and deliberation, the trustees gave the green light to the launching of an appeal in the near future. They wish to see the new development as something more than the AVCAU, hugely important though that collection is. Given both the antiquity of the Archive and the unbroken English and Welsh presence on the same site in Rome since 1362, the trustees wish to see associated with the AVCAU a supporting research collection of books celebrating the history of the English and Welsh Catholic community. Elements of such a collection are already present in the VEC Library, but, as such a focused specialist library does not already exist in Rome, considerable work needs to be done. More than 1,000 duplicate books from the libraries of a number of diocesan archives in England have already been generously donated over the past year, and these have been complemented by gifts from a number of private individuals. The trustees of All Hallows' College, Dublin, have also donated a number of nineteenth-century Catholic directories for England and Wales.[18] Any member of the Catholic Archives Society who may be able to help further in developing this area is warmly invited to contact me in the first instance.[19]

Postscript: developments since the lecture to the CAS in May 2017

[18] Full reports on the development of the Archives during the period 2015–17 can be found in *The Venerabile*, 36 (2016), pp. 24–28, and 36 (2017), 36–44.
[19] My e-mail address at the AVCAU is schwarzenbachfellow@vecrome.org

Though the 2015–18 project at the AVCAU finished at the end of February 2018, work on the Archives is happily continuing. The year 2018 marks three major anniversaries for the VEC:

- the 900th anniversary of the birth of St Thomas of Canterbury, the patron of the Hospice and College Church since the fourteenth century;
- the 450th anniversary of the opening of the first seminary for England and Wales – the English College, Douai, in 1568;
- the bicentenary of the re-opening of the VEC in 1818, following its sequestration and closure in 1798 during the French occupation of Rome.

To mark these three anniversaries, the VEC is organizing a series of events in 2018, including an exhibition entitled *Memory, Martyrs and Mission: aspects of the history of the English Hospice and the Venerable English College, Rome, 1362–1818* which will be open from 16 April to 11 May 2018. The exhibition will include documents from the AVCAU, alongside loan items originally from the English College, Douai (today preserved at St Edmund's College, Ware), together with many treasures from the Stonyhurst Collections, some of which were at the VEC prior to 1773.

These anniversary celebrations provide a platform for the launch of a major appeal to help secure the future of the *Archivum Venerabilis Collegii Anglorum de Urbe* and to allow its pastoral functions to develop and flourish further, hopefully well into the future.

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Reintroducing the Bar Convent: A New Phase in the Life of the Special Collections

Hannah Thomas

Introduction and Historical Background

The Bar Convent is the oldest living convent in England, having been in operation continuously since 1686, on the same site just outside the city walls of York. The convent also housed a very successful school for girls, one of the earliest in the country, run by the Congregation of Jesus from 1686 until 1985, when it merged with other local grammar schools and became All Saints Comprehensive. The necessity of providing "a school for our daughters" was the driving force behind the foundation of the convent: Sr Frances Bedingfield (1616–1704) had been a pupil of the order's foundress Mary Ward (1585–1645) at their first English school in Hammersmith, and had learnt at first hand the importance of providing appropriate education for young Catholic girls.[1]

Ward's vision for her community was simple: take the same as the Society. By this she meant the Society of Jesus, an unenclosed order of missionary men, freed from the cloistered routine of traditional orders and free to do God's work wherever he called them. Founded in 1540 by Ignatius Loyola (1491–1556), the Society was one of the fastest growing new orders founded in this period.

Ward wanted the same freedom and autonomy for her community, in direct contravention of the Council of Trent (*fl.*1545–63), which had commanded that "no nun shall after her profession be permitted to go out of the monastery, even for a brief period under any pretext whatever, except for a lawful reason to be approved by the bishop ... the enclosure of nuns be restored wherever it has been violated, and that it be preserved where it has not been violated ..." This was for the safety of the convent, as well as enabling their work - the decree also allowed a bishop to forcibly relocate an isolated convent to within city walls or more populous areas to protect the nuns from "the crimes of evil men."[2]

[1] Sir Thomas Gascoigne (1596–1686) left the sum of £500 to Frances Bedingfield for the express purpose of funding a school for Catholic girls in York.

[2] Council of Trent 25th session, pp. 223–4. Held between 1545 and 1563, the Council of Trent debated ecclesiastical and doctrinal teachings, and clarified the Church's teachings on topics that had been hotly debated with Protestant reformers, such as the afterlife, sacraments and the lives of religious.

As a result, the initial years for Ward and her early companions were fraught with difficulty and danger. The constant threat of persecution meant that Mary and her early companions were a necessarily mobile Community in these initial years. By 1627 they had founded the Paradeiserhaus in Munich, which became the official base of the fledgling order. It now houses many of the original archive documents from Mary Ward's lifetime, including her correspondence and other communications.

Although by the time of Ward's death in 1645 her vision was in ruins, the order recovered and continued to flourish, and is currently active in 22 countries around the world. The sisters work very closely with the sisters of the Institute of the Blessed Virgin Mary (Loreto), who are similarly active in 23 countries: between them, they have a presence on every continent.[3] Having been known variously as the English Ladies, Galloping Girls, Jesuitesses and the Institute of the Blessed Virgin Mary (IBVM); in 2004 Ward's vision was finally realised - full Ignatian Constitutions were adopted, and the name of the order was changed to the Congregatio Jesu [CJ], to reflect Mary Ward's desire that her congregation be called by the name of Jesus.

Archives

This history has generated a rich and varied collection of archival material, which is organised into three main collections at the Bar Convent. The first collection consists of material relating to the Bar Convent itself [BC], including deeds, photographs, telegrams, letters, newsletters, internal publications and diaries. The second collection is focused on material relating to the wider English Province of the Congregation of Jesus, which was established in 1929 [EP]. The Bar Convent is the official provincial repository, and as such holds a wide range of material relating to all communities within the province. The third collection is focused on papers relating to Mary Ward and her cause (MW). It includes a number of documents relating to her Cause, testimonials from several Victorian bishops in support that she be acknowledged as foundress, correspondence between members of the order about the process, and accounts of miracles and relics associated with Mary Ward.

The archive collections amount to approximately 57 linear metres, and have been catalogued in different stages over the last 60 years or so. Professional archivist Nora Gurney (1921–74), director of the Borthwick Institute, reorganized and catalogued the BC and MW collections alongside community

[3] See https://www.congregationofjesus.org.uk, accessed 23 Feb 2018.

archivist Sr Margaret Mary Littlehales (1907–2009) in the 1960s. In the late 1980s, four provincial houses at Ascot, Cambridge, Shaftesbury and Hampstead sent their archives to York, which formed the backbone of the EP collection. These papers were sorted, listed and part-catalogued by Sr Gregory Kirkus (1911–2007), who took over as community archivist in 1988. Sr Gregory was succeeded by Sr Christina Kenworthy-Browne in 2005, who continued with archive work when time allowed, alongside several other duties for the province (including regular trips to Rome every month).[4]

Library

The Special Collections at the Bar Convent also include an Antique Library and a modern Reference and Research Library; and we are in the process of developing a spirituality and theology library, in conjunction with St Bede's Pastoral Centre which is also within the Bar Convent campus.

The Antique Library consists of some 1,300 rare books, printed between 1508 and 1850. They are in a variety of languages including English, French, Italian, Spanish, Latin, Greek and Flemish, and include biographies, ascetical works on prayer, meditation and spirituality, Bibles, service books, sermons, works of controversy, history, and travel. Although very little information has survived about how and when the library was assembled, it is thought that the volumes were collected by the sisters for their own use from about 1750 onwards, during a period of relative peace and prosperity for the convent. However, there is also evidence of ownership by earlier members of the community, such as the inscription "Madam Beddingfield [*sic*], her book", mark of Sr Frances Bedingfield. The wide range of printing locations, scattered around northern Europe, is certainly suggestive of textual mobility, and, at the very least, points to access to a wide network of continental printers and booksellers at some point during the community's history.[5]

The earliest manuscript version of the order's Constitutions includes a separate section of rules 'For the Prefect of the Library', commenting that "All the books must stand rankt [sic] in due order & those of a kind together." The librarian is to keep the books well catalogued; the library clean, dry and locked; and she is to let the Superior know of any "necessary books, or very profitable ones as have lately bin publisht [sic]" in order that they might be purchased for the

[4] See Sr M. Gregory Kirkus C.J., *The Archives of the Bar Convent York* (York: Bar Convent, 2004). Second edition.

[5] See Sr M. Gregory Kirkus, C.J., *A Recusant Library* (York: Bar Convent, 2004). Second edition.

greater edification of the community.[6] This echoes the Constitutions of the Society of Jesus, which note that "there should be a general library in the colleges ... furthermore, the individuals should have the books which are necessary for them."[7]

The modern Reference and Research collection consists of approximately 2,500 books relating to the fields of Religious Life, Church History and Post-Reformation Catholicism, including several rare late-Victorian studies of Catholic places and people. There are also up-to-date runs of a number of Catholic-interest periodicals available for consultation, such as *The Month*, *Recusant History* (including *Biographical Studies* and *British Catholic History*), *Catholic Archives*, *Catholic Family History* and several local interest Catholic history journals.

A New Phase: September 2017

In September 2017, the Congregation of Jesus appointed a Special Collections Manager, the first time that the collections had been managed full time by somebody from outside of the community. The appointment was motivated by a desire to open up their rich collections to the wider network of academics, researchers and historians; to encourage research to be undertaken; and for the collections and the space within which they were housed to be given a new lease of life. A key element of this was also a need to incorporate the collections within the increasing range of activities taking place at the Bar Convent itself, which had undergone a similar new lease of life with a huge renovation project and redesigned exhibition, culminating in the launch of the new Living Heritage Centre [LHC] in October 2015.

The first step in this new undertaking was to sort through the archive and library in order to identify items that hadn't yet been catalogued or that needed further attention, and to establish how best to use the space. A full survey was made of conservation needs, and rooms were rearranged to allow better use of (very limited) shelf space. Basic preservation methods were also introduced, such as acid free boxes, folders, and brass paperclips; and items that needed to be catalogued were gathered together and transferred to another room. In the library, items were rearranged in order to give the two rooms a more distinct

[6] Bar Convent BC/V/21a: *Rules of ye Superior of Every House*, n.d. (c.1700), manuscript.

[7] George E. Ganss, SJ, (trans.), *The Constitutions of the Society of Jesus* (St Louis: The Institute of Jesuit Sources, 1970) §72.

identity: the Antique Library is in the process of also becoming a display feature of the LHC; and the Reference and Research library has been reorganised with a view to becoming the Reading Room for both library and archive readers, who previously had to be given reading space in the archivist's office. Initial experiments have proved successful on these fronts – readers now have a distinct space in which to work, which is well stocked with reference material that relates to the research being carried out.

Undertaking a comprehensive survey of the material in both the archive and libraries has also led to a greater understanding of exactly what is contained within the collection. For example, during the sorting, the papers of Sr Gregory Kirkus were gathered together for the first time, many of which were still where she had last been working on them, accumulated over many years of work within the archive and library. These now exist for the first time as a discrete collection, and have recently been catalogued, as described below. Many of the items in the archive are generally unknown, both to the CJ community and the wider general public who visit the Bar Convent regularly. With this in mind, we are also in the process of creating a rolling exhibition space within the recently refurbished LHC, which will feature a 'document of the month' as well as thematically arranged pop-up exhibitions which will tie in with events.

Another important aspect of this new phase is to initiate the implementation of records management policies for current and semi-current material. The Bar Convent is a vibrant and thriving place, hosting a huge range of activities and welcoming a diverse mix of people, groups and visitors; particularly since the launch of the LHC in October 2015. Currently there is no policy in place which will capture this vital aspect of convent life and preserve it for future generations. Recent discussions with other members of staff have increased awareness about the need to preserve records of current activity, and the need to transfer records of past activities to more secure storage methods. This has resulted in the addition of many new items to the archive collections, in both physical and digital formats. For example, the LHC e-newsletter, which was begun in December 2013 and is emailed out to a mailing list on a regular basis, has now been captured within the archive as a series of pdf files, and will continue to be added to as new items are created. Similarly, staff members around the convent have begun to send copies of items from their computers across to the archives to ensure they are preserved, such as photographs of events, posters, newspaper clippings and organisational documents.

The social media presence of the Special Collections has also been much developed in recent months, particularly with the launch of a Special Collections Twitter feed, @BarConvSpecColl. Using the same colouring and branding as the existing Bar Convent feed, @BarConventYork, ensures that they are closely linked together, and attract similar followers, as well as tapping in to existing Catholic history networks to attract a wider audience. Our twitter feed was launched during 'Explore Your Archives' week in November 2017, a national campaign that illuminates the best of archives and archive services in the UK and Ireland. Participants share items from their collections using social media that relate to different topics, with the aim of showcasing the huge range of material available in archives across the country, whatever their size, scale and focus, and wherever they are physically located. Each day of the week was assigned a general theme that could be interpreted however best fitted the archive in question, and participants share images of items from their collections that correspond to it in some way.[8]

The theme for the first day was 'archive catwalk', which was used to share images of costumes, uniforms, knitting patterns and particular period dress, to name a few. Our contribution was a rather splendid group photograph of nuns and school pupils, dated c.1900, that also included a rogue guinea pig.[9] The theme for the second day was 'edible archives', which included photographs of cakes, menus, recipe books and shopping lists. We shared a summary list of meat-eating schedules at different convents in England, followed by a corrective memo from Bishop Robert Cornthwaite (1818–90) on the decree concerning convent food, 1862. He noted that the "food should be generous in quantity, good in quality, varied in kind, and more carefully cooked."[10] The third day's theme of 'hairy archives' posed something of a challenge, but we rose to the occasion and found a wonderful entry in the school account books of money spent by one Miss Beeston between 1790 and 1791, including 4s for 'cutting hair combs tooth brushes.'[11] The fourth day invited contributions on the theme of 'science archives', which gave us the opportunity to share some little-known photographs of members of the community taking part in an

[8] See http://www.exploreyourarchive.org/ for more. See also a summary of the Bar Convent's participation at https://thebarconvent.wordpress.com/2017/11/27/lovearchives/, both accessed 24 Feb 2018.
[9] BC/Ph/22.
[10] BC/4/G/6 and 9.
[11] BC/AC/B3.

excavation at Osbaldwick church in 1965, the aim of which was to uncover the exact burial location of Mary Ward.[12] The last day of the Explore Your Archive week was simply 'love archives', an invitation to share the item or object that you loved most about your archive - always a tricky decision, but we shared images from a manuscript spiritual commonplace book, compiled in about 1615 by the various members of the community at their base in Munich, including possibly Mary Ward herself, for use during the Ignatian *Spiritual Exercises*, both individually and communally.[13]

Although social media can often seem a daunting prospect to the uninitiated, it is a very useful tool for all sorts of aspects of managing an archive or library, which is particularly visible during campaigns such as 'Explore Your Archive'. By using the campaign links, hashtags and themes, the Bar Convent Special Collections attracted the attention of a huge number of readers who would otherwise not have come across us as an archive repository. The five short messages sent in response to the themes outlined above, each of which was a maximum of 140 characters, were read by approximately 7,500 people - vastly more than we could realistically have engaged with in a face-to-face capacity, given the limits of resources and time. It also enabled us to more easily make links with local archive services and history groups, as we could share our responses to the same themes; and drew us to the attention of several researchers who had not previously been aware of the collections, but who were working on topics that directly linked with the material in our collections.

Links with other organisations

Building on the existing reputation of the Bar Convent within the city of York, and further afield, working relationships have also been developed with partner organisations to attract a wider audience to the Special Collections and to increase our research potential. Within York itself, the new phase in the life of the archives has fostered close working relationships with universities and other heritage organisations.

Masters students on the Cultural Heritage Management programme at the University of York undertook a 2-week work placement in December 2017, during which time they were given the task of sorting, listing and cataloguing the papers of Sr Gregory Kirkus. The recently created collection included

[12] EP/C/6. Despite the recovery a female skeleton, results were inconclusive and Mary Ward's burial place remains unknown.

[13] Uncatalogued; BC/V.

letters, emails, postcards, publications, research notes, interviews and audio tours on cassette tapes, memoirs, poetry written by her and photographs of the dolls houses she made and displayed within the convent. For the students it was their first experience of sorting a completely untouched collection into an archivally appropriate order, and of putting archival cataloguing principles into practice. Prior to beginning work placements, the students had chosen in which particular sector of heritage work they wanted to gain experience, so it was important that they were given a full experience during the placement itself. They both initially found the task quite daunting, but were soon able to sort the material and arrange it into series that reflected the life and work of Sr Gregory. In February 2018, the students were also able to present a summary of their work to CJ members and other Bar Convent staff, which was very well received. It was gratifying to see that the impression of Sr Gregory formed by the students from the cataloguing process matched closely with the memories of those who had known her and worked alongside her, and although much of the collection will be closed for 30 years under data protection legislation, it has now been preserved for posterity for the first time, for future researchers to explore.

An extensive research project has also been developed with York St John's University, particularly with students on the Creative Writing undergraduate programme. Several workshops have been held at the convent during which students were invited to read archival material and draw inspiration from it for their work on specific genres. The material with which they engaged was related to World War One, and the Bar Convent's active role during the conflict.

As early as September 1914, the CJ sisters had made an offer to have a military hospital at the convent. This was approved by local military authorities and on 16 October 1914, the first wounded soldiers arrived at the convent's hospital, which had been set up in the newly built Concert Hall, still used by the school today. It flourished until late 1917, served by the CJs, nurses from York County Hospital and several volunteers from the local VAD. Nearly 400 patients were treated during those three years, including wounded Belgian soldiers. The convent was also a beacon of refuge for the hundreds of thousands of Belgians fleeing before the advancing German army in the first few months of the war. Approximately 250,000 Belgians arrived into ports all around England and Wales between August and December 1914, and a Belgian refugee who had settled in Torquay was even said to have inspired Agatha Christie to create her

beloved fictional detective Hercule Poirot.[14] Large numbers of Belgian refugees made York their temporary home during this period, including a large group of children who were sheltered at the convent. Initially they were educated alongside the fee-paying children, but when numbers of refugees grew bigger than could be managed, they were given their own classroom and French speaking nuns were brought to York from Lierre to take over teaching duties for the Belgian children.

Given this rich history, in November 2017, a small group of third-year students visited the convent for a workshop on a sample of the material from this era, including photographs of school groups, documentation regarding the military hospital, telegrams from the King, the convent's daily diary, and school account books. They were also invited to visit the exhibition and the chapel, to spend time in the building familiarising themselves with the heritage and the atmosphere of the convent. This first workshop was so successful that the course tutors asked if they could bring back a larger group of first-year students, who were just beginning to learn about writing for different genres. A large group of approximately 50 students attended a workshop in February 2018 using the same material, but in more detail. For example, several contemporary photographs, as well as extracts from the daily convent diaries were scanned and printed out on to A3 sheets to enable a greater engagement with the range of information contained on each page. Students found this very useful, and were able to pick up the sheets, look at several sheets in tandem, and compare events across a range of dates. It encouraged a great deal of interaction between participants, who felt a lot happier to study the material without worrying whether they were handling things correctly, or worrying about causing damage.

For many of the students, it was their first experience of using an archive and thinking about historical documents as a stimulus for creative writing. For most of them, it was also their first experience of a convent, or indeed any kind of religious institution, and they were quite surprised at how different it was to their expectations (mostly formed from popular film portrayals of nuns). Several of them were instantly inspired to write stories about people they had seen in photographs, soldiers who were treated in the hospital, or sisters who had received a telegram from the King. The pieces created by both groups of students will be curated in a showcase of creative writing performances, as part of the York Literature Festival, which will also feature a pop-up exhibition of

[14] Ref to BBC article

relevant archive items. The second workshop attracted the attention of local press and was featured on the front page of a local newspaper.[15] As a result, several other heritage organisations within the city made contact and offered to share their own collections and material relating to WW1. Several of these have been incorporated into the pop-up exhibition, which will open on 24 March 2018. Similar events are being planned as part of York's annual flower festival, Bloom, in July 2018, and for the centenary of the armistice in November 2018.

Enquiries

As a private archive, access is currently by appointment only, and at the discretion of the Congregation of Jesus. We welcome enquiries from researchers wishing to use our Special Collections. Enquiries should include a statement of intended use, and student applications should be accompanied by a letter of recommendation from an academic supervisor. Please contact Dr Hannah Thomas, Special Collections Manager, via email hthomas@bar-convent.org.uk or in writing:

Dr H Thomas
Special Collections Manager
The Bar Convent
17–19 Blossom Street
York
YO24 1AQ

[15] *York Press*, Saturday 10 February 2018.

Re-Reading the Archives: Women in Religious Archives

Carmen M. Mangion

In May 2017, I gave a talk to the Religious Archives Group which I hoped would begin a conversation between scholars and archivists considering how religious archives have been utilised in retrieving women's history, and suggesting how we could go about re-reading the archives, together as scholars and archivists. I wanted to consider how we could reframe our thinking regarding the material in the archives to write more nuanced and more varied histories moving from religious or women's histories of female agency within institutional churches to histories that engage more broadly with the modern world of education, medicine, social movements, internationalism, etc. using a greater variety of sources and moving beyond the text. In addition, I would like to rethink other modes of disseminating the knowledge derived from the archives, in an attempt to reach those who won't necessarily consider reading academic articles on women religious but would be attracted to engaging with more visible, material or digital means of learning about women religious.

My own journey as a modern historian (post 1800) on how I have travelled with regards to reading and re-reading the archives informs my thinking. I'm frequently asked why I'm so interested in the history of nuns. Returning to university in 1999 after a career in accountancy, I knew I wanted to work on women's history, and while I initially toyed with a dissertation on eighteenth-century bluestockings, once I read Caitríona Clear's monograph *Nuns in nineteenth-century Ireland* (1987) and then Susan O'Brien's 'Terra Incognita' (1988) in the journal *Past and Present* I was hooked. What better place to do women's history than in convent archives? (Access to archives was not so straightforward then but that is another story.) This interest in Catholic women religious eventually led me to broaden by research to Anglican sisterhoods and protestant deaconesses. The benefit of religious archives (and a pull for me) has always been not only the rich archival material but also the hospitality and the interaction with sisters who were often very engaged with their own history.

Initially, I was a bit scattergun in how I approached textual sources. Archivists have a critical role in guiding the researchers that knock on their doors (or perhaps more realistically, send them emails) and while I appreciate archivists are not responsible for a scholar's research questions, they have a knowledge

of archival holdings that is valuable and influential.[1] Both Sister Marion McCarthy of the Institute of Our Lady of Mercy Archives and Sister Judith Greville of the Daughters of Charity of St Vincent de Paul were instrumental to my early days as a researcher and I owe them a debt of gratitude. They introduced me to the different types of sources their archives held (an important step when there is no on-line catalogue to review beforehand). Sister Marion guided me towards the Bermondsey annals, and Sister Judith to the 'Notes on Deceased Sisters'.[2] After a few weeks of reading and taking copious notes, and then examining related material, I gained a better understanding of what sources would be useful in answering my research questions that coalesced on the identities of women religious. This PhD work was eventually published as *Contested Identities* (2008). I continue doing research in convent archives. I find them useful for interrogating British life and culture, as well as religious life. I soon began another project looking at religion in the nineteenth-century medical marketplace and I have published numerous articles on this. I am presently examining religious life in the last half of the twentieth century, in the context of the social movements of the 'radical sixties'. The archives of religious communities can tell us much about religious life, Catholic experiences and broader British social and cultural history.

Reading of the Archives

In this section, I would like to think about who is reading the archives? And what have they produced from this reading?

Currently, there is a re-thinking of the archives (called the 'archival turn') not simply as a 'place of research' but also as an 'object of inquiry'.[3] Formal institutional archives (and archivists as civil servants) emerged as part of the state control of knowledge in early modern Europe which continued into the eighteenth century and the nineteenth century in relation to imperial

[1] Susan O'Brien's paper given at the Catholic Archives conference of 1988 and subsequent article testifies to the significance of the archivist. Susan O'Brien, '10,000 Nuns: Working in Convent Archives', *Catholic Archives Journal*, 9 (1989), 26–33.

[2] Carmen M. Mangion, ' "Places of Memory": Reflections on Exploring Religious Archives' in *Reflections on Catholic Archives* edited by Robin Gard (The Catholic Archives Society, 2002), pp. 50-7.

[3] Filippo de Vivo, Andrea Guidi, and Alessandro Silvestri, 'Archival Transformations in Early Modern European History', *European History Quarterly*, 46 (2016), 421–34. This journal article contains a concise historiography, focused on mediaeval and early modern archives, on the historiography of the study of archives.

administration. It shall come as no surprise to archivists that archives are sites of authority and meaning. This authority has much to do with power (and in early modern history, political power).[4] Geographer Charles C.J. Withers notes that 'issues of place, of power, of political and classificatory authority are thus central to an understanding of what *is*...'.[5] Philosopher Jacques Derrida takes this further in *Mal d'archives* (1995) where he explores the archive as both a place and a reflection of social and institutional authority.[6] This discussion of power and authority in the archives suggests that archives are not innocuous, random sites which contain historical records. They are far from neutral.[7]

Researchers need to understand why and how records have found their way into convent archives, in the past and in the present. Archives are often accumulated for personal or administrative purposes. In addition, the collecting in many female religious archives reflect the objective of commemorating significant events or persons. Collection strategies today are often regulated by canonical requirements though smaller, aging communities with limited resources may have difficulties with these requirements (something I know the Catholic Archives Society is well aware of). In larger archives, with professional archivists, collection strategies have changed over time and archivist. The official position of the Catholic Church is very important in this matter, and the Pontifical Commission for the Cultural Heritage of the Church takes a wide and liberal view of the nature of archives. The Preamble to *The Pastoral Function of Church Archives* emphasises the role of church archives as 'places of memory of the Christian community and storehouses of culture for the new evangelization'.[8] Understanding the context in which archives were created and the purpose for which they were created is very important. Sometimes, knowing how and why a record was created provides important information.

[4] Peter Burke, *A Social History of Knowledge: From Gutenberg to Diderot* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2000), pp. 138–41; Carolyn Steedman, 'The Space of Memory: In an Archive', *History of the Human Sciences*, 11 (1998), 65–83, pp. 67–8.
[5] Charles W. J. Withers, 'Constructing "the Geographical Archive"', *Area*, 34 (2002), 303–11, pp. 303-4.
[6] Jacques Derrida, *Archive Fever: A Freudian Impression* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996).
[7] De Vivo, Guidi and Silvestri, 'Archival Transformations in Early Modern European History'.
[8] *The Pastoral Function of Church Archives* (Vatican City: The Pontifical Commission for the Cultural Heritage of the Church, 1997), p. 5.

What is not in the archives is as important as what is in the archives. Historians think quite seriously about silences they find in the archives. Some of this silence is caused by historical actors. Female religious life encouraged an understanding of humility which can have unfortunate consequences for source material. The early twentieth-century biography of Daughter of Charity Henriette Chatelain (1823-1903) was rich with details but my excitement soon turned to dismay when her biographer explained how in 1898 Sister Chatelain, anticipating her death, began destroying her private papers.[9] Other silences can originate from well-meaning, and overly-tidy, archivists. To my disappointment, the present archivist of an archive explained that some of the material I was looking for had disappeared in the 1970s, when the former archivist decided to 'organise' the archive and clear out what was not 'necessary'. There appears to be no documented strategy for this clear out.

Some silences are organic. Ordinary day-to-day activities were not always commented upon and thus created silences. One rather important example of this has to do with English/Irish relationships in the convent. When writing the chapter on ethnicities for *Contested Identities*, I realised I had very little material that reflected how English and Irish sisters interacted and acknowledged (or not) national difference within English convents. Irish-born women were a dominant presence in convents in England. In a sample of ten congregations, forty-one per cent were Irish-born compared to forty-six per cent who were English born.[10] In some quarters, there was a partiality for Irish sisters. Catherine McAuley admitted 'we cannot avoid preferring our sweet Irish Sisters every where.'[11] English convert founder Mother Magdalen (Frances) Taylor of the Poor Servants of the Mother of God regularly quested for postulants in Ireland. She referred to her 'band of postulants' from Ireland as 'pure, innocent and pious even amidst the dangers of Dublin'.[12] And, in the opposite extreme, we can see anti-Irishness in the response of one Scottish cleric

[9] Amabel Kerr, ed., *Sister Chatelain or Forty Years' Work in Westminster* (London: Catholic Truth Society, 1900), p. 130.
[10] Carmen M. Mangion, *Contested Identities: Catholic women religious in nineteenth-century England and Wales* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2008), p. 191.
[11] Letter from Catherine McAuley to Sister M. Elizabeth Moore written 17 December 1839 in Mary C. Sullivan, ed., *The Correspondence of Catherine McAuley, 1818-1841* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2004), p. 225.
[12] Central Congregational Archive of the Poor Servants of the Mother of God: I/F3 (Volume 3 of 5), p. 251a, Letter dated 13 July 1891 from Frances Taylor to Alexander Fullerton.

who noted of the Franciscan sisters: '[they] don't please me at all. There is nothing very far amiss - but the Prioress is intensely Irish - Irish in her feelings & prejudices, associations, want to order, want of cleanliness ....'[13] And what of the attitudes of the Irish towards English sisters? Well, one nineteenth-century Irish Sister of Mercy suggested an improved opinion of the English: 'We have now many kind friends in England, and we are determined never again to say 'the cold English'.[14] But these are all comments from those who were in leadership positions. It is more difficult to obtain an understanding of how ordinary sisters interacted. The undated 'Maxims of our Holy Foundress' (Sister of Mercy founder Catherine McAuley) has one maxim that suggests tensions between sisters: 'To hear nationalities discussed in a manner capable of wounding the most sensitive would be exceedingly painful to her'.[15] But 'suggest' is all it does. Silences are important factors for researchers to be aware of as they interact with historical records.

Convent and deaconess archives have been read by all sorts of researchers. Sister or deaconess-scholars, some formally trained in academic research and others not, have written their own histories including larger institutional histories, the histories of local convents and the biographies of founders or notable nuns. These are important sources, and though some academic scholars have observed that insider histories lack the distance to make them sufficiently objective and critical, they also enable an important reading for events, structures and personalities because of their insider knowledge. [16] Importantly, they often point to extant records that can be re-interrogated with a different set of questions.

Much of the reading of the archives for religious women by academics from the 1970s to the noughties (and this includes my own work) has often focused on reclaiming the role, actions and agency of women. This has been influenced, of course, by the second-wave women's movement, and a broader

[13] S. Karly Kehoe, *Creating a Scottish Church: Catholicism, gender and ethnicity in nineteenth-century Scotland* (Manchester: University of Manchester, 2010), p. 103.
[14] Maria Luddy (ed.), *The Crimean Journals of the Sisters of Mercy, 1854-56* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2004), p. 55.
[15] Archives of the Institute of Our Lady of Mercy, Bermondsey: 'Maxims of our Holy Foundress' (undated).
[16] Bart Hellinckx, Frank Simon, and Marc Depaepe, *The Forgotten Contribution of the Teaching Sisters: A Historiographical Essay on the Educational Work of Catholic Women Religious in the 19th and 20th Centuries* (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2009), p. 25.

historiography of women's history. In the Catholic tradition, the Second Vatican Council (1962-1965) has also been extremely influential in the burgeoning industry of published and unpublished research on the early foundations of religious congregations and orders through its encouragement of a *ressourcement*, a return to the sources. The literature coming out of this period was very focused on honouring the struggles and intentions of foremothers and forefathers. And out of this period there are numerous published biographies and congregational histories, re-reading and 'modernising' the histories of these congregations and orders. That urge to modernise can sometimes be anachronistic. Scholars Marit Monteiro, Marjet Derks and Annelies Van Heijst have argued that in the Dutch context, religious in the re-telling of their stories have self-historicised their histories in ways that have shaped collective memory with an explicit feminist agenda (e.g. overturning gendered roles) that may in fact hide inconvenient truths or a 'factual' reading of the records.[17]

The focus of scholarly work (including my own) has been on topics of

- agency: to what extent did women religious use their authority to direct their activities
- relationships with the hierarchical church: which both limited and provided opportunities for female decision-making and autonomy
- the institutions managed by women religious (particularly schools and hospitals)
- leadership: typically about prominent women religious - founders or prominent superiors

These are all valuable topics, which follow the more secular trend of women's history in their focus on 'great women', in their analysis of women's agency and their critique of relationships with authority and power.

This has been necessary because of the invisibility of women in the historical record, more broadly but also in church and ecclesiastical history of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Until recently, church historians rarely showed interest in female experiences of belief. Another factor is that the larger historiography of women's history from the 1970s to the noughties has ignored

[17] Marit Monteiro, Marjet Derks, and Annelies Van Heijst, 'The Stories the Religious Have Lived by since the 1960's', in *Religious Stories We Live By: Narrative Approaches in Theology and Religious Studies*, by R. Ruard Ganzevoort, Maaike de Haardt and Michael Scherer-Rath (Leiden: Brill, 2014), pp. 221–40.

religious women and women religious. Feminist historian Sheila Rowbotham in *Hidden from History* (1973) delinked religion from modernity; for her Christianity was patriarchal and oppressive and no longer relevant.[18] She wasn't alone. In the main, religious women/women religious were not considered such meritorious topics by secular scholars.[19] The exciting topics in feminist historiography were (and remain) about those who tried to claim a place for women in the wider world: the suffragettes/suffragists who fought for women's right to vote, the female firsts in what were once considered masculine professions, etc. The religious communities that I have studied, particularly in respect to the nineteenth-century had a large educational and charitable remit but a narrow religious and moral agenda that has made them difficult to recover from the 'enormous condescension of posterity'.[20] There is a temporal issue also. Religion has an important place in nineteenth-century historiography because we know (despite a secularisation thesis) that religion was important to the Victorians. As one enters the twentieth century, religion seems to disappear as a fulcrum of analysis. Many scholars seemed to assume that the British world was so secularised that religion was not needed as a category of analysis. The exception to this, was (and is) the attention paid to secularisation, of which there is a huge literature.

RE-READING OF THE ARCHIVES

There is good news. This focus is changing. In the past twenty or so years, scholars have begun re-considering religion and there is talk of a 'religious turn' (turning ever so slowly when it comes to gender) that has helped in putting the spotlight on religion and belief and allowed us to examine religion differently.

I have two recent personal experiences that reflect both this 'religious turn' but also the way in which religion has been side-lined. One PhD student after hearing me speak about the 1940s and 1950s 'modern girl' in relationship to the 'modern nun', came to talk to me afterwards. She was enthusiastic about my engagement with religion and gender in the twentieth century. She had been surprised in her PhD research that religion was important to the twentieth-

[18] Jacqueline de Vries, 'Rediscovering Christianity after the Postmodern Turn', *Feminist Studies*, 31 (2005), 135–55, pp. 136-7.
[19] Timothy Willem Jones, 'Sex and Gender in the Church of England, 1857-1957' (unpublished PhD, University of Melbourne, 2007), p. 3.
[20] E.P. Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class* (New York: Random House, 1963), p. 13.

century lesbian women she was studying but had found very little historiography (other than that of secularisation) that addressed women's engagement with religion in this time period. Another PhD student doing research on twentieth-century marriage and male heterosexuality made arrangements to speak to me because he found it curious that religion kept appearing in his subject's memoirs, biographies and interviews and the historiography of twentieth-century masculinity and marriage curiously didn't include much on religion. Both examples reflect the silences within the broader historiographies of Britain's social and cultural past. The 'religious turn' can be seen in recently published work. Anne Summer's monograph on the interactions between Christian and Jewish Women in Britain is part of this 'religious turn'.[21] So is Rosemary Seton's research on British missionary women in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.[22] Caitríona Beaumont's work on Christian women's groups in the twentieth century such as the Catholic Women's League and the Mother's Union argues they rejected a feminist identity but were committed to women's issues such as social and economic rights for women and made a contribution to the expansion of women's rights. This commitment came out of their conservative religious and moral understandings of the world.[23] In all these examples, the focus is not simply women's agency - but involves bigger concepts such as sexuality, masculinity, internationalism, postcolonial studies and social welfare.

My new work on religious life from the 1940s to the 1980s seeks to explore how women religious engaged with the modern world, particularly the social movements of the long 1960s. Modernity often suggests a grand narrative of progress but it has a more contested meaning in its Catholic use where the 'modern world' was a common trope that provided an easy explanation for social change. In Catholic discourse it was often negative, linked to the materiality, rather than the spirituality, of the modern world. And yet, there seemed to be little choice but to engage with the 'modern girl' when she entered

[21] Anne Summers, *Christian and Jewish Women in Britain, 1880-1940: Living with Difference* (New York: Palgrave, 2016).
[22] Rosemary Seton, *Western Daughters in Eastern Lands: British Missionary Women in Asia* (Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO, 2013).
[23] Caitríona Beaumont, 'Citizens Not Feminists: The Boundary Negotiated between Citizenship and Feminism by Mainstream Women's Organisations in England, 1928-39', *Women's History Review*, 9 (2000), 411–29; Caitríona Beaumont, *Housewives and Citizens: Domesticity and the Women's Movement in England, 1928-64* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2015).

the convent. One novice mistress argued in the 1970s that: 'while a former generation might have liked quiet, mousy little yes-women around the convent... today's Apostolate called for the '*mulier fortis*' [strong wife] of the Gospel and we shall answer to God for sending Peter Pans on for Profession.'[24] It is even more difficult to see the direct influence of the 1960s social movements such as the student and workers uprisings of '1968' or the second-wave feminist movement referred to directly in the convent archives. Yet, one enclosed nun's complaint to Abbot Christopher Butler O.S.B. in 1967 surely brings to mind similar statements written by 1960s feminists:

> You see we are in no way connected with or under the Minister General of the Friars - they of course are handling the Constitutions simply because men have always done these things - why shouldn't we do our own??[25]

New themes

There is still a paucity of research on 'ordinary' women religious (and particularly lay sisters) and religious women. These topics are challenging to research given the contents of the archives are so focused on institutional matters, 'notable nuns' (typically founders) and the significance of humility and hiddenness. But religious archives do contain material on religious women, the women (and men) who supported religious communities were often mentioned, thanked and prayed for. One project I am developing with Professor E.A. Jones in Exeter engages with the social networks of several communities of enclosed nuns in Devon addressing the reciprocal web of influence and the significance of locality, community and institutional identity. The records of these enclosed monasteries record numerous interactions (behind the grille of course), with family and friends, benefactors and even Anglican women's groups. And this brings to light another under-researched topic, research on modern enclosed nuns. There is barely any published modern scholarship on enclosed orders such as the Poor Clares, Syon Bridgettines or Benedictines.

There needs to be far more historical work on Catholic education. Irish education historian Deirdre Raftery has written 'little has been done on

[24] Erfgoedcentrum Nederlands Kloosterleven, Sint Agatha, Archiefinventaris Zusters van Liefde, p. 374, 'Training to be given in the Noviciate to Prepare Sisters to Meet Present Day Problems', undated, p. 16.

[25] Archives of the Archdiocese of Westminster: BU E.39, Letter from Gabriel Taggert to Christopher Butler dated 11 October 1967.

teachers' lives, while the work of religious orders involved in teaching has tended away from exploring the experiences of religious as educators, and towards documenting the histories of orders or schools founded by orders'.[26] And the situation is more dire in England. Other than PhD student Maria Williams's research on the Cabrini sisters, there is little published work on the history of women religious and education.[27] We need to understand better how women religious balanced the moral emphasis in providing a Catholic education with the requirements of the state.

Interdisciplinarity

It is important to read the archives interdisciplinarily. I was fortunate to gain access to the records of an Ursuline who left her religious community in the early 1980s. Much of the material was in spiritual notebooks and this sort of material would benefit from being read with a theological lens. This sister was involved in ecological movements, so there was an interesting interplay between her spirituality and her involvement in groups like Christian Ecology Link and Operation Noah and within larger groups such as National Justice and Peace Network and CAFOD. Anyone who has read the work of architectural historian Kate Jordan will know her research on buildings by and for women religious, has highlighted not only their localised roles in architecture but also in the emergence of an international Catholic aesthetic. Ayla Lepine uses theology and art criticism to examine physical structures as sites of revivalist monasticism that were both mediaeval and modern.[28] I've recently met a PhD student who has unearthed a treasure trove of missionary films produced for and sometimes by women religious and is pursuing a PhD examining the boundaries between 'amateur' and 'professional' filmmaking. I know most of you are probably overwhelmed with photographs, photo albums and scrapbooks but scholars who look at visual media have done some fantastic work on these types of sources. We need to encourage the work of musicologists, art and architecture historians, geographers and film, visual culture and media scholars.

[26] Deirdre Raftery, 'The "mission" of Nuns in Female Education in Ireland, C. 1850–1950', *Paedagogica Historica*, 48 (2012), 299–313, p. 299.

[27] Maria Patricia Williams, 'Mobilising Mother Cabrini's Educational Practice: The Transnational Context of the London School of the Missionary Sisters of the Sacred Heart of Jesus 1898–1911', *History of Education*, 44 (2015), 631–50.

[28] Ayla Lepine, 'Modern Gothic and the House of God: Revivalism and Monasticism in Two Twentieth-Century Anglican Chapels', *Visual Resources*, 32 (2016), 76-101.

Moving Forward

So what can be done? Everyone seems to be struggling with resource allocation issues which reflect limited budgets of time and money. As a community with similar interests, groups such as the Religious Archives Group and the Catholic Archives Society could consider working with their members to develop a series of thematic exhibitions similar to the joint exhibition of 'Mercy in World War One' in 2014 where the Bermondsey and the Handsworth archivists developed connected exhibitions and a series of presentations.[29] In Ireland, Deirdre Raftery has curated several online exhibitions to commemorate 1916 and education in Ireland using the archives of the Loreto sisters, the Sisters of the Presentation and the Society of the Sacred Heart.[30] She is a strong proponent for what she calls the 'third wave', the use of the digital humanities to expand the audience and potential of research of convent archives. [31] For those of you who operate in historical buildings as do the Poor Servants of the Mother of God, there are also opportunities to invite your neighbours to see your collections through Open House London each September.[32] It is important that your archives are promoted, not simply as repositories of nun's lives, or women's lives, but embedded in the social and cultural histories of Britain.

Academic scholars also have to prove their worth to a broader public and most of us genuinely want to be involved in promoting archives. In some cases, as with the 'Syon at 600' project, the partnership between the University of Exeter and local stakeholders was important to the public celebrations of the English Bridgettines 600th anniversary.[33]

These types of projects require cooperation, effort, time and of course funding, but can pay off in developing a more public presence of religious archives that will attract interest from academics and a wider audience.

[29] http://www.mercyassociates.org.uk/announcements/world-war-i-and-the-sisters-of-mercy accessed 8 December 2017.

[30] For example: https://www.ucd.ie/education/newsandevents/loretothegreenand1916/ accessed 8 December 2017.

[31] Deirdre Raftery, 'The "Third Wave" Is Digital: Researching Histories of Women Religious in the Twenty-First Century', *American Catholic Studies*, 128 (2017), 29–50.

[32] https://openhouselondon.open-city.org.uk/listings/1831 accessed 8 December 2017.

[33] http://syonat600.exeter.ac.uk/ and http://www.getwestlondon.co.uk/news/west-london-news/huge-crowds-gather-celebrate-600th-9702439 both accessed 8 December 2017.

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Independence and obedience: Three Catholic women teachers 1820-1850

Marie Rowlands

Catholic single lay women, 1791-1840

'The historiography of Roman Catholic lay women is all but non-existent' wrote Gail Malmgreen in 1986 and thirty years later they are still invisible in the many modern studies of gender, class and family and in Catholic historiography. The archives of the Catholic Richmond family provide an opportunity to begin to remedy this omission. They were a lower middle class family of lay schoolteachers, who left a unique collection of diaries, letters, and account books. There is material for many enquiries: religious practice, friendship networks, the changing role of the Catholic clergy, sickness, medicine, dying and death, for example. In this article, I shall focus on the three of the women of this family who were single, and independent school teachers [1]

The proliferation of middle class schools

Between 1801 and 1850 the population of England almost doubled; the increase was most dramatic in the industrialising towns and in London but was not confined to them. The age of marriage of women was going down, the proportion of children and young people in the population was unprecedently high.[2]

At the same time Britain was an increasingly wealthy country, and middle and working class families had money to spend on comfort and adornment, There was a growing appetite for literacy and a rapid development of the popular press. These families increasingly saw reading, accounting and writing, and also dancing, deportment, conversation, as a normal and necessary part of both work and leisure, and of that most important element of social relations,

[1] Wolverhampton Archives DX-37,1-9. Walsall Local Studies Richmond Letters 458/1-71 This collection has never been fully catalogued though it has been listed and the items numbered. Gail Malmgreen, *Religion in the Lives of English Women, 1760-1930* (London: Croom Helm, 1986); Brigid Hill *Women Alone: Spinsters in England, 1660-1850* (Yale: Yale University Press, 2001), p. 14.

[2] J. Mokyr, The Enlightened Economy: An Economic History of Britain 1700-1850 (Yale: Yale University Press, 2009), p. 303; R. C. Allen, *The British Industrial Revolution in Global Perspective* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), pp. 25-57

standing in the community. Parents were prepared to pay to have their children, both boys and girls, taught these skills, and private schools sprang up in hundreds to respond to demand.[3]

The Catholics

Catholics, especially of the lower and middle classes had always taken steps to live and work and keep in with their neighbours, who were also their customers or employers. There were long standing conventions of evasion of the laws, and well established networks linking Catholics to the English colleges and convents on the continent. For generations, Catholics had become skilled in "getting along and getting by" avoiding direct conflict with the authorities, while continuing to practise their religion.

In 1778 and 1791 Catholic priests, worship, and schools were legalised. Catholics swore allegiance to the British Crown and registered their chapels at Quarter Sessions. These Relief Acts were what mattered. In everyday life, the famous Emancipation Act of 1829 affected only a minority of English Catholics of the ruling classes.

However, almost immediately the wars of the French Revolution and the Napoleonic wars cut them off from the continent, all their colleges and religious houses abroad were closed, and their communities fled to England. Catholics in England became for the first time an **English** Catholic church with bishops and priests trained in **England**, and a laity educated and formed in their piety in an **English** cultural environment.

The Vicars Apostolic of this generation were in many cases from professional and urban families. The change was neatly illustrated by the succession of Bishops of the Midland District, Gregory Stapleton, "a gentleman of ancient Catholic family" had lived in rural Longbirch; he was succeeded in 1802, by John Milner, brilliant son of a London tailor, who soon moved his residence to the industrial town of Wolverhampton, gaining access to road and canal services. He lived in a fine house with an independent chapel owned by the Catholic clergy. He and the other three Vicars Apostolic firmly asserted their authority over the new generation of English trained priests. The intellectual

[3] Susan Skedd, 'Women Teachers and the Expansion of Girls' Schooling in England, c. 1760-1820', in Barker and Chalus (eds), *Gender in Eighteenth-Century England: Roles, Representations and Responsibilities* (London: Routledge, 1997); Leonora Davidoff and Catherine Hall, *Family Fortunes: Men and Women of the English Middle Class, 1780 1850*`, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987).

leaders of the Catholic enlightenment, both clergy and laity, were firmly brought to heel.

The great majority of this post-Relief generation of Catholics lived by profit made in trade and manufacture, or in the provision of professional services. The number of the Catholic gentry was declining to a few hundred, and old missions on their estates were transferred to towns.

By 1840 there were over 700 Catholic missions in England, almost all in towns- county towns, ports, leisure towns and, most frequently, industrial towns. They each had a good-even handsome- church, a presbytery, Sunday schools and charity schools. Their chapels stood on the high streets, alongside the new chapels of the Methodists, the Baptists and the Independents, and in their Classical architecture asserted their pride in the one true faith. These were paid for by the lawyers, doctors, apothecaries, grocers, publishers, of the town missions, in the same way as their fellow townsmen who were Church of England or nonconformists, supported their new churches, chapels and schools. [4]

This generation of English Catholics, replaced old habits of getting along with a new assertion and pride. Catholic life was conducted within the *hortus conclusus* of home, church and school, secure in the conviction that the Catholic Church was the only true church. Catholics became, and remained well into the twentieth century, a fortress church, defending themselves against the not infrequent outbursts of local popular anti-Catholicism. They supported Catholic newspapers and magazines - there were Catholic bookshops in Walsall, Wolverhampton and Birmingham. In the Richmond diaries and letters covering 80 years there is scarcely a single reference to non-catholic places, persons or events. It was in this generation that it became axiomatic that no

[4] Leo Gooch *Persecution without Martyrdom: The Catholics of North-East England in the Age of the Vicars Apostolic, 1688-1850*, (Leominster: Gracewing, 2013), pp. 48-45, M. B. Rowlands, 'The English Catholic Laity in the Last Years of the Midland District 1803-1840', *Recusant History*, vol. 29, no 3 (2009), pp. 381-409; Joy Rowe 'The Lopped Tree: The Reformation of the Suffolk Catholic Community', in N. Tyacke (ed.) *England's Long Reformation 1500-1800* (London: University College, 1998), p. 194; F. Yonge *The Gages of Hengrave 1640-1767*, Catholic Record Society Monograph Series (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2015).

responsible Catholic parents rich or poor, would send their children to a non-catholic school. [5]

For these families Catholic charity schools for the poor and working class, and Catholic fee paying schools for girls and small boys were set up in large houses near the chapels often by relatives of the clergy. The middle class girls' schools ranged from simple day schools to expensive boarding schools in London and places of fashionable resort. There were seven convent schools; the rest were run by lay women, known to us only from advertisements in directories, or passing references in mission histories, - except, that is for the Richmonds.

What was the professional preparation of the Richmond girls as Catholic women teachers?

Maria, Anne, Frances, Elizabeth and Harriet were the daughters of Thomas and Mary Richmond. Their father, after education at Douai College, taught French very successfully at Sedgley Park School and on marriage set up his own school with his wife, Mary, for girls and young boys at Codsall in Staffordshire. [6]
The three elder of his five daughters were able to go for two years to the Benedictine Convent school at Caverswall Castle in Staffordshire, where their uncle Robert was chaplain as part of his mission of Cobridge in the Potteries. The nuns had fled from Ypres in 1792 when the French ordered the expulsion of all Catholic priests and nuns. Previously, such English Catholic schools and colleges located abroad, had been the preserve of wealthy, but as refugees in England their pupils were the daughters of middle class Staffordshire Catholics. The pupils studied English and French, writing, arithmetic, history, geography, the use of the globes, plain and ornamental needlework, drawing and fine handwriting. It is safe to assume that as nuns of the Benedictine order some at least of the teachers were women of intellect and education. However, Catholic education was about formation, not information. Convent schools of the enclosed orders were explicitly run as a "little convents". All went to Mass daily. There was much emphasis on sanctifying every minute, prayers on rising, dressing, combing the hair washing and so throughout the day. There

[5] Wolverhampton DX 3,8; Fiona Palmer. *Victor Novello (1781-1861); Music for the Masses* (London: Routledge, 2006)
[3] Mary Hilton, *Women and the Shaping of the Nation's Young*, (London: Routledge, 2007), passim; Mary Hilton and Pam Hirsch, *Practical Visionaries: Women, Education and Social Process, 1790-1930* (London: Routledge, 2000), pp. 19-52; Christina de Bellaigue, 'The Development of Teaching as a Profession for Women Before 1870', *The Historical Journal*, vol. 44, no. 4 (2001), pp. 963-988.

were processions and holidays on feast days, and much church and secular music. An essay about a journey she had taken, written by Maria aged 13 demonstrates a very good level of written narrative and observation. [7]

She admired the Catholic churches, and was impressed with the factories and shops of Birmingham, but criticised the verger at Lichfield Cathedral for his lack of knowledge of Catholic practice. She commented *'How thankful ought we to be who have received the blessing of being educated in the true faith in preference to so many thousands of others who as well as we have been redeemed by the precious blood of God.'*

On returning home the girls taught in their father's school at Codsall. In addition to general teaching Maria taught drawing and Anne music, and the accounts show that their contribution was increasingly significant both financially and practically. Their father Thomas was said to "have a very good method of teaching' and published a French Grammar. Thomas, his wife and daughters attended a four day programme introducing the Perryan system of education - an expensive middle class version of the monitorial system- reorganised his school, and the daughters led classes.

The whole family was in frequent contact with people with a serious interest in educational theory. Sedgley Park Boys School was on the outskirts of Wolverhampton. Its staff were a key influence in the life of Midland middle-class Catholics and in particular had a lifelong influence on all the Richmond family. It was an innovative school catering for the "commercial classes", with small separate classes, and a wide range of options for modern subjects and languages. The priest teachers, many of whom had been associates of Berington, Kirk and other leading figures of the Catholic enlightenment, took a serious interest in educational ideas, owned standard works on teaching and catechetics, and themselves published on these subjects. [8]

Wolverhampton was the centre of both the ecclesiastical and the social life of Catholics in the Midland District. There the young women built lifelong friendships with the Moore, Simkiss and Jones families. The heads of these

[7] *Register of Benedictine schools for girls at Ghent Preston Caverswall and Olton 1624-1969*, Catholic Family History Society, vol. 6 (2004).
[8] J. Gillow, *A Literary and Biographical history or bibliographical dictionary of English Catholics*, formerly belonging to the clergy including Robert Richmond's copy of Fenelon *Education of Catholic Girls*, and Jane Gardner *The teaching of English grammar adapted for different classes* (1812) 4BL3 *Catholic Publications.*

families were wealthy professional or business men, their sons became priests, their daughters were active in founding schools, either as a religious duty or as a means of making a living. Their sense of belonging was consolidated by entertainment, especially music, and the social highlights were ecclesiastical events such the enthronement of a new Bishop, or the opening of a new church, with choirs and soloists performing works by Mozart, Haydn, Zingarelli, Chiancettini, Pergolesi and Novello. [9]

Independence and responsibility.

Thomas Richmond was a better teacher than he was a business man, and his only son James was proving unemployable despite the constant help of his father and priest uncles. There was no possibility that the school would provide a dowry for five daughters. The women needed to become financially independent, and for them, as for many single women or widows and grown up daughters, this could be achieved by running schools. [10] In 1832, Maria, by now thirty years of age, left home to establish her own school in Walsall, at the pressing invitation of the priest, Francis Martyn, a former student of Thomas Richmond at Sedgley Park. He himself had teaching experience and was an eloquent exponent of Catholic doctrine at public evening classes. He was developing a mission in the industrial town of Walsall, a town of over 26,000 inhabitants, a figure which would more than double its population by the time Maria died in 1860.

Living in Walsall.

The context is significant, both in evaluating Maria's achievement and in understanding the changing economic and social character of Catholic communities. Walsall in the nineteenth century was constantly covered in smoke from forges, furnaces, collieries and lime kilns. There were industrial riots, election riots, riots against the very unpopular new police force. Mounted police kept order in the open market. Cholera struck the whole region severely in 1832 and again in 1849. On the other hand the town was readily accessible

[9] Palmer. *Victor Novello*; B. Plumb, *Dead, Buried and Scorned: English Church Music 1791*-1960' in *North West Catholic* History, vol. XX1V (1999), pp. 70-96.
[10] Maxine Berg, 'Women's Property and the Industrial Revolution', *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, vol. 24 (1993), pp. 240-3; Skedd, 'Women Teachers', pp. 101-121; Penelope Lane, 'Women, Property and Inheritance: Wealth Creation and Income Generation in Small English Towns, 1750-1835', in Jon Stobart and Alistair Owens (eds.), *Urban Fortunes: Property and Inheritance in the Town, 1700-1900* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000).

with canal, turnpike and stage coach networks, and soon had railway connections to London, Holyhead and the north, and pupils were enrolled from a widening geographical area.

There had been no Catholics in the town in the eighteenth century but by 1851 the Catholic Sunday Mass attendance was returned as averaging 700. There was a special Mass at 8 a.m. for poor Catholics who did not have respectable church going clothes with an average attendance of 350., a not uncommon arrangement at this date. [11]

Anne and later Harriet joined Maria in Walsall. The women were much more professional than their father, keeping regular accounts, with flat rates paid in advance. They dealt efficiently with taxes, poor levies, insurance and the rate for the police. They negotiated demanding financial, legal and professional matters, using the services of John Hawksford, a Catholic solicitor in Wolverhampton, though not always accepting his advice. Uncle George Richmond advised, but ended his letters with "you must do what you think best". Their priest-cousins and uncles were always more than ready to advise, but again their advice was not always acted upon.[12]

Maria's most testing time came in 1838-41 when of necessity she became the strong centre of the whole family. Thomas, discouraged and ill, sold the Codsall School in 1834 and came to Walsall, to open a small boy's school. In the same year, Maria moved her girl's school to Mountrath House, in a better neighbourhood, with a garden[13]. Her brother James although he had never held down any of the succession of posts his father found for him, had married and had two children. He too brought his family to live in Walsall, but he died suddenly, to be followed a year later by his wife. It was revealed that he had borrowed £1,000 from "a Protestant ironmonger", and had other debts. Frances had gone to Paris in 1834 to become an Augustinian nun and her dowry was

[11] Mann, Horace, *Census of Great Britain, 1851: Religious Worship in England and Wales*, Walsall Return, p. 25 return. 'There is a service on Sunday mornings at 8 o' clock for poor people who for want of proper clothing do not like to appear out of doors at a later period of the day. Average attendance at this service, 350'.

[12] Walsall Archives Richmond Mss, Accounts 458/ 8,9,10. Pocket Book and Diary 458/34,36,37,38,39,40, 1830-1840. Letters from various correspondents. 458/57/1, 458/57/3,458/57/7.

[13] Walsall 458/65/14,458/51/9/6; Census 1841; HO 107/983/11; Davidoff and Hall, *Family Fortunes*, p. 279.

now due. Harriet took her sick father back to Lancashire to try to raise money among their relatives, but he died and was buried there in 1837.[14]

Their priest uncle now advised Mrs Richmond and her daughters to retire into genteel poverty but this they explicitly refused to do. [15] They had no resource but the schools, Mrs Richmond aged 69, continued the boy's school at Dudley Road until she died in 1842. [16] Ann married in 1841 and went to live in Birmingham.[17] Maria and Harriet continued the girls' school at Mountrath House though there were in 1841 only 5 girls boarding there.[18] Nevertheless in July of the same year Maria and Harriet moved the girls' school from Mountrath to a new house at the Mount, next door to the presbytery and the Catholic chapel This was listed in the Walsall directory for 1845 as *Misses Maria and Harriet Richmond; ladies boarding school and preparatory school for young gentlemen.* In 1847 they jointly took out a mortgage for £800, on the house, stables, coach house and acre of ground there.[19].

Maria informally adopted the two orphan children, "as she was not likely to marry" as her uncle said; the adoption was very successful, both became very fond of their aunts. James Robert must of course go to Sedgley Park school, but Maria still in 1849 had to tell the principal she was unable to pay his fees until the children in her school paid their bills.[20]

By 1851 the worst was over and the school comprised 17 boarders, and supported nine adults. Maria 49 and Harriet 39 were described as proprietors, Elizabeth their sister was again at home, and Ann their niece, now 18, was an assistant teacher. There were two other assistants, and 3 servants.[21] The school prospered until Maria's death on Christmas day, 1860. [22] Harriet then moved

[14] Wolverhampton DX37/6/ p. 126, p. 136, p. 145, p. 146, Walsall 458/57/9, 458/52/3, 33, 37, 38, 39; J. P. Smith (ed.), *Miscellanea 11*, Catholic Record Society Record Series, v. 19 (1917), p. 215.
[15] Walsall 458/54/4, 53/4, 56/1-3.
[16] Walsall 458/61/5.
[17] Walsall 458/61/2.
[18] Census 1841 Walsall.
[19] Walsall D 519/6 deed, 1 July 1847. Maria Pocket Book and Diary, 1840-1842 Walsall 458/39,40,41,42; W*alsall Directory* 1841.
[20] Walsall 458/58, 1-3; B.A.A. SC/C2/295.
[21] Census 1851 Walsall Fiche 336/103/3 pages. HO/107/2023
[22] Walsall Catholic Register. Probate Office 8 June 1861

to Coventry and set up a successful school exclusively for boys aged 5-11 which flourished until she retired in 1880. .[23]

A priest wrote a lengthy letter of condolence to Harriet in 1860 describing Maria *as "one who has spent her whole life training children in the fear and love of God, ...*comparing her with the *mother of many children* and even saying that" *she has the merit indeed of a missionary father ...., "*[24] and Harriet similarly was remembered many years later as the first *"educator of priests and even bishops".*[25] These are formulaic tributes, though doubtless sincere, and were by no means original in concept or in phrasing and would merit further study.

Maria and Harriet had won respect from parents, children and most importantly in their world, priests.

Lay Women Teachers and the Catholic Clergy.

All schools of every denomination were expected to inculcate morality and respect for religious authority. The Catholic schools depended on the priests for reputation and recommendation, and advertisements gave the names of the priest to whom parents could apply.. Catholic schools constantly advertised their commitment to teaching religion. East Hendred school gave *religious instruction the most sedulous attention.* At Kensington 12 young ladies received *religious instruction from the priest.* At Portland place 12 young ladies were to be taught *the principles and practice of holy religion* and at Woolton Liverpool strictest *attention was to be paid to the holy catholic religion in which the children are daily instructed.* The schools all paid pew rents, and the schoolchildren and teachers attended Mass together every Sunday and Holyday in the mission church, a visible testimonial for the school.[26]

The Vicars Apostolic emphasised more than ever the authority of bishops and priests, not only in the sacraments and teaching, but also in supervising all mission activities, especially Colleges and schools. Ever since the Council of Trent all priests had an authorised catechism for teaching their flock and catechisms had been imported into England in large numbers for two hundred

[23] B.A.A. Parish File, St. Osberg Coventry, *Parish Magazine,* 1931. This account is based on garbled oral memories, but it is evident that the Miss Richards referred to is in fact Miss Richmond.
[24] Walsall 48/59/5
[25] B.A.A. Parish File, St. Osberg Coventry, *Parish Magazine.* 1931.
[26] *Laity's Directory*, 1819, 1821 and 1824.

years albeit illegally. They were distributed to the boys and girls of the missions.

By the late eighteenth century the catechism used in schools was Challoner's English *Abridgement of Christian Doctrine for the instruction of beginners* originally published in 1746 However this was now substantially revised in 1826 and again 1859. The language now became more and more technical, abstract and involved and the teaching much more theological.[27] Its "tongue twisting abstractions" were learnt by heart to be recited before the rest of the class to the priest on his weekly visit, in all charity, parish, or private venture schools. Francis Martyn came to *"hear the children say their catechism"* only a few days after Maria had opened the school. At Coventry the boys had to repeat to Harriet the priest's sermon and catechism lesson when they returned to school from Church. [28]

The clergy and the teachers both understood the difference in their respective spheres. The clergy by virtue of the sacrament of ordination by the Bishop were the only authority in teaching doctrine and scripture; this included approval of religious books and catechisms used in school; it was the duty of mothers and teachers to inculcate habits of practice and to form the members of the Fortress Church. Men as well as women, fathers as well as mothers were equally subject to their authority. For the middle class Catholic business men, like the Hardmans, Moores, Bagnalls respectful association with priests and Bishops both enhanced their own dignity, and provided business opportunities.

With tact and appropriate deference, Catholic teachers could negotiate the space between obedience to authority and independence to the benefit of their schools, and of what I venture to call their careers, without losing their freedom to act within their own sphere.

Singleness and the Divine Plan

Maria, Harriet and Elizabeth all remained single women. According to Bridget Hill, of the total of about 67,500 women teachers of all types recorded in 1851, more than half were single.[29] One Victorian commentator described them as

[27] M. Heimann, *Catholic Devotion in Victorian England*. 1995 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995), pp. 105-8 & 121-124; J.Crichton, 'Challoner's Catechism', *Clergy Review* (April 1978), pp.140-146.

[28] Walsall 458/3; B.A.A.Parish File. St.Osberg Coventry, *Parish* Magazine, 1931.

[29] B. Hall, *Women, Work And Sexual Politics In Eighteenth-Century* England (London: Routledge, 1989) p. 151; Davidoff and Hall, *Family Fortunes*, pp. 269-72.

'redundant women who are not fortunate enough to marry....compelled to lead an independent and incomplete existence of their own.' In 1851 he estimated that there were 1,248,000 women "unnaturally single". Many modern historians of women, for example Martha Vicinus and Linda Pollock as well as Victorian writers, see singleness and celibacy in the nineteenth century as a pitiable state. [30]

However both omit the overriding importance of the concept of the Divine Plan in offering a sense of purpose and direction for women and men of all degrees and vocations. John Henry Newman famously taught that every individual is created for some Divine purpose, and thus no one is "redundant".[31]

The scriptural phrase "not my will be done, but thine O Lord" was constantly reiterated, Maria aged 19 prepared herself for a surgical operation on her neck, with prayers, novenas and masses, saying 'God's will be done; He knows what is best for me'.[32]

The formative routines of a Catholic school and home, trained children for living out the Divine Plan in adult life; they comprised daily prayer, spiritual reading, examination of conscience, and regular monthly confession from the age of ten and, for those over twelve, confirmation and communion. The prescribed periods of fasting and abstinence were long and frequent but there were also the celebrations of feasts. Obedience to the Divine Plan did not mean mere passive acceptance, but action and service whether in the religious order, the family, the Catholic community or for remuneration.

However individuals responded differently. For Maria, it gave confidence, a sense of purpose and motivated action. Harriet had become restless when

[30] W.R.S. Greg, *Why are women redundant?* (1862), quoted in Martha Vicinus, *Suffer and Be Still: Women in the Victorian* Age, (Indiana University Press, 1972), p. 57; Hill, *Women Alone*, pp. 59-60; Linda Pollock, 'Teach her to live under obedience', *Continuity and Change,* vol. 4 (1989). These figures are broad generalisations only. Recent debates about the validity of the census as providing accurate figures for women's work do not invalidate the general point being made here.

[31] Harriet Sargeant, aged thirteen, had a copy of *Think well on't* by Richard Challoner. If she read it – and it is much worn – she will have learnt *that the life of faith supposes that one first dies to oneself, the spiritual life is here the beginning of life.* Copy in author's possession.

[32] Walsall 458/3 'particular memoranda', 458/32, p. 58a; Wolverhampton DX37/3/ p. 25 DX37/4/ p. 44

teaching in her father's school and talked about finding a post elsewhere, but settled when she joined Maria at Walsall. Both achieved status and respect. Elizabeth, in contrast, did not accept singleness easily. When she was aged 28 she told her father that she wanted to marry Mr Ross a member of Walsall congregation. When her father approached him he refused the proposal. She became hysterical, raging round the house, threatening to take herself to a lunatic asylum and making a public spectacle by refusing to walk the scholars home from Mass. Her father found a teaching post for her with a family friend, but she did not stay long, and three years later at the request another family friend, the priest John Perry, she went to teach the poor school at Aston le walls. In 1845 she was back home; she returned to Aston le Walls but by 1847 was begging Harriet 'to pray very hard for me in my great distress'. She was back as a teacher in the Walsall school by 1851. She went to Chipping Camden in 1860 where another old friend Miss Bowden sister of the principal of Sedgley Park, supported the mission and a parish school. [33] Those familiar with the novels of Charlotte Yonge and Mrs Oliphant will find many parallels in their portrayal of single women in the Church of England, and Nonconformists respectively, for whom work among the poor and in education gave opportunity for the exercise of skills, and for recognition of their value. However, both in fact and in fiction this work usually came to an end on marriage. The differing reactions of the three Richmond sisters to their condition are a reminder of the dangers of applying pre-emptive theory to evidence.

The community of the mission in which they had all an assured role, also gave single women status, support, and opportunities for the exercise of musical and artistic talents. In missions everywhere, there were an increasing number of sodalities, musical services and processions. The women were also kept in touch with the wider church. Maria received distinguished visitors at home, introduced by the priests, including the Hon. and Rev. George Spencer, convert and priest, and members of the staff of Oscott College. They visited the new buildings designed by Potter and Pugin for the greatly enlarged Oscott College in the highest Gothick and ecclesiastical style, and shared the excitement and pride of middle class Catholics generated in very different ways by Barbieri and Newman.

[33] Walsall 458/1, 41, 51, 58, 59, DX458/61/ 3, 145, 146, 177. Census Returns 1851 and 1861, Northampton R.C. Diocesan Record Office, correspondence of John Perry. Davidoff and Hall, *Family fortunes*, chapter 2.

The priests at Sedgley Park and Oscott and the professional lay men of Wolverhampton advised them, promoted their enterprises, and sent them pupils. They found personal support in networks of Catholic friends; for the most part these were other single women. Many had at some time helped in the charity, parish or Sunday schools, though clerical control of these was increasing, with a corresponding reduction in women's leadership. Their friends, when they married, sent their children to the Richmond schools.

Another highly respected role for Catholic single women was as a priest's housekeeper. In the new urban and independent missions every priest, being celibate, needed a housekeeper of unimpeachable respectability and piety and at this period she was very often the priest's unmarried sister. Among housekeepers in the Richmonds' network were Miss Martyn, Miss Jones, and Miss Perry. The unmarried housekeepers and teachers met for tea, went long walks together, corresponded about family and Catholic events, shared the enthusiasms of the "Second Spring" and went together to Catholic social occasions and grand ecclesiastical events at Walsall, Wolverhampton, Sedgley Park and Oscott. They stayed with each other in holiday time, prayed for each other at times of difficulty, and condoled with each other in bereavement.

Diaries and letters make the hitherto invisible visible, but the historian must beware of generalisation when evidence is so scant. Nevertheless, the interdependence of sacred and secular can be observed in process, and highlight the need to embed 'Catholic History' in the social and local context of secular society.

Francis Thompson (1859 - 1907): Part 1

Jim Hughes

This is the first of two articles on the poet Francis Thompson. Part 2 will be published in the 2019 edition of Catholic Archives.

Introduction

The research for this article started after a short discussion with a parishioner in my home parish one afternoon in August 2017. I was working on an archive item found in the Ushaw College library and intended to write a short paper prior to a Heritage Open Day in September when the church, along with others, would be open to the general public. I intended to make available two other articles for the day but these items will now be used at a later time. The parishioner told me she would be attending a meeting at Ushaw some weeks later for parishes wishing to be involved in a flower festival scheduled to take place in the summer of 2018.

I happened by chance to meet her and another parishioner in the college after the meeting. Their brief was to prepare a floral display in the parlour, adjacent to the Refectory, to celebrate three sons of Ushaw: Cardinal Wiseman, Paddy (Lafcadio) Hearn and Francis Thompson. It was suggested I might be able to research some background. Time was short but I had a quick look as some material. I had a little knowledge of Cardinal Wiseman, knew virtually nothing about Lafcadio Hearn and was aware that Francis Thompson had written some fine poetry and had a room named after him in the college. I had heard his name mentioned occasionally and read brief notes about him in *A History of Ushaw College*[1].

After making some brief notes about Lafcadio Hearn I started to look for literature on Francis Thompson. I found the subject fascinating and engaging and was amazed with the story that unfolded. There were some good biographical sources on a man who wrote material comparable with that of other fine poets. In the *Life of Francis Thompson*[2] a reviewer, Arnold Bennett,

[1] Milburn, David , *A History of Ushaw College, a study of the origin, foundation and development of an English Catholic Seminary with an epilogue, 1908-1962*, (Durham Ushaw Bookshop,: 1964).

[2] Meynell, Everard, *The Life of Francis Thompson*, 1st ed., (London: Burns & Oates, (1913), p.150)

writing about Thompson's first book, *Poems*[3] noted: 'My belief is that Francis Thompson has a richer, natural genius, a finer poetical equipment, than any poet save Shakespeare. Show me the divinest glories of Shelley and Keats, even of Tennyson ... and I think I can match them all out of this one book, this little book that can be bought at an ordinary bookseller's shop for an ordinary prosaic crown.'

Flowers

Since the inspiration for this research was the Ushaw flower festival I have listed some of the flowers named in Thompson's verses and a small selection of lines from his poems.[4]

Lilies: 'Motto and Invocation'[5]

(Written about ten weeks before Thompson's death. Published in 1908.)

If my work may profit aught,
Fill with lilies every thought!
I surmise
What is white will then be wise
(Lines 16-19)

'Lilium Regis'[6]

(Published in 1910)

O Lily of the King! low lies thy silver wing,
And long has been the hour of thine unqueening;
And thy scent of Paradise on the night-wind spells its sighs,
Nor any take the secrets of its meaning.
(Lines 1-4)

When the nations lie in blood, and their kings a broken brood,
Look up, O most sorrowful of daughters!

[3] Thompson, Francis, *Poems*, 1st ed., (London: Elkin Matthews & John Lane; Boston, Copeland & Day (1893))
[4] Connolly, Terence, L., *Poems of Francis Thompson*, (D. Appleton-Century Company, (1941))
[5] Ibid., p.294
[6] Ibid., p.103

Lift up thy head and hark what sounds are in the dark,
For His feet are coming to thee on the waters!
(Lines 13-16)

Connolly[7] notes, 'The Latin title, translated in the first words of the poem, was undoubtedly suggested by the figurative and prophetic description of the Church found in the *Canticle of Canticles*, 'I am the flower of the field and the Lily of the valleys.' (II, 1.)' He also suggested that there is much written before 1907, 'prophetic of the world-war that, in 1914, ushered in those fearful years ...' (See line 13 of the poem.) He saw the poem as 'a purification of the world ... before the spiritual rejuvenation so beautifully described in the last prophetic stanza of the poem (not printed) that has seen its fulfilment.'

Red Roses: **'At Lord's'**[8]

(Found among his papers after Thompson's death.)

It is little I repair to the matches of the Southron folk,
Though my own roses there may blow;
(Lines 1-2)

Cricket lovers may recognise that the red roses relate to Lancashire cricket team, Thompson's favourite club.

Red roses also appear in *'The Passion of Mary'*[9] although this will be covered later.

Lily, rose, iris, tulip, daffodil and **grape** are included in *Ode to the Setting Sun*[10] :

Who girt dissolvèd lightnings in the grape?
Summered the opal with an Irised flush?
Is it not thou that dost the tulip drape,
And huest the daffodily,
Yet who hast snowed the lily,

[7] Ibid., p.390
[8] Ibid., p.114
[9] Ibid., p.112
[10] Ibid., pp.86-87

(Lines 140-144)

Grapes, pansies, blossom, rose leaves and **flag-lilies** are all used in *'Corymbus for Autumn'*[11]. (*Corymbus*[12] is the Latin form of *corymb*, a cluster of flowers or fruit.)

In tumbling clusters, like swarthy grapes,
Round thy brow and thine ears o'ershaden;
With the burning darkness of eyes like pansies,
Like velvet pansies
Wherethrough escapes
The splendid night of thy conflagrate fancies; ...
(Lines 33-38)

Or the butterfly sunset clasps its wings
With flitter alit on the swinging blossom,
The gusty blossom, that tosses and swings, ...'
(Lines 70-72)

Rose-leaves curl, on the fleckèd strand,
(Line 78)

Woven as woof of flag-lilies;
And curdled as of flag-lilies
(Lines 113-114)

Flag-lilies, broom, poppy, strawberries, yellow wheat ways and **poppy 'most-red'** are included in *'To Monica After Nine Years'*[13].

One full poem ***'Field Flower: A Phantasy'***[14] includes lines which reflect 'beautifully the Catholic insight born of his faith.'[15]

[11] Ibid., pp.98-99
[12] Ibid., p.386
[13] Ibid., p.284
[14] Ibid., pp.277-278
[15] Ibid., p.548

Two poems, '*Poppy*'[16] and '*Daisy*'[17] relate to children he met. The poem '*Daisy*' relates to a girl called Daisy from a family of nine children, 'the last four are all flowers - **Rose, Daisy, Lily and Violet'.**[18] The other elements mentioned in '*Daisy*' are **thistle, harebell, gorse, raspberry** and **rose**.

Thompson also wrote the poem '*A Fallen Yew*'[19], a source of greenery (?), dedicated to Ushaw.

There are various biographical sources at Ushaw. The main ones used for this article were:

- *The Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (ODNB)[20]
  The entry was written by Brigid Boardman who is referred to later in this article.

- *Poems of Francis Thompson* (Connolly)[21]
  Rev. Terence L. Connolly, S.J., was Chairman of the English Department, Boston College Graduate School and Curator of the Francis Thompson Collection. This is a most valuable source which provides introductory and biographical notes, a very comprehensive list of Thompson's poems and extensive notes on each poem.

- *Selected Poems*[22] which includes a biographical note by Wilfrid Meynell.

- *Ushaw Magazine, 'A Tribute from his Schoolfellows'*[23]
  A number of Ushaw Magazines provided excellent information but the tribute by three of Thompson's contemporaries provided great and sensitive insight to his life.

[16] Ibid., pp.7-9
[17] Ibid., pp. 5-7
[18] Meynell, E., p. 104
[19] Connolly, Terence, L., pp. 118-121
[20] *Francis Joseph Thompson*, Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, Vol. 54, (2004), pp. 432-434 (ODNB)
[21] Connolly, Terence, L., *Poems of Francis Thompson*, (D. Appleton-Century Company, (1941))
[22] *Selected Poems of Francis Thompson*, 1st ed., (London, Methuen & Co. Ltd. & Burns & Oates Ltd., (1908))
[23] *A Tribute from His Schoolfellows*, Ushaw Magazine, Vol. 18, (1908), pp. 61-95

- *The Life of Francis Thompson*[24]
  This full biographical account, written by the son of William and Alice Meynell, was a rich source of material on Thompson's life. Connolly used the 2nd edition (1925) for many of his references. I have used the 1st edition (1913) in this article.

I have drawn from these sources to provide an outline of Francis Thompson's life. There are many strands to the story and after completing this stage of the research, I felt it had strong dramatic potential. I noted in the Wikipedia entry[25]: 'In 2011, Thompson's life was the subject of the stage play and film script *HOUND* (*Visions in the Life of the Poet Francis Thompson*) by writer / director Chris Ward, which has been performed in various venues around London.'

The first eighteen years: 1859 - 1877

There were differences in Francis' birth date in a few of the sources. Brigid Boardman's ODNB account recorded the date as 18th December 1859.[26] Ushaw College recorded the birth year as 1860. Connolly[27] and Wikipedia[28] record the date as 16th December 1859. The Wikipedia record[29] shows a memorial plaque with this date on the birthplace in Preston. The Online Catalogue of the Library of Congress indicates 18th December 1859. Thompson himself noted: 'I was born in 1858 or 1859. (I never could remember and don't care which.)'[30] His biographer, Everard Meynell, recorded the birth in Preston, stating, 'The 16th of December 1859 was the day.'[31]

Francis' father, Charles, was a doctor. 'At seven years he [Francis] was reading poetry, and, overwhelmed by feelings of which he knew not the meaning, had found his way to the heart of Shakespeare and Coleridge.'[32] 'In '*Midsummer*

[24] Meynell, Everard, *The Life of Francis Thompson*, 1st ed., (London, Burns & Oates: (1913))
[25] *Francis Thompson*, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Francis_Thompson, p.3
[26] ODNB, p.432
[27] Connolly, Terence, L., p. xvii
[28] Wikipedia, p.1
[29] Ibid., p.3
[30] Meynell, Everard, p.1
[31] Ibid., Everard, p.1
[32] Ibid., Everard, p.6

Night's Dream' he experienced that sense of trance ... and profoundly experienced the atmospheric effect of *'Macbeth', 'Lear', 'The Tempest'* ...[33]

> *With his mother and his sisters, their toys, his books, and his own inventions he was happy ... His toys he never quite relinquished; among the few possessions at his death was a cardboard theatre.'*[34] *His later problems were not traced back to his nursery and early childhood days and he was content playing in the company of his mother and two sisters. In a later notebook which touched on his early loneliness, but without discontent, he recorded, "There is a sense in which I have always been and even now remain a child. But in another sense I never was a child, never shared children's thoughts, ways, tastes, manner of life and outlook on life."*[35] *His sister Mary remembered him seeking a quiet spot to read and contracting 'the habit of loneliness'.*[36]

Francis, his sisters, and their dolls
1870

©Reproduced from Meynell, Everard (1913), p.12

[33] Ibid., Everard, p.10-11
[34] Ibid., Everard, p.7-8
[35] Meynell, Everard, p.8
[36] Meynell, Everard, p.7

In 1870, in his 11th year he went from Salford Diocese to Ushaw College, Durham, 'which then possessed few literary traditions besides those of Lingard, Waterton and Wiseman'.[37] Two of his fellow students, Adam Wilkinson and Horace Mann, wrote an excellent article in 1908 following Thompson's death.[38] The article was based on conversations, along with another colleague, Francis Hall. As Thompson progressed through the seminary 'his English was acquiring style'.[39] An exceptional essay had to be written three times a year. A Canon of the Hexham and Newcastle Diocese, 'who was then a minor professor in the seminary', was sometimes called upon to decide the top places. 'Generally, but not always, he awarded the first place to our poet. Out of twenty-one such compositions he failed only five times to secure the first place ...'[40]

The loneliness and nervousness continued. Friends who Francis found in later life, Vernon Blackburn and Henry Patmore, the son of the poet Coventry Patmore, were not his acquaintances at Ushaw. Paddy (Lafcadio) Hearn 'who arrived at Ushaw in 1863, a boy of thirteen,' drifted after Ushaw to London but he 'mixed a strong rebelliousness with his nervousness; and he was neither unhappy nor unpopular.[41] Although Hearn's case 'is not comparable to Thompson's'[42] there were similarities in their experience. A report from Monsignor Corbishley, recorded Thompson's ability in Latin ('first six times, second three times and twice he was third'). He was also well placed in Greek and French and first in English 'sixteen times'; 'of his Arithmetic, Algebra and Geometry the less said the better. He was a good, quiet, shy lad. Physically a weakling ... and gave the impression that physical existence would be a struggle for him.'[43]

His love of nature which provided inspiration in his poetry seems to have grown at Ushaw. 'When he had no choice he walked with his class into the fields and lanes and 'Drew the bolt of Nature's secrecies'.[44] (Line 75 from

[37] *Selected Poems of Francis Thompson*, 1st ed., (London, Methuen & Co. Ltd.& Burns & Oates Ltd., (1908), p.x)
[38] *A Tribute from his Schoolfellows*, Ushaw Magazine, Vol. 18, (1908), pp. 61-95
[39] Ibid., p.64
[40] Ibid., p.65
[41] Meynell, Everard, p.22
[42] Ibid.
[43] Ibid., p.26
[44] Connolly, Terence, L., p.79

Thompson's poem '*The Hound of Heaven*') ... In all weathers we tramped the roads, and it must have been at these times (for after he left college he saw little of meadows and hedgerows) that he unconsciously imbibed his wonderful knowledge of the flowers of the field.'[45]

Three lines from The Hound of Heaven[46]:

> *I laughed in the morning's eyes.*
> *I triumphed and I saddened, with all weather,*
> *Heaven and I wept together,*
> (Lines 87-89)

'Everard Meynell calls attention to the likeness between line 89 and the description of Lafcadio Hearn who was at Ushaw with Thompson, given by his Japanese biographer[47]: "He laughed with the flowers and the birds and cried with the dying trees."'[48]

©Reproduced from Meynell, Everard (1913), p.34

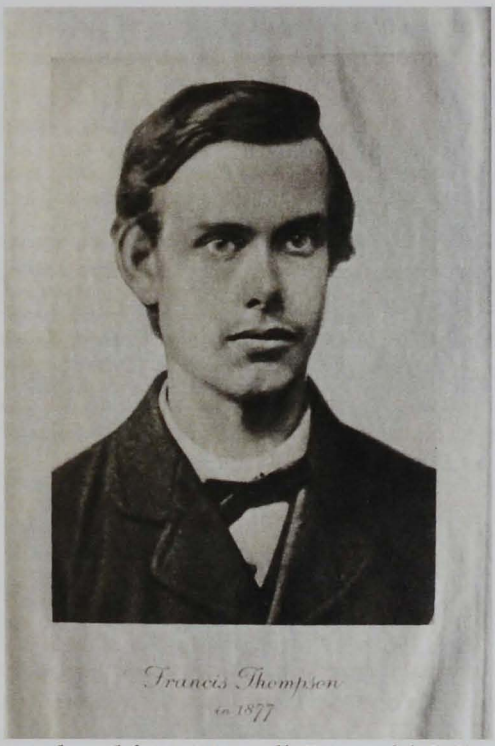
[45] *A Tribute from his Schoolfellows*, Ushaw Magazine, Vol. 18, (1908), p.68
[46] Connolly, Terence, L., p.79
[47] Ibid., p. 361
[48] Meynell, Everard, p. 22

After moving into the main college in 1874 and progressing to Grammar 'he had a still larger selection of books to live amongst, and many of his beloved poets were well represented.'[49] It is significant that Horace Mann, (ordained in 1886), who was later headmaster of St. Cuthbert's Grammar School, Newcastle and then became Rector of the Beda College, Rome, for eleven years, gave his collection of 5000 books to Ushaw Library to 'enrich it and make easier the path of others who might come after him.'[50]

The 'bombshell' hit Francis Thompson in 1877 when the president, Mgr. Francis Wilkinson, (who died a few months later) wrote to Thompson's parents to advise them that Francis was 'to relinquish all ideas' of the priesthood. The letter referred to 'a remarkably docile and obedient boy, and certainly one of the cleverest boys in his class'. It referred to an increase in his 'strong, nervous timidity' and the 'natural *indolence* which has always been an obstacle with him ...'[51]

The rejection, along with other problems, caused major disturbance to his life. His biographer noted that 'it is thought by many persons well-versed in spiritual affairs of the family that his failure in the Seminary was with him an acute and lasting grief.'[52]

[49] *Ushaw Magazine,* Vol. 18, (1908), p.69
[50] *College Notes: Note about Mgr. Horace Mann*, Ushaw Magazine, Vol. 38 (1928), p. 208
[51] Meynell, Everard, p.32
[52] Ibid., p.34



©Reproduced from Meynell, Everard (1913), p.54

His Ushaw colleagues reflected that 'so equipped spiritually and mentally, he left the peaceful groves of Ushaw to live his own strange life and to reflect by his genius another glory upon the College that sheltered him'.[53]

Connolly commented, in his introductory notes on '*The Hound of Heaven*', Thompson's most famous poem, written in 1890, highlight the impact on Thompson: 'Thirteen years before, he had suffered the keenest and most lasting disappointment of his life, his failure to follow the vocation of a priest.'[54]

1878 - 1884

In 1878 Thompson started a six-year course as a medical student at Owens College, Manchester. There is little doubt that his father would have determined this new path to follow into his own profession. His mind was

[53] *Ushaw Magazine,* Vol. 18, (1908), p.77
[54] Connolly, Terence, L., p. 349

enthused by his love of literature rather than medical training and he spent time in the city library and art gallery in Manchester immersed in the Classics and the work of the great poets rather than studying medicine. He failed in assessments apart from 'his preliminary examination distinguishing himself in Greek'.[55]

In 1879 he developed a nervous illness in Manchester. His 'bodily weakness and his consciousness of failure' led to a period of 'serious illness and prolonged convalescence during which drugs had been administered to him'.[56] He acquired the habit of taking laudanum (opium), having first tasted it during his illness, which his biographer noted was 'in the air of Manchester, the cotton-spinners being much addicted to its use.'[57] 'It was at this time too that his mother, without any cause of purpose gave her son a copy of *The Confessions of an English Opium Eater*[58]. It was a favourite book at home.'[59]

Francis had enjoyed happy relations with his mother but she became ill a year after his own illness. Brigid Boardman in her ODNB biography noted, 'Shortly before his twenty-first birthday his much loved mother died [on December 19th, 1880] from a painful disease for which opium was the only relief. Almost certainly it was this which gave rise to his own addiction to the drug.[60]

The loss of his mother was devastating in his present situation in which he was coping with his own perceived failure. 'In a notebook that he had by him towards the end of his life and in which there are many allusions to its beginnings, he wrote of the "the world-wide desolation and terror of for the first time realising that the mother can lose you, or you her, and your own abysmal loneliness and helpfulness without her." Such a feeling he compares to that of first fearing yourself to be without God.'[61]

His avoidance of study in medicine continued and his father finally became aware of his non-attendance at Owen College. His father tried to help him through his own professional network in an attempt to rescue his medical course. Further failure in examinations in London and Glasgow compounded

[55] *Selected Poems of Francis Thompson*, 1st ed., (1908), p.x)
[56] Connolly, Terence, L., p.xviii
[57] Meynell, Everard, p.48
[58] De Quincey, Thomas, P., *The Confessions of an English Opium Eater*, (London, 1821)
[59] Meynell, Everard, p.46
[60] ODNB, p.432
[61] Meynell, Everard, p.7-8

the already difficult problems. Money was expended and other employment options were considered. The main barrier was that Francis did not have 'the courage openly to dispute his father's decision in regard to a career. Never once did he intimate that his heart was set on poetry ...'[62]

His father recognised symptoms which suggested that Francis was under the influence of alcohol. He questioned him about it 'but was mystified by Francis's strenuous denials; opium not alcohol was the cause of his flushes'.[63] Horace Mann recounted the awkward situation: 'Loath to face another such scene, probably too sensitive to explain his desires and aims, and certainly unwilling to continue his medical studies, "Tommy" took refuge in flight.' He abruptly left his father's house and ultimately drifted to London.'[64]

1885 - 1888

The next three years were dire. His home was a pavement, perhaps under the shelter of a railway arch. Sometimes it would be a park bench or the Embankment alongside the Thames. His earnings were meagre and derived from menial tasks such as holding a horse, doing odd jobs or selling matches. 'He liked the Guildhall Library better than "situations", and while he had seven shillings a week from home, he managed to be there a good deal ... his rags came quickly enough; within a few weeks he was below the standards set by employers of casual labour.'[65] He learned of workhouses and hostels when he could afford them. He was frequently hungry and often wretchedly ill. He discovered a lot about life on the streets and found that the street - outcast was 'often kind, always honest with his fellows ("only once did any one try to cheat me")'. There was generosity amongst them 'particularly in the readiness of beggars to pay each other's lodgings'.[66] Spending a penny on a mug of tea was not a good use of hard earned money. The trick was to buy a pennyworth of tea itself and 'make it with the boiling water from the common kettle in the doss-house. You got several cups of tea that way instead of one.'[67]

There was occasional good fortune, finding what he thought was a half-penny in the street, only to discover it was a gold sovereign. At another time, when he was selling papers, 'one of the Rothschilds, buying a paper ... put a florin in

[62] Ibid., p.55
[63] Ibid., p.57
[64] *Ushaw Magazine,* Vol. 18, (1908), p.79
[65] Meynell, Everard, p.63
[66] Ibid., p.63-64
[67] Ibid., p.65

his hand'. Thompson had scruples about this and tried to catch him up in the street crowd. But he was gone. Years later when he heard the news of that Rothschild's death he was aghast and cried, "Then I can never repay him."[68]

He could have sought help from friends or relatives in London but avoided this. In his weak, dishevelled state with very little money his priority was to afford the one thing which could ease his burden, Laudanum. 'How *'forlorn and faint and stark'*[69] (line 276, *Sister Songs* I) must Thompson have been during those wretched sleepless nights spent in doorways and alleys, when he was too poor to buy a few grains of the one thing in the world that could bring the temporary relief of oblivion to his tortured soul.'[70]

When he fled to London, Thompson 'carried Blake and Aeschylus in his pocket ... a favourite English poet in one pocket and an odd volume, containing one half of Canter's *Euripides* in the other'.[71]

In August 1886 he was rescued by a boot maker, Mr. McMaster, who recognised Thompson's extreme weakness and disorientation – a combination of the lack of food and the intake of laudanum. Mr. McMaster was a charitable man and provided some stability, clean clothes and employment. He had learned fairly quickly 'that Francis could neither make boots nor sell them ... It was in his shop and on his paper that Thompson wrote continually.'[72] He earned his food and lodging and was given wages of five shillings a week. Mr. McMaster was in touch with Thompson's father and Francis returned home for Christmas.

Thompson returned to London in January but quickly had to leave the great charity shown to him by the boot-maker and return to the London streets. Before he left he sent manuscripts to more than one magazine. On 23rd February 1887 he sent a manuscript of three poems to *Merry England*. This was a magazine he had known about in Manchester and 'noted especially during his Christmas holiday at home.'[73] It was edited by Wilfrid Meynell, the father of Everard Meynell. Francis was weak and poor again and apologised for the soiled and tattered state of the manuscript. It remained unread for many months and could have been considered worthless. Its presentation did not

[68] Ibid., p.67-68
[69] Connolly, Terence, L., p. 28
[70] Connolly, Terence, L., p.322
[71] Meynell, Everard, p.58
[72] Ibid., p.72-74
[73] Ibid., p.85

help. He had sent an essay and two poems. Nearly a year later they were read by Wilfrid Meynell who recognised, in the essay, 'the genius of Thompson's inspiration against the evidence of another inspiration – that of drugs. Connolly[74] recorded that Thompson had included the poem '*Dream Tryst*' 'in the same envelope with his essay and the other poem. It was 'composed before Thompson left the streets of London'. 'Mrs. Meynell once wrote that this is the only one of Thompson's poems that "was perhaps, written with the aid of opium."'[75] Wilfrid and his wife Alice accepted the essay and the other poem. Wilfrid Meynell 'tried unsuccessfully to trace the poet. [The Dead Letter office at Charing Cross was not the most reliable contact address left by Thompson.] He therefore printed one of the poems, [the 'other' poem], '*Passion of Mary*' in the Easter [1888] issue of his journal and Thompson by an almost incredible chance, heard of it.'[76] Thompson was in an awful state, literally in the gutter. The bustle of the heavy traffic of Covent Garden was too much for him. He was knocked down by a cab and rescued by a 'woman of the street' who took him home and helped him. He wrote to Wilfrid Meynell and gave a contact address – the chemist who supplied his laudanum. Meynell responded by letter saying that he was happy to arrange regular work. There was still difficulty contacting Thompson and Meynell sought out the chemist's shop.

After a few further obstacles a meeting took place at Wilfrid Meynell's office – a very touching experience – '... a waif of a man came in. No such figure had been looked for; more ragged and unkempt than the average beggar, with no shirt beneath his coat and bare feet in broken shoes, he found my father at a loss for words.[77] Everard Meynell wrote, 'I know of no man, and can imagine none, to whom another can so easily unburden himself of uneasiness and formalities as to my father. To him the poor and the rich are, as the fishes and flames to St. Francis, his brothers and his friends at sight, even if these are shy as fishes and sightless as flame.'[78] The poem which was instrumental in bringing about this very moving meeting was 'the first of Thompson's poems to be published ... his lovely tribute to the Mother of God called '*The Passion of Mary*'.'[79] 'The subject of the poem and many details are similar to the great Latin hymn of the Church, "*Stabat Mater*", read as a Sequence at Mass on the

[74] Connolly, Terence, L., p.394
[75] Dublin Review, (London: Spooner, January, 1908)
[76] ODNB, p.433
[77] Meynell, Everard, p.89
[78] Ibid., p. 90
[79] Connolly, Terence, L., p.xx

Friday after Passion Sunday.'[80] Its publication in April 1888 was timely. I found the words powerful and have included the first four verses here. (There are 39 lines in the full poem.) In the last 13 lines headed, L'ENVOY, Connolly[81] noted: 'The remembrances of Thompson's outcast experience at the time these lines were written gives them a tone of inexpressible poignancy.'

THE PASSION OF MARY[82]
VERSES IN PASSION-TIDE

O LADY Mary, thy bright crown
Is no mere crown of majesty;
For with the reflex of His own
Resplendent thorns Christ circled thee.

The red rose of this Passion-tide
Doth take a deeper hue from thee,
In the five wounds of Jesus dyed,
And in thy bleeding thoughts, Mary!

The soldier struck a triple stroke,
That smote thy Jesus on the tree:
He broke the Heart of Hearts, and broke
The Saints and Mother's hearts in thee.

Thy Son went up the angel's ways
His passion ended; but, ah me!
Thou found'st the road of further days
A longer way of Calvary.
(Lines 1-16)

The 'woman of the street' who had helped Thompson left after his meeting with the editor. Everard Meynell recorded: 'Her sacrifice was to fly from him; learning that he had found friends, she said that he must go to them and leave her. After his first interview with my father [Wilfrid Meynell] he had taken her his news. "They will not understand our friendship," she said, and then, "I always knew you were a genius ..." Without warning she went to unknown

[80] Ibid., p. 398
[81] Ibid., p.399
[82] Ibid., p.112

lodgings and was lost to him.'[83] Thompson continued to drift but he started to visit the Meynell home in Kensington again and again. 'That he was also during this time either parting with or searching for his Ann is not unlikely.' He was reluctant at first to accept substantial hospitalities but he 'was willing, too, that anything he had written should be published, and bring temporary wealth'.[84]

1889 - 1890

He was physically in very poor shape but with gentle persuasion was helped by the Meynells to see a doctor and to go to a private hospital where he received treatment to control his drug habit. He went from there to the Premonstratensian Priory in Storrington, Sussex, arriving early in 1889. His health had improved considerably, his drug habit was in check, he was in a beautiful Sussex village and was in touch with nature.

> *When he saw a ray of the setting sun fall upon the great crucifix in the monastery garden at Storrington that evening just after he had been rescued from the streets of London, he was less aware of the symbol than of the reality. More clearly than the ray of sunlight he saw the finger of God. And more clearly than the crucifix he saw the purgative way that leads the soul's illumination and union with Christ – the only answer to the ceaseless questionings of his soul ...* '[85] *He wrote 'Ode to the Setting Sun'*[86] *in the 'mid-summer of 1889, the first definite signs of his great poetic powers.*[87]

The following lines are from the '*Prelude*' to '*Ode to the Setting Sun*':

> *Yet, in this field where the Cross planted reigns,*
> *I know not what strange passion bows my head*
> *To thee, whose great command upon my veins*
> *Proves thee a god for me not dead, not dead!* 20
>
> *For worship it is too incredulous,*
> *For doubt – oh, too believing-passionate!*

[83] Meynell, Everard, p.83
[84] Ibid., p.91-92
[85] Connolly, Terence, *Francis Thompson and Ushaw*, Ushaw Magazine, Vol., 49, (1939), pp. 1-2
[86] Connolly, Terence, L., (1941) p.82-90
[87] Ibid., p.xxiii

What wild divinity makes my heart thus
A fount of most baptismal tears? – Thy straight

Long beam lies steady on the Cross. Ah me! 25
What secret would thy radiant finger show?
Of thy bright mastership is this the key?
Is this thy secret, then? And is it woe?
(Lines 17-28)

The full poem, including the Prelude and the After-Strain, was published in *Merry England* in 1889. The symbolism of these words is remarkable and powerful and the reflections on the Cross are relevant to the last part of this article: 'his eyes feasting upon the glories of the sinking sun, whose:

... straight
Long beam lies steady on the Cross,
(Lines 24 – 25, Prelude to Ode)

suddenly within his soul's depths a strange passion stirred, - in a feeling of the awful likeness between the setting sun and the mystery of the Cross.'[88]

I have included some further lines from the later part of the poem. I find them equally moving:

Like Him thou hang'st in dreadful pomp of blood
Upon thy Western rood; 220
And His stained brow did vail [bow down] like thine to night,
Yet lift once more Its light,
And, risen, again departed from our ball,
But when It set on earth arose in Heaven.
(Lines 219-224)

Connolly[89] comments: 'The sun in its repeated setting and rising [typifies] Christ's death and resurrection and His ascension. He *set on earth* and *arose in Heaven.*'

[88] Connolly, Terence, L., p.372
[89] Connolly, Terence L., p. 380

Most of the poems which were to appear in Thompson's first book were written in his time at Storrington from 1889 to 1890.

1890 - 1892

He returned to London from Storrington in February 1890 and lived in lodgings in the neighbourhood of the Meynell family for the next few years. They lived at Palace Court, Kensington. His time at Storrington had been very creative as he brought his drug habit under control. The withdrawal of laudanum caused its own problems and there were times when he was concerned that he was a burden to the Meynells, but he always responded to the care and guidance they gave him. He had achieved recognition for the quality of his poetry, particularly with 'Ode to the Setting Sun'.

1892 - 1897

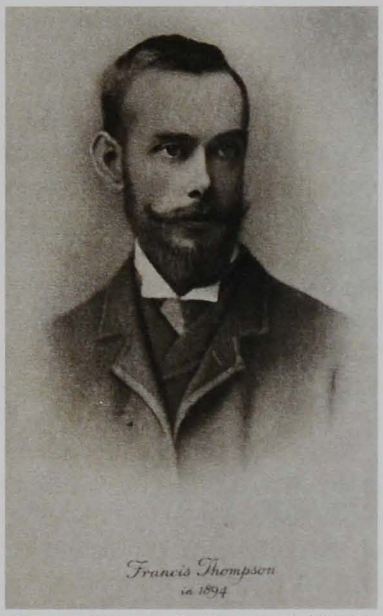
He then went to the Capuchin monastery at Pantasaph, Wales, arriving there in early 1892. Wilfrid Meynell was instrumental in considering the publication of a book of Thompson's poetry. He took soundings from poets such as Tennyson and Browning. The feedback from Browning in particular was very positive. He considered Thompson 'naturally gifted' and that he had wonderful support from Wilfrid Meynell, saying, 'He [Thompson] can have no better friend and adviser than yourself - except *himself*, if he listens to his inner voice.'[90]

At Pantasaph he set about the task of preparing the poems for printing. The book *Poems*,[91] including his most famous and best known poem, *The Hound of Heaven*, was published in 1893. He was delighted with the book itself and to hear that the sales of the first edition were exhausted. In Ushaw library there is a thirteenth edition of Poems, published in 1912.[92]

[90] Meynell, Everard, p. 120

[91] Thompson Francis, *Poems by Francis Thompson*, 1st ed., (London: Elkin Matthews & John Lane (1893))

[92] Thompson Francis, *Poems by Francis Thompson*, 13th ed., (London: Burns & Oates, (1912))



©Reproduced from Meynell, Everard (1913), frontispiece

'Sister Songs' which he had written in 1891 was published as a separate book in 1895.[93] The inspiration for this poem was the two daughters of Wilfrid and Alice Meynell, Monica and Madeline, (the 'Sylvia') in the poem. 'Inspired by children and written in their honour, the poem may, in this sense, be called child-poetry ...'[94] Before publication he had written to Wilfrid and Alice to tell them of his better health and his recurring powers of composition: "Am overflowing with a sudden access of literary impulse. I think I could write a book in three months if thoughts came down in such an endless avalanche as they are doing at present."[95] There are lines in *'Sister Songs'* which reflect the ordeal of the three years spent on London's streets.

The harsh realities of the outcast years:

... Once – in that nightmare-time which still doth haunt

[93] Thompson, Francis, *Sister Songs: An Offering to Two Sisters*, (London: John Lane; Boston: Copeland Day (1895)
[94] Connolly, Terence, L. (1941), p.315
[95] Meynell, Everard, p.184

My dreams, a grim, unbidden visitant ...
(Lines 275-276, Sister Songs, Part I)

Yea was the outcast mark
Of all those heavenly passers' scrutiny;
Stood bound and helplessly
For Time to shoot his barbed minutes at me;
Suffered the trampling hoof of every hour
In night's slow-wheelèd car;
Until the tardy dawn dragged me at length
From under those dread wheels; and, bled of strength,
I waited the inevitable last.'
(Lines 280-288, Sister Songs, Part I)[96]

Note particularly the 'nightmare time' and also 'Time' shooting 'barbed minutes' – the Covent Garden clock it has been suggested. Lines 284-288 echo his fear of the cabs and the one which knocked him over.

I like particularly the use of the 'icicle' metaphor in the following five lines written in the second part of the poem:

Stretched on the margin of the cruel sea
Whence they had rescued me,
With faint and painful pulse was I lying;
Not yet discerning well
If I had 'scaped or were an icicle,
Whose thawing is its dying.'
(Lines 163-168, Sister Songs, Part II)[97]

Connolly[98] suggested that the following lines are 'reminiscent of Thompson' first meeting with Wilfrid Meynell when his poetry has the potential to rescue him:

Like one who sweats before a despot's gate,
Summoned by some presaging scroll of fate,
And knows not whether kiss or dagger wait;'

[96] Connolly, Terence, L. (1941), p. 28
[97] Ibid., p.34
[98] Ibid., p.329

(Lines 169-171, Sister Songs, Part II) [99]

It almost sounds Shakespearean and, knowing that Wilfrid Meynell would read this, is there a touch of subtle humour here? Perhaps I am guided this way because I could never think of Wilfrid Meynell as a despot and I do not think that Francis Thompson would think of him this way either.

The third book of poetry, New Poems[100], was published in 1897. It received very mixed reviews and suffered from low sales.

THE TESTAMENT OF CALVARY

In searching through the various articles on Francis Thompson written in the Ushaw Magazines I came across the following poem in the 1893[101] edition and have printed it in full:

The Testament of Calvary

PURPLED in Thy royalty
On the throne of Calvary!
Framing of Thy testament
For Thy lovers' meek content,
What was Thine high legacy?
Bequeathed'st for Thy Church's wear
Thy blood-drenched robe to cling to her;
And the spear that piercèd Thee,
To the heart of sad Mary;
And to woman, for a glass
Of the fairness frail she has
From Thy Golgotha a skull
To behold her beautiful:
And that desirèd, that abhorrèd
Crown made vidual of Thy forehead,
To our brows to get them ease,
"I to my belovèd, these
My Father gave Me, give again, -
Those stern, assigned seignories

[99] Ibid., p.35
[100] Thompson, Francis, *New Poems*, (London: Westminster Press and Archibald Constable Co. (1897))
[101] *Ushaw Magazine*, Vol. III, (1893), p.18

To youthful gods which appertain;
The revenues that He has given
The young Apparent of His Heaven:
My princely appanage of Pain."
We, meek lovers are content
With Thy heavy testament,
Very humbly, though it be
Mystical deep legacy.

Francis Thompson

[Seignories - meanings: seniors, feudal lord, lord of manor, person of high rank, sovereign authority. Appanage - meanings: bearing of pain, acceptance of pain, gift of pain to bear.]

I checked the books of poems written by Thompson in his lifetime and the ones published posthumously. I thought it was a fine and powerful poem but could not find it in any of the books. There was no record in any index and I could not find any notes on it. The poem was attributed to Francis Thompson and I was aware that there had been a Frank Thompson at Ushaw who was an artist, who did illustrations, rather than a poet. The language of the poem seemed, in my lay opinion, to be that of Francis Thompson the poet. I contacted Stephen Regan, a professor of English Studies at Durham University who had delivered a lecture at Ushaw as part of the termly series. He checked the popular editions of Thompson's work and could not find it there. He consulted Brigid Boardman's book, *Poems of Francis Thompson*, published in 2001, and found the Ushaw Magazine text included there.[102] Brigid Boardman, born in 1931, wrote the biographical notes on Thompson in the ODNB already quoted. When researching her biography of Francis Thompson, *Between Heaven and Charing Cross*,[103] she had noted the need for an updated collection of Francis Thompson poems. In early 2000, Brigid Boardman was in touch with Ushaw College library regarding a few matters related to the forthcoming publication of her book. I tried to contact her to explore any information she might have on this poem, as to when and where she found it, and to check whether she had written any commentary on it, but was unable to obtain a response. I then tried to contact Elizabeth Hawkins, grand-daughter of Wilfrid and Alice Meynell, and

[102] Boardman, Brigid, M., *Poems of Francis Thompson*, Continuum (2001)
[103] Boardman, Brigid, M., *Between Heaven and Charing Cross*: The Life of Francis Thompson, (Yale University Press, New Haven and London (1988))

did receive a response from her son Oliver Hawkins who is the current Literary Executor to the Estate of Wilfrid and Alice Meynell, which includes the work of Francis Thompson. He intended to look in the Meynell Family Papers to see if there is anything relevant. At present I have not heard anything further.

The answer may lie in the many notebooks that Francis Thompson kept. These are said to be like penny exercise books and many of them are lodged in the Francis Thompson Collection in Boston College, Massachusetts, the college where Rev. Dr. Terence Connolly was based.

Francis had kept in touch with a few college acquaintances, Horace Mann and Adam Wilkinson. He exchanged correspondence with them in 1893.[104] In January 1892 his poem '*A Fallen Yew*'[105] was published in *Merry England*. It was inspired by the 'fall of the old yew-tree' at Ushaw.[106] Pope Leo XIII was to celebrate his Jubilee of 50 years as a bishop on Feb. 19th, 1893 and this was noted in the Ushaw College Magazine.[107] In the same volume in College Notes,[108] there is a tribute to Cardinal Vaughan, who was appointed as Archbishop of Westminster in June 1892. Could any of these three occasions have prompted a request to Francis Thompson to write a special poem to mark the occasion? The title of the poem might have been rather different for the two celebratory events.

In the 1893 Ushaw Magazine[109] there is a short report to recognise the publication of *Poems*[110] in this year. It starts:

> *Mr. Francis Thompson, whose name has become known as a frequent contributor of poems to a contemporary, and who has on two occasions favoured our pages in the same way, has taken the important step of publishing a volume of poetry ...*

[104] *Ushaw Magazine*, Vol. 18, (1908), p.84
[105] Connolly, Terence, L., pp. 118-120
[106] Ibid., p.403
[107] *Ushaw Magazine*, Vol. III, (1893), p.1
[108] Ibid., p.91
[109] *Ushaw Magazine*, Vol. III, (1893), p.359
[110] Thompson Francis, *Poems by Francis Thompson*, 1st ed., (London: Elkin Matthews & John Lane (1893))

Could the contemporary be Horace Mann? The two occasions appear to be: '*Our Lady of the Night*' (1891)[111] and '*The Testament of Calvary*' (1893).

Could the publication of *Poems* in 1893 be the real reason why Francis Thompson prepared a poem for Ushaw, perhaps with a little nudge from Horace Mann or Adam Wilkinson? It should maybe be noted that 1893 was 100 years after the start of the end of Douai. The only puzzle is that it does not appear to have been published until 2001 in Brigid Boardman's collection. It surprised me that it was not included in Terence Connolly's 1941 collection because he had visited Ushaw prior to publication.

The lines already quoted from '*Ode to the Setting Sun*' were rich sources of inspiration for '*The Testament of Calvary*'. 'In his sunset Thompson found a symbol of the Crucifixion ... and in Christianity an endless elaboration of Christ ...' [112] A few lines from the After-Strain,[113] the last part of the Ode, complete

Part 1:

Now with wan ray that other sun of Song
Sets in the bleakening waters of my soul:
One step and lo! the Cross stands gaunt and long
'Twixt me and yet bright skies, a presaged dole.
Even so, O Cross! thine is the victory.
Thy roots are fast within our fairest fields;
Brightness may emanate in Heaven from thee,
Here thy dread symbol only shadow yields.
(Lines 1-8)

The remaining part of Francis Thompson's life will be covered n Part 2 in Catholic Archives (2019).

[111] *Ushaw Magazine*, Vol. I, (1891), p.10
[112] Meynell, Everard, p.213
[113] Connolly, Terence, L. (1941), p. 89-90

Book Reviews

K. Attar (ed.) ***Directory of rare book and special collections in the United Kingdom and the Republic of Ireland,*** 3rd ed. CILIP Rare Books and Special Collections Group (London: Facet Publishing, 2016); xx, 586 pgs, hard back, ISBN: 978-1-78330-016-7, £175.

Just over 20 years after the publication of Bloomfield's 2nd edition of the *Directory*, Karen Attar and the Rare Books and Special Collections Group of the Chartered Institute of Library and Information Professionals (CILIP) have published an updated version for the early 21st century. In the introduction, Attar sets out her methodology and the reasons for issuing another printed book about rare books and special collections rather than creating an online database. However, this being the 21st century, an electronic version of the book is also available. The emphasis is firmly on *printed* material within a loosely defined set of criteria, although in some cases manuscript material has been included. 'Rare books' is defined as anything printed before 1900; 'special collections' encompasses a broad range of repositories (cf. p. xi). Attar has rightly decided to minimise the amount of information likely to become outdated or that can easily be found on institutional websites. The main change from Bloomsfield's edition is that entries are now in listed in alphabetical order by town rather than by county (although a list of counties appears in Appendix 2). Another is that the *Directory* has reinstated a number of libraries that were left out of the 2nd edition. An extremely useful change from the 2nd edition is not mentioned in either John Feather's foreword or in Attar's introduction: the creation of two topical indices alongside the more standard repository index. So in the 3rd edition, we have a separate index of collectors and of subjects. However, the latter is not infallible: for example, there is a reference to 'book illustration' as a collection strength in Bolton Library and Museum Services on p. 18, but none to the V&A's substantial holdings or those held at Liverpool Central Library. The index lists both broadly defined topics (e.g. Roman Catholic Church) and specialist collections (e.g. Catholic emancipation); sometimes the subject is inferred from the description. Not having a reference in the index of libraries under National Trust or National Trust for Scotland to the individual libraries in their care makes them much harder to discover, particularly because, in the directory itself, they are either listed under the closest village or under the nearest town (e.g. Calke Abbey and Kedleston Hall appear under Derby, but Nostell Priory under Nostell rather than Wakefield). As with any project heavily dependent on the input from others, the individual

entries vary greatly in the amount of description they provide, while some repositories decided not to respond to Attar's repeated calls for information. Appendix 1 provides a handy list of institutions listed in the 2nd edition for which no further details could be found in 2016. In terms of scope, the entries vary from a single non-descript phrase ('Local studies collection') to several pages of description. Overall though, the updated *Directory* is an extremely valuable reference resource for researchers and Karen Attar has done a thorough job in bringing all this information together in a short space of time. Despite Facet Publishing's usual exorbitant price-tag, this is a publication I would recommend to anyone needing a one-stop guide to the rich and diverse rare books and special collections in the British Isles.

Danielle Westerhof

Catherine Pepinster, *The Keys and the Kingdom, The British and the Papacy from John Paul II to Francis* (Bloomsbury/T & T Clark, 2017), 245 pgs, hard back, ISBN: 9780567666314, £16.99

This book is based for the most part on oral history rather than archival material, a series of extensive interviews with significant contributors to the story of the relationships formed between Britain and the Holy See during the last three pontificates. Catherine Pepinster, recently retired after thirteen years as editor of *The Tablet*, is in an ideal position to reflect on such relations, plotting the changing, and increasingly friendly, relations between the two: one must admit, however, at times, she identifies herself a little too closely with the opinions of those she interviewed. The book is in two parts, opening with a general survey of relations between Britain and Rome; a second part focuses on specific themes. There is a good opening chapter setting the Catholic community in its British context, highlighting the role played by the 1944 Education Act, which encouraged Catholics to play a much more significant part in British society, and, subsequently the 'seismic difference' made by the appointment of Basil Hume to Westminster in 1976. Two further chapters explore the development of diplomatic relations from the early suspicions of the period after the signing of the Lateran Treaties to the appointment of an apostolic delegation to Great Britain, eventually being enhanced to a nuntiature in 1982, and thus establishing full diplomatic relations. Background details of diplomacy contribute significantly to the fascination of this book, offering a particular insight into the context of the Papal visits to the United Kingdom by John Paul II and Benedict XVI. 'Pragmatism', the recognition of shared values,

shared interests, is a word which occurs a lot in Pepinster's account of diplomatic relations but, though the British are well-known pragmatists, her book reveals just how the Foreign and Colonial Office undervalued and misunderstood the role the Vatican plays in world affairs. Prime Ministers Blair and Brown understood the Vatican much better that their civil servants, and they were well assisted by the presence in Rome of Francis Campbell as Ambassador to the Holy See. It might be argued that this understanding has somewhat diminished under later coalition and Conservative governments. An underlying theme of the whole book is that Britain has a special place on Rome and, especially since the visit of John Paul II to Britain in 1982, 'punches above its weight'. There is little doubt but that Cardinal Cormac Murphy O'Conner played a major role behind the scenes in the election of Pope Francis, but Pepinster's sub-heading to the chapter on his election as Bishop of Rome, 'a very British coup', goes, I think, rather too far; so does a reference to 'the UK's involvement in the election of the new Pope'. Quite remarkably Pepinster suggests that Archbishop Paul Gallagher, ordained for the archdiocese of Liverpool and now the Holy See's secretary for relations with foreign states (effectively the Vatican's foreign minister) is arguably the highest English office holder since Nicholas Breakspear, Pope Adrian IV, in the twelfth century. She overlooks, among others, Cardinal Merry del Val, Secretary of State to Pius X, and Cardinal William Heard, Dean of the Holy Roman Rota; the former of Spanish descent but born in England and a Westminster priest, the latter born in Edinburgh, but a priest of the Southwark. Rather strangely, although Pepinster generally over-emphasizes British influence in Rome, she underestimates Cardinal Hume's knowledge and handling of Roman ways. She suggests that Hume's lack of a Roman education left him something of an outsider. Hume certainly refused to get involved in the Roman scene but his distancing of himself allowed him to stand up to Rome in a way that those who had absorbed the Roman atmosphere often did not. A good example might be his handling of the 1992 document 'Some Considerations Concerning the Response to Legislative Proposals for the Non-Discrimination of Homosexual Persons' (which was not, as Pepinster suggests, written by Cardinal Ratzinger, but by a minor official of the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith). Cardinal Ratzinger was unhappy with Hume's alternate response and asked him to come to Rome. Hume replied that Ratzinger was welcome to come to Westminster to discuss it, if he so wished. In the second part of her book, Pepinster turns her gaze to the Catholic Church on the domestic front in Britain. A useful chapter on ecumenism focuses on the importance of personal relationships between Anglican leaders and the popes, rather than theological

intricacies, leading to 'an ease of communication' as Archbishop Rowan Williams put it. It is a pity that this chapter focuses almost exclusively on Anglican/Catholic relations, nothing being said about Catholic/Methodist relations and the significance of a Methodist presence at Ponte Sant' Angelo. The 'quiet, but highly influential part' played by Queen Elizabeth in reconciliation has a chapter to itself, balanced by a chapter on the Pope as a modern leader. There are chapters on Scotland and Northern Ireland, the latter being perhaps the best in the book. Pepinster pays serious attention to Pope John Paul's denunciation of violence at in Drogheda during his visit to Ireland in 1979; Vatican diplomacy to stop the hunger strikes; and the intransigence of Mrs Thatcher. The final chapter offers a useful discussion on Church, State and domestic politics, nicely entitled 'the grit in the oyster', highlighting challenges to the Government made by both the Anglican and Catholic Churches, especially during the Thatcher years. The book has a useful bibliography and a good index.

Peter Phillips

Peter D. Clarke and Michael Questier (eds.), ***Papal Authority and the Limits of the Law in Tudor England*** (Camden Miscellany Vol. XXXVI, Camden Fifth Series Vol. 48, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press for Royal Historical Society, 2015), xii + 167 pgs, hard back, ISBN: 9781107130364, £64.99

This book has two parts: a series of documents from 1521 to 1529 relating to Wolsey's exercise of his powers as papal legate in England, edited by Peter D. Clarke, and an edition by Michael Questier of the anonymous tractate 'A Plea for a Priest' from between 1598 and 1603. The most important link between these parts is the authority of the clergy before and after the Reformation, particularly as representatives of papal authority. The introductions to both parts are clearly and competently written. Wolsey was papal legate in England from 1518 to 1529 (his fall from power and the virtual end of his legation). As well as dispensations from illegitimacy, examples of the different dispensations which he granted were those from consanguinity and affinity (for marriage), from ordination age and the obligation of residence (for clergy) and 'capacities' which included departure from the religious life and the acquisition of secular benefices. To seek dispensations from Wolsey was clearly more convenient than to do so from Rome, even when Wolsey's fee for the dispensation was higher than Rome's. Moreover, Wolsey's power exceeded that of the papal penitentiary in his ability to issue dispensations to allow a cleric to hold two or

more benefices simultaneously (pluralism) and to unite benefices. The documents relating to Wolsey's legation which Clarke has chosen to reproduce are, firstly, an enregistered copy of a letter of 27 June 1521 from Leo X to Wolsey; secondly, a 'purported *breve*' of about 1527 from Clement VII to Wolsey; thirdly, a list of graces granted by Wolsey between July 1525 and July 1526; fourthly, a similar list 'issued in the three years preceding 23 October 1529 and in arrears' and, lastly, a calendar of Wolsey's dispensation letters. The first two of these are written in sufficiently dense Latin to justify a translation, which would therefore have been helpful. However, the last three of these sources are impressively indexed at the end of the book. After the documents about Wolsey there follows Questier's edition of 'A Plea for a Priest', now in the Westminster archdiocesan archives. Questier considers this tractate as written against the background of the 1571 Act of Parliament 'against the bringing in and putting in execution of bulls and other instruments from the see of Rome' inspired by the 1559 Act of Supremacy and an Act of 1563 (5 Eliz. I c. 1). Further Acts of 1581 and 1585 extended the treason measures of 1571, particularly with regard to the clergy. The tractate's purpose is to show how far the law might be extended in such a way as to allow the Catholic clergy's ministry to be seen as other than automatic treason. In particular, it argues that the Catholic clergy's ministry was purely spiritual, therefore not political and as a result not treasonable. This book provides a worthwhile anthology of material not collected elsewhere together with thorough footnotes as well as the suitably critical introductions.

Nicholas Paxton

Alison Cullingford, *The Special Collections Handbook*, 2nd ed. (London: Facet Publishing, 2016), paper back, ISBN: 978-1-78330-126-3, £64.95

This is the much expanded second edition of Cullingford's well-received *Special Collections Handbook* that first appeared in 2011. The text has been revised and updated, while two new chapters - on digitisation and organisational resources - have been added, expanding upon content found in different chapters in the first edition. The number of case studies has increased and is more diverse. Cullingford also retains an active companion website (http://specialcollectionshandbook.com), where she occasionally posts updates relating to the issues discussed in the book. Like the first edition, the *Handbook* is stuffed with practical advice and suggestions for further exploration of available resources and case studies. The chapter on digitisation

projects is timely, considering special collections and archives are under ever increasing pressure to make material available online. Cullingford makes a strong case for why services should consider digitising parts of their collections and offers different digitisation models to match against the type of material that is being considered. Chapter 7 in the first edition has now been split in two (chapters 8 and 11), allowing Cullingford to treat each aspect (i.e. access and organisational health) more in-depth. The overall structure of the *Handbook* has not significantly changed from the first edition, but now follows the order of the recently established UK Archives Accreditation Standard, which Cullingford promises to discuss further in her final chapter (p. xiv). A single paragraph is indeed devoted to the new standard, but is confusingly referred to as Archives Service Standard here (p. 242) and in the index, where it appears separately from references to the Archives Accreditation Standard. Considering she hopes her book will also be used by museum professionals, a brief discussion of the relationship of the Archives Standard to the Museum Accreditation might have been useful. Moreover, while Cullingford aims to cater to a wide audience of professionals working with unique and distinctive collections, her focus is almost exclusively on special collections in an academic environment. This is partly due perhaps to the author's own experience of working in a university library, but I wonder if something could be said for including interviews with curators and custodians of special collections from a range of backgrounds for the third edition? Alternatively, the companion website would be ideally placed for guest posts, interviews, and additional case studies. Cullingford's upbeat tone of voice is contagious and inspiring. Reading the *Handbook* I found myself agreeing with many of her observations and wanting to follow up her advice. However, I did occasionally wonder how straightforward some of her advice would be to implement. She quite understandably excludes generic management skills from her discussion, but a consideration of required staff skills, change management and project management - even in the shape of a list of resources – could further ground the *Handbook* in the wider organisational contexts in which special collections operate. In the meantime, it should be essential reading for anyone involved, or aspiring to be, with unique and distinctive collections.

Danielle Westerhof

Laura A. Millar, *Archives; Principles and Practices.* 2nd ed. (London: Facet Publishing, 2017), 348 pgs, index, paper back, ISBN: 9781783302062 £49.95

Millar's book is part of the *'Principles and Practices in Records Management and Archives'* series, edited by Geoffrey Yeo. This is a revised edition of her 2010 publication of the same title. As the title suggests, the book is divided into two main sections; a section each on principles and practices. The first section looks at the essential principles of archives and archiving, such as the nature of archives, types of archival institutions, and the uses of archives, for example archives being '... tools for accountability', and '...as touchstones for memory and identity'. Millar also discusses at length the subject of privacy as an ethical and a cultural issue. This section further includes some of the history and theory of archives. The section on theory includes an excellent description of the 'records continuum model' (Create, Capture, Organize, Pluralize), which is essential to the understanding of the whole archival process. This is just one example of the several succinct and practical explanations that Millar provides on various topics throughout the book, making it ideal for quick referencing. The second section focuses on practices within archives, including the management of institutions, preservation of collections, acquisition, arrangement and description, and accessibility. Millar includes some functional tables throughout this section, including examples of a donor agreement, an acquisitions policy, and a thoroughly detailed table guide of the hierarchical levels of arrangement and description, as well as what should be included in each section of a description. Again, this highlights how practical this book is for brief referencing. The section on making archives available provides some helpful suggestions for outreach and community engagement before discussing web-based and social media tools such as blogs, podcasts, Facebook, Flickr, YouTube, and Twitter, showing how up-to-date this publication is. Millar points out some of the important basic questions an archivist should ask themselves before employing any of the tools mentioned above, as well as listing some of the potential benefits and difficulties involved. Millar includes a detailed glossary of terms alongside the index at the end of the book, as well as a highly useful section including numerous sources for further reading on the areas covered in the book. In terms of style, I found Millar's writing to be comprehensible and straightforward. This is not necessarily a book you would sit down and read cover to cover, but it is so well structured that it makes it very simple to dip in and out of and to get information quickly. This book would not only be of great value to those training to be archives professionals, but also to those who have been tasked with, for example, creating an archive from scratch, or for those working alone. Personally, I have found it useful in refreshing my broader knowledge, as it can be easy to get bogged down in the day to day running of an archive, as well

as other workplace issues. As this book only runs to just under four hundred pages, it would not have been possible for Millar to discuss or describe highly specific issues without adding considerably more pages to the work, potentially making it appear a little less approachable on the bookshelf. However, Millar gives and excellent overall view of the most important fundamental aspects of archiving, and I believe that all members of the archives profession, regardless of experience or qualifications, would gain something from reading this book.

Karen O'Connor

John Broadley and Peter Phillips (eds), ***The Ministry of the Printed Word: Scholar-Priests of the Twentieth Century*** (Downside Abbey Press, 2016), 381 pgs, hard back, ISBN: 978-1-898-663783, £35

When I was a research student in Cambridge fifty years ago, my supervisor, George Kitson Clark of Trinity College, an Anglican of Anglicans, remarked to me that the Roman Catholic Church in England, unlike the Church of England, gave no encouragement to learning among its clergy. His favourite example was the historian Philip Hughes, one of the eleven scholar-priests who are the subjects of this pleasantly produced and presented volume, which opens with an introduction by Fr John Broadley, drawing attention to the encouragement to learning given by Pope Pius XI as, in the words of St Francis de Sales, an 'eighth sacrament'. The first in the list is Fr George Tyrrell SJ, who died excommunicate, the subject of the essay by another Jesuit, Fr Oliver Rafferty. Tyrrell was a writer of genius, and Rafferty achieves the difficult task of elucidating the contradictions in his various statements as he criticised a hyper-papal ultramontanism and attempted, sometimes despairingly, and not always successfully, to enunciate a Catholicism in which dogma and authority took a subordinate and disputable place to the wider experience of the total life of the church. Rome condemned Tyrrell as a 'Modernist', but it could be said that he was less a scholar than an original and creative theologian and thinker, who drew for his scholarship on his friends such as Alfred Loisy and Friedrich von Hügel. The Modernist crisis diverted some Catholic scholars from the controversial areas of Biblical scholarship and philosophy to ecclesiastical history. A model practitioner of the genre was Bernard Ward, the son of the philosopher William George Ward and brother of the biographer Wilfrid Ward. As Fr Stewart Foster describes him, despite his busy life as an administrator, - he became the first Bishop of Brentwood, - Ward completed,

on the basis of an extensive use of archival sources, a seven volume history of English Roman Catholicism between 1781 and 1850, distinguished by its moderation of tone and fairness to all parties. With the biography of the great eighteenth-century Bishop Richard Challoner by Bernard's prolific friend Edwin Burton and Wilfrid's lives of his own father and the Cardinals Wiseman and Newman, they provided a sound if hierarchy-based history of the English Catholic Church over two centuries. Another historian disturbed by Modernism, Fr Adrian Fortescue, wrote in part to earn money to support his parish. He was a formidably learned authority on the Eastern Churches and the Byzantine liturgy as well as on the Roman rite, most famously in his work the *Ceremonies of the Roman Rite Described*. Fr Nicholas Paxton's chapter contains a careful description of his books, and of his western bias as well as of his wider if critical interest in and knowledge of Eastern Christianity. The Jesuit Fr Thomas McCoog contributes a masterly chapter on the work of another Jesuit, John Hungerford Pollen, the son of a sometime Tractarian clergyman, and a Postulator of the cause of the English martyrs. Pollen was no mere hagiographer but a critical historian prepared to acknowledge those elements in the history of the Society which were the reverse of matters for edification. He has an impressive achievement as an editor for the Catholic Record Society and as writer of popular history, though his own work on the martyrs was unfinished through illness. Dom Aidan Bellenger, a former Abbot of Downside and now the annalist of the English Benedictine congregation, is the author of the chapter on the Benedictine historian Francis Aidan Gasquet, whose monastic histories revalidated the medieval history of the religious orders in England against centuries of Protestant criticism. While Gasquet's accuracy in matters of detail was strongly and rightly criticised by the Protestant G.G. Coulton and Gasquet's fellow-Benedictine, the great Dom David Knowles, the subject of another chapter here, he was an agreeable writer and a diligent researcher who pioneered the examination of new archival areas and so made a better critical history possible. As Fr Nicholas Schofield describes him, a meticulous accuracy distinguished the work of Fr Herbert Thurston SJ, a critic of Coulton, yet one also marked by some sympathy with the Modernism of his friend George Tyrrell. As well as being an editor of Butler's *Lives of the Saints*, and a prolific contributor over many years to the Jesuit *The Month*, his prodigious scholarship embraced such matters as spiritualism and the wilder shores of mystical experience, justifying his soubriquet as a 'kind of ecclesiastical Sherlock Holmes'. In Fr Ronald Knox we encounter the chief figure in the collection of national stature and reputation, a priest renowned as a wit and a publicist as well as a scholar. Fr Terry Tastard, our principal

authority upon Knox, divides his works between homiletics, as a preacher; apologetics, beginning with his reaction against the Anglican variety of Modernism, and climaxing in his principal work of scholarship, *Enthusiasm*; dialectics, including his autobiographical *A Spiritual Aeneid*, and his most entertaining work, *Let Dons Delight*; and his translation of the Vulgate Bible into English. There is a final note on his detective fiction. Tastard suggests that there is research material for a new biography in Claremont College, California. My old tutor's charge of the lack of official support for the priest-historian Philip Hughes, the historian of the English Reformation, is borne out by Fr John Broadley's account, especially of Hughes's productive middle years, when he lost his post as a convent chaplain and his honorarium as an archivist at Westminster. He was rescued by Notre Dame University and finished his days in honour in America. There was a serious tension in him, as in his model Lingard, between his Catholicism and his desire to present an impartial view.

In his study of Dom David Knowles, Simon Johnson has to do with a complex character who left Downside Abbey for failing, with its active ministry in its school and parishes, to conform to his vision of contemplative monasticism. Dr Johnson addresses the various criticisms of Knowles's historical masterpiece on medieval English monasticism, its stress on individual personality according to an incarnational ideal, rather than on a more modern social history, its omission of women, its emphasis on Benedictinism rather than on other Orders, and its Whiggish pattern of narrative of rise, decline and fall. One of Knowles's close companions at Downside was Dom Christopher Butler, who persisted at the monastery and was to become headmaster and Abbot. Butler was an attractive figure, and Fr Peter Phillips gives a detailed account of his writings as a Biblical scholar, especially in his work on the source criticism of the Synoptic Gospels, and as an ecumenically minded-theologian at and after the Second Vatican Council. Michael Walsh concludes the volume with its most entertaining chapter, on the Jesuit philosopher Frederick Copleston, best known for his nine-volume history of philosophy. Dr Walsh is able to draw on a lively memoir in which the author confesses his principal fault, a lack of love for other human beings, but he seems to have been in every way a most agreeable confrere and colleague, whose controversies with such ideological opponents as A.J. Ayer were marked by professional good relations and good humour. Copleston's early works included books on Nietzsche and Schopenhauer, and the chapter here reveals the sheer breadth of his interest in other cultures and traditions, eastern as well as western; it was only later that an edition of his history of philosophy was to include his separately published

volume on the Russians, though he 'lamented that the really interesting philosophers were not really Russian, and the interesting Russians not really philosophers.' It is notable how the shadow of the Modernist crisis falls over the volume, even where, as with Knox, it was by way of reaction against it, and the discouragement to learning which followed from it. While only Adrian Fortescue was a parish priest, in a volume which includes four Jesuits and three Benedictines, nine of the contributors are priests themselves, most of whom are or have been parish priests, including the two editors. It is remarkable that they can still combine the all-consuming modern demands of the pastoral ministry with this impressive scholarly volume.

Sheridan Gilley

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.

Membership

Membership is open to any institution or individual interested in the objects of the Society. The full annual subscription, inclusive of ***Catholic Archives***, is £20. The annual subscription to ***Catholic Archives*** alone, inclusive of postage, is £7. Applications for full membership and all enquiries concerning the Society should be addressed to: Sarah Maspero, 12 Justin Close, Fareham, Hampshire PO14 1SY.

Publications and Editorial Communications

Editorial communications, applications for subscriptions to ***Catholic Archives*** and sales of all the Society's publications, including back issues of ***Catholic Archives***, should be addressed to the Editor: Dr Jonathan Bush, 6 Brookside, Witton Gilbert, DH7 6RS, from whom details of current prices and discounts may be obtained.