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Emancipation & Renewal: English Catholicism in the Nineteenth Century

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EMANCIPATION & RENEWAL

ENGLISH CATHOLICISM IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

by

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ABSTRACT

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Old Dominion University, 1982
Director: Dr. Norman H. Pollock

English Catholics faced great difficulties and divisions in the nineteenth century. The chief problems were obtaining civil rights and the right to provide their children with a religious education, prejudice, the restoration of the hierarchy for more efficient government, and the split between Ultramontanes and Liberals. The influx of Irish added to these problems.

This thesis is concerned only with the English Catholics and those Irish Catholics living in England. The "Irish Question" is not dealt with, as the Irish Catholics had different problems and needs than their English brethern. The major emphasis is the prejudice encountered by English Catholics and the restoration of the hierarchy.

PREFACE

The Emancipation of English Roman Catholics was a long slow process. An attitude of toleration was necessary in the country before the penal laws which had been passed against them could be eased in severity or removed. Not until the 1820s did it appear that Catholic emancipation had a chance of passing parliament. Finally in 1829 parliament passed a bill returning to English Catholics the civil rights they had lost during the reigns of Elizabeth I, James I, and Charles II. This preface will survey some of the major penal laws against the Catholics. It must be noted that in England the Catholic question was often intertwined with the status, condition, and problems of Ireland and many Englishmen believed it to be chiefly an Irish question. Only the English Catholic question will be taken up and dealt with in the first chapter.

Penal laws against English Catholics were first enacted in the reign of Elizabeth I, a time when the Church of England was taking its structured form and England was fighting an undeclared war against Philip II of Spain. Most Elizabethan Englishmen regarded Philip as a despot and Catholicism as a means of enslavement to the Spanish King and the Pope. Political considerations also played their part in the enactment of penal laws against English Catholics. The Tudor dynasty's grasp on the English throne was not so firm as it might have been and

when Mary I, Elizabeth's predecessor, attempted to return England to Catholicism, the nation reacted with fear and fury. Her marriage to Philip II fueled these two emotions and Mary's death in 1558 was a relief to many Englishmen.

Not all Englishmen were ecstatic about Elizabeth's reign, however. There were several plots against her during her reign. One, to replace her with her cousin, Mary, Queen of Scots. Mary's Catholicism caused the government to doubt English Catholics' loyalty. One of Elizabeth's first religious acts was the 1559 Act of Uniformity which set the use of the 1552 Anglican Book of Common Prayer as the official Anglican liturgy. The act set penalties for not using the book or for speaking in derogation of the book or its contents.[1]

In 1570 Pope Pius V published a Papal Bull denouncing Elizabeth I as an enemy of Catholicism and declaring her deprived of the throne. The bull also absolved her citizens of any duty to obey her and urged them not to obey. Those who continued to obey her "we do include in the like sentence of anathema."[2] The bull meant that all English Catholics might be potential traitors and so resulted in more anti-Catholic penal laws.

Several important acts were passed during the years 1581 to 1602 designed to tighten the existing laws against Catholics and create new ones. The most important of these were: the Act of 1851, which forbade reconciliation with Rome; the Act of 1585, directed

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[1]Henry S. Bettenson, ed., Documents of the Christian Church, 2d ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1963), p. 333.

[2]J. R. Tanner, ed., Tudor Constitutional Documents, 3d ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1951), p. 146.

against Catholic priests in England; the Act of 1593 against "Popish Recusants"; and the Act of 1602, again directed against Catholic priests, especially Jesuits, whose success in England in serving English Catholics and converting others alarmed the government. With these acts it was illegal to assist Catholicism in England or to convert Englishmen. Anyone found guilty of either of these actions would suffer the penalties of high treason. This same penalty was applicable to anyone convicted of being a Catholic. Those who aided a Catholic--priest or layman--would be guilty of misprision of treason. Non-attendance at Anglican services resulted in a £20 fine per month and if continued for a year, that person would have to post at least a £200 bond for good behavior.[3] The Act of 1602 banned all Catholic priests from England and banished those in England at the time.

The Act of 1585 was directed against Catholic priests in England and forbade them to enter England. If already in England, it forbade them to stay longer than forty days. The English Catholics in seminaries abroad were ordered to return home and take an oath of loyalty to Elizabeth and the Anglican Church. Those who stayed abroad were considered guilty of high treason. Families who sent their children abroad to seminaries were fined £100 per child; those sending students abroad or sending money to aid such students were guilty of praemunire; while those who knew of the location of a Catholic priest and did not reveal such location were fined and imprisoned.[4] The Act of 1593 was against all English Catholics--priest or layman. Known

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[3]Ibid., p. 153.

[4]G. W. Prothero, ed., Select Statutes and Other Constitutional Documents--Elizabeth I and James I (Oxford; reprint ed., Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1963), pp. 83-86.

Catholic recusants or those convicted of non-attendance at Anglican services had to remain at home and were forbidden to travel more than five miles from there. Names and notification of travel were to be given to the local minister and constables to be forwarded to the Justices of the Peace. The penalty for disobedience was forfeiture to the crown for life of all lands and goods as well as rents and annuities.[5]

English Catholics' status fluctuated during the reigns of the Stuart rulers. During the reign of James I several new penal laws were enacted. Two of these were enacted in 1606. The first required annual attendance at an Anglican service and reception of communion. Refusal resulted in a £20 fine the first year, £40 the second, and £60 each year thereafter. In addition, the king could seize two-thirds of the recusant's land until his return to the Anglican Church. Those who practiced the Catholic faith or converted anyone to Catholicism were guilty of high treason. The second act established rewards for informants giving names of those attending or officiating at a Mass. The informer received one-third of the convicted recusant's money, goods, and property or £150--whichever sum was lower. Catholics were forbidden entrance to any building where the king or heir to the throne resided on penalty of a £100 fine. Catholics living in or within ten miles of London were subject to the same fine.[6]

This same act closed off almost all the professions to Catholics; positions in common law, medical positions, court and government

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[5]Tanner, pp. 160-61.

[6]J. R. Tanner, ed., Constitutional Documents of the Reign of James I (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1952), pp. 89, 92, 94-95.

positions in local and national government, military officerships--Catholics were now barred from all of these and were fined £100 if they defied the ban. This act also struck at Catholic families. A convicted female recusant married to a Protestant forfeited two-thirds of her jointure and dowry and could not inherit under her husband's will, while the same ban against inheritance applied to Catholic men married to Protestant women. Catholics who inherited goods or property could not receive them. They were held by the nearest Protestant relative until the recusants return to the Anglican Church and this same relative acted as guardian for the recusant's children.[7]

Penal laws continued to be enacted until the revolution in the middle of the seventeenth century, although not always enforced. The Restoration Settlement saw a spate of anti-Catholic laws--the Conventicle Act, the Test and Corporation Acts, and the Act of 1678 which barred Catholics from parliament.[8] Again, these were not always enforced. What they did was to contribute to the English Catholics' uncertainty of just where they fit into English life.

The Corporation Act of 1661 demanded oaths of loyalty, allegiance, and supremacy from all those holding municipal or corporation positions as well as annual reception of Anglican communion. Refusal resulted in immediate dismissal. The Conventicle Act forbade any gathering for religious purposes other than in an Anglican Church--especially if there were more than five non-family members present or

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[7]Ibid., pp. 97-102.

[8]J. P. Kenyon, ed., The Stuart Constitution (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1966), pp. 460-66.

more than five people where there was no residence. The fine was 5s. for the first offense and 10s. for each offense thereafter.[9]

The Test Act of 1673 demanded oaths of allegiance and supremacy and denial of belief in transubstantiation, an important element of the Catholic faith. This was demanded of all who held civil, military, crown, or government positions. It also applied to all in the service of Charles II or the Duke of York (the heir to the throne) who lived in or within thirty miles of the cities of Westminster and London.[10]

The last Stuart penal law was enacted in 1678. This act required all members of parliament to take the oaths provided for the Test Act. The members of parliament also had to forswear various beliefs of the Catholic faith. The act was extended to cover all future members of parliament and those who refused to take the oath were banned from the royal presence.[11]

One of the last penal laws was enacted in 1700. This act offered a £100 reward for discovery of a Catholic priest. The priest might suffer permanent imprisonment.[12] Marriages were illegal unless they were first performed in an Anglican Church then in a Catholic

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[9]Bettenson, pp. 415-16.

[10]S. J. Ehler and J. B. Morrall, eds., Church and State Through the Centuries (Westminster, Maryland: The Newman Press, 1954), pp. 213-15.

[11]H. W. C. Davies, "Catholic Emancipation," Chapter 19 of the Cambridge Modern History, vol. 10, ed., A. W. Ward & W. G. Prothero, et al. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1934; reprint ed., Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1966), p. 621.

chapel.[13] To Catholics, the marriage first had to take place in the Catholic chapel to have validity in the eyes of the church. Many Catholic marriages were thus invalid under either British law or Catholic dogma.

As the ideas of the Enlightenment spread, the penal laws lost much of their force. Many Englishmen felt that the small number of Catholics in England were harmless and thus should be left in peace. Some Catholic relief bills showed promise of a new and more tolerant attitude in parliament in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. The Relief Act of 1778 allowed Catholics to enter the military and removed some legislation against Catholic priests. It also allowed Catholics to hold long leases and hold landed property once again.[14] One must remember that the right to enter the armed forces was granted during the war with the American colonies and was thus granted for the government's benefit not the Catholics' benefit. The Relief Act of 1791 removed some more restrictions against Catholics and gave them entrance to the professions. It also permitted Catholics to own schools and chapels and granted them admission to the Bar.[15] Under the terms of the relief acts, Catholics swore an oath of allegiance and support for the Hanoverian succession. They denied

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[13]Owen Chadwick, The Victorian Church, vol. 1, 2d ed. (London: Adam & Charles Black, 1970), p. 143.

[14]John Bossy, The English Catholic Community, 1570-1850 (London: Darton, Longman & Todd, 1975), p. 330; Davies, p. 626; and New Catholic Encyclopedia, s.v. "Catholic Emancipation" by R. D. Edwards (New York: McGraw Hill, 1967), p. 293.

[15]New Catholic Encyclopedia, p. 294; and Davies, p. 626.

temporal authority for the pope within Great Britain and denied the legality of killing or breaking faith with heretics.[16]

Although the Catholics obtained some relief from the penal laws, they still lacked their civil rights. Attempts were made to remedy this situation but the issue had not yet gained enough supporters in parliament to succeed. About thirty years had to pass before English Catholics could obtain their civil rights and once again be considered both English and Catholic.

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[16] New Catholic Encyclopedia, p. 293.

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INTRODUCTION

The nineteenth century saw English Catholicism's "coming of age"--a process accompanied by the usual growing pains, struggles, sorrows, and triumphs of growth and achievement. The English Catholics began the nineteenth century in a struggle for emancipation--complete religious and civil freedom--denied them since the days of Elizabeth I. The penal laws not only deprived them of their rights but also caused Catholics to go underground--Catholicism was illegal in England from 1558 to 1829. English Catholics formed a quiet, tightly-knit group. This was a necessity, particularly in areas where there were few Catholics or many hostile Protestants.

Catholics gained emancipation in 1829 but far from solving all of their problems more were created. Emancipation brought in its wake the problem of adjusting to a "brave new world" after centuries of burrowing for cover. Some Catholics were uncertain of their new role and not so sure that this new horizon was so desirable after all. Centuries of fear and conditioning had to be overcome by the Catholics. Catholics hoped that emancipation would allow them to enter the mainstream of English life. Some were not prepared for the maelstrom which that hope entailed.

English Catholics faced a serious difficulty with the division and dissension within their community. The split developed between the

Ultramontanes on one side and the Liberals on the other, sometimes supported by the moderates. The Ultramontanes stood for strong central authority from Rome, rigid adherence to all Roman forms, customs, institutions, and abolishment of everything that smacked of "Englishness." The Liberals stood for less authoritarianism by Rome and freedom to explore the new philosophies in education, history, science, theology, and biblical studies and criticism. The moderates were less often noticed but probably contained the bulk of English Catholics. Its most prominent member was John Henry Newman. The moderates fitted in between the two extremes--acknowledging Rome's authority in some matters but believing in more freedom in areas not directly related to Catholic dogmas. They also shared with the Liberals a wish for more scope within the church for the laity.

A further split occurred with the arrival of hordes of Irish immigrants, many of whom sought to escape the misery and death of the Great Famine. Religion was the only bond between the English and Irish Catholics, a bond too frail to survive the prejudice, suspicion, and misunderstandings on both sides. The Irish suffered from the prejudice of the English Catholics as well as the English Protestants. English Catholics' sufferings from Protestant prejudice and hostility did not cause English and Irish Catholics to join forces. English Catholics shared too many of the Protestants' bias towards the Irish to contemplate such a "disgraceful alliance."

Education continued to be a problem for English Catholics throughout most of the nineteenth century as it had been since the Reformation. A specifically Catholic education was illegal in England until 1780 and there were few schools to provide education for the

poor. When the government began the granting of funds to support denominational schools, Catholics waited ten years to receive their share of the grants.

The ban on attendance at Oxford and Cambridge Universities created an additional educational problem for English Catholics. Cambridge allowed attendance but not graduation while Oxford barred even attendance. However, even when Oxford and Cambridge opened their doors to Catholics in 1854 there were few takers. Many Catholic bishops, fearing the universities' skepticism and Anglican influence, refused to permit Catholic youths to attend in most cases. They obtained a ban from Rome in the 1860s on attendance but some defied it, apparently with little harm. Henry Edward Manning, as Archbishop of Westminster, attempted to found an English Catholic University in the Kensington area of London--a project that collapsed within ten years of its inception.

The restoration of the Catholic hierarchy in England in 1850 brought both joy and fear to the Catholics as well as fear and dislike in the Protestants. The restoration meant that English Catholics had regular church government and no longer under missionary status while regulating its government. The restoration also created new problems for English Catholics. The Protestant reaction of fear and fury awakened frightening echoes of the Gordon Riots of 1780 for the Catholics. The Protestant irrationality and fear found action in massive protest meetings, petitions and addresses to the queen, riots, and anti-Catholic legislation. The reaction to the hierarchy's restoration made many Catholics fear a necessary return to the old quiet ways in

hiding which they thought were past. Although this did not occur, it did drive the Catholics into a more defensive attitude.

This thesis will explore the problems which English Catholics faced in the nineteenth century. What were these problems and the reasons for them? How did the problems affect the English Catholics and how were they overcome? What made the nineteenth century English Catholicism's "coming of age?" These are the issues to be discussed in this thesis.

CHAPTER ONE

ENGLISH ROMAN CATHOLICS: 1780-1829

Roman Catholics were a small group of people in late eighteenth-century England but they were not ignored. The English had distrusted and sometimes hated Roman Catholicism since the reign of Mary I. Although the penal laws were not always enforced, the knowledge of their existence seemed to comfort many Englishmen while it frightened many Roman Catholics. This chapter will attempt an overview of the Roman Catholics in eighteenth-century England--their numbers, institutions, and way of life. It will also cover the passage of the Catholic Emancipation Bill which occurred in 1829.

It has been estimated that in 1770 there were approximately 200 Roman Catholics who were heads of landowning families.[1] In 1780 Joseph Berrington, a Catholic priest, wrote the State and Behavior of English Catholics from the Revolution to the Year 1780. In this work he estimated the number of Roman Catholics at 60,000 out of a population of six million--about 1 percent of the population--with a fairly wide dispersion throughout England. Some counties had very few Catholics. The most numerous cluster was in London and the next largest in

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[1]John Bossy, The English Catholic Community, 1570-1850 (London: Darton, Longman & Todd, 1975), p. 325.

Lancashire. There were substantial numbers in the northern counties of Staffordshire, Durham, Yorkshire, and Northumberland as well as in some of the large manufacturing towns.[2]

Berrington stated that with the exception of Lancashire and the manufacturing towns, the chief concentration of Catholics was "in the neighborhood of the old families of that persuasion," many of whom were servants and their families.[3] There were 27 Catholic members of the nobility and about 150 members of the gentry. Among the important Catholic peers were the Duke of Norfolk, the Earl of Shrewsbury, Lord Arundel, and Lord Petre. Most of the baronets and gentry did not have estates comparable to some of the Catholic peers or to many of the Protestant nobility and gentry.[4]

Around 1800 the English Catholic population was estimated to have remained at the 1780 level.[5] In 1813 there were 27 Catholic members of the nobility and about 500 Roman Catholic gentry. The gentry had estates varying in value from £1500 to £25,000 per year while the lower-class Catholics were found among the servants, laborers, little farmers, shopkeepers, and artisans.[6] The wealthy Catholics did enjoy some social freedom, although they were barred from participating in politics. The poor were not significant in politics and the

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[2]Joseph Berrington, quoted in Bernard Ward, The Dawn of the Catholic Emancipation, 2 vols. (London: Longmans, 1912), 1:8.

[3]Ibid.

[4]Ibid., 1:8-10.

[5]Ibid., 1:8.

[6]Bernard Ward, The Eve of Catholic Emancipation, 3 vols. (London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1912), 1:186-87.

"rooted prejudice and polished scepticism" of some of the upper class created a division in which the Catholic gentry were "divided politically from their Protestant equals and separated socially from their less fortunate co-religionists."[7] The Catholic country gentry were usually "left in peace as eccentrics, even when they might make papists out of their social inferiors."[8]

The Catholic population of England, prior to the nineteenth-century influx of Irish Catholics, was divided into two categories. The first were those families in northern counties, such as Lancashire and Staffordshire, that had remained Catholic since before the Reformation. The other consisted of noble and gentry families who remained Catholic. Many of these families' servants and tenants were Catholic and most had a chaplain. These families created a "little island of Catholicity amid the ocean of Protestantism."[9] Most remained on their estates and lived retired lives as country gentlemen. They were not anxious to draw attention to themselves or their religion so they stayed out of the public, although not the social life.[10]

One author believes that it was these islands which sustained English Catholicism from the Reformation to the Catholic Emancipation Act of 1829. "Without the gentry there would certainly have been Catholic recusants but I find it very difficult to believe that there

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[7]David Mathew, Catholicism in England 1535-1935, 2d ed. (London: Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1948), p. 140.

[8]J. Steven Watson, The Reign of George III, 1760-1815 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1960), p. 58.

[9]Elie Halevy, A History of the English People in the Nineteenth Century, 6 vols. (London: Ernest Benn, Ltd., 1960), Vol. 1; England in 1815, translated by E. I. Watkins and D. A. Barker, p. 471.

[10]Watson, p. 168.

would have been a Catholic community."[11] While this statement may be exaggerated, the Catholic gentry and nobility who formed the islands certainly provided continuity and communication for English Roman Catholics prior to 1829.

William Cobbett described the large majority of English Roman Catholics in 1821 as

> country gentlemen, closely akin in ideas and manners to their Protestant neighbours. They were equally attached to the throne, to the English traditions of self-government, equally opposed to every kind of bureaucracy. . . . To be sure, the Roman Catholic religion may in England, be considered as a gentleman's religion, it being the most ancient in the country.[12]

This was true to some extent in the eighteenth century also.

In the eighteenth century, however, young English Catholic gentlemen were

> cautioned when travelling, not to let their religion be known, for fear of personal abuse. If a more tolerant Protestant ventured to ask a Catholic to his house, he privately apologized to his guests for introducing a 'Papist' among them.[13]

Many of the upper-class Catholics tried to keep as low a religious profile as possible. Some even to the extent of total concealment.[14] The Catholic gentry and nobility were, for the most part, the great strongholds of English Catholicism until the Catholic Emancipation Act.[15] Although they could not make a career as a military officer,

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[11] Bossy, p. 181.

[12] William Cobbett, Rural Rides, October 30, 1821, quoted in Halevy, p. 472.

[13] W. J. Amhearst, The History of Catholic Emancipation from 1771 to 1829, vol. 1 (London: Kegan Paul, Trench & Co., 1886), p. 78.

[14] Ibid.

[15] John D. Gay, The Geography of Religion in England (London: Duckworth, 1971), p. 87.

politician, or in the professions they could still enjoy the same social life with their Protestant equals.[16]

By the late 1770s the government's attitude towards Catholics had changed. It regarded Catholics less as a hostile group and many had served in the military. The Relief Act of 1778 was a result of this mellowing and showed the government's decrease of fear from the small group of English Catholics. It became quickly apparent, however, that many Protestant Englishmen did not share the government's tolerant attitude.

On June 2, 1780, a mob gathered outside the House of Commons to present an anti-Catholic petition. The mob was led by Lord George Gordon, a Member of Parliament and President of the Protestant Association which believed that "to tolerate Popery is to be instrumental to the perdition of immortal souls" as well as bring God's wrath on the military and the prosperity and posterity of the country.[17] Members of parliament were harassed outside by the mob and feared for their lives. On the arrival of the military the members banded together and fled for their homes. The mob then turned to rioting and looting, burning Catholic chapels, and the homes and businesses of Catholics and their supporters.[18] The riots continued until the eighth of June with prisons attacked, burned, and prisoners released. The local government was paralyzed through fear or sympathy until George III held a cabinet meeting and issued a proclamation calling out the military.[19]

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[16]Ibid.

[17]Ernest E. Reynolds, The Roman Catholic Church in England and Wales: A Short History (Wheathampstead, England: Anthony Clarke Books, 1973), p. 314.

[18]Ibid., p. 315.

[19]Amhearst, pp. 131, 133.

The Gordon Riots caused Catholics to keep a low profile as did the Catholics' feeling of exclusion which was engendered by the penal laws. Looking back in 1850, John Henry Newman in his sermon "The Second Spring" gave a romanticized but poignant view of the eighteenth-century English Catholics' situation. The Catholics ceased to be a community but merely

> a few adherents of the Old Religion, moving silently and sorrowfully about, as memorials of what had been. . . . Who they were or what they did, or what was meant by calling them . . . Catholics, no one could tell. . . .[20]

In 1832 Charles Butler, a prominent Catholic much involved in the cause of Catholic emancipation, wrote his reminiscences of Catholic life in the eighteenth century. Their situation sank them so far below their rightful place in society that they hardly resembled free men when they met with their Protestant neighbors.[21]

Catholics did have supporters in their struggle for emancipation although few of those were members of the Anglican clergy. Those in the Anglican clergy who could calmly regard the issue of Catholic emancipation without the usual fear and prejudice were viewed as "eccentric and unreliable." During the struggle for emancipation the popular view saw "only one side to the 'Catholic question' . . . that it spelt danger."[22] Not many were unbiased or courageous enough to

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[20]John Henry Newman, "The Second Spring," Sermons Preached On Various Occasions (London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1904), pp. 171-72.

[21]Charles Butler, Catholic Magazine, January 1832, quoted in Ward, Dawn of Catholic Emancipation, 1:4.

[22]Bernard and Margaret Pawley, Rome and Canterbury Through Four Centuries (London: Mowbrays, 1974), p. 107.

support the Catholics and many did not support them because they truly believed that Catholics should not be emancipated.

One of the Anglican clerical supporters of toleration was Henry Bathurst, Bishop of Norwich, who often spoke in parliament for toleration of Catholics and Dissenters. In a speech in the House of Lords he objected to labeling Catholics and Dissenters as "grossly ignorant or willfully perverse" and the idea that they were not fit to be trusted with civil and military positions or could not be trusted on their oaths.[23]

Other supporters of Catholic emancipation were the editors and publishers of some English newspapers. The most important of those papers which supported Catholic emancipation was The Times of London. The Times devoted a number of articles to the subject particularly from 1827 to 1829. Many of the articles were scathing condemnations of parliament's refusal to pass Catholic emancipation.

After the failure of the 1827 Catholic Relief Bill, The Times said,

> . . . on one [the unsuccessful] side, we find arrayed all that the House of Commons contains, most conspicuous for wisdom, eloquence, Parliamentary experience, and historical research . . . on the other, with the exception of Mr. Peel and the MASTER of the ROLLS, not one individual of talent or reputation.[24]

Later that year The Times replied to those who claimed they were reluctant to be bullied by Catholics. The Times did not question their sincerity. The Times did, however, ask "why confound the essential and

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[23]Great Britain, Parliament, Hansard's Parliamentary Debates, Old Series, Vol. 20 (1811):667.

[24]The Times (London), 13 March 1827, p. 4.

most obvious differences between a sacrifice of honour for personal safety and of a partial for a general good?"[25]

The Times levelled scathing attacks on the opponents of the Catholic Emancipation Act of 1829. In a blast at some anti-Catholic members of parliament, The Times proclaimed:

> At present there is hardly a booby to be found at large, who, if he can blubber forth a few words or sentences about Protestant establishment, coronation oath, and that dubious animal the Pope of Rome, does not immediately begin to think himself as great a man as Luther or Calvin.[26]

The Times described the Catholic Emancipation Bill as "the great law of religious liberty—the Magna Charta of 1829."[27] The Times believed that the bill's result would be that

> the Catholic will stand erect beside his Protestant brother instead of crouching at his feet, and resent and punish, as an outrage upon himself, what he would formerly have rejoiced in as an insult or a mortification to his determined enemy.[28]

Although The Times could not, of course, have gained Catholic emancipation singlehandedly, its support added to that in parliament for Catholic emancipation and forced the government to begin reconsidering its position. In 1827 the opposition's skill and the government's failure to realize its implications brought the Catholic emancipation issue to the forefront of politics and popular opinion with a motion for the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts.

In April 1827, responding to a request of the Committee of the Three Denominations (Baptist, Congregationalist, and Unitarian), Lord

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[25]Ibid., 16 June 1827, p. 4.

[26]Ibid., 4 March 1829, p. 4.

[27]Ibid., 6 April 1829, p. 4.

[28]Ibid., 13 April 1829, p. 4.

John Russell introduced a motion to repeal the Test and Corporation Acts for Protestant Dissenters. When Canning became Prime Minister that year, he let it be known that he was not in favor of repeal at that time. Russell therefore withdrew the motion in June.[29] But when Canning died in August, an obstacle was removed from the path of repeal.

The motion was reintroduced by Lord John Russell on February 26, 1828. It requested the house to go into committee to examine the question of repeal. It passed by a majority of forty-four votes. Among those who opposed it were Peel, Huskinsson, and Lord Palmerston. Two days later the government met to decide on its policy towards repeal. It was decided not to oppose repeal. However, a proviso was added to protect the Anglican Church from possible future parliamentary attacks by Dissenters who had to swear not to use their authority to injure, weaken, or deprive the Anglican Church of any of its rights and privileges.[30] The bill passed and became law in May 1828. The Protestant Dissenters suffered less than Catholics since parliament had been passing an annual indemnity law protecting elected Dissenters since the seventeenth century.[31] Once they secured safeguards, the Anglican clergy's worry over danger from Dissenters diminished since a massive reform "of Parliamentary and municipal representation" would

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[29]Elie Halevy, A History of the English People in the Nineteenth Century, 6 vols. (London: Ernest Benn, Ltd., 1960), Vol. 2; The Liberal Awakening 1815-1830, translated by E. I. Watkins and D. A. Barker, pp. 264-65.

[30]Ibid., p. 266.

[31]Anthony Wood, The Nineteenth Century in Britain (New York: McKay, 1960), p. 73.

be necessary before the Dissenters could really use the influence and wealth of their large numbers.[32]

Repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts made many Protestant Dissenters more willing to support Catholic emancipation. The Unitarians had issued a formal resolution in 1825 in favor of Catholic emancipation.[33] The Committee of Three passed a resolution in support of emancipation in January 1829.[34] Catholics favored repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts hoping that if those Acts were repealed, their disabilities might be removed next. In a letter written to Thomas Moore on March 31 Lord John Russell said:

> It is really a gratifying thing to force the enemy to give up his first line, that none but Churchmen are worthy to serve the State, and I trust that we shall soon make him give up the second, that none but Protestants are. Peel is a very pretty hand at hauling down his colours.[35]

The exclusion of Dissenters from certain civil liberties was considered by some Anglicans to be as integral a part of the British Constitution as the exclusion of Catholics. Once the penal laws against the Dissenters were repealed, repeal of the exclusions against Catholics was likely to follow.[36]

The final surge for Catholic emancipation started in 1828. There were several grounds for argument by those who opposed emancipation. They claimed that Catholics were taught that they need not

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[32]George Macaulay Trevelyan, British History in the Nineteenth Century and After, 2d ed. (London: Longmans, 1937), p. 217.

[33]Halevy, The Liberal Awakening 1815-1830, p. 264.

[34]Ibid., p. 266.

[35]Ibid.

[36]G. I. T. Machin, The Catholic Question in English Politics, 1820-1830 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1964), p. 115.

keep faith with heretics and they feared Catholics' supposed divided allegiance. If Catholics acknowledged that the pope had a temporal authority, this would conflict with the king's authority.[37] Opponents of Catholic emancipation felt that the king would not have as much power and influence over his Catholic subjects if this were the case.[38] The belief that Catholics were not required to keep faith with heretics was entangled with an absurd notion that they were encouraged to "depose and murder Protestant Kings."[39] For these reasons any Catholic who wished to enter public life had to swear an oath against many tenets of the Catholic faith. Some Protestants believed that Catholics could receive a papal dispensation by which they could take the oath but not be bound by it in their consciences. The supporters of Catholic emancipation pointed out in stringent terms that the Catholics had not entered public life because they refused to take the oath and be bound by it. This would not be the case if there really was the so-called "papal dispensation." This meant that Catholics were excluded from public life by the very oath they were supposedly not bound by.[40]

The same supporter who advanced the above rebuttal--Sydney Smith--advanced other answers to the opponents of Catholic emancipation. Smith contended that "if the state is in danger, that is because by penal laws and social slights we alienate large sections of loyal

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[37]Ibid., p. 15.

[38]Ursula Henriques, Religious Toleration in England, 1787-1833 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1961), p. 149.

[39]Ibid.

[40]Ibid., pp. 152-53; and Sydney Smith, The Works of the Reverend Sydney Smith (Philadelphia: Carey & Hart, 1844), Vol. 3; Letters of Peter Plymley, pp. 300-1.

citizens."[41] Smith also said:

> When a country squire hears of an ape, his first feeling is to give it nuts and apples; when he hears of a Dissenter, his immediate impulse is to commit it to the County Jail, to shave its head, to alter its customary food, and to have it privately whipped.[42]

The principal argument of Catholic emancipation's supporters was that it would solve Ireland's problems--they hoped. The Irish Catholics saw this as only one part of the solution. The Irish Catholic grievances were "basically social and economic, and ultimately nationalist."[43] The position of the English Catholics was summed up in a speech by Charles Blunt, a leading Catholic lawyer, to the British Catholic Association in November 1828:

> I ask unconditional, unqualified, unrestricted Emancipation, because I do not acknowledge the justice or expediency of imposing any terms upon us. The imposing of conditional terms is unjust, because that implies distrust and we do not deserve it. . . . If aught may be required from us . . . that is inconsistent with our religious principles, we will reject the treacherous gift with scorn . . . if . . . the Government shall . . . tender to us rights of British subjects . . . consistent with a strict adherence to our principles, we will accept . . . with gratitude. . . .[44]

Wellington and Peel were the first members of the cabinet to realize the urgent need for a settlement of the Catholic emancipation issue. Wellington did not violently oppose Catholic emancipation but preferred to leave the issue alone. In 1828 Wellington informed Peel of his conviction that Catholic emancipation was a necessity and asked Peel's help in getting a bill for emancipation passed through parlia-

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[41] Smith, p. 303.

[42] Ibid., p. 326.

[43] Machin, pp. 11, 18.

[44] Bernard Ward, The Eve of Catholic Emancipation, 3 vols. (London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1912), 3:243.

ment. One factor in this change of opinion was the worsening state of affairs in Ireland.

In 1828 Wellington offered Edward Vesey Fitzgerald, M. P. for County Clare and a supporter of emancipation, a cabinet position as President of the Board of Trade. This necessitated Fitzgerald's running for re-election but the government anticipated no trouble with that. But the Catholic Association, a powerful force in Irish politics, declared war on Fitzgerald and the government for the government's failure to promise emancipation.[45] Daniel O'Connell, the leading Irish Catholic politician, was eligible to run for parliament although he could not take his seat if elected. O'Connell ran and won. This election created a dangerous precedent in future Irish elections. An Irish seat in the House of Commons vacated for any reason--cabinet appointment or a peerage creation--would require an election with similar results to those of County Clare. The Irish were becoming more restive and it was uncertain whether even O'Connell could restrain them from riot and rebellion. Wellington did not wish to face a civil war in Ireland. His decision to grant Catholic emancipation was therefore based on political not religious tolerance. His intentions were to "prevent democratic upheaval, to preserve the Union, and to remove the threat to Tory government. His main consideration was the restoration of order."[46]

Robert Peel had agreed with Wellington's opposition to Catholic emancipation but they eventually reached the same conclusions on its necessity. Both saw that Catholic emancipation was the only alterna-

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[45]Halevy, Liberal Awakening, 1815-1830, p. 268.

[46]Machin, p. 213.

tive to the frightening possibility of civil war in Ireland but Peel's ideas on Catholic emancipation were much more liberal than Wellington's. While both agreed on the necessity of making a "choice between the different kinds and different degrees of evil," Peel deplored the fact that by letting the emancipation issue drift, the government was being "paralyzed . . . upon many occasions peculiarly requiring promptitude and energy of action."[47] Peel felt that if the government was going to settle the issue, it had best be done thoroughly--by complete emancipation. He believed that the English Catholics' civil position should be "equality, equal capacity with other classes for the enjoyment of the offices, and the distinctions of the state" although there would be exclusion from some offices.[48]

Wellington and Peel's next struggle was convincing the king that granting Catholic emancipation was a necessary step. Wellington, Peel, and the Lord Chancellor discussed the issue of Catholic emancipation with King George IV's permission at the beginning of August 1828. The three men submitted their conclusions--all agreed on the necessity of granting emancipation--to George IV on August 7. The king agreed, with reluctance, to allow the entire cabinet to discuss the issue but emphasized that he would not commit himself to their view of granting emancipation.[49]

Along with battling the king Wellington also had to gain the support of parliament. Wellington and his cabinet decided to keep the emancipation plan secret in order not to antagonize the ultra Tories

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[47]Ibid., pp. 232-33.

[48]Ibid., pp. 233-34.

[49]Ibid., p. 242.

or to give the Whigs a head start in trying to beat the government in bringing in a bill. Although there were some suspicions the secret, for the most part, was well kept by the cabinet until it was revealed in the speech from the throne which opened the new parliamentary session on February 5, 1829.

The cabinet began discussing the terms of Catholic emancipation on January 18, 1829. They took over a week to determine the basic lines on which the settlement was to be drawn. Even then some details were left to be decided later. The general proposals were drafted and submitted to the king before the end of January. George IV gave his reluctant consent. The final text of the speech was read to the king and cabinet on February 2 and the king expressed his satisfaction with the speech.[50]

In that speech the king recommended that parliament should review the penal laws against Catholics. He asked parliament to consider if removal of the disabilities could be done while ensuring the "full and permanent" security of both church and state and exhorted parliament to discuss the issue the "temper and the moderation which will best ensure the successful issue of your deliberations."[51] His plea was ignored by most members of parliament.

Peel was to introduce the Catholic Emancipation Bill in the House of Commons on March 5 but George IV began to waver in his support of the bill towards the end of February and conferred several times with Wellington. The king based his opposition on the principles of his father, George III, who had refused to even consider Catholic

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[50]Ibid., pp. 160-61.

[51]Great Britain, Parliament, Hansard's Parliamentary Debates, Vol. 20 (1829):14-15.

relief; George IV declared that the bill would entail a change in the Oath of Supremacy which he would not consent to.[52] On February 25 Wellington received the impression that the king would revoke his support of the bill and he informed George IV that if this was so, the government would resign.[53] Wellington suggested that the king form a ministry of Ultra Tories, at which the king "shed tears, said the Duke was the only Minister he could or would have in whom he had any confidence and ended by giving way."[54]

Wellington thought that this interview settled the matter. However, in a meeting with Wellington, Peel, and the Lord Cancellor, George IV told them that he would not consent to the bill's introduction. At the end of the interview Wellington and the cabinet resigned under the impression that they had been dismissed and returned to London expecting the king to form an Ultra Tory administration. The king again reversed his stand and sent Wellington a note at midnight stating that he would support and consent to the bill.[55]

The Catholic Relief Bill had forty sections. The first repealed oaths which were against tenets of the Catholic faith. Catholics would, however, have to swear an oath:

> I, A. B., do sincerely . . . swear, That I will be faithful and bear true allegiance to His Majesty King George IV, . . . And I . . . promise to maintain . . . the Succession of the Crown . . . which . . . is and stands limited to the Princess Sophia . . . and the Heirs of her Body, being Protestants . . . I do renounce . . . that Princes excommunicated or deprived by the

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[52]H. W. C. Davies, "Catholic Emancipation," Chapter XIX of the Cambridge Modern History, vol. 10, ed., A. W. Ward & W. G. Prothero, et al. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1934; reprint ed., Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1966), p. 652.

[53]Machin, p. 171.

[54]Ibid.

[55]Ibid., p. 172.

> Pope . . . may be deposed or murdered by their Subjects; or by any Person whatsoever . . . I . . . do not believe that the Pope of Rome, or any other Foreign Prince . . . hath . . . any Temporal . . . Power . . . within this realm . . . I do . . . disclaim . . . any Intention to subvert the present Church Establishment . . . And . . . swear That I never will exercise any Privilege . . . to disturb or weaken the Protestant Religion or Protestant Government in the United Kingdom. . . .[56]

The bill enabled Catholics to vote and to sit in parliament, hold appointments under the crown, hold offices in municipal corporations--after swearing the Oath of Allegiance. The oath had to be taken one month before entering parliament and three months before taking crown positions. The oath also had to be taken by all Catholic military and naval officers.[57]

The bill did not allow Catholic men to attend universities. No Catholic could hold the following offices: Guardian or Regent of Great Britain, Lord High Chancellor, Lord Keeper, Lord Commissioner of the Great Seal, Lord Lieutenant, or Lord Deputy of Ireland. Nor could Catholics hold any Anglican Church offices or offices in the universities or public schools.[58]

Roman Catholic priests, however, were barred from sitting in parliament. They also could not practice their faith except in private homes or in Catholic chapels. Nor could they wear their habits in public. Foreign born priests could be banished for life. All priests had to have licenses for residence in England and had to register their residence with the clerk of the town in which they resided. It was

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[56]S. J. Ehler and J. B. Morrall, eds., Church and State Through the Centuries (Westminster, Maryland: The Newman Press, 1954), pp. 257-58.

[57]Ibid., pp. 258-59, 261, 264-65.

[58]Ibid., pp. 260-63, 266.

illegal to admit anyone to a religious order and anyone so admitted could be banished.[59]

The bill was passed by the House of Commons on March 30 by a vote of 320 to 142, a majority of 178 votes. It was then sent to the House of Lords where it was passed on April 10 by a vote of 213 to 109, a majority of 104 votes. Among those who voted for the bill were three Royal Dukes--Clarence (who became William IV the next year), Sussex, and the Duke of Gloucester and Edinburgh. Ten bishops voted for the bill--Chester, Derry, Kildare, Lichfield and Coventry, Llandaff, Norwich, Oxford, Rochester, St. Davids, and Winchester.[60] The king signed the bill on April 13, 1829 and it went into effect ten days later.

Catholic Emancipation was not conceded because of a moral conviction of its justice; political necessity compelled it as the lesser of two evils. It was granted to give the Catholics their civil rights as a means of protecting the government, the Protestant succession, and the Anglican Church as well as the Union with Ireland. Nevertheless, in spite of the motivation, Catholics had at last achieved the basic civil liberties of Englishmen, and belated liberation at last admitted them to the professions and most government service on a basis of equality with Protestant fellow subjects. In addition, it also led to the "Second Spring"--the revival of English Catholicism in the mid-nineteenth century.

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[59] Ibid., pp. 266-70.

[60] Great Britain, Parliament, New Series, Vol. 20. cols. 1633, 1638; and Vol. 21, cols, 694-95.

CHAPTER TWO

THE SECOND SPRING AND A HINT OF WINTER

In his noted sermon "The Second Spring," from which the title of this chapter is taken, John Henry Newman said, "the past has returned, the dead live . . . the English Church was, and the English Church was not and the English Church is once again." He waxed prophetic near the end of the sermon.

> Have we any right to take it strange, if . . . the springtime of the Church should turn out to be an English spring, an uncertain, anxious time of hope and fear, of joy and suffering, -- of bright promise and budding hopes, yet withal, of keen blasts, and cold showers and sudden storms?[1]

Newman's sermon was prophetic about both the hopes and the storms. The English Catholic Church's Second Spring included bigotry by Protestants, surprising in both its existence and intensity, as well as prejudice by English Catholics towards the Irish Catholics who were forced to flee Ireland during the Great Famine.

The Catholic Emancipation Act allowed English Catholics to enter more fully into the mainstream of English life but not all of them were quick or eager to take advantage of that freedom. They needed time to adjust to this strange new world as the habits and attitudes of centuries could not be changed in a few years. Before the

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[1]John Henry Newman, "The Second Spring," in Sermons Preached On Various Occasions (London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1904), pp. 169, 179-80.

adjustment occurred the English Catholic body grew rapidly due to large numbers of immigrant Irish Catholics as well as Anglican converts, creating difficulties within the English Catholic body. This chapter will concentrate on the increase of English Catholics, the difference in attitudes and practices of old and new Catholics, and the conflict between them.

In 1829 the English Catholic population was approximately 200,000.[2] England was divided in four, later eight, Apostolic Vicariates. Maps showing the vicariates and a list of the areas they comprised are included as appendices. England did not have Catholic dioceses or bishops, as the Papal Curia considered it still missionary country and therefore, under the direct control of the Congregation of Propaganda. The Vicars Apostolic sent reports to Rome in 1837 with statistics on the numbers of Catholics in their districts. There were 157,314, with 146,068 in metropolitan London and 11,246 in the rural areas. There were only 126 priests--71 in London, 55 in rural areas; and 45 seminary students in England and 20 studying abroad in Rome, Paris, Lisbon, and Valladolid, Spain. Eighteen conversions were recorded for 1836.[3]

Early in the nineteenth century the mainstay of the English Catholic community was still the country gentry. Gradually the century saw a change in leadership as

> congregations of labourers, handicraftsmen, tradesmen, the simply poor, their wives and children, topped by a stratum of business

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[2]M. P. Carthy, Catholicism in English Speaking Lands (New York: Hawthorne Books, 1963), p. 36.

[3]William M. Brady, The Episcopal Succession in England, Scotland and Ireland (Rome: Tipografia Della Pace, 1877; reprint ed., New York: Gregg International Publishers, Ltd., 1971), p. 147.

> and professional families, replaced in the center of the scene congregations of gentry, farmers, agricultural labourers and rural craftsmen.[4]

As the century progressed parliament passed repeals of the anti-Catholic penal laws with acts such as the Act of 1833, which placed Catholic chapels and schools on the legal level of Protestant Dissenters. An Act of 1837 made legal the marriages of Catholics in their own churches and in 1871 the oath required of Catholics by the Emancipation Act was abolished.[5] An Act of 1853 gave the state control over charitable donations but excluded Catholics from this. Another act passed the same year gave Catholic donations "distinct and preferential" treatment.[6] Acts passed in 1866 and 1868 allowed Catholic children in workhouses to be reared as Catholics and allowed Catholic prisoners to attend their own services and receive visits from their priests.[7]

Catholicism's chief centers in England were London, Liverpool, and Birmingham while Yorkshire was the area of greatest Catholic growth.[8] What must be realized is that the large majority of Catholics in England were in the lower and lower middle-classes and the poor. Some gentry provided money for church needs but the poor provided most

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[4]John Bossy, The English Catholic Community, 1570-1850 (London: Darton, Longman & Todd, 1975), p. 298.

[5]Viscount Fitzalan, "Catholics in Public Life," in Catholic Emancipation 1829-1929 (London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1929), pp. 145-46.

[6]Elie Halevy, A History of the English People in the Nineteenth Century, 6 vols. (New York: Barnes & Noble, 1961), Vol. 4; The Victorian Years 1841-1895, translated by E. I. Watkins, p. 372.

[7]K. S. Inglis, Churches and the Working Classes in Victorian England (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1963), p. 135.

[8]Owen Chadwick, The Victorian Church, vol. 1, 2d ed. (London: Adam & Charles Black, 1970), p. 401.

of the money to run the existing churches and to build new churches and schools--essentials for English Catholicism's growth and progression.[9]

English Catholics perceived two major problems in their "Second Spring"--greater toleration and sympathy by English Protestants, and responding "to the challenges and opportunities of the new age."[10] The problems were intensified by internal splits between the old Catholics and the converts, leading to the division between "ultramontane" and "liberal." Added to these stresses was the problem of assimilating the flood of Irish Catholic immigrants who had little in common with the English Catholics except their mutual faith.

> Except on questions of dogma, there was no obvious and single Catholic line . . . the record shows not only variety but inconsistency. In politics . . . Catholics were found in every group from extreme Tories to left-wing Socialists. . . . In social groups . . . Catholics were absorbed by the English class structure and . . . patterned their attitudes and behaviour on those of the class into which they were born or . . . entered. In ecclesiastical matters such as liturgy, many different points of view prevailed.[11]

The English Catholic community contended not only among itself but also with Protestant hostility and attitudes. According to Halevy, the Catholics had to overcome their long isolation from English life and find their own place in it. The Catholic working men felt themselves to be half-foreigners and disliked in England while the Catholic community as a whole "tended to put out prickles against its

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[9]Ernest E. Reynolds, The Roman Catholic Church in England and Wales: A Short History (Wheathampstead, England: Anthony Clarke Books, 1973), pp. 327-29.

[10]Josef L. Altholz, The Liberal Catholic Movement in England: The Rambler and Its Contributors, 1848-1864 (London: Burns & Oates, 1962), p. 2.

[11]Carthy, p. 109.

environment."[12] The rest of the Catholic body consisted of old Catholic aristocrats, their servants (in many cases), and converts who "knew themselves disapproved . . . by the main body of society."[13] Those least infected by this attitude were the hereditary English Catholics and those lay converts who "continued to live a useful life accepted by society."[14]

The old Catholics were those who maintained their faith during the persecutions. Their manor houses were usually the center of worship for the area and they often had Catholic servants and tenants. They were the mainstay of English Catholicism through the early nineteenth century. Later in the nineteenth century they made their boasts that they had kept English Catholicism alive and had supplied the martyrs and priests. They also sent their children abroad for education, since a Catholic education was illegal in England until the late eighteenth century. "These were the race of 'Old Catholics,' grown old . . . in the sacrifice and love of faith and conscience."[15]

These old Catholic claims were true, though they irritated some in the English Catholic community. They suffered and persevered through years of hardship and persecution, though resenting restrictions "imposed by law or their own bishops, but in spite of everything they succeeded in keeping their faith while remaining 'pure English'."[16]

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[12]Halevy, p. 373.

[13]Ibid.

[14]Ibid.

[15]Inglis, p. 133.

[16]Mary Dorothy Rose Leys, Catholics in England 1559-1829: A Social History (London: Longmans, Green & Co., Ltd., 1961), p. 213.

Some Catholics believed the false charge that the old English Catholics were more English than Catholic. They remained Catholic but many had no priest. Those who did were forced to worship in private remaining cut off from all aspects of continental Catholicism. In discussing the internal conflicts of English Catholics, it must be remembered that its "traditions . . . had not prepared the laity for the changes in needs and work that took place. Old habits from those days survived among them."[17] Many of these old Catholics were landowning gentry who lived quietly with no desire to proselytize their neighbors. They wished to live peacefully and were fearful of attracting attention or reviving anti-Catholic prejudice.[18]

The conversions to Catholicism in England which accompanied the Oxford Movement made a great stir. The converts created some anti-Catholic feeling but more importantly, brought up the question of their role in the Catholic church. John Henry Newman's conversion was probably the most discussed and criticized as he was prominent in both the Anglican and Catholic Churches in the course of his long life. Gladstone remarked that 1845, the year of Newman's conversion, marked "the greatest victory which the Church of Rome had gained since the Reformation," while Disraeli proclaimed it "a blow to England from which she yet reeled."[19] Edward Bouverie Pusey, one of Newman's great friends in the Anglican Church, claimed that all the Anglican converts

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[17]Chadwick, p. 403.

[18]Leonard E. Elliot-Binns, Religion in the Victorian Era, 2d ed. (London: Oxford University Press, 1964), p. 114.

[19]Paul Thureau-Dangin, The English Catholic Revival in the Nineteenth Century, 2 vols. (New York: Dutton & Co., 1915), 1:110, 279, 284.

had "deteriorated, except Newman, whose nature was so perfect that nothing--not even going over to Rome--could change him."[20] Of Newman's life in the Catholic church, Thureau-Dangin states Newman was responsible for many of the conversions to Catholicism.[21] It was Newman's own example and life that paved the way for many of those conversions.

The converts faced many problems of adjustment, particularly the married former clergymen. They renounced their Anglican livings before conversion but were barred from the Catholic priesthood. Those unmarried converts who aspired to the Catholic priesthood needed some training and preparation but study with young seminarians in the normal way created difficulties. Some married ex-clergymen faced even more of a problem. Richard Simpson, who became a leader of the English Catholic Liberal movement, was an Anglican who converted with his wife to Catholicism. All his training was "theological and clerical" creating an awkward position for him as a Catholic, since there was no real place in nineteenth-century Catholicism for theologically trained laymen.[22]

The reactions of family and friends made the position of the converts even more difficult. The conversions divided families and separated friends, sometimes forever. Converts would write farewell letters to friends "as from a deathbed."[23] Conversion in the Victorian period often entailed ostracism by family and friends, with the convert's motives misrepresented. One writer points out that where the

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[20]Ibid., 1:356.

[21]Ibid., 1:301.

[22]Damien McElrath, Richard Simpson (Louvain: Publications Universitaires De Louvain, 1972), p. 41.

[23]Ibid., p. 39; and Elliott-Binns, pp. 120-21.

twentieth century views "a declaration of religious faith as an eccentricity," the Victorians viewed conversion to Catholicism "as a betrayal of national and family traditions."[24] The importance of the converts from the Oxford Movement is not that of numbers--the actual number was only a few hundred at most. Their importance is shown by their "intellectual eminence and ecclesiastical zeal."[25] Many of these converts became noted figures in nineteenth-century Catholicism.[26]

The third element in the nineteenth-century English Catholic community was the great influx of Irish emigrants, which increased dramatically the number of Catholics. Even before the waves of immigrants fleeing from the Great Famine, there were large numbers of Irish in England. In 1841 there were 282,128 Irish-born persons in England. This represented a 1.9 percent of the total population not including children born in England to Irish parents. Since Irish males outnumbered Irish females, the extra males would marry into English families and any children would be reared as Catholics. This meant the Catholic population was certain to increase steadily in the near future, an increase which occurred dramatically with the massive immigration of the Irish escaping from the Great Famine, swelling an already large Irish population in England.

Most of these Irish were working-class families and farm laborers whose bad pay, housing, and education left them the lowest members of the social scale. In some towns and cities there existed

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[24]Reynolds, p. 329.

[25]Chadwick, p. 98. Footnote.

[26]Vincent A. McClelland, Cardinal Manning: His Public Life and Influence 1865-1892 (London: Oxford University Press, 1962), pp. 3-4.

some purely Irish communities with their own priest and self-exclusion from contacts with English Catholics until after the middle of the nineteenth century, although these were few in number.[27] An article in the Dublin Review in 1856 stated that the English Catholics should devote themselves to "bringing into shape . . . order, and discipline the vast numbers of poor Irish Catholics in England" commenting that "it is all very well to have rich people . . . but after all, it is the poor who constitute the real bulwark of the Church."[28]

The Irish Catholics who settled in England added large numbers and great zeal to the English Church but because the English viewed the Irish as foreigners, the Irish Catholics added a further barrier between Protestant and Catholic.[29] The Irish immigrants, however, contributed by making Catholicism much more obvious in England.[30] The Irish added numbers to English Catholicism but added nothing to Catholic intellectual life nor did they have a voice in the church's position on various aspects of English life, a lack shared to some extent with the lay English Catholics.[31]

In addition to coping with the Irish influx, the English Catholic Church was split into parties in the mid-nineteenth century. The division was at first a difference of viewpoint between the old Catho-

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[27]Hugh A. MacDougall, The Acton-Newman Relations: The Dilemma of Christian Liberalism (New York: Fordham University Press, 1962), pp. 2-3; and Bossy, p. 309.

[28]Meriol Trevor, Newman: The Pillar of the Cloud (Garden City, New York: Doubleday, 1962), p. 380; and Inglis, p. 121.

[29]E. I. Watkins, Roman Catholicism in England from the Reformation to 1950 (London: Oxford University Press, 1957), pp. 180-81.

[30]McClelland, pp. 4-5.

[31]Carthy, p. 107.

lics and many of the converts. The parties became the Ultramontane party and the Liberal/Moderate party and the division escalated into differences of every opinion held. This division created a sore in the English Catholic Church that festered for much of the century. This division puzzled the Protestants who were not quite sure what all the controversy was about when the split was publicized. The final division took place in 1861 but the battle lines had been drawn since the late 1840s.[32]

The old Catholics saw the converts as too enthusiastic children who were likely to cause trouble and damage in their excessive zeal, full of foreign ideas and exotic, italianate forms of religious devotions.[33] Many converts saw the old Catholics as "backward, apathetic and timid," and those who were to be leaders of that party believed that the old Catholics were "half-Protestantized, and in need of conversion to true Catholicism."[34] This was a rather patronizing attitude on the part of the converts towards people whose families had been Catholic for centuries. It was this group which identified strongly with the extremes of Ultramontanism.

The Liberal Catholics constituted another party who wished the church to adjust to modern scientific and historical criticism. Sir John (later Lord) Acton was the leader of the Catholic Liberal Party, which was something of a moderate party, although many old Catholics did not belong to it. A smaller party inspired by John Henry Newman

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[32]John D. Root, "The 'Academia of the Catholic Religion:' Catholic Intellectualism in Victorian England," Victorian Studies (Summer 1980), p. 478.

[33]Brian Fothergill, Nicholas Wiseman (Garden City, New York: Doubleday, 1963), p. 22.

[34]Altholz, p. 9; and Trevor, p. 434.

sought to meet the intellectual needs of the day relying upon the work of the laity, combining respect for Catholic authorities with freedom of inquiry and consideration towards Protestants and unbelievers. It was the combination of these two parties that fought the Ultramontanes. The convert party believed in a strong central church authority based on the pope's infallibility and his maintenance of his territories and on absolute adherence by Catholics to all that came out of Rome.[35] Newman felt the Ultramontane party, by "making a Church within a Church . . . dividing Christ by exalting . . . opinion into dogmas, and . . . by declaring . . . that those Catholics who do not accept them are of a different religion than yours," a dangerous party within the English Catholic Church.[36]

Nicholas Wiseman, an Ultramontane and Vicar Apostolic of the London District, was created the first Archbishop of Westminster in 1850. He supported the converts from the beginning and hoped for a massive conversion of the English--a hope that was sure to be disappointed. Intent on trying to meld old and new Catholics into one cohesive body, he was unsuccessful.[37] Because of his wholehearted support for the converts, the old Catholics became more and more suspicious of him. He was more comfortable with the converts since his ideas of Catholicism derived from long stays in Spain and Rome.[38] Wiseman became the leader of the Ultramontane faction who were suspicious and scornful of the old Catholics' supposed "timid Catholicism."

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[35]Altholz, p. 25.

[36]Ibid., p. 212; and Meriol Trevor, Newman: Light in Winter (Garden City, New York: Doubleday, 1963), p. 410.

[37]Altholz, p. 37.

[38]Fothergill, p. 22.

Lord Acton, a leader of the opposing Liberal party, saw three basic parties within the English Catholic Church: his own party; the Ultramontanes led by Wiseman who feared knowledge, progress, freedom, science, and history; and those of the "old school . . . they all refuse, like chaos, to be converted."[39] The group of moderates is probably included either in Acton's party or the "old school" faction. These divisions by Acton are a fairly accurate reflection of the factions within the English Catholic Church during the mid-nineteenth century.

On Wiseman's death in 1865 many Catholics expressed concern over the appointment of the new Archbishop of Westminster. They favored selection of a bishop from the ranks of the moderates. Pope Pius IX disregarded the Chapter's suggestions and appointed Henry Edward Manning, a convert and rabid Ultramontane. Manning was extremely hostile to both the moderates and the old Catholic parties as well as to the Liberal party. His relations with them ranged from uncordial to rude. However, Manning respected and feared Bishop William Ullathorne of Birmingham (Newman's bishop), especially when Ullathorne occasionally felt the need to remind Manning that "he was a Catholic Bishop when a certain Mr. Manning was learning his catechism."[40] One of Manning's biggest problems, shared by Frederick Faber and William George Ward, among other Ultramontanes, was his inability to "conceive of any unity other than complete agreement with himself."[41] Even Ward's children

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[39]Damien McElrath and Josef Altholz, eds., The Correspondence of Lord Acton and Richard Simpson, vol. 3 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971), p. 25.

[40]Shane Leslie, Henry Edward Manning (London: Burns, Oates & Washbourne, Ltd., 1921; reprint ed., Westport, Connecticutt: Greenwood Press, 1970), p. 181.

[41]Trevor, Newman: Light in Winter, p. 421.

saw the

> world that really mattered . . . as . . . a great battlefield with two camps--which was always called the 'right side' and the 'wrong side', the former consisting of all who took my father's general views on matters ecclesiastical, the latter of those who opposed them.[42]

Manning was encouraged in his attitude by Monsignor George Talbot, a Papal Chamberlain, who wrote in 1867 that the laity's province was "to hunt, to shoot, to entertain. These are matters they understand."[43]

Manning's unpopularity stemmed in part from his having only been a Catholic for fifteen years at the time of his appointment. The laity distrusted him "because of the extreme narrowness of his views," while the hierarchy feared "the jealousy with which he guarded his prerogatives, and theologians and scholars dubbed him 'Monsignor Ignorante' in testimony to his imperfect grasp of church ceremonial and doctrine."[44]

Many eventually came to respect Manning to some degree but he never became the beloved and popular figure in the English Catholic Church that Newman did. Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine contained an article on the English converts which was highly critical of Manning. It described him as "stiffening opinion into dogma with a high hand . . . ascribing to himself the supreme discernment which belongs to the church alone."[45] Because the opinion of the Ultramontanes was so set

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[42]Maisie Ward, The Wilfrid Wards and the Transition (New York: Sheed & Ward, 1934), p. 20.

[43]Reynolds, p. 344.

[44]Gertrude Himmelfarb, Lord Acton: A Study in Conscience and Politics (Chicago: Loyola University Press, 1962), p. 63.

[45]Anne Mozeley, "English Converts to Roman Catholicism," Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine 100 (September 1866), pp. 328, 337.

and immovable, the chances for compromise began as slim and narrowed to nothing.

Despite conflict, harrassment, and problems the English Catholic Church not only survived but prospered in the nineteenth century. Perhaps the best and most poetic descriptions of the church were given by Newman in one of his sermons.

> In truth, as has been said of our own countrymen, we Catholics do not know when we are beaten; we advance, when by all the rules of war we ought to fall back; we dream but of triumphs, and mistake (as the world judges) defeat for victory.[46]

These problems should have been enough for the English Catholics but there were even more for them to contend with. A major problem was Protestant bias and dislike of Catholics as well as Protestant and English Catholic prejudice against the immigrant Irish Catholics. Education, particularly the lack of it, constituted another problem for Catholics to struggle with. All of these had to be faced by a people uncertain of themselves much less the world around them.

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[46]John Henry Newman, "Prospects of the Catholic Missioner," Discourses Addressed to Mixed Congregations (London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1921), p. 243.

CHAPTER THREE

CATHOLICS AND PREJUDICE

Emancipation relieved but did not solve English Catholics' problems. They still suffered legal disabilities and faced the ingrained prejudice and hostility of English Protestants. The wave of Irish immigration into England during the Great Famine of the 1840s greatly increased both the numbers of Catholics and their problems.

Composed of theological, ideological, political, and sexual factors the English hostility to Cathclicism was based on sheer irrationality and greatly intensified by Protestant ignorance of Catholicism. Irrationality and ignorance together made a dangerous and explosive combination. One cannot reason with the irrational nor can one enlighten the ignorance of those who do not wish to be informed. This combination caused the latent British prejudice towards Catholicism to erupt into rhetoric and violence. Cahill points out that the English nationalistic feelings which came to the fore in the 1840s was highly xenophobic and anti-Catholic.[1] The thread of anti-Catholicism, as shown in the preface, wound its way through the loom of English history.

The Protestants expressed their opinions of Catholics with the

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[1]Gilbert A. Cahill, "Irish Catholicism and English Toryism," The Review of Politics 19 (January 1957), 1:62.

spoken and written word. John Moore Capes, who was in turn Anglican minister, Catholic convert, Anglican convert, and again a Catholic convert, described how he viewed the Catholics during his first period in the Anglican Church. He saw them as sly, crafty, and deceitful monsters and remarked that some Protestants saw them as "incarnate demons . . . the victims of deadly delusions."[2] An article published in Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine in October 1838 asserted that the Catholics in England had increased their strength to the point where they were ready to strike out and overcome an unsuspecting Protestant England. The article further claimed that the Catholics had gained their position by "stealthy steps or bold manoevoures . . . to a position whence it could defy opposition . . . can in turn overbear and threaten all."[3] The author failed to explain how the small number of Catholics in England could overthrow the established government and church.

Protestant writers' and lecturers' polemics constantly reiterated their bias and hostility. One author, writing as late as 1919, conveniently summarized the major Protestant irrational prejudices against Catholics. These are: 1) lies and evading or tampering with the truth; 2) "obscurantism"; 3) "mischiefmaking"; 4) the powers and duties of Catholic priests; 5) teaching immoral doctrine; 6) "cruelty and callousness"; 7) celibacy and repression; 8) superstition; 9) "a spirit of narrowness and pettiness . . . viciousness . . . spite . . .

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[2]John Moore Capes, Four Years Experience in the Catholic Church (Philadelphia: T. K. & P. G. Collins, 1849), pp. 28, 40.

[3]Macleod Wylie, "The Progress of Popery," Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine, American ed., 44 (October 1838), 7:494, 497, 505.

treachery . . . mean bullying and persecution"; and 10) "the running of religion as a trade, or for personal and political ends."[4]

Only a brief explanation of the points above is necessary as one cannot explain irrationality. Protestants felt that Catholics based their religion on unscriptural grounds and that the church dominated all of their actions and thoughts. Since the pope controlled Catholics this might lead to a divided loyalty on the part of the English Catholics. The cruelty and callousness refers principally to the Inquisition.[5]

The Protestant fear of the Catholic priesthood, celibacy, and the confessional stemmed from the Victorian's fear of fascination with and preoccupation with sex. Sex was driven underground in the Victorian era and when it could not be ignored, "the repressed and inhibited classes overreacted" with a "chorus of prurient horror."[6]

Ronald Pearsall claims that the middle classes were the "voice of the age" and that "fear, alarm and shame" were their responses to sex. This in turn ensured that "the shutters of the mind came down with a great slam" on the topic of sex.[7] Thus, mention of the supposed sexual wrongdoings of Catholic priests and nuns both horrified and titillated the Victorians giving them a scapegoat on which to vent sexual feelings and frustrations and perhaps "a way of atoning for their own sexual pecadilloes."[8]

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[4]Hugh E. M. Stutfield, The Roman Mischief Maker: Her Teaching and Practice (London: The National Review Office, 1919), pp. 224-25.

[5]Capes, pp. 5-6; and Stutfield, p. 53.

[6]Ronald Pearsall, The Worm in the Bud: The World of Victorian Sexuality (New York: Macmillan Co., 1969), pp. xii, 519.

[7]Ibid.

[8]Ibid., p. 521.

The fixation with sex with Protestants ascribed to Catholics was actually their own fixation and preoccupation with sex. Some Protestants saw celibacy and the confessional as the chief culprits in the supposed sexual misdeeds of the Catholic clergy. Charles Kingsley described the sacerdotal system as "unmanly, un-English and unnatural" because Victorian Protestants felt it was only natural for a man to want a wife and family.[9] There were those who could be happy and virtuous without them but they must have the freedom to choose such a life.[10] Those who studied for the Catholic priesthood knew that celibacy was required and accepted this as part of their choice of the priesthood. Wordsworth was another who "reckoned the constrained celibacy of the clergy was the monstrous root of the mischiefs of Popery. If that could be got rid of, most of the other evils would gradually melt away."[11]

Protestants were obsessed by their suspicion of Catholic priests' sexual morals and activities in the confessional.[12] The fact that their views coincided not at all with reality did not hinder their opinions at all. They took for granted that the Catholic priest would sleep with his housekeeper and use convents as brothels. The Reverend Michael Gathercole, incumbent of Cleasby, warned in the mid-1830s that Protestants should not send their daughters to Catholic

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[9] G. F. A. Best, "Popular Protestantism in Victorian Britain," in Ideas and Institutions of Victorian England, ed. Robert Robson (London: G. Bell & Sons, Ltd., 1967), p. 124.

[10] Ibid., p. 125.

[11] Letter dated February 5, 1840 in W. R. W. Stephens, Life and Letters of W. F. Hook, quoted in Best, p. 126.

[12] Best, pp. 126, 132.

schools which were "nurseries from which the handsomest may be selected for the seraglios of the Popish priests."[13] The confessional was also seen as an opportunity for sexual misconduct. The priests supposedly used their powers as spiritual directors and the power of psychological suggestion for seduction, and all priests "were bound to probe puriently into their penitents' sexual activities putting dirty ideas into the minds of the innocent virgin and questioning the blushing matron about matters which ought to be private between herself and her husband."[14] Capes noted that convent life was viewed as either full of "dark, morose misery and gloom or of unbridled worldliness and licentiousness."[15]

Not all of the Protestants' bias towards Catholics was due to sexual preoccupation and suspicion, although they played a part. Many Protestants reacted violently to Catholics, some absurdly and hysterically so. Catholic clergy and religious leaders who wore their habits on London streets were insulted by passerbys and ridiculed by boys in the street. The comment made by one butcher boy after gaping at a priest in his habit is perhaps typical of the view of many Protestants. He exclaimed, "Well, you must be a--fool!"[16] The Birmingham street boys were not behind their London compatriots in insulting the Catholic clergy. One person dumped a sack of flour on John Henry Newman's head as he walked down a Birmingham street.[17] A woman seated in a railway

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[13]Ibid., pp. 126-27.

[14]Ibid., pp. 132-33.

[15]Capes, p. 38.

[16]Ronald Chapman, Father Faber (London: Burns & Oates, 1961), p. 221.

[17]Ibid.

carriage saw the Catholic architect Augustus Pugin make the sign of the cross and screamed for a guard to let her into another carriage because her fellow passenger was a Catholic.[18] In the 1875 edition of Foxe's Martyrs Ingram Cobbin wrote, "let us then hold up the inhuman system to a merited execration . . . let parents teach their children and children teach their children to dread and oppose this abomination of desolation."[19]

Those who converted from the Church of England suffered from a prejudice and hostility even greater than that suffered by those who were born Catholic. Protestants thought it regrettable, to some extent understandable, that born Catholics persisted in their religious errors but for an Anglican, particularly a clergyman, to convert was to them an act of sheer folly and insanity. Some Protestants never forgave those of their family and friends who converted. Capes said that the Protestants regarded the converts with "much the same mingled wonder and sorrow with which we listen to the ravings of insanity."[20] Augustus Hare described a convert as a "recent pervert to the Church of Rome."[21] An acquaintance of Hare's threatened to disinherit his daughter and banish her from the house if she converted. The daughter converted a week after his ultimatum and he fulfilled his threat. He neither spoke with her or of her for the rest of his life.[22]

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[18]Best, p. 115.

[19]Edward R. Norman, Anti-Catholicism in Victorian England (London: George Allen & Unwin, Ltd., 1968), p. 1.

[20]Capes, p. 21.

[21]Augustus Hare, The Story of My Life, vol. 2 (New York: Dodd: Mead & Co., 1901), p. 151.

[22]Ibid., p. 282.

The converts faced wrenching farewells and renunciations of careers and financial security. As they converted, they disappeared from Oxford University and said goodbye to fellowships and ecclesiastical careers. Many also suffered estrangement from family and friends.[23] Some converts also lost social status as a result of their conversion.[24]

John Henry Newman is an excellent example of what the converts went through when they converted. Having seen both sides of the issue Newman was able to show both sides. In his Lectures on the Present Position of Catholics in England, Newman describes the Protestant attitude towards converts:

> Protestants have felt it right, just, and necessary to inflict temporal suffering on those who have exercised their private judgement in the choice of a religion . . . the wife sent away, the son cut off to a shilling, the daughter locked up, the malediction continued to the third generation, [and] not tolerated because [they] were converts to the faith of their forefathers. What is his crime? — He is a Catholic among Protestants. The friends who have left them are an embarrassment, because they do but interfere with their received rule and practice of dealing with us.[25]

Newman believed it was much easier to slander the more retiring old Catholics than the more widely known converts. The Protestant reaction to converts was:

> Cover them up, bury them; never mention them . . . unless to their disadvantage. Shake your heads, whisper . . . in society . . . detail in private letters the great change . . . come over them. . . . They have lost their fine sense of honor . . . they

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[23]Wilfrid Ward, Life and Letters of John Henry Cardinal Newman (London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1913), p. 292.

[24]C. Anson, "Augustus Welby Pugin," in Great Catholics, Claude C. Williamson, ed. (New York: Collier Books, n.d.), p. 308.

[25]John Henry Newman, Lectures on the Present Position of Catholics in England (London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1899), pp. 186, 191-92, 375.

> are under the dominion of new and bad masters. Drop their acquaintence; meet . . . and pass them by, and tell your friends you were so pained you could not speak to them.[26]

Newman is a prime example of the problems with families and friends which Anglican converts faced. During the period when he was making his decision to convert he wrote to his sister Jemima Mozeley:

> It is the shock, surprise, terror, forlorness, disgust . . . to which I am giving rise. The differences of opinion, the division of families — all this makes my heart ache. I am disturbing all I love . . . I am going to those whom I do not know, and of whom I expect very little. I am making myself an outcast . . . what can it be but stern necessity which causes this.[27]

His sister Harriet Mozeley was much less sympathetic to Newman's dilemma and conversion. It is interesting to compare the letters written to Jemima by Newman and Harriet during the same period. Harriet wrote in June 1845 of a newspaper report that said Newman was writing a manifesto. "If so, I hope he will have the candor to a vow that he has utterly departed from his once principles . . . in general, friend and foe will feel unmitigated displeasure, or rather disgust."[28] Harriet's bitterness and anger towards her brother lasted long after his conversion. Harriet wrote in January 1846 that she could not understand why Jemima was concerned that Newman might be disappointed. Harriet did not think he should be happy. He had made what his family and friends knew to be a wrong decision and "he must abide by the consequences."[29] Newman did all he could to lessen his family's and

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[26]Ibid., p. 377.

[27]Dorothea Mozeley, ed., Newman Family Letters (London: Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge, 1962), pp. 149, 156.

[28]Ibid., p. 163.

[29]Ibid., pp. 165, 175.

friends' grief and anger but it did not always help. They, not Newman, erected the barriers to rapproachement.

Newman's conversion cut him off from his friends. They could not understand his ability to disassociate people and ideas where he could still "love the persons while rejecting their ideas."[30] For some, bitterness remained after twenty years. In the 1860s the press said that Newman had been ruined in every conceivable way by this conversion and described him as "senile, sceptical, malevolent, vain, hysterical, credulous" while Alexander Macmillan, publisher of Apologia Pro Vita Sua, called Newman "the great pervert."[31] Part of this bitterness stemmed from feelings that Newman had betrayed the Anglican Church of which he had been a prominent member. His conversion alarmed and unsettled some and infuriated others. The conversions of some of his associates provided a further irritant. Many Anglican friends ceased all communication with Newman permanently while some only resumed it after a long silence.

The Catholics naturally retorted to the Protestant polemicists. J. S. Northcote, a convert, wrote an article castigating these Protestant writers as being possessed by the "printer's devil . . . in the most obnoxious form . . . religious polemics . . . which are the worst of all."[32] Northcote demolished the written debate between a Protestant author and a Catholic bishop showing that the Protestant's reaction to charges that he is wrong is silence and refusal to admit his

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[30]Meriol Trevor, Newman: Light in Winter (Garden City, New York: Doubleday, 1963), p. 270.

[31]Ibid., p. 321.

[32]J. S. Northcote, "The Protestant Controversialists," The Rambler 44 (July 1852), 10:47, 51-52.

error when it is proven. Northcote's claims that the samples of Protestant writing used in his article are.

> brought together . . . by mere chance as it were . . . but they tell a tale of bigotry, of ignorance, of blind prejudice, of fanatical hatred of Catholicism, and of a reckless resolve to withstand its progress by every weapon, whether of truth or falsehood, of reasoning or of calumny, such as, we fear, is but too widely spread throughout the country, and such as is truly piteous to think upon.[33]

John Moore Capes also responded to the Protestant slurs. He stated in an article in The Rambler that when the Protestant intellect comes into direct contact with Catholicism "it declares its hostility to the laws of reason, puts on the cap-and-bells, and proclaims itself independent of all logic and experience." Capes points out one must be a Catholic to appreciate

> the coolness . . . hardihood . . . brazen perverseness, with which the Protestant critic remarks on the history, doctrines, and writings of Catholics; at once falsifying our statements, imputing to us impossibilities, closing his ears to our explanations. . . . They are convinced that if we could, we would burn them all in Smithfield before a month had passed; and that meanwhile, we live in a sort of awestruck, savage veneration of their abilities . . . learning . . . acuteness, and the terrible cogency of their anti-Catholic argumentation.[34]

These are only two examples of the Catholic response to Protestant authors but they serve to show that the Catholics refused to suffer the "slings and arrows of outrageous" accusations silently.

Those who suffered partly in silence were the Irish Catholics in England. They endured prejudice from Protestant and Catholic Englishmen. Both groups had a predetermined sterotype of the Irish Catholics as "dirty and drunken, improvident and feckless, ignorant and

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[33]Ibid., p. 57.

[34]John Moore Capes, "The Protestant Criticising," The Rambler 37 (December 1851), 8:472, 473.

illiterate, a child in his passions, a brawler, a wife . . . a child-beater, short-lived and reckless of life, intolerant and supersitious."[35] These supposed characteristics violated the English Victorians' sensibilities—the poverty, early marriages and large families, their life in slum districts as "undesirable immigrants" and their religion.[36]

Victorian writers waxed eloquent when describing the foul and filthy slums inhabited by the Irish. The government's "Report on the State of the Irish Poor" in 1836 reported that after a town's outskirts became inhabited by the Irish, "bringing with them their uncleanly and negligent habits . . . the whole presents an appearance of filth, neglect, confusion, discomfort and insalubrity."[37] A Protestant missionary described Rosemary Lane, Wapping, London (populated largely by poor Irish Catholics and prostitutes) as being "one of the most filthy, abandoned, ignorant and fearfully depraved places" in London while the Irish Catholics were "scarcely civilized and very little superior to the brute creation."[38] Another Protestant described the Irish as "at once a political cancer in our vitals and a spiritual lazar-house."[39]

Many Irishwomen worked as domestic servants in London and were seen as being "saucy and incompetent" and usually had to take the less

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[35]Sheridan Gilley, "Protestant London, No-Popery and the Irish Poor: Part I: 1830-1850," Recusant History 10 (January 1970):211.

[36]L. C. B. Seaman, Victorian England: Aspects of English and Imperial History 1837-1901 (London: Methuen & Co., Ltd., 1973), p. 233.

[37]Great Britain, Parliament, Sessional Papers, 1836, vol. 21, "Report on the State of the Irish Poor," p. 534.

[38]Gilley, Protestant London: Part I," p. 215.

[39]Sheridan Gilley, "Protestant London, No-Popery and the Irish Poor: Part II: 1850-1860," Recusant History 10 (April 1970):32.

desirable positions.[40] Newman described their plight in Protestant households as being the first to lose their jobs during an anti-Catholic outburst.[41] Many English Catholics, particularly the wealthy middle and upper classes, shared the Protestant prejudice against Irish Catholics. They were angered and horrified at the influx of Irish immigrants into their neighborhoods of which many needed religious, economic, and social assistance.[42] Barbara Charlton, a wealthy old Catholic, showed this prejudice vividly in her memoirs using "Irish" throughout as a term of abuse. She describes two Irish servants as "ill-conditioned . . . most unpalatable looking" women. She reserved her most vitrolic comments for an Irish girl whom she befriended because the girl showed her ingratitude. She describes the girl's mother as a "drunken, lowborn Irish peasant" and attributed the girl's worst characteristics to her mother. She noted an Irish settlement as being populated by "dirty ill-conditioned Irish labourers whose children sadly need education and to be taught better ways than their parents." The labourers are also described as "dirty and unworthy" while the settlement was a place where "duplicity went hand in hand with dirt."[43] While a guest at a houseparty hosted by the Marquis of Westminster, someone observed the great predominance of Irish prisoners at the Chester Assizes. The Marquis diplomatically mentioned that one of the ladies present was

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[40]Lynn Hollen Lees, Exiles of Erin: Irish Migrants in Victorian London (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1979), p. 95.

[41]Newman, p. 189.

[42]Denis R. Gwynn, "The Irish Immigration," in The English Catholics 1850-1950, ed., George A. Beck (London: Burns & Oates, 1950), p. 270.

[43]Barbara Charlton, The Recollections of a Northumberland Lady 1815-1866, L. E. O. Charlton, ed. (London: Jonathan Cape, 1949), pp. 39, 118, 161, 181, 228, 244.

Catholic, at which Mrs. Charlton replied that she was an English not an Irish Catholic. English Catholics were "responsible beings who are taught right from wrong where Irish Catholics, belonging to a yet savage nation, know no better and are perhaps excusable on that account."[44]

Some English Catholic priests showed prejudice towards their Irish flocks. Catholic priests in the London area in the 1850s described their Irish immigrant's religious state as a mixture of "indifference, apathy and neglect."[45] Wiseman called them the "dense sinful masses."[46] Father Burke, who founded the Rotherhite Catholic mission in 1853, later recorded his first impressions of his Irish congregation as

> badly dressed, poor, perished-looking . . . through neglect, disorderly habits and . . . drink were in a state of deepest poverty and degradation . . . the . . . children . . . like wild Indians [with] wild disregard of order or of our authority.[47]

English Catholics, both clergy and laity, were unused to large numbers of Irish, unwilling to accept their different ways, and unable to see any good in them and reacted with prejudice as deep as that of English Protestants. Neither group could see that not the Irish themselves but the conditions of their life in England caused the difficulties to which they reacted in such stereotyped ways.

One English Catholic sympathized with the plight of the Irish immigrants. John Moore Capes wrote in the April 1858 issue of The Rambler an article entitled "The Irish in London" in which he gives a

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[44]Ibid., pp. 264, 268.

[45]Chapman, pp. 232-33.

[46]Ibid.

[47]Lees, pp. 174-75, 188.

description of the Irish immigrants' life in London. Although not entirely free from the taint of prejudice he was fairer than many Englishmen of the time--Protestant or Catholic. Capes appealed for a better understanding of the Irish and an amelioration of their low standards of living. Capes saw the Irish as

> grown-up children, both in their virtues and their faults. Impulsive, yet in certain things enduring and constant . . . quick, clever, delighting in argument . . . the sharpest and readiest of scholars, yet frequently unable to govern or teach; faithful in affection . . . yet sometimes adepts in deceit, and thinking little of lying; cursed with a love of drink, yet resolute beyond parallel in Christendom; energetic . . . in action when roused, yet needing a strong stimulus to be moved to act at all. . . . They are, taken all in all, the most interesting, the most agreeable and the most provoking on the face of the earth.[48]

Capes blamed the Irish faults on circumstances, chiefly those of the neglect and misconduct of the English government, landlords and poverty. "Upon these two evils together . . . his vices are those of a race trodden underfoot by man."[49] Capes warned that those Englishmen who expected that a year would eradicate problems of centuries were unrealistic. They must allow a generation or two to pass but the prize was worth the labor. Capes was contemptuous of those English Catholics who could not "get on" with the Irish and complain of their dirt and "blarney" and unsteadiness. The Irish were in England to stay and there welfare must be provided for.[50]

Not unnaturally Irish Catholics in England returned an equal hostility to that which they felt from the English. Irish Catholics blamed the English conquest of Ireland as the beginning of their

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[48]John Moore Capes, "The Irish in London," The Rambler 30 (April 1851), 7:277-78.

[49]Ibid., 7:280-81.

[50]Ibid., 7:282.

problems which the Act of Union had aggravated by increasing the "poverty . . . deprivation and . . . hostility to their religion" from which they suffered.[51] It was the English rather than the Irish priests who ministered to many of the Irish in England and the Irish were suspicious, wary, and resentful of them.[52] Manning recalled an incident when he left a petition out on a table to be signed and presented to parliament. An Irishman spilled a bottle of ink over it as a protest. Manning wrote "they are not only alienated from our laws and legislature, but would upset the ink bottle over the statute book."[53]

Irish hostility towards the English Government is largely traceable to the difference of opinion over government measures during the Great Famine. The Irish believed that government neglect and misguided policy helped cause the famine and that the government had responded inadequately to their needs. The English Government and people believed that they had been more than generous in their charity to a nation with no real claim on England. The government's major concern was relief for the landlords' losses and not relief of the desperate tenants.

Two English Catholic peers, Lord Arundel and Lord Shrewsbury, wrote public letters attacking the Irish for complaining of the inadequacy of relief and for using violence. The consequence was a furor of public controversy, particularly with the always combative Catholic Archbishop McHale of Tuam, who responded indignantly to the

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[51] Gwynn, p. 123.

[52] Kevin O'Connor, The Irish in Britain (London: Sidgwick & Jackson, 1972), p. 37.

[53] Ibid., p. 31; and John D. Gay, The Geography of Religion in England (London: Duckworth, 1971), p. 91.

slurs cast upon both clergy and flock. The Earl of Shrewsbury for his part deeply resented what he saw as massive ingratitude for the charity of the English people and government. His unsympathetic reaction to the tragedy of the famine increased Irish "distrust and antipathy" toward the English and Shrewsbury acquired the reputation in both Ireland and England as the greatest enemy of the Catholic Irish.[54]

Injection of the issue of Catholicism into politics beclouded still further an already complex intermingling of political and religious issues. The Tories were traditionally anti-Catholic and the supporters of the established church but during the Duke of Wellington's ministry they put in motion the process of a national policy of toleration which the Whigs sought to complete in the 1830s. The Whigs, however, while traditionally the party of religious toleration, had to juggle competing claims for its definition. The Whigs, traditionally anti-Catholic, rejoiced in being the "true heroes" who saved the Protestant nation and church in the Revolution of 1688. However, in return for the electoral support of Protestant Dissenters, they favored toleration. Since Dissenters were likely to be offended by Whig toleration measures which could be interpreted as pro-Catholic,[55] Tories were in the 1830s and 1840s anti-Catholic as well as anti-Liberal and anti-Whig.[56] Their stance suited the interests of Irish

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[54]Owen Chadwick, The Victorian Church, vol. 2 (London: Adams & Charles Black, 1970), p. 252.

[55]R. J. Cooter, "Lady Londonderry and the Irish Catholics of Seaham Harbor: 'No Popery' Out of Context," Recusant History 13 (Fall 1975):302.

[56]Seaman, pp. 69-70.

Protestants, Low Church Evangelicals, and the press, all of whom rallied votes by raising the traditional "No Popery" cry.[57]

Catholicism also played its part in the monarch's actions. At Queen Victoria's accession to the throne in 1837, English Catholics deeply resented the anti-Catholic declaration which was required as each English monarch's first public duty. John Lingard claimed that the declaration condemned Catholicism and ascribed blame for the declaration on the Acts of Parliament and the political system which "originated in passion or policy during a period of religious excitement."[58] Queen Victoria and Prince Albert passed the lodge of a Catholic college on one of their journeys. The college requested permission to present an address but she refused. She did agree to drive slowly by the lodge in order to give the students the chance to see and cheer her.[59] Bernard Ward saw Victoria's attitude towards Catholicism as a "slightly puzzled dislike"; she shared her subjects' agitation over the conversions, perhaps regarding them as a "sinning against the light."[60] Victoria was not a religious bigot. During the controversy over the Maynooth grant she wrote to her Leopold that

> the bigotry, the wicked and blind passions it brings forth is quite dreadful, and I blush for Protestantism! A Presbyterian clergyman said very truly, 'Bigotry' is more common than shame. . . . The Protestants behave shockingly, and display a narrow-mindedness and want of sense on the subject of religion which is quite a disgrace to the nation.[61]

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[57]Cooter, 13:294.

[58]Cahill, p. 68.

[59]Ibid., pp. 69-70.

[60]Bernard Ward, The Sequel to Catholic Emancipation, 2 vols. (London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1915), 1:199-200.

[61]Arthur O. Benson & Viscount Esher, eds., The Letters of Queen Victoria 1837-1861, vol. 2 (London: Macmillan & Co., 1907), pp. 26-27.

Catholicism became not only a political issue but also the occasion for popular violence during the Victorian period as it had earlier. The most serious rioting occurred in 1850-1852 during the "Papal Aggression" crisis and in 1867-1872 by various itinerant anti-Catholic lectures particularly by William Murphy. These were mainly directed against Irish Catholics in England but not always for exclusively religious reasons.

The most serious anti-Catholic riots since the 1780 Gordon Riots occurred in Stockport, Cheshire in late June and early July 1852. The Times published a "semi-official" report on July 1 using material from the Manchester Guardian with additions by its own correspondent. It attributed the riot to the "lower classes . . . of ignorant Irish Catholics . . . and . . . English Protestants."[62] Clashes had previously occurred between the two groups but authorities had not anticipated a riot. The murder in a liquor vault of an Irish Catholic by a Protestant who was later acquitted, fueled the flames sparked by the Irish Catholics' determination to hold their annual Corpus Christi procession, which the extreme Protestants greatly opposed. The procession took place without incident on Sunday, June 27 but on June 29 a fight between the two groups was reported to the police who dismissed it as a "mere drunken row," a fairly common occurrence in Stockport. That night mobs gathered and fought with any weapons at hand. Police moved in but were assailed by stones and other missiles. They broke up the mobs and arrested several persons. The rioting continued for several days and the military was called in before order was restored. A Catholic chapel and priest's house were destroyed, another Catholic

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[62]The Times (London), 1 July 1852.

chapel had much of its furnishing destroyed, and other Catholic buildings suffered damage or destruction. Sixty-seven people received injuries and some later died of them. Many Catholics fled the town and slept in fields for weeks in fear of more violence.[63]

The Times published an editorial on the Stockport riots on Saturday, July 3, 1852, deploring the violence with the comment "truth and charity alike would have suffered from a triumph in which bigotry was the motive and brutality the means."[64] It further stated that the Irish began the riot and as the aggressors were certain to lose. The Times declared its warning was meant in kindness, as it had "no wish to see the Irish massacred in our street."[65] The Times' advice to Catholics in England follows:

> Let them be as quiet, peaceable, and unobtrusive as their duties or their necessities will allow. There can be no absolute occasion for them to make a great parade of their numbers or their religion; they need not . . . pretend a spiritual conquest of the land; they need not fulminate pastorals, edicts, and all sorts of paper artillery against the English, their religion, their Constitution, their Parliament, and their QUEEN . . . they need not burn Protestant Bibles; they need not ring more bells than are necessary to announce their services . . . all these things are gratuitous, and provocative in the midst of a population whose feelings are possibly rather too much in the other direction. . . . If they persist in doing these things they must stand the consequences, for no arm of power, no public opinion . . . will save them from these consequences.[66]

The Times' editors shared the view of many English Protestants--let Catholics be grateful for what they had been graciously given and not complain or make public their religion. Their freedom to practice

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[63]Chadwick, vol. 2, p. 402.

[64]The Times (London), 3 July 1852, p. 4.

[65]Ibid.

[66]Ibid.

their religion and proclaim it publicly was not regarded as important by a press and people who prided themselves on their freedom, liberty, and tolerance. No better insight into the profound anti-Catholic prejudice of Victorian England could be found than in the above statement of the most respected newspaper in England.

The next major series of anti-Catholic riots occurred in Birmingham and the Midlands in 1867 and sporadically thereafter until 1872 when Murphy died of injuries received from a beating by Irish Catholics after a lecture and disturbance in Wolverhampton. The Birmingham Riots began after William Murphy's arrival for a series of anti-Catholic lectures. Civic authorities refused him use of the Town Hall so Protestant supporters built a large temporary building in the center of the town. An irate crowd remained outside the building but no disturbance occurred at the first lecture on Sunday, June 16, 1867. The next day a mob gathered and threw stones causing some injuries and damaging a Protestant's house. On June 18 rioting continued and a Catholic chapel was attacked and damaged. The Times reported that mob law prevailed for five hours that afternoon and evening. The mayor stated that he held Murphy "morally, if not legally responsible for the riots."[67] The Times was moved to describe Murphy's lectures as "ribald and offensive."[68] In a June 20 editorial on the riots, The Times said the Birmingham Riots revealed "the depths of fanaticism still unsounded" in England's lower classes and that the Irish Catholics viewed the notices of Murphy's lecture as a challenge.[69] It also accused Murphy

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[67]The Times (London), 3 July 1852, p. 4; 18 June 1867, p. 4.

[68]Ibid., 19 June 1867, p. 4.

[69]Ibid., 20 June 1867, p. 4.

of being the "representative if . . . not . . . agent of some Protestant organization" of the type which engineered the Gordon Riots.[70] The Times condemned lecturers and preachers of any religion whose only motive was the "revival of religious passions" and stated that there was no excuse for the abuses showered on the Catholics.[71]

These anti-Catholic riots were a much more serious aspect of Protestant prejudice than expressions in the press. Part of the reason for the violence was the resentment of English working men for Irish competition in the labor market. This, combined with dislike of the Catholic religion, given the proper spark such as the frenzied anti-Catholic lectures, could trigger off violence. The violence was sometimes an outlet for emotion and dislike but could also be used by a mob to express dominance of the Protestant English or revenge or perhaps both. Catholics could be used as scapegoats--the Irish and Catholics were blamed for unemployment, low wages, and bad housing and sanitation rather than the real culprits--poverty and neglect by local and national government. As hostility and prejudice gradually lessened and social conditions began to improve in the late nineteenth century, the violence stopped.

Anti-Catholicism in its most virulent forms gradually died out as the nineteenth century passed. Although there were still those, such as Stutfield, who followed older generations' traditions and prejudices. Upon publication of Newman's Apologia Pro Vita Sua in 1865, the realization dawned upon Anglicans that their extreme opinions of Catholic converts were false. The book's effect was shattering to some Anglicans

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[70] Ibid.

[71] Ibid.

revealing "warmth instead of ice, generosity instead of narrowness, affection where they looked for a sneer."[72] It helped Anglicans to the conclusion that Catholic priests could be both Catholic and human simultaneously. Newman became a Cardinal in 1879 and even Protestants showed elation, viewing it as "an honour justly conferred upon a great Englishman."[73] The same outpouring of affection occurred at Newman's death in 1890. Even the government's attitude changed. Edward VII was the last sovereign required to make the anti-Catholic declaration at his accession in 1901.[74]

The prejudice discussed in this chapter was created by Protestant fear, ignorance, history, and tradition. O'Connor has a theory concerning the Irish Catholics which could also describe the English Catholics' situation that "they served to draw off onto themselves that sort of resentment that any people or society will display towards that element which is alien to the general native fabric."[75] The passage of time, the realization that Catholics were not as evil or strange as feared, and that they were not trying to conquer England helped English Protestants to overcome their fears. Anti-Catholicism in the Victorian period, as in other periods of English post-Reformation history, was sometimes fostered for political purposes as an expression of fear and dislike or a general reaction and outlet for hostility. The last penal laws against Catholics were abolished in 1926. Catholics could publicly practice and proclaim their religion without the

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[72]Chadwick, vol. 2, p. 415.

[73]Ibid., pp. 420-21.

[74]Bernard Ward, p. 200.

[75]O'Connor, p. 11.

fear of penal laws, overt prejudice, or public hostility. There were other problems during the nineteenth century that Catholics had to face besides prejudice. One of these, the education of their children and the poor, is the subject of the next chapter.

CHAPTER FOUR

ENGLISH CATHOLICS AND EDUCATION

From the mid-sixteenth century until 1780 Catholic education was illegal and Catholic parents had much trouble providing their children with the religious education which they considered necessary. As parliament relaxed and then abolished the penal laws it gradually became possible to obtain that education in England. After 1847 when Catholic schools received their first government grants, Catholics had to fight for their share of government aid to provide the education so desperately needed until grants for their schools were eliminated under the Forster's Act of 1870. Even then, however, the question of education both unified and divided English Catholics especially as it related to higher education.

Elizabeth I's penal laws made it nearly impossible to obtain a Catholic education in England. Many Catholic children attended local grammar schools but faced expulsion upon discovery of their religion. English Catholics fled to the continent and established schools there including seminaries to train priests for service in England. A law passed in 1585 provided a fine of £100 for any Catholic sending his child abroad to these schools and disinherited the son of any such father. The same fine was applied to those who sent money to the

Catholic students abroad.[1] Many Catholics placed their children in the care of trustworthy Protestant relatives or friends to avoid possible forcible removal of their children. By 1603 the Privy Council had ordered that all children must be reared in the Anglican Church and those who were not Anglicans would "be prosecuted unless they bound themselves in stiff recognizances" regarding their children's education.[2] Enactment of this decree was easier than enforcement. Catholics still struggled to educate their children in their faith.

A law of 1700 maintained the £100 fine and made a Catholic school teacher liable to life imprisonment. It also disinherited any Catholic's heir who was not an Anglican by the age of eighteen.[3] The government's attempts to eradicate Catholic education failed. It is estimated that 120 Catholic teachers were active in England in the seventeenth century and 135 in the eighteenth century with at least 200 Catholic schools in existence at some time during those two centuries.[4]

In the late eighteenth century, under the influence of growing toleration and Enlightenment rationalism, restrictions against Catholics eased. In 1778 parliament abolished life imprisonment for Catholic priests, bishops, and teachers and in 1791 allowed Catholics to teach

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[1]Stanley J. Curtis, History of Education in Great Britain, 3d ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1953; reprint ed., Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1971), p. 45.

[2]Arthur C. F. Beales, Education under Penalty, cited in Michael Gaine, "The Development of Official English Roman Catholic Educational Policy in England and Wales" in Religious Education: Drift or Decision?, ed., Philip Gibb (London: Darton, Longmans and Todd, 1968), p. 143.

[3]Ibid., p. 145.

[4]Arthur C. F. Beales, "The Struggle for the Schools," in The English Catholics, 1850-1950, ed., George A. Beck (London: Burns, Oates, & Co., 1950), p. 365.

and open schools after taking an oath of allegiance. Parliament also legalized the London Catholic Poor Schools around this time. These schools, founded in 1763, filled a gap in Catholic education.[5] Ironically, although education abroad was no longer penalized, the French Revolution compelled Catholics in schools there to take refuge in England. Many French religious who fled to England opened new schools or taught in existing ones.

Charity schools were open to Catholics but Catholic parents objected to the Anglican catechism taught in these schools and retaliated by opening their own. The usual poor-school curriculum was reading, religion, and industrial education to prepare poor children for occupations such as laborers and domestic servants. These schools were supported by a combination of legacies, endowments, and voluntary contributions as no fees were charged.[6] By 1803 there were ten such schools which had increased to eighty in 1831,[7] and 236 in 1843. Despite all these poor schools there still were 101,930 Catholic children with no schooling at all.[8]

Not until 1838 did English Catholics form a cohesive national plan to define their educational needs. The plan envisioned by Catholics would not distinguish between creeds and religious instruction

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[5]Walter H. G. Armytage, Four Hundred Years of English Education (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1964), pp. 68-69.

[6]H. C. Barnard, A History of English Education from 1760 (London: University of London Press, 1964), p. 6.

[7]Henry O. Evennett, The Catholic Schools of England and Wales (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1944), pp. 16-17.

[8]Beales, p. 367.

would be handled by the clergy with no lay interference.[9] In 1839 parliament provided grants for schools to be supervised by a Privy Council committee. Lord John Russell opened the matter in parliament on February 12, 1839 by expressing concern over large numbers of the poor without any religious or secular education. He stated that the policy of supporting only Anglican schools was outmoded.[10] After the debate the Privy Council continued its administration of the funds.

The Catholics Vicars-Apostolic established the Catholic Poor School Committee in 1847. This committee was the official body for receiving and administering the Privy Council grants, as well as organizing Catholics' efforts to build and maintain their own schools.[11] Negotiations began in August 1846 for a Catholic share of the grants. Owing to delays by both the government and the Vicars-Apostolic, the question of grants was tabled.[12] Finally the Privy Council issued "Minutes Relating to Conditions of Aid to Roman Catholic Schools" on December 18, 1847 giving Catholics a share of the grants.[13] These minutes are given as an appendix.

No grants for the actual building of new schools were given for several years but the Catholics used the grant money received as

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[9]Mary John Broderick, Catholic Schools in England (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University Press, 1936), p. 44.

[10]Great Britain, Parliament, Hansard's Parliamentary Debates, vol. 114, cols. 274, 278.

[11]Arthur C. F. Beales, Religious Education in England: Past, Present, and Future (London: Sword of the Spirit, 1944), p. 8.

[12]Bernard Ward, The Sequel to Catholic Emancipation, 2 vols. (London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1915), 1:148-52.

[13]Great Britain, Parliament, Sessional Papers, 1847, vol. 51, "Minutes Relating to Conditions of Aid to Roman Catholic Schools," p. 998.

additional funds to buy equipment and pay teachers' wages.[14] The 1852 Inspector's Report on Catholic Schools stated that these schools accomplished education's aims by providing knowledge for religious purposes and by seeking to educate, discipline, and form the entire character.[15] That same year the Catholic bishops decided to establish their own system of religious education inspectors. They wanted to offer prizes and awards. The Catholic Poor School Committee volunteered to finance this but the bishops did not implement their decision until 1856. This system was the basis for today's religious inspection.[16]

In 1861 the government revised the qualification required of schools eligible for state aid and the policies necessary for receiving grants. Among the factors heavily emphasized were inspector's reports, average attendance, and comparison of equipment used with the requirements. All students over age six would be examined in the "3 R's." Requirements for students in higher classes were reading and writing a newspaper paragraph from dictation and doing a sum such as a trade bill. The school had to be either affiliated with a religious institution or read the Bible in addition to regular instruction. Payments were made only to school managers, not to teachers as previously done, and teachers had to have certification before the students were examined. This revision "mechanized" the teaching and emphasis was placed on the simplest basics rather than a more thorough education.[17]

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[14]Lynn Hollen Lees, Exiles of Erin: Irish Migrants in Victorian London (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1979), p. 200.

[15]Sessional Papers, 1851, vol. 79, "General Report on Roman Catholic Schools," 478.

[16]Beales, "The Struggle," p. 372.

[17]Broderick, pp. 50, 57.

In 1867 government grants supplied £21,591 out of the Catholic schools' £55,842 income. The 350 Catholic schools had 100,000 students but there were still 178,000 Catholic children without education.[18] Government grants supplied £40,367 to Catholic schools between 1847 and 1869 while Catholics raised £85,107 in the same period to build sixty schools and enlarge fourteen more.[19] By 1870 Catholics formulated their formal stand regarding education: parents should have the right and responsibility to educate their children in their religion, a right which should "not cost him relatively more than his neighbour," nor should religious and secular education be separated.[20]

The year 1870 was a landmark in the progress of English education but disastrous for Catholics. The Education Act discontinued grants for new schools after December 31. After that date locally elected school boards would build the necessary schools out of funds raised by an education rate. Voluntary schools were required to apply for grants before the deadline and had to match the government grants within a six-month period, as well as improve their schools, in order to satisfy for the grants still available. The most controversial clause of the act was that requiring non-denominational religious instruction using the Protestant Bible in the new board schools. The

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[18]John Gilbert, "The Catholic Church and Education," in Catholic Emancipation 1829-1929 (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1929), pp. 52-53.

[19]Broderick, p. 58.

[20]Beales, "The Struggle," p. 368; and Majorie Cruickshank, Church and State in English Education from 1870 to the Present Day (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1963), p. 52.

Cowper-Temple Clause provided for withdrawal of children whose parents objected to this religious instruction.[21]

Catholics objected to the Education Act believing that if all were to be taxed, all should share in the money raised which would not be the case with this bill. Catholics felt they were forced to provide money for schools they could not in good conscience allow their children to attend. The state dictated the child's education disregarding religious beliefs.[22] Catholics feared the local school boards' "large discretionary powers" granted by the act fearing discrimination by hostile members.[23] Catholics pressed for some major additions to the act: public support for denominational schools where numbers warranted it, more building grants, and a longer grace period to build or renovate old schools.[24]

The Catholics obeyed the new act out of necessity but they maintained their belief that a Catholic education and atmosphere were essential which the board schools regarded as a last choice.[25] The act caused a legal, financial, and moral crisis for Catholics who appealed to their co-religionists for money to build and improve their schools. An Education Crisis Fund started in June 1870 raised £50,000 within a few weeks.[26] Within ten years the number of Catholic schools doubled,

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[21]Broderick, p. 66; and Vincent A. McClelland, Cardinal Manning: His Public Life and Influence 1865-1892 (London: Oxford University Press, 1962), pp. 72-73, 76.

[22]Beales, Religious Education, p. 9.

[23]Cruickshank, p. 27.

[24]Beales, "The Struggle," p. 375.

[25]McClelland, p. 74.

[26]Beales, Religious Education, p. 9.

numbering 1,787 in 1880. The Catholic Poor Schools had the lowest fees of any schools and provided the largest number of free admissions. The rest of the money came from donations as well as by subscriptions coming chiefly from the poor working classes. Door-to-door collections were made weekly and the working men were often appealed to on payday in order to get what money they could spare.[27] The Catholics coped as the figures show but it was a heavy burden.

The Catholic public schools which were for the wealthy gentry and nobility were not affected by the 1870 Education Act. There were a number of notable Catholic public schools of which many are still in existence today. Among these were Stoneyhurst (Jesuit), Ampleforth and Downside Schools (Benedictine), the Oratory School (Oratorians, founded by John Henry Newman and now run by secular priests and laymen), and Ushaw College (now part of the University of Durham). As these schools were apart from the major controversies they will not be discussed. They are mentioned as part of the overall compass of Catholic education.

Education for Catholic girls was provided by Poor Schools, governesses, private academies, and convent schools. By the 1850s the academies and convent schools provided a good education for Catholic girls.[28] The Catholics were far ahead of England as a whole regarding female education during the century.

A special area of difficulty for English Catholics was the lack of university education. Regulations established by parliament after the Reformation limited degrees from Oxford and Cambridge to Angli-

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[27]Cruickshank, pp. 40, 52-53.

[28]W. J. Battersby, "Educational Work of the Religious Orders of Women 1850-1950," in The English Catholics 1850-1950, ed., George A. Beck (London: Burns, Oates & Co., 1950), p. 338.

cans.[29] Cambridge, unlike Oxford, allowed matriculation of Catholics and Protestant Dissenters.[30] At a meeting in 1810 the Vicars-Apostolic discussed Catholic attendance at Protestant universities. They sternly discouraged attendance at Cambridge and declared attendance unlawful where regulations forced Catholic students' attendance at Protestant services.[31] John Milner gave the Catholic authorities' reply to the Protestant question of the need for a Catholic university when some Protestant ones were available:

> We wish our youth in general to be educated apart precisely for the opposite reason to that which makes you wish them to be educated in the Universities. You desire them to be sent to these in hopes that by associating with other youths, whom you call more liberal, we more lax, they may become more indifferent about their religion: we wish to keep them at a distance from such society for fear of the selfsame consequence. . . . The Catholic religion being much more strict and rigorous, both as to belief and practice, than that of the establishment, it is of course ridiculed by the members of the latter for its supposed superstition. Now the imputation of this blind and grovelling vice is what very few young men of spirit will submit to. Hence they are under a continual temptation when intimately and habitually mixed with Protestant companions, of disserting their faith . . . it is required of students, in the English Universities at least to frequent the established service: but our Church not permitting this, or even winking at occasional conformity, it is clearly seen that these are not proper places of education for Catholics.[32]

The Vicars-Apostolic saw too much danger of violating Catholic principles to countenance attendance at Protestant universities.

Another alternative for university education for Catholics

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[29]Arthur S. Barnes, G. J. MacGillivray and Susan Cunnington, Catholic Oxford and Cambridge and the Story of the Universities (London: Catholic Truth Society, n.d.), p. 20.

[30]Henry O. Evennett, "Catholics and Universities," in The English Catholics 1850-1950, ed., George A. Beck (London: Burns, Oates & Co., 1950), p. 293.

[31]Bernard Ward, The Eve of Catholic Emancipation, 3 vols. (London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1912), 1:251.

[32]Ibid., 1:215-16.

existed at London University which had been founded in 1828 to supply non-denominational higher education. It emphasized modern studies which many middle-class Catholics felt were necessary for their sons' education. It did not wholly fill Catholic needs, however, because Catholics believed religion to be an essential part of or even the basis for education at any level. London University's secular education disturbed and dismayed many Catholics.[33]

Attempts began in 1838 to overcome this stumbling block to education at London University. That year the university opened examinations and degrees to all schools affiliated with it. Most of the Catholic public schools requested and received affiliation with London University.[34] The schools would teach the courses necessary for students taking the examinations--a process which usually took an extra year. The idea of London University as a mere examining body appealed to Catholics unwilling to have their children attend classes there.[35] The public school granted a certificate of competency which enabled the student to take examinations in London. If students passed, they received their degree.[36] Many curricula were changed in Catholic public schools since the examinations emphasized subjects the schools did not.[37] Some Catholics criticized London University for the very quality other Catholics praised--examination and education without religion.

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[33]Barnard, pp. 85-86.

[34]J. Corbishley, "Catholic Secondary Education During the Victorian Era," Ushaw Magazine 11 (1901):113.

[35]Vincent A. McClelland, English Roman Catholics and Higher Education 1830-1903 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1973), p. 25.

[36]Ibid., p. 26.

[37]Ibid.

Many Catholics felt it impossible "to educate the mind without touching upon theological questions."[38] The heads of the Catholic public schools saw the examinations as a chance to upgrade their schools by offering a university degree and by the open competition the examinations engendered. It also gave them the opportunity of comparing their schools' standards and abilities with others.[39]

Oxford and Cambridge Universities were opened to non-Anglicans by Acts of Parliament of 1854, 1856, and 1871. The Oxford University Act, effective in August 1854, provided for "no declaration or oath to be made at matriculation . . . taking degree of B.A., B.L., B.M., or B.Mus."[40] The 1856 Cambridge University Act granted the same exemption. The 1871 Universities' Act clarified and extended these acts. Although the existing religious instruction system was kept as well as Anglican religious services and instruction in existing colleges, no student was required to be Anglican or attend Anglican services. This act also provided for the withdrawal from any lecture to which the student or if a minor, his parents objected.[41]

Cardinal Wiseman identified the major issue concerning Catholic university education after 1856 as whether English Catholics should

> throw in their lot with the national universities and face all the rocks and shoals of English University life as it then was, or should they attempt to create a university of their own in which a specifically Catholic learning and culture might arise as a rock

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[38]Ibid., p. 66.

[39]Henry N. Birt, Downside: The History of St. Gregory's School (London: K. Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., Ltd., 1902), p. 215.

[40]Francis Warre-Cornish, The English Church in the Nineteenth Century, vol. 8, Part 1 (London: Macmillan, 1910; reprint ed., New York: AMS Press, n.d.), pp. 317-18.

[41]Ibid.

> of salvation amid the all-engulfing tide of liberalism and scepticism?[42]

This issue split the English Catholic community as others had--Ultramontanes against moderates and liberals. Both sides had good reasons for their views. This split, though acrimonious, did not often reach the heights of spleen that other divisions produced.

Those who favored attendance for English Catholics at existing universities offered several reasons. One was the necessity of entering fully into English public life and taking full advantage of Catholic emancipation. These made it vital for "Catholic young men to be able to open the many doors to which Oxford and Cambridge held the key."[43] They wanted their sons and heirs to receive the "full cultural and political opportunities" afforded only by the universities.[44] The universities also offered the best chance of dealing with English Protestants on their own intellectual and cultural levels. Since Catholics dealt with Protestants all their lives, it was believed that the process might as well begin early. These Catholics recommended the establishment of a Catholic hall or college at Oxford and Cambridge headed by Catholics "with Catholic discipline and instruction."[45] John Henry Newman was a prominent member of this group. He realized that the Protestant universities were the only means available to Catholics for university education and he saw Catholic attendance at a Catholic hall or college a means of combating the "Liberal agnostics . . .

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[42]Evennett, "Catholics and Universities," p. 292.

[43]Ibid., p. 295.

[44]Ibid.

[45]Ibid.

obtaining an undisputed ascendancy" where there had previously been a vital "centre of religious revival."[46]

Unfortunately for these moderates and liberals the extremely powerful opposition to Catholic attendance at the universities was led by Henry Edward Manning, a tireless and vociferous opponent long before his appointment as Archbishop of Westminster in 1865. Manning's immense influence over Ultramontanes in both England and Rome meant that his views prevailed until 1895. Manning believed that a Catholic education could exist only at a Catholic university. "The anti-Catholic atmosphere of Oxford and Cambridge could not fail to be secretly and deeply injurious to the faith and morals of the Catholic students."[47] Manning saw Oxford and Cambridge as pits and snares to entrap young Catholics--a view which was, at the least, narrow-minded. He believed that Protestant contact at that time would be dangerous "to those . . . as yet . . . immature in mind and character."[48] Manning saw the world as Catholic and anti-Catholic and wished to keep the English Catholics in his iron grasp supposedly for their own good.

Manning's opponents suggested that his view seemed to condemn the Catholic educational system then in existence for failure to inculcate Catholic beliefs and morality into the Catholic students in their schools. Manning dismissed this view and his response was scornful for those wishing to send their children to the universities for the entree into English society it would provide. He believed that "in truth,

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[46]McClelland, Catholics and Education, p. 185; and Denis R. Gwynn, A Hundred Years of Catholic Emancipation (London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1929), p. 200.

[47]McClelland, Catholics and Education, p. 186.

[48]Ibid.

nobody cared for higher studies."[49] He always tended to identify his opinion as the only right view or answer and his opponents as always in the wrong and up to mischief if not worse. One biographer of Manning asserted that pride, not principle, was his motive in blocking Catholic attendance at the universities and asserted that Manning found no statistical support for his belief that Catholics lost their faith at the university. Manning defended his stance on the ground that he was obeying Rome's orders but Trevor states that the Congregation of Propaganda, which controlled English affairs, based its decisions on the English prelates' information about their situation. Thus the prohibitionists were inspiring propaganda with the ban and then boasting of their obedience to it.[50]

The prohibitionists won the battle when the Papal Curia sent rescripts in 1865 and 1867 which declared that any Catholic attending Oxford or Cambridge was guilty of sin by "knowingly exposing himself to a proximate occasion of mortal sin."[51] The rescripts enabled the bishops to dispense with the ban thus authorizing them to decide which of their flock could safely attend the universities. Despite propaganda's decrees Catholics sent their sons to Oxford and Cambridge--some with their bishop's permission and others without.[52] Not until

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[49]Gwynn, p. 202.

[50]Shane Leslie, Henry Edward Manning (London: Burns, Oates & Washbourne, Ltd., 1921; reprint ed., Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1970), p. 184; and Meriol Trevor, Newman: Light in Winter (Garden City, New York: Doubleday, 1963), p. 357.

[51]Evennett, "Catholics and Universities," p. 299; and Owen Chadwick, The Victorian Church, 2 vols. (London: Adam & Charles Black, 1970), 2:456.

[52]Ibid.

1895, after Herbert Vaughan's appointment as Archbishop of Westminster, did propaganda realize its mistake and nullify the rescripts.

Manning's solution to the problem of English Catholic university education was a Catholic University. In 1868 he created a scheme for a Catholic Board of Examiners whose function was to "test and reward the best students in our existing colleges."[53] This board, which included both clergy and laity, was to be appointed by the bishops and the heads of religious orders running schools. Five years later Manning began plans for a "College of Higher Studies" to be located in Kensington but as usual Manning placed all power in the hands of ecclesiastical authorities, that is, in his own. The college opened in October 1874 with Monsignor Capel as head. The curriculum included theology and philosophy, languages, the sciences, and the humanities. Capel proved incompetent and was replaced during a reorganization of the college which merged with St. Charles' College in 1878 and closed in the 1880s.[54]

Manning may well have doomed the college from the start. He insisted on retaining control and on excluding the Jesuits and Newman from participation in the college due to his jealousies and suspicions of them. Newman expressed willingness but had doubts of the college's success. The expenses and great risk of failure disturbed him as did the fact that the college required a great deal of time to mature. Also disturbing was the real possibility of no confidence by Catholic parents in the university. Also greatly feared was the prospect that the bishops, when faced with Manning's "narrow intransigence" and strong

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[53] McClelland, Catholics and Education, pp. 235-37, 312-13.

[54] Paul Thureau-Dangin, The English Catholic Revival in the Nineteenth Century, vol. 2 (New York: Dutton and Company, 1915), pp. 340-41; and McClelland, Manning, pp. 12 425.

will becoming sheer willfullness at times, would prevent the existence of a university "in a real sense." Evennett ascribed the Catholic University's failure to several factors, among them, Newman's absence, Manning's iron control, "the impossible constitution," and "lack of academic autonomy." All of these revealed Manning's narrowness and limitations regarding academic ideas.[55]

Catholic education in England was difficult. Before the late eighteenth century a Catholic education in England was illegal. With legality came the search for money, schools, and teachers. In the nineteenth century money had to be obtained from the government, local school boards, and the Catholic faithful. University education also presented problems.

Catholics were barred from university degrees at Oxford and Cambridge until 1856. The debate over attendance at Protestant universities versus building a Catholic university caused great controversy and dissension among Catholics adding to stresses already present. Kensington University's failure eliminated the Catholic University and forced attendance at Oxford and Cambridge with or without the bishop's permission and despite Rome's ban.

Despite the difficulties of Catholic education in the period of transition to legal recognition, the Catholics achieved notable results in the sphere of education. They built many schools to accommodate all classes and were far ahead of England as a whole in secondary education for girls. Education was, of course, only one problem which English Catholics had to face. The problems associated with education were

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[55]Evennett, "Catholics and Universities," pp. 302-3; and Hugh A. MacDougall, The Acton-Newman Relations: The Dilemma of Christian Liberalism (New York: Fordham University Press, 1962), p. 21.

exacerbated by Rome's tighter control and misunderstanding of the situation as well as by their reliance on Ultramontanes, particularly Manning. Manning's large and intense ego and his inability to allow others control over any aspect of Catholic affairs added to the problems of education for English Catholics. Although hampered by misunderstandings and the intransigence of their leadership, Catholics learned by their successes and failures in education as in other aspects of English life in the nineteenth century.

CHAPTER FIVE

PAPAL AGGRESSION: THE RESTORATION OF THE ENGLISH CATHOLIC HIERARCHY

A major crisis which English Catholics faced in the nineteenth century was that of the Protestant Briton's reaction to the restoration of the Catholic hierarchy by Pope Pius IX. Although they knew that Protestants viewed Catholicism as England's old enemy and remained suspicious and fearful of it, the public outcry surprised Catholics. The ferocity of the outcry made Catholics fear a resurgence of the anti-Catholic violence of the eighteenth century. English common sense gave way belatedly to an atavistic upsurge of anti-Catholic and anti-papal emotions--the last such noted in English history. A neutral observer might have thought himself transported to the days of William III, Elizabeth I, or to the Belfast of 1982 to judge from the vitriolic rhetoric of Protestant extremists.

The Vicars'-Apostolic lack of authority, such as that given to bishops, gave the English Catholics insufficient church government to cope with new problems and needs stemming from Catholic emancipation. Since a formal petition was not sent to Rome until 1845 it took twenty-three years after the start of the initial discussions to restore the English Catholic hierarchy. In 1847 the Vicars-Apostolic took a further step by sending Nicholas Wiseman and James Sharples to Rome to

plead for the restoration on the ground that it would be "the only effectual means of establishing good order and efficiency in the government of the English Catholic community."[1]

The English Catholic Church, because of its "mission" status, was under the Papal Curia's Congregation of Propaganda. In the Autumn of 1847, at propaganda's request, the Vicars-Apostolic devised a plan increasing the number of dioceses (sees of bishops) from eight to twelve. The plan, however, was never sent to Rome. Simultaneously, the Curia developed a simpler plan retaining the eight dioceses. The pope showed this plan to Lord Minto, a representative of the British government, who then communicated it to the government. The Curia did not implement its plan but it served to notify the British government that such a plan existed.[2] Catholic hierarchies had previously been established in several British colonies using existing Anglican titles without provoking government reaction or retaliation.[3]

In 1848 the Vicars-Apostolic sent William Bernard Ullathorne, Vicar-Apostolic of the Midlands District, to Rome to discuss the hierarchy's restoration. Upon arriving in Rome he met with Cardinal Franzoni, Cardinal Prefect of the Congregation of Propaganda and Monsignor Barnabo, the Cardinal's secretary. Ullathorne found Monsignor Barnabo to be the biggest help. Barnabo informed Ullathorne

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[1]Gordon Albion, "The Restoration of the Hierarchy, 1850," in The English Catholics 1850-1950, ed., George A. Beck (London: Burns, Oates & Co., 1950), p. 88.

[2]Ibid., p. 89.

[3]Ibid., p. 92.

that the chief problems blocking the restoration were choosing the Archbishop and legalities of the Vicars'-Apostolic disposition of property.[4]

Pope Pius IX set up a special seven cardinal panel to deal with the question of the English Catholic hierarchy. This panel consisted of Franzoni as Prefect of Propaganda, Barnabo as secretary, Cardinals Ostini, Castracani, Altieri, Vizzardelli, Orioli and Mai. The panel held its first meeting on June 26 during which the cardinals stated their desire to have the new sees named after the old ones, now Protestant. But the Catholic Emancipation Bill forbade taking titles used by Anglican bishops and imposed a £100 fine for each offense. The English Catholic bishops, the cardinals worried, could not afford to pay the fine. The cardinals believed that two problems raised by the English bishops in regard to having twelve sees, "lack of money" and of "suitable bishops," were insufficient to delay the increase of sees.[5] No action was taken. Just after Ullathorne left Rome the pope was driven out by a liberal revolt and exiled for two years during which time more urgent and pressing problems displaced the English hierarchy plan.

By October 1850 the pope and his advisors deemed that the Curia's conditions for the restoration existed: "the restoration should only take place under a Whig government, at a time when Parliament was not sitting and without breaking the law by avoiding the use of existing Anglican titles."[6] The Pope's Bull then created two London districts,

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[4]Ibid., p. 90.

[5]Ibid., pp. 90, 93.

[6]J. Derek Holmes, More Roman Than Rome: English Catholicism in the Nineteenth Century (London: Burns, Oates & Co., 1978), p. 75.

Southwark and Westminster, which became the Archiepiscopal see and the designated holder of that diocese Primate of All English Catholics. It added that popes could change the English dioceses as necessary.[7] (See appendices A and B for a table and map of each diocese's boundaries and listing the counties of which they are comprised.)

After his appointment as Archbishop of Westminster and Cardinal, Wiseman wrote an enthusiastic but incautious pastoral letter to the English Catholics announcing the hierarchy's restoration. His controversial heading "out of the Flaminian Gate of Rome" stemmed from the tradition forbidding issuing a proclamation from within Rome as it was the pope's residence and one of his titles. When Wiseman stated that he "governed" the counties assigned to his diocese, he mistakenly assumed that all would know that he was speaking only in an ecclesiastical sense.[8] He further exclaimed that

> Catholic England has been restored to its orbit in the ecclesiastical firmament, from which its light had long vanished, and begins now anew its course of regularly adjusted action round the centre of unity, the source of its jurisdiction, of light and of vigor.[9]

Wiseman commanded the pastoral letter to be read in all Catholic Churches in the Westminster and Southwark Dioceses the first Sunday after its reception.[10]

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[7]William Maziere Brady, The Episcopal Succession in England, Scotland and Ireland, vol. 3 (Rome: Tipografia Della Pace, 1877; reprint ed., New York: Gregg International Publishers, Ltd., 1971), pp. 362-64.

[8]Nicholas Wiseman, Pastoral Out of the Flaminian Gate, quoted in Brian Fothergill, Nicholas Wiseman (Garden City, New York: Doubleday, 1963), p. 294.

[9]Ibid., pp. 294-95.

[10]Ibid., p. 296.

Unfortunately for Catholic England Wiseman disregarded the sage advice that Mark Tierney, a prominent English Catholic, had given a few years earlier.

> The measure should be introduced quietly, not ostentatiously. There should be no public or outward demonstration. In fact it should be not so much a change, as a silent and almost imperceptible transition.[11]

Ullathorne and other Vicars-Apostolic agreed with Tierney. Wiseman expected no problems over the hierarchy's restoration. He had met with the Prime Minister, Lord John Russell, before leaving for Italy and the contents of their meeting were of "sufficient vagueness to allow Wiseman afterwards to claim that he informed the prime minister of the plan, . . . Russell to deny that he knew anything about it."[12] Wiseman also mistakenly assumed that there would be no danger from anti-Catholic riots. Holmes calls the pastoral "perhaps Wiseman's greatest practical mistake."[13] Chadwick says "seldom had a cardinal of the Roman Church been guilty of less foresight and more imprudence."[14]

The pastoral was read as ordered without much ado. It was only after the letter's publication by the press that the storm broke with a deluge of anti-Catholicism. Many English newspapers, led by The Times, were virulent in condemning and abusing the restoration, the Pastoral, and Catholics and Catholicism in general. The Times fulminated its way through a great number of leaders. It wrote that Wiseman's appointment was either an unsuccessful joke or Rome's worst mistake since the

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[11] Holmes, p. 75.

[12] Ibid.

[13] Ibid.

[14] Owen Chadwick, The Victorian Church, vol. 1, 2d ed. (London: Adam & Charles Black, 1970), p. 292.

Reformation.[15] It described the hierarchy's restoration and the proclamations as an offense and insult to the British nation, and considered the pope's action as "proof of his ill will towards England.[16] The Times hoped the proclamation's effect would be to

> bring home more thoroughly to men's minds the degradation of that allegiance to Rome which submits the most sacred interests of life and society to a Power which we would not intrust in temporal concerns with the authority of a parish vestry [and that Pius IX's policy] is manifestly and essentially to trample on the rights of every national church . . . and to exert by means of a subject clergy a power debasing to the laity, insulting to the temporal authorities of the country, and dangerous to the peace and advancement of the nation at large . . . these fictitious dioceses, and these indefinite episcopal powers, and avowedly intended to carry on a more active warfare against the liberties and the faith of the people of England.[17]

Other newspapers sounded the same themes. The Record, an important evangelical newspaper, supported plans to hold mass meetings of protest which the Record regarded "as the only wise and scriptural course."[18] The Daily News felt that Wiseman's Pastoral was more offensive than the pope's proclamation.

> To the arrogance of the church dignitary . . . is now strangely and offensively added the sneering satire of the pamphleteer, mocking the cathedral service of Westminster, and descending to 'pull caps' or mitres with the bishops of the Established Church.[19]

Samuel Warren wrote of Wiseman in his pamphlet The Queen or The Pope,

> I regard him as disentitled to gentle or ceremonious handling; for his manifesto . . . is in every respect one of the most offensive documents to ever be laid before the British public: calculated to

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[15]The Times (London), 14 October 1850, p. 4.

[16]Ibid., 22 October 1850, p. 4.

[17]Ibid., 24 October 1850, p. 4.

[18]Thomas P. Joyce, The Restoration of the Catholic Hierarchy in England and Wales 1850: A Study of Certain Public Reactions (Rome: Pontifia Universitas Gregoriana, 1966), pp. 24-25.

[19]Ibid., p. 56.

> irritate and inflame instead of soothe and propitiate, a country deeming, . . . itself insulted, its confidence and liberality treacherously abused, and its national religion menaced and endangered.[20]

Francis Warre-Cornish described Punch as the best "weathercock . . . by which to tell the shifting airs of the popular gale; and Punch was as eager as the religious and political papers to protest in a tone of blustering vulgarity against the Roman pretensions."[21] Punch differed from other publications, however, in that it treated the "Papal Aggression" as a matter for mirth rather than for alarm. Dicky Doyle, a Catholic artist for Punch, resigned in protest of Punch's treatment of Catholics and their religion.[22] An article in the London Quarterly Review blamed the government's apathy for the aggression.[23] The Nonconformist proclaimed that Rome's aim was Britain's slavery.[24]

A series of pamphlets entitled "The Roman Question" was published during the "Papal Aggression" crisis. It consisted of newspaper extracts, reports of meetings, and material written specifically for the more than twenty pamphlets which were published.

This collection gives a survey of both sides' views and attitudes during the agitation. The anti-Catholic views will be discussed

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[20]Fothergill, p. 179.

[21]Francis Warre-Cornish, The English Church in the Nineteenth Century, vol. 8, Part 1 (London: Macmillan, 1910; reprint ed., New York: AMS Press, n.d.), p. 350.

[22]Ronald Chapman, Father Faber (London: Burns, Oates & Co., 1961), p. 237.

[23]"The Ministers and the Pope," London Quarterly Review, vol. 38 (January 1851), p. 248.

[24]The Nonconformist, 6 November 1850, quoted in Edward R. Norman, Anti-Catholicism in Victorian England (London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1968), p. 66.

here and the reaction of the Catholics and their Protestant supporters will be discussed later in the chapter. The Roman Catholic Question mentions a Reverend Hugh McNeile who stated during a sermon that

> I would make it a capital offense to administer the confession in this country. Transportation would not satisfy me, for that would merely transfer the evil from one part of the world to the other. Capital punishment alone would satisfy me. Death alone would prevent the evil.[25]

Dr. McNeile, a canon of Manchester Cathedral, later apologized for his remarks. Dr. Cummings, a Protestant preacher, held a series of anti-Catholic lectures during which Admiral Harcourt, chairman of one meeting, described Popery as "now threatening to envelope the land in darkness and superstition" and warned the audience "against the craft . . . deceit . . . and . . . sublety of the Papacy."[26] These remarks set the lecture's tone. The lecture's chairman described Catholicism as "the mother of harlots, and the abomination of the earth"[27] a direct reference to Revelation 17:5. Dr. Cummings saw the restoration as a direct attack by Rome against England's rights and privileges.[28] Dr. Gilbert Elliot, Dean of Bristol, on November 6, 1850 decried the pope's arrogance and braggadocio and his defiance of British laws.[29]

The reactions of the English press both sparked and echoed the feelings of much of the English Protestant public including many Anglican clergymen and some dissenting ministers. There were three main facets to anti-Catholic attitudes of the Anglican English public:

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[25]The Roman Catholic Question, series 12 (London: James Gilbert, 1851), pp. 10-11.

[26]Ibid., 6th series, p. 1.

[27]Ibid., 2d series, p. 13.

[28]Ibid., p. 15.

[29]Ibid., 4th series, p. 10.

outrage over the pope's seeming claim of Anglican rights and privileges; corruption of dogma by the pope's authority over consciences; and the challenge to the government and queen.[30] Wilfrid Ward once wrote in a masterly understatement that "the English Parliament and press for the moment lost their balance."[31] At a meeting an Alderman of the City of London said that "Catholicism's incessant intolerance should be countered by the same, even to the extent of removing toleration!"[32] Many Protestants felt that the hierarchy's restoration was "at the very least . . . impudent and absurd; at worst, subversive and traitorous."[33] Catholic priests were abused in the streets, had mud and stones thrown at them, and windows in Catholic buildings broken. In Birmingham Newman wrote to a friend that "some furious Protestants threatened to tear our gowns off us in the street."[34] Many protest meetings were held by various groups. Their format was as follows:

> A requisition for a Papal Aggression meeting would first be circulated among the clergy, parishioners, or rate-payers according to the type of meeting desired by the organizers. Over meetings of Anglican clergy would preside the archdeacon, dean or some senior clergy, as at Oxford. At parish meetings, the local rector or vicar was expected to preside, but in some parishes where the clergy were of more Tractarian persuasion than the congregation a churchwarden would assume the responsibility of chairing the meeting. Civil meetings were generally presided over by scrupulously impartial mayors or sheriffs, while in most other meetings the organizers were careful to choose some distinguished personage sympathetic to

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[30]Bernard and Margaret Pawley, Rome and Canterbury Through Four Centuries (London: Mowbrays, 1974), p. 161.

[31]Wilfrid P. Ward, William George Ward and the Catholic Revival (London: Macmillan, 1893; reprint ed., Westmead, England: Gregg International Publishers, 1969), p. 2.

[32]Catholic Question, 7th series, p. 4.

[33]John W. Dodds, The Age of Paradox (London: Victor Gollancz, Ltd., 1953), p. 439.

[34]Chapman, p. 200.

> their purposes. The meetings were meant merely to discuss the resolutions and addresses previously drawn up by the organizers to express the body's resentment and protest the Pope's aggression and to demonstrate its loyalty to Queen, Church and Protestant constitution. . . . Usually the meetings would end peacefully with the singing of the national anthem, three cheers for the Queen and Russell, and three groans for the Pope and Wiseman; but there were also instances of violence.[35]

The middle classes viewed England's Protestantism as the source of English liberties and the restoration as an occasion where once again Protestants must fight Roman tyranny.[36]

Anglican bishops reacted vehemently to the restoration. The Bishop of Oxford saw it as "foreign bondage" and the Bishop of Carlisle saw Catholicism as "profane, blasphemous and anti-Christian. . . . England is defiled by her pollutions."[37] One reason for their reaction was their view of the Anglican Church as the Catholic Church and they therefore regarded the Roman Catholic Church's greater efficiency with the restoration as a threat.[38] Some of the participants in this anti-Catholic torrent of agitation may well, of course, have used it to foster their own interests and designs. Others may have enjoyed a chance to strike out and focus public attention on a popular and exciting public issue. Many participated in the Anti-Catholic agitation because of a sincere long-standing fear and distrust of Catholicism's tenets, actions, and intentions.

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[35]Meriol Trevor, Newman: The Pillar of the Cloud (Garden City, New York: Doubleday, 1962), pp. 531, 536.

[36]Thomas P. Joyce, The Restoration of the Catholic Hierarchy in England and Wales 1850: A Study of Certain Public Reactions (Rome: Pontifica Universitas Gregoriana, 1966), pp. 45-47.

[37]Ibid., p. 52.

[38]Denis R. Gwynn, A Hundred Years of Catholic Emancipation (London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1929), pp. 85-86.

Not all Protestants joined in the anti-Catholic clamor that prevailed during the "Papal Aggression" crisis. Some supported the Catholics and others saw the restoration or its handling as a mistake but spoke for calmness, moderation, and tolerance. Lord Grenville was not in favor of the pope's move but clearly saw that it would not be removed and so counseled Englishmen to accept it with what grace they could. He predicted that the violent reaction would only end with the Protestants looking foolish.[39]

John Roebuck, the radical non-conformist politician, accused Lord John Russell of exposing the great principles of toleration to grave danger by using his position to "rouse up the spirit of strife and hate among us, to quickness into active life the demon of persecution."[40] A writer in The Roman Catholic Question pointed out that England could not revert to Catholicism unless the queen converted and was allowed to rule or England converted and forced Victoria to abdicate.[41]

Others were also of the same mind. William Gladstone, in reaction to the government's retaliation by its Ecclesiastical Titles Bill, wrote of his intense opposition to the bill due to its injustice and the possibilities of "religious and social disunion."[42] A well-known Protestant author and debator wrote for The Roman Catholic Question an article entitled "A Plain Appeal to the Common Sense of All

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[39]Warre-Cornish, p. 352.

[40]Gwynn, pp. 95-96.

[41]The Roman Catholic Question, 7th series, p. 15.

[42]Edward R. Norman, Anti-Catholicism in Victorian England (London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1958), p. 75.

the Men and Women of Great Britain and Ireland" in which he writes:

> . . . "should this meet the eye" of any crazy victim of the newspaper gin, or platform brandy, which is now . . . administered to all who desire to get drunk . . . let him return it to the publisher and take his money back again. . . . I address neither those who are bitten by the mad-dog of polemical theology, tainted with the Scotch fiddle of pious excitement, tormented in their rest with the bugs of bigotry, nor overrun with the industrious fleas of fanaticism. . . . A moral idiotism seems to seize the rabid Papophobiast, and he would persecute to enforce toleration, and emancipate the conscience by . . . setting himself up as the sole judge of the lawfulness of his neighbour's faith . . . he is a traitor to the rights of his fellow subjects and an enemy to the rights of conscience, who claims the privilege of owning the Queen as his pontiff, and refuses to others the liberty to claim ecclesiastical fealty to Pio Nono as his Pope.[43]

The editor of The Roman Catholic Question series contended that if Pope Pius IX's proclamation and Wiseman's Pastoral were treated in the spiritual sense and applied only to Roman Catholics as meant by the authors, the resultant reaction need never have occurred.[44] The editor felt that "the reasoning faculties appear to have been almost deluged amidst the excitement of the question. . . ."[45] The Rector of St. Anne, Westminster, the Reverend Nugent Wade, counseled his parishioners not to add their voices to the anti-Catholic outcry and warned against violations of charity in judgment and conduct toward Catholics. His parishioners ignored his advice and presented an anti-Catholic position to Queen Victoria.[46] The Anglican Bishop of Exeter counseled the ministers in his diocese not to tackle the issue of Catholicism if Roman error is not present and advised caution if it was necessary to deal

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[43] The Roman Catholic Question, 4th series, pp. 1, 7.

[44] Ibid., p. iii.

[45] Ibid.

[46] Ibid., p. iv.

with it. He said, "Beware of hazarding your own credit, the honour of your Church and the faith of your people by crude and hasty disputation."[47]

Those Protestants who defended the Catholics during the "Papal Aggression" agitation were very much in the minority. Their defense did not stop others' participation in anti-Catholic agitation nor prevented or shortened the agitation. It is significant, however, that some English Protestants saw Catholicism and Catholics not as a dangerous enemy but as English subjects of another faith who had the right to follow their religion and that these Protestants said so publicly.

The various comments made by the Protestant extremists seem to be ridiculous and laughable in later years. This trend obscures their major importance. These comments were made with full seriousness and belief in their essential truth. It is striking that Catholicism could generate such violent feelings in the mid-nineteenth century. What is laughable a century later is deadly serious as an example of the feelings of the great majority of mid-nineteenth century Protestant Englishmen.

The Catholic reaction to the restoration ranged from reluctant to glad acceptance. Two Catholic peers, Lord Beaumont and the Duke of Norfolk, did not share most Catholics' reactions. Lord Beaumont, in a published letter to the Earl of Zetland, wrote that English Catholics must "either break from Rome or violate their allegiance to the constitution of these realms,"[48] certainly an extreme attitude on the part of

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[47]Norman, p. 69.

[48]Pawley, pp. 168-69.

an English Catholic nobleman. He was echoed by the Duke of Norfolk's belief that "Ultramontane opinions are totally incompatible with allegiance to our sovereign and with our constitution."[49] The Duke of Norfolk became an Anglican and rejoined the Catholic church on his deathbed,[50] while his son and heir Lord Arundel and Surrey defended English Catholicism in the House of Commons.[51]

Wiseman responded to the agitation and uproar by writing his Appeal to the Reason and Good Feeling of the English People on the Subject of the Catholic Hierarchy which he completed in a week. Five London newspapers published it on November 20, 1850 and were all sold out by 4:00 P.M. that day. Thirty thousand pamphlets were sold in three days.[52] Wiseman wrote that the Catholics did not expect or ask for the government's cooperation but emphasized their right as citizens to impartiality pointing out that they were not asking for the government's active cooperation. Catholics felt betrayed that the Prime Minister and the Lord Chancellor had come out bitterly against them where they expected their neutrality. Wiseman felt that the Catholics' last resource was "the manly sense and honest heart of a generous people; that love of honourable dealing and fair play, which . . . is . . . the instinct of an Englishman."[53] Wiseman published in the Appeal a letter

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[49]Gwynn, p. 64.

[50]Ibid., p. 94.

[51]David Mathew, Catholicism in England 1535-1935, 2d ed. (London: Eyre & Spottiswoods, 1948), p. 194.

[52]Albion, pp. 103-4.

[53]Nicholas Cardinal Wiseman, An Appeal to the Reason and Good Feeling of the English People on the Subject of the Catholic Hierarchy (London: Richardson & Son, 1850), pp. 10-11.

written in Vienna on November 3, 1850 to Lord John Russell in which he pointed out that the restoration's plan was shown to Lord Minto in 1847 and that he himself had only ecclesiastical authority over Catholics not "secular or temporal delegation."[54]

Wiseman used Lord Russell's and Lord Chancellor Lyndhurst's words against them in the Appeal. He paraphrased a speech given in the House of Lords on May 11, 1846 by Lord Chancellor Lyndhurst who said that "Catholics could legally maintain the Pope's supremacy except for mischievous purposes and circulating immoral doctrines and opinions."[55] Wiseman also quoted Lyndhurst as saying that "if Catholicism were legal, it should be allowed to continue . . . perfectly and properly." An impossibility without the use of papal bulls and communications, therefore, Lyndhurst favored repeal of the act against papal bulls.[56]

Lord John Russell was quoted as saying that "it would be impossible to prevent the pope's bulls appointing bishops"[57] and as being in favor of repealing the bill's clauses preventing the use of an Anglican title by a Catholic bishop believing it to be "absurd and puerile" to retain such a ban.[58] When the colonies' hierarchies were being established, Wiseman had asked the Undersecretary of State for the colonies what the government's attitude towards such a step would be. This official replied,

what does it matter to us what you call yourselves whether Vicars-

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[54]Ibid., p. 23.

[55]Ibid., p. 12.

[56]Ibid., p. 19.

[57]Ibid.

[58]Ibid., pp. 19, 27-28.

> Apostolic, or Bishops, or Muftis, or Imaums, so that you do not ask us to do anything for you? We have no right to prevent you taking any title among yourselves.[59]

Wiseman emphasized six points which he felt he had proven in the Appeal. These are:

> 1. Catholics are not bound to obey, or to consider as their Bishops, those appointed by the Crown, under the royal ecclesiastical supremacy, which legally they are not bound to hold.
> 2. Catholics belong to a religion, fully tolerated, and enjoying perfect liberty of conscience, which is episcopal, and requires Bishops for its government.
> 3. There is no law that forbids them to have such Bishops according to their proper and ordinary form.
> 4. That form is, with ordinary jurisdiction, local sees and titles derived from them: that is a Hierarchy.
> 5. They were fully justified in employing the only means in their power, to obtain this form of ecclesiastical government: that is, by applying to the Holy See.
> 6. And they have not acted contrary to any law, by accepting the gracious concession of what they asked.[60]

Other Catholics also responded to the crisis. Charles Langdale, a prominent English Catholic layman, wrote to Lord John Russell that the pope's power was strictly spiritual and hoped that Russell had not made the queen suspect Catholics' loyalty. Langdale also expressed his faith in the queen's belief in their loyalty and his belief that Catholics did not believe that Victoria wished to violate their rights of conscience and freedom of religion.[61]

A meeting of Birmingham Catholics was held on November 18, 1850 to protest the anti-Catholic agitation. John Henry Newman spoke at this meeting and stated that

> the real question involved . . . is—shall the Catholics of the British Empire live and breathe in the free exercise of their

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[59] Ibid., p. 27.

[60] Ibid.

[61] Ibid., p. 20.

> religion, or not? Shall religious liberty continue to be the principle by which the spirit of our country is ruled and on which the law is administered?[62]

Newman pointed out that bishops were necessary to the church's function and had already been named by the pope without comment in the colonies and reiterated Catholics' proven loyalty to the crown.[63] Wiseman wrote an address of loyalty to the queen signed by the English Catholics.

TO THE QUEEN'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY.

> May it please your Majesty, We the undersigned subjects of your Majesty, residing in England and professing the Roman Catholic religion, beg to approach your Majesty's throne, there to express our sentiments of unimpaired and unalterable fidelity to your Majesty's royal person, crown, and dignity.
>
> At a moment when attempts are being made to impeach our loyalty, we consider it a duty to give fresh utterance to these our feelings.
>
> During centuries of exclusion from the privileges of the constitution, and from the rights enjoyed by their fellow-subjects, the Catholics of England remained true to their allegiance to the Crown of this realm and yielded to none in their readiness, at all times, to defend its rights and its prerogatives against every foe. And now that, under your Majesty's wise rule, we enjoy equal participation with others in the benefits of the constitution, we are more than ever animated with the same sentiments of fidelity and attachment, and are equally ready to give proof, whenever occasion may present itself, of the sincerity of our loyal professions.
>
> The dearest of the privileges to which we have thus been admitted, by the wisdom of the British Legislature, is that of openly professing and practicing the religion of our fathers, in communion with the See of Rome. Under its teaching we have learned, as a most sacred lesson, to give to Caesar the things that are of Caesar, as we give to God the things that are of God. In whatever, therefore, our Church has at any time done for establishing its regular system of government amongst its members in this island, we beg most fervently and most sincerely to assure your Majesty that the organization granted to us is entirely ecclesiastical, and its authority purely spiritual. But it leaves untouched every title of your Majesty's rights, authority, power, jurisdiction, and prerogative, as our Sovereign, and as Sovereign over these realms, and does not in the leastwise diminish or impair our profound reverence, our loyalty, fidelity, and attachment to your Majesty's august person and throne; and we humbly assure your Majesty, that among your Majesty's subjects there exists no class who more solemnly,

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[62] The Roman Catholic Question, 6th series, pp. 8-9.

[63] Ibid., 4th series, p. 16.

> more continually, or more fervently pray for the stability of your Majesty's throne, for the preservation of your Majesty's life, and for the prosperity of your Majesty's empire, than the Catholics of England, in whose religion loyalty is a sacred duty, and obedience a Christian virtue.[64]

English Catholics reacted in various ways to the restoration. Most of them, regardless of any private doubts of its wisdom or feasibility, rallied behind Wiseman for a solid Catholic front. Chadwick writes that by emancipation Peel had hoped to banish the Catholic feeling of "being a minority in a hostile state."[65] The "Papal Aggression" crisis shattered this leaving English Catholics feeling as "besieged as ever" and closing "ranks against the foe."[66] This feeling was accentuated by the government's enacting legislation against the Catholics.

The English government's and politicians' varied reactions to the "Papal Aggression" showed that they shared the middle-class Protestants' feelings. In October 1850 Russell wrote to Queen Victoria that the Pope's Bull "is not a matter to be alarmed at" pointing out that only Catholics were affected by it.[67] Russell and the queen feared Anglican Tractarianism more than Catholicism.[68] At the end of October Russell wrote to the Bishop of London that he saw no danger or illegality to a Catholic hierarchy.[69]

On November 4 Russell replied to a letter from Bishop Maltby

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[64]Ibid.

[65]Chadwick, vol. 1, p. 306.

[66]Ibid.

[67]Fothergill, p. 160.

[68]Chadwick, vol. 1, p. 296.

[69]Joyce, p. 42.

of Durham who castigated the restoration as "insolent and aggressive" and Russell gave Maltby his permission to publish the letter on November 7.[70] In his letter Russell stated that the pope's "claim" to supremacy over England challenged that of the queen's as well as England's spiritual independence. He also referred to the "mummeries of superstition" and to Catholicism's attempts to "confine the intellect and enslave the soul."[71]

This letter threw a great deal of fuel onto an already flaming anti-Catholicism. Russell's attitude coincided with most Protestant Englishmen and was therefore quite popular, as was Lord Chancellor Truro's speech at the Lord Mayor's banquet on November 9, 1850. Lord Truro "spoke of '. . . insult, triumph, domination . . . the enemies without'" and Warre-Cornish notes that the audience did not realize the insolence and ridiculousness of such words and reactions.[72]

When parliament met in November, "Papal Aggression" was a prominent issue of debate which increased when Russell proposed anti-Catholic legislation on February 7, 1851--England's retaliation to Rome. The proposed legislation declared all gifts to Catholic bishops null and void, and nullified any acts performed using their titles. Any property given to them would immediately revert to the crown which could set up trusts for administering the money.[73]

Debate raged in the House of Commons over the proposed legis-

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[70]Chadwick, vol. 1, p. 297.

[71]Norman, pp. 160-61.

[72]Chadwick, vol. 1, p. 297.

[73]Great Britain, Parliament, Hansard's Parliamentary Debates, 3d series, vol. 114, cols. 206-7.

lation. Some M. P.'s (William Gladstone, Lord Aberdeen, and Lord Lansdowne) and a member of the Cabinet among others had already disapproved of Russell's letter.[74] One M. P. said the bill was a piece of mischief and totally useless.[75] Lord Ashley said the issue was

> whether we shall allow the ecclesiastics of the Church of Rome to seize . . . a position within these realms which they have never occupied, in the most palmy days of Romanism in this country . . . the question is not whether we shall take anything from the Roman Catholics, but whether they shall be allowed to take anything from us.[76]

Hume noted the bill's supporters did not prove the necessity for the legislation. Yet, they wanted to reinstate penalties "because some foreigners had done something which was supposed to be hostile to the interests of England."[77] Another M. P., completely misunderstanding and misrepresenting the restoration, accused the pope of setting up a legislature within England for spiritual and temporal matters.[78] Roundell Palmer saw more dangers to civil and religious liberty from the legislation than from Roman Catholicism.[79]

The speeches of the bill's supporters echoed those of previous tolerations bills' debates, particularly that of 1829. One M. P. begged the house to protect their "national independence and . . . the Protestant religion."[80] The M. P. for Nottingham viewed the hierarchy as

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[74] Warre-Cornish, p. 347.

[75] Parliamentary Debates, vol. 114, cols. 214, 218.

[76] Ibid., cols. 300, 303.

[77] Ibid., cols. 489-90.

[78] Ibid., col. 1152.

[79] Ibid., col. 1348.

[80] Parliamentary Debates, vol. 115, cols. 80, 131, 140.

representing unwarranted aggression and unsurpation and vowed to resist with all his might Rome's encroachment and aggression.

Not all politicians, however, were anti-Catholic. In February 1851 Lord John Russell approached Lord Aberdeen and Sir James Graham in an attempt to form a coalition government. Both refused unless Russell agreed to drop the proposed Ecclesiastical Titles Bill. Lord Aberdeen wrote:

> I might have been Prime Minister at this moment, had it not been for my resistance to the Ecclesiastical Titles Bill. Without doubt this is a most unpopular ground but I feel quite satisfied that I might.[81]

Warre-Cornish notes that Russell himself later acknowledged this statement to be true. In a conversation with Bishop Ullathorne, Lord Lansdowne, Lord President of the Council in Russell's Cabinet said that he regretted the public's attitude towards the restoration.[82] During the debates Sir James Graham objected to the bill as a penal law and as a reversal of a twenty-two year policy and "calculated to produce the greatest evil."[83]

The M. P. for Middlesex described the restoration and Wiseman's pastoral as a "harmless act" its only fault being the pope's using medieval language and Wiseman's "inflated and bombastic manner and writing."[84] Osborne objected to Catholics being stigmatized as

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[81]Elie Halevy, A History of the English People in the Nineteenth Century, 6 vols. (New York: Barnes & Noble, 1961), vol. 4: The Victorian Years, 1841-1895, translated by E. I. Watkins and D. A. Barker, p. 313; and Warre-Cornish, p. 350.

[82]William Bernard Ullathorne, History of the Restoration of the Catholic Hierarchy (London: Burns, Oates & Co., 1871), p. 98.

[83]Parliamentary Debates, vol. 115, col. 283.

[84]Ibid., cols. 345-46.

"bigots or branded as disloyal" and saw the bill as the first step towards "a revival of the penal laws."[85] Gladstone felt that the bill's opponents were a minority who had "the principle of justice" on their side and would "soon have the course of public opinion" on their side as well.[86]

The Ecclesiastical Titles Assumption Bill passed by a vote of 263 to 46 on July 4, 1851 and was read for the first time in the House of Lords.[87] The Earl of Aberdeen opened the debate for the bill's opponents and the Marquess of Lansdowne opened for the government supported by Lord Beaumont, the Duke of Wellington, and the Earl of Malmesbury.[88] The Duke of Argyll felt it was the Lords' duty to themselves and the succeeding generations to insure Roman Catholic advances were not made by sacrificing "the ancient principles of our public law, and the sacred prerogatives of this English Crown."[89] The Duke of Newcastle made a long and forceful speech opposing the bill asserting that it "will leave behind . . . impressions of bitterness and disaffection on both sides of the channel."[90] The House of Lords passed the bill on July 29 with twenty-four members making a formal protest against its passage.[91] Their protest is included as appendix D.

Queen Victoria's attitude towards the hierarchy's restoration

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[85] Ibid.

[86] Ibid., cols. 596-97.

[87] Ibid., vol. 116, cols. 239-42.

[88] Ibid., cols. 1064-65, 1072-73, 1093, 1113-14, 1116-17.

[89] Ibid., col. 1134.

[90] Ibid., cols. 1262-63.

[91] Ibid., cols. 1666-69.

and the anti-Catholic agitation differed from her government's position. On December 8, 1850 she wrote Lord John Russell that she favored action due to the great demand for it but she regretted the great abuse to which Catholics were subjected deeming it "unchristian and unwise" and hoped for its quick end.[92] The queen wrote to her aunt, the Duchess of Gloucester, on December 12, 1850 that

> sincerely Protestant as I always have been and . . . shall be . . . I much regret the unchristian and intolerant spirit exhibited by many people. I cannot bear to hear the violent abuse of the Catholic religion, which is so painful and cruel towards the many good and innocent Roman Catholics.[93]

Fothergill comments that it would have been greatly to England's good if the country had adopted Victoria's attitude. On Russell's letter Fothergill further notes that if Russell had adopted Victoria's attitude, the hierarchy's restoration "might have passed in a manner more creditable to the reputation of a civilized country."[94]

The results of the restoration, ensuing agitation, and legislation varied. The Duke of Norfolk, as mentioned earlier, left the church while Henry Edward Manning converted. English Catholic servants and working men suffered for a while from increased anti-Catholic prejudice.[95] While on the positive side, Fothergill credited Wiseman's handling of the crisis with ensuring the unquestioned right of Catholics to practice their religion. However, Wiseman lost the government's confidence necessitating other bishops to deal with the government.

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[92]Fothergill, p. 181.

[93]Arthur C. Benson and Viscount Esher, eds., vol. 2, The Letters of Queen Victoria (London: Macmillan & Co., 1907), p. 281.

[94]Ibid.

[95]Holmes, p. 79.

Ambrose Phillips de Lisle, a prominent early nineteenth-century Catholic convert, noted that the furor accompanying the restoration made Catholicism "the great subject of conversation from one end of England to the other."[96]

The legislation was a dead issue from the beginning. Of the major clauses, only the £100 fine for a Catholic bishop's assumption of an Anglican see's title remained and it was never enforced.[97] The Catholic bishops used their titles privately and publicly with no repercussions.[98] In 1867 a House of Commons committee reported that the act "proceeded upon a misapprehension of what the Brief of 1850 was intended to effect"[99] and realized that the bishops claimed only spiritual authority over English Catholics. The committee acknowledged that it was an injustice to the Catholics and recommended its repeal.

English Catholics had not received autonomy when the hierarchy was restored. That remained with the pope and the Papal Curia, particularly the Congregation of Propaganda. There were solid achievements though. Priests noted new conversions and Catholics "passed through the darkness and came unscathed into the day."[100]

Pope Pius IX reflected wonderingly to an English priest visiting Rome.

So you English imagine I meant to insult Queen Victoria and

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[96]Fothergill, pp. 182-83, 290.

[97]H. J. T. Johnson, "Parliament and the Restored Hierarchy," Dublin Review 224 (October 1950):13.

[98]Warre-Cornish, p. 351.

[99]Norman, pp. 200-1.

[100]Chadwick, vol. 1, p. 305.

> violate the laws of your country. You are a very strange people. You seem to me to understand nothing thoroughly but commerce.[101]

Perhaps the best epitaph on Papal Aggression was written a century later by T. C. Edwards. He states:

> Viewed in perspective, the date 1851 marks the moment when the spiritual descendants of Foxe's Martyrs found themselves irrevocably face to face with the spiritual descendants of Sir Thomas Moore. Over delayed family reunions are proverbially difficult for both sides.[102]

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[101] Norman, p. 71.

[102] T. C. Edwards, "Papal Aggression: 1851," History Today 1 (December 1951):49.

CHAPTER SIX

CONCLUSION

The years from 1870 on saw a vast difference in the status and numbers of the English Catholic Church. This difference resulted from the changes in the Roman Catholic community in England after 1829. Emancipation brought both freedom and new problems in its wake as it removed the restrictions which had blighted Catholic life for centuries. The nineteenth century saw the re-establishment of Catholicism as a legal religion in England and re-entrance of Catholics into the mainstream of English life.

The last quarter of the nineteenth century saw a tremendous increase in the numbers of Catholics. This increase was due to conversions from Anglicanism and massive Irish immigration. It resulted in dissent and division with the English Catholic community. As the century progressed the division between Ultramontanes on the one side and moderates and liberals on the other increased. As the Ultramontanes controlled the government of the English Catholic Church and opposed changes, the opposition was unsuccessful until after the death of Henry Edward Cardinal Manning, Archbishop of Westminster and Catholic Primate of England. In 1895 Herbert Cardinal Vaughan, a follower of Manning, reversed Manning's ban on Catholic attendance at Oxford and

Cambridge, an indication that moderation was beginning to rear its head among the Ultramontanes.

The English Catholics faced many problems and attempted to find solutions to them. Among these problems were those of Protestant prejudice towards and dislike of Catholics, prejudice by English Protestants and Catholics toward the Irish Catholics in England, the lack of proper educational facilities for Catholics, and the inadequate Catholic Church government in England.

These problems were accompanied by division with the church which was not finally resolved until the twentieth century. The prejudice and hostility shown by the English Protestants was not easily or quickly overcome. Its permeation into English history and tradition ensured its existence for centuries. Catholics needed to convince Protestants that they could be both good Catholics and good Englishmen and the two were not mutually exclusive. Catholics succeeded in removing all legal barriers when the last penal law was stricken from the statute books in 1926.

The other two above mentioned problems--education and better church government--added more difficulties to those already mentioned. Catholics had to plan, organize, and implement a system of education both religious and secular for members of their faith and with no funds available, had to raise the money to finance this system of education. The great increase in schools during the later part of the nineteenth century provides concrete evidence that the English Catholics overcame this problem to a great extent. They solved the need for greater efficiency in church government by the restoration of the hierarchy which created sufficient authority and organization to coordinate church activities.

English Catholics faced and solved many problems during the nineteenth century. What did the Catholics achieve in the nineteenth century? How did they accomplish these achievements? This is the central theme of this thesis. The nineteenth century was a watershed for English Catholicism and the events which occurred during that century marked a new turning point for the English Catholic community.

Obviously, relaxation of the penal laws and emancipation played a large part in English Catholicism's fortunes during the nineteenth century and their importance must not be neglected. However, this same importance must not obscure other factors which played their part in the saga of nineteenth-century English Catholicism. The nineteenth century was English Catholicism's "coming of age."

Catholicism had been an established and active force in England for centuries. The Reformation attempted to destroy Catholicism as it existed in England during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Although crippling it badly by depriving Catholics of their churches, cardinals, bishops, priests, convents, monasteries, education (both secular and religious) and (under penalty of death or imprisonment) the saying of or attendance at Mass, the Protestants failed to destroy Catholicism. It was driven underground for centuries with an occasional surfacing when times were more favorable. This furtive underground existence meant that Catholics lacked the privileges once taken for granted: attendance at Mass, education, and the right to participate fully in English life among others.

The history of English Catholicism in the nineteenth century is the history of Catholics regaining those lost rights and privileges. The rights and privileges thus regained were built on the rubble of

those Catholic foundations which the Protestants had thought were obliterated. That same century is also the story of how the English Catholics adapted to their new freedoms and responsibilities. For with emancipation there came a host of new responsibilities and burdens. Emancipation was only the first step which Catholics had to take to regain their place in English life and to freely live and practice their faith.

The Catholics gained the right to live as free Englishmen at emancipation but that did not mean they automatically gained the ability to do so. Catholics sometimes moved slowly in re-entering English life, for they still carried with them the memories and shadows of the burden of deprivation, restriction, and penalties removed from their shoulders at emancipation. The nineteenth century was the period of childhood and adolescence of the newly restructured and revived English Catholic Church. They advanced from darkness to light but they still blinked at the bright sun in their strange new world of freedom.

The nineteenth century saw much joy, sorrow, strife, and triumph for English Catholics. The rebuilt English Catholic Church emerged into maturity during this period. Although not new in England, the centuries of hardship intervening between the Reformation and the restoration of the hierarchy in 1850 necessitated a struggle for survival. The century of Victoria's reign saw the blooming of English Catholicism's "Second Spring."

In addition to their faith the English Catholics needed patience, courage, and fortitude in abundance to survive and then rebuild. They made mistakes, corrected them, and new mistakes and corrections took their place. By the end of the century the restructured

English Catholic Church attained adulthood and was ready to face England, Rome, and the world on its own terms with new stability and confidence. The Catholics, having closed ranks and circled their wagons against the hostile world,[1] had fully established themselves and their church in their rightful place in England religion, education, politics, and society.

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[1]Owen Chadwick, The Victorian Church, vol. 1, 2d ed. (London: Adam & Charles Black, 1970), p. 306.

APPENDIX A

CREATION OF VICAR APOSTOLIC DISTRICTS, 1840[1]

London District:	Eight counties--Berkshire, Essex, Hertford, Kent, Middlesex, Southampton, Surry, Sussex; three islands--Guernsey, Jersey, Wight.
Central District:	Eight counties--Derbyshire, Leicestershire, Nottinghamshire, Oxfordshire, Salop, Staffordshire, Warwickshire, Worcestershire.
Eastern District:	Nine counties--Bedfordshire, Buckinghamshire, Cambridgeshire, Huntingdon, Lincolnshire, Norfolk, Northamptonshire, Rutland, Suffolk.
Northern District:	Three counties--Durham, Northumberland, Westmoreland.
Western District:	Six counties--Cornwall, Devonshire, Dorset, Gloucestershire, Somerset, Wiltshire; Scilly Isles.
Lancashire District:	Three counties--Cheshire, Cumberland, Lancashire; one island--Man.
Yorkshire District:	One county--Yorkshire. Note: The last district was the Welsh district.

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[1]William M. Brady, The Episcopal Succession in England, Scotland and Ireland, vol. 3 (Rome: Tipografia Della Pace, 1877; reprint ed., New York: Gregg International Publishers, 1971), pp. 323, 335, 334, 342, 327, 147, 341.

CREATION OF DIOCESES, 1850[2]

Westminster: (Archdiocese)	Three counties--Essex, Hertford, Middlesex; parts of London north of the Thames.
Southwark:	Five counties--Berkshire, Kent, Southampton, Surrey, Sussex, three islands--Guernsey, Jersey, Wight; parts of London south of the Thames.
Hexham:	Old Northern District.
Beverley:	Old Yorkshire District.
Liverpool:	Three hundreds--Ananderness, Lonsdale, West Derby; one island--Man (created from part of Old Lancashire District).
Salford:	Three hundreds--Blackburn, Leybad, Salford (created from the remainder of Old Lancashire District).
Shrewsbury:	Six Welsh counties; two English counties--Cheshire (from Lancashire District), Shropshire (from Central District).
Menevia and Newport:	Six Welsh counties; two English counties--Monmouth and Hereford.
Clifton:	Gloucestshire, Somerset, Wiltshire (from Western District).
Plymouth:	Three counties--Cornwall, Devenshire, Dorset (from Western District).
Nottingham:	Five counties--Derbyshire, Leicestershire, Lincolnshire, Nottinghamshire, Rutland (first three counties are from Western District, last two from Eastern).
Birmingham:	Four counties--Oxfordshire, Staffordshire, Warwickshire, Worcestershire (from Western District).
Northampton:	Old Eastern District, excluding Nottinghamshire and Rutland.

[2]Ibid., pp. 111-12.

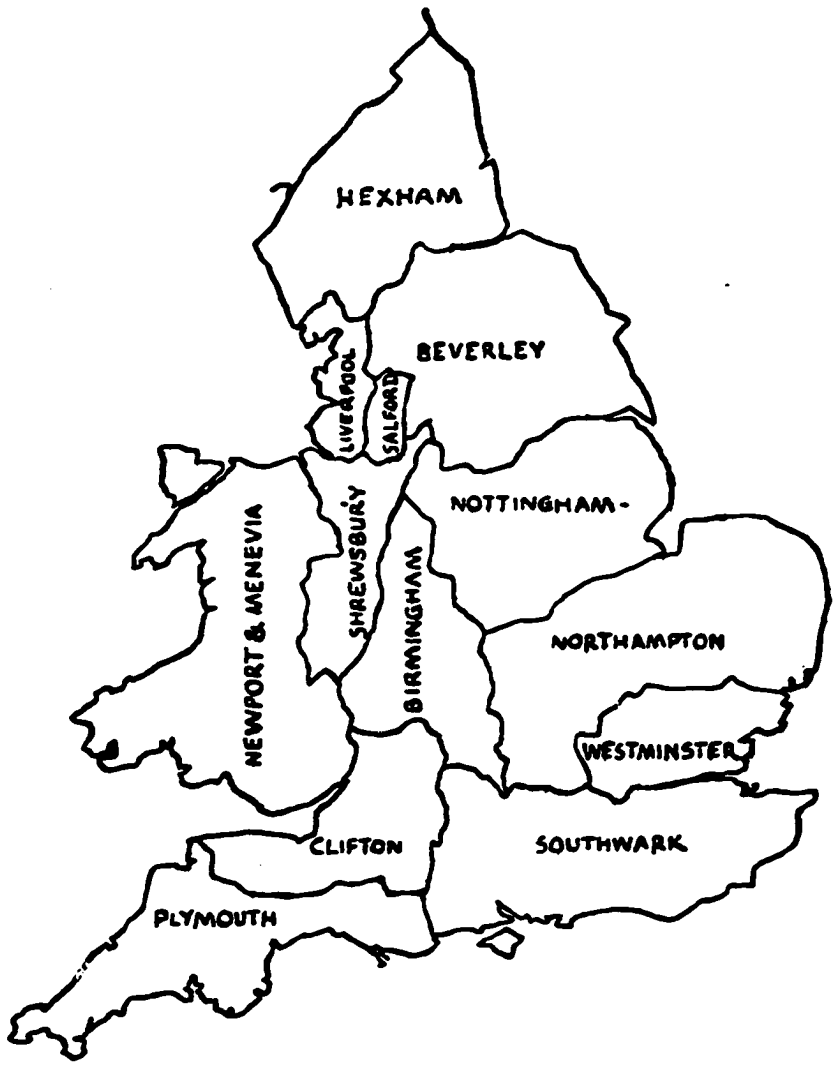
APPENDIX B

MAPS OF ENGLAND AND WALES

Source: William R. Shepherd, Historical Atlas, 8th ed., (New York: Barnes & Noble, Inc., 1956), p. 163.

ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH, ENGLAND AND WALES[1]

ROMAN CATHOLIC DIOCESES IN 1850



[1]E. R. Reynolds, The Roman Catholic Church in England and Wales (Wheathampstead, England: Anthony Clarke Books, 1973), p. 328.

APPENDIX C

MINUTES RELATING TO CONDITIONS OF AID TO ROMAN CATHOLIC SCHOOLS[1]

Revised --

1 -- That the Roman Catholic Poor School Committee be the ordinary channel of such general inquiries as may be desirable, as to any school applying for aid as a Roman Catholic School.

2 -- That the Roman Catholic schools receiving aid from the Parliamentary Grant be open to Inspection, but that the Inspectors shall report respecting the secular instructions only.

3 -- That the Inspectors of such schools be not appointed without the previous concurrence of the Roman Catholic Poor School Committee.

4 -- That no gratuity, stipend, or augmentation of salary, be awarded to schoolmasters or assistant teachers who are in holy orders; but that their Lordships reserve to themselves the power of making an exception in the case of training schools and of model schools connected therewith.

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[1]Mary J. Broderick, Catholic Schools in England (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University Press, 1936), pp. 48-49.

APPENDIX D

PROTESTS

AGAINST THE PASSING OF THE ECCLESIASTICAL TITLES ASSUMPTION BILL[1]

"DISSENTIENT. — 1. Because, while ready to uphold and to defend the rights and prerogative of our Most Gracious Sovereign and the honour and the independence of our country against all aggression, we do not feel ourselves justified in supporting a Bill which trenches on that religious freedom which Her Majesty has been pleased to assure us 'it is Her desire and firm determination, under God's blessing, to maintain unimpaired;' which it has been the object of the Legislature, during the last 60 years, to extend and to secure; and which now happily forms a fundamental part of our constitution, and is inseparably bound up with our civil liberties.

"2. Because it is irreconcileable with the spirit and with the letter of the Roman Catholic Relief Act to impose new and to increase existing penalties, falling exclusively on the members of one religious communion; and our objection to this fatal course is augmented when it is announced that the Bill may lead to other measures of a similar character, in case the stringency of its provisions is not found sufficient to answer the purposes of its framers.

"3. Because we view with alarm the declaratory enactments of this Bill, undefined, as they are, in their legal consequences, rendering solemn antecedent acts and public instruments unlawful and void, and rendering unlawful and void likewise all the 'jurisdiction, authority, pre-eminence, or title,' derived from such acts and instruments.

"4. Because these alarms are increased from the want of any clear definition in this Bill fixing the incidence and the limits of its penalties, thus creating all the dangers which must ever attend vague and uncertain laws, exposing the Roman Catholicality to wrong and privation, interfering with the jurisdiction and ecclesiastical functions of the Roman Catholic clergy, and leaving it a matter of grave doubt whether both parties may not be exposed to criminal prosecution as well as to civil penalty.

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[1]Great Britain, Parliament, Hansard's Parliamentary Debates, vol. 118 (1851), cols. 1676-79.

"5. Because it is irreconcileable with the wise policy of late years, shown in the repeal of barbarous penalties contained in ancient and intolerant laws, to revive and give robustness and energy to a severe penal statute, passed nearly 500 years back, enforced only once since its enactment, and that in the year 1607, in a case which we are informed is of doubtful authority.

"6. Because we cannot reconcile the Charitable Bequests Act, which recognises the status and existance of Roman Catholic archbishops and bishops and their successors, officiating and exercising episcopal functions in Ireland, with this Bill, which interferes directly with the appointment of such archbishops and bishops, and declares the official instruments and official acts required for such appointments, as well as 'all jurisdiction, authority, pre-eminence, or title,' derived therefrom, to be unlawful and void. Nor is this difficulty removed by the saving clause, which leaves it doubtful whether the 4th section may not defeat other portions of the Bill, or whether the general import of the Bill may not deprive that saving clause of its efficacy.

"7. Because it seems illogical, inexpedient, and unjust, when the Rescripts or Letters Apostolical of the Pope, of the 29th of September, 1850, are relied on as the cause and justification of this Bill, that we should extend its restraints to a part of Her Majesty's dominions to which that Rescript has not any possible application.

"8. Because it has been admitted in debate, on high legal authority, that the penalties of this Bill are limited to what are described as being 'pretended sees,' while other sees or districts are subjected only to the less severe provisions of the 10th George IV., chap. 7. It therefore follows that a different state of law will exist in England and in Ireland, as well as in different parts of Ireland, producing anomalies and contradictions incompatible with sound legislation; the severity of the law and its penalties not varying according to the nature of the imputed offence, but according to the geographical limits within which such imputed offence may have been committed.

"9. Because, if it should be true, as has been stated in debate by the supporters of this Bill, that if it becomes a law it cannot be carried into effect, but must remain 'a dead letter,' we consider that it is still more inconsistent with sound legislation to pass a Bill which, without giving any security whatever, tampers with all the principles of religious freedom, creates discontent and alarm, and by bringing the law into contempt lessens its force and rightful authority.

"10. Because a determined resistance has been offered to all suggestions made during the progress of the Bill for the correction even of obvious and verbal errors, as well as for the amendment of certain provisions of which no justification has been attempted; and because the reason assigned for taking this course, arising from the possible inconvenience and delay apprehended if this Bill were returned to the House of Commons, is inconsistent with the free deliberations of this House, and derogatory to its just rights and authority as a branch of the Legislature.

"11. Because upon these grounds, we cannot but consider the passing of this Bill to be most inexpedient and most unjust. We consider it illadapted to protect either the prerogative of the Crown or the independence of our country, while calculated to revive civil

strife and sectarian dissensions; we protest against it likewise as a departure from those high principles of religious liberty to which our greatest statesmen have devoted their intellect, their genius, and their noblest exertions.

"MONTEAGLE of Brandon.
"VAUX of Harroden.
"LOVAT.
"CAMOYS.
"MONT EAGLE (M. of Sligo).
"ROSSIE (Kinnaird).
"FINGALL.
"CHARLEMONT.
"LEITRIM.
"PETRE.
"STOURTON.
"DORMER.
"ARUNDEL of Wardour."

"DISSENTIENT. -- 1. Because no such measure as the present is consistent either with justice or expediency.

"2. Because the Bill appears to have been mainly dictated by the excitement which has recently prevailed -- an excitement which it was the duty of the Government and the Legislature rather to allay than to encourage. Any attempt to interfere with doctrines by Act of Parliament is not only likely to fail, but may even promote what it is intended to repress.

"3. Because it is most unreasonable and inconsistent to profess to grant full toleration to the Roman Catholic religion, and at the same time to prohibit that species of communication with the See of Rome which is indispensable for its perfect discipline and government.

"4. Because the undue assumption of power involved in the terms of the Papal Rescript of the 20th of September, 1850, and of other documents connected therewith, however justly open to exception, can supply no reason for depriving Her Majesty's Roman Catholic subjects of a regular and ordinary part of their ecclesiastical organization.

"5. Because the appointment of ecclesiastical officers is essentially a matter of religious concern; and although it may be expedient in particular cases that such appointment should be under the control or influence of the civil power -- and although it is the undoubted duty of the Legislature to provide that no temporal powers are exercised and no temporal rights impaired, under the pretext of ecclesiastical regulations, yet to restrain a religious community not established by law in the management of its religious concerns, otherwise than by confining them within the sphere of religion, is inconsistent with the spirit of all our recent legislation. Such restraint involves the principle, and may lead to the practice of religious persecution.

"6. Because of the Act of the 10th George IV., chap. 7, which for the first time since the Reformation secured to the Roman Catholic subjects of the Crown an equality of political rights, constituted a solemn expression of the intention of the Legislature, and a pledge to the Roman Catholic community that they should thence-forward enjoy a full religious toleration.

"7. Because the 24th section of the 10th George IV., which prohibits all persons other than those thereunto authorized by law, from assuming the titles of archbishops, bishops, and deans of the National Church, affords no precedent for this Bill, inasmuch as the former simply defends from invasion certain known legal titles already appropriated, and importing high dignities and valuable rights; whereas the latter amounts to the total prohibition of a diocesan episcopate.

"8. Because the penal provisions of this Bill not only differ in the above-named respect from those of the 10th George IV., but they differ further to the prejudice of our Roman Catholic fellow-subjects, inasmuch as they are preceded by recitals and declarations of law, concerning which the 10th George IV. was silent, whereby a new and extended construction may be given both to the penal provisions of this measure, and likewise retroactively to those of the 10th George IV.

"9. Because the ancient statutes against the exercise of a foreign jurisdiction, or restrictive of the importation of Bulls, Briefs, and Rescripts, which are cited in justification of the present Bill, are unavailable for such a purpose. Those statutes have long been suffered to remain in desuetude. If now revived, they may be found to assert powers for the Crown which would be destructive of the religious liberties secured to Protestant Dissenters as well as Roman Catholics. They have no special reference to the establishment of provinces or sees, or to the assumption of titles, but are equally and indifferently directed against all exercise of jurisdiction, whether by diocesan bishops or by vicars-apostolic, and are therefore incompatable with our recognised principles of toleration and religious freedom.

"10. Because there is a peculiarly harsh and ungracious character in the present prohibition of diocesan government of the Roman Catholic community; as it is not disputed that at various periods, from the Reformation down to a recent date, the secular clergy, and more especially the Roman Catholic laity, have sought for the introduction among themselves of a diocesan episcopacy, with the approval and encouragement of the British Government.

"11. Because there are presumptive grounds for believing that the late measures of the Pope have been adopted under the persuasion that, if he should do what in his judgement was requisite for the spiritual wants and interests of his own communion, the advisers of the Crown not only would have no desire, but had, in fact, publicly disclaimed all intention and all title to interfere.

"12. Because this Bill, while it professes to refer to Roman Catholic titles, enacts a further and wholly gratuitous interference with religious freedom, by forbidding the assumption of episcopal prelates of the Established Church and the prelates of the Scottish Episcopal Communion. By the exception from its provisions of the last-named prelates, who are appointed independently of the Royal authority, the Bill plainly admits that the appointment of bishops is in its essence a spiritual matter, and thereby condemns its own principal provisions.

"13. Because it is inexpedient to protect the rights of the episcopate established by law, by needless and unjust restraints upon the religious freedom of others. Such protection is likely to weaken rather than to strengthen the National Church in its proper office of maintaining and enlarging its influence over the people by moral and spiritual means.

"14. Because the Bill, besides being unjust in principle, greatly endangers the peace and harmony of the various classes of Her Majesty's subjects in the United Kingdom, and especially in Ireland. Should the measure be carried into actual operation, it may engender the most serious political and social evils; while, if it should not be put in force against the use of the titles openly assumed, its introduction into the Statute-book will have tended to disparage the dignity of Parliament and the authority of the law.

"GORDON (Aberdeen).
"NEWCASTLE.
"CANNING.
"ST. GERMANS.
"WHARNCLIFFE.
"LITTELTON.
"MONTEAGLE (of Brandon).
"VAUX (of Harrowden).
"PETRE.
"STUART DE DECIES.
"LEEDS."

For all but the 4th and 13th reasons.

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