ROMAN CATHOLIC EDUCATION

From

1700 to 1870

A Study of Roman Catholic Educational Endeavour

from the early Eighteenth Century

to the

Elementary Education Act of 1870.

A Thesis

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Abbreviations

1.	Add.MSS. B.M.	Additional Manuscripts British Museum
2.	Birm.Dioc.	Archdiocese of Birmingham Archives.
3.	Clift.Dioc.	Diocese of Clifton Archives.
4.	C.R.S.	Publications of the Catholic Record Society
5.	C.P.S.C.R.	Catholic Poor School Committee Reports.
6.	Gillow	Gillow, J., Bibliographical and Biographical Dictionary of the English Catholics.
7.	L.D.	Laity's Directory.
8.	Leeds Dioc.	Diocese of Leeds Archives.
9.	Liv.Dioc.	Archdiocese of Liverpool Archives.
10.	Mid.Dioc.	Diocese of Middlesbrough Archives.
11.	P.C.C.	Privy Council Committee on Education Minutes.
12.	P.P.	Parliamentary Papers.
13.	P.R.O.	Public Record Office.
14.	Ushaw MSS	St.Cuthbert's College, Ushaw Archives.
15.	West.Dioc.	Archdiocese of Westminster Archives.

PART I

THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTORY: CATHOLIC RECUSANTS FROM THE REFORMATION TO 1700.

It has been supposed that historically Catholic educational endeavour is confined almost exclusively to the era of Government aid to schools and that a Catholic schools system emerged only after Privy Council grants were made available to Catholics when the Catholic Poor School Committee was set up in 1847. To take this view is to overlook the past, for although Catholic educational activity increased greatly from the time when Government aid became available for their schools, rather than a beginning this represents a stage in a development long continuous and having direct links with the remote past.

Catholicism in post-Reformation England was maintained through the preservation of the priesthood and the schools. Therefore throughout penal times Catholic educational activity continued, illegal, liable to persecution and in consequence clandestine, and because so much evidence has been lost, its full extent may never be known. Nevertheless, research has shown that there was a pattern and a picture is emerging, though shadowy in places. (1)

With the passage of the first relief act in 1778 the English Catholics emerged for a period of Government repression that had

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(1) Evidence is scattered piecemeal, much of it preserved in Non-Catholic archives, and before the definitive history can be written a series of regional studies must be made. In the meantime the assessment made by A.C.F. Beales in "Education Under Penalty", London, 1963 will remain the standard of reference for English catholic educational activity from the Reformation to the end of the 17th century.

commenced more than two centuries earlier, during the reign of Elizabeth I.(2). From then on with a hostility that varied in its intensity the Protestant state had regarded the Church of Rome as alien and dangerous. And in order to secure their safety, successive English governments had sought to wipe out Catholicism by the operation of repressive laws, the Penal laws.

For their part the English Catholics met the onslaughts of the Elizabethan government with a spiritual resistance movement and for long after maintained the hope of a Catholic restoration to the monarchy and of eventual toleration. First under James, who temporised for the sake of political advantage abroad and later under his son Charles whose French marriage and desire for a religious understanding with Rome prompted a leniency in government in direct opposition to the wishes of parliament. From the setback of the Civil War and Interregnum the Catholics emerged royalist and still recusant and much of the struggle between the restored Charles II and his protestant parliaments centred round his leniency towards the papists. Finally with the accession of the Catholic James II a high water mark was reached and for a brief space of time a Catholic revival took place. But the dawn was a false one.

When James fell, Catholic aspirations tumbled in ruins with him. His abdication was followed by the Revolution settlement and by repression again; the new century dawned with fresh additions to the penal statutes. The Catholic cause now became entangled with that of

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(2) In 1571, following the Rising of the North and the Papal bull of excommunication, the Government mounted its long sustained offensive against the English Catholics.

the exiled house of Stuarts; to be Catholic was to be Jacobite. The eighteenth century ended with the dawn of toleration but not before hopes of its achievement had eventually died, and the Catholic minority of the population from an estimated ten per cent had dwindled to a tiny remnant. For the English Catholics the eighteenth century was bleak indeed.

The Penal Laws imposed disabilities on Catholics on two counts: that of exercising their religious duties, and that of providing for the religious education of their children. They aimed at repressing all educational endeavour on the part of Catholics at home and preventing their use of the schools and seminaries which, through the enterprise of Cardinal Allen and Father Robert Persons, S.J., had been commenced on the Continent. Thus in 1570 anyone departing the realm without the Queen's licence and remaining more than six months was to forfeit his fortune and property. (3) By 1585 no one could send his child for education overseas, without the licence of the Queen or four members of her Privy Council, under penalty of £100 fine for each offence. Those in seminaries overseas who did not return and conform within six months were to suffer the penalty for high treason, if apprehended. (4) From 1604 permission for any woman or child to go abroad could be granted only on licence of the King and six members of the Privy Council. Those attending a seminary or College abroad were to forfeit all estates and the right to purchase; anyone sending a child abroad was to be fined £100 for each offence. (5) Through an enactment of the following year,

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(3) 13 Eliz., Cap.3, 1570.
(4) 27 Eliz., Cap.2, Sects. 5, 7 and 16.
(5) I Jac. I, Cap.4, Sects. 6 and 8.

the non-Catholic next-of-kin of any child sent to school abroad could enjoy his fortune until, at the age of eighteen, he took the oath of allegiance. (6) By the law of 1627 anyone going for training in any popish priory, abbey, nunnery, university or school overseas and the person who sent him were to be disabled from sueing or being capable of any legacy and were to forfeit all goods and chattels. (7)

The English Catholic schools and colleges abroad were situated mainly in the Low Countries, within as easy reach of the English shores as circumstances would allow. The work of founding these institutions had commenced with English College at Douay, in 1568, and proceeded throughout the latter half of the sixteenth and the whole of the seventeenth centuries. Establishments for the education of boys were set up by the Seculars, the Jesuits, the Benedictines, and the Dominicans, while convent schools for girls were founded by the religious orders of women. All these were supported by a network of preparatory schools. By 1700 a non-catholic writer was able to place the number of colleges and schools established on the continent for the education of English Catholic youth as high as fifty one. (8)

The first of these institutions, the English College at Douay, founded in 1568, had been erected as a temporary provision against the time when, as Catholics expected, England would return to the old religion. As the permanence of the religious changes in England became apparent, so an educational organisation on the continent, for training English youth for the Catholic religious and lay life, emerged

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(6) 3 Jac. I, Cap.5, Sects. 16 and 17, 1605.
(7) 3 Car. I, Cap.3.
(8) "A list of Monasteries, Nunneries and Colleges belonging to the English Papists in Several Popish Countries beyond the Sea". Ananymous.

and developed. (9) Despite constant re-enactment and modification of the Penal Laws requiring travelling licences, and imposing fines on parents and disinheritance on Catholic children who attended the English Catholic schools on the continent, the outward flow of students to them was never halted, and in 1700 it was found necessary to increase the rewards for informers in return for the conviction of persons sending children overseas to Romish schools. (10)

At home, although the existence of Catholic schools and schoolmasters was illegal the persistence of Catholic educational endeavour in England from the Reformation onwards evoked a re-enactment and modification of restrictions and penalities throughout the period we are discussing. Thus from 1563 all schoolmasters had to submit to the Anglican oath of orthodoxy or with their harbourers be punished. The Elizabethan penality for keeping a schoolmaster and his harbourer was increased in 1604 to forty shillings per day. (12) From 1662 recusant tutors were to suffer three months imprisonment for the first offence: the penalty to be repeated with the addition of a five pound fine for each subsequent offence. (13) Three years later recusant schoolmasters were liable to a fine of forty pounds. (14) In 1699 a recusant keeping school was to be imprisoned for life. (15).

Before the Reformation all education in England had been in the hands of the Catholic Church. The Catholic education of her youth was

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(9) The foundation of the Colleges and Seminaries overseas and their history as far as 1700 is fully dealt with by A.F.C.Beales in Education Under Penalty, London, 1963.

(10) 11 and 12 Gul. III, Cap.4, Sect. 6.
(11) 35 Eliz., Cap. I, Sect. 6, 1581.
(12) I Jac. I, Cap. IV, Sect. 9, 1604.
(13) 13 and 14 Car. II, Cap. IV, Sect. 16, 1662.
(14) 17 Car. II, Cap. II, Sect. 4, 1665.
(15) 11 and 12 Gul. III, Cap. IV.

traditional. (16) If, after the Reformation, it was vital to the Government to stifle Catholic education, it was just as vital for the future of the Catholic Church in England that she should educate her youth. Throughout the whole of Penal Times this educational policy was never forsaken. Through clandestine efforts of Secular and regular missionary clergy from overseas, and of nuns and numerous laity both men and women, an unceasing, illegal, educational activity was maintained for Catholics in England, in spite of Government persecution.

After the Reformation this activity was first made manifest through the operations of tutors working in the homes of the nobility and the gentry and of schoolmasters conducting clandestine schools in recusant centres and sometimes even in jail! Some of these Catholic educators were trained in England universities. They were followed by priests and laymen trained in the English seminaries and colleges abroad. (17) There were many schoolmasters about whose origins and training we know nothing. Women taught school as well as men.

During the seventeenth century, when the Regular clergy had reorganised, they were mainly responsible for the pace of Catholic educational activity, and schools in England were founded by the Jesuits, the Franciscans, and the Benedictines, and the Institute of the Blessed Virgin Mary provided schools for girls. The amount of activity,

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(16) Adamson J.W., Pioneers of Modern Education, 1600-1700, Cambridge, 1921, p.175.
Beales A.C.F., op.cit, Chapter I.

(17) Guilday, P., English Catholic Refugees on the Continent, 1558-1795, London, 1914, Vol. I, p.73.
Oskar Meyer, A., England and the Catholic Church under Queen Elizabeth - Translated Rev. J.R.McKee, London, 1916, p.211.
Beales A.C.F., op.cit., Chapters III, IV, VII, VIII, IX et passim.

which varied according to the vigour of the persecution locally, reached a climax during the Catholic revival in the brief reign of James II, when, under Jesuit leadership, a Catholic educatinal policy began to take shape and Catholic schools sprang up. At the end of that century came the division of England into four Vicariates, each with its own bishop. After this the secular clergy, under the leadership of their Bishops, played an increasing part in the foundation and maintenance of Catholic schools.

Some schools were for the children of the well-to-do, others for the children of Catholics of moderate means, and some were free. Much of the education given was elementary and a preparation for the more advanced education given in the colleges and seminaries overseas.

The schools were illegal and consequently were insecure and risky ventures. Much of our information about them comes from the records left by the authorities who detected them. With remarkable exception of the Bar Convent at York they were impermanent. Until more settled times for catholics arrived, these endeavours to provide educational facilities for Catholic children were largely the result of individual enterprise and resource.

Throughout this period literature, vital to Catholic instruction, never ceased to find its way into English Catholic homes from the presses set up by the exiles on the Continent, and from secret presses in England. (18)

(18) For a detailed discussion of recusant educational activity in one region during the 16th and 17th centuries, see my thesis, The History and Development of Catholic Education in the North and East Ridings of Yorkshire and the City of York from 1571 to 1870, M.Ed., Durham, 1956, Part I, the Age of Repression.

Also Beales A.C.F., op.cit. Chapters IV, V, X, XI.

CHAPTER 2

CATHOLIC RECUSANTS IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

(i) The Catholic Minority

Events after the abdication of James II crushed Catholic hopes of toleration, and as the eighteenth century progressed it became apparent to Catholic leaders that England was lost to the Church. Under the steady policy of Walpole's government the Protestant succession was ensured and with the failure of the rebellions of 1715 and 1745 hopes of relief either by the restoration of the Stuarts or through the indulgence of the existing government were slowly fading.

Socially the position of the English Catholics seemed to be going from bad to worse. The political influences at work tended to prejudice their position. For long they were as a body Jacobite in sympathy and hoped that the work of the Revolution might still be undone. But the mistakes of James II were not forgotten and the attempts of the Pretenders were kept fresh in the public mind. Disinterested acceptance of ideals of tolerance had not yet evolved and even Whig party principles of religious liberty excepted the Catholics. (1)

Although in the early part of the century many prominent Catholics were attached to the Stuart cause, by 1745 no great number seem to have been inclined to give help in the uprising and the Duchess of Norfolk prayed "that this wicked rebellion might soon be repressed lest it hurt the poor Roman Catholics". Bishop Challoner dissuaded Catholics in the

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(1) Burton E.H., Life and Times of Bishop Challoner, London, 1909, pp.66-67.

south from joining the rebellion. (2) As the century wore on the connection of Catholics with the House of Stuart passed away. A younger generation grew up to whom the Stuarts were only a memory and they came to accept as de jure the right of the Hanoverian succession. Bishop Challoner, the leader whose adult life spanned the century, had been Jacobite enough in 1750 to send the Old Pretender a notice of his own succession as Vicar Apostolic along with an affirmation of his loyalty. Yet by 1778 he gave the lead to Catholics now able to take the Oath of Allegiance to George III, "...our Gracious Sovereign, King George III, is by the will of God and our established laws, the rightful king of these realms, and consequently ... all our Catholics owe him all honour subjection and obedience". (3)

Early eighteenth century legislation against Catholics had aimed at rendering them incapable of fomenting political discord. According to the law a Catholic landlord was liable for double land tax; he was incapable of inheriting land or purchasing it; he was forbidden to carry arms or own a horse of value over £5; he could not hold office in the army or the navy; he could not send his children abroad for education without fine; he had to register his name and his estate and enrol all his deeds so that a check could be kept on him. A Catholic

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(2) Burton, op.cit., p.237.
The Ven.Richard Challoner, Vicar Apostolic of the London District is considered to be the greatest of English Catholic church leaders of the eighteenth century. He moulded the spiritual lives of the English Catholics of his day and "seized eagerly on every opportunity of quickening and deepening Catholic life and endeavour". Burton, op.cit., xxi-xxii.

(3) Letter to Rev.Edw.Barrett, Catholic Magazine 1834, pp.431-432.

could not practice as a barrister, a doctor, or a schoolmaster. (4) The presence of Catholic clergy in England remained illegal. By a statute of Elizabeth I still in force it was high treason for a Catholic priest to be in England and by a statute of William III a priest caught in the exercise of his duties could be sentenced to perpetual imprisonment. (5)

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(4) During the reign of George I Bishop Stonor reported to Rome that the chief hardships endured by Catholics were:-

(i) Exclusion from all places of trust and profit in the State, so that Catholic families had no way of repairing their losses nor others of acquiring fortunes.

(ii) 11 and 12 Gul.III, Cap.4, 1700 allowed protestant next of kin to dispossess the catholic heir of estates and Catholics were unable to acquire landed property by gift or purchase.

(iii) the double land tax applied only to Catholics.

(iv) All property given for the support of priests or religious could be confiscated, with compulsion to reveal where such property is concealed.

Thus the State "contrives to starve those whom it ceases to persecute" Quoted in Hemphill,Dom.Basil,O.S.B., The Early Vicars Apostolic of England, 1685-1750, London, 1954.

Other penal statutes in force throughout the eighteenth century:-

25 Car. II, Cap.2. Papist recusants could not hold any office in the army or navy.

30 Car. II, Cap.2. Popish recusants were disabled from sitting or voting in either House of Parliament.

1 William & Mary 1,Cap.15. Papists forbidden to keep arms, or any horse worth more than £5.

7 & 8 Wm.III,Cap.24. A papist could not practice as a barrister, doctor, or schoolmaster.

1 Geo.I, Cap.50. Appointed a Commission "to enquire of the estates of certain traitors and popish recusants and of estates given to superstitious uses, in order to raise money out of their security for the use of the public.

9 Geo. 1, Cap.18. A further £100,000 to be assessed on popish recusants over 18 years of age, over and above the assessment for double land tax.

(5) 27 Eliz. 1, C.2.
11, 12W. III, C.4., 1700
Under this law a priest, William Maloney, was sentenced in 1767 to perpetual imprisonment, though after four years the Government commuted it to one of perpetual banishment.

However, those who lived quietly could avoid the full rigour of the laws. As early as 1700 the government had made a distinction between such Catholics "as live quietly and inoffensively" and the rest that gave "any jealousy by their behaviour of (sic) disaffection." (6) The Hanoverian Monarchs could court the loyalty of their catholic subjects by allowing the most severe of the Penal Laws to fall into disuse. The Anglican Archbishop of York could divide the pehal laws into "severe laws against Papists which it is supposed there is no design to put into execution at this time" and "laws against Popery fit to be put into execution at this time". (7) He was informed by his clergy that in the city of York "are several Popish Families of Good Estates that have an influence in this neighbourhood... they have mass performed there as constantly and almost as publicly on the Lord's day as the Church of England has divine service". At Crathorne and Yarm "the Papists assemble to Mass as Publickly as the People go to Church". A popish lawyer had influence there too. Matters at Egton had been brought to a "sort of compromise...Ye papists have a particular part of Ye church-yard assigned 'em for ye interment of their dead". In 1733 the Archbishop could allege that there existed a "tacit connivance wch ye

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(6) S.P.Dom., William III, 1699-1700, p.391.

(7) The severe laws against priests at work in England were not being applied, nor were those against Catholic literature, saying and hearing Mass, confining papists to their homes, and sending children to school on the continent. Yet to avert a growth of popery the laws ought to be applied, especially those against mass houses, popish bishops, priests, proselytism and papists keeping schools. MS list of statutes in Anglican Archives, Bishopsthorpe, York, quoted in C.R.S. Vol. 32, Appendix II.

Roman Catholicks by his Majesties great lenity enjoy, at present, in the private exercise of their religion. (8) In the same year the Duke of Norfolk went to Court.

Nevertheless, Catholics continued to labour under disabilities imposed upon them by the Penal restrictions, and were often made to feel the full rigour of the law on account of exercising their religious duties. (9) Eventually, the pressure exerted by the Catholic minority

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(8) C.R.S.Vol.32, Appendix II pp.367, 371, 381.

Transcrips of various Records and Letters relating to Recusants in the Diocese of York in the earlier part of the 18th century from the Archives at Bishopsthorpe.

The Papist returns for the City of York, 1735, though incomplete (19 parishes out of 27 made returns) show a total of 170 Catholics and 2 priests (Piatt and Mannock - vide Appendix III, p.18) The following gentry are recorded as having houses in the city: Thos. Selby, John Stapylton, Stephen Tempest and Roger Meynell. The Catholic community of the city boasted 24 freemen and seems to have been prosperous. Occupations included: three innholders, a mariner, two gardeners, a surgeon, a joiner, a staymaker, a shoemaker, a bricklayer, a button maker, a buckle-maker, a brick-maker, a milliner, a breachmaker (sic), a coal merchant, an aleholder, a grocer, a cutler, a husbandman, a horserider, a hackney-coachman, spinsters, washerwomen, labourers, apprentices.

C.R.S.Vol.IV, pp.368-373
Northern Genealogist III, pp.84-88

(9) The statute 11, 12, Will.III, C.4. which offered £100 for every conviction was invoked by the common informer, William Payne, against Papists in 1765. His activities and the bigotry which he stirred up amounted to a minor persecution that lasted from 1765 to 1780. On one occasion he indicted Challoner, four of his priests and a schoolmaster, but was made to drop the charges because he had forged subpoenas. On another occasion he brought Bishop Talbot to trial. His activities horrified the judges and no doubt aided in creating the climate in the leglislature necessary for the relief act of 1778. West Dioc. MS.232 "Indictments (recent i.e. to 1780) of priests and schoolmasters under the penal laws." Gives examples of prosecutions in the late 18th century.

and their non-Catholic friends gained them relief from most of the Penal Laws by the Acts of 1778 and 1791, and finally emancipation in 1829.

As far as it has been written, the story of the Catholic laity in Penal times has concerned itself exclusively with the fortunes of the nobility and gentry. Of Catholics of the humbler sort nothing has been written. The fortunes of Catholics are thought to have ebbed and their numbers to have declined over more than two centuries of persecution, their position reaching its worst in the eighteenth century, when the remaining Catholic nobles and gentry lived quietly on estates which had been whittled away through fines, compositions, and alienations to heirs and relatives who had declared their allegiance to the Establishment. Many estates and titles passed out of Catholic hands altogether, and some Catholic families died out. To the old Catholic nobility and gentry goes the credit for the survival of Catholicism in England. They clung tenaciously to the old faith. Their homes were Catholic centres and refuges for Catholic clergy. Their sons and daughters embraced the religious life. The Catholic strength lay mainly in the countryside on their estates. Their tenantry and dependents comprised the Catholic congregations. However, when nobility and gentry were lost to the Church, so often were the missionaries they had maintained, and the Faith declined in what had once been Catholic centres.(10)

(10) Bishop Petre's statement to Rome on the condition of the English Mission, "Praesens Status Missionis Anglicanae", 1737, Westminster Archives.

Lord Aston's household at Standon Lordship contained 100 persons in the early 18th century. In 1741 Lord Montague at Cowdrey employed nearly 150 Catholics. In other parts of the country estates of the gentry were Catholic centres, e.g. in Yorkshire the Tempests at Broughton, the Maxwell Constables of Everingham, the Fairfaxes of Gilling.

Outcasts from the national life, Catholics came to accept their state of social ostracism. While the richer lived as country squires, others made homes and businesses in the towns. The scattered priesthood laboured where it could and Challoner himself was accustomed to preach in a public house or a cockpit and lived always in lodgings, not only because he was poor, but also to preserve his incognito. Even the colleges abroad were affected, for as Catholic communities shrank at home, the numbers of their students dwindled.

By the middle of the eighteenth century in most southern provincial towns Catholicism had practically died out, and in the ten counties of the London Vicariate four or five thousand Catholics were centred on the estates of the Catholic nobles. In London itself probably about twenty thousand Catholics lived, among them an increasing number of poor Irish. According to Bishop Petre in 1737 there had been no perceptible change in the numbers over the past thirty years. (11) Bishop Challoner's visitations show a steady diminution in the Catholic population in the south of England. In 1714 there had been 27,000. In 1730 there were 25,000 and on the occasion of Challoner's last survey there were fewer still. (12)

In the North Catholic congregations persisted in the traditional recusant centres in the country side, on the estates of the gentry and in some towns. By 1790 some 6,600 Catholics, many from Ireland, were to be found in Liverpool: (13) 73 Catholics registered at the Hull

(11) Op, cit.

(12) Beales A.C.F., Beginnings of Catholic Elementary Education in England in the Second Spring, Dublin Review, October, 1939.

(13) Hughes, Rev.J., A Concise Catholic History of Liverpool, 1910, p.43. Burke J., A Catholic History of Liverpool, p.43.

Quarter Sessions in 1778: (14) while the York congregation which numbered over 300 persons in 1780 (15) had flourished throughout the century and in 1735 had among its members 24 freemen of the City. (16)

By the time of the First Relief Act in 1778 the Catholics of England and Wales numbered some 70,000 (17) led by a handful of nobility and gentry, with a tiny middle class and an increasing number of Irish poor, their spiritual leaders four bishops and perhaps 360 priests. (18)

(ii) Clandestine Philanthropy and Survival

From the Reformation onwards the penalties for recusancy aimed at impoverishing Catholics, thus diminishing their capacity to support the schools and seminaries abroad, to maintain the clergy and to help their poor. Commencing with the Chantries Act of 1547 any bequest for spiritual purposes could be construed as put to superstitious uses and therefore confiscated; a line of action that was strengthened by subsequent legislation and the judgment of the courts. Thus in the reign of Elizabeth in a prosecution brought regarding a conveyance by one recusant to another in trust to employ the profits "to the relief of poor people at his discretion, according to the intention of the donor" the court held "that the donor and donee being recusants, the intent could only be the relief of poor recusants which is not agreeable to the

(14) City of Hull Bench Book, 1778, Fol. 81.b.
(15) Ushaw Archives, Register of the Vicars Apostolic, p.25.
(16) City of York Sessions Books, 1783-1792.
(17) Papist Returns to the House of Lords, 1780, quoted in Berington J., State and Behaviour of English Catholics, London, 1781, pp.113-114.
(18) Op. Cit. p.157.

law". Charitable bequests to recusants were judged to be outside the protection of Elizabeth's 'Statute of Charitable Uses'. During the reign of James I a recusant made a gift of land "to divers others in the hope that they would apply the profits to the use of poor scholars in Oxford or Cambridge, or elsewhere, being such as studied divinity and took orders". The court judged this to mean popish priests and the conveyance was illegal. (19)

After the Revolution settlement came further financial restrictions: the prohibition against Recusants' even holding land; their liability to double land tax; (20) and subsequently laws against charitable bequests in the reign of George II. As late as 1772, only six years before the passage of the First Relief Act, a private bill in the House

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(19) Anon. "Charitable Trusts Ancient and Modern"
The Rambler, Vol. XL, June 1853, p.443.

(20) 1 Geo.1, Cap.55. Act compelling R.C.s to register estates and all income arising out of land, with threat of special tax to make them contribute to the Government expenses in putting down the '15.

3 Geo. 1, Cap.18. Time for registering extended to 1717.

9 Geo. 1, Cap.18. All Wills of R.C.s and all Deeds of Sale to or by R.C.s to be enrolled at Session Courts. Object of Act was to raise £100,000 on estates of Catholics. Proportions were given for each County.

9 Geo. 1, Cap.24, 1723. Passed to catch anyone who had failed to register under 9 Geo. 1, Cap. 18.

of Lords was required for Mrs.Anne Fenwick to claim some of her fortune lost when her husband died, because she was a Catholic. (21)

The conveyancing of Catholics' property during Penal times whether legal or illegal is a mysterious and fascinating subject important enough to deserve a study of its own. By the statute of 7 and 8 Gul III the Bar was interdicted to papists and throughout the eighteenth century none were called to it until the passing of the second Relief Act of 1791. Yet Catholics continued to train as lawyers and specialised as conveyancers. Occasionally we catch a glimpse of one like Nathaniel Piggott who had been called to the Bar in 1688 at the end of the reign of James II: He was the last Catholic barrister for over a century. (22) Through Vincent Eyre, who helped manage the Duke of Norfolk's estates, we find out a little more. He attended the Rev. Simon Bordley's school at Ince near Liverpool in 1755. In 1758 he went with his two brothers to Esquerchin, the English preparatory school for Douay, and from there to the College from 1760 to 1764.

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(21) "An act to invest in trustees to be sold certain estates in the counties of York, Westmorland and Lancashire, which belonged to Anne Fenwick etc., 1772". Gillow II, pp.246-248.

An heiress in her own right, she had made over her estates to her husband John, to enable him to raise money. Afterwards he was unable to re-convey them to her on account of the penal laws. As the result of a riding accident he died intestate and childless and the whole estate was seized by his brother Thomas. Legally Anne was unable to claim, but she took the matter up and after years of action the case reached the notice of Lord Chancellor Camden who was responsible for the private bill. This circumvented the legal difficulty by setting up a trust to sell the estate, invest the proceeds and pay the interest to Anne for life, and then to Thomas Fenwick and his heirs.

(22) Butler, Charles, Historical Memoirs, Vol. IV, London, 1822, pp. 459-461.

On his return to England he studied in the chambers of Mr.Maire and Mr.Booth. (23), "two eminent Catholic conveyancers" and later became assistant to Mr.George Wilmot of Lincoln's Inn, the Catholic lawyer who managed the Duke of Norfolk's estates. We know that Mr.George Wilmot died in 1776. Of Mr.John Austin, another conveyancer we know nothing apart from his name. (24) Matthew Duane, "the eminent counsel and conveyancer" who died in 1784 had Charles Butler as his pupil.(25)

Throughout penal times, as we have seen, any Catholic charitable bequest was illegal, outside the protection of the law and subject to confiscation if detected. Because of this the process of transferring money to any Catholic trust was cloaked in secrecy and the activities of a trustee were clandestine and risky: like those of Edward Gilpin in 1716. Gilpin, trustee for the spiritual will of Cuthbert Morley of Thurnham, Lancashire, recorded discreetly that he had defaced the will, in his custody, "lest the donation be liable for forfeiture to the commissioners on Estates given for superstitious uses", who were then sitting at Preston. (26) Every benefactor made two wills. In one, the legal will, money or property intended for the benefit of his

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(23) Loc. cit.

(24) Butler, op.cit., pp.459-461.
Gillow II, p.203.

(25) Butler, op.cit. p.460.
Gillow II, p.132.
Butler was the first Catholic lawyer to be called to the Bar after the passage of the Second Relief Act, 1791. He was a leading Catholic layman and figured prominently in the disputes which divided Catholics during the political struggle for emancipation.

(26) Leeds Diocesan Archives, Book of Wills, BB.fol.23,
Edward Gilpin's endorsement, 18th October, 1716.

religion and of fellow Catholics was left to a relative or friend, sometimes a protestant. In the second, or secret will, the donor stated his real intentions for the use of the capital. This was his spiritual will, or private instructions. It might be referred to in the legal will, but was not included in it, or admitted to probate. The execution of a spiritual will, therefore, depended entirely on the good faith of the trustee who became the legal owner of the property. Legally it was not a trust at all: solely a confidence reposed in a particular person. There was, therefore, only a spiritual trust: one imposed on the conscience.

The wills themselves shed light on the legal difficulties for Catholic philanthropy. Thus in his will of April 10th 1709 Bishop James Smith of the Northern District left all his goods and chattels to Hon. Thomas Radcliffe of Dilston and his heirs, but his private instructions declared that

> "the goods and chattels.... to me belonging.... devised and granted unto the said Hon. Thomas Radcliffe of Dilston were only upon special trust and confidence in him reposed to the several uses and interests and purposes hereinafter mentioned and declared, and to no other use, intent or purpose whatever: that is to say that seeing my design and will is to leave all I shall die possessed of to certain spiritual ends, for the promoting of God's service these are to specify the said ends and express the real intentions of my last will and meaning".(27)

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(27) Leeds Archives, MS Book of Wills BB pp. 63-64.

Or as Robert Stephenson of Dodding Green, Westmorland, put it in his 'Spiritual Will', 1721

> "....whereas in this unhappy age and kingdom of error holy things are misrepresented under wrong names and the most religious uses are reputed superstitious....(and) the instruction of the ignorant in Catholic truths and principles is criminal and forfeitable and whereas for these reasons these lands or monies bequeathed according to the laws of the Gospel to uses truly pious must by the rules of prudence be concealed and screened under the covert of secret trusts made to men of worth and conscience of zeal for our holy religion and compassion for the poor of justice and fidelity in the administration and distribution of the goods committed to their faith and whereas to prevent their publick knowledge discoveries and seizures by several writings, trusts, and uses allowed by the laws I have conveyed part of my effects to my trusty friend Mr.William Thornburgh of Selside... who is endowed with the qualities and character above described".(28)

A study of the documents relating to Stephenson's spiritual will shows that four sets of trustees in charge of the legal estate were to pay over to Wm. Thornburgh all the rents and profits. But Thornburgh was to act "as a cover only" on behalf of the Spiritual trustees. These were the Vicar Apostolic of the Northern District and his successors, provided they were members of the secular clergy; the three Vicars General of the Northern District as it was then constituted;

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(28) Statement for the Charity Commissioners and Appendix of Documents in the matter of Stephenson's Charities submitted by Rt.Rev.William Hogarth, Bishop, V.Rev.Wm.Platt, V.G. official trustees and Edward Riddell Esq., heir of surviving trustee now deceased, William Thornburgh of Selside, Westmorland. Appendix of Documents No.1, 1 Nov. 1721, Mr.Stephenson's Deed of Uses. In 1865 this statement was submitted because the trust, which had been administered faithfully throughout the 18th century was still in existence and had encountered legal difficulties.
Bp.Matthew Gibson's Will, 21 April, 1789, Leeds Dioc. loc. cit. p.106. Also information from Dr.A.I.Doyle of Durham University Library.

and the missioner of Dodding Green, who was always to be chosen from amongst the secular clergy.

To ensure that the trust continued to fulfil its purpose and preserve its secrecy Stephenson left directions for an annual meeting of the spiritual trustees, when accounts of expenditure should be examined and his declaration of trust and of uses read over as a reminder. (29) The original will had to be kept by the missioner at Cunswick "with great privacy and care in some dry place" sealed up and endorsed "deliver this unopened and unseen to my successor". Not more than two copies of the will must be extant at any time and these held singly by two trustees, "unseen and unknown to anyone who is not a trustee". A fresh copy, made every five years, must replace the most dilapidated one which had to be destroyed.(30)

An abundance of manuscript evidence is avilable to show that 18th century catholic charitable enterprise was founded on such secret trusts for the illegal application of funds that could not be inherited direct by the church. Even after the second relief act of 1791 had been gained the laws concerning the disposal of money for superstitious purposes were left in force. So we find that in 1824 the Countess de Front had to leave private instructions for an illegal trust, in order that her money might be used for the Associated Charities, the Aged Poor Society and the support of Catholic schools. (31)

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(29) Leeds Dioc., loc.cit., fol.50.

(30) Ibid., fol. 54-55.

(31) West.Dioc.Box.A.65. MS.Private instructions to the will of the Countess de Front, 1824.

Even emancipation brought no legal relief for Catholic charities. The struggle to safeguard them continued throughout the nineteenth century and this was to have a disabling effect on some aspects of Catholic educational enterprise during the era of Government aid, as we shall see.

Meanwhile clergy, preparatory schools and seminaries were supported by the charity of well-to-do Catholics. Their endowments were the mainstay of colleges and convents overseas and the source of those meagre funds with which the Vicars Apostolic administered their districts, supplied students for the priesthood and helped the poor. (32)

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(32) 1680 Letter of attorney of John Richardson, Kingston-upon-Hull, to Wm. Mansell, Banker, of Paris. Birm. Dioc., C.100.

1692 Private instructions to the will of Lady Webb. Clift.Dioc., Vol. 1815-62, MS.2.

1696 Fund settled by Lady Mary Yates on Harrington Chapel. Birm. Dioc.C.155. Her agreement with the President of Douay for annual payment of £42 to masters' salaries. Loc.cit., A.1272.

1700 Will of Thomas Purcell, money for education of poor children. Loc. cit., C.

1702 Will of Bp. John Leyburn and private instructions. West Dioc., Vol. XXXVIII, MSS. 11 and 12.

1729 Will of Rev. John Wheeler bequest to send John Bennett overseas to be educated for the priesthood. Birm. Dioc., A.740. Similar bequests A.704, 740, 760, 1274; C.124, 566, 567, 705.

Circa 1730 Deed of trust of Mr.John Yates of Bloomsbury, for £13,000, "the interest on £100 invested in Old South Sea Annuities to Mrs.Whaly who teaches little children and lives in Chapel Street, during her life", to be paid in quarterly instalments. West.Dioc., Vol. XXXIX, MS.68.

1746 Will of Mary Button, funds for the maintenance of two Douay priests "to labour amongst the poor in London or within 10 miles of London". 1758 Her son Charles' will and private instructions, his executor's will. West.Dioc., Vol XL, MSS. 121, 122, 123, 124.

1749 Receipt from Paris for Lady Stourton's money for the Convent at Gravelines. Birm. Dioc., C.512.

Note (32) cont'd

1760 Elizabeth Wollascott left £100 for setting up "ye school at Rowney Wood". Birm.Dioc., C.613.

1768 Bequest of George Bishop for support of poor at Brailes and Graithorpe, his Lincolnshire estate. Loc. cit., C.641.

1776 Will and memorandum of Rev. Thomas Martin of Woolhampton, Berks. £100 to maintain a missioner for the poor of the Woolhampton-Lamborn district. £100 to the (London) District Common Fund in Old South Sea Annuities. £100 to the English Clergy at Douay. £5 to the Chapter of English Clergy. Bequests to the poor of the Woolhampton congregation. West. Dioc., Vol.XLI, MSS. 190, 191.

1778 Private instructions of Joseph Carpue. £500 in trust to educate a priest for the London District. £50 to the Charitable Society (codicil of 1781). West.Dioc., Vol. XLII, MS.190.

1782 Private instructions of Richard Prescott. 1783 Explanation of his private instructions. Half of his money was left to Douay College and the remainder to the Vicar Apostolic for use in the London District. Loc. cit., MSS. 173, 174.

1788 Private instructions of Bp. James Talbot to his brother. Bequests for the poor and for the maintenance of priests. Loc. cit., MS.346, also Birm. Dioc., A.737.

1816 Payments for the benefit of poor Catholic children. Loc. cit., C.2119.

1829 Will and private instructions of Bishop Collingridge. Clift. Dioc., Vol. 1815-1862, MS.249 (M).

I have recently examined the following thee Douay manuscripts which have been brought together in the archives of St.Edmund's College, Ware.

"Liber Memorialis ad usum Praesidii Collegii Anglorum Duacensis" pp.366.

"A Book of Pensioners shewing what persons are upon our Funds from Ye Year 1758", pp.154; and

"Synopsis Pensionum or a Short View of the present Rents, Articles of Agreement and obligations annexed to such of our Funds as are designed for the maintenance of Scholars collected and abridged from the President's great memorial in the year 1758", 89 leaves unnumbered.

The three volumes, which are records of the administration of funds left for the support of the College at Douay, make its financial history clearer and show how completely it had to rely on the charity of English Catholics, clergy and laity. Along with the details of other benefactions the manuscripts contain histories of 73 separate funds for maintaining students destined for the priesthood.

In the London District Bishop Petre in 1752 and Bishop Challoner in 1761, 1762 and again in 1770, both made statements of the funds in their keeping. By 1778, when Bishop James Talbot compiled a list of monies belonging to the District and invested in English stocks, capital amounting to £43,000 had accumulated in 33 funds. It was held partly at home by trustees and partly in the English Catholic centres abroad by clergy agents who invested the capital and paid back the income to the Bishop.

For example, Rev. John Wilkinson, the English agent at Torres in 1761, invested funds in actions, bills d'emprunt, billets du Roy and lottery tickets. £2,300 of that capital belonged to Thomas Metcalfe's legacy and the profits were used in the London District according to the intentions of the deed of trust. Metcalfe, in 1750, had left the income of £1,000 towards the support of poor tradespeople and families impoverished by sickness in and about London: they were to receive not more than 50 shillings a year each; £400 for maintaining a youth "advanced in learning" at Douay College; £500 to "procure spiritual and corporal help to persons in prisons and hospitals, £300 for the spiritual and £200 for the corporal": and £400 for the immediate discharge of prisoners confined for fees or small debts "more or less £15 or £20 each." (33) More funds were held by Rev. Dr.Howard at St. George's Seminary and Rev.W.Wilkinson the Procurator of Douay College. Of these, 30 actions bought with Mr. White's legacy provided

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(33) Bishop Petre, 1752, Details of investments for 1752: John Shepperd's Trust Principal £8,200 Yrs. Interest £277; John Woolfe's Trust, Principal £4,656 Yrs. Interest £156; Anthony Wright's Trust, Principal £3,300 Yrs. Interest £111.
West Dioc., Vol. XL., MS.80.

income, 12 pounds of which were yearly paid to the Convent School at Hammersmith towards keeping a boarder.

In the Northern District successive Vicars Apostolic had the use of slender funds derived from capital left illegally in trust and as in the London District this was invested abroad through agents, or at home in stocks, in capital on loan, or in property by trustees on whose good faith everything depended. As these trustees died their guardianship was passed on quietly through executors, who became responsible

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Note (33) cont'd

Bishop Challoner 1761. Statement of what is in the hands of agents abroad, the income to be returned to me. In the hands of Mr.John Wilkinson, Torrez: Dr.Howard at the Seminary of St.Gregory; Mr.W.Wilkinson Procurator of Douay College.
West.Dioc., Vol. XLI, MS.18, also MS.89 and Vol. XL MSS, 75 and 76.

1762 Funds belonging to the London District. This is a lengthy statement: some of the funds are in the hands of agents abroad, and some in the hands of trustees at home. Loc. cit., MS.20.

1765 Bartholomew ffroman Esq., Left £5 in perpetuity out of his estate for the poor in 1695. Lady Catherine Dowager Stourton now pays £200 to Bp. Challoner to answer all obligations of this fund. Loc. cit., MS.46.

1770 Challoner's directions for the disposal of certain funds in his direction after his death, including £200 for the education of poor children. Loc. cit., MS.100.

1775 In 1739 Bp. Challoner and Thos. Day became trustees of Mrs.Frances Brent's fund to maintain a priest at £20 to help the poor in and about London. By 1775 the annual value of the fund had reduced to £11 in Old South Sea Annuities. Loc. cit., MS. 143.

Bishop Talbot 1776 Rev. Thos Martin's fund is for maintaining a missioner for the poor around Woolhampton, Berks. In Old South Sea Annuities. Loc. cit., MSS.190 and 191.

1778 Talbot's "List of Monies standing in my name in English stocks, but not one Sixpence my own Property". Loc. cit., MS.193.

for capital to support clergy, put out apprentices, educate children in England or send boys and girls to school abroad, and provide alms for the poor. (34)

(34) 1702 Supplemental Will of Hugh Appleby of Linton upon Ouse, Yorkshire. His bequest for a priest and fund for Catholic poor of Linton. Leeds Dioc. Linton Poor Account Book; vide Appendix II.

1706 Robert Stephenson's own declaration of uses for £1,000. For a missioner at Cunswick, Skelsmergh and Witherslac, Northumberland, for a clergy library and for the poor, apprenticing children, providing schooling etc., Leeds Dioc., Book of Wills, BB., fol.25-61. Statement for the Charity Commissioners etc. 1865. vide note 28.

1709 Private instructions of Rt.Rev.James Smith, V.A.,1709. His books to go towards making a clergy library. All his personal possessions for spiritual ends, all trusts passed on. Loc.cit., fol. 63-74.

1712 Spiritual will of Cuthbert Morley, Gent., of Thurnham, Lancashire. The interest of £480 for a priest for Hornby and Claughton, who in addition to other duties would "preach and diligently exhort, catechise and instruct the ignorant people and children------procure catechisms, beads and some little prayer books for children and the poorer sort of people." Loc.cit., fol. 12-23.

1743. Appointment by Rt.Rev.Edw.Dicconson, V.A. of trustees for certain sums of money. Loc.cit., fol. 77-90.

1766 Account of the donations and foundations for which the late Rt. Hon.Edward Clifford of Quanmoor near Lancaster became responsible in the year 1766, upon the death of the late Rev.Nicholas Shelton, as his acting executor. A list of principal sums amounting to £2,555.16s. invested in securities and in property in Lancaster, including: £220 by Robt.Dalton Esq. for necessitous clergy, and £220 for apprenticing boys at Thurnham; £10 for the poor on Mary Hilton's anniversary; Mrs.A.Houghton's Trust: £200 for a priest; £200 to put out apprentices; £200 towards sending boys and girls abroad (in a year when none go, the interest to go to the poor). Loc. cit., fol.2-10.

1771 Directions of Rt.Rev.Francis Petre V.A., for executing will, 1771 "my books bequeathed to Mr.Robert Bannister are for Fernyhalgh", trusts passed on. Loc. cit., fol.91-93.

1778 Will of Rt.Rev.William Walton, V.A., instructions for the use of his executors and residuary legatees. Loc.cit., fol.95-104.

1789 Will of Rt.Rev.Matthew Gibson, V.A.and private instructions. Money to educate a youth at Douay for the mission. Loc.cit.,fol.105-111.

Sometimes to ensure the continued spiritual care of Catholics on his estate in a scattered country district or in a town nearby a benefactor would leave capital, usually £400 to maintain a priest on an income of perhaps £20 a year with a small fund at his disposal to help the poor. On other occasions it was left to the Vicar Apostolic to decide where a priest should be kept. Some of the oldest modern missions owe their origins to these arrangements.

The Dodding Green Charity, founded by Robert Stephenson, functioned continuously from 1721, and because of a dispute as late as 1865 was the subject of a statement to the Charity Commissioners by Bishop Hogarth and the other trustees. So far no manuscript accounts of this charity have been found, but the scope of its work is clearly outlined in Stephenson's original directions:-

> "I do declare that in this corporal relief my main end and aim is the spiritual benefit of my neighbour the honour and service of God and the salvation of souls. For this purpose I direct... that (sic) this Almes shall first and cheifly be impliyed upon Catholicks and domesticks of our Faith or upon such persons whose conversion may be hoped encouraged or procured. And to promote and propagate piety and religion according to my true intent.... I do direct and require that special care shall be taken to place Children Boys and Girls to School and that to them allso to all Housekeepers and Servants in the sayd county of Westmorland and parts adjacent Catholic pious and instructive Books shall be distributed whereby they may improve themselves or others in the knowledge of our Holy Faith and in the practice of the Gospel Morality and Good Life.
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> ....Summs of money and Profitts above mentioned shall be ... expended for ever ... upon the maintenance of Priests in the support of the Poor and in the education of Children in the manner and proportion now limited and expressed. (35) .... this being the manner really and truly most agreeable to my intentions for the Spiritual and Corporal relief of the Poor and for the Catholic Education of Children". (36)

£1.10s. per year was allotted for the priest to distribute works of piety, prayer books and other aids to devotion among his congregation and a further £13 per year was left to supply the wants of poor and old people:

> "in such manner, quantity and kind as the wants age, sickness, child-bearing, or other exigencies of the poor considered, his

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(35) Vide Ch.6, for a more detailed account of Stephenson's provision for the education of children.

(36) In the Matter of Stephenson's Charities etc., Appendix of Documents 1.

> discretion, his conscience and God shall direct him.... Thus he may, according to his judgment, either give money to the poor, or with the money procure for them, meal, malt, milk, (sic)meat, drink, linnen, and wollen cloths, shifts, shoes, Physicians, Physick or salves, beds or bedding, pots, pans, tools, instruments, materials for tradesmen and workmen: sheep, pigs, calves, cows or some other small stock, or convenient household stuff; or he may also discharge for them some small debts, house-rent, taxes or such like obligations."

In 1702 Hugh Appleby, an East Riding landowner, founded the Mission and Charity at Linton upon Ouse, Yorkshire. By his supplemental Will Appleby left the interest on 1500 French livres for a Douay priest to reside in or near Linton for "the better care of his people and the instruction of children". After annuities to relatives were paid, the interest on a further 15,000 livres was left forever to the Catholics of Linton "for the maintenance of the poor parents and the putting of their children to trades and other ways of living". Appleby hoped that in this way "severall priests and nuns would be made" to help preserve Catholicism. Fortunately the Linton "Poor Account Book" has been preserved and provides what is so far the only complete picture of the administration of an illegal Catholic Charity during the eighteenth century. (37)

All the capital left by Appleby was invested in France by Douay College, who paid back the profits to the trustees in England. The income was subject to the vagaries of foreign exchange and recurrent economic crises in France: during the Orleans regency, for example, as a result of the financial chaos that followed the collapse of John Law's gigantic operations, only a fraction of the real interest on the fund reached England. Yet despite this and a gradual decline in

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(37) Vide Appendix II for Appleby's Will and extracts from the Linton Poor Account Book.

income during 150 years £3,000 was paid out in small sums to the poor Catholic families of Linton to help parents and old people to clothe children and to buy their books and pay for their schooling at home and abroad, to put them out as apprentices, to help them in sickness and to buy them pious works of meditation and devotion.

Some Catholic gentlefolk, impoverished by persistent recusancy and unable to educate their children abroad were assisted by the benefactions of more fortunate brethren like Basil Forcer. In 1770 he left two sums of £600, the interest from each to be applied respectively to the education in convents and colleges abroad of boys and girls "whose parents are not so well able to give them a suitable virtuous education according to their Rank or Degree in the world". The will was administered by Sir Henry Lawson of Brough Hall, and then by his son John and under its terms boys and girls were sent off: the former to the colleges at Paris and Dieulouard. (38)

The evidence shows that during the 18th century English Catholicism produced a charity movement of its own, philanthropic, well-defined and on a pattern that can be discerned from the Reformation onwards. Later it was to widen and deepen as fresh problems of poverty were encountered. In the meantime it was of great importance in preserving the faith among some townspeople and in those scattered districts of the country-side where the old Catholic families were on the decline.

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(38) Lawson MSS., Brough Hall, Yorks:
Will of Basil Forcer, Durham, Nov. 25, 1770.
Thos. Riddell to Sir Henry Lawson, Dec. 16th, 1779.
Thos. Riddell to Sir John Lawson, Dec. 1st, 1783.

CHAPTER 3

BISHOPS AND CLERGY

(i) Ecclesiastical Leadership

From the extinction of the ancient Catholic Hierarchy in 1585 until the reign of James II there had been no Catholic bishop in England save for the brief period 1623 - 1631, when Bishop William Bishop and Bishop Richard Smith reigned successively as Vicars Apostolic. (1) In the meantime a stimulus was provided by the work of the regular and secular missioners from the English seminaries abroad; and some jurisdiction was exercised by a Chapter of the English secular clergy set up by Bishop Smith. Shortly after the accession of James II Dr.John Leyburn, president of Douay College, was appointed Vicar Apostolic and by 1688 the whole of England and Wales had been divided into four districts or vicariates, each governed by a Vicar Apostolic. But James' preparations for the re-conversion of England were ill-conceived; the four bishops barely had time to issue their first joint pastoral letter,(2) when the Revolution broke out and along with the rest of the Catholic revival these fresh foundations for religious leadership seemed to have been destroyed.

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(1) A vicar apostolic is the type of bishop given to a missionary country in which normal church government does not exist. He is a titular bishop, without a diocese or chapter and with restricted powers. Since vicars apostolic are not ordinaries of the territory they govern, they take their titles from sees "in partibus infidelium" mainly in Asia Minor. A bishop in ordinary is one with full jurisdiction, governing a diocese and assisted by a chapter of Canons, in accordance with the normal forms of church government.

(2) Birm. Dioc., C.122 "Joint Pastoral Letter of the Four Vicars Apostolic to the Lay Catholics of England", printed 8 pp.
Also West. Dioc., XXXV, MS.88 op.cit.
Quoted in extenso in Hemphill, op. cit.

Nevertheless amid the ruin of Catholic aspirations and throughout the century of contradiction that followed the four vicariates endured, though the government of the bishops was tenuous: hampered by a need for secrecy under the threat of imprisonment as well as by natural difficulties of communication, and embarrassed by poverty and an often helpless dependence on lay patronage. In these circumstances they laboured quietly, exercising pastoral care where they were able through visitation, confirmation, preaching and exhortation of the clergy. (3) Apart from Bishop Challoner there has been little investigation of the lives and rule of the early Vicars Apostolic. Yet for the period from 1687, the date of Bishop Leyburn's circular letter to his Vicars General, (4) until 1778 when the penal restrictions were eased, the documents yield evidence of an ecclesiastical leadership closer than at any time since the Reformation. Thus we notice that in 1700 Bishop Giffard sent a letter to the missioners of Worcester and Warwick urging them to catechise more intensely, to bring their congregations to a more frequent use of the sacrament of penance, to preach more sermons and to exercise a better pastoral care. (5) Through the Bishops there was easier communication with the spiritual centre at Rome. In 1736, for instance, the Papal Nuncio at Brussels wrote to

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(3) Hemphill, op.cit., pp.3-15, 47, 91, 125-132 et passim. Burton op.cit., passim.
In fact the extreme poverty of the English mission continually prompted appeals to Rome for financial help, but not much was forthcoming. At one time even the priest Laurence Mayes, who acted as English Agent for the Bishops in Rome throughout the first half of the eighteenth century was embarrassed by non-payment of his salary, responsibility for which the Vicars Apostolic shared between them.

(4) West.Dioc.Vol.XXXV, MS.66 quoted in Hemphill, op.cit.,pp.13-15.

(5) Birm.Dioc., C.163.

Bishop Williams of the Northern District regarding the Pope's anxiety that, in accordance with the decrees of the Council of Trent, the laity should be properly informed about their religion by means of instruction at Mass and through catechising both adults and children. Bishop Williams caused the correspondence to be circulated among his missioners. (6) No doubt his fellow bishops did the same.

Bishop Challoner held clergy conferences in order to foster a zealous and apostolic spirit among the whole body of his clergy. Among the rules he drew up for the guidance of priests attending these conferences, Rule 5 urged that:-

> "We will have a particular regard to the instruction of those under our charge and allow at least one hour in the week for catechising children, exhorting all parents, masters etc. to be diligent in sending them on these occasions. We will endeavour to instil into these young minds the fear and love of God; earnestly exhort them to diligence in prayer and teach them how to pray, how to hear Mass, how to prepare for Confession etc." (7)

Anxious about the supply of priests for the mission the Bishops were concerned with the existence of schools where a Catholic education might be had if only in preparation for a secondary education abroad. It is no surprise, therefore, to find Bishop Smith, first Vicar Apostolic for the Northern District, taking steps in 1692 to ensure the continuity of a small Catholic school at Thorpe, near Cliffe in the North Riding of Yorkshire. Mr. Metham, the master, was departing for Douay to prepare for the Priesthood and the Bishop sent Father Hildreth to take his place.(8)

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(6) West.Dioc.,Vol.XL.MS.9. Copy made on 19th September 1737, of a translation of the Papal Nuncio's letter from Brussells and Rev.R.Carnaby's letter to the priests of the Northern District on the instructions of Bishop Williams.
Rev.R.Carnaby was Vicar General to Bishop Williams.

(7) Burton, op.cit.I, pp.27-28.

(8) C.R.S.Vol.9.pp.109-111 Archdeacon Franck's Account to the Archbishop; also Kirk, J., Biographies of English Catholics in the Eighteenth Century, London 1909, p.163.

During the following year Bishop Smith wrote to Frances Bedingfield, superior of the Bar Convent and girls' school established at York in 1686 by the Institute of the Blessed Virgin Mary: "I will be a father to all your concerns. I have a more than ordinary sense of what importance/it is to have youth well educated....I...will....be most ready to countenance and promote so good and so necessary a work. (9) He had lately approved rules for the convent and the school: a duplicate of the ones drawn up for a sister convent of the Institute at Hammersmith by Bishop Giffard and later approved by Bishop Petre.(10) Bishop Challoner revived the old Silkstead-Twyford school at Standon Lordship, Herts., (11) and the foundation in 1763 of the Sedgley Park school for middle class children was also his work. (12)

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(9) Quarterly Series, St.Mary's Convent Micklegate Bar, York, London, 1887, pp.98-100.
The MS of the School Rules, a copy of an earlier document, is in the Bar Convent Archives.

(10) West.Dioc., Vol. XXXIX, MS.135; Vol. XL, MSS.158, 159.

(11) Barnes, The Catholic Schools of England, London, 1926, pp.97-102, 109-126.
Beales, A.C.F., op.cit. pp. 217 f., 237, 254f., 265.

(12) Husenbeth, F.C., The History of Sedgley Park School, London, 1856.
Gentlemen's Magazine, 1766, Vol. 36, p.55.
Barnes, op. cit., pp.102-107.

As the organisation of illegal Catholic charities and endowments becomes clearer the Bishops can be noticed in the centre at the head of trustees. As we have seen they were responsible for the disposal of funds for charitable work and for the deployment of clergy on the mission; and they had the nomination of youths to places in the colleges overseas, where they could be educated for the priesthood.(13)

Modern episcopal leadership which became so well-defined in the post Emancipation era seemed to emerge as a result of the internal struggle immediately preceding emancipation. Yet tenuous and difficult as was the position of the early Vicars Apostolic, the evidence indicates that the modern leadership had its roots in the remoter past, frail but discernible already in later penal times.

(ii) Educational standards of the Missionary Clergy.

When we consider the missionary clergy as teachers, tutors, catechists and spiritual guides for schools the standard of their personal education assumes special significance. Every priest had pursued a school course of studies, the humanities, in his college followed by a seven year seminary course of preparation for the priesthood. At Douay, the chief centre for training secular priests, school and

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(13) Douay MSS, St.Edmund's College, Ware.
"Liber Memorialis..." "A Book of Pensioners...."
"Synopsis Pensionum" passim
Founders of funds for educating students usually gave directions regarding the selection of a youth e.g. he was to be a relative or from a certain District. If there was difficulty the nomination was to be left to the Vicar Apostolic. After the original trustees died the Vicar Apostolic in charge of the District at the time would hold the nomination.

college were housed together and a pupil who had completed the school course stayed on as a collegian, if he proved acceptable for seminary training. However, Douay was the exception: the other colleges strove to confine themselves to philosophy and theology, while the Jesuits at St.Omer, and the Benedictines at Douay and Dieulouard taught humanities only.

Despite the acute difficulties created by their insecure political and financial background, the Colleges and schools laboured always to maintain adequate academic standards. In the schools a twofold problem was created: first by the wide age range of pupils on entry, and second by the difference in their academic background; for suitable candidates of the same age were not easy to find and the chances of a Catholic schooling in England varied widely according to the locality. Agreements made with Douay College by trustees of funds for the education of candidates for the priesthood, show that a donor usually preferred one of his own relatives, or failing that, a youth to be trained for a particular district to ensure that a missioner should be available. In the circumstances it was more important that a candidate should be suitable; his age was a secondary consideration and the agreements often stipulate that students on entry should be between 12 or 14 (usually 14) and 24 years of age. There was no guarantee that a student of 24 years would be more advanced educationally than one of 14 years, and the diversity of age in class at any one time was severe; (14) though some of the difficulty was minimised by adopting a flexible class system in which the same teacher moved up with his class.

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(14) Archives of St.Edmund's College, Ware, Douay MSS:
Book of Pensioners; Memorialis; Synopsis Pensionum; passim. e.g. the bequest of Dr.Edward Bartlett, Book of Pensioners, p.272 Memorialis p.114, Synopsis Pensionum B., is typical. The fund of

The complete course in humanities lasted for five years and provided a classical education based on the study of set Greek and Latin Authors. It was universal, based on the Jesuit school system, and continued unchanged throughout the 17th and 18th centuries, though French was introduced. Seminarians studied Logic, Philosophy and Theology over seven years, along with a course in controversy and training in preaching.(15) Teaching was routine. Lectures consisted of dictated notes on texts and commentaries and at the end of the course a priest's manuscript 'dictates' (dictated notes) were bound into a volume which he kept during his missionary life.(16)

Maintaining his educational standards could have been no easy task once a priest had commenced life on the mission. Pastoral duties involving long and tedious journeys on horse-back left little leisure time for reading. Books were not always to hand as he moved from place to place, and his scanty income was barely enough for subsistence, let alone sufficient for buying books. Unlike his Anglican counterpart the Catholic priest was denied the intellectual stimulus of a reasonable

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Note (14) cont'd.
£1,000 was for 2 scholars pro rata (i.e.depending on the rate of exchange at the Town House, Paris, as many as the fund would support at the time). The incumbents were to be supported until they commenced their seminary course. They must be of English parents, and from the Midland District, to which they must return after ordination. A candidate could be admitted to the fund at 14 years of age if "grounded in Latin", at 16 years of age if not.
West Dioc.,Vol.XL, MS.98. January 15th 1754, letter of Bishop Challoner to Bishop Stonor, about sending boys to the English College, Rome. Challoner uses his alias, F.Fisher. He is writing to Lancashire to know what youths may be had from there to train for the priesthood. "They should be at least fourteen years old and know the first rudiments of Latin". They are to have ten years or more of education free of cost".

(15) Vide Beales, op. cit., pp.132-135 for a commentary on education in the Colleges abroad during the 17th Century.

(16) Volumes of these MS. dictates are to be found occasionally in Diocesan Archives.

social life, unless he lived as a chaplain or tutor in the home of a gentleman with the use of a library. Small wonder, therefore, if the Bishops encouraged donors to leave money in trust so that priests should have access to books. In the Northern District successive Vicars Apostolic, as trustees for the Stephenson Fund, maintained a clergy library for the Skelsmergh area in Westmorland, where Stephenson had left a yearly rent of £1.10s. to be employed:

> "in the buying of all sciences, arts, matters and languages, or in preserving and rebinding books already bought, or otherwise given to the circuit of the said priest or any part of it: to the end the said pastor may be furnished with a learned library for the encouragement of his study and solitude for the help and improvement of his knowledge: and to enable and qualify him for the better instruction and direction of his flock".

The library was planned as an exact counterpart of the Anglican parish libraries being legislated for at the time. It was to be properly housed and cared for, all volumes suitably marked, a catalogue kept and rules drawn up for the replacement of books lost. The collection was to be distributed over the missioner's circuit in the houses he frequented, and if he ceased to use a house at any time the books should be reclaimed.

> "The said priest shall keep the above-mentioned books with great care: in good and sound covers: with neatness from dust: and with seasonable fires to prevent considerable decays by moisture. If those fires cannot be had by courtesy, fuel shall be bought with some part of the said yearly rent of £1.10s. and from thence also some small wage may be given to a needy person to clean and air the said books from time to time, when there is occasion".
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> "for the better preservation of this pastoral library from loss... I.. require that as soon as any book is bought from this yearly foundation, the said priest shall, without delay distinguish and mark such book by writing on the top or down the margin of the title page these words Sapiam oium antiquorum enquirit Sapiens, on the bottom these, narrasem virorum nominatorum conservabit Eccli XXXIX in the middle these Bib.Past.West.D.D.R.S. which stand for Bibliotheca Pastorali Westmorlandiae, Dono Dedit Robertus Stephenson. The said priest shall also without delay write down in a particular catalogue the name, edition and price of every book so bought or bound, and distinguished with the proper mark of the said pastoral library; and these shall be kept by the said priest at the chief place of his residence, or in such place or places within his

> circuit, tho' out of the county of Westmorland, where they may be most useful to him and if at any time it so fall out, that the said priest does not help the inhabitants of the place or places where some one or other of the above named books is, or are left lying: then the book or books so left shall be removed by the said priest to some convenient house within his circuit, and the charge of that removal, if any, may be deducted from the £1.10s.
>
> ...The said priest shall not let any book so bought or bound out of the compass of his circuit; unless the price for which it was bought or bound, or the price of the whole set, if it is a part of some author's works, be left in pawn by the borrower: or he give a note under his hand, for that sum to be paid unto the said priest unless he restore at a certain time, specified in the note, the book borrowed, or another of the same edition and value, and with the money forfeited (if ever it so happen) the priest shall buy another copy of the book lost, or the whole set, or some other book or books as he then thinks best. But if any book...shall be lost by...the said priest...it is my will...that he make good the book so lost."

Stephenson's intentions were carefully carried out by the trustees and the library which he founded is now known as the Dodding Green collection, some volumes of which are preserved at Ushaw College, County Durham. (17)

Stephenson's donation to encourage learning among the clergy reflected the anxiety of Bishop James Smith, who was Vicar Apostolic for the North at the time. In his own private instructions drawn up two years later Bishop Smith directed that his books were to be kept together in the hands of his successor, provided he was a member of the secular clergy, otherwise they were to go "towards the making up of a library for the use and services of the secular clergy: as the chief part of the said clergy in this Northern District shall think most proper". (18) The Vicars

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(17) Leeds Dioc., MS. Book of Wills BB, p.58 Robert Stephenson's Own Declaration of Uses for £1,000 1706.

(18) Leeds Dioc., MS. Book of Wills BB. p.67.

Apostolic for the Northern District continued to husband books for the clergy: in 1771 Bp. Francis Petre bequeathed his books to the Rev. Robt. Banister "for Fernyhalgh", the recusant centre in Lancashire served by a succession of missionary clergy and renowned for its educational activity.(19)

For the missioners in the South a clergy library was maintained in London at Gray's Inn. The collection was extensive enough to require the care of a priest librarian, for Rev. John Philip Betts, headmaster of Twyford, returned to London to take charge of it after his school was closed in the upheaval following the '45. (20) He was succeeded by Rev. Simon Berington, who died in chambers there in 1755. (21)

As may be expected some of the clergy were eminent scholars and many others engaged in literary activities. Some were chaplains and had the use of their patrons' libraries: Alban Butler, author of the "Lives of the Saints," lived in the home of the Duke of Norfolk; (22) Joseph Berington, author of the "State and Behaviour of English Catholics", resided at Carlton Towers, Goole, Yorks, home of the Stapletons. (23) John Anselm Mannock, O.S.B. was for 50 years chaplain at Foxcote, Warwickshire, seat of the Cannings. (24) Challoner kept his books in his lodgings as did many of the clergy engaged in literary activity; some like Rev. Geo. Simon Bordley kept a school. (25)

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(19) Leeds Dioc., MS. Book of Wills BB, p.93.
(20) Burton, op. cit., Vol. I, p.157.
(21) Gillow I, pp.197-8; Catholic Magazine, 1832, pp.715-720.
(22) Appendix III, No.45.
(23) Appendix IV, No.5.
(24) Appendix IV, No.34.
(25) Appendix III, No.43 et passim.

CHAPTER 4

LITERATURE FOR EDUCATION

During Penal times literature produced by the English Catholics had a twofold purpose: in works of controversy, to attack the Protestant claims, and to defend the Catholic position; and in works of piety and instruction, to educate the faithful in their religion. The flow of Catholic literature had commenced towards the end of the 16th century with the foundation of the colleges and seminaries abroad where Catholic scholars could congregate. To these centres also came English printers who, rather than abandon the old religion, preferred to continue their work in exile producing literature to be smuggled home. John Fowler was such a one: a fellow of New College, Oxford, who refused to conform after Elizabeth's succession and retired to Louvain, where he set up a printing press, later transferring it to Antwerp and finally to Douay.(1) George Flinton was another, who made his way to Rouen, where, in the later years of Elizabeth's reign, he printed Catholic books for England, including in 1581, Person's "Christian Directory or Book of Resolution".(2) Meanwhile some Catholic printers and book-sellers continued to work secretly in England and in early Penal times we notice four: James Duckett, executed in 1601 for having Catholic books in his house including the whole impression of "Mount Calvary" (3); John Collins, executed at Tyburn in the same year after a long imprisonment for selling Catholic books (4); Stephen Brinkley, caught running a secret press for Campion

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(1) Gillow II, 327-8.
(2) Gillow II, 300.
(3) Gillow II, 134-5.
(4) Gillow I, 544.

at Stonor Park, imprisoned and after his release continuing his work as a printer in exile at Rouen (5); and finally William Carter, executed in 1584 after torture because he had printed "lewd pamphlets, Popish and others, against the Government".(6)

Throughout the 17th century the printing of popish books in England and their smuggling in from overseas was a source of constant anxiety to the Government, the Anglican Church and the J.P.s. In 1599, for example, "divers popish books" were found in a raid on the recusant centre round Groman Abbey near Whitby, in the North Riding of Yorkshire. (7) In 1605 John Wood of South Kilvington, also in the North Riding, a miner and an "obstinate papist" was gaoled by the J.P.s. at Thirsk for being taken with "divers popish books".(8) Roger Anderton ran a secret press at Birchley in Lancashire until it was seized by the Government in 1613, but he set it up again. (9) In 1624 the Protestant writer Gee noticed five Catholic booksellers in London: Thomas Andrewes, Richard Avery, Bailey of Holborn, Henry Barber, and Bulmer of Holborn. (10) There were others like Robert Gurney (1632) and Henry Overton who survived two charges, one of selling popish books in 1630, another of printing Rome's Ruin a little later, and remained in business for many years. (11) A distributing centre was unearthed at York in 1635, when Christopher Greathead, "an obstinate recusant" was presented on the occasion of the Archbishop's visitation for being

(5) Gillow I, 298-300.

(6) Gillow I, 414-15.

(7) S.P.Dom.Eliz., Vol. 271, p.233.

(8) North Riding Records, Vol. I, p.6.

(9) Gillow I, pp.32, 35-37, 39.

(10) Gillow I, pp. 43, 90, 102, 125, 340.

(11) Cal.S.P.Dom.Chas.I.CCXXIX,No.131; Cx1ii,No.20; quoted in Beales, op.cit., pp.205-6.

"vehemently suspected to have disposed divs Popish books". (12) Despite the efforts of the Government Catholic books continued to be smuggled into the country, In 1671 the common and public selling of popish catechisms and other seditious books was alleged in Parliament. (13) The revival under James II had its literary side, when for a time Catholic and Protestant authors, engaged in a pamphlet war and even two Catholic periodicals appeared: The Catholick Intelligencer or Infallible News both Domestick and Foreign; and the Kalendarium Catholicum. (14) A great quantity of popish books, fifty-seven different sorts, were seized by the customs in 1699. (15) And at a meeting of the Privy Council in 1700 the Judges on circuit were ordered to proceed against the printers, vendors and disposers of popish books." (16)

John Lewis, Catholic bookseller and publisher was prosecuted in 1719 for causing a pamphlet "Vox Populi, Vox Dei" to be printed. The book was judged treasonable and the printer, Mathews, hanged. Lewis abandoned his trade. (17) So late as 1725 a Catholic printer was prosecuted for publishing a book taken chiefly from Protestant authors:

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(12) York Visitation Court Book, R.VI.A-24.

(13) History and Proceedings of the House of Commons, London, 1742, Vol.I, p.142.

(14) Union Catalogue of Periodicals, Vol. I.
Payne J.O. Old English Catholic Missions, London, 1900, p.104, xiv. Beales: op.cit. pp.232-3.

(15) S.P. Dom. Will. III 1699-1700, p.133.

(16) Ibid. p.388.

(17) Lewis had been in business during the Catholic revival, after the abdication he served abroad with James II and subsequently returned to establish himself as a bookseller in Covent Garden. After the affair in 1719 he retired to his native County of Denbighshire. Gillow IV, pp.209-211.

England's Conversion and Reformation compared" by Rev. Robert Manning.(18)

But already the long line of modern Catholic booksellers and publishers had commenced in the capital and from their successful careers we may safely infer an expansion of Catholic literary activity and a rising trade in Catholic books. Even so it is not easy to find a publisher's name on a Catholic book printed in England at this time: before 1778 Catholic printers were careful to remain anonymous so far as publishing works by Catholic authors was concerned. Thomas Meighan, generally regarded as the father of the modern Catholic bookselling trade in England had succeeded between 1706 and 1710 to the business of Thomas Metcalfe of Drury Lane. (19) Meighan's name appears on books published between 1710 and 1771, about the year of his death. In 1727 his relative, P. Meighan was in business as a printer and publisher at Gray's Inn Gate, Holborn. (20) By 1760 James Marmaduke had emerged as a successful rival to Thomas Meighan and could claim the bigger business. He it was who commenced publication of the Laity's Directory (the modern Catholic Directory). About 1760 James Coghlan set up business, brought out an improved version of the Laity's Directory and eventually superseded his rival, Marmaduke. On his death Coghlan was succeeded by his nephew Richard Brown, who, in partnership with Keating, continued as the leading bookseller into 19th Century. (21) Towards the end of the century, though not before the first Relief Act, we find mention of Catholic booksellers outside London, in the region of densest Catholic population,

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(18) Gillow I, p.xiii.

(19) We have already seen the will of his son and namesake, 1750: Ch.2, text and note 33.

(20) Gillow IV, pp.558-559

(21) Gillow I, pp.526-527.

South Lancashire. At Wigan, R.Ferguson carried on a business and published "Rivers' Manual" and other Catholic prayer-books in 1782, Ferguson was succeeded by his son John and the firm subsequently removed to Liverpool to become Ferguson and Sadler. They were still in business in 1799. (22)

Secret presses could not work cheaply nor the risk of smuggling be undertaken without expense, and penalties and the secrecy involved tended to limit circulation: so Catholic books were expensive. Gee noticed in 1624 that a copy of the Douay Bible sold for 40s. instead of 10 s., the Rheims Testament in English for 12s. instead of 4s. and Tobie Mathews' "St.Augustine's Confessions", a little book for 16s. where normally it would have cost 2s. 6d. (23) Whether Catholic books found their way into the homes of the poorer sort during the 17th century we cannot say with certainty, though small works of piety and instruction that sold cheaply during the 18th century were written before 1700 and were no doubt distributed among the poor. (24)

Despite increased restrictions after the abdication of James II the literary revival did not lose momentum entirely but continued in the

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(22) Gillow II, pp.249-250. Jonas Nuttall, founder of the Caxton Press, served his apprenticeship with John Ferguson in Liverpool.

(23) Gillow I, p.xiii.

(24) The works of Rev. John Gother, for example. Vide Appendix IV, pp. 29-30.

Rev. John Gother (d.1704), a noted Catholic apologist and controversialist, was at the height of his fame during the reign of James II. His small books of religious instruction which were already in print appeared in fresh editions throughout the 18th century.

educational work of the Vicars Apostolic and their clergy. Concerned as they were with the instruction of the faithful and with fostering vocations for the priesthood, the publications of Bishops and clergy from Challoner downwards aimed at moulding the spiritual lives of the English Catholics with the aid of books of prayer, piety, meditation, devotion and religious instruction. We know for certain that cheaper books now reached the homes of poor Catholics: catechisms and copies of spiritual exercises, including Challoner's "Think Well On't" and "The Garden of the Soul" were supplied more than one occasion during the mid-eighteenth century to the poor of the congregation of Linton-on-Ouse through Thomas Appleby's trust fund. (25) Bequests for the distribution of small books of instruction in other wills testify to the wishes of well-to do Catholics that their poorer brethren should have the means of a religious education. Interesting evidence, for if some poor Catholics could read they must have had some schooling, as we shall see.

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(25) Appendix II, Linton Poor A/C Book.

CHAPTER 5

SCHOOLS AND TUTORS FOR UPPER AND MIDDLE CLASS CHILDREN.

At the height of the revival under James II over thirty Catholic schools so far have been noticed in England and Wales.(1) Among them were schools for girls and for boys, schools for children of the wealthier scrt and schools for poorer children. Many of the schools were disbanded as a result of the Revolution, but as we have seen the division of the English mission into four Vicariates, each governed by a Vicar Apostolic, (2) made possible a closer ecclesiastical leadership that stimulated educational activity on the part of the secular clergy. The "tacit connivance" that Catholics enjoyed in some localities encouraged both clergy and laity to engage in unobtrusive illegal educational activity. (3) Schools kept by the clergy were conducted usually in the homes of gentlefolk they served as chaplains or in premises provided by the gentry; occasionally a priest would build his own premises. Teaching augmented a missioner's income as well as ensuring dogmatic instruction for the pupils and enabling him to find likely candidates for the priesthood. Lay teachers often worked under the guidance of the missionary clergy.

Depending as they did on the enterprise of individuals, and subject to the degree of local complaisance and the fluctuations of the political situation, most of the schools founded during this period were impermanent,

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(1) Beales A.C.F., The Catholic Revival under James II, The Month, 1951; Education under Penalty, Ch.XI.

(2) Vide Appendix I.

(3) Vide Appendix III.

and their history is often broken through enforced changes of abode. Though one or two schools founded during the course of the century proved to be permanent, and in some recusant areas notably in South Lancashire, Durham, York, the North Riding and London the appearance of schools, teachers and tutors is persistent enough to indicate continuous educational activity there. In the main the schools gave a preparatory education for the Colleges abroad and to them many of the missionary clergy were indebted for their earliest schooling. The majority catered for the children of the tiny Catholic upper class, though children whose parents had but moderate means were not excluded, and for some children this was their only schooling. Catholics had no counterpart in England for the secondary and further education of boys offered in the Grammar and Public Schools, the Dissenting Academics and the Universities. Of necessity their opportunities lay abroad in the Colleges and Schools on the continent; their illegal activities at home were usually designed to prepare boys for these.

For Catholic girls educational provision in England might well be considered small, when compared with that for boys, although clergy acted as tutors for girls as well as boys, and it was not unknown for girls and boys to receive instruction together. Of the religious orders of women the Institute of the Blessed Virgin Mary alone engaged in lasting enterprises for the education of girls. In York and Hammersmith were clandestine convent boarding schools, and in York, at least, the nuns established a school for local girls of poorer parentage. Yet the education of women generally in the eighteenth century had neither

clearly defined aims nor an extensive system of schools. (4) For girls there were no substitutes for the Public and Grammar Schools, the Dissenting Academics and the Universities. Their opportunities, apart from home education were limited to a few boarding schools and there is no evidence that any of these were permanent. Against this background the convent schools of York and Hammersmith are unique and important: they were institutions; they were permanent; they became traditional centres for the genteel schooling of Catholic girls. Then there were the many convent schools overseas, and Dame Alice Harrison's as well.

At Fernyhalgh in Lancashire, traditionally a recusant enclave, a school was founded as early as 1650 under the superintendence of the local missionary clergy and continued without interruption until 1771.(5) There, during the eighteenth century, Dame Alice Harrison, herself a convert, and her assistance Mary Backhouse for only one and sixpence a quarter gave boys and girls an elementary education not entirely confined to the "horn book and the art of spelling". Such was the fame of this school that it grew in size to almost 200 pupils who came, not only from all over South Lancashire, but from as far afield as London, to lodge in

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(4) Hans, N., New Trends in Education in the Eighteenth Century, London 1951, Appendix 7, lists only 30 schools for girls. Five belong to the first half of the century, ten to the years between 1750 and 1780. The other fifteen belong to the period after 1780, when a demand was rising from the moneyed middle classes and at a time when, under the shelter of the First Relief Act advertisements for Catholic private schools were beginning to appear.

(5) Vide Beales, op. cit., pp. 223-225, for the history of this school in the 17th Century.

the vicinity at five pounds a year; (6) non-Catholic pupils also, who were exempted from prayers and religious instruction. (7) Dame Alice retired about 1760 after some sixty years in charge of her school. She was followed by one of her former pupils, Dr.George Kendal, a secular priest. After Dr.Kendal's retirement the tradition of a school persisted and from 1780-1799 we find Peter Newby established with a school in Gerard Hall at Heighton nearby. Newby had established his first school in 1766 at Woolton near Liverpool, transferred it in 1773 to Burton in Kendal, removing again, two years later to Great Eccleston in the Fylde, whence he migrated to Gerard Hall. (8) Like other of the clandestine schools Fernyhalgh was a nursery of vocations for the priesthood and numbers of the missionary clergy received their earliest schooling there, among them distinguished men like Alban Butler, author of the "Lives of the Saints."(9)

The Jesuits in the meantime were active at Slatedelph, now South Hill, Chorley: They maintained a school for over twenty years and drew pupils from the surrounding countryside and from Liverpool itself. Father William Gillibrand was in charge of the school from 1747 and his successor, Father John Richardson, from 1763.(10) At Kirkham, near Preston in Mowbreck Hall where once he had been chaplain, Rev.Robert

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(6) Vide Appendix III Nos. 16 and 17.
Kirk, Biographies of English Catholics in the Eighteenth Century, London, 1909, p.111.
C.R.S., Vol. 23, pp.130-131.
Gillow III, pp.145-148.
Beales, loc.cit.
Catholic Magazine III, pp.30-34, 1832.

(7) Kirk, loc. cit.

(8) Appendix III, No.63.

(9) Appendix III, No.45. For a list of distinguished clergy who attended this school vide Gillow III, pp.147-148; C.R.S., Vol.32,pp.130-131.

(10) Appendix III, Nos.49 and 60.

Banister kept a small school for gentlemen's sons. The venture showed a profit for by 1790 he was able to purchase a new property to house his pupils. (11)

When Simon Bordley established his school at Ince Blundell near Liverpool there was already a tradition of Catholic education in the district. By 1701, for instance, three priests, Babthorpe, Tasburgh, and Formby all taught schools there in houses they had acquired for the purpose. (12) Bordley's venture, therefore, was not new but it lasted, and his school, which at different times occupied various premises in the district owed its continuous existence to the dogged perseverance of its founder and head.(13) Bordley, who during his long life became one of the leading clergy of the Northern District, arrived on the mission from Douay in 1735. By 1741 he had commenced his school at Salwick Hall, Lancashire, a property of the Cliftons of Lytham. About 1769 he moved the school to Moor Hall, Aughton, owned by the Stanley family, with whom he had commenced his missionary life as a chaplain. By this time the school had grown to about 70 or 80 pupils and he was able to employ an assistant master, John Berry. In 1784, because the Stanleys wished to re-occupy the property, Bordley was constrained to move again. On this occasion he built his own premises at New House, Aughton, using his own savings, school fees and charitable donations particularly from Edward, Duke of Norfolk.

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(11) Ibid., No.74.

(12) Appendix III, Nos. 18, 19 and 20.

(13) Ibid., No. 43.

His principal object in maintaining the school was to find likely candidates for the priesthood and during his life he sent many students on to Douay, Lisbon and Valldolid. (14) As Vicar General for Lancashire, Bordley was trustee for an illegal fund, known as the Lancashire Fund, and in this capacity he had the nomination of the fund's incumbents at Douay. Bordley had the money invested in England and the College could never discover the amount of their entitlement per student; they depended therefore on what he would pay and, as the Procurator of the College drily observed, "He loves to make as good a bargain for them as he can!"(15)

Despite his other commitments this energetic priest found time to write six textbooks, (one, it seems about a type of Esperanto), found the mission at Aughton, and attend to the pastoral needs of a large and poor congregation. When he died at the age of 90 years, he left £5,170.18s. in trust for his church.

In the county of Durham, where Catholicism was kept alive by the landowners in the surrounding countryside and the Vicars Apostolic for the North who had their lodgings in the city, small Catholic schools appeared throughout the century. Two came to light during 1702: one in the city in the charge of Rev. Mr. Rowells; the other at nearby Bishop Middleham taught by the Rev. John Hildridge (Hildreth). (16)

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(14) Examples are: Rev.Richard Southworth, who went to Douay in 1756 (Gillow I, pp.272-274); Vincent Eyre and his brother who went on to the preparatory school at Esquerchin and thence to Douay after spending three years with Bordley. (Gillow II, p.203)

(15) Archives of St.Edmund's College, Ware, Douay MSS: Liber Memorialis, p.142; Synopsis Pensionum, 1; Book of Pensioners, p.276.

(16) At least one of his forebears and a name-sake had been detected teaching in the North Riding in the previous century. (Kitching J., Catholic Education in the North and East Ridings, pp.27-28)

Hildreth had 26 boys in his school but the numbers rose and when the school was next noticed in 1705 he had an assistant, Mr. Smith. (17) The Jesuits were always active in the area: Thomas Waterton, S.J. kept a small boarding school in the city from 1730 to 1766. (18) There seems no doubt that a number of Catholic schools existed in the vicinity across the middle of the century since the enquiry about papists instituted by the House of Lords in 1767 brought to light six Catholic lay teachers in Durham city and in the nearby townships of Auckland, Bishop Wearmouth and Esk; four of the teachers were over fifty-eight years of age and all had resided in their parishes for many years. (19) After the passage of the first Relief Act of 1778 the tradition of Catholic schools in the district was continued by the secular priest Arthur Storey who for 27 years from 1781 ran an academy at Tudhoe, in a building owned by Sir John Lawson of Brough Hall in the North Riding of Yorkshire. The school was well-known and considerable in size. It was staffed by secular priests from Douay.(20)

In the North Riding, another recusant stronghold, the same pattern emerges. Throughout the 16th and 17th centuries missionary priests were never absent and secret schools existed. We get glimpses of them from time to time and can trace the movements of some of their teachers as they passed from place to place. (21) During the eighteenth century

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(17) Appendix III, No.23

(18) Everingham Park MSS, Yorks E.R.Record Office, Constable to Haggerston, 9th July, 1740.

(19) Dorothy Joplin, New Elvet, Durham; Margery Laidler, Gillygate,Durham; Esther Thompson, Bishop Wearmouth; Mary Emmerson, Auckland,St.Andrews; Mrs.Gr..., Esk, Durham; John Thompson, Bishop Wearmouth. Appendix III, Nos. 65, 66, 67, 68, 69 and 70.

(20) Appendix III, No.91.

(21) KitchingJ., op.cit., pp.13-41.

the tradition continued and schools were reported from time to time to the Anglican authorities. In 1722 Matthew Crosby was detected teaching at Brandsby; George Turner at Dalby in 1724; while at Scarborough in 1735 Anne Mary Loveday, wife of a bookbinder, was brought to notice for teaching a school for the boys and girls of the small Catholic community there. (22) The visitation enquiry of the Anglican Archbishop Herring in 1735 unmasked the activities of Rev.Monox Hervey (alias John Rivett) at Ugthorpe. Harvey is thought to have started a school in London before his removal North. At Ugthorpe he made little effort to conceal his activities as priest and teacher and had "ye assurance to invite people to go to hear him do his duty". The school was reported again at the Visitation of 1743. In 1745 he had ten boarders in his school, the sons of gentlemen. The following year Hervey was imprisoned on suspicion of favouring the Young Pretender's cause: bill transactions and school fees found in his possession were construed into money being raised for the rebellion. It is interesting that the fees passed through the hands of four intermediaries before they reached him. (23) After Hervey's departure the school at Ugthorpe was continued and from 1747-1757 we find it in the charge of Rev. Edward Ball (alias Worthington). (24)

Throughout the 16th and 17th centuries when York was a centre of civil and ecclesiastical government for the north it was also a focus for recusant activity and Catholic schools were unearthed from under the very nose of the government and even in gaol itself. (25) During the 18th

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(22) Appendix III, No.37

(23) Ibid, No.30.

(24) Ibid, No.48.

(25) Kitching J., op.cit., p.14-24.

century the city was a social centre for the Catholic gentry of the north no less than for their non-Catholic friends, and most families of substance maintained a town house in the city; not surprisingly, therefore, educational activity continued.

During the revival under James II both the Franciscans and Jesuits established schools for boys there and in 1686 the Convent of the Institute of the Blessed Virgin Mary opened outside Micklegate Bar. The schools founded by the Regulars were designed to teach a full course in humanities but the Revolution destroyed them. Thereafter during the eighteenth century we find evidence only of preparatory schools for the sons of well-to-do Catholics like that kept in the city by Dame Kaley about the middle of the century. Stephen Tempest, a son of Catholic gentlefolk who attended there was later tutored by two priests, Russell and Pyatt, before being sent to St.Omer's. (26) The first of these priests may have been the William Russell, writing master, noticed along with Mr. Horncastle, scrivener, in the Visitation Return from St.Michael le Belfrey Parish, York in 1735. (27) Father Pyatt lived in the city. In 1743 at least seven priests were living there, one as chaplain at the Bar Convent, one in charge of the mission of the secular clergy, and the rest privately in the houses of Catholic families; (28) by 1769 their numbers had risen to nine. (29) They seemed to have had a fairly settled existence and most resided in York for a considerable time, one for thirty years. No doubt some were engaged in teaching. Though the boys' schools established before the Revolution were but short lived,

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(26) Appendix III, No.42.

(27) Appendix III, Nos. 38 and 39.

(28) Appendix III, No.46.

(29) C.R.S. Vol.14, p.390.

the Bar Convent lasted. It had been founded in response to the desire of the Northern Catholic gentry to have a school for girls in England and thus prevent their travelling overseas for an education in the English convents on the Continent. Mary Ward, the foundress of the Institute, whose idea was for an unenclosed Order of Religious Women to catechise and to teach girls, had earlier founded a convent and school at Hammersmith. In 1642 she had made an effort to establish the school in the property of the Thwing family, Heyworth Hall, near York. But the project had to be abandoned on account of the Civil War. In 1677 Mother Frances Bedingfield brought up a part of the Community from Hammersmith and with the aid of the endowments accumulated by Sir Thomas Gascoigne, the gentry's leader in the enterprise, established the Convent and school at Dolebank, near Fountains Abbey in 1677, transferring them to York in 1686. (30)

The community commenced their work under great difficulty and sometimes found themselves imprisoned for their activities. Nevertheless they continued to teach. In 1700 the Judges on circuit were instructed to suppress the convent and proceed against the offenders "as severely as may be". At the same time the Lord Mayor of York was told by the Government to be prepared to suppress the Convent and its schools, though he was to await instructions from the judges on circuit about their directions from the King "that some distinction should be made between such as live quietly and inoffensively and the rest that give any jealousy by their behaviour of (sic) their disaffection;" enquiries from Whitehall had gone on over four months before this action was taken.(31)

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(30) Kitching J., op.cit., pp.60-85, for a detailed history of the Bar Convent and school from 1686-1800.

(31) S.P.D.,Will. III, 1699-1700, pp.271, 372, 388 and 391.

Of course the nuns maintained the utmost secrecy about their identity, even from the children in the schools. Their dress and manner of life were, to all outward appearances, those of the graver matrons of their time, and their protestant neighbours must hardly have known what to make of them. There is evidence that the community more than once had the assistance of leading York citizens in times of trouble, and on one occasion the Archbishop of York himself intervened on their behalf. The fact that members of the community were well-connected with the local gentry no doubt had its effect on their treatment by non-Catholic authorities.

From its inception there was a steady intake of pupils and the records show that between 1710 and 1800 nine hundred and thirty eight girls attended the school. (32) In 1710 forty-three young gentle-women were in attendance, while in 1743, according to a non-Catholic estimate, the pupils numbered "about thirty": (33) After 1713 the numbers of admissions had settled down during the first half of the century. The uprisings of 1715 and 1745 did not affect them radically: difficulty of movement for Catholics and the reluctance of parents to send children away from home would account for a fall in the number of admissions during the year immediately following each rebellion. It is probable that the school never lacked pupils for the places available and from the middle of the century the intake of pupils increased, a reflection on the comparative peace that Catholics were coming to enjoy with the dawn of a more tolerant era. (34) Additions to the school buildings

(32) Quarterly Series, edited by Frs.ofSociety of Jesus, St.Mary's Convent, Micklegate Bar, York, London, 1887.
C.R.S.,Vol.14, p.204.
(33) Y.A.S.R.S. LXXVII, 1930, p.141.
(34) Quarterly Series, op.cit., p.179.

were necessary in 1767, but these became inadequate, and further extensions had to be made in 1790. (35)

The school was a centre of education for the daughters of the Catholic gentry from the North. Scarcely one of their names seems to be missing from the records of admission. Girls from Yorkshire and Lancashire account for almost half of the total of pupils during the eighteenth century and of that half a preponderance came from Yorkshire.

However pupils were drawn from Scotland and the whole of England and although the object of the school was to provide education for girls whose parents did not wish them to undergo the hazards of the journey overseas to the convents of Europe, it is remarkable that the records show the names of girls sent in from Ireland, Spain, India, Germany, France, the West Indies, Madeira and America.

Not far outside York in the West and East Ridings we catch an occasional glimpse of priestsin charge of small schools on the estates of their patrons. The Anglican enquiry of 1735 unearthed two: Richard Rand on the Constable estate at Burstwick in the East Riding, and in the West Riding Paul Gilmore at Aberford. (36)

Sometimes, when Catholic gentry had their children reared on the quiet of the family estates, teachers would be engaged to give them lessons. In 1752 the Misses Fairfax were taught at Gilling Castle by teachers brought over specially from York. They had a music master, James Ware, and a dancing master, George Haughton. George Russell (37) taught the girls writing, accounts and geography "with the use of globes".

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(35) Drake F., Eboracum, London (1736) 1788, p.247.

(36) Appendix III, Nos. 36 and 40.

(37) Appendix III, No.54.

Russell charged a guinea a visit for teaching geography and £3.18s.6d. per week for teaching writing and accounts. Dancing cost ten guineas for a course of thirty lessons. As was fashionable at the time, the children of some well-to-do Catholics would round off their education with a tour of the Continent in the company of their tutor. Two boys of the Maxwell Constable family at Everingham near York toured Europe for a whole year in 1748, accompanied by their tutor, Rev.William Fleetwood. Throughout the time they spent abroad, he saw that they carried on their lessons in religious knowledge, writing, arithmetic and dancing.(38)

The two most important Catholic schools in England during the second half of the century both owed their existence to the persistence of Bishop Challoner. In the case of the Twyford school, he revived a foundation that had provided preparatory education for boys of the best Catholic families, while the school at Sedgley was commenced later to give an education suitable for sons of Catholics among the ranks of the new "middling" classes concerned with industry and trade.

During the first half of the 18th century Twyford and Fernyhalgh had been the largest of the Catholic clandestine schools. The Twyford school, originally founded at Silkstead (eed) near Winchester, before 1660 (39) was removed from there to Twyford in 1696. Like the Bar Convent at York it had escaped the Revolution, perhaps on account of the

(38) Appendix III, No.50.
Many priests, both regular and secular accompanied boys abroad as tutors, examples:
Meynell William Rev., S.J. Appendix III, No.47.
Berington Charles, Bishop Appendix III, No.75.

(39) Barnes, op.cit. pp.97-102, 109-126.
Beales A.C.F., Education under Penalty, London, 1963, pp.217-222.
The Silkstead school was thought to have been founded in James II reign. Beales corrects this error and produces evidence that the Silkstead foundation survived the Revolution and that for a time Silkstead-Twyford ran together,Twyford being a preparatory school for Silkstead.

remoteness of its situation. At the turn of the century the school was in the charge of the Rev.John Bannister (alias Taverner and Davis), headmaster for thirty years.(40) He was succeeded in 1726 by Rev. Francis Fleetwood (alias John Walter) under whom the school flourished for six years.(41) The school was large: at one time it was said to have over 100 boarders (42) and many sons of Catholic nobles and gentry were taught there before going on to complete their education in the Colleges abroad. (43) And not only the children of nobility and gentry. In 1733 the sons of "rich merchants and tradesmen" were noticed there, and the phenomenon we have already observed at the Bar Convent, York of pupils from abroad - "the Catholic merchants of Maryland, Barbados, etc. send their sons to England to be educated by those fathers".(44) But Fleetwood left in 1732 to become a Jesuit and the school began to decline: his successor, Rev.Joseph Gildon (Gilday)(45) was ailing and died in 1736: and Rev.John Philip Betts (46) who carried on until 1745, with Rev.John Turberville Needham (47)(the famous physiologist) as his assistant, did so under severe financial difficulties. He had to borrow £200 from the Dean and Chapter of the English Secular Clergy in return for the mortgage of his personal effects and the house. Finally in the panic following the '45 the school closed.

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(40) Appendix III, No.13.

(41) Ibid., No.28.

(42) Barnes, op.cit., p.127.

(43) Examples are: The Earl of Fingall; Bishop James Talbot, son of the Earl of Shrewsbury; Bp.Thomas Talbot; the Blounts of Mapledurham.

(44) The Present State of Popery in England, Anon.,London,1733,p.16 ff.

(45) Appendix III, No.24.

(46) Ibid., No.34.

(47) Ibid., No. 44. He was elected successively a Fellow of the Royal Society and of the Society of Antiquarians; 1768 the French Academy of Sciences elected him a corresponding member. He became Rector of the Academy of Sciences and Belles Lettres of Brussels.

The rebellion had affected not only the Twyford school, but also ventures like that of Monox Hervey in the North and although small schools continued without disturbance from place to place, there was now no place where Catholics of rank could send their children for preparatory education, apart from Fernyhalgh and the Franciscan school at Edgbaston. Hence Challoner's desire to re-establish Twyford and to continue its tradition. A fresh start was finally made at Lord Aston's manor house of Standon Lordship, Hertfordshire, secluded, yet convenient to London. There, after some delay through local opposition of the Anglican clergy and Justices of the Peace, the school was finally opened in 1749 with Rev. James Postlethwaite, a Douay priest, as headmaster. It moved later to Hare Street and finally settled at Old Hall Green, where it survives today merged into St.Edmund's College, Ware.

Challoner's anxiety to provide schools was shared by Bishop Stonor who no doubt sought students to train as missionaries for the Midland District. We know Stonor fostered a school for Challoner wrote offering him encouragement and advice: "How goes your school on?..... I was thinking, if you want a p(riest) to be master there, that Mr.Sharpe, now at Douay (whose health will not allow him to live in town) if he will accept it, might not do amiss".(48) Probably the school was that kept at Alvechurch under the patronage of the Sheldon family. Rev.Richard Palin had been headmaster there from 1725 till 1740.(49) Documentary evidence of an immediate successor is lacking but we may infer that Bishop Stonor, having sponsored the school, had continued it meanwhile under another priest and now was looking again for a headmaster.

(48) Letter of Bishop Challoner to Bishop Stonor, 15th January,1754, quoted in Burton, op.cit., Vol.I, pp.361-362.

(49) Appendix III, No.33.

The general progress of industry and commerce in England during the eighteenth century had given rise to a demand for utility in school courses which the traditional formation of the curriculum in the older schools did not supply and private schools and academies appeared which featured modern subjects in their curricula. Challoner's plan for the Sedgley school seems to have been designed to meet this demand so far as Catholics were concerned. Such a school too would provide new sources of supply for the priesthood, a burden that had been borne hitherto by the Catholic upper class. By now, however, their ranks had thinned and the effects of industrial migration were already altering the structure of the small Catholic community; therefore priests had to be recruited more widely. (50) Challoner met with opposition to his plan from a section of the Catholic nobility who endeavoured to discourage him, but he insisted that the project be undertaken whether they patronised it or not. Possibly they were afraid that this new venture might arouse non-Catholic hostility, and as landowners they would have little interest in educating the middling classes. For his part Challoner's sympathies are not hard to discern. Conservative in politics he was nonetheless of humble origins and through his work and preaching as Vicar Apostolic he identified himself with the tradesfolk and poor of his congregations.

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(50) During the century Sedgley was the nursery that trained the greater part of the clergy of the Midlands and elsewhere. Examples of outstanding men among the early pupils are: Bp.John Milner, Rev. John Bew, President of Oscott, John Philip Kemble the actor, and his brother, Rev. John Kirk, the historian; Rev. John Eustace, author of the Classical Tour in Italy. Cf. Burton, op.cit. Vol. II, p.37.

The venture, which he placed in the hands of Rev. William Errington, proved at first to be a difficult undertaking and two attempts were made to start the school, first in Buckinghamshire and then in Wales. But the rapidly developing Black Country was a much better place. Stafford, Wolverhampton and their surrounding districts had long been Catholic centres. At Wolverhampton the community suffered during the Revolution, when a Jesuit centre with school and well-stocked library had been destroyed, (51) while at Stafford the schools of Rev. Daniel Fitter and John Taylor were in evidence early in the century. (52) The Catholic immigrant population was already beginning to grow: in Wolverhampton alone five papist schoolmistresses were to be reported in 1767. (53) Eventually, by 1762 Challoner's School was started at Betley in North Staffordshire with only eighteen boys on roll in the charge of Rev. John Hurst.(54) So successful was the experiment that the following year Errington leased the mansion at Sedgley from Viscount Dudley and Ward, though not without difficulty, objections were raised in Parliament and the noble lord was called on to defend his action there. (55) Eventually on Lady Day 1763 the boys arrived in a covered waggon and the school commenced in its new quarters. Here it remained until 1873, when it settled finally at Cotton Hall, Staffordshire. The school expanded rapidly under the presidency of Rev. Hugh Kendal (56) taking in 25 new boys in 1763 and a further 51

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(51) Foley V, pp.420-450.

(52) Appendix III, No.9.
Gillow II, pp.270-271.

(53) Appendix III, No.64.

(54) Ibid. No.59.

(55) Burton, op.cit., Vol.2.pp.35-38.

(56) Appendix III,No.61.

in 1764. By 1768 it had 100 boarders whom the moderate fees attracted from all parts of the land: some from humble homes like that of William Dawson, tradesman, of Linton-on-Ouse village in Yorkshire. His son attended with assistance from the Linton Poor Fund which paid his return coach fare, his fees and his board. (57) The work of the school reflected Challoner's intentions for the "Middling" class pupils: mensuration and book-keeping were included in the curriculum, and apprentices were put out to the neighbouring iron and brass factories where some of the manufacturers were papists. (58) "Its design" according to Berington in 1781, "is to give some education to children of a lower class. They learn their religion and such other things, as may qualify them for trade and the usual business in life".(59)

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(57) Appendix II, entries for 1735, 1779, 1781.
James Barnard in his "Life of R.R.Richard Challoner" published London, 1784, only twenty two years after the school had settled at Sedgley, states (p.138) that pupils "who could not entirely pay were assisted by Challoner or by charitable patrons".

(58) Husenbeth F.C., History of Sedgley Park School, London, 1856.
Gentleman's Magazine, 1766, February.
Barnes, op.cit., pp.102-107.
Gillow III, pp.486-487.
Appendix III, p.19. Errington Wm., No. 56; Hurst John, No.59.

(59) Berington, op.cit., p.169.

For missioners London had always been a centre: the chapter of the English secular clergy had its headquarters and library there; there too the Colleges abroad lodged their clergy agents to channel the flow of students and missioners to and from Europe and act as diplomats in ecclesiastical affairs. The capital was a natural focus for pastoral activity, for estimates made to Rome at that time alleged that twenty thousand Catholics lived there, mostly poor and among them destitute immigrants from Ireland. (60) At this period the social life of upper class Catholics centred round the chapels maintained by the Sardinian, Portuguese and Bavarian Envoys, where priests functioned openly, Mass could be heard and religion might be practiced with a sense of immunity.(61)

At Hammersmith throughout the eighteenth century the nuns of the 'Institute of the Blessed Virgin Mary preserved unbroken a tradition of Education for upper-class girls. Their convent and school had been founded in 1669 by Frances Bedingfield before she travelled North to establish the community at York.(62) Queen Catherine of Braganza gave her the manor house at Hammersmith and three years later installed the nuns at Whitefriars where they ran a large girls' school. The school,

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(60) West.Dioc., Bp. Petre's Report to Propaganda, 4th July,1746, quoted Burton, op.cit., pp.66-67.

(61) West.Dioc., Bp. Petre's Report to Propaganda, "Praesans Status Missionis Anglicanae", quoted Burton loc.cit.

(62) Chambers M.C.E., Life of Mary Ward, London 1882-5, p.515. ff.
Beales, op.cit., pp.226-227.
According to Frances Bedingfield's Will, she left Hammersmith House (school) and its debts to Mrs.Cecily Cornwallis. The Bar Convent (school) and its debts to her niece Dorothy Bedingfield. Sir Thomas Gascoigne's bequest (text and note 30) of £100 was to be divided between both houses and if another house was opened, each was to have one third part of the bequest.
All this was in accordance with Gascoigne's will.
(transcript of the will in the possession of Mr.E.S.Worrall)

said at one time to contain 300 pupils, was destroyed in the Revolution; but the Hammersmith convent survived: no doubt because of its proximity to the country seat of the Portuguese ambassador; because, like the York nuns, this community were careful to conceal their identity; and because they had family connections with persons of influence. Under the spate of penal repression in 1700, when the Judges on circuit were ordered to suppress the sister convents, Hammersmith faired less well than York and for two years the number of pensioners was reduced to two. The London Post even reported that the Nunnery had been suppressed despite the protests of those in the neighbourhood who had come to depend on it for their livelihood. But the setback was temporary: between 1701 and 1704 85 pensioners were enrolled. Like the Bar Convent Hammersmith attracted a steady flow of pupils from upper class Catholic families over a wide area and the Registers for the years between 1676 and 1768 contain 891 names. (63) Gentlewomen boarders as well as the pupil pensioners lodged there; some were parents of pupils; others were

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(63) I am indebted to Mr.E.S.Worrall who permitted me to see transcripts of the registers of pensioners from the archives of the Hammersmith Convent now in possession of the Benedictine nuns at Teignmouth. There are two rolls, one of admissions in date order, the other arranged alphabetically.

Summary of numbers from the rolls:

Dates	Pensioners
1676-1692	201
1693-1715	200
1716-1736	211
1737-1751	128
1752-1768	151
Total:	891

Dates of those who joined Convents of the Community.

1677 Munich	1686 Hammersmith
1677 Hammersmith	1702 "
1681 "	1709 "
1682 "	1713 "
1683 "	1718 "
1683 "	1756 Liege
	1766 Marcella Dillon to be a member.

widows; sometimes they were accompanied by servants. The Convent flourished during the first half of the century: up to 1768 891 boarders had enrolled, almost twice the number (455) shown in the registers of the Bar Convent for the same period. Yet the York convent maintained its success during the second half of the century admitting a further 483 pupils by 1800, while the Hammersmith community gradually declined until its school was revived by the Benedictine nuns from Dunkirk in 1795. (64) The Convent fostered vocations for the religious life: between 1677 and 1718 ten pupils remained to join the community and by 1759 30 pupils had gone overseas to join the convents at Munich, Liege, Ghent, Dunkirk, Bruges, Lisbon, Brussells, Antwerp, Pontoise and Paris.

The presence of the Convent with its Jesuit Confessor attracted Catholics to Hammersmith and stimulated activity: it is not surprising that a strong Catholic community existed there throughout the century. According to the returns of papists for 1767, 293 Catholics lived nearby, 95 of them under fourteen years of age. (65) During the first part of the century the Benedictine Robert Hills kept a preparatory school for boys there. (66) Earlier John Bromley at Bloomsbury and

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Dates of those who joined convents abroad as religious

1683 Ghent	1700 Munich	1705 Brussells	1725 Paris Blue Nuns
1684 Ghent	1700 Dunkirk	1714 Dunkirk	1725 Paris Blue Nuns
1691 Dunkirk	1703 Antwerp	1715 Bruges	1726 Brussells
1691 Bruges	1704 Bruges	1717 Paris	1740 Paris Blue Nuns
1698 Lisbon	1704 Ghent	1719 Liege	1747 Paris Blue Nuns
1698 Brussells	1704 Pontoise	1722Paris	1756 Bruges
1698 Liege	1704 Liege	1722 Ghent	1759 Bruges

(64) Vide Ch.8, Note 30: July 17th and May 3rd.

(65) C.R.S., Vol.59, 18th Century Lists of Recusants.Edit.E.S.Worrall, 1967.

(66) Appendix III, No.15.

Thomas Deane at Hyde Park corner kept fashionable academies for boys: both taught Alexander Pope after his removal from Twyford. (67) In 1730 we hear of a petty school "Mrs.Walley teaches little children and lives in Chapel Street." (68) Charles Butler, lawyer and leading Catholic layman,received his preparatory education at Hammersmith in Plunkett's academy, open in 1760. (69) The two sons of William Mawhood, respected merchant, diarist and friend of Challoner, were at the Kensington academy of John Walker and James Usher in 1771. (70) Walker, former actor and later lecturer in elocution,was the author of twelve textbooks on English Grammar and elocution. In 1775 two writing masters appear, Sturzaker and Beaumont: both had been indicted by an informer under the recusancy laws and put to very great expense.(71) By the time of the first Relief Act, eleven teachers kept preparatory schools

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(67) Ibid, Nos. 3 and 14.
Beales, op.cit., pp.222, 237.

(68) Appendix III, No.31.

(69) Ibid., No.57.

(70) Ibid., Nos. 71 and 72.

(71) Ibid., No.77.
West. Dioc., Vol. XLI, MS. 232.

in London, though out of a total of 530 pupils only 132 were Catholics.(72)

(72) West. Dioc., Vol. XLI, MS.231.

MS.231 - Statistics relating to Catholic Schools and Schoolteachers in London, 1780.

Roman Catholic School-masters and Mistresses in London:	Place of Abode	How many Scholars?	How many Protestants?	How many Roman Catholics?	Do you teach any Catechism?	Do you teach the Protestant Catechism?	Do you teach the Roman Catholic Catechism?	Do you teach the Roman Catholic Catechism before the Protestant children?	Do you teach any Protestant children paid for by a Roman Catholic?
Mr.Sturzaker	Rupert Street	100	60	40	*Y	Y	Y	*N	N
Mr.King	Chapel Street, Soho	102	87	15	Y	Y	Y	N	N
Mr.Bullen	Crown Court, Soho	30	10	20	N	N	N	N	N
Mr.Bradley	New Compton Street	50	46	4	Y	Y	N	N	N
Miss Prowett	Great Wild Street	28	20	8	Y	Y	Y	N	N
Mr.Gallagher	Great Wild Street	30	14	16	Y	Y	Y	N	N
Mr.Kelly and Mr.Heany	Little Russell Street Bloomsbury	100	87	13	Y	Y	Y	N	N
Miss Rice	Gloucester Street	30	20	10	Y	Y	Y	N	N
Mr.Austin	Chesterfield Street Mary-le-Bone	60	54	6	Y	Y	Y	N	N
Mr.Powel	Great Wild Street	Left School and Scholars since these troublesome times.							
Mrs.Wade	Duke Street, Bloomsbury	Left School and Scholars since these troublesome times.							

* N = No
Y = Yes

Two other teachers kept preparatory schools in London at this time, but of their size we know nothing.(73)

Although educational activity was manifest mainly in the traditional recusant centres we catch occasional glimpses of schools in other places, often sheltered by the local catholic landowner; Mr.Coppinger, for example, taught at Kingsdown, Clifton, in the middle of the century, but he was eventually forced to close down his school, when it became known he was a papist. (74) At Gloucester in 1780 Rev. John Greenway kept a small boarding school. (75) And when the Anglican Bishop of Lincoln decided on a survey of papists and reputed papists in his diocese, six Catholic schools came to light in 1780 at Corby, Claxby, Barrowby, Honiton (Hainton), Lincoln and Market Rasen. (76) Corby had a congregation of 72 papists, Claxby 49; Barrowby with only 12 papists had "a priest and his ffam": a small boarding school. The Hainton "popish school" contained 112 pupils, while only 4 miles away 33 children were taught at Market Rasen on the estate of the recusant Constables. In Lincoln a papist woman kept school but her 24 pupils were alleged to be all Protestant.

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(73) Mr.Walsh and Mrs.Steel, school teachers of Christopher's Alley, declare they were incapable by the losses they sustained in the Gordon Riots of establishing themselves again.
West. Dioc., XLI, MS.228. Vide Appendix III.

(74) Appendix III, No.51.

(75) Appendix III, No.82.

(76) Appendix III, Nos. 84, 85, 86, 87, 88 and 89.

From the point of view of educational endeavour, the eighteenth century belongs properly to the secular clergy, an achievement due largely to the better organisation they had enjoyed under the Vicars Apostolic since 1688. Previously their organisation had been less satisfactory and their educational activity therefore less significant. For their part, after the major Orders had re-organised their provinces in England, the Regulars had dominated the seventeenth century with their educational work. But after 1700 this declined in the face of competition from the secular clergy and their Bishops. (77)

Of all the Regulars the Jesuits were the dominant missionary force in the 17th century, achieving a success out of proportion to their numbers by virtue of the quality and method of their work. The Jesuit English Province was divided into Colleges (districts) and inside this organisation chosen priests were set apart for educational work preparing boys for the schools abroad. The Jesuits influenced the education of girls in England through the work of Mary Ward's Institute. The educational revival under James II was a culmination of their activity: They were its spearhead and opened twelve grammar schools in Catholic centres, though none of these survived the destruction of the Revolution. During the eighteenth century the scope of their activity was narrowed; as we have noticed they were active in South Lancashire, keeping schools at Chorley and Prescot, at York, outside Durham, and in the North Riding they seem to have had a school at Catterick. (78)

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(77) Account should also be taken of the long and unfortunate dispute over the question of exemption from episcopal control of those regulars serving missions which was settled in favour of the Vicars Apostolic by the Papal Brief Apostolicum Ministerium (1753).

(78) Vide App. III, Nos. 41, 42 and 46.
Foley V, 339, 398; Gillow, J., Haydock Papers, p.132; C.R.S., Vol.4. p.250.

For an order of such scholarly traditions the work of the Benedictines throughout the period was surprisingly small. Their main contribution was as tutor-chaplains to many of the Catholic upper-class families, preparing boys for the schools abroad, (79) but though there were usually sixty Benedictines working in England during the seventeenth century, they established no schools. Their General Chapters of 1666, 1713 and 1717 considered the problem of establishing preparatory schools in England, one for the North and one for the South, however little was done. (80) Only two Benedictine schools come to light and neither lasted: one at Hammersmith we have already noted; (supra. p.67b) the other was opened by Rev. Anthony Hutchinson at Redmarley, Worcestershire, in 1733. (81) We hear no more until 1780 when the President of the Benedictines urged his priests at home to take up school work in their particular districts.(82) Rev. William Cowley opened at Vernon Hall near Liverpool in 1789 a school for boys which was afterwards to serve as the nucleus of the present Ampleforth College. (83)

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(79) Ampleforth Archives, Allanson MS. Vol. I, Part II, pp.454 and 471. Downside Review, Vol. VI (NS XXIV), p.313.

(80) Allanson Vol. I, Part II, pp.471-474.

(81) Almond, History of Ampleforth, p.207.
Gillow III, p.511.
Allanson MS. Vol. I, f.400, Note.1.
Appendix III, No.35.

(82) Archives Departmentales du Nord, Lille, quoted in Hastings, Rev.Wm. Thesis: The Education of English Catholics, 1559-1800, Univ.London, 1923.

(83) Almond, op.cit., pp.252, 259; LD 1795.
Allanson Vol.II, fol. 24 ff.

Of the great Orders only the Franciscans established a school in England which lasted. They had restored their English Province in 1625. Generally speaking the organisation and activities of the regulars were similar: each order had its noviate and schools overseas from which it sent out missioners to England. The Franciscans were no exception: their novitiate and college was at St. Bonaventure's in Douay, where they also had a printing press. From 1638 their missionaries were bound to frequently catechise children and others either in their own homes or at a priest's residence. (84) Where there were Franciscan missionaries the work of tutoring went on.

About 1692 they established a boarding school at Mount Grace Priory, Osmotherley, in the North Riding of Yorkshire. The house had been given them seven years previously by Mrs.Juliana Walmsley with £20 per annum to support their missionary work. (85) The object of the school was to supply candidates for the novitiate but it had little success in this direction and in 1714 was described as "only an ABC petty school for little boys to be fitted for their rudiments or for grammar", though this may have been due to the troublous times. It had languished before 1702 but according to a contemporary account from that date it had flourished (86) under Father Ambrose Ogle with Father Ambrose Jenkinson as assistant and Mrs Jennison to attend to the temporalities of the place. In 1714 Mrs. Jennison was brought before the local Bench and ordered "under threats of the utmost penalties to discontinue keeping a popish school and to disperse her establishment before Michaelmas Day";

(84) Fr.Thaddeus, O.F.M., The Franciscans in England, 1600-1850, London, 1898, pp.46-49, 56, 79.

(85) Thaddeus, op.cit., 264 suggests 1672:
Beales, op.cit., p.228 corrects this to 1692.

(86) Ibid., pp.172 ff.

at the same time twenty informations were laid against Father Ogle.(87) The Commissioners for Forfeited Estates called the ownership of the property into question at the Bishop's court at Northallerton but the deeds of the property could not be found. Not long after this the Order deemed it expedient to move the school to Edgbaston, Warwickshire, where it remained for seventy years.(88)

The schools we have documented were mostly small, though a few were sizeable; some were of brief duration; others lasted over the active lives of more than one teacher. In recusant areas the persistent recurrence of small schools preserved a tradition of educational activity lasting over several generations and in some cases down to the present. Of the larger schools five can be described as institutional in character: Fernyhalgh; Silkstead-Twyford-Standon Lordship; Sedgley; and the convent schools at York and Hammersmith. Thus a pattern emerges.

But the problem of internal organisation and educational standards remain, and they give rise to interesting conjecture. Without doubt all five institutions had their rules, though we have documentary evidence of only three: The convent schools and Standon Lordship. For the rest, by considering their aims and the attainments of their teachers, we may attempt an estimate. At the lowest level they would be petty schools teaching Reading and Religious Knowledge, like that of Anne Loveday, wife of the Scarborough bookbinder (89) or Mrs.Whalley, who taught little children in Chapel Street, London. (90) But most smaller schools were

(87) Gillow I, p.541.

(88) Thaddeus, op.cit., pp.140, 172 f.
Gillow, loc.cit.

(89) Ch.5, text and note 22.

(90) Loc.cit., note 68.

taught or supervised by clergy usually with a view to preparing pupils for the colleges abroad. In so far as their aim was general therefore, the work of those schools would be similar. For entry to the seminaries on the Continent a pupil needed to complete a full course of humanities based on the study of Latin and Greek, (91) but such preparation was unusual at home. In these circumstances Douay maintained a school for humanities to prepare students for the seminary, and while other seminaries tried to confine themselves to Theology and Philosophy, three schools had to specialise in humanities only; those of the Jesuits at St.Omer and the Benedictines at Douay and Dieulouard. As we have seen (92) pupils of different ages arrived overseas with varying levels of attainment though a student was expected to be at least 14 years of age, to be able to read and write and to have had some instruction in Latin. We may infer then that most schools at home tried to keep youths until they were fourteen and teach them Religious Knowledge, Reading, Writing and the elements of Latin at least. According to Berington pupils stayed at Edgbaston and Standon Lordship until they were twelve or fourteen. (93) Bishop Talbot stated in his report to Propaganda in 1786 that he supervised the school, no pupils were admitted after they were twelve years old and the school was preparatory. (94) At Sedgley

(91) Ch.3,Sect.ii.

(92) Loc.cit.

(93) Vide Berington, op.cit., pp.168-169.

(94) West Dioc., XLII MS.88, Bp.James Talbot's account of the London District to Rome, 2nd August, 1786:-
Standon - - - In hoc loco Schola pro pueris Nobilium Catholicorum erecta est anno 1749. Ubi alumni in Fide Catholica educantur et ad studia ulteriora praeparantur. Sed nullus admittitur post duadecimum annum completum. Hanc scholam ipsemet rego et saepe visito,et in ea potior pars Nobilium Catholicorum educata est, sed valde dubito an multum sit duratura. Duo soli sunt hic sacerdotos, unus pro regimine Catholicorum hic habitantium, et familiae: alter pro instructione Alumnorum, praeter duos laicos.
Despite the Bishop's foreboding the school endured.

the boys "being of the mercantile middle classes did not stay very long: few longer than three or four years and many only one or two;"(95) while at York and Hammersmith girls stayed several years.

The standard of literacy among the clergy was bound to affect their work in school. (96) Education in the schools and seminaries abroad fitted most missionaries for preparatory teaching, though they were hampered by difficulties of isolation on the mission. Nevertheless Rev.John Turberville Needham, who taught at Twyford, was a distinguished scholar and other priests were accomplished too, as their publications show. Rev. Simon Bordley, author of textbooks on the teaching of Latin and Greek claimed to have studied the techniques of teachers on the continent and to have bettered the methods of some teachers at home. He wrote handbooks for writing masters, textbooks on shorthand and a universal character. It is hard to imagine that he did not develop his techniques in school. Bordley's books circulated, and other clandestine schools adventuring with modern subjects could use them. He was not alone. Samuel Johnson paid tribute to the work of Rev.Edward Taverner, methodologist in grammar teaching and headmaster of the Silkstead-Twyford school. Johnson noticed that Alexander Pope, schooled by Taverner and later by Thomas Deane of Hyde Park Corner, had translated under them more than a quarter of the Metamorphoses. (97)

Among lay teachers educational standards varied widely. Deane was praised by Johnson. John Walker specialised in English and elocution at his fashionable academy: his works included three pronouncing

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(95) Husenbeth, F.C., History of Sedgley Park, London, 1856, p.25.

(96) Ch.3, Sect.ii.

(97) Johnson, S., Lives of the Poets, quoted Beales, op.cit., p.218.

dictionaries and an English grammar textbook. Dame Alice's school at Fernyhalgh claimed to give only an education "not entirely confined to the hornbook and the art of spelling", yet it was famous among non-Catholics and Catholics alike and nursed many future clergy. Laymen like Peter Newby, (98) were schooled in humanities at Douay and thereafter self-taught. At the lowest level dames Loveday and Whalley taught the A.B.C.

The Institute of the Blessed Virgin Mary took care to prepare nuns for teaching in the York and Hammersmith convent schools. Their rules are duplicate and provide the most complete record we possess for any Catholic schools existing in England then. Manuscripts at the Bar Convent, York and in the Westminster archives show that the earliest code of rules was first approved by Bishop Giffard.(99) In 1693 Bishop Smith first Vicar Apostolic of the Northern District and first prelate under whom the York community had to work, wrote to Frances Bedingfield, "My brother, Bishop Giffard, has in a particular and effectual manner undertaken the care of your sisters at Hammersmith".(100) It seems both convents had the same code of rules from that early date.

The rules for the boarding schools contain detailed regulations, not only for the education and conduct of the pupils, but also for training the nuns who were to teach them. Each nun "must endeavour to perfect herself in writing, casting accounts, orthography (and in) reading English and Latin. The Assistant to the mistress of the School

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(98) Ch.5, text and note 8.

(99) West.Dioc: XXXIX, MS.135; XL, MSS. 158 and 159.

(100) Quarterly Series, op.cit., pp.99-100.

should know how to write and cast accounts, to teach all sorts of plain work and darning in perfection and some sorts of embroidery and cross-stitch, and also to read, spell and speak French". From the earliest days there was a tradition of learning in the houses of the Institute on the Continent and in England. The learned Jesuit Jeremiah Pracid, himself a York man, was confessor at Hammersmith and is said to have taught the nuns there Latin, Greek, Hebrew and Astronomy. (101) The rules advise on the personal relations of the teacher and her pupils. To win the confidence of the children she must be a personal and friendly leader. A teacher, who erects a barrier between herself and her class, will meet with little success. Pupils are influenced by the attributes and manner of their teacher. Therefore a teacher should be worth of emulation. Care must be taken to avoid elementary errors that destroy the confidence of the group, for example, having favourites. Children are better supervised. At all times punishment should be reasonable. An honest attitude is fostered in children by encouraging them to be frank, especially about their dislikes.

Having regard to age, progress and ability, the school was divided into classes. "When there are several capable of learning the same lessons, they shall be divided into two or three classes, and each class shall be taught by her whom the superior shall appoint. If the scholars be not equally advanced or of equal capacity, the second mistress must in like manner teach the second class, and a third mistress a third if necessary." Methods of teaching reading and spelling are set out in

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(101) Foley, Vol. V, p.748.
West. Dioc., XVIII, MS.126.
Quarterly Series, op.cit., p.261.

detail. "That the children may be taught to read, the mistress must read to them every new lesson, make some one child repeat it after her and then see that they study it before the hour comes for hearing it. Each class shall have their lesson out of the same book, whether English or Latin, and being seated before the mistress, shall in silence attend to their lesson, till they are called up to say all or part of it, or to spell or pronounce some word which another seems not able to do. Each must be obliged to spell and put together every word that is said wrong, till she has it right, without being told it too hastily by the mistress." "That the scholars may be perfect in orthography or spelling right ... they shall learn a lesson or two a day out of Dyches Spelling Dictionary (102) proposing to one another the words and asking their signification if it be not obvious, in the presence of the mistress, who upon first reading each lesson to them ought to tell them the meaning of the most difficult words; and once a week she should oblige them to turn some sentences out of French or Latin into English, or write some English sentences, which she has slowly pronounced to them; and they correct their false spells, by making them have recourse to their dictionaries". In English and Latin reading and spelling lessons the girls are to have the same lesson "reading it in their turns either all or in part as she (the mistress) shall direct whilst the rest attentively look at their books and repeat such words as she shall order them that true pronunciation may be inculculated into all that class". Every Monday morning the scholars shall repeat all the lessons of the foregoing week.

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(102) Editions for 1725 and 1731 (3rd edition) are in the British Museum Library.

From the rules we are able to reconstruct the following typical schoolday of the boarders:

6.30 a.m.	Summer.
7.30	Winter (Michaelmas to Easter). Rise and private prayers. Assembly with morning prayers in school.
8.0 to 8.30	Breakfast.
8.30	Mass or Devotions in the Chapel.
9.15	(for thirty minutes or more). Spelling or reading English, Latin or French in classes.
10.0 to 12.14	(approx.) Under the mistress assigned, Marking, Plain-work, Embroidery, Writing, Casting Accounts, Dancing under a master, and Music (according to the day of the week).
12.15 to 1 p.m.	Catechism (learning and repeating it to their mistress).
1.0	Dinner. Supervised recreation.
3.0 to 4.0	Such lessons "as require the best light".
4.0 to 5.0	Spelling and Reading etc.
5.0 to 6.30	Easier works.
6.30 to 7.0	Rosary and prayers in the chapel (Wednesdays, 6.0 to 6.30, followed by catechism in the school, 6.30 to 7.0).
7.0	Supper. Supervised recreation either inside or in the garden, according to the weather.
8.0	Bed.

At the York Convent, French was taught from 1709 and Drawing and Geography were also included in the curriculum. (103) No regular vacation was given at the school during the eighteenth century, though the girls had days of recreation at Christmas and on other occasions throughout the year. At Christmas time there were dramatic activities in costume. (104)

At Hammersmith and York girls were taught Religious Knowledge, Latin, French, Reading and Writing, Spelling, Needlework, including Embroidery, Casting Accounts, Geography, Drawing, Dancing and Music. Boys had Religious Knowledge, Latin, Greek, Reading, Writing, Arithmetic and Drawing at Sedgley; (105) and Religious Knowledge, Latin, Greek, Reading, Writing, Geography "or the like" at Standon Lordship. All gave Classics a central position in the curriculum along with Religious Knowledge for all were influenced by the formation of studies in the schools abroad: the boys' schools by Douay College; the convents by the Jesuits. But modern subjects had a foothold. Reading, Writing and Spelling were prominent in each curriculum, Geography too. Arithmetic was taught to the commercial "middling class" pupils of Sedgley, and "casting accounts" at the convent schools prepared young ladies of quality to cope with household management, while Needlework, Dancing, Drawing and Music were fashionable extras essential for the polite education of any girl of breeding.

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(103) Quarterly Series, op.cit., pp.131 and 224.

(104) Quarterly Series, op.cit., p.158.
Bar Convent Archives, York, MS. "Anecdotes of the Bar from 1735".

(105) Barnard, James, Life of R.R.Richard Challoner, London, 1784, p.138.

Fortunately the Standon Lordship rules have been preserved in the archives of St.Edmund's College, Ware. The manuscript, a copy with corrections in the hand of Rev. Richard Kendal "the chief master" was made shortly after the school opened. Clearly the school was preparatory for young boys, and kindly concern was shown for their welfare.

All had to be washed, combed and powdered daily by the domestic staff under the supervision of the matron, hair cut and feet washed once a month. Recreation was to be taken according to the weather with games that were neither too hot nor too dirty nor over-strenuous, especially during hot weather and "while ye snow lies on ye ground they are not to go into it, much less make snowballs or ye like". No pupils must lie on the ground "when 'tis damp, as 'tis presumed to be in all Months yt have ye letter R in ye Name as January etc." Nine pins and "drawing ye cart about" were the games recommended for outside and as an additional activity pupils could keep their own vegetable garden for salads, provided they paid for the seeds. All must take part in supervised walks: stockings had to be changed when wet.

Clothes were to be changed regularly and beds made up with at least two blankets, and a quilt in very cold weather. Manner, dress and posture were regulated in detail. Politeness to adults and the importance of good table manners were emphasised. "Care should be taken of ye children's walking with their Toes out" and they must sit upright at their studies and writing so that "they in no ways grow awkward in their behaviour and carriage." There must be no selling or exchanging of valuables and damage to windows and property had to be paid for out of a pupil's pocket.

Attitudes regarding corporal punishment were enlightened: "the Rod (must be) made as little use of as possible". Diligence should be encouraged by "a little more play when ye others are at their studies or by a larger allowance of pocket money", and idleness punished either by study on Playdays, detention, by lessening the allowance of pocket money or by making a boy sit and be served last at table. "Which things may probably have a better effect, particularly as ye children are mostly young, than that of ye Rod, but when this is to be necessarily made use of, I require yt ye Master do not inflict it on his own scholar, if for school affairs at least but yt he send him to be punished by ye other Master to prevent any heat or warmth yt it may possibly be occasioned, but no Lay Person is ever on any account to lay hands on them without ye Chief Master's consent."

Diet for the boys was simple and wholesome: boiled milk and milk pottage for breakfast; meat, bread and beer for dinner; bread and butter or cheese with milk for supper or "applepy". There was "Mince py thrice between All Saints and Candlemass: also Plumcake for supper on ye 12th Night, they paying for it".

From the rules the time-table for a typical school day emerges in some detail and is reminiscent of the Douay time-table. Perhaps Dr.Kendal had memories of the Douay day.

A.M.

6.15	"Washing and combing" in the lavatory.
6.30	Morning prayers and Mass.
7.15	Breakfast.
8.0 to 10.0	Lessons: Catechism English Latin or Greek.
10.0 to 10.15	Morning Break.
10.15 to 12.0	Lessons: Reading in English by each pupil "Though he reads very perfect". English Latin or Greek.

P.M.

12.0 to 2.0	Recreation.
2.0 to 5.0	Lessons "under ye care of ye Writing Master."
5.0 to 6.0	Lessons "under one of ye other masters to learn Geography or ye like".
6.0	Evening prayers "to be read out loud by ye ablest readers in their turns".
6.30 to 8.0	Supper and Recreation.
8.0	Bed-time (In the summer there was "small beer" at 8 and bed-time at 8.30)

Tuesdays and Thursdays were half play-days.

Vacations were four times a year: Christmas 2 weeks; Shrovetide, 2 days; Easter, 1 week; Whitsuntide, 4 weeks 3 days. During vacations pupils who remained at school studied for 1.1/4 hours per day and those who went home took holiday work. Compared with modern standards the lot of these schoolboys seems hard. Judged by contemporary accounts, however,

they were better off than most boys of a similar age who attended the public schools. Indeed the widespread popularity enjoyed by Standon Lordship among upper class Catholics was attributed to the "good management and strict discipline observed" there. (106)

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(106) Present state of Popery in England, Anon, London, 1733, p.16 ff.

CHAPTER 6

CHARITABLE ENTERPRISE. SOCIETIES AND SCHOOLS

For our purpose it is convenient to start with the work of the Jesuits, during the revival under James II. Their educational plan included twelve schools where attendance was free for non-Catholic and Catholic alike. In the Savoy, London, a school was opened with 250 scholars, but numbers rose quickly until the pressure was relieved by opening the Fenchurch Street school. Latin and Greek were taught and the London grammar Schools challenged to "scholastic" contests. Half the pupils were non-Catholic for the reputation of these schools was enviable and they were supported by the King. No distinctions were made: all pupils were free to profess their religion and to withdraw from religious instruction. In the West Riding at Pontefract, where the headquarters of the Jesuit district had been transferred from York, Rev. Henry Hamerton opened a school for sixty scholars taught free by a layman for sixty-six scudi (about £20) a year. The school was examined publicly and had a free lending library attached. In the capital the Queen sponsored a school for girls where "all could attend irrespective of denomination, provided they came clean and with decent habits". Meanwhile schools for poor children were opened by secular priests like Daniel Fitter at Stafford.

These gains were swept away by the Revolution but the work of the Jesuits had roused the fears of Protestant church leaders who were aware of the need to educate the poor. They feared the consequences of a Romish aggression identified with Jacobitism, and regarded the development of catechetical schools for the children of the poor as a means of breeding

stalwart protestants against Rome. (1) Long after the Protestant Charity School movement began, its supporters were reminded in charity sermons of its anti-popish origins.

> "Ironically enough, therefore, these Jesuit schools were a collateral cause of that Protestant charity school movement which was to dominate the eighteenth century. This is not to say that without Poulton and Petre there would have been no charity school movement. Nor that it would have otherwise tarried for a generation. The problem of schooling the urban masses in London was already in men's minds. But the Protestant movement to cope with this began when it did, because of the example, and the success, and the feared consequences, of the English Jesuits."(2)

The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, founded in 1698, worked out an Anglican policy for schooling poor children in habits of labour and industry and proper humility towards their masters: a policy that seemed appropriate almost a century later when revolutionary ideas were spreading and it was feared that education might make the poor discontented with their lot. But as is shown by the Parochial Returns made to Parliament in 1818 the foundation of charities and schools for the poor had as a mainspring the piety and philanthropy of local protestant benefactors.

Throughout the eighteenth century, so far as can be seen, Catholic endeavour for charitable relief and the education of poor children was similar in many respects to contemporary Protestant activity. Though Catholic charities were illegal, legal bequests were sometimes made by Recusant landowners, where a foundation could help not only protestant tenants and neighbours but Catholics as well. Thus as early as 1655 Sir William Hungate had left money in trust for a school and hospital at Sherburn in Yorkshire.(3) In 1666 the Revv.Richard and Thomas Young,

(1) Jones,M.G., Charity School Movement in the Eighteenth Century, Cambridge 1938, pp.28-35, 123-126 and 131.
(2) Beales, A.C.F.,Education Under Penalty, London, 1963, p.253.
(3) Cal.S.P.Dom., Vol.C.1,p.12, 1655 Nov. 8th 112.

brothers, priests and natives of Bedale in the North Riding had founded the widows' hospital there. They gave £100 to erect and endow an almshouse. A parcel of land at Little Leeming in the nearby township of Aiskew was purchased with the money; the Almshouse was built, and the land leased for £20 per year. Throughout the 18th Century this foundation provided for three poor widows of Bedale.(4) In 1674 the Rev.John Young, another native of Bedale, priest and nephew of Revv.Richard and Thomas Young, gave £100 to purchase a piece of land whose rent would provide income for "the putting out of poor boys of the town of Bedale apprentices." This charity still operated in 1859. (5)

Marmaduke, First Baron Langdale, under his will of 1609 had built a free school in the township of Sancton and Houghton on his estates in the East Riding, endowing it with £20 per year for the master's salary. We find the school open yet in 1835 and still supported by the family.(6) In the reign of James II Marmaduke, the second Baron, left a legacy of £100 for teaching poor children of the chapelry of Skirlaugh South near Swine, again on the Langdale estates in the East Riding. With the money land was purchased giving a rent of ten guineas a year to pay the schoolmaster. The school still existed in 1818.(7)

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(4) In 1859 the foundation still supported the tenements for the three poor widows, provided them with £9 each per year and distributed the interest from a capital sum amongst other poor inmates of the almshouses.
Whellan and Co., York and the North Riding, Beverley, 1859, Vol. II,p.111.

(5) Ibid., Vol. II, p.112. The land originally purchased with the legacy was exchanged in 1781 for a parcel of land in Low Ellington. In 1859 it was let for £24 per annum, the rent being used to help the poor at Bedale.

(6) Appendix VI. Education Enquiry 1835, p.1094.
The Langdale's were a recusant family.

(7) Appendix V, Digest of Parochial Returns, 1818, p.1095.

A similar case was that of the school founded at Lartington by Francis Applebye and John Parkyn, Catholic landowners in the mid 17th century. They endowed it with £100 which, invested in property, helped to bring in an income of £12 per annum. By 1685 the estate came into the possession of the Maires, another recusant family. They appointed the trustees of the school and helped support the schoolmaster. In the 19th century a Catholic master taught and instructed those of his pupils who were Catholics in the catechism. The Maires paid for more than half the pupils, who were children of their tenants. (8) Elizabeth Fisher, a recusant, of Carlton, Yorks., by her will of 21st February, 1723 left "Ye sum of four pounds a year for ever" to be paid out of the rents of certain houses and lands, "for ye teaching of ten poor children of Carlton aforesaid to read English." (9)

Poor Catholic children therefore could take advantage of legal Catholic bequests provided they attended school with children of non-catholic neighbours: in some cases a patron paid for them at the local school. However they benefited also from the now traditional illegal Catholic bequests. We see imposed on the conscience of secret benefactors an anxiety for the religious welfare of children reaching beyond a schooling in Catechism and Reading: an anxiety heightened

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(8) Victoria County History, Yorkshire, North Riding, London, 1914, Vol. 1, p.122.
Mid Dioc: C.J.Hickey to Bishop, 23 January, 1903, on the appointment by Henry Maire of Trustees in 1765.
Rev. M.Ellis to Bishop, 7 March, 1848.

North Riding Records, Vol. VIII, p.48, Registration of Papists' Estates, 1717.

York and the North Riding, Vol. II, p.515.

(9) Beaumont MSS, Carlton Towers, Goole.

by appeals for the religious instruction of both adults and children emanating from Rome and circulated by the Vicars Apostolic among clergy and laity. (10) But we notice also signs of that gradual but constant attrition of the numbers of faithful in a community where to be Catholic was to be alien.

For Robert Stephenson of Dodding Green, Westmorland, in 1721 (11) the problem was how to save children for the faith especially if their parents were lapsed. By his bequest the missioner was to spend £12 rent each year in

> "education, instruction and settlement of children, both boys and girls, within his assistant's circuit, though out of the County of Westmorland, brought up Catholics, though not born of Catholic parents, and first in the education of poor children, whose parents, though not poor, cannot bring them up according to their condition and capacity, and also in the education of children who are neglected by the mismanagement or wilfulness of their parents: tho those parents are not needy: and chiefly in the education of those boys and girls who are in any danger of losing the Catholic faith."

The pastor could even arrange to board them so that they might be under a Catholic influence and not exposed to heresy and other moral dangers

> "and also to table with a Catholic (if it is possible) such boys and girls who live at too great a distance from schools; or such boys and girls who cannot otherwise come to Divine Service and be instructed in the Catholic faith, or are in danger of being misled

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(10) West Dioc., XL., MS.8.

(11) Leeds Dioc., Book of Wills BB, pp.25-61.
Statement for the Charity Commissioners etc. 1865: Ch.2., note 28.

into heresy. And the said Priest may pay all the charges of the board, lodgings, washing and accommodating such children, where he finds occasion either when the parents are unable or when, by their unwillingness or neglect, the children, boys or girls, are exposed to danger and ignorance, vice or infidelty. And it is my desire, that if it be so feasible, Catholic teachers may be provided for these children".

Children should be sent to school where convenient, not necessarily Catholic schools. Perhaps local grammar schools for boys, if possible. For the girls, places where they can learn to read, write and "cast accounts" and be trained in housecraft:-

"and the said pastor shall employ and expend part of the said £12 as he sees occasion and in his prudence thinks it convenient in sending such boys and girls as are above described, to schools where they may learn to read, write and cast accounts according to their capacity, where the boys may learn the Latin tongue or other languages, where the girls may learn to sew, knit, spin, make lace, or paste, butter and cheese, to dress meat, order a kitchen or dairy, or perform any other suitable things which becomes their sex and may conduce to make them good servants, good managers, provident and profitable housewives.

The pastor shall furnish the said children, boys and girls, with catechisms, school books, ink and paper, thread, yarn, worsted, needles, bobbins, wheels and all sorts of materials and instruments, useful to attain the knowledge above mentioned."

Stephenson suggested rewards to encourage the learning of catechism, habits of industry and obedience

"Moreover to encourage boys and girls of all conditions to learn their catechism with greater application, constancy and progress, the said Priest may from the said yearly sum of £12 give sometimes sixpence or a shilling, a hat, a bonnet, neck-cloth, handkerchief, apron, shirt, a pair of gloves, stockings or shoes, a book or some such thing to the industrious and forward children, as a premium or reward of their diligence and docility."

He made the trustees responsible for the care after school of children on the fund. They were to be settled in a livelihood, then carefully supervised. And because mixed marriages were a source of leakage, marriage to Catholics was to be encouraged:-

> "The Priest should employ and expend part of the money to bind forth boys and girls, born or brought up Catholics, and qualified as above to honest and laudable trades and employments: to pay for their cloth, linen, stockings, shoes, hats, indentures or any other charge incident to the contract of their apprenticeships: and to perform all promises, covenants and agreements made for them or any of them, and after they have served out their time to procure for them tools, instruments, materials, some little stock to set up with or to promote their marriage with Catholics and these also may be distributed in such manner, quantity and kind, as the said Priest shall in prudence judge convenient.
>
> As concerning the contracts of their apprenticeships by the choice of masters, mistresses and the trade: the sum to be paid or the other covenants proper to be insisted upon or consented to the said Priest shall take the advice and assistance of John Leyburn Esq. of Naitby in the county of Lancaster, and of William Thornborough of Selside Hall in the County of Westmorland, Gent, and after their heirs, if they are at age, and by God's grace continue Catholics: or if any of these live at too great a distance, or are not qualified as above expressed; then of some other sober and discreet Catholic layman of his circuit, who are desired to appear in all contracts with the masters and mistresses to pay the monies covenanted, when it seems convenient to the said Priest and to take care that the indentures be mutually observed: and their necessary and occasional charges in this charitable trouble and attendance shall be defrayed from said £12".

A caution against indifference, or the fear of prejudice or the proselytising zeal of protestant employers foreshadows the anxiety that dominated the line of action of Catholic bishops during the latter part of the 18th and much of the 19th Centuries:-

> "Here to the end these children may be brought up in the Catholic faith and the service of God: I strictly require and enjoin, that proper articles and Provisos (sic) be made with the masters and mistresses who are not Catholics, as far as it is practicable, that their apprentices, boys and girls, may have free exercise of their religion, and leave to go on Sundays, at least, to some place of Catholic worship."

The bequest is for practising Catholics only, and those who lapse cease to benefit. If candidates are not available in Westmorland, children from neighbouring counties may benefit. Many a Catholic child must have attended the local Protestant school with fees paid quietly from an illegal Catholic Charity:-

> "But if any of the said boys and girls neglect to come to Divine Service, catechism or instructions on Sunday or at other proper times, said Priest may, as far as he thinks it convenient or if any of them quit the Catholic faith, said Priest shall deprive him or her of all the benefits and aims above mentioned, if he is not otherwise tied up by a previous covenant with the master or mistress of such boy or girl.
>
> And if any time it happen that there are not in the county of Westmorland or in the circuit of the said Priest or Assistant boys or girls ready for school or trade, then the remainder of said yearly £12 may be expended in putting to school or trade boys or girls, qualified as above, and living in the neighbouring parishes of other counties and in this case, the children dwelling in the parish of any Trustee under-named may be preferred and provided before others."

As early as 1702 Hugh Appleby's trust fund for the Linton-on-Ouse mission provided 3 months schooling at 1s.0d. a month and an apron and books for a boy. In 1712, 10s.0d. was disbursed for William, Thomas and Nanny Mills' schooling; again between 1741 and 1756 the children of James Lambert, Thomas Hall and Nanny Hunt had school fees paid from the fund along with the cost of necessities: fuel, clothes,

shoes, stockings, catechisms and other small books of piety for children who could now read, that they might be instructed in their religion. From 1779 to 1823 the fund was used exclusively to provide books and school fees. (12) From time to time during the course of the century poor Catholic boys were apprenticed through illegal bequests. As late as 1801, Mr.Lawrence le Neve in his private instructions set up a trust with £150 for binding boys as apprentices.(13)

In 1735 we notice a sewing school for poor girls taught by Elizabeth Thorpe, Papist, in Leeds; (14) and towards the middle of the century a school for boys of poorer Catholics in York. Lady Hungate, benefactress of the local Catholic poor, died there in the Bar Convent in 1749. At the time she was paying for "Jacky Mindhill, a year at 6d. per week. 1 1/4 (one quarter's) schooling for Bobby Gray, 5/-." (15) The foundation, towards the end of the seventeenth century of the free school for girls at the Bar Convent, York, was contemporary with the start of the Protestant Charity School movement. By its continued existence, this school has provided a link between the free schools founded during that earlier Catholic revival and the growth of Catholic elementary schools with the coming of toleration. The opening of the day school was not surprising for the educational apostolate of Mary Ward's followers extended to the children of the poor as well as the rich. When Mary and her community commenced teaching in St. Omer

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(12) Appendix II.

(13) Birm.Dioc., c1616, 1801 Copy of deeds concerning Mr.Lawrence le Neve's trust.

(14) Northern Genealogist, York, 1900, Vol. III, p.6.

(15) Wombwell MSS., Newburgh Priory, Yorks, Box. 3, b.9.

in 1610, as well as a boarding school for English girls, they opened a free day school for the young girls of the town. (16) The day school at York was opened between 1695 and 1698 by Mother Frances Bedingfield to fulfil the conditions of Sir Thomas Gascoigne's bequest that three foundations should be made for the education of Catholic girls. (17) The school catered for the daughters of "Tradespeople and mechanics"(18) and was continued by the nuns "without intermission and without fee or reward" throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. From the beginning the day school was kept separate from the boarding school, having its own accommodation, mistress, and staff, although both schools were under the same roof. About 1780 the day school was thus described by the Reverend Mother:-

> "There is a day school for the poor Catholics only. They have a school appropriated to themselves, with their respective mistresses, separated from the schools of the Young Ladies Pensioners, though under the same roof". (19)

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(16) Chambers,M.C.E.,Mary Ward, London, 1882, Vol. 1, pp.267-268.
Payne, J.O., Old English Catholic Missions, London, 1900, p.80.
Ed.Ward, Maisie, The English Way, London, 1934, p.248.
Guilday, P., English Catholic Refugees on the Continent, 1558-1795, London, 1914, Vol. 1, p.169.

(17) Anon., St.Mary's Convent, York, pp.89-90.
The Ampleforth Journal, Vol.3, Article: The Oldest Convent in England, p.304.
Bar Convent Archives, MSS for 1870 and 1875.

(18) Anon., St.Mary's Convent, York,loc.cit. Bar Convent Archives, newsclipping of the Rev.Dr.Render's speech on Education to the Catholic Club, York, circa 1870: and MS. dated September,1875, stating: "the poor school, now nearly two centuries old: (the nuns) after nearly two centuries of devoted care and gratuitous education to the poor children of York".

(19) Letter in the Bar Convent Archives quoted in: Anon, St.Mary's Convent, York, p.224.

Intriguing items like the following show that the day school had a separate budget:

1735 "Day school, only trifles"
1740 "Madam Paston's chimney board made into a table for ye day scholars, 6d." (20)

Mother Helen Walker was the first mistress of the day school, There is nothing to suppose that the quality of the staff of the day school was in any way inferior to that of the boarding school: the staffs of both schools seem to have been interchangeable. Mother Maxwell, who was for ten years mistress of the day school (circa 1750-1760), became mistress of the boarding school. "She had a special gift for imparting religious instruction and was consulted by persons far away".(21)

The list of scholars who attended the day school in the eighteenth century has not survived. Of the size of the school in the first part of the century we know nothing. By mid-century, however, the numbers seem to have increased, and further accommodation had to be found by turning the "old work room . . . into ye day school" and the "old day school into a store room". (22) In the latter part of the century it is possible that the attendance was approximately the same as that at the boarding school. The number of day school pupils confirmed in 1773 was twenty-one, while in 1785 it was twenty. Approximately the same number of boarding school pupils were confirmed in each of these years(23)

(20) From the MS Account Book kept by Mother Magdalen Davis, procuratress for the Convent from 1735, and entitled "Anecdotes of the Bar from 1735", Bar Convent Archives.

(21) Anon., St.Mary's Convent, York, p.174.

(22) Bar Convent Archives, Mother Davis' Account Book, MS.

(23) Bar Convent Archives, MS. entitled "Confirmation Catalogue, 1773-1843". In 1773, on the occasion of Bishop Petre's visit, nineteen boarding school pupils were confirmed; in 1785 the number was twenty-four.

The elements of religion, reading, writing, arithmetic, and plain needle-work were taught in the school at the start of the nineteenth century.(24) No doubt these subjects comprised the traditional curriculum of the school.

We may only guess how sufficient Catholic charitable endeavour was during this period for little is yet known of the size, location and composition of the Catholic minority at that time. A study based on regional sources and the Anglican survey of Papists made for Parliament in 1767 and again in 1780 would yield valuable evidence and might indicate the effects of migration and enclosures on the population of Catholic poor. Meanwhile two sources are available: one, a census made for Rome by the Vicars Apostolic during the September and October of 1773; (25) the other, a survey made by Rev. Joseph Berington in 1780-1. The total of 56, 025 Catholics arrived at by the Vicars Apostolic is inaccurate and without doubt incomplete:

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(24) Hargrove, W. History and Description of the Ancient City of York, 1818, Vol. 1, Part II, p.501.

(25) Maziere Brady, op.cit., VAA returns to Propaganda 1773.

pp.168-9
Bp.Challoner London District
Sept.10th

	Missionaries	Catholics
Kent	4	300
Sussex	7	700
Hampshire	10	1200
Berkshire	5	500
Surrey	4	200
Essex	6	650
Hertfordshire	1	100
Bucks	3	300
Bedford	7	100
Middlesex	8	400
London	90	20000
(55 seculars)	145	24450

p.263
Bp.Petre Northern District
Sept.8th

	Missionaries	Catholics
Lancs	69	14,000
Yorks	36	1,500
Durham	5 or 6	1,200
Northumberland	18	1,800
Cheshire, Westmorland, Cumberland	few Catholics	
(67 seculars)		
	137	20,000 approx.

The Anglicans produced a substantially higher figure, 67,916 in 1767 and 69,376 in 1780. But all the surveys show a similar distribution of Catholic population. Lancashire and London between them account for two thirds of the total with an Anglican calculation for the Diocese of Chester of 25,139 in 1767 and 27,228 in 1780. (26) Staffordshire, Yorkshire, Durham and Northumberland follow next but without an even spread of population. According to Berington "Some of the manufacturing and trading towns as Norwich, Manchester, Liverpool, Wolverhampton and Newcastle upon Tyne, have chapels that are rather crowded but these constitute the greatest part of the number.... given to their respective counties". (27) By the last quarter of the

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Note (25) Cont'd

p.301 Bp.Walmsley Western District Oct. 5th 1773

Wilts	3	370
Devon	6	440
Cornwall	2	45
Somerset	6	650
Dorchester	7	540
Gloucester	4	210
Hertfordshire	7	190
Wales	9	750
(11 seculars)	44	3195

p.212 Bp.Hornyhold Midland District Sept.17th 1773

Cambridge	1	70
Derby	6	550
Leicester	3	330
Lincoln	7	750
Huntingdon	1	80
Rutland	1	90
Northampton	1	70
Nottingham	3	440
Norfolk	7	980
Oxford	7	550
Suffolk	4	360
Shropshire	8	480
Stafford	14	1760
Warwick	16	1540
Worcester	12	780
(42 seculars)	91	8930

(26) Berington, op. cit., pp.113-114.

(27) Berington, op. cit., pp.115-116.

century the Catholic minority had dwindled in the countryside and was now concentrated in the industrial centres and in London. (28)

The effect of Irish migration on the Catholic minority remains to be considered. 19th Century immigration has received some attention from scholars, but the number of poor Irish among the 18th century Catholics is a mystery. Before the century commenced Liverpool, Bristol, Canterbury, Norwich, London and York all had their colonies of Irish merchants and labourers, and a seasonal migration from Ireland for work in English fields was already established. Conditions favoured emigration, for the Irish were repressed in politics, education and religion, their living standards reduced by high rents for sub-divided land that was unproductive. British policy had killed their woollen industry and dairy farming and even a revival of

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(28) Loc.cit.
Berington thus describes the situation in the countryside. "The chief situation of Catholics is in the neighbourhood of the old families of that persuasion. They are the servants or the children of servants who have married from those families, and who chuse (sic) to remain round the old mansion for the conveniency of prayers, and because they hope to receive favour and assistance from their former masters". The numbers of the landed gentry had shrunk. (op.cit.p.121)

** "We have at this day but seven peers, twenty two Baronets, Among the first, the Duke of Norfolk, the Earl of Shrewsbury, and the Lords Arundel and Petre are in possession of considerable estates . . . Among the baronets are not more than three or four great estates. Of the remaining commoners, with the exception of some few, the greatest part have not, on an average . . . . more than one thousand pounds per annum in landed property.
Vide Ch.2., Sect.i.

** and about a hundred and fifty gentlemen of landed property."

trade during the later part of the century brought no improvement for the majority of the population. In England the industrial revolution was producing new centres of population and fresh opportunities for skilled work. An increasing number of poor Irish therefore, were migrating to England over the seasonal routes to wander after work, or to settle in the new industrial centres and London, many of them permanently. (29) The evidence will indicate that before the century closed their presence among a growing number of Catholic poor increased a need for spiritual and temporal care that was already a serious problem for the Vicars Apostolic.

Throughout the century London seems to have claimed about a third of the total Catholic population. Reporting to Propaganda in 1746 Bishops Petre and Challoner had calculated a figure of 25,000 for the London District representing "no perceptible alteration as to numbers over the last thirty years." And the Irish element was always strong among the poor: out of 60 missioners working in the district in 1746, 15 were Irish regulars.(30) By the close of the century the destitute Irish in the crowded alleyways and courtyards of St.George's Fields, Bermondsey, Somerstown, Southwark, St.Giles and Wapping endured a squalor at its best no better than the living conditions of the Irish poor in the high tide of 19th century imigration. At the start of the 18th century the appalling conditions of their poor prompted among better-off Catholics the first of a

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(29) Jackson, J.A., The Irish in Britain, London,1963, pp.2,3,6 and 7. On p.6 he talks of large scale settlements but produces no evidence of these.

(30) Maziere-Brady, op.cit., p.163.
Reports to Propaganda by Bp.Petre and Bp.Challoner, July 4th,1746.

lasting series of philanthropic efforts to help their own. In 1704 several Irish noblemen and gentlemen founded "The Irish Charitable Society for the relief of poor and distressed Irish living in and around London." Although the charity seems to have been disbursed until 1756, when the Committee ceased to meet, it existed until 1784, when it was merged into the Benevolent Society of St.Patrick. A society for the relief of old people, "The Aged Poor Society", was founded in 1708 to give "small pensions to poor, superannuated and infirm Catholics", from funds raised mainly by charity sermons at the Sardinian Embassy Chapel, in Lincoln's Inn Fields. It endures today granting pensions to "poor aged Catholics of respectability".(31)

During the whole of his long episcopate Challoner's time in London was spent away from the Embassy chapels frequented by the upper classes. He worked among the poor, preaching in alehouses and garrets, his congregations ragged and mostly Irish (32) with a mainstay of merchants or tradesfolk, persons in "the middle rank of life". These were the ones who met to defray the expenses of the meeting places. Under Challoner's guidance they formed a fund maintained by regular contributions for relieving the sick who were poor, widows, orphans and families in reduced circumstances, who came to their knowledge or who were recommended. From 1761 they met every time after the Bishop preached and called themselves the Benevolent

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(31) Ward, B., Dawn of the Catholic Revival in England, 1781-1801, London, 1909, Vol. 1, p.32.
Catholic Directory - current.

(32) Gentleman's Magazine, Feb. 1735.

Society for the relief of the Aged and Infirm Poor. (33) They included a smith, a glazier and a baker. At first their funds consisted of their own contributions made at alehouse meetings. Later they met for charity dinners that raised over £50. Under the guidance of the Moorfields clergy they divided the work into districts each with two surveyors. (34) They concentrated their almsgiving in the Cities of London and Westminster and the Borough of Southwark eventually for the aged and poor in the extensive congregations of Moorfields, St. George's Fields, Virginia Street and the East End.

We catch glimpses of similar activity in Catholic centres outside London. Preston in South Lancashire had a "Charitable Society" founded in 1731. It proved to be permanent and as late as 1860, 203 families were on its funds annually. (35) So was the society formed at Broughton. (36) At Norwich and Wolverhampton two societies were started in 1784, both sponsored by Bp. Talbot. The Norwich society he considered had been a great relief to many of the poor, and he offered £20 to start one at Wolverhampton. (37)

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(33) Milner, J., Life of Bishop Challoner, London, 1798.
Burton, op.cit., pp.125, 361-2.
Tablet, December 7th, 1861.
West.Dioc., Wiseman Papers Box 13, Printed Circular re the Society, Subscription List and Statement of Accounts.

(34) L.D.1822.
Catholic Miscellany ii. 483, 1823.
Minute Book of the Benevolent Society, quoted Beales, op.cit.

(35) Tablet, 1861, January 12th and January 20th; 1860, Jan. 28th.

(36) The Lamp, Vol. VII, No.37, Sept. 16th, 1854; et infra Ch.9, notes 37 and 38.

(37) Birm.Dioc., c.821, January 31st, 1784. Bp. Talbot to Mr.Carter, Longbirch.

Though only part of the philanthropic activity which helped preserve their faith the charitable societies of 18th Century Catholics were nevertheless a new departure. Illegal bequests administered through trustees had become the traditional mode of perpetuating charitable gestures, but were necessarily restricted to the better-off and to landed upper-class families. The formation of charitable societies now enabled small traders and others of only moderate means to give expression to their philanthropic impulses through subscriptions and donations to the committee administering a society's funds. The probate of a will was not involved, nor were trustees handling the affairs of bequests. Though in practice the societies did sometimes benefit from illegal bequests, any annual interest from these would be paid in as a subscription by the trustees, or as a donation, if only a small amount of capital was involved. Thus in 1778 we find Joseph Carpue of Lesle Street, near Lincoln's Inn, leaving in his secret will £50 to be paid by his two nephews into the Charitable Society "for the charitable purposes thereof".(38) Monies donated to the societies, never sufficient for the work in hand, were likely to be used up during the current year, and funds carried over would never be large. Some societies owned stock but this would be held in the name of one individual. Though the use to which the societies put their money was still illegal their funds were less likely to be the subject of a legal contest than an estate put to superstitious uses by will.

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(38) West Dioc., XLII, MS.190, Private instructions of Joseph Carpue.

In 1764 appeared the first society for the charitable education of poor children, "the Society for the Instruction of the Children of poor Catholic parents", formed to redeem them from the effects of destitution, squalor, vice and ignorance, "for fear that through lack of instruction and education these children of distressed Catholics become a burthen and disgrace to society." (39) The schooling consisted of religious instruction and reading only; yet without a 'charity' as well, failure would have been certain. To get them into school children were clothed; often provided with food and shelter; and later given pastoral care through employment and apprenticeship. Here for the first time we see aspects of Catholic elementary education that became features in areas where the immigrant poor were most thickly concentrated during the 19th century.

Once more this was a charity sponsored by the clergy and on this occasion one of the Lincoln's Inn clergy again, Rev. Henry Peach. His subscribers held their first meeting at the Blue Posts Inn, Cockpit Alley, collecting £5.16s. (40) Work was commenced and it was decided to have a school uniform. The Society eventually supported three large schools in London, and by 1805 had educated 2,300 children. (41) From 1789 an executive committee of president, vice-president, treasurer, four inspectors or assistants and secretary

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(39) L.D.1805, 1806, etc. advertisement of the Benevolent Society.

(40) Beales, op.cit., quoting Harting J., History of the Sardinian Chapel, London, 1905, p.44f; Associated Catholic Charities Rules, 1845.

(41) Loc. cit.

organised the work. All were elected annually, but the president and vice-president, themselves chosen from the clergy, had the nomination of other committee members. The Society was always under the 'protection' of the reigning bishop. (42) It had the help of Bishop Challoner and probably his sponsorship as well. On his death the bishop left many benefactions for the poor, among them £200 "to be applied to the education of poor children". (43)

As early as 1760 he had lent his support to Mrs. Carpue who, with the assistance of a few well-to-do women like Lady Stourton, founded a school in Hammersmith for poor girls. Her husband was a man of some means and the Carpues were known for their philanthropic interests and almsgiving. Her school she called "the Ark", seeing it as a "kind of asylum" for "the younger sort of maids" particularly those who seemed in the greatest danger, "that they might be taught to read and work and might be trained up in the fear of God and in the strictest virtue, under proper Mistresses, till being made fit for little Services, they might be placed out with good Christian masters and mistresses". She carried on the school herself for about fifteen years latterly helped by Mrs. Bayley who became mistress of the school; by 1784 more than 500 girls had been educated many of them orphans. For several years Challoner himself maintained 34 orphans there, from the funds at his disposal. After a schooling

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(42) West.Dioc., XLII, MS.116. Resolutions passed at a meeting of the subscribers to the Charitable Society for the education of Poor Children born of Catholic parents, 22nd February, 1789.

(43) West.Dioc., XLI, MS.100, Challoner's private instructions, 1770.

in reading and religious instruction they were found places as apprentices or domestic servants. But ten years after the opening of the school many of the girls, through no fault of their own were unemployed and destitute; wages for domestics being too low to provide savings against emergencies. Accordingly Challoner sponsored a circular of appeal proposing an asylum at the school, where up to twenty girls might lodge until they had found fresh employment. To be accepted girls must be between 15 and 21 years of age "but no one is to be received who has lost her character". While living in the home they must help to maintain themselves by doing suitable work inside. Should they again lose their position after being found another place, they were to be taken back into the home, provided they had kept their good character. (44) Meantime in 1770 at Leytonstone in Essex not far away Mrs. Copp, another philanthropist had established a lace-making school for poor girls. (45)

The Beneficent Society, founded in London in 1784, was known at first as the "Charitable society for putting out Apprentices and such poor Boys as have no Relations or whose Relations are in Circumstances which render them incapable of putting out the Children Apprentices". Its founders thought that the benefits of a charity schooling might

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(44) West Dioc. XLI, MS.112. Printed "Bill of Proposals for Opening a subscription in Favour of an asylum to receive poor young Maids, destitute of places; for preserving their virtue and innocence, till proper places can be secured for them. Recommended by R.C., 1770" (R.C. = Richard Challoner).

(45) She was grandmother to Frances Lescher (Sister Mary of St.Francis) founder of Mount Pleasant Training College, Liverpool. Anon: Biography of Sister Mary of St.Francis, p.2.

be lost unless a boy was bound apprentice in "a regular and virtuous family" for training in a craft, a training that would complete his education and create an abiding interest in work itself.

> "For, by binding them to a permanent State and fixing their Minds to one determinate Object, that Restlessness of disposition, those Wanderings of Desire so conspicuous in Youth, are confined within proper limits; and an attentive Industry takes place of those indolent Habits so common in such as are only Servants to Persons of higher rank, and which cannot but prove in the end greatly detrimental to virtue and morals."

The business of the society was conducted by a Committee consisting of President, treasurer, two collectors, two inspectors and a secretary. Charles Butler was the first secretary. Four assistant inspectors were chosen annually, their duties: to enquire into the merits of a master who was to take a boy; and after the lad was bound apprentice to visit him occasionally to see that he was not ill-used, his indentures complied with and the Charity not imposed on. Anyone subscribing a guinea annually could recommend a boy providing it was done personally or by deputy at the quarterly meeting. He would testify that the boy was likely to do well and make an apt apprentice. A master who applied for an apprentice had to be recommended similarly and he would not be allowed to take a second apprentice from the society until his first had served two years' apprenticeship. All a boy's premiums were paid by the society, and if his parents were destitute, he was clothed. If too many boys were recommended each year, they were to be balloted for.

Age limits were 13 to 16 years and no boy could be apprenticed to his parents. (46) The society's log of apprentices has been preserved. It shows that between 1784 and 1846, 135 boys were apprenticed, on the average eight a year. Up to the end of the eighteenth century their premium was £10. All but eleven came from London, the remainder were from Standon, Herts, Ewell, Wolverhampton, Cork, Christchurch, Surrey, Barking, Leicester, Worcester, Hammersmith, and Yorkshire. To make contact with their parents more difficult, only seventeen boys were apprenticed in their own parishes, though many were only in adjoining parishes. They served their time in 46 occupations including: Cordwainer (30); tailor (19); whitesmith, glazier, cooper, cabinet maker, painter, carpenter, gilder, hatmaker (4 each). Of the 87 people who recommended boys to the society only one came from the upper classes, Sir Henry Englefield; five came from the Carpue family; six were priests; the rest tradesmen and middle class people. (47)

The need for rescue work among poor girls increased. Life in the existing charity schools was brief, and with the uncertainty of employment many pupils on leaving school were abandoned to the brutalising effects of poverty and enforced idleness, where religious instruction and other training were soon forgotten. A society for girls similar to the Beneficent Society was considered but judged impracticable through the difficulty of finding suitable work for girls, especially "such as are protected by the Charities of the

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(47) Beales, op.cit., quoting the Beneficent Society apprentice log.
(46) West. Dioc., MS. 49, Charitable Society for apprenticing Poor Boys, March 25th 1784, 4 page circular. MS. 115, Bye -Laws of the Society, 1789.

laborious Catholics." Not until 1791, therefore, was the "Society for Apprenticing Poor Girls" established to extend the work of instruction carried on at Mrs. Carpue's school and in the schools of the Society for Instructing the Children of Poor Catholic Parents. The new organisation was to receive "such poor Catholic girls as have no friends or none able to assist them". Its committee aimed at opposing some barrier to the very great corruption which they thought prevailed: preventing crimes; furnishing girls with the means of decent livelihood; forming in them "such habits of industry as will fit them for the important duties of religion and society"; and making them equal to the task of rearing their own children.

> "It is not to be doubted but that good and evil in society bears a considerable proportion of the care which is taken of the education of these poor Females who fill the lower ranks of life.
>
> The very great share which such Women have in the management of their children of both sexes, makes it of the last importance that they should be equal to the task whenever it shall become a duty."

The Society completed the work of the schools by receiving girls who were properly recommended and placing them out "in such a manner as to enable them to fill with becoming dignity the station allotted to them by Providence." (48)

Business was conducted by twelve guardians meeting quarterly. Their main tasks were to enquire into the character of any girl

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(48) West Dioc., Vol. XLIII, MS.106. The circular is a printed bill, 26th July, 1791, 18" x 5", probably for exhibiting in chapels.

recommended by hearing the personal testimony of her sponsor, and to interview prospective masters and mistresses. So that justice was done according to the purpose of the indentures they were filled in the name of the treasurer, and after a girl had been bound it was the duty of the guardians to visit her occasionally to see that she was not ill-used. Only those between 13 and 17 years of age could be apprenticed, provided their certificates of baptism were produced. A girl could be bound for not less than 3 years and not more than 5, the Society paying a premium of up to £3 for a menial servant, or up to £8 for a trade or occupation not menial. Parents and friends must agree to visit her only with the permission of her employer. No girl was to be apprenticed to a milkman or milkwoman or her own parents. (49)

In 1778, the year of the first Relief Act, in the Virginia Street parish among the Rookeries of the Irish Waterside quarter, another charity school was opened, the Wapping and District Charity School for educating and clothing Poor Catholic Children. "A few charitable individuals, commiserating the total want of instruction among the children of the poor Irish who inhabited that part of the waterside district in which Virginia Street Chapel is situated associated together for the purpose of forming a school in which about 30 poor Irish boys might be educated".(50) The Southwark Charitable

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(49) Loc. cit.

(50) Catholic Miscellany, Vol. I, No.3, p.136 (1822).

Society established in 1789 opened a chapel and school in that year at St.Georges in the Field. (51) The Laudable Association was formed in 1797 at the instigation of some of the clergy. With the help of parishioners and Mr. Carpue as secretary and treasurer they organised the collection of weekly pence from working men as well as the better off. Meetings were held in the "Mariners" in Fore Street near Moorfields, all with the object of relieving and educating some at least of the "many poor children who run about the streets, ignorant, almost naked, and exposed to every kind of vice"(52) and given up "from dire necessity to the workhouses," this charity embraced the congregations at Lincolns Inn Fields, Little Moorfields, St.Georges Fields and Virginia Street. Together with the earlier foundations of 1764 and 1784 it made up a trio devoted to educating apprenticing and clothing children.

Towards the end of the century much depended on the local religious climate in the provinces. The Hull congregation for example was engulfed by the repercussions of the Gordon Riots and in consequence suffered a depression from which it emerged only at the turn of the century. The York Catholics on the other hand seemed unharmed by the course of events, helped no doubt by the presence of Catholic gentry and the influence of the nuns at "the Barre" whose proximity appeared extremely beneficial both to the tradesmen and

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(51) L.D., 1800.

(52) L.D., 1799. Advertisement of the Laudable Association, January 14th, 1798. It had been formed almost a year previously. Also Beales, op.cit., quoting Associated Catholic Charities, Rules for 1845, p.4; Catholic Miscellany, Nov. 1823, p.484.

the poor of the city: "the former by the consumption of the several articles of life . . . the latter by charitable contributions; for the religious ladies administer relief in various shapes to the indigent sick of all persuasions; and thus set an example worthy of imitation".(53) Indeed local opinion regarded the Catholics as "highly respectable as a body" and their charity schools redounded "much to their credit"; (54) they were prosperous and numerous; their new chapel opened in 1802 would accommodate over 700 persons. The poor school for girls had been open at the Bar Convent for the whole of the century. And we noticed the earlier indications of a poor school for boys. By 1785 a charity school for boys was now established, housed at No.3 Castlegate, and taught by Thomas Bolland for nearly 40 years. Here "poor Catholic boys (were) educated gratuitously in reading, writing and arithmetic, and particular regard (was) had to instruct them in their religious and moral duties".(55) This enterprise proved to be permanent. It was supported by the York congregation, by endowment, and by the weekly payment of one penny for every boy attending. Charity sermons were preached on its behalf and appeals were made outside the Catholic circle. Probably

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(53) Hargrove, Wm., History and Description of the ancient City of York, 1818, Vol.II, Part II, p.501.

(54) Op. cit., p.474.

(55) City of York Session Book, 1783-1792, 16th April, 1790, 18th July, 1791. Registration of Bolland's name pursuant to the Relief Acts.
Yorkshire Gazette, 10th December, 1825.
Yorkshire Directory, 1822.

there was a school committee, but of this we have no evidence. (56) In other towns where there was a Catholic congregation schools made an appearance about this time: at Great Eccleston in Lancashire in 1780; at the Trenchard Street Chapel, Bristol in 1790; in Stranongate, Kendal in 1800; while in 1792 the future Bishop Milner opened a charity school in Winchester. (57)

On the quiet of their estates Catholic landowners established schools for the children of their labourers and tenants. Three were built by Maxwell Constable: two at Everingham Park in the East Riding outside York; the third in Lincolnshire at Market Rasen was recorded in the 1780 Anglican Return of Papists. (58) At Everingham the first school was opened near the Hall before 1782, and has been in continuous existence ever since. Maxwell Constable supported it with an annual donation, at first one guinea, raised to £5 in 1790 and to 5 guineas in 1801. He endowed it after his death. Here attended non-Catholic and Catholic alike. Rev. Gurnell, the chaplain at Everingham Park, sent the children of Catholic estate workers at the patron's expense: £1. 8s. per quarter for 8 children in 1792; with books in addition. (59) The curriculum of the school in the early

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(56) Digest of Parochial Returns, 1818, p.1091, Appendix V. Education Enquiry, 1835, p.1103, Appendix VI.

(57) Beales, op. cit.

(58) Appendix III, No.89.

(59) Herries MSS., Account Book, 25, 1783-1793, First reference to the school is an a/c settled for Michaelmas, 1782. Day Book, 1783-1798 Mem. and Acts. Book, 1791-1798. Memorandum Book, 1797-1811. Account Book 26, 1799-1802.

19th century comprised religious instruction, reading, writing and arithmetic including 'casting accounts' done on slates and in pencil, quill and ink. Probably this was traditional.(60) The schoolmaster, a Catholic layman, supplemented his stipend with small school fees taken from the farmers' children; with occasional teaching at the Hall; and with surveying on the estate. He seems to have been comfortably off for he had a small holding of 3 acres as well. (61) The second school at Seaton Ross, 3 miles from the Hall, was similar. It is not mentioned in the Government survey of 1818 (62) but Constable built it by 1788, rebuilt it in 1809 and had it valued in 1815. By the turn of the century he had expenses totalling £35 for the schools on his English estates. (63)

So far as can be discerned catholic schools for poor children were similar to those of their protestant contemporaries. Thus Anne Loveday's school was a dame or petty school; the York poor schools for girls and boys akin to common day schools, where a small fee was charged. Charity schools founded by patrons like Maxwell Constable were familiar. In so far as they catered for day pupils and boarders and developed "habits of industry" in children destined

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(60) Kitching. J., op.cit., Appendix I, Everingham schoolmaster's Accounts; and pp.158-165 for detailed history of the school from 1782 to 1850.

(61) Herries MSS, Account Book 26, Memo Book 1811-1819, Account Book, 112, p.43.

(62) Loc. cit., Account Book, 25, June 6th, 1788.
Memorandum Book, 1811-1819, October 21st, 1814. Accounts Book 21, 1815.

(63) Loc.cit., Memorandum Book 1797-1811, dated 1804.

to become manual workers or domestic servants, the foundations of the charitable societies were like those of the S.P.C.K. One institution even had a uniform. The sewing school at Leeds and the lace-making school at Leytonstone were schools of industry. Methods of support too were similar: congregational collections; penny-a-week collections; charity sermons; endowments, though these were illegal. When the national movement for Sunday schools was just commencing Manchester Catholics were represented on the local committee of churchmen and dissenters. (64)

Catholics suffered no more nor less than their contemporaries from a misunderstanding of forces already at work in the agricultural and industrial revolutions and destined to upset the existing social order. The poor were as necessary to the existing order as the upper classes who were their betters. They ought not to be discontented or rebellious against their lot; on the other hand they were not to be degraded but rather taught resignation through religious instruction and the faithful practice of their religion. (65) For this reason

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(64) The Society for the Establishment and Support of Sunday schools in the different counties of England was formed in 1785. Maltby, S.E., Manchester and the Movement of National Elementary Education, 1800-1870, London 1918, p.36, for the early history of the Manchester Committee. It worked until 1800, when sectarian disputes caused a rupture.

(65) West.Dioc. A92, Briggs Lenten Pastoral, 1842, Feb. 1st, York District:
"But shall we not address a word of consolation and advice to you our poor and distressed Brethren, who are the objects of our special solicitude? Let us however first enter with you your wretched abode, and see there the extent of your wretchedness and want. What first strikes our view? a mother pale and ghastly, supporting in her feeble arms a starved and almost naked infant; a husband by her side exhausted with hunger and fatigue; a

poor and destitute children should be given a religious schooling. Here was the primary aim of the Catholic leaders: to preserve the faith of their children. Bishops and clergy had long witnessed the attrition of Catholic numbers. Now faced with a problem of poverty and a growing desire for education among the poor, they saw children lost to the faith in protestant workhouses, charity schools and Sunday schools. (66) It is no surprise in the circumstances to find

Note (65) Cont'd

group of ragged children crying for bread, and answered only by the tears and deep sighs of their distracted parents. Look around, what do we see? A dark, chilling and empty chamber, stripped of all its furniture to purchase for this starving family a scanty meal. Standing with you, beloved, poor and distressed Brethren; in your abode of wretchedness, in the sacred name of religion, we say that you are truly sorrowful, but assure you that <u>your sorrow will be turned into joy</u>. You are drinking with your poor and crucified Redeemer the cup of bitter sufferings; but with a promise from him to admit you hereafter to drink of the full torrent of heavenly delights. The Saints who have gone before you passed through many tribulations to the kingdom of heaven: they were content to sow in tears, because they were assured that they would hereafter reap in joy. Let this reflection, my dearly beloved, be also your comfort and support. After having looked on your truly severe and heart-rending distress, then raise your eyes to heaven and with Christian resignation sweetly say, "It is the will of my God and it is my duty to submit." Never, my dearly beloved, under the immediate pressure of severe affliction, suffer yourselves to call in question the wisdom and goodness of divine Providence, and to ask in the language of impatience, "Are we not all children of the same heavenly Father? Why then is one born to honour and another born to dishonour; why is one enjoying every comfort of life and another doomed to labour?" My beloved flee from such men, as inculcate principles like these, subversive of all social order. You know well that in all society there must be heads to direct, and hands to execute; there must be some persons destined to command, and others to obey; there must be high and low, there must be rich and poor, each filling their respective stations, each discharging the offices and duties that are necessary for the well-being of the whole community. You know that thus alone is maintained that harmony amongst the various states and conditions of life, on which depend the happiness of a people and the prosperity of a kingdom."

(66) By 1801 some 156,490 children attended Sunday schools in London alone. Barnard, H.C., A History of English Education from 1760, London, 1963, p.10.

them engaged in enterprises for the education of poor children at a time when accredited pioneers were beginning to lay the foundations of 19th century popular education. (67)

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(67) Beales, op.cit.
In 1784 Welsh circulating schools were revived; in 1796 Barnard and Wilberforce set up the Society for Bettering the Condition of the Poor; in 1798 Bell's monitorial system appeared in England.

CHAPTER 7

THE RELIEF ACTS AND CATHOLIC EDUCATION

As a prelude to the Relief Acts it is necessary to examine the attitudes and outlook of a portion of the leading Catholic laity. First there was the matter of their allegiance to the throne. Politically the Jacobite movement had been extinguished with the defeat of the '45, when the vast majority of English Catholics stood apart. And 'de jure' recognition of the Stuarts by the Papacy had finally come to an end in 1765 with the death of Prince James Edward in Rome. Among Catholic nobles at home the sentiments binding them to the Stuart cause had been replaced by a growing attachment to the Hanoverian dynasty. From the start of his reign in 1760 George II had proved popular: he was English in his preferences and a new rallying point for the nation. The Catholic nobility admired him also for his Christian sentiments and virtue, even though he was to prove eventually a stubborn obstacle to emancipation. During the second half of the 18th century a marked increase can be observed in the social freedom of the Catholic upper class: they redesigned their mansions, patronised the arts, indulged in conventional overseas travel, moved more easily in Protestant society. The penal laws still barred them from holding office or enjoying any political power, yet socially they felt that they were taken at their worth by their Protestant contemporaries. Small wonder that they should look for political relief. In these same years influential public opinion had been roused to sympathy through the persecutions of priests by the common informer Payne. Payne, whose activities started in

1765, made use of the penal statute of William III to earn £100 a time for indicting priests. The state of the law which led to the trial, imprisonment and subsequent banishing of Rev. John Baptist Moloney horrified the judges and Lord Chief Justice Mansfield ruled that the fact of ordination had in future to be proved before a prosecution could succeed. (1) In many ways, therefore, the social climate seemed to favour relief more than at any time in the past 200 years.

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(1) Between 1765 and 1780 there was a small wave of persecution caused by the activities of common informers against priests. If they could secure the conviction of a priest for exercising his functions, under the penal statute they stood to gain £100 a time. The most famous of these informers was William Payne who previously made a living prosecuting beggars and poor people on the excuse that they broke the sabbath. He now turned on the Catholics. He watched the lodgings of priests and followed their movements. In 1767 he started proceedings against Father Moloney who was subsequently tried for being a priest and saying Mass and was sentenced to perpetual imprisonment. Only after four years did the Government commute the sentence to one of perpetual banishment from the realm. Payne now went on to indict Challoner and four of his priests and a schoolmaster. However he had forged subpoenas and was made to drop the case. Later he brought four more priests to trial, but all were acquitted after the ruling of Lord Mansfield that the fact of a priest's ordination had to be proved in order to prove him a priest. The judges were so horrified at the trial that they seem to have held a meeting about it and were unanimous against Payne. In 1771 after two years of effort Payne brought Bishop Talbot to trial, but the prosecution had to abandon the case.
Burton, E.H., op.cit., Vol.II, p.87 et seq.
West.Dioc., XLI, MS.232, Recent Indictments of priests and schoolmasters under the Penal Laws, Discusses seven cases including Father Moloney's and the attitude of the Bench.

The opportunity for some alleviation came in 1778 when Lord North's government, in the midst of the War of American Independence, was faced with increasing difficulties and anxious to recruit troops from among the Catholics of the Scottish Highlands. Service by Catholics in the forces, though sometimes a fact, was nevertheless illegal: therefore some change in the law was necessary. A confidential agent of the Government was dispatched to open negotiations with Bishop Hay, coadjutor acting on behalf of Bishop Grant, Vicar Apostolic of the Lowland District of Scotland.(2) Matters were then taken in hand by a small group of the Catholic nobility and gentry led by Lord Petre who pressed successfully for the repeal of those penal restrictions in the law of William III. "an act for the further preventing the growth of popery". (3) Thus the first Catholic Relief Act was passed in 1778. (4) For themselves the Catholic gentlemen regained the right to inherit or purchase land. The implications of the Act for schools and schoolteachers we shall examine later. Clergy and bishops were no longer liable to imprisonment for life or to persecution by informers. Nevertheless the penal restrictions of Elizabeth I were left on the Statute book and benefit of the Act was withheld from all who refused to take an oath of allegiance to the King. Throughout the negotiations the committee

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(2) Bishop Grant's reign lasted from 1769-1778. Hay then succeeded as Vicar Apostolic; he resigned in 1805 and died in 1811.

(3) 11 and 12 Gul. III, Cap. IV, 1699.

(4) 18 Geo.III, Cap, 60, 1778.
*An act for relieving his Majesty's subjects professing the popish religion from certain penalties and disabilities imposed on them by an act made in the eleventh and twelth years of the reign of King William the Third, intituled, An Act for the further preventing the growth of popery."

of gentlemen had not consulted the English Bishops and clergy, judging that they were "quite able to act for themselves in these affairs". Closely linked as they were with the governing families, members of the Committee admired the English system of government and wished for influence in it. Over the next generation this section of the laity were to hold that the interests of the state came first: they accepted the Catholic dogmatic teaching but tended to look on any other action by Rome as foreign interference.

In 1782 they formed a lay committee to work for further relief. They tried to improve the status of the Vicars Apostolic to that of Diocesan Bishops. They planned a school in England in place of Douay, to remedy the drawbacks of a foreign education. Finally to satisfy the Government of their loyalty, they pressed for an oath of allegiance restraining the influence of the Pope. At first because of their dependence on the nobility most of the Vicars Apostolic appeared to comply, despite their misgivings. But eventually a deep rift became apparent and it was obvious that the Committee represented the views neither of a majority of the Vicars Apostolic nor of all the laity. Finally through the efforts of Bishop Douglass and the support of the Anglican Bishop Samuel Horsley, the Second Relief Act passed with a form of oath acceptable to all. The new Act legalised existing chapels and the saying of Mass in private houses; in those places alone a priest could wear vestments, say Mass and preach. The legal profession was now open to Catholics. For landowners, however, there was not much change in practice and double land tax remained in force.

Nor could any Catholic yet hold a commission in the armed forces, vote, sit in either House of Parliament, or marry legally except in an Anglican church. (5)

So far as Catholic schools and teachers were concerned the Relief Act of 1778 had repealed so much of the above law as subjected "papists, or persons professing the popish religion, and keeping school or taking upon themselves the education or government or boarding of youth, within this realm, or the dominions thereunto belonging, to perpetual imprisonment." But, the effect of the Act of 1699 had been to add yet another to the accumulation of restrictions on Catholic schoolteachers. (6) The latter were left on the statute book in 1778 and could be evoked at any time. Catholic teachers, along with others who wished to benefit by the Relief Act of 1778, had to take and subscribe a special oath of allegiance within six months of its passage or on their coming of age. The oath had to be taken in the courts of Chancery or of Records, or in the courts of General or Quarter Sessions, and a register of those who took the oath had to be kept by each court.

While the Relief Act of 1778 had left some restrictions against Catholic teachers upon the Statute Book, the Act of 1791 provided that "No ecclesiastic or other person professing the roman catholick religion who shall take and subscribe the oath of allegiance, abjuration and

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(5) 31 Geo.III, Cap.32, 1791.
"An Act to relieve, upon conditions, and under restrictions, the persons therein described, from certain penalties and disabilities to which papists or persons professing the popish religion, are by law subject."

(6) Vide Ch.I.

declaration shall be prosecuted in any court whatsoever for teaching and instructing youth as a tutor and schoolmaster, any law or statute to the contrary notwithstanding." Thus all other penal restrictions on Catholic schools and schoolteachers appeared to have been swept away. However, several important reservations were made. No Catholic schoolmaster was to receive into his school the child of any protestant father.(7) No Catholic was to obtain or hold "the mastership of any college or school or royal foundation" or of "any other endowed college or school for the education of youth" or to keep a school in either of the universities of Oxford and Cambridge. (8) More important still, nothing in the Act was to make it lawful to "found, endow, or establish any religious order or society of persons bound by monastic or religious vows, or to found, endow or establish any school, academy, or college, by persons professing the roman catholick religion, within these realms, or the dominions thereunto belonging; and that all uses, trusts, and dispositions, whether of real or personal property, which immediately before the said twenty-fourth day of June one thousand seven hundred and ninety-one, shall be deemed to be superstitious or unlawful, shall continue to be so deemed and taken, anything in this act so contained notwithstanding."(9) Undoubtedly one object of this clause was to prevent the transfer to England of the English Catholic colleges abroad, or the foundation of similar colleges in England. In the event, this restriction proved

(7) Ibid., Clause XV.
(8) 31 Geo. III., Cap. 32, 1791, Sect. XIV.
(9) Ibid., Sect. XVII.

to be abortive: as a result of the Revolution on the Continent, the Catholic Colleges were allowed to return home. A second object of the clause was to renew restrictions on Catholic charitable bequests, especially those for education, and money left to Catholic charities still lay open to confiscation.

In order that they might benefit by the 1791 Act, not only were the names of Catholic teachers to be recorded in court, but a description of their occupation was also to be entered in the register."..no person professing the roman catholic religion shall be permitted to keep a school for the education of youth until his or her name and description as a roman catholic school-master or school-mistress shall have been recorded at the quarter or general session of the peace for the county or other division or place where such school shall be situated; by the clerk of the peace of the said court, who is hereby required to record such name and description accordingly, upon demand by such person, and to give a certificate thereof to such person as shall at any time demand the same; and no person offending in the premises shall receive any benefit of this act." (10) Those who took the oath could obtain a certificate of the fact from the clerk of the court, for a fee of not more than two shillings.

While the Relief Acts officially condoned the existence of a Catholic minority and Catholic schools in England, restrictions and precautions such as those mentioned above seem to have aimed at preventing their growth. It is no surprise then to find that not all

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(10) Ibid., Clause XVI.

Catholic schoolteachers registered under the Acts. Where the presence of a Catholic school and teachers was accepted in a non-Catholic neighbourhood there was small reason for focussing official attention, especially where a Catholic objected to taking the oath of allegiance, a highly equivocal affair, anyway. In York the sisters of the Institute of the Blessed Virgin Mary at the Bar Convent never registered their description as teachers. Of the whole community only Mother Catherine Rouby took the oath and registered her name at the Quarter Sessions under the 1791 Act, and even then she did not describe herself as a school teacher.(11) None of the nuns had registered under the previous Act until 1790 when Mother Catherine Rouby and three only of her community took the oath and registered their names. (12) They had always maintained great secrecy about their identity, (13) and their position even now was very doubtful. Institutions like theirs seemed to be specifically excepted from the benefits of the Acts. (14)

Despite their shortcomings, however, the Relief Acts inaugurated a new era for the English Catholics, and an expansion of activity followed, especially in the towns. Of the schools we have noted in the second half of the century many were founded after 1778. From 1791, in an atmosphere that generated greater tolerance fee charging schools were to multiply, and by means of great efforts, clergy and laity were to lay the foundations of a lasting system of free education for Catholic poor children.

(11) City of York Session Book, 1783-1792, 16th April, 1790.
(12) Ibid., 18th July, 1791.
(13) Vide Ch.5.
(14) Vide discussion of Clause XVII of the Relief Act of 1791, supra.

CHAPTER 8

THE START OF A NEW ERA

(i) Emancipation: parties and personalities

The divisiona which had appeared among leading Catholics during the campaign for the Relief Act of 1791 continued throughout the years preceding Emancipation. Its work completed, the Catholic Committee had been dissolved in 1792 by its chief supporters. But in 1808 as part of their campaign for further relief they founded the Cisalpine Club pledged to perpetuate the principles of the "protestation" restraining the influence of the Pope, and to "resist any ecclesiastical interference which militated against the freedom of English Catholics". However their active participation in Catholic affairs continued for only a few years; thereafter they met merely as a dining club until they disbanded in 1830. As the title "cisalpine" implied this section of the laity was distinguished by its sense of accommodation with the times, its remoteness in feeling towards the Holy See, and its standpoint akin to Gallicanism in the French church.

Against the Cisalpinists stood their great antagonist, John Milner, missioner and from 1803 Vicar Apostolic of the Midland District; behind him the bulk of the northern gentry and Catholics of the middle and lower classes. Far removed from his opponents in origin and outlook Milner was middle-class, simple in habits, above all a supporter of orthodoxy, and he had played a leading part in the

successful struggle against the "protestation" before 1791. Though he did not live to see its outcome, he was a principal English figure in the struggle for Emancipation. As the movement had gathered momentum that struggle centred round the proposed Government veto on the appointment of Bishops. Milner, who acted on behalf of the Irish bishops, campaigned against the veto and against all whom he accused of over-compliance towards the Government. Emancipation, however, was achieved under the leadership of Daniel O'Connell and its story belongs properly to the history of Ireland. In its train it brought for English Catholics the right to vote, to sit in Parliament, and to occupy nearly all offices of State.

(ii) The French Revolution and English Catholic Education

At the commencement of the 19th century the fortunes of English Catholics can be distinguished by three features, all a consequence of the French Revolution: first, a heightened atmosphere of toleration marked by the friendship of non-Catholic politicians like Pitt and Burke, which eased the road to Emancipation; second, the influence of the French emigres; and third, the return of the colleges and schools from France and the Low Countries. An examination of these consequences, therefore, makes a convenient starting point for the nineteenth century.

(a) The French Emigres: their educational significance

The effects of the French Revolution and the long struggle against Napoleon united Englishmen and did much to produce a political climate more favourable for Catholics. Conservative public opinion at home had been shocked by the events of the Revolution on the

Continent and the sufferings of the church abroad attracted the sympathy of Englishmen, many of whom now regarded Catholicism as a bulwark against revolution. The French Revolution caused an exodus of clergy and laity who came over to England in three waves in 1792, 1794 and 1797. By 1793 4,808 priests were estimated to have found refuge in England, and according to the government in 1797 there was a total of 12,150 emigrants, a considerable if temporary addition to the English Catholic strength. (1) Between 1792 and 1799 8 to 10,000 French priests entered the country. (2) The emigres, led by 19 bishops and a group of courtiers, met with sympathy from the Government. The clergy were given £7,830 per month in pensions; the King's House, Winchester, was put at their disposal and 660 lodged there by 1794. For their relief £57,000 was subscribed throughout the country, (3) and Oxford provided free copies of the Vulgate. Many were received into families; others helped on missions or acted as teachers and tutors. Occasionally they worked in industry. (4)

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(1) Ward, Mgr. B., Dawn of the Catholic Revival, London, 1909, Vol. II, pp.31, 163.

(2) Morris, J., S.J., Catholic England in Modern Times, London, 1892.

(3) L.D., 1794, p.24.

(4) Leeds Dioc., Bishop Gibson's Diary of Faculties and Confirmations, 1792 et. seq.

But although they added greatly to its numerical strength their presence had no lasting beneficial effect on the English Catholic minority. The reasons for this were various: many of the clergy confined themselves to work with the French refugees only; most returned to France after the 1802 concordat was signed; the French and English bishops did not always agree; and the divisions over the dealings of Rome with Napoleon's government produced a schism in their ranks and a public scandal.(5) Nevertheless their presence in England worked as a leaven on Protestant prejudice.

Some of the French clergy settled among the missions of the midlands and the north. Between 1792 and 1797 Bishop Gibson V.A. of the Northern District granted faculties to more than 21 emigrant clergy. Some lived in Catholic households; two worked in Joseph Boyes' cotton and tapestry mill at Wansford, Driffield. One taught at Mr. Oate's Academy at Greta Bridge, while another, Abbe Louis Joseph Durival, worked in a school at Startforth.(6) Several settled at York, where they made the Bar Convent their headquarters and supported themselves by working as schoolteachers or tutors.(7) Abbe Francois Foucher spent his fortune re-establishing the mission at Hull,(8) while Abbe Nicholas Alain Gilbert founded and financed the mission and poor school at Whitby.(9).

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(5) The schism "Blanchardism" was led by the Abbe Blanchard who was eventually suspended for writing against the Pope.

(6) Leeds Dioc., Bishop Gibson's Diary of Faculties and Confirmations, commencing 1792.

(7) Amherst, W.J., S.J., History of Catholic Emancipation in the British Isles, 1771-1820, London 1886, Vol I, pp.210-211. Leeds Dioc., Loc.cit. Anon., St. Mary's Convent, York, p.246.

(8) Payne, J.O., Old English Catholic Missions, London, 1900 sub.voc.

(9) Mid. Dioc., Whitby, 1822, Rev. Geo. Haydock to Bp. Smith.

A few laity set up schools; Madame Mirepoix, for example, at Heath Old Hall, Wakefield; (10) or Mrs. Desailly who called her school at Hammersmith a French Academy.(11).

Of the emigrant clergy who founded permanent missions in London the best known for his educational work is Abbe Carron. Between his arrival in Somerstown in 1796 and his departure in 1814 the Abbe opened a seminary to train students for the French church; a boarding school for 80 boys and 60 girls; and two poor schools for about 100 pupils. Protestants and Catholics alike subscribed to his work.(12) In 1795 Abbe Beylet advertised an expensive school offering an eight year course of education for deaf and dumb children. He had worked in Paris at Abbe L'Epee's school for the deaf and dumb.(13)

(b) The return of Seminaries and Schools from the Continent

As a consequence of the French Revolution the English Catholic colleges on the Continent were forcibly closed; their properties and funds, a slow accumulation over more than two centuries, confiscated and diverted to other purposes. By the Act of 1791 Catholic schools in England were legalised unless they were endowed, and though Section XVII of the Act had aimed at preventing the transfer to England of the Colleges abroad the reception of the French refugees in England and a revulsion of feeling against the excesses of the Revolution helped to lessen Protestant antipathy. So staffs and

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(10) L.D., 1816.
(11) Ibid., 1792.
(12) West Dioc., A.56, Somerstown, 4th. October, 1814. Appendix III, sub.voc.
(13) Appendix III, sub.voc., for details of his advert in 1795.

scholars made their way back to England again, thus ending an exile of more than 200 years.

Some had averted arrest in Europe by flight; others less fortunate had been imprisoned; all had endured the privations of wartime refugees. They were able to start their schools again in England through the co-operation of those Catholic nobles and gentry who gave or leased them suitable premises. Even so poverty was among their greatest difficulties during these early years. The Jesuits who had left Liege on 14th July, 1793 journeyed via Harwich to Hull by boat and thence by road to the asylum of Stonyhurst Hall, Lancashire, the gift of a former pupil, Thomas Weld of Lulworth(14). Sir Edward Smythe of Wootton offered shelter to the Benedictines of St. Gregory's, Douay in his hall at Acton Burnell. But on account of the imprisonment of some of their number they did not arrive until 1795. In the meantime the Benedictine Monastery at Dieulouard had been turned into a Temple of Reason and later sold. Its monks, who were imprisoned in 1793, heard of Sir Edward's offer and after their release reached Acton Burnell before the Douay community. Sir Edward did not give Acton Burnell to the Benedictines; they were his guests and though the hospitality was prolonged, it was none-the-less temporary (15). The two communities found existence under the same

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(14) Barnes, op.cit., pp.74-5, 153-4.
The hall had been unoccupied for 40 years and they had it to repair.

(15) Barnes, op.cit., pp.89-90, 189 seq.
He kept part of the hall for his own residence and built a new wing for the monks. His successor eventually required them to leave.

roof trying; hence the Dieulouard monks migrated after a few months and wandered from one hired house to another, until in 1802 they settled at Ampleforth. Here in the Lodge built by Lady Ann Fairfax for the retired Benedictine Chaplain of Gilling Castle, they had a small but substantial house and thirty-two acres of land. In 1814 the Douay community moved to Downside which they had purchased along with an estate of sixty-six acres for £7,338 (16).

The Dominicans, whose college at Bornhem was destroyed in 1793, moved into a rented house at Carshalton, gathered together numbers of their old pupils, and had the school "Bornhem House Academy" started by 1797 (17).

The secular colleges at Douay and St. Omers were confiscated by the revolutionists in 1793, and their occupants jailed at Doullens. But whereas the Regulars could make their way back to England privately, the Vicars Apostolic were officially involved in the fortunes of the secular seminaries and schools. It is well, therefore, to examine their standpoint and the differing views of the more prominent Catholic laity. For some time there had been evidence of a growing demand among upper-class Catholics for more up-to-date schools in England; as early as 1750 we find a sketch of an "English"

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(16) Barnes, op.cit., pp.211-213.

(17) Although they had a school of more than 50 boys it seems to have been badly managed and always a liability to the Order. They therefore closed it and transferred to Hinckley where they carried on a small school. A layman, Mr. Mylius, took over the Carshalton property and for many years ran a flourishing school there under the original name.
Barnes, op.cit., p.93 seq.

school with details of English teaching for five classes (18). The curriculum of the schools on the continent was based on the old classical formation and did not appear to have appreciably widened. In any case a section of the Catholic peers considered that education in an English school on foreign soil was necessarily circumscribed. In 1787 the Catholic Committee planned a high class school in England. By May 1788 they had issued a circular proposing a school based on "an extended plan of education in which the study of the Dead Languages will not exclude an attention to modern ones, particularly our own .... Mathematics such part of them particularly as are necessary to the man of business and always useful to every situation in life .... and the bodily exercises .... taught to such as are wished by their parents to learn them." Old Hall Green and Sedgeley already existed it was true: but the former was too like Douay; the latter too middle-class. Moreover the Catholic Committee wanted a school where the laity had some measure of control and where the education would be more fashionable and a better preparation for life in high society. The Bishops opposed the Committee though not because they objected to schools in England: after all both Old Hall and Sedgeley were founded by Bishop Challoner. They opposed the plan on two grounds: firstly the laity were the chief financial support of the schools abroad which were in no danger yet from revolution, "the proposed foundation in England .... would prove prejudicial both to the college abroad and to the mission here" (19); secondly the laity's

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(18) Birm. Dioc., C. 530.

(19) Bishop Walmsley, quoted in Ward, Dawn of, I, p.117.

wish for a measure of control was undesirable. Even the moderate Bishop Talbot warned that "while you improve, perhaps ye other parts of education, ye religious part be not forgot as too often happens when ye laity alone set about ye work." (20). Less moderate was the language of Rev. Thomas Eyre, future president of Ushaw College:

> "I can never approve a scheme which would prevent a great number of our young people from ever acquiring a practical ... and ocular information, conviction and demonstration of the universality, respectability and prevalence of their religion over the several new-fangled, pied, patched and piebald sects and sections, which under the general name of Protestants (a glove which fits every hand from the claws of Lucifer to the rat that eats a hole in your wainscote) are spreading desolation over, or more properly speaking are tearing up Christianity, root and branch." (21)

It would be better and cheaper to improve Old Hall or Sedgeley, where no such liberties were taken with religion as those proposed.

For his part Milner conceded that many protestant schools "teach Latin and Greek in less time and in a more solid manner than ever they did at our Colleges". There would be no demand for a Cisalpine school if existing schools were improved, and since for good administrative and moral reasons the seminary should be kept

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(20) He continues: "And I mean by religion ye bringing up children so as to be versed in ye substantial precepts of it, such for instance as ye Apostolical fast of Lent. Could you believe that notwithstanding ye leaves granted last Lent for four whole weeks, I was applied to by a certain schoolmaster near town for meat also ye first week and even ye last, alledging no other reason than ye expectation of Parents. Now what can be expected from children brought up in notions that it is death to abstain a whole week together? Would they ever keep Lent? But I only mention this to show what is to be expected in religious way from such masters." Clifton Dioc., Bp. Talbot to Bp. Walmsley, Oct.9th, 1787, quoted in Ward, op.cit., pp.118-119.

(21) Ushaw Archives, Eyre MSS., 13th June, 1788. Quoted Ushaw Magazine 1894; also Ward, op.cit., Vol.I, p.118.

separate from the schools, they could prepare students for the seminary as well as educate boys for the lay life.(22) Milner's idea was for a grammar school: he had little time for the fashionable additions and the lay management of the Cisalpines, or for schools near that "scene of corruption", London (23).

Five years later, when Bishop Gibson canvassed his idea for a seminary and school in the North, Milner advised once more against founding seminary and school together; because a school in England for the gentry would be liable to more dissipation than took place abroad. "There must still be more of fiddling, dancing, drawing, spouting, etc., or else the College will not take and some Cisalpine school will have the means of doing irreparable mischief". (24)

Fifty-one of the more orthodox northern Catholic gentry opposed the Committee's plan. In their view the schools abroad were satisfactory: to meet the wishes of the laity their curriculum had already been widened to include Accounts, Writing, English and French; even non-Catholics had been known to seek entry for their children. There was no need for a new foundation: Catholic schools at home and abroad had ample room for those who wished to attend. More serious, the proposed new school would deprive existing institutions of likely candidates for the priesthood, while its own curriculum would do

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(22) Ward, op.cit., Vol.II, p.98.
(23) Loc. cit.
(24) Ward, op.cit., Vol. II, p.102.

nothing to stimulate vocations. Schools were better abroad, where the public exercise of religion was possible, away from the dissipated atmosphere of the English public schools. Finally there was always the danger that a new foundation in England might evoke an unfavourable Protestant reaction, for the Penal laws were by no means a dead letter: in Yorkshire anyway prosecutions were not unknown (25).

In the face of so much opposition the Catholic Committee dropped the project. But in 1793, when the position of the Colleges abroad had become critical, the idea was revived by the Cisalpine Club. Their school was to be under a committee of lay governors who would elect two priests as President and Vice President: Dr. John Bew, D.D. was chosen with Rev. Thomas Potts to assist him. Again Bishop Talbot favoured the plan and prepared to have the school at Oscott in his District, but the other bishops were opposed. Moreover as Dr. Bew happened to be working in Bishop Walmsley's district, he refused to release him (26). During the succeeding months the Bishops realised that the return of the Colleges from the Continent had become inevitable. But the situation was confused and difficult: partly because of the uncertainty of the position; partly because with the exception of Bishop Talbot, all the Vicars Apostolic seemed opposed to the Cisalpine school plan; and partly because the independent arrival in England of the Regulars with their schools aroused the fears of most

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(25) Clift, Dioc., Vol. II, quoted in extenso in Ward op.cit., Vol. I, pp.119-121.

(26) Since he was not officially attached to Bishop Walmsley's District Dr. Bew resolved the difficulty by leaving the area.

of the Bishops, who were jealous of their prerogative. Before the refugees from Douay started to arrive Bishop Douglass established St. Edmund's seminary with four students alongside his school at Old Hall, Ware. In the meantime the Regulars appeared with their pupils, and their arrival, especially that of the ex-Jesuits at Stonyhurst in the North, aroused fears that their schools would attract scholars away from the schools of the seculars to the detriment of vocations to the secular priesthood. Bishop Gibson determined on establishing a seminary in the north and gained support for his idea; Old Hall would then develop as a school for humanities only. Meanwhile Bishop Douglass had become aware that Prime Minister Pitt was against a new foundation and favoured the enlargement of an existing school as being less likely to give offence to the Protestants. He therefore proceeded with his project, aided by £20,000, the bequest of a miller, Mr. Sone (27). From then on hopes of agreement seem to have been abandoned and each group went forward with its own plan. Dr. Gibson brought those Douay students destined for the Northern District up to Crook Hall and from there founded the school and seminary at Ushaw, County Durham (28). By this time the Cisalpines and Bishop Talbot had reached agreement over their school and opened it as Oscott seminary and school, in May 1794 (29).

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(27) Barnes, op.cit., p.115.
(28) Barnes, op.cit., p.127, et seq.
(29) It had been agreed that the school should be under the control of the Bishop in all religious matters, while finance was to be the province of the governors. By 1808 the school had dwindled and debts were considerable, so the Governors handed it over entirely to Milner, now V.A. for the Midland district.

In France and the Low Countries the English Catholic schools for girls were also destroyed by the French revolution. The Convents were seized or closed down; the nuns were imprisnned or fled. They arrived as refugees in England in two waves, the first in the summer of 1794, and the second in the following summer. Considering the prejudice they might have faced, they were treated with forbearance by the Government: some had made their sea crossing with the assistance of British armed vessels; all were allowed to bring their baggage through the customs without inspection; and everyone who arrived before the end of November 1794 was entitled to an annual grant from the Government of £10 per head. Ten communities landed between June and August 1794, from the Low Countries: Benedictines from Ghent and Brussels; Carmelites from Lierre, Antwerp and Hoogstraat; Augustinianesses from Bruges; Dominicanesses from Brussels; Canonesses from Louvain; Franciscans from Princenhof, Bruges; Sepulchrines from Liege. Meanwhile the communities from the convents in France had been imprisoned. They were released in the summer of 1795 and made their way over at once arriving in London between May and September; the Poor Clares of Dunkirk, Gravelines and Rouen; the Benedictines of Cambray and Paris (30).

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(30) Note on the establishment in England of the Convents from overseas. All arrived in London and were lodged there temporarily until suitable premises were offered.

1794 June 24th. Benedictines of Ghent. They went to Preston,Lancs.

July 6th. Benedictines of Brussels. They lodged under Bishop Douglass's protection. He arranged with Milner to settle them in Winchester. Here they opened a school.

July 6th. Carmelites of Lierre. Sir John Lawson gave them accommodation at Auckland St.Helen's County Durham.

July 12th. Carmelites of Antwerp. Lord Arundel of Wardour offered them his seat at Lanherne, where they settled.

On landing all the nuns were destitute, their property abroad

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July 12th. Augustinianesses of Bruges. Sir Thomas Gage gave them accommodation at his seat, Hengrave Hall, Essex.

July 13th. Carmelites of Hoogstraat. In London Charles Butler lodged some of them in his own house and some with his friends. Then he hired Fryers Place, Acton for them. Later he settled the community in the large house of Sir John Webbe at Canford, Dorsetshire.

July 17th. Dominicanesses of Brussels. Mr. Berkeley of Spetchley settled them in his seat at Hartpury Court in Gloucestershire.

July 17th. Canonesses of Louvain. Bishop Douglass gave them Hammersmith Convent and the Young Ladies School, provided they looked after the remnants of that community, five ageing nuns. But later they moved to Amesbury in Wiltshire.

August Franciscans of Princenhof, Bruges. Mr. Weld placed them in a house at Winchester.

August Sepulchrines of Liege. Lord Clifford lodged them at his house in Bruton Street, London. Sir William Gerard paid their running expenses. The house was too small, so they went to Holme Hall, Yorks, offered by Lord Stourton. Still this was not suitable and two years later they went to Dean House near Salisbury; thence in 1799 to New Hall, Essex, their final home.

1795 May 3rd. Benedictines of Dunkirk. They took over the Hammersmith Convent from Bishop Douglass and re-opened the school with great success. In 1862 they migrated to Teignmouth, Devon.

May 3rd. Poor Clares of Dunkirk. They were received by Mr. Berkeley of Spetchley, who gave them a house at Church Hill near Worcester.

May 3rd. Poor Clares of Gravelines (Motherhouse of the English Poor Clares founded by Mary Ward who also founded the Institute of the Blessed Virgin Mary). They were received by the Marchioness of Buckingham, a Protestant and later removed to Gosfield Hall, Essex, where they remained for many years. Eventually they united with other Communities at Darlington.

May 4th Benedictines of Cambray. The Benedictine monks invited them to Woolton near Liverpool, where they opened a school. Now they reside at Stanbrook, Worcester.

July Benedictines of Paris. By 1796 they were settled in Mornbull, Dorsetshire.

September Poor Clares of Rouen, Bishop Douglass had them lodged for four months. Then Sir Carnaby Haggerston offered them his castle at Haggerston, Northumberland during his life. Here they arrived on Christmas Eve, 1795.

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either confiscated or forcibly purchased at a nominal fee, their investments gone. Their adventures had been similar and most suffered hardships: during their migration the Franciscan community had even kept school in the open fields (31). At first they were lodged in London but within a few months most were settled in permanent homes: in several cases through the assistance of families with whom they had a close relationship; in three instances with the aid of Bishop Douglass, because London, where they landed, was the heart of his District; one community was given a home by the protestant Marquis of Buckingham; the majority depended on the help of the Catholic nobility and gentry. Some of the nuns had brought pupils with them, but others were encouraged to start up their schools again as a means of livelihood. Within a year of their arrival most of the communities had commenced a school.

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(30) cont'd.

"The Blue Nuns", Conceptionists, a branch of the Franciscans, had one of the best-known English convent schools on the continent. This they tried to re-establish in Paris but failed, so they came over to England several years later. They were received at Cossey by Sir William Ferningham, who had family connections with them.

(NOTE:- The Augustinianesses of Neiully succeeded in re-establishing themselves there after the Revolution, and re-opened their school. For a full account of the closure of the English convent schools in Europe, their migration and eventual settlement in England, see Ward, op.cit., Vol I, ch. iv; Vol. II, ch. xxiii, xxv).

(31) The Month, Vol. XV XXXIII, p.436.
Account of the Franciscan Migration.

Some entertained the hope of re-establishing themselves abroad, for they had returned under compulsion, leaving behind a venerable tradition of education free from the interference of the English Government: and they had come back in contravention of the Act of 1791 which could be evoked at any time. They persevered however despite their fears and advertised schools offering a genteel education (32) like that of the Sepulchrines from Liege who struggled to teach along former lines, "the mistresses gave lessons of music and paid particular attention to their carriage and taught them to walk, as we could not get masters to teach them"; (33) or the Poor Clares of Rouen who offered a curriculum of Religious Knowledge, History, Geography, Orthography, Accounts and "useful and ornamental needlework," for a fee of £20 with masters attending for dancing and drawing as extras. (34) The boys' schools too continued with little change giving an education that was chiefly religious and classical. Latin and Greek remained the core of the curriculum. Recent additions like History and Geography or "the use of Globes" kept their place, but apart from the teaching of Arithmetic or "cyphering" Mathematics was not usually taught, nor were the sciences. In the end despite the Cisalpine campaign there was little to choose between the curriculum at Oscott and the other schools. The returned schools strove hard to maintain their traditions. School life remained as it had been

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(32) Vide Appendix III, pp.25-26.
(33) C.R.S., Vol. 17, pp.116 et seq.
(34) L.D., 1810.

on the Continent, stricter and more rigid than in the English public schools, with great store set on seclusion from the world which had been part of their life in exile: even parents were discouraged from having children home during vacations (35).

Without some reference to the financial losses sustained by the colleges and schools, the story of their migration would be incomplete. Under the peace treaty that followed the Napoleonic Wars the French government agreed to indemnify British subjects who had lost property and money in France, and a capital sum roughly equivalent to the total cost of the damages was paid by instalments to the British Government who set up a board of three commissioners to deal with the claims. One hundred and one claims were filed on behalf of the Catholic colleges and schools. Those for the Colleges at Douay, St. Omer and Paris were dealt with together by the Commissioners and became known as the Douay claim with Dr. Poynter, V.A. for the London District, acting as spokesman on behalf of the College authorities and his fellow Bishops. For ten years he engaged in a legal struggle with the French and British governments but finally in 1826 the claim was not allowed. With the failure of the Douay claim all other Catholic claims were lost.

The Douay claim consisted of three parts. First there were three "personal" claims for ecclesiastical education funds used by the Colleges but standing in the names of two Vicars Apostolic.

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(35) L.D., passim.

Eventually these were paid in full. Then there were the claims for "rentes" or funds held by the College officials and invested in France in government or other stocks. The controversy centred round these. Finally there were the "indemnities", claims for buildings, goods and chattels. The claim was disallowed on the grounds that the Colleges must be French establishments subject to the control of the French government because their purpose was opposed to British law and therefore they could not exist legally in Britain or be recognised as British; the funds dedicated to their purpose had to be employed in France because their use in England would have been illegal (i.e., against the law regarding superstitious uses). In the circumstances compensation was not the responsibility of the British government but a matter for direct negotiation between the French government and the claimants (36). The French government had treated the Colleges and

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(36) "Now the institutions on behalf of which the claims are made, although their members were British subjects and their property derived from funds constituted by British subjects, were in the nature of French corporations. They were locally established in a foreign territory because they could not exist in England; their end and object were not authorized by, but were directly opposed to, British law, and the funds dedicated to their maintenance were employed for that purpose in France because they could not be so employed in England; and if other circumstances were wanting to fix their character, it appears that these establishments as well as their revenues are subject to the control of the French Government. Then are such Establishments though represented by British subjects entitled to claim under the Treaties? .... we think it was not and could not have been in the contemplation of the contracting parties that the British Government should demand, or the French Government grant, compensation for property held in trust for establishments in France, and for purposes inconsistent with British laws, and which were subject to the control of the French Government .... "
Dr. Poynter appealed from the decision of the Commissioners to His Majesty in Council. The appeal was referred to a Committee of the Privy Council and the above is an extract from the judgment. Quoted: Ward, op.cit., Vol. III, p.145.

convents as British possessions at the time of the Revolution; had recently declared that they were British, and that the Douay claim could be met only by the British Commissioners; and in the total sum paid to the British government had allowed compensation for the Catholic claims. But these facts were ignored.

Dr. Poynter estimated that through the decision £120,000 was lost to the religion, and the Government was left with a surplus of capital the amount of which was not disclosed. As the French had allowed for the claim in their settlement the decision seemed unjust, and although the state of the law regarding superstitious uses gave a legal basis for the decision, this was hardly consistent with Government action in allowing the "personal" claims of the Vicars Apostolic for funds devoted to the same illegal purpose. How the Government expended the surplus capital is a mystery but according to tradition it helped either to settle debts on the Brighton Pavilion or to improve Windsor Castle during the reign of George IV. In the critical years before Catholics were finally admitted to a share in the Government grant for education that memory was revived (37) and

(37) The rejection of the Douay Claim by the Commissioners was confirmed by the Privy Council in 1845. The money had not been spent on Windsor Castle. Wellington had crossed it off the list to be settled by the French Government, and therefore the money had not been paid over, so the Privy Council said. Wellington was said to have reasoned that the money did not belong to British claimants under the treaty. Tablet, Jan.17th 1846, correspondence of Chas.Langdale with Rev. T. M. McDonnell
The Tablet, January 24th, 1846, p.54:
Correspondence of Rev. T.M. McDonnell of Clifton alleging that the amount of the Douay claim £120,000 was spent in George IV's reign on Windsor Castle. See also:- Catholic Magazine, Feb. 1831, p.53. Gillow, Vol. ii, p.15; History of St. Edmund's College, p.237. For a full account of the efforts to recover the Colleges in France and of the compensation question see Ward, op.cit., Vol II, Chapter XXXI, Vol. III, Chapter XLI and Appendix M.

personal recollections of the affair can have done little to allay the fears of clergy who only twenty-two years later were invited to enter their schools into a connection with the Government.

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By the start of the nineteenth century the school system that had been destroyed in Europe during the previous decade was permanently re-established in England, despite an almost total financial loss. Thus the cadre of Catholic elite was assured of its education; and the Church of its priests.

CHAPTER 9

THE CATHOLIC POOR, 1800-1850: THEIR SOCIAL CONDITIONS AND RELIEF

How far Catholic leaders of the early 19th century realised the size of their educational problem and how successful were their endeavours to cope with it are questions that may be fully answered only when more is known about the population of Catholic poor at the time; its nature, its size, its location. No detailed survey has yet been made, though evidence is available. Reports sent by the Vicars Apostolic to Rome, their 'Status Missionum', contain commentaries on the state of their Districts, estimates of congregations and numbers of confirmations, occasionally in considerable detail. Visitation returns of the Vicars Apostolic, another primary source now scattered in diocesan archives, have totals of baptisms, of Easter communions, of adults and children in the congregations and sometimes answer questions about congregational libraries and schools. Statements of the District Funds collected for needy missions reveal details of new Catholic centres (1). Registers of baptisms, confirmations

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(1) Note on the location of MSS relating to the District Funds. These are described more fully in Ch.12. The note includes examples of needy missions described in the documents. NB. In 1840 to cope with the rise in Catholic population the original 4 Districts were divided into 8: the new Yorkshire, Lancashire and Northern (Northumberland, Westmoreland and Durham) Districts were formed from the old Northern; Eastern from part of London and Midland; Wales was separated from Western; Midland became Central.
London District. Bp. Griffiths' pastorals, appeals and statements of District Funds: West Dioc., West Cler.Circ.Vol.I, April 19th, 1838; June 8th, 1840.
Old Northern District.Bp.Briggs' pastorals, appeals and statements: West Dioc.,Box 71a,Parcel 1837, Parcel 1838.

and of 'status animarum' exist among the records of the older parishes. Local accounts of Catholic congregations, their growth and activity can be found among the issues of the early Catholic periodicals and the Laity's Directory. Finally much may be inferred from official census data after 1841, and from the returns, minutes of evidence, and reports of the Government committees enquiring into the education of the poor, notably those of 1818 and 1835. Not all estimates are accurate however: a missioner sometimes counted heads, sometimes multiplied the annual number of baptisms, and sometimes counted in 'faithful' who could not be reached because of the shortage of clergy; and Government returns were never complete.

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Yorkshire District. Bp.Briggs' pastorals, appeals and statements: West Dioc.,Box 72, Parcel 12th. Dec.1842. (Dewsbury, Middlesbrough, Beverley, Bridlington, Huddersfield, Halifax, Keighley) Box A92 12th Dec,1842; Box A76, 1st.Feb.1843 (Barnsley, Huddersfield, Halifax, Keighley, Leeds, York, Whitby, Scarborough) 27th Nov.1843 (Beverley, Driffield, Burlington (Bridlington), Crawthorne, Osmotherley, Middlesbrough, Keighley, Bradford, Halifax, Huddersfield, Leeds, Nasborough, Dewsbury, Barnsley, Carlton, Scarborough, Malton); Box A96, 1st Feb.,1844; Box A76, 30th Nov, 1846.
Lancashire District Bp. Brown's letters, circulars and statements: Ushaw MSS. Bound 81, 3rd Oct.1841, Circular; West Dioc. Box A76, 1844, Oct.1845 statements, Box A96 5th Aug.1844 Articles of the Fund, 6th.Sept.1844, Bp. Brown to Bp. Griffiths; Ushaw MSS Bound 93, 15th.Sept.1845, Bp.Brown to Bp. Sharples; Bound 97 ditto (Bootle, Runcorn, Crewe, Leyland, Rawtenstall); Bound 107, Lenten Pastoral.
Northern District Bp. Mostyn's pastorals, appeals and statements: West.Dioc., Box A76, 1st July 1845 (Hartlepools etc.); Ushaw MSS., Collect.225, Sexagesima Sunday 1846, Collect.226,1st July 1846, Collct 229, 14th.Dec.1846 (Bishop Auckland, Felling,Wooler, South Shields, Barnard Castle, Cockermouth), Collect. 237, 1847.
Eastern District Bp.Wareing's circulars: West Dioc., Box A90, 16th.Feb.1841 'to the nobility and gentry'; Box A96, 11th Dec.1844.
Western District. Dr.Thos.Brindle, V.G.,pastorals and statements: West.Dioc.,Box A90, 16th Feb,1841; Box A96, 4th Nov.1844 (Sedgley, Stoke, Brewood, Rugeley, Banbury); Clift.Dioc.,Vol.1788-1874, MS 96 sede vacante 1845; MS 100, Bp. Ullathorne, 1846.
Central District Bp. Walsh's statements: West Dioc., Box A76, Parcel 1843 undated Ms; Box A94 20th November 1843 (Coventry, New Mills, Stoke on Trent).

By all accounts the Catholic population increased rapidly in size from the start of the 19th century. In 1780 both Anglican and Catholic authorities had calculated the 'dwindling remnant' at about 70,000 (2), yet between 1814 and 1816 reports from the four Vicars Apostolic show a total population of over one quarter million: by any standards an enormous increase (3). Conversions through the now legal activities of missionary priests, the presence of the French emigres and the emergence of Catholics too timid to declare themselves before the Relief Acts were thought to be the reasons for the rise. But its real cause was the commencement of heavy immigration from Ireland at the close of the 18th century (4). No official Government estimates of the size of the migration are available until 1841, when the first census revealed 289,404 Irish people living in England and

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(2) Vide p.83.

(3) In the London District were 68,776, in the Midland District 15,000, in the Western District 5,360. The figures given for the Northern District, 200,000, was probably an exaggeration for in 1830 the figure calculated was 180,000. Nevertheless re-exodus and movement to other parts of the country could be factors involved, and there had been an enormous increase in Lancashire.
Statistics given in Maziere-Brady, W., Annals of the Catholic Hierarchy, London, 1877. pp.187-190 (London District); pp.234,242 (Midland District); pp.304,307,311,316,318 (Western District); pp.268-269, 280 (Northern District). 276-277

(4) Various authorities have attempted to fix the exact date of the start of heavy immigration to England. In the Report on the State of the Irish Poor in Great Britain (1836) the Commissioners were of the opinion that the 1798 Rebellion gave the final impetus. The famine of 1801 has also been suggested as the main cause, but this was not the first famine. "It seems that no single compelling motivation can explain the increase in immigration at the end of the 18th century". Vide Jackson, J.A., The Irish in Britain, London, 1963, for discussion, p.166, note 15.

Wales, a figure within a few hundred of the Catholic population calculated by the Vicars Apostolic over 20 years before! The census figures, however, concealed much greater numbers, for they counted only those born in Ireland; second and subsequent generations were not included, nor were those who died or emigrated again to the New World. Irish born meant Catholic born and succeeding generations held on to their faith, when they could be reached by priests. Without counting those who had lapsed for lack of missioners, the bishops faced greater numbers of faithful than the census showed: like Bishop Brown who gave this view of his problem in Lancashire.

> "Some areas have made progress in the decoration of churches and erection of schools - evidence of generosity of the rich and sacrifices of the poor. But there still remain extensive tracts of country, over which Catholics are scattered, without any prospect, if left to their own resources, of enjoying more than the occasional administration of the Sacraments, if even this. There are yet many towns, in which our poorer Brethren are necessitated to dwell, without any hopes of erecting the most humble edifice for the celebration of the awful mysteries. With the exception of the large congregations on the eastern and the small missions on the western side of the county, Cheshire exhibits little appearance of Catholicity. Yet there are many towns throughout this flourishing County, that contain sufficient numbers of Catholics to make it highly necessary to provide more immediately for their wants; which have been feelingly urged upon us. In like manner, in not a few of the densely peopled villages and manufacturing districts of the County of Lancashire, may be discovered numbers; who, instead of forming distinguished portions of the flock, are in constant danger of falling into that fatal indifference and spiritual blindness; which too certainly lead to the loss of their precious souls." (5)

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(5) Ushaw MSS, bound 81, 3rd October 1841, circular of Bishop Brown appealing for funds for poor missions.

Many remained migrants harvesting, building, digging: but most of the Irish poor were deposited in the new industrial areas of South Lancashire, West Yorkshire, Durham and Northumberland, the Midlands, London and other ports: the main areas of Catholic growth in the early 19th century. London's population of poor Irish had always been large (6). In 1814 Bishop Poynter estimated that 49,800 Catholics lived in the city alone, over two thirds of the total for his District, and mostly poor Irish (7). By 1837 the number had risen to 146,068 and the Catholic population was thought to represent one tenth of the total population of the city (8). As early as 1804 Bishop Wm. Gibson reported to Propaganda that he had confirmed 8,000 in Lancashire, where Catholic numbers totalled perhaps 50,000 "a very great increase in the last thirteen or fourteen years". In Manchester, then England's second largest city, where fourteen years previously the Catholic Mission reached scarcely 600, 10,000 of the faithful now congregated. By 1832 the figure had reached over 42,000. And in the area round about including Bolton, Trafford, Rochdale, Duckinfield, Oldham, Stockport, Macclesfield and Glossop, where communicants in 1778 had numbered

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(6) Vide Ch.6.

(7) M-Brady, op.cit., pp.187-190.
According to a Non-Catholic source in 1815 5,000 of the poor London Irish were classed as beggars and 14,000 were calculated to be without means of support.
Jackson op.cit., quoting Redford, A., Labour Migration in England, 1800-1850, Manchester, 1926, p.120.
"At this time the principal missions in London were situated in Virginia Street, White Street, Moorfields, Lincoln's Inn Fields, Sutton Street in Soho, Warwick Street, South Street, Spanish Place, Romney Terrace and Somerstown. All were of mean appearance and generally situated in some back street or alley." Gillow,III,p.62.

(8) Gillow, Loc.cit.

only 300 with one priest as minister, 17 priests were now over-employed (9). Liverpool, the immigrants' main port of entry had 6,600 Catholics in 1790. By 1800 the figure had risen to 12,000 and to 58,000 by 1837 (10). In 1823 Bishop Smith estimated that the Northern District had 120,000 to 150,000 Catholics in 163 missions: 77 in Lancashire, 44 in Yorkshire, 20 in Northumberland, 11 in Durham, 5 in Cheshire, 4 in Cumberland and one each in Westmorland and the Isle of Man (11). According to a non-Catholic estimate made in 1825 there were 100,000 Irish in Lancashire 35,000 of them in Manchester, 24,000 in Liverpool (12). By 1839 Bishop Briggs estimated 180,000 in the District; 160,000 in Lancashire and Cheshire, and 13,000 in Yorkshire (13).

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(9) Maziere-Brady, op.cit., pp.268-269.
Catholic Magazine, Vol.II, April, 1832, pp.216-217.
The population was calculated by multiplying annual baptisms, 1,687 by 30 and making a deduction for those who had lapsed: a statistical device that missioners generally used. Similarly, the Catholic population of Liverpool was calculated in 1830 as 52,875 and in 1839 as 80,000. Vide, Catholic Magazine,Vol.II,April,1832,p.217; Vol.III, June,1839,p.410. Also Edinburgh Catholic Magazine, Vol.II,MS., November, 1838, p.700.

(10) Hughes Rev.J. A Concise Catholic History of Liverpool. He worked out the following table to show the growth of the Catholic Community in Liverpool as a percentage of the total population.

1790	6,600 - 11%	1841	83,000 - 29%
1800	12,000 - 13%	1851	110,160 - 29%
1820	28,000 - 19%	1861	129,080 - 27%
1831	57,500 - 28%	1871	133,460 - 27%
1837	58,000 - 29%		

In 1846 and 1847 580,000 Irish entered Liverpool; about half of these remained in Britain.

(11) West Dioc., MS in Box A64. His statistics include details of the missionary clergy, whether secular or regular, religious orders represented and the missions for which they were responsible. He also gives an account of the colleges and convents in the District.

(12) Quoted in Jackson, J.A., op.cit., p.7.

(13) Maziere-Brady, op.cit., p.280. Bp.Briggs to Propaganda, 1839.
Liv.Dioc., Bishop Briggs Visitation Returns, 1838.

In 1803 the Midland District had 100 missions, in 1816 120 missions with 15,000 faithful, but by 1837 Birmingham "the second city in the Empire, in point of iron factories etc." had 8,000 Catholics of its own (14). Only in the Western District were numbers stationary during the first 15 years of the century: approximately 5,500. Yet by 1840 the figure had risen to 24,580: Bristol with a congregation of 1,500 in 1813 now had 8,000; Plymouth from 1,200 had risen to 2,430; even Bath had risen from 500 to 1,800 (15).

The state of misery in which most Irish immigrants lived has long been familiar. The victims rather than the authors of a social evil, they crowded into areas where the problem of public health and sanitation was acute, worsening the already squalid surroundings of the English working class and reproducing the overcrowding and filth for which the rookeries of St. Giles had long been a by-word. At one time 39,000 in Liverpool and 18,000 in Manchester were living in dark, damp, ill-ventilated and formerly disused cellars originally designed as weaving shops (16). In Hull they lived 15 to a house in

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(14) Maziere-Brady, op.cit., pp.225-226, Bp. Milner to Propaganda, 22nd August, 1803; p.234, Bp. Milner to Propaganda, 1816; p.236, Bp. Milner to Propaganda, September 9th, 1825; p.242, Bp. Walsh to Propaganda 1837.

(15) Op.cit., p.304, Bp. Sharrock to Propaganda, 1803; p.307, Bp. Collingridge to Propaganda, 1813. He gives numbers for each of his missions totalling 5360; p.311, 1815 and 1818 returns to Propaganda by Dr. Gradwell, Roman agent of the English Bishops; p.318, Bishop Baines to Propaganda, 1840.

(16) 2nd Report .... State of Large Towns, App.Part II p.134, quoted Jackson, op.cit., p.45.

four-roomed houses (17). The average was four and a half persons to a room in St. Marylebone, where Callmel Buildings, a court of 26 houses, accommodated 882 people almost all Catholic Irish. Here in rooms 11 feet 8 inches by 10 feet 6 inches the parents of 156 families slept with their children, including youths of both sexes. Fifty rooms were occupied by more than one family and one room housed 13 people (18). Small wonder that with their rural background and a low resistance to disease further weakened by famine the Irish should succumb to successive epidemics of typhus, cholera and famine fever. Their share in the disease, overcrowding, insanitation, vice, drunkenness, and turbulence of the poor quarters of the industrial towns earned them the attention of the groups who fostered public enquiry into the social conditions of the poor. It also earned them the prejudice of the contemporary press. Even the Catholic Orthodox Journal

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(17) Hull Advertiser, 21st Dec., 1849 p.3. Enquiry into the Social Condition of Working Classes in Hull.
In 1852 the Hull missioners made a door to door survey of their congregation. The congregation totalled 5190 mostly Irish where a generation before only 83 had been confirmed (Kitching, J.,op.cit., pp.158, 245 and map 246, 257, 300).

(18) Orthodox Journal, Vol.IV, 27th May,1837, pp.327-328. Condition of the Irish poor in Marylebone - a report on the work of a committee of enquiry appointed at a public meeting held at the suggestion of the Central Society for Education to investigate the way in which poor children were reared and educated in the area. Paid agents collected the information working under a committee of five gentlemen. Of the 882 inhabitants there were 163 married couples with 343 children, 66 widowers or widows with 94 children, 21 single men and 30 single women. Rooms were sublet by tenants at 1/9d. per week after paying the landlord 2s.5¼d. Of 280 families 134 were clean and 146 dirty. Of 440 children 23 were unhealthy or crippled. For an account of several visits made to the homes of the very poor: mostly Irish vide Dolman's Magazine, Vol.VIII, July,1848, pp.46-49. Sick Calls - the Destitute Poor: article by the editor, Rev. Edward Price.

appealed for an end to drunkenness and brawling on Sundays (19). In the London Press more prosperous Irish Catholics recounted how many respectable householders were forming themselves into societies for the defence of property and persons. The lamentable condition of the Irish poor resulted from neglecting to provide them "that religious and moral instruction which, while it appealed to the feelings produced by early education, would correct the habits into which from want of pastoral care, they naturally fall". There should be more clergy and churches and schools (20). Yet many found fault with the foundation of a Catholic chapel in any Irish quarter. In Hull, where the existing church had long been too small for the hundreds of poor Irish who crowded into it "some short-sighted and not remarkably clear-headed bigots" expressed alarm at the increase of Catholicism. According to the editor of the local Advertiser, all denominations were increasing in the same proportion except the

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(19) Orthodox Journal Vol.VIII, Sept., 1820, pp.360-365.

(20) Tablet, 7th January, 1843, p.21. Some thought more Irish Clergy should be brought over. In fact 21 Irish priests were already at work in London, five speaking Irish.
Appeal for a Chapel at Congleton (near Macclesfield) because of the immigration to the area of "Labouring Irish, ... on account of the increase of silk manufacture in the town of Congleton and neighbourhood."
Appeal by the Clergy to the Catholics of Cheshire for church building "Many Irish in great distress have been driven from their homes, and have settled amongst us."
The above two adverts from L.D. 1852 are illustrations of the many appeals for chapels for the Irish.

Society of Friends, and judging by the church building going on the Church of England were in the lead; so there was no room for jealousy in the matter. Practising Catholics were seldom a charge to the parish and never a source of expense to the consolidated fund, giving constables, magistrates, judges and juries no trouble. "Those who have perambulated Mill Street and Middle Street and the Groves will admit, if they have their wits about them, that a large well-lighted Catholic church filled with the Celtic population of these districts would do more to preserve the peace of the community and keep down the rates than could be effected by the vigilance of half a dozen constables and the greatest zeal on the part of a pair of relieving officers." (21)

In the standard histories of English Catholicism little notice has been taken of the lives and progress of the Catholic poor in the nineteenth century. Far removed from the polite atmosphere of cisalpine and ultramontane controversy, of old recusant families, of Pugin's enthusiasm and the Oxford movement, their world lay in the fresh substratum of society amidst the smoke and machinery of the new industrial towns. Among them the missionary priests laboured to foster their spiritual and material well-being, to salvage and safeguard them for the Catholic faith. They exhorted their destitute flocks to clean and ventilate their homes. They sprinkled their vestments and chapels with chloride of lime to prevent the spread of infection, and administered Extreme Unction with stylus instead of fingers and

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(21) Hull Advertiser, 16th March, 1861.

thumbs to avoid contagion. Yet their ranks were diminished with every successive wave of fever:(22) in the Northern District alone 25 clergy died of typhus when visiting the sick in 1838 (23). When it is written, the social history of the nineteenth century church will depict the leadership, courage and devotion of men like Father Hearn of Manchester, who quelled a riot against the hospital during the cholera epidemic of 1832-3 and rode with the driver on the hospital wagon to protect it from the mob; who averted a riot between Chartists and Irish, campaigned for temperance, built five schools and kept them open day and evening for children and adults, and added to his daily cares sessions in his confessional on three nights a week from four until eleven o'clock and at six in the morning at times of indulgence (24).

The activities of the new Catholic urban congregations were focussed on the missions. Schools opened by the clergy were centres not only for the education and religious instruction of children and

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(22) Leeds Dioc., W.131. Instructions of Bishop Briggs to his clergy at the times of famine fever. Amongst other precautions they were to avoid inhaling effluvia from the sick; to cleanse hands, mouth and face, and hang out clothes to air after visiting.

(23) Orthodox Journal, 1838, Part II, p.136. Letter of Bishop Briggs. In a typhus epidemic during 1847 10 priests out of 24 died at Liverpool; of the rest 8 were sick but recovered. Hughes, Rev.J., A Concise Catholic History of Liverpool.

(24) Tablet 1843, October 7th, p.629.

adults (25) but of community activity as well. School buildings housed employment agencies for Catholic servants and situations (26), shops for selling Catholic tracts and handwork done by pupils; congregational libraries and reading rooms. They provided headquarters for the Catholic Friendly Societies, shelter for orphans, accommodation for the charitable work of groups of 'mechanics' and their wives and later on the Catholic Young Men's Society and the St. Vincent de Paul Brotherhood. They became centres for the collection and distribution of clothes and linens for 'lying in' (27) and kitchens for the distribution of meals, soup and bread. With clergy as patrons of their

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(25) St. Francis's Catholic free school in St. Giles was open as a night school for adults. Reading, writing, arithmetic, geography and catechism were taught and textbooks were provided gratis. West. Dioc., unsorted MSS, printed pamphlet of appeal, undated.

(26) It was considered that the faith of Catholic servants was endangered by Protestant employers who enforced their attendance at Protestant worship or made them abstain from practising their religion. The object of the employment agencies was to procure work with Catholic families.
In 1847, for example, an "Institution of Catholic Servants," was set up in London at 16, Great Windmill Street, Haymarket. It acted as a central employment agency and during its first two years claimed to have found nearly 1,000 situations for Catholic servants.
Orthodox Journal, 1849, Feb.3rd., pp.75-6.
In the provinces registered offices for Catholic servants were usually attached to schools, like that in Birmingham.
Catholic Magazine, Feb. 1835, p.lvii; April 1835, p.cxix; L.D. 1836, p.26.

(27) Laity's Directory, 1832, Appeal for the Tottenham Charity Schools - the "Lying In Society ..... supplies boxes of linens. A few benevolent individuals meet monthly and subscribe sixpence each among themselves. Much good has been done by this society in a destitute part of the mission."

associations and lay officers, surgeons and auditors, Catholic working men joined the early Friendly Society movement to insure against sickness, advanced age and infirmity, and to protect the widows and orphans of deceased members, and by 1848 had even ventured into the world of life assurance (28). To their societies only practising Catholics were admitted. Branches were attached to schools so that children might join at 1d. a week for sickness and death benefits. These societies were formed among the Catholic congregations in the industrial centres of the North, the Midlands and London: Preston (1791 and 1805), Birmingham (1795), Ormskirk (1807), Newcastle (1823), Liverpool, Manchester and Salford (1826), Nottingham (1838), Whitechapel, London (1842), Stella and Sunderland in Co. Durham, Richmond and Kensington in London, Balderston and Sheffield (1843) (29).

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(28) The Catholic Life Assurance Company was founded in 1846. By 1850 it claimed assets of £110,000 income of £3,000 p.a. and a rapidly expanding business at home with agencies in France, and Belgium and assurances in other parts of Europe, India, Australia and America. Rambler, 1850, June, pp.576-78.

(29) Preston. The Catholic Beneficent Male Society was instituted in 1791. By 1824 it had 221 members including "50 of the most respectable tradesmen of the town". They took part in the Whit Walks with non-Catholic societies.
The Catholic Female Society was formed in 1805 and by 1824 had 74 members.
Orthodox Journal, 1824, June, Vol.X, No.109 "The Editor's tour through Lancashire".
Birmingham. The Birmingham Catholic Sick and Burial Society (Known after 1880 as the Birmingham R.C. Friendly Society). John Hardman, the publisher, was among its founders in 1795. By 1834, when the Birmingham congregation numbered 8,000, it had 57 children from the school among its members. Each child paid 1d. a week and was entitled to 2/6d. per week in sickness, and if it died £2 was allowed towards funeral expenses. The children's branch had been modelled along the lines of the Manchester and Salford Society.
A "Female Benevolent Society" was attached to the schools. Established by a patroness it relieved seven cases of extreme

(29) cont'd.
hardship. Also there was a "Benevolent Society" which gave food, clothing and other relief to 200 cases during the winter. Catholic magazine,Feb.1835, p.lvii; April 1835, p.cxix Annual Report of the Catholic Day and Sunday Schools and other Charities attached to St. Peter's Chapel, Birmingham; L.D. 1836, p.26. Gillow,III, pp.128-129.
Ormskirk. The Ormskirk Catholic Benevolent Society founded in 1807. By 1843 it had 400 members.
Tablet 1843, August 12th, p.503.
Newcastle. The Newcastle upon Tyne Catholic Friendly Society was enrolled according to the Act of 1823. Its rules, which had been first submitted to the Vicars Apostolic for their approval, were sanctioned at the local quarter sessions. The last four rules ensured that members attended Mass and made their Easter duties. The missioner, Rev.James Warswick was among its patrons. By 1837 its funds had been sadly diminished through cholera outbreaks and colliery accidents. Catholic Miscellany, Vol.IV, September 1825,p.426. L.D. 1826.
Orthodox Journal, Vol.XII, Series 3, January 1830, p.5; Vol.V, Sept. 30th.1837, p.220, Fifteenth anniversary report.
Liverpool. The Liverpool Catholic Benevolent Society for the Reliefof Sick Poor, commenced in 1826, when there were already over 33,000 in the Catholic congregations there. The society was under the management of the clergy of all the chapels assisted by lay officers. L.D. 1826, pp.19 and 48.
Manchester and Salford. The sick Society was founded in 1826 and attached to the schools. The clergy were patrons with lay men as president, treasurer, surgeon, auditors and secretary.
L.D. 1826, p.50.
Nottingham. The Catholic Friendly Society of St. John the Evangelist was founded in 1838 with the missioner, Rev.R.W. Wilson, as president. He urged all who could to enrol to avert distress in time of sickness "much of the distress so severely felt by the working classes, especially in time of sickness, arose from the habits of improvidence and want of forethought."
Orthodox Journal, Vol.VI, January 13th, 1838, p.27.
Tablet, 1843, June 24th, p.390.
Whitechapel, London. The Holy Guild of St. Joseph and our Blessed Lady was founded in 1842 by the Clergy of the mission (Rev. V.R.Horrabin J. Foley and J.Moore) with lay officers. Subscriptions were collected on the afternoon of the first Sunday in the month in the schoolroom in Whitechapel. Only practising Catholics could be members: adults at 1/- a month, children 1d a week. For this they had free medical attention during illness, 10/- a week sick pay and £8 for "a decent burial" £3 for a coffin and £5 to the nearest relative. Members of the Moorfields congregation were allowed to join
Tablet, 1843, Feb.4th, p.69.
Inglewhite. The Grand United order of Catholic Brethren and

The Birmingham Catholic Sick and Burial Society still existed in 1880, the Newcastle upon Tyne Catholic Friendly Society we have traced as far as its fifteenth annual report. Some we cannot detect after two years for funds were often depleted by successive waves of cholera and accidents in the factories and pits.

Relief work started during Bishop Challoner's reign was continued in London without a break during the nineteenth century. Throughout much of this time Spitalfields and Bethnal Green were centres of distress for they were the home of the silk weaving industry and the hereditary craft skills of the handloom weavers had lost their economic value in the face of the migration of industry to the North and competition from French silks. Earnings were casual and mostly forestalled by debt contracted in times of

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(29) cont'd.
Kensington. The Kensington Holy Guild both survived at least two annual meetings though the latter with 53 members made only slow progress with £49.16s.2d. in the bank "to keep people out of the workhouse in time of trouble or off casual charity".
Tablet 1843, March 18th, p.165 and July 15th, p.438.
Richmond. The Guild of St. Joseph and Our Blessed Lady was inaugurated in 1842 and had 130 members.
Tablet, 1843, March 18th, p.165.
Sunderland 1843. The Holy Guild of St. Bede
Tablet, 1843, May 6th, p.279.
Stella. Co. Durham. The Holy Guild of our Blessed Lady, St. Joseph and St. Cuthbert held its meetings in the schoolroom. A children's guild was attached with 52 members. Guild robes and badges were worn on formal occasions.
Tablet, 1843, May 6th, p.279.
Baldeston Nr. Salmesbury in 1843 had a lodge (No.22) of the Grand United Order of Catholic Brethren, the St. Lawrence Lodge.
Tablet, 1843, August 26th, p.533.
Sheffield St. Peter's Catholic Guild - had two medical officers.
Tablet 1843, July 29th, pp.469-470.

forced inactivity. Irish immigrants had packed in too. The area was densely populated and destitution so widespread as to be beyond the reach of the Poor Law. Here in 1814 the work of the Society of Charitable Sisters commenced among poor women and children: its members the wives of tradesmen, of those who had done well in business, and of better-off mechanics. They furnished linens for lying-in; made garments for deserving cases who were recommended, and visited them in their homes. They supplied clothing for the boys of the Catholic Sunday School in East London; maintained and taught a Sunday school of their own and assisted in the management and inspection of others. They visited and gave instructions to adults and children not frequenting any school. Through 30 years their activity grew steadily in volume: in 1814 they helped 30 families and 150 individuals; by 1841 875 families and 3,520 individuals were receiving assistance (30). Their efforts were continued by the religious order of the Sisters of Charity who started work in the district during the winter of 1854, serving 200 meals a day from a soup kitchen, visiting the sick to tend, wash, nurse and supply them with warm food and clothes; even sending a few to their small hospital in the country. By 1859 they had 1274 families on their books; 879 in Bethnal Green and 395 in Spitalfields (31).

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(30) For annual reports of the Society vide: Catholicon 1817 pp.328-30; Orthodox Journal: 1818 February pp.78-80; 1818 July 14th, p.19; 1819 January, p.194; 1820 April, p.154; 1838 July 14th; West Dioc. unsorted MSS 1833 Report and Box A90 1841 Report.

(31) West Dioc., unsorted MSS, Appeal of the Sisters of Charity Spitalfields and Bethnal Green, April 1859.

The Local Catholic Charity School was the centre for much of this relief work. It had existed since 1822 under the patronage of the Vicar Apostolic, governed by a committee of 24 men and assisted by a ladies committee 15 strong, members no doubt of the Society of Charitable Sisters. Distinguished men were numbered among the governors of this school; in 1832 the committee included the Earl of Shrewsbury, Lord Rossmore, Daniel O'Connell, M.P. and Richard Shiel, M.P. (32).

In 1847 two other associations of Catholic women appear in London under the patronage of Bishop Griffiths: the Catholic Ladies Association of St. John's Wood, whose object was to visit the poor in their dwellings to give them relief "not in money, but in necessities like food and clothing"; (33) and the Chelsea Catholic Ladies Association formed to relieve with clothes and other necessaries "aged and destitute females and large families thrown out of work by illness and other casual causes, and expectant mothers"(34). Similar societies worked where poverty was deepest in South Lancashire.

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(32) Orthodox Journal March 1824, pp.119-20. Appeal of the Committee of the East London Catholic Charity Schools for educating and clothing poor Catholic children of both sexes.
Op.cit.,Vol.XI,p.34.Spitalfields Free Schools Association Dinner Report.
Op.cit.,Vol.XV,1842,August 13th,p.107. Annual Report of Spitalfields Catholic Free Schools.
West Dioc., unsorted MSS, 1832 Report of the Spitalfields Catholic Free Schools, Founded in 1822 (15 page booklet).

(33) West Dioc., unsorted MSS., Circular of Nov.18th., 1847.

(34) Loc.cit., Wiseman Papers, Box 13, 1847, Circular.

In 1822 the Preston Catholic Clothing Society made a national appeal among Catholics for contributions to its funds (35). The Garstang Sick List Society (36) and the Broughton Catholic Charitable Society (37) both agencies for poor relief, were supported by better-off subscribers and their friends. By 1860 the Broughton Society had been at work almost 20 years distributing funds annually at a general meeting. In that year it had 1120 members and assisted 656 poor people with a grant of 4s. 6d. each (38). In 1854 it was decided to limit membership of the Broughton Society to residents of Lancashire, so the York Charitable Society was formed "for the relief of the poor and the spiritual benefit of living and deceased members". (39).

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(35) L.D. 1822. 400 people were being assisted and all work was done by voluntary help.
(36) Tablet, 1850, Sept. 21st. p.596.
(37) Op.cit., 1850, June 1st, p.350.
(38) Op.cit., 1850, June 1st. p.350. In this year the Society had almost 1,000 members and relieved 450 petitioners with 5/- to 9/- each.
Op.cit., 1860, June 2nd, p.342.
(39) The Lamp, Vol.VII, No.37, Sept.16th. 1854.

CHAPTER 10

THE CATHOLIC ADULT POOR: LITERATURE, LITERACY AND DEFENCE

During the first half of the nineteenth century the effect of fresh scientific discoveries and theories, the growth of new philosophical and political concepts, the appearance of the early trade union and chartist movements, the spread of revolutionary ideas and anti-clerical writings, all aroused the fears of conservative church leaders for the future of religion. At the same time they witnessed an increasing desire for education among poor people seeking to improve their lot in life. Working men's societies sprang into being; cheap literature and lending libraries began to appear. In 1827 the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge was founded to satisfy the need for cheap informative literature. Publications like the Penny Encyclopaedia, Cassell's Working Man's Friend and Popular Instructor (1850) and the Popular Educator (1852) helped to meet the demand. Mechanics Institutes succeeded for a time, providing small libraries and room for lectures and discussions. The Y.M.C.A., an evangelical organisation for religious and social work among young men, was founded in 1844.

Faced with a rapid advance of secular knowledge and new beliefs Catholic leaders were anxious both to preserve the orthodoxy of the faithful and to rebut the accusations of protestants that they refused instruction to their own poor. The spread of congregational libraries in the chapels or schools of new missions was encouraged by

the Bishops. Circulating libraries were established among the congregations of the new industrial centres and in London. Attempts were made to produce a popular literature and forty-four periodicals can be identified, though some were short-lived. To offset the effect of Mechanics Institutes, literary clubs were formed for working men, while the Catholic Young Men's Society (1854) provided an organisation for defence similar to that of the Y.M.C.A (1).

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(1) This movement commenced in 1854 with the foundation of the Metropolitan Catholic Young Men's Society by the Rev.Dr.O'Brien of the Missionary College of All Hallows, Dumcondra, Ireland. His was a crusade on behalf of the young Irish in England; his aim to raise their standard of Catholic life by employing "every aid, moral and intellectual, which the Church permits." The first object of the Association, therefore, was the promotion of a more active Catholic life, its second the encouragement of members by offering the advantages of libraries, lectures and recreations. Where possible the Society stimulated attendance at Catholic night schools. In Stockport for example in 1859 700 members held their meetings in the schools and in 1860 400 young women and 300 young men were attending the night school there. During the same year Salford night schools were opened to accommodate the local branch. York had over 500 members in 1855. The Society engaged in welfare work among its members and in many places provident and funeral funds were established. By 1863, 32 branches were in existence though membership had not increased as much as had been expected. Tablet 1854, Nov.4th, pp.692-3; 1858, August 28th, p.549; 1859, Nov.12th, p.725; 1860, January 7th,p.4, January 14th, p.20, February 18th,p.106; 1862, October 5th, p.677; 1863, November 7th, pp.710-11; 1867, December 28th, p.819.

Before the passage of the Relief Acts Catholic publications had been high-priced, chiefly through lack of readers: to reduce prices would have involved the few Catholic publishers in serious loss; and a generation later, though with a larger reading public many books could be sold more cheaply, works of standing merit were still so dear or so scarce as to be beyond the reach of the middle and lower classes (1a).

Catholic bibles were dear. At that time the only cheap bibles available were produced by the Protestant societies in the Authorized Version without notes. For Catholics Challoner's edition of the Douay version with notes alone was permitted. During 1813 the Rev. Peter Gandolphy, then a curate at the Spanish Embassy Chapel, suggested in a pamphlet that poor Catholics would be grateful for free Bibles with or without notes. Meanwhile a Protestant society "The Catholic Fund" was formed, perhaps in response to Gandolphy's suggestion. Its object was to print an edition of the Douay version without notes for free distribution among the poor Irish in London. The Catholic Board reacted by initiating a plan to distribute a cheap Catholic version of the Bible and to supply poor Catholics with useful books of piety and religious instruction (2). In consequence the "Catholic Fund" dropped their scheme although they had printed a copy of the New Testament without notes and had even despatched specimens for examination to the V.A.As. Now the Catholic

(1a) Orthodox Journal 1824, October, pp.412-415, Report on the London Catholic Library: by the Library Committee President, Rev.R.Horrabin.

(2) West Dioc., A55, 1813, MS. minutes of a meeting of the Catholic Board at the Earl of Shrewsbury's, March 8th; also Minute of March 27th.

Board could argue that they were meeting the challenge of the Protestant bible societies; they called their project the Catholic Bible Society and printed a stereotyped edition of the Douay New Testament with Challoner's notes much reduced and simplified. They had in view the two-fold object of making the copy far easier for the less well-educated to read and removing commentary that was particularly objectionable to Protestants, possibly in the hope of attracting their financial support as well as their sympathy. Bishop Poynter approved the new edition and even wrote a preface for it. But the plan met with energetic opposition from Milner who attacked his fellow bishop and the Board. Poynter he accused of connivance with the Board. The Board he accused of seeking their own selfish ends, trying to ease the path towards emancipation by conciliating the Protestants, "forming themselves into Bible Societies and contributing their money for putting the mysterious letter of God's Word into the hands of the illiterate poor, instead of educating clergymen, even in the present distressing scarcity of clergy, to expound the sense of that word to them". The project was "rash, intrusive, illusory and an abandonment of the Catholic maxims and rule of faith, and an adoption of the general rule of heretics of all ages." The Bible, he warned his clergy, was not "a safe and proper elementary book of instruction for the illiterate poor, rather they should procure them copies of "The First and Second Catechism or the Catholic Christian Instructor."" In the end the project failed. There were financial difficulties; the new edition proved to be dearer than the original! There were

disagreements and Bishop Poynter withdrew his support. Finally the Bull of Pope Pius VIII condemned Catholic Bible Societies (1816) as "this most crafty device by which the very foundations of religion are undermined." Though one reprint of the stereotyped edition was yet to appear, the project had received its death blow (3). In the event the Protestant society cannot be freed of the charge of proselytising for they used their bibles to attract Catholic children into their Irish Free School in St. Giles (1813), where James Finigan, Irish Catholic, lapsed and turned Methodist, posed as a Catholic teacher. The Catholic Bible Society had aroused suspicions, laid itself open to the charge of unorthodoxy and had gained official censure, while the episode had done nothing to solve the problem of spreading literacy and literature among the Catholic poor, so that they might be better able to defend and keep their faith.

> "Bible Associations for promoting Christian Knowledge are springing up daily around us - patrons of these institutions assert in speeches that Catholics are kept in ignorance by their clergy ... at such a crisis ... it surely behoves the faithful Catholics to unite and expose such illiberality ..... a fund might be raised by a generous union of the affluent for supporting a society of the Catholic clergy and nobility, gentry and others, for propagating religious instruction ..... and for an establishment for printing such scarce and valuable books and tracts as would be deemed most proper for this purpose ..... the poor might be supplied with such information as is necessary for their

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(3) Husenbeth, F.C., Life of Bishop Milner, London, 1862, p.241. Ward, B., Eve of Catholic Emancipation, London, 1911, Vol.II, p.189. However Rome approved Bishop Poynter's exertions to popularise the text of the Scriptures in a papal brief addressed to the Vicars Apostolic of England and Scotland, April 18th, 1820.

> spiritual welfare, and all might derive benefit from this excellent establishment. No work to be printed but such as the Vicars Apostolic approved. By the united efforts of such a society, religious instruction might be diffused at an easy rate, the doubtful might be confirmed, the weak strengthened, calumny put to shame and our dissenting brethren (should they be inclined to learn the tenets of their ancestors) would find as rich a source of information to convince them of their mistakes"(4).

William Eusebius Andrews, pioneer of Catholic Journalism, published this opinion in his Catholic Magazine, when the Bible controversy was at its height. In 1826, during the campaign for emancipation he established and managed the first Catholic Tract Society, "The Friends of Civil and Religious Liberty", and published nearly half a million tracts in little over twelve months (5). The project did not last, but the British Catholic Association Defence Committee which was formed during the later stages of the Emancipation campaign to aid the spread of Catholic literature and the instruction of the Catholic population took up Andrews' work, establishing the Metropolitan Catholic Tract Society to raise a fund and publish answers to Protestant attacks. The activity spread: societies were established in the main centres of Catholic population and many thousands of tracts were distributed among the Catholic poor (6). But a strong central organisation was lacking and over the next decade the Tract Societies declined. The poor were still assailed by alien ideas and 'infidel' literature, while parliamentary action,

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(4) Catholic Magazine and Review, 1813, January.
(5) Burton, Rev. Edwin, A Pioneer of Catholic Journalism, Wm. Eusebius Andrews, pamph. 1901, p.10.
(6) Orthodox Journal, Vol.III, 1834,pp.189,238,255,302,349,368,390; p.37, Newcastle; p.92,North & South Shields; pp.139,243, Liverpool.

the operation of the poor law, proposals for factory education, and the new grants to the Protestant school societies, seemed to tend towards excluding Catholics from the benefits of any social legislation. To Charles Langdale and others the need for a national organ for Catholic defence seemed crucial. Langdale had only recently brought forward again in the Commons the question of religious liberty in workhouses (7). It was largely at his instigation, therefore, and under his leadership that the Catholic Institute was founded in 1838 to assume the functions of the Metropolitan Catholic Tract Society and work for "the exposure of the falsehood of the calumnious charges made against the Catholic religion ... the defence of the real tenets of Catholicity ... the circulation of all useful knowledge on the aforementioned subjects and ... the protection of the poorer classes of Catholics in the enjoyment of their religious principles and practices." (8). Its primary object was the circulation of cheap literature to answer protestant attacks. Its secondary aims were the organisation of lectures and lending libraries, the support of Catholic schools and the defence of the Church in the public press. Branches spread very rapidly, taking over the work of tract societies in the main centres of Catholic population (9). Under the title of Catholic

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(7) The Edinburgh Catholic Magazine,1838, Vol.II NS,April, p.214-5.
(8) Orthodox Journal, Vol.VII, 1838, August 4th, pp.76-8.
(9) Ward, B. Sequel to Catholic Emancipation, London, Vol.I,pp.195-6.
Branches were formed, e.g. in Liverpool, Manchester, York, Derby, Darlington, North & South Shields, Newcastle, Leicester, Norwich, Bury St. Edmunds, Bath and Lyme Regis.
35,000 tracts were circulated during the first year.
Orthodox Journal, Vol.VIII, 1839, June 15th, p.369.

Institution for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge they expanded local congregational collections, added reading rooms, distributed tracts and embarked on programmes of lectures. At Leeds the local society "seeing the efforts now made to extend the influence of the Mechanics Institutes amongst all classes particularly the labouring portion of the Community and the great inducements offered to them ... (felt) exceedingly anxious to extend their operation by increasing their library, giving useful and interesting lectures etc." (10).

The earliest circulating library, the Preston Catholic Book Society, had been formed in 1816 "with the intention of annihilating error" and "communicating knowledge to our Catholic brethren" as well as providing a place where "men by reading the approved authors of our church will ..... learn our real tenets and principles, and by comparing them with those imputed to us by our adversaries, will tend to clear away the mist of prejudice and teach him that though we differ in faith, we are taught to love all mankind, enemies as well as friends."(11). From the Bishops' point of view the danger to the faith of working men was twofold: not only were they subject to the influence of non-Catholic literature in Protestant

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(10) West Dioc., Wiseman Papers: unsorted MSS.
In London the Catholic Literary Society included in its programme, lectures on physical science, Tablet, 1843, March, p.181.

(11) Orthodox Journal, Vol.X, January, 1824, pp.38-40. Report of the Eighth Anniversary of Preston Catholic Book Society.

circulating libraries and Mechanics Institutes, which excluded Catholic religious literature anyway, but they lacked the opportunity of reading Catholic books anywhere. "Works having a tendency to illustrate Catholic truth or morals have been excluded from the various circulating libraries and other literary institutions hence this (Carlisle Catholic Library, 1843) foundation on the recommendation of Dr. Mostyn V.A. ..... so highly important to the elucidation of our principles and the diffusion of real knowledge."(12). By "placing within reach of the lower orders the most approved Catholic works ... every work that can aid morality or put calumny to blush", circulating libraries would also help to dispose of the argument that Catholic leaders kept their poor in ignorance. "We are accused of refusing instruction to our poor; this institution annihilates the accusation. We are charged with concealing our opinions; this institution has collected them together."(13). Unless religious instruction given in church and school was strengthened later by reading orthodox literature, boys and girls would be lured away from their faith into the ways of free thinking. The London Catholic circulating libraries (1822, 1823, 1825) were founded "to instruct, improve, and benefit those who had been early taught in Catholic schools: to prevent the mischievous efforts of Infidel and Socinian Societies; to aid in their laudable endeavours

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(12) Tablet, 1843, Feb. 4th, p.69.
(13) Orthodox Journal, 1824, October, pp.412-415. Report on the London Catholic Library; the chairman, Edward Blount's remarks.

the various Catholic Associations in their just attempts to explain the true principles of the Catholic religion. True moral and religious knowledge is wanted to follow upon early education".(14).

In Newcastle-upon-Tyne; where a congregational collection had existed since 1826, the local Catholic Religious Defence Society established a circulating library in 1838 so that "the younger members of the society can gratify their thirst for information, without danger to their morals or prejudice to their religious principles. If the taste for reading which they have already gained at school is to be continued then it is your imperative duty to direct it into proper channels ... while scarcely a work of almost any description can be opened but something presents itself inimical and offensive to our religion." In its first year the society claimed 1,208 borrowings and issued a printed catalogue. By 1843 borrowings had risen to 1830 per year exclusive of pamphlets and new books purchased

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(14) Op.cit., Vol. IV, 1825, Nov., pp.520-4.

The London Libraries were: The East London Catholic Book Society, 1822;

The London Catholic Circulating Library and later its auxiliaries, 1823;

The St. Patrick's Soho Catholic Circulating Library, 1825.

were listed in a supplement to the catalogue (15).

We notice the Birmingham library in 1817. The property of the congregation, it was managed by a committee who chose the books and in their first year published a catalogue of 271 volumes, including works of piety, ecclesiastical history and religious controversy. The library and a bookshop were kept in the schoolroom and opened on Sunday after Mass and evening service. Members paid an annual subscription of 5s. 6d. and might borrow one volume a week. Non-Catholic members were encouraged (16). The first of the London

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(15) L.D. 1826.
Orthodox Journal, 1839, March 23rd, pp.187-8. Report.
Tablet, 1843, Feb.11th, p.85. Report and supplement of new books purchased. Digby's Mores Catholici, 11th Vol; Winkle's British Cathedrals, 3rd Vol; Penny Magazine for 1842, 11th Vol; Hutchinson's History of Durham, 3 vols; Fox's Lecture on the Perpetual Visibility of the Catholic Church; Life of St.Anselm, Archbishop of Canterbury; Butler's (Charles) Life of Erasmus; Butler's (Charles) Reminiscences, 2 vols; Life of Martin Luther; Mackenzie's History of Northumberland, 2 vols; The Parish Priest and his parishioners; Dr. Ullathorne's sermons; Kenrick's Validity of the English Ordinations examined; The Percy Anecdotes, 20 vols; Chambers' Edinburgh Journal, 11 vols; Chambers' Information for the People, 2 vols; Proceedings of the Newcastle Town Council, 1841; O'Meara's Napoleon in Exile, 2 vols; Baine's History of the Wars of Europe, 2 vols; Andrews' Orthodox Journal for 1842, 2 vols; the Dublin Review for 1842, 2 vols; Reeve's Practical Discourses; The Clock of the Passion; St. Alphonso Liguori's Sermons for every Sunday of the Year; Dollinger's History of the Church, 4th Volume; Madden's United Irishmen; Addison's History of the Temple Church, London; Brande's History of Newcastle, 2 vols; Belzani's Travels in Egypt, 2 vols; Catholic Magazine for 1842, vol.6; Earl of Shrewsbury's Letters descriptive of 3 visits to the Miraculous Virgins of the Tyrol; Earl of Shrewsbury's 3rd letter to A.L.Philips; Annals of the Propagation of the Faith for 1842, Vol.3; Father Oswald; Poems by Eliza Cooke; A Treatise on Geography by Brothers of the Christian Schools; Mainzer's Musical Times, as far as is published; Guide to the City of Dublin.

(16) Birm. Dioc., c.2169.

Circulating Libraries, the East London Catholic Book Society, was established in 1822 by the East London Charity for free circulation among the poor, "for the defence of Catholic principles." (17). In 1823 Ambrose Cuddon, bookseller, printer and journalist opened a library in Charterhouse Square "to facilitate the removal of prejudice and the increase of true religion and useful knowledge." The project may not have lasted much after 1826, when his bookseller's advertisements cease in the Laity's Directory. Probably he went out of business. His library, which was supported by subscription, possessed 15,000 volumes and a reading room. Cuddon's enterprise stimulated the leading Catholic Laity in London to establish the London Catholic Library in 1823 in Prince's Square, St. George's East, under the patronage of Bishop Poynter. They started with donations of 1,200 volumes. Between 1824 and 1825 their collection increased by 600 books, some of them "scarce and very valuable." Dr. Poynter had given 200 volumes including 109 copies of "Daniell's Ecclesiastical History; Charles Butler had donated 159 books; Keatings', Andrews' and Taylor's, all publishers, were donors; 6,919 tracts given by the British Catholic Association Defence Committee had been distributed among protestants and Fleury's Historical Catechism printed for free distribution among the poor. 2,000 volumes were lent out and a catalogue printed. And all had been done on a budget of £171.

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(17) Orthodox Journal, 1824, October, pp.412-415;
Catholic Miscellany, Vol.III, 1824, October, p.494.

By 1825 their work had grown so much that they established auxiliary branches in Spitalfield, St. George's Field and Bermondsey and offered to establish one wherever the clergy desired. 700 duplicate books, pamphlets and tracts were given to start the new branches and 50 volumes to the library the British Catholic Association were forming (18). St. Patrick's Soho library and reading room was established in 1825. We hear in 1839 that during the last 14 years "the gratuitous circulation of books, moral and controversial has been a blessing to many poor families in the neighbourhood." (19). From the Laity's Directory of 1826 and 1831 we catch glimpses of the Manchester and Salford Circulating Library, over 1,000 volumes 'kept in the schoolroom'. One shilling was charged for membership and books were loaned at ½d. a week. "The morals of the people ... derived much benefit." (20) We know of the Darlington Catholic Library, (1837),(21) the Nottingham Catholic Subscription Library (1838),(22) Haggerstone Castle Congregational Library (1839), (23)

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(18) West Dioc., Report and Catalogue of the London Catholic Library 1825.
Tablet, 1881, Jan.29th, et seq.
Gillow, I, pp.605-7.
Orthodox Journal, 1824, October, pp.412-415.
Catholic Miscellany,Vol.III, 1824, October,p.494; 1825, November, pp.520-4; Vol.V.1826, March, p.149.

(19) Orthodox Journal, Vol.VIII, 1839, p.184.

(20) L.D. 1826 and 1831.

(21) Tablet 1843,Feb.18th,p.102, March 25th, p.182:- by this time the Darlington Library had been established six years (over 400 volumes).

(22) Orthodox Journal, Vol.VII, 1838, December 13th. p.382.

(23) Leeds Dioc., W.94, Bishop Briggs 1839 Visitation Schedules.

the Chelsea Catholic Library (1839) (24) the Carlisle Catholic Library (1834), (25) and the York Catholic Society Library and reading room (1840), where members could read any evening the Phoenix, the York Courant, the Catholic Magazine, the Orthodox Journal, the Penny Catholic Magazine and the Dublin Review, the London Observer and the London Sun (26). The Preston Library comes to light again in 1840 and 1843 in the hands of the Preston Catholic Institute who reported an increase in books subscribed by leading members of the local Catholic community (27). By the time of the Public Libraries Act of 1850 the Metropolitan Catholic Public Library had been formed for clerical and general town and country circulation and had issued an appeal for £10,000 shares capital at £5 per share (28).

Attempts to produce a literature for the Catholic poor during the first half of the century were beset with serious difficulties. Some publishers, though well-intentioned, were incompetent or imprudent, and in consequence their ventures were financially insecure and of short duration. Authors had to face considerable financial risk and in any case worked for no profit. Obstacles were created by the laws for the suppression of seditious pamphlets by the imposition of stamp

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(24) Orthodox Journal, Vol.VIII, 1839, p.138.
(25) Tablet, 1843, Feb.4th, p.69.
(26) Orthodox Journal, Vol.X, 1840, May 23rd, p.335; Vol.XV, 1842, July 9th, pp.27-28.
(27) Op.cit. 1842, Vol.XV, November 26th pp.346-7. 2nd Annual report of Preston Catholic Institution for the Diffusion of Knowledge. The library had 863 books and 5 of every tract published by the Catholic Institute. Tablet, 1843, Feb. p.70.
(28) Tablet, 1850, April 13th, p.234.

duties and by difficulties of distribution. Periodicals like Andrews' Catholic Vindicator, which were started to combat the attacks of local Protestant publications, and others that took sides in the internal disuptes among Catholics at that time, in any case were doomed to a short existence. Of the forty-four publications that came on to the market in the first half of the century, ten did not even reach the fourth number and many were abandoned within six months(29).

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(29) Rambler,Vol.XII, August, 1853, pp.83-90.
Tablet, 1881, January 22nd - March 19th. Early Catholic Periodicals: 8 articles by J.Gillow. He mentions 44 periodicals viz.

1. The Catholic Magazine and Reflector, Keating, Brown and Keating, 1801 January - July.
2. The Conciliator, 1813, a few numbers, weekly, 6d.
3. The Orthodox Journal, Wm.Eusebius Andrews, 1813 and at intervals to 1842.
4. Catholicon, Keating, Brown and Keating 1815-18, monthly 1s.0d.
5. The Catholic Gentleman's Magazine, Sylvester Palmer, 1818-19, monthly 2s.0d.
6. The Catholic Vindicator, W.E. Andrews, 1818, weekly 2d.
7. The Catholic Advocate of Civil and Religious Liberty, W.E. Andrews. Dec.1820 - July 1821, weekly stamped newspaper.
8. The People's Advocate, W.E.Andrews, January 1822 for 7 weeks.
9. The Catholic Miscellany, Cuddon and Andrews, 1822-30 monthly 1s.0d.
10. The Catholic Spectator, Keating and Brown, 1823-1826.
11. The Truthteller, W.E.Andrews, 1824-29, weekly stamped newspaper.
12. The Monthly Catholic Advocate, J.A.Robinson, Manchester, 1825 for a short period.
13. The Catholic Friend, W.E.Andrews, 1825 fortnightly, for a few weeks.
14. The Oscotian, literary gazette of St.Mary's College, Oscott, 1826 and on
15. The Catholic Journal, edit Quinn, Keating and Brown, 1828-29.
16. The Catholic Magazine and Review, Stone and Booker, Birmingham, Keating and Co. London, Rockcliff and Duckworth, Liverpool, Williams, Cheltenham, 1831-35-36 (NS).
17. The Edinburgh Catholic Magazine, James Smith, 1832-33 monthly 6d; The Catholic Magazine, Dolman, 1838-42.
18. The British Catholic Colonial Quarterly Intelligencer, 1834, only 4 numbers at 4s.6d.
19. The Mediator and British Catholic Advocate, 1836, weekly.
20. The Dublin Review, Spooner, London, Wakeman Dublin, 1836. May-July, 1838 and on, monthly 6s.0d. (now the Wiseman Review).
21. Kennedy's British and Irish Catholic Magazine, a few numbers, Glasgow, 1837 monthly.
22. Annals of the Propagation of the Faith, Keating and Brown (pub.Paris) Journal of the Society for the Propagation of the Faith 1838 and on.

Wm. Eusebius Andrews, whose efforts alone account for seven out of the 44 publications, had to rely on the generosity of friends to atart

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23. The Penny Catholic Magazine, M.P. Haynes, 1839-40.
24. The Catholic Pulpit, sermons edited by a group of clergy, monthly 6d.
25. The Tablet, Frederick Lucas, 1840 and on.
26. The Catholic Luminary and Ecclesiastical Repertory, Dublin, 1840-41 twice weekly 4d.
27. The Vindicator or Catholic Penny Magazine, Liverpool 1840 monthly.
28. The Phoenix, Political Literary and Scientific Journal, D.Cox, Edinburgh, 1840, 6d.
29. Reed's Catholic Recorder 1841-2.
30. The Courier, D. Doud Edinburgh, weekly newspaper, referred to in the Catholic Annual Register, 1850.
31. The Catholic, D.D.Keane, June-Nov. 1842. weekly.
32. Lucas's Penny Library, F. Lucas, Oct-Nov. 1842, weekly.
33. The Catholic, Dublin, 1844, weekly 1d.
34. The Catholic Weekly Instructor, Richardson and Son, Derby 1844-1847, weekly 1d.(after 1846 the Catholic Instructor monthly 4d).
35. The Beacon, D.Doud, referred to in the Catholic Annual Register 1850.
36. The Catholic Weekly Miscellany, 20 numbers.
37. Dolman's Magazine 1845-9, monthly 2s.0d. (amalgamated with the Weekly Register, vide 41.
38. The New Weekly Catholic Magazine, A.J.Book, publisher, London Nov.1846-June 1847, 1½d.
39. The Rambler, 1848-59 at intervals, 1st series weekly 4d. New Series, bi-monthly 3s.0d.
40. The Weekly and Monthly Orthodox M.Andrews, London, Jan-July 1849 (1849 united with the weekly Register).
41. The Weekly Register, Thos. Booker, London, August 1849-Jan.1850 3d.
42. The Catholic Standard, A.Williams, London, October 1849 (amalgamated with the Weekly Register).
43. The Catholic Register and Magazine, T. Booker, 1850 for a few months as a continuation of Dolman's Magazine, monthly.
44. The Lamp, Richardson and Son, London, Dublin, Derby, 1850-post 1881, weekly.

Irish Magazines sold in England:

Dublin and London Magazine, 1825.
The Irish Catholic Magazine, Cork, 1829.
The Dublin Weekly Register, 1829.
The Catholic Luminary, fortnightly, 4d., 1840-1.
Duffy's Irish Catholic Magazine, Dublin 1847.
Duffy's Fireside Magazine, 1850.

Directories:

Laity's Directory; The Catholic Annual Register, Booker's Pocket Directory.

one weekly newspaper, The Truthteller: they contributed £260 in addition to £50 given by the Catholic Association and £125 raised on a loan. Even so the venture had to be discontinued after eighteen months through lack of support (30).

According to one commentator in the Rambler (1853) results were depressing despite all endeavours: though efforts had been made to establish bookshops in some missions, the bulk of the Catholic poor remained untouched by the circulation of Catholic literature. The vast majority, he argued, seemed to be in ignorance of its existence and except for very cheap prayer books they rarely made purchases: much of the literature that found its way into their hands did so because it had been bought by charitable persons and distributed free. As he saw it, Catholic literature failed to spread very widely among the poor because it "does not pander to the curiousity or the vicious appetites of the multitude and has nothing about it of momentarily absorbing interest" (31). It lacked the appeal of the daily or weekly newspaper. When the Rev. Thomas Sing of St. Mary's, Derby, finally abandoned his penny Catholic Weekly Instructor in December, 1847, he consoled himself with the fact that the decline and death of his periodical followed "but in the wake of almost every serial publication in the country. The Penny and Sunday magazines are no more, and Blackwood, Frazer, et hoc genus omne, do not sell one copy a month, for every ten they sold ten years previously" (32). Apart from notable survivors like

(30) Tablet, loc.cit., No.11.
(31) Rambler, loc.cit.
(32) Tablet, loc.cit., No.34.

the Tablet and the Dublin Review the early Catholic periodicals suffered in the general decline of serial literature that was consequent upon the growth of the popular press.

CHAPTER 11

DESTITUTE CATHOLIC CHILDREN: THEIR RELIEF AND EDUCATION

During the nineteenth century Catholic elementary education emerged as part of a general work of rescue, and relief aimed at saving children from loss of the faith in destitute homes, in workhouses, in factories or on the streets. Problems arising from the increase in population and the brutalising effects of destitution continued to grow: by 1817 it was estimated that in London alone 9,000 Catholic children roamed the streets and many were sentenced to transportation for their offences. In the circumstances it is no surprise to find among those who sponsored rescue work a feeling for self-preservation as well as for the principles of morality and religion

> "promoting the individual happiness of these indigent little ones as the public good, by impressing not only a deep sense of religion on their tender minds but also of those moral obligations due to the community at large (particularly that of an inviolable fidelity towards those by whom they may be hereafter employed)".

Under the stimulus of the Bishops and to a greater extent of their clergy work continued along lines familiar since the eighteenth century. Societies were formed to provide food, clothing and elementary instruction for poor children, and where possible asylum for orphans. Sometimes nobility and gentry acted as leaders, but as the century progressed their contribution to the activities of urban congregations was reduced in proportion as demands for schools and chapels on their estates increased. The welfare of poor Catholic children in the towns depended on the enterprise and financial support of tradesmen and better-off artisans, the pennies of the poor, and

occasionally the contributions of non-Catholic supporters (1).

In London during 1806 we can identify eight agencies for the relief, instruction and asylum of poor and destitute children. Much of their activity was inter-related; members of committees were shared; eventually some of them combined. The Southwark Charitable Society (1787) (2), the East London Charitable Institution and its school at Wapping (3), the St. Patrick's Charity School (1803) and orphanage all existed to clothe and educate poor children in their districts and to support entirely those who became destitute orphans (4). Because the four oldest London societies were separate they had competed for the time and help of supporters, and their aims and activities had always overlapped: the Charitable Society (1764) maintained 3 schools; the Benevolent Society (1764) had been formed for poor relief; the Beneficent Society (1784) for apprenticing poor boys; and the Laudable Association (1797) for providing money to maintain and educate poor children. In 1811, therefore,

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(1) Orthodox Journal, Vol.XVI, 1843, April 8th, pp.211-213. Letter of appeal to the Catholics of London on behalf of the Associated Charities - by Edward Petre.

(2) L.D. 1806, et seq.
Catholic Miscellany, 1823, Vol.II,(p.552).

(3) L.D.1806, et.seq.
Catholicon 1817, March p.139; November, p.205; 3rd Series Vol.II, 1824, pp. 111-112, p.192.
Catholic Miscellany, Vol. II, 1823, p.188.
Tablet, 1860, Sept. 16th, p.587.

(4) L.D., 1803, 1804, 1805, 1806.
Orthodox Journal, 1837, June 10th, p.362.
Catholic Miscellany, Vol. XI, N.S., 1829, May, p.287.
Report on the State of Education, London 1835, Minutes of Evidence p.7
The boys and girls of St.Patrick's schools wore uniform to church on Sundays and Holy Days. They sat in galleries specially erected for the purpose. For further reports on the work of Catholic charities and Institutions in London: Catholicon,1823,pp.68, 105, 412; 1825 pp.90, 125, 130, 498; 1826 Index.

they amalgamated under the title of Associated Catholic Charities and all activity was concentrated on the work of the Charitable Society: educating, poor children (5). With the veteran Charles Butler as treasurer support grew and by 1817 receipts were over £2,000; 800 children were clothed and received some daily instruction; 20 orphans were lodged, clothed and fed and an average of 20 children a year apprenticed. Support for the enterprise came from civic and commercial interests. The Lord Mayor and Council of the City of London donated 200 guineas in 1816, after an observer reported that he had seen 700 children in the schools of the Association, 500 of whom they had clothed. The Earl of Vincent donated £100 to the school organised by Miss Trelawney in Somerstown; the West India Dock Company and the London Dock Company between them gave £150 to the school at Poplar (6). The work of the Association was divided geographically into Western, Central and Eastern Divisions and encompassed the activities of four specialist 'departments': the Educating Department, the Clothing Department, the Apprenticing Department and the Orphan Department. By 1845 the educating department had over 1,300 children in boys, girls

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(5) Laity's Directory, 1806 et.seq.
West Dioc., Box A59. The British Press Wed.May 20th 1818, Report of the speech of Charles Butler at the Freemason's Tavern at the anniversary festival of the Associated Catholic Charities.

(6) West Dioc., Loc.cit.
Catholicon 1816, October pp.157-9. December pp.242-4; 1818, p.403
The Earl of Derby had given £50 to the school at Preston and the M.Ps for Preston and Robert Peel had given £10. (West Dioc., loc.cit).

and infants schools. Lady members of the committees acted as visitors in the girls schools. The Brothers of the Christian Schools had taken charge of the boys schools and annual progress examinations were held. The clothing department clothed 800 of the poorest children. The apprenticing department had fourteen youths serving their time, had placed three more and had awarded £5 each to three others who completed apprenticeships. It was difficult to place boys because few masters would offer vacancies for the low premium the Association could pay, though by 1847 an annual grant from the Vicar Apostolic helped to find more positions (7). The orphan department filled the homes by a careful system of selection from those whose names were put forward by subscribers, but many more applied than could be admitted. Only nine boys were elected in 1841(8), and in 1845 though 20 boys were in care, 22 deserving cases had been considered for four vacancies. The unsuccessful candidates went to the workhouse. At first the Association had accommodation for boys only: it was 1817 before there were sufficient funds to open an

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(7) West.Dioc., Wiseman Papers, Box 1847-8, Letter to Wiseman from Henry Barnwell, Chairman of the Committee of Governors of St. Patrick's Schools and Asylum for Female Orphans.
Tablet 1845, June 7th, p.356, Annual Report of Associated Catholic Charities. The report suggests that in the Metropolis Catholics were behind other communities in this work. West. Dioc., Vol.XXIV, No.11, 1842.

(8) Loc.cit., Wiseman Papers, Box A89, 1841 (i) Printed circular 26th July 1841, on the orphans to be elected in that year. Loc. cit. Box A90 - Circular describing the circumstances of each of 18 candidates for the orphanage; Minutes of Special General Meeting, August 19th, 1841.

asylum for "Female Orphans" attached to St. Patrick's Schools (9). The Society of the Friends of Poor Orphan Catholic Children was founded in 1818 "to preserve every poor orphan from the almost inevitable loss of their faith by being left in the workhouse, especially when they (the Committee) reflect on the frequent draughts from thence to the cotton or other factories". Children were placed under the care of approved matrons in houses near schools, the boys near Lincoln's Inn Fields, the girls at Chelsea. By 1823 14 boys and 9 girls were in these homes and the Society had rescued 42 orphans: some had been apprenticed, others placed in service (10). In 1820 an orphanage had been opened in Islington (11). At the charity schools in Somerstown, Tottenham and Hampstead by 1841 260 girls, partly orphans, were boarded, clothed and lodged paying £8 or £12 per annum according to the income of their parents. 192 boys attended the boys' schools and 45 girls and 42 boys were fully maintained at a cost of £13 a year each (12).

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(9) Catholicon, 1817, Jan., pp.38-40, p.60. Names of orphans admitted to St.Patrick's Schools and Asylum for Female Orphans; Supplement, pp. 289-290. Report of Quarterly Meeting of Committee and subscribers to the Associated Catholic Charities.
Orthodox Journal, 1818, May, p.198.
Catholic Magazine, 1842, Vol.VI, July, pp.454-56. Report of Governors of St. Patrick's Schools.

(10) Catholic Miscellany, Vol.II, 1823, p.558, Annual Dinner of Friends of Poor Orphan Catholic children; Vol.IV, 1825, p.568-9, Annual Report and Dinner; L.D. 1825.

(11) Orthodox Journal, Vol.VIII, 1820, July, p.283.

(12) West.Dioc., Box 89A, 1841, May 23rd, Appeal for Charity Schools at Somerstown, Tottenham and Hampstead.

At Liverpool the orphanage established in 1818 proved to be permanent. It was governed by a committee of the bench-holders of St. Mary's Chapel with clergy as Chairman and Secretary. At first boys only were admitted; girls had to go to non-Catholic establishments. By 1824 24 boys were in the home, assisted in their education by 11 lady visitors. The building was inconvenient and funds were in a healthy condition, so a mixed orphanage was planned and by 1826 a "Female" institution was in operation with its own directors, officers and lady visitors (13). In 1829 an orphanage was attached to the charity school at Walsall. We catch a further glimpse of it in 1839 (14). The Birmingham Orphanage, founded in 1834, was attached to St. Peter's charity school. It opened with only 4 children costing £10 a year each. There was room for 24 but numbers had not grown by 1838: probably the committee was short of funds (15).

Across the middle of the Century there arose a fresh agency for work with children, the Brotherhood of St. Vincent de Paul. A lay organisation, it had been founded at Paris in 1833 to rebut the allegations of freethinkers that Christianity had lost its vitality

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(13) West.Dioc., Box A65, Printed circular 1824, Nov.18th, 6th Annual Report of the Liverpool Catholic Orphan Society, 1824, Dec.31st. L.D., 1826, The Catholic Female Institution lists of Directors, Officers and Lady Visitors.

(14) Gillow, IV., pp.496-8.
Laity's Directory, 1839.

(15) Catholic Magazine, Vol.VI, 1835, p.lvii.
L.D. 1838.

and no longer inspired practical enterprises. It was introduced into England in 1844 mainly through the exertions of Frederick Lucas, Pagliano and William Amherst and by mid-century was engaged in relief work for poor Catholic children on a national scale. Its members commenced by visiting the sick but eventually the Society concerned itself largely with work for children. Over sixteen years it spread in all the great industrial centres and its activities expanded to include: "the work of scholars", collecting poor children into school; "the work of apprentices", finding good masters for the scholars"; "the work of the family", meeting families: work which the members shared with the clergy. In 1850 the Brotherhood had seven branches or conferences in London and five in the provinces. In London children were prepared for their first Communion and taught the rudiments of education free, while orphans were clothed, fed and placed in asylums for their protection and employment. The conference at Bilston had 110 members, all colliers and ironworkers. The Newcastle conference sheltered 15 orphans and kept 30 boys at school. At North Shields 230 children and in Manchester 223 children were supported in the schools of the Brotherhood, and the welfare of girls was the especial concern of their wives. During 1850 the Sunderland conference had devoted its energies to collecting money and clothes for the children of cholera victims, aided by the Sisters of Mercy who sewed up cloth bought with £17 collected by the wives' committee (16).

(16) Tablet 1850, June 22nd, p.396.
Membership of the Brotherhood was 242 in 1847, 245 in 1848. In 1849 840 families in England were visited; 104 members were active in London; 30 orphans were in care. Tablet, 1849, July 7th.

The secretary of the York conference was the local schoolmaster and its director the missioner, Rev. Joseph Render. Here in the first half of 1852 the members visited 201 families twice a week; 10,452 visits all told; 161 children (72 girls and 89 boys) were rescued from begging and sent to St. George's Catholic Charity schools, where they were fed; and 14,881 meals were given at the school: children had meals in school on Sundays and 16 stones of bread were consumed every week. All this was extra to the clothing, bread and soup distributed among the poor. Members' wives were responsible for the welfare of pupils at the girls' poor school and taught them domestic science in the kitchens and canteen while the Bar convent nuns taught them needlework. In 1852 the Society apprenticed a boy to an iron-founder, and the priest paid his expenses. The same employer took another boy as labourer at three shillings a week. A third boy was apprenticed to a local tailor and draper (17). At Salford the Society clothed and fed a class of children in the local school and by 1855 had an orphanage partly supported by the wages of its boys (18). The Liverpool conference opened an "industrial home" similar to the one at Salford. At North Shields members took children from the workhouse to Mass and Sunday school. The Westminster

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(17) The Lamp, Vol.IV, No.36, Sept.8th,1852, quoting the first half-yearly report of the York conference of the Society of St. Vincent de Paul; Vol.3, No.13, Sept.27th, 1851.
Whellan, T. and Co., History and Topography of the City of York and the North Riding of Yorkshire, Beverley, 1857-59, Vol.I, p.555 and p.567 quoting the 2nd annual report of the York conference.

(18) Tablet 1860, Feb.18th, p.106; March 31st, p.198.

conference supported orphan boys, while at Peckham members provided breakfast for the children attending the poor school (19). Later the Society found employment for boys from reformatory schools (20). It formed shoeblack brigades in London (1859) and Southwark (1863) from the destitute and homeless boys who slept out in alleyways and under railway arches. Their earnings as shoeblacks in 1859 amounted to £518 and helped to defray the cost of their lodging, uniform and an elementary education (21). By 1860 sixty-one branches of the society were active (22).

The number of Catholic children who were committed to poor law institutions during the course of the 19th century may never be known, but by all accounts it was substantial. Diocesan archives contain frequent references to the loss of religion among the poor in workhouses, children especially, for they were detained among a protestant majority beyond the reach of the clergy, and all because of the hostility of local guardians, workhouse officials and the ambiguous state of the law (23). That the law made any reference to the parental rights of workhouse inmates regarding the religious education of their children was due largely to the work of Charles Langdale, the

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(19) Tablet 1861, April 27th, p.263.
(20) Tablet 1862, March 15th, p.171; 1867, May 18th p.309.
(21) Tablet 1860, Feb.4th, p.70; 1863, May 9th, p.295; 1864, Dec.10th p.789.
(22) Tablet 1861, April 27th, p.263.
(23) West.Dioc., Wiseman Papers unsorted MSS., "Reasons for the loss of children in workhouses and remedies suggested."

future Catholic lay leader. At the time of the passage of the Poor Law Amendment Act in 1834, when union workhouses were established, he had introduced and carried a clause aimed at securing for parents who died there the right of having their children brought up in the religion of their choice. The clause also aimed at safeguarding the orphans from compulsory instruction in a religion contrary to their parents' wishes. Subsequently in the Poor Law Amendment Bill of 1841 he obtained a clause intending that every child should be allowed to declare its wish for instruction in its own religion (24). However nothing in the Act compelled workhouse officials to see that the law was applied, with the result that the Catholic clergy met constant difficulties in their efforts to secure the religious upbringing of Catholic workhouse orphans.

Twice an appeal for right of access had been brought to the attention of the Poor Law Commission, in 1847 and 1849, on both occasions without success. The cases concerned the validity of action of workhouse guardians at Chepstow and Cheadle. In the Chepstow Union school three children, the orphans of James and Hannah Elkes were being given Anglican religious instruction, though it had been their Mother's dying wish that they should continue as Catholics, and the children did not want to change their religion. The local

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(24) Dublin Review, 1892, October, 'Charles Langdale', Amherst, Rev.W.J., S.J. "In 1838, when Langdale once more raised the question of religious liberty in the workhouses, Lord John Russell had him put on the Poor Law Committee of the House of Commons." Edinburgh Catholic Magazine 1838, Vol.II, N.S., April, pp.214-5.

missioner, Rev. Thomas Cody drew the attention of the guardians to these facts and asked that he should be responsible for the religious upbringing of these children. He also requested that they be withdrawn from religious instruction in the workhouse school and permitted to attend at their own place of worship on Sundays. The guardians, however, claimed that they were doing nothing illegal, on the contrary, they were acting strictly in accordance with Article 122 of the workhouse rules of the Poor Law Commission (25). Father Cody, with the assistance of Bishop Brown now took up the matter with the Poor Law Commission and an enquiry was commenced. The guardians insisted that they were not contravening the law, denied that the children wished to remain Catholic, and continued adamant. Meanwhile the Commissioners advised that "the Guardians would exercise their discretion wisely, if they permitted Roman Catholic children to attend Mass and allowed an R.C. priest to visit in the workhouse"; that "the Chaplain would do well not at all to interfere with the Religious Instruction of R.C. children"; and that "the schoolmistress should not teach Church of England liturgy and formularies in Religious Instruction lessons, but general principles of Christianity, so far as those principles are clearly accepted by Catholics." (26). Bishop Brown now recruited the help of Lord Arundel and pressed the Poor Law

(25) West.Dioc.Loc.cit., 18/9/1847. Guardians of the Chepstow Union to Rev.T.Cody; 2/10/1847. Rev.T.Cody to Guardians of the Chepstow Union, and their reply.

(26) Loc.cit., 29/2/1848 Assistant Secretary to the Poor Law Board, Somerset House, to the Clerk of the Guardians, Chepstow.

Commission for an enquiry on the spot. An assistant commissioner was sent to investigate at Chepstow and the Guardians finally admitted the facts as reported by Father Cody.

But if the law (27) was intended to safeguard the religious liberty of individuals in workhouses, it left the Poor Law Commission powerless to act: workhouse guardians had no legal obligation to bring up children as Roman Catholics, and could not be made to do so. Although they recognised the justice of Father Cody's case, the Commissioners could do nothing except to offer their opinion and advice. In a final letter they suggested the lines along which the Chepstow guardians ought to act.

> "The principle to which the Commissioners desire that the Guardians should adhere as closely as possible is that a change of religion of an inmate of a workhouse should not be brought about merely by the admission of such inmate into the workhouse.
>
> At the time of their death James and Hannah Elkes, the parents of the children were R.C. and Hannah their last surviving parent wished her children to be brought up as R.C. The children appear to have been brought up R.C. and seem to consider themselves R.C.
>
> The Commissioners think that the decision of the Guardians as to the religious education of these children should be guided by the religion of the parents at the time of their death coupled with the wish expressed by the last surviving parent and the fact that the religious profession of the children before entering the workhouse, so far as it went, was R.C.
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> The Commissioners are bound, however, to repeat that there is no legal obligation on the Guardians to cause these children to be brought up as Roman Catholics." (28)

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(27) 4 and 5 W.4, c.76, s.19.

(28) West Dioc., loc.cit., 28.5.1848 Assistant Secretary to the Poor Law Board, Somerset House, to the Clerk of the Governors, Chepstow.

To Bishop Brown it appeared that "the law does authorize bigoted Boards of Guardians to refuse the Pastor of Orphan Children in a workhouse the necessary means for maintaining their religious principles; and to place them under the proselytising influence of the protestant Chaplain. An exception is made of an objection by the child or its Godfather or Godmother in which case the religion of the child may not be tampered with; but it is little to be expected that young children in a workhouse will dare to urge their rights upon their bigoted superiors." (29) He had time to revise even that opinion. At Chepstow an exception could not be made: Father Cody was not admitted, nor were the children withdrawn from religious instruction (30).

The remedies lay in making the law clear and explicit, in extending the powers of the Poor Law Committee so that they could enforce their orders on the boards, and finally in the formation of district Catholic schools fit to receive children from the workhouses (31). During Wiseman's administration at Westminster an agitation commenced "against the absence of facilities for the free exercise of religion

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(29) West.Dioc., loc,cit., 19.3.1843 Bishop Brown to the Secretary of the Association of St. Thomas in Canterbury.

(30) Loc.cit., 24.3.1848 Rev.T.Cody to the Clerk of the Chepstow Guardians; 22.4.48 Clerk of the Chepstow Guardians to Rev.T.Cody; 30.5.1848. Rev.T.Cody to the Secretary of the Association of St. Thomas of Canterbury. Letters relating to the case of the Cheadle Union Workhouse: 13.2.1849 Rev.John Dunne to the Poor Law Board, Somerset House; 16.2.1849 Poor Law Board to Rev.J.Dunne; 20.2.1849 Rev.J.Dunne to the Poor Law Board; 22.2.1849, Poor Law Board to Rev. J.Dunne.

(31) West Dioc., Wiseman Papers, unsorted MSS "Reasons for the loss of children in workhouses and remedies suggested."

for adult R.Cs in Union workhouses throughout England, against the absence of education in the R.C. religion in workhouses, that it is not provided for by law and that large numbers of children of R.C. parents are educated as protestants." A comparison was made with Ireland where protestant inmates of workhouses, although a minority had complete exercise of freedom in these matters. The Lords and Commons were petitioned to amend the law so as to provide similar freedom for Catholic paupers in England, unimpeded ministration of Catholic clergy and compulsion on guardians to send Catholic pauper children to schools of their own denomination, where their maintenance and education would be paid for out of the rates (32). Meanwhile industrial schools were opened in 1845 at Liverpool and Newcastle, where girls could be sheltered and taught laundry, dressmaking, lace-making, sewing and making "common articles of clothing"; both received Government grants (33). St. Nicholas' industrial school opened at Walthamstow and gained the Home Office certificate in 1863; here 37 boys committed from London Police Courts and 13 maintained by private benefactors were taught shoe making and tailoring and spent some time each day in school (34). Ragged schools were opened in Hartlepools in 1856 and at Islington and Prentice Street, London in 1860 (35). Between 1855 and 1857 Home Office certificates were

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(32) Loc.cit. Draft of petition to the Lords and Commons. Frederick Lucas, M.P., brought the subject before Parliament unsuccessfully in 1853. Ward, Wilfrid, Life and Times of Cardinal Wiseman, Vol.II., London 1897, p.451.

(33) Catholic Poor School Committee Report, 1845.

(34) Tablet, 1863, January 3rd, p.11.

(35) Tablet 1860, July 14th and August 4th, p.486; West.Dioc.,Box.1856, Langdale to Wiseman, Nov.17th 1857, regarding Wiseman's Circular to the Bishops on objections to the inspection of Industrial, Ragged and Reformatory schools by Protestant inspectors.

granted to the first five Catholic reformatories where children committed by the courts could be taught useful trades and given an elementary education. Three were for boys: Brook Green, Hammersmith (October 1855) under the Institut Religieux des Frères de Notre Dame de la Miséricorde (Christian Brothers); St. Bernard's Abbey, Loughborough (May 1856) an "agricultural colony" under the lay brothers of the Abbey; and St. Williams', Market Weighton, Yorkshire (July 1856) at first under the Fathers of Charity, later under the Brothers of the Christian Schools. Two were for girls; Arms Court, Bristol (April 1856), and Beauchamp Lodge, Hammersmith (July, 1857) both under the Sisters of the Order of the Good Shepherd (36). The North of England Catholic Girls' Reformatory at Sheffield was opened in 1861 by the Sisters of Charity and a second reformatory for boys in the North was opened on the school ship Clarence at Liverpool in 1864. Both served the six northern dioceses (37). Under the chairmanship of Charles

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(36) Reformatory and Industrial Schools Annual Reports.
Dates shown are those of certification by the Home Office: the Hammersmith Girls' Reformatory, for example had been formed in 1841 (Tablet 1843, August 5th, p.485). The History and development of these schools can be read in the annual reports of the inspectors. Tablet, 1864, March 26th, p.198, 7th Annual Report of the Yorkshire Catholic Reformatory 1864, April 9th; p.235 Observations on reports of H.M.I. for reformatory schools.
Liv. Dioc., Public Documents of Bp. Brown 1841-1846, Appeal for money to build a reformatory on land given by Thomas Weld Blundell, Nov.1855.

(37) Tablet, 1861, August 6th, p.485 and August 10th, p.508; 1863, April 11th, p.230; 1865, January 17th. p.374.

Langdale, a general committee for the management of reformatory and industrial schools was formed in 1858 (38). Meanwhile efforts to retrieve children from workhouses continued. In 1859 Scott Nasmyth Stokes, then secretary of the Catholic Poor School Committee, tried to persuade the Marylebone Union Guardians to send their Catholic children to the orphanages at North Hyde and Norwood but once again the request was refused on legal grounds (39). In 1860 Wiseman wrote to his clergy asking them to collect full information regarding their grievances on the workhouse question. By 1863 he had a Workhouse Committee functioning to raise funds for Catholic paupers (40), and Dr. Grant, Bishop of Southwark, devoted a pastoral to the rights of pauper children in the workhouse schools (41). But even after the Act of 1863 had permitted Catholic orphanages to be certified, applications to the workhouses were still refused, though Langdale argued that children could now be legally transferred (42). Before they could claim children from the workhouses the Catholic denominational institutions had to await the activities of Manning and the Reformatory and Industrial Schools Acts of 1866 (43).

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(38) Tablet, 1863, April 11th, p.231 5th Annual Report of the Committee; 1863, July 4th, p.428.

(39) Tablet, 1866, June 16th, pp.373-375. The orphanage at North Hyde was founded in 1857. Those of Southwark and Manchester were established by 1860: Tablet, 1860, April 21st, p.245; July 28th,p.470.

(40) West Dioc., Cler.Circ.I, Wiseman Ad.Clerum, Sept.11th,1860. Tablet 1863, May 16th, p.315.

(41) Tablet, 1863, Oct.31st, p.694.

(42) Tablet, 1863, August 15th, p.521, Letter from Charles Langdale quoting 25 and 26 Vict.,Cap.43.

(43) 29 and 30 Vict., C.118, Sect.14-17.
Tablet, 1870, August, 6th, p.176.
The work of Manning for pauper children in workhouses is fully described by his latest biographer V.A.McLelland (Cardinal Manning, London,1962). But he gives all the credit to Manning and none to the work that had gone before.

CHAPTER 12

CATHOLIC POOR SCHOOLS. 1800-1847

During the second half of the eighteenth century the Industrial Revolution had gradually altered the pattern of English working-class life. Old skills were lost as the need for semi-skilled and unskilled labour grew. The rapid concentration of workers in the new industrial centres and the fluctuation in the demands for employment caused by dependence on more distant markets all tended to pauperise and brutalise the labouring classes. In consequence rescue work was required on a scale unknown in the more stable society of the pre-industrial era. Side by side with these developments the need to educate the mass of labouring poor was increasingly recognised. There emerged on the one hand a demand for education from those who were active in the early trade unions and in working men's political societies which were influenced by French revolutionary ideas and the writings of Paine and Cobbett (1). Radical middle class leaders on the other hand saw education as a means of consolidating working class support for the capitalist system: if the poor were educated they would understand the principles of the new economy, realise their need of it and accept their station in life. Leaders of the land-owning upper class for their part saw a danger of insurrection and looked on education,

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(1) The works of Paine and Cobbett were widely read and discussed among the members of working men's Corresponding Societies, Hampden Clubs, Political Protestant Unions and Secular Sunday Schools which were established in the industrial centres of the North East, Yorkshire and the Midlands between 1818 and 1823.

especially religious education, as a means of reconciling the poor to the existing social order, where the landlord was dominant.

By 1780 we see the beginnings of the Sunday school movement. The first essay in mass education, its object was to occupy children who were released on Sundays from their week's work in the factories. Religious knowledge along with elementary instruction in reading and writing would render them more docile; thus crime would be prevented. Volunteer teachers were used and emphasis was placed on religious instruction rather than on secular teaching. From the start the spread of Sunday schools was stimulated by rivalry between the Anglican Church and the Nonconformists.

The daily instruction of poor children at the cheapest rate became feasible when the monitorial system was introduced in 1803. The National Society (Anglican) and the British and Foreign Schools Society (Nonconformist) competed in spreading the new system. Both aimed at providing a religious education: Anglican in the Schools of the National Society and non-sectarian in those of their opponents. Work continued apace and by 1832 the National Society had established 3,500 schools (2). Even so in 1837 the Government estimated that only one in forty-one children in Leeds was receiving an education likely to be useful, only one in thirty-eight in Birmingham and one in thirty-five in Manchester (3).

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(2) Report of the Select Committee on Education of the Poorer Classes in England and Wales, 1838 VII and VIII, quoted in Cruickshank, M., Church and State in English Education, London, 1963.

(3) Simon, B., Studies in the History of Education 1780-1870, London, 1960, p.170.

Meantime the State commenced assistance in 1833 with a Treasury grant of £20,000 to help with up to half the cost of new school buildings. The amount was increased to £30,000 in 1839 and still confined to building grants, with schools inspection added as a condition of aid which was now administered by a department of the Privy Council. Extra grants in 1846 aimed at improving the supply of qualified teachers (4). But all assistance was distributed through the two existing school societies. So far Catholics were excluded from everything. Such was the general background against which they attempted to provide an elementary education for the children of their poor during the first half of the century. How they faced their difficulties and how far they were successful are problems to which we must now turn our attention.

Evidence is to be found in three nation-wide surveys: the Digest of Parochial Returns made to the Select Committee appointed to enquire into the Education of the Poor in 1818; the returns made to the Government during the Education Enquiry which commenced in 1833; and those made to the Catholic Institute in 1845. All were affected by rudimentary techniques of investigation and none were complete. The government returns depended upon co-operation from Anglican clergy and parish overseers who were not always free from prejudice. Catholic clergy too were often reluctant to furnish information about their schools; not surprising in the circumstances, for at the time of the 1818 enquiry emancipation lay eleven years

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(4) P.R.O., Ed 10/42, MS Memorandum.

ahead and by 1833 it was only four years behind. The Parochial returns of 1818 show 31 rooms for Catholic schools in 27 places (5). Manuscript sources and early Catholic periodicals have yielded information about another 28 schools, all of them open within four years on either side of 1818 and none of them included in the Government's survey (6). A contemporary account even alleged that by 1824 thirty Catholic "free schools" were open in London alone, though some, especially on the outskirts, were in a precarious position (7). Doubtless some were short-lived, but evidence points to the existence of Catholic poor schools in larger numbers than the returns of 1818 indicate (8). Even the Catholic Institute's Survey is incomplete: out of 451 missions named in the lists 111 made no return, almost one in four. Many of these were rural missions, probably without schools and few children anyway, but there were no returns from Newcastle and many missions in Lancashire, the area of densest Catholic population.

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(5) Table I.
(6) Appendix 8: Arundel (1814) No.1; Brentwood (1814) No.2; Buckland (1814) No.4; Bermondsey (1823) No.11; Brixton (1789) No.14; St. Patrick's (1814) No.20; Poplar (1820) No.22; Queen Street (1814) No.23; Somerstown, two schools (1814) No.24; Spitalfields (1822) No.25; East London (1814) No.28; Newport, Isle of Wight (1814) No.30; Stratford (1817) No.33; Sutton Place (1814) No.34; Winton (1814) No.35; Woodley Lodge (1814) No.36; Birmingham (1809) No. 39; Shrewsbury (1817) No.43; Wolverhampton (1814) No.46; Bristol (1787) No.47; Mrs. Hornyhold's (1820) No.48; Corbridge (1819) No. 55; Liverpool (1803) No.58; Manchester and Salford (1813) No.59; Preston (1814) No.61; Sancton (1822) and Houghton (1823) Kitching, J., op.cit., p.167.
(7) Appendix 8, No.29.
(8) Appendix 8.

Nevertheless when statistics of schools and pupils in the three surveys are compared a clearly defined pattern of development emerges and from it we may draw major conclusions about the distribution of the Catholic labouring classes and their chances of an elementary education in the first forty-five years of the century. In the first place the increase in the number of schools and children of school age in Lancashire, the Midlands, London and the ports indicates that there was a heavy migration of Catholic poor across the first half of the century, and that the Catholic populace was concentrated along the main industrial belts before the Irish Famine immigration commenced (9).

TABLE II (Compiled from Table I)

	1818	1833	1845
Pupils in Day Schools	1823	9391	27284
Pupils in Day and Sunday Schools	35	3613	
Total attending school daily	1858	13004	27284
Total attending Sunday Schools	c60	14423	590
Overall Totals	c1918	27427	27874

Totals of pupils in both day schools and Sunday schools (10) show that between 1818 and 1833 the number of children receiving some

(9) Table I, p.221a
This distribution is indicated by the map showing mission stations published in the Laity's Directory for 1840.
(10) Table II.

sort of education had risen by over fourteen times, yet the succeeding rise between 1833 and 1845 was under two per cent. At first sight, therefore, a period of considerable expansion seems to have been followed by one of stagnation. However if we consider only pupils attending day schools, a rapid rise in their numbers is apparent over the period 1818 to 1845. Between 1818 and 1833 they increased nearly seven times and from 1833 to 1845 more than twice. The decline in the total rate of growth, 27, 427 in 1833 and 27,874 in 1845 was caused by the drop in numbers attending Sunday school only: 14,423 in 1833 and 590 in 1845. It could be argued that the low figures for Sunday school attendance in 1845 resulted from the Catholic Institute's concern with day school accommodation only and the fact that their enquiry was incomplete. But the Institute were anxious to estimate the total school accommodation and hardly likely to ignore returns of schools open only on Sunday, nor is it likely that clergy would leave out of account Sunday schools giving instruction in the three R's as well as in Religious Knowledge (10a). An examination of the 1833 and 1845 Returns leads us in fact to a different conclusion.

Of the children at school in 1833 <u>over half</u> attended on Sundays only. Almost three quarters of these were in Lancashire, where Catholic numbers were increasing most rapidly and nearly three-fifths of the total school population were located. Here out of 15,052

(10a) According to Charles Langdale, among the questions circulated for the approval of the VAAs the clergy were to be asked whether their schools were Day or Sunday, and how many children attended on Sundays only. Tablet, 1845, May 17th, p.309.

children attending school, 10,178 or a little over two-thirds attended on Sundays only. In the rest of England the position was reversed, two-thirds (8,130) attending daily and one-third (4,245) attending on Sundays. By 1845 10,475 children were attending day schools in Lancashire, over twice as many as in 1833 (4,874), while numbers in Sunday schools had dropped from 10, 178 to 304. In twelve years, therefore, the Sunday school population had changed to a day school population and the best part of 10,000 children who in 1833 had been spared from the factories only on Sundays were spending at least a short period in full-time schooling by 1845. Similarly over the rest of England the day school population had increased more than twice from 8,130 in 1833 to 16,809 in 1845, while the Sunday school population had reduced from 4,245 to 286. In 1833 220 rooms were used for the schools of 198 missions: 137 rooms in 122 missions for day schools and in 76 missions 83 rooms for Sunday schools, 42 of them in Lancashire. Yet by 1845 in 226 missions 340 rooms were occupied by day schools only.

From this analysis three salient facts emerge. In the first place to cope with migration and the conditions of factory employment and to meet the competition of the Protestant school societies there was a period of intense educational activity between 1818 and 1833: day schools were multiplied and a distinct Catholic Sunday school movement took place. In the second place the Catholics all out of their own resources, more than doubled their day school accommodation and its population during the first twelve years of Government aid to Anglican and Non-conformist schools (13,004 in 1833 to 27,284 in

1845). Finally we must consider the proportion of Catholic Children thought to be at day schools in 1845. Neither the Enquiry nor the Returns indicate whether the totals of children attending school are included in the numbers requiring "gratuitous education" or not. If they were not included we could assume that one-third of all Catholic children estimated to be in need of education were at school (27,874 out of 85,542). But if they were included, and Charles Langdale, Chairman of the Catholic Institute, assumed they were, then the proportion of Catholic children receiving schooling of some sort by 1845 was almost a half (27,875 out of 57,668) (11). But the famine immigration had still to commence.

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(11) Tablet, August 9th, 1845, p.501, Appeal by the Chairman and Acting Committee of the Catholic Institute to the Catholics of England and Wales. Langdale published the following table of statistics arranged in Vicariates. His grand totals are greater than ours, but he included estimates of numbers. As he says "we presume not to say that inaccuracies do not exist, but the returns have been carefully sifted, and where things may not have been quite so complete as might have been desirable, we have, after careful comparisons and calculations, formed our conclusions".

	Requiring Gratuitous Education	Receiving Education	Destitute of Education
London District	19,757	8,903	10,854
Central "	8,372	3,982	4,390
Eastern "	893	639	254
Western "	24,481	1,153	1,328
Lancs "	25,616	12,439	13,177
Yorks "	4,751	1,705	3,046
Northern "	2,284	866	1,418
Welsh "	1,153	520	633
	65,307	30,207	35,100

Table III

Sources of income of day schools as shown in	1818 (a)	1833 (b)	1845 (c)
1. Total of missions with schools	~~18~~ 24	123	226
2. Schools supported by: Endowments or funds	7	11	16
3. Patrons	5	17	30
4. "Private charity"		1	3
5. Religious Establishments		2	4
6. Totals:	12	31	53
7. Total pupils:	(339)	(1404)	(5469)
8. Schools where "nothing is wanted"			13
9. Total Pupils:			(733)
10. Schools where other sources of income are shown:	2	90	100
11. Those supported partly or entirely by: Subscriptions and collections	2	69	62
12. School fees	1	34	44
13. Charity sermons	1	2	21
14. Priest	-	7	9
15. Volunteer teachers	-	2	-
16. Those supported entirely by: Subscriptions and collections	-	49	29
17. School fees	-	19	16
18. Charity sermons	-	-	9
19. Priest	-	4	2
20. Total schools where sources of income are shown (8) + (6) + (10)	14	121	166

Day schools can be grouped according to their means of support: those that depended on the mission and those that did not (12). The

(12) Table 3.

latter were built and supported by wealthy patrons or by means of endowments left for the support of the poor, or from funds in the charge of the Bishops, though sometimes a teacher's salary was supplemented by fees from parents (13). Catholic landowners built schools on their estates at a steady pace throughout the first half of the century: five schools are recorded in 1818, seventeen in 1833 and thirty by 1845.

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(13) Schools supported by Catholic landowners and by "Private Charity"

a) According to the returns of 1818, Appendix V
p.259 Horndon East (Lord Petre); p.778 Chewton Mendip (supported by land belonging to Lord Waldegrave; p.969 Slindon (built and endowed by the Earl of Newburgh;); p.1067 Spetchley (Robt.Beckley Esq.); p.1080 Everingham (built by M.C.Maxwell Esq., master paid by the principal farmers).

b) According to the returns of 1833, Appendix VI
p.225 Lulworth (Joseph Weld Esq.); p.279 Horndon (24 are paid for by Lord and Lady Petre, the remainder by their parents); p.365 Standon (the President at Ware); p.472 Winwick (girl's school, Lady Gerard pays yearly salary of mistress); p.525 Irnham (chief landed proprietor - probably Marmaduke Constable, pays £25 p.a. to the master and mistress, remainder paid by parents); p.525 Whitton (Marmaduke Constable allows £5 to teacher; also £5 for Sunday School); p.635 Oxborough (R.C. Lady supports girls' school); p.690 Ellingham (Shafto Craster Esq. supports R.C. and Protestant children at local school); p.869 Alveton (two schools supported entirely by the Earl of Shrewsbury); p.873 Castle-church (a private individual, R.C.); p.875 Draycott in the Moor (a day school and 2 Sunday schools partly supported by the Dowager Lady Stourton); p.1087 Holme on Spalding Moor (the Dowager Lady Stourton); p.1094 Sancton and Houghton (Charles Langdale); p.1096 Morton (Sir Clifford Constable partly, partly by parents); p.1145 Allerton (supported by 'private bounty'); p.1169 Hemsworth (Mrs. Tempest, girls' school); p.1171 Ilkley (William Middleton Esq.); p.1197 Tadcaster, Haslewood (Sir Edward Vavasour, Bart).

c) According to the returns of 1845, Appendix VII
No.8 Buckland (Sir Robert and Lady Throckmorton); No.79 Acton Burnell (Lady Smythe); No.91 Cheadle (Lord Shrewsbury pays the salary of 2 teachers); No.95 Coughton Court (Sir Robt.Throckmorton); No.102 Foxcote (private charity); No.104 Grafton (Lord Shrewsbury pays the teacher's salary; No.105 Grace Dieu, Hanley, (F.Hornyhold Esq No.109 Harvington (Sir Robt. Throckmorton); No.119, Lichfield (private charity for 20 pupils); No.123 Mawley (Lady Blount); No.145 Stonor (Lord and Lady Camoys);

But they were small schools and they housed only a small fraction of the total day school population: a thirteenth (138) in 1818, a nineteenth (681) in 1833 and a fifteenth (1776) in 1845. Endowments, however were used increasingly to support town schools which were larger, so the

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(13)cont'd

No.155 Spetchley (Mr. and Mrs. Berkeley); No.156 Stafford (£40 from Lord Stafford, about £10 from children); No.157 Swinnerton Park. (Lord and Lady Fitzherbert and parents' fees); No.169 Wappenbury (Lord Clifford); No.171 Aston le Wells (Wm.Plowden Esq.) No.179 Coldham (Sir Thomas Page); No.181 Grantham (Private); No.196 Sawston Hall (Major Huddleston); No.294 Bonham House (Lord and Lady Stourton); No.216 Lulworth Dorset (the Weld family); No.237 Upton Dorset (Hon.Mrs. Doughty); No.242 Ashton in Willows (Lady Gerard); No.252 Birkenhead (Lord Shrewsbury pays half, the remainder paid by the congregation); No.282 Ince Blundell (Thos. Weld Blundell and an endowment); No.317 Puddington (built and in part supported by the Stanleys); No.348 Allerton (Lord Stourton); No.364 Everingham (patron probably the Duke of Norfolk); No.367 Hazlewood (patron) see above for 1833; No.371 Houghton (Charles Langdale); No.387 Middleton and Otley (2 schools, Mr.Middleton); No.392 Selby (Hon.Edward Petre); No.405 Hartlepool (£20 and teacher's house from Mrs. Cayley, and parents' fees).

Schools where 'nothing is wanted' in 1845 Appendix VII
No.45 Thorndon Hall; No.103 Glossop; No.110 Hinckley; No.124 Melton Mowbray; No.131 Nottingham; No.144 Spinkhill; No.146 Salter's Hill No.148 St.Benedict's Priory; No.164 Worksop; No.167 Wood Lane; No. 178 Cossey; No.189 Market Rasen; No.199 Weston Underwood.

Schools supported by Religious Establishments
a. According to the returns of 1833
p.798 Cannington (the Roman Catholic Convent); p.1131 Oswaldkirk (private contributions i.e., from Ampleforth).

b. According to the returns of 1845
No.151 Sedgeley Park (subscription of the Superiors); No.224 Spetisbury (supported and superintended by one of the nuns); No.225 Stapehill (supported by the convent); No.235 Taunton Lodge (girls' school supported by nuns).

Schools supported by Endowments and Funds
a. According to the returns of 1818, Appendix V.
p.146 Wingerworth (built by Sir W.Hurlake executor to Rev.M.Stanford, R.C. priest who left £800 in South Sea Annuities for charity in 1728); p.235 Lanchester (girls' school founded by Sir Edward Smith who also pays £20 p.a. to the teacher); p.427 Dean (£5 of the master's salary through the endowmnnt of Henry Blundell Esq); p.1091 York Castlegate (boys' school endowed); p.1112 Gilling (£20 to master's salary from £400 left by Miss Fairfax); p.1095 Swine (ten guineas per annum to the master's salary from lands bought with the bequest of Marmaduke Langdale); p.1118 Ugthorpe (fund and fees - see Appendix VI,p.1127).

endowed schools' share of the total day school population, a ninth (201) in 1818, and a twentieth (625) in 1833 had risen by 1845 to a seventh (3564).

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(13) cont'd.
b) <u>According to the Returns of 1833 Appendix VI</u>
p.254 Lanchester (Sir E.J.Smythe, Bart. endowment of £20 per annum with dwelling house and schoolroom - see above for 1818); pp.435-6 Garstang (endowment of £40 per annum for 30 children); P.438 Kirkham (endowed by 'the late Mr.Thomas Daniel' with £62.8s. per annum for 2 teachers); p.768 Acton Burnell (endowed by Lady Smyth); p.890 Uttoxeter (boys school 'founded in 1600 by Mr.Allen, a popish priest and endowed by him with 20 marks per annum for which ten are instructed'); p.981 Slindon (endowed by Earl Newburgh - see above for 1818); p.1103 York (boys' school partly supported by endowment, part fees see above 1818); p.1103 York (girls' school supported by charitable means - Bar Convent using Sir Thomas Gascoigne's bequest); p.1119 Egton (some taught free; parents pay for some); p.1127 Ugthorpe (partly supported by £10 per annum from R.C. fund); p.1141 Whitby (endowed with £20 per annum arising from interest of a principal sum in Whitby and Ugthorpe R.C. chapels).

c) <u>According to the Returns of 1845 Appendix VII</u>
No.7 Brompton £15 from a fund; No.12 Chelsea £150 p.a. left for nuns and £50.10s for brothers; No.68 Virginia Street, London (2 schools supported from funded property, subscriptions etc.); No.83 Birmingham (interest of £1,000 left by Mr. Hardman and voluntary contributions; there are 4 schools in the town); No.159 Tixall (interest of mortgage of £800 on estate of Tixall); No.245 Blackbrook (endowment and collection); No.282 Ince Blundell (endowed, part of schoolmistress's salary made up by T.Weld Blundell, Esq.); No.314 Preston (Partly from fund, partly from subscriptions, but quite inadequate. Schools in three other missions in the town); No.323 Stonyhurst (from a small fund, and pence of children; No.335 Thurnham (£20 left by the late Mr. Dalton, and school fees); No.341 Wigan (Fund of £11.7s. per annum plus collections and subscriptions. Schools in another mission in the town also); No.369 Holme on Spalding (endowed by the late Dowager Lady Stourton) see above Ib; No.393 Sheffield (small annuity plus subscriptions and children's fees); No.399 Whitby (a fund of £20 and weekly payments of children amounting to about £12 see above for 1833); No.402 (nothing immediately wanted - boys' and girls' schools endowed see above for 1833); No.426 Durham (fund of the school and schoolpence and subscriptions).

~~(3) Table 3. Compare lines 1 and 6.~~
~~If numbers in schools where 'nothing is wanted' are included the total population of schools that were independent of the mission rises to 6202 in 1845, close on a quarter of the school population.~~

Of the sixteen endowed schools shown in 1845 eight belonged to growing urban missions: London, Virginia Street (980), Chelsea (430). Birmingham (570), Preston (450), Wigan (120), Sheffield (150), York (200) and Durham (105). Schools aided by endowments and those supported by patrons together represented a half of all day schools in 1818, a quarter of the total in 1833 and a fifth in 1845; between them they housed a fifth (339) of all pupils in 1818, a ninth (1404) in 1833 and again a fifth (5469) in 1845 (14). To these we may add instances like the schools at Somerstown and St. Patrick's, Soho,

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(14) If numbers in schools "where nothing is wanted" are added, then the total population of schools that were not dependent entirely on the mission rises to 6,202 in 1845, close on a quarter of the total Catholic school population.

In 1845 the returns of 52 schools, mostly in rural areas, show the same number for those requiring free education as for those attending school. This may show that exactly half the children were attending school. On the other hand it may indicate either that the missioner was making a guess, or that he considered the school building inadequate. But the total of children involved was under 1,000. This argument, therefore, would have no significant effect on our conclusions.

London, Gosport, Hull and later Selby (15). Throughout the nineteenth

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(15) Note on some endowments for town schools

Somerstown. West. Dioc., A.63, Chas. Butler, Lincoln's Inn to Bp. Poynter. The will of Henry Dalton of Knaith, Lincoln, 21.11.1820, had a clause making a bequest of £300 to "some respectable Roman Catholic charity." Poynter and Butler agree that the money should be appropriated to the school for girls at Somerstown and particularly for introducing something like 'the Sisters of Charity' in foreign countries.

Loc.cit., A.75, 29.9.1834 Louise Catherine Murray to Dr. Griffiths. Notice that in her will she has left him £200 to be applied to the Catholic school at Somerstown (St.Aloysius').

Loc.cit., A.94 Rev.J.Wernick, Somerstown, Bp. Griffiths paid £53 to the school on account of the legacy of £146.5s. St. Patrick's, Soho. Loc.cit., A.61, 6.4.1820. Rev.J.Collins to Bp. Poynter, £600 paid to Wright's solicitors towards the permanent support of clergy of St. Patrick's Soho to teach R.I. at St. Patrick's Charity School, according to the bequest of Jane Clementine Bryan.

Gosport. Loc.cit., A.68, 17.11.1827 Private instructions of Mary Anne Cornelius, Gosport. Money for support of Clergy at Coventry, Thetford, Portsea and Gosport and money for a poor school for boys and girls "the master and mistress to be paid from my property".

Hull. Leeds Dioc.W.117, 12.2.1857 Rev.Trappes to Canon Walker. Deeds of the Hull Mission including Canning Street schools are in the hands of the Superior of the Brethren's funds (Yorkshire Brethren) as securities for monies lent by them to the Hull mission. The school had been in existence since 1829, originally under St. Charles' church.

Selby. Loc.cit., W.102a., the mission benefited under the Petre endowment fund. In 1858 the schoolmaster was paid £50 p.a. and the schoolmistress £30 p.a. under the fund.

York. Loc.cit., W.141, Very Rev. Thos Billington V.G. Northern District to Rev.Robt.Hogarth £40 p.a. was paid by the grand Vicar of the London District for the York Catholic Day School, "source of income not disclosed by the Vicar except to say that it was a charity".

Slindon. West.Dioc.,A.65, 15.7.1824 Bp.Poynter's letter. The documents relating to Lord Newburgh's bequest for a poor school in Slindon are lost. He wishes to know in whose hands and to whose administration it was left.

Bishop Thornton. Leeds Dioc., W.135, Wheelhouse fund on Bishop Thornton School, £91.7.0d at 4½%.

Chelsea. West Dioc., A.72, 13.9.1831 T. Norris, Lincoln's Inn to Bp. Poynter. Lady Charlotte Denys has completed some school rooms in Chelsea, by agreement with Mr. Voyaux a few years back. She is to grant a lease of the property for 50 years at about £9 p.a. The Bishop is to take out the lease.

century bequests of money for poor schools were encouraged. A printed form was produced for the "Trust of a Sum Bequeathed for the Support of School" so that money could be more easily left to the Vicars Apostolic and co-trustees among the clergy towards "the enlargement, repair and support" of schools "for the education of children of indigent members of the Roman Catholic Religion, or the purchase of books or other things which may be necessary or proper to render such school useful and efficient ..... Provided always ..... that if by reason of any penal or restrictive laws now in force, or otherwise, the trusts hereinbefore declared ..... cannot be carried into execution for the purpose ..... expressed." The Vicar Apostolic and his co-trustees were to be left the money "jointly for their own use and benefit, absolutely free and discharged of and from the trusts hereinbefore of and concerning the same, and of and from all other trusts whatsoever." (16) The school at Ugthorpe in North Yorkshire had been built by donation but it remained the private property of the bishop together with his local missioner; not being conveyed to trustees "on account of the Penal Laws." (17) And this was not the only instance. Despite the penalties imposed by the law, Catholic philanthropists made a significant contribution to the spread of poor schools, especially in the days before the Irish famine immigration.

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(16) Liv.Dioc., Other copies of this 'Form of Bequest' are to be found in diocesan archives.

(17) P.R.O., Closed School Files, Ed. 7/138 (352), Ugthorpe R.C. 12.3.1849 Correspondent, Nicholas Rigby, Manager, Preliminary Statement.

Two more conclusions may be drawn. In the first place the survey of 1845 reveals that two fifths of children on the estates of Catholic landlords attended school compared with one third of all Catholic children; (18) therefore, children in rural missions had the better chance of an elementary education during the first half of the century. Finally the bulge in Catholic population that is evident before 1845 occurred in the ports and new industrial centres; here the major effort to establish Catholic poor schools was evoked, reaching a peak by 1833.

In 1843 the Rev. W. Vaughan, missioner at Lyme, could allege that in the Western District "twenty chapels are served by private chaplains. Congregations there do nothing to support the pastor, church or schools. All is done for them." (19). But the case was different among the town congregations where a machinery for giving had to be built up often under conditions of stark poverty. There schools were supported by subscriptions, by collections taken weekly or annually after a charity sermon, dinner or dejeuner, by the work of school committees, by school fees and occasionally by support from the pocket of the missioner, and after 1836 from the District Funds of the Bishops.(20)

The ever-growing numbers of poor Catholics in the towns overwhelmed the efforts of many missioners who subsisted on a pittance smaller than that offered to a respectable domestic and who were

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(18) 1,776 were in school; 2,275 were not.
(19) Tablet 1843, August 19th, p.517.
(20) Table III, lines 11 to 19.

frequently themselves "the objects of charity." (21) Despite personal appeals for assistance from the well-to-do the building of churches and schools was beyond their means; and there was a shortage of priests besides. In these circumstances the leading clergy and the bishops turned their attention to the "want of a well-organised plan for collecting the contributions of the Faithful for the establishment and maintenance of missions." (22) "Many are the places already erected which remain incomplete for the purposes of religion by reason of the want of schools and require aid from beyond their immediate neighbourhoods to render them thoroughly effectual." (23) Accordingly the earliest District Funds made their appearance in 1836 and 1837. The foundation of a modern system of financial support, their aim was to establish and support missions, to build chapels, to train clergy, and to meet the competition of the Protestant School Societies by helping to establish schools especially in places where the need was greatest. The old Northern District Fund came first, founded in 1836 for

> "raising the means requisite both to extend and to support religion in the District. To extend it in such parts of the District as were destitute of a Catholic chapel and wherein were many Catholics lamentably deprived of the comforts of our holy religion; to support it for a time in such places wherein a new mission had been formed, but which the new and poor congregation was unable of itself to maintain. As essentially connected with the propagation and support of religion, we contemplated also the erection of charity schools .... (and) to meet in some degree the increased and increasing demand for Priests, it is necessary that a portion of the receipts of this fund should be appropriated to the education of Missionaries in this District." (24)

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(21) West.Dioc., A.90, 16.2.1841.
(22) Loc.cit., A.96, Bp. Brown 5.8.1844. Articles of the Lancashire District Mission Fund.
(23) Loc.cit., Circulars to clergy, Vol.I, Bp. Griffiths, 8.6.1840. Pastoral and Statement of District Fund.
(24) Loc.cit., A.72, Parcel 1842.

The London District Fund followed in 1837 although a London Mission Fund had been established as early as 1815 (25). After the creation of new Districts in 1840 we can trace the beginnings of Funds for the Lancashire, Western and Eastern Districts (1841), the Yorkshire District (1842), the Central District (1843), and the new Northern District (1845) (26).

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(25) L.D., 1837.

(26) Note on sources for the establishment and early history of the District Funds.

London District L.D.1837; London Mission Fund established 1815; West.Dioc., Circulars to Clergy,Vol.I: Bp.Griffiths' Pastoral and Statement of Fund 19.4.1838; Loc.cit.: Bp.Griffiths' Pastoral etc. 8.6.1840; loc.cit.: Bp.Griffith's ad clerum 18.12.1845.

(Old) Northern District. West.Dioc.,A.72 Parcel 1837 and A.82, Parcel 1837 ii: Statement of Northern District Funds "to establish and support missions and to build chapels and schools."; loc.cit.,A.71 Parcel 1838: Statement of Northern District Fund,1838.

Lancashire District. Ushaw College Bound MSS, Collect 81, Circular of Bp. Brown 3.10.1841; West.Dioc., A96, Bp.Brown to Dr.Griffiths 5.8.1844 and 6.9.1844. Articles of the Lancashire District Mission Fund; loc.cit., A76: Lancashire District Mission Fund; 2nd Annual Report 1846; Ushaw Bound MSS, Collect 93: Bp.Brown to Bp.Sharples 5.9.1845.loc.cit.,Collect 97:Bp.Brown to Bp.Sharples 29.9.1846;loc.cit.,Collect 107;Bp.Brown to Bp.Sharples 25.2.1848 Collection for District Fund annually, all local collections suspended.

Western District. West.Dioc.,A.90: Pastoral of Dr.Brindle 16.2.1841 instituting the District Fund, a weekly collection through the District; loc.cit.,A.96 Statement of District Fund 4.11.1844; Clift.Dioc.,Bound MSS.1788-1874, No.96: Statement of District Fund 1845 sede vacante, Sunday and penny collections; loc.cit., No.100: Bp.Ullathorne's Statement of District Fund 1846.

Eastern District. West.Dioc.,A.90: Circular to Nobility and Gentry 16.2.41 appeal for missions etc. Bishop does not want to draw up rules and arrange collections, makes appeal instead; loc.cit., A.96: Circular of Bishop 11.12.1844. "A general collection to be instituted instead of present desultory mode."

Yorkshire District. West.Dioc.,A.72,A.92: Statement of District Fund 12.12.1842; loc.cit.,A.76: Circular of Bp.Briggs re District Fund, 22.11.1843; loc.cit.,A.96: Statement of Fund 1.2.1844; loc.cit.,A.76: Pastoral of Bp.Briggs and Statement of District Fund 30.11.1846.

Central District. West.Dioc., A.76 Parcel 1843 and A.94: Statement of District Fund 20.11.1843, e.g. 2 school chapels built Stoke on Trent and Stone.

Made up of subscriptions, offertory and penny-a-week collections the District Funds represent an important aspect of self-help among the Catholic community under the leadership of their clergy. The London District had collected £1,667 in 1837 and £2,705 in 1840 (27). In 1837 Northumberland, Cumberland, Durham, Lancashire and Yorkshire had raised £1,436; between them they were to contribute £4,259 in 1845 (28). The policy was to establish priest, chapel and school and an examination of the annual statements of the Funds reveals the extent of its success. Here can be found details of support for school building and church building too, a factor of greater significance when we consider that many were dual purpose school-chapels like those at Hull, Stoke on Trent and Stone (29).

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(26) cont'd
(New), Northern District. West.Dioc.,A.76: Statement of Treasurer to District Fund 1.7.1845; Ushaw Bound Collect.225: Statement of Treasurer etc. Sexagesima Sunday1846; loc.cit., 226: Statement of Treasurer etc. 1/7/1846; loc.cit., 229 and 230: Statement of Treasurer etc. 14/12/1846; loc.cit., 237: Statement of Treasurer etc. 1.7.1847.

(27) West.Dioc., Circulars to Clergy, Vol.I, Bp.Griffiths' Pastoral and Statement of District Fund, 19.4.1838; 8.6.1840.

(28) West.Dioc., 71A, Parcel 1837, Bp.Briggs' Statement of Northern District Fund, 1837.

	£	s	d
Lancashire	798.	5.	3
Yorkshire	515.	5.	5
Durham & Northumberland	123.	3.	9
	£1436.	14.	5

Ushaw College, Bound Collect, 229 & 230. 14.12.1846. Statement of Treasurer of Northern District Fund mentions amounts collected in Lancashire, Yorkshire and the Western District as well.

		£	s	d
(new)	Northern	169.	14.	8
	Lancashire	2265.	17.	2
	Yorkshire	1104.	7.	7
	Western	719.	17.	10
		£4259.	17.	3

(29) Vide note 26 under Central District. Kitching J., op.cit., pp.191-195 for history of the Hull School.

Schools were as varied and successful as the resources that maintained them (30). By 1845 some were large and long-established: those for example of the London Societies. Others had become well known like St. Patrick's in Soho (31), and the schools at Somerstown that supported orphanages and fed and clothed their scholars (32). The Spitalfields school had succeeded withthe aid of "zealous mechanics" who devised a scheme of support which included 40 area collectors working over a wide district. (33) More recent foundations also had flourished, like the school at St. John's Wood (1839) where 600 pupils attended and 300 stayed longer than a year. This school had the assistance of a ladies' society to support the girls' department and for the boys thirty-three men stewards. It also had two school-rooms and a house each for master and mistress (34). In Lancashire the Preston Charity School, a lasting enterprise, had been founded in 1814 through the private appeals of the missioner who numbered among his subscribers Sir Robert Peel, the Archduke Maximilian and the Bishop of Norwich as well as the carpenters, shoemakers, ironmongers and plasterers of his congregation. (35) At Manchester the Catholic Day and Sunday school movement of the 1830's had its origin in the schools founded in 1813. They had a committee, a library and by 1826 had 150 volunteer teachers helping on Sundays; in 1832 500 volunteers were teaching 4,000 children every Sunday (36). Nevertheless the chronic

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(30) Appendix 8, passim.
(31) Loc.cit., No.20.
(32) Loc.cit., No.24.
(33) Loc.cit., No.25.
(34) Loc.cit., No.18.
(35) Loc.cit., No.61.
(36) Loc.cit., No.59.

shortage of funds created difficulties that recurred constantly as new schools were started. Many schools that were run privately had a tenuous existence. The school which was noticed in Calmell Buildings, St. Marylebone in 1837 serves to illustrate the point; though the venture also shows the desire of some poor Irish to have an education for their children. Here 50 children were taught in a single room occupied by the schoolmaster, his wife and six children. Every Saturday parents and others met in a nearby public house and clubbed together at the rate of 6d to 1/0d. each. The schoolmaster was paid from the club but was expected to spend part of his salary treating individuals to drink! (37) In 1823 the Bermondsey Catholic school housed 100 out of 1000 poor Irish children. It began in a hired carpenter's shop, and the poor, led by their priest,formed penny-a-week clubs among themselves to raise money (38). This priest seems to have fared better than the missioner at Malton who was reduced to his last 7/- to keep the school going (39). Even where schools had their own buildings, these were often humble. The school at Ugthorpe was housed in a structure of stone and thatch 17 feet by 16 feet and 7 feet high (40). School chapels provided a cheap solution to the problem of accommodation. At Clewer, near Windsor, the children were taught in the Chapel itself, separated from the chancel by a curtain (41), while at Hull a school for 80 children was held under the chapel in the

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(37) Orthodox Journal, Vol.IV, 1837, May 27th, pp.327-8, Condition of the Irish Poor in Marylebone.
(38) Appendix 8, No.10.
(39) Leeds Dioc., Correspondence of Rev.R.Garstang with Bp.Briggs 1841 Sept.9th, 18th, 30th, Nov.3rd, Dec.20th, 29th, 31st.
(40) Gillow, J. Haydock Papers, London, 1888, p.222.
(41) West.Dioc., Box 1850, 15.4.1850.

gloom of a basement room 40 ft x 30 ft (42).

As a rule the curriculum of Sunday schools was confined to Religious Instruction, Reading and Writing but in Day schools Arithmetic was included as well (43). Girls were often taught handwork to prepare them for a livelihood and to help meet school expenses (44). There were many schools where the only reading book in use was the New Testament, even as late as the middle of the century, and others where the teaching was "performed by persons whose only qualifications for the business of an elementary teacher sometimes consists of the fact that they have detected their own incompetency for every other" (45); but the better of the Catholic poor schools seem to have been as good as their non-Catholic counterparts. Some of the best-known schools were those of the Irish Brothers of the Christian Schools, a religious

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(42) Education Enquiry, 1835, p.1094. The following comments on "deficiency of accommodation" taken from the 1845 survey indicate the low standards of accommodation. The number of times a comment appeared is indicated by figures in brackets.

Schools in Chapels Over altar end. In bottom of Chapel. A dark damp room under the altar and a rented room nearby, not weather-proof. The old chapel. Under the chapel. The vestry room. Room entered through chapel.

Schools in Priests' Houses. Clergyman teaches in own house (3). The Mission House.

Other Accommodation. The mistress in her own house (2). School in kitchen. An outbuilding of wood. A room in a farmhouse. A cottage. An apartment in a house (2). A room 13 ft square. In a house, temporarily, A miserable room and garrets. A miserable attic. Only a cellar. A small room over a stable. Flagged floor. Too small (10).

(43) e.g., Appendix 8, No.17a, London St.Giles' Free School, 1828.

(44) e.g. Loc.cit., No.39, Birmingham, 1834; No.59, Manchester and Salford, 1813.

(45) The Catholic School Vol.II, No.II October 1850; No.VII, September 1851, General Reports of T.W.M. Marshall, H.M.I for 1849 and 1850.

order that concerned itself exclusively with the education of poor boys. All were organised on a modified Lancasterian system with a curriculum including Reading, Writing, Arithmetic, Book-keeping, English Grammar and Mathematics (46). At least two Brothers were in charge and pupils were divided into two classes: an upper class for those who could read tolerably well, where Arithmetic, Book-keeping and Grammar were taught; and a lower class for those who were learning to read, spell and write on slates. Pupils were divided according to level of attainment into groups of twelve in the upper class and seven in the lower class, and all worked under monitors. The day commenced with a writing lesson for everyone followed by reading for each group in turn while the remainder worked at another subject. Thirty minutes at the end of the morning were reserved for Religious Instruction which was taught only once every day; apart from this the morning timetable was repeated during the afternoon. Pupils were examined twice a week and at each term end. The Brothers encouraged children to borrow books from the school library so that they might read at night to parents who were often illiterate (47). The Irish Brothers opened their first School at Waterford in 1804; in 1826 they had charge of 29 schools with 5774 boys in Ireland, and three in England: St. Patrick's, Soho (280) Manchester (250) and Preston (200); and by 1841 the schools at Gilmoss, Liverpool as well (48). These schools were well-known and

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(46) West.Dioc., A67, 1826, Printed circular of appeal of the Irish Brothers of the Christian Schools; Cork Charitable Society Minute Book, 1793-1851.

(47) Text of regulations as sent by Edmund I. Rice to Archbishop Bray of Thurles, 8.5.1810. Edmund Rice founded the Order.

(48) West.Dioc., A67, 1826, op.cit.
Appendix 8, No.58, Liverpool.

their methods of organisation were copied widely: at Carlisle the St. Patrick's School (300) was organised in 1826 along the lines of the Soho school (49). The textbooks devised by the Brothers were popular too: in 1837 we find them in use at the poor schools of St.John's Wood, London (600) 'for they are of a superior arrangement for imparting elementary instruction" (50). According to T.W.M. Marshall the first H.M.I. for Catholic Schools the organisation and teaching methods of the Irish Brothers were the model for most of the 105 schools he visited in 1849. For some years their books had been in almost exclusive use, for they were deemed to have peculiar merits on account of their religious and moral tone (51). In fact their reading lessons were too difficult so that children had to concentrate on pronouncing difficult words, consequently their reading lacked comprehension. The reading lessons of the Irish National Society, also in use, were better. It is difficult to say how many schools were organised on the monitorial basis in the early part of the century, but certainly there was a demand for suitable text-books: Keatings, the Catholic booksellers, who published a catalogue of school books in the early part of the century had a special section for Lancasterian schools (52).

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(49) Loc.cit., No.54, Carlisle.
(50) Loc.cit., No.18., London, St. John's Wood.
(51) The Catholic School, Vol.II, No.I, August 1850, p.48; Vol.II, No.VII Sept. 1851, p.185 et.seq. Reports of T.W.M. Marshall, H.M.I.
(52) L.D. 1814-1826. Examples in Appendix IV Nos. 1, 40, 43.

One set of regulations for a girls' school has come to light: those introduced by Lord Clifford into his school at Ugbrook, nr. Biddlecombe, Devon, in 1841. He had established the school for the daughters of his tenants, servants, labourers and tradesmen "who sincerely and not out of any human respects desire that their children should be trained up in the principles, spirit and practice of the Catholic religion; in the duties of the state of life in which God has placed them by their birth; and in the acquirement of such knowledge, as in the opinion of their parents and pastor is suited to that state of life". All pupils had to attend regularly or bring a proper excuse. Parents could contribute to a prize fund, if they wished, but the school was free and each mother might take it in turn to visit on one day a week. The regulations were concerned with the good order, discipline, and modesty of the girls; they tell us nothing about the curriculum and the time table (53).

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(53) Printed copies of the regulations are to be found in West.Dioc., unsorted MSS, and in the library at St. Edmund's College, Ware.

Table I Poor Schools for Catholic Children

The location of schools and children as shown by the Returns of 1818, 1833 and 1845 and abstracted from appendices 5, 6 and 7.

1818	DAY					DAY AND SUNDAY					SUNDAY					PROTESTANT					LIP.
County	Places	Rooms	Boys	Girls	Total	Places	Rooms	Boys	Girls	Total	Places	Rooms	Boys	Girls	Total	Places	Rooms	Boys	Girls	Total	
Beds																					
Berks	1	1	117		117																
Bucks																1	1	?	?	?	
Cambs																					
Cheshire																					
Cornwall																					
Cumberland																					
Derby	1	1	30		30																
Devon																1	1	4		4	
Dorset																					
Durham	1	1		36	36																
Essex	2	3	119	60	179																
Gloucester																					
Herts																					
Kent	1	1	150		150																
Lancs	4	7	222		222						3	3	60	60							
Isle of Man																					
Leics																					
Lincs																					
Middx and London	5	5	800	c65	865											2	2	248	c120	368	
Norfolk																					
Northants																					
Northumberl'd																					
Notts																					
Oxford																					
Rutland																					
Salop																					
Somerset																					
Hants																					
Isle of Wight																					
Stafford	2	2	71		71																
Suffolk																					
Surrey																					
Sussex	1	1	30		30																
Warwick																					
Westmoreland																					
Wilts	1	1	5		5																
Worcester	1	1	18		18																
Yorks N.R.	1	1	40		40	1	1	35		35											
York E.R.	2	2	80		80																
Yorks W.R.																					
	23	27			1823	1	1			35	3	3			60	4	4			c372	

1833	DAY					DAY AND SUNDAY					SUNDAY					PROTESTANT					LIP.
County	Places	Rooms	Boys	Girls	Total	Places	Rooms	Boys	Girls	Total	Places	Rooms	Boys	Girls	Total	Places	Rooms	Boys	Girls	Total	
Beds																					
Berks																					
Bucks											1	1	22	13	35						
Cambs																					
Cheshire						1	1	33	91	124	3	3	583	780	1363						2
Cornwall																					
Cumberland						1	1	(73)	(73)	146	2	2	80	30	110						
Derby											3	3	115	100	215						1
Devon	1	1	10	20	30																
Dorset	1	1	34	40	74						1	1	c10		c10						
Durham	4	4	99	64	163						1	1	25	15	40						
Essex	2	2	(38)	(38)	76																
Gloucester	2	2	77	40	117																
Herts	1	1	13	12	25																
Kent	1	1	70	50	120						?	?	60	40	100						1
Lancs	26	31	2134	851	2985	5	5	1059	830	1889	38	42	6113	4065	10178	1	1	?	?	?	15
Isle of Man																					
Leics	1	1	80		80						2	2	122	122	244						
Lincs	1	1	22	24	46						1	1	26		26	2	2	?	?	?	
Middx & London	14	20	1588	954	2542	2	2	75	60	135						1	1	Irish 140	120	260	1
Norfolk	1	1		20	20	2	2	100	40	140											
Northants																					
Northumbl'd	2	2	200	50	250						1	1	(100)	(100)	200	1	1	?	?	?	
Notts	2	2	18	78	96						2	2	122	100	222						
Oxford																					
Rutland																					
Salop	2	2	27	18	45																
Somerset	5	5	241	109	350											1	1	?	?	?	
Hants																					
Isle of Wight																					
Stafford	11	11	418	276	694	5	6	466	407	873	5	6	144	213	357	1	1	?	?	?	
Suffolk											2	2	29	14	43						
Surrey	2	3	450	350	800																1
Sussex	2	2	43	50	93																
Warwick	3	5	201	22	223	1	1	58		58	5	7	329	53	382						
Westmoreland	1	1	?	?	?																
Wilts											1	1	(80)	(80)	160						1
Worcester	5	5	83	37	120	1	1	43	30	73											
Yorks N.R.	2	2	38	38	76	2	2	90	30	120	3	3	121	65	186	1	1	?	?	?	
Yorks E.R.	5	5	180	80	260	1	1	(28)	(27)	55						1	1	15	18	33	1
Yorks W.R.	4	4	85	21	106						3	3	310	242	552						1
	101	115	6149	3242	9391	21	22	2025	1588	3613	76	83	8391	6032	14423	9	9				24

1845	DAY					SUNDAY					PROTESTANT					LIP.
County	Places	Rooms	Boys	Girls	Total	Places	Rooms	Boys	Girls	Total	Places	Rooms	Boys	Girls	Total	
Beds											1	1	3	2	5	39
Berks	3	3	34	51	85											138
Bucks	1	1	18	18	36											36
Cambs	2	2	18	4	22											48
Cheshire	6	9	274	237	511											1192
Cornwall	2	3	22	27	49											55
Cumberland	9	11	578	415	993											196
Derby	4	7	190	185	375	1	1	30	30	60						542
Devon	3	4	75	107	182											411
Dorset	8	9	104	144	248											350
Durham	2	2	90	80	170	1	1	30	30	60						120
Essex	4	7	192	156	348											1024
Gloucester	3	6	210	150	360											1334
Herts																
Kent	5	6	75	89	164											302
Lancs	37	76	5767	4708	10475	5	7	c204	c100	304	2	2	c6		6	21
Isle of Man	1	3	46	45	91											184
Leics	5	7	225	205	430											590
Lincs	4	4	c53	c58	111	1	2	6	6	12						148
Middx and London	23	45	3699	3446	7145											1523
Norfolk	4	6	179	153	332	1	1	?	?	?						479
Northants	2	2	52	56	108											166
Northumberl'd	3	3	106	77	183						2	2	11	11	22	506
Notts	3	4	105	135	240											1030
Oxford	3	3	39	36	75											188
Rutland																
Salop	4	4	32	60	92											373
Somerset	1	2	40	30	70											70
Hants	1	1	35	35	70						1	1	3	3	6	636
Isle of Wight	1	2	15	20	35											92
Stafford	22	28	c734	c690	1424						1	1	?	?	?	1782
Suffolk	1	1		16	16	1	1	9	9	18						56
Surrey	2	2	35	38	73											175
Sussex	1	1	30	13	43											50
Warwick	9	14	c573	c534	1107											973
Westmoreland																
Wilts	2	2	68	104	172	1	2	20	17	37						269
Worcester	8	10	c161	c146	307											484
Yorks N.R.	4	6	c110	c110	220	1	1	50	49	99	1	1	?	?	?	429
Yorks E.R.	5	6	c52	c52	104											139
Yorks W.R.	15	21	540	278	818	1	1	?	?	?	2	2	?	?	?	3935
	213	323	14576	12708	27284	13	17	349	241	590	10	10	28	16	39	57668

Chapter 13

Government Aid 1847-1870

Various factors influenced the development of elementary education during the nineteenth century. The industrial revolution, the development of technology and fresh techniques of production, the growth of world-wide markets and commercial competition all involved new studies that stimulated interest in education and prompted comparisons with the educational systems of other nations. The desire of many workers to improve the prospects of their children increased the demand for schools and, as the franchise was extended, the need to educate new voters was realised more widely. The education of the masses was advocated by some as a means of maintaining a stable society: education would not only enable the poor to understand and accept their station in life, it would also offer workers a chance to rise, so helping to preserve a strong middle-class and to prevent conflict between the poor and the rich. Philanthropic ideals prompted others who regarded education as part of a general rescue work among children.

Through their school societies Anglicans and Non conformists tried to keep pace with the movement. From 1833 both were aided by the State, at first without question of control. After 1839, however, inspection was imposed as a condition of assistance, in order to improve the general standard of the schools. In 1846 the Privy Council extended aid to pupil teacher apprenticeship and teacher training; thus the efficiency of teachers was increased and the monitorial system gradually replaced. Finally under the minutes of

1847 the Committee of Council helped the Churches to build and conduct training schools, to erect school buildings and teachers' houses, to augment the salaries of teachers who earned a certificate of merit, to provide stipends for pupil teachers and to help with the purchase of books and maps. Even within these limits State control had been achieved only in the face of considerable opposition from the Anglicans, particularly the Tractarians who regarded control of education as the exclusive province of the Church, and from Nonconformists who were sensitive about their own rights of conscience and resentful of Anglican domination. Consequently successive Governments were forced to adopt compromise solutions. So inspectors were accepted only as denominational appointments and teacher training was left in the hands of the churches. Graham's Factory Education Bill failed because it proposed putting the schools under Anglican control and thereby produced a storm of protest from the Nonconformists. Anglicans, Dissenters and those who believed in a secular state system of schools represented the three main points of view; though many shades of opinion lay between them. Generally speaking, however, denominationalists believed that religious and secular education could not be separated and they mistrusted State control. By 1870 the Churches had failed to provide efficient schools for more than half the nation's children. Moreover their schools were distributed unevenly. The voluntary system had done best in the more prosperous districts: the poorest areas failed to meet the conditions that would qualify them for Government aid, because they were always short of funds. In an effort to provide schools for all the Education Act of 1870 was a

compromise between the various points of view. The churches kept control of their schools and the gaps in the voluntary system were filled by the State with rate-aided schools. Thus the dual system was established.

Throughout the whole of this period English Catholics were in a unique and unenviable social position. Problems already facing Bishops and clergy were intensified as a result of the Irish Famine. The heavy waves of desperate immigrants who entered the English ports between 1846 and 1848 were almost exclusively Catholic. More than 280,000 Irish had arrived in Liverpool in 1846 and a further 300,000 came the following year. Although large numbers emigrated again to America more than half stayed on. The 1851 census indicated a decennial increase of almost one third of a million Irish born, an understatement that took no account of the high mortality rate among immigrants who succumbed to famine fever and to the conditions of the districts where they settled (1). It also showed that the pattern of Irish settlement had not changed since 1841. For Catholic leaders the movement had deposited further masses of destitute immigrants in industrial centres whose congregations were already swollen, thus intensifying the shortage of clergy, churches and schools. By 1849 80,000 Irish were thought to be in Manchester and 100,000 in Liverpool (2), while London, according to the census of 1851, had 108,548 Irish born. The English Catholics, therefore, entered the era of State aid faced with a tremendous social problem, for the

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(1) Jackson, op.cit., pp.7-9.
(2) Parl.Deb. 3rd series, Vol.XCI, Coll.1212 quoted in Cruickshank, op.cit., p.8.

religious needs of their Irish brethren could not be ignored. At a time when the proportion of Government aid for education depended on the voluntary exertions and wealth of the religious bodies, they had only a tiny upper class. Their middle class was almost non-existent. They were the poorest. They had the greatest problem of educational destitution. Their schools took the children least able to pay, and despite the generosity of the well-to-do, their main source of support had become the penny collections of poor congregations. Only 3% of pupils in the Catholic Schools of Birmingham were paying fees in 1870; and the Leeds Irish, the least civilised of the population, had been reached by no educational measure whatever, although the Catholic clergy had probably "dug deepest" (3). In London Mathew Arnold found little difference between a good National School and a good British or Wesleyan school as far as quality and home condition of the children went, but "in the Roman Catholic schools the children do much more decidedly belong to the poor and very many of them to the Irish poor, who are a class by themselves." Ragged schools rather than National Schools took the really poor of London who were not Roman Catholics (4).

From 1833 the Catholic leaders had watched a non-Catholic system of elementary education evolving round them and by 1846, despite previous efforts, it was drawing their children into protestant schools. H.M. Inspector of Factories, Mr. Horner, reporting for Lancashire and the North of England had noticed in 1842 that the area of Ashton under

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(3) Enquiry into the State of Education in Birmingham, Leeds, Liverpool and Manchester, 1870.

(4) Arnold, M., Reports on Elementary Schools 1852-1882, London, 1910, General Report for 1872.

Lyne, Dukinfield and Stalybridge contained no day schools for the 55,000 population except one for Catholics and an Anglican girls' school; by 1845 20 non-Catholic schools had been opened amongst the large Catholic population there. Frederick Lucas called for action from the Catholic Institute, "if we wish not indeed to take the lead but barely to keep our position amongst those whose awakened and increasing activity so much outstrips our own." (5) Opposition to Graham's Factory Education Bill in 1843 had already provided a rallying point. The Bill was designed to protect young children from excessive overwork and to ensure that they received some schooling. By its provision all children under 13 employed in woollen, flax, silk and cotton factories were to be obliged to attend for three hours a day at schools which it was proposed to build through Government loans and maintain through the local poor rate and through fees not exceeding 3d. a week. Children would be employed only if they produced a certificate of attendance at such a school. The Catholic Institute opposed the Bill on the grounds that Catholic children must either be deprived of employment or subject to proselytism seeing that the trustees, headmaster and Government Inspectors of the proposed schools were to be Anglican and approved by the Anglican bishops. A sub-committee was set up to watch the progress of the Bill and petitions to Parliament were organised among local branches of the Institute (6). The Vicars Apostolic

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(5) Tablet, Feb. 21st 1846, p.118.
(6) Op.cit. June 17th 1843, p.373; July 8th, 1843, p.422.

raised objections to those clauses referring to R.C. factory schools. According to these no Protestant child could attend a Catholic factory school if there was a Protestant one within two miles. This restriction was subsequently removed, but an inspector could still inquire into the religious tenets of any pupil in a Catholic factory school, even though he could not report on Religious Instruction there. And if he found a Protestant child being taught religious instruction from any but the Authorized Version of the Bible he might deny certificates of attendance to all the pupils (7). In addition an inspector could declare a Catholic school unfit because of its building, its teacher or its equipment, so that no certificates of attendance might be issued. If the Bill had become law probably not more than 60,000 children would have been affected and few of the proposed schools would have belonged to Catholic factory owners anyway. But it seemed to the Vicars Apostolic that the Bill provided a legal basis for Protestant and secular interference with the religious character of Catholic schools and this must be entirely reserved to the Catholic ecclesiastical authorities. Moreover they were deeply anxious lest large numbers of their children employed in the mills should be coerced into Protestant day schools (8).

The Catholic Institute had been founded in 1838 as a national organisation for Catholic defence, its primary object to distribute literature in answer to Protestant attacks. Support for Catholic

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(7) Op.cit. July 22nd 1843, p.453. The objectionable clauses were Nos. 17, 18 and 19.
(8) West. Dioc., 16.3.1843 Bp. Briggs to Bp. Baines.

poor schools was only one of its three secondary aims. So far poor schools had been established solely through patronage or the enterprise of priest and congregation with assistance, where possible, from endowments or the recently organised District Funds. But the poorest congregations were least able to help themselves and assistance from a central fund seemed to be the remedy. By 1844 the Institute was fading (9): communications with the missions were poor; its funds were exhausted; its energies dissipated over a broad front. At Charles Langdale's suggestion, (10) therefore, the Bishops agreed to a reorganisation so that "charitable education" would become an important part of its work. Yet the clergy were suspicious of interference by a central lay committee. Assistance should supplement local efforts, not replace them and should be applied so as to interfere in no way with what was the responsibility of a priest and his Bishop, for education, being a matter of religion and morals, was exclusively their province. For their part the Institute sent a memorial to the Vicars Apostolic in which they sought to dispose of all objections.

> "The Committee (of the Institute) cannot but regret that the subject of education embraced in the original objects proposed by the Institute, and at the same time unobjected to by your lordships, was not persevered in.
>
> The Committee would now, with your Lordships' sanction, propose that this important branch of religious charity should form a principal object of the attentions of the Institute.

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(9) Op.cit. March 8th 1845, p.148, Langdale's Letter to the Earl of Shrewsbury; Feb. 15th 1845, p.100.
(10) Leeds Dioc., 27.4.1847, Griffiths to Briggs.

> They disclaim all interference with the internal discipline of such schools; a certificate from the Bishop of the district of the existence or proposed existence of a proper place of education, and of the efficiency of the master or mistress, would be the only requisite for placing the school within the aid of the funds at the disposal of the Institute. The committee are far from intending or desiring that the funds already raising for the purpose of education should be at their disposal.
>
> They are aware from the different positions of the several districts, with respect to the numbers and wealth of the Catholics therein, that the collections must be very unequal. But whilst they disclaim any intention of interfering with the present mode of making collections for any such purpose, they humbly submit that efforts might be made through the instrumentality of the Institute to collect funds for the general purposes of charitable education, and thus assistance might be afforded to those more impoverished localities, which, after such diligent inquiry, as it would be the expedient duty of the Institute to make, were found quite incompetent to provide for themselves." (11)

Bishops and clergy pledged their support and Langdale campaigned among local branches of the Institute to rouse enthusiasm. The survey of 1845 was undertaken and a central fund was commenced (12). The Institute now had in view two main objects: to build and support schools and to provide a race of efficient teachers, but teachers who should be members of some religious institute since "in imparting religious education the first object is to secure the religious character of those appointed to instil its principles into the youthful mind."

The Bishops had encouraged the work of the Irish Christian Brothers and the Sisters of Charity and of Mercy. As early as 1827

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(11) Op.cit., April 6th 1845, p.212.
(12) Op.cit. April 12th 1845, p.231-2. Report of the meeting of the Catholic Institute; May 3rd 1845, p.276, Letters of Rev.John Walker to Charles Langdale; May 17th 1845, p.309, Address from the Chairman, Vice-Chairman and Acting Committee of the Catholic Institute to the Catholics of Great Britain.

they discussed a project for establishing "something like the lay monks who have rendered such services to religion and to the Public of Ireland" (13) and missioners continued to ask for Christian Brothers to conduct their schools (14). Subsequently at their meeting in 1840 the Bishops resolved "that it is highly expedient that the Catholic Charity schools of this country should be placed, as soon as possible under the superintendence of Brothers or Sisters of Religious Orders or Institutes established for this purpose." (15) Thus the religious and moral character of education would be assured and the control of the schools would remain firmly in the hands of the ecclesiastical authorities, reserved from the possibility of lay interference.

Two monasteries were planned as training schools for the whole of England and Bishop Briggs commenced building the first at Market Weighton, Yorkshire, with the aid of a bequest of £2,000 and land from Sir Edward Vavasour (16), and a contribution of £500 from the Institute. He then went to Ireland in search of "lay monks" for staff, "humble but pious Irishmen" (17), returning with an offer of help from the Third Order of St. Francis. Finally a few of these brothers arrived on the scene in the autumn of 1847 only to find the buildings unfinished. His scheme was criticised on the grounds that the estate would be too costly to develop. It was thought too that

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(13) Leeds Dioc. 15/2/1827 Bp. Penswick to Bp. Smith
(14) Loc.cit. 11/2/1829 Bp. Smith to Bp. Penswick
(15) West.Dioc. 72A, Parcel 1846, May 1840, Notes and minutes of Bishops' Meeting.
(16) Tablet, May 2nd 1846, p.281, A.G.M. of the Catholic Institute.
(17) Op.cit., October 24th 1846, p.683.

the "lay monks" would be ill-suited to the work of teaching seeing that their own education was so rudimentary. In the circumstances the project was dropped and eventually the buildings were used for a Catholic boys' reformatory (18). Preparations were now in hand for establishing the second training school at Hammersmith and Charles Langdale made plans to staff it with Christian Brothers from Brittany.

Langdale's first approach to the Government for aid on behalf of a school had been made as early as 1840, but when questions were raised regarding the tenure of the site, the missioner and his bishop decided not to proceed with the application (19). After the survey of 1845 more was known about the deficiencies in school accommodation. By 1846 the educational work of the Catholic Institute had been reorganised along lines similar to those of the Protestant school societies with a central fund that could provide the basis for a Government grant. The poor Irish were pouring in and the need for help was urgent. The Bishops were now in a much stronger position to apply for Government aid.

Accordingly Langdale approached Sir Robert Peel (20), only to be told that Roman Catholics were excluded from the grant by Act of Parliament. But the Government was on the brink of a general election, which it subsequently lost. He promptly applied ,therefore,

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(18) Op.cit. Feb. 27th 1847, pp.130-131; Oct. 30th 1847 p.692; Nov. 13th 1847 p.726; Nov.20th 1847, p.742.

(19) Op.cit., May 2nd 1846 p.281. The land acquired had been leasehold and the Government required that it should be freehold. Langdale therefore acquired a freehold site but the missioner concerned now asked him to hold up the application until he had consulted his bishop.

(20) Correspondence published in the Tablet, April 24th,1847, pp.260-262. 15.6.1846 Langdale to Peel; 16.6.1846 Peel to Langdale.

to the new Prime Minister, Lord John Russell (21). The Catholic claim was now referred to the Committee of Council who ruled that before anything could be determined the matter must be maturely considered (22). As nothing further had been heard by January 1847 Langdale once more requested an interview. The Government, he was now told, would consider any claim put forward on behalf of a school (23). He straightway sought aid for schools at Blackburn (Lancs) and Moorfields (London) (24). The Government now wished to be assured that the schools would be open to Protestant children and that these would be withdrawn from Religious Instruction (25). The Bishops raised no objection to this. They were more concerned to know whether Catholics would be admitted to aid on the same terms as Protestants with Government assistance towards establishing a normal school and Catholic H.M.Is. (26) At this point negotiations came to a halt. Kay-Shuttleworth asserted that under the 1839 Minutes only the Authorised Version could be used in schools receiving aid. To alter this Minute would alter the basis on which other religious bodies were given assistance and, since the regulation would be completely inadmissible to Catholics, fresh minutes would have to be prepared (27).

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(21) Loc.cit. 11.8.1846 Langdale to Russell; 20.8.1846 Russell to Langdale.
(22) Loc.cit. undated Langdale to Lansdowne.
(23) Loc.cit. 23.1.1847 Langdale to Lansdowne; 5.2.1847 Kay-Shuttleworth to Langdale.
(24) Loc.cit. 12.2.1847 Langdale to Committee of Council.
(25) Loc.cit. 18.2.1847 Kay-Shuttleworth to Langdale.
(26) Loc.cit. 4.4.1847. (Bishop's Meeting) Bp. Walsh to Langdale.
(27) Loc.cit. 16.4.1847 Kay-Shuttleworth to Langdale.

The Government, it appeared, were on the brink of action, so the Bishops requested a deputation before any measure was introduced into Parliament. To their consternation they were now told that the Government had no immediate intention of promulgating minutes on the subject (28). Moreover they were blamed for the lack of progress. It was implied in the House that the Bishops were in no haste; they had yet made no distinct application for aid and their views were still awaited, especially on the important matter of schools inspection (29).

Wiseman roundly accused the Government of double dealing. How could they claim to have no distinct application from the Bishops, when they were fully aware of their views through the Chairman of the Catholic Institute! It was alleged that no formal application had been made, yet this had been done: Blackburn and Moorfields had applied, at the Government's request. In his first letter Kay Shuttleworth had stated expressly that Catholic applications, like all others, would be decided on their merits, yet his second letter alleged that the Privy Council minutes excluded Catholics. The Home Secretary (Sir G. Grey) had uttered his fears about Catholic progress, and this, Wiseman thought, was the crux of the matter. Ullathorne agreed: the Government had revealed its fears to the Dissenters, "in as much as the schools of the Roman Catholics are for the main part conducted by men in Holy Orders (i.e. Religious Orders) there are fears lest their schools should be made instruments of proselytism and

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(28) Loc.cit. 17.4.1847 Russell to Bp. Griffiths.
(29) Loc.cit. p.262. Wiseman's Speech at the A.G.M. of the Catholic Institute, 1847.

conversion." (30) Langdale credited the Government with fairer motives. They had intended to extend aid to the Catholics he felt sure, but had been driven from their position by the prejudiced attacks of the Wesleyan Methodists. While the bulk of dissenters denied the right of any sect to participate in Government grants, they included themselves in this embargo. Not so the Methodists who shared in the Government grant and yet were ready to deny these benefits to Catholics (31). Naturally Langdale made no allowance for Protestant fears about Catholic progress.

In fact the Government, on the eve of a general election, were faced with violent opposition from the Wesleyan Methodists over this latest proposal. They had taken alarm at the publication of Kay-Shuttleworth's letter containing the Government's proposal to consider any claim put forward on behalf of a Catholic school. By this latest move the Government had raised grave doubts about the bearing of their scheme of education on the interests of Protestantism. A special meeting of the Anti-Maynooth Committee held at Exeter Hall took up the matter with the Privy Council to ascertain whether R.C. Schools could be legally aided under the terms of the existing minutes. The minutes, they alleged, contained only the general provision that "in other schools than those of the Church of England the state of religious knowledge shall be certified by the managers." If so every variety of religion could be included. But the Government refused to

(30) Loc.cit. Speech of Bishop Ullathorne.
(31) Loc.cit. Speech of Charles Langdale.

be drawn into further discussion with Exeter Hall. In reality there was no question of the legality or otherwise of any Catholic application. The distribution of the Government fund was not governed by statute but was regulated by Minutes of Council. By using these delegated powers to increase public control over Education the Government was able to exploit the political situation in a way that would have been impossible had their hands been tied by legislation. In the view of the Anti-Maynooth Committee, if the Government grants had been regulated by statute the Catholics could have been legally excluded and Romish progress checked (32).

The Catholic Institute organised a campaign to rebut the attacks of the Wesleyans and to demand a share in the Education Grant. From public meetings in London, York, Bradford, Leeds, Manchester, Liverpool, Newcastle on Tyne, Clifton and the Isle of Man petitions were dispatched to Parliament, calling on the Government to carry out their proposed scheme (33), while Lord Shrewsbury circulated a memorial in the House of Lords (34). Unlike the National and British and Foreign School Societies the Institute was not devoted solely to the work of building and supporting schools. Despite the recent reorganisation

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(32) Correspondence published in the Tablet, April 24th 1847 p.261
17.4.1847 Sir Culling Eardley Smith to the Editor, Evening Chronicle;
20.3.1847 Smith to Lansdowne; 25.3.1847 Smith to Lansdowne;
26.3.1847 Lansdowne to Smith; 30.3.1847 Smith to Lansdowne;
1.4.1847 Lansdowne to Smith; 16.4.1847 Edward Higginson, Wakefield to the Editor, Tablet.

(33) Op.cit. 1847: April 17th p.247; May 1st pp.279-280;
May 8th p.296; June 12th p.373; June 19th p.387; July 3rd p.432.

(34) Op.cit. June 26th 1847, pp.402-403.

it was still committed to the general work of Catholic defence and money for poor schools was collected along with the general fund. The double commitment was too much for the resources of the Institute and led to the criticism that it was weak and ineffective. Frederick Lucas, himself a member of the Acting (Executive) Committee, accused it of making no attempt to stimulate Catholics in the constituencies, nor any effort to influence the Government until measures had matured and the chances of defeat were almost certain; neither, he alleged, had anything effective been done in the way of training teachers and founding normal schools, nor even in the way of creating a healthy fund for education; and he called Charles Langdale's leadership into question (35). The attack on Langdale's person was unfair and Bp. Briggs, the senior Vicar Apostolic, rose to his defence. For his part Langdale denied that the Bishops had intended the Institute to speak for all Catholics: on the contrary they had left the Catholic public to form special committees to handle their own affairs. However, he could not conceal his disappointment at the results of his efforts to create a healthy education fund. He had moved his residence from Yorkshire and had come up to London to take over the work but the "utter poor results" almost made him give up his post in disgust (36).

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(35) Op.cit. 1847: January 2nd p.2; January 16th p.34; Feb.6th p.82; Feb.27th pp.130-131; March 13th p.161; April 17th p.241; May 29th p.339; October 23rd p.674 (Henry C. Maxwell's dissatisfaction with the Institute.)

(36) Op.cit., Feb. 13th 1847, p.98.

> "When I have asked for an interview of the different Ministers of the day on the grounds of laying before them the wants of our people, and the right to receive a fair share of the national grant, to meet, as in the case of the National and British and Foreign School Societies, the sums levying by the Institute, I have trembled lest my demand should be complied with, and that in the presence of a Protestant Minister, I should have to point to the paltry Catholic collection of a few hundreds to meet the education of three times as many thousands of our children." (37)

The work of providing schools for the children of the Catholic poor patently needed an organisation of its own.

This state of affairs could have been no secret from the Government and when Lord John Russell enquired in April 1847 whether any permanent representative body existed with whom the Government would correspond there was no doubt that he had in mind a separate R.C. school society (38). Langdale now approached the Bishops with the idea of a special committee for the education of the poor, and offered to lead in the work (39). In July the Association of Our Lady and St. Thomas of Canterbury was inaugurated to take over the general activities of the Catholic Institute (40). In November the Catholic Poor School Committee was formed with Langdale as Chairman to take over the educational work of the Institute and to be the official organ of communication between the Bishops and the Government.

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(37) Op.cit., Jan.23rd 1847, p.51. For Langdale's replies to attacks on the Institute: Jan.9th p.18; Jan. 23rd p.51; Feb.13th p.98; June 5th p.354; Bp.Briggs' defence of Langdale, June 12th p.370.

(38) Leeds Dioc.,27.4.1847, Bp.Griffiths to Bp.Briggs.

(39) Leeds Dioc. 5.4.1847. Bp.Briggs to Bp.Griffiths. Copy also in West.Dioc. A101 and Mid.Dioc. Unsorted MSS. Also Ward, B. Sequel to Catholic Emancipation 1830-1850, London 1915, Vol.II, Ch.XXIII.

(40) Tablet, July 3rd 1847 pp.416-420.

Finally in December the Institute was dissolved (41). A Catholic organisation for promoting the education of their poor was now arranged along lines acceptable to the Government. The Minutes of the Committee of Council defining conditions of aid to R.C. schools were resolved on December 18th 1847 and Catholics were admitted to the following forms of aid:

1. Grants towards building schools and masters' houses.
2. Grants towards building and conducting normal schools for the training of teachers.
3. Augmentation of salary to teachers who, in the Inspectors examinations, had obtained certificates of merit.
4. Gratuities to schoolmasters and schoolmistresses for special instruction given to pupil teachers.
5. Stipends to pupil teachers, during five years of apprenticeship.
6. Grants for the purchase of books and maps (42).

Applications were made straightway for all forms of assistance apart from building grants. With the exception of Sheffield (42a) no Catholic schools seem to have received these before 1852, on account of the long negotiations over the wording of the management clause in their trust deeds. Through this clause the Government sought to ensure that in each denomination the laity, who raised the money, should have some say in the management of their schools. Eventually different types of management clauses were decided upon for Anglican, Wesleyan, British and Foreign and Catholic

41. Clift.Dioc. Bound 1815-62 No.283, Circular of the Catholic Institute, 19.11.1847. Tablet: Nov. 20th 1847, p.745; Dec.4th 1847, p.772.

42. C.P.S.C.R. 1849.

42a. The Catholic School No.V. April 1849, p.71.

schools, but only after prolonged argument. The National Society, especially its conservative wing led by Archdeacon Denison, opposed the clause on the grounds that it introduced a distinction between religious and secular education which they could not admit. As Lucas put it "Anglican clergymen are finding themselves shut out of their schools which are now controlled by a Committee of laymen." (43). Langdale presented the official Catholic view to the Government: Catholics had admitted lay management in secular affairs under protest and this should be the limit of Government interference.

Controversy centred round that part of the clause concerning the method of dealing with appeals. The Government proposed that, in the event of a difference of opinion between the managers of a school, the matter should be decided by the Privy Council. To the Bishops this was objectionable: all matters of a religious character should be wholly reserved to the ecclesiastical authority; only matters of a strictly secular character should be submitted to the decision of a committee. The Committee of Council explained that clauses establishing appellate jurisdiction were not always necessary for management committees where there was no separation of powers, as was the case with British and Foreign, Wesleyan and Free Church of Scotland committees. In these cases a difference of opinion could be settled by a simple majority. In the case of R.C. schools committees where there was a separation of power between the clergy and the laity, a machinery of appeal would prevent the power of decision lying with one

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(43) Tablet, Nov.20th 1847, p.737.

of the disputants. But there was no reason why the appellate authority should not be of the same character as the original authority. Appeal could be made to the Bishop for a decision in matters affecting religion except in so far as this was already done in securing the priest the moral and religious instruction of the pupils. The explanation was not acceptable to the Bishops who argued that, as the clause then stood, it constituted a legal provision on the subject of appeal to them and allowed the possibility of lay interference in ecclesiastical matters. They wanted a simple reservation to the ecclesiastical authority in matters of a religious and moral character, such as was given in secular matters to the lay committee.

The clause, as it was finally agreed, gave the priest power to suspend any teacher from office or to exclude any book from use in school on religious grounds, provided he laid a written statement to that effect before his committee. The suspension or exclusion was to remain in force until the decision of the superior ecclesiastical authority (the Bishop) had been obtained. That decision was then to be brought to the committee who were required to put it into effect. School management committees were to consist of a priest or priests holding faculties of the Bishop "and other persons being Roman Catholic". In the first place the Committee was to be selected by the priest who was to act as chairman. Subsequent vacancies were to be filled by election from among those who contributed at least 10/-

annually to the fund of the school (44).

The model deed was ready by the end of May 1851 but a dispute arose with the law officers of the Crown who questioned the title used for the Catholic bishops, "Roman Catholic Bishop for the time being of the district in which the school shall be situated." This they judged to be contrary to 14 and 15 Vict.,c.60,s.2,the Ecclesiastical Titles Act, passed in consequence of the restoration of the Hierarchy in 1850. As a compromise it was finally decided to use the title offered in a draft deed for St. Chad's school, Birmingham, where all reference to the diocese had been left out and the Bishop was referred to as "the said Roman Catholic Bishop or his successor for the time being". Almost a year had been spent on this dispute when eventually the deed was enrolled on 24th May 1852 for the Catholic school at Kemerton, near Tewkesbury. Catholics could now feel safe to apply for building grants (45).

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(44) C.P.S.C.R. 1850 Appendix K. Correspondence relating to the management clause in the Model Trust Deed: 14.7.1849 C.P.S.C. to P.C.C.; 12.11.1849 C.P.S.C. to P.C.C; 13.11.1849 P.C.C. to C.P.S.C.; 24.1.1850 Lingen to Langdale; 15.4.1850 Langdale to Lingen; 23.5.1850 Lingen to Langdale; 1.6.1850 Langdale to Lingen; 29.7.1850 Lingen to Langdale; 19.8.1850 Langdale to Lingen; 26.10.1850 Lingen to Langdale; 1.11.1850 Lingen to Langdale; 29.11.1850 Langdale to Lingen; 17.12.1850 Lingen to Langdale, 31.5.1851 Langdale to Lingen.

(45) C.P.S.C.R. 1851 Appendix H. Correspondence relating to the title used for the Bishops in the Model Trust Deed: 31.5.1851 Langdale to Lingen; 28.11.1851 Lingen to Langdale; 3.1.1852 Langdale to Lingen; 16.2.1852 Lingen to Langdale; 27.2.1852 Langdale to Lingen; 11.3.1852 Lingen to Langdale; 18.3.1852 Langdale to Lingen; 19.3.1852 Lingen to Langdale. C.P.S.C.R. Appendix G. Trust Deeds for aided Catholic Schools; Appendix J. Kemerton School Deed.

By 1867 only 64 Catholic schools had received government building grants totalling £39,599, a small amount in comparison with other denominations: even the Wesleyans had received almost twice that sum, though both communities had approximately the same total annual grant.(46) The Poor School Committee put down this failure to two causes: first, a marked reluctance on the part of many clergy to accept Privy Council aid for school building: and second, the poverty of the Catholic population. Despite the fact that the model trust deed had provided the ecclesiastical authorities with adequate safeguards, clergy were apprehensive about government interference. During the early days of Privy Council aid life under penal sanctions was within the living memory of many missioners, and later there remained the difficulty over Catholic charitable trusts which eluded attempts at satisfactory legislation. In 1849 H.M.I.Marshall had to point out to Managers that the age of repression had passed and that "proposals of assistance and encouragement have succeeded to penal and repressive interdicts." (47) In 1857 Wiseman himself asserted that many clergy were fearful in case schools built with public grants should be adversely affected by future legislation, while schools built without assistance would remain unscathed. Where a school was built with the aid of a Government grant the right of inspection was conceded once for all by the school deed and could not be got rid of, but where annual grants only were accepted, Government inspection could be terminated at any time by rejecting further aid. Despite assurances and the argument

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46. C.P.S.C.R. 1847

47. Catholic School, October 1850, General Report of H.M.I.Marshall for 1849.

of the Poor School Committee that "oppressive" legislation could affect all schools whether they were built with Government aid or not, applications for building grants dropped from ten in 1858 to none in 1866 and 1867. (48) The fact that the general extension of public aid and control was now becoming a distinct possibility and that proposals to build schools through rate aid had already been laid before Parliament did little to allay the suspicions of clergy who were fearful of government control. In many missions priests could not raise sufficient money to satisfy the building regulations of the Privy Council. These required that the contributions of the Churches should come entirely from local sources. If a parish was too poor to raise the necessary funds, a building grant from the Poor School Committee could not be considered as a local contribution, even though it showed that the parish had subscribed to the central fund of the Committee, and in itself proved that a school was needed. (49) The Privy Council minutes took no special account of the poverty of Catholics: they had to be treated like any other denomination. In the view of the Government a local contribution amounting to two thirds of the total cost of building a school was needed to prove there would be sufficient support to maintain it in the future. To have given building grants on any other basis would have been against the voluntary principle on which Government aid rested.

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48. Loc.cit. Also Newcastle Commission Report, Vol.5., pp.39-40, evidence of T.W.Allies, Secretary of the C.P.S.C. on this point.

49. Op.cit. Vol. V p.291, VI 12c, evidence of Charles Langdale; Vol. V, pp.35,37, evidence of T.W.Allies. Also Dublin Review, Vol.XLV, No.28, April 1870, article, The Ministerial Education Bill.

The expansion of the Catholic school system took place without the aid of Government Building grants. Between 1847 and 1867 the Poor School Committee paid 322 grants towards building schools in addition to 2017 grants in annual support. Even if we assume that every school which gained a Government building grant had also received a building grant from the Poor School Committee, at least four times as many schools were built without Government aid as received it. Moreover the Newcastle Commission calculated in 1859 that Catholic day schools in England and Wales had 743 departments: (50) a total which suggests that many schools were established without the aid either of the Government or the Poor School Committee. By 1868 it was thought that 50% of all Catholic schools were not receiving aid of any sort. (51).

Before the advent of Government aid there had been a rapid growth in the number of schools conducted by nuns, especially the Sisters of Mercy, and by the Christian Brothers. Schools in the charge of the Religious were regarded as the most efficient and were models for all Catholic managers. (52) Because they recruited vocations amongst women from a superior social background the nuns especially were considered to have a refining influence on poor children; moreover they gave their services free and were dedicated to religion, though so far they were untrained. The development of a system of poor schools under "religious" teachers, depended on two factors: whether they could be admitted to Government

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50. C.P.S.C.R., 1862

51. Op.cit., 1862

52. Catholic School, October 1850 General Report of H.M.I.Marshall, 1849; September 1851, General Report of H.M.I.Marshall, 1850, C.P.S.C.R., 1862.

grants; and whether laity, especially men, with vocations for the 'religious' life were forthcoming in sufficient numbers. However, plans for a race of 'religious' teachers received an early set back. Applications for aid on behalf of schools conducted by nuns and Christian Brothers were treated with caution by the Government, for they had to consider not only the state of public opinion but also the legal position of the Religious Orders which the Relief and Emancipation Acts had left in some doubt.

Difficulty first arose out of applications for apprenticing pupil teachers to nuns in charge of schools. (53) Since they were unpaid, the Privy Council judged that nuns were not regularly appointed mistresses and refused the applications despite the Poor School Committee claims to the contrary. It was argued that the Minutes had not been devised to help persons from the upper classes who voluntarily devoted themselves to the instruction of the poor; such persons ought to work under the superintendance of a regular and salaried teacher; in any case the Privy Council had refused consent to similar proposals by the Anglicans. (54) The Poor School Committee now represented that lodging, boarding and clothing at the expense of the Managers should be acceptable as salary. If this were not done, some of the best R.C. schools would be excluded on the grounds that no teaching could be efficient which was not paid for in cash. (55) According to the Privy Council their Minutes were not framed to encompass all modes of popular education: the very limited Parliamentary grant had

53. P.R.O. Ed.II/31, 28.4.1849 P.S.C. to P.C.C.

54. Loc.cit., 3.5.1849 P.C.C. to P.S.C.

55. Loc.cit., 7.5.1849 P.S.C. to P.C.C.

to be used with the greatest advantage to the public service. In any case payment in kind might be open to the widest interpretation and abuse.(56) Religious teachers had to be 'emphyed' before they could apply for grant.

Although the Government were anxious to find formulae for granting aid, not only was the legal position of the religious orders ambiguous, barely two years had elapsed since the political storm over the admission of Catholics to the Parliamentary grant. So the Privy Council proceeded with caution, anxious to avoid publicity, and H.M.I.Marshall was instructed to maintain a discreet silence about negotiations.

> " You will have the goodness not to communicate the contents of this and similar letters. It is their Lordships' anxious wish to co-operate with those Roman Catholics who are interested in promoting education as far as they can possibly do so without compromising important political principles. The settlement of the various questions that will inevitably arise in the extension of their Lordships' administration to a Body not previously admitted to a participation in their Lordships' Grants must necessarily be gradual and difficult. Additional embarrassment may be occasioned by the premature direction of public attention to those points on which my Lords desire to be better informed before pronouncing a definite opinion." (57)

The occasion was the application for aid on behalf of St.Mary's Sunderland, a school in the charge of the Brothers of the Presentation who might be defined as a Religious Order and therefore liable to legal penalties.

> " My Lords have been informed by the Revd. P.Kearney that the Brothers of the Presentation are not a Religious Order, in as much as they have not received a brief from the Pope. You are already aware by personal communication with Mr.Kay-Shuttleworth of the difficulties which the Committee of Council feel in regard to the recognition of members of Religious Orders as teachers in

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56. Loc.cit. 12.5.1849 P.C.C. to P.S.C.

57. P.R.O. Ed. 9/12. MS. 163 17.5.1849 Lingen to Marshall.

> elementary schools. Not the least of these difficulties is that of determining what bodies are fairly to be considered as Religious Orders and by what tests they are to be defined. Their Lordships are however of the opinion that one of the most important of these tests would be whether the members were bound by a vow publicly assumed and irrevocable by the person assuming it. I am therefore to request that you will be good enough to inform me whether the Brothers of the Presentation are under such a vow, or in what manner the Body of which they are members is constituted so as to procure for itself in common language the title of a Religious Order." (58)

The managers of every school applying for aid had to answer questions in a "Preliminary Statement" so that the Privy Council could judge whether the application came within the scope of their minutes. But it was difficult to enquire about schools conducted by 'religious' teachers without exposing them to legal penalties. (59) Finally as a result of a conference between Wiseman and the Lord President of the Council a formula was agreed upon.

> There are two points to be taken into consideration with reference to this question (viz the employment of persons in Religious Orders as Teachers in R.C.schools).
>
> 1. The mode of ascertaining the fact that such a teacher is employed without at the same time subjecting any person to the penalties sanctioned under the existing state of the law.
>
> 2. The course which Their Lordships will adopt, with regard to schools, in which such Teachers are employed.
>
> With reference to the first of these points the Lord President (after conferring with Dr.Wiseman) is of the opinion that every difficulty will be obviated if you simply enquire into the method pursued in each school, and the system of training for whatever purposes to which the schoolmaster has been previously subjected, and that these particulars will be sufficiently described and reported if the following terms be employed:
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> Method of teaching pursued in this School that followed by the Institute of Christian Doctrine (or other as the case may be). (60)

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58. Loc. cit.

59. P.R.O. Ed. 9/12 MS. 179 July 1849 Lingen to Stokes.

60. P.R.O. Ed. 9/12 MS. 171 2.7.1849 Lingen to Marshall.

So long as the Gover ment could be satisfied that schools conducted by a "religious" teacher were independent of any Religious Institution and under acceptable management, they might be admitted to grant aid.

> Their Lordships want in each case to determine whether the School had so far an existence, independent of any other Institution, and whether the Teacher was so far responsible to, and dismissible by, such Authorities as my Lords recognise in the management of elementary schools, that the School could be aided from the Parliamentary Grant consistently with the principles and precedents of their Lordships administration of that Fund.
>
> Supposing it not to appear that a given School were so situated locally as to be an appendage to a Religious House and that it were managed consistently with the requirements of the Committee of Council on Education, Their Lordships would not consider such a report, or description of the Teacher as that to which I have called your attention to be necessarily a ground for refusing assistance to the School. (61)

Nevertheless the Government made it clear to the Poor School Committee that the laity, who were contributors, should have a say in the Management of any school receiving a grant from public funds.

> so long as an elementary school for the poorer classes of Her Majesty's Roman Catholic Subjects in Great Britain is held in a situation and under management such as Their Lordships recognise, so as to have an existence under the control of the local Managers, independently of any other Institution, my Lords would be satisfied without further inquiry.
>
> I am, however, distinctly and expressly to state, that while my Lords are desirous not to restrict the terms of their administration of the Parliamentary Grant as to leave them no discretion in adapting it to the requirements of existing circumstances, yet at the same time they cannot consent to make it the means of encouraging the development of popular education, through the agency of Religious Orders as opposed to that mixed agency of the laymen and local clergy, in a given District which, in their Lordships' opinion is the only proper basis upon which to erect an educational system, dependent for its support upon the public revenue.

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61. Loc. cit.

> I am directed therefore, by the Lord President to state that in agreeing not to exclude from assistance a School (otherwise admissible), in which the local Managers may have deemed it best to appoint a teacher from among the members of a religious order not being an Ecclesiastic, without at all thereby impairing their own control, both over the Teachers and every part of the School, the Committee of Council do not pledge themselves to any extension of this principle, or to its recognition, longer than it may be found to be consistent with Their Lordships' general views, as above explained. (62)

The Christian Brothers would have nothing to do with Government aid. Managers became reluctant to make application on behalf of schools run by 'religious' teachers. Eventually the Poor School Committee asked the Privy Council to contradict reports that they found difficulty in granting aid to R.C. schools taught by "religious schoolmistresses". The Government, they were told, were guided in their decisions by the same principles they had adopted "in regard to schools taught by Masters similarly situated.": (63) it had to be shown that a school was a congregational and not a conventional institution, and that its teachers were employed by the managers and could be removed at their discretion.

The resurgence of Ultramontanism that coincided with the Oxford Movement aroused the concern of protestants who saw R.C.s as subject to an alien power, because they deferred to the Papal authority; and the restoration of the Hierarchy in 1850 was regarded as a Papal Aggression. The anxiety of the Government was reflected in the careful directions that were issued regarding every application on behalf of a school run by 'religious teachers'.

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62. P.R.O. Ed. 9/12 MS.179, July 1849, Lingen to Stokes.

63. P.R.O. Ed. 9/12 MS.194, 7.11.1849 P.S.C. to C.P.S.C.

> "In the case of female Religious Teachers: (1) if the site not conventual property; (2) if managers not conventual persons - no objection need be taken, when this has been ascertained (by reference to H.M.I.) even although Teachers manifestly in Religious Orders. (Of course there might be limits, if the Orders were pressed extravagantly into the foreground, and if it appeared that the school was worked as an instrument of the Order, not the Order of the School). But in all cases of male Religious Teachers, when it appears refer carefully to me R.R.W.L." (64)

The spread of male 'religious' teachers was not encouraged by the Government and the schools of the Christian Brothers never entered the Privy Council system; at the same time the work of the nuns increased and their schools received Government aid. Meanwhile the Poor School Committee persisted in their aims. In 1852 they declared that "Catholics must never rest satisfied until all their schools are conducted by religious teachers; and every institution undertaken for the supply of schoolmasters and schoolmistresses ought to be based upon th s principle." (65) In that year Hammersmith Training School was founded for training "religious" schoolmasters and the Poor School Committee went so far as to publish terms on which 'Brothers' could be obtained by school managers.(66) But on the Committee's own admission it was apparent by 1854 that vocations were not forthcoming and that the venture had manifestly failed.

> "So rare is the disposition in the male sex among us to accept the obligations of a religious rule, that up to Christmas 1854 the productiveness of St.Mary's Brook Green, had been negatived by imposing the acceptance of such a religious rule as a condition for becoming a schoolmaster." (67)

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64. P.R.O. Ed.9/4 MS. Minute book of the Secretary of the Committee of Council: p.5, 26.3.1851; p.7, 14.4.1851. R.R.W.L.: P.R.W. Lingen.

65. C.P.S.C.R. 1852.

66. Loc.cit.

67. C.P.S.C.R. 1854.

H.M.I.Marshall's comments were more forthright.

> " It is doubtful whether more than 8 or 9,000 children are in the inspected or uninspected schools of the "religious" teachers. That leaves 2/3 of the girls, and 9/10 of the boys in the hands of the secular teachers." (Regarding the supply of duly trained teachers for these) "Few persons seem to have thought the subject worthy of their attention. They have another order of teachers in their minds. Some felt but a lukewarm interest in the matter which they deemed relatively of inferior importance; others, and they not the least zealous or influential, distinctly and emphatically repudiated any interest in it whatsoever. I think this was a grave mistake, and one which has been attended with very lamentable consequences, which call loudly for a remedy. All admit that our children must be taught; and it really seems a kind of puerility to abandon them without effort to any sort of teachers whatever, because you cannot procure others whom, for excellent reasons you would prefer to employ." (68)

Valuable time had been lost.

At the suggestion of Dr. Manning (69) a lay department was eventually opened at Hammersmith in 1854, (70) and by 1856 two lay training schools for women were established, one under the Notre Dame nuns at Mount Pleasant, Liverpool, the other under the Holy Child nuns at St.Leonard's-on-Sea. The Poor School Committee now claimed facilities for training 200 teachers. (71) By 1863 Hammersmith had supplied 102 men, while 183 women had trained at Liverpool and 85 at St.Leonard's: the output of trained women exceeded that of men by more than two to one. Moreover the girls were better prepared: 120 had gained first class certificates compared with 30 boys. (72) The Poor School Committee attributed the better

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68. General Report of H.M.I.Marshall for 1854.

69. Later Cardinal Manning.

70. C.P.S.C.Minutes, 17.10.1854.

71. C.P.S.C.R. 1854 and 1856.

72. C.P.S.C.R. 1863.

supply of women teachers to the expanding work of the communities of nuns and to the superior training received by pupil teachers in their schools. The fact that male pupil teachers had no 'religious' in charge of them and that many failed to gain a place at Hammersmith through lack of religious instruction during their apprenticeship were the reasons adduced for the poor supply of men teachers. The real causes, however, were the poverty of parents which discouraged boys from staying on and the continuing shortage of qualified staff that inevitably depressed the already low standards of the boys' schools.

The Revised Code of 1863 lowered the status of teachers, affected adversely the work of the Training Schools of all denominations and raised the size of classes generally. The growth in supply of Catholic women teachers was halted by the withdrawal of St. Leonard's from inspection, while the supply of men from Hammersmith diminished year by year. (73) Nevertheless in 20 years a total of 600 teachers had been trained. (74) The efficiency of the schools depended on them and a large proportion of the Privy Council grant could not have been obtained without them.

It was Charles Langdale who suggested to the Bishops that ecclesiastical inspection of schools should be introduced. He had two objects in view: to help produce 'religious' teachers; and to counter-balance the emphasis that had been placed on secular studies by the need

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73. C.P.S.C.R. 1866; C.P.S.C. Minutes 21.4.1868.

74. C.P.S.C.R. 1867.

to earn the Government grant. Every scholar who intended teaching was to be awarded a prize if he achieved proficiency in Religious Knowledge so "proving himself morally fitted for the office, and prevent(ing) the unworthy from obtaining so serious a trust." (75) At the Synod of Oscott in 1852 the Bishops duly announced their resolve to appoint Diocesan Inspectors of schools "specially charged to examine into the religious portion of education". (76) By 1855, however, nothing had been done and the lay department was already open at Hammersmith. Langdale appealed once more for a Religious examination to counterbalance the effect of Government inspection which would be

> "prejudicial to the estimation in which religious subjects are held in such schools, and therefore to the religious spirit of the school itself."
>
> "Should this view of the dangerous influences attending Government inspection be correct, the next question which arises is whether any and what counteracting influence can be exerted to give religion the pre-eminence which it ought to have in the minds of our children generally, and especially in the estimation of the apprenticed pupil teachers, the probable future instructors of the Catholic youth of the country." (77)

The Poor School Committee even offered to defray the expenses of the ecclesiastical inspectors. Finally a scheme of religious examination for pupil teachers and others was prepared by Bishop Brown and Dr.Manning and put into operation with the approval of the Hierarchy.(78) But progress was slow and by 1868 ecclesiastical inspection was established in only eight out of fifteen dioceses. (79)

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75. C.P.S.C.R. 1854.
76. C.P.S.C.R. 1852.
77. Tablet Feb.19th 1870, p.232. Correspondence of T.W.Allies.
78. C.P.S.C.R. 1856.
79. Tablet, loc.cit.

The task which the Poor School Committee had undertaken in 1847 was fourfold. As the official representatives of the Bishops they were in constant communication with the Government over the settlement of questions arising from the extension of Privy Council aid to Catholics. They helped to buildand support poor schools and encouraged managers to apply for Government grants. In order to raise standards in the schools and to enable them to earn grants, they supported the training of teachers. Finally they strove to ensure that in the efforts to improve the secular side of education its religious side was not neglected. They were the most effective central committee that Catholics had ever had, though lack of complementary organisation in the dioceses enfeebled much of their effort. Their income never averaged much over £5,000 a year and in 20 years totalled only £109,000, yet as a result of their work £407,000 was received from the Privy Council during the same period. (80)

Considering the great problems of expansion faced by the English Catholic church and the deep poverty of its people Government aid had come at the right time and it is hard to see how a lasting system of Catholic elementary schools could have been established without its acceptance. It was the work of the Poor School Committee that in large measure made this possible.

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80. C.P.S.C.R. 1867.