

**‘MIDDLE-ENGLAND DIOCESE,
MIDDLE-ENGLAND CATHOLOICISM’**

The Development of the Roman Catholic

Diocese of Nottingham

1850-1915

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ABSTRACT

The thesis aims to chart the development of the Diocese of Nottingham from 1850 to 1915, and through a comparison with the historiography of the period, to show how far it correlates with the accepted norms of nineteenth and early twentieth century Catholic development. Methodologically, the thesis aims to pioneer an in-depth integrated study on the development of the Diocese of Nottingham from 1850 to 1915, a largely unstudied area as far as Catholics and Catholicism is concerned. The period studied commences with the Restoration of the Hierarchy, (1850), and terminates with the resignation of Bishop Brindle in 1915. There is a unity in the period chosen as it encompasses the Episcopacies of one Diocesan Administrator, Bishop William Bernard Ullathorne (1850-1, who was concurrently Bishop of Birmingham), and Bishop Joseph William Hendren, (1851-3), Bishop Richard Roskell (1853-74), Bishop Edward Bagshawe (1874-1901), and Bishop Robert Brindle (1901-15).

While the thesis addresses the way the Bishops tackled the problems they faced on taking up their appointments, as well as the ways in which they dealt with the demands placed upon them by Westminster, the emphasis is on the broader Catholic community and the way it evolved. This is dealt with through a wide-ranging analysis which locates local developments within a national framework. While each chapter has a dominant focus for organisational reasons, the thesis aims is to show how matters inter-related, and subsequently affected the Diocese's developmental path. The overall outline of the Diocese's historical background between 1850 and 1915, is described through a study of the characteristics, aims and methods used by Bishop Ullathorne, and the Bishops of Nottingham, in their attempts to turn the Diocese of Nottingham from a

concept on paper in 1850, to being an important part of the cultural, social and religious landscape of the East Midlands by 1915. Succeeding chapters deal with ultramontanist and how it was uniquely interpreted locally, defining who comprised the local Catholic community, the evolution of a Diocesan political ethos, education, and anti-Catholicism: the latter may be seen as perhaps the example *par excellence* of the need for integrated studies.

The primary sources used in this thesis bring new perspectives to the study of nineteenth century Catholicism, and their use greatly extends our knowledge and understanding of the period. This is especially true as they have not been applied before to an understanding of the Nottingham Diocese. Use has been made of around 80 newspapers (daily, twice weekly and weekly) and monthly magazines, both Catholic and Protestant, published across the Diocese, as well as national publications. In several cases, as in Nottingham and Leicester, their attitudes varied from being anti- to pro-Catholic, which meant a greater degree of balance in the understanding of events. Use was also made of newly available papers from the De Lisle, Gainsborough, and Howard families that have not been used before. Other material was personally collected from the descendants of nineteenth century families. In addition to papers from the Orders' Archives, the Westminster and Birmingham Arch-Diocesan Archives, the Vatican and other Diocesan Archives have been consulted, such as those at Northampton, Salford and Leeds. The Nottingham Archives provided material that has not been used before, including the extant papers of Bishops Ullathorne, Hendren, Roskell, Bagshawe, Brindle, and Dunn. Access was given to extracts from the Chapter Minutes and newly deposited material from priests who were active in the period.

As well as explaining how the Nottingham Diocese developed between 1850 and 1915, the thesis deals with the differences noted locally between 'Catholicism' and

‘Catholic’. Attempts are made to explain the dichotomy noted; namely that while ‘Catholicism’ entailed hatred and led to anti-Catholicism, individual ‘Catholics’ were frequently admired and respected.

The thesis will make an important contribution to our knowledge in a number of ways. Fundamentally, it is the only macro-diocesan study of its type. The newly available content will provide an increased data base for studies of nineteenth-century Catholicism. By synthesising the information, localised trends have been established which are compared to, or used to correct, generalisations portrayed in the historiography of secondary literature that currently exists. The newly available information can also be used to test some of the hypotheses used regarding Catholics. The structure of the thesis will hopefully lay down a model for further Diocesan studies.

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I wish to place on record the help given in writing this thesis by many people. I would like to thank the Archivists from the various Catholic Dioceses of Britain who made resources available, as well as fellow members of the Catholic Archives Society of Great Britain and Ireland, who made useful suggestions. In particular I wish to thank Canon Anthony Dolan, Archivist of the Diocese of Nottingham, for his criticisms and deep knowledge of Diocesan affairs. This has been of invaluable help. Also, I wish to thank the many Archivists and Librarians, including Brother Jonathan from Mount Saint Bernard's Abbey, those of the various Orders, the Librarians at the Catholic Central Library, and those of the numerous Public Libraries consulted. Invaluable help was also given from Squire De Lisle, and the Archivists from Sheffield and Nottingham City Archives. I also appreciate the help given by the Staff of the British Library, Colindale, and various University Libraries.

Much valuable information was given by descendants of nineteenth century Catholics who kindly made available hitherto unused material. I thank them for their patience.

Last, but not least, I wish to thank my wife, Gill, for the support given throughout the time spent writing this thesis, and without which, none of this would have been possible.

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ABBREVIATIONS

<i>AC</i>	Ashbourne Chronicle
<i>ABD</i>	Archdiocese of Birmingham
<i>AHR</i>	America History Review
<i>AWN</i>	Alfreton Weekly News
<i>BA</i>	Bakewell Advertiser
<i>BHJ</i>	Birmingham Historical Journal
<i>BICHS</i>	Bulletin of the International Committee of Historical Science
<i>BLH</i>	Bulletin of Local History
<i>CE</i>	Catholic Educator
<i>CH</i>	Catholic Herald
<i>ChH</i>	Church History
<i>CHR</i>	Catholic History Review
<i>ClRev</i>	Clergy Review
<i>CN</i>	Catholic News
<i>CO</i>	Catholic Opinion
<i>CPIT</i>	Codnor Park and Ironville Telegraph
<i>CR</i>	Contemporary Review
<i>CS</i>	Catholic Standard
<i>CTS</i>	Catholic Truth Society
<i>CYMS</i>	Catholic Young Men's Society
<i>DTimes</i>	Derbyshire Times
<i>DCR</i>	Derby County Record Office, Matlock
<i>DCR</i>	Derby and Chesterfield Reporter
<i>DCS</i>	Archives of the Dominican Convent, Stone
<i>DFB</i>	Archives of the Franciscans.
<i>DM</i>	Derby Mercury
<i>DPF</i>	Deceased Priests' Files, Nottingham Diocesan Archives
<i>DR</i>	Downside Review
<i>DRO</i>	Derby Record Office
<i>DT</i>	Derby Telegraph
<i>EHR</i>	Economic History Review
<i>EYLHS</i>	East Yorkshire Local History Society
<i>GA</i>	Glossop Advertiser
<i>GJ</i>	Grantham Journal
<i>GPL</i>	Grantham Public Library
<i>CSI</i>	Bulletin of the Geography Society of Ireland
<i>GT</i>	Glossop Times
<i>H</i>	History
<i>HibJ</i>	Hibbert Journal
<i>HJ</i>	History Journal
<i>HPN</i>	High Peak News
<i>HT</i>	History Today
<i>IHS</i>	Irish Historical Studies
<i>JEAH</i>	Journal of Education Administration and History
<i>JEH</i>	Journal of Ecclesiastical History
<i>JTH</i>	Journal of Transport History

<i>L and N</i>	Letters and Notices (Jesuit)
<i>L Mon</i>	Loughborough Monitor
<i>LDA</i>	Leeds Diocesan Archives
<i>LDP</i>	Leicester Daily Post
<i>Leics A</i>	Leicester Advertiser
<i>Leics Ch</i>	Leicester Chronicle
<i>Leics G</i>	Leicester Guardian
<i>Leics Mail</i>	Leicester Mail
<i>Leics N</i>	Leicester News
<i>Lincs Ch</i>	Lincolnshire Chronicle
<i>LJ</i>	Leicester Journal
<i>LM</i>	Leicester Mercury
<i>LN</i>	Loughborough News
<i>LNLA</i>	Louth and North Lincolnshire Advertiser
<i>LPL</i>	Lincoln Public Library
<i>LR</i>	London Recusant
<i>MCH</i>	Midlands Catholic History
<i>MH</i>	Midlands History
<i>MSBAA</i>	Mount Saint Bernard's Abbey Archive
<i>NMag</i>	Nottingham Catholic Magazine
<i>NRab</i>	Nottingham Rainbow
<i>NA</i>	Newark Advertiser
<i>NatR</i>	National Review
<i>NCH</i>	Northern Catholic History
<i>NCL</i>	Nottingham Central library
<i>NDA</i>	Nottingham Diocesan Archives
<i>NDE</i>	Nottingham (and North Midlands) Daily Express
<i>NH</i>	Newark Herald
<i>NJ</i>	Nottingham Journal
<i>NM</i>	Nottingham Mercury
<i>NoDA</i>	Northampton Diocesan Archives
<i>NoH</i>	Northern History
<i>NPP</i>	Northampton Past and Present
<i>PP</i>	Parliamentary Papers
<i>PRO</i>	Public Record Office now the National Archive
<i>QH</i>	Quenby Hall
<i>RAR</i>	Rosminian Archives Ratcliffe
<i>RH</i>	Recusant History
<i>RPL</i>	Retford Public library
<i>RVB</i>	Religion in Victorian Britain
<i>SCA</i>	Sheffield City Archives
<i>SCH</i>	Studies in Church History
<i>SH</i>	Southern History
<i>SJMS</i>	Jesuit Archives, Mount Street London.
<i>SM</i>	Stamford Mercury
<i>SMCB</i>	Sisters of Mercy Archives, Birmingham
<i>ST</i>	Sunday Times

<i>THSLC</i>	Transactions of the Historical Society of Lancashire and Cheshire
<i>TRHS</i>	Transactions of the Royal Historical Society
<i>TTS</i>	Transactions of the Thoroton Society
<i>Ven</i>	The Venerable
<i>VS</i>	Victorian Studies
<i>WDA</i>	Westminster Arch-Diocesan Archives

CHAPTER ONE
‘IN THE BEGINNING..’

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Supporting Information

Refer to *Appendix A*

1.1 Introduction

The aim of this thesis is to examine the way Roman Catholicism developed in the Diocese of Nottingham from the Restoration of the Hierarchy in 1850 to the outbreak of World War One, and in so doing, to place it within the national context. Methodologically, the thesis aims to move the intellectual debate over the writing of diocesan histories from overviews, thematic approaches and unscholarly antiquarian accounts, to a fully integrated diocesan analysis which can be used as a model, so enabling effective comparisons with other dioceses to be made.

This focus is important for two fundamental reasons. First, the diocese and not the parish is the main administrative and governmental unit for the Catholic Church.¹ The thesis therefore, is centred on the core unit of regional Catholicism. Secondly, there is a shortage of adequate diocesan studies. Such accounts as Bolton's *Salford*, Carson's *Middlesborough* and Harding's *Clifton*, for example, concentrate on giving factual accounts of people, notably their bishops, parishes and major events, rather than integrating them to explain the uniqueness, or otherwise, of their diocese's development.² There is, therefore, a large gap in the available literature which this thesis aims to help fill.

Chapter One concerns the nature of the available secondary literature. Through surveying it, certain themes are subsequently raised and delineated prior to being analysed in relation to the Nottingham Diocese, 1850-1915. Chapters Two and Three

¹ M. Sweeney, 'Diocesan Organisation and Administration', in G. Beck, ed. *The English Catholics 1850-1950*, (London, 1950), p. 120.

² G. Bolton, *Salford Diocese and its Catholic Past* (Salford, 1950), R. Carson, *The First Hundred Years A History of the Diocese of Middlesborough* (Middlesborough, 1987), J. Harding, *The Diocese of Clifton 1850-2000* (Bristol, 2000). To this could be added E. Abbott, *A History of the Diocese of Shrewsbury 1850-1966* (Shrewsbury, 1966), and P. Lance, *The Returning Tide: Northampton Diocese 1850-2000* (Northampton, 2000). In recent years two area studies, not dioceses, have been published, which do in some measure, attempt to integrate material. They are A. Parkinson, *A History of Catholicism in the Furness Peninsula 1127-1997* (Lancaster, 1998), and J. Rockett, *Held in Trust*

chart the path of the Nottingham Diocese chronologically, through a study of the characteristics, aims, and methods, used by the individual bishops. This will show the degree to which the Nottingham Diocese did, or did not, conform to the demands of Cardinals Wiseman, Manning, Vaughan and Bourne, Archbishops of Westminster 1850-1915. Succeeding Chapters deal with the themes raised in Chapter One, namely, the social composition of the Nottingham Diocese, politics, education, and anti-Catholicism. Through their detailed analysis and contextual referencing, it will be possible to assess the degree to which the Nottingham Diocese conformed to the orthodox picture of Catholic development 1850-1915. Chapter Eight offers a conclusion.

The primary sources used in this thesis bring new perspectives to the study of nineteenth-century Catholicism. Of particular importance has been the evidence gleaned from 70 daily, twice weekly and weekly newspapers published across the diocese 1850-1915, covering Derbyshire, Leicestershire, Lincolnshire, Nottinghamshire and Rutland. The period 1850-1915 witnessed a considerable growth in the press, brought about, according to Fowler, by “an increasing literary population with a thirst for news, secondly new steam driven presses, and lastly the abolition of stamp duties on newspapers in 1855”.³ Growth was not confined to the London-based national press, though the period witnessed the emergence of new titles such as the *Daily Telegraph*; the provincial press also flourished. Wilson notes that the number of provincial cities with daily papers rose from 16 in 1868 to 70 in 1900; Nottingham, Leicester and Loughborough, for example, each had three by the mid-1880s.⁴

(London, 2001).

³ S. Fowler, ‘Newspapers’ in R. Blatchford ed., *The Genealogical Services Directory* (London, 2000) p. 19.

⁴ C. Wilson, *First With the News* (London, 1985). As the historian to W. H. Smiths, he also notes the role such companies as these played in expanding the market for papers.

A further development was the way illustrations were being used, both in the more intellectual press, such as *Punch* with its anti-Catholic cartoons, and weeklies such as *Tit-Bits* which was deliberately aimed at the working man. Meanwhile, the *Daily Mail* which first appeared in 1898 and had a circulation exceeding one million, also used illustrations. In the provincial papers covering the Diocese of Nottingham, illustrations were not a common feature of the period 1850-1915. Those that were included frequently related to some royal event, funeral, or, as far as Catholicism was concerned, were an engraving of a new Church and accompanied a report, often anti-Catholic, on its opening.⁵

The press, both national and provincial, played a prominent role in the religious debates of the period 1850-1915. However, it is important to realise that the wide-scale and frequent reporting of events involving anything Catholic in the provincial and national press was out of proportion to the numbers of Catholics in England and Wales: they numbered 4% of the population nationally, and only 2% of the Nottingham diocesan civil population. Such a level of reporting perhaps reveals Victorian society's deep anxiety concerning the potential influence of Catholicism. Topics debated included the Restoration of the Hierarchy (1850), changes in the position of the Established, Anglican Church, especially 1868-9 when Gladstone introduced the Disestablishment of the Church in Ireland Act, biblical criticism and disputes evolving from the publication of *Essays and reviews* (1861), and the role of the Churches in general as secularisation increased. Matsumoto-Best, for example, notes how public opinion was shaped by the press during the Papal Aggression crisis, by quoting how the

⁵ Reports for example in December 1860-January 1861 on the death of Prince Albert, or the September 1844 opening of St. Barnabas' Church, Nottingham. Even then the press stressed the importance of Pugin.

Northern Star “detailed people’s enthusiasm for the no-popery movement”.⁶ Gerard Parsons develops the idea of the press influencing religious opinions by referring to the work of Scott and Billington, who observed that the press up to around 1870 “tended to focus directly and exclusively upon religious issues, [but that subsequently] a new style of religious journalism developed...which sought to combine religious news, commentary on secular news and affairs, devotional items, and entertainment”. Parsons concludes that the effects of such changes in press coverage was to blur “the distinction between the religious and the secular”, developments to which people like Bagshawe continually objected.⁷

Three aspects of provincial newspaper reporting need considering as they demonstrate how religious issues were portrayed in the Diocese of Nottingham: namely the areas of circulation of each paper, a paper’s stance or affinity regarding religious issues, and variations in the way Catholic, and in particular anti-Catholic events were reported. Firstly, there were considerable variations in the size of the areas covered by the individual papers. Major local papers like the *Nottingham Daily Express*, the *Lincolnshire Chronicle*, and the *Leicester Chronicle*, had a circulation beyond the areas indicated by their titles, thus widening the reportage of Catholic events and issues. While these papers were published throughout the period, by contrast there were some short-lived more localised papers like the *Codnor Park and Ironville Telegraph* of the 1860s which covered areas of known Catholic populations, and whose demise may mean that some Catholic events went unreported. Secondly, as Matthews notes,

⁶ S. Matsumoto-Best, *Britain and the Papacy in the Age of Revolution 1846-1851* (Woodbridge, 2003) pp. 147-150.

⁷ G. Parsons ed., ‘Controversies’ in *Religion in Victorian Britain* vol.2 (Manchester, 1988), pp. 12-3. He quotes L. Billington, ‘The Religious Periodical and newspaper press 1770-1870’ in M. Harris and A. Lees eds., *The Press in English Society from the Seventeenth to the Nineteenth Centuries* (America, 1986), and P. Scott ‘Victorian religious periodicals: fragments that remain’ in D. Baker ed. *Materials, Sources and Methods of Ecclesiastical History* (Oxford, 1975) pp. 325-39.

provincial papers covering the Diocese of Nottingham espoused a variety of attitudes towards the different Churches.⁸ The *Nottingham Journal*, *Grantham Journal*, and the *Loughborough Monitor*, for example, were anti-Catholic. The *Lincolnshire Chronicle* supported the Anglican Church, but with the exception of comments regarding the behaviour of Irish farm labourers, was not overtly anti-Catholic. Meanwhile the *High Peak News* had an unbalanced coverage of Derbyshire religious events. Having declared that the paper “would make a special feature of local news”, Catholic events around Hadfield were well documented, but around Matlock, due to a dispute between the paper’s owners and several local dignitaries, reportage was confined to those of the Wesleyan Methodists.⁹ Thirdly, the degree of detail of Catholic events portrayed in the provincial press varied over time. In the later part of the period, generalised phrases such as “a meeting of...” or “a series of lectures” became more common place.¹⁰ There were very few Catholic provincial papers, although Liverpool had its *Herald* and from 1907 Nottingham and Leicester were served by the local *Midlands Catholic Herald*. Bearing these factors in mind, the local papers are an invaluable source, especially considering the paucity of detail concerning the Catholic Church to be found in the Nottingham Diocesan Archives. However, the Nottingham Archives did provide material that has not been used before, including the few extant papers of Bishops Hendren, Roskell, Bagshawe, Brindle and Dunn. Access was also given to Chapter Books and newly deposited material from priests who were active in this period.

Use was also made of newly available papers from the De Lisle, Gainsborough and Howard families, in addition to papers from the Orders’ archives, Westminster and Birmingham Archdiocesan Archives and the Vatican. Many other diocesan archives

⁸ J. Matthews, *Rev. Amos B. Matthews, Victorian Methodist Traveller* (Hanley Swan, 1992)

⁹ *Ibid* p. 62.

have been consulted, including those at Northampton and Leeds. Other material on family life was personally collected from descendants of nineteenth century diocesan families. Whilst these sources have resulted in valuable and hitherto unused material being released, they have in their wake created problems. The key problems of reduction and selection of examples and trends has been a major concern. A more difficult set of problems has been created when comparisons with other dioceses have been attempted. Apart from the physical problem of travel, finding comparisons when few other diocesan histories of equal extent exist, has meant that a degree of conjecture has been necessary.

1.2 Literature and Themes

The writers of Catholic history, 1850-1915, are immediately confronted with problems concerning the quality of the available literature. Because of the limitations of the secondary literature, it is necessary to give the reader a note concerning its nature. Such an analysis outlines the major, literature-based themes of Catholic development, 1850-1915. The themes are then delineated in relation to the Diocese of Nottingham, prior to their development in this thesis.

Broadly the literature is of four types, comprising firstly, overviews; secondly, specific studies on persons, especially bishops, or themes like 'The Irish'; thirdly, at a local level, many parish histories, often compiled by interested amateurs and characterised by their anecdotal, unscholarly methodologies, being usually collections of details rather than a formal analysis; and fourthly, Catholic history-writing which is

¹⁰ See *Appendix H* for examples.

plagued by the eulogies of partisan writers, often relatives, and which stresses the good rather than analysing the detail.¹¹

The first category mentioned above, overviews, such as those of, or edited by Norman, Beck, McClelland, Swift and Gilley and Parsons, deal with the period thematically rather than concentrating on the individual diocesan situation, albeit from different perspectives.¹² Norman and Parsons write from non-Catholic perspectives while Beck, McClelland, Swift and Gilley are Catholics. Norman deals well with anti-Catholicism.¹³ Bishop Beck's aim is to show Catholic progress and successes, but he is circumspect enough to admit there are deficiencies and weaknesses in the Catholic literature upon which his overview is based.¹⁴ McClelland, writing fifty years later, is more pro-Catholic, publishing his book "in memory of Cardinal Wiseman".¹⁵ He raises problems about the whole period 1850-2000 but accepts the fundamental value of Beck's work. Others, such as Parsons and the Anglican Chadwick, endeavour to place Roman Catholicism within the general religious landscape where, noting that Catholics were a small minority of the population, it receives less than adequate attention.¹⁶ Some over-view writers are noticeably partisan. Holmes' *More Roman Than Rome*, for example, places too great an emphasis on Catholic triumphalism and the effects of the

¹¹ One of the most useful studies on a bishop is F. Raphael, *The Life and Letters of Archbishop Ullathorne* (London, 1892). One that is often condemned for its inaccuracy is E. Purcell, *Life of Cardinal Manning* 2 vols. (London, 1896). G. Ramsay, *Thomas Grant, First Bishop of Southwark* (London, 1886 edition) is a good example of one that is short on analysis. Virtually all the secondary literature on the Nottingham Diocese is parish histories.

¹² E. Norman, *Roman Catholicism in England from the Elizabethan Settlement to the Second Vatican Council* (Oxford, 1985). G. Beck, ed., *The English Catholics 1850-1950* (London, 1950). A. McClelland and M. Hodgetts, eds., *From Without the Flaminian Gate* (London, 1999). R. Swift and S. Gilley, eds. *The Irish in Victorian Britain* (Dublin, 1999), and G. Parsons, ed. *Religion in Victorian Britain*, vols. 1-5 (Manchester, 1988).

¹³ E. Norman, *Anti-Catholicism in Victorian England*, the theme of the whole book.

¹⁴ G. Beck, *English Catholic Community* pp. vii-ix.

¹⁵ V. McClelland, *Flaminian Gate* pp. xi-xiv.

¹⁶ O. Chadwick, *The Victorian Church* 2 vols. (London, 1966): vol. 2 pp. 401-422 is the small section devoted to some aspects of Catholicism.

Hierarchy without dealing with the subject in the grass roots context.¹⁷ M. Roskell, a Dominican nun, deals with her relative, Bishop Amherst of Northampton, in a similar vein.¹⁸

Neither are the gaps in our knowledge adequately filled by the second and third classes of literature, the many micro-studies by historians such as Arnstein, Neal, Machin, and Lowe.¹⁹ Their coverage of Catholicism is patchy and uneven, but they do provide in-depth studies of key issues, and point the way to the need for further such research. These detailed studies on such diverse topics as the Irish, processions, and outbreaks of anti-Catholic agitation, vital as they are, illuminate specific points, dealing with particular controversies but do not, by their very nature, fully contextualise the diocesan situation. From the point of view of thesis writing, they are an invaluable source of detailed information providing both pointers, and, on occasions, examples of comparative data. A corresponding weakness, however, is that invariably no detailed references are made to the Nottingham Diocese.²⁰

The local amateur writing, fulfils a general interest among parishioners for information on their locality. Often it is surprisingly accurate, because authors' inaccuracies can arouse local passions and controversies. Also, being factual, the notes are usually rooted in many local artefacts and sources unknown to writers of overviews. They thus provide a valuable resource for more detailed analysis.

¹⁷ For Criticism of one Catholic author by another. See G. Connolly, 'The Transubstantiation of a Myth: Towards a new Popular History of Roman Catholics in England', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* vol. 35 no. 1 (1978), pp. 78-107, as on p. 78.

¹⁸ M. Roskell, *Memoirs of Francis Kerril Amherst, Lord Bishop of Northampton* (Woodbridge, 1903)

¹⁹ Examples of the micro-studies are W. Arnstein, 'The Murphy Riots: A Victorian Dilemma', *Victorian Studies* Spring vol. XIX Spring (1975), pp. 51-71. G. Machin, 'The Liberal Government and the Eucharistic Procession of 1908', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* vol. 34 no. 4 (1983) pp. 559-583. F. Neal, 'The Birkenhead Garibaldi Riots of 1862', *Transactions of the Historical Society of Lancashire and Cheshire* vol. 131 (1982), pp. 87-111, W. Lowe, 'Lancashire Fenianism', *Transactions of the Historical Society of Lancashire and Cheshire* vol. 126 (1976) pp. 156-183.

²⁰ A good example of this phenomenon is shown by K. Aspden's, *Fortress Church* (Leominster, 2002) about Catholic Bishops from 1903-63 in which no reference is made to Nottingham's Bishop Brindle

The deficiencies in the literature are such that an overview of the main problems faced by the Catholic Church after the Restoration of the Hierarchy in 1850, will put what follows in the main body of the thesis into context. This thesis contends that the reader must be cognisant of three salient concepts in order to comprehend developments 1850-1915, namely, the nature of the Church's authority, that Catholicism 1850-1915 was in a state of change, and that Catholic progress was directed/controlled by, or a reaction to, ultramontanism. Wright notes "there was an ideal view of what the world should look like -its morals, its structures, its aspirations- but then there was also the reality".²¹ Philosopher-theologians call the ideal, the thesis. Catholic theologians however, were aware of the differences between the thesis and the real-world situation. The Catholic Church through its executive arm, the Papacy, had to find ways of implementing the ideal without compromising its integrity: this action is called the hypothesis. However, whilst the Catholic Church might find herself in a changing situation, its teachings remained constant. This was made clear in the apostolic letter *Testem Benevolentia* (1899).

First, the theoretical basis of the Catholic Church's authority. At every Mass Catholics are reminded that they are members of "the one holy catholic and Apostolic Church".²² Turning this theoretical ideal into a practical reality required the creation and maintenance of a central authority which could legitimately demonstrate (at least in the eyes of its believers) that it was the holder of the Truth, while simultaneously establishing an infrastructure capable of commanding the allegiance and respect of its adherents. The Catholic Church has always believed that it is the descendant of Christ's original Church, and by tradition the first pope was St. Peter. In the way that the

²¹ (1901-15), who was a controversial figure.
²¹ J. Wright, *The Jesuits* (2004) p. 250.

Apostles met to appoint Matthias in succession to Judas, so the Church has chosen successive popes and bishops. This is known as Apostolic Succession. The Church bases its authority on the Bible, the concept of Apostolic Succession, and biblical interpretation according to those scholars approved of by the Church. In this way the Catholic Church regards herself as the keeper of the Truth. Pius X in his Papal Encyclical *Il Fermo Proposito* in 1905 made both the position of the laity and how they were to act, crystal clear when he stated “ The Church is by its nature an unequal society; it comprises two categories of person, the pastor and the flocks...the duty of the multitude is to suffer itself to be governed and to carry out in a submissive spirit the orders of those in control”.²³ It therefore follows that all those people who question the authority of the Catholic Church need to show errors in the Church’s history and actions: put simply, internal divisions in the Church such as those of the Modernists, and external protests including anti-Catholicism, were the embodiment of attacks on the authority of the Church. These are dealt with in the thesis

A second theoretical underpinning of the way Catholicism developed during the period 1850-1915 concerns the nature and exercising of papal authority: the temporal-spiritual debate. Around 1850, in theory it was thought a truly independent Church able to give judgements on a purely spiritual basis required its own lands and wealth so that no external political or other influences could affect or limit its judgements. However, as Duffy notes, by the 1870s the reverse was the case: the Papacy had increased its authority and remained independent, yet lost most of its territories.²⁴ Two extreme positions mark out the problem. Given the troubled history of the Papacy, especially during the period 1846-51 and the intervention of the French and Austrian governments

²² Taken from the Profession of Faith found in a Mass Book.

²³ Quoted by K. Aspden, *Fortress Church* pp. 4-5.

in Papal affairs, there were those, mainly Italian Cardinals, who wanted the Pope to be the head of an independent kingdom. Others, such as Antonio Rosmini, stressed that the Pope was a spiritual leader whose authority rested on the way the Church interpreted the teachings of Christ (the first theoretical point made). Several major Catholics such as Manning changed their opinions over this matter, having first supported the idea of the pope retaining ownership of the Papal states. However, despite the loss of the Papal States in the 1860s and Italy becoming a secular, united country, Manning noted that the power and influence of the Papacy did not decline, but rather, as in Britain, it grew: the Declaration of Papal Infallibility (1870) was *the* expression of the idea that the power Papacy is spiritually rather than temporally, based.²⁵ The part played by the Nottingham Diocese will form part of the thesis.

Thirdly, the changed position of the Catholic Church in Britain 1850-1915 needs to be explained and analysed. Following the Reformation the Anglican Church became the Church by law established; the Catholic Church became proscribed and its adherents punished. The Catholic Church became a secretive institution, largely operating away from public gaze. By 1850 the Catholic Church was still one of introspection and subject to the laws of a Protestant State, yet by 1915 it was found nation-wide, operating openly with more members than the Anglican Church.

A conjunction of four events, namely the Restoration, Papal Aggression, and the Civil and Religious Censuses of 1851, provides the baseline from which to demonstrate changes.²⁶ Restoration abolished the existing eight Districts into which England and

²⁴ E. Duffy, *Saints and Sinners: A History of the Popes* (Yale, 1997). Chapter 5.

²⁵ An historical perspective on this issue is in J. Snead-Cox, *The Life of Cardinal Manning* 2 vols. (London, 1910). A more modern collection of essays dealing with Manning and this issue is in *Recusant History* vol. 21 no. 2 (October, 1992) which is devoted entirely to the Cardinal.

²⁶ There was also an Education Census. As well as the questions on religious attendance, there were others relating to the local schools, but either they were not answered, or the replies have since been lost. See J. Smith, 'Education, Society and Literacy: Nottinghamshire in the Mid-Nineteenth Century',

Wales had been divided and nominally ruled by Vicars-Apostolic, replacing them with thirteen dioceses, each governed by a bishop.²⁷ By 1915 these were further subdivided into sixteen dioceses, ruled by twelve bishops, three archbishops and one cardinal, who was also an archbishop. England and Wales were formed into three Provinces and the Hierarchy was restored in Scotland. These movements alone produced changes in Catholicism, not least the relocation of sees and the creation of cathedrals.²⁸ Parallel with this expansion were local changes such as church closures and amalgamations as demographic and economic circumstances fluctuated.²⁹ On this issue there are clear limitations in the literature especially for the Nottingham Diocese.

Writers of all shades of opinion comment on the outburst of anti-Catholicism that followed the promulgation of the Restoration. Paz, Beck and Norman present overviews with Norman calling the Papal Aggression crisis of 1850-2, “the greatest outpouring of anti-Catholicism known in the nineteenth century”, although the *Nottingham Review*, a Protestant-owned paper more disposed to religious toleration, called it ‘Protestant panic’.³⁰ Despite this outburst, the trend 1850-1915 was one of

Birmingham Historical Journal vol. 12 (1960-1), pp. 42-56 which showed that the Churches were not as effective as they imagined in providing varieties of Christian education. F. Braudel in *Civilisation and Capitalism* vol. 3, (London, 1878), pp. 71-4, defines a conjunction as a point in time at which social movements coalesce producing a time greater than their parts.

²⁷ For a detailed account of pre-Restoration Catholic government, see P. Hughes, ‘The English Catholics in 1850’, and G. Albion ‘The Restoration of the Hierarchy’, both in G. Beck, *English Catholics*, respectively Chapters 2 and 3. Between the Reformation and the Restoration there had been Catholic bishops in England and Wales, but they were titular bishops with no formal authority. The Restoration replaced them with territorial bishops who had a more formal basis for their authority, but full Canon Law was not restored. For detailed analysis of the basis of a bishop’s authority, see R. Guy, *The Synods in English being the Text of the Four Synods of Westminster* (Stratford-on-Avon, 1886), pp. 41-97. Reference will be made in this thesis to comparative developments in the internal developments in the Anglican Church. See A. Burns, *The Diocesan Revival in the Anglican Church 1800-1870* (Oxford, 1999) for a comprehensive overview.

²⁸ On the subject of Catholic Church buildings and cathedrals, see B. Little, *Catholic Churches Since 1623* (London, 1966)

²⁹ For an example in the Nottingham Diocese see *Belper Mission Box : Parish Collection* NDA. The mission only lasted from 1858-62, and closed when the Irish navvies moved on. It re-opened around 1904. By comparison see M. Osborne, ‘Second Spring in Northamptonshire’, *Northamptonshire Past and Present* vol. 76, pp. 71-79, and A. Parkinson, *Catholicism in the Furness Peninsula 1127-1997* (Lancaster, 1998) pp. 57-68

³⁰ E. Norman, *Anti-Catholicism*, p. 76. For ‘Protestant panic’, see G. Foster, ‘From Emancipation to

increasing acceptance of Catholicism, although there were upsurges as in 1854 and 1870 when the Doctrines of the Immaculate Conception and Papal Infallibility were promulgated: anti-Catholicism also accompanied the Eucharistic Congress of 1908. Catholicism, whilst fluctuating, moved from its marginal position of 1850 to occupy a more mainstream position in society by 1915.

The 1851 Religious Census revealed four major findings which had a bearing on Catholicism's changing position, although writers such as McCleod, Wolfe and Inglis challenge its finer details.³¹ Firstly, the Established, Anglican Church, was no longer that of the majority of worshippers.³² Secondly, there were almost as many Nonconformists as Anglicans. Thirdly, Catholics comprised only 4% of the Church-going public, and finally, the revelation that caused most alarm to contemporaries, the fact that the majority of people did not attend church (at least not on Census day).

More significant for Catholics were the findings of the 1851 Population Census which revealed the small scale of the Irish population in England and Wales and belied popular conceptions of their numbers. Irish-born residents only numbered 519,959 although numbers fluctuated throughout 1850-1915 and peaked in the 1860s, but they produced fluctuations at the local level which, as O'Leary comments, gave Catholicism

Restoration: A Study in English Urban Catholic Development with special reference to Nottingham', MA thesis, University of Nottingham. (1998), p. 81.

³¹ D. Thompson, 'The Religious Census of 1851' in R. Lawton, *The Census and Social Structure*, pp. 241-86. J. Wolfe, *God and Greater Britain* (London, 1994), pp. 63-74. K. Inglis, 'Patterns of Worship in 1851', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* vol. 11 (1960), pp. 74-81. The Census' weakness were that attendances and not individual attendance were counted, thus not allowing for those who went twice on Sunday March 30th 1851. Also many Nonconformist ministers advertised the fact in order to boost numbers. Many of the returns were inaccurate, or only partially filled in, depending on how conscientiously the person responsible, usually the local clergyman, saw the occasion.

³² Its position had been gradually changing: the main Acts causing this were the 1828 Test and Corporations Act, the 1829 Catholic Emancipation Act, the 1835 Irish Temporalities Act, the annual Maynooth Grant. The constitutional position of the Anglican Church had been breached at the centre of power by the Manchester Clause which increased bishoprics, but not their membership of the House of Lords. P. Morrish, 'The Manchester Clause', *Contemporary Quarterly* (1968-9), pp. 319-26. By implication, if one Church declined, the relative importance of another- the Catholic Church- increased.

a constantly unsettling feeling which worried many non-Catholics.³³ The situation both locally and nationally, *vis-à-vis* Anglo-Irish relationships, was not helped by Cardinal Manning's use of phrases like "the million Irish Catholics in England", which aroused unnecessary antagonism.³⁴ The Restoration, Papal Aggression and the two Censuses combined to emphasise the concept, enlarged upon by Paz, that Catholicism was a foreign-orientated religion and potentially a threat to the survival of Britain.³⁵ Yet since the statistics reveal the smallness of the Catholic population, it is clear that factors other than numbers were at work in creating the idea, frequently promoted in the national and provincial press, that Catholics were innately disloyal.

Any study of Catholicism in Britain has to take note of the changing social demography of the Catholic Church. Invariably this entails dealing with the Irish who, to a greater or lesser degree, were an integral part of the Catholic community. In the Nottingham Diocese the Irish comprised approximately 50% of the Catholic population, which totalled around 20,000 in 1850. By contrast, in the Northampton Diocese there were only 6,000 Catholics, with scattered Irish groupings, such as at Wellingborough with its iron workings and its Celtic seasonal labourers.³⁶

Catholicism, as O'Tauthaigh and Gwynn note, was, and remained, an urban phenomenon 1850-1915, but the pattern by 1915 showed a change to a more even distribution nationally, with the maintenance of a rural presence, new centres in market towns, and pioneering mining settlements becoming towns with their own established

³³ Note for example, the Lincolnshire press for the 1850s and 1860s which complained when cheap Irish labour appeared at harvest time, and complained when it was scarce after 1870. P. O'Leary supports this view in relation to Wales, P. O'Leary 'From the Cradle to the Grave: Catholicism Amongst the Irish in Wales' in P. O'Sullivan ed. *Religion and identity* vol. 5 (Leicester 2000), p. 181.

³⁴ P. Hughes, 'The English Catholics in 1850', p. 45, and D. Gwynn, 'The Irish Immigration', in G. Beck ed. *The English Catholics 1850-1950* (London, 1950) pp. 265-90, as on p. 267,

³⁵ D. Paz, *Popular Anti-Catholicism in Mid-Victorian England* (Stanford, 1992), p. 4.

³⁶ The various *Catholic Directories* from 1850 provide some population details.

mission centres.³⁷ By 1915, Catholics totalled approximately two million: the Nottingham Diocesan population doubled 1850-1915 to approximately 40,000.³⁸ The urban centres continued to dominate Catholicism and, in common with national trends, wealthier Catholics migrated to the new suburbs, thus increasing the demand for Churches: Nottingham, for example, had one Church in 1850, seven in 1915, plus two temporary mission centres in the 1880s: Wigan had two then six: and Plymouth had two increasing to nine.³⁹

By contrast, poor Catholics, especially the Irish, were continually employed in low-paid occupations with high fluctuating rates of cyclic unemployment, or in migratory employment such as railway construction and sinking the mines.⁴⁰ As Lees notes, this created many social problems, such as split families with the womenfolk left to look after the children in the cities, and was an added burden which led to increased poverty for the Church, especially the mission priest, to cope with.⁴¹ Swift and Malkern point to the fact that most towns had small numbers of middle class English Catholics who preferred to live and worship separately from the Irish community,

³⁷ M. O'Tauthaigh, 'The Irish in Nineteenth Century Britain: Problems of Integration', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 5th series vol. 31 (1981), pp. 149-173. A good example of the literature. Much can be gained from the footnotes. Individual details for the Nottingham Diocese can be found in the individual *Mission Files: Parish Collection* NDA. See also D. Gwynn, 'The Growth of the Catholic Community', in G. Beck ed. *The English Catholics* pp.410-44.

³⁸ Nottingham's statistics can be surmised from the incomplete data in the *Diocesan Statistics Book: Bishop's Collection* NDA from 1883 onwards, and Bishop Dunn's data for 1916 onwards. For Bishop Dunn see *Dunn's Parish Returns: Bishop Dunn's Papers: Bishops Collection* NDA. V. McClelland, *Flaminian Gate*, p. 27 suggests a Catholic population for Britain of 1.8m

³⁹ Such figures can be calculated from the data given at the end of each diocese in the annual *Catholic Directories*.

⁴⁰ This was particularly true of the of the Glossop area in the 1860s which was heavily dependent on the cotton industry. See for example, D. Brookes, 'The Railway Navvies on the Pennines 1841-71', *Journal of Transport History* vol. 3 new series (1975-6), pp. 41-51. This article is an example of how a second category literature source which is not on a religious topic, can enhance our understanding of Catholicism.

⁴¹ L. Lees, 'Mid-Victorian Marriage and the Irish Family Economy', *Victorian Studies* vol. XX Spring (1976) pp. 225-44. A word on terminology: it was not until the introduction of Canon Law in 1917 that parishes came into existence. Previous to 1917 they were called missions. The difference was more theoretical than real although technically pre-1917 a bishop had in general greater powers over the individual mission priest. This situation did create a few problems which are discussed in Chapter 2.

although poor English and Irish lived in the same area.⁴² This concentration, or ghettoisation, was perhaps the most noticeable feature of Victorian Catholicism.⁴³ It was usually characterised in the press as an area of squalor, Irish domination, public disorder, tension and immorality. Some ghettos were no-go areas for the police. Instead the priest was seen as pivotal in community relations. Walker, Swift, and Steele, suggest that some wealthier English Catholics, were glad that segregation existed, because the reputation of the Irish for violence might tar their middle class respectable image, and the acceptance of Catholicism generally, thus making the absorption of the Irish into the Church difficult.⁴⁴ Difficulties also arose because of the varying attitudes the Bishops showed towards the Irish.⁴⁵ Bishop Bagshawe (Nottingham) was pro-Irish in his views and actions, whereas Vaughan (Salford, and later Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster 1893-1903), was noted for his antipathy; meanwhile, Goss (Liverpool) tried to deal with the Irish as if they were English. The absorption of the Irish was a major problem for the nineteenth century Catholic Church: that much absorption did occur is due in part to ultramontane influences.

Ultramontanism, the third salient concept, can be broadly defined as operating at two levels. In simple terms it meant obedience to the Pope as head of the Church; in

⁴² See for example, R. Swift, 'Anti-Catholicism and Irish Disturbances: Public Order in Mid-Victorian Wolverhampton', *Midlands History* vol. 9 (1984), pp. 87-105, or P. Malkern, 'Irish Immigrants and Public Disorder in Coventry', *Midlands History* vol. 21 (1996) pp. 119-133. For a comparison with Scotland and dealing with class differences see W. Walker, 'The Irish Immigrants in Scotland: Their Priests, Politics and Parochial Life', *Historical Journal* vol. XV (1972), pp. 649-667.

⁴³ Much has been written on this subject. See for example, H. McCleod, 'Building the Catholic Ghetto', in W. Sheils ed. *Class and Religion in the Late Victorian City: Studies in Church History* vol. 23 (1986) pp. 424-41, including its footnotes, and R. Swift and S. Gilley, eds., *The Irish in the Victorian City* (Dublin, 1989), for general overview.

⁴⁴ R. Swift, 'The Outcast Irish in the British Victorian City', *Irish Historical Studies* vol. XXV no. 89 May (1987), pp. 264-76 R. Swift and S. Gilley, *The Irish in the Victorian City*, pp. 140-1, W. Walker 'Irish in Scotland' p. 657. E. Steele, 'The Irish Presence in the North of England, 1850-1914', *Northern History* vol. 12 (1976), pp. 220-241.

⁴⁵ W. Lowe, 'The Lancashire Irish and the Catholic Church 1846-71: the social dimension', *Irish Historical Studies* vol. XX March (1976), pp. 129-153 This article also contains references to Nottingham's Bishop Bagshawe (1874-1901). For a comparison with Bishop Goss of Liverpool see P. Doyle, Bishop Goss of Liverpool and the Importance of Being English in D. Sheils ed. *Religion and*

practice however, it meant more, and demanded that Catholics adhere to a set of Rome-prescribed rules and regulations regarding their behaviour, both within the Church and in secular society.⁴⁶ Von Arx notes that there were varieties of ultramontanism, including the collegiate approach adopted by the American Hierarchy, the dictatorial form espoused by Cardinal Cullen and the Irish Hierarchy, the very pro-Papal ultramontanism of Cardinal Manning, and the extremism of Fr. Faber at the Brompton Oratory “who wanted to treat London as if it were Naples”.⁴⁷

The ultramontanes were not a cohesive group but rather those Catholics who were mentally more inclined to accept the authority of Rome and continental devotional practices. They encompassed a broad band of people. There were those who were educated abroad for example, including Bishops Wiseman and Briggs, and McHale and Cullen who formed part of the Irish Hierarchy. In addition there were members of the Orders, particularly the Jesuits. In the Nottingham Diocese, there were the Cistercians at Mount Saint Bernard Abbey, who had fled from France. There were also the Rosminians, an Italian Order that came with the deliberate intention of converting England. The number of ultramontanes was swollen by the arrival in the latter eighteenth century by émigré priests fleeing from the Revolution and Terror in France, who brought with them their own brand of ultramontane Catholicism. Some became domestic chaplains while others became itinerant priests converting the poor. Conflicts arose between these priests and the Vicars-Apostolic because the latter had no authority in Canon Law to direct their activities. The ultramontanes also encompassed a group known as the Oxford Movement among whose members were Ward, Faber, Newman,

National Identity: Studies in Church History vol. 18 (1982) pp. 443-448.

⁴⁶ For a more detailed definition see J. Champ, ‘The Pastoral Value of Church Archives in Priestly Formation’, *The Oscotian*, vol. 1 (1999), pp. 34-5.

⁴⁷ J. von Arx, *Varieties of Ultramontanism* (Washington, 1998). Faber is described by A. Bellinger, ‘A Religious Life for Men’, in A. McClelland and M. Hodgetts, eds. *From Without the Flaminian*

and De Lisle.⁴⁸ These people possessed a very strong evangelising commitment to Roman Catholicism, which was due in part to their intellectual abilities, social background, and their very public conversions.⁴⁹

At Restoration, ultramontanism was only one of three strands of Catholicism found in Britain, the others being cisalpine and Celtic Catholicism.⁵⁰ Any analysis of how successful ultramontanism was, depends on how well historians view its absorption of these other types.⁵¹ This is well discussed in the literature but with varying degrees of unanimity, the extreme positions being marked by Holmes' 'triumphalism' and Supple's assertion that "in England there was no victory for ultramontanism", a view few would share.⁵² O'Leary tends towards Supple's assertion by stating, "the attempts of the clergy to impose upon their congregations a more rigorous piety, met with only limited success."⁵³

Cisalpine Catholicism, also known as English Catholicism, was looked on rather disparagingly by Roman clerics. This was partly due to the fact that some Romans did not think that English Catholics could be relied upon to accept the ways of Rome, considering how the Catholic Church in England had survived without a Hierarchy since the Reformation. In contrast to ultramontanism, cisalpinism tended to minimise the

Gate pp. 142-66, as on p. 160 as "flamboyant and sentimental".

⁴⁸ Strictly speaking De Lisle was Cambridge graduate.

⁴⁹ Much has been written on the Oxford movement and their are biographies of the people mentioned. For an example of how the Oxford movement affected people of both the Anglican and Catholic Churches, see P. Vaiss ed. *From Oxford to the People* (Leominster, 1996).

⁵⁰ Cisalpine Catholicism was also known as English Catholicism, or rather disparagingly by some Roman clerics as Gallican Catholicism.

⁵¹ D. Matthew, *Roman Catholicism in England 1535-1935* (London, 1938), p. 234. Here he talks of "the sharp divide in the Catholic Community". As an example of how important the English Catholics were to the survival and growth of the Church, see E. Elliott, 'Laura Phillips De Lisle; A Nineteenth Century Catholic Lady', *Recusant History* vol. 20 no. 3 (1991).pp. 371-9. Note, after consulting a descendant of this lady, I have standardised the way I spell De Lisle to this given. If it is in a title I have used the one given by the author. For D. Holmes *More Roman Than Rome* see p. 285.

⁵² J. Supple, 'Ultramontanism in Yorkshire, 1850-1900', *Recusant History* vol.17 no. 4 (1985), pp. 274-286. In the article Supple takes the features of ultramontanism and tries to show there were failures to completely implement Rome's wishes, noting only their partial implementation. D. Holmes *More Roman Than Rome English Catholicism in the Nineteenth Century* (London, 1978).

authority of the pope and emphasise the independence of the regional branches of the Church. During Penal times, cisalpine Catholicism had been under the nominal control (in the absence of Canon law), of the Vicars-Apostolic, but largely maintained by the recusant families, who were often the nobility, and with whom there were frequent disagreements. In return for supporting the priests, these lay Catholics expected a say in Church affairs. Chadwick notes that in the Anglican Church some lay people had a greater say in its operation, and this did not go unnoticed by some Catholics who wanted the same for their Church.⁵⁴ Over time, this lay cisalpine Catholicism, had become increasingly isolated from mainstream European Catholicism, and less Romanised than Rome wanted. Thus Cisalpinism, with its regional identity, did not easily mesh with the centralised approach adopted by ultramontanism. However, it would be foolish to see cisalpinism and ultramontanism as being mutually incompatible, as leading Catholics like De Lisle, for example, while expressing their cisalpine views over how they, and not the priest, should have control of the school they had built in Whitwick, also provided ultramontane-style statuary for the Catholic Churches they had built in the area.⁵⁵

Meanwhile, parallel to these events came the Irish with their simpler, often spoken, Low Mass and prayers geared to Saints Patrick and Bridgett. Although their worship was different, they provided one great advantage to the development of ultramontanism: their strong sense of priestly obedience. Often being the only literate people in a poor community, priests also assumed secular and legal functions.⁵⁶ Providing the priest agreed with the Hierarchy, this facet of Irish Catholicism made their

⁵³ P. O'Leary, 'Catholicism in Wales', p. 193.

⁵⁴ O. Chadwick, *The Anglican Church* vol. 1 (London, 1966), pp. 311-13.

⁵⁵ Details can be found in the *Whitwick Mission Box: Parish Collection* NDA.

⁵⁶ For a detailed study of Irish Catholicism see E. Larkin, 'The Devotional Revolution in Ireland 1850-1900' *American History Review* vol. 77 (1972), pp. 625-52 and W. Lowe, 'The Lancashire Irish and

assimilation into mainstream Catholicism and ultramontanism potentially easier.⁵⁷ Consequently Manning actively encouraged Irish priests and tried to persuade other bishops to do the same.⁵⁸

An ultramontane Restoration was clearly a potential source of conflict for the Catholic Church in England, and several pieces of evidence can be cited to support this view. Some prominent lay Catholics from recusant families with connections with the Nottingham Diocese, including the Duke of Norfolk and Lord Beaumont publicly expressed their objections to the new Hierarchy in the press. There were also a number of priests, but collectively this group were a small, if influential minority.⁵⁹ By contrast, De Lisle, a convert possessed of mixed ideas on the subject, supported the Restoration of the Hierarchy. Meanwhile, Parsons reports that Newman, whose conversion was well known, “expressed his misgivings” on the nature of the Hierarchy, while Best notes that Newman, with regard to the principle, preached that “God was leading England back to the true church”.⁶⁰ Over support for the restoration of an ultramontane Hierarchy, Hughes and Best show how Wiseman expressed his admiration for an English Hierarchy similar to that existing in Ireland. Perhaps more telling is Champ’s references to Ullathorne, as it was he who had been delegated by Rome to appoint the new bishops, with the exception of Wiseman.⁶¹ She notes “Ullathorne’s

the Catholic Church’, pp. 129-65.

⁵⁷ There were precedents. The Irish Hierarchy, much admired by Wiseman, was strongly ultramontane under Cardinal Cullen; P. Hughes, ‘The Coming Century’, in G. Beck ed. *The English Catholics 1850-1950* (London, 1950), pp. 1-41, as on p. 15.

⁵⁸ People wanting a good outline to Manning should read the collected articles in *Recusant History* vol. 21 no. 2 (1992) 136-291 which is entirely devoted to the Cardinal.

⁵⁹ P. Hughes, ‘Bishops of the Century’, in G. Beck, p. 75. Newman G. Parsons, ed. *Religion in Victorian Britain* vol.1 ‘Traditions’, pp. 153 and 159. W.B. Ullathorne, *A History of the Restoration* (London, 1871), pp. 5, 18, 28. S. Matsumoto-Best, *Britain and the Papacy* p. 142. Wiseman hoped it would be strong enough to influence events so as to counter-balance the views on how Irish Catholics were being treated, that were being sent to Rome by the Irish Hierarchy.

⁶⁰ S. Matsumoto-Best p. 145.

⁶¹ J. Champ, *The Oscotian* vol. 11 7th series (2000), pp. 44-48.

view of it was not to make possible closer relations with Rome, as the trend in Ultramontanism suggested, nor to exclude Roman influence, as the liberal Cisalpines...would have it. He wanted to see the relationship between Rome and the local church regulated according to the ancient tradition of the Church, and the English Catholic Community able to conduct itself according to canon law. He was anxious to see a measure of self-government...for the Catholics of England...[the Restoration] was not *carte blanche* for the English bishops either to take a free hand or to carry on as before". For Ullathorne, the new Hierarchy was going to be a force for change, in one way or another. All developments in a diocese had to have the approval of the bishop.⁶² He in turn, was controlled by Westminster and the Provincial Synods. Here lay the power base of ultramontanism in Britain: all Catholics owed an allegiance to the central authority, the Papacy, and represented in England by the Hierarchy.

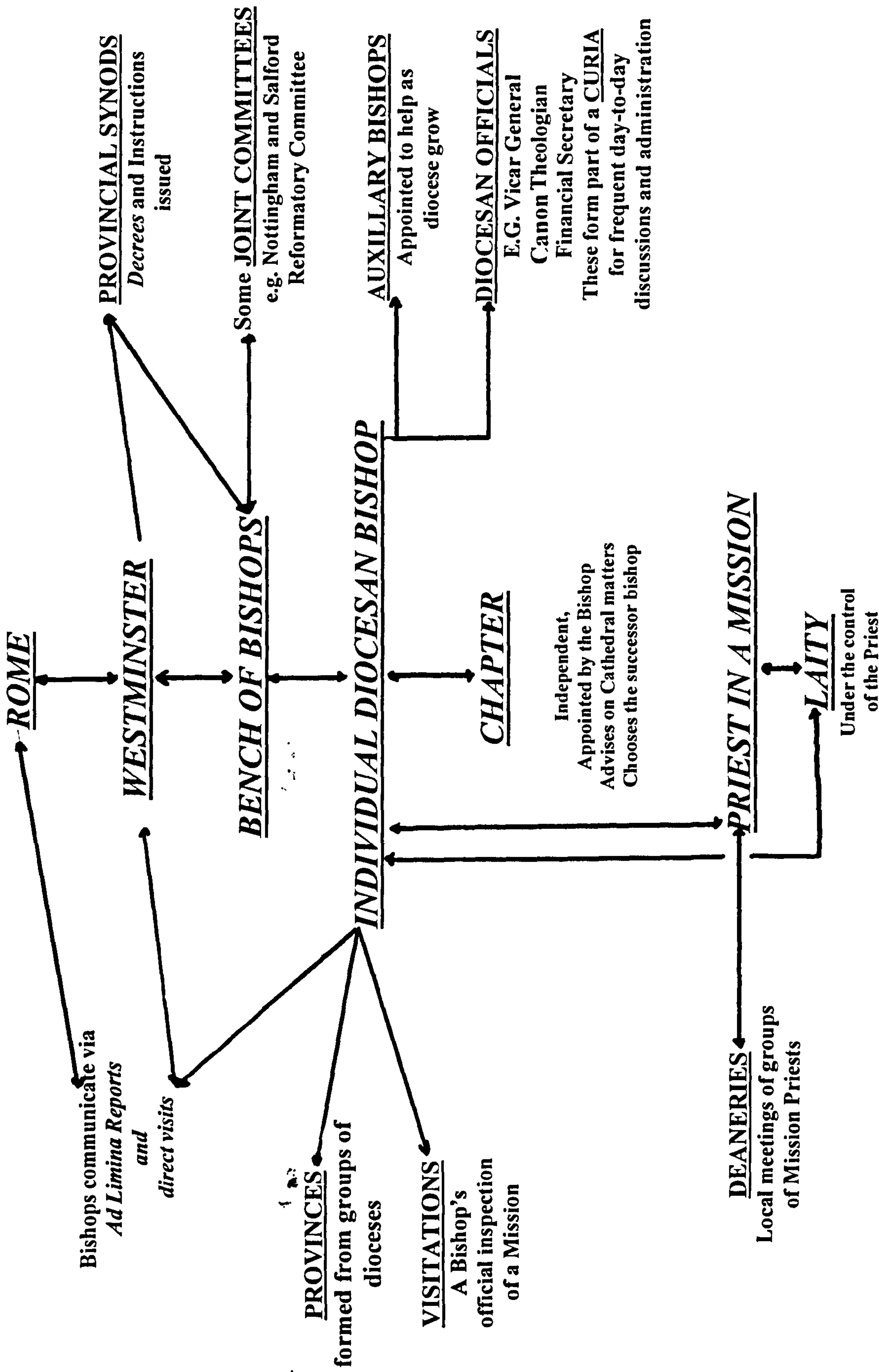
The overall, nation-wide dominance of the Hierarchy, 1850-1915, while masking significant local variations, was in part due to the development of a supporting administrative system. The administrative model adapted by Wiseman was the Roman one, shown in Fig. 1.1. In theory it provided for a uniform administrative basis across the nation, and uniformity, meaning Roman conformity, was a key element in ultramontanism; in practice its implementation was uneven, depending on pressure from Westminster, the enthusiasm of a diocesan bishop, and local circumstances.⁶³ The successful imposition of a centrally-orientated ultramontane Hierarchy, required of Catholics a realignment of their allegiances away from their local District (where power was shared by the Vicars-Apostolic and the local recusant laity) to their local priest, diocesan bishop and to Westminster, and an allied administrative system to see that

⁶² R. Guy, *The Provincial Synods in English*, see 'Chapter the First', pp. 1-11.

⁶³ G. Parsons, *RVB* vol.1, p. 146.

Fig. 1.1

THE CATHOLIC ADMINISTRATIVE SYSTEM 1850-1915



Westminster's writ ran from cardinal to bishop, to priest and to laity.⁶⁴ The new administrative system was vital because, as Ullathorne notes, he had through a shortage of candidates, been forced to translate the existing, mainly cisalpine, Vicars-Apostolic to new bishoprics.⁶⁵ A new administrative system was also needed because the financial demands of the new Hierarchy required a total restructuring of Catholic assets.⁶⁶ Champ and Rafferty note the whole issue of creating an administrative system that would enable ultramontanism to succeed, was thus bound up with the development of power politics in the nineteenth century Catholic Church.⁶⁷

Each of the Cardinals of Westminster, Wiseman (1850-65), Manning (1865-91), Vaughan (1893-1903), and Bourne (1903-33), played an important role in the evolution of Catholic administration, although the literature contains conflicting opinions on their individual skills. Wiseman and Manning called Provincial Synods in 1852, 1854, 1859 and 1873 which all of the Bishops were commanded to attend.⁶⁸ The purpose of the

⁶⁴ J. Bossy, *The English Catholic Community* (London, 1975), p. 361: "The restoration was in the first place in direct opposition to its English promoters, to reinforce the monarchical authority of the bishops over the clergy".

⁶⁵ W.B. Ullathorne, *The Restoration of the Hierarchy* (London, 1877).

⁶⁶ The borders of the new dioceses did not coincide with those of the old Districts. Also, many of the Church's assets, for legal reasons were in the names of private individuals, for example, St. Mary's Worksop was in the name of the Duke of Norfolk. Westminster was not prepared to accept this situation for fear of having its authority compromised. For this reason, the Hierarchy were not prepared to accept lay patronage. It was prepared, and did accept benefactions. In the Nottingham Diocese the financial restructuring called the Financial Settlement of 1856-63 was not completed until the 1880s. A. Burns, *Anglican Diocesan Revival*, makes two valid points in comparing the Catholic and Anglican Churches: for the Catholics it was the creation of a new administrative system while for Anglicans it was centred on the revitalisation of that which already existed. In many ways the administrative systems of the two Churches were similar. The other point is that the Anglican Church was equally concerned with lay patronage. See also M. Roberts, 'Private Patronage and the Church of England 1800-1900', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* vol. 32 no. 2 (1981), 199-223, and P. Moorish, 'The Struggle to Create an Anglican Diocese of Birmingham', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* vol. 31 no. 1 (1980), pp. 59-88.

⁶⁷ The following articles will illustrate this concept: P. Doyle 'Episcopal Authority and Clerical Democracy: Diocesan Synods in the Diocese of Liverpool in the 1850s', *Recusant History* vol. 23 no. 2 (1997), pp. 418-433, J. Champ, 'Priesthood and Politics in the Nineteenth Century: The Turbulent Career of Thomas McDonnell', *Recusant History* vol. 18 no. 3 (1987), pp. 289-303, and J. Rafferty, 'Nicholas Wiseman, Ecclesiastical Politics and Anglo-Irish Relations in the Mid-Nineteenth Century', *Recusant History* vol. 21 no. 3 (1993), pp. 381-400.

⁶⁸ Bishop Hendren of Nottingham 1851-3 was absent due to ill health. Instead Fr. Cheadle, Cathedral Administrator, was an observer. This difference in status was a clear indication that authority lay with the Bishops, as directed by Westminster.

Synods was to enact *Decrees* which attempted to regulate all aspects of Church life.⁶⁹ Holmes stresses the constitutional element of Wiseman's leadership in this matter, while McClelland sees his practical merging of the three strands of Catholicism that existed, as being more important than his administrative abilities.⁷⁰ Certainly Wiseman's lack of attention to financial administration was a source of financial difficulties with regard to the Derby Convent 1848-53.⁷¹ Matthew notes how Wiseman was always concerned with the wider issues rather than details, whereas Wheeler praises Wiseman's administrative abilities.⁷²

By contrast, Manning stressed the importance of the central authority shown by the Hierarchy (under Westminster's control) and the importance of any administrative system to meet this end. This is the key to Matthew's understanding of Manning. He notes the way he [Manning] used his positive mind "to deal with the clergy...education...and social issues".⁷³ By contrast, however, Newsome sees Manning's preoccupation with these aspects of Catholicism as detracting from the way he conducted administrative matters.⁷⁴ Wheeler notes Manning's contribution to priestly formation and their practices (including administration) "through his writings and example", but adds that he often found himself in conflict with them.⁷⁵ In the Nottingham Diocese, Manning appointed an ultra-ultramontane to succeed Roskell in 1874 as he thought the diocese was too cisalpine, and conflicts developed.

⁶⁹ Restoration did not restore Canon Law, so quasi-Canon Law regulations called *Decrees* were adopted. Occasionally they conflicted with Canon Law and Rome's intervention was needed.

⁷⁰ D. Holmes, *More Roman Than Rome*, p. 24, McClelland *Flaminian Gate*, p. 5 and G. Wheeler, 'The Archdiocese of Westminster', in G. Beck, pp. 151-86 as on p. 154. See also D. Matthew, *Catholicism in England* p. 184.

⁷¹ For the nature of the dispute and its solution see *ABB 1126-1987*, (A) Diocese of (B)irmingham Archives..

⁷² Matthew, *Catholicism in England* p. 197, Wheeler 'Archdiocese of Westminster', p. 153.

⁷³ Matthew, *Catholicism in England* p. 207.

⁷⁴ D. Newsome, 'Cardinal Manning and His Influence on the Church and Nation', *Recusant History* vol. 21 no. 2 (1992), pp. 136-151

⁷⁵ G. Wheeler 'Archdiocese of Westminster' pp. 160-1. D. Quinn, 'Manning as a Politician',

Under Manning, Vaughan and Bourne, the administrative system was flexible enough to alter in order to meet the demands of the communities it was meant to serve.⁷⁶ New dioceses and bishops were created and Britain was divided into two new Provinces as Catholic numbers increased. However, the two new Provinces had to accept the overall authority of Westminster.⁷⁷ In the Nottingham Diocese, attempts by Canon Croft to designate Lincolnshire a separate diocese were rejected, as was Bourne's attempt to create a Metropolitan Diocese of Westminster, by uniting parts of the Westminster and Southwark Dioceses.⁷⁸ Wheeler adds that Bourne was criticised for his displays of administrative power.⁷⁹ Foster adds that Bourne could be stubborn.⁸⁰

The administration of priestly education was another contentious issue involving power politics. As Williams notes in his overview, the issue was whether the seminaries should be regional, diocesan or separate theological colleges.⁸¹ The controversy boiled down to the difference between Manning's theological approach and Vaughan's pragmatism. Manning wanted diocesan seminaries similar to those on the continent, and as laid down by the Council of Trent, which would be administered by the Ordinary. This Manning believed was the best way of ensuring the spread of ultramontaniam, as interpreted by him and the Hierarchy. Vaughan, however, noted that England lacked the human and financial resources to maintain such structures: for this

Recusant History vol. 21 no. 2 (1992), p. 270.

⁷⁶ V. McClelland, *Flaminian Gate*, p. 34 describes Bourne as "a devout administrator". A wider picture of this aspect of his Episcopate is painted in K. Aspen's *Fortress Church*, as on pp. 20-1 for example.

⁷⁷ G. Wheeler, 'Archdiocese of Westminster', p. 186. Bourne wanted to be Primate of All England which would have given him formal control over the other Provinces. Instead they merely had to acknowledge his authority. The new dioceses were Middlesborough 1876, Portsmouth 1882. Wales was divided in 1895.

⁷⁸ For Croft see *Croft Papers: Priests Collection* NDA, These remain unsorted. For the dispute with Bourne and the Southwark Diocese see M. Clifton, *Amigo, Friend of the Poor* (Leominster, 1987) For Rome's intervention in this matter, see S. Foster, 'A Bishop for Essex; Bernard Ward and the Diocese of Brentwood', *Recusant History* vol. 21 no. 2 (1993), pp. 556-571.

⁷⁹ P. Hughes 'Bishops of the Century', pp. 171-81.

⁸⁰ More of the same is apparent in V. McClelland, 'Bourne, Norfolk and the Irish Parliamentarians: Roman Catholics and the Education Bill of 1906', *Recusant History* vol. 23 no. 2 (1996), pp. 228-256.

⁸¹ M. Williams, 'Seminaries and Priestly Formation', in McClelland and Hodgetts, *From Without the*

reason he supported regional seminaries with a stronger role for the Orders. Holmes notes that when diocesan seminaries were attempted, as in the Birmingham, Northampton, and Nottingham Dioceses, they invariably failed due to a lack of administrative competence coupled with a shortage of suitable teaching staff.⁸² When Vaughan became Archbishop of Westminster in 1893, he attempted to merge many of the smaller colleges, including Nottingham's, into the Central Seminary based at Oscott.⁸³ Foster praises Vaughan for his contribution to this matter.

As British Catholics operated within a secular state, the administrative system had to support their endeavours and regulate their relationships with secular society. McClelland, Fenehey, Lowe and Beck praise the Cardinals for their role in establishing links, as over education, the Poor Law, and in politics.⁸⁴ This was in part, a reflection of the growing confidence Westminster had in its ability to control Catholics, although as Supple points out, this was never total and there remained a certain amount of leakage.

At a diocesan level, administration depended on the bishops, and even here, as Supple and Pawley note, there were power struggles.⁸⁵ Sweeney comments on the abilities of Bishop Briggs of Beverley (1850-61) in this respect, while the contrast with Bishop Hendren of Nottingham (1851-3), who did nothing apart from creating a

Flaminian Gate, pp. 62-83.

⁸² D. Holmes, *More Roman Than Rome* p. 173. See also G. Foster, 'Unfulfilled Dreams', p. 11, and P. Doyle, 'The Education and Training of Roman Catholic Priests in the Nineteenth Century', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* vol. 35 no. 2 (1984), pp. 208-219.

⁸³ This too failed, not because of the idea, but for the way Vaughan administered the project. See J. Snead-Cox, *The Life of Cardinal Vaughan*, 2 vols., (London, 1919), vol.2 'The Education of the Priest', pp. 34-69.

⁸⁴ See for example, J. Fenehey, 'The Poor Law Board and the August Order 1859', *Recusant History* vol. 17 no. 3 (1984), pp. 84-91 and W. Lowe, 'Lancashire Fenianism 1846-71', *Transactions of the Historical Society of Lancashire and Cheshire* vol. 126 (1977), pp. 156-183.

⁸⁵ J. Supple, 'Robert Cornthwaite: A Neglected Nineteenth Century Bishop', *Recusant History* vol. 17 no. 4 (1985), pp. 399-412. It contains examples from many dioceses. M. Pawley, *Family and Faith: The Life and Circle of Ambrose Philips de Lisle* (Norwich, 1993), in Chapter 9, 'The Association for Promoting the Unity of Christendom', shows clearly how the very loyal De Lisle was caught up in disagreements.

Chapter, could not be more stark. Both Supple and Harding note that several bishops, including Brownlow (Clifton 1893-1901) and Bagshawe (Nottingham 1874-1901), embarked on ambitious expansion programmes without ensuring they were supported by the appropriate administrative structures.⁸⁶ A bishop's ability to construct an effective administrative system had to cope with diverse local factors. Abbott notes how Bishop Brown (Shrewsbury 1851-1881) had to appoint an *ad hoc* Chapter because of a shortage of priests and the widespread nature of his diocese.⁸⁷ Within all dioceses shortages of resources meant much depended on the endeavours of the priests, with many serving more than one mission, and making it difficult to censure those who disobeyed a bishop.⁸⁸ Parsons states that no bishop could have succeeded in developing ultramontanist without the administration of local activities by the priests, Orders and dedicated lay people.⁸⁹ He stresses the way they led Catholics, whereas Supple adds that any determined localised opposition did cause problems amongst the laity and clergy.⁹⁰

As well as creating appropriate administrative systems, all bishops had to oversee changes in devotional practices, since there was a wide variety in their nature in 1850. These patterns of devotional behaviour need to be examined at various levels: as expressions of popular piety, as a measure of ultramontane influences, and in the wider Victorian religious landscape.⁹¹ Piety was expressed in a variety of expanding forms, such as Mass provision, other services like the newly introduced devotion Stations of

⁸⁶ For Clifton Diocese, see J. Harding, *The Diocese of Clifton*, pp. 30 Bagshawe is dealt with in Chapter 3.

⁸⁷ For the poverty of the Shrewsbury Diocese see M. Abbott, *History of the Diocese of Shrewsbury*, p. 11.

⁸⁸ A scan through the *Catholic Directories* will reveal how priests served more than one place. Chapter 2 indicates how Roskell had to deal with at least thirteen priest-bishop disputes.

⁸⁹ G. Parsons, *RVB* vol. 1 p. 105.

⁹⁰ J. Supple, in Parsons *RVB* vol. 4, p. 181.

⁹¹ See as a background, M. Heimann, *Catholic Devotions in Victorian England* (Oxford, 1995) and E. Norman, *Roman Catholicism in Britain*, Chapter 1.

the Cross, processions, new Churches with foreign dedications, family prayers, Confraternities like the Union of Catholic Mothers, increasing school buildings, social and educational events, and the sale of devotional aids.⁹² Each such expression would vary according to the nature of the different mission populations: those with a high Irish population, for example, were more likely to have the Confraternity of St. Patrick. Confraternities may have been a facet of ultramontanism, but their actual operation depended on how individual Catholics saw their importance. Each facet appealed more to some than to others, thereby recognising minority interests and providing in the individual's eyes, a greater role for them within the Church. In this context, Bolton notes how Bishop Bilsborrow (Salford 1892-1903) founded many small Churches with the deliberate intention of enhancing devotional intensity through a closer priest-lay contact.⁹³ Sharp extends this idea by noting the importance of teaching methods in encouraging devotions. To this end, Bagshawe laid down *the method* to be used over the Sunday afternoon teaching of the Catechism.⁹⁴ A wider approach to devotions enriched the Church and became a notable feature of its ultramontane existence. Bentley and Chadwick, amongst others, note how the different Protestant Churches viewed these developments: some like the Ritualists in the Anglican Church, adopted or adapted

⁹² Stations of the Cross was re-introduced back into Britain by the continental ultramontanes. For it to be observed, various statues or pictures had to be dedicated by a bishop, thus furthering the ordinary's control of ultramontane devotional practices. The service was radically different in that people now had to leave their seats and actively participate in the act of worship. This was no 'mumbling a reply'. Processions became a clear way of advertising a Catholic presence in a locality and required a degree of confidence on the part of the participant. Many of the new Churches were dedicated to foreign saints, like St. Philip Neri, so increasing their relevance to the immigrant. Pure ultramontanism was shown in the 1880s when Churches were dedicated to St. Joseph, the personal saint of the Popes. Bagshawe was particularly keen on selling devotional aids.

⁹³ C. Bolton, *Salford* p. 132.

⁹⁴ J. Sharp, 'Juvenile Holiness: Catholic Revivalism among Children in Victorian Britain', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* vol. 35 no. 2 1984 p. 231. For Bagshawe see the various notes to, or about priests, in his *Visitation Reports*, NDA.

them, to suit their devotional needs, while others like the Evangelicals and the Nonconformists, protested against their growing usage.⁹⁵

Heimann's hypothesis, which is supported by Parkinson and extended by Rowell, sees the differing lay groups' preferences for multifaceted forms of worship as being a factor promoting a wider devotional development.⁹⁶ They note the cisalpine/middle class use of mixed choirs, orchestras, the music of Haydn, the converts love of Gregorian Chants, the Irish with their Low Masses, and the ultramontane's insistence on the precision of ceremonial, as all being positive features contributing to a wider Catholic piety. As examined in a later part of this section, because most congregations contained more than one social grouping, assimilation rather than alienation of the many sub-groups found in Catholicism could be increased. Heimann neatly sums up the situation by saying that there was "a [wide] range and function of devotions".⁹⁷ Connolly, in the same vein, examines Catholic devotions in the light of the varying lay groups by asking "What is a Catholic?"⁹⁸

Yet it was clear to Victorian Catholics that "the hand of Rome was present".⁹⁹ Holmes sees the piety issue as another aspect of the internal power struggles facing Catholicism 1850-1915.¹⁰⁰ In particular he contrasts the Hierarchy's closure of the liberal paper, *The Rambler*, with their support for *The Index* as evidence that devotions were to be ultramontane in flavour.¹⁰¹ Norman, along with other Anglican writers such as Moorman, sees the Hierarchy's adoption of Newman's 'Second Spring' devotionalist

⁹⁵ J. Bentley, *Ritualism and Politics in the Victorian Church* (Oxford, 1987), pp. 115-7. Also O. Chadwick, *Victorian Church*, vol. 1 291-309.

⁹⁶ M. Heimann, *Victorian Devotions* pp. 203, A. Parkinson, *Catholicism in the Furness Peninsula* p. 64, G. Rowell, *Hell and the Victorians* (London, 1974), p. 153

⁹⁷ M. Heimann, *Victorian Devotions* p. 129.

⁹⁸ G. Connolly, 'The Transubstantiation of Myth' pp. 5-6.

⁹⁹ D. Holmes, *More Roman Than Rome* p. 14.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid. This is the theme of his Chapter 3.

¹⁰¹ Ullathorne opposed *The Rambler*. See W. Ullathorne *The Rambler*, (Birmingham, 1859).

propaganda as strengthening their power, but accepts that the bishops had to acknowledge Catholics' wider wishes with regard to worship; these historians simultaneously note parallels with Anglicanism.¹⁰² The *Decrees* of the Provincial Synods attempted to impose uniformity of worship, such as male-only choirs, but when Bagshawe tried this at Nottingham Cathedral in 1875, there was open revolt and he was forced to re-instate many of Roskell's cisalpine traditions.¹⁰³

Bolton and Heimann stress the role bishops played in developing devotional patterns.¹⁰⁴ Bishops' Conferences were forums for discussion during the 1880s, for example, when they re-wrote the Catechism, emphasising a more dogmatic, ultramontane viewpoint.¹⁰⁵ Wright, a Free Church Protestant, however, sees such actions as yet another example of how Catholics were becoming intellectually stultified.¹⁰⁶ Dwyer emphasises how Bishop Vaughan established the *Catholic Truth Society Publications* as a means of providing definitive answers for Catholics' and Protestants' questions.¹⁰⁷ Jointly the bishops published, subsidised, and encouraged the use of books of popular prayers.¹⁰⁸ In these ways, the tone of Catholic devotions fluctuated from the pre-1850 'Garden of the Soul' mentality to the more recognisably ultramontane position which emphasised that of events in this world being a Cross to bear before man's reward in the next.¹⁰⁹ In this, piety was aided by new popular vernacular hymns like 'Lead kindly Light' and 'Abide with me', both of which are

¹⁰² J. Moorland, *A History of the Church in England* (London, 1967), pp. 270, 384. notes how the Broad Church wing of Anglicanism became increasingly separated from the Tractarians. For Norman see *Roman Catholicism in England* and the many references in the index with relation to the 1874 Public Worship Act.

¹⁰³ See the many press references in the Nottingham newspapers for January to Easter 1875. Chapter 7 of this thesis examines how Bagshawe's acts created anti-Catholicism.

¹⁰⁴ C. Bolton, *Salford* pp. 133-4, Heimann, *Victorian Devotions* p. 75.

¹⁰⁵ M. Heimann, *Victorian Devotions* p. 129. A key role in this was played by Bagshawe.

¹⁰⁶ G. Wright, 'Roman Catholic Principles and the Future', *Hibbert Journal* vol. 59 (1960-1), pp. 260-267.

¹⁰⁷ J. Dwyer, 'The Catholic Press 1850-1950', in G. Beck ed., *The English Catholics* pp. 511-14.

¹⁰⁸ M. Heimann, *Victorian Devotions* p. 75.

autobiographical statements of conversion, and ‘I’ll sing a hymn to Mary’, which helped popularise the newly defined Doctrine of the Immaculate Conception in 1854.¹¹⁰ As Parsons notes, this was part of a wider Victorian phenomenon in relation to the idea of trying to ensure religion was revitalised and taken to the masses.¹¹¹ Meanwhile, technical improvements in organ construction in the 1860s greatly encouraged their use.¹¹²

Popular Piety developed through attendance at Sunday School, the distribution of bishops’ *Sermons and Pastorals* (many of which gave instructions on Catholic devotions), and cheap printed tracts. Catholic newspapers, like the *Catholic Opinion*, *Catholic Standard*, and *The Month* proliferated, but as Dwyer and Hutton note, it is doubtful if such material appealed to many Catholics.¹¹³ Seen in this light, societies and groups which appealed directly to the working class, such as the Orders, were increasingly important agents of piety formation, but as Walker points out, there were differences between the sober elements of the working classes who joined in Church activities, and the rowdy element which did not, yet claimed to be Catholic.¹¹⁴

¹⁰⁹ G. Parsons, *RVB* vol. 1, p. 171.

¹¹⁰ E. Norman, *Roman Catholicism in Britain*, with regard to Newman, p. 91. Newman firmly believed in Biblical Authority and the authority of the Fathers of the Church so any innovation that did not contravene this idea was acceptable. For Manning, new ideas spelt dissent and division. The important point about the use of vernacular hymns is that they use required the permission of a bishop, and was thus another example of the ultramontane tools available to a bishop. Bagshawe made wide use of such powers. *ABB2136*, ADB, is an example from the Birmingham Diocese under Ullathorne. For Roskell see the correspondence in the *Hinckley and Leicester Holy Cross Mission Files: Parish Collection* NDA. ‘I’ll sing a hymn to Mary’ was composed by R. Wyse, a monk at MSBA.

¹¹¹ See for example, G. Parsons, *RVB* vol. 1, ‘Moody and Sankey’, pp.219-229.

¹¹² Newspaper reportage from the 1860s makes continual reference to Church activities to raise money “for the organ fund”. O. Chadwick *The Anglican Church* has references in relation to Anglicans doing the same, e.g., pp. 303, 319. J. Wolfe, ed. *Religion in Victorian Britain* vol. 5 *Culture and Empire* (Manchester, 1988), pp. 284-99 contains comparative examples.

¹¹³ Respectively Ch. 16 and 17 in G. Beck. It was also the case that the language used was not aimed at the poorer, or perhaps average, reader. The print is tiny and compact. For a wider portrayal see K. Snell, ‘The Sunday School Movement in England and Wales: Child Labour, Denominational Control and Working Class Culture’, *Past and Present*, vol. 164 August (1999), pp. 122-168.

¹¹⁴ W. Walker ‘Irish Immigrants into Scotland’ p. 652. See also W. Lambert ‘Some Working Class Attitudes Towards Religion in Nineteenth Century Wales’, *RVB* vol. 4, ‘Interpretations’, pp. 96-114, as on p.104 for a comparison with Anglican events on this issue.

McCleod and O'Leary refer to the more-or-less innate piety that many working class people had, who even if they did not attend Church regularly, still looked to it to provide Baptisms, Marriages, and funerals.¹¹⁵ McCleod states, "family tradition often played an important role, as families maintained connections with a particular place of worship over several generations", a view supported by Inglis.¹¹⁶ For a mobile population such as the Irish, the Church could also be a point of reference, other than the public house, where they could meet people of their own ilk. Since public houses could also be centres where extremist views, such as those held by the Fenians, were frequently expressed, it was vital that the Church should attract the poor, and inculcate them with an ultramontane piety in order to stop too many leakages from the faith.¹¹⁷

Catholic devotions had to contend with the growing forces of secularisation. Secular leisure activities increasingly encroached on those formally provided by the Church. Dingle and Harrison demonstrate how Socialism was increasingly seen as a more worldly and practical alternative to abstract Church devotions when it came to dealing with social evils.¹¹⁸ And while the Hierarchy promoted isolationist ultramontanism to protect Catholic devotions, Doyle and Valentine describe how a few intellectual Catholics, including Prior V. McNabb (Leicester, Holy Cross), tried to merge devotions and socialist ideas.¹¹⁹ By contrast, there was Bagshawe with his

¹¹⁵ Technically two Sacraments, Last Rites and a Requiem Mass. P. O'Leary, 'Catholicism in Wales' p. 190. He explains that one reason why the Irish continually looked to the Church for the Sacrament Marriage was their hatred of the memories of the pre-1837 law which required marriages to be civilly carried out in an Anglican Church. Many Catholics simply went to the priest. This raised the question of whether some people were really married: a situation exploited by some Protestants.

¹¹⁶ H. McCleod, *Religion and Society in England 1850-1914* (London, 1996), p. 23. See also his bibliography which refers to K. Inglis, 'English Nonconformity and Social Reform 1880-1900 *Past and Present* vol. 13 (1958) pp. 73-88 describes how the Church had "an indefinable, but persuasive influence on people at large. Pupils in Sunday Schools] were mainly working class and although the majority did not remain in the Church, the Church definitely influenced them".

¹¹⁷ W. Lowe, 'The Lancashire Irish' p. 167. Seen in this light, the Temperance movement among Catholics had a hidden agenda.

¹¹⁸ P. Dingle and B. Harrison, 'Cardinal Manning as a Temperance Reformer', *Historical Journal* vol. XII no. 3 (1969), pp. 485-510, as on p. 509.

¹¹⁹ P. Doyle, 'The Catholic Federation 1906-1929' in W. Sheils and D. Woods ed. *Voluntary Religion:*

Christian Socialism, but here there was no attempt at reconciliation: Bagshawe saw Christian Socialism as the only form of socialism Catholics could adopt.¹²⁰

Throughout 1850-1915 devotions were encouraged and renewed by the many Missions organised by the Orders. In his overview of the early years of their effects, Charles notes how they took place in the Church, and that their Masses, Instructions, talks and other services, were arranged to suit the requirements of the local community.¹²¹ Missions were an important way of vitalising a local Church and attracting converts, according to Heimann.¹²² Conversions were a key element and, unlike those of Moody and Sankey, often permanent because the local church had the infrastructure to maintain the momentum.¹²³

Heimann explains how one element of the new, ultramontane devotions potentially divided the laity from the Hierarchy: miraculous elements involving people, because they were seen as being un-English and alien to British culture.¹²⁴ Pilgrimages in England and Wales to shrines celebrating martyrs became increasingly popular but not to those commemorating visions or inexplicable events.¹²⁵ A few rich Catholics did go on continental pilgrimages organised by Thomas Cook.

Catholic devotions were both an internal spiritual and a corporate function, hence the Church's domination of their organisation and development. In a wider sense, as Wolfe shows, devotions were encouraged by the growth in popular sacred music.¹²⁶ This was often performed in the nave of the Church and thus further emphasised its

Studies in Church History vol. 23 (1986), pp. 461-476 and F. Valentine, *Father McNabb O P* (London, 1955), pp 126-7.

¹²⁰ As detailed in Chapter 6.

¹²¹ C. Charles, 'The Origin of the Parish Mission in England and the Early Passionist Apostolate 1840-50', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* vol. 15 no. (1985), pp. 60-75.

¹²² M. Heimann, *Victorian Devotions* p. 148.

¹²³ G. Parsons, *RVB* vol. 1 pp. 219-23.

¹²⁴ M. Heimann, *Victorian Devotions* p. 161.

¹²⁵ E.g., to places like Holywell (Wales), Dale (Derbyshire): for this see the *Dale Abbey Brochure* in *Ilkeston Mission File Parish Collection*: NDA. For Glastonbury: see J. Harding, *Clifton* p. 264.

broader contribution to devotions. Anderson widens the debate to stress the influence of women in popularising such music as they ministered to the poor. Stainer's *The Crucifixion* and Elgar's *The Dream of Gerontius*, with its words by Newman, were extremely popular. The most popular street ballad of the 1880s was Sullivan's *The Lost Chord* and on several occasions he came to St. Barnabas' to conduct his music. If all this added to Catholic devotions, displays of their piety could provoke discord with Protestants and outbreaks of anti-Catholic feeling: this is discussed in Chapter 7.

When Bishop Ullathorne (Birmingham 1850-1887) asked Newman, "Who are the laity?", he was, according to Pereiro, posing a fundamental question regarding the nature of Catholicism at a time when increasing ultramontane pressures threatened to exasperate its fragmentary nature.¹²⁷ Ultramontane differences, the zeal of the converts, social differences between the classes, geographical diversities, English-Irish tensions and the new ideas embraced by some intellectuals, all factors commented upon by historians including Beck, McClelland and Pawley, collectively threatened Westminster's concept of a unified Church. In a very real sense, and as the many parish histories demonstrate, each congregation was unique, and, as a group, had its own agenda; there was thus a real possibility of the Catholic Church imitating Anglicans and Nonconformists with their various wings and sects.¹²⁸ Knight and Chadwick both describe divisions in the Anglican Church and this, according to Guy, was not the kind of situation the Catholic Hierarchy were prepared to tolerate.¹²⁹ O'Tuathaigh, Swift

¹²⁶ W. Wolfe, *God and Greater Britain*, pp. 93-7,

¹²⁷ J Pereiro, 'Who are the Laity?' in McClelland and Hodgetts, *Flaminian Gate* pp. 167-191. For Ullathorne's position see, F. Raphael, *Letters of Archbishop Ullathorne*, p. 100.

¹²⁸ For example, a comparison between the parish histories of Glossop All Saint's and Glossop St. Mary's reveals how the former was determined to remain middle class and English, while the latter was for the Irish. B. Choyce, *All Saints' Past and Present* (Glossop, 1986), and T. Fitzgerald, *A Memorial to St. Mary's* (Glossop, 1987). Whilst researching for this thesis, the author listed 13 varieties of Methodism found in Lincolnshire.

¹²⁹ F. Knight 'The Influence of the Oxford Movement in the Parishes: a Reassessment' in P. Vaiss, ed., *From Oxford to the People* (Leominster, 1996), pp. 127-140 for how two adjacent London Anglican

and Gilley, express the problem as one of ‘assimilation without alienation’, by which is meant the ability of the (ultramontane) Church to unite the various disparate Catholic groups without particular sections of the community feeling threatened.¹³⁰ While assimilation was difficult because of the disparate nature of the various sub-groups within Catholicism, the Latin Mass provided a degree of unity, or absorption, through a universal form of worship, if not assimilation into the Catholic community. Hickman questions even this assumption by suggesting that some English Catholics looked at Irish devotions with their strange mixture of Church ritual and superstitions, and wondered whether, “the Irish shared the same religion”.¹³¹ Hickman defines the assimilation of the Irish in a far wider context than other historians. She talks of the ‘incorporation’ of the Irish, meaning their assimilation into the English nation-state by a wide variety of methods, including political action by Westminster and local agencies. The Catholic Church through its schools is seen as playing the dominant role. The aim of this idea of ‘incorporation’, according to Hickman, is to avoid civil unrest and produce a “body of respectable working class *English Catholics*.”¹³²

Overall progress towards assimilation fluctuated, depending on the policies of the Westminster Bishops, and priest-congregation relationships with immediacy of contact being the essential factor. Wheeler and Matthew note that Wiseman’s actions were more likely to lead to absorption of minorities since he moved with ease amongst

parishes differed. O. Chadwick *Victorian Church* pp. 440-514 deals with the divisions in the broad Anglican scene. For how the Catholic Hierarchy were determined to achieve and maintain unity see R. Guy, *The Synods in English* pp. 1-6, a document issued in connection with the Restoration and Rome.

¹³⁰ O’Tuathaigh, ‘The Irish in Nineteenth Century Britain: Problems of Integration’, pp. 159 and 161 illustrate the point. Swift and Gilley, *The Irish in the Victorian City* ‘Introduction’. There were other minorities than the Irish to assimilate. In the Nottingham Diocese there were Belgians, Dutch, Germans and French, for example.

¹³¹ M. Hickman, ‘Incorporating and denationalising the Irish in England: the role of the Catholic Church’, in P.O’ Sullivan, *Religion and Identity* (Leicester, 2000).pp. 196-216, as on p. 200.

¹³² M. Hickman. ‘Incorporating and denationalising’. This is the idea behind the whole of the article, but see pp. 203 and 205 in particular.

the aristocracy, had a preoccupation with converts, was known for being “cosmopolitan, Roman and tolerant” and having an ability to “demonstrate his vision of a Catholic England”. By contrast, Steele sees Manning as being rather too pro-Irish and thus alienating other Catholics.¹³³ Dwyer, discussing Vaughan, who came from a recusant family and promoted many English ways, notes that his somewhat over-bearing and conservative attitudes, which when combined with an anti-Home Rule stance, frequently led to the alienation of some Catholics.¹³⁴ Vaughan pursued his assimilation through an attention to missionary endeavour, saving children and purchasing *The Tablet*.¹³⁵ Wheeler and Dickie note that Vaughan hoped his building of Westminster Cathedral (1903) would create a centre of ultramontanist which would “radiate all sorts of spiritual influence”.¹³⁶ By contrast, Matthew and Aspen see Bourne, Vaughan’s successor, as tending to alienate people of all groups by his administrative arrogance.¹³⁷ His most positive achievement 1903-15 was the way he made the bishops implement the 1902 Education Act, thus maintaining the Church’s control on education; but this policy was not necessarily one of Irish assimilation. Differing bishops’ attitudes to minorities produced varying levels of diocesan assimilation. Goss (Liverpool) treated all Catholics as if they were English and succeeded in alienating many of the Irish. Cornthwaite (Leeds), with his dictatorial manner, upset many of the upper class members of his flock, while Grant (Southwark) did much to assimilate the poor through

¹³³ D. Matthew, *Catholicism in England* p. 196, G. Wheeler, ‘The Archdiocese of Westminster’ pp. 152-3. E. Steele, ‘The Irish Presence in the North’, p 222. He also notes that Bagshawe had even out done Manning in this respect, p. 222.

¹³⁴ J. Dwyer, ‘The Catholic Press 1850-1950’, in G. Beck, pp. 485-6.

¹³⁵ *Ibid.*, Vaughan noted how *The Tablet*, by being published in Dublin, was acquiring a sectional slant. Vaughan appointed Snead-Cox as the editor in 1884 and gradually the paper became to represent ultramontane views, thus stressing the oneness of Catholicism.

¹³⁶ G. Wheeler, ‘Archdiocese of Westminster’, p. 168. I. Dickie, ‘Herbert Vaughan and His Cathedral’, in *Westminster Cathedral Centenary Programme 1895-1995* (Westminster, 1995), pp. 11-21.

¹³⁷ D. Matthew, *Catholicism in England* p. 241, and K. Aspen, *Fortress Church* pp. 20-26.

working with them directly.¹³⁸ In Salford, Vaughan promoted the distribution of cheap Catholic literature as a means of creating a wider Catholic culture, in an attempt to assimilate people.¹³⁹ In contrast stands Bishop Burton (Clifton 1902-30), a cultured academic who inspired Catholics but did not assimilate them.¹⁴⁰ In Nottingham, Roskell pursued a policy of tolerating differences, even if Westminster disapproved of the cisalpinism this entailed, while Bagshawe alienated many middle class supporters with his pro-Irish views.¹⁴¹

Essentially it was the priests in their day-to-day administrations that most affected the nature of the community, but their actions were naturally circumscribed by local conditions. In pioneering mining settlements, for example, the community was essentially homogeneous according to Bossy, but in large urban areas with more than one Catholic Church, ethnic and social divisions were often the *raison d'être* for the construction of separate buildings.¹⁴² Here the priest's role was to prevent social Catholic alienation between Churches, as well as promoting Catholic assimilation, since it was inevitable that, as the size of the community increased, so did its diversity.

The attributes of a priest were crucial. Sharp illustrates this point by quoting the career of Fr. Furniss (Sheffield, 1852-65), citing his missionary endeavour, communication skills, and his idea that "the Church should capitalise on the values

¹³⁸ For Goss, see P. Doyle, 'Bishop Goss'. For Cornthwaite, Supple 'A Neglected Bishop', f/n 85. For Grant, G. Ramsay, *Grant of Southwark* pp. 128 and 280.

¹³⁹ C. Bolton, *Salford* p. 132. There was also a short-lived local Catholic newspaper. Nottingham had one *The Catholic Herald* 1907-33.

¹⁴⁰ P. Hughes 'Bishops of the Century', G. Beck, p. 193.

¹⁴¹ This is dealt with in the thesis, for example Chapters 2, 3 and 7. Manning's disapproval of Roskell is clearly demonstrated in 1874. Roskell asked the Nottingham Chapter for permission to attend their meetings in order to choose a successor. Together they chose Canon Croft (Lincoln). Manning however, wanted to force ultramontaniam onto the Diocese and imposed Bagshawe without even consulting Rome, who was then forced to accept the installed choice. *Chapter Acts 1874 Sweeney's Papers: Priests papers* NDA. See *Bagshawe's Pastoral Letters: Bagshawe's Papers: Bishops Collection* for his views.

¹⁴² J. Bossy, *The English Catholics* p. 321. In Leicester, for example, in 1854, St. Patrick's was constructed for the Irish, while the middle class English used Holy Cross.

shown by good Catholic communities...to hold and mould the faithful together".¹⁴³ Briggs, his bishop, went even further by suggesting in 1860, that the ideal priest should be: devout, obedient, sober and zealous.¹⁴⁴ For him, the priest was to be a spiritual as well as social leader, adviser, confessor, financial guide: above all, he was to be a model his parishioners could emulate.¹⁴⁵ Gilley and O'Leary show that not all priests were successful in their endeavours but this did not diminish the ideal: they did not operate in a vacuum and had to deal with the Victorian prejudices of class and antipathy to foreigners.¹⁴⁶

Another weakness in the assimilation process was the cult of personality that could develop around the successful priest; his transfer could lead to fluctuations in local support. There were also some priests whose personality clashed with the congregation and whose movement was not always possible due to priestly shortage. Here much depended on the ability of a bishop to arbitrate.¹⁴⁷

A survey of the various Catholic factions reveals that the cisalpine, recusant families were gradually absorbed, if not assimilated into the ultramontane Church. Foster shows that in rural areas where the Church depended on a Catholic landlord and benefactor for the building and its maintenance, this was frequently the case.¹⁴⁸ However, evidence from the *Catholic Directories* shows that these domestic chapels

¹⁴³ J. Sharp, 'Children and Catholic Revivalism', pp. 221-2.

¹⁴⁴ Quoted by J. Supple from *Briggs' Papers* in 'The Catholic Clergy in Yorkshire 1850-1900', p. 213.

¹⁴⁵ This is not deny that the Anglican Church saw a similar role for its clergy. The difference was perhaps more of intensity: the priest was dealing predominantly with the Irish, while with the vicar no doubt had a more English congregation. Also, on average, an Anglican congregation would be wealthier.

¹⁴⁶ S. Gilley, 'The Roman Catholic Mission to the Irish in London' *Recusant History* vol.10 no. 3 (1969-70), p. 132 notes how 'respectability' was a factor inhibiting assimilation. P. O'Leary, 'Catholicism in Wales' p. 184 notes the same in Wales.

¹⁴⁷ In Chapter 2 it is shown how Roskell successfully accomplished this at Clay Cross in the 1860s. By contrast, there is the case of Whittington in 1880 in which Bagshawe was unsuccessful. In both of these cases Jesuits were involved. This illustrates how a problem of dealing with personality clashes could have wider ramifications.

¹⁴⁸ S. Foster, *The Catholic Church at Ingatestone* (Great Wakering, 1982), pp. 76-9.

were still being maintained in 1915, while in the towns, the cisalpines tended to attend Masses at different times to those of other groups.¹⁴⁹

There are questions concerning middle class assimilation arising from deficiencies in the literature. Whilst Hilton and Parsons simply ignore this aspect, others such as Phillips, Supple and Harmer concentrate on their secular activities like organising local social events, Confraternities, running the schools and being choir members, as measuring their assimilation.¹⁵⁰ This needs exploring since newspaper evidence tentatively suggests their assimilation was greater than the orthodox literature portrays.¹⁵¹

By contrast, the intellectuals present a group which was not assimilated into the Church since their ideas and places of worship, such as Downside and the Birmingham Oratory, where Newman lived, largely separated them from mainstream Catholicism. Hutton notes that Ward and Faber were accepted, whilst Stuart shows how the Church attempted to neutralise others by creating the *Index* or requiring them to disassociate themselves from organisations it deemed theologically unsound.¹⁵² In these ways the new ideas such as Darwinism that split the Anglican Church were contained, but at a

¹⁴⁹ At St. Barnabas', for example, there could be five Masses on a Sunday, and the 11am one was preferred by this group.

¹⁵⁰ D. Harmer, 'A Phase of the Struggle for the Control of Catholic Education in Manchester and Salford in the Mid-nineteenth Century', *Recusant History* vol. 23 no. 1 (1996), p. 121, J. Supple, 'The Role of the Catholic Laity in Yorkshire', *Recusant History* vol. 18 no.3 (1987), pp. 304-17, e.g., pp. 304, 309, and 313. K. Phillips, 'A Catholic Community: Shrewsbury part 2 1850-1976', *Recusant History* vol. 19 no.3 (1991), p. 396. Another to ignore this aspect is K. Morris, 'Catholicism in Victorian Literature'.

¹⁵¹ This emerges in Chapters 4-7. By comparing lists of names of personnel at social functions with trade directories and Catholic records it seems as if the middle class assimilated people of different nationalities and was integrated into the Church. Using papers in the Glossop area, which is orientated towards the Salford Diocese, it would appear to be the case here also. Similarly, it would seem the situation for Stamford which socially looks towards the Northampton Diocese.

¹⁵² E. Hutton, 'English Catholic Literature', in G. Beck pp. 515-58. Ullathorne welcomed Faber: *Raphael Letters* p. 200. E. Stuart, 'Unjustly Condemned?: Roman Catholic Involvement in the APUC 1857-64', *Recusant History* vol. 15 no. 3 (1979), pp. 15-22. Here reference is made to De Lisle. In the diocese, its members included Fr. Sing (Derby) and the Abbot and monks of MSBA.

cost.¹⁵³ The promulgation of the Doctrine of Papal Infallibility (1870) was not welcomed by all intellectuals, and Modernists who embraced Darwinism and questioned Papal Infallibility, were ultimately excommunicated; other intellectuals, like Lord Acton, tended to concentrate on secular activities. Quinn suggests that an accumulative effect of these attitudes was that this isolation rebounded against Catholicism, because Catholics in general failed to exercise a sufficiently strong role in society commensurate with their growing size.¹⁵⁴

The most difficult group to assimilate were the immigrants, particularly the Irish, because of numbers and diversity.¹⁵⁵ Again there are differences in the literature. Hickey presents the problem the Church faced by stating, “the immigrant Catholic did not want to assimilate”.¹⁵⁶ Matthew makes no reference to the Irish!¹⁵⁷ McGrath, in his criticism of Larkin, who had suggested the Irish migrations aided Celtic domestic devotional practices, sees the Irish as not being opposed to assimilation *per se*, but disliking the loss of familiar forms of worship such a movement would entail.¹⁵⁸ Immigrants composed approximately 50% of Catholics, and when combined with their overall poverty and political aspirations, such as Home Rule, assimilation presented a formidable problem. According to O’Tuathaigh and Connolly, the Church had to defuse

¹⁵³ See P. Hughes ‘Bishops of the Century’, G. Beck, pp. 32-3 and F. Turner, ‘The Victorian Conflict between Science and Religion’, in G. Parsons, eds., *RVB* vol. 4 ‘Interpretations’, pp. 170-197.

¹⁵⁴ Newman “attempted to stem the advancement of liberalism”, J. Johnson, ‘Cardinal Newman’, in G. Beck, pp. 243-64, as on p. 253. A. Duffy, *Saints and Sinners* (Yale, 1997), p 241 shows how the Vatican even viewed Newman with scepticism. W. Barry, ‘Background to Vatican I’, *Venerabile*, vol. XXV (1984),p.18. D. Quinn *Patronage and Piety*. It is a theme running throughout his book. K. Aspen, *Fortress Church*, continues the same theme in relation to the inter-war period.

Also R. Cavendish ‘Pius X Elected Pope’, *History Today* vol. 53 September (2003), p. 52.

¹⁵⁵ M. Walsh, ‘Catholics, Society and Popular Culture’, in McClelland and Hodgetts, pp. 346-70.

¹⁵⁶ J. Hickey, *Urban Catholics: Urban Catholicism in England and Wales from 18929 to the Present Day* (London, 1967), p. 168. On p. 31 he sees the differences between the immigrant and indigenous Catholic as too great for them “to work in harmony”. This thesis will dispute such a hypothesis.

¹⁵⁷ D. Matthew, *Catholicism in England*, pp. 221-31.

¹⁵⁸ T. McGrath, ‘The Tridentine Evolution of Modern Irish Catholicism 1563-1962; a re-examination of the Devotional Revolution Thesis’, *Recusant History* vol. 20 no. 4 (1991), pp. 512-523

E. Larkin, ‘The Devotional Revolution in Ireland’, *American History Review* vol. 77 (1972),

Celtic political aspirations without alienating them or other Catholics, whilst providing a structure and form of worship that accepted many different upbringings.¹⁵⁹ Connolly goes further than O'Tuathaigh by contrasting the more positive actions of priests with the seeming indifference shown by some bishops. Much was accomplished by the Orders.¹⁶⁰ Although the Church talked of the 'Irish and English', the issues of assimilation were made more complicated by their natures.¹⁶¹ Each was divided by class, history, differences in religious practices, gender balance and language.¹⁶² Mulkern and Boyce demonstrate that local numbers directly affected assimilation.¹⁶³ Mulkern suggests that the relative sizes of communities and competition for employment could militate against assimilation. In this situation, the priest's role was crucial.¹⁶⁴

Chapters 5-7 explore the seemingly paradoxical situation of why and how an ultramontane Church, which stressed the separateness of Catholicism, should at the same time be pursuing policies that encouraged Catholic involvement with the surrounding secular society. Involvement was necessary for three reasons. Firstly, as Connolly explains, "The Catholic Church was a comprehensive evangelising agency".¹⁶⁵

p. 625, 652.

¹⁵⁹ M. O'Tuathaigh, 'Irish in the Nineteenth Century' p. 159 and 168 as a cause of anti-Catholicism. and G. Connolly, 'Transubstantiation of Myth' pp. 78-90 give examples of the differences in the Irish Catholics.

¹⁶⁰ See as an example, B. Bassett, *The English Jesuits* (London, 1967).

¹⁶¹ Neither was a homogeneous entity. W. Lowe, 'Lancashire Fenianism', p. 144 and R. Swift, 'Anti-Catholicism and Irish Disturbances', p. 87.

¹⁶² R. Swift, 'The Outcast Irish' *IHS*, pp. 264. The Irish felt indignant as being lumped as "dirty, ignorant Paddys or Biddies". Each was proud of their regional origins, and their country and national histories. The English knew or chose to believe, an Anglocentric view of Irish affairs; D. Steele, 'Irish Presence in the North', p. 241. W. Walker, 'Irish immigration into Scotland', *HJ* (1972) p. 651, says "Each viewed the other with suspicion".

¹⁶³ P. Mulkern, 'Irish Immigrants and Public Disorder', p. 119. F. Boyce, 'From Victorian 'Little Ireland' to heritage trail: Catholicism, community and change in Liverpool's docklands', in Swift and Gilley, pp. 277-97, as on p. 283.

¹⁶⁴ As illustrated by D. Steele, 'Irish Presence in the North' pp. 222, 227.

¹⁶⁵ G. Connolly, 'Nineteenth Century Catholicism', p. 44. For the willingness, or otherwise of Catholics to become involved in non-religious affairs, see *The Month* July-December 1872, 'The Catholic Union of GB., 240. For a case study showing the problems see P. Doyle, *The Catholic Federation*

Secondly, no mission had a complete infrastructure capable of meeting the entire demands of its parishioners.¹⁶⁶ Thirdly, an unknown number of Catholics, for altruistic reasons, wished to minister to society's poorer members, regardless of creed.

Social involvement meant dealing with foreign nationals, attempting to gain equal rights for Catholics, coping with institutionalised anti-Catholicism, dealing with social issues, and taking part in political activities. Larkin and Gilley demonstrate that social involvement posed a dilemma for Catholics.¹⁶⁷ Perceived as foreign-orientated religious zealots, extreme Protestants, especially those belonging to the British Reformation Society, assumed Catholic endeavours had a hidden agenda aimed at attacking British sovereignty; yet if Catholics remained aloof from society then leakages increased and Protestants accused them of excessive secrecy.¹⁶⁸

Removing institutional barriers to the assimilation of Catholics involved action at both local and national levels. For this, strong leadership was required from bishops and Westminster, but as Rafferty and Steele demonstrate, vacillation or changes in policy were the norm.¹⁶⁹ Witness, for example, Manning's changes of attitude regarding School Boards, or the differences in attitude to Irish nationalism and Catholic involvement with Fenianism shown by Cardinal Cullen and Bishops Goss, Ullathorne or Roskell. Fenehey posits an extreme hypothesis regarding the Hierarchy's actions,

1906-29. In their involvement they were not too dissimilar to Anglicans. See for example, F. Knight, 'The Oxford Movement' p. 135.

¹⁶⁶ Chapter 6 on education deals with the way developments did occur. The *Nottingham Catholic Magazine*, vol. 1 (1869), pp. 11-12 gives the clergy illustrations on how this situation should be dealt with.

¹⁶⁷ E. Larkin, 'The Devotional Revolution in Ireland', p. 649. Some Irish worried at the loss of their identity. S. Gilley, 'The Garibaldi Riots', p. 704.

¹⁶⁸ The 1854 Inspection of Convents and Nunneries Bill was a political expression of Protestant attempts to break what they saw as excessive secrecy. MSBA was a popular place for Protestants to visit to 'experience secrecy'. Disraeli refers to the Abbey in *Lothair*. See E. Hutton, 'English Catholic Literature' for an overview.

¹⁶⁹ J. Rafferty, 'Cardinal Cullen, Early Fenianism and the McManus Funeral', *Recusant History* vol. 22 no. 4 (1995), p. 552. E. Steele, 'Cardinal Cullen and Irish Nationality', *Irish Historical Studies* vol. 19 (1974-5), pp. 239-260 Also F. Raphael *Letters* p. 206 and D. Selby, 'Manning and the School Board Question', *Journal of Education Administration History* vol. 5 (1973), pp. 21-7.

suggesting local Catholics “were pawns in the national game played out by Westminster” in its attempts to increase its ultramontane authority.¹⁷⁰ This view, although not expressed so extremely, is supported by O’Leary.¹⁷¹ Certainly there is strong evidence to suggest this was the case with regard to middle class education in Nottingham.¹⁷²

The Hierarchy was continually worried at the possible damaging effects secular involvement might have on those Catholics who were dealing with social problems. Inglis and McCleod note that this appeared to be justified by high leakage rates and the fact that the growth in Catholic numbers 1850-1915 failed to keep pace with the general population increase; the leakage rate was very variable with Nottingham having one of the highest, and Bolton, the lowest.¹⁷³ Fenianism, social democracy and new scientific ideas were examples of the forces that appeared to counter the teachings of the Church and its authority. Consequently, the Church either officially condemned them, forbade Catholics to have anything to do with them, or erected its own alternatives, but this did not prevent some Catholic involvement, as the Nottingham Diocese will show.

Quinn analyses how Catholic political involvement was encouraged by Westminster despite the bishops’ inconsistent actions.¹⁷⁴ Roskell expressed no political creed but actively encouraged political involvement, while Bagshawe in the mid 1880s, along with Casartelli (Salford 1903-25), thought Catholics should form their own political party.¹⁷⁵ Vaughan, as Bishop of Salford (1872-1892) opposed all political

¹⁷⁰ J. Fenehey, ‘The August Poor Law Order’, p. 90.

¹⁷¹ O’Leary, ‘Catholicism Amongst the Irish in Wales pp. 184-5

¹⁷² *Lincoln St. Hugh’s Mission File: Parish Collection* NDA. Documents 15-7, 19,22, 24, regarding the ill-fated Diocesan Grammar School, 1876-1895: *Bagshawe’s Papers: Bishops Collection* NDA.

¹⁷³ K. Inglis, ‘Patterns of Religious Worship in 1851’ *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* vol.11 (1960), pp. 74-86. H. McCleod, *Religion and Society in England* p. 171.

¹⁷⁴ A theme throughout his book, *Patronage and Piety*. On p. 3 he notes the variety of levels of political involvement varied from one location to another.

¹⁷⁵ For Bagshawe see Chapters 3 and 7. For Casartelli see the references in K. Aspen *Fortress Church*.

involvement by clergy and laity, threatening them with excommunication. These examples show inconsistency occurring both within a diocese and across the country. McDonald notes that some bishops were wary because experienced showed “people did not always vote the same way as their priest”.¹⁷⁶ Those who were eligible to vote were encouraged to register, but the majority of Catholics were either disenfranchised or too migratory to exercise their vote.¹⁷⁷ Hickman suggest that Irish antipathy towards the electoral system was another reason.¹⁷⁸ Nevertheless, as Neal, Gilley and Harrison explain, the extra-constitutional activities of the largely disenfranchised Catholics who resorted to mob action, could not easily be ignored, either locally or by Westminster.¹⁷⁹

At a local level, Catholics were elected as Guardians, members of Burial Boards and School Boards, and as councillors. Always a minority, often of one, individuals were respected and noted for their efforts, as for example in organising public works, soup kitchens, or as in the case of Charles Odlin (Lincoln 1859), a Burial Board member, for successfully gaining Catholics the right to have part of the cemetery consecrated for Catholic interments. O’Leary notes the importance Catholics attached to having their dead interred in the correct place and the efforts they were prepared to go to achieve this end.¹⁸⁰ A strong personality and a sense of perseverance were needed by the Catholics who sat on these various Boards, especially as the attitude of the Hierarchy was not always one of support for Catholic involvement in local political

¹⁷⁶ T. McDonald, ‘Religion and Voting in an English Borough’, *Southern History* vol. 5 (1983), pp. 221-7 as on p. 236.

¹⁷⁷ In Chapters 6 and 8 the work of the Catholic Registration Societies is examined, albeit from different perspectives.

¹⁷⁸ M. Hickman, *Victorian Devotions* p. 212.

¹⁷⁹ As revealed by the following articles. In each case they are describing civil unrest that lasted at least several days: F. Neal, ‘The Birkenhead Garibaldi Riots of 1862’, pp.87-90. S. Gilley, ‘The Garibaldi Riots of 1862’, *Historical Journal* vol. XVI no. 4 (1972), pp. 697-732, B. Harrison, ‘The Sunday Trading Riots’, *Historical Journal* VIII no. 1 (1965), pp. 219-245.

¹⁸⁰ P. O’Leary, ‘Catholicism in Wales’, p. 188. In Wrexham they carried a body to Chester because the only alternative was burial in a part of an Anglican cemetery. In Chapter 5 the difficulties of Catholic interments in the Nottingham Diocese are discussed. For C. Odlin, see *Lincs. Ch.* 13 May

activities. While Manning and the Hierarchy vacillated over Catholic involvement in School Boards, Marmion and Bland note how they were also adamant that control of Catholic education was to remain firmly under the Church.¹⁸¹

Aspinwall and Bolton see the Church's dealings with social problems as raising a wider almost uncontrollable number of challenges, all of which directly questioned its authority.¹⁸² The operation of the 1834 Poor Law Amendment Act, for example, presented a direct affront to Catholics. The problem was that although the operation of the legislation regarding this and other local agencies was compulsory, much of the actual detailed day-to-day operational methods and their application, were permissive rather than prescriptive, so that much depended on local circumstances: Leicester with its more Nonconformist traditions, for example, was more tolerant than Nottingham with its strong Anglicanism. Involvement was crucial in order to gain access to inmates, either to allow priests to say Mass, or preferably to facilitate the attendance of Catholics at a local church, where, as Hickman notes, they were not always welcome.¹⁸³ One particularly widespread action that provoked Catholic workhouse involvement, as Sharp and Bennett note, was the way the Creed List operated.¹⁸⁴ On entering the workhouse,

1859, p. 6 col. 5.

¹⁸¹ L. Marmion, 'The Beginnings of the Catholic Poor Schools in England', *Recusant History* vol. 17 no. 3 (1984), pp. 67-83. J. Bland, 'The Impact of Governments on English Catholic Education', *Catholic History Review* vol. 62 (1984), pp. 36-55.

¹⁸² B. Aspinwall, 'Towards an English Catholic Conscience 1820-1920', *Recusant History* vol. 25 no. 1 (2000), pp. 106-119. C. Bolton, *Salford*, 'Appendix 5'. This shows that it was not just involvement that was the challenge. For example, helping the poor meant working amongst some of the most unhygienic of conditions with the result there was a high death rate amongst priests. This aggravated the problems associated with priestly shortages.

¹⁸³ The case of *Bagshawe v the Middlesex Guardians* 1859 established the precedent that ensured at least minimal access was granted M. Hickman, 'Incorporating and denationalising the Irish' p. 200.

¹⁸⁴ J. Sharp, 'Juvenile Holiness', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* vol. 35 no. 2 (1984) 220-238 has the wider picture. Basically a list of the religious affinities of a person, the Creed List could *only* be signed by a parent or guardian and not by any other relative, even if it was known that a person was a Catholic. Sometimes it was possible for Guardians to agree to allow known Catholic children (especially those with a poor reputation), to be sent to Catholic institutions such as St. Francis Home Shefford, which was organised by the Bishop of Northampton, and jointly supported by the Nottingham Diocese. *NDE* 27 September 1871, p. 3 col. 5. See also J. Bennett, 'The Care of the Poor', in G. Beck, pp. 559-84, as on p. 575.

it was crucial that person's religion be *immediately* established because if this was not done, it was assumed all people were Anglican. For Bennett, the corollary to Catholic workhouse involvement was for Catholics to operate a dual policy of pressing for workhouse changes whilst simultaneously providing their own alternatives. The outcome was much endeavour, considerable financial exertion, and a mixed result depending on the expertise available. Stack gives a clear example with regard to the reformatories the government proposed to establish in 1854.¹⁸⁵ Alarmed at the prospect of children being educated as non-Catholics, diocesan or intra-diocesan reformatories run by clergy, the Orders and laity were hurriedly established.¹⁸⁶ As Elliott demonstrates in his account of the St. Mary's Agricultural Colony (1856-81), many had a chequered career.¹⁸⁷

Newsome emphasises Manning's role as a prime mover in the field of Catholic social work, both nationally and internationally.¹⁸⁸ His 'Social Policy' placed a duty on Catholics to help their poorer brethren while protecting their own souls from secular influences, although Parsons and the contemporary press saw it as being more self-interest than altruism.¹⁸⁹ Indeed, motives stretching from altruism to self-protection, and involving the Victorian concept of self-help, are the reasons attributed to Catholic social work by historians such as Aspinwall, Supple, Chadwick and Battersby.¹⁹⁰ In

¹⁸⁵ J. Stack, 'Irish Delinquency and the Origins of Reformatories', *Recusant History* vol. 23 no. 3 (1997), pp.372-388.

¹⁸⁶ D. Lannon, 'Bishop Turner and the Salford Diocese and Reformatory Provision 1854-72', *Recusant History* vol. 23 no. 3 (1997), pp. 389-407. One of the dioceses involved here was Nottingham.

¹⁸⁷ B. Elliott, 'Mount Saint Bernard's Reformatory', *Recusant History* vol. 15 no. 3 (1979), pp. 15-22. St. Mary's Agricultural Colony was its correct title, but as it was based at the Abbey, it was commonly called the MSBA Reformatory.

¹⁸⁸ D. Newsome, 'Cardinal Manning and His Influence on the Church and Nation', *Recusant* vol. 21 no. 3 (1992) pp. 136-151. Historians are of the opinion that Manning's actions to a greater or lesser extent inspired the Papal Bull *Rerum Novarum* in 1891. Manning's approach is signalled in his 1874 lecture *The Dignity and Rights of Labour*.

¹⁸⁹ G. Parsons, *RVB* vol. 2, p. 51. He suggests involvement was "more an expression of the socially minded than a general trend". In the Nottingham Diocese, Bagshawe's social policy mirrored Manning's.

¹⁹⁰ J. Aspinwall, 'The Welfare State Within the State : The SVP in Glasgow 1848-1920', in W. Sheils ed.

areas where Catholic numbers were small and they were unable to provide a social structure, it was not uncommon for priest and lay people to become jointly involved in local secular activities, as over the Penny Reading Movement in Buxton. In this way the priests were able to exert ultramontane influences and vet anything they saw as inappropriate for Catholics. Altruistic motives and the wish to save souls led some, usually middle class Catholics, with clergy support, to organise events aimed at helping the poor, such as soup kitchens, hospital collections and aiding war veterans, although in these actions the Catholics were no different to Protestants. Many such actions were not always well received by the recipients. Sunday trading, half-day closing, and control of licensing hours, for example, were seen as interference by some workmen. Some middle class Catholics genuinely hoped that restricting Sunday activities would encourage people to come to Mass but this rarely happened for, as Harrison and McCleod note, the nineteenth century was rapidly becoming an age of competition between religious devotional activities and leisure, and leisure was winning.¹⁹¹

Catholic developments 1850-1915 took place against a background of anti-Catholicism which Morris sees as latent, residual and endemic.¹⁹² Expressions of anti-Catholicism were a recurring feature. McClelland and Horwood note they peaked when major Catholic events took place, as in 1850 and 1908; at other times they were never far below the surface and continually represented an irritant to positive Protestant-

Voluntary Religion: Studies in Church History vol. 23 (1986), pp. 445-460. J. Supple, 'Ultramontaniam in Yorkshire', p. 459 is more direct. She states, "The SVP in Leeds and Middlesborough was used as an ultramontane tool". W. Battersby, 'Secondary Education for Boys' p. 337. O. Chadwick, *The Victorian Church*, p. 31 prosaically notes "their evils [meaning their behaviour] affected their daily work and attendance at Sunday services".

¹⁹¹ See the many adverts in the *Catholic Directories* and the contemporary national press. The Sisters of Mercy went to nurse in the Crimea. On their return the Nottingham Diocese frequently aided war veterans. *Sisters of Mercy Derby A Sesquicentennial Brochure 1849-1999* (Derby, 1999), pp. 4-5. H. McCleod, 'Religion and the Working Class', p. 57, B. Harrison, 'The Role of Religion and Recreation in Nineteenth Century England', *Past and Present*, vol. 38 December (1967), pp. 98-105 as on pp. 99, 125.

¹⁹² K. Morris, 'John Bull and the Scarlet Woman', develops this idea.

Catholic relationships.¹⁹³ National events produced national anti-Catholic outbursts, while localised factors, as Gilley explains, such as the preachings of an extreme Protestant, could inflame local sensibilities.¹⁹⁴ Their endemic nature is demonstrated by the occurrence of anti-Catholicism in areas where virtually no Catholics resided. Mulkern comments that anti-Catholicism came in many guises and required constant Catholic vigilance to counter its effects.¹⁹⁵

The established view of anti-Catholicism as noted by Norman, McClelland and Paz, denotes the matter as being a reaction to ultramontane Catholic expansion: thus the intensity of Catholic expansion equates with an increased intensity of anti-Catholicism, a view shared by McCleod.¹⁹⁶ Smout complements Norman and Paz by noting how the continually growing Catholic influences and secular involvement, are all part of anti-Catholicism, while Arnstein raises the issue of racism being involved.¹⁹⁷ However, in this thesis it will be argued that the literature is deficient in its explanation of anti-Catholicism, and an additional hypothesis needs to be considered, namely the *nature* of Catholic *behaviour* as a prime cause of anti-Catholicism. This hypothesis makes it easier to distinguish between 'Catholicism' and 'Catholic'. Catholicism when printed in the press, was taken to mean Papal rule, or statements of dogma or non-democratic actions, and invariably drew disapprobation.¹⁹⁸ This should be contrasted this with an individual priest's actions, as frequently reported in their obituaries. Many a Catholic

¹⁹³ V. McClelland, 'Bourne, Norfolk and the Irish Parliamentarians', *Recusant History* vol. 23 no. 2 (1996), pp. 228-256 and T. Horwood, 'Public Opinion and the 1908 Eucharistic Congress', *Recusant History* vol. 25 no. 1 (2000), pp. 120-132.

¹⁹⁴ S. Gilley, 'The Garibaldi Riots of 1862', p. 700. The Murphy Riots of 1864 in Newark and reported in the *Newark Advertiser* for March, illustrate this factor.

¹⁹⁵ P. Mulkern, 'Irish Immigrants and Public Dis-Order in Coventry', p. 119.

¹⁹⁶ See D. Paz, *Popular Anti-Catholicism* p. 8 and footnotes. Also V. McClelland, *Flaminian Gate* p. 1. H. McCleod, 'Building the Catholic Ghetto', p. 423.

¹⁹⁷ T. Smout, *A Century of The Scottish People 1830-1950* (London, 1986) The 'Index' contains many references. W. Arnstein, 'Victorian Prejudices Re-examined'. In the article he quotes the work of Curtis on this subject, p. 455.

¹⁹⁸ An example is given in J. Moore, *RVB* vol. 3, 'Sources', p. 101, 'The Pope, A Threat to England'.

funeral was attended by local Protestants, and expressions of admiration shown for his life's work.¹⁹⁹ It has already been noted how anti-Catholicism became increasingly marginalised 1850-1915, although not eradicated, as Catholics were seen less as a threat and more a normal part of society.

The orthodox view sees the Papal Aggression crisis of 1850-2 as a 'final straw' argument, or a point when Protestant anger to increased government tolerance towards Catholics in the previous thirty years, finally boiled over. To some extremists, such toleration only served to weakened the position of the Anglican, Established Church and had to be halted. The Repeal of the Test Act in 1828, the 1829 Catholic Emancipation Act, the effects of the Oxford Movement, and Peel's Maynooth Grant of 1845, all contributed to what Lentin and Wolfe describe as a considerable onslaught on the nature and position of Anglicanism as *the* national Church.²⁰⁰ Thus anti-Catholicism, according to this view, became a rallying call for Protestant unification. However, this idea places too great an emphasis on the role of Parliament introducing changes, for whatever motives, for Catholics: it does not seek to explain *how Catholic behaviour* influenced associated events and the anti-Catholicism that accompanied such changes. Two examples will explain this thinking: Catholic actions surrounding the Restoration, and the Catholic political consensus noted in the Nottingham Diocese 1870-1902.

First, consider the arrangements made between the British government and Rome concerning the Restoration; some criticism was expected by both sides.²⁰¹ 29 September 1850 was chosen because Parliament was not sitting and it was hoped that this would help the matter to go largely unnoticed, but as Albion demonstrates,

¹⁹⁹ E.g., Canon Tempest (1857) and P. Sabela (1909), both at Grantham. See *Grantham Mission File; Parish Collection* NDA, and their respective *Priests Files: Priests Collection* NDA.

²⁰⁰ A. Lentin, 'Anglicanism, Parliament and the Courts', in G. Parsons, ed. *RVB* vol. 2 'Controversies', pp. 68-106. J. Wolfe in D. Paz, *English Religious Traditions* (Westport, 1995), p. 31, plus footnotes. Also J. Wolfe in *God and Greater Britain*, pp. 13-19.

Wiseman in his enthusiasm, and with an ineptitude for understanding the latent feelings of people in Britain for Catholicism, wrote in his *Flaminian Gate Letter*, which he wanted published in *The Times*, of the "Pope's reign in England".²⁰² Additionally, what Wiseman failed to appreciate was that the Flaminian Gate was originally the headquarters for the administration that ruled Britain during the days of the Roman Empire, a fact that would have been known to the educated people of the day. Paz notes that Ullathorne and Grant, the recipients of the *Letter*, against their better judgements and in the spirit of ultramontanism, complied with Wiseman's wishes and published it. Thus Catholic behaviour was a prime cause of the magnitude of the Papal Aggression crisis. It is also the case that too little attention is paid to how the crisis developed, the way Catholics coped, and the effects of their reactions to such onslaughts, as causes of anti-Catholicism.

The second example concerns the period 1870-1902. By 1870 there had been a conjunction of events which had caused a rise in anti-Catholicism, including the Fenian troubles of the 1860s, the Disestablishment of the Anglican Church in Ireland Act (1869), and the 1870 Declaration of Papal Infallibility: Moore calls Gladstone's Disestablishment Act "the religious revolution of 1869".²⁰³ On top of this came Forster's 1870 Education Act with its attacks on denominational education. It was against this background that Catholics, including those in the Nottingham Diocese, showed a high degree of unanimity as they fought for thirty years to protect their schools. These actions created anti-Catholicism by the way Catholics went about matters, as in ensuring their election to School Boards. Frs. Dwyer and Harnett, consecutive members of the Nottingham School Board from 1870, both made it plain

²⁰¹ W. B. Ullathorne, *A History of the Restoration*, Chapter 7.

²⁰² G. Albion, 'The Restoration of the Hierarchy', pp. 97-9. By contrast see C. Ramsay, *Grant*

that their role was *only* the protection of Catholic education, even if Secularists and Nonconformists interpreted such actions as meddling in non-Catholic education.²⁰⁴ As Harding notes, to this end Catholics were often obstructionist and frequently sided with Anglicans to prevent secular, or Nonconformist-driven developments.²⁰⁵ Thus, again, Catholic behaviour was responsible for at least some of the developments in the accompanying anti-Catholicism.

1.3 Conclusion

This Introduction has outlined the main ideas, themes and concepts that are developed in the body of the thesis. The brief resume of the literature revealed both its invaluable contribution to the study of nineteenth century Catholicism, and at the same time the lack of specific detailed information covering events in the Nottingham Diocese.

The Introduction then sought to explain two important concepts: namely that Catholicism was in a state of change 1850-1915, and secondly that Catholic developments, both nationally and locally, were to a certain degree affected by ultramontane influences. From this several sub-themes emerged. These included the differences between the Hierarchy's position and behaviour, as for example, over Catholic piety, and the reality of the diocesan or mission situation.

Another sub-theme is the variation in the roles played by the different bishops, both nationally, and as regards the five who occupied the See of Nottingham. Yet another sub-theme is the way the character, personality, and actions of the local priests

First Bishop of Southwark, p. 105 for how he coped with Papal Aggression by working with people.

²⁰³ J. Moore, in *RVB* vol. 3 'Sources', p. 43.

²⁰⁴ See *Nottingham School Board Minutes 1870-74*. NCRO.

²⁰⁵ J. Harding, *Clifton* p. 242, "sometimes their [Catholic] numbers were hardly sufficient to warrant [school] provision", especially in rural areas, yet Catholics maintained their stance. As is shown in

were probably the most fundamental influences in the formation of Catholicism at the grass-roots level. This leads to the point that ultramontaniam needs to be seen as an on-going ideal, at least from the Hierarchy's point of view, and just how far it was actually implemented. The Hierarchy wanted uniformity, but the evidence suggests this never happened. One reason why it was never the case was because of the differing social, ethnic, historical and cultural backgrounds of the laity and clergy. Not only were they cisalpine, Celtic and ultramontane Catholics, but each of these classifications was capable of sub-division. These divisions were in many ways perpetuated by their varying levels of education, ethnicity and political ideas, and wealth. How the local clergy worked to absorb, assimilate or as Hickman prefers to call it, incorporate all these minorities into a unified catholic community, is another, albeit major, sub-theme.

Finally the Introduction looked at anti-Catholicism. The orthodox, literary presented Protestant reaction theory was referred to and seemingly found wanting. To this end it was suggested that a further analysis of Catholic behaviour both as a cause and consequence of anti-Catholicism

The thesis now turns to an examination of events in the Diocese of Nottingham 1850-1915 to demonstrate and explain how the role of the Bishops of Nottingham affected diocesan developments, prior to an examination in depth of the sub-themes.

Chapter 6, this was the case in rural Lincolnshire.

CHAPTER TWO

THE NOTTINGHAM DIOCESE 1850-74: ITS GUIDANCE UNDER ULLATHORNE, HENDREN and ROSKELL

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Additional Information

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2.0 The Aims and Structure of Chapter Two

This chapter will trace the chronological development of the Diocese of Nottingham through a study of the aims, characteristics and methods of Bishops Ullathorne, Hendren and Roskell, the first people to run the See. From Restoration until June 1851, William Ullathorne OSB, who was also the first Bishop of Birmingham, acted as Diocesan Administrator. He was followed by Joseph Hendren, a Franciscan friar and already Bishop of Clifton, who became the first Bishop of Nottingham from June 1851 to May 1853. He in turn was succeeded by Richard Roskell, a secular priest, who was appointed as second Bishop of Nottingham in August 1853. Roskell ruled the Diocese until his retirement in 1874. The period 1850-3 is incorporated into the wider consideration of the period 1850-74 because in reality, comparatively little was accomplished in the way of diocesan development in the first few years. From the inception of the Nottingham Diocese until the arrival of the arch-ultramontane Edward Bagshawe in 1874, what was achieved was very much down to the leadership of Roskell.

2.1 An Inauspicious Beginning: 29 September 1850 to August 1853

Bishop Ullathorne, a descendant of St. Thomas More, was the most respected of the English Catholic Bishops.¹ A blunt, fair and pragmatic Yorkshireman, he was trusted by clergy and laity alike.² Matthew notes, “No one could doubt his integrity, or the force of his character. [It was he who] was to hand on the old Catholic traditions

¹ Note More's title. A Protestant would say 'Sir', a Catholic, 'St.' For details of his life see F. Raphael, *Letters of Archbishop Ullathorne* (London, 1892). W.B. Ullathorne, *Autobiography of Archbishop Ullathorne* (London, 1892). A. Bellenger, 'The Normal State of the Church': William Bernard Ullathorne First Bishop of Birmingham', *Recusant History* vol. 25 no. 2 (2000), pp. 325-334.

² P. Phillips, 'The Restoration of the Hierarchy', in *Catholic Directory 2000* (Manchester, 2000), p. 51. P. Hughes, 'The Bishops of the Century', in G. Beck, ed., *The English Catholics 1850-1950* (London, 1950), pp. 187-222 as on p. 193.

of common sense and toughness of spirit to Wiseman".³ His close friendship with Newman and respect for Wiseman mirrored a Catholicism that was a mixture of cisalpine, monastic, and ultramontane ways.⁴

Ullathorne's connections with Nottingham pre-dated his appointment as Administrator. From the 1830s he was a popular visiting preacher and a strong supporter of Fr. Willson (Nottingham St. John's, 1824-42).⁵ However, Ullathorne's workload in 1850 meant that Nottingham was not his main priority. Regarding the Nottingham Diocese, Ullathorne had to face two complex problems: namely finance and who should occupy the See. The area comprising the new dioceses of Birmingham, Northampton, Nottingham, and Shrewsbury, had been through five administrative changes in ten years and now required much disentangling, especially with regard to the reapportioning of resources.⁶ While the Restoration required each bishop to be responsible for his own diocesan affairs, so making the restructuring of resources vital, the immediate problem was one of maintaining the existing Catholic structure.⁷ This situation was not unique to Nottingham: Bishop Brown (Newport) faced the same problem as the former Welsh District was now two separate dioceses.⁸ Financial restructuring for the Nottingham, Northampton, Birmingham and Shrewsbury Dioceses took place between 1853 and 1865, and is known as the Financial Settlement, but the

³ D. Matthew, *Catholicism in England 1535-1935* (London, 1938), p. 193.

⁴ W.B. Ullathorne, *Autobiography*, pp. 238-9. J. Pereiro, 'Who Are the Laity?' in V. McClelland and M. Hodgetts, eds. *From Without The Flaminian Gate* (London, 1999), pp. 167-91 as on p. 167. P. Phillips, p. 51 and P. Hughes, p. 132, both in G. Beck. G. Parsons ed., *Religion in Victorian Britain*, vol. 1 'Traditions', Manchester, 1988), p. 168 suggests Ullathorne's cisalpinism gave the impression of disunity between him and Wiseman.

⁵ This was Nottingham's original Church. For Ullathorne in Nottingham see G. Foster, 'A Study in English Urban Catholic Development with special reference to Nottingham 1828-53', MA. thesis, University of Nottingham. 1998, Chapter 1. Also W. Southerwood, *The Convict's Friend* (Tasmania 1989), pp. 24-8. Ullathorne recommended the appointment of Willson as Bishop of Hobart in 1842.

⁶ M. Sweeney, 'Diocesan Organisation and Administration', in G. Beck, *The English Catholics* pp. 116-50 as on p.123.

⁷ M. Sweeney, 'Diocesan Organisation', p. 135. Sweeney stresses the continuing independent role of the local missions and the way they maintained the structure at the local level.

⁸ For the Welsh divisions see B. Plumb, *Arundel to Zabi* (Warrington, 1987), 'Brown (Newport)'. The

period 1850-3 was one of much financial upheaval for all the new dioceses.⁹ Locally, Fr. Cheadle Cathedral Administrator, like Bishop Wareing, had to spend much time petitioning Birmingham for funds and placating creditors.¹⁰ Cheadle found financial and other cases were protracted due to Ullathorne's absences and because he and Fr. Estcourt, Ullathorne's Secretary, due to decisions made at the 1852 Provincial Synod, did not have the authority to resolve such issues.¹¹

Secondly, Ullathorne was faced with the unenviable task of finding a bishop for Nottingham. It had been predicted that Bishop Walsh (Vicar-Apostolic of the Midland District) would have been given the post, but his death in 1847 removed this obvious candidate.¹² Another obvious candidate might have been Fr. Cheadle. However, Wiseman, ever, anxious to encourage the conversion of England, thought Cheadle "a devout priest, prudent and competent in administration but not really equipped with the gifts necessary for being a Bishop".¹³ As a consequence of the Nottingham Diocese not having its own bishop, the October 1850 to June 1851 Administration was virtually a period of a power vacuum, but one in which the diocese had to cope with the Papal Aggression crisis. In the main, Cheadle left matters to the individual priests and laity to deal with, being otherwise occupied with complaints from priests that monies were not being paid, and others from lay Catholics that interest on money lent was not

bishops are listed alphabetically.

⁹ A theme made abundantly clear by Ullathorne to all his parishioners. See *Ullathorne's Pastorals: Ullathorne's Papers: Bishops Collection* NDA. Extracts were printed in the local press, for example, *DM* 26 February 1851. Dealt with later in this chapter.

¹⁰ *Letters* regarding finance between Nottingham (mainly Cheadle) and Ullathorne: *ABB* 2288, *ABB* 2430, *ABB* 2436, *ABB* 2447, *ABB* 2530. ADB.

¹¹ *Letters Fr. Cheadle to Fr. Estcourt* *ABB* 2316 and *ABB* 2845 ADB.

¹² See the references to Bishop Walsh in M. Cummins, *A History of Nottingham Cathedral* (Nottingham, 1985). Walsh was one of the main backers of the Cathedral, but his methods left a legacy of financial worries.

¹³ For a comparison of their characteristics see D. Matthew, p. 191, and J. Rafferty, 'Nicholas Wiseman, Ecclesiastical Politics and Anglo-Irish Relations in the Mid-Nineteenth Century', *Recusant History* vol. 21 no. 3 (1993), pp. 291-304, p. 297. A somewhat ironical comment given Wiseman's administrative weakness.

forthcoming. Overall, the reality was that despite the creation of the Nottingham Diocese, much carried on as in pre-Restoration days.¹⁴

Ullathorne's choice of Joseph Hendren as Bishop of Nottingham was a controversial one and not entirely approved of by Wiseman. It was a combination of Ullathorne's wishes and a need to resolve the problems concerning Prior Park.¹⁵ In reality, Hendren was appointed by default. Prior Park near Bath, had been purchased by the Dominicans for use as a seminary, school, and university, but by 1850 was over £40,000 in debt. From 1848-51 it had been under Hendren's jurisdiction when he had been Vicar-Apostolic of the Western District and then Bishop of Clifton, but his attempts to resolve its financial problems had resulted in appeals to Rome, much bitterness and little success.¹⁶ More significantly for Nottingham, interwoven with this debacle was the Augusta Talbot case (February to April 1851).¹⁷ The Augusta Talbot case centred on the refusal of Augusta Talbot, whose Guardian was a wealthy Catholic benefactor, the Earl of Shrewsbury, to marry the elderly man he had chosen for her. Instead she went to live in Taunton Convent with Hendren's blessing. The problem then arose as to what was to happen to her £40,000 inheritance. This case was highlighted by the Protestant press, as concurrently, Parliament was debating the

¹⁴ G. Connolly, 'The Transubstantiation of Myth: Towards a New popular History of Roman Catholics in England', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* vol. 35 no. 1 (1984), pp. 78-104: p. 101. He notes it was a feature common to most of the dioceses.

¹⁵ J. Cashman, 'Old Prior Park; The Final Years', *Recusant History* vol. 23 no. 1(1996), pp. 79-106. The appointment of bishops was an anomaly for Wiseman. Propaganda made him Cardinal, but Ullathorne along with Grant had the power of initial appointments. When Wiseman came to Nottingham on a visit in 1852 he stayed with a prominent local family, the Baillons, and not with Hendren in Cathedral House: *The Tablet* 13 November 1852, p. 13.

¹⁶ The issues were part of the wider problem involving the relationships between old established Orders with their headquarters in Rome and long traditions, conflicting with the newly established diocesan British bishops. In theory, the problem was solved by the 1880 Bull *Romanos Pontifices*, but difficulties remained. See Chapter 3 and Bagshawe. Also V. McClelland and M. Hodgetts, eds. *From Without the Flaminian Gate* (London, 1999), p. 10

¹⁷ *Nottingham Journal* 28 March 1851, p. 3 col. 5, *NJ* 4 April 1851, p. 3 col. 5, *Leicester Journal* 5 April 1851, p. 1 col. 4.

Convents and Nunneries Bill.¹⁸ This would have made convents and monasteries open to inspection by Protestants. The courts exonerated Hendren but his reputation was tarnished, and by implication, he was portrayed in the press as being connected with attempts to obtain money in rather improper ways. Meanwhile, concurrently during March 1851 when it began to be rumoured that Hendren was to be translated to Nottingham, Cheadle was having to deal with the Nottingham Convent case.¹⁹ It was alleged that a nun had tried to escape from the Sisters of Mercy Convent in Nottingham, and had been returned against her will: the accusations were proved to be false. The newspaper reports soon made a link between Hendren and Nottingham, and questioned his suitability as bishop. By April 1851, “a despairing and bruised Hendren” had been admonished by Rome and found wanting by the press, but Ullathorne hoped that the translation of his friend to Nottingham would help calm matters in the Clifton Diocese.²⁰ Ullathorne was aware of Hendren’s abilities, but the effect of his decision to appoint him was to leave the Nottingham Diocese with a bishop who was not in a strong position, personally or canonically, to offer the necessary leadership.²¹ However, Ullathorne manifested his continued support for his choice by enthroning him on 5 December 1851, when Wiseman was “unable to attend”.²²

¹⁸ The Bill was defeated but further attempts were made, as in 1870. A major Prior Park creditor was a relation of the Earl of Shrewsbury who instigated legal proceedings to retrieve her money. Shrewsbury was a major benefactor to the Nottingham Diocese, and the prosecution alleged that he and Hendren kept Augusta, Shrewsbury’s niece, in Taunton Convent so that the Church could inherit her fortune. It was a condition of her gaining her inheritance that she marry someone approved of by her Guardian, Shrewsbury, and Augusta refused to marry as directed.

¹⁹ *Nottingham Review* 29 November 1850, p. 3 col. 5 wrongly predicted “Newman is for Nottingham”. Details of the Nottingham Convent case are from the *Derby Mercury* 12 February 1851, *Sunday Times* 9 March 1851, *The Times* 20 March 1851, *Nottingham Journal* 28 March 1851 p. 8 col. 3, *The Tablet* 29 March 1851, p. 194, col. 2, *ABB 2025*, ADB.

²⁰ B. Plumb, *Arundel* ‘Hendren’ entry.

²¹ J. Champ, ‘Priesthood and Politics in the Nineteenth century: The Turbulent Career of Thomas McDonnell’, *Recusant History* vol. 18 no.3 (1987), p. 301. She notes Hendren pleading with Ullathorne to remove a recalcitrant priest.

²² Hendren had already been consecrated as a bishop when made Vicar-Apostolic of the Western District (1848). The fact that W.B. Ullathorne and not Wiseman performed the ceremony was noted by the local press, *Stamford Mercury* 21 November 1851, p. 3 col. 4. Also *The Tablet* 6 December

Joseph Hendren (1791-1866) preferred the religious life to that of diocesan politics. Born in Birmingham, he was educated at Baddesley, Warwickshire, where he subsequently taught Mathematics and Philosophy. It was in such an environment as this that he was happiest.²³ His natural instincts were always to obey the Church and his superiors. He is recorded as saying, "It is not exactly our decisions we are to follow, but God's".²⁴ In his Enthronement sermon he added, "It would be my study under Divine Providence to perform the duties devolving upon me".²⁵ Hendren's Catholicism had a different emphasis from Ullathorne's, with duty and contemplation being more to the fore rather than his superior's out-going behaviour and humility. This was a reflection of Hendren's religious life: he accepted the Bishopric of Nottingham despite misgivings.²⁶

The different styles of leadership displayed by Ullathorne and Hendren affected the early development of the Nottingham Diocese. Ullathorne's easy mixing with people contrasts with Hendren's more reticent nature: Hendren was more at home within the sanctuary of the Cathedral.²⁷ This meant that his contacts with parishioners were more often mediated by the priests than was true of either Ullathorne, or his successor Roskell. Like Ullathorne, he was not totally hidebound by rules. He believed

1851, p. 771, col. 3. Ullathorne wrote, "If I do not congratulate you [Hendren] it is because I never could understand how anyone could take it as a subject of congratulation to be put in ecclesiastical authority". *Letter George Talbot to Pagani*, RAR.

²³ Entries for December 1852 to January 1853, *Laura De Lisle's Diaries* QH show he was happy playing the family man with Laura and Ambrose's children.

²⁴ *Letter of Hendren to Mother Hallahan* DCS 5 December 1852.

²⁵ *Nottingham Journal* 5 December 1852; an account of the Enthronement proceedings reported, and commented upon, over several pages. This shows how, despite their antipathy, there was still much about Catholicism that interested Protestants. This is dealt with in Chapter 7 Anti-Catholicism.

²⁶ *Letter 12 November 1852 Hendren to Prior Bartholomew*, *Bishops Correspondence* MSBAA, Bishop Amherst (Northampton), was similarly appointed against his will in 1858, B. Plumb *Amherst* entry. He has his episcopate "being marked by patience, kindness, and a reputation for leaving things alone". J. McLaughlin, *The Franciscan* November 1952, p. 4, is more direct: "[Hendren showed] a natural repugnance to many of his heavy responsibilities".

²⁷ *Conditions and Cautions under which Belgian Franciscans agree to found a House in England*, copy in *Hendren's papers: Bishops Collection* NDA In 1849 the Franciscans had begged Hendren to head the Order in England. See also P. Phillips, *Catholic Directory 2000*, pp. 49, 52.

a “Bishop [should have] freedom of interpretation of events”.²⁸ Such freedom did not mean to Hendren, as it did to Bishop Brown (Liverpool), the right to act in a dictatorial manner but rather by consensus, and this democratic approach clashed with that of the autocratic, ultramontane, Wiseman.²⁹

Considered polite and devout, one of Hendren’s weaknesses, but not uncommon amongst many of the clergy at this time, was his poor preaching manner.³⁰ Cardinal Vaughan thought Hendren “surprisingly upright and not exactly overborne by others”.³¹ The Protestant *Leicester Chronicle* noted that he was “truth loving”.³² The *Nottingham Review* thought him “an individual of considerable mental powers”, meant at the time to indicate a degree of stubbornness.³³ Hendren was only too aware of his inadequacies, especially as he had no experience of industrial pastoral matters. In many ways, however, Hendren stands as a metaphor for all the Restoration Bishops. In correspondence with Bishop Briggs (Beverley) issues concerning the role and function of bishops are discussed: as for example, “How should [future] bishops be selected?” or “What about dealing with the Regulars?”, or again, “How should parishes be established?”³⁴ This all indicates a degree of uncertainty and when combined with Hendren’s natural reluctance, clearly demonstrates a bishop who felt uneasy in the role to which he had been elevated. Matthew³⁵ notes that Wiseman’s ideas and preference

²⁸ *Briggs’ Papers no. 1828, Grant to Hendren, LDA.*

²⁹ V. McClelland, *Flaminian Gate* p.5. Also, *Briggs’ Papers 1873 LDA.* This shows how Brown (Liverpool) thought the had the power “to order things as he thinks fit”, 6 June 1854.

³⁰ *Catholic News* November 1997 NDA, p. 12. P. Hughes, ‘The Bishops of the Century’, p. 192 notes that poor preaching was common to many of the early bishops. Preaching as a subject was not introduced into the curriculum of the Nottingham Seminary of St. Hugh’s until 1897. *Seminary File, Bagshawe’s Papers Bishops Collection NDA.*

³¹ *Letters and Correspondence 1889, in Bagshawe’s Financial Papers Bishops Collection NDA.*

³² *Leicester. Chronicle* 5 April 1854, p. 1 col. 4.

³³ *Nottingham Review* 5 December 1851, p. 5 col. 1. This was an anti-Catholic paper. Hendren’s stubbornness can be gleaned from the way he dealt with a Fr. Fisher over the priest’s obligations and various fittings at Lymme Church, Dorset: *W/A 3/29/45 Letters 2 & 3 in Hendren-Fisher Correspondence, WDA.*

³⁴ *Circular no. 1847 to all Bishops, Briggs’ Papers LDA.*

³⁵ Bibliographical note: Matthew and Matthews, as referred to in the thesis are two separate people.

for 'Roman glory' clashed with those of the older Midland cisalpines such as Ullathorne, and by implication, Hendren.³⁶ McClelland writes, "The Catholic community [in 1851] needed specific direction, a co-ordinated policy, effort, decision making, and resourcing".³⁷ Clearly this was not what the Nottingham Diocese got.

Considering Hendren was appointed on 5 June 1851 but delayed his arrival until December, and departed as soon as possible on 9 May 1853, it would suggest that an unwritten aim was to make his sojourn in Nottingham as brief as possible.³⁸ Hendren suffered varying degrees of ill health after the summer of 1852 which gradually incapacitated him. During his active 6-8 months as Bishop he only visited Grace Dieu, Mount Saint Bernard Abbey, Ratcliffe, Bakewell and Loughborough. He officiated at one Confirmation at St. Barnabas', the Cathedral.³⁹

Hendren, like Bishop Wareing, was devoid of any personal income, having instead to rely on diocesan collections for all his needs.⁴⁰ In 1851 he was compelled to write to Ullathorne and De Lisle begging for extra payments, complaining he had an annual income of £190/10/0d to run the Cathedral and Bishop's House, but was facing bills totalling £245.⁴¹ By comparison, some Anglican Bishops were receiving incomes of around £3,000. In 1852 Hendren commented, "Nottingham is a comfortable See [but] how long I shall be able to stay depends on my pecuniary position [but] not for

³⁶ D. Matthew, *English Catholicism* p. 194.

³⁷ V. McClelland, *Flaminian Gate* p. 5. *The Victoria County History for Leicestershire* p. 70 notes "the reduction in area [of the District] allowed for better planning, clear supervision and more vigorous action, but not in the case of Nottingham!"

³⁸ *Letters and Diaries of John Henry Newman*, vol. 24 (Dublin, various dates) 'Correspondence with Hendren, 1853.

³⁹ There are no records of Hendren's movements. It is only from *Registers: Parish Collection* NDA, and *Laura De Lisle's Diaries*, QH and an occasional letter that it is possible to piece together his movements.

⁴⁰ *Letter Hendren to Ullathorne* ABB 2436, ADB. Hendren and Wareing were the exceptions. All the other bishops had private funds.

⁴¹ *De Lisle to Ullathorne* ABB 2316, ADB. The De Lisles have always been major benefactors to the diocese. In 1835 they enabled MSBA to be built.

another 12 months".⁴² This inherent financial weakness made it very difficult for him to exert strong Episcopal leadership through Visitations, even if his health had allowed it.⁴³ The inherent financial situation was made worse by the death of the Earl of Shrewsbury in 1852, which caused the sudden cessation of many benefices.⁴⁴ Ambrose De Lisle was one of Shrewsbury's executors but he found his lordship's affairs in such disarray that the chaos greatly restricted his room for manoeuvre. Most of Shrewsbury's agreements to pay monies to various people or missions were *ad hoc* affairs and only a few were officially organised. Shrewsbury had promised Ullathorne £20,000 for the Dioceses of Nottingham, Northampton and Birmingham, but in the end nothing materialised.

The Nottingham Diocese has no natural geographic centre.⁴⁵ Its disparate social and geographic environment combined with an often hostile theological atmosphere, encouraged mission isolation and actions by priests which varied from working with the laity to autocratic dominance.⁴⁶ With 28% of the priests having private incomes, 8% being domestic chaplains, and a further 32% of the priests being Regulars whose prime responsibility was to their Superiors, it is clear that Hendren had

⁴² *Letter Hendren to Ullathorne ABB 2436I, ADB.*

⁴³ Under the *Decrees* of the Provincial Synods Visitations were to be triennial inspections of a mission by the bishop.

⁴⁴ *Letter to Ullathorne from De Lisle: ABB 2614, ADB.* His successor, a nephew, only lived until 1856, after which the assets went to the Protestant side of the family. In the Nottingham Diocese the same thing happened with the Holyoake family at Wingerworth in 1853 and no promised assets materialised. For fuller details see references in M. Pawley, *Family and Faith: The Life and Circle of Ambrose Philips de Lisle* (Norwich, 1993).

⁴⁵ It comprises 5 counties with land above 500 metres to some below sea level and covers approx. 10,000 sq.km. Of the 39 missions only 4 were in Nottinghamshire. See R. Leleux, *A Regional History of the Railways of Great Britain* vol. 9, 'The East Midlands', (Newton Abbott, 1876), Chapter 1 for examples of how difficult it was to travel across the diocese in the 1850s. The north west of the diocese has a greater social affinity with the Salford Diocese, than with Nottingham, while in the south east, as around Stamford, the area looks more towards Northampton.

⁴⁶ That this was a nation-wide problem is gleaned from J. Champ, 'Priesthood and Politics in the Nineteenth Century: the Turbulent Career of Thomas McDonnell', *Recusant History* vol. 18 no. 3 (1987), pp. 289-303, and W. Lowe, 'The Lancashire Irish and the Catholic Church: the Social Dimension', *Irish Historical Studies* vol. XX March (1974), pp. 129-155. Also *D 885M/B94, 104, 219 and 222-5, Letters* dealing with troubles over priests: DRO. Also *ABB 2829, ADB.*

little hope of directly affecting their behaviour.⁴⁷ This is an example of the cisalpine/ultramontane conflict which the Restoration Bishops had to face. The problem for Nottingham 1850-3, was that Ullathorne did not have the time, nor Hendren the will, to deal with the issues involved, whereas Wiseman wished to see direct involvement by bishops.⁴⁸ Matters were further complicated for Hendren by the legacy of problems relating to certain priests and their parishioners he had inherited from pre-Restoration days (Table 2.1) and compounded by a shortage of alternative missionaries. Although Frs. Sing (Derby) and Collins (Glossop) frequently went to Ireland at Hendren's behest to find replacements, he did not always accept their findings.⁴⁹ These actions show Hendren had a limited influence on some Diocesan developments.

On 2 July 1852 Hendren appointed the Nottingham Chapter and this was probably his main achievement: Table 2.2.⁵⁰ Hendren's choice of Canons broadly reflected the social, geographical, and theological diversity found throughout the Nottingham Diocese and contributed to its decisions being respected by the priesthood in general, since the Chapter did not represent any sectional interest.⁵¹ The Chapter's ability to represent all shades of opinion is shown in the way they unanimously chose

⁴⁷ The point in general is made by M. Williams, 'Seminaries and Priestly Formation', in V. McClelland and M. Hodgetts ed. *From Without the Flaminian Gate*, pp. 62-83, as on p. 65. Figures for Nottingham from *Catholic Directories* and *Deceased Priest's Files Priests Collection*, NDA. Other information gleaned from variety of sources since there are no official figures or records. J. Supple, 'The Role of the Catholic Laity in Yorkshire 1850-1900', *Recusant History* vol.18 no. 3 (1987), pp. 304-317, gives examples of priests' incomes and financial status for that area.

⁴⁸ E.g. finance, conducting services, performing a pastoral duty in the wider, poorer community. As an example of Hendren complaining about the administrative responsibilities of being a bishop, see *Letter to Ullathorne ABB 2314I*, 8/10/52, ADB, in which he states, "Oh these eternal daily letters". For an example involving Wiseman see *Catholic Standard* 21 August 1852, p. 3, and *The Tablet* 15 December 1855, p.787 col. 2.

⁴⁹ *Letter to Fr. Collins ABB 2440*, ADB. He rejected a Fr. Robson saying, "Information has come to hand to make me decline accepting him".

⁵⁰ Rome had given Westminster permission in April 1852 for this to be done in Britain. For Hendren see *Briggs' Papers nos. 1828-9 Papers relating to Chapters and Bishops courts*, LDA.

⁵¹ See *Chapter Acts 28/8/52* and *February 1853: Sweeney's Papers Sweeney Collection*, NDA. Brown asked Wiseman to remove them but was informed that he had no such authority. As a result there was dissension in the ranks. See P. Doyle, 'A Tangled Skein of Confusion: The Administration of George Hilary Brown, Bishop of Liverpool', *Recusant History*

Table 2.1
EXAMPLES OF PRIEST AND LAITY DISPUTES
FROM PRE-RESTORATION TO ROSKELL

Year	Location	Details
1848	Lincoln	This involved the Jesuit, Ullathorne, Hendren and Roskell. It concerned the ownership of various Church fittings. The dispute was 'known about in Rome'.
1848	Ashbourne	Fr. Mulholland refused to perform his duties and pay his taxes, arguing they were the Church's responsibility. This resulted in civil actions.
1851	Hassop and Tideswell	Problems were caused by Fr. Hulme's personal behaviour towards family members. His death removed the problem, but the mission atmosphere remained soured
1849-50	New Mills	Frs. Collins and Scully disputed with Ullathorne over their workload as their missions were to the Irish and widely scattered. Collins died from overwork in 1854.
1850	Melton Mowbray	Fr. Tempest complained that John Exton's Chantry Masses were not being said, and this affected future funding and parishioners' feelings.
1851-63	Grimsby	Bishops Wareing, Hendren, and Ullathorne were in dispute over the re-allocation of old District Funds, as various bills went unpaid. Fr. Phelan leaves.
1848-56	Derby	The dispute arose over the financial liabilities of the Sisters of Mercy, and whose responsibility certain debts were. Money (which never materialised) was promised by Wiseman, and Fr. Sing faced bankruptcy.
1851-2	Hainton	This concerned the problems of money, unpaid debts, and mortgages, following the creation of the diocese out of two Districts.
1853	Market Rasen	Complaints arose in connection with the problems at Lincoln, over the supposed way Fr. Clarke SJ ran the local mission. This upset 'English' Catholics.
1848-52	Nottingham Convent	Disputes arose over who was responsible for moneys lent to establish the convent. The dispute involved the laity, Hendren, Wareing, and Ullathorne.

Table 2.2
THE FIRST CHAPTER, 1852

NAME	LOCATION	ORIGIN	THEOLOGY	DETAILS
Simkiss	Hainton	English	Cisalpine	Acted like an 18th C. Parson. He was an academic, and enjoyed courtly sports
Cheadle	St. Barnabas'	English	Cisalpine	Former Franciscan, who had no wealth
Griffin	St. Barnabas'	English	Ultramontane	Strong minded respected priest
Mulligan	St. Barnabas'	Irish	Ultramontane	Well-loved priest. Hard working
Fauvel	Glossop	French	Ultramontane	Locally regarded as a saint
Jones	Worksop	English	Cisalpine	Rich academic who liked gardening. Well respected
Gasgoyne	Irnham/Corby Glen	English	Ultramontane	Wealthy and respected
Waterworth	Newark	English	Ultramontane	Wealthy, partially trained as a Jesuit
Sing	Derby	English	Ultramontane	Aristocratic connections, well known for his Church building
Daniels	Derby	English	varied	Dictatorial, wealthy
Raphaelis	Ashbourne	French	Ultramontane	Hardworking
Hall	Louth	English	Cisalpine	Ideally suited to a rural mission

Roskell as Hendren's successor in 1852. Hendren's actions over the choice of Canons should be compared to that of Bishop Brown (Liverpool). He went for an even geographical distribution only to find that he had wrongly appointed two priests who did not work well with the other Canons. The August 1852 Chapter meeting was particularly important for the Nottingham Diocese because Hendren and the Chapter agreed to establish a Capitular Fund, a Bishop's Maintenance Fund and a Destitute Missions Fund, in an attempt to put the diocese on a sounder financial footing.⁵² He also announced his decision to resign. A few days previously, he had been criticised by his fellow bishops at the Oscott Provincial Synod for his absence and lack of leadership.⁵³ In the end they called for his resignation. In a letter dictated to Cheadle and addressed to Wiseman, Hendren wrote, "I willingly subscribe to this opinion for I have no hesitation in asking that should it not displease his Holiness that I be permitted to lay down the burden of Episcopal Office [for] I fear I am unqualified [and] joyfully I give thanks to almighty God".⁵⁴

Whenever possible Hendren supported Wiseman's policy of encouraging the work of the Orders.⁵⁵ In 1851 there were ten Religious centres across the Nottingham Diocese, six male and four female.⁵⁶ In Nottingham he agreed to the Sisters of Mercy purchasing the redundant St. John's Chapel for conversion into a Ragged and Industrial School.⁵⁷ Here, as in Derby, Loughborough, and Glossop, orphanages, elementary

vol. 25 no. 2 (2000) pp. 294-303.

⁵² That these plans did not materialise is shown by the *Accounts* accompanying *Roskell's 1855 Pastoral Letter Roskell's Papers: Bishops Collection*, NDA.

⁵³ *The Tablet* 31 July 1852, p. 4 col. 3, is a report of the events at Oscott. Interestingly, Roskell was the chief celebrant at the Mass.

⁵⁴ *Hendren's Resignation Letter to Wiseman 26/8/52 Hendren's Papers: Bishops Collection* NDA. Translated from the Latin.

⁵⁵ G. Wheeler, 'The Archdiocese of Westminster', in G. Beck ed. *The English Catholics* pp. 151-86 as on p. 153.

⁵⁶ Details in the *Catholic Directories*.

⁵⁷ *Letter Hendren to Mother Superior Sisters of Mercy ABB 1921*, ADB This had been Nottingham's original Church but had been unused since building of St. Barnabas' in 1844. *Catholic Directory*

schools, night classes, and retreats were organised.⁵⁸ Life was hard for the Sisters who worked amongst the poorest of the poor, and there was a high mortality rate. In 1853 Hendren prevailed upon the Sisters of Providence (Loughborough), at Fr. Fauvel's (Glossop) request, to send three replacements to help run the school, as death had carried off the original Sisters.⁵⁹ Hendren simultaneously encouraged the Jesuits, Dominicans, Cistercians, and Rosminians. As well as making visits to Mount Saint Bernard Abbey, with Fr. Hutton's permission he used the Rosminian centre at Ratcliffe for a Diocesan clergy retreat during Low Week 1852.⁶⁰ A key feature of the Orders' behaviour which Hendren relied upon was the stability they engendered during these early years.⁶¹ Clearly, by the very nature of their being, much of their work went on without Hendren's involvement. Frs. Nickolds OP (Leicester 1841-76), Brindle SJ (Chesterfield 1851-66) and Egan IC (Loughborough 1856-89), for example, all had long and effective ministries, particularly amongst the Irish.⁶² The Cistercians of Mount Saint Bernard Abbey were renowned as providers of charity for the Irish poor.⁶³ To his regret, however, Hendren had to inform the Rosminians in 1852 that the diocese could no longer afford to maintain them as mission priests at Whitwick, Grace Dieu, Shepshed and Melton.⁶⁴ Their former places were filled at Hendren's request by Cistercians like Fr. Sisk.⁶⁵

1850, p. 112 suggests Cheadle put some of his own money into the project.

⁵⁸ T. Marshall, *Committee for the Council for Education Reports*, P.P. 1851-4. Also *The Lamp* July - December 1852, pp. 183-4, 306.

⁵⁹ Box 3, 'History', *Sisters of Mercy: Female Orders Collection*. NDA.

⁶⁰ *Letter to Fr. Hutton: Hendren's Papers: Bishops Collection* NDA.

⁶¹ D. Reed, *St. Mary's Boston notes in Boston Mission File Parish Collection* NDA. S. Gioraud, *The History of Whitwick Roman Catholic Mission* (Whitwick, 1906), pp. 28-9. J. Hurst, *A Slight Sketch of Father Egan IC* (Market Weighton, no date). *Hendren to Ullathorne ABB 1228*, ADB.

⁶² For a national picture see R. Swift and S. Gilley, eds., *The Irish in the Victorian City* (Dublin, 1989), The Jesuits opened a mission in Chesterfield (1853), as well as maintaining Lincoln and Boston; the Dominicans maintained Holy Cross Leicester and Hinckley. The Rosminians chiefly operated in north Leicestershire and Melton. For details see the individual *Mission Files Parish Collection* NDA.

⁶³ *The Tablet*, 15 March 1851, p. 165, col. 2.

⁶⁴ *Letter Hendren to Ullathorne ABB 1539* ADB. Also *Loughborough St. Mary's Mission Parish Collection* NDA. The Rosminians concentrated their activities on establishing Ratcliffe as a school in

From October 1852 to May 1853 Hendren's incapacity meant he virtually ceased to be an effective bishop. He spent much of his time at Cathedral House in pain, and the administration of the diocese was left once again to Cheadle.⁶⁶ In retrospect, Wiseman's judgement that "Hendren left no visible mark on the diocese "seems too harsh".⁶⁷ Clearly no centralising, ultramontane leadership was exerted 1850-3, but, considering Hendren's personal demeanour and inherited problems, the Nottingham Diocese did, albeit haltingly, progress.

2.2 Richard Roskell, Second Bishop of Nottingham 1853-74

Roskell's appointment marks a significant change in the development of the Nottingham Diocese. Hughes states that, "to all intents and purposes, Roskell was the first Bishop [of Nottingham]".⁶⁸

In August 1853 Cheadle was instructed by Roskell to distribute his first *Pastoral Letter* containing his welcome message and calling for a unity of purpose amongst Catholics.⁶⁹ In September 1853 he was consecrated at St. Barnabas' Cathedral by Wiseman.⁷⁰ At 38 he was younger than the majority of his priests, good looking, slim, erect, and easily distinguishable in a crowd. Importantly, he possessed a natural manner that "showed no affectation and put people at their ease".⁷¹ Those who

1854 and developing Loughborough St. Mary's

⁶⁵ *Father Sisk File* MSBAA. It contains a copy of *St. Mary's Chelsea*, anon, a pamphlet detailing his early life See also the obituary for Canon Waterworth in *Newark Advertiser* 5 April 1875, p. 8 col. 1 Also *Leicester Mercury* 21 February 1852, p. 3 col. 4.

⁶⁶ 10 January 1853 *Laura De Lisle's Diaries*, QH, He had been to Grace Dieu, but was forced to stay for three weeks due to illness. Only on the 10 January was he able to preach in the Domestic Chapel. D. Baigent, *History of Hassop Mission Hassop Mission File Parish Collection* NDA., p. 54, 22/6/53, writes "Cheadle awaiting to give up his temporary office to the new bishop...whose appointment cannot be long delayed". The clear implication is that Cheadle was not happy acting as a stand-in bishop.

⁶⁷ P. Hughes in 'The English Catholics in 1850, p. 72.

⁶⁸ P. Hughes in 'The English Catholics', p. 195.

⁶⁹ *Chapter Act August 1853; Sweeney Papers Priests Collection*, NDA. 24 November

⁷⁰ *Nottingham Review* 23 September 1853, p. 4 col. 3. Unlike Hendren's Enthronement this symbolised a unity of Nottingham and Westminster. Also *The Tablet* 1 October 1853, p. 621.

⁷¹ See *Nottingham Review* 2 December 1853, p. 2 col. 3. J. Evans, *Lancashire Authors and Orators*,

heard him remarked: “he is a distinguished preacher [and a] definite scholar who illustrates his talks well”.⁷² Cummins notes, “the Cathedral mimicked his character [as it was] always neat, clean, and perfectly presented to its Pugin perfection”.⁷³ *The Tablet* described him as “punctual, exact and faithful to engagements, well versed in ecclesiastical law, excellent at ceremonial, and a sound judge of character”.⁷⁴ *The Nottingham Review* added, “he appears to be popular with the laity”. Unlike Hendren, he had a private income which enabled him to travel frequently throughout his own Diocese, as well as to others and Rome.⁷⁵ The prudent way he husbanded his personal wealth is indicative of his cautious and careful handling of diocesan funds.⁷⁶

Bishop Roskell, as well as supporting the Hierarchy, was “his own man”.⁷⁷ By acting decisively and employing the force of his personality, he was able to diffuse potentially explosive situations as the occasion demanded.⁷⁸ This is exemplified by

Roskell was unlike Newman in this respect.

⁷² Ibid.

⁷³ M. Cummins, *Nottingham Cathedral*, p. 39.

⁷⁴ *The Tablet* 17 February 1883, p. 260-1.

⁷⁵ He was in Rome in 1854, 1859, 1862, 1864, 1867, 1869-70.

⁷⁶ See Roskell’s few remaining *Financial Papers Roskell’s Papers: Bishops Collection* which show how he insured his life and then borrowed against the policies so that he personally cost the Diocese very little. His brother was a solicitor who helped the Diocese: *Roskell and Hunt Court Papers Roskell’s Financial Files Roskell’s Papers Bishops Collection* NDA. *Nottingham Catholic Magazine* vol. 2 1870, p. 6 demonstrates his business acumen as when choosing a site for a new mission.

⁷⁷ Cp. *The Tablet* 19 June 1868, p. 602 and Roskell’s *Pastoral Letters, 1864, 1868 Roskell’s Papers: Bishops Collection* NDA. The subject is mixed marriages. Despite the family’s obvious importance to the Diocese, Roskell refused to attend the marriages of the De Lisle daughters to Protestants. The service was performed by the Bishop of Clifton even though Roskell had to give his permission. Some bishops, like Goss and Vaughan saw the tightening of regulations as increasing leakages. Bishop Browne (Shrewsbury) was another dissenting bishop: *Catholic Standard* 3 January 1852, p. 5 col. 2. Sister Parry, a relative of Roskell wrote “Roskell was conspicuous by his loyalty to the Hierarchy. He never took part in the Bishops’ conflicts”. *Letters of Sister Parry to Canon Cummins*, 25 November 1976, 26 May 1977, both in *Roskell’s Papers: Bishops Collection* NDA. P. O’Leary, ‘Catholicism amongst the Irish in Wales’, in P. O’Sullivan ed., *Religion and Identity*, vol. 5, Leicester, 2002), pp.189-193 makes the general point that such marriages were inevitably going to increase, especially amongst the Irish because of the gender imbalance caused by the mainly male migrations.

⁷⁸ Internationally the clearest example is the way he coped with Vatican I. He attended the meetings in Rome, and chaired many gatherings of bishops. He never spoke at the Council and along with Grant and Clifford was absent from the final vote declaring Papal Infallibility. A summary of how all the English Bishops acted in Rome, and the little involvement by Roskell is in F. Cweikowski, *The English Catholic Bishops and the First Vatican Council* (Louvain, 1976). The ‘Introduction’ gives

his dealings with Manning and De Lisle over the *Association for the Promotion of the Unity of Christendom* in 1865: Manning ‘demanded’ Roskell order De Lisle to leave the organisation; Roskell [successfully] ‘asked’ him.⁷⁹ People felt they could trust Roskell. In his *Pastorals* he was open and honest about the pecuniary condition of the Nottingham Diocese and took the trouble to explain situations based on his personal experiences.⁸⁰ *The Nottingham Rainbow* noted that he “controlled his temper, was a Christian gentleman and was always willing to make allowances for the mischance of ignorance and defection of experienced wisdom. To the poor he was a prudent friend and benefactor [who] was always concerned with the individual, even more so if he personally knew them.⁸¹ As a linguist he was better able to converse with people, whether they were the poor immigrants of the Nottingham Diocese or the officials of Propaganda.⁸²

Beneath Roskell’s exterior lay a deep piety.⁸³ He ensured that he said the Divine Office before 6 am. and demanded the same from his priests. He was born in 1817 into a Lancashire recusant family, about whom he spoke with affection and reverence, and grew up in a religious environment. After Ushaw, he was educated under Wiseman at the English College Rome. Returning to England he was appointed curate in Manchester gaining a much loved reputation amongst the poor for his work during the 1848-9 typhoid outbreak. In 1852 he was appointed Provost to the newly

the general context but use the Index for individual bishops.

⁷⁹ E. Stuart, ‘Unjustly Condemned?: Roman Catholic Involvement in the APUC 1857-94’, *Recusant History* vol. 15 no. 3 (1979) pp. 15-22 (1990), pp. 44-63. The quotation is from p. 18.

⁸⁰ *Roskell’s Circular Roskell’s Papers; Bishops Collection* 25 October 1854, NDA. That Roskell had experience of life is shown by a report on his work in Salford before coming to Nottingham: *Nottingham Review* 18 January 1856, p. 7 col. 3.

⁸¹ *Nottingham Rainbow* vol. II no. 20, 20 March 1883, ‘Obituary’, pp. 229-31.

⁸² He spoke Latin, Italian and French.

⁸³ G. Sweeney ‘Roskell Entry *Obituary Book of the Priests of the Nottingham Diocese*: (Nottingham, n/d). Roskell was similar to Browne (Newport) who “gathered those around him each day at 3pm. to honour the dying Saviour and pray for the dead”. B. Plumb, *Arundel* ‘Browne’ entry.

formed Salford Chapter.⁸⁴ He came to Nottingham with a proven record and the psychological advantage of knowing that he was the first and unanimous choice of the Nottingham Chapter.⁸⁵ Wiseman now had a Bishop of Nottingham he could work with.

Roskell's aims were clearly visible in 1853 from his actions and sermons while in Salford.⁸⁶ Throughout his life he wrote no pamphlets, contentious articles or treatises, leaving only his actions, *Pastorals* and sermons as sources for reconstructing his thoughts. Roskell aimed at developing good communications with all Catholics.⁸⁷ In Churches he was known to move closer to the people, both literally and mentally, by forsaking the high pulpit and preaching from the nave, where he took time to explain the significance of the actions they were all undertaking in that particular service "in a simple and natural manner which addressed himself to your attention", so that all benefited from what was happening⁸⁸ A Protestant reporter for the *Nottingham Review* added "in estimating the particular power of Dr. Roskell as a preacher, we should give him decided preference over any of his creed".⁸⁹

Roskell, like Wiseman, was a bishop who aimed at using his office for the benefit of all. This earned him the respect of many non-Catholics, some of whom subsequently became converts.⁹⁰ Collectively Roskell's aims were to develop a

⁸⁴ G. Bradley, 'Bishop Briggs and His Visitations of the North', *Recusant History* vol. 25 no. 2 (2000), pp. 174-191 as on p. 189 suggests that as well as Wiseman, Bishop Turner (Salford) was one of the most formative influences on Roskell. This would help to explain Roskell's life long interest in this area and his support for Turner over the future of St. Mary's Agricultural Colony, at MSBA. This is chronicled in B. Elliott, 'Mount Saint Bernard's Reformatory, Leicestershire 1856-1881', *Recusant History* vol. 15 no. 3 (1979), pp. 15-22.

⁸⁵ The Nottingham Chapter met under Wiseman in February 1853 and unanimously placed Roskell at the head of the Terna: *Chapter Acts 1853 Sweeney's Papers Priests Collection*, NDA.

⁸⁶ B. Plumb, *Arundel*, 'Roskell entry'. *Nottingham Review* 18 January 1856, p. 7 col. 3.

⁸⁷ See *Appendix B* for a list of his *Pastorals*.

⁸⁸ *The Tablet*, 27 December 1856, p. 821, col. 3. In this he stood in contrast to Bp. Errington (Plymouth) who was a "strict disciplinarian and intolerant of innovation". B. Plumb, *Arundel* 'Errington' entry.

⁸⁹ *Nottingham Review* 2 December 1853, p. 2 col. 3.

⁹⁰ *Nottingham Review* 18 January 1856, p. 7 col. 3.

theologically sound but practical Catholicism that would engage the support of all Catholics, and when necessary, support them, and to facilitate diocesan cohesion and unity. It would seem that Roskell to a certain degree modelled himself on Wiseman, for not only were these the prime needs of the Nottingham Diocese in 1853, they were also the key wishes of the Cardinal, his old mentor.⁹¹ Throughout his Episcopate, Roskell maintained a high public presence. For a disparate and diverse diocese like Nottingham, a dynamic bishop was vital in order to promote its development, especially as this had not been the case under Ullathorne or Hendren. Roskell, therefore, began as he meant to continue. Within three months he had been publicly enthroned, opened/re-opened three Churches, visited four others, issued two *Pastoral Letters*, overseen the Christmas celebrations at St. Barnabas', preached at all the places he visited, and prepared and presided over the first Diocesan Synod.⁹² Additionally, he officially visited other dioceses, including Salford. All this was in addition to the innumerable visitors who came to pay their respects to the new bishop, and were cordially welcomed. In this short period he had been seen by more Catholics as Bishop of Nottingham in three months, than his predecessors had in three years!

In his aim to bring harmony and unity to the many disparate groups Roskell found in the diocese, he utilised a variety of methods which were more practical and pragmatic, rather than dogmatic. One such act by Roskell was to have Saint Hugh of Lincoln proclaimed as the Diocese's Patron Saint in 1855.⁹³ In so doing, Roskell was

⁹¹ G. Wheeler, 'Westminster Archdiocese', p. 153. B. Plumb, 'Cornthwaite' Entry suggests that Cornthwaite (Leeds) to some degree modelled himself on Roskell.

⁹² For Synod see *Roskell Synod File Roskell's Papers* NDA. Copies of his *Pastorals* in *Roskell File: Bishops Papers*, NDA. Opened Chesterfield (1854), re-opened Whitwick and Grantham after redecoration, visited MSBA. MSM, Grace Dieu and Loughborough. For details see the appropriate *Missions File Parish Collection* all in NDA. 42% of the new missions Roskell opened were in operation by 1860.

⁹³ *Catholic Directory 1855*, Nottingham Diocese. St. Hugh rebuilt the original pre-Reformation Cathedral in Lincoln and was a Bishop of the See 1186-1200.

also stressing the continuity of local Catholicism from pre-Reformation times as St. Hugh had been the founder of Lincoln Cathedral in the twelfth century. He hoped diocesan unity would be encouraged by this action. The benefits to be gained by venerating St. Hugh were actively promoted by Roskell, with images of the Saint and Roskell's instructions on how to perform the necessary tasks, cheaply reprinted from his sermons. More significantly, such actions indicated that Roskell intended to ensure that the Nottingham Diocese was going to follow the ultramontane ways as laid down by Wiseman.⁹⁴ Roskell's authority and standing were increased by the innumerable visits made by members of the Hierarchy, where, because of his social graces, Roskell was seen at ease and welcoming. This association added to his stature since the local press invariably listed the main dignitaries who attended Catholic events.⁹⁵ The many visits Roskell made throughout the diocese meant that he participated in a wide range of religious, social, and official events, which had the effect of presenting 'the Bishop' as both a religious and social leader, and were important ways of promoting diocesan cohesion.⁹⁶ Such visits by Roskell included Visitations, Confirmations, school events, educational meetings, bazaars, and presentations to priests.⁹⁷ He often endeared himself to the children by granting a day's school holiday to commemorate his visit! The effectiveness of these visits was enhanced by Roskell's ability to combine the formality of the occasion with an informal personal approach which attracted many who

⁹⁴ The printing was done by Richardson's of Derby. Richardson was awarded a Papal Medal for his services to the dissemination of cheap Catholic literature in 1855: *Catholic Standard* 22 November 1855, p. 4 col. 1. This aspect of ultramontanism is explored in Chapter 4.

⁹⁵ For example, as reported in the *Leicester Chronicle* 9 July 1869, p. 8 col. 1, over the opening of Exton Church.

⁹⁶ E.g., *The Tablet* 15 April 1874 when laying a memorial stone. Such reports indicate how he conversed with a wide range of people when he was there.

⁹⁷ *Nottingham Rainbow* vol. II no. 20 March 1883, p. 230 contains reminiscences by G. Byrne, who as a youngster and socially mobile upward middle class Irishman, witnessed such happenings. The importance of this group of people to the diocese is examined in Chapter 5 'The Laity'. See the section on 'The Middle Class'.

“came from miles around just to hear him preach”.⁹⁸ In his role as bishop, Roskell tirelessly presided at Confirmation services. Numbers and locations varied, for he did not just frequent the larger and more important missions.⁹⁹ This enabled him to see a wider range of Catholics and, in turn, emphasised to remoter communities the fact that they were equal members of the diocese. Amongst his many Confirmations, those at Gainsborough (1854) and Crowle (1874) were highly significant for the communicants and local people, being the first in their respective locations since the Reformation, and conducted by a bishop.¹⁰⁰ Roskell’s many trips involved him in lodging in a variety of venues including monastic centres, presbyteries, Glossop Hall (Lord Howard’s home), and Grace Dieu, but more importantly as far as the majority of ordinary Catholics were concerned, in private homes.¹⁰¹ Roskell was thus seen as being more at one with his flock than just a remote clerical official. Often crowds would wait for him at stations to accompany him to his lodgings. A further positive outcome from this would undoubtedly have been his greater knowledge of the individual mission situation, a valuable insight when deciding matters relating to its future.

Roskell enhanced mission and diocesan cohesion, knowledge and delineation through his *Pastoral Letters*.¹⁰² These are straightforward in nature, positive, and where appropriate, contained easy to follow instructions for adherents.¹⁰³ Only in the 1864 *Pastoral* did Roskell condemn people, and then it was “those who did not support

⁹⁸ *The Tablet* 28 October 1871, p. 563, col. 1.

⁹⁹ *Confirmation Registers* for Brigg 1874, Market Rasen 1865, Lincoln 1874, Derby 1866, for example cover both small and large, urban and village missions: see individual missions in *Parish Collection* NDA.

¹⁰⁰ *Catholic Opinion* 24 June 1874, p. 468, col. 1, noted how local Protestants objected and the Church was too small.

¹⁰¹ *Stamford Mercury* 19 June 1874, p. 5 col. 1. He lodged with a Mr. J. Broughton, grocer, provisioner and wine dealer at Brigg.

¹⁰² Copies of those quoted in *Roskell's File Roskell's Papers: Bishops Collection* NDA.

¹⁰³ Wiseman wanted all Bishops’ *Pastorals* to conform to a common pattern. By comparing the style of Roskell’s with other bishops, the clarity of Roskell’s is apparent. Compare for example, the Bishop of Northampton’s 1859 *Pastoral* and Roskell’s in *The Tablet* 8 December 1859, p. 772 col.3.

the poor [and] knowingly went against their faith". In the *Lenten Pastoral* (1854), Roskell took the trouble to explain the newly proclaimed Doctrine of the Immaculate Conception, including giving clear instructions to the laity on how to fast. In order to maintain his authority over the diocese, Roskell, even when in Rome, would write to his parishioners, explaining he had not forgotten them and was forwarding a *Pastoral* for their benefit.¹⁰⁴ Roskell's *Pastorals* also made people aware of the shortage of seminarians.¹⁰⁵ When Arthur Young, a prominent Lincolnshire benefactor, offered to help establish a local diocesan seminary, Roskell, although initially enthusiastic about the idea reluctantly rejected the offer on the grounds that it could not be properly maintained. However, the real reason expressed to the Chapter was that Roskell feared that the cisalpine Young would attempt to interfere in the running of something that he and Wiseman wanted to be ultramontane in outlook.¹⁰⁶ When appeals for money were made, Roskell was precise in defining their purpose.¹⁰⁷ The 1869 *Pastoral* dealt with financial matters and explained the plight of the poorest missions: Hathersage, Grimsby and Ilkeston. When appropriate, *Pastorals* praised the work of lay Catholics. Very little direct proof of the effectiveness of Roskell's *Pastorals* exists, but considering they were written so that ordinary Catholics could understand them and gain benefits from following precise, but simple instructions, and that some appeals were realised, it would seem they did spur people on.

¹⁰⁴ As in 1870. Roskell the man is illustrated in how he would often take his sister and her children to Rome with him. They would frequently visit his mother's grave in Bruges. Bishop Amherst of Northampton was another who took his family: *The Tablet* 8 December 1859, p.772, col. 3. A useful article on Amherst is S. Foster, 'In Sad Want of Priests and Money': Bishop Amherst of Northampton 1858-1879, *Recusant History* vol. 25 no. 2 (2000), pp. 281-293.

¹⁰⁵ Roskell was Wiseman's Inspector for the English Seminary in Bruges. For the Bruges' Seminary see S. Foster, 'The Life and Death of a Victorian Seminary: The English College Bruges', *Recusant History* vol. 20 no.2 (1990), pp. 272-290.

¹⁰⁶ *Chapter Acts* 12/10/58, 21/11/61,25/11/61,17/12/61, 25/11/62, 16/12/62: *Sweeney's Papers: Sweeney Collection*, NDA.

¹⁰⁷ J. Supple, 'Catholic Laity in Yorkshire', p. 306 suggests this pattern influenced Briggs'. In 1860 Roskell informed people that their donations had cleared the debts (as stated in 1858), and St Anne's

Although Roskell was frequently absent from the diocese, this did not cause the Diocese to suffer unnecessarily.¹⁰⁸ Roskell engendered loyalty amongst his priests, in particular Fr. Griffin, his Vicar-General who maintained things in his absences.¹⁰⁹ On the contrary, Roskell's absences did have a positive side to them: following his attendance at the Manchester Conference of Catholic Associations (1859), some of the accompanying diocesan laity were encouraged in the formation of new branches.¹¹⁰

As a bishop pursuing positive policies, Roskell was prepared to involve himself fully in the affairs of the diocese throughout his Episcopate. Roskell backed up his stance with a sound administration, which in 1853 was deficient in its development. Roskell began by implementing the *Decrees* of the Provincial Synods, which being ultramontane, gave the bishops specific powers with regard to the operation of their dioceses.¹¹¹ Roskell showed his support for the actions of Wiseman and the importance of Nottingham's Diocesan Synods when he said that they would enable him "to assemble together to have the opportunity of meeting the clergy [both Secular and Regular, to] receive reports of each part of the diocese [before] consulting as to the furtherance of the interests of religion".¹¹² Here Roskell's methods were at variance with Wiseman's, who used his Westminster Diocesan Synods to demonstrate his

Buxton was now open.

¹⁰⁸ These increased in the 1860s and coupled with his failing eyesight, meant he preached less. Fr. Tasker noted, *Nottingham Rainbow* 'Obituary', p. 235, "Roskell had the comparable opportunity of burying himself in the quiet Diocese of Nottingham". By 'burying' he emphasised Roskell's pastoral, not political behaviour, while "quiet" reflects on how successful he was in solving his inherited legacy of priest-laity problems.

¹⁰⁹ J. Supple, 'Robert Cornthwaite', p. 403.

B. Plumb, *Arundel*, 'Errington' and 'Wiseman' entries showed two such relationships that failed and serves as a comparison.

¹¹⁰ *The Tablet* 30 April 1859, p. 276, col. 4. See Chapter 5 'Politics' for how this organisation helped in the development of a diocesan political ethos.

¹¹¹ M. Sweeney, 'Diocesan organisation', pp. 128-9, and G. Wheeler 'Archdiocese of Westminster', p. 153, "the Diocesan synods are to reinforce the Provincial legislation". Full details of the Synods R. Guy, *The Provincial Synods in English*. Provincial Synodal Letters, not minutes were subsequently published for the benefit of clergy and laity, as in *Catholic Standard* 15 September 1859, p. 3 col.1. Note the ultramontane power shown here: the *Minutes* were for the Bishops only.

¹¹² *Advent Pastoral 1853: Roskell's Papers Bishops Collection*, NDA.

autocratic nature.¹¹³ Nevertheless, both had the same aims: to control their clergy and promote Catholicism. Roskell used the *Decrees* wisely across a broad spectrum of diocesan activities. Diocesan Synods, deanery meetings, the regular organisation of collections and a proper running of activities were all encouraged, and all were publicised so as to stimulate compliance and involvement.¹¹⁴ He used his administrative authority to prevent, or to attempt to prevent, problems developing, such as those relating to building and land ownership: for example, at Market Rasen the land for the new school was purchased by him *on behalf* of the Diocese and not, as formerly, by the priest.¹¹⁵ This had the effect of clarifying the legal position as well as avoiding the problems faced at Lincoln in 1874 when the ownership of land and property were disputed.¹¹⁶

The *Decrees* gave bishops powers to sanction (or not) decorations, enlargements and alterations to Church property.¹¹⁷ Bigger and more elaborately decorated Churches were needed to allow for the use of new, ultramontane devotional practices. A more frequent Exposition of the Blessed Sacrament, for example, required a larger and more prominent altar. Internal processions involving the clergy and laity, such as those associated with the Stations of the Cross, were another way in which the need for changes in building design were needed. All this was in addition to the simple need to provide more space as the size of congregations rose. The widespread use of the gothic style and the employment of Hadfields of Sheffield as contractors on many

¹¹³ D. Holmes, *More Roman Than Rome*, p. 87.

¹¹⁴ Lists of officers were frequently published in the *Catholic Directory*. *Nottingham Catholic Magazine* of the 1860s and 1870s carried reports of these activities.

¹¹⁵ Entry no. 37 *Holy Apostles File* SJMS.

¹¹⁶ The Lincoln problem dated from pre-Hendren days. Until 1870 the mission was run by the Jesuits, who left due to other demands placed on them by their Provincial, not as people believed, because of the local problems. See *Bagshawe's Visitation Reports Lincoln*, Bagshawe, Box 1 *Bagshawe's Papers: Bishops Collection* NDA The dispute was terminated in the 1880s.

¹¹⁷ *Croft Papers Priests Collection* NDA: collected by Canon Croft for a diocesan history never written., These show how permission was refused at Lincoln, see 'Lincoln', a file of unsorted

diocesan buildings would suggest Roskell was directly influencing *what* was constructed.¹¹⁸ However, given Roskell's concern for education, school-cum-chapels were given preference, in line with the wishes of Manning.¹¹⁹ In this way, by the time of his retirement in 1874 and the introduction of School Boards, the Nottingham Diocese was unique in that there were enough places for every Catholic child: indeed many schools also educated Protestants.¹²⁰ Roskell was not entirely successful in his administrative efforts. He tried, for example, to compel all priests to insure their missions, but *Bagshawe's Red Books* would suggest there was still much to do in this respect.¹²¹

Roskell worked hard to improve the quality of devotional practices, including re-introducing the ultramontane one of going on pilgrimages, as when the newly formed Nottingham (St. Patrick's) branch of the Society of St. Vincent de Paul went to Mount Saint Bernard Abbey. in 1870¹²² The multitude of historical backgrounds which comprised the Nottingham Diocese inevitably meant a wide variation in devotional practices. Masses held on cisalpine estates like Grace Dieu and middle class Market Harborough, where Gregorian Chants and incense were to the fore, differed from those

papers.

¹¹⁸ As at Clay Cross, Buxton, Stamford, Loughborough. Their respective mission histories each contain pictures and details: see the individual *Mission Files: Parish Collection* NDA. In A. Young, a Lincolnshire benefactor Roskell found a like mind who "was prepared to build [and pay for] gothic Churches and refused to pay for small neat buildings".

¹¹⁹ D. Newsome, 'Cardinal Manning and His Influence on the Church and Nation', *Recusant History* vol.21 no.2 (1992), p. 144.

¹²⁰ M. Whitehead, 'A View From the Bridge', in V. McClelland and M. Hodgetts, *From Without the Flamian Gate*, pp. 217-44, as on p. 233. For the Nottingham Diocese see J. Bastow, 'Catholic Elementary Education in the Five counties of the Diocese of Nottingham in the Nineteenth Century', M. Phil University of Nottingham (1970). This *Thesis* deals with Education in Chapters 6 and 7. Some incomplete statistics are in the *Diocesan Statistics Ledger 1875-1901: Bagshawe's Papers: Bishops Collection* NDA

¹²¹ *Bagshawe's Red Books* are so called because of their [faded] binding. They are his *Visitation Reports* *Bagshawe's Papers: Bishops Collection* NDA. Chesterfield Church cost over a £100 to repair: see *Nottingham Review* 14 April 1854, p.4 col. 1. R. Guy, *Synods in English*, p. 163 "all missions to be insured". J. Hickey, *Urban Catholic; Urban Catholicism*, p. 163 suggests the same thing was happening in the Cardiff Diocese.

¹²² *Nottingham Catholic Magazine* vol. 2 (1870), p. 11.

of the newer Irish communities at Clay Cross, Grimsby and Ilkeston where Irish prayers were said (and Gaelic sometimes used), and their saints venerated.¹²³ Because of these and countless other variations, the *Decrees* were designed to create a single ultramontane Church which emphasised uniformity and oneness, especially in the Mass. Roskell however, pragmatically accepted the variations he found, unlike Bishop Goss (Liverpool), because to ban them would have created further divisions.¹²⁴ Instead, in areas which included large ethnic minorities like Chesterfield and Glossop, priests were encouraged to develop Confraternities specifically devoted to a particular ethnic spirituality as a way of increasing diocesan cohesion. Thus there were branches of the Confraternity of the Order of St. Patrick for example in Chesterfield with Irish, and branches of the Confraternity of St. Anthony of Padua in Glossop where there were many Italians. Roskell hoped that Confraternities would strengthen the practice of those aspects which the Church thought most appropriate to foster. More importantly Roskell hoped that by involving people in Catholic-promoted religion and other socio-religious events, schematic developments would be discouraged.¹²⁵ To this end, priests were also to encourage the growth of organisations like the Catholic Young Men's Association, the purchase of Catholic literature by the laity and regular attendance at weekday services like Benediction, Rosary and Confessions.¹²⁶ Devotional changes were also accepted by Roskell when he accommodated some lay

¹²³ At Stamford until his death in 1857, O'Connor frequently preached in Gaelic.

¹²⁴ B. Plumb, *Arundel*, 'Goss' entry shows how Goss created divisions by trying to ignore them.

¹²⁵ E. Duffy, *Saints and Sinners* (Yale, 1997), pp. 249-52, gives a wider perspective on the problems. These were bound up with the science of evolution, Darwin and the nature of Biblical authority in the light of the new Biblical criticism. *Essays and Reviews* in 1860 had led to a schism in the Anglican Church and this the Hierarchy were not prepared to tolerate.

¹²⁶ The CYMS was strong in Market Rasen, but perhaps this was because it was a small village, had a dynamic priest in the 1860s with Fr. Moore, and there was little competition. In Nottingham St. Patrick's, Fr. Harnett would lecture on contemporary problems, e.g., *Nottingham Daily Express* 31 May 1870, p. 3 col.7, when the subject was 'Catholics and the Bible'. The report says the Church was crowded. The text was frequently printed in the local papers (if only so it could be criticised), but more importantly it served as a way of distributing the authorised ultramontane Catholic line. For

wishes respecting vernacular hymns, special services and prayers, providing priests first obtained his permission.¹²⁷ Roskell permitted variations that were not always in agreement with the *Decrees*, as when the Cathedral's mixed choir (under Griffin) performed Haydn and Mozart during Mass rather than the exclusively male-only choir singing Gregorian Chants as preferred by Manning.¹²⁸ Roskell additionally controlled the ways priests conducted their services through their sermons and licensed them to work outside their own missions.¹²⁹ Considering unity more important than uniformity, Roskell clearly used his new powers to develop the diocese in an ultramontane fashion, but was careful to do so in such a way as not to alienate people. Allowing variations was a facet of his pragmatism which recognised what conditions were really like in the Nottingham Diocese. Quinn, in analysing Manning's uncompromising manner and approach to cisalpine Catholicism, demonstrates in so doing the differences that existed between Roskell and his Cardinal.¹³⁰

Whilst the *Decrees* empowered the Bishops with certain quasi-Canon Law powers, bishops were still dependent on the co-operation of their priesthood. In the Nottingham Diocese, Roskell concentrated on developing this through personal contact, working with the Chapter and acknowledging priestly attributes through his 'right priest in the right place' policy. This recognised the unique qualities of each priest and sought

some national statistics see M. Heimann, *Victorian Catholic Devotions*, 'Appendices 1 & 2.

¹²⁷ As at Exton in 1871 when parishioners petitioned Roskell for permission to hold an Exposition of the Blessed Sacrament for Forty Hours: *The Tablet*, 22 April 1871, p. 497, col. 1. In Fr. Griffin to Fr. O'Sullivan ABB 3600 ADB, Griffin replies to a request on how to run a Sunday School. The implication from the reply is that his answer was a model for priests to follow.

¹²⁸ R. Guy, *Provincial Synods*, p. 141 for the regulations Roskell ignored. The Dominicans at Holy Cross throughout the 1860s used Haydn and Mozart as the basis for the annual Midnight Mass at Christmas. It was so popular that tickets were charged both to raise money and ration places. Holy Cross was middle class.

¹²⁹ This practice is called 'granting faculties'. Retreats were allowed and given by preferred Fathers through this control. Fr. Lockhart (Oxford) was popular in this field: *Leicester Journal* 13 March 1865, p. 7 col. 1. For the Dominicans as retreat providers see *Glossop Churches and Personalities File Z9, GPL*.

¹³⁰ D. Quinn, 'Manning as Politician', p. 270.

to correlate priestly attributes with mission needs.¹³¹ The success of this policy can be seen both in the increasing size of mission congregations and in the way priests appointed by Roskell were frequently invited back to preach long after they had moved.¹³² Roskell, like all bishops was restricted by the fact that his powers only extended to the Seculars, and then the 1852 Provincial Synod's creation of Missionary Rectors made some priests difficult to re-locate. For him this was not a major issue as he was prepared to leave the elderly Frs. Simpkins (Hainton) and Hall (Louth), the ailing Waterworth (Newark) and the effective O'Connor (Stamford), *in situ*.¹³³ Fr. Sing (Derby) a younger Missionary Rector was prepared to move when requested.¹³⁴ Roskell successfully matched priest and mission in the majority of cases, as when the elderly Fr. Formby, a convert Anglican country parson, was given rural Oldcotes in 1869.¹³⁵ At the other extreme, the "young and keen" Irishman Fr. O'Neill, ordained by Roskell, was given the struggling, predominantly Irish, Ilkeston mission in 1869.¹³⁶

Some priests were not content with Roskell's decisions, regarding their appointments, at least in the short term, as witness Fr. Swale (Grimsby 1852-5). He was disappointed when Roskell transferred him to Brigg and Gainsborough, Roskell

¹³¹ R. Guy, *Provincial Synods*, p. 243. See also *The Tablet* 'Obituary for Fr. Smith' 4 May 1867, p. 278, col. 1. In his policy Roskell may have been taking inspiration from Wiseman who in 1854-5 removed the entire priesthood from Islington in "order to reform the parish": D. Holmes, *More Roman Than Rome*, p. 88.

¹³² See Fig. 2.5. Some missions did not expand, partly as in the case of Belper, because of the volatile nature of Irish navvies' employment. For Belper see *Belper Mission File: Parish Collection NDA*.

¹³³ Missionary Rectors were priests who had a greater security of mission tenure. They were a sop to the clergy who wanted an end to what they saw as the arbitrary rule by some bishops: see R. Guy, *Provincial Synods*, pp. 53, 151-5. Each diocese had to appoint at least 3 and there was a complicated mechanism for removing them involving the Chapter.

¹³⁴ He was translated to rural Lincolnshire after carrying the Derby mission for over 25 years: W. Lilley, *St. Mary's Church Derby 1839-1989* (Derby, 1898), pp. 16-7. *ABB 1867, ADB, Grantham Mission File: Parish Collection, NDA, Grantham Journal* 3 May 1873 p. 2 col. 2. *Fr. Sing Deceased Priests File: Priests Collection, NDA*

¹³⁵ *Fr. Formby Deceased Priests File: Priests Collection NDA*. Entry 10/2/1860 *Laura De Lisle's Diaries QH, ABB B477, ADB*.

¹³⁶ J. Treacy, *Poor But Willing Folk* (Ilkeston, 1990), p. 6. *Fr. O'Neill Deceased Priests File: Priests Collection, NDA..*

having decided he was not suitable for dealing with Grimsby's Irish community.¹³⁷ Roskell replaced him in Grimsby with Fr. Bent, obtained from the Birmingham Diocese through Ullathorne; he was known for his work amongst the Irish.¹³⁸ In time, as Bent aged, Roskell moved him to Grace Dieu and Worksop, his place being taken by the dynamic Fr. Johnson.¹³⁹ Their subsequent ministries showed Roskell to have been correct as both missions prospered. Several of Roskell's successes came from placing Irish priests in predominantly Irish missions. In this aspect, Roskell was anticipating Manning's future actions, and was all part his attempts to increase diocesan coherence. When Roskell knew a priest was well liked by his congregation and was successful, such as Fr. Jones (Worksop 1853), he was prepared to allow them to remain.¹⁴⁰ Increasingly however, Roskell was forced to consider the health of priests and find them easier missions because the shortage of manpower prevented him from retiring them completely.¹⁴¹ At times, Roskell had to be pragmatic and bow to external pressures. In 1854, for example, Anderdon, a popular convert Leicester vicar, had Roskell's permission to stay and work with the Dominicans, but Wiseman signalled that he wanted him in London.¹⁴² Although appointments were made in good faith,

¹³⁷ He was not seen as dynamic enough for this developing, mainly Irish mission. The correctness of Roskell's decision can be seen in the success Swale made of his new appointment. See W. Bedford and M. Knight, *Jacob's Ladder* (Grimsby 1996), and *Lincolnshire Chronicle* 1 January 1854, p. 8 col. 4, *Leicester Daily Post* 11 May 1874, p. 3 col. 2.

¹³⁸ Bedford and Knight *Jacob's Ladder*, pp. 56-64.

¹³⁹ *Lincolnshire Chronicle* 11 January 1867, p. 5 col. 4. This action further shows Roskell's understanding of a priest's efforts and skills because Fr. Bent's tact enabled him to cope with Laura De Lisle's interference in local mission affairs regarding Whitwick school in a far better way than the local priest, Fr. Collins, a Cistercian from MSBA. *Loughborough Guardian* 18 March 1863, p. 7 col. 3. *Fr. Collins Brother's Files*: MSBAA.

¹⁴⁰ *Fr. Jones Deceased Priests File priests Collection* NDA. He was famed for his garden.

¹⁴¹ In this way Cheadle was retired after 30 years to Hainton (1866) and ill Fr. Harris given Hathersage in 1867, died 1869. For both see their *Deceased Priests Files Priests Collection*, NDA..

¹⁴² Papers noting the way Wiseman expressed his wishes in W333/31, WDA and DE 3214/Box 626/12/1/14, DRO. For the point in relation to the Hierarchy see G. Parsons ed., *Religion in Victorian Britain*, vol. 1 'Traditions', p. 27. Anderdon's move to London was part of a *quid pro quo* Roskell was forced to accept. The Earl of Gainsborough, a wealthy benefactor and convert wanted a chaplain at Exton Hall, Wiseman wanted support for a hospital. Roskell let Anderdon go to London, receiving Fr. Munro in return who went to Exton, and Lord Gainsborough donated money to

Roskell occasionally had to contend with changes in priests' beliefs and personalities. Fr. Phelan (*in situ*, Grimsby 1850), hurriedly departed believing he had achieved "nothing worthwhile".¹⁴³ Sometimes having a priest 'in the right location' meant moving him from the 'wrong location': Fr. Daniels, for example, was removed from Derby in 1865 over his dealings with the Convent and Mary Beaumont's money.¹⁴⁴ His arbitrary decision to re-locate the Sisters of Mercy Convent away from the Irish area it predominantly served, caused considerable local consternation.

Although Roskell's powers to move Regulars were limited, he nevertheless saw their location and re-location as a necessary part of his policy to achieve diocesan harmony and cohesion. However, relationships nationally between Regulars, Seculars and a diocesan bishop were not always easy. At the time it was not possible for Regulars to be Canons or members of a Chapter. This, along with the Regulars' prime loyalty being to their Superiors rather than to the diocesan bishop, meant there was a degree of separation between Regular and Secular priests. Roskell agreed with Manning that this should be avoided.¹⁴⁵ Whereas Manning directly involved himself in an Order's internal affairs, causing considerable dissension, Roskell's harmonious relationship with the Orders was achieved through a three-pronged approach.¹⁴⁶ First, he sanctioned the establishment of their new religious houses and monitored the activities of existing institutions through his Visitations. Second, he dealt with specific problems posed by the St. Mary's Agricultural Colony Mount Saint Bernard Abbey,

Wiseman's hospital. Both achieved their aims. See *Munro Deceased Priests File: Priests Collection*, NDA.

¹⁴³ W. Bedford and M. Knight, *Jacob's Ladder*, pp. 8-10.

¹⁴⁴ B. Smith, *Some People of the Hathersage Mission 1780-1900* (Hathersage, 1992), pp. 18-23.

¹⁴⁵ D. Holmes, *More Roman Than Rome*, pp. 169-174.

¹⁴⁶ For Manning see, V. McClelland, 'O Felix Roma! Henry Manning, Cutts Robinson and Sacerdotal Formation, 1862-1872', *Recusant History* vol. 21 no. 2 (1992), pp. 180-218. Vaughan when in Salford similarly had similar difficulties with the Orders. In Chapter 3 it will be shown how Bagshawe also encountered troubles.

those at Lincoln, Market Rasen, and Clay Cross through a firm but friendly manner; and, thirdly, he maintained sound relationships with the Orders' Superiors. To this end, Roskell made Fr. Nickolds OP (Leicester, Holy Cross), a Dean and official of the Diocesan Synod. He also agreed to a request from the Dominican Sisters allowing them to establish a House in Leicester 1860-1, although it failed because of difficulties they had with Fr. Nickolds.¹⁴⁷ At Crowle (1871), the Premonstratensians were given permission to establish a House after T. Young assured Roskell he would be a benefactor.¹⁴⁸ Roskell additionally carried out his triennial inspections, or Visitations, at the missions operated by the Orders, including Loughborough, Lincoln, and Boston, and was a visitor to Mount Saint Mary's (Jesuits) and Mount Saint Bernard's Abbey. (Cistercians).¹⁴⁹ He manifested his approval for the Abbey's activities through the strong support he gave to their pastoral achievements: reciprocally, the Diocese greatly benefited through the activities of monk/priests like Fr. Sisk.¹⁵⁰

At the Abbey Roskell was involved with the problems of the Reformatory.¹⁵¹ This had been hurriedly established in 1855 in the wake of government attempts to send all offenders to (Protestant) establishments. It was under-funded and, despite strenuous attempts by the monks, inadequately staffed. Roskell was involved in its financial restructuring and eventual smooth take-over by the Salford Diocese.

¹⁴⁷ *Documents 1-9 Council Book 1861-64*, DCS. R. Guy, *Synods in English*, pp. 208, 216; "Only a Bishop could sanction a new operation [and] neither could the Order incur any expenditure without his authority. The Convent failed due to problems concerned with paying for the site.

¹⁴⁸ A. Fordham *A History of the Church of the Immaculate Conception and St. Norbert, Spalding*, (Spalding, 1991), p. 3.

¹⁴⁹ E.g., At MSBA he exercised his prerogative in 1868 and installed the new Abbot. *Loughborough Monitor* 8 January 1863, p. 5 col. 6 reports his attending Benediction and Blessing Services.

¹⁵⁰ *Father Sisk File Brothers Files MSBAA*.

¹⁵¹ B. Elliott, 'Mount Saint Bernard's Reformatory Leicestershire 1856-1881', *Recusant History* vol. 15 no. 3 (1979), pp. 15-22. J. Stack, 'Irish Delinquency and the Origins of the Reformatory Schools in Nineteenth Century England and Scotland', *Recusant History* vol. 23 no.3 (1997), pp. 372-388. D. Lannon, 'Bishop Turner, the Salford Diocese and Reformatory Provision', *Recusant History* vol. 23 no. 3 (1997) pp. 389-407.

Market Rasen, Lincoln, Clay Cross, and Boston missions, all staffed by Jesuits, created a different set of problems because the Regular lived as an individual on Secular, or diocesan property, and acted as a mission priest. The Jesuits, because of the pressures on their work generally, however, were anxious to withdraw from diocesan mission activities.¹⁵² At Clay Cross the ambitious Fr. Brindle SJ in his enthusiasm, had taken on more than he could manage and Roskell was having to deal with complaints that the mission was not being properly maintained.¹⁵³ Brindle had purchased the property in his own name in 1862 and made himself responsible for the debts, being reimbursed by the mission in the future. However, the mission was too poor to do this and Brindle's schedule prevented him from paying adequate attention to the development of the mission: debts were rising.¹⁵⁴ Roskell was equally concerned with the bad publicity the Clay Cross dispute was getting in the local press. He solved the problem by compromise: he would take over the running of the mission by having it served by an energetic Secular from Derby, Fr. McKenna, on the understanding the Jesuits paid all the outstanding bills.

The problems at Market Rasen and Lincoln both concerned money and the ownership of 'Church?' property for which there was only hearsay evidence of provenance. In the absence of records, priests and local lay Catholics assumed different things: the Jesuits that the fixtures and fittings were theirs, the laity that they belonged to the Church.¹⁵⁵ The disputes lasted on-and-off from 1858-70. Roskell solved the

¹⁵² R. Guy, *Synods in English*, p. 193, shows that the withdrawal problem was not confined to the Diocese of Nottingham.

¹⁵³ Fr. Clarke to Fr. Tole 25/11/56, nos. 24, 26-7, August 1860 nos. 37-8,; *Holy Apostles' File*, SJMS. For Clay Cross see *Clay Cross Mission File: Parish Collection*, NDA as well.

¹⁵⁴ For the whole controversy see *Lives and Notices* vol. 30, (1910) pp. 9-15, 286. Also *Letters 103-4, 108* and Document no. 131 *Hugh of Lincoln File*: SJMS. Press coverage *Derby Telegraph* 4 January 1862, p. 2 col. 3, 30 July 1864, p. 3 col. 2.

¹⁵⁵ It would seem that no inventories were ever kept so a new priest on seeing the mission assumed everything belonged to the Order, as they had established the missions, before 1850.

Market Rasen dispute by moving the priest, Fr. Clarke, and fighting a legal battle with the aid of his brother, a solicitor, which they won. In Lincoln, the Jesuits withdrew in 1870, to be replaced by a secular, Fr. Rowley. The problem was not satisfactorily resolved but an offer by T. Young to provide land for a new Church, and in the meantime maintain the old, helped Roskell placate the laity.¹⁵⁶ In Boston, when Fr. Scott SJ died in 1854, Roskell managed to persuade his nephew Fr. Rigby SJ to run the mission until he found a French priest, Fr. Chepy, as a replacement.¹⁵⁷

Important as these disputes were because they had characteristics common to others across the country, they should not obscure the fact that Roskell and the Orders worked well together for over twenty years. Certainly a large measure of coherence was achieved by their ministries as reflected in the growth of the size of the missions they operated, their expanding infrastructure, and the growing number of retreats they organised. Because Roskell recognised the Orders' separate contributions and respected their internal affairs, they in turn accepted his diocesan authority. Good relationships were developed at a higher level with the Orders' Superiors and Principals through the many visits Roskell made to their Houses, and the invitations they accepted to diocesan events: Roskell demonstrated his fairness and the fact he was "his own man".¹⁵⁸

At the first Chapter meeting held under his reign in December 1853, Roskell assured the priesthood that "he would ever consult them on all matters relating to the Diocese and would not act without their concurrence".¹⁵⁹ This not only gained Roskell their support, but since the Chapter comprised the most senior and respected priests, by

¹⁵⁶ Thomas Young *Lincolnshire Missions Library* (1976) Collection NDA .

¹⁵⁷ M. Middlebrook, *The Catholic Church of Boston*, (Boston, 1977), pp. 21-2

¹⁵⁸ E.g., the people attending the 25th Anniversary of St. Barnabas' in 1869 included all the Orders' Superiors and Principals.

¹⁵⁹ *Chapter Acts 22/12/53: Sweeney's Papers: Sweeney Collection NDA.*

implication, that of all priests. Such actions on Roskell's part demonstrate his willingness to utilise their experience to achieve his aims of unity and cohesion.¹⁶⁰ More particularly it enhanced their authority when, as priests in charge of Deaneries or as members of them, they attended meetings to discuss matters concerning local issues or the diocese in general. Chapter and Deanery reports became recognised channels of communication between bishop and clergy, as distinct from the individual approach any priest felt confident enough to make. Working together, Bishop and Chapter agreed that one of the immediate needs of the diocese in 1853 was the provision of a mission at Belper "as soon as the means can be provided".¹⁶¹ This is a clear indication of their joint unity of purpose, plus a mutual recognition of the problems facing the Diocese. At the same meeting they were unanimous in passing a motion "that the attention of [the entire] clergy should be addressed to the necessity of establishing a diocesan seminary". Acting in concert Bishop and Chapter worked hard in these early years at tackling the problems of diocesan finance.¹⁶² Together they agreed to institute a restructured Diocesan Mission Fund for the poorest missions, and make improvements in the Johnson Fund, which dealt with "the relief of maintenance of superannuated, sick and disabled priests of the Diocese". Such positive developments stand out when compared to the failure of such plans three years earlier under Hendren.

During the 1860s, Nottingham, in common with the other dioceses, experienced a change in the relationship between Bishop and Chapter, characterised by a decline in

¹⁶⁰ *The Tablet*, 20 February 1869, p. 547, col. 1. He added Canons thus showing it was not a closed shop.

¹⁶¹ *Chapter Acts 22/1/53: Sweeney's Papers: Sweeney Collectoin*, NDA. The nearest Mass centre was 20m away in Derby. There were many Irish in the area working on the railway and in local iron works.

¹⁶² *Chapter Acts 12/10/58 Sweeney's Papers: Sweeney's Collection. Canon Jones' Cathedral Letter Jones' Deceased priests File: Priests Collection, Roskell's 1854 Pastoral: Roskell's Papers Bishops Collection*, all NDA. Papers relating to a possible Diocesan Seminary c1860 *ABB 3634, ABB 3134, ABB 3215, ABB 3304, ABB 4125, ABB 4414*, ADB.

the importance of the latter, and a rise in the authority of the bishop as ultramontanism grew.¹⁶³ As McClelland states, “this was the age of the Bishop”.¹⁶⁴ Only after 1870 did the Nottingham Chapter begin to voice its opinion, arguing “a more positive stance should be adopted”, due to the recognition that Roskell’s increasing blindness raised the problem of his resignation. That Roskell still recognised the importance of the Chapter is shown in the way they jointly chose a possible successor for the Episcopal Throne, Canon Croft (Lincoln).¹⁶⁵ The *Address* presented by the Canons to Roskell at his resignation in 1874 stresses their high regard “for his leadership qualities...sympathy [for his health], sorrow [at his loss] and affection shown [to them] during his time amongst them”.¹⁶⁶

Considering over half of all Diocesan Catholics were Irish, Roskell did not have an Irish policy *per se*, being more concerned to retain all ethnic minorities.¹⁶⁷ In this respect Roskell heard Confessions in Italian, French and German whenever possible.¹⁶⁸ By adopting a pragmatic approach to individual problems, Roskell was a mixture of Wiseman’s affinity for the English and Manning’s preference for the Irish. Roskell was well regarded by the Irish and understood their needs, having an Irish mother.¹⁶⁹ He approved the opening new Mass centres in the ‘ghetto’ areas of Leicester (1854) and

¹⁶³ A change noted by J. Supple, ‘Ultramontanism in Yorkshire’, *Recusant History* vol. 17 no.3 (1985), pp. 274-286.

¹⁶⁴ V. McClelland in *Flaminian Gate*, p. 7.

¹⁶⁵ *Chapter Acts 1870-74 Sweeney’s Papers: Sweeney Collection NDA*. It was not their fault Manning disputed their choice.

¹⁶⁶ *Catholic Opinion* 30 December 1874, p. 890 col. 1.

¹⁶⁷ As well as Confessions in several languages, Roskell encouraged Catholics who distributed foreign language publications to visitors. He heard Italian Confessions at the Cathedral. He also supported Hungarians, Poles and welcomed Kossouth when he came to Nottingham. See Fig. 2.7.

¹⁶⁸ For details see *Catholic Directories*. There were also the *ad hoc* arrangements made during formal Visitations.

¹⁶⁹ *Nottingham Catholic Magazine* vol. 6 December 1874, ‘Catholic Re-Union’, commented on “Roskell’s love of the Irish...and the good work he had done”. For the comparison with Wiseman see J. Rafferty, ‘Nicholas Wiseman’, p. 384.

Nottingham (1867), and in 1857, along with the Sisters of Mercy, personally resided at Belper for six weeks in an attempt to start a mission for the navvies.¹⁷⁰

In order to bring harmony and unity to the diocese, Roskell could not avoid having to deal with the problems the St. Patrick's Day celebrations frequently caused, and the growing tensions generated by the Fenians in the 1860s. Between 1853 and 1863 a noticeable change occurred with regard to the former. Whereas they were seen as divisive with the middle class Irish and some English celebrating indoors with their soirees, while others caused violence and were drunk in the surrounding streets, by 1863 with Roskell's insistence that priests take a strong local lead, they became mixed family events starting with Mass, followed by processions, lunch, an afternoon football match, and concluding with an evening social, often with entertainment from nationalities other than the Irish. Roskell frequently attended such events.¹⁷¹

Feniansim, or the Saint Patrick's Brotherhood, presented a wider problem because its policy of using violence to achieve political ends, namely Irish independence, threatened Catholicism's position nation-wide. It also created divided loyalties amongst the Irish, both laity and clergy alike.¹⁷² Feniansim, was active in Glossop, Chesterfield, Leicester and Nottingham, especially 1864-7.¹⁷³ Roskell made his condemnation of the movement perfectly clear, but allowed individual priests to deal with the local situation, thus strengthening his authority by not alienating sections of his priesthood or some Irish Catholics.¹⁷⁴ However, this did leave him open to a

¹⁷⁰ *Belper Mission File: Parish Collection* NDA. *Sisters of Mercy, Derby, File : Female Orders Collection* NDA: both contain unsorted papers.

¹⁷¹ *Nottingham Daily Express* 18 March 1853, p. 5 col. 4. *Derby Telegraph* 24 March 1853, p. 2 col. 5. *DT* 23 March 1867, p. 3 col. 1. A large number of such festivals were "tamed" in this period: see for example A. Hawkins, *Reshaping Rural England*.

¹⁷² For the movement see P. Quinlan and P. Rose, *The Fenians in England 1865-75* (Dublin, 1962).

¹⁷³ *Leicester. Mail* 28 September 1867, p. 4 col. 6, 12 October 1867, p. 5 col. 6. *Nottingham Daily Express* 20 December 1866, p. 2 col. 2. *Ashbourne Chronicle* 26 October 1867.

¹⁷⁴ For a contrasting situation involving the Shrewsbury Diocese see, S. Gilley, 'The Garibaldi Riots of 1862', *History Journal* vol. XVI no. 4 (1974), pp. 679-732.

charge of vacillation.¹⁷⁵ Fr. Brindle SJ (Chesterfield, 1866) excommunicated any Catholic involved with the organisation, while Fr. Harnett (Nottingham St. Patrick's) and Fr. Bent (Grimsby) both condemned the movement, but not out of hand.¹⁷⁶ With their large Irish congregations, Harnett linked his condemnation with an attack on English government policies in Ireland, while Best added "I will pray for their [Fenian] souls". Thereafter, Roskell encouraged priests to join with lay Catholics and become involved in the Home Rule movement.¹⁷⁷ During his reign it became a constitutional organisation.¹⁷⁸ Roskell let it be known that Catholics were not to attend meetings at which Fenianism or Catholicism were subjects for debate, nor indulge in press correspondence on such matters. Broadly he was successful, but when people disobeyed him, the meetings and correspondence were often acrimonious.¹⁷⁹ In the wider context, Roskell's actions made Catholicism seem more acceptable, and in the long run aided assimilation.¹⁸⁰

¹⁷⁵ Roskell was not the only bishop caught in this vortex. See *The Month* January-June 1867, 'Catholic Questions in the new Parliament', pp.167-170. Cardinal Cullen was one such Prelate. See E. Larkin, 'Cardinal Cullen', in J. von Arx ed., *Varieties of Ultramontaniam* (Washington, 1998), pp. 65-83 and J. Rafferty, 'Cardinal Cullen, Early Fenianism and the Macmanus Funeral Affair', *Recusant History* vol. 22 no. 4 (1995), pp. 549-565.

¹⁷⁶ Excommunication requires the approval of the bishop. *Derby Telegraph* 24 February 1866, p. 2 col. 6 for Derby, *Stamford Mercury* 27 December 1867, p. 2 col. 3 for Stamford, *Nottingham Daily Express* 7 November 1866, p. 4 col. 2 refers to Harnett. He was in a cleft stick as virtually all his congregation were Irish. *Newark Advertiser* 4 December 1867, p.5 col. 3, for Fr. Bent. In a broader context see W. Walker, 'Irish Immigrants into Scotland', *Historical Journal* vol. XV (1972) pp. 852-5, "Catholics who supported Fenians are being vulnerable to secular forces and are pretend Catholics".

¹⁷⁷ D. Holmes, *More Roman Than Rome*, p. 180.

¹⁷⁸ *Nottingham Catholic Magazine* vol. 1 (1869) p. 2. *Nottingham Daily Express* 19 March 1872, p. 3 col. 6. As an example of how the Church was involved. P. Stanton, Headmaster of Kent St. RC School was a local leading Home ruler, as was J. Dobson, a local benefactor.

¹⁷⁹ E.g., *Leicester News* 1 March 1866, p. 5 col. 2. Here the link between opposing Fenianism and the need for the Orange Order to oppose Catholicism was stressed. There was violence at a Newark meeting. The futile correspondence can be followed in the [almost] daily 'Letters' column of the *Nottingham Daily Express* during August-September 1869, until the Editor called a halt to the proceedings.

¹⁸⁰ In Chapter 7 'Anti-Catholicism', the difference between 'Catholic' and 'Catholicism' is explored in relation to the Nottingham Diocese. V. McClelland, *Flaminian Gate*, p. 7, "Wiseman and Manning wanted a Catholic synthesis".

Expanding mission provision was a major concern for all bishops.¹⁸¹ For Roskell it necessitated a balancing act between maintaining existing missions and finding resources, especially priests, to staff new ones, (Table 2.3). Roskell was in tune with Wiseman who saw the revitalisation of the mission “as the spiritual and liturgical catalyst” for future developments.¹⁸² Revitalisation entailed structural and devotional changes. Ideally each mission should have had a separate Church, presbytery, school, and its own resident priest, but as Table. 2.3 shows, only 20% were in this position in 1853. Roskell approached mission development in a number of ways. Firstly, a mission’s existence was seen as no guarantee of its continuance. Those that did survive, did so due to a mix of compromise, resource transference and the closure of others. Secondly, mission provision had to reflect changing Catholic needs. As Table 2.4 indicates, this meant meeting the needs of such diverse groups as the Irish and the increasing numbers of summer tourists at the Matlock and Buxton spas, while coping with Catholic population movements as typified by those caused by the decline of Brigg and the rise of the river port of Gainsborough. Thirdly, Roskell had to cope with cisalpine pressures. Converts such as the Earl of Gainsborough wanted new Domestic chapels (Exton 1869) with resident chaplains. As benefactors, their role was crucial; equally, Roskell recognised the myriad voluntary efforts made by ordinary Catholics.¹⁸³ Fourthly, Roskell realised he had to rely on the Orders to help achieve growth.¹⁸⁴ Roskell’s methods entailed cross-subsidising missions through the Poor Missions Fund and a reliance on benefactors, such as De Lisle around Whitwick and the Duke of

¹⁸¹ J. Harding, *The Diocese of Clifton*, pp. 13-5. Bishop Burgess, second Bishop of Clifton went to an early grave due to his mission tours trying to raise money, showing how serious the situation was nationally

¹⁸² A. McClelland *Flaminian Gate*, p. 6.

¹⁸³ A. Kimberlin *The Return of Catholicism to Leicester 1746-1946* (Hinckley, 1946), pp. 22-3, Fr. Nickolds comments “the roof [of the mission] was put on by the offerings [and free] labour by the Irish”. The same thing happened at Nottingham St. Patrick’s.

Table 2.3
MISSION FACILITIES 1853

Mission	Res. Priest	Presbytery	Church	School
Derby	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Ashbourne	Yes	Yes	Yes	No
Buxton	Yes	n.d	No	No
Glossop	Yes	n.d	Yes	Yes
MSBA	Religious			
Hassop	Yes	Yes	Yes	No
Hathersage	Yes	Yes	Yes	No
New Mills	Yes	Yes	Mass centre	Yes
MSM	Monastic			
Wingerworth			Domestic Chapel	
Tideswell	No	No	Mass centre	No
Ashby-d-l-Zouch	No	No	Mass centre	No
Leic. Holy Cross	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Barrow on Soar	Yes	Yes	Yes	n.d
Barrow Hall			Domestic Chapel	
Eastwell	Yes	Yes	Yes	No
Grace Dieu	Yes	Yes	Domestic Chapel	Yes
Hinckley	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Loughborough	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Ratcliffe			Chapel open	
Melton Mowbray	Yes	n.d	Yes	n.d
Shepshed	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Whitwick	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Weston Hall			Domestic Chapel	
Lincoln	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Barton	Yes	Yes	Yes	No
Boston	Yes	Yes	Yes	No
Grantham	Yes	Yes	Yes	No
Hainton	Yes	Yes	Yes	No
Inrham/Corby	Yes	Yes	Yes	No
Louth	Yes	Yes	Yes	No
Market Rasen	Yes	Yes	Yes	n.d
West Rasen	No	No	Mass centre	No
Osgodby	Yes	Yes	Yes	No
Gainsborough	No	No	Masscentre	No
Grimsby	Yes	No	Mass cnetre	No
St. Barnabas'	Yes	Yes	Yes	No
Newark	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Leicester St. Patrick's	No	No	Mass Centre	Yes

Table 2.4

OVERALL MISSION DEVELOPMENTS 1853-74

Type	Location	Year	Characteristics
Transitory	Weston Hall	1852	Benefactor's wishes
	Belton	1864-70	De Lisle's influence
	Great Easton	1864-71	Domestic Chapel
	Belper	1857-61	Irish mission attempted
	Ridings	1861-2	Too small to be viable
	Exton	1867	Domestic Chapel
Secularised	Boston	1858	Jesuits withdraw priests for use elsewhere in other missions.
	Market Rasen	1860	
	Lincoln	1870	
	Clay Cross	1862	Secularised due to debts.
Run at the expense of others	Gainsborough from Brigg	1859	Due to the decline of Brigg.
	Grace Dieu/Shepshed/Whitwick/Garendon	1853-67	Changes in De Lisle's influence
	West Rasen from Market Rasen	1853	Too close to Market Rasen
Terminated after the Restoration	Ashby-de-la-Zouch	1851	Too small: re-started 1908
	Barrow Hall	1852-3	Recusant centres sold or beneficiaries become Protestant
	Wingerworth	1853	
	Birdholme	1852	
	Holt	1859	
	Chapel-on-le-Frith	1854	Part of the 1854 Compromise
	Compstall Road	1851	Too small
	Wirksworth	1851	Too small
Spawned Daughter Churches	Leicester	1854	St. Patrick's from Holy Cross as Irish numbers increase
	Nottingham	1851	Inner city missions of St. John's St. Joseph's and St. Patrick's from St. Barnabas'
Established and ran continuously	Chesterfield	1854	Started by the Jesuits
	Grimsby	1854	For the port and railway workers
	Hadfield	1858	For the Irish cotton workers
	Marple Bridge	1859	For the Irish
	Spalding	1872	Norbetine centre
	Corby Glen	1854	Re-located from Irnham
	Husbands Bosworth	1873	Re-located from a Domestic Chapel
	Buxton	1850	Growing tourist centre
	Oldecotes	Prior to 1867	Established by a benefactor
Tideswell	Re-est. 1857	Variouly served	
Served occasionally from other centres and then self-maintaining	Barrow	1850	Local benefactor's wishes
	Mansfield	Pre-1867	Served occasionally by Jesuits
	Asholme and Epworth	Pre-1872	Scattered Irish needs
	Ashbourne	Re-opened 1854	Mission with a troubled past
	Retford	From 1867	Various spasmodic attempts to re-found a pre-1850 mission
	Swinford	1869	Irish influx

Table 2.4 continued

Type	Location	Year	Characteristics
Established prior to 1850 and ran continuously	St. Barnabas'	1844	Cathedral church designed by Pugin. Large Irish and English population
	Newark	1836	Built for the Irish
	Worksop	1838	Built by the Duke of Norfolk
	Derby St. Mary's	1838	Revival centre and for the Irish
	Boston	1827	Built by French priest, mainly for the Irish
	Grantham	1832	Built by Fr. Tempest
	Louth	1819	Built for English Catholics
	Shepshed	1842	Built by De Lisle
	Stamford	1800	For English and Irish
	New Mills	1843	For the Irish
	Lincoln	1799	Jesuit centre
	Osgodby		Rural English and Irish centre
	Market Rasen	1824	Run by the Jesuits
	Hainton		Pre-Reformation continuously maintained mission
	Colston Bassett		Old recusant centre
	Bosworth Hall		Old recusant centre
	Hathersage	1830s	Old recusant centre
	Hassop	1819	Recusancy
	Mount Saint Mary/Spinkhill	Pre-1800	Jesuit religious centre
	Mount Saint Bernard Abbey	1835	First Cistercian centre
Ratcliffe	1848	Rosminian centre	
Melton Mowbray	1840	Rosminian mission	
Loughborough	1835	Rosminian mission	
Barton	1842	Benedictine mission	
Glossop All Saints	1836	For the Irish	

Norfolk at Worksop.¹⁸⁵ He also made specific appeals through his *Pastorals* and utilised his own wealth.¹⁸⁶ Because resources were scarce, he occasionally used powers granted under the *Decrees* to forbid the alteration of mission premises, as at Lincoln (1872).¹⁸⁷

Roskell's new missions shown in Table 2.5, grew out of a variety of circumstances: re-openings (Ilkeston 1857), off-shoots from existing missions (Husbands Bosworth 1874), the obtaining of a Secular (Lutterworth 1873), or in finding Jesuits to occasionally serve new centres (Mansfield 1867). *The Tablet* (1862) commented on Roskell's abilities regarding mission developments by saying "the fame of Roskell is well known".¹⁸⁸ Group A were predominantly Irish missions, encouraged by Roskell and maintained by the Orders. Group B were all new missions initially maintained by Seculars, although, on occasion, Roskell had to plead with the Cistercians for help. For each of this group's missions, Roskell ensured they had a local benefactor, such as Lady Loudoun, before allowing them to commence.¹⁸⁹ Group C, the re-opened missions, shows Roskell's consideration for localised efforts and determination, and, because they had a predominantly Irish clientele, his recognition that to some degree, a certain level of permanence existed amongst the generally transient population.¹⁹⁰ Ilkeston in particular, demonstrates Roskell's faith and the success of his 'right priest in the right place' policy: he sent Fr. Tasker with only a letter

¹⁸⁴ See also *Appendix B*.

¹⁸⁵ E.g., *The Tablet* 4 June 1870, p. 721 col. 1. "The Duke of Norfolk instructed the agent to heat the Church for Fr. Bent".

¹⁸⁶ *Roskell's Financial Papers Roskell's Papers: Bishops Collection* NDA. A. Bedford and M. Knight, *Jacob's Ladder* p. 202 in relation to Grimsby.

¹⁸⁷ B. Bennett, *The Catholic church in Lincoln* (Lincoln, n/d), p. 22.

¹⁸⁸ *The Tablet* 4 October 1862 p. 631 col. 1.

¹⁸⁹ A Cistercian obtained was Fr. Luke for Hadfield in 1867: *Brothers Files, Fr. Luke* MSBAA. *Letter from Roskell; ABB 2326* ADB. St. Charles' Parish, A. Skeen *St. Charles Borromeo Measham* (Measham, 1981), pp. 66-7 show how Lady Loudoun was another benefactor.

¹⁹⁰ Letter to William Baigent (Tideswell) *Croft Papers Croft Papers Priests Collection* NDA. *The Tablet* 13 April 1861, p. 235 col. 3. A good example of how a mission with a precarious existence

Table 2.5
NEW MISSIONS OPENED 1853-74

Group	Mission	Year
A: Opened by the Orders	Chesterfield[SJ]	1854
	Leicester St. Patrick's [OP]	1854
	Clay Cross [SJ]	1862
	Crowle [Prem]	1872
B: New Secular Centres	Oldcotes	1856
	Hadfield	1858
	Marple Bridge	1860
	Exton	1867
	Lutterworth	1873
C: Reopened	Tideswell	1857
	Ilkeston (reopened)	1858
D: Opened for a Short Time	Belper	1857-61
	Ridings	1861
	Belton	1846-72
E: New and from Existing Centres	Market Harborough	1860
	St. Patrick's Nottingham	1863
	St. Patrick's Leicester	1854
	St. Mary's Glossop	1882 (in the School from 1854)
	Husbands Bosworth	1874
F: Intermittent	Retford	1861
	Epworth and Axholme	1864
	Great Easton	1864
	Garendon	1864
	Mansfield	pre-1877
	Swinford	1870

giving him “permission to beg”.¹⁹¹ Group D were new Mass centres that had a short life span, albeit for different reasons. In the main they were served intermittently for a localised Irish population (Ridings) and the De Lisle tenants (Belton), closing as economic circumstances changed.¹⁹² Group E comprises new centres that were spawned from existing major centres, such as Leicester and Nottingham. They were successful because Roskell utilised an existing infrastructure, the help of the Orders, especially the Sisters, and because the Irish wanted their own, local place of worship in preference to a more distant middle class Church.¹⁹³ In Nottingham, for example, there were three such places less than a kilometre from the Cathedral with its mainly middle class worshippers. Group F comprises missions whose common characteristic was the intermittent nature of their operation, being only served when possible from other missions: Masses were offered in response to particular requests to Roskell (Retford), as embryonic attempts to start new missions (Spalding), or as attempts to control local Catholics (Mansfield).¹⁹⁴ Mission provision was a complex issue because each was a response to an individual set of factors. Roskell’s ability is demonstrated in the way he used the advantages of each to enhance diocesan expansion.

Throughout his reign, Roskell tried to ensure that diocesan Catholics developed good relationships with the surrounding secular society, whether as a means of

survived.

¹⁹¹ J. Treacy, *A Brief History of the Catholic Church in Ilkeston 1858-1990*, p. 5.

¹⁹² In the case of Belton, De Lisle met all the costs. As he succeeded to Garendon so Grace Dieu was closed.

¹⁹³ The Sisters of Mercy helped at St. Patrick’s Nottingham. At St. Patrick’s Leicester, it was the Dominicans.

¹⁹⁴ At Retford it was to calm indignation amongst the parishioners who having collected money for a mission, still did not have one: *Catholic File L23*, RPL. *The Tablet* 8 February 1873 p. 176 col. 3 notes that at Spalding “Mass is said once a month in Spalding in a rented room [and] everything is needed [as all] vestments are brought from Boston”. *Nottingham Daily Express* 24 August 1865 p. 2 col. 3, *Lives and Notices* vol. 30 (1910), pp. 9-15 and ‘The Catholic History of Mansfield’, in *Nottingham Diocesan Year Book* (Nottingham, 1925), all deal with developments in Mansfield. The civil authorities were concerned with rising incidents of unruly behaviour that were occurring following opening of the mines, which employed some Catholics.

enhancing Catholicism, or to aid people in times of need (Table. 2.6). Here, Roskell was in tune with Manning's philosophy that the betterment of the spirit and body went together.¹⁹⁵ For Roskell, good relationships also equated with a lessening of anti-Catholicism: non-Catholics were frequently found attending retreats and Roskell enjoyed the respect of some Protestant clergy, such as the Anglican Bishop of Brechin, Andrew Forbes.¹⁹⁶ Significantly the local press 1853-74 carries no articles attacking Roskell. Roskell was a keen supporter of priests and lay Catholics in their secular efforts regarding workhouses, School Boards and Burial Boards.¹⁹⁷ Roskell's keen interest in the schools meant he became actively involved with lay and clerical participation in matters relating to the School Boards from 1870. Over education he was less optimistic than Manning who saw "education as the panacea" for all ills.¹⁹⁸ At a practical level, Roskell helped to ensure that, where possible, Catholics were elected to School Boards. Intellectually he had to cope with the divisions caused by the Antagonists and Protagonists over the whole issue of whether Catholics should, or should not, be involved with state-provided education funds.

2.3 *What was achieved by 1874 ?*

Contemporary opinion was divided on what Roskell had achieved during the period 1853 to 1874. The *Address* presented to him in 1874 by the Canons, although perhaps biased, stressed his leadership qualities and their affection for him.¹⁹⁹ However, some lay Catholics had noticed "the lethargy [into which] the Diocese had

¹⁹⁵ D. Newsome, 'Cardinal Manning and his Influence on the Church and Nation', *RH* 21 (1992) p. 145.

¹⁹⁶ He was a friend of De Lisle and stayed at Grace Dieu.

¹⁹⁷ *The Tablet* 8 October 1853, p. 655: he was interested in the plight of Catholics in prisons across the diocese. See *Appendix B* for examples of local Catholics involved.

¹⁹⁸ V. McClelland, *Flaminian Gate* p. 7. By education Manning meant Catholic, not secular education. 'The Primary Education of the Poor', *The Month* July-December 1869, pp. 217-223.

¹⁹⁹ See f/n 163.

Table 2.6
EXAMPLES OF CATHOLIC SECULAR
INVOLVEMENT

Examples	Details
War relief	Crimea Collections Sisters of Mercy work in the Crimea Franco-Prussian War collections National Days of Humiliation observed
Local Specific Schemes	Leicester Soldiers' Friendly Society 1857 Lincoln Soldiers' Wives and Children's Fund 1857
Temperance affairs	E.g. at Ashby, Chesterfield, Derby, Loughborough, Nottingham, Hadfield
Jointly with Protestants	Nottingham Temperance Society Hadfield Temperance Society
Anti-Adulteration of Food Campaign.	Lincoln 1850s
Hospitals and Dispensaries	Diocesan-wide, in all centres
Reduction in Shop Hours Campaign	Derby, Leicester, Nottingham
Monuments and Civic Amenities	Chesterfield and Technical Education Derby Arboretum Committee Glossop 'Model' Lodgings Various railway promotions supported Glossop Road and Waterworks improvements Loughborough Gas Works Nottingham O'Connor Statue Fund Whitwick Gas Works
Supporting National Disasters	E.g. Barnsley Mining Collections at Ilkeston Whitwick Disaster Fund Holmfirth Dam Collections
Choral Schemes	Brigg
Collections for the Poor	E.g. Money, food kitchens and soup runs in Boston, Ashby, Nottingham and Sleaford. Grantham St. Mary's Charitable Society

sunk [1870-4]”, and even an obituary report in 1883 commented on the way the diocese had not really progressed due to a lack of his presence during the last few years of his reign.²⁰⁰

Roskell’s reign can be divided into a number of periods, a phenomenon apparent at the time.²⁰¹ From 1853-7 Roskell had concentrated on laying the foundations for sustainable Diocesan development through policies aimed at administrative improvements, projecting a high profile, and encouraging diocesan unity. From 1857-69 Roskell’s policies appear to have come to fruition with new missions established, better relationships with the Irish, and a solid working unity of purpose with the priesthood. There were slow improvements in financial matters, with caution rather than expansion the watchword, and failures, as over Belper and the non-establishment of a seminary. However, from 1869 there were few new initiatives, apart from those relating to School Boards.

Quantifiably, there were developments under Roskell.²⁰² Places of worship increased by 31%, the number of priests by 25%, and the proportion of lay people to places of worship improved from 1:476 to 1:400, a 10% improvement. The number of Churches offering one or more Confraternities increased eight-fold, but by 1875 was still only 20% of the total. Churches regularly offering Benediction, Rosary and Exposition of the Blessed Sacrament during the week, increased from 15% to over 60%. The priest:chapel ratio remained unaltered, but Catholic numbers only increased by about 10% to 22,500.²⁰³ Despite the efforts made by Roskell, the Nottingham

²⁰⁰ Respectively, *Nottingham Journal* 29 February 1876 p. 3 col. 3, *N Rab* vol.11 (1883), p. 230. Canon Sweeney notes how ill health and absences reduced his effectiveness: *Sweeney Papers Sweeney Collection* NDA, see *Roskell Papers: Bishops Collection:file* contains unsorted material.

²⁰¹ See *Appendix B* for a summary chart.

²⁰² All figures from Figures in the text and *Appendix*.

²⁰³ *Bagshawe’s Diocesan Statistics 1877-1901* *Bagshawe’s papers: Bishops Collection* There are errors so the figures should only be seen as indicating a general trend.

Diocese's performance, compared to that of the other twelve dioceses was unimpressive. The priest:chapel ratio ranked tenth, in the increased provision of places of worship eleventh, and in new priestly provision thirteenth. Nottingham's priest:laity ratio increase (1853-74) was less than 25% that of the Clifton Diocese, while in the provision of Confraternities the Nottingham Diocese was eighth, and seventh regarding weekday services.²⁰⁴

Yet Roskell's developments must be seen in a wider setting. Slowly, he began to turn the Church into an institution, by encouraging priests to provide much more than Masses and religious services.²⁰⁵ Virtually all Churches had their social activities, and, increasingly, joint events with other missions, such as the annual Diocesan Choir Festivals of the 1860s. In this way, horizons were transformed from a local, to a wider scene, and Catholics encouraged to see themselves in a more open, rather than secretive-penal mentality. At a higher level, Roskell's encouragement of lay Catholic participation in inter-diocesan events was helping to lay the foundations for the emergence of a nation-wide, non-established national Church, which by 1915 challenged the Established, Anglican Church.

Roskell did, however, bequeath his successor, Bagshawe, a number of problems. Roskell's Episcopate had relied too much on his personal leadership. His prolonged absences meant a partial leadership vacuum was created, although it must be said that the diocese continued to operate smoothly when he was away and there were no reports of priest-laity problems for him to solve on his return; nevertheless, Table 2.7, based on the views of his successor, Bishop Bagshawe, suggest that the Nottingham Diocese in 1874 was perhaps in need of some attention. However,

²⁰⁴ Figures calculated from details given under each diocese in the *Catholic Directories 1853-74*.

²⁰⁵ The occurrence and importance of these is dealt with in Chapter 4 'Ultramontaniam'. As examples

Table 2.7
Comments From Bagshawe's
1875 Ad Limina Report
INDICATING THE WIDE VARIATIONS
FOUND IN
MISSION STANDARDS

Mission	Comments
Nottingham Kent Street	" A very rough mission with many (Irish) neglecting their duties".
Nottingham St. Patrick's	One "of the poorest neighbourhoods" in the diocese.
Oldcotes	"in a good state with a zealous pastor" . (Pastor was the convert Fr. Formby).
Boston	Bagshawe "found much ill-will and division" amongst the parishioners. (Essentially an English-Irish divide).
Exton	Area has " few Catholics apart from the Earl (of Gainsborough's) household".
Great Grimsby	The mission was "in a poor state, with some divisions".
Brigg	The mission was described as "well looked after" by a Benedictine.
Derby	The mission was "kept well".
Ashbourne	The mission had problems under Raby and was seen as "poor, neglected, and suffering".
New Mills	The area had "some discontent and ill-feeling towards the priest", who was described as 'eccentric'.
Hadfield	The mission was said to be "full of spirit".
Lincoln	Bagshawe found the mission could "admit of improvement". This was after the problems suffered from pre-1850.
Melton Mowbray	a "scattered and not very large" mission.
Newark	The mission was declining due to the Irish railway workers moving: Bagshawe noted,"the average attendance is only 60 out of 85". Also, Waterworth was ill.
Collston Bassett	It was said the area had "hardly any Catholics".

Bagshawe's comments reflect his arch-ultramontanist and may be an over reaction to what he saw on taking up his See. In total, the comments do reflect weaknesses and variation in the nature of mission developments.

The relationship Roskell had with his priests and the Chapter worked well because of his personality, but even this was strained in the late 1860s. The fact that Canon Harnett was trying to increase its importance at a time when the bishop's role was becoming more dominant, and the Nottingham Chapter's voice had been ignored over the successor issue, did not bode well for Bishop Bagshawe-Chapter relationships.

Roskell's pragmatic approach, while encouraging harmony and unity did not tackle some of the fundamental problems facing the diocese, such as those relating to the Irish. The central issue of assimilation was not tackled. Some absorption of the Irish had taken place, but it had been through the construction of separate, predominantly Irish, Churches and social events.²⁰⁶ The Irish Churches were the poorest in the diocese and there were complaints voiced, as at Ilkeston, concerning the lack of interest the wealthy people of Nottingham appeared to show in their situation.²⁰⁷ On the other hand, inter-Irish Church activities such as Confraternity meetings and social events, were popular, at least with the more middle class people. Feniansim may have been dealt with but the Home Rule societies were more middle class and did not tackle the real issue of how the Church was to deal with such political issues.

Roskell failed to deal adequately with the problem of seminary provision: instead he competed with the other bishops who also took from the established colleges and seminaries. In this it would appear Roskell was like Manning and put ideology

Whitwick had a brass band, many missions had libraries and Buxton mission played a strong role in the Penny Reading movement.

²⁰⁶ *Bagshawe's Ad Limina Reports 1875 Bagshawe's Papers; Bishops Collection, NDA.* See the first section dealing with each mission.

²⁰⁷ *Nottingham DailyExpress* 10 August p. 6 col. 2.

before the pragmatism of Vaughan.²⁰⁸ Perhaps, as Roskell's handling of finance shows, realism over what could be achieved was to take precedence over dreams. Certainly, as the Provincial Synods stressed, the bishops were to control their dioceses and administer them properly.

Fundamentally, Roskell was a diocesan bishop, politically astute enough to remain aloof from controversies that existed between the individual bishops and the Westminster Cardinals. His leadership was a mixture of cisalpine and clerical democratic methods, combined with aspects of ultramontanism. Above all it worked because of his personality. Holmes notes: "Wiseman found Catholicism a persecuted sect and left them a Church".²⁰⁹ Perhaps it could be said that Roskell found a divided Church and bequeathed his successor a united diocese. That Roskell's leadership was not considered sufficiently ultramontane is clearly demonstrated in Manning's rejection of Roskell's and the Nottingham Chapter's choice of a successor from the diocese, and his imposition of Bagshawe, an arch-ultramontane.

²⁰⁸ This was discussed in chapter 1 'Introduction'.

²⁰⁹ D. Holmes, *More Roman than Rome*, p. 84.

CHAPTER THREE
THE NOTTINGHAM DIOCESE 1874-1915:
ITS GUIDANCE UNDER
BAGSHAWE and BRINDLE

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3.0 Introduction

Chapter Three charts the development of the Diocese from 1874-1915, during the Episcopates of Bishop Edward Bagshawe (1874-1901) and Robert Brindle (1901-1915). The period has a unity in that Brindle was deliberately appointed by Cardinal Vaughan to rescue the diocese from the position it found itself in after Bagshawe's twenty seven year reign. Bagshawe had worked successfully as a priest under the direction of Cardinal Manning while a member of the Brompton Oratory.¹ Here Manning inculcated Bagshawe with his desires for a stronger, more unified Catholic Church better suited to supporting contemporary needs.² Inglis notes "amongst Catholic leaders, only Bagshawe was close to Manning in his attitude to social questions".³ Manning considered Roskell's policies of gradualism and harmony as insufficiently ultramontane, and believed there was a need to re-direct local Catholicism. Bagshawe was translated to Nottingham with a clear mandate for change and the knowledge that he possessed fully the confidence of his mentor, if not of the Nottingham Chapter.

3.1 Bishop Bagshawe: The Main Themes of His Episcopate

An essential point concerning the development of the Nottingham Diocese between 1874 and 1901 is to appreciate how Bagshawe interfered with, or sought to control, all aspects of Catholic life in a way that was totally different from that of Hendren, Roskell, or his successor, Brindle. This dominance emanated from the

¹ M. Napier, *The London Oratory* (London, 1987), gives a clear introduction to the ultramontane Catholicism that was practised in this institution.

² E.g., workhouse rights, education equality in the face of School Boards, Catholics and Home Rule. This view is supported by D. Holmes, *More Roman Than Rome* (London, 1978), p. 182, who emphasises how extreme Bagshawe was compared to other bishops. On pp. 240-1, Holmes notes how Canon Douglass, (Nottingham Diocesan Administrator) was a moderating effect on Bagshawe, and how more extreme Bagshawe became after 1892. There was speculation that Bagshawe might succeed Manning: *Nottingham Daily Express* 22 January 1892, p. 8 col. 1, because of his social policies and support for Irish Catholics.

³ K. Inglis, *Churches and the Working Class in Victorian London* (London, 1963), p. 311

interaction of his background, character and policies, which can be summarised as extreme and grandiose. He could, in turn, be impatient, pedantic, autocratic, expansionist, pro-Irish, a Christian Socialist, or arch-ultramontane. The unpredictable nature of Bagshawe's character had an important influence on events. In essence, Bagshawe was a controversial bishop who had opinions on matters secular and religious, and was never afraid either to air them or otherwise interfere in order to demonstrate his authority.⁴ Prosaically, Manning noted "He [Bagshawe] has an inflexible will for doing good".⁵ In turn, Bagshawe deliberately sought to raise the profile of his office by addressing people with introductions beginning, "As your Bishop, I...", giving lectures and other public speeches, often at controversial meetings on Home Rule, issuing over 40 *Pastorals* and writing many pamphlets and newspaper articles, all of which were socialist in outlook.⁶ All *Pastorals* were printed in the local press: pamphlets were sold for 3d. Bagshawe was a great publicist for the Catholic cause, holding regular Diocesan Catholic Reunions at which he gave a form of 'state of the union' messages which were widely reported in the local press.⁷ All Visitations were accompanied by the full ceremonial associated with the Catholic Church and reflected the historic traditions associated with such events.⁸ Bagshawe made his ultramontane stance abundantly clear by constant reference to Rome in his utterances,

⁴ In 1879 he attended and spoke at an Anti-Vivisection meeting where he also condemned hunting, shooting and fishing: *Nottingham Journal* 29 March 1879, p. 3 col. 2.

⁵ *Nottingham Journal* 28 August 1876, p. 3 col. 5. Manning on a visit to Nottingham.

⁶ See *Bagshawe's Circulars Bagshawe's Papers: Bishops Collection* NDA. These are now called *Ad Clerums* and contain much additional information, such as copies of letters from Rome and notes from other bishops. For Home Rule e.g., *Nottingham Daily Express* 18 December 1889, 'Mass Meeting Addressed by Parnell' p. 6 col. 2. Specific pamphlets include *Justice and Mercy to the Poor* (London, 1885). A list of the titles of his *Pastorals* is in *Appendix C*.

⁷ E.g. *Nottingham Daily Express* 11 February 1892, p. 8 col. 1. They were not all held in Nottingham. Alternative venues were Leicester, Derby and Lincoln. His Reunion speeches of the late 1880s attempt to portray a feeling that all was well, when it was frequently not the case. Bagshawe spoke in glowing terms of the Nottingham Seminary of St. Hugh's in 1889, when, as D. Holmes 'English Ultramontaniam and Clerical Education' *Clergy Review* vol. LXII (1977) pp. 266-78, p. 277 notes "it suffered from financial difficulties [and] disregarded almost every ecclesiastical regulation on the education of the clergy".

and using the phrase “We, in obedience to the expressed desires of the Holy See...”.⁹ Bagshawe can be compared to Cornthwaite, “who was somewhat rigid and unsympathetic [to priests] and a proponent of order and uniformity”, but contrasted with Brown (Shrewsbury) “who was by nature retiring [and a man] who concealed himself”.¹⁰ This forms the first theme.

A second theme of Bagshawe’s Episcopate was his attempt to impose a uniform pattern of behaviour on all Catholics, regardless of the historical, ethnic or social backgrounds found across the diocese, and the actions of his predecessor, Roskell.¹¹ Like Manning, he believed that uniformity equated with strength, and that deviation would only detract people from the Faith. To this end, Bagshawe stressed obedience to the rules of the Church and of the authority of the Bishop (i.e. himself) by priests and lay Catholics. There was to be no questioning of this central authority.¹² These enforced changes, coupled with Bagshawe’s blunt approach were a cause of many, often protracted, disputes, and formed the basis of his legacy to Brindle. This forms the third theme of Bagshawe’s Episcopate. Note the range of the disputants, with whom Bagshawe clashed, and the fact that the disputes occurred throughout the diocese: (Table 3.1). Orders, lay Catholics, Secular clergy and the Hierarchy were all involved. Bagshawe could also complicate matters by not explaining details to people if he

⁸ *Grantham Journal* 18 November 1876 p. 6 col. 4, for example.

⁹ *Circular 7/3/1883 Bagshawe’s Papers: Bishops Collection* NDA, for example.

¹⁰ J. Supple, ‘Ultramontanism in Yorkshire 1850-1900’, *Recusant History* vol. 17 no. 3 (1985) pp. 275-6, for Cornthwaite, and M. Abbott *History of the Diocese of Shrewsbury* (Shrewsbury, (1966),p. 12, for Brown.

¹¹ *Minutes of the 1874 Diocesan Synod: Synod File: Bagshawe’s Papers: Bishops Collection* NDA, noted only Roman style liturgies and Latin hymns were to be used and all non-Rome approved practices were banned. The *1876 Diocesan Synod Minutes* (same location), further tightened the regulations.

¹² These instructions appeared in the press. See *Bishop Ellis’ Scrapbook: Bishop Ellis’ Papers: Bishops Collection* NDA., cutting for 1/6/75. In 1882 Bagshawe even issued instructions on how people were to conduct themselves in railway carriages.

Table 3.1**EXAMPLES OF BAGSHAWE'S DISPUTES 1875-1901**

CATEGORY	EXAMPLE	YEAR
With the Laity [1] Over Worship	As over alterations to patterns of worship and changes to the interior of Churches to make them more ultramontane	1875
[2] Over Politics	Bagshawe castigates those who join the Primrose League.	1880
[3] Social	Bagshawe's Christian Socialism clashes with the Conservatism of prominent Catholics (and Hierarchy). His Home Rule stance divides the Catholic community Lay involvement in the Catholic organisations has to be as Bagshawe sees fit, as over Nottingham Institute .	Esp. 1885 onwards Generally Closed 1884
With the Religious [1] Male Orders	Disputes with the Jesuits regarding new missions in the Chesterfield area	1876 -1880
[2] Female Orders	Trouble with the Dominicans regarding developments in and around Leicester	1880s
[2] Female Orders	Disputes with the Little Company of Mary and the Sisters of St. Joseph of Peace as the Orders attempt to exert their autonomy	1880s
With the Secular Priests	As for example over the control and use of moneys in the Johnson Fund for retired priests	1880-98
With the Canons	Bagshawe and the Canons clash over the duties and authority of the Chapter. Bagshawe ignores its advice for most of his Episcopacy	1880s onwards
With other Bishops	As with Ullathorne and the Bishops of Shrewsbury, and Northampton over the 1856-63 Great Financial Settlement, which was designed to re-allocate the old District Common Funds. In the end the dispute was halted by Rome	1876-1890s
With Westminster	As for example when Manning orders Bagshawe to retract his proposed excommunication of Primrose League Members. It eventually involves Rome.	1880s and 1890s

thought he was correct, as for example over proposed changes in the way worship was to be conducted at the Cathedral in 1875-6.¹³

A fourth major theme was the emphasis Bagshawe placed upon the practical expression of Catholicism. In this, Bagshawe was emulating Manning, but to a far greater degree.¹⁴ Manning called “for Catholics to brace themselves to face the modern age”. Bagshawe emphasised that Mass attendance was not enough. Catholics were expected to participate in the wider life of the Church and work for the improved status of Catholics in Britain. This was made abundantly clear through his *Pastorals*. Each *Pastoral* was composed of an idea, the supporting theology from the Bible, the Saints and the Fathers of the Church, and followed by instructions the laity were to enact. For example, the *Pastorals* of 1875 and 1882 informed Catholics of their Easter duties and told them to avoid situations dangerous to their religious health such as drunkenness, reading lewd magazines, or books banned by the *Index* (which was reprinted locally and sold in all Churches). Other *Pastorals* were used to urge Catholics to become involved in politics, but only under the guidance of the local priest. Bagshawe’s *Pastorals* regularly dealt with contemporary injustices including Ireland and the School Boards, and reminded Catholics of their duty of care for the poorer members of society, whether it was the Irish, workhouse inmates, or the poor missions of the Nottingham Diocese. Bagshawe’s use of rules espoused a form of negativity, as he told people ‘what not to do’. This negativity contrasts with the more positive attitudes taken by other bishops. Vaughan (Salford), for example, established the Catholic Truth Society (1884) which issued cheap tracts explaining the positive approaches Catholics should take.¹⁵

¹³ They were in line with the wishes of the Provincial Synods, and published in the Catholic press.

¹⁴ V. McClelland, ‘The Formative Years, 1850-92’ in V. McClelland and M. Hodgetts ed., *From Without the Flaminian Gate* (London, 1999), pp. 1-20, as on p. 12.

¹⁵ D. Dwyer, ‘The Catholic Press 1850-1950’ in G. Beck ed., *The English Catholic Community 1850-1950* (London, 1950), pp. 511-4 deals with the Catholic Truth Society.

A fifth major theme is centred on the emphasis Bagshawe placed on the separateness of Catholics and the need to create and maintain alternative infrastructures such as schools, Confraternities and social amenities in order to minimise contacts with Protestant and secular organisations.¹⁶ Catholics were further told to abstain from involvement with modern [heretical] scientific ideas or economic teachings including socialism. Bagshawe, as a bishop, was unique in his social thoughts and the way he expressed them.¹⁷ His writings, such as the pamphlet *Justice and Mercy to the Poor* (1885), anticipated the Papal Bull, *Rerum Novarum*, of 1891. However, Bagshawe's unwillingness to consider modern, and especially scientific thought, coupled with threats of excommunication for those that did, led to a degree of intellectual stultification in the diocese. Harnett (Nottingham St. Patrick's) did attempt to deal with science and religion in his lectures, but in general supported Bagshawe. This was unlike the situation in Clifton where Clifford, in a similar vein to the Anglican Bishops Gore and Moorhouse, wrote on such matters and actively allowed debates.¹⁸

All bishops have to perform administrative functions, and Bagshawe was no exception. However, Bagshawe's lack of attention to creating sound financial and administrative systems which might have sustained his grandiose, expansionist developments, was a major handicap to the development of the diocese. This forms the sixth theme. Bagshawe the idealist reacted to pressures to expand local Catholic facilities without thinking through the consequences. He reacted to the need to found missions by constantly sending out priests, some of whom had been hurriedly and

¹⁶ As noted in the 1897 Pastoral 'The Church's Help to Devotion' Bagshawe's Papers Bishops Collection NDA.

¹⁷ See for example, E. Bagshawe *Justice and Mercy to The Poor*.

¹⁸ For Harnett see (Nottingham St. Patrick's) *Nottingham Daily Express* 27 April 1891 p. 8 col. 1, but from the orthodox point of view. For Clifford see J. Harding *Clifton Diocese* pp. 16-8. For the Anglicans O. Chadwick *The Anglican Church* 2 vols. (London, 1966), vol. 2 p. 98.

insufficiently trained at St. Hugh's Seminary.¹⁹ He also had to beseech the Orders for their support, and was then forced into the situation of making constant appeals for money which, because of their frequency and Bagshawe's attitude, tended to be the subject of diminishing returns. As a consequence, some missions and convents were forced to close. By 1901 the diocese was in financial disarray: a situation that was not finally resolved until the 1930s and the Episcopate of Bishop McNulty, Nottingham's sixth Bishop. Bagshawe was undoubtedly a man of great personal faith, but was an inept diocesan administrator

These themes portray a man who was arrogant and in a hurry to achieve the spread of Catholicism. Bagshawe's character was both his greatest asset but also his Achilles' heel. His single-mindedness guided the diocese and undoubtedly there were many positive gains, such as the development of over 40 new and permanent missions. On the other hand, each new initiative had its downside which could be, and was, exploited and aired in the local press, to the detriment of Catholicism locally.

3.1 (a) 'A Pattern Established: Ultramontane Innovation Equals Dissent'

In order to gain first hand experience of the Diocese, and to make his presence known, Bagshawe commenced his Episcopate by visiting the majority of the missions, with due ceremonial, in 1875. He was disturbed by his findings, which to his way of thinking portrayed indifference and laxity (Table 2.7).²⁰ To demonstrate his determination to improve matters, he forcibly introduced major changes at the Cathedral between January and Easter 1875. Women were removed from the choir, Gregorian

¹⁹ D. Holmes, *More Roman Than Rome* (London, 1978), pp. 173 suggests 21 such priests either subsequently left the priesthood or achieved a degree of notoriety.

²⁰ Full details are in *Bagshawe's 1872 Ad Limina Report Visitations File Bagshawe's Papers: Bishops Collection* NDA. Entries in *Bagshawe's Diary 1875: Bagshawe's Papers* NDA show how hectic his schedule was.

Chants replaced choral music, Pugin's rood screen was modified, pews labelled clearly with people's names and the collection of bench rents tightened.²¹ From the pulpit, Bagshawe chastised people who dressed in their finery and paraded themselves in Church, rather than attending Mass for its true purpose. To improve the devotional adherence of young adults, the unmarried were segregated in the Cathedral. He hoped this would be an example for the rest of the diocese to imitate, but the result was a divided community, derision from local Protestants and opposition from Puginists.²² By contrast, some Catholics did support Bagshawe, seeing him breathing new life into the Cathedral after the quietness of the last few years of Roskell's reign.²³ During this fiasco, Canon Griffin, who trained the choir, was moved from the Cathedral to Newark, to replace the dying Canon Waterworth.²⁴ The validity of the move cannot be questioned as the Newark mission was in decline: what was questioned was the proximity of the events and the way it was handled. The public impression was that a much-loved servant of the Church was being sidelined.²⁵ The fact that the mixed choir had returned by 1883 is indicative of Bagshawe's unpredictable nature and the way he did not always carry the congregation with him.

More significantly, this episode marks the emergence of what may be defined as 'Bagshawism'. It was first noticed in the *Nottingham Journal* (1875) within two months

²¹ All this was reported in the local press, e.g., *Nottingham Journal*, *Nottingham Daily Express*, *Newark Herald*, *Grantham Journal* during January to June 1875. Photo copies in *St. Barnabas' Mission File Parish Collection* NDA. Bagshawe aimed at making services shorter and concentrating people's minds better, by removing much of the ornateness of the worship. This upset the converts, who made up around 25% of the congregation and was ironical considering the nature of Brompton Oratory from which Bagshawe had come. Church attendance did fall at the Cathedral 1875-1880: see *Diocesan Statistics' Book 1876-1907*, *Bishop Bagshawe and Brindle Collections* NDA.

²² The choir sank to "two men and a few boys": *Nottingham Journal* 28 January 1876, p. 3 col. 3. *Bagshawe's Visitation on St. Barnabas' Report 1883: Bagshawe's Papers Bishops Collection* NDA, for the Cathedral show that the mixed choir had returned. The Cathedral's mixed choir was photographed in 1880s: see *Photographic Collection: St. Barnabas Personnel* NDA. The *Nottingham Journal* 1 June 1875 p. 3 col. 1 thought the music "the worst for 21 years".

²³ *Nottingham Journal* 20 October 1875, p. 4 col. 5.

²⁴ *Newark Advertiser* 5 April 1875 p. 8 col. 1 for Canon Waterworth's Obituary.

²⁵ *Newark Herald* 6 March 1875 p. 4 col. 3 and presented with a purse containing £500 by lay Catholics.

of his appointment, when a letter talked of events at the Cathedral being “pro-Bag or anti-Bag”.²⁶ Bagshawism, in its pro and anti forms, meant the temporary coalescing of forces/personalities supporting or criticising Bagshawe over a particular issue, and did not necessary involve Catholicism. Bagshawism could emanate from either Catholics or Protestants.²⁷ In the case of the reforms at the Cathedral, Catholics both agreed and disagreed with him.²⁸ Puginists (Catholic and Protestant) united over what they saw as architectural vandalism.²⁹ Others, referring to the Confraternity of St. Joseph Bagshawe had established at the Cathedral, were disparagingly referred to in the press as “members of Bagshawe’s club”.³⁰ Over Home Rule, Bagshawism had an ethnic connotation because of his support for the Irish. Catholics became divided, but at the same time were faced with the dilemma of accepting that Bagshawe was their Bishop and thus theoretically commanded their loyalty.³¹ Some were worried as early as 1876 that Bagshawism would lead to anti-Catholicism because of the way the disputes were aired in the local press. Thus a long destabilising undercurrent emerged which lessened Bagshawe’s effectiveness.

Concurrent with cathedral reforms, Bagshawe was attempting to demonstrate his style of leadership over the priests. He began by calling a Diocesan Synod in December

Bagshawe was absent from the service and ceremony.

²⁶ *Nottingham Journal* 28 January 1875 *Letters Column*.

²⁷ E.g., *Nottingham Journal* 29 February 1876 p. 3 col. 3: “Bagshawe has raised the Church from its lethargy”. Comment by ‘A Catholic’.

²⁸ His attempted alterations were carried out in their entirety in 1893. That they were needed is indicated by the fact that unless a person sits in the nave, the altar cannot be seen. 25 February 1876 *Bishop Ellis’ Scrapbook Bishops Ellis’ Papers: Bishops Collection* NDA, notes Catholics seeing cronyism creeping in as Bagshawe, after moving Griffin, moved all the others who had been at the Cathedral under Roskell.

²⁹ *Nottingham Journal* 1 March 1876 p. 3 col. 5. The Puginists included Sir John Sutton, an important diocesan benefactor, and founder of the of the English College Bruges

³⁰ See ‘Veritas’ on 12/11/1876 cutting in *Bishop Ellis’ Scrapbook: Bishops Ellis’ Papers: Bishops Collection* NDA.

³¹ *Nottingham Journal* 21 September 1876 p. 6 col. 3: The *NJ* 25 September 1876 p. 3 col. 1 directly blames Bagshawe for anti-Catholicism.

1874, less than one month after taking office.³² In forceful tones, he stated what he expected from them. In future Roman style vestments were to be worn and only hymns and Liturgy approved by Rome were acceptable.³³ Church interiors were to be modified if they prevented the Roman style of worship from being practised. Priests were given conference cases, that is questions requiring them to provide a moral judgement and the subsequent actions they should follow, both to discuss and then to submit written answers (in Latin), the object being to ensure that all clergy followed the expected, Bagshawe, line.³⁴ This did not go down well with all the clergy, partly as Bagshawe had accepted priests and seminarians whose knowledge of Latin was weak! The *Minutes of the Synods* suggest that such formal gatherings allowed no exchange of views between bishop and priests, with the result that a degree of enmity arose.

From 1876, Bagshawe became involved in two protracted disputes involving the Chapter and those clergy (the majority), who supported the Johnson Fund, the effects of which weakened his leadership. The Johnson Fund was designed to support priests in times of illness, retirement, or unexpected affliction. Both disputes centred on establishing the limits of a bishop's authority as well as the practical issue of diocesan funding. At several points the disputes became entwined, and Bagshawism developed with priests taking sides, and privately and publicly expressing their views.³⁵ Although Bagshawe declared at the 1874 Synod, "having taken counsel with our beloved Chapter and with their unanimous consent", (and then introducing his ultramontane changes), it

³² Full details of the Synods are in *Minutes of the Diocesan Synods File: Bagshawe's Papers: Bishops Collection* NDA.

³³ That such directions were either ignored, or did not reach some lay Catholics is noted at Derby St. Mary's in 1889, when the congregation presented Fr. Busch with a stole they had made: *Nottingham Daily Express* 15 February 1889 p. 8 col. 1.

³⁴ Examples are in the *Diocesan Synods File Bagshawe's Papers: Bishops Collection* NDA. Fr. Casey (1897-1901) came from an Irish Seminary, and knew no Latin: 'Casey Entry' *Diocesan Ordination Book*, *Bishops Collection* NDA

³⁵ Fr. Howarth (Corby Glen) later published his views in a pamphlet: 'Bishop A. Howarth' *A Protest Against the Tyranny of the Roman Inquisition* (Corby Glen, 1919). See also *Howarth Papers: Priests*

is likely some anxiety existed between him and the (especially) cisalpine Canons since they formed half the Chapter. There was also the fact that the entire wishes of the Chapter had been ignored over Roskell's successor. It was also the case that strong personalities were involved on either side of both disputes, including Canons Sing (Derby), Browne (Stamford) and Johnson (Grimsby).³⁶ Under Canon Law, the Chapter has a duty to proffer advice to a bishop, whether asked for or not, but a bishop is not bound to accept it: Bagshawe objected to it being offered! In a similar fashion, a dispute arose between Bishops Cornthwaite (Leeds), Briggs (Beverley) and the Beverley Chapter in 1874 when the division of the Beverley Diocese was being formalised: it too felt aggrieved when its advice was shunned.³⁷ The dispute between Chapter and Bagshawe arose in 1875 when he began to examine mission boundaries, including those operated by Missionary Rectors, with a view to future expansion. Not only were the boundaries ill-defined but Missionary Rectors had a certain security of tenure: their removal required a decision by the Chapter, not the Bishop.³⁸ In 1879, Sing raised the question at a Chapter meeting regarding Bagshawe-authorized collections for these new missions and their possible locations. Bagshawe replied that "the Chapter is not competent to discuss the matter" and mission siting was at his discretion.³⁹ Bagshawe

Collection NDA.

³⁶ Both Ullathorne and Bagshawe agreed that Sing was "hot tempered and intriguing" : *Bagshawe's Ad Limina Report 1879 Visitations File: Bagshawe's Papers Bishops Collection NDA* p. 30 and *Letter Ullathorne to Bagshawe ABB 1816 ADB* for Ullathorne. However, there is no hint of this being a trait of his character in the long report *GJ 23* December 1882, 'Requiem Mass for Canon Sing', p. 3 col. 1.

³⁷ R. Carson, *The First Hundred Years: A History of the Diocese of Middlesborough 1878-1978* (Middlesborough, 1978), p. 23.

³⁸ Under Roskell such formality as defining a boundary had not been necessary. Bagshawe informed Rome he intended to remove some Missionary Rectors in his *1875 Ad Limina Report Visitations File: Bagshawe's Papers: Bishops Collection NDA*, which was not seen at the time by the clergy. It was not until the introduction of Canon Law in 1917 that boundaries were fixed: Document 83, 18/4/1918 *Bishop Dunn's Ad Clerum: Bishops Dunn's Papers; Bishops Collection, NDA.*

³⁹ See 'New Missions' in *1879 Ad Limina Report Visitations File; Bagshawe's Papers: Bishops Collection NDA.*

never did locate any missions in areas covered by the Missionary Rectors, and all that was achieved was a high level of animosity between Bishop and Chapter.

At the same time as this dispute Bagshawe, ever short of funds, became aware of the wealth contained in the Johnson Fund.⁴⁰ Under Roskell, clergy had successfully petitioned the Holy See to have various local sick priests' funds amalgamated and Roskell regarded the new Fund as clergy-owned.⁴¹ Bagshawe questioned this, seeing it as a Catholic charity and therefore under his jurisdiction. This demonstrates Bagshawe's legalistic mind: he was prepared to debate the fine detail and lose sense of the overall picture. Canon Johnson, a trustee, replied (1875) that the fund was for the poor and infirm Secular priests of the Nottingham Diocese, and Bagshawe initially agreed with this ruling. However, in 1880 he declared that as Bishop, he had the authority to utilise all monies as he felt appropriate. Bagshawe then prevented any further discussion over the matter.⁴² As a consequence, the degree of Bagshawism increased, causing Canon Browne (Stamford) to resign from the Chapter (1880) and transferring to the Leeds Diocese. In 1885 Canon Johnson also resigned and went to Clifton. The Nottingham Diocese thus lost two highly competent priests.

Throughout the 1880s and 1890s, both disputes rumbled on, becoming increasingly acrimonious as Bagshawe further ignored the Chapter's expressed concerns over the way the St. Hugh's Seminary was being run, and his relations with the female Orders.⁴³ Regular Chapter meetings were held but the records indicate that little of

⁴⁰ This is noted in the *1875 Ad Limina Report Visitation File Bagshawe's Papers: Bishops Collection*: NDA. It was not against Canon Law for a bishop to take an interest in such matters: what was in dispute was who controlled the Fund. The *Johnson Fund Minute Book Johnson Fund Collection* NDA, for the late 1870s and 1880s shows a considerable surplus in its accounts.

⁴¹ This was agreed by Archbishop Bandio in 1858. Details are in 'Johnson Fund Supplement' (1895) *Bagshawe's Papers Box 3 Bishops Collection* NDA. Who actually owned the fund is not clear.

⁴² These instructions are printed on the agendas he sent out and in the *Diocesan Synod Minutes Diocesan Synods File: Bagshawe's Papers Bishops Collection* NDA, for each meeting. In effect because of the size of the diocese and the timing of the Johnson Fund meeting, many priests were unable to attend.

⁴³ For the Seminary see *Seminary File, Bagshawe's Papers Bishops Collection* NDA. Various Mission

consequence was achieved.⁴⁴ By 1889 clerical opposition was strong enough for priests to challenge Bagshawe in order to have the Johnson Fund accounts examined. He was unwilling, with the result that clergy became divided between those supporting him, led by Frs. Beale (Ilkeston), H. Sabela (Sleaford), and P. Sabela (Grantham), and others such as Canons McKenna (Derby) and Croft (Lincoln), who wanted to involve Rome.⁴⁵ In 1894 matters came to a head when a trustee, Canon Griffin, was taken ill, and the other trustees appointed a replacement. Bagshawe declared this illegal, thus raising the problem of a potential conflict between the civil law duty of trustees, and the jurisdiction of a bishop under Canon Law. In 1897 the Holy See ruled the Johnson Fund was a clerical fund and not under the ordinary's control.⁴⁶ The importance of these disputes is that they show the deteriorating relationship between clergy and Bagshawe, and how in the end, the *status quo* was maintained. Attention was diverted away from the main issue of developing Catholicism.

Bagshawe also attempted to exert his authority over the Orders, especially the Jesuits.⁴⁷ As Bishop, he believed in the ultramontane concept that all authority emanated from the centre: in this case from him as he was in charge of the diocese. However, the relationship between the Orders and the restored bishops was a national issue. Orders like the Jesuits who had played a major role in keeping the Faith alive during Penal times, resented the attempts by the restored Hierarchy to interfere in their

Mass Books: Parish Collection NDA, such as those for Leicester St. Patrick's, St. Hugh's Lincoln and St. Phillip's Mansfield, record the constant and declining appeals for money for the seminary. Access to the *Chapter Minute Book* for this period was declined. For an example of the relationship with the female Orders, although it is discussed later in the Chapter, see C. Ferguson, *Sisters of St. Joseph of Peace 1884-1984* (Rearsby, 1985, revised 1999).

⁴⁴ The statement is based on a verbal report from a Canon.

⁴⁵ Beale was accepted by Bagshawe as a seminarian after being rejected by Bishop Riddell (Northampton); see *Beale File* No.DA. The Sabela brothers were offered sanctuary by Bagshawe from persecution in Germany in the 1880s. Perhaps they supported Bagshawe out of loyalty.

⁴⁶ Details in the *Johnson Fund Minute Book Johnson Fund Collection* NDA. Also 'Bagshawe to Brindle 13/3/1902 Letter in Brindle's Financial Papers Brindle's Papers: Bishops Collection' NDA.

⁴⁷ A. Bellenger, 'Religious Life for Men' in V. McClelland and M. Hodgetts *From Without the*

affairs. In 1881 the Papal Bull *Romanos Pontifices* clarified the position and greatly strengthen the position of the Diocesan bishop.⁴⁸ In the meantime, in 1875, Bagshawe the innovator attempted to exert his authority over the Regulars and investigated their contribution to diocesan revenues. He began by questioning the “lax” (Bagshawe’s words) take-over of the Lincoln mission in 1870 by Roskell and the property settlement involved.⁴⁹ Also, Bagshawe wanted to know the amount of pew rents that had gone to the Jesuits, both at Lincoln and Chesterfield. He further complained that Visitation forms sent to the Orders were not being filled in correctly and accused them of showing contempt for a bishop.⁵⁰ Bagshawe threatened the Jesuits with the Holy See, but they also appealed to Rome and stood firm.⁵¹

Within the Nottingham Diocese, the Bagshawe-Jesuit dispute gained added significance in that it involved the laity in a direct way: over the schools and worship in the Chesterfield and Staveley areas.⁵² What commenced as an internal administrative dispute, became a very public local expression, of a national conflict involving Church politics at the highest level as both sides sought the approval of Rome for their actions. Both sides agreed there was an urgent need to extend Catholic provision, but the Chesterfield area was traditionally administered by the Jesuits. Bagshawe, however, was determined that any expansion should be under his jurisdiction. The Jesuits had collected money for a Church, drawn up plans, and purchased land, but its ownership was disputed by Bagshawe: he claimed it was diocesan property. In 1882 a lay

Flaminian Gate, pp. 142-66, as on p. 163.

⁴⁸ See references by various authors in G. Beck ed., *English Catholics*, pp. 140, 161, 202, 454-5, and in V. McClelland ed. *Flaminian Gate* pp. 10, 23, 163,

⁴⁹ *Letters of Bishops and Chapters 1840-91*, nos. 245 and 247: SJMS. Bagshawe argued that as the mission pre-dated the arrival of the Jesuits, the Secular clergy were entitled to all the assets. *Letters of Bishops and Chapters* nos. 256-7 SJMS suggest Bagshawe expected Croft (mission priest) to gain possession of the picture and monies.

⁵⁰ Under Canon Law the Orders did not have to complete them in full, only for those parts which related to their non-Order’s mission’s activities, but this was a grey area.

⁵¹ *Letters of Bishops and Chapters* nos. 252 and 254 SJMS,

deputation from Staveley called on Bagshawe to establish a mission, questioning the whereabouts of the £200 local people had raised. However, since the initial plans, population dynamics had seen the rise of nearby local villages such as New Whittington, which with its Irish coal miners had more Catholics than Staveley. The Jesuits claimed that Staveley was the wrong location. They further questioned the legal right of a bishop to establish a new mission within the area formerly occupied by Orders. Bagshawe stubbornly pressed on, so the Jesuits sold him the land and plans, and charged for what they claimed as unpaid rent by the diocese on the land, with the result that very little of the £200 was left for any new building. Bagshawe and the Jesuits could not agree on the boundaries of the new mission, so the Jesuits withdrew to Chesterfield, leaving over 600 people without easy access to Mass provision. Bagshawe, in the meantime, managed to persuade a convert, William Arkwright, to provide an iron building for Staveley so some Mass provision was partly restored, but he too grew tired of Bagshawe's attitudes and allowed his enthusiasm and money to lapse.⁵³

3.1 (b) Finance, Or Rather the Lack of It

The way Bagshawe attempted to deal with finance affords us a clear example of 'Bagshawe the innovator', as well as illustrating the complexity of diocesan financing. It shows how Bagshawe's attempted solutions in the end created further problems and dissension. In essence, the Nottingham Diocese lacked a regular and reliable investment income to maintain the essential diocesan infrastructure. Instead, the diocese was constantly reliant on current collections and a few benefactors.⁵⁴ Monies received

⁵² *Letters of Bishops and Chapters* nos. 258, 260-2, 279-80, 285, 291, SJMS.

⁵³ *Letters of Bishops and Chapters* nos. 287, 268, 272. SJMS

⁵⁴ Even these could not always be relied upon. In the 1878 Edwin De Lisle facing debts of over £17,000 left by his father, had to inform Bagshawe that he could no longer sustain the Whitwick Mission: 'De Lisle Correspondence for 1878', *Whitwick Mission File Parish Collection* NDA.

under the Financial Settlement of 1856-63 were so used, although around £2,000 was lost in the 1880s when Egyptian and Turkish Bonds failed.⁵⁵ Diocesan income came mainly from pew rents, profits from social gatherings, and the innumerable special collections authorised by Bagshawe in his *Pastorals*.⁵⁶ Such a system could not sustain the diocese as economic conditions deteriorated in the 1880s and 1890s, while costs, especially those associated with education, escalated.

Under the Financial Settlement, various minor clauses were to be settled on Roskell's retirement.⁵⁷ Roskell, in the meantime, had insured his life and borrowed against such policies: some of the premiums were his responsibility, others that of the diocese, but Bagshawe queried this arrangement and demanded Roskell pay them all.⁵⁸ Other priests such as Canon Browne (Stamford) and Fr. Smith (Newark) emulated Roskell, but such individual, uncontrolled methods of financing mission developments, led to long term localised debt accumulation, as happened at Stamford (1886) and Newark (1900).⁵⁹ Bagshawe used these events as a pretext to question the validity of the entire Financial Settlement of 1856-63 and demand further monies for Nottingham.⁶⁰ This resulted in disputes with Roskell which lasted until his death in 1883, and with the Bishops of Shrewsbury, Northampton and Birmingham, until halted by Rome in the late 1880s.⁶¹ At the same time, Bagshawe began to utilise any funds

⁵⁵ Details by Leman and Company, Accountants *Diocesan Accounts 1904 Bishops Collection NDA* .

⁵⁶ See *Appendix D* for details of charges and costs to some Catholics.

⁵⁷ *Letter Griffin to Estcourt' Bagshawe's Papers Box 2; Bishops Collection NDA*.

⁵⁸ *Letter Roskell to Bagshawe 22/3/1875, Bagshawe's Papers Box 2 Bishops Collection NDA*.

⁵⁹ *Stamford Mission File Parish Collection NDA*: Canon Browne used his own life insurance policies to finance expenditure, making them payable on his death. Bagshawe wanted the money paid direct to him. The situation was made more complicated by the fact he left the diocese in 1880. In Newark, Fr. Smith also insured his life but the banks were pressing for payment: *Fr Smith to Canon Douglass 7/4/1900 Brindle's Financial Papers Bishops Collection NDA*.

⁶⁰ Bagshawe demanded £700 he said was owed to the Diocese from the Eastern District Mensal Fund. The problem that the Vicar-Apostolic at the time was Bishop Wareing who ordered that all his papers should be destroyed on his death (1858). Information supplied by Diocesan Archivist No.DA.

⁶¹ In 1879 Bagshawe claimed money from the Diocese of Northampton. They rejected the claim and referred the matter to Ullathorne, who stated the money did not exist, and the only cause was to accept the Financial Settlement. Bagshawe then turned to Rome who reluctantly appointed Bishop

that were “at the discretion of the Bishop”, whether for their original intention or not, as for example, over the Langley Trust.⁶² He also queried the amounts paid regarding students at Oscott Seminary, and was rebuked in no uncertain manner by Canon Estcourt.⁶³

By 1889, Bagshawe had caused considerable friction amongst the local bishops and had achieved very little in return. More importantly these actions illustrate just how desperate Bagshawe was to find money to maintain the diocese. They also reveal Bagshawe’s mentality in the way he questioned every detail, or financial payment, wanting to know the exact basis upon which it was calculated. The result was much Bagshawism amongst the clergy and laity alike.⁶⁴

In parallel with pursuing his claims, diverting funds and questioning details, Bagshawe compounded the Nottingham Diocese’s difficulties with his financial generosity towards new and existing missions and his failure to maintain adequate accounts. This can be illustrated with reference to the Long Eaton Mission in 1884. Buildings can be bought on a mortgage, but not then used as security for other loans, as happened when the small Long Eaton community of around 50 people found itself saddled with a debt of £470, whose interest payments it could not meet. As a result, the debt had to be paid by the diocese, even when the embryonic mission temporarily closed in the 1890s. By 1901 such demands totalled over £6,000 when the total assets of the

Vaughan to adjudicate. Bagshawe was told to end the matter: *Bagshawe’s Financial Papers and Correspondence with Rome Files Bagshawe’s Papers; Bishops Collection* NDA. Even this answer was questioned by Bagshawe: *Letter Bagshawe to Vaughan 26/11/1889, Bagshawe’s Papers Bishops Collection* NDA.

⁶² Although not illegal, the money was meant for the parishioners of Worksop. *Langley Trust Papers in Leman and Co., Accounts 1904 Bishops Collection* NDA.

⁶³ *Letter Estcourt to Bagshawe 3/6/75 and 21/6/95* (note the debate lasted 20 years): *Bagshawe’s Papers Box 2 Bishops Collection* NDA.

⁶⁴ This is especially true in that he did not keep correct accounts: *Leman and Co., Accounts 1904*, pp. 1-14 *Bishops Papers* NDA.

Nottingham Diocese were only around £25,000.⁶⁵ Bagshawe also ‘illegally’ used capital and interest to finance projects, often with disregard to the donor’s intentions, thus diminishing future income.⁶⁶ Keeping track of funds was made more complicated by Bagshawe’s use of his personal account to pay bills.⁶⁷

3.1 (c) In a more positive vein: Bagshawe identifies the need for more Priests

Bagshawe’s Visitations revealed the need for more missions, but he was handicapped, like the other Catholic Bishops, by a shortage of priests.⁶⁸ The answer seemed to lie in establishing a local seminary under his own, ultramontane control. For this reason, when Young again offered to establish and maintain a seminary, Bagshawe immediately rejected the plan as he wanted no outside, lay or cisalpine involvement, saying he was “worried over the strings that Young always attached to offers”.⁶⁹ Instead Bagshawe contrived to establish a joint, self-financing Catholic Grammar School and Seminary (1881), thus dealing with the twin issues of priestly formation and middle class post-11 education for boys.⁷⁰ This idea had been attempted in Birmingham at St. Chad’s, but had to be abandoned as a failure: the current thinking was for separate

⁶⁵ *Leman and Co., Accounts 1904*, Bishops Collection NDA p. 20. They even suggest the figure for debts was much higher.

⁶⁶ *Leman and Co., Accounts 1904* Bishops Collection NDA pp 16-8. They also suggest the 1895 Bazaar funds were misappropriated; in this case to maintain the Seminary. Ironically it was such a policy as this that caused the initial financial chaos for the Central District before 1840. *Bishop Walsh's Financial Papers* ADB show how he spent the capital and relied on the Earl of Shrewsbury and De Lisle for the income stream. The problem came when after 1852 this flow stopped.

⁶⁷ *Brindle's Financial Papers 1901-10* Bishops Collection NDA show how impossible it was to unravel the situation. As will be shown later in the Chapter, Brindle repudiated many debts, but this just caused more problems.

⁶⁸ Between 1874-1901 17 were obtained from other dioceses. For details of priests see C. Fitzgerald-Lombard, *English and Welsh Priests 1801-1914* (Downside, 1993). They are arranged alphabetically and by diocese.

⁶⁹ *Documents 15-22; A. Young, Market Rasen Mission Parish Collection* NDA: Also Dougherty, *Mary Potter and the Little Company of Mary* (Rome, 1961), pp. 90-4.

⁷⁰ See *Appendix C* for details of the Nottingham Grammar School and the Seminary of St. Hugh's. *St. Hugh's Entry Bagshawe's Ad Limina Report 1875 Bagshawe's Papers; Bishops Collection* NDA, “there is evidence of vocations for some youths”.

institutions for seminarians and lay pupils wanting a Grammar School education.⁷¹ The school fees would subsidise the seminarians, who would then teach the boys *gratis*.⁷² Thus, boys would be protected from Protestant (school) influences and, eventually, provide candidates for the seminary, leading to an increase in the number of Bagshawe-educated, ultramontane priests. School and seminary were started in Cathedral House in 1876, prior to moving to three converted terrace houses adjacent to the Cathedral in 1881.⁷³ By 1890 the school and seminary comprised about 90 people, plus the lay staff, and compared unfavourably with the better purpose built buildings provided by people like Bishop Wilkinson of Newcastle and Hexham, at Ushaw.⁷⁴

After cases of improper behaviour in 1889-90, several boys and seminarians were dismissed and fees raised in an attempt to cover the shortfall, but in vain.⁷⁵ A comparison of the language in Bagshawe's *Pastorals* and that in his confidential *Circular* to the priests on this issue, shows how he was attempting to put a gloss on the situation. Both institutions had to be continually subsidised by diocesan collections, and there were constant appeals by Bagshawe through his *Pastorals* (as for example in 1890), for funds. The Grammar School closed in 1895 and the Seminary in 1902. The

⁷¹ J. Champ *Oscott* (Birmingham, 1987), pp. 13, 14, 17. Due to a shortage of finance and staff the two Birmingham institutions were later amalgamated, p. 18. This illustrates the point made in the 'Introduction' regarding Vaughan's pragmatism versus Manning's ideological approach to the subject of priestly formation.

⁷² This was a well tried formula. The Sisters of Providence at Loughborough and Glossop and the Sisters of Mercy in Derby and Nottingham used this method to run highly successful, HMI praised schools. The Nottingham Grammar School offered an alternative to local Protestant Schools. The big difference that Bagshawe overlooked was that the Sisters were invariably trained teachers, unlike seminarians.

⁷³ In effect nos. 25-9 Derby Road Nottingham. Two were used for the school and seminary, a third for the staff (up to 11), who needed paying. By 1902 there was still a mortgage of over £300 on the properties and costs were rising: *Brindle's Financial Papers; St. Hugh's, and Leman and Co., Accounts. Bishops Collection NDA.*

⁷⁴ L. Gooch, 'Thomas Wilkinson, Bishop of Hexham and Newcastle 1889-1909', *Northern Catholic History* vol.13 no. 2 (1989) p. 30. They included a swimming pool. See also J. Champ *Oscott* particularly the illustrations.

⁷⁵ See *Bagshawe's 1889-1892 Circulars Bagshawe's Papers; Bishops Collection NDA* issued in confidence to the priests, can be compared with his public speeches which suggested there was no need to worry and things were improving: as for example the January 1889 *Circular* and the

closure of the Seminary by Brindle was partly on economic grounds, but chiefly because the day of the small seminary was over.⁷⁶ There had been disagreements between Bagshawe and Vaughan, Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster from 1893 when he attempted to persuade Bagshawe to merge Nottingham St. Hugh's Seminary with the new Central Seminary he was establishing at Oscott.⁷⁷

During its short life, St. Hugh's Seminary brought mixed blessings to the Nottingham Diocese. Being small and inadequately funded, and dependent on mission priests who both lectured and had pastoral duties, the standard of training was poor.⁷⁸ Some parishioners complained that they knew more than the 'priests'! There was always a shortage of suitable applicants so Bagshawe resorted to accepting candidates rejected by other bishops, or who for a variety of reasons, had left other seminaries.⁷⁹ In a more positive vein, several seminarians and priests came from abroad due to Bagshawe offering them sanctuary from the Kulturkampf and Salic laws. These people were to prove a great boost to the spread of ultramontanism in the diocese, as they were able to hear Confessions in other languages, and with their strong out-going, continental approach to Catholicism, were responsible for a considerable number of new missions, such as those at Sleaford and Spalding. However, Holmes estimates that approximately a quarter of all St. Hugh's Seminarians failed as priests and there was never a natural

⁷⁶ *Nottingham Daily Express* February 1889, report of a Reunion, when dealing with the Seminary. The local parishioners were not aware of this, and some objected to its closure: *The Nottingham Diocesan Year Book 1932* (Nottingham, 1932), p. 154 "Brindle ordered the seminarians to go...and wrecked the establishment".

⁷⁷ D. Holmes 'English Ultramontanism and Clerical Education' p. 277. For the situation in context see M. Williams 'Seminaries and Priestly Formation', pp. 72-5.

⁷⁸ Seminarians, although having to undertake training on the missions, were used by Bagshawe to maintain them, often to the chagrin of the parishioners: *Nottingham Daily Express* 7 February 1889 5 col. 4. The result was less time spent on studies. Although the course of study was supposed to last 4 years, many were ordained after only two: *Nottingham Diocesan Ordinations Book Bishops Collection* NDA.

⁷⁹ For example: *Beale Case File 21/9/1891* NoDA. The Bishop of Northampton wrote "Beale is changeable and fickle and not suitable for ecclesiastical life but wants to enter a seminary".

progression from Grammar School to Seminary to mission.⁸⁰ Manning had wanted local seminaries to provide locally-educated Irish priests for appointment to Irish missions, but despite Bagshawe's pro-Irish attitudes, only four Irish seminarians from St. Hugh's went to Irish missions. On the other hand, St. Hugh's did have its successes: 18 became well-loved parish priests with unblemished records, such as Maurice Parmentier, nine achieved high rank or Papal Honours, two attempted to form the Oblates of Our Lady of Good Counsel (1892-1900), nine others saw service world wide, and three became notable academics, writing on Modernism, Luther and Old Testament issues.⁸¹

3.1 (d) Mission Developments: External Growth and Internal Uniformity

Bagshawe pursued mission developments on two fronts: he was concerned to expand the number of Mass centres while simultaneously ensuring new and existing Churches practised only ultramontane devotional activities. Whilst Bagshawe can be criticised for his financial poor administration, there is no doubting his faith and the generosity of his intent. The number of Mass centres 1874-1901 rose by 45. Additionally, he utilised a considerable portion of his personal finances on behalf of the diocese in this matter, although Vaughan criticised Bagshawe for his actions and the strain they placed on the diocese's finances.⁸² Vaughan further suggested that Bagshawe should work more closely with the priests and laity in order to improve matters: remarks that suggest Westminster was well aware that there was discontent in

⁸⁰ D. Holmes *More Roman Than Rome* p. 173. See also *Nottingham Diocesan Ordination Book Bishops Collection* NDA entries by Dr. Collingwood, Vice Rector on the ordinands. P. Lane *The Catenian Association 1908-83* (London, 1983), p. 7 notes the prices for Grammar School education and shows how Nottingham's was improperly funded. For a comparison with another of the small diocesan seminaries that was successful, see G. Bradley, *Catholicism in Leeds* pp. 57-70.

⁸¹ Details in *Appendix C*.

⁸² Letter *Vaughan to Bagshawe 24/11/1889* in *Bagshawe's Correspondence File: Bagshawe's Papers*;

the Nottingham Diocese. However, the expansion of Catholic Mass provision was *the* major achievement of Bagshawe's reign: Table 3.2.⁸³ Between 1874-1901 the number of Catholics increased from around 22,500 to over 30,000; priests working in the diocese increased by 40; the priest:laity ratio improved to 1:212, and the laity:Church ratio to 1:141.⁸⁴ To sustain this development, Bagshawe, relied on the support from the Orders, especially the female ones, and 47 new conventual centres (not all permanent), were established. Additionally, the Jesuits helped in maintaining at least six centres in Derbyshire, such as the new one at Barlborough (1883), the Dominicans contributed to the expansion in Leicester (1882), the Rosminians in north Leicestershire (1899) and the Premonstratensians at Spalding (1872).

However, Bagshawe's creation of new missions was unbalanced, reflecting his attitude towards the Orders, benefactors, and immediate circumstances, and did not make the most efficient use of resources. The expansion of the missions was inconsistent: 14 were established in 1874-84, 11 between 1895-94, and a further six 1895-1901. A fifth of new Mass centres were Domestic Chapels, which were invariably used infrequently.⁸⁵ Their establishment represented the influence the cisalpine gentry still exerted on the Nottingham Diocese, although the forms of worship practised were ultramontane.⁸⁶ More important as far as reaching Catholics, were the 20% of new centres located in the developing mining, brick and cotton centres, such as Coalville (1899). Here Bagshawe found embryonic Irish communities which had persistently

Bishops Collection NDA.

⁸³ As discussed later in the thesis, the other was ensuring the survival of the schools.

⁸⁴ Figures from *Diocesan Statistics 1875-1904 Bagshawe's Papers; Bishops Collection NDA, and Catholic Directories 1874-1901.*

⁸⁵ One example is the Marquess of Ripon's Chapel at Wellingore. He was a benefactor and Chairman of the Diocesan Education Committee and Fund. For details of Lord Ripon see D. Quinn, *Patronage and Piety* (Stanford, 1993), pp. 139-160.

⁸⁶ At Wellingore the priest was Fr. P. Sabela, a strong ultramontane. Retford (1890s) was an example of how ordinary lay cisalpine pressure led to the creation of a mission: *Retford Catholic Church File RPL.*

Table 3.2

MISSION EXPANSION UNDER BAGSHAWE 1874-1901

Type	1875-9	1880-4	1885-9	1890-4	1895-1901	Percentage
Domestic Chapels [generally short-lived and infrequently used]	Wellingore	Normanton Hall Stamford Hall Coleby Lindley Hall Deeping Waterton	Tolethorpe Willersley Hall	Skendley Hall		16
Pioneering Settlements	Carlton Hucknall	Staveley Swadlincote Barlborough Measham	New Whittington Glossop St. Mary's Coalville	Eastwood Bolsover Bulwell	Coalville Eastwood Hathern Scunthorpe	30
Expansion in Main Towns	Nottingham St. John's Hyson Green Nottm. St. Augustine's Derby St. Joseph's West Bridgford	Leicester Sacred Heart Alfreton	Nottingham St. Edward's		Leicester St. Peter's Derby Polish Church (using old St. Joseph's) Radford	20
Expansion in Small Towns	Market Harborough	Lutterworth Matlock Oakham				7
Rural Expansion	Spalding Derwent	Sleaford Quarndon Sleaford	Newhall Westthorpe	Bakewell	Woodhall Spa Mablethorpe Melbourne Skegness Spilsby Bamford Retford	27

agitated for Mass centres, but whose viability was not previously demonstrable.⁸⁷ In the case of Glossop St. Mary's, (1887) donations and bequests from Mr. F. Sumner and Lord Howard were used to create a more ultramontane mission by replacing the old school-cum-chapel with a separate Church, school, and presbytery.⁸⁸ However, expansion in Glossop came at a time when the Irish were leaving and the Catholic population was starting to decline. By comparison, at Carlton, a rapidly growing mining centre near Nottingham, Bagshawe successfully persuaded wealthy second and third generation Irish benefactors such as the Kirks and Dobsons, to play a significant role in the mission's development.⁸⁹

Bagshawe's mission expansion in and around the main urban areas of Nottingham, Leicester and Derby, accounted for a fifth of new Mass centres. Here he was faced with the twin needs of maintaining the existing city centre 'Irish ghetto' Churches, while meeting the needs of the middle class Catholics who were moving to the suburbs. The situation was further complicated by the fact that the effect of middle class people who migrated to the suburbs, was to leave Churches like the Cathedral, Holy Cross Leicester, and All Saints' Glossop, increasingly dependent on commuters.⁹⁰ As already noted, in order to maintain the Irish inner city missions such as St. John's Nottingham, Bagshawe was forced at times to use seminarians as priests. In all the new

⁸⁷ R. Ellison, *A Short History of Coalville Catholic Church* (Coalville, 1907), He notes on p. 27 that the mission survived not because of the generosity of Edwin de Lisle who paid for the original iron Church, but because of an Irish middle class. On pp. 16-17 he supports the idea of the Irish demanding a Mass centre.

⁸⁸ Contemporary description in *Bulmer's History and Directory of Derbyshire* p. 164.

⁸⁹ See F. Armstrong, *1877-1977 Centenary Souvenir History of the Parish of the Sacred Heart of Jesus* (Calton, 1977). Also *Sacred Heart Carlton Mission File: Parish Collection* NDA for the early years of the mission. Other Anglo-Irish families included the Scattergoods, Harrisons and the Thompsons. In a broader context, as discussed in Chapter 4 'The Laity', the middle class' role was always vital in the maintenance of a mission. P. Lane *The Catenian Association 1908-83*, p. 5 notes the way the small size of such a group could be a handicap in Catholic growth.

⁹⁰ Using *Confraternity Records: Confraternity Collection* NDA and *Baptismal, Marriage and Death Registers Parish Collection* NDA, it is possible to pick out this trend. In some cases priests have written in addresses. For its Catholic political implications see Chapter 5 'Politics'. The Middlesborough Diocese in the 1990s recognised this trend and took the dramatic step of disposing

suburban centres benefactors were important, but crucially, Bagshawe relied on the female Orders to consolidate their initial beginnings: for example the Little Company of Mary (Hyson Green, 1877), the Franciscan Minoresses and the Sisters of St. Joseph of Peace (St. Edward's, Nottingham 1885).⁹¹ Even then, as Long Eaton demonstrates, a mission's permanent existence was not guaranteed.⁹²

Reflecting the fact that the Nottingham Diocese encompasses large rural areas with small Catholic populations, Bagshawe's main mission expansion was in rural Lincolnshire, Leicestershire and Derbyshire, even though the populations were falling.⁹³ Centres like Derwent (1875) and Bamford (1895) had the support of the Duke of Norfolk, and were available for the many Irish navvies working on the local hydrological works.⁹⁴ Sleaford (1882), largely maintained personally by Fr. H. Sabela, was a new centre in a small market town that increasingly attracted rural migrants to its Irish-built, railway works.⁹⁵ At the other extreme were the new centres of Matlock (1883), Woodhall Spa (1896), and Skegness (1898) which largely served summer visitors and found it difficult to survive for the rest of the year.⁹⁶ In contrast, Bagshawe's action in establishing a centre at Oakham (1883) was far-sighted because it

of their inner city Cathedral and constructing another in the suburbs.

⁹¹ In both of these the Kirks were important benefactors.

⁹² In the case of Long Eaton, the Humber Motor Car Co. moved away from the area, taking its work force in the mid-1890s. Others included Quarndon (1880-5) and Spilsby (1886-1916).

⁹³ *School Log Books Parish Collection NDA* for places like Market Rasen, Louth and Measham show that increasingly pupils were moving away from the villages as parents found employment in the local towns. However, as shown in Chapter 6 'Education', an important effect of Bagshawe's insistence on Catholic schools being maintained, whatever the cost, was that they became centres of apostasy taking in Protestants.

⁹⁴ In the case of Derwent, Bagshawe had to partly rely on the Vincentian Fathers from Sheffield. Frequently, as in 1886-7, there was no resident priest. Details from *Catholic Directories*. Derwent was served from Bamford, although it was originally a private Chapel of the Dukes of Norfolk. Fr. Murrarty, Derwent's first priest was more interested in the life of a country gentleman and hunted on the Duke's land. His successor was Fr. Hayward, a priest from St. Hugh's Seminary who went out to take Mass to the local navvies. During 1914-8 he was a successful army chaplain. Details in *Fr. Hayward Deceased Priests File: Priest Collection NDA*.

⁹⁵ The mission began with Sabela travelling to local villages and barns to say Mass for the migrant Irish workers: *Stamford Mercury* 31 August 1876 Note the comparison with Derwent.

⁹⁶ For details see their various *Mission Files Parish Collection NDA*. In each case much of the

recognised the fact that Exton, the infrequently used Domestic Chapel of the Earl of Gainsborough, was no longer the centre of local Catholicism.

As well as the physical appearance of new Mass centres, Bagshawe can be credited with expanding the growth in the internal uniformity of worship they offered, as ultramontane practices required. He authorised five major extensions/alterations to existing Churches, and the construction/alteration of 56 buildings as Chapel/schools. Six separate presbyteries were constructed and numerous temporary houses rented and repaired.⁹⁷ All this compares favourably with the Northampton Diocese where over half the priests lived away from their Churches in rented lodgings.⁹⁸ There were also the innumerable decorations, as at Melton Mowbray (1879), which were paid for by the local parishioners and willingly blessed by Bagshawe. Not only was there the re-ordering of buildings, but changes in the nature of temporary decorations such as those associated with liturgical events like Easter, that Bagshawe saw as expressing his version of ultramontaniam.⁹⁹ A formalised system of Confraternities was established in nearly half the Churches, encompassing both domestic Chapels and large urban Churches. Although only around 10% of Churches had exclusively male choirs, such a development went some way to meeting the requirements of the *Decrees*.¹⁰⁰ At the rear

consolidation was done by the female Orders.

⁹⁷ The figures were compiled from details in the individual *Mission Files: Mission Collection* NDA, and supplemented by reports from newspapers and some personal papers, such as the *Howard Papers* SCA. At the Cathedral in 1893 urgent repairs were needed to stop the spire collapsing.

⁹⁸ M. Osborne 'Second Spring in Northamptonshire' *Northampton Past and Present* (1976), p. 75.

⁹⁹ E.g., *Grantham Journal* 30 December 1893 p. 8 col. 2. Bagshawe made this a well extolled point in his *Lenten Circulars* *Bagshawe's Papers; Bishops Collection* NDA in which he regularly stressed that Holy Week services were to be done "with full ceremonial, or not at all".

¹⁰⁰ The evidence for choirs and Confraternities is from the *Separate Collection, Church Notice Books, Membership Lists, and Confraternity Books* all at NDA. These were supplemented from reports of their activities in local newspapers. Diocesan records are incomplete. In the case of choirs, information was only found for 70% of Churches.

of a number of Churches, libraries could often be found which were usually open after Mass.¹⁰¹

3.1 (e) *The Importance of the Female Orders*

Bagshawe exerted a strong influence on the female Orders, and jointly they contributed to the ultramontane development of the Nottingham Diocese, despite the disputes that occurred.¹⁰² Disputes were of two kinds: Order-bishop disputes and internal ones into which bishops, were drawn. These disputes were a common feature of the time: very similar tensions were evident in Hull with Bishop Lacey and the Sisters of Mercy.¹⁰³ Such upsets were perhaps inevitable given how quickly the Orders had expanded nationally. Locally, difficulties were compounded by the fact that Bagshawe and Orders had different perspectives on the nature of their roles. Bagshawe's overriding desire was that the Orders should be under his authority and a further tool to aid his uniform ultramontane development of the Diocese; the Orders were more concerned with their independence and work, which included teaching, nursing, sick visiting, and rudimentary health care.¹⁰⁴ Nationally, there was a move for the various Orders to have

¹⁰¹ This was found by the author when cataloguing the books at Hucknall. The largest library was at Nottingham St. Patrick's and reputedly had over 1,000 books.

¹⁰² S. O'Brien, 'Religious Life for Women', on p. 109 notes that such disputes were a common feature, describing them as "so powerful was this movement. See the individual female Order's File such as the Sisters of Mercy and the Little Company of Mary in the *Female Orders' Files Collection* NDA. Bagshawe kept no files (or none that have survived) so the information was gathered retrospectively by Bishop Dunn 1916-31. Much of the history of the various Orders collected by Dunn is in the *Convents' Documents File Dunn's Papers: Bishops Collection* NDA. It is however, incomplete and is supported by information specified in other footnotes. There were differences in the Canon Law position of the Orders. Some, like the Dominican Sisters at Leicester came from a mother house at Stroud and had clearly established Rome recognised Constitutions. Others like the Little Company of Mary and the Sisters of St. Joseph of Peace, were diocesan foundations, agreed by Bagshawe and therefore more under his control.,. See P. Dougherty *Mother Mary Potter, Foundress of the* and C. Ferguson *The Sisters of St. Joseph of Peace 1884-1984*, Chapters 1 and 2.

¹⁰³ M. McClelland, 'Catholic Education in Victorian Hull', in R. Swift and S. Gilley, *The Irish in the Victorian City*, (Dublin, 1999), pp. 101-121, and M. McClelland 'The First Hull Mercy Nuns: A Nineteenth Century Case Study', *Recusant History* vol. 22 no. 2 (1994) pp. 199-221.

¹⁰⁴ E.g., *Stamford Mercury* 9 November 1888 p. 4 col. 4, in Boston, where they ere praised by Catholics and Protestants alike.

their Constitutions formally approved by Rome, but this was interpreted by Bagshawe as an attack on a bishop's authority.

Table 3.3 shows Bagshawe's new conventual centres. Not all were permanent, and approximately two-thirds closed during his Episcopate. This was not because they were failures, but illustrates the way Bagshawe saw their role, and was the cause of many disputes because such a policy was not in line with the Orders' intentions.¹⁰⁵ Bagshawe was concerned to use them on behalf of the diocese's needs: thus they were used to revitalise failing schools (Boston 1886); to maintain a mission (Quarndon 1880-4); for much needed social work (St. Edward's, Nottingham 1880s); or to enable a mission to get started (Hyson Green 1877).

By contrast, established Orders with constitutions approved by Rome, including the Dominicans, Franciscans and the Sisters of Nazareth, had little contact with Bagshawe, and as a result they maintained their work in an independent way, as did several foreign, enclosed Orders, like the Sisters of Providence (Lincoln 1901), who were offered sanctuary from oppression in France.

In the case of the two new Orders founded within the Diocese of Nottingham with his approval, the Little Company of Mary (1877), and the Sisters of St. Joseph of Peace (1884), Bagshawe felt he had a right to oversee their operations. They, on the other hand, wanted their independence. Each Order was led by a strong-minded woman, Mother Mary Potter for the LCM, and Mother Mary Clare for the CSJP, who were not

¹⁰⁵ W. Battersby, 'The Educational Work of the Religious Orders of Women', in G. Beck ed., *The English Catholics 1850-1950* pp. 337-364, for an overview of the situation. On pp. 344-5 he notes the work done by Mother Mary Connelly and the Sisters of Mercy at Derby and how in 1882-89 they supported the ailing school in Carlton. See also the *Carlton Mission File Parish Collection* NDA and *St. Augustine's Carlton School Log Books Carlton Mission: Parish Collection* NDA for 1880 onwards. The Sisters of St. Joseph of Peace at Grantham withdrew in 1899 over the amount of rent they should pay and that Fr. Sabela was reluctant to countenance the necessary school repairs. In 1904 Sabela was forced by HMI so to act: See *Letters dated 1904 Grantham Mission File: Parish Collection* NDA.

Table 3.3**CONVENTUAL CENTRES ESTABLISHED UNDER BAGSHAWE****KEY TO GROUPS:**

- A: Established Orders with their own Constitutions
 B: Established Orders who came with the Blessing of Manning
 C: New Diocesan Orders
 D: Off-shoots from A or B or C
 E: Foreign Orders given Sanctuary

Order	Year	Location	Group	Main Activities
Apostoline Sisters	1899	Retford	A	Education, mission organisation
Dominican Sisters	1875-92	Leicester	A	Education and Children's welfare
Franciscan Minoresses	1880	Nazereth House	B/D	Welfare
	1888-1901	Melton Mowbray	B/D	Education and Welfare
	1897-	Nottm.St.Edward's	B/D	Education, Nursing Home visiting
	1898-1900	Radford	B/D	Mission organisation
	1898-1901	Oakham	B/D	Nursing and Education
	1900	Beeston	B/D	Mission work
	1900	Skegness	B/D	Mission work and Education
Little Company of Mary	1900-2	Corby Glen	B/D	Education
	1877	Hyson Green	C/D	Welfare and Education
	1881-2	Eastwell	C/D	Mission revitalisation
	1881-4	Melton Mowbray	C/D	Welfare, Home visiting Nursing
	1881-6 1882-3	Quarndon Osgodby	C/D C/D	Mission revitalisation Mission revitalisation
Norbertine Sisters	1877-82	Spalding	A	Education and mission work
Presentation Sisters	1898-	Buxton	E	Education
Sisters of Charity of St. Paul	1878	Howards Town (Glossop)	A/D	Welfare and Education
Sisters of Mercy (Derby)	1882-9	Carlton	A/D	Education, Welfare, Home Vursing, Nursing
	1899	Derby St.Joseph's	A/D	Home Visiting, Education
	1900	Stamford	A/D	Education
Sisters of Mercy (Irish)	1877-87	Gainsborough	A	Welfare and Education-
	1880	Brigg	A	Mission revitalisation
Sisters of Mercy (Nottingham)	1877	Mansfield	A/D	Education, Welfare, Nursing and Home Visiting
	1882	Newark	A/D	Education
Sisters of Nazereth	1876	Nottingham	B	Welfare

Table 3.3 continued

Order	Year	Location	Group	Main Activities
Sisters of Charity of St. Paul	1878	Howards Town	A/D	Welfare, Education
	1881-8	Whitwick	A	Education
	1885-	Exton	A/D	Education, Nursing
	1886-	Boston	A/D	Education, Nursing
Sisters of Mercy (Derby)	1882-9	Carlton	A/D	Education, Welfare, Home Visiting
	1900	Stamford	A/D	Education
Sisters of Mercy (Irish)	1877-87	Gainsborough	A	Welfare, Education
	1888	Brigg	A	Education
Sisters of the Most Holy Cross and Passion	1890	Corby	A	Teaching and Welfare
Sisters of Nazareth	1876	Nottingham	B	Welfare
Sisters of the Sacred Heart	1876-88	Boston	A	Education
Sisters of St. Joseph of Peace	1884	Nottingham	C/D	Education, Welfare, Home Visiting, Nursing
	1884	Grimsby	C/D	+Orphanages
	1889-91	Hassop	C/D	Education
	1890	Barton	C/D	Mission revitalisation
	1898-1901	Sleaford	C/D	Education
	1899	Grantham	C/D	Education
Sisters of Providence	1876	Whitwick	A/D	Education
Sisters of Providence (French)	1901	Lincoln	E	Education

willing to accept Bagshawe's authority in the internal workings of their Orders, as for example, over how Derby Convent school was administered.¹⁰⁶ The essential point is not the detail of these disputes, but the fact that they resulted in tensions between the Orders, Bagshawe and Rome, the effect of which was to divert attention and funds by the various parties away from the tasks they faced.¹⁰⁷

For both Bagshawe and the Orders, funding was a problem.¹⁰⁸ Funds came in a variety of ways; through begging, donations, from benefactors, and through operating successful middle class schools.¹⁰⁹ Not all of these were acceptable to Bagshawe. Although he continuously expressed his praise for their works in public, and was prepared to authorise diocesan collections for their maintenance, he objected to lay, cisalpine involvement by benefactors, seeing this as potential interference with his authority. Thus the support for the Little Company of Mary offered by the Lacey family, and that of the Youngs for the Irish Sisters of Mercy at Gainsborough, was not truly welcomed.¹¹⁰ However, individual priests like Harnett were only too aware of the need

¹⁰⁶ In the end Bagshawe had to accept their way of working: *Notes 4/2/1880 Sisters of Mercy (Derby) File Female Orders Collection NDA*. The school was praised by the HMIs for its high standards.

¹⁰⁷ Mother Mary Potter LCM and Mother Marie Connelly had to go several times to Rome over issues involving Bagshawe and so they were not able to offer their orders the leadership they always needed.

¹⁰⁸ S. O.'Brien, 'Religions Life for Women', p. 120 comments on the efficiency of fund raising by the Orders and their financial abilities with regard to administration.

¹⁰⁹ Although it was properly authorised, the Sisters of Mercy were arrested in Derby in 1875 for begging. The case was dismissed when local people supported their argument that the money was for the poor and not themselves: *Nottingham Journal* 31 August 1875. At Brigg the Sisters of Mercy "caused a slight sensation" when they went through the streets collecting funds, but it was noted "a good collection followed" :*Stamford Mercury* 18 August 1875 p. 5 col. 3. There were successful middle class schools at Loughborough, Derby, Nottingham and Glossop, whose fees were used to support both the Orders and the local Poor Schools. This was their most important contribution to local education. *Nottingham Journal* 23 April 1878 p. 3 col. 6 Bagshawe approved of a local bazaar run by the Rosminian Sisters in Loughborough to help the local Poor School.

¹¹⁰ *Sisters of Mercy, Gainsborough File Parish Collection NDA*. It shows how the Earl of Gainsborough supported the Order. S. Stanley, *A History of the Roman Catholic Community in Stamford* (Stamford, 2000), p. 32, notes how they were heavily involved in 1914-8 with Belgian refugees and Brindle/Dunn were only too willing for them to accept donations. This show how circumstances and bishops' attitudes varied. P. Dougherty *Mother Mary Potter* p. 90 quotes Bagshawe and the Lacey family. A Young eventually gave up offering help to Bagshawe and retired to Northamptonshire. He offered help direct to Grimsby St. Mary's where he built the Church.

for lay benefactors and welcomed their involvement.¹¹¹ Some funds were also raised through social activities, including concerts, but in general, there was a reliance on donations and collections. Concerts, frequently attended by Bagshawe, were important because they brought the work of the Orders to the attention of the public through press reports, and this in itself was a way of increasing funds.¹¹²

3.1 (f) 'A Wider Secular Involvement 1874-1901'

Bagshawe's brand of Catholicism meant that clergy and laity alike were involved in secular problems, such as politics, education, and the treatment of Catholic workhouse inmates by Poor Law Guardians¹¹³ Basically, Bagshawe's involvement in secular affairs was twofold: his direct intervention through personal actions and publicising matters, and secondly, his encouragement to priests and lay Catholics to partake in such activities. His aims were to protect Catholics and to obtain for them a wider social justice

Across the diocese there was considerable clerical activity and lay involvement in secular affairs where the emphasis was on maintaining laity allegiance to the Church. (The degree of Irish assimilation Bagshawe achieved is discussed in Chapter 4. The political angle is dealt with in Chapter 5.) Thus for example, Bagshawe sanctioned special collections for Ireland, and gave priests leave of absence to visit Erin, either to raise funds or to go on fact-finding missions.¹¹⁴ Many large rallies involving Catholic

¹¹¹ *Nottingham Journal* 14 September 1880 p. 3 col. 1.

¹¹² E.g., *Nottingham Daily Express* 18 March 1893 p. 8 col. 2. *Grantham Journal* 24 April 1899 p. 2 col. 3 reports how a concert organised by the Franciscans in Melton brought forth gifts and food for a tea party for the needy children.

¹¹³ There were other topics: e.g., Catholics and the Sunday opening of museums, temperance and licensing hours, *Nottingham Daily Express* 17 December 1891 p. 6 col. 5.

¹¹⁴ E.g., Special collections: *Stamford Mercury* 19 February 1880 p. 5 col. 3. *Nottingham Daily Express* 19 July 1887 Monahan returns from Ireland and gives a talk to a packed house in St. Edward's. *Grantham Journal* 21 April 1883 Lord Gainsborough organises a collection in Exton. *Nottingham Journal* 31 January 1880 p. 4 col. 2 notes the diocese had raised over £300 for Ireland.

interests and Ireland were attended by Bagshawe and priests, where, as in Nottingham (1877), he spoke to great applause.¹¹⁵ As well as attending rallies, Bagshawe and priests like Fr. Sibthorpe (Nottingham 1876), and the Jesuit priests at Chesterfield, fought a hard campaign against the forced re-patriation of Irish paupers, with some success.¹¹⁶ Bagshawe was a fervent supporter of Irish Home Rule, and like Manning fearful for the Catholic Church in a secular state: a very real fear given Bismark's enactment of the German Kulturkampf laws.¹¹⁷ Considering the volatility of the Irish situation, events such as the St. Patrick's Day celebrations were strictly controlled.¹¹⁸ Feniansim and extra-constitutional activities were roundly condemned in an attempt to show Catholic loyalty to the Crown. The press, including those with an anti-Catholic stance such as the *Grantham Journal*, congratulated Bagshawe over the way he attended such events and condemned any violent disruptions.

Over education, Bagshawe showed equally decisive leadership, and championed a three-pronged approach. Firstly, the schools were maintained, whatever the cost, although the standards in some, especially the small rural schools, left much to be desired.¹¹⁹ In addition, in 1876, Bagshawe, along with Bishop Amherst of Northampton, formed the joint Northampton and Nottingham Diocesan Education

¹¹⁵ E.g., *Nottingham Journal* 20 March 1877 p. 4 col. 3, at an Irish Land League Meeting. Here he was accompanied by nine priests. *NJ* 20 June 1877 p. 3 col. 4, at Hucknall when 3,000+ attended a meeting on Home Rule, including the Dobson, Kirk and Farmer families.

¹¹⁶ E.g., *Nottingham Journal* 16 February 1876 p. 3 col. 4, *NJ* 16 March 1876 p. 3 col. 5.

¹¹⁷ M. Whitehead, 'A View from the Bridge' in V. McClelland and M. Hodgetts, *From Without the Flaminian Gate*, pp. 217-44, as on p. 230. Here he notes Manning is aware of the dangers facing Catholic schools in the totally secular state of America. Manning did not want the same situation in Britain or Ireland. J. Wright, *The Jesuits* (London, 2004), p. 221 : "the freedom of Catholic pulpits was seriously curtailed".

¹¹⁸ 1885 Entry in *Bishop Ellis' Scrapbook: Bishop Ellis' Papers: Bishops Collection NDA Nottingham Journal* 18 March 1887 p. 8 col. 5 he was attended by 10 priests. *Stamford Mercury* 23 March 1900 p. 4 col. 6, at Boston Fr. O'Donoghue organised a family day with music, singing and dancing. *Nottingham Daily Express* 19 March 1892 p. 8 col. 2 at Ilkeston, a hotbed of Irish activity, Fr. McCarthy organised the day. *Grantham Journal* 21 March 1879 p. 8 col. 1 reported on the "great sobriety [of the occasion] due to the local priest". Significantly the *GJ* is a strong Protestant paper. *NDE* 23 April 1880 p. 8 col. 1, reports that at Nottingham St. Patrick's a nine day mission was held prior to the celebrations to indicate how the Irish should conduct themselves.

Committee, chaired by a peer, to raise finance and ensure that the problems of Catholic education were continually represented in Parliament.¹²⁰ At a local level, this committee aided Vaughan's Children's Rescue Society in Salford and supported the St. Francis Orphanage at Shefford.¹²¹

Bagshawe's second line of attack was through his continual publicising of the inequalities of the education system: Catholics had to pay the ever increasing School Board rate, but only received a meagre government grant, which amounted to around a third of the amount spent per pupil by the Board Schools. Sermons, *Pastorals* and press interviews stridently maintained the Catholic position of opposition to the School Boards, and the rights of Catholics to equitable funding.¹²²

Thirdly, although he hated them, Bagshawe was astute enough to ensure Catholics were represented across the diocese on the School Boards.¹²³ Like Roskell, he realised that by being elected to them, Catholics could ensure any anti-Catholic measures were publicised, and if possible, blocked.

Bagshawe further ensured that diocesan Catholics played an important part in alleviating the ills of the workhouse as they applied to Catholic inmates, both in England and Ireland.¹²⁴ Collectively their voices were expressed through the Catholic

¹¹⁹ See the analysis of standards in *Appendix G*.

¹²⁰ *Minutes of the Northampton and Nottingham Diocesan Education Committee Bishops Collection* NDA show that from its start (1897) it was thought that a local peer such as Lord Howard, the Earl of Gainsborough, or the Marquess of Ripon, was a suitable head for this reason.

¹²¹ See the details in the *Catholic Children's Rescue Society* advertisement in the *Catholic Directory* 1895 p. 495, and for St. Francis Home in the *1900 Catholic Directory* p. 541.

¹²² E.g., *Nottingham Daily Express* 2 May 1891 p. 8 col. 5 when Bagshawe spoke to the Nottingham and District Certificated Teachers Association and gained their support. *NDE* 27 September 1880 p. 3 col. 4 when the opening of a new school was the occasion for an attack on the School Boards. *NDE* 30 May 1894 p. 8 col. 4, when a large rally was organised as Parliament was discussing education.

¹²³ In *Appendix E* accompanying Chapter 4 'The Laity' is a list giving examples of the roles played by Catholics in various aspects of secular society.

¹²⁴ Priests who stood required his sanction, lay Catholics needed only his support. Over Ireland he participated in the inquiry into the alleged wrong doings in Cork Workhouse: *Nottingham Journal* 12 January 1884 p. 5 col. 5.

Guardians Association, which he and all the other bishops supported: an unusual degree of unanimity given Bagshawe's character.¹²⁵

It is clear that as regards Catholic involvement in secular affairs, Bagshawe led by example and was largely successful in carrying the clergy and the majority of lay Catholics with him. However, it must be remembered that divisions and Bagshawism probably reduced the effectiveness of his policies on various occasions. It was, above all, a policy that tackled the many issues in many ways and maintained its stance throughout the period 1874-1901. That said, the period 1874-1901 saw a growth in the secularisation of society and a consequent decline in the overall position nationally of the importance of religion, which made it easier to achieve change.

3.1 (g) *Bagshawe's Legacy to Brindle in 1901*

Bagshawe left a complex legacy to Brindle which can be analysed from three view points: that of the lay Catholics, the mission priest, and those senior clergy responsible for overseeing the administration of the diocese. For the lay Catholic, 1874-1901 had been an era of constant change: change to all aspects of worship from hymns, prayers, music, to the actual buildings and internal Church decorations. As well as this, they had been constantly bombarded by pleas for more money, and instructions on their wider devotional behaviour. Increasingly they would have noticed how the priests were telling them to take part in the mid-week socio-religious activities. Meanwhile, it was clear to them that Bagshawe was attempting to direct their secular activities. For some lay Catholics, this resulted in an uncomfortable relationship with their Church because they did not always accept Bagshawe's views. Some of the laity were aware of the

¹²⁵ For the Catholic Guardians Association see *Brindle's Catholic Guardian's File Brindle's Papers Bishops Collection* NDA. For their work nationally see the adverts in the *Catholic Directories* for

many priest-Bishop disputes and the frequent changes in the activities or presence of the priests and Orders. Thus for the lay Catholics, Bagshawe's legacy was one of being expected to be controlled, directed and knowing their place, and for some, a sense that things might change for the better with the departure of such a dictatorial ordinary.

For the mission priest, too, this had been an era of enforced changes. He had seen his role change from being a pastor to mission provider, organiser, financial director and constant implementor of Bagshawe's directives. More Masses were offered, and the priest was required by Bagshawe to create, organise and supervise the operation of the increasing number of mid-week socio-religious activities, while monitoring the roles played by his lay Catholics in local secular activities. For some priests it had been an uncomfortable experience with Bagshawe disputing their Missionary Rector status, their control over the Johnson Fund, his interference in their relationship with the Orders, and seemingly endless and sometimes petty instructions on everything from standardising dates of previously held voluntary collections, to time spent at Synods. Thus for the clergy it was a mixed legacy that was handed to Brindle. The disputes and underlying feelings were not about to change simply because the principal resident at Cathedral House changed. Clearly each priest had a different expectation of what the future might bring.

For the Chapter and diocesan officials like Douglass (Administration), Croft (Theologian) and Baigent (Finance), there was a deeper awareness that things were in decline. They were aware that Bagshawe had not fully applied the dictates of the *Decrees*. The Chapter was aggrieved that its role had not been fully recognised, while it is doubtful if Bagshawe, by using his personal wealth, had informed Douglass and Baigent of the true state of the diocese's financial position. Perhaps what the Chapter

the time. Its patrons were the Archbishop of Westminster and the Duke of Norfolk.

thought is shown by the fact that when it met in 1901 to choose a successor to Bagshawe, they again chose a local man, Canon Croft. The over-riding feature of Bagshawe's legacy was that it had been a personal Episcopate. He had led from the front, dictating policy changes, putting forward his ideas on how Catholicism in the Nottingham Diocese was to develop, and expecting all Catholics to abide by his wishes. In true ultramontane fashion he stressed and enhanced the role of the priest over the laity, reminded the laity of the duty of obedience they owed the priesthood, and above all, the duty clergy and laity owed to him.

Bagshawe correctly identified the main problems facing the diocese as those of a shortage of priests, finance, education, Mass centres, and relationships with the Orders. While he can be credited with taking steps to deal with them, his manner and methods of approach reduced his effectiveness and caused long-lasting tensions. In dealing with priests he lacked compassion, and was like Wiseman in that he was more concerned with the wider picture, while, paradoxically at times, annoying everyone with his emphasis on examining the minutiae of a situation. However, as well as being a pastor, the bishop is an administrator, and at this Bagshawe was singularly inept. Crucially, as far as the future of the diocese was concerned, he was not prepared to delegate matters to those, such as Douglass, who had the necessary skills. Long term debts and Bagshawe's failure to develop amongst the priesthood a culture of paying attention to the minutiae of mission management, caused problems for his successors. By comparison with other bishops, Bagshawe's actions were questionable. He was more extreme, as over his ultramontanism. After Roskell's last few years of weak leadership, the diocese in 1874 needed a strong leader and outwardly it had one in Bagshawe. Internally Bagshawe was less successful than Roskell. Perhaps his legacy was twofold: an expanded diocese, both in terms of its activities, buildings and membership, but also

one in which the personnel felt dominated by things that had happened. Bagshawe left a diocese that again needed a strong leader, but this time one who would work with the priests to solve the problems he had created.

3.2 Robert Brindle, Fourth Bishop of Nottingham 1901-1915

In 1899, after 25 years as a military chaplain, Robert Brindle, son of a Lancastrian beer seller, was appointed Auxiliary Bishop of Westminster to the ailing Cardinal Vaughan. To the laity, he was a beloved pastor and a renowned orator, but he treated the clergy as if they were his subalterns.¹²⁶ It was noted in the press that he could show mood swings and be both strict and kind: *The Catholic Herald* (1910) in consecutive weeks said “[he] could be savage in his relations with [people] and...no one could be more considerate”. Although in 1901 the Nottingham Chapter chose Canon Croft as Bagshawe’s successor, the bishops, under Vaughan’s influence placed Brindle’s name at the head of the Terna. This action was possibly due to the fact that Vaughan found it hard to work with Brindle and wanted him removed from Westminster.¹²⁷ Rome agreed, and on 2 January 1902 Brindle was enthroned as fourth Bishop of Nottingham.¹²⁸ In his Enthronement speech he stressed the need for “clergy and laity to continue in the performance of their duties and in their duty of

¹²⁶ He was a chaplain that accompanied the ill-fated expedition to rescue Gordon. *The Tablet* 1 July 1916 ‘Brindle’s Obituary’ notes “he was ever ready to stand up for his faith and lecture [and] crowded congregations flocked to his pulpit”. *Catholic Herald* 19 September 1908 p. 7 col. 6 shows all the bishops at the Eucharistic Congress with Brindle wearing his medals on his Episcopal dress. There are other photos of Brindle similarly attired in *Brindle: Photographic Collection: NDA*. *CH* 19 September 1910 p. 1 col. 3 cp. *CH* 12 September 1910.

¹²⁷ *9/7/1901 Bishops’ Meeting Minutes (Westminster): Brindle’s Papers Bishops Collection NDA*. *The Lisbonian* April 1961 pp. 15-6 contains the suggestion that Vaughan was anxious to move Brindle because of his relations with Westminster priests. If this is true, and knowing the ill-feeling in the Nottingham diocese, it shows a complete lack of understanding by Vaughan. This suggestion is however creditable because the article is a good example of the eulogising literature that ill-forms people of Catholic History, written as it was by students of Lisbon College to celebrate the only member who became an English Bishop. *Document 7 Bakewell Mission File: Parish Collection NDA* states “Brindle was a good soul, but not the man for Nottingham”.

¹²⁸ Thus out of the first five bishops to rule Nottingham only Roskell was consecrated at St. Barnabas’

obedience".¹²⁹ For Brindle, diocesan "consolidation was more important than innovation". Not unnaturally, Brindle saw discipline as the key to dealing with matters, meaning both self-discipline and obedience to him.¹³⁰ Unlike Bagshawe, Brindle was slow and cautious in most of his actions, but not always consistent in their application.¹³¹ He was an ultramontane who believed a bishop's authority should be demonstrated, while showing traces of cisalpinism by encouraging, through Catholic organisations, a greater involvement and independence for lay members in the affairs of the Church.¹³² However, Brindle could be sharp with people, including Edwin De Lisle, if he thought they were going too far.¹³³ Brindle was in reality only an active bishop from 1902-1911, after which he suffered a mental breakdown and became increasingly irascible and eccentric, achieving little else before finally retiring in March 1915. He lived at Cathedral House, ostensibly as Administrator until March 1916, before Bishop Dunn was appointed as his successor.¹³⁴

Brindle was first and foremost a diocesan bishop, concentrating on the troubled affairs of the Nottingham Diocese, and on being a pastor: he was prepared, for example

and only Roskell was the candidate proposed by the Nottingham Chapter.

¹²⁹ *The Lisbonian* April 1916 pp. 13-4.

¹³⁰ P. Anson, *Bishops at Large* (London, 1954), p. 168, "The new Bishop [Brindle], whose ideas of discipline are military".

¹³¹ *Catholic Herald* 4 March 1911 p. 9 col. 3.

¹³² *The Lisbonian* vol. XXVIII no. 1 October (1982) pp. 11-23, and vol. XXVIII no. 2 April 1963 pp. 9-24; vol. 1 p. 20 notes social work was a key element of his time in Nottingham.

Catholic Herald 9 January 1909 p. 1 col. 7 has him as a keen supporter of the Catholic Federation. As an ultramontane he stated that "Hymns only from approved sources are to be used": *Acta* (Westminster) 10/10/07.

¹³³ *Letter Brindle to Mr. and Mrs. De Lisle 1907: Brindle's General Correspondence File: Brindle's Papers: Bishops Collection* NDA. It concerned his attendance as landlord, at a Methodist Church Bazaar.

¹³⁴ B. Plumb *Arundel to Zabi 'Dunn' entry. Dunn's Correspondence with Rome 30/11/1916 Dunn's Papers: Bishops Collection* NDA, notes "the sad condition of the diocese with its continuing controversies": *Ad Limina Report 1921: Dunn's Papers Bishops Collection* NDA written as a summary of the period 1916-21 talks of the appalling state he found Cathedral House in, it being undecorated and containing few pieces of equipment. *Letter 17/2/1912 Gervase Elwes to Baigent Brindle's General Correspondence File Brindle's Papers: Bishops Collection* NDA notes Gervase Elwes writing to Baigent from rural Lincolnshire showing sympathy for him at this time during Brindle's mental breakdown. Some members of the Elwes family were also important priests in the Northampton Diocese and would provide the bishop from 1921, thus showing how Brindle was

to supply for six weeks at Melbourne in 1907.¹³⁵ It was not in his nature to attend meetings outside the diocese unless forced.¹³⁶ Brindle did not demonstrate any party political leanings, attend rallies, or in any way seek to influence the political views of his clergy. In this he was unlike his predecessor, his Cardinal, or other bishops like Casartelli (Salford). Instead, he left it to clergy such as Fr. Van Santen (Crowle) who wished to speak out against secular Socialism and Modernism.¹³⁷ Brindle's *Pastorals* (1902-11) and sermons emphasise his trust in God and obedience to the Church.¹³⁸ Lacking the simplicity of Roskell's *Pastorals* or the prescriptive nature of those written by Bagshawe, they tend to be stilted, long, and couched in language which made them difficult to comprehend: for example, in 1905, "The hands of men are like wax: we must pray for patience and resignation...using the language of love...being free with charity to all men so that we are true soldiers of the Cross". Note the military metaphor. He was, however, a bishop of some compassion and understanding. Appointed to bring peace and unity to the Nottingham Diocese, one of his first acts, greeted with enthusiasm by the clergy, was to appoint Canon Croft as his Vicar-General. There were frequent press reports to the effect that Brindle had unity as one of his aims.¹³⁹

known amongst the Hierarchy.

¹³⁵ On 8/2/1902, *Brindle to Mrs. De Lisle: Brindle's General Correspondence File: Brindle's Papers; Bishops Collection*, NDA. In this letter, Brindle, who is preparing Mary De Lisle for her First Communion, shows great sensitivity.

¹³⁶ Evidence suggests he went once to Ireland (reason unknown), and on the 1910 pilgrimage to the Holy Land and Rome, where he had to deliver his *1910 Ad Limina Report*. Evidence from lists of dignitaries at occasions like Congresses, conferences and the Bishops' meetings suggests he was an infrequent attendee.

¹³⁷ He agreed with the decision of the Bishops in 1910 that they should no longer attempt to dictate to the clergy/laity how they should vote. In matters like education, Socialism and Modernism only the party line was acceptable. The Pope excommunicated Modernists from 1907. This idea of explaining the Catholic point of view and leaving matters to the individual is in *Catholic Herald* 12 March 1910 p. 13 col. 1. See *CH* 3 May 1913 p. 9 col. 5 for an example of Van Santen's opposition.

¹³⁸ *Brindle's Pastorals and Sermons File: Brindle's Papers: Bishops Collection* NDA. A List of the *Pastorals* is in *Appendix C*. It would seem that he wrote none after his mental breakdown.

¹³⁹ *Diocesan Synod Minutes 1902 Brindle's Papers: Bishops Collection* NDA note the appointment of Croft. The appointment of Fr. Hawkins as a canon in 1910 was another well received appointment. *Catholic Herald* 21 November 1908 p. 13 col. 4 and notes Brindle as saying "unity is to be encouraged". He was speaking at Hyson Green where Bagshawe had had considerable disagreements

3.2 Facing Bagshawe's Legacy: Finance and Priestly Problems

In 1902 Brindle faced three interwoven financial problems: maintaining the diocesan infrastructure, gaining the respect of the clergy and understanding how they had managed their mission finances, and bringing overall administrative order to the chaos left by Bagshawe. Bagshawe, on his departure, had taken all his personal papers with him, so in effect Brindle had to create a diocesan financial statement.¹⁴⁰ Importantly, Brindle had a reputation amongst the public which, initially guaranteed him popular support.¹⁴¹ Having appointed auditors in order to find out the true financial position of the diocese, Brindle took their advice: he closed the seminary, repudiated all debts that were not properly accounted for in the ways set out by the *Decrees*, and required all priests to present mission accounts.¹⁴² In 1904 he wrote “[I] will have nothing to do with debts [wrongly] contracted before [I became bishop]...and it is up to the individual priest to deal with them”.¹⁴³ The enormity of the task facing Brindle is outlined in Table 3.4. This shows the problems were diocesan-wide, multifarious in nature, and ultimately, beyond his competence to solve: Brindle had to cope with the bankruptcy of a trustee (Loughborough, 1903), the emergency sale of consols below par (Mansfield, 1903), the indebtedness of dead priests (Clay Cross, 1907), as well as problems with the Orders (Crowle, 1903). At the mission level, Bagshawe's frequent

with the Little Company of Mary and Mother Mary Potter.

¹⁴⁰ The first true statement was produced in 1904 by Leman and Co., Accountants: their *Accounts Brindle's Papers: Bishops Collection* NDA. *Catholic Herald* 28 November 1908 p. 13 col. 6, was predicting the closure of several missions as Brindle struggled to find priests to replace the unsuitable ones who came from St. Hugh's Seminary. :*Letter from the clergy 30/6/1916 Brindle's Envelope Brindle's Papers Bishops Collection* NDA, notes “the clergy say they owed a great debt to him at the cost of great sacrifice [his mental breakdown] he ensured [the diocese's] future”.

¹⁴¹ That this remained with him is shown by the respect he had when having to deal with Fr. Brady, and the troubles at Nottingham St. Patrick's in 1911: *Nottingham Daily Express* 4 December 1911 p. 5 col. 6. Brady refused to obey Brindle and leave, so the bishop temporarily closed the Church: see *Brady Papers: Priests Collection* NDA.

¹⁴² *Brindle's Solicitor's File Brindle's Papers: Bishops Collection* NDA has letters continually repeating this.

¹⁴³ 22/4/1904 *Brindle's Envelope: Brindle's Papers: Bishops Collection* NDA.

Table 3.4**EXAMPLES OF THE FINANCIAL AND ADMINISTRATIVE PROBLEMS FACING BRINDLE 1902-15**

Problem	Example
[1] Priests leaving the diocese without completing accounts or inventories.	Market Rasen 1908 Woodhall Spa 1902-16 Newark 1904 Clay Cross 1907
[2] Unaccountable bequests with no documentation to indicate their origin or intention.	Scunthorpe 1902-16 Stamford 1908 Gainsborough 1902 Louth 1913
[3] The lack of documents for trusts (needed for the implementation of the 1902 Education Act), mortgages and title deeds.	Market Rasen 1914 Boston 1902-15 Mansfield 1904 Derby St. Mary's 1903 Glossop 1903 Hadfield 1903 Marple Bridge 1903 Coalville 1910
[4] The financial effects on missions caused by Brindle's repudiation of pre-1902 debts, and ordering payments of moneys direct to Nottigham.	Osgodby 1904 Hadfield 1904
[5] Missions with mortgages whose repayments were beyond their ability to meet, resulting in increased indebtedness.	Nottingham St. Edward's 1902 Nottingham St. Patrick's 1904 Melton Mowbray 1902 Ashbourne 1915 Stamford 1912
[6] Problems caused by the deaths of trustees, non-appointments of replacements and associated legal problems, and lack of knowledge of their existence.	Loughborough 1903 Lutterworth 1910 Crowle 1903 Oldcotes 1903 Glossop 1906 Scunthorpe 1902
[7] Ongoing problems with Bagshawe over 'missing money', understanding his accounting system, and involvement of Rome.	E.g. Market Harborough 1901-06, but abandoned in 1908 Radford 1903 Retford 1902 Bulwell 1911
[8] Lack of knowledge over property insurance and responsibility for policies and payments.	Grantham 1912-3 Crowle 1914
[9] The pressing need for funds requires the sale of some assets below par, and the problem of residual debts.	Louth 1908 Mansfield 1908 Matlock 1904
[10] Previous mission solvency being dependent on a benefactor who now can no longer maintain payments.	Mablethorpe 1909 Brigg 1913 Whitwick 1904
[11] Brindle promises to help a mission but fails to keep records.	Nottingham St. Edward's 1913
[12] Problems when an incoming priest repudiates his predecessor's debts.	Retford 1912
[13] Problems concerning money and land involving the Orders.	Dominicans 1903 Norbertines 1903

movement of priests meant that incumbents often arrived after debts had been contracted, and in the absence of the paper work, knew none of the details.¹⁴⁴

However, it is clear that Brindle's own actions compounded many of the diocese's difficulties and alienated many priests like Brady, whose case is considered below, because having repudiated certain debts, he failed to put in place administrative procedures to ensure legitimate ones were paid on time. A blanket repudiation did not take account of individual mission factors: it only succeeded in arousing the ire of many lay Catholics and clergy.¹⁴⁵ Brindle believed in the 'chain of command' principle, meaning that instructions and correspondence were carried out through Baigent, rather than him dealing directly with the individual priest. This made the resolution of any problems more difficult because not all priests had the linguistic abilities to communicate fully the finer details of their situations in writing. Correspondence shows how Baigent's tact and diplomacy were appreciated by the priests as he enforced Brindle's blunt financial edicts.¹⁴⁶ However at times, even the calm Baigent became exasperated by Brindle's mood swings, remarking "I am extremely sorry that the present state of your Lordship's health prevents you from remembering from one day to another what you say or do, but it is no reason for being offensive to me".¹⁴⁷ Also, although he had the authority of the *Decrees*, Brindle did not regularly enforce them with regard to

¹⁴⁴ E.g. Canon Dwyer (Market Rasen) died in debt, and it was unclear whether they were personal or mission debts: *Baigent to Fr. Hengel 3/7/14: Market Rasen Mission File: Parish Collection NDA*. At his death in 1904 Canon Harnett was not in debt but left insufficient money to cover the costs of redeeming mortgages which in turn Fr. Brady repudiated. With regard to Consols being sold: *Brindle to Browne : 3/2/1909 Louth Mission File NDA*. The HMIs demanded school improvements or the school closed. *Brindle's File F11: Brindle's Papers: Bishops Collection NDA* shows that 24 missions borrowed a total exceeding £12,400 for which there was incomplete paper work. For some missions, repayments were impossible.

¹⁴⁵ *H. Sabela to Brindle 6/03/04 Hadfield Mission File: Parish Collection NDA* "...you have forgotten the cheque".

¹⁴⁶ *Brindle's Correspondence and Financial Files: Brindle's Papers: Bishops Collection NDA* contain letters thanking Baigent. See also *Ashby Mission File 1908: Parish Collection NDA* for how this indirect process contributed to the troubles at Measham over Lady Loudoun's school.

¹⁴⁷ *Baigent to Brindle 22/10/1915: Hadfield Mission File: Parish Collection NDA*.

the private and financial affairs of priests: his files reveal administrative procedures started but trailed off after a few months.¹⁴⁸

Brindle did, however, take a series of positive actions in his attempts to bring order to the diocese. At the 1902 Diocesan Synod he forbade priests to take on any new financial or legal involvement without his permission, while reminding them that all missions had to be insured.¹⁴⁹ In the case of property trusts and mortgages, priests had to ascertain the 'true' local situation, and, where necessary, substitute deeds were drawn up and new trustees appointed.¹⁵⁰ However, the reality was that missions were largely left to their own devices over finance.¹⁵¹

Brindle was convinced that the diocese was owed money by Bagshawe.¹⁵² He argued that, as many debts were in Bagshawe's name and payments went via his personal account, he was legally responsible for the financial shortfall. But, by questioning all mission accounts, and seeking lay advice and involvement on monies his predecessor had lent, Brindle caused further upset and aggravation because the enquiries and subsequent rumours only added to dissension. Even the Nottingham and Nottinghamshire Bank in 1904 wondered if it was better to write off debts rather than to pursue their collection.¹⁵³ Matters were made worse when Bagshawe printed a *Circular* in 1904 and had it distributed amongst the clergy stating his position and questioning

¹⁴⁸ Under the *Decrees* a priest must deposit his will with the bishop. Very few did, and some died intestate. Fr. Tasker's Will in *Tasker Deceased Priests File: Priests Collection* NDA, specifically states that all his papers were to be burnt on his death. This was complied with and made it difficult to sought out the financial situation at Glossop after 1906. After 1911 Brindle became even less capable of understanding the financial mess.

¹⁴⁹ As this matter never appears again in any Diocesan Synods it is a matter of conjecture as to whether he was successful, or this is another example of his inconsistency.

¹⁵⁰ E.g., *Glossop Mission File 1906-8: Parish Collection* NDA shows Fr. Hawkins dealing with this situation. *Brindle's Financial File no.14:Brindle's papers: Bishops Collection* NDA notes that some 22 trusts were treated in this way.

¹⁵¹ See for example *St. Philip's Mansfield Mass Book 1902-10 Mansfield Mission File: Parish Collection* NDA which shows this happening and Brindle monitoring the collector's books.

¹⁵² *General Correspondence File: Brindle's Papers Bishops Collection* NDA has letters showing Brindle writing to Bagshawe, who naturally disagreed.

¹⁵³ *Letter from Notts. Bank to Brindle 22/4/04 Brindle's Financial Files Brindle's Papers: Bishops*

Brindle's.¹⁵⁴ Bagshawe counter-claimed for £600 he said the diocese owed him, but Brindle was unconvinced and petitioned Rome for its advice. By 1906 it was clear no money was ever going to be forthcoming, and the matter subsided.

With the Orders and finance, Brindle likewise had little success. At Leicester, both at Holy Cross and St Patrick's, there were disagreements over monies collected for a new Church and who was entitled to the profits from the sale of redundant properties: at Buxton there were arguments over how much rent the Presentation Sisters had to pay while they ran the school. In each of these cases the laity quickly became aware of the situation, but in neither case did Brindle obtain any money.¹⁵⁵

Thus over finance Brindle had limited success, but probably, although it was deeply unpopular, the repudiation of debts did in part, stop the diocese from sliding into total bankruptcy.

Parallel with Brindle's attempts to deal with financial matters, he was having to cope with at least fifteen priestly disputes which were causing public scandals, rumour, and directly affecting people's faith: (Table 3.5). While each of the disputes had their own characteristics, there were a number of common elements: a different perception between Brindle and the priest over the latter's role; a reaction to the manner in which Brindle attempted to discipline the priest concerned; lay involvement; finance; and the fact that the problems often remained unsolved by 1915. The breadth, nature, and complexity of the overall situation can be shown by a study of the Howarth-Beale, Brady and Hays' cases.

Fr. Hays (Market Rasen) was Manning's successor as leader of the Legion of the Cross Temperance Confraternity, and in this capacity he was frequently absent from his

Collection NDA.

¹⁵⁴ Copy in *Brindle's Financial Correspondence Brindle's Papers; Bishops Collection NDA.*

Table 3.5**EXAMPLES OF BRINDLE'S PROBLEMS WITH PRIESTS**

Year	Priest	Reasons for Dispute
1902-14	Wyke (Nottingham St. Augustine's)	Questions the responsibility for repayment of interest on moneys lent by mission/Bagshawe(?) to CSJP to operate school. Accused by Brindle of not properly maintaining the school and mission. He accuses Brindle of listening to gossip and then acting on it. When a bank calls in an overdraft he goes to law and involves Rome.
1902	Beale-Howarth (Ilkeston and Corby Glen)	'Misuse' of Chantry and Confraternity moneys. Illegally having themselves consecrated bishops. Refusing to obey Canon Law. Non-repayment of mortgages. Their questionable position as Rectors.
1906	Hays (various missions)	Brindle accuses him of neglecting his missions because of his Temperance work. Hay claims Brindle acted uncanonically in his attempts to remove a Missionary Rector, and goes to law and involves Rome, who reinstates him. Brindle accuses him of owing rent.
1907	Meenagh (Clay Cross)	Dispute arise between middle class English Catholics, the Irish, and Meenagh over whether attendance at Butterley Domestic Chapel constitutes Sunday obligation as Clay Cross mission becomes non-viable without their support: refuses to obey Brindle.
1908	Pleyau (Mansfield)	Suggests that French and Irish are trouble makers and refuses to issues a retraction or moderate his views
1908	Prince (Mansfield)	'Misapplication of mission funds' collected for a new Church. He says he had to use money to maintain the mission. Brindle accuses him of a lack of proper mission administration.
1910	Brady (Nottm. St. Patrick's)	Questions the involvement of Catholics with the Workhouse. Financial problems develop over St. Patrick's debts which he says were the personal debts of his predecessor, Fr. Harnett. He goes to law, and involves Rome. Brindle attempts to (uncanonically?) remove him although he is a M.R. Brindle temporarily closes the mission (1911).
1913	Hunt {Woodseats}	Complaints of a lack of support from Brindle after he is removed from Woodseats.
1914	Wenham (various)	Complains that he is slandered by a parishioner but Brindle supports the laity.
1915	Baigent (Diocesan Administrator)	Complains he has to continuously take the butt of Brindle's increasingly erratic behaviour.

mission after 1896, both on national and international speaking tours.¹⁵⁶ In this he was acting as he had done under Bagshawe, but Brindle was not happy with this situation. Brindle the pastor, who was faced with a shortage of priests, saw the priest's role as essentially that of being a mission pastor. He wanted Hays at Market Rasen running the mission, securing its upkeep and contribution to diocesan finances. The parishioners, especially the middle class ones, were unhappy with Hays' absences and in 1905 sent Brindle a petition complaining at the lack of Masses being offered, and asking for an alternative priest to be appointed.¹⁵⁷ Previously in 1902, Hays had tried to arrange for neighbouring priests to say Masses at Market Rasen, but Brindle had used his authority to forbid such an arrangement, presumably in the hope it would force Hays to give up his Temperance activities. While Hays was absent in 1904-5, Brindle removed him from Market Rasen, but such action was questionable as he was a Missionary Rector. Complaints and support regarding Brindle's autocratic behaviour were aired in the press: Brindle backed down and reinstated Hays.¹⁵⁸ In this case, Brindle added to, rather than reducing tensions between priest, bishop, and laity.

More serious than the localised Hays' case was that of Frs. Howarth and Beale, because of the wide publicity they attracted and the issues involved. Beale and Howarth were honoured by Bagshawe with Papal Briefs in 1900 but they were not ratified by

¹⁵⁵ Details are in the individual *Mission Files of Leicester Holy Cross, Leicester St. Patrick's, and Buxton St. Anne's Missions: Parish Collection* NDA.

¹⁵⁶ There is some evidence to suggest that Bagshawe regarded Hays as having committed some kind of 'indiscretion' in 1896: *Letter Bagshawe to ? : 14/1/1896 Hays' Deceased Priests File: Priests Collection* NDA. He was said to have divulged something learnt in the Confessional. This piece of information is problematical, because if true, Bagshawe would have had no option but to suspend him and report the matter to Rome. As this did not happen, we are left wondering whether Bagshawe was at fault, or whether he was reacting to local gossip.

¹⁵⁷ *Letter 29/5/1905 Hay's Deceased Priests File: Priests Collection* NDA.

¹⁵⁸ The actual details can be followed in the *Hay Papers: Priests Collection* NDA. Also *Hay's File Bishop Dunn's Papers; Bishops Collection* NDA. *Letters for 1911, 1912. 1904 in Brindle's Solicitor's File: Brindle's Papers: Bishops Collection*, That the information was in the public domain is shown by *Nottingham Daily Express* 24 November 1906, 27 November 1906, 1 December 1906, *Catholic Herald* 3 December 1906 p. 16 col. 7, *CH* 3 April 1909 p. 7 col. 1, 2 October 1909 p. 16 col. 2, 28 May 1910, p. 1 col. 5.

Vaughan before Bagshawe's resignation.¹⁵⁹ In the background, rumours were circulating amongst the laity that certain monies relating to Chantry Masses and Confraternity funds had been misapplied. Additionally, Bagshawe had lent money to Beale when he was at Nottingham St. Edward's (prior to 1896) and this was one of the debts repudiated by Brindle. This, too, became common knowledge and weakened Brindle's local support as Beale was, in general, a conscientious priest. Howarth, it was said, was receiving some form of recognition for his attempts to form a Ladies College in Corby, which involved using monies from the Collingwood Trust, whose articles forbade the money to be used for anything but the local Poor School.¹⁶⁰ Howarth and Beale continued to protest at the revocation of their briefs and strongly denied any charges of misuse of chantry funds, but again, some middle class laity complained that Masses in memory of their relatives were not being said. Brindle therefore suspended Howarth and Beale for ostensibly failing to perform their mission duties adequately, but by doing it through Baigent and not dealing directly with them, Brindle made matters worse. Brindle preferred to speak with his equals, so Howarth and Beale had themselves consecrated by a schismatic continental bishop, in the hope that Brindle would listen to them.¹⁶¹ The bishop concerned was part of a group who had refused to support the Doctrine of Papal Infallibility, but because the line of Episcopal Ordination was unbroken, they were true bishops. Brindle responded by excommunicating them and

¹⁵⁹ The details are in *Corby Mission File: Parish Collection, Vaughan's Correspondence: to Bishop Dunn* in *Bishop Dunn's Papers* NDA. *Beale Papers: Priests Collection, Canon Sweeney's Notes on Howarth and Beale, Sweeney Collection* NDA *Nottingham St. Edward's Mission File 1896-1915: Parish Collection* NDA. P. Ansom, *Bishops at Large* pp. 168, 180-1. *Catholic Herald* 27 August 1910 p. 1 col. 4, 10 September 1910 p. 1 col. 3 and p. 9 col. 3, 24 September 1910 p. 13 col. 5, 29 October 1910 p. 2 col. 3, 19 November 1910 p. 1 col. 3, 17 December 1910 p. 1 col. 3, 3 March 1911 p. 9 col. 3, 11 March 1911 p. 9 col. 3, 28 June 1913 p. 1 col. 4, 19 April 1913 p. 9 col. 1. Howarth subsequently published many documents and his interpretation of events in 'Bishop Howarth', *A Protest Against the Tyranny of The Roman Inquisition and of His Holiness Pope Pius X*. By being consecrated they hoped they would be able to wield more authority in Rome.

¹⁶⁰ For financial details see notes on the Collingwood Trust in *Leman and Co. Accounts, Brindle's Papers: Bishops Collection* and *Corby Glen Mission File*, both at NDA.

resorting to civil action to evict them from their presbyteries. Beale left the diocese and in 1919 Howarth recanted and was accepted back by Bishop Dunn, but he was always referred to as Fr. Howarth.

The Brady case was unusual in that it involved a priest who was personally invited to the diocese by Brindle in 1904, and was considered a well-loved, hard-working Irish cleric with a reputation for caring for the poor of Nottingham St. Patrick's.¹⁶² Significantly, in this dispute, Brady carried the parishioners with him against Brindle, although there is no evidence to suggest he urged them on. When Harnett, Brady's predecessor, died in 1904, he left insufficient monies to cover various mortgages totalling over £3,500. St. Patrick's was a poor mission whose schools were in urgent need of replacement. Brady therefore repudiated the interest due on the mortgages.¹⁶³ Brindle was furious, but refused to deal directly with Brady. Then, in 1908, although it had been agreed with Croft the Vicar-General, a planned mission to be held at St. Patrick's was cancelled. The laity complained bitterly to Brindle at what he was doing to their mission, but Brindle accused Brady of insubordination and trying to usurp his authority: Brady was then suspended. However, Brady claimed that as a Missionary Rector, such actions were uncanonical and carried on as normal in ministering to the laity of St. Patrick's. It is debatable as to whether in this instance Brindle was acting wrongly. The events took place in 1910, but from 1908 Britain was no longer under missionary status and governed by Propaganda. Without a formal ruling

¹⁶¹ A line of this tradition still exists in Europe today in Prague.

¹⁶² The details are in *Brady Papers Priests Collection* NDA *Catholic Herald* 6 November 1907 p. 5 col. 2, 1 August 1908 p. 13 col. 4, 10 April 1909 p. 16 col. 1, 10 July 1909 p. 16 col. 1, 18 September 1909 p. 1 col. 4, 27 November 1909 p. 16 col. 1, 2 July 1910 p. 1 col. 4, 25 June 1910 p. 1 col. 5, 23 July 1910 p. 1 col. 4, 3 September 1910 p. 1 col. 3, 1 October 1910 p. 1 col. 3, 25 November 1911 p. 1 col. 6, 17 February 1912 p. 12 col. 6. *Nottingham Daily Express* 2 December 1911 p. 5 col. 6, 11 December 1911, 18 December 1911.

¹⁶³ 2/1/1917 *Dunn's File G12 : Dunns' Papers: Bishops Collection* NDA. Solicitors say the interest should have been paid by Brindle.

from Rome the position of Missionary Rectors was unclear. Brady successfully sued Brindle in the civil courts for loss of tenure and income, and received some recompense. Brindle retaliated by marching into St. Patrick's and announcing that he was closing the Church from December 1911: it was to be re-opened in February 1912 under Brady's curate Fr. Quilter.¹⁶⁴ Whilst he had every right to carry out such action, it created a sensation, heightened tensions and did not solve the issues: it happened at the time of Brindle's nervous breakdown. Brady appealed to Rome and was re-instated although he was sued in the civil courts by Baigent for selling presbytery furniture to cover living costs while he was suspended. Brady subsequently left the diocese, but not until all the arguments had been aired in the press and divisions created in the laity. Had Brindle explained matters, discussed the situation with the parishioners and not acted in such an autocratic manner, much would have been avoided. It is also true that Brady failed to show the necessary priestly obedience expected of him.

These three cases highlight the broader situation facing Brindle 1901-1915. All of the priests involved had exerted more individuality under Bagshawe than Brindle was prepared to tolerate: what Brindle wanted was obedient, mission priests who accepted his authority. All the priests involved in the fifteen disputes (Table 3.5) had been inadequately trained at St. Hugh's Seminary under Bagshawe, except Brady.¹⁶⁵ Vaughan's action in placing a martinet in a diocese lacking priestly discipline, perhaps made it inevitable that the disputes would not be solved. In all the disputes the laity played an increasingly important part and exerted pressure for change, yet the ultramontane Brindle wanted them, like the priests, to know their place.

¹⁶⁴ There was a similar episode in Furness (1909) when Bishop Whiteside (Liverpool) closed St. Mary's when another Irish priest refused to tow the line: A. Parkinson *A History of Catholicism in the Furness Peninsula 1127-1997* (Lancaster, 1998), p. 78.

¹⁶⁵ But there appears to have been something in his background as he left Cardiff for Dundee, prior to coming to Nottingham. It is only hinted at in the *Brady Papers :Priests Collection* NDA.

3.3 Brindle's Successes: Education, Mission Expansion, and Secular Involvement

If Brindle's record in respect to finance and the management of the clergy was somewhat patchy, a much brighter prospect is afforded by a consideration of his activities in relation to education, the widening of lay participation in Catholic affairs, and the creation of new missions. Brindle's involvement was indirect, but effective: he appointed suitable people to posts of responsibility, such as Canon Hawkins (1903) as Diocesan Schools' Inspector, and then allowed them the freedom to get on with the job. Crucially, Brindle maintained the schools while implementing the 1902 Education Act: of 54 schools existing in 1901, only eight closed.¹⁶⁶ The 1902 Act required denominational schools to be constituted as trusts. This safeguarded their finances while enabling Churches to utilise the premises for other purposes such as social gatherings and election meetings.¹⁶⁷ Brindle did manage to have the legal process completed by 1904 and no diocesan school passed into council ownership.¹⁶⁸ Further, Brindle expressed his concern for both the spiritual and physical welfare of children by encouraging clergy and laity to take advantage of the many educational/welfare initiatives of 1902-14, such as school meals, changes to teacher training, curriculum developments and schemes aimed at helping low ability children.¹⁶⁹

¹⁶⁶ Namely West and Market Rasen, Nottingham St. John's and St. Paul's, Husbands Bosworth, Louth and Bamford.

¹⁶⁷ *Education Memoranda 1902; Vaughan to Bishops: Vaughan Confidential Memoranda File G/1/03* WDA: "It is imperative to retain control of the buildings". He outlines the position by saying that where no trust exists, the Board of Education assumes extra powers over such matters as the appointment of teachers and the curriculum. Given the hostility by many Liberal councils to "Rome on the rates", trusts were vital. See Chapter 6 for details.

¹⁶⁸ Northampton Diocesan Schools, for example, were ready by 27 March 1903, but here there was a greater degree of agitation by Liberals against denominational schools and the government had to use the 1904 Penalties Act to make them comply with the provisions of the 1902 Act. Information supplied by the Diocesan Archivist *NoDA*.

¹⁶⁹ *Catenian Minute Book Nottingham Branch* NCRO. On 30/4/14 after school programmes were to be given priority, and girls were to go to local schools for cookery. This also happened at Measham.

Brindle was especially concerned with spiritual and physical welfare of children, having been influenced by Vaughan when he was at Westminster.¹⁷⁰ As the Nottingham Diocese lacked specialist facilities to deal with children with special needs, he made arrangements with other dioceses like Northampton, and Hexham and Newcastle to send children to their care.¹⁷¹ Parents were required to make some contributions, but Brindle helped by preaching *Sermons* and ordering special collections.¹⁷²

Brindle was also concerned at the high leakage rate amongst school leavers. To help solve the problem, Brindle supported the Catenian plan to offer help and advice to 14 year olds on choosing a career, and to guide them in the first few months of employment. The Catenians, were a middle class Confraternity founded in 1909 and welcomed into the diocese by Brindle in 1912. The Catenians, together with the clergy, organised other lay Catholics to provide welfare and educational facilities for Belgian refugees, at missions like Grimsby, Spalding, Mansfield and Measham.¹⁷³ All these had priests from the Low Countries.¹⁷⁴ Diocesan Catholics helped organise a short-lived Belgian newspaper, *De Belgische Koerier*, published in Derby 1914-15 which aimed to maintain communications between refugees and events in Belgium. Having been a military chaplain, Brindle was acutely aware of the need for maintaining such links.

Brindle's attitude towards lay participation in secular activities was inconsistent. Whereas he encouraged their role in some aspects of local educational initiatives, with

¹⁷⁰ *Deprived Children's File: Brindle's Papers: Brindle's Papers: Bishops Collection* NDA show his concern.

¹⁷¹ See list in *Appendix C*.

¹⁷² As in 13 October 1905 *Deprived Children's File: Brindle's Papers: Bishops Collection* NDA.

¹⁷³ This is discussed in Chapter 6. The children either attended the local Poor School or the LEA as in Leicester, provided special facilities and paid for Catholic teachers. This was controversial because the Catholics got better treatment than those born in Britain. Information also supplied by a descendant in an interview with author.

¹⁷⁴ See *Nottingham Catenian Minute Book 1912-5* NCRO.

regard to the wider question of protecting the schools in the face of opposition from the new Local Education Authorities and attacks from the Liberal government, he was ambivalent, preferring instead to leave matters to the individual.¹⁷⁵ Several *Pastorals* and sermons were delivered but no large scale rallies or meetings held. As early as 1893 the bishops had agreed to “speak with one voice” regarding education, and although outspoken critics, including Casartelli (Salford) in 1904, were prepared to make individual pronouncements, Brindle took no such actions: he was, after all, in his seventies.¹⁷⁶ It was left to the individual priests to maintain vigilance by informing their laity, especially through Catholic Federation meetings.¹⁷⁷ Brindle was a fervent supporter of the Catholic Federation and did much to encourage priests to form branches across the diocese.¹⁷⁸ Formed initially to protect the schools in the Salford Diocese, the Catholic Federation rapidly assumed a wider role, especially as a vehicle for mounting Catholic condemnation of Socialism.¹⁷⁹ Indeed, one of the few mass meetings he

¹⁷⁵ For a summary of the events see J. Lawson and H. Silver *A Social History of Education in England* (London, 1973), Chapter 10. For a partisan portrayal see P. Lane, *The Catenian Association 1908-85* Chapters 1 and 2. As under Bagshawe teachers were joining the NUT rather than the Catholic Teacher’s Federation: *Catholic Herald* 28 August 1908 p. 6 col. 1 and p. 9 col. 1.

¹⁷⁶ Cp. with M. Whitehead, ‘A View from the Bridge’ p. 220, and G. Bradley and R. Finigan *Catholicism in Leeds* p. 49.

¹⁷⁷ Brindle’s *1908 Pastoral* and *Lenten Pastoral 1910* talked of “prayer and opposition [to the education bills]”. *Catholic Herald* 30 November 1917 p. 16 col. 1 reports Baigent delivering lectures against the intended bills. St. Patrick’s Debating Society debated the issues which helped to maintain some laity opposition: *CH* 4 July 1908 p. 16 col. 7. The CYMS debated the issues and sent members to national conferences. In Glossop Fr. Winder *CH* 10 September 1910 p. 1 col. 3 warned Catholics to “equip themselves to meet the allegations and arguments of the non-Catholics”. At Ilkeston Fr. McCarthy lectured on ‘Unhealthy Literature’ [that is against denominational education]: *CH* 24 July 1909 p. 16 col. 2.

¹⁷⁸ Branches were formed in Derby, Nottingham (4), Carlton, Hucknall, Mansfield, Grimsby, Lincoln, Leicester, Chesterfield and Glossop. *Catholic Herald* 26 June 1909 p. 16 col. 1 announced “there are further plans to expand in North Derbyshire”. For the national picture see P. Doyle, ‘The Catholic Federation 1906-1929’ in D. Sheils and J. Wood, *Voluntary Religion Studies in Church History* vol. 23 (1986) pp. 461-476. See also the many references to Casartelli (its founder) and the Catholic Federation in K. Aspden *Fortress Church* (Leominster, 2002).

¹⁷⁹ C. Bolton, *The Diocese of Salford* p. 133. The *Catholic Herald* summed it up neatly by saying the Federation’s aim was “to get the best for Catholics out of any party in power” : *CH* 24 October 1908 p. 16 col. 7. Many priests such as Kavanagh (Market Harborough), lectured against Socialism using the theme ‘The Dignity of Labour’: *CH* 13 February 1909 p. 13 col. 4. As will be shown in Chapter 5 ‘Politics’ there were difficulties because some priests like Fr. McNabb were sympathetic to Socialism.

attended was in support of the Catholic Federation, where he told people to “organise...to achieve equality”.¹⁸⁰

Brindle was also keen to see a growth in the number of missions, despite his difficulties regarding priests, finance and increasing infirmity. Like Roskell he was cautious, only sanctioning such developments if it seemed the mission would be financially viable: Table 3.6 and Table 3.7. Under Brindle the diocesan Catholic population rose to 37,500 and the priest:laity ratio fell to 1:206.¹⁸¹ The mission expansion was therefore more focused than it had been under Bagshawe. One Domestic Chapel was opened, three missions were aimed at suburban developments such as South Wigston for Leicester, and a further four served rural communities like Horncastle where the Irish formed a sizeable proportion of the Catholics. The main area of expansion was the seven missions which served new mining centres (Scunthorpe) holiday centres (Mablethorpe), new dock building (Immingham), and military camps (Belper). By 1915, Mass was also being offered in the wartime camps such as Clipstone. Brindle closed four centres including Nottingham St. John's and Borrowash, due to population movements and urban re-developments. This had little effect on the problems of priest shortage as previously they had been served from other, nearby centres. Clowne, in the disputed Bagshawe/Jesuit area was finally re-opened but had no resident priest. Unlike Bagshawe, Brindle only ordained priests from well-established seminaries, and apart from Fr. Brady, this was a wise choice. Brindle also gave permission for occasional Masses to be offered to groups such as navvies in central Derbyshire.

¹⁸⁰ *Catholic Herald* 20 February 1909 p. 16 col. 5. He was supported by 16 priests.

¹⁸¹ Figures taken from *Dunn's Parochial Files 1917: Bishop Dunn's papers: Bishops Collection NDA* and the *Catholic Directory* for 1915.

Table 3.6

MISSION EXPANSION UNDER BRINDLE 1901-1915

Year	Location	Reason for Opening
1901		
1902	Witham Hall	Domestic Chapel of a benefactor
1903		
1904	Belper	To serve newly opened government Army camp housing many Irish. Also increasing civilian Catholic population.
1905	Horncastle South Wigston	Developing market town with growing Irish population. Suburban development around Leicester re-locates many Catholics.
1906	Melbourne <i>Borrowash</i> Nottingham St. John's <i>Willersley Hall</i>	Built by a local Catholic diocesan benefactor <i>Mission closed due to population movements.</i> <i>Closed due to opening of others nearby.</i> <i>Domestic Chapel no longer needed.</i>
1907	Mablethorpe	Largely for the tourists
1908	Ashby-de-la-Zouch Earl Shilton	Re-opening of a closed mission due to a local benefactor and influx of Irish miners and mineral workers. Leicester suburban developments
1909	Grimsby St. Peter's Immingham Alvaston Shirebrook	Due to the growth of Grimsby and its Irish needs. New dock building attracts large numbers of Irish. Derby suburban developments. Influx of Irish miners.
1910	Woodseats Clowne	New mining developments attract many Irish Catholics. Re-opened as local mines expand.
1911	Scunthorpe	New Iron works attract many Irish.
1912		
1913		
1914		
1915	<i>Spilsby</i>	<i>Closed due to rural migration.</i>

Table 3.7**NEW FEMALE ORDERS UNDER BRINDLE**

- A: Established Orders with their own Constitutions
 B: Established order who came with other Bishop's Blessing
 C: New Diocesan Orders
 D: Off-shoots from other Orders
 E: Foreign orders granted sanctuary

Year	Order	location	Group	Main Activities
1901				
1902	Sisters of Providence (French)	Lincoln, then to Woodhall Spa	E	Education
1903				
1904	Presentation Sisters Ursuline Sisters	Glossop All Saints Spilsby	E A	Education Mission work
1905				
1906	Dominican Sisters	Leics. St. Peter's	A	Mission work and Education
	Sisters of the Nativity Sisters of Charity of St. Paul (Fr.)	Market Harborough Sleaford	B E	Education Education
1907				
1908	Sisters of Christ	Leics. Holy Cross	A	Education and mission work
	Sisters of the Nativity	Leics. St. Peter's	B	Mission work
1909				
1910	Franciscan Sisters of the Holy Cross	Skegness	C	Education and mission work
1911	Poor Clares	Lutterworth	E	Contemplative life
1912	Franciscan Tertiaries	Woodhall Spa	B	Education and Welfare
1913				
1914	Rosminian Sisters	Lincoln	A	Education
1915	Sisters of Divine Providence (Fr.) Sisters of St. Dorothy (Port.)	Earl Shilton Coalville	E E	Education and Mission work Contemplative

In his diocesan expansion, Brindle was aided by the female Orders, but unlike Bagshawe, he saw them more as organisations in their own right: he did not attempt to see them as a 'bishop's tool'. Fifteen conventual centres were opened, one at Spilsby closed due to population migration, and two transferred to larger centres where there was a greater scope for their talents, as happened with the removal of the Sisters of Providence from Woodhall Spa to Lincoln. In four cases, including the Poor Clares of Lutterworth and the Sisters of St. Dorothy at Coalville, Orders were offered sanctuary having been evicted from their homelands by anti-Catholic legislation or revolutions.¹⁸² The Orders' work was much appreciated, whether it was through running the Poor and Middle class schools, nursing, or welfare work, especially amongst women, children and the old.¹⁸³ From 1915 the Sisters from many Orders were employed in nursing the repatriated wounded soldiers, while some went overseas. Thus for the Orders, the period 1902-1915, was in general, a period of calm in which they enjoyed the support of the diocesan bishop, and were encouraged to lead their lives as to their calling.

One final point must be made regarding Brindle's mission expansion programme: while he was an ultramontane and demanded priests follow expected practices, and made clear to the laity through his *Pastorals*, he did not lay down exactly what had to be done. His *Files* contain no evidence of him forcing particular practices or methods of devotion on the missions. It appears he was content to allow individual priests to get on as they thought best, but obviously within what was acceptable,

¹⁸² In the case of the Portuguese Sisters it was due to Brindle's personal connections with the royal family of Portugal.

¹⁸³ E.g., At Market Harborough the Blessed Sacrament Sisters were thanked for the way they supported the schools: *Catholic Herald* 7 August 1909 p. 16 col. 1. In Skegness the Franciscans ran a House of Retreat: *CH* 5 September 1908 p. 1 col. 6. In Boston Fr. O'Donoghue helped organise the 25 year celebrations of the Sisters of Charity: *CH* 29 April 1911 p. 1 col. 3.

1874-1915 can be characterised as a period of expansion, growth, and unease with Brindle steadying the ship after the storms created by Bagshawe's somewhat erratic behaviour. There was a growth in Catholic confidence across the diocese. However, both ordinaries created unease by the manner in which they pursued matters. Bagshawe was the over-confident arch-ultramontane, in a hurry to improve standards of local Catholicism, trying to force changes, bluntly instructing people on their devotional and secular behaviour, expanding the diocese without consideration to financial and administrative procedures; Brindle, true to his military calling, failed to appreciate fully the fact that local clergy and laity in 1902 needed to be led rather than cajoled. Brindle's failure was his lack of willingness to deal personally with matters. However, it is probably true that he did save the diocese from bankruptcy, although the *raison d'être* for his appointment - to stabilise the diocese - was never achieved, and he passed to Dunn a diocese that still required much financial and administrative attention.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE DIOCESAN CATHOLIC COMMUNITY

1850-1915

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1. Methodology, Problems and Context

Chapter Four is concerned with understanding the diverse nature of the Nottingham Diocesan Catholics 1850-1915, and their various groupings. Writers on nineteenth century Catholics or Catholicism often talk of “the Catholic viewpoint”, or “the Catholic position was...”, giving the impression that they were a single united entity, when in fact they were a divided community.¹ Catholic divisions, however, cannot be compared to those in the Anglican or Methodist Churches.² The Catholic Church was a single entity with its own Hierarchy under the control of the Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster, unlike the Anglican Church which was subject to the external rulings of the Privy Council or the actions of government.³ The separate Methodist Churches each had their own autonomous Conferences. Significantly, the Anglicans with the 1874 Public Worship Act and the Methodists from the 1870s, each in their own way noted the unity of the Catholic Church and attempted to reunite themselves.⁴

One obvious distinction noted in Catholicism, was the clergy-laity divide, while the dress of the Orders also marked them out as separate entities: indeed, emphasising the separateness of the clergy, was an ultramontane trait. While generally the division between cisalpine and ultramontane Catholics, was becoming blurred, in some locations a clear distinction remained. Compare for example, the nature of the two Catholic Churches as illustrated by Fig. 4.1. The variations in church architecture were a

¹ See for example, D. Gwynn, ‘The Growth of the Catholic Community’ in G. Beck ed., *The English Catholics 1850-1950*, (London, 1950), pp. 410-441. V. McClelland in V. McClelland and M. Hodgetts, eds., *From Without The Flaminian Gate*, (London, 1999), p. 1 talks of the Catholics as a single entity. G. Parsons ed. *Religion in Victorian Britain* vol. 1 ‘Traditions’, (Manchester, 1988) p. 150 does the same. D. Quinn, *Patronage and Piety 1850-1900* (Stanford, 1993)p.1, talks of “the Catholic vote” instead of various Catholic votes.

² See for example, R. Davies ed., *A History of the Methodist Church in Great Britain* 3 vols. (London, 1983) and O. Chadwick *The Anglican Church* 2 vols. (London, 1966) For details: see their indexes.

³ In the Anglican Church the Gorham Case 1851.

⁴ As happened in the 1890s and in 1932.

Fig. 4.1

CHURCH ARCHITECTURE REFLECTING DIVISIONS

English Catholicism: St. Mary's Louth



Ultramontanism: St. Mary's Loughborough



reflection of each individual mission's Catholicism. Loughborough St. Mary's and Louth St. Mary's, were both begun in the 1830s. Loughborough St. Mary's with its Papal Tiara, Keys of the Kingdom, Corinthian columns and baldachin, is an unequivocal public statement of an Order's presence and Papal authority: by comparison, St. Mary's Louth is similar in design to an English Dissenting Chapel and reflects how Louth Catholics wished to blend in with the surrounding society, rather than proclaiming their individuality. St. Mary's Louth represents the Penal, secretive, cisalpine form of Catholicism that ultramontanes like Wiseman, and the convert Ambrose de Lisle, wished to transform.⁵ That such distinctions were perpetuated is shown by the way that when each Church was re-ordered in the nineteenth century, their basic features remained.

Other Catholic groupings were noticeable by their differing social positions or physical criteria, such as dress, and were well delineated at Masses, and commented on by Bagshawe! These included the rich upper class Catholics, and the poor English and Irish. Ethnic divisions were noticeable because the Irish and other non-English groups often had their own local churches centred on where they resided, whether 'ghetto Churches', or those devoted to a particular minority like the Polish Church in Derby.⁶ Each grouping stressed its individuality through the way it practised its religious observance. Processions, Confraternity membership and the hymns chosen could all differ, but it is important to remember that technically Catholics were united through the Latin Mass. However, the value of Latin to some lay Catholics as a tool aiding unity,

⁵ The conversion of England was at the heart of De Lisle's life. See A. Purcell *Life and Letters of Ambrose Philips de Lisle* (London, 1900). A more modern view is in M. Pawley, *Faith and Family: The Life and Circle of Ambrose Phillips de Lisle* (Norwich, 1993).

⁶ These areas were often referred to as "ghettos". As H. McCleod notes, such areas exhibited a wide variety of characteristics but were part of a town's cultural landscape: all knew the area being described. H. McCleod, 'Building the Catholic Ghetto', in W. Shiels, *Class and Religion in the Late Victorian City, Studies in Church History* vol. 23 (1986), pp. 414-441.

may have been more nominal than real: in 1869 the *Nottingham Catholic Magazine* found it necessary to publish a series of articles emphasising its importance.⁷

Attempting to analyse Catholic groupings is complex due to a dearth of reliable statistics. The clergy (Secular and Regular) are comparatively well documented and the annual *Catholic Directory* provides details of their positions, titles and missions served.⁸ Other valuable information such as a priest's origins and training may be lacking as not all seminaries kept or retained such records.⁹ There were also social and philosophical divisions amongst the clergy. Bishops Vaughan and Clifford, and the convert Fr. Ignatius Spencer, were from the aristocracy, while Bagshawe was from a professional background.¹⁰ Similarly there were lay Catholic social and intellectual divisions, marked at the extremes by the aristocracy and the poor, between whom lay the expanding English and Irish Catholic middle class(es): wealth and education were not necessarily determinants of faith and intellectual curiosity.¹¹

Throughout the period 1850-1915 there were changes in the clergy and lay Catholic groups as, for example, when some poor Catholics became settled and 'upwardly mobile', either joining the ranks of the middle class, or becoming officials within the Hierarchy. The Irish, whom estimates suggest formed approximately half of the Catholics, have been widely documented, and individual case studies abound, but a

⁷ 'Why in Latin?' found in the *Nottingham Catholic Magazine* vol. 1 November 1869, 'Why Latin?' pp. 1-3, and succeeding issues.

⁸ The details in the *Catholic Directories* are not always accurate. For the problems involved in attempting to quantify Catholic data see J. Supple, 'The Catholic Clergy of Yorkshire 1850-1900: A Profile', *Northern History* vol. 21 (1985) pp. 212-235, and her 'The Role of the Catholic Laity in Yorkshire 1850-1900', *Recusant History* vol. 18 no. 3 (1987), pp. 304-317. The articles in G. Beck ed., *The English Catholics 1850-1950* (London, 1950) similarly contain relatively few reliable statistics.

⁹ This is abundantly clear from the very few records remaining on the Nottingham St. Hugh Seminary: see *St. Hugh's Seminary, File Bagshawe's Papers: Bishop's Collection* NDA. In the case of St. Francis' Seminary at Shefford, (Northampton Diocese) all records were lost in the 1909 fire. The standard reference for basic information on priests is C. Fitzgerald-Lombard *The English and Welsh Priests 1801-1914*. (Downside, 1993).

¹⁰ Fr. Ignatius was a son of Earl Spencer. Bagshawe's father was a judge.

¹¹ For example, there were the intellectual writings of Ambrose De Lisle and the popular lectures

statistical analysis of actual local populations is fraught with difficulties and leads to misleading generalisations: as Swift discovered regarding Coventry in the 1850s, the reputation for lawlessness ‘enjoyed by the local Irish’, was due to only four or five families!¹² Anecdotal evidence such as that contained in *The Reynold's Letters* portray these group changes, but hard and fast quantifiable criteria are difficult to obtain.¹³ Upton, when referring to the 1850s, suggests the Irish formed approximately half of all local Catholics, with the English a further third, and the balance coming from converts.¹⁴ However, a comparative analysis of the origins of surnames found in diocesan *Baptismal Registers* for 1850-60 and 1905-15 suggests that the Irish initially constituted approximately a third of all local Catholics before falling to a quarter, while the English Catholics increased from two-thirds to three quarters, and the continental element remained constant at around one twentieth. In Nottingham the problems of enumerating the Catholic Irish are complex: the local press talked of “the Irish” yet with five Orange Lodges it is clear that a considerable number were Irish Protestants. Similarly, Danaher in his work on the Catholics of Leicester, found that only when he was dealing with the Irish at Leicester’s Catholic Churches could he be sure of the distinction between the Protestant and Catholic Irish.¹⁵

given by priests Harnett, Monahan and Tasker.

¹² R. Swift, ‘Anti-Catholicism and the Irish Disturbances; Public Disorder in Mid-Victorian Wolverhampton’, *Midlands History* vol. 9 (1984), pp. 87-105. P. Mulkern, ‘Irish Immigrants and Public Disorder in Coventry 1845-1875’ *Midlands History* vol. 21 (1996) pp. 119-133 came to a similar conclusion.

¹³ L. W. McBride ed., *The Reynold's Letters: An Irish Immigrant Family in Manchester* (Cork, 1999). Another is T. Barclay, *Memoirs and Medleys-The Autobiography of a Bottle Washer*. (Leicester, 1934). N. Danaher ‘The Irish in Leicester c 1841-1891: A Study of a Minority Community in the East Midlands’, Phd. Thesis University of North London (1999).

¹⁴ J. Upton, ‘Non-Elementary and Secondary Education in the Roman Catholic Diocese of Nottingham 1870-1970’, M. Ed. Thesis University of Hull (1975), p. 48 She uses the same figures as Cummins, but the originator is unknown.

¹⁵ *Baptismal Registers Parish Collection* NDA are used because Baptism is the most sacred of the Sacraments and the one parents most readily sought. Because of its importance, the number of extant *Baptismal Registers* is greater than for marriages or deaths. Apart from a few, the Diocese is covered by *Baptismal Registers*. However, using such registers can only be an approximation of ethnicity since surnames may not be a true reflection of ethnicity. It is also limited by the fact that it is only a

Catholic records are of limited help since the likes of Baptismal, Marriage and Death Registers, and Confraternity membership lists, contain only names and dates: details such as residence, occupation or origin are infrequently included.¹⁶ In some instances, names appearing in a variety of sources including newspaper articles detailing Catholic events, can be correlated with other documents such as *Directories* and the *Censuses* to obtain further details, but clearly this relates to a minority of Catholics. While the upper-class were also a minority, their details are better documented.¹⁷ Catholic missions did not keep records of the ethnicity or economic groupings of their congregations: in fact accurate statistical gathering was consummately lacking amongst Catholics. The consequence is that forming reliable estimates of the number of Catholics, or their groupings in the diocese at any given point, is problematical.

The 1851 Religious Census, coming just after the Restoration of the Hierarchy, portrays a picture of mid-century Catholicism, despite the weaknesses of the methods used to gather the information.¹⁸ In the case of the Nottingham Diocese these shortcomings are aggravated by the absence of supporting statistics for the period 1850-1876. While Fr. Cummins gives figures of 20,000 for 1850 and 22,500 for 1874, as the total number of Catholics in the Nottingham Diocese, his papers reveal no evidence as

record of those people who used the Church for this function, and may not be an accurate picture of actual regular attendance. An article dealing with the way the Irish saw the Church as an institution to regularise their births, marriages, and deaths, even if not regular attendees, and the role of the priest is P. O'Leary, 'From the Cradle to the Grave: Popular Catholicism among the Irish in Wales', in P. O'Sullivan ed., *Religion and Identity* vol. 5 (Leicester, 2000), pp. 196-195.

¹⁶ In the case of some registers, priests have written in a few addresses or scribbled data in the margins: see for example the *Glossop Registers: Parish Collection NDA* but these are the exceptions. Catholics in the nineteenth century did not always have births registered thus making a comparison of religious and civil documents impossible.

¹⁷ E.g., E.S. Purcell, *Life of Ambrose Philips de Lisle* 2 vols. (London, 1900) Lord Braye, *My Life in Two Centuries*. (London, 1927) A study detailing the upper class families and their inter-relationship is H. Bence-Jones *The Catholic Families*. (London, 1992)

¹⁸ This is discussed in M. Watts ed.. Chapter 1 'Introduction' *Religion in Victorian Nottinghamshire: The Religious Census of 1851* 2 vols. (1972) A. Rogers 'The 1851 Religious Census for Nottingham Transactions of the Thoroton Society vol. 76 (1972), pp. 74-87. P.. 83 notes that the entry for St. John's in Nottingham was a late entry sent in 1852 by Fr. Cheadle.

to how he reached such a conclusion.¹⁹ Bagshawe began in earnest in 1876 to collect data by ordering priests to complete Annual Returns, but his administrative ineptitude meant the efficient collection of data was not maintained: some Churches, such as Glossop St. Mary's and Glossop All Saint's were omitted.²⁰ Such practices as these contrast with those of Vaughan (Salford), who around 1880 made a detailed census of his diocese.²¹ Brindle continued collecting data for the Nottingham Diocese until 1911 after which the series becomes incomplete.²² All this has meant that the material used in this chapter has been gathered from a wide range of scattered sources like newspapers, diaries, private papers, *Directories*, *Council Minute Books*, and *School Board Minutes*, rather than direct Catholic sources. Secondary material has been used but detail for the Nottingham Diocese is lacking.

The chapter commences with a general diocesan survey which deals with certain key concepts regarding the Catholic population 1850-1915: size, population growth and movement, social change and assimilation patterns, and growing control exerted by the clergy. The key concepts described are not unique to the Nottingham Diocese, but can be used to show how the local situation mirrored the general national trends affecting Catholicism. The thesis then considers four groups: the clergy, the gentry, the middle class(es), and the poor, both English and Irish.

¹⁹ M. Cummins collected papers for a diocesan history which was never written: *Cummin's Papers: Priests Collection* NDA. They are unsorted but basically follow a county-by-county outline.

²⁰ The figures are in *Diocesan Statistics Book : Bishops Collection* NDA. However, some of the totals are inaccurate. The figures for Glossop St. Mary's and All Saint's are missing for several years in the 1880s.

²¹ C. Bolton, *Salford Diocese and Its Catholic Past* (Salford, 1950), p. 131. He gives a diocesan population of c. 100,000.

²² The next attempt was by Bishop Dunn from 1917. However, when Nottingham's Bishops moved from Cathedral House to a new Bishop's House in 1933 many papers were lost in the clear out.

2. *The General Diocesan Survey 1850-1915: Key Concepts*

Firstly, it is important to realise that Catholics accounted for a very small number of people, being around 20,000 in 1850, increasing to 40,000 by 1915, while remaining at approximately 2% of the population.²³ Nationally the figure was 4%.²⁴ In 1850 the number of Catholics locally was similar to that found in the Shrewsbury Diocese, but was four times larger than that of the Northampton or Clifton Dioceses. Despite its growth by 1914, the Catholic population of the Nottingham Diocese was only a quarter the size of the Salford Diocese.²⁵

Secondly, the local Catholic population remained unevenly distributed from 1851 to 1915: Fig. 4.2. McCleod points out that unevenness in the distribution of Catholics was a national phenomenon.²⁶ He suggests places like Liverpool, Manchester and The Strand (London) were Britain's most densely populated areas with "southern and eastern England [as areas] where the number of Catholics was minimal". In the Nottingham Diocese in 1851 around half of all Catholics resided in Derbyshire, a quarter in Nottinghamshire, with around an eighth in each of Leicestershire (including Rutland) and Lincolnshire. Nottingham, Derby and Leicester were the major Catholic centres. 40% of all Catholics lived in the industrial towns of the Derwent-Leen-Erewash valleys, including Nottingham City, with a further 12% in the Glossop-New Mills-Buxton area. The corollary of this industrial concentration was the sparseness and

²³ The figures are based on a comparison of Diocesan estimates and populations given in the 'Tables of Population' in *(V)ictoria (C)ounty (H)istory for Derbyshire* pp. 194-205, *VCH for Nottinghamshire* pp. 309-317, *VCH for Leicestershire* pp. 179-203, *VCH for Lincolnshire* pp. 358-378.

²⁴ H. McCleod, *Religion and Society in England 1850-1914* p. 37.

²⁵ Figures for Northampton from M. Osborne, 'Second Spring in Northamptonshire', *Northampton Past and Present* vol.76 p. 37. For Clifton Diocese see J. Harding *The Diocese of Clifton 1850-2000* (Bristol, 2000), p. 277. For Salford, C. Bolton, *Salford Diocese* p. 131.

²⁶ H. McCleod, *Religion and Society* p. 38.

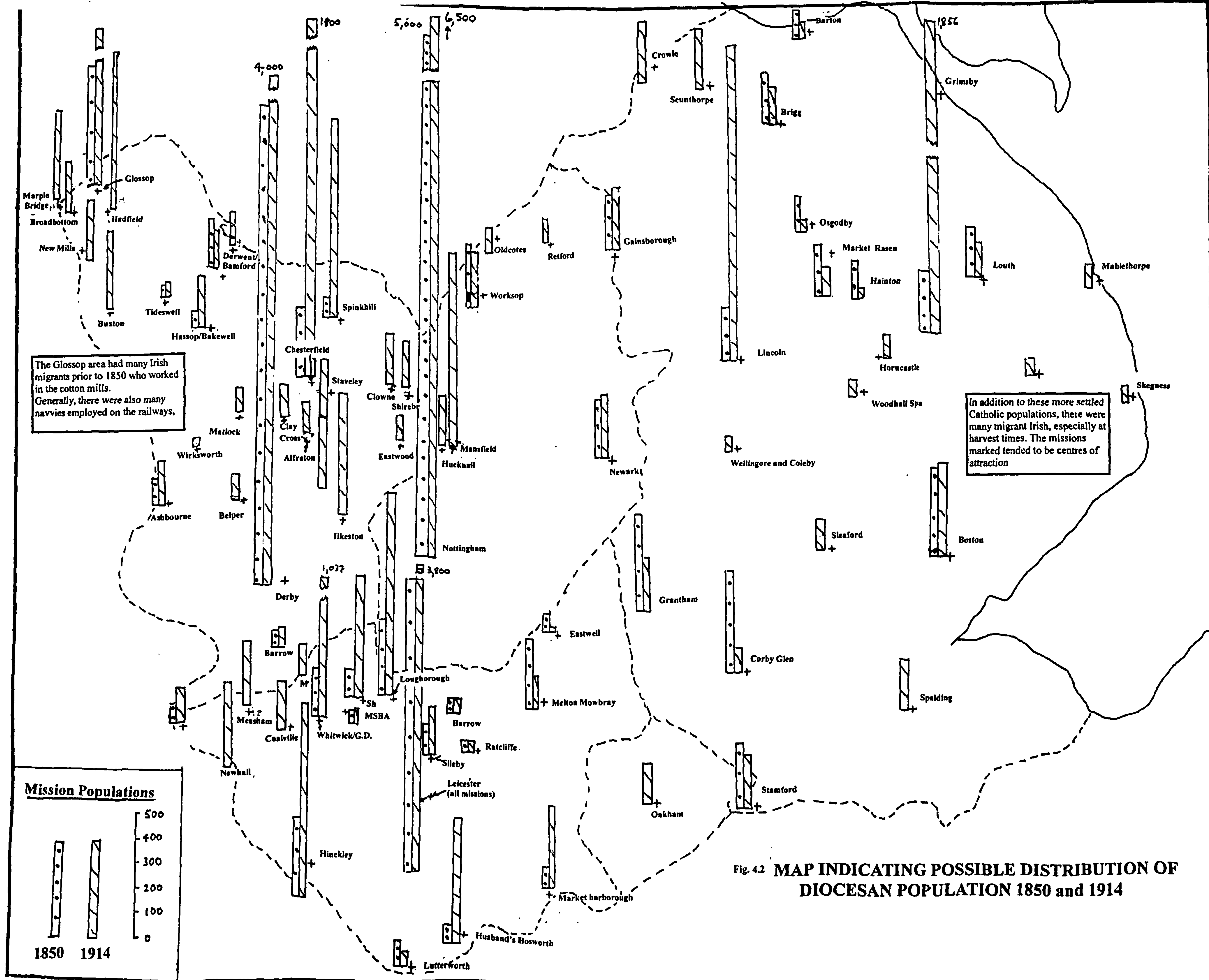


Fig. 4.2 MAP INDICATING POSSIBLE DISTRIBUTION OF DIOCESAN POPULATION 1850 and 1914

low density of Catholic populations in rural areas such as Lincolnshire, central Derbyshire, north Nottinghamshire and south Leicestershire.

By 1915, as Fig. 4.2 shows, a number of trends had appeared which partially changed the 1850 pattern. Firstly, the western, industrial half of the diocese, accounted for the majority of local Catholics. Secondly, within the main urban areas, there was considerable movement amongst the Catholics as suburbanisation developed. Thirdly, the rural eastern half of the diocese experienced a mixture of growth and decline: old village Catholic communities like Hainton shrank, while new centres in old market towns (Spalding) and seaside resorts (Skegness), grew.

A third concept is one requiring an understanding of the pattern of diocesan social change 1850-1915, and the extent to which the disparate local mission populations were, or were not, absorbed or assimilated into a homogeneous Catholic community. Absorption of the various minority groups needed to take place within each local mission community, as well between missions. In this way the Nottingham Diocese would become a living entity as opposed to the 1850 situation of merely lines on a map.

However, it is the variations in the absorption and assimilation of the Irish into the wider diocesan Catholic population that were most noticeable 1850-1915. The Irish presence locally and nation-wide, presented a challenge to the domiciled Catholic culture of the 1850s due to their increasing numbers, poverty, linguistic differences, devotional variance, and nationalism.²⁷ For any form of accommodation to occur the

²⁷ As an example of linguistic difficulties *Leicester Chronicle* 16 November 1861 p. 5 col. 3. This involved a court case in which no interpreter was available resulting in the Irishman becoming the butt of jokes until a priest managed to sort out the affair. *Leicester Advertiser* 4 May 1861 p. 8 col. 2 *Lincolnshire Chronicle* 6 August 1852 p. 8 col. 2, *Lincs Ch* 19 August 1853 p. 5 col. 2 all continue these themes. E. Steele, 'The Irish Presence in the North', *Northern History* vol. 12 (1976) p. 226 notes a connection in popular eyes of the Irish with violence. P. Murphy, 'Irish Settlement in Mid-Nineteenth Century Nottingham', *Transactions of the Thorton Society* vol. 98 (1994) pp. 82-91 as

Church needed to allay English fears of Celtic dominance while showing the Irish they were not rejected.²⁸ Assimilation is usually seen as part of the segregation/ assimilation model, which views the position of the Irish within the Church as one of these extremes. Hickman, however, takes a different tack and sees the Irish as being a nation within the British State, who obtained an increasing degree of equality.²⁹ The corollary of this is that within any community the Irish experienced different degrees of acceptance. For Hickman, the Catholic Church was only one of several agencies that aided Irish acceptance: to Hickman, a government's role was equally important.

Although the Nottingham Diocese was unique in the fact that it was neither a major centre of Irish migration compared to the Liverpool and Westminster Dioceses, nor like the Northampton Dioceses which had few industrial centres, it still possessed distinct and clearly recognisable regional variations in the nature and distribution of its Irish Catholics. From the point of view of their integration/control/assimilation, any policy, whether from Westminster, diocesan bishop, priest, or the British government that failed to take cognisance of the lack of homogeneity existing amongst the Irish, was inherently flawed.³⁰ The integrationist tone was established by Westminster, in

on p. 87 notes religious differences. S. Gilley 'The Roman Catholic Mission to the Irish in London', *Recusant History* vol. 10 no. 3 (1969) pp. 123-41, as on p. 123 notes the problem of Irish nationalism for the Church, "The priests who espoused the political aspirations of his people divided his church: and the priest who denied the popular voice might destroy the respect which the people paid him and risk the salvation of Irish souls". More forcefully the relationship between denying Irish nationalism and violence is noted in M. Walker 'Irish Immigrants in Scotland', p. 652.

²⁸ R. Swift, 'The Outcast Irish in the Victorian City: problems and perspectives', *Irish Historical Studies* vol. 25 (1987) p.264. On p. 275 he quotes O'Tauthaigh and Lees on how the Irish clung to their ethnic identity, especially in urban areas. W. Lowe, 'The Lancashire Irish and the Catholic Church 1846-7: the social dimension', pp. 142-3 "the Irish formed the parish into an active functional social centre". M. Hickman 'Incorporating and Denationalising the Irish in England' in P. O'Sullivan p. 200 notes how the English had preconceived ideas of the Irish which coloured their acceptance of them. One person quoted is Sir. J. Throckmorton, a Diocesan benefactor.

²⁹ M. Hickman, 'Alternative historiographies of the Irish in Britain: a critique of the segregationist/ assimilation model', in R. Swift and S. Gilley, *The Irish in Victorian Britain* pp. 236-253, and M. Hickman, 'Incorporating and denationalising the Irish in England: the role of the Catholic Church', in P. O'Sullivan ed., *Religion and Identity* pp. 196-216.

³⁰ S. Best, *Britain and the Papacy*, p. 137. Here and other references in her index refer to Russell and Palmerston's policy of partially welcoming the Restoration of the Hierarchy as a lever to help

particular by Manning who realised that control of the Irish was paramount if his dream of a unified ultramontane church was to be achieved. However, the movement towards integration was made more complicated by a lack of unanimity amongst the bishops on how best to achieve the desired goal. Such diversity was marked at the extremes by Goss (Liverpool) treating all the Irish as if they were English, and Bagshawe's championing the Irish Home Rule: both policies caused divisions within their respective dioceses.³¹

The uniqueness of the Nottingham Diocese lay in the fact that it was neither a major centre for Irish migration comparable to the Liverpool or Westminster Dioceses, nor like the rural Northampton Diocese which had few industrial centres to attract the Irish.³² Even so, there were places within the diocese like Nottingham, Gainsborough, Glossop, and Grimsby, where the Irish migrants outweighed the native Catholic population.³³ Frequently, Irish demands for churches and schools exceeded their ability to provide them, leaving places like Ilkeston and Clay Cross dependent on subsidies, and causing resentment.³⁴

persuade various popes to exercise their authority over the Irish and their priests, so that they more readily accepted the authority of the British government: i.e., they became more assimilated into British society. Their policy was not successful.

³¹ Goss "...[all Catholics] have the feelings of Englishmen". Neither bishop thought through their policies or the consequences of the methodologies they adopted.

³² This is borne out by the maps showing the distribution of the Irish-born in Britain in G. Lawton 'The Irish in Britain', *Irish Geography* vol. (1959-63) pp. 38-9. Being done on a regional basis local differences become blurred. J. Clapham 'Irish Immigration into Great Britain', *Bulletin of the International Committee for Historical Science* vol. 5 (1933) p. 602. He talks of average or county figures when the Nottingham Diocese clearly had local variations. R. Swift 'The Outcast Irish', p. 270 talks of the need for more studies designed to show local and provincial contrasts.

³³ This is suggested by the names found in the various *Baptismal Registers: Parish Collection* NDA. *Isaac's Diary* which is widely quoted from in W. Bedford and M. Knight *Jacob's Ladder* suggests a ratio of 5:1 for Grimsby.

³⁴ This can be seen from the figures shown for the way the Poor Mission's Fund was distributed. Such figures were issued regularly by Bagshawe with his *Pastorals*. Some copies are in *Bagshawe's Pastorals File* NDA. The *Minute Book* for the *Nottingham and Northampton Diocesan School's Association* NDA indicates how Ilkeston school had to be continuously subsidised. J. Bastow 'Catholic Elementary Education in the Nottingham Diocese' M. Phil Univ. Hull (1970) pp. 56, 369-412 discusses this issue. For resentment see *NDE* 10 August 1864 p. 6 col. 2.

In essence, the recognisable regional variations in the diocese were as follows: firstly, areas noted for their seasonal agricultural influxes, especially those in the north of the diocese, in Lincolnshire, and to a lesser extent across south Leicestershire.³⁵ These influxes tended to lessened, with many Irish intermarrying with the local population. Within these areas, as at Louth, there were centres noted for their settled, skilled operatives and some middle class Irish who displayed a degree of enmity to their more lowly brethren. Secondly, there was a large and more settled and Irish population in the Glossop area pre-dating the Restoration of 1851 which was essentially industrial. Glossop was noted for its large-scale cyclic employment pattern, as the area was heavily dependent on the cotton industry; it declined after the 1860s, with a large and increasing net outflow of the Irish. A third variation was the growing number of Irish settling in the new or expanding industrial settlements, such as Clay Cross, Alfreton, and Chesterfield, and demanding missions.³⁶ Here again intermarriage and a growing degree of permanence were common. Fourthly there was the prevalence of various forms of “ghettos” in the major urban areas, including Nottingham, Derby, Leicester, and Boston, where the Irish and the English poor jointly resided and worshipped.³⁷ Lastly, there were the many Irish navvies found throughout the diocese. Those connected with railway construction were frequently on the move, whereas in north Derbyshire, their employment on the hydrological works lasted well into the twentieth century.

³⁵ S, Barber ‘Irish migrant agricultural labourers in nineteenth century Lincolnshire’, *Saothar* vol. 6 (1980) pp. 10-23 details this group and their internal differences.

³⁶ Local Protestants noted how the Catholic Church was responding to this demand, and how the Anglican Church appeared to be unwilling to show such an initiative: *Nottingham Daily Express* 15 October 1913 p. 8 col. 3, “the absence of the wage earner from the colliery village in the Anglican Church”.

³⁷ See *Appendix E* for a list of such “ghettos” and the associated Catholic Church. N. Danaher ‘Leicester Irish’, Chapter 4 pp. 111-159 gives an account of the Leicester ‘ghetto’.

The changes in the Irish element were only part of wider pattern of diocesan social change which occurred at all levels. Although Domestic Chapels still existed by 1915, and on occasions provided Mass for local rural populations, the upper class as a group were becoming less important: at Garendon and Exton, priests moved their residences into the nearby towns as increasingly it was the local English and Irish populations that demanded the priest's time.³⁸ Nevertheless, as individuals, the gentry still had significant roles to play, such as at a political level and as benefactors,

In the towns social changes were interwoven with population movements, both spatially and vertically. Increasing wealth amongst some Catholics allowed them to move to the suburbs, their places in city centre Churches such as Holy Cross (Leicester), and St. Barnabas' (Nottingham) attracting a rising, but poorer, lower middle class clientele. In the Nottingham Diocese some of the rising middle class Irish stayed with their original Churches, as at St. Patrick's (Nottingham), while others moved to the new suburban Churches. The poorer Catholics tended to stay with the "ghetto" Churches, although in the major cities their increasing numbers resulted in the construction of inner suburban Churches, such as St. Joseph's (Derby) and St. Augustine's (Nottingham).

A fourth key concept centres on the changing roles of the mission clergy, since the period 1850-1915 witnessed a considerable increase in their responsibilities. Because of the leadership they offered, it was essential that they followed the directions as set by the Hierarchy, and delegated via the diocesan bishops, whether it was through the personal leadership of Roskell or the dictatorial *Circulars* and *Pastorals* of

³⁸ The political role of the gentry is discussed in Chapter 5 'Politics'. Edwin De Lisle was conservative MP for Loughborough 1886-92, while Lords Braye, Gainsborough and Denbigh were politically active in the Lords, and in their local Conservative Associations.

Bagshawe.³⁹ As the nature and location of many lay Catholics changed from a rural to an urban environment, so the priest's role needed to evolve to meet and direct such changes. All this meant that it was vital that the priesthood was suitably educated.

The education of priests 1850-1915 was a contentious issue. Apart from the differences of approach typified by Manning, Vaughan, Cornthwaite and Bagshawe, as to whether it should be more monastic or practically orientated, there were other differences of opinion regarding the standard to which priests should be educated.⁴⁰ In both the Anglican and Catholic Churches there were tensions regarding whether priests should be educated to graduate level. It was a feature of the Victorian era that gradually many of the professions were becoming either the prerogative of graduates or only open to those who passed the entry examinations. *The Nottingham Catholic Magazine* (1870) echoed these sentiments by wondering if what it saw as the poor leadership qualities demonstrated by some priests, were due to their low levels of education. It saw non-graduate priests as being out of touch with the many of the better educated lay Catholics, whom it saw as having an important role to play in the development of the Church. A further element was the problem that England possessed no Catholic university, so candidates wanting theological degrees were forced to travel to the continent which was not only expensive, but the late nineteenth century was a time when some governments were showing increasing hostility towards Catholics. Further, many of the Catholic

³⁹ In Chapters 2 and 3 mention was made of the different styles of leadership shown by the bishops, such as Goss (Liverpool) treating everyone as if they were English and Briggs (Beverley) who was the first to establish an administration. Each sought the same end: to control their local Catholic populations at a time of increasing population mobility.

⁴⁰ For Anglicans see *The National Review* vol. XXIII (1899), 'The Church as a Profession', pp. 945-955. A. Haig, *The Victorian Clergy* (London, 1984), contains much that is relevant to this issue. In relation to Nottingham see *The Nottingham Catholic Magazine* vol. 2 June 1870. M. Finnigan and G. Bradley *Catholicism in Leeds: A Community of Faith 1794-1994* (Leeds, 1994), pp. 57-70. notes Cornthwaite's more practical, but sound theological approach. Maynooth in Ireland offered a mainly practical course, rather than the heavily theological courses of Rome. For an introduction to seminary provision see G. Culkin, 'The English Seminaries', *Clergy Review* vol. 35 (1951) pp. 73-88 and D. Holmes, 'English Ultramontanist and Clerical Education', *Clergy*

universities were under the control of the Orders, and this worried Seculars like Manning as it meant diocesan bishops had little influence on the courses; hence the reason why some bishops placed great emphasis on having their own diocesan seminaries, regardless of the problems that ensued. The diocesan clergy comprise the first group to be studied.

3. *The Clergy*

In 1850 there were 53 priests in the new Nottingham Diocese, 36 Seculars and 17 Regulars, serving a total of 42 churches and chapels.⁴¹ By 1915 there were 135 priests, comprising 88 Seculars and 47 Regulars serving 115 churches and chapels. The proportion of Regulars had risen slightly but, with some minor changes, they continued to serve the same missions in 1915 as they did in 1850.⁴² However, not only were there more priests working in the diocese in 1915, they were also priests of a different hue. One of the most obvious differences was their nationality, which helped in creating a decline in diocesan insularity and, as Manning envisaged, the diocese's growing participation in the wider concept of the universal Church, as emphasised through Papal Infallibility.⁴³ Although the majority of diocesan priests in 1850 and 1915 remained British, there were significant increases in other nationalities, notably the Irish,

Review vol. lxiii (1977) pp. 266-78.

⁴¹ The figures are taken from the *Catholic Directories*. The outline of this section follows that used by J. Supple's *Yorkshire Clergy* so the reader can more easily compare Nottingham with other dioceses: in this case Leeds and Beverley.

⁴² The main changes discussed in Chapters 2 and 3 concerned the withdrawal of the Jesuits from Lincoln and Boston, and several minor movements around Chesterfield. The only new male Order was the Norbertines at Crowle in 1871.

⁴³ All Catholics are reminded that the Catholic Church sees herself as the universal Church because it is part of the profession of Faith said at every Mass. Vatican 1 emphasised the universality of the Church through Papal Infallibility.

Belgians, French and Germans.⁴⁴ These changes largely occurred after 1875 when Bagshawe offered sanctuary to persecuted continental priests and seminarians. Between 1875 and 1915 there was probably a fourfold increase in Belgian, Dutch, German, and Irish priests in the Diocese. That such priests were apparently well assimilated into the Catholic community is perhaps illustrated with reference to Fr. Feskens (Grimsby). Being Flemish and objecting to the way the Walloons treated him, he was forced to flee and came to Britain. Fr. Feskens was a well loved priest who often commented that being an underdog helped him to better understand the position of minority groups in his mission, as when for example, he was dealing with the Irish and disputes with local Guardians.⁴⁵ Overall, the Nottingham Diocese saw a rise in its non-English priesthood contemporaneously with the increasing diversity of its lay Catholic composition.

Although the evidence is scanty, it suggests there were also changes in the social origins of the diocesan priests. In 1850, several, such as Frs. Sing (Derby), Waterworth (Newark), Tempest (Grantham), came from rich aristocratic, recusant backgrounds, while the majority came from middle class families. Only a few priests had humble beginnings or were Irish and relied totally on their missions for life's necessities, as did Fr. Mulligan (St. Barnabas').⁴⁶ By 1915, for those whose social origins could be ascertained, one, Fr. Stourton, came from the aristocracy, while the majority were from middle class professional backgrounds, as did for example, Canon Douglass who became Cathedral Administrator: three others from Lincolnshire families were described

⁴⁴ A wide variety of sources was used to obtain the educational, national and social backgrounds of the priesthood. The chief ones were the *Deceased Priests Files : Priests Collection* NDA, the *Mission Files: Paris Collection* NDA for where they served, and J. Fitzgerald-Lombard *The English and Welsh Priests*. This had been supplemented by sundry information such as obituaries, and other secondary references. For the French Priests see A. Dolan *French Priests in the Nottingham Diocese*. (Nottingham, 2000).

⁴⁵ *Father Feskens Deceased Priest File; Priests Collection* NDA. His life is well documented in W. Bedford and M. Knight, *Jacob's Ladder* (Grimsby, 1996).

⁴⁶ From the *Nottingham Diocesan Ordination's Book: Bishops Collection* NDA it is possible to differentiate between some who were ordained on their own patrimony and those on the Diocese, like

as “coming from rural stock”. The Irish priests still tended to be from poorer backgrounds and, like those with continental ancestry, including Fr. Feskens (Grimsby), were entirely reliant on their missions.⁴⁷ The Nottingham Diocese seems to bear out the tentative hypothesis suggested by Supple for the Leeds and Beverley Dioceses that, as a group, the clergy were increasingly socially downwardly mobile, and in general, lay Catholic communities were increasingly upwardly mobile, so that the two groups were moving (socially) nearer to each other between 1850 and 1915.⁴⁸ Such a movement as this may have been one of the major forces strengthening Catholicism 1850-1915.

The educational background of the diocesan clergy also changed between 1850 and 1915. For 26 of the 1850 priests whose educational background can be ascertained, 15 were educated at Oscott, three internally by the Orders, three in Ireland, and only five in Rome. This meant the priesthood during the diocese’s early years, in the main, tended to represent the cisalpine Catholic outlook. However, for the 96 priests serving the diocese in 1915 for whom details are known, 45 were educated in Britain, either at the increasingly ultramontane colleges of Ware, Oscott, Prior Park, or the new diocesan seminaries of St. Hugh’s (Nottingham), St. Joseph’s (Leeds), St. Thomas’ (Hammersmith), or St. John’s (Womersley). A further 32 were educated in either Rome, Lisbon or Valladolid, and 8 in Ireland.⁴⁹ The Orders continued to train their own.

Amongst diocesan priests were at least 7 converts, three of whom, Frs. Anderdon, Andrews, and Formby, had been Anglican vicars.⁵⁰ As a group, the convert

Fr. Mulligan who came from Roscommon.

⁴⁷ *The Nottingham Rainbow* vol. 1 December 1881 p. 58 suggested that each family should pay 6d a week to maintain such priests.

⁴⁸ J. Supple, ‘Yorkshire Clergy’, p. 216.

⁴⁹ Most noticeably Brindle at Lisbon.

⁵⁰ Andrews came from Market Harborough (1869) and Anderdon from Leicester (1852). Formby came from Birmingham in 1869. For details see their respective *Deceased Priests File: Priests Collection* NDA. Andrews published a pamphlet entitled *My Reasons for Leaving the Church of England* see *Nottingham Catholic Magazine* vol. 1 November 1869 p. 12.

priests were characterised by being educated to graduate level and having taken up the priesthood at a later stage in life.

When 1915 is compared to 1850, it demonstrates a significant change in the role played by the diocesan priest, commensurate with changes in the nature of the local missions. The role of the priest was changing from spiritual adviser to that of spiritual adviser plus mission provider, financial director, education supplier and welfare officer, as the balance shifted from the predominately rural missions of 1850 to the urban-based ones existing in 1915. Developing the mission not only entailed constructing the church, saying Masses and starting Confraternities, but also building a school, ensuring the children attended and paid their weekly fees, catechising them, and becoming increasingly involved in the social welfare of his flock. The latter could vary from settling a brawl on a Saturday night to masterminding the St. Patrick's Day festivities or becoming involved with workhouse problems.⁵¹ Despite all these developments, the priest's central role remained that of pastor.

The effectiveness of priests in the Nottingham Diocese could also be affected by too frequent changes in the mission priest. Missions with long resident priests such as Glossop (St. Mary's and All Saints') where Tasker served for over 25 years, and Lincoln (St. Hugh's) which saw a 50 year rule by Croft, had a superior infrastructure to that of Clay Cross, Staveley, or Alfreton, where the priests frequently changed, or the mission was served from a nearby centre.⁵² A priest's security of tenure was a controversial issue: Chapter 2 noted how Roskell respected priests' wishes with his 'right priest in the right place policy', and kept them *in situ* if possible, resulting in harmony and a

⁵¹ For example, Fr. Hill SJ at Chesterfield and Fr. Harnett in Leenside.

⁵² *Appendix D Ultramontaniam* contains examples of Confraternities established and shows a high correlation between a mission priest's tenure and the numbers involved.

better mission environment. All this contrasts with the discord Bagshawe and Brindle caused when they attempted to move Missionary Rectors.

The status of the priest both amongst Catholics and in the local secular society undeniably altered between 1850 and 1915, as they became more involved in local and national issues. The growing power and influence of the priests no doubt contributed to disagreements between them and their congregations: the dictatorial authority of a centralised authority such as the Catholic Church could at times clash with English democratic sympathies, as when the Hierarchy supported the Papal States, and the laity sympathised with Garibaldi. Some Catholic women in the diocese clashed with Bagshawe and McKenna because of their opposition to women's suffrage.⁵³

A study of the clergy has shown they were a very diverse and changing group.

4. The Catholic Gentry

A study of this group is important because of their wide, inter-related family connections and the historical, cisalpine position they occupied in diocesan and nation-wide Catholicism, both prior to, and after the 1850 Restoration.⁵⁴ Acting as individuals within the diocese, the gentry concentrated on providing short-term improvements for specified Catholics: acting collectively on a nation-wide stage their individual efforts produced changes in Catholicism from which all Catholics benefited in the longer term.⁵⁵ This section commences with an examination of their impact within the diocese.

⁵³ This is dealt with in Chapter 5 Politics.

⁵⁴ For the general position see J. Bossy *The English Catholic Community 1750-1850* (London, 1975) For family interconnections note that at one point there were 7 members of the Howard family sitting in the Lords.

⁵⁵ Not necessarily by 1915: e.g., acting collectively the problems caused by the 1908 Eucharistic Congress were finally solved in 1926 when all Catholic processions were made legal.

The group was headed by the recusant Dukes of Norfolk, Lord Beaumont, Lord Braye, and until 1856, the Earls of Shrewsbury. To these can be added the newly ennobled peers like Lord Howard, and convert peers including the Marquis of Ripon, the Earls of Denbigh and Gainsborough, and the dowager Duchess of Newcastle.⁵⁶ She, like the Countess Sforza, was related to the Italian aristocracy, an avenue which increased their access to the Vatican.⁵⁷ Further down the social ladder were the recusant baronets including Sir Charles Tempest, brother of Fr. Tempest (Grantham), Sir John Sutton (founder of the English Seminary, Bruges), and Sir John Throckmorton. Then there were the recusant squires encompassing the Fortescue-Turvilles, Worswicks, Constable-Maxwells, Nevilles and Youngs.⁵⁸ To these must be added, amongst others, the convert De Lisle, Grimshaw, and Cary-Elwes families, and those of the Anglo-Catholic Heneage family.⁵⁹

The gentry exercised their ability to influence the development of diocesan Catholicism in a variety of ways. In particular, there was the remodelling of Garendon, important because it displayed Catholic triumphalism to the many lay Catholics and non-Catholic visitors, including Gladstone, who came to the estate; Lord

⁵⁶ Lord Denbigh was also active in the Birmingham and Shrewsbury Dioceses: E. Abbott, *A History of the Shrewsbury Diocese 1850-1986* (Shrewsbury, 1966), p. 11.

⁵⁷ *Loughborough Monitor*, 3 November 1864 p. 5 col. 6, for the Countess and the Vatican. The Duke of Segini, her son, was educated at Ratcliffe run by an Italian Order the Rosminians: *Loughborough Monitor* 28 November 1861 p. 6 col. 2.

⁵⁸ See *Leics. Advertiser* 26 June 1869 'An Appreciation', p. 3 col. 1 for a resume of Worswick's work in the diocese and Catholicism in general.

⁵⁹ The Cary-Elwes family later supplied a Bishop of Northampton 1921-32. It illustrates the fact that these families were active in more than one diocese and this added to their importance. George Heneage was an MP for Lincoln in the 1850s and 1860s, and was followed later in Grimsby by his son Edward. Details in Chapter 6 'Politics'. There were other Anglo-Catholics who helped, or at least did not hinder Catholic development, such as the Duke of Rutland, a close friend of De Lisle and the Dukes of Norfolk. The Duke of Devonshire helped by selling land cheaply at Bakewell and Staveley for Catholic Churches. The Duke of Devonshire gave permission for his hospital at Buxton to be used as part of a convalescent centre for ill priests: *Catholic Educator* 31 May 1889 p. 7 col. 1. He was also cordial towards Catholics in the Furness Peninsula: A. Parkinson, *A History of Catholicism in the Furness Peninsula 1127-1997*, (Lancaster, 1998), p. 67. See Appendix E for examples of where in the Diocese the gentry were particularly active. For the Grimshaws see G. Hancock, *Goyt Valley and its People* (Staveley, 1996).

Gainsborough's distribution of free Catholic *Tracts* to his tenantry; the Marquis of Ripon's decoration of Wellingore Church with fourteen Stations of the Cross; and Cary-Elwes' Church building in Brigg.⁶⁰ This compares with the wider, parliamentary influence of such people as the Dukes of Norfolk, the Marquis of Ripon, the Earls of Shrewsbury, Denbigh, and Gainsborough, and Lord Howard. As not all were continuously resident within the diocese, their wishes were implemented indirectly through local agents.⁶¹ In the case of Lord Howard's agent, Francis Hawke, he was also an influential Catholic member of Glossop Council, serving several terms as mayor. The general pattern of influence shown by the gentry was that, as their social rank declined, so they became more parochial.⁶²

The squires were directly involved: for example the Grimshaw family were immediately concerned in both the daily operation of their school at Errwood and the Buxton mission, while the Eyres closely supervised events in Hassop and Hathersage, and Heneage entertained Catholics on his Hainton estates. The Fortescue-Turvilles at Husbands Bosworth, like the Worswicks at Barrow-on-Soar, worshipped in the local church they had provided. In several cases, as at Glossop, there were endowments to maintain the church: Worswick was also a member of Leicester School Board, while

⁶⁰ From an interview with the present Squire De Lisle, the alterations to Garendon were not paid for until 1964, in effect a 100 year mortgage. For the ultramontanism in the remodelling of Garendon see R. O'Donnell, *Pugin and the Catholic Midlands* (Leominster, 2002), pp. 90-93. See also *Loughborough Monitor* 3 November 1864 p.5 col. 6. For Lord Gainsborough's distribution of over 1,000 copies of *The Way of the Cross Lincolnshire Chronicle* 10 February 1865 p. 8 col. 1. The Marquis of Ripon purchased fourteen Stations of the Cross for his Domestic Chapel from Bavaria. They are now in NDA. For Cary-Elwes see E. Dodd, *The Story of Catholicism in Brigg and District* (Brigg, 1990), p. 41 onwards.

⁶¹ In the case of Lord Howard this was Mr. Francis Hawke: *Glossop Advertiser* 31 March 1904, 'A Tribute'. While this section is dealing with the effects of the Catholic aristocracy and gentry, it must not be forgotten that they parallel, albeit at a lower scale of commitment, similar work being done on a wider scale by their Anglican equivalents.

⁶² When possible Lord Gainsborough did attend local events such as Leicester Catholic Reunion: *Grantham Journal*, 4 May 1878 p. 2 col. 1. For his contribution to Catholicism in general see *Grantham Journal*, 27 August 1881 p. 2 col. 2.

Cary-Elwes helped train the choir at Brigg.⁶³ In Gainsborough, Young made his influence clear when he informed Roskell and the local laity that he was prepared to provide a Church on the condition they maintained it.⁶⁴

In addition to being benefactors, the Catholic gentry were patrons to a wide range of religious events, and non-Catholic and secular social organisations. These included Corpus Christi processions and parties, sports clubs, drama groups, agricultural societies, Temperance galas, and bazaars: they not only contributed money to such causes, but gave prizes, cups and medals. In this way, their influence was spread further afield.⁶⁵

Much of the Catholic gentry's socio-religious thrust was led by the women. While this was typical of gentry women as a whole, from the Catholic perspective it was doubly important because it helped to reinforce the Church's view of their role, as typified by that shown by Mary, the perfect wife and mother. Such a view was constantly enforced by Bagshawe through his many *Pastorals*, and endorsed by the *Lincolnshire Chronicle* with regard to Lady Gainsborough: the paper said "the poor [of Cottesmore] always had a friend".⁶⁶ Manning described her as "having a singular rectitude to the Lord above and to the duties of her station...she was a Christian mother in every sense".⁶⁷ Perhaps the clearest example of an individual performing the idealised role is Mrs. Laura De Lisle.⁶⁸ From her diaries she tells how she gave herself

⁶³ This tradition was continued by his son when he became Bishop of Northampton in 1921.

⁶⁴ For the Grimshaws see *Nottingham Review* 13 August 1852 p. 6 col. 1. And G. Hancock *The Goyt and Errwood Hall* (Derby, 1990). For the Eyres see B. Smith *The People of the Hathersage Mission 1780-1900* (Hathersage, 1992), and *Derby Mercury* 13 July p. 3 col. 1. For the Worswicks see *Leics. A* 26 June 1869 p. 3 col. 1. For A. Young see *Lincs. Chronicle* 11 March 1859 p. 6 col. 4. This was a feature that was also common to the Anglican Church.

⁶⁵ E.g., *The Tablet* 4 May 1867 p. 728 col. 1.

⁶⁶ *Lincs. Chronicle* 29 November 1867 p. 8 col. 1. Much the same could be said for the Countess Sforza and her distribution of coals: *Leics. Advertiser* 8 January 1870 p. 8 col. 1.

⁶⁷ *Stamford Mercury* 1 November 1867 p. 4 col. 3.

⁶⁸ At least the clearest recorded account.

to God, bore sixteen children, never complaining but accepting the death of all but five as God's will, as well as playing an active life in the Whitwick and Shepshed schools.⁶⁹ In a similar vein, Lady Beaufort and Countess Scarsdale supported Fr. McKenna's ministry in Derby, while Lady Nettlefield staunchly supported Boston School.⁷⁰ At Ripley Mrs. Wright, Catholic wife of one of the Anglican partners in the Butterley Company, managed to persuade her husband to donate land for a new Church.⁷¹ In the Grimsby area Lady Petre and Lady Herries regularly visited the schools, and along with Mrs. Young and Mrs. Heneage, always tried to be present when the school children had outings held on their estates.⁷² Around Brigg, Mrs. Cary-Elwes was admired because, as a convert from a staunch Protestant family, she did much to lessen anti-Catholicism. Others, including Lady Kerr, wrote on a variety of topics, and these publications, though they had a limited circulation, were part of the growing Catholic literature of the nineteenth century and as such were important both for their content and the example they set.⁷³ Collectively the wide influence of the gentry women can be summarised by the list of over twenty names printed as patrons in the *Nottingham Diocesan Bazaar Programme for 1903*.⁷⁴

Gradually over the period 1850-1915 the gentry's influence on diocesan Catholic affairs lessened. The 1873-96 depression accelerated rural migration and depressed

⁶⁹ *Laura De Lisle's Diaries: De Lisle Papers* QH. In total they give a better impression than quoting individual dates as they are written in a pedestrian fashion and do not contain much in the way of comments. See also B. Elliott, 'Laura Philips de Lisle: A Nineteenth Century Lady', *Recusant History* vol. 20 no. 3 (1991) pp. 371-379.

⁷⁰ B. Smith, *People of the Hathersage Mission*, p. 19. *St. Mary's Derby* p. 17. For Lady Nettlefield see J. McGeown *The Little King Looked Over Them: A History of St. Mary's Primary School 1861-1983* (Boston, 1983), p. 31.

⁷¹ F. Parkin, *St. Joseph's Ripley*, (Ripley, 1980), p. 4. Similarly with Lady Kerr at Eastwood, Lady Howard at Hadfield, Lady Loudoun at Measham and the Dowager Duchess of Newcastle at Retford.

⁷² E.g., *Lincolnshire Chronicle* 2 January 1874 p. 5 col. 3, *Lincs. Ch* 31 July 1868 p. 5 col. 5.

⁷³ An article in *The Nottingham Rainbow*, vol. II no. 22 1883, 'The Nottingham Catholic Poetess' pp. 260-1 suggests their example was being copied by middle class Catholics. C. Kerr, *Teresa Higginson* (Dublin, 1933), is an example of a local benefactor writing about a Gainsborough girl who was seen by some as a saint.

⁷⁴ Copy in *Nottingham St. Barnabas' Mission File: Parish Collection* NDA.

gentry incomes causing much social change: benefactors' donations, and influence, tended to wane, but they did not give up easily.⁷⁵ For example, following the death of Ambrose de Lisle (1878), Garendon was let and the family's influence declined as the number of workers was reduced and Masses were no longer said in the domestic chapel. By 1888 Canon Douglass was arguing with Edwin De Lisle who was demanding the Church pay rent to the family for the priest's use of Whitwick presbytery, stating "the Church was given the property...and further he [Douglass] cannot agree to De Lisle having a say in who should be priest", a sharp contrast with the 1852 situation.⁷⁶ The fact that similar disputes arose between Brindle and the likes of the Duke of Norfolk, Lord Howard and Lady Loudoun shows how persistent the gentry were in their cisalpine habits.

A continual shortage of priests did little to maintain gentry influence. Deaths, as with Fr. Collins in north west Derbyshire (1854), often forced bishops to relocate priests away from gentry-influenced rural areas to the growing towns.⁷⁷ In this way, villages such as Tideswell (benefactor the Duke of Norfolk), or Bosworth Hall, lost their chaplains and, like Grace Dieu, on occasions were served infrequently from nearby towns.

Quantitative measurements of gentry decline are very scarce, but Bagshawe's *Visitation Reports* do give a clue. As a requirement for the Visitation, the priest had to

⁷⁵ For example, at a lower level, B. De Lisle in the 1880s and 1890s was organist and choirmaster at Whitwick which gave him an authority and control over aspects of worship: newspaper articles found amongst *Bishop McNulty's Papers: Bishop Collection* NDA. McNulty was Bishop of Nottingham 1932-4.

⁷⁶ *Letter from Canon Douglass to De Lisle: Bagshawe's Papers 5/7/1888 Bishops Collection* NDA. The Duke of Norfolk attempted the same thing at Ashby in 1915 when he too tried to get his own way over the appointment of a priest in the chapel he had provided. He did not succeed: *Letter :Ashby Mission File 17/2/1915: Parish Collection* NDA. Lord Howard in 1914 was disputing with Brindle, talking of "my Church and family" at Hadfield. *Letter Bishop Dunn (to Howard's son) Bishop Dunn's Papers 2/2/1920 Bishops Collection* NDA. It recalls that Brindle found Howard "haughty" and told him "those days are gone".

⁷⁷ This was discussed in Chapter 2 in relation to the way Roskell expanded the missions.

furnish Bagshawe with a list of each mission's 10 most prominent Catholic families. Lists for 54 missions existing in the 1880s are extant.⁷⁸ In 1890 gentry are listed in only 19 missions, of which 10 were small, rural and declining, and a further seven in some way connected with industrial areas or small market towns. In only two cases, Derby (St. Mary's) and Chesterfield (Annunciation), are they listed in relation to a major centre, with none given for the Cathedral and Leicester. In this respect, the Nottingham Diocese was typical of the national situation: the gentry's influence was waning, and their places locally being taken by a rising middle class.

Consideration must now be given to the influence of the diocesan Catholic gentry on the wider, national Catholic stage. Newman noted that the gentry had a moral duty to improve matters, and contrasted their opportunities and influence, with that of the majority of Catholics who were ill-educated and Irish.⁷⁹ There was however, a degree of tension between what the gentry saw as their role, and that of the Hierarchy. Manning's relationship with De Lisle illustrates how he thought the gentry did not always fully appreciate the theological (or other) implications of their actions. Ambrose De Lisle was a prolific letter writer, corresponding with the likes of Manning, Ullathorne, and Newman on both secular and religious matters: Newman had high praise for De Lisle's work.⁸⁰ De Lisle's connections with the Oxford Movement and Wiseman encouraged his desires for a speedy return of England to the Catholic fold. To this end, he nationally promoted the work of the *Association for the Promotion of Unity amongst Christians* which had the support of some diocesan Catholics (including Fr.

⁷⁸ Each individual list is in the respective *Visitation Report (Red Book): Bagshawe's Paper's Bishops Collection* NDA.

⁷⁹ B. Aspinall, 'Towards a Catholic Social Conscience', *Recusant History* vol. 25 no. 1 (2000) pp. 108-9.

⁸⁰ E. Purcell, *Life of Ambrose De Lisle* vol. 1 p. 318. E. Purcell, *Life of Cardinal Manning* (London, 1896), pp. 489-9. F. Raphael ed., *The Life and Letters of Archbishop Ullathorne* (London, 1892),

Sing) and Anglicans.⁸¹ However, Manning viewed De Lisle's attempts to absorb Anglicans in preference to individual conversion, as theologically unsound and halted his work.⁸² The Hierarchy, while acknowledging the support of the gentry, saw their control of the gentry as paramount if an ultramontane Church was to supersede cisalpinism.⁸³ As Matthew notes, control of the gentry's Catholicism was necessary because of "the public prestige accorded to these lay spokesman for the Catholic body".⁸⁴ A major way the Hierarchy controlled both the gentry and the middle class was to oppose and finally force the closure of *The Rambler*, a liberal Catholic magazine, for which various authors, including De Lisle wrote articles, and Vaughan's subsequent take over of *The Tablet*, making it a semi-official organ for propagating Catholicism.⁸⁵ Some gentry, like the Marquis of Ripon, accepted hierarchical control: others including Lady Herries and the Constable-Maxwells found it difficult.⁸⁶ Lord Braye, while never opposing Bagshawe, nevertheless betrayed his cisalpine origins when opening the United Catholic Bazaar (1894) at St. Barnabas' and saying "[he hoped] the money would be used for plain churches rather than ornate ones".⁸⁷

The gentry viewed their role as advancing Catholicism, but as they saw it, and beyond the confines of individual dioceses.⁸⁸ To this end they exploited family

⁸¹ K. Morris, 'The Cambridge Converts and the Oxford Movement', *Recusant History* vol. 17 no. 4 (1985) pp. 394-5.

⁸² *Catholic Opinion* 9 July 1870 p. 678 contains a report of De Lisle lecturing on 'The Reunion of Christendom' suggesting that De Lisle carried on perhaps informally, regardless of the views of his Cardinal. For Manning's position on the issue of reunion, see *The Month* January-June 1866, 'Archbishop Manning on the Reunion of Christendom', pp. 379-391.

⁸³ D. Holmes, 'English Catholicism From Wiseman to Bourne', *Clergy Review* vol. 61 (1976) p. 60.

⁸⁴ D. Matthew, 'Old Catholics and Converts', in G. Beck ed., *The English Catholic Community* (London, 1950). pp. 231, 238. Lord Denbigh in the 1890s did not wish to be seen as one of the spokesmen.

⁸⁵ Holmes, 'English Catholicism' p. 65. *The Tablet* played a role somewhat similar to that of the Jesuit paper *Civiltà Cattolica* which stressed Catholic orthodoxy. See J. Wright, *The Jesuits*, p. 256.

⁸⁶ J. Supple, 'The Catholic Laity in Yorkshire', pp. 305,308. J. Supple, 'Ultramontaniam in Yorkshire', *Recusant History* vol. 17 no. 3 (1985), p. 284.

⁸⁷ *Nottingham Daily Express* 31 March 1894 p. 3 col. 4.

⁸⁸ J. Supple, 'The Role of the Catholic Laity in Yorkshire' *Recusant History* vol. 18 no. 3 (1987) p. 304.

connections, wrote to the press (Catholic and Protestant), published material on a wide range of issues, and, where possible, utilised their position in the House of Lords.⁸⁹ Their class and wealth also gave them increased access to the Vatican.⁹⁰ Lord Braye was a diocesan recusant peer who received the gratitude of the Papacy for his championing of Catholicism.⁹¹ A staunch supporter of the Lutterworth mission from 1880 with Lord Denbigh, the two were instrumental in advocating high profile Catholic issues.⁹² Lord Braye's work, which was favourably reported on locally, included promotion of official diplomatic relations between the British government and the Holy See, helping abolish the Accession Oath for Catholics, and the Matrimonial Causes Bill.⁹³ From the 1880s, he and the Duke of Norfolk, pressed for a re-consideration of the prohibition on Catholics attending universities.⁹⁴

Much of the gentry's activity was reported in the local press.⁹⁵ Prominent over 50 years in supporting Catholicism were the De Lises, Ambrose, Laura and Edwin.⁹⁶ In November 1850 and Spring 1851, for example, Ambrose de Lisle strenuously defended the Restoration of the Hierarchy and Wiseman from attacks by the Duke of

⁸⁹ The chief Catholic in the Lords was the Duke of Norfolk. De Lisle, for example, wrote to Gladstone urging his support for a relative, the Marquis of Bute, to be given the Order of the Thistle: D. Quinn, *Patronage and Piety* pp. 93,95.

⁹⁰ E. Hutton, 'English Catholic Literature', in G. Beck ed., *The English Catholic Community 1850-1950* (London, 1950), p. 520. The example given is of the Duke of Norfolk urging Pope Leo XIII to make Newman a Cardinal. Note: up to 1865 it was the 14th Duke, from 1865-1917 the 15th Duke. Lord Howard became the 16th Duke in 1917.

⁹¹ Lord Braye, *Fewness of My Days*, p. 567. He did much outside of the Lords. *Hansard Reports (from 1880)* recall very little in the way of his speeches.

⁹² Neither he nor Lord Gainsborough saw themselves as Catholic spokesmen. This they left to Lords Ripon and Norfolk. Denbigh in particular did not want such a role: D; Quinn, *Patronage and Piety* pp. 46, 69 and 114. Lord Braye also supported various missions in Northamptonshire.

⁹³ The local Protestant press did not always see his actions as a positive move. For his actions see *Fewness of My Days* pp. 276, 337, 497. He was also on a government Committee examining the White Slave trade, p. 343. In the Lutterworth area there was an active Anti-Slavery Committee: see *Letter Fr. Hazeland to Canon Douglass 15/1/1897 Lutterworth Mission File Mission Parish Collection NDA*.

⁹⁴ H. Evenett in 'Catholics and the Universities, in G. Beck ed., *The English Catholic Community* pp.303-4, 306-8, 313.

⁹⁵ E.g., *Loughborough News* 9 January 1862 'Lord Denbigh's Letter to Queen Victoria' p. 7 col. 2.

⁹⁶ There were other members of the family. On was a member of Leicester County Council after 1883.

Norfolk, Lord Beaumont, and the Earl of Shrewsbury in the national press.⁹⁷ Lord Beaumont stated, “[the Restoration] cannot be received or accepted by English Catholics”, while the Earl of Shrewsbury attacked Wiseman’s life style.⁹⁸ Ten years later, the Earl of Denbigh would argue that “[all] Catholics are English...[and are] defenders of constitutional freedoms”.⁹⁹ This was against a background of mounting criticism over the Irish nature of Catholicism.

The danger existed that the gentry might be united or in harmony with the Hierarchy, but find themselves in dispute with a local bishop, leading to a situation the local Protestant press could exploit: it was a situation not confined to the Nottingham Diocese.¹⁰⁰ Such an event occurred in 1886 when Edwin De Lisle, the Duke of Norfolk, the Earl of Gainsborough, the Earl of Denbigh, together with the Bishop of Clifton and Cardinal Manning, forced Bagshawe to retract his threatened excommunication of those Catholics who joined the Primrose League, a society that supported the Conservative Party and which had many Anglicans among its membership.¹⁰¹ Bagshawe opposed it because of his Christian Socialism. This is an example of how diocesan aristocracy, acting collectively on a national stage, procured local changes. Within the diocese, the individual could be seen as a focus of disputes.

⁹⁷ For other example of Norfolk’s disputes see D. Holmes, ‘How Newman Blunted the Edge of Ultramontaniam’, *Clergy Review* vol. 33 (1968) pp. 353-62. Norfolk disagreed with Bourne over the role the Catholic peers should play with regard to protecting education 1906-15: see V. McClelland, ‘Bourne, Norfolk and the Irish Parliamentarians : Roman Catholics and the Education Bill of 1906’, *Recusant History* vol. 23 no.2 (1996) pp. 219-227. Norfolk had sought in 1903 to influence the choice of Vaughan’s successor, to little effect: see K. Aspden, *Fortress Church* (Leominster, 2002), pp. 23-4. Together these are examples of the decline in gentry influence at the national level.

⁹⁸ D. Gwynn, *Lord Shrewsbury, Pugin and the Catholic Revival*, (London, 1946), pp. 130-1. J. Rafferty, ‘Nicholas Wiseman, Ecclesiastical Politics and Anglo-Irish relationships in the Mid-Nineteenth Century’ *Recusant History* vol. 21 no. 3 (1993) p. 385, “De Lisle shared much of Wiseman’s outlook”.

⁹⁹ D. Quinn *Patronage and Piety* pp. 80,88.

¹⁰⁰ Occasionally some Catholics did praise the press: *CE* 1 November 1889, p. 4 col. 1. For the Catholics of the Middlesborough diocese see, for example, R. Carson, *The First Hundred Years*, Chapter 2.

¹⁰¹ *BBC History* vol. 5 no. 6 (2004), p. 90.

De Lisle, as Loughborough's Tory MP (1886-92), published political and economic articles which ran counter to those of Bagshawe, causing unrest amongst diocesan Catholics, especially in north Leicestershire.¹⁰² His support for the brewing interest, meanwhile, angered local Catholic Temperance leaders though it pleased the Irish.

Newman summed up the situation by noting the gentry had a moral and physical obligation to provide a better education, at all levels, for ordinary Catholics.¹⁰³ Lord Braye also wanted a graduate priesthood. Lady Herbert of Lea was of a similar disposition and supported Vaughan's Mill Hill College from 1868.¹⁰⁴ The furtherance of Catholic education was actively pursued by many of the gentry.¹⁰⁵ This and many other interests were made public through the Catholic Union (1872), whose aim was "the protection of Catholic interests".¹⁰⁶ It attempted to co-ordinate high level/political forces, and its efforts were frequently commented upon in the local press.¹⁰⁷ More specifically regarding education was the work of Lord Howard who at various times was Chairman of the Catholic Poor Schools Committee.

The diocese and Catholicism in general owed much to gentry influence, and not just their wealth. Their transition from cisalpine Catholic leaders to ultramontane subordination, often to socially inferior bishops, was not easy. Their position can perhaps be summed up by a note in the *Nottingham and Northampton Diocesan School's Association Minute Book* for 1897: when discussing who should be the

¹⁰² E.g., *Nottingham Daily Express* 3 January 1890 p. 8 col. 4.

¹⁰³ P. Hughes, 'The Coming Century', in G. Beck pp. 14/5, f/n quoting from Newman's *Idea of a University*.

¹⁰⁴ She lived in Derbyshire and Vaughan often came to see her. Her neighbour was the Anglo-Catholic Florence Nightingale.

¹⁰⁵ Note the difference between 'education' and 'schools'. The majority of the gentry provided some form of school for their local area. Education largely refers to the attempts from 1870 to get rid of School Boards, and to safeguard the gains made by the 1902 Act.

¹⁰⁶ As is discussed in Chapter 5 'Politics' this organisation was essentially Tory, while many ordinary Catholics were Liberal. Hence it was a cause of disputes and did not always strengthen the Catholic cause.

¹⁰⁷ E.g., in Leicester in 1894: *Leicester Guardian* 1 July 1894 p. 2 col. 3.

officials it agreed that the president should be a nobleman to represent them in the Lords, but that local power was to be wielded by priests.¹⁰⁸ The discussion now turns to the gentry's urban counterparts, the Catholic middle class.

5 The Catholic Middle Class

Like the gentry, this group comprised people from a wide variety of social levels: unlike the gentry they were growing in size and influence. In 1852 the bishops jointly noted that denominational education should be provided for the middle class "where there is a sufficient Catholic population", but by 1873 they commented that "a numerous [Catholic] middle class has been found", suggesting it was an increasingly common feature of all dioceses.¹⁰⁹ Three aspects of the Catholic middle class are examined in this section: the reasons for the group's importance; their composition; and their characteristics. As a group they played a vital role in mission development: indeed it can be postulated that a mission's success or failure depended on the presence or absence of a Catholic middle class. All types of successful missions, whether established prior to 1850, or as late as Brindle's reign relied upon them, including Order-run missions (e.g., Holy Cross Leicester), those in small towns (Newark/Grantham), developing industrial areas (Chesterfield), or those resulting from gentry benefactions (Measham/Retford).¹¹⁰ Conversely, failed missions (Belper 1862),

¹⁰⁸ *Nottingham and Northampton Dioceses' Schools Association Log Book 27 July 1897, Bishops Collection NDA.*

¹⁰⁹ *Catholic Standard* 21 August 1852 p. 3 col. 2. The bishops were at the First Provincial Synod. The second quote is from their 1873 Synod in *Catholic Opinion* 20 September 1873 p. 5 col. 1. By contrast, D. Gwynn in *The Catholic Community* in G. Beck pp. 410-4 fails to mention them completely.

¹¹⁰ For Leicester see N. Danaher, 'The Leicester Irish', as on p. 263. and A. Kimberlin *The Return of Catholicism to Leicester 1746-1946* (Hinckley, 1946) pp. 20, 27. For Newark an example concerns the Cafferata family as in *Newark Herald* 12 September 1874 p. 4 col. 3. For Newark's Catholic middle class in general in *Newark Advertiser* 13 January 1869 p. 5 col. 2. and *NA* 15 January 1862 p. 2 col. 4 where "Mr. Hurst's band" is mentioned. Newark middle class under Fr. Waterworth held an annual ball for the local Poor School. For Grantham see K. Elliott *St. Mary's*

those temporarily suspended (Tideswell 1850s, Beeston 1890s, and Retford 1906), or domestic chapels (Bosworth Hall) together with those missions which from time to time were served from nearby centres (Ashbourne 1851, Ilkeston 1860-4), lacked a strong middle class. The example of Grimsby (St. Mary's) can be considered to illustrate the vital role played by the middle class. Fr. Phelan, an Irish priest, arrived in 1848 to minister to the transitory Irish navvies working in the docks and railway installations, only to depart in 1851 having been unable to establish a permanent mission.¹¹¹ In 1852, the Isaac family (men's outfitters) arrived, established a permanent residence, started trading, and quickly began to seek out other Catholics with a view to having a Mass said; they even used part of their premises for this purpose prior to renting a warehouse. Word was passed amongst the Irish and Mass attendance grew. Roskell was petitioned by the Isaacs and several other middle class Catholics who had arrived, including the Drakes, Edwards (Customs and Excise Official) and "a prominent Irish man, Mr. Patrick Lynch". A permanent priest, Fr. Bent, was obtained in 1856, providing the origins of the present mission. This example contains several features illustrative of the role played by the middle class Catholics. Firstly, they offered a personal, long-term commitment to the mission which stood in contrast to the transitory nature of the Irish. Under the control of the priest, they could establish and maintain the mission's infrastructure. This, as in the case of the Isaacs and Drakes, the Baillions (Nottingham), the Gibneys (Leenside), or the Sumners (Glossop), could extend over several

Grantham pp. 1-12. For Chesterfield *Derbyshire Times* 19 January 1867 p. 2 col. 3. For Retford see a list of middle class names in the *Retford Mission File: Parish Collection* NDA. For Derby *The Lamp* January-June 1851 p. 83, "130 men sat down for a most excellent supper at 2/- a head". One was a surgeon.

¹¹¹ At this time, Grimsby was in the Eastern District, and nominally under the control of Bishop Wareing, the Vicar-Apostolic based in Northampton. He was like Hendren, and lacked any wealth. The two bishops were compared in Chapter 2. For details of Grimsby see A. Bedford and M. Knight *Jacob's Ladder* pp.1-8 Also for education, M. Leith, 'Catholic Elementary Education' in Grimsby St. Mary's School 1874-1902', notes *Grimsby Mission Box: Parish Collection* NDA., pp. 18-21

generations and include lateral members of the family.¹¹² In every sense, “they provided a core of the Church” for which, in turn, the Church recognised their worth and honoured them for their services.¹¹³ Secondly, their occupations, such as caterers (Taylor, Nottingham), music shop owner (Turpin, St. Barnabas’ organist), and “the Derby furniture manufacturer who helped repair St. Mary’s”, gave them skills useful in enhancing mission activities.¹¹⁴ Thirdly, they were important for their wealth. This, combined with their time, enabled them to expand Catholicism. For example, like the Isaac’s work in Grimsby, Catholics in Ashby-de-la-Zouch and Newark organised and paid for soup kitchens to aid the poor of any religion; Mr. Timmins (undertaker, Stamford), paid for a poor local Catholic’s funeral and Fr. O’Connor’s; Mrs. Smith (Boston) and Mrs. Fraser (Grimsby) sold land cheaply for schools.¹¹⁵

Fourthly, they were important as a means of enabling ethnic minorities to be more easily assimilated into the Catholic community. They were an open group in the sense that entry was by wealth and contribution to the Church. In this way, Italians (Anzinni family), French (Baillons), and Irish (McCullaghs, Sharkeys and Dunns), were

¹¹² E.g., *Nottingham Daily Express* 20 July 1899 ‘Obituary of Mr. R. Whaley’,. He was the oldest Catholic in Nottingham and a prominent lace manufacturer. His daughters were the Revills and Lappins, names that constantly appear in connection with Nottingham’s missions. Another is the Sumners: see *Z File GPL*. For Alex Baillon see *NDE* 1 May 1890 p. 8 col. 1. There was also a Miss Louise Reardon “who did much for the Church”. She was of Irish descent: *NDE* 27 February 1890 p. 8 col. 1.

¹¹³ As shown by Richardson’s of Derby, the printers: *Nottingham Review* 16 February 1855 p. 6 col. 5. Fr. William Syrett SJ was converted reading one of his *Reprints*. Also K. Elliott *St. Mary’s Grantham* p. 2.

¹¹⁴ *Nottingham Catholic Magazine* vol. 1 Nov. 1869, “teas by Mr. Taylor restaurant owner”. For the Derby reference see *Leicester Chronicle* 27 September 1866,. The teachers were another group that did much to improve mission life, such as over the music at socials :*Nottingham Daily Express* 11 January 1872 p. 2 col. 7, at Nottingham St. Patrick’s. For this group see also *No Mag* vol. 5 May 1873 pp. 2-7. The *Nottingham Rainbow* December vol. 5 1881 p. 79 notes how from 1867 Nottingham had been divided into collecting districts by the Catholics and the women had played an important part in this work.

¹¹⁵ E.g., *Leics. Advertiser* 4 January 1873 p. 3 col. 3. *Stamford Mercury* 1 February 1861 p. 4 col. 2 for Mr. Timmins. For Mrs. Fraser see A. Bedford and M. Knight *Jacob’s Ladder* p. 115 Others included the Flints at Market Harborough. At Melton Mowbray there was Mr. John Exton: *Leicester Advertiser* 25 February 1855 p. 2 col.7 “supporter of two or three schools”. Middle class Catholics were instrumental in providing books for Catholic workhouse inmates: e.g., *Nottingham Daily Express* 13 January 1869 p. 4 col. 4.

able to play important roles in the Church's life.¹¹⁶ Whether minorities like these were assimilated or merely absorbed is debatable. Absorption was easier, requiring Mass attendance, financial contributions, and an outward conformity to local practices. Assimilation required an increased degree of ethnic denationalisation including the use of English and Latin, total conformity to the devotional practices of the mission, and, most difficult of all, acceptance by the English. Several Confraternity lists giving names of officials and the Committee of the Nottingham Catholic Institute in the 1880s contain the names of ethnic minorities, suggesting that in some instances, assimilation did occur.¹¹⁷

Variations in middle class acceptance of ethnic minorities across the diocese reflected the national situation. Steele cites the career of Charles Russell, an Irish solicitor practising in the Liverpool Diocese, as an example of how integration was achieved in the north west, while Walker, conversely suggests that the native Scottish middle class, were tardy. He also notes their attempts at controlling the election of the officials in the Catholic Men's Society and St. Vincent de Paul organisations, so that the Irish middle class were excluded. O'Tuaghaigh suggests that there was an equal antipathy by some amongst the Irish who did not want to be fully assimilated and that exclusivity was to some degree, a mutually accepted *modus operandi*.¹¹⁸ In several instances the diocesan middle class did at times attempt to maintain its own exclusivity. Elliott, the historian of St. Mary's Grantham, talks of their intermarriages and a strong

¹¹⁶ E.g., The Anzins contributed to the Buxton mission: *The Tablet* 4 August 1860 p. 486 col. 2. The Baillons were contributors to the cathedral: *To the Congregation of St. Barnabas' St. Barnabas' Mission Box Parish Collection* 1876 NDA. For Sharkey and Dunn see *Nottingham Daily Express* 29 January 1890 p. 8 col. 1. Sharkey was also a Councillor on Nottingham City Council in the 1880s and 1890s.

¹¹⁷ This concept of assimilation versus absorption is discussed in the next section of this Chapter. No quantitative picture can be given as there are no lists covering all the diocese.

¹¹⁸ E. Steele, 'The Irish Presence in the North', *Northern History* vol. 12 (1976) p. 236. W. Walker, 'Irish Immigration in Scotland: Their priests, Politics and Parochial Life', *Historical Journal* vol. xv (1972) pp. 653, 659. M. O'Tuaghaigh 'The Irish in the Nineteenth Century: Problems of

sense of identity.¹¹⁹ Within the Church, as illustrated by individual missions like St. Barnabas', St. Mary's Loughborough, and St. Mary's Grantham, the middle class sought a physical separation from the poor, complaining frequently about their dirtiness, behaviour, and illiteracy.¹²⁰ In Stamford, it was suggested that "a small charge should be made [at the church] to keep the riffraff out": it was the middle class who largely paid the bench rents.¹²¹ The middle class could be cisalpine in outlook: for example, the *Grantham Journal* noted the middle class could read and did not like the (ultramontane) carvings used as devotional aids in churches.¹²² At other times they were ultramontane, making it clear they had funded the changes, as in Chesterfield, Derby, Lincoln, and Market Rasen, or Hucknall where their names were on the foundation stones.¹²³ They also took a strong lead in Benediction, processions, and the Nativity events although the majority of congregations were Irish. All these were ways that emphasised their class consciousness.

The wide diversity of Catholics that comprised the diocesan middle class is demonstrated in Table 4.1. The diocesan middle class comprised professionals, manufacturers and service personnel: it embraced the high order diplomatic role of Louis Baillon, French Consul in Nottingham, down to the more widespread 'shopkeeper' found in most areas.¹²⁴ They played an important part in the local economy providing a wide range of services and goods, and through the employment opportunities they offered. Where the urban area had a specialist function, as with

Integration', pp. 169-70.

¹¹⁹ K. Elliott, *St. Mary's Grantham* pp. 3, 10.

¹²⁰ E.g. *Loughborough Advertiser* 18 June 1874 p. 5 col. 5.

¹²¹ *Stamford Mercury* 6 January 1871 p. 5 col. 3.

¹²² *Grantham Journal* 24 December 1863 p. 2 col. 4 and 2 January 1864 p. 3 col. 1.

¹²³ *Letters and Notices* vol. 30 (1909-10) pp. 9-15. *Lincolnshire Chronicle* 2 June 1854 p. 5 col. 3.

Nottingham Daily Express 10 September 1864 p. 5 col. 3. *Stamford Mercury* 29 May 1874 p. 5 col.

2. *SM* 27 March 1875 p. 5 col. 1. *Leicester Guardian* 13 November 1858 p. 8 col. 2

¹²⁴ *Nottingham Daily Express* 1 January 1861 p. 2 col. 4. Baillon was a French émigré and an important lace manufacturer. He also had important connections in France.

Key to Occupations

1	Diplomatic	38	Chemist
2	Doctor	39	Photographer
3	Financial	40	Clock repairer
4	Legal	41	Butcher
5	'Gent'	42	Coal merchant
6	Local Government Officer	43	Upholsterer
7	Corn market official	44	Confectioner
8	Architect	45	Stationary seller
9	Accountant	46	Gas fitter
10	Mayor	47	Hotel workers
11	Central Government Official	48	Boat/barge services
12	Agent	49	Fishermen/Owner
13	Manufacturer (General)	50	Wine merchant
14	Printer	51	'Business man'
15	Quarry owners	52	Timber merchant
16	Glove maker	53	Engineer
17	Brick manufacturer	54	Grocer/Tea seller
18	Silk goods maker	55	Ship's captain
19	Boiler maker	56	Militia
20	Moulder	57	Milliner
21	Iron foundry manager	58	Sadler
22	Small brewer	59	Watch repairer
23	Cabinet maker	60	Undertaker
24	Publican/Innkeeper/Lodgings	61	Cobblers
25	Produce grower	62	Fishmonger
26	Leather dealer	63	Baker
27	Tailor/drapery	64	Music dealer
28	Gamekeeper	65	Jewellers
29	School teacher	66	Furniture and Carpet seller
30	Painter/decorator	67	Merchant
31	Plumber	68	China and glass dealer
32	Shopkeeper (General)	69	Dressmaker
33	Fruiter	70	Small wares dealer
34	Farmer	71	Guilder
35	Builder/joiner	72	Bookbinder
36	Tobacconist	73	Sawyer
37	Commercial Traveller	74	Framesmith owner

Nottingham's lace industry, Hinckley's hosiery trade, and Boston's port activities, Catholics were found among its middle class. Another view of the diocesan middle class for around 1890 can be obtained from Bagshawe's *Visitation Reports*.¹²⁵ Although the data relates to a mission's ten most prominent Catholic families, it suggests that the middle class dominated the diocese: gentry families comprised only 19%, whereas the middle class families formed 70%, and those of the working class poor around 13%. The middle class group comprised 38% service personnel, (mainly shop owners), 25% manufacturers (including elastic manufacturers in Whitwick) and farmers, 17% retired, 11% 'Officials' (such as Police Superintendents/custom's officials in Boston), and approximately 10% professionals, barristers, and architects. This 'snapshot' confirms the salient features of the Catholic middle class: their widespread distribution, their participation in regional economic specialisation, and, with Irish, English and continental names given, it would suggest that as a group, they were a means of ethnic assimilation. The wealth of the middle class personnel gave them access to a wide section of society: it enabled them to perform many social functions, and some of the money naturally found its way into the Church. The group encompassed Catholics who mixed freely with Protestants in their commercial activities and thus became unofficial ambassadors for the Faith, setting a standard by which Catholics were often judged: for example the praise for Dr. Bell, who ministered to the poor of Grimsby, the Leicester publican James Hunter who was renowned for the orderliness of his establishment, and E.J. Willson architect, and in 1854, Mayor of Lincoln, all more widely admired

¹²⁵ In preparation for a Visitation, Bagshawe asked each mission priest to compile a list of their ten most important Catholic families, with their occupations. The following paragraph is based on this classification. Clearly it is only general, but is important in two accounts. Firstly it reflects a priest's view of his parishioners and secondly it gives an idea of the nature of their local employment.

individuals.¹²⁶ Conversely, in Grantham, the Catholic middle class was unpopular, being criticised by a local paper for “having a love of money so strong as to break down truth, honour, and justice”.¹²⁷ The group took seriously their role in society, as when they debated, and then accepted, the idea that attendance at theatres was permissible, so long as it was not on Sundays.¹²⁸

Within the Catholic middle class were many converts, such as Mr. Bethel, a Grimsby timber merchant, those found amongst the Derby Catholics, and the Flints of Market Harborough.¹²⁹ Like many converts, they were noted for their enthusiasm. Because of this they could be regarded with suspicion by their peers, especially as they tended to be strong supporters of ultramontaniam.

The dependence of a church on an active middle class was not a feature unique to Catholics: Anglicans and Nonconformists, especially the Methodists with their lay preachers, also benefited from their activities.¹³⁰ From a Catholic perspective, their unique trait, which is evident in the Nottingham Diocese, was the way they helped move Catholicism from its marginal position of the 1850s to a more mainstream location by Edwardian times. This was achieved through a mixture of religious, socio-religious and secular activities involving non-Catholics and Catholics at the local level. As part of a growing social and secular involvement, the diocesan middle class Catholics were instrumental in the Penny Readings’ movement, both as readers and organisers.¹³¹ They

¹²⁶ *Leics Ch* 29 September 1866, *Lincs Ch* 21 November 1858 p. 5 col. 2. E.J. Willson was the brother of Fr. Willson and the builder of several Catholic Churches.

¹²⁷ *GJ* 19 January 1865 p. 6 col. 1. Other such Catholics objected to the opening of museums on Sunday *Leics Ch* 23 February 1856 p. 1 col. 1.

¹²⁸ *NDE* 14 October 1865 p. 1 col. 1.

¹²⁹ W. Bedford and M. Knight, *Jacob's Ladder* p. 39. B. Elliott ‘The History of Catholicism in Market Harborough’, *The Harborough Historian* vol. 2 (1985) p. 2. E. Hamer ‘The Missionary Activities of Dominic Barberi’, *Recusant History* vol. 25 no. 2 (2001) p. 64.

¹³⁰ R. O’Day, ‘The Clerical Renaissance in Victorian England and Wales’, in G. Parsons, ed. *Religion in Victorian Britain* vol. 1 ‘Traditions’, (Manchester, 1988), p. 206 she makes the point that there was more of a collaborative ministry in Methodism, unlike in Catholicism.

¹³¹ E.g., *Nottingham Daily Express* 27 March 1865 p. 2 col. 4, in Nottingham. *Lincolnshire Chronicle*

suggested books and readings that supported the Catholic ethos, accepting those of Sir Walter Scott and rejecting Kingsley's *Westward Ho!* As shopkeepers they supported the Sunday and Half Day Closing movements.¹³² Others, like J. Evans of Leicester, were active in the Co-operative movement. A few Catholics became involved with the workhouse, either as Guardians, Visitors, benefactors, or suppliers of goods to all inmates. T. Cramp (Loughborough) and H. Gutteridge (Leicester) were Guardians, market gardeners by profession, and noted for the high quality of food they supplied to the workhouses.¹³³ Several doctors, including Dr. Hynes (Nottingham) and Dr. Wingate (Leicester), were known for their work among the poor, while William Belatti (high class Italian grocer) was a member of the Lincoln Relief Committee which vociferously campaigned against local shopkeepers who adulterated food.¹³⁴ In Lincoln, the middle class Catholics organised a Fast Day in accordance with Queen Victoria's wishes on behalf of the Crimean War victims.¹³⁵ Yet others were concerned with various secular Temperance societies. Prominent amongst these were the Gilpins (Derby), Gibneys (Nottingham), and the Gutteridges (Loughborough), although there were many others after 1872 when Manning threw his support behind them.¹³⁶ In this the Nottingham Diocese was typical of the national situation. Gilley and Wraith, when discussing the emerging nineteenth century Catholic conscience, give other examples

23 May 1855 p. 7 col. 2 in Lincoln. *Leicester Advertiser* 23 February 1871 p. 7 col. 2 in Shepshed. *Leics A* 27 January 1872 p. 3 col. 2 in Ashby.

¹³² E.g., *Leics Advertiser* 13 June 1868 p. 8 col. 1.

¹³³ *Loughborough Monitor* 22 March 1866 p. 5 col. 6. *L Mon* 24 April 1866 p. 5 col. 2.

¹³⁴ *Nottingham Daily Express* 25 October 1865 p. 6 col. 3. *Leicester Daily Post* 6 May 1863 p. 3 col. 4. *Lincolnshire Chronicle* 23 May 1855 p. 5 col. 2.

In *Nottingham Rainbow* vol. III September 1883 'Our Catholic Poor' pp. 311-2 middle class readers were reminded of their duties and responsibilities.

¹³⁵ *Lincolnshire Chronicle* 5 May 1854 p. 5 col. 4.

¹³⁶ *Nottingham Daily Express* 19 November 1874 p. 4 col. 4. *NDE* 26 November 1871 p. 2 col. 6.

Loughborough Monitor 3 December 1863 p. 8 col. 3. For Manning see A. Dingle and B. Harrison, 'Cardinal Manning as Temperance Reformer', *HJ* vol. XII no. 3 (1960) pp. 485-510.

which would suggest that Nottingham was following the general pattern.¹³⁷ As an educated group, the middle class Catholics attended secular lectures and debates on Catholic themes, and attempted to present their points of view. Increasingly, Catholics gave lectures to which non-Catholics were invited, as in Lincoln (1870).¹³⁸ The actions of the diocesan Catholic teachers in the early twentieth century, perhaps illustrates how far things had moved with regard to the position of Catholicism in general. Against the wishes of both Bagshawe and Brindle, they joined with the secular National Union of Teachers to press for better conditions for teachers generally and more government support for education.¹³⁹ Here they were clearly showing the need for a mix of secular and Church co-operation.

Throughout the diocese, the middle class were involved in local and national politics, whether as voters, in organising election meetings, ensuring eligible Catholics registered their right to vote, or following the priest's instructions on which candidate to support. Whilst this is discussed in detail in Chapter 5, the following illustrates the breadth of their interests and hence their importance to the diocese: E. Willson, Mrs. Simmons, and Councillor Charlton were respected Mayors of Lincoln, Boston, and Grimsby, while Charles Odling, an "undertaker and black drapery salesman", was Chairman of Lincoln Burial Board.¹⁴⁰ Catholics stood for election to School Boards

¹³⁷ It would also be inaccurate to ignore the growing social Anglican conscience. S. Gilley 'The Roman Catholic Missions to the Irish in London 1840-60, *Recusant History* vol. 10 no. 3 (1969-70) pp. 123-145. B. Wraith 'A Pre-Modern Interpretation of the Modern English Catholic Church and the Social Question in the early Twentieth Century', in R. Swanson ed. *The Church Retrospective: Studies in Church History* vol. 35 (1999), pp.529-546

¹³⁸ *Lincolnshire Chronicle* 7 July 1870 p. 1 col. 1.

¹³⁹ *Catholic Herald* 21 December 1907.

¹⁴⁰ *Lincolnshire Chronicle* 12 May 1854, p. 5 col. 3. *Louth and North Lincolnshire Advertiser* 13 May 1865 p. 4 col. 6. This reference is more pertinent as the paper was extremely anti-Catholic. *Stamford Mercury* 23 August 1874 p. 5 col. 3. *Lincs Ch* 11 September 1857 p. 3 col. 3. There was also a Mr. Hutchinson from Hinckley and Nottingham's Councillor Starkey.

and the Nottingham Diocese was unique in that it was only in Chesterfield that a School Board had a Catholic Chairman.¹⁴¹

The middle class played a vital, if not more important role than the gentry in developing diocesan Catholicism. They pursued policies, even if subconsciously, which enhanced the influence of Catholics. By being lovers of ceremonial and being prepared to demonstrate their beliefs through organisational means, as well as personal involvement in processions and secular activities, Catholicism achieved a greater degree of acceptability. However, in terms of numbers, it was the Irish who were the greatest component in the nineteenth century Catholic Church.

6. The Irish

This section is not concerned with the Irish *per se* but their interaction with the diocesan Church and the levels of assimilation achieved by 1915. To a certain degree, ultramontanist can be seen as the mechanics of assimilation. The stress that Manning placed on ultramontane uniformity through requiring all Catholics to adhere to Rome approved devotional practices, aimed to ensure that all Catholics were united. The weakness of this approach lay in that it was an overarching approach that did not start from the individual mission situation. However, the fact that the Anglican and Nonconformists attempted to emulate Catholic unity, combined with such factors as intermarriages between the Irish and English, their mixing in the Poor Schools, attendance by English and Irish at Church socials and an increasing number of Irish amongst the middle class, all suggest that at the very least, there was a perception that the Irish were beginning to be assimilated into a united Catholic Church in England.

¹⁴¹ John Stores-Smith until 1880.

It is the contention of this thesis that the reality of assimilation in the Nottingham Diocese was more along the lines of Hickman's model of Irish incorporation than the traditional assimilation/segregationist ideas.¹⁴² Whereas the segregationist/assimilation model sees a 'close', but undefined relationship between the English and Irish existing around 1900, due either to the positive (ultramontane?) efforts of the Church, or the negative attempts of the Irish to resist assimilation, the incorporation approach emphasises the way the Irish retained their national characteristics and sense of identity, but still became integral members of the Catholic Church in England. Hickman emphasises that while the Church was a major contributor to the end result, it was not the only force involved: government actions also exerted strong unifying forces from which the Catholic Church benefited. For example, the 1870 Education Act and the attempts by the Liberals to introduce further educational reforms in 1906, resulted in a closer alliance between the English and the Irish being forged as both had the common aim of saving Catholic education.¹⁴³

Using material obtained through research, it can be argued that the levels of integration (absorption/assimilation/incorporation), attained by the Irish in the Nottingham Diocese, were dependent on five interlocking principles: namely-

[1] Integration tended to be greater where there was only one mission.

[2] Integration depended on the size and nature of the Irish influx.

[3] Integration depended on the role played by the Irish middle class.

¹⁴² M. Hickman, 'Alternative historiographies of the Irish in Britain; a critique of the segregation/assimilation model', in R. Swift and S. Gilley, *The Irish in Victorian Britain* (Dublin, 1999) pp. 236-253 poses two different models: one the traditional 'assimilation-segregationist' model and a second the idea of the nation in which each ethnic group was different but had an inseparable role to play. For her incorporation model see also M. Hickman, 'Incorporating and denationalising the Irish in England: the role of the Catholic Church', in P. O'Leary, *Religion and Identity* (Leicester, 2000), pp. 198-216.

¹⁴³ See Chapter 6 for details on education.

[4] The actions of the priest, and religious regardless of their ethnicity, were crucial.

[5] Much depended on the policy of the bishop.

In theory, rural areas with only a single Mass centre employing the Latin Mass offered the ideal scenario for Irish assimilation, [1].¹⁴⁴ However, this was not always the case.¹⁴⁵ In the 1850s Fr. O'Connor (Stamford) held separate Gaelic Masses for the Irish migrants and High Mass for the English. Laura De Lisle noted much the same sentiments in her *Diary* (1860), writing "in Shepshed there are no Irish and the English were happy with the harmony this engenders".¹⁴⁶ The fact that at Clay Cross around 1900-04, the English petitioned Brindle to allow them to attend a private domestic chapel rather than fulfil their Sunday Mass obligation by attending the Irish dominated town Church, shows that to some Catholics, assimilation remained an unwanted ideal.

Mission integration was frequently fractured by the size of the annual Irish migrations [2], which varied from over 800 around Lincoln, to 500 at Stamford, to about 200 near Crowle. At Stamford, for example, this resulted in the resident Catholics being out numbered nearly four to one!¹⁴⁷ This, combined with the (undeserved?) reputation for lawlessness that the Irish had could lead to deteriorating Irish-English relationships.¹⁴⁸ By contrast, when the rabidly anti-Catholic speaker, William Murphy lectured in Newark (1865), both Irish and English Catholics temporarily united to

¹⁴⁴ When a number is in a bracket [1] it refers to one of the five principles.

¹⁴⁵ This was the basis of one of the problems that faced Brindle. See Chapter 3.

¹⁴⁶ B. Elliott 'Laura Phillipps De Lisle: a Nineteenth Century Catholic Lady', *Recusant History* vol. 20 no. 3 (1991) p. 374. This would seem to conflict with newspaper evidence: e.g., *Loughborough News* 12 December 1861 p. 5 col. 5.

¹⁴⁷ S. Barber, 'Irish migrant Labourers', as on pp. 15 & 19.

¹⁴⁸ Anti-Catholicism is discussed in Chapter 7.

defend *their* priest, Canon Waterworth.¹⁴⁹ The fact that similar events in Chesterfield and Grantham led to a repetition of temporary unity, may imply that a basis of assimilation was a widespread respect for priests [4].

The level of assimilation did however, vary throughout the rural areas of the diocese. Louth in rural Lincolnshire was a 'closed area' to which only the same families returned each year, before gradually settling and intermarrying so that St. Mary's congregation was of a more cohesive nature.¹⁵⁰ Indeed, marriage became a key method of assimilation in all areas, and the Irish:English marriage rate rose throughout the period.¹⁵¹ Louth also had a skilled Irish carpet weaving industry which, with its middle class element, made these Irish more acceptable. However, these Irish and many local inhabitants were less inclined to accept the migrant worker. In the rural areas of Derbyshire, fewer Irish agricultural labourers were demanded as the farming was more geared to animal husbandry.¹⁵² Consequently, places like Hassop, Tideswell, Bakewell, and Hathersage, were relatively well integrated. In rural Derbyshire the challenge was often the navy. Here they were not integrated but remained a separate entity; Brooke writes of "the Irishman who sought the reassuring companionship of fellows from his native heath".¹⁵³ A few priests went and said Masses[4], but Bagshawe was unhappy at

¹⁴⁹ When in 1865 the rabid anti-Catholic speaker William Murphy attacked Fr. Waterworth, the English and Irish combined to defend him: the police advised against further visits by Murphy. *Nottingham Daily Express* 14 January 1865 p. 2 col. 2. For the national situation regarding Murphy see W. Arnstein 'The Murphy Riots: a Victorian Dilemma', *Victorian Studies* vol. XIX Spring (1975) pp. 51-71.

¹⁵⁰ In this Louth was a 'closed shop'. It meant that assimilation was easier because the Catholics were known individuals. S. Barber 'Irish Migrant Labourers in Nineteenth Lincolnshire' p. 16. J. Herson 'Migration, 'community' or integration? Irish Families in Victorian Stafford' in R, Swift and S, Gilley eds. *The Irish in Victorian Britain* p. 162 talks of the "superficial picture of mobility" and contrasts this with Irish "family stability" which he sees as a feature of all Irish communities. This point about Catholics being known as individuals and consequently experiencing better relationships is connected with the differences in the concepts of Victorian Catholics and Victorian Catholicism discussed in Chapter 8 'Anti-Catholicism'.

¹⁵¹ This trend becomes clear from the juxtaposition of names in the *Marriage Registers Parish Collection* NDA.

¹⁵² *Bakewell Advertiser* 8 July 1865 for example, noted only 2 Irish labourers at Earl Sterndale.

¹⁵³ D. Brooke 'Railway Navvies on the Pennines 1841-71', *Journal of Transport History* new series

this: he expected people to go to Mass, not Mass provision to go to them [5]. Assimilation was more often at the level of the second and third generation.¹⁵⁴ The children of the navvies occasionally attended the Sunday and day schools at Hathersage and Hassop for short periods of time, as a few families began to settle in the locality. It was a similar pattern in rural Leicestershire as agricultural labourers began to settle around places like Measham and Market Harborough and Melton Mowbray.¹⁵⁵ Thus in the rural areas, assimilation took various forms, depending on the size of the influx.

A key role in assimilating the Irish in rural Leicestershire was played by the Cistercians from their base at Mount Saint Bernard Abbey, and the Rosminians [4].¹⁵⁶ Through their charity work at the Abbey the Cistercians provided food, shelter and training for Irish destitutes. More significant was their work in operating the reformatory, which despite handling some of the most serious offenders, achieved a non-re-offending rate approaching 50%. However, this was not how matters were perceived at the time and the reformatory was viewed with apprehension by local, especially English, Catholics. Despite this, the choir was frequently used in local missions and praised for its standards.¹⁵⁷ Perhaps this was a form of absorption rather than assimilation. The Rosminians played a more mendicant role, in attempting to assimilate the really poor, such as the English and Irish framework knitters of north

vol. 3 (1975-6) p. 43.

¹⁵⁴ The Sisters attempted to run Sunday Schools for the children of the navvies who did not attend day schools. as in Broadbottom: *High Peak News* 28 February 1874 p. 3 col. 4. K. Snell 'The Sunday School Movement in England and Wales: Child Labour, Denominational Control and Working Class Culture', *Past and Present* vol. 164 August (1999) pp. 122-168. In particular pp. 139-140 suggests Sunday Schools were a very important method of assimilating people, but that for Catholics, it was the Mass that was paramount in its influence. M. Hickman 'The Irish in England', p. 203 stresses the role played by the schools in assimilating the Irish.

¹⁵⁵ Here again the emphasis on pastoral agriculture rather than crops lessened the numbers of Irish needed and so aided assimilation.

¹⁵⁶ Prominent amongst these was Fr. Sisk, who was well loved: *Nottingham Daily Express* 10 September 1864 p. 5 col. 3. Perhaps more significant is the reference to the Whitwick choir in the very Protestant *Loughborough Guardian* 12 June 1858 p. 8 col. 6 praising their work. At the very least it shows middle class assimilation, if not for the very poor.

¹⁵⁷ B. Elliott 'Mount Saint Bernard's Reformatory, pp. 213-7

Leicestershire. People like Frs. Egan, Martin and Bent attempted to encompass all members of their congregations, through a wide range of religious and socio-religious methods, including organising/controlling mixed St. Patrick's Day happenings, running mission bands (mainly young males), taking a lead in Penny Readings (adults), or helping in political events: the result was Catholic communities at places like Melton and Whitwick became more united.¹⁵⁸ A *Letter* published in the *Leicester Mercury* (1851) commented on the fairness and pleasant nature of the Irish, suggesting that a degree of assimilation was present.

Assimilation at the grass roots level depended on the attitude of the priest [4]: for example, Fr. Moore (Market Rasen 1860s-1870s) encouraged the Catholic Young Men's Society he had founded, to hold debates on Irish matters and social events involving Irish and English music and poetry.¹⁵⁹ These actions contrast with those of Frs. Simkiss (Hainton 1850s) and Hall (Louth 1850-74), who were renowned for their English ways.¹⁶⁰ Various continental priests such as Parmentier, Feskens and H. Sabela worked hard to integrate the Irish, saying that as non-English people they more readily understood what it was to be an outsider.¹⁶¹ This did not mean they ignored the

¹⁵⁸ E. Holt 'Catholic Conversions in Mid-Nineteenth Century Leicestershire' Dissertation Cambridge History Tripos 1979. See also J. Hirst *A Slight Sketch of Father Egan* (Market Weighton, no date), pp. 116-9. Also *Leicester Advertiser* 25 July 1866 p. 2 col. 3. A letter published in *Leicester Mercury* 13 December 1851 p. 3 col. 2 J. Herson 'Migration, 'community' or integration? Irish Families in Victorian Stafford', p. 166 lists social and political methods as ways of increasing assimilation nationally.

¹⁵⁹ *Lincolnshire Chronicle* 10 June 1870 p. 4 col. 6. *Lincs Ch* 14 February 1873 p. 5 col. 2. gives a list of Irish songs performed. Also a similar picture in Grantham in 1899: *Grantham Journal* 11 February 1899 p. 2 col. 4. In 1900 the event was organised by the Irish middle class, and enjoyed a good mixed attendance. W. Lowe, 'The Lancashire Irish', p. 152 "the most noticeable of all parochial groups was the CYMS which had branches throughout England and Ireland [to develop] the mutual improvement and extension of the spirit of religion and brotherly love...through prayer, frequentation of the Sacraments, public lectures, private classes, a library and reading room". Lowe is quoting the *CYMS Second Annual Report 1862* so that on paper at least, a diocesan vehicle for assimilation existed. Technically the CYMS was supposed to be non-political.

¹⁶⁰ Fr. Simkiss was typical of an eighteenth century Anglican country parson. He was an academic who preferred hunting and fishing. See *Simkiss Deceased Priests File: Priests Collection NDA* for a few details.

¹⁶¹ Sabela started the mission at Sleaford in 1879 to minister to the Irish. Van Dale (Belgian) and

differing cultures they found: indeed both were celebrated and praised for their involvement in mission life.¹⁶²

A priest's stance over Irish nationalism played a key element in assimilating the Irish. Irish priests like O'Neill in the predominately Irish mission of Ilkeston (1860s) achieved much through living amongst his congregation in locally rented property, his social work, and starting a school. The appointment by Roskell and Bagshawe of priests like O'Neill and O'Reilly to Whitwick and the new Irish mission of Coalville in the 1880s was in line with Manning's ideas and helped Irish assimilation. O'Reilly made a greater use of Bagshawe-approved Irish hymns and music and displayed a great ability to control and direct St. Patrick's Day events which were seen as mission festivities for both the English and the Irish.¹⁶³ However, O'Reilly upset certain English Catholics, including Edwin De Lisle, and this did cause a degree of ethnic polarisation. Around Whitwick, Edwin De Lisle frequently clashed with the Irish while he was Conservative MP for Loughborough 1886-92.¹⁶⁴ As an MP he spoke against Home Rule and believed that the true loyalty of the Irish Catholic would only be shown if he faced the full force of the law. He clashed with O'Reilly over this idea, as well as Bagshawe. O'Reilly also objected to De Lisle using his parishioners, even though they were his tenants, to help in electioneering. There is no evidence to suggest that such bitterness outlasted De Lisle's political career.

Busch (German) both had a positive attitude to assimilation: *Grantham Journal* 27 October 1883 p. 2 col. 1 A. Walsh, *Our Lady of Good Counsel Sleaford 1888-1988* (Sleaford, 1988), pp. 5-6.

¹⁶² E.g., the school staff were Irish and English and were involved in Sunday Schools and Mass activities. Lord Gainsborough set a pattern locally by employing Irish people in positions of responsibility on his estates.

¹⁶³ The 1894 *Whitwick Bazaar Programme Whitwick Mission File: Parish Collection* NDA talks of the Green Isle and a concert which made much of the Irish culture. L. Litvack 'Songs and Hymns of Irish Migration', in P. O'Sullivan ed., *Religion and Identity* vol. 5 pp. 70-89 notes how the new Irish orientated hymns of Faber such as 'Faith of our Fathers' and 'O Sacred Heart', were popular with both English and Irish Catholics. Certainly they were in the books used in the Diocese, but there is no evidence as to how frequently they were used. As Bagshawe approved of Irish ways, they were perhaps another weapon in the arsenal of assimilation.

Meanwhile, how a priest handled the Fenian outbursts of the 1860s was a further indicator of how assimilation was developing. Roskell set the tone through allowing priests a degree of independence [5]. When Canon Browne, an English priest at Stamford condemned Fenianism, it “was well received by both the Irish and English”.¹⁶⁵ Stamford was however no longer the centre for Irish agricultural workers it had been in the 1850s under O’Connor: it now had a mainly resident Catholic population of just over 100 English and Irish. Browne’s actions can be compared to those of Fr. Brindle SJ (Chesterfield) where over a quarter of the population were Irish (approx. 3,000), and whose threatened excommunication of the Fenians and all those in sympathy with them, caused unrest, coming as it did at a time of the ‘Baron de Chomin’ riots.¹⁶⁶ However, the actions of Frs. Harnett (Nottingham St. Patrick’s) and Bent (Grimsby) were more successful in that they condemned Fenian violence while showing an understanding for Irish political aspirations. Roskell and Bagshawe’s subsequent support for constitutional Home Rule societies continued to aid Irish assimilation amongst the more middle class and constitutionally minded Irish, but it had the effect of excluding the more militant members.¹⁶⁷ The priest was more effective in dissipating Irish nationalist sentiments and achieving assimilation through the way he operated the local Poor School.

The Catholic Poor Schools ensured that an ultramontane, assimilating form of Catholicism was inculcated into the pupils and their parents, although with varying degrees of success. The priest, through appointing teachers and dismissing those he considered acting incorrectly, operating a Mass attendance list and chastising scholars

¹⁶⁴ This is discussed in Chapter 6 ‘Politics’.

¹⁶⁵ S. Stanley *A History of the Roman Catholic Community of Stamford* (Stamford, 2000), p. 56.

¹⁶⁶ ‘Baron de Chomin’ sponsored by the British Reformation Society and gave very anti-Catholic lectures in Chesterfield.

¹⁶⁷ See Chapter 5 for details.

who failed to perform their Sunday obligation, catechising children and preparing them for Confession and First communion, endeavoured to direct his mainly Irish pupils in the ways expected by the Church. The role of the teachers and Sisters in improving the discipline, and therefore acceptability, of the Irish school children was frequently commented upon.¹⁶⁸ The fact that HMI reports commented on how improving standards of discipline and behaviour made many of the Irish pupils more acceptable, is evidence for their success at assimilating people. Perhaps unintentionally, assimilation may have been retarded by the actions of the Sisters of Mercy at St. Mary's School when separation was enforced amongst the pupils with those who paid 4d and 6d sitting at the front and the poorer (including many Irish) at the back: further, no mixing was allowed out of lessons.¹⁶⁹

Denationalising the Irish and assimilating them was further pursued through the school curriculum.¹⁷⁰ In English and History, for example, schools used officially sanctioned books which stressed 'Britishness', dealt with British successes, as over the Empire, and usually omitted anything to do with the Irish. Success, as recorded in HMI subject reports suggests that at least superficially, assimilation was taking place.¹⁷¹ It was noted at Grantham (1893), for example, that the mixed English-Irish school was classified by the government Inspectors as "excellent as all had passed", suggesting at least a partial Irish acceptance of the assimilating ways of the curriculum.¹⁷² Such efforts as these in the schools to achieve assimilation were aimed at the pupils whose knowledge of Irish affairs and Ireland was not necessarily first hand. Assimilation of the

¹⁶⁸ E.g., *Grantham Journal* 4 November 1899 p. 4 col. 3. See also Chapter 7 'Education' for this aspect. *Appendix G* contains references to the behaviour of the children and acceptability.

¹⁶⁹ C. Browne, 'St. Mary's Roman Catholic School 1846-1986', *St Mary's School Collection* NDA. notes taken from the 1861 *School Log Book: Bulwell File: Parish Collection* NDA.

¹⁷⁰ M. Hickman, 'Denationalising the Irish', pp. 203-6.

¹⁷¹ In Chapter 6 the controversy regarding the book issue is discussed. In *Appendix F* is an analysis of HMI reports for diocesan schools.

parents in relation to the school came through the ways the priest visited homes, cajoled parents into sending their children to the local Catholic Poor School, (even when standards were higher in Board Schools after 1870), collected the school fees, expected their attendance at school events and displays of work, and socialised with them at dances, soirees and concerts. Clearly not all parents responded positively to such priestly actions, but the fact that the schools survived shows an increasing level of Irish incorporation, if not assimilation. Some adult assimilation was generated by the Sister's Night Classes, such as those teaching hygiene and English.¹⁷³

The assimilation of the urban Irish presented an additional set of problems, due in part to the size of the Irish population and their intra-urban dynamics. The Nottingham scenario may be taken as illustrating the urban scenario: from a mother Church satellite missions, (some temporary) had developed, serving both poor English and Irish: in Nottingham it was 6, Leicester 4, Derby 2, Glossop 2, and Chesterfield having 2. Assimilation had to take place at two levels: within the individual mission, and between them. To the poor English and Irish the cathedral (or in the case of Leicester, Holy Cross), was seen as not for them [4].¹⁷⁴ It had its Catholic Institute and encompassed several Irish middle class males.¹⁷⁵ The cathedral was frequently used for diocesan devotions but how far they attracted the poor Irish is conjectural. The impression is that the cathedral laity were more inclined to do things *for* the Irish, while

¹⁷² *Grantham Journal* 27 May 1893 p. 4 col. 5.

¹⁷³ The physical condition of the Irish was a frequent cause of animosity in churches.

¹⁷⁴ St. John's the original Church for Nottingham was cisalpine and English. When it closed in 1844 the congregation transferred to the Cathedral, about a kilometre away, but socially in a different world. It was in an area of new middle and upper class developments. P. Murphy 'The Irish in Nottingham', map p. 80. Instead of a walk of 200 mtrs. to the cathedral, it could be 1.5km to an Irish church. W. Lowe, 'The Lancashire Irish and the Catholic Church' p. 141: notes the national trend of the poorer Irish only seeing religious observance as relevant when "the local church was their own".

¹⁷⁵ These included the Dobsons and the Scattergoods.

noting that more “meetings amongst Catholics were needed”.¹⁷⁶ Hendren, Roskell and Bagshawe recognised this feeling and as acts of policy, encouraged the creation of Mass centres in the Irish communities [5].¹⁷⁷ In so doing they were satisfying local needs and attempting to reduce the leakage rate, but at a price of perpetuating divisions in Catholicism. These missions were predominately staffed by Irish priests, such as Harnett, Burns, Monahan, and Quilter, while at the instigation of Nottingham’s Bishops, various Orders were utilised in their development.¹⁷⁸ Within the individual mission, the English and Irish poor mixed well with intermarriages and joint membership of Confraternities, as the local press noted.¹⁷⁹ In this the priests took a leading role: for example, Harnett encouraged the development of the St. Patrick’s Confraternity, but also promoted St. George’s and St. David’s Days: all were celebrated with religious and socio-religious events comprising a wide variety of patriotic songs, dances, and poetry in the programmes. Fr. Willson, however, noted that “they [the Irish] remain a distinct class although the children born here adopt the manners of the English as they are frequently engaged in play with English children”.¹⁸⁰ The role of the priests in urban assimilation was crucial, and in Nottingham a positive stance was taken by people like Harnett and Monahan. Both, for example, gave popular talks about Ireland and other subjects to crowded mixed audiences; both ensured that their missions offered a wide

¹⁷⁶ E.g., The organisation of Thrift Societies for the Irish so they could improve themselves: *Catholic Herald* 7 September 1912 p. 16 col. 4. In this the middle class were setting a lead as shown by the Liverpool Diocese. For more meetings *CH* 23 November 1907. N. Danaher ‘The Leicester Irish’ p.183 notes the same thing. He has De Lisle wanting missions run by the Passionists to civilise the Irish.

¹⁷⁷ As discussed in Chapter 2, St. John’s under the Sisters of Mercy was the first Mass centre, followed by St. Patrick’s in 1863.

¹⁷⁸ E.g. The Sisters of Mercy, the Little Company of Mary (Hyson Green), the Sisters of St. Joseph of Peace (St. Augustine’s) and the Franciscan Minoreesses (St. Edward’s).

¹⁷⁹ E.g., as over Corpus Christi *Nottingham Daily Express* 28 May 1894 p. 8 col. 1, *NDE* 29 December 1890 p. 8 col. 1.

¹⁸⁰ P. Murphy, ‘The Irish in Nottingham’, p. 83.

range of Confraternities as well as libraries and social activities.¹⁸¹ Monahan also organised local pilgrimages and outings to Mount Saint Bernards Abbey. Newspaper reports of such events show their popularity and list both English and Irish names, suggesting assimilation was taking place, but the problem remained that a large nominally Catholic element were not involved in these activities.

The difficulties of assimilating the Irish, whether children or adults, were recognised by the Irish themselves.¹⁸² The urban Irish had a high migration rate, which resulted in a frequent change in personnel, short periods of education for the children, split families and, for those employed in the lace industry, cyclic unemployment and much mission poverty.¹⁸³ Hence, developing an assimilated community depended on both the actions of the priests, and the developing Irish middle class. This internal assimilation may have been aided by the homogeneity of individual mission's laity, since poverty was a common factor. Migrants such as the Kirks, Laceys, Shepperleys, Whalleys and Scattergoods, grew up in these Irish churches and, as they developed financially, became pillars of the individual churches: unlike many other Irish, they stayed in the area. In so doing, they became the mainstay of the individual mission's infrastructure.¹⁸⁴ The result of this scenario of having several mission Churches in an urban environment in close proximity to one another was internal mission assimilation coupled with local urban Irish incorporation.

¹⁸¹ See *Appendix G* for information on the libraries.

¹⁸² E.g., By a Mr. Shepperley *Loughborough Monitor* 4 November 1865 p. 8 col. 2. *Nottingham Daily Express* 29 December 1890 p. 8 col. 1.

¹⁸³ The problem of split families was noted in reference to the rural areas. *School Log Books* for St. Patrick's and St. Edward's, for example show that prior to 1902, an average child had around 3 years at school. This idea is developed in Chapter 7 'Education'. Cyclic unemployment and low wage rates amongst framework knitters was a major problem for all Nottingham's poor.

¹⁸⁴ E.g. *Nottingham Daily Express* 25 July 1868 p. 5 col. 2 suggests 200 people helped at a social. As it was during a weekday it shows the influence of the middle class.

In trying to develop a wider Catholic more assimilated community, the use of bishop-directed ultramontane devotions became more common place, but with an emphasis on St. Patrick, St. Bridget and Irish prayers and hymns in attempts not to alienate the Irish. Over this issue, authors like O’Leary suggest that the priests did not always succeed.¹⁸⁵ In the six Nottingham missions there was an increased use of prayers and devotions to Mary, lectures on Papal Infallibility, emphasis on the Veneration of the Saints and the use of Gregorian Chant. However, Bagshawe’s encouragement of Irish-orientated hymns may have been a negative influence on assimilation: verses in various hymns to St. Patrick, for example, talk of ‘our native home’.¹⁸⁶ Whilst Roskell recognised mission differences, Bagshawe through his ultramontanism, Catholic Reunions, diocesan Bazaars, and his *Circulars*, actively promoted the “one community idea”. How effective this all was in assimilating the poor Irish as opposed to attracting and integrating some, especially the Irish middle class, is a matter of conjecture, although Monahan’s and McCarthy’s diocesan pilgrimages did attract some poor. To demonstrate how important the assimilation of the Irish was, Bagshawe invited Manning to open the Irish mission of St. Edward’s in 1886.¹⁸⁷

Further attempts to increase assimilation occurred from the 1880s with the creation of a wide variety of local inter-church sports leagues, including football, cricket, snooker and cycling clubs.¹⁸⁸ These covered the entire Nottingham area, with later extensions to Derby and Leicester.¹⁸⁹ Cups were awarded and the events were

¹⁸⁵ P. O’leary, ‘The Welsh Catholic’, p. 193.

¹⁸⁶ E.g. as in the *Nottingham Magazine* hymns to St. Patrick can be interpreted as being anti-English.

¹⁸⁷ *Nottingham Journal* 23 July 1886 p. 3 col. 1. He also visited other Irish areas such as Glossop and Chesterfield.

¹⁸⁸ This idea was not confined to the Catholic Church, but whereas it was an act of assimilation for the Nottingham Diocese, in Mansfield, for example, the Wesleyan Methodists used football teams and leagues to keep themselves separate from the Primitives. M. Jackson, *A History of Bridge Street Methodist Church* (Mansfield, 2002) p. 28.

¹⁸⁹ Other areas, such as Hucknall, Bulwell and Carlton occasionally joined. The *Catholic Herald* carried weekly accounts of the matches and league results after 1903

regularly reported in the Catholic press. Although no team lists are extant, the presence of teams from all the Nottingham Irish missions including St. Patrick's Leicester, or St. Joseph's Derby suggests Celtic involvement.¹⁹⁰

So what level of Irish integration was achieved? Given the evidence it would seem that the five principles stated at the commencement of this section applied to both the rural and urban environments. Principle 2, the size of the Irish community, affected levels of assimilation, while the presence of a single mission, principle 1, did not always mean assimilation. For some, maintaining their identity was important whilst continuing to worship amongst other Catholics.. The fact that assimilation varied would suggest merit in Hickman's model. In the urban areas, the actions of a bishop, principle 5, were more dominant, especially with Bagshawe and the closeness of the local Irish missions which he was able to visit regularly, and which were frequently served by cathedral-based priests. Where missions were in close proximity, the fact that people chose to be loyal to one rather than, points to incorporation rather than assimilation.

Crucial to achieving all levels of integration was the priest's interpretation of his role, principle 4. In the day to day running of the missions, whether rural or urban, he was a key factor. Often he was aided by the Orders. However, since the priest was subject to the wishes of his bishop and his instructions, the fact that there were different outcomes to the ordinary's policies, implies that the personality of the priest and the mission's own characteristics were further determinants of levels of integration. It therefore follows that it was unlikely that there was a uniform level of Irish assimilation across the diocese

¹⁹⁰ E.g. *Catholic Herald* 30 November 1907. There were also Boy Scout troops involving St. Patrick's, St. Augustine's and Carlton. Brindle was friends with Baden-Powell and encouraged their activities. *Catenian Minute Book* NCRO show how in 1910-11 Brindle persuaded them to supply uniforms for the poor Scouts of the area. Frequently Brindle welcomed the Scouts to the cathedral grounds for social activities.

Integration, in any form, was fundamentally an attitude of mind. A rising Irish/English marriage rate or a more inclusive devotional role for the Irish may only indicate a greater superficial, or outward assimilation, while a deep longing for separation remained. Did the continual maintenance of separate, often partially filled Irish churches, reflect a need for places of worship, or a need to remain segregated? It would perhaps seem that in the Nottingham Diocese, Hickman's ideas of integrated but separate communities is a better way of understanding the situation than that of segregation versus assimilation: certainly the Irish middle class at Holy Cross Leicester were well assimilated, while the poor Irish were absorbed at Louth. Separate ethnic-biased Churches like Glossop St. Mary's and Grimsby were overwhelmingly Irish and maintained their identity with pride.

7.The Catholic Community: A Conclusion

Two concepts appear to hold the key to an understanding of the nature of the Nottingham Diocesan Catholics, namely change and variation. There were changes in the balance of power between the priest, middle class and gentry; changes in the size of the different ethnic and social groups, and changes in the methods used by priests and laity to enhance, maintain or defend positions. These changes were caused by developments in Catholicism itself as well as local Catholicism's responses to secular influences. A wide variation in the composition of the individual mission was the outcome. In a very real sense each mission different, but, unlike the different Methodist or Anglican communities, always part of the integrated whole.

CHAPTER FIVE

CATHOLICS AND POLITICS

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Further Information

See Appendix F

1. Chapter Plan and Aims

The aim of this chapter is to examine changes in local Catholic involvement with politics between 1850 and 1915. In so doing, the characteristics of any peculiarly diocesan Catholic political ethos will be delineated.¹ Catholics, like other minorities including Nonconformists and atheists, had their own political agenda which could only be achieved through changing or modifying the existing political *status quo*; a difficult task bearing in mind that Catholics represented only 2% of the local population.

The chapter begins by establishing a broad context for what follows. It notes the Hierarchy's wishes in relation to local Catholic political behaviour, and briefly examines the secular political background of the diocese in order to establish the context within which developments occurred. Diocesan political activity is then examined in three stages: 'Stage One, 1850-70 'An Early Involvement'; 'Stage Two, 1870-92, 'The Beginnings of an Identity', and 'Stage Three, 1892-1915, Achievement and Stagnation'.

2. Defining the Diocesan Political Ethos

The diocesan political ethos embodied four main concepts. Firstly, developing the perception amongst local Catholics that they could, and should, be involved in political activities as equal members of the British state. Secondly, enabling local Catholics to realise that all political activity should be as directed by the Hierarchy, and controlled locally by the priest. Thirdly, that peculiarly Catholic institutions and organisations should be established locally in order to achieve the first two aims. Fourthly, that the diocesan political ethos was an evolving entity whose emphasis would change over time in order to respond to new situations.

¹ The *Oxford English Dictionary* defines ethos as something with a distinctive character, spirit, attitudes, or culture.

As will be shown in the chapter, the Nottingham Diocesan Catholic political ethos was in some ways similar to that of other dioceses. What gave it its particularly Nottingham Diocesan dimension was the way it was interpreted locally. The wide diversity of environments found in the Nottingham Diocese meant that there would always be local variations, making the development of the diocesan Catholic political ethos neither straight forward nor united. As Catholic political involvement was in theory subject to the wishes of the Hierarchy with its ultramontane bias, there was every likelihood of tensions arising where politics were concerned. Catholics were individuals, members of Church/Catholic organisations, and participants in the universal Church. Consequently, they faced the dilemma of either voting *en masse* as directed, or as individuals according to the way they felt their consciences dictated. Involving Catholics in politics meant that at some point decisions had to be made regarding party allegiances: by whom, and as to which party to support, were part of the practical and administrative problems of interpreting the defining concepts. Thus the characteristics of the local Catholic community would play a key part in forging the shape of any diocesan political ethos and its effectiveness.

3. Catholics and Politics in the Nottingham Diocese: Reasons and Westminster

Catholics became involved with politics for a number of reasons: firstly, to help change the marginal position of the 1850s Catholicism to the more mainstream position it occupied in 1915; secondly, to gain/regain equality with other members of society; thirdly, to comply with Westminster's wishes; and, fourthly, to cope with the misinterpretation made by some Protestants of Catholic religious events, as when for example, the Restoration of the Hierarchy was seen as a political, rather than religious

event.² From 1850, the Catholic character moved from one of introspection and secrecy to a position of greater openness. Catholics played a positive role in society, a fact shown by their membership of Boards of Guardians, School Boards, and secular organisations such as Temperance societies. Many of the restrictions imposed on Catholics in Penal Times including those relating to Catholic Mass funds and charities, still remained in force in 1850, so political action was needed to obtain their removal.³ By being organised and directed in their political programmes, Manning hoped Catholics might be a more effective force for change, both for their own good as well as for that of society in general: Manning called it “the civilising mission of the Church”.⁴

The Nottingham Diocese, like all the others, was expected to take its political leadership from the Hierarchy in the belief that such a policy would lead to the creation of a strong Catholic electoral force capable of achieving their desired goals.⁵ For Manning, the consummate Catholic cardinal-politician, the *raison d'être* for the liberal state was “the self expression of religious groups within the political structure”: Catholic political actions were necessary “on the grounds of equality, the common good and the creation of civil stability”.⁶ For this reason, the chapter notes how the variety of political attitudes held by the Bishops of Nottingham both agreed and contrasted with those of Westminster and the effect this had on local Catholic political involvement.

² In vain Ullathorne stressed that the Restoration was not a political issue, as it actually transferred power from Rome to Westminster. He also attempted to show how in countries like America and the colonies including Australia, a local Hierarchy did not entail a loss of sovereignty. In Australia it was seen as a force for law and order. See *Nottingham Review*, 13 December 1850, *Pastoral from Bishop Ullathorne*, p. 7 col. 2. December 1850 p. 7 col. 2. As an example of how Protestant misinterpretation led to further penal style anti-Catholic legislation, the Restoration led to the passing of the 1851 Ecclesiastical Titles Act. Political action was necessary to stop a repeat of such actions.

³ One success was the 1860 Catholic Charities Act which removed previous restrictions and now made Church finances more stable.

⁴ What J. von Arx in ‘Manning’s Ultramontanism and the Catholic Church in British Politics’, *Recusant History* vol. 19 no. 3 (1989), p. 333.

⁵ Chief of which was the protection of Catholic education.

⁶ J. von Arx. ‘Catholic and Politics’ pp. 258, 260, 265. On p. 275 he notes “Manning wanted a Catholic Church [that] appeals by no power and influence but ...by conviction and persuasion”.

Hendren, for example, was totally apolitical, unlike his Cardinal, Wiseman, a Tory who preferred the English upper classes to the poor Irish.⁷ For Wiseman, political activity centred on strengthening his and the other bishops' authority.⁸ Roskell, unlike Wiseman, Manning, Goss (Liverpool) or Grant (Southwark), showed no support for any political party but was prepared to encourage Catholics to partake in the political process by, for example, supporting moves to register Catholic voters and their getting involved in School Board elections.⁹ Bagshawe was the most politically active of Nottingham's Bishops with his support for Irish Home Rule and Christian Socialism, but he did not always have the approval of Manning or the rest of the Hierarchy.¹⁰ In contrast to Manning, his successor Vaughan, coming from an aristocratic background, chiefly pursued politics via his connections in the Lords, where he made it known he wanted Catholics to vote Tory to protect education above all concerns: this resulted in

⁷ J. Rafferty, 'Nicholas Wiseman, Ecclesiastical Politics and Anglo-Irish Relations in the Mid-Nineteenth Century *Recusant History* vol. 21 no. 3 (1993) pp. 381-400. Compare Hendren with Bishop Clifford (Clifton) who said "I will have nothing to do with the Tories": *D 3792/3/4 Letter from Clifford to Lord Howard 20 February 1871: Howard Papers SCA*. This was when Howard suggested to Clifford, a family relative, that the Catholic should vote Tory after the Liberals enacted the 1870 Education Act. T. Hoppen, 'Tories, Catholics and the General Election of 1859', *History* vol. 55 pp. 68-74 (1970) shows the disagreements between Wiseman and other bishops.

⁸ J. von Arx, 'Catholics and Politics' in V. McClelland and M. Hodgetts eds., *From Without the Flaminian Gate* (London, 1999) p. 252.

⁹ This was discussed in Chapter 2 and is returned to later in this Chapter. Thomas Grant, 1st Bishop of Southwark, was, for example, constantly called on by Downing Street to clarify Catholic positions regarding Canon Law and politics, and proposed changes to English laws: G. Ramsay, *Thomas Grant First Bishop of Southwark* (London, 1886) p. 145. M. Clifton, 'Bishop Thomas Grant as a Government Negotiator', *Recusant History* vol. 25 no. 2 (2000) pp. 304-311 gives greater detail on his political role. There was a definite connection with the Nottingham Diocese in that Grant organised the sending of the Derby Sisters of Mercy to the Crimea and that several Nottingham priests had been educated under him while he was Rector of the Venerable, including Canon Mulligan (St. Barnabas').

¹⁰ Even in a speech in 1877 to celebrate the jubilee of Pope Pius IX's Consecration as a bishop, there were attacks against local people and the British government on the Papacy: D. Quinn, *Patronage and Piety The Politics of English Roman Catholics 1850-1900* (Stanford, 1993) p. 165. Bagshawe also advocated a separate Catholic political party although this was rejected by Manning: *The Tablet* 1 August 1885 p. 175. By contrast, the *Catholic Educator* thought it a good idea: *Catholic Educator* 14 February 1890, p. 2. The most public clash between Bagshawe and Manning was over his condemnation of the Primrose League which he [Bagshawe] saw as an agent of the Tory party. By comparison, the pitfalls of allying a religious group with a particular political party were pointed out by lay Anglicans to the Bishop of Derby in 1911: *Derby Telegraph* 28 October 1911.

political clashes between Vaughan and Bagshawe.¹¹ After 1903 Bourne had to deal with the politics of education following the passing of the 1902 Education Act.¹² To this end, he courted the voting power of the Irish MPs at Westminster and, like Bagshawe, promoted local Catholic political involvement through the organisation of petitions and rallies. More assiduously, Bourne and Bagshawe both had to cope with the development of socialism and the growing allure this had for many Catholics, but whereas Bourne had a positive policy of engagement with its leaders, Bagshawe operated a negative policy of condemnation.¹³ Instead, Bagshawe proposed a policy of Christian Socialism and, through his support of *The Index*, sought to control the political thought of Catholics.

Bagshawe's approach to political questions was always direct and unequivocal. His Christian Socialism is well summarised in his *Pastorals* and pamphlets, for example the *Advent 1884 Pastoral 'Our Modern Civilisation'*, and the 1886 pamphlet *On Mercy and Justice to the Poor*. In the *Pastoral* he stated that "the state has a duty to protect religious freedoms and to protect its citizens from abuses of power from any quarter". In his pamphlet he attacked landlordism, the exploitation of labour, and the evils of British rule in Ireland, but emphasised that solving these problems lay in applying Catholic religious principles to politics, saying "the Catholic

¹¹ E. Steele, 'The Irish Presence in the North', *Northern History* vol. 12 (1976), p. 235: "Vaughan rejected all association of Catholics with the Irish and the British Liberal Party. Also G. Machin, *Politics and the Churches in Great Britain 1832-68* (Oxford, 1987), p. 103. Bagshawe and Vaughan also clashed over the entry of Catholics to university after 1897, and over the ecclesiastical-political issue of the Central Seminary to replace St. Hugh's. Perhaps one of the reasons Vaughan and Bagshawe disagreed was that in some ways they were similar in character: *Letter Bishop Dunn to Bishop of Brentwood 1/8/1919* copy in *Bishop Dunn's Papers: Bishops Collection NDA*, Vaughan is described as "frank and open [and who] would thrash things out and insist upon having a settlement, even at the cost of a jolly good row".

¹² Unlike the situation in Wales and in Northampton, passive resistance was on a small scale. Nevertheless, local Catholics were caught up in moves to protect education 1906-12.

¹³ K. Aspden, 'The English Catholic Bishops and the Social Order 1918-26', *Recusant History* vol. 25 no. 3 (2001), pp. 543-64. See also K. Aspden, *Fortress Church* (Leominster, 2002) for the situation overall.

Church alone holds in their fullness and purity those Christian principles which are the true basis of human society".¹⁴ Secular socialism was thus an anathema to Bagshawe. Using education as an example, Bagshawe made it clear that political issues, like other matters pertaining to Catholicism, were to follow an ultramontane path: when it was suggested that teachers should help formulate education policy (1891) he replied "the Bishops oppose such involvement...and our policy being ruled by their decisions". Over Ireland he was even more forthright and direct, stating "I am more than ever convinced that the Irish people have a right to self government", a statement no other bishop made with such clarity.¹⁵ The nature of Bagshawe's feelings for Ireland and the Irish are perhaps summarised by the following excerpts:-

Over Irish Demands for Home Rule

"I am glad and proud to have co-operated in the establishment [of Home Rule Societies] in this town [Nottingham]".
(NJ 1884)

When in 1888 the Pope issued a Papal Encyclical against Violence in Ireland and local Tories questioned Bagshawe

"I am only against boycotting".
(NDE 1888)

At a St. Patrick's Day Rally attended by 300 people, 7 priests and Local Liberals

"I support a public and emphatic protest against the manner in which the Tory government has dealt with Ireland...and how it has given no relief to unjustly rented tenants. It is a scandal of the whole civilised world that they aided and abetted the pulling down and burning of the dwellings of the poor insolvent tenants and turning women and infants and the aged onto the highway...at the hands of the despotic Irish magistrates".
(NJ 1887)

¹⁴ E. Bagshawe, 'Mercy and Justice' p. 6.

¹⁵ Both quotes from the *Catholic Educator* 25 December 1891, p. 11 col. 3 and 4.

When Bagshawe was presented with an Address by Irishmen as a Token of his Support for their Cause

“We approach your Lordship with utmost respect for your feelings and sympathy and eloquent advocacy of Ireland’s right to self determination. We remember the troubles and anxieties that accompany your Lordship’s support...when the majority of your brethren (here meaning the other bishops of the English Hierarchy) frowned on our cause”.
(NJ 1886)

By contrast, Brindle made no pronouncements on socialism, or Ireland, and largely left politics to the individual, lay and clerical alike, and his conscience.¹⁶

There were wide intellectual differences amongst the political views harboured by diocesan Catholics. Ambrose De Lisle, translator of continental political works, made his Conservative views known through the Catholic press, as well as in his prolific letter writing, books and pamphlets.¹⁷ By contrast, Fr. McNabb OP (Prior of Holy Cross, Leicester), was a believer in the connection of Catholicism and Socialism. He believed Catholics, if they were going to be involved in politics, could only be Socialists.¹⁸ Along with G.K. Chesterton and Hilaire Belloc, he wrote for the *New Witness* magazine. Between these two political poles lay people like the Conservative Canon Griffin with his *Sermons*, Fr. H. Collins of Mount Saint Bernard Abbey with his intellectual-political-religious *Thoughts*, Fr. O’Haire writing from a social involvement perspective having spent twelve years on the South African missions, and the intellectual and not so intellectual-political articles in the local press.¹⁹ A survey of diocesan priests, 1850-1915 reveals that the majority, for what ever reason, did not take

¹⁶ In the diocese, the most outspoken support of Catholics engaging with socialism was Fr. V. McNabb, Prior of Holy Cross Leicester. See for example, V. McNabb *The Catholic Land Movement* (London, 1932). It contains a *Foreword* by G.K. Chesterton.

¹⁷ As was noted in Chapter 4, he wrote for *The Rambler* before it was closed. De Lisle did not always agree with the Hierarchy. See M. Pawley, *Faith and Friends: The Life and Circle of Ambrose Philips de Lisle* (Norwich, 1993) for references to De Lisle’s writings.

¹⁸ For the life and work of Fr. McNabb see F. Valentine, *Father McNabb* (London, 1955).

¹⁹ As for example in the *Nottingham Daily Express* 24 August 1869 p. 4 col. 4, ‘Letters’ about religious worship. This was part of a correspondence that went on for some time. It is referred to in Chapter 7 ‘Anti-Catholicism’ where it serves to illustrate the idea that rebuttal seldom achieved harmony because of entrenched positions.

an active part in local politics.²⁰ The secular background against which Catholics operated is now analysed; causation is dealt with in the individual 'Stages'.

4. The Region's Political Landscape with reference to Catholicism

The political electoral background is outlined in Table. 5.1.²¹ Prior to the Redistribution of Seats Act (1885), the region returned 36 MPs, of whom 21 represented the shires. After 1886, there were 34 single member constituencies based mainly upon the urban centres where most Catholics resided. Table 5.1 shows that in general there was a greater rigidity in the pre-1885 pattern of election results than that of 1886-1915, with several constituencies including Leicester North (1852, 1857, 1859) and Derbyshire South (1880) either returning MPs unopposed, or, as in the case of Newark and Rutland (both Conservative), repeatedly returning the same party or personnel. This may be a reflection of the system's general lack of responsiveness to change, despite some attempts by Catholics.²² After 1886 there was a more frequent change in the party allegiances of those returned to Westminster, and no uncontested elections. This was the voting pattern the Hierarchy and local Catholics sought to influence.

Prior to 1886 the region's MPs were either drawn from the local Protestant (interconnected) aristocratic families, including the Caves, Pelhams and Cavendishes, or

²⁰ J. O'Haire, *Twelve Years in South Africa* (Dublin, 1875). J. Griffin *Sermons for Sundays and Festivals* (London, 1890). The information is taken from the data base constructed by the author. Fr. Collins wrote *Spiritual Conferences* (London, 1920). Fr. J. Waterworth wrote *Decrees of the Council of Trent*, (London, 1848). Their writings could also reflect their religious-political stance as when Fr. W. Carson, an Anglican convert wrote *Reunion Essays* (London, 1903). This was originally printed in serial form in the *Weekly Register*.

²¹ This was compiled using *Red Poll Books*, *Directories* and accounts of elections from local newspapers and, where obtainable, references in quoted secondary literature.

²² For example, there was the Catholic Association which tried to represent Catholic interests. As early as 1847 in Nottingham, this and Fr. Mulligan were advocating a greater political say for Catholics: see *Nottingham Mercury* 3 December 1847 p. 3 col. 2. They did distribute 20,000 leaflets. In Nottingham in 1851 the Catholic Association came to the aid of Fr. Cheadle in the Nottingham Convent Case.

Table 5.1

THE LOCAL PARLIAMENTARY SCENE 1850-1915

Constituency	1852	1857	1859	1865	1868	1874	1880	1885
DERBY (2)	C and L	L and L	L and L	C and L	L and L	L and L	L and L	L and L
Derbyshire N. (2 seats)	Land L	L and L	L and L	L and L	L and L	L and L	L and L	L and L
Constituency is divided in 1865 and Mid-Derbyshire is created with 2 seats			L and L	L and L	L and L	L and L	L and L	L and L
Derbyshire S. (2 seats)	C and L	C and L	C and L	L and L	C and L	C and L	C and L	L and L
Nottingham (2 seats)	L and L	C and L	L and L	L and L	L and C	C and C	L and L	L and L
Nottingham County (4)	All C	2 C+L + Mr. Speaker	2 C+L + Mr. Speaker	2 C+L + Mr. Speaker	All C	All C	3 C and L	3 C and L
Newark (2)	Both C	Both C	Both C	Both C	Both C	C and L	C and L	Both C
Retford (2)	Both C	Both C	Both C	Both C	Both C	Both C	C and L	Both C
Leics. N (2)	Both C	Both C	C and L	C and L	Both C	Both C	Both C	Both C
Leicester South (2)	Both C	Both C	C and L	L and L	C and L	C and L	L and L	L and L
Rutland (1)	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	C
Lincoln (2)	C and L	C and L	C and L	L and L	L and C	L and C	L and L	L and L
Lincoln N (2)	Both C	Both C	Both C	C and L	L and C	L and C	L and C	L and C
Lincolnshire South (2)	Both C	Both C	Both C	Both C	Both C	Both C	Both C	L and C
Lincolnshire Constituencies are divided in 1865 into three and the new Mid-Lindsey constituency is created with 2 seats.....				Both C	Both C	Both C	Both C	Both C
Boston (2)	C and L	C and L	C and L	Both C	Both C	L and C	L and C	Both L
Grantham (2)	Both C	Both C	Both C	Both C	Both C	L and C	Both L	L and C
Grimsby (1)	C	C	C	L	L	L	L	L

The Redistribution of Seats Act 1885

With the exception of Rutland which retained its one member status and had no boundary changes, for the rest of the area, single member constituencies with altered boundaries were the case.

Constituency	Changes
Derby	Now 2 Constituencies
Derbyshire	Now 6 Constituencies: <i>Chesterfield, Mid-Derbyshire, High Peak, Ilkeston, South Derbyshire, West Derbyshire</i>
Nottingham	Now 3 Constituencies: <i>Nottingham West, Nottingham East, Nottingham South</i>
Nottinghamshire	Now 4 Constituencies: <i>Bassellaw, Mansfield, Newark, Rushcliffe</i>
Leicester	Now 2 Constituencies: <i>Leicester East, Leicester West</i>
Leicestershire	Now 4 Constituencies: <i>Melton, Loughborough, Bosworth, Market Harborough</i>
Lincoln	Now 1 Constituency
Lincolnshire	Now 7 Constituencies: <i>Brigg, Gainsborough, Louth, Horncastle, Spalding, Stamford, Sleaford</i>
Boston	Now 1 Constituency
Grantham	Now 1 Constituency
Grimsby	Remained 1 Constituency.

THE CONSTITUENCIES POST 1886

Constituency	1886	1892	1895	1900	1906	1910	1910
Derby N	L	L	C	Lib/Lab	Lib/Lab	L	L
Derby S	L	L	C	Lab	L	Lab	Lab
Chesterfield	Lu	L	L	L	Lib/Lab	Lab	Lab
Mid-Derbys.	C	C	C	L	L	L	C
High Peak	L	L	L	L	Lib/Lab	lib/Lab	Lib/Lab
Ikleston	L	L	L	L	Lib/Lab	lib/Lab	Lab
S. Derbys.	L	L	C	C	L	L	L
W. Derbys.	Lu	Lu	Lu	Lu	Lu	Lu	Lu
Nottingham E.	L	L	C	C	L	C	C
Nottm. S.	C	C	C	C	Lab	C	C
Nottm. W	Radical	Lu	L	L	L	L	L
Mansfield	L	L	L	L	L	L	L
Rushcliffe	L	L	L	L	L	L	L
Newark	C	C	C	C	C	C	C
Bassetlaw	C	C	C	C	C	C	C
Melton	C	C	C	C	L	L	C
Loughboro'	C	L	L	L	L	Lib/Lab	Lib/Lab
Bosworth	L	L	L	L	L	L	L
Mkt. Harboro'	L	C	L	L	L	L	L
Leicester W.	L	L	L	L	L	L	L
Leicester E.	L	L	L	L	Lib/Lab	Lib/Lab	Lib/Lab
Rutland	C	C	C	C	C	C	C
Lincoln	C	L	Lu	Lu	L	L	L
Brigg	Lu	Lu	L	L	Lu	L	L
Gainsborough	C	L	L	L	L	C	L
Louth	C	L	L	L	L	C	L
Horncastle	C	C	C	C	C	C	C
Spalding	C	C	C	L	L	L	L
Stamford	C	C	C	C	C	C	C
Sleaford	C	e	C	C	L	L	C
Boston	C	L	C	C	CL	C	C
Grantham	C	C	C	L	L	L	L
Grimsby	L	L	l	Lu	Lu	L	L

were prosperous businessmen like M. Bass (Derby North), the brewer.²³ However, the fact that in Nottingham (1874-80), Saul Isaacs a local coal owner and Britain's first Conservative Jew, was elected to the Commons, shows that change was possible.²⁴ From a Catholic perspective there was the Heneage family, members of whom sat for Lincoln and Grimsby in the 1850s and 1880s, who were either Catholic or Anglo-Catholic, and generally supportive of Catholic endeavours, while from 1886-1892 Edwin De Lisle sat as Conservative MP for Loughborough. In Derbyshire North, various members of the Anglican Cavendish family like Lord Hartington, were generally supportive of Catholicism; by contrast Rutland was represented by the arch-anti-Catholic, arch-conservative, Finch family.²⁵ In Nottinghamshire, the anti-Catholic Conservative Pelham and Bentinck families controlled the seats, and, as in Newark, members of the family were returned continuously until 1872, despite support for the Liberals led by Fr. Waterworth. Grantham was controlled by Lord Brownlow whose family held the seat for the Conservatives until 1868, when it voted Liberal.²⁶ Here Catholic priests were politically active: Fr. Sing was a Conservative, but his predecessor and successor were both Liberals. This illustrates a problem that was continually to dog Catholic politics: it was frequently difficult to obtain unanimity of direction because in a priest-led mission situation, political consistency was not always maintained.

Changes in voting behaviour occurred due to the passing of the 1867 Reform Act which extended the franchise to all urban householders, and the 1872 Secret Ballot Act which gave voters anonymity. In Derbyshire North, which included Glossop with

²³ By being interlocked and forming a prominent part of the 'county set', with other family members being Lords Lieutenants, High Sheriffs, or (after 1888) County Councillors and Lord Mayors, they presented a sizeable opposition to Catholics who wished to partake in local politics. The De Lisles did achieve some of these ranks, but they were the exceptions.

²⁴ *The Jewish Chronicle* 1 March 1974 p. 9. There was Disraeli, but he had converted to Anglicanism.

²⁵ He was the illegitimate son of the Earl of Winchelsea who fought the duel with the Duke of Wellington.

its large, more settled Irish Catholic population, as well as over 2,000 navvies, many did not benefit from these changes.²⁷ By contrast, boroughs such as Derby, Lincoln, and Nottingham saw a doubling of the Catholic middle class voters.²⁸

Lincolnshire and Derbyshire were different in that the 1867 Reform Act not only increased the electorate, it also saw a partial re-ordering of constituency boundaries. Under the Act, the new two member constituencies of Mid-Derbyshire, and East Lindsey centred on Louth, were created. As a potential electoral force, the Catholics now became more important in the smaller Louth area with its Irish workers, Catholic middle class and expansion due to the railway. For Catholics, there was disappointment in that Catholic-controlled Glossop, incorporated as a borough in 1867, was not designated as a separate constituency.²⁹ Glossop was unique politically in Catholic terms, in that from prior to 1850 to the 1930s it had a continuous succession of politically-active priests.³⁰ The new Mid-Derbyshire constituency included the rapidly growing coalfield settlements of Chesterfield (where a quarter of the population was Catholic), and the Irish Catholic Ilkeston/Clay Cross area.³¹

With their concentrations of population, the local urban areas followed the national trend in that elections could be rigorous and violent occasions where much depended on social demography, the personalities involved and the developing party

²⁶ This was despite, or perhaps because, Lord Brownlow held Irish estates and was anti-Catholic.

²⁷ All told, a possible Catholic electorate exceeding 3,000.

²⁸ Glossop may have been a partial exception. B. Aspinwall, 'Towards a Catholic Social Conscience 1829-1920', *Recusant History* vol. 25 no.1 (2000) p. 113.

²⁹ J. Scott, J Smith and D. Winterbottom, *Glossop Dale Manor and Borough* (Glossop, 1973). Chapter 6. Glossop had Catholic mayors, including Francis Sumner, while four other Catholics such as Hawke and Ellison were Town Clerk, councillors and Agent for the local Catholic landlord, Lord Howard.

³⁰ Frs. Collins, Fauvel, Tasker, Hawkins, Winder. Winder's *1929 Political Manifesto in Winder's Deceased Priests file; Priests Collection NDA*, stresses inclusivity.

³¹ Similar developments were also taking place on the Leicestershire Coalfield but at a slower pace. Here boundary changes had to wait until 1886. Two of the local coal owners were the De Lisle and Worswick families. The Jesuits exerted some political influence from time to time, around Chesterfield especially Fr. Hill who opposed Irish pauper repatriation, and supported emigrants.

organisations. Aspinwall makes the general point: "As Catholics were enfranchised, hence more settled...so Catholics took a keener and more effective interest in...Catholic political affairs". For these reasons, boroughs like Derby, Nottingham, or Boston, could concurrently return members from opposing political parties, or, like Grimsby, change sides from Conservative to Liberal.³² In Grimsby (1865), Fr. Johnson changed to being a Liberal and so directing the local Catholic vote in the hope of encouraging Heneage (who won), to donate land for a church.³³ Cutting, in his study of the 1865 Nottingham election, notes that borough elections were not so much between the classes as between sectional interests, such as town and landed interest, Liberals and drink which involved Catholics, and the Church and chapel disputes, with Catholics on the 'chapel' side.³⁴ Cutting also found a strong correlation between working class 'plumpers' (using both votes to support their employer's choice), and 'splitters' (including shopkeepers), whose pattern of voting favoured their customers.³⁵ In Lincoln, for example, Fr. Holden SJ was a Liberal 'plumper' and this helped secure the return of George Heneage as Liberal MP in four of the eight elections 1852-85.³⁶

The Leicester North and South constituencies were different in that, despite being strongholds of Nonconformity, at only two elections between 1852 and 1886 did

³² E.g., In 1859 Nottingham the Liberals carried the day, but a reorganisation of the Conservative Party meant they won in 1874. In 1868 a poor Liberal candidate, Morley (local lace manufacturer) was ousted by a local Liberal coal owner, Sir Robert Clifton. De Lisle was elected for Loughborough in 1886 as a Conservative due to deep divisions in the local Liberal Party.

³³ G. Johnson, *A History of the Grimsby Mission Grimsby Mission File: Parish Collection 1870 NDA*. This incident also reflected a wider issue of Catholics and international politics, even if the local laity were unaware of the situation. Sir John Sutton had originally promised the land but much of his wealth was lost in the Kulturkampf anti-Catholic troubles. This made Johnson approach Anglo-Catholic Edward Heneage.

³⁴ D. Cutting, *The Nottingham Parliamentary Election of 1865*, M.A. Thesis University of Nottingham. (1970) pp. 195-7.

³⁵ D. Cutting 'Nottingham 1865 Election p. 212.

³⁶ Holden went after 1859 and his successors were not politically minded, but Heneage still needed the Catholic vote. The other MP was the arch-Conservative Colonel Sibthorpe who was the owner of much of the cheap property in the Sincil Drain area of Lincoln where many Catholics resided. How many Catholics voted for Sibthorpe is unclear, although his brother was a popular Nottingham Catholic priest. See also *Lincoln Poll Book, St. Swithin's Ward 1857*.

they not return all Conservative MPs, and these occurred when there were divisions in local Conservatism.³⁷ Here any political expression by working class Catholics was outweighed by the other Dissenters and the Conservatism of the small market towns like Market Harborough. This was not the situation with regard to the upper class Catholics: Sir Francis Turville, a prominent local benefactor was Chairman of the local Conservative Association. North Leicestershire was controlled by the Tory Duke of Rutland, whose son, John Manners MP, enjoyed the support of Ambrose De Lisle.³⁸ Politically, Leicestershire in the period between 1850 and 1886 reflected the power struggles that were being fought out both regionally and nationally, between a growing urban-based Liberalism, and the Conservatism of the shires.³⁹ With an increasing population, the traditional cosy arrangements between the leading families and the gentry, often resulting in uncontested elections, were being replaced by party organisations, committees, election agents, frequently supported by subscriptions, and, especially after the 1872 Secret Ballot Act, the need for argument and not force, to attract votes. Parallel with these changes were the beginnings of developments in local Catholic political awareness as, for example, under Roskell, strenuous attempts were being made to register Catholic voters and election meetings were being held in Kent Street School.

The main issues that dominated the region's elections 1852-68 centred on religion, education, trade/finance, peace, and how much electoral reform was needed, but local issues were often deemed just as important.⁴⁰ In Boston, for example it was the plans to expand the docks and Fenland drainage that caused much debate, especially

³⁷ G. Turbutt, *Victorian and Edwardian Leicestershire*. See the chapter entitled 'Politics'.

³⁸ Ambrose De Lisle's father had been a Conservative MP for the area in the 1830s and 1840s. De Lisle was frequently asked to stand, as in 1872, but declined, preferring instead to support others.

³⁹ *Victoria County History for Leicestershire* vol. 2 p. 132.

⁴⁰ 'The Late Mr. Staniland', *Boston Society Magazine* (1902) p. 274. In Nottingham, ending the Whig

as Irish navvies were involved. These were all issues that affected Catholics in some way or other, but as Catholics were not a homogeneous grouping, different groups, such as intellectuals, middle class personnel, priests, and workers, saw matters from varying perspectives. Fr. Sibthorpe, a well-liked local Catholic said in 1873 “I say to you [speaking to an audience which included Catholics] clap your hands upon reform claims and see that it does not go too fast...lest it produce revolution, and instead of loyalty, disloyalty”.⁴¹ Even though anti-Catholicism declined following the Papal Aggression crisis (1850-2), ‘No Popery’ could still be a strident cry, and candidates who showed any wavering over the Protestant Ascendancy, like the Heneages at Lincoln and Grimsby, were heavily criticised.⁴² The renewal of the Maynooth Grant was a frequent cause of electoral controversy, with Anglicans generally against it and Catholics and other Dissenters supporting the measure, but there were no clear distinctions.⁴³ The abolition of church rates was frequently raised and usually supported by Catholics and Dissenters.⁴⁴ Religion remained a dominant undercurrent throughout the period, crystallising in both Catholic support and opposition to the 1868 Disestablishment of the Church in Ireland Act.⁴⁵ There was a large measure of agreement by Conservatives and Liberals over the need to reform and expand elementary education, but both parties showed ambiguity over its financing and the role to be played by the Churches.⁴⁶ Most

oligarchy was important to both Liberals and Conservatives.

⁴¹ *Lincolnshire Chronicle* 5 September 1873 p. 3 col. 4.

⁴² George Heneage in 1852, while needing the Catholic vote in Lincoln, kept clear of any direct links with them; *Lincoln Poll Book 1857* H. Pelling, *The Social Geography of British Elections 1885-1910* (London, 1967) p. 206, but see chapters X and XI in general. B. Lincoln, *The Rise of Grimsby* 2 vols., vol. 1 pp. 321-6.

⁴³ E.g., *Boston Poll Book 1852*.

⁴⁴ E.g., *Lincoln Poll Book 1859*.

⁴⁵ Sibthorpe and De Lisle both opposed the matter: Irish priests like Mulligan and O'Neill showed support for the measure. For the general situation see T. Nossiter, *Influence, Opinion, and Political Idiom in Reformed England 1832-74* (Brighton, 1975), as on p. 176. *Boston Poll Books* show local Conservatives voted against the measure and there were rowdy scenes.

⁴⁶ Locally Lord Howard wanted it denominational and free.

wanted a 'Christian education', but the more radical Liberals wanted it to be secular.⁴⁷ For the Radicals, better education was associated with an extension of liberty: frequent comparisons were made in election manifestos to progressive Protestant England and the reactionary, often Catholic European monarchies.⁴⁸ Trade and finance were important issues, especially in the industrial and trading towns, like Glossop and Nottingham.⁴⁹ Running throughout the period were the competing election forces of tradition and reform with Radicals advocating the 'ballot' as the panacea for social progress and harmony, while Conservatives saw little reason for change: advocating reform was a risky business as the pro-Catholic Staniland (Boston 1865) discovered when he lost his seat.⁵⁰ The 1868 election was the first fought on the enlarged post 1867 electorate. For the majority of the region's constituencies, there was no change and the sitting members were returned. In many cases the Liberal Party's organisations and Catholics were too slow to take advantage of the changed situation, thus allowing the traditional forces of conservatism to dominate.⁵¹

A major effect of the 1884 Reform Act and the 1885 Redistribution of Seats Act in the region was that it increased the marginality of seats, thus potentially making a

⁴⁷ E.g., *Lincoln Poll Book 1859, 1865, Boston Poll Book 1857, South Leicestershire Poll Book 1867*. In South Leicestershire, the Radical John Palmer who wanted free education for all was not elected.

⁴⁸ See a selection of remarks in *Boston Poll Book 1859 and 1865* for example.

⁴⁹ In Glossop for example, the American civil war had totally disrupted the cotton industry and thousands of Irish Catholics were destitute. In Nottingham, there was unemployment in the lace industry, which employed many Irish Catholics. See also N. Danaher *The Irish in Leicester 1841-91: A Study in a Minority Community in the East Midlands*, Phd. Thesis University of North London (1999), Chapter 4.

⁵⁰ *Grimsby Poll Books* from 1852 shows this radical stance. *Lincoln Poll Books* show the very Tory position of Sibthorpe in 1865. The Leicestershire position is shown in the *Victoria County History for Leicestershire* p. 132. *The Report of the Trial of the Grimsby Election Rioters 1862* (Lincoln, 1862) in which 16 were tried for unruly behaviour and inciting a riot, clearly shows how deeply hated cosy MP-landlord arrangements were. Only four were found guilty after it was shown drink and an excessive Conservative called for police and military presence, had aggravated the situation. See also 'The Biographical Sketch of Henry Chaplain MP in *Boston Society Magazine* (1901) p. 53 in which the "slow but sure, look before you leap" approach still existed in parts of 1900 Lincolnshire. Chaplain was Conservative MP and a major landowner and employer in Sleaford. For Staniland and other local MPs who were pro-Catholic and wanted their support see *Boston Society Magazine* (1902) p. 275.

unified Catholic vote more important: even in strongly Conservative constituencies like Rutland, the Tories found their majorities reduced.⁵² This change in voting behaviour was due to a number of reasons, all involving Catholics. Firstly it was a result of the redrawing of constituency boundaries: in Nottingham for example, Nottingham East contained a concentration of Catholics. In the centre of the constituency stood Nottingham St. Patrick's with its politically active priests, Frs. Harnett and Monahan. Secondly, continuous demographic changes affected outcomes: in Leicester, for example, middle class Catholics were migrating to South Wigston and in general becoming more Conservative and affecting election results.⁵³ Thirdly, national party organisations and pressure groups increasingly played a larger role in the more marginal constituencies.⁵⁴ Fourthly, national issues including Home Rule, education and welfare reform increasingly dominated elections, although local event could cause upsets.⁵⁵ At Grimsby (1895) a prominent Conservative who was a local fishing magnate, won, after promising better wages to the fishermen (his employees). Fifthly, election results depended on the personalities involved: local candidates were still preferred, although "increasingly semi-professional politicians appeared and old names disappeared".⁵⁶ For Catholics, never a homogeneous entity, the difficulty was that they, too, were affected by these factors.

⁵¹ J. Moore, *The Politics of Deference* (New York, 1976) p. 413. Of course it could also reflect a superior Conservative organisation.

⁵² The Catholic Earls of Gainsborough were the other local family in Rutland, and this may have influenced voting patterns as they were popular landlords.

⁵³ The 1884 Act meant that residence of at least 12 months was required before a person could vote, so many mobile Irish were still excluded.

⁵⁴ As with the Labour Party in Leicester which in 1906 saw the election of a Labour candidate with Liberal support to keep the Tories out.

⁵⁵ As in Grimsby 1892-5 with its Irish and Catholic voters where a Radical H. Jasse won due to E. Heneage's Unionism, but resigned in 1893 and Heneage won the bye election. B. Lincoln, *The Rise of Grimsby* pp. 207-29, 372-6.

⁵⁶ *Victoria County History for Leicestershire* p. 134. One new name to appear in Leicester 1906 was Ramsay McDonald.

Under the 1885 Act, Nottingham was divided into three constituencies, with Derby and Leicester having two seats and Lincoln, Grimsby, Boston, Grantham, and Newark, one each. In the counties, Derbyshire and Lincolnshire were broken into seven constituencies, Nottinghamshire and Leicestershire four each, with Rutland remaining as a single entity. Each county seat, such as High Peak centred on Glossop, had an urban nucleus and a large surrounding rural element. Thus, locally, the Act recognised both the rising power of the urban areas, which housed the majority of the Catholics, while still accepting the fact the region possessed a strong rural base.

The 1885 Act more clearly delineated the social and demographic make-up of the region. For example, Leicester East and Nottingham West were both areas with working class majorities and large Catholic minorities: both returned Liberals (to the joy of Bagshawe), and after 1906, Liberal/Labour candidates.⁵⁷ Nottingham East, like Leicester West, was more a balance of working class and poorer middle class people, with a mixed employment structure: both returned Liberals. Nottingham South was a prosperous constituency and, apart from an aberration in 1906 due to a local dispute, returned Conservative MPs. In the county, Mansfield, dominated by miners (including Irish Catholics) and hosiery workers, continuously returned Liberal MPs. The other two county seats remained Conservative.

In the counties of Derbyshire, Lincolnshire and Leicestershire, the situation for Catholics was made more complex due to a combination of a strong Conservative presence conflicting with the expanding Liberal/Labour urban nuclei.⁵⁸ The pattern of voting 1886-1910 tended to change in line with demographic shifts in the population. Cutting notes how people, including the Catholics, tended to become Unionist or even

⁵⁷ H. Pelling, *The Social Geography of British General elections 1885-1910* p. 207, "The boundaries of the three Nottingham constituencies were designed to separate the different elements of the

Conservative in places like Stamford, Horncastle, High Peak and Melton Mowbray as suburbanisation increased. In South Leicestershire, centred on Market Harborough, the town council was controlled by the Nonconformist, Liberal boot and shoe magnates.⁵⁹

The weakening of the Liberal party after its failure to carry Home Rule in 1886 and 1892, increased support for the Conservatives, Liberal Unionists, and the new Independent Labour Party; a situation that was greeted with alarm by Bagshawe.⁶⁰ In 1886, and allowing for boundary changes, four Liberals were replaced by Conservatives. In the 1906 contest in Lincoln, for example, despite the presence of around 1,000 Irish Catholic voters who no doubt supported Home Rule, it was well down the list of priorities, and Catholics were more interested in other issues, including Socialism. From 1900 the Independent Labour Party began to put forward candidates in the boroughs, such as Chesterfield and Ilkeston where there were strong numbers of Catholics.⁶¹ In Nottingham West in 1895 John Burns stood for the Social Democratic Federation and gained over 5% of the votes.⁶² There were other groups on the left, such as those concerned with women's suffrage (including some Catholic women), who generally supported Socialist candidates.⁶³

A reflection of the region's changed political situation by 1906 regarding Catholicism, can perhaps be summarised in the Lincoln contest.⁶⁴ It demonstrates the

population”.

⁵⁸ The large number of navvies in Derbyshire, for what ever reason did not vote.

⁵⁹ A mirror image of the Catholic controlled Glossop situation.

⁶⁰ Hence Bagshawe's promotion of Christian Socialism. This was part of a long term trend. Catholics had been disillusioned with Liberals after the anti-Catholic nature of the 1870 Education Act became apparent. N. Richards, 'The Education Act of 1906 and the Decline of Political Nonconformity', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* vol. 23 no. 1 (1972) p. 50: "the Irish Home Rulers and the growth of Socialism caused divisions in the Liberal Party".

⁶¹ G. Turbutt, *Victorian and Edwardian Leicestershire* p. 1598.

⁶² M. Recchinto, 'The Nottingham Independent Labour Party', MA Thesis (1981) Univ. of Warwick. To reach this amount he had to attract some Catholic votes.

⁶³ Much to the annoyance of Bagshawe. See also *Correspondence relating to Bagshawe in DD/PP 4/1-4* DCR.

⁶⁴ In 1850 Catholics were seen as the enemy as the 1851 Ecclesiastical Titles Act and the opposition to Maynooth Grant showed. By 1906, religion was perhaps nationally seen as less important and

quandary Catholics faced: there were aspects in each party's *manifestos* they could support.⁶⁵ Now there was no Bagshawe to influence their voting patterns; it was also an era of secularism rather than religious fervour. It was a contest in which Canon Croft (Lincoln) played no part, nor were Catholics as a collective group identified as a separate electoral force.⁶⁶ Different Catholics across the diocese could identify with each candidate. The election was a triangular fight between the sitting Liberal Unionist MP Charles Seeley, a left-wing Liberal, Charles Richards, and the Conservative candidate, Charles Croft. Seeley who had represented the city from 1892, opposed Home Rule, was an imperialist, and, generally supported the Conservatives.⁶⁷ Richards was a local man who had the confidence of the local trade unionists (including the Catholic engineering workers), and Nonconformists.⁶⁸ Charles Croft, an ardent imperialist, represented the local landed interest.⁶⁹ Further, each candidate emphasised various aspects of their respective party's national programmes. Seeley supported free trade, an end to Coolie labour in South Africa (witnessed by the Catholics who fought in the Boer War and several Catholic chaplains), limited expansion of welfare reforms, lower taxation, and some amendments to the 1902 Education Act. Richards, by contrast, wanted a ban on Coolie labour, a wide ranging expansion of welfare reforms, including workman's compensation, popular control of all schools, and a change in the

Catholics like others had to make individual choices. It is arguable as to whether Catholics were the architects of their own making as education surely made people more aware of their situations.

⁶⁵ As is shown later in the chapter, the Conservatives had enacted the 1902 Education Act, bishops were against supporting the Socialists, the Irish saw the Liberals as a possible chance for another attempt at Home Rule. It seemed as if the education battle was won, and Catholics wanted to make their own choices, especially now that Bagshawe had departed.

⁶⁶ Despite voluminous reports in the press from November 1905 to February 1906, no mention of 'Catholics' as a group was found. Canon Croft's name does not appear politically. His *Church Notice Book Lincoln St. Hugh's Parish Collection* NDA and the *Croft Papers Priests Collection* NDA show no political involvement.

⁶⁷ He expected support from Catholics for his stance over education, and some others over Ireland.

⁶⁸ *L(incoln) E(lection) B(ook)* LPL p. 65.

⁶⁹ *LEB* LPL, p. 74. These were similar to the Liberal Manifestos at Sleaford, as well as those of people like Edwin De Lisle.

law to overcome the anti-trade unions effects of the Taff Vale decision. Catholic support for Richards meant they had to decide which was more important: Catholic schools or better welfare provision. In such circumstances, it was difficult for a priest to advise the laity on how to vote. Croft wanted protection for agriculture and the maintenance of denominational education. There were divisions in the Conservative Association and it rapidly became a two-horse race.⁷⁰ Richards, although a Liberal was indistinguishable from many Labour supporters.⁷¹ The contest was free of violence, if rowdy at times, especially when national speakers such as Lloyd George, Churchill, Haldane, and Balfour spoke.⁷² Charles Richards was elected with a majority of 1,392 out of an electorate of nearly 11,000. The Lincoln contest also reflected the regional situation in one other way: Richards, like 86% of all other regional sitting MPs, was returned in 1910. As far as Lincoln was concerned, 'Catholicism' was not an election issue.

The 1906 Lincoln situation does not imply that a diocesan political ethos did not exist, but that the relative importance of the four concepts used in its definition, had changed. Rather, four considerations appear to affect any analysis of local Catholic political involvement, and consequently the degree to which a specifically Catholic political ethos emerged by 1915. Firstly, there is the need to arrive at an understanding of the degree to which such a socially and intellectually diffuse group of people could be coerced into forming a cohesive, centrally directed electoral force, when they viewed political developments from so many differing perspectives. Secondly, there is the need to know if when Catholics found themselves on the winning side in a particular election, were they instrumental in achieving the desired result, or was it coincidence. This raises many questions concerning Catholic electoral machinery and its efficiency. Thirdly,

⁷⁰ *LEB LPL* p. 3.

⁷¹ The local Social Democratic Federation accused Richards of betraying the working man. In a fit of

there is the question, leaving education apart, of whether Catholic voters' demands and needs were all that different from other voters' general desires. Finally, although local Catholics comprised the Irish and other nationalities, it would appear that in the local region, foreign matters were not the major political issues: this raises the question of whether they were the prerogative of a few, more vociferous Catholics.⁷³ These concerns will be addressed in the three 'Stages' of local Catholic development.

5. Stage 1, 1850-1870: An Early Political Involvement

Before 1853 the diocese suffered from a lack of political leadership. It would appear that what political activity there was emanated from about 10% of the clergy, the few educated and intellectual lay Catholics who had the vote, and the extra-constitutional activities of the mob.⁷⁴ Prior to the 1872 Secret Ballot Act, the physical act of voting would have shown clear political leadership, as it did with Waterworth (Newark) and Holden (Lincoln), but these were the exceptions.⁷⁵ Clerical political activity was confined to the likes of them and Frs. Collins (Glossop) who had to deal with the irate Irish when they came under attacks from Orangeism (e.g. 1850-51), and Holden (Lincoln 1850s) who formed the Administrative Society which aimed at

pique they instructed their members to vote Conservative: most abstained.

⁷² *LEB LPL* p. 81.

⁷³ *The Wyvern* 9 April 1897 p. 387 col. 1, for example makes reference to the Italian community in Leicester, but there appears to be no recorded press reference to them expressing opinions on matters such as Garibaldi and Italian unification.

⁷⁴ At the Nottingham County Anti-Papal Meeting the *Nottingham Journal* 10 January 1851 p. 7 col. 3 notes "only one or two Catholics attended" which shows they obeyed Ullathorne (Chapter 2) but had little interest in politics. The situation did vary: at Newark "many turned out to support Fr. Waterworth", *Nottingham Mercury* 4 December 1850 p. 2 col. 1. In general see D. Quinn, *Patronage and Piety* 'Appendix Constituency Catholicism'. *Nottingham Journal* 6 December 1850 p. 3 col. 4 notes the North Notts. Constituency had 3,317 voters to elect 2 MPs in an area where there were less than 50 Catholic voters. In Nottingham with its up to 5,000 Catholics (mainly Irish) the "extra constitutional activities of the mob" were a very real threat. People still remembered the Chartist meeting of 1848 of over 20,000 which got out of hand.

⁷⁵ Their voting records are shown in the *Newark and Lincoln Poll Books* resp. Others with known political allegiances like Griffin and Mulligan, are not recorded as voting.

involving more people in the process of government.⁷⁶ While the majority of Catholics carried on as normal during the 1850-1 Papal Aggression crisis, people like De Lisle and the Earl of Shrewsbury both wrote political letters supporting the Restoration, and the Duke of Norfolk and Lord Beaumont decried it, but they were the exceptions. The Nottingham Diocese's political response to the Papal Aggression crisis was more muted than that of Liverpool or Westminster. Swift comments on "the largely politically apathetic communities of some towns", while Olney notes how Lincolnshire's Catholic lords kept aloof from politics.⁷⁷ There were a few branches of the Catholic Association as in Nottingham, Derby and Leicester, but they tended to offer more social than political activities.⁷⁸ These were augmented in the 1860s by the formation of branches of the Catholic Registration Society, as in Derby, Nottingham and Leicester. This organisation had the support of Roskell and aimed at seeking out and registering those Catholics who qualified for the vote.

In these early years, Catholics seem to have voted as individuals rather than as Catholics. If a diocesan political ethos was to emerge then the political consciousness of the mass of Catholics would have to be awakened, controlled and directed. This began with Catholics having to deal at a local level with a variety of politically motivated problems that often had a direct and immediate effect on their families' lives,

⁷⁶ *Lincolnshire Chronicle* 25 May 1854 p. 8 col. 2. For the mob see *High Peak News* November 1850 to August 1851.

⁷⁷ For details of Nottingham's response see G. Foster, *From Emancipation to Restoration: A Study in Urban Catholicism with special reference to Nottingham 1828-53*, M.A. Thesis University of Nottingham (1998) Chapter 6. The Northampton Diocese's response was weaker due to its rural nature and having only 6,000 Catholics. D. Marcombe, 'Caring for the Aged and Infirm', *Bulletin of Local History East Midlands* vol. 22 (1987) p. 55 notes that "Catholicism was more a system of shared beliefs than a separate [diocesan] geographical entity". Nationally by March 1851 3,145 'Addresses' of loyalty had been sent by Protestants compared to 2 from Catholics: the Protestant ones contained 2m signatures, the Catholics 250,000. These figures show that even allowing for the smallness of the Catholic population, as a body they did not engage with the political process. R. Swift 'The Outcast in the Victorian City', *Irish Historical Studies* vol. xxv no. 99 (1987) pp. 264-276 on p. 270. R. Olney, *Lincolnshire Politics* p. 65. This however, stands in contrast to the De Lises, Haddocks and Worswicks of Leicestershire. Such a disjointed pattern reflects the lack of local Episcopal political leadership.

and involved both the voter and the disenfranchised. Two examples of Catholic political involvement at the local level, Burial Boards and the Workhouse, are selected to demonstrate how coping with direct political problems led to the emergence of a wider, and ultimately, Parliamentary diocesan political ethos. Part of the problem regarding the operation at a local level of the Burial Boards and the Poor Law, was that government legislation was permissive: it *allowed* local officials to interpret the regulations which could be either in favour of or against Catholics [or other minorities] as opposed to compelling them to operate the legislation in the same way for all. Catholics wanted a degree of compulsion on the grounds of equality: hence political action to change the way social legislation was operated locally.

Local political affairs could, on occasion, mark out a Catholic position if not ethos more clearly than Parliamentary affairs since candidates for Burial Boards, Guardian and School Board elections were described not by their political party, but their religious affinity. Local political matters often had a greater relevance than Parliamentary ones due to their immediacy: in the case of Burial Boards, death and the disposal of bodies was one thing every family would at some point be concerned about, and with the majority of Catholics coming from the poorer stratum of society, the Workhouse was an ever present threat. The operation of both these Boards presented challenges to Catholics in that the Established Church saw them as their domain, and any attempt to change such a position was viewed as a political and unconstitutional act.⁷⁹ Manning argued that “from being an Establishment with exclusive

⁷⁸ That in Derby was noted for its dinners.

⁷⁹ The changing position of the Anglican Church in society was a theme discussed in Chapter 1. The abolition of Church rates was another aspect of this controversy which involved Catholics. In Whitwick in 1852-3 there were unpleasant outbursts when Fr. Sisk and some middle class Catholics attended a Vestry meeting to appoint an Overseer for the roads. The meeting became disorderly and sectarian when the local Vicar assumed he would take the chair despite (or because of) the fact Sisk was the more popular personality. The matter went to a vote and on religious grounds the Vicar was

privileges...coterminous with the political nation...the Church of England had become effectively a voluntary body: that it came to occupy in relation to the state essentially the same position as other voluntary bodies".⁸⁰

Burying the dead could often be a more political than ecclesiastical matter. By the 1850s the many Anglican and the few diocesan Catholic cemeteries that existed, as at Melton Mowbray, were almost full, making the finding of new sites a matter of urgency in the interests of public health. In 1852 and 1856 new Burial Acts were enacted, and new cemeteries controlled by elected Boards were created. However, because of the uneven distribution and smallness of the Catholic vote, Catholics were placed at a disadvantage.⁸¹ Most Burial Boards were controlled by Anglicans or Dissenters, as in the case of Derby.⁸² When in Grantham (1857) Fr. Tempest told Guardians he would not inter deceased inmates unless he received the same remuneration as Anglican ministers, he was making a highly political point which, especially as it was reported in the press, was a direct challenge to the political and religious authority of the Established Church.⁸³ In 1856 Derby Burial Board attempted (illegally) to stop all Dissenters from being elected as members, until political pressure from local priests like Frs. Daniel and Sing, and appeals to Whitehall, remedied the situation.⁸⁴ While plots were being granted to Catholics in some areas, in Melton

elected: *Loughborough Advertiser* 27 March 1852 p. 3 col. 3. The atmosphere was not improved in that it was Irish Catholics the Vicar had to direct.

⁸⁰ There are hints here of Hickman's argument that Irish Catholics should be seen as a separate entity within the state, rather than to be assimilated and losing their identities: see 'The Irish' in Chapter 4. For Manning see J. von Arx 'Manning's Ultramontanism and the Catholic Church in British Politics', *Recusant History* vol. 19 no.3 (1989), p. 341.

⁸¹ Catholics wanted a separate part of the cemetery which they could consecrate in order to bury their dead. The problem was that such actions were *allowed* under the legislation, but not all Boards looked with favour on such Catholic requests. Frequently Anglican areas were automatically granted. It could also be the case that Catholics, as at Stamford, were given the most inaccessible part of the cemetery.

⁸² For a comparison with the Birmingham Diocese, see A. Andrews, 'Burials at Tixall', *Midlands Catholic History* vol. 8 (2001).

⁸³ *Stamford Mercury* 18 December 1857 p. 4 col. 4: he succeeded.

⁸⁴ *Derby Mercury* 12 November 1856 p. 5 col. 4. There were further troubles in 1860 with the Derby

Mowbray, a Dissenting stronghold, 'Dissenter' was interpreted to mean Protestant Dissenter and it was only the sheer necessity of burying the dead that forced the Burial Board to accept Catholic bodies for interment. Publicity, as when Burial Boards voted to prohibit Sunday interments (although they were customary to Catholics), violence, as when the Melton Mowbray Board locked the gates against Catholics and they were forcibly broken down, and petitions (Chesterfield 1857) were all methods used by Catholics to obtain equality over burials. In Grantham, a Catholic's right to choose the design of any memorial was challenged, unsuccessfully, on the political grounds that Catholic designs reflected foreign, not English sensibilities.⁸⁵ An important political point was made at Glossop in 1860-67, when Lord Howard provided the Catholics with a separate cemetery on the outskirts of the town. Unfortunately, road access required the payment of four turnpike tolls by Catholics whereas hearses containing non-Catholics went free. Catholics saw this as doubly unjust, especially as the hearse was empty for half the journey! In 1864 Catholics refused to pay and the matter went via Derby Crown Court to Whitehall, where the government ruled that everywhere, Catholic hearses could have free use of turnpikes.⁸⁶

The burial service and accompanying procession could be interpreted as a political statement regarding the degree of local acceptability of Catholicism. A pauper's funeral in Grantham (1857) was so interpreted by the editor of the

Burial Board when two Sisters from Derby Convent who had served in the Crimea died and were buried in the back of the cemetery adjacent to the Convent. As the Board had ruled that no interments could take place in the front of the Convent, they attempted to have the bodies removed. After appeals to Whitehall, Derby Burial Board were told to let the matter lie. Meanwhile in Lincoln, Fr. Holden and C. Odling, a prominent local Catholic undertaker, were having difficulties in getting the Burial Board to grant Catholics a separate burial area. In the end they succeeded, *Lincolnshire Chronicle* 6 December 1854 p. 5 col. 3.

⁸⁵ *Leicestershire Chronicle* 30 April 1852, p. 5 col. 1, *Leics Ch* 9 April 1870 p. 6 col. 5, *Stamford Mercury* 18 September 1874 p. 8 col. 2, *Derby Telegraph* 8 August 1857 p. 2 col. 2, *SM* 10 July 1857 p. 4 col. 5, *SM* 18 December 1857 p. 4 col. 4, *GJ* 18 December 1857 p. 4 col. 2, *SM* 10 July 1857 p. 4 col. 6.

⁸⁶ *D* 31-2 (1865-7), *D* 60 19 February 1867 DRO.

Conservative *Grantham Journal* who criticised Fr. Tempest's panegyric denouncing the Elizabethan Poor Law and the failures of the 1834 Poor Law Amendment Act.⁸⁷ In Worksop, Fr. Jones was ordered by the Guardians to pay for and bury a deceased Catholic inmate, but he made no political protest, an example of how some priests took no part in politics. All this stands in marked contrast to the funeral of Lady Gainsborough (1867), where she was eulogised by Catholic and Protestant political dignitaries.⁸⁸

There were several common characteristics in this emerging, somewhat individual, uncoordinated Catholic involvement in local Burial Board politics. Firstly, apart from Glossop, it was invariably a single Catholic who was elected to any board, and although he frequently had the support of the priest, it was only slowly that a supporting local Catholic machinery emerged. Secondly, the minority position of Catholicism meant the elected Catholic relied on Protestant support for his success at the polls.⁸⁹ Thirdly, the Catholic was usually respected for his bipartisan approach to local issues.⁹⁰ Fourthly, the elected Catholic was confronting at a local level, national issues such as anti-Catholicism: Alderman E. Willson on Lincoln City Council was due to be elected Mayor in 1851, but as he was a Catholic, it was deemed advisable to delay the appointment until 1852 due to the Papal Aggression crisis.⁹¹ Because there was a wide variety in the way minorities such as Catholics were treated, a wide variety of

⁸⁷ *Grantham Journal* 9 May 1857 p. 4 col. 1.

⁸⁸ *Stamford Mercury* 1 November 1867 p. 4 col. 3. Perhaps more significant was the fact that it took place in the arch-Protestant, arch-Conservative Finch held Rutland constituency. Perhaps the respect shown by local people was also a reflection of their opposition to the heavy-handed political methods and ideas of Finch.

⁸⁹ As an example see the *Coalville Times* 24 August 1934 and how Fr. O'Reilly was elected in the 1880s to Leicestershire County Council: newspaper cutting in *Fr. O'Reilly Deceased Priests File: Priests Collection* NDA.

⁹⁰ Fr. McKenna in Derby was one such person. Many *Obituaries* show the same feature. A selection is to be found in the *Deceased Priests File Priests Collection* NDA.

⁹¹ E. Willson was a popular local JP, architect, and brother to Fr. Willson (Nottingham). The other such major issue was the provision of state supported denominational education.: *The Tablet* 29

approaches was needed to overcome the problems generated: all served to accentuate a developing Catholic political culture.⁹² From all these examples a common thread emerges. The relationships Catholics had with Burial Boards served to arouse the Catholic political consciousness and make both Catholics and Protestants (especially those who belonged to the Protestant Alliance), more aware of Catholicism's inferior position. In so doing, it helped to awaken Catholics to the realisation that joint action could, on occasions, bring success.⁹³ In themselves Burial Board disputes were perhaps insignificant, but viewed from a wider angle, they were another element in the development of a Catholic political ethos.

Catholic Workhouse involvement, on the other hand, was very political and frequently centred on the actions of the priest, with any denigration or rejection of 'Father' seen as a clarion call, as when the integrity of Fr. Nickolds (Leicester Holy Cross) was called into account in 1854.⁹⁴ It may not have caused an immediate outcry, but such behaviour was remembered at elections. By choosing a single candidate, Catholics learnt a valuable political lesson: unity could often succeed. In this way McKenna served as a Guardian for 30 years from 1870. This important lesson would prove invaluable after 1870 in ensuring a Catholic was elected to every School Board.⁹⁵ Catholic Workhouse involvement was a political issue because of the way local Guardians interpreted their roles and the frequency with which Catholics appealed to

November 1851 p. 755 col. 1.

⁹² Catholic magazines such as *The Lamp* July-December 1865 p. 121 made a great play on this point. As well as the aforementioned Poor law and Burial Boards, there was also public health: M. Dainton *Progress and Poverty* (Oxford, 1995) pp. 255-7. As an example of the variations, Fr. Nugent (Liverpool) was paid £300 p.a. by Liverpool Workhouse as a chaplain while no Catholic chaplain was paid in the Nottingham Diocese.

⁹³ Especially as some events had passed into folklore. This point was brought home to the author when interviewing local Catholics.

⁹⁴ There were others, such as Fr. Costello (St. Patrick's) The issue involved a person's religious affiliation.. This was part of the price high profile priests had to pay. It did not stop Nickolds in his attempts (ultimately successful) to obtain redress for Irish inmates.

⁹⁵ In Grimsby the lesson took some time to sink in. In 1872, 2 candidates stood and lost: in 1874 only

Whitehall in the hope of redress.⁹⁶ Catholic political involvement centred on the key issue of right of access, whether by priest to inmate, Catholics being allowed out to attend Mass in the local church, or the most politically contentious aspect, how the children were to be educated. Catholics naturally wanted them to receive Catholic, not Anglican schooling.⁹⁷ Both Thompson, a modern historian, and a Jesuit publication, *The Lamp*, make the point that how Catholics were treated depended on numbers involved: to Catholics it was the principle of equality that mattered.⁹⁸ Thus it was necessary for Catholics to utilise electoral systems to make appeals to Whitehall and the courts to achieve parity across the diocese.⁹⁹

In 1859 the London Poor Law Board issued its August Order which, in theory, “made the provision of Religious Instruction for Catholics obligatory”, but, as Feheny contends, “the Order was poorly worded and of doubtful legality”.¹⁰⁰ When various local Guardians, especially those such as the Anglican-controlled Nottingham Board, failed to implement the Order, Catholics felt they were being subjected to a political attack. Meanwhile, the Protestant Alliance organised political attacks on Catholics and

Fr. Johnson stood, and topped the poll, *Stamford Mercury* 18 May 1874 p. 8 col. 2.

⁹⁶ As early as 1849 Fr. Mulligan (St. Barnabas’) had been in touch with the Poor Law Commissioners over access to Catholics and their rights regarding Mass attendance, only to be informed that it was a local matter, as only they could give permission. See *The Tablet* 15 December 1849 p. 793.

⁹⁷ This entailed the operation of the Creed List under which all persons entering the workhouse had to *immediately* declare their religious affinity, or they were classified as Anglicans. In an emotional moment this did not always happen. Neither did the officials have to volunteer the information that such a declaration was necessary. Often as in Lincoln and Nottingham, membership of the Anglican Church was a pre-requisite of employment. Reclassification could cause problems and involve court cases, as in Nonconformist controlled Leicester and Fr. Nickolds: *Leicestershire Chronicle* 2 May 1868 p. 8 col. 2. In Chesterfield they were resolved due to Fr. Birch SJ: *D522/C/W/1/17* 11 June 1870 DRO. It was only under Catholic pressure that the issuing of Protestant *Tracts* was halted, amid violence: *D522/C/L.1/12* DRO. In 1897 the *Market Rasen Mail* reported Catholics complaining that their detention in Caistor Workhouse was political and they wanted a transfer to Halifax where they would be allowed out to attend Mass.

⁹⁸ K. Thompson, *The Leicester Poor Law Union 1836-71*, Phd. Thesis University of Leicester (1988) p. 122. *The Lamp* July December 1865 p.122 compares Catholic inmate treatment in Liverpool, London and Swansea.

⁹⁹ Clearly a single diocese’s actions would have implications for others.

¹⁰⁰ J. Feheny, ‘The Poor Law Board August Order of 1859’, *Recusant History* vol.17 no. 3 (1984) pp. 84-91. Feheny goes on to suggest that as the Clerk to the Board was an ultra-Protestant, the wording of the Order was deliberately loose.

those Guardians in Liverpool, London, and Leicester, who implemented the new Order.¹⁰¹ Catholics responded by organising petitions which had the political effect of involving a wide section of people, and gave publicity for their grievances.¹⁰² Election meetings, often organised by the Catholic Union, were reported in the press.¹⁰³ Elections could be bitter affairs, with the 1879 Nottingham Guardian's election perhaps the most vicious. W. Dobson JP, a Catholic, presented an open *Memorial* to the Poor Law Commissioners detailing eight grievances, including tampering with ballot boxes, lost papers, and voter intimidation: it was alleged that such action cost Catholics two Guardians.¹⁰⁴

Publicity was way one in which Catholics could on occasions achieve their political ends. In 1864, for example, the National Catholic Workhouse Committee paid a visit to Nottingham, but were denied entry to the Workhouse. The Committee contained several Home Rulers (politically sensitive as this was the time of the Fenian problems) whose subsequent report succeeded in getting the government to ensure that such denial was not repeated.¹⁰⁵ The fact that an Anglican-dominated Board of Guardians had been humiliated, made it even clearer that a political victory had been achieved. By 1870 Catholics had managed to exert sufficient pressure, both via their elected representatives and by rousing public opinion, for several Boards (Newark, Leicester, Loughborough, Worksop and Chesterfield), to allow the children of Catholic inmates to attend the local Catholic Poor School, and for adults and children to attend

¹⁰¹ For example, in Leicester, over 1,000 people signed a petition organised by the Protestant Alliance against the bill: *Leicester Mercury* 12 July 1862 p. 8 col. 2.

¹⁰² Although it was uncoordinated and often pulled in opposite directions: *Leicester Mercury* 14 May 1859 p. 2 col. 4 has Lord Gainsborough supporting the Tories and saying that if they were elected there would be equality over chaplains. Others, the article notes, were voting Liberal.

¹⁰³ As in the *Nottingham Daily Express* and *Leicestershire Chronicle* for the 1860s. These papers were sold across the diocese.

¹⁰⁴ *Nottingham Journal* 25 June 1879 p. 3 col. 3. No action was taken against the Guardians.

¹⁰⁵ *Nottingham Daily Express* 30 March 1864 p. 3 col. 4.

Mass on Sunday at the local church.¹⁰⁶ Some Guardians added the condition that their children should only “be allowed to attend an efficient denominational school”. As is shown in Chapter 6, not all Catholic schools were efficient, so the possibility of further obstacles to equality were placed in the path of Catholics.

When Catholics entered an institution such as a hospital, workhouse, or prison, they often required the services of a chaplain. However, the Anglican chaplain enjoyed rights denied to both Catholics and Nonconformists: Anglican chaplains had a legal right to see all inmates, whereas Catholic ones could only see inmates if they requested it, and the message was transmitted to the presbytery. Anglicans received a stipend; Catholic priests performed their prison duties gratis. Legally all these institutions had the power to amend these (permissive) regulations and create equality of access: that they did not result in Catholic political agitation for change. In Nottingham, Derby and Lincoln, for example, Anglican Guardians used their majorities to prevent payments to non-Anglican chaplains, while Leicester and Loughborough, centres of dissent, refused (illegally) to pay for any; a move welcomed by Catholics on the grounds of equality.¹⁰⁷ In 1860 the Government introduced the Prison Ministers Bill which would have made the payment of all chaplains, regardless of religion, a legal requirement. This was welcomed by diocesan Catholics who organised petitions in favour of the Bill.

¹⁰⁶ Fr. Holden had limited success in Lincoln from 1856: *Lincolnshire Chronicle* 31 November 1856 p. 4 col. 5. In Loughborough in 1870 Fr. Egan had achieved this aim although it required the Poor Law Commissioners in London to compel Loughborough Guardians to act: *Loughborough Advertiser* 20 October 1870 p. 4 col. 2. 17 November 1870 p. 4 col. 4, 1 December 1870 p. 8 col. 3. Glossop, even with Sumner on the Board only managed a separate room for worship: *D522/C/W/171* 1868-70 DRO. *High Peak News* 22 November 1873 p. 6 col. 1. For Worksop, see *Guardian's Minutes Book PUW 1/1/3* 8 July 1868 NRCO. The Government issued a *Circular* in favour of such actions, reprinted in *Leicester Daily Mail* 8 July 1870 p. 3 col. 3, but Grantham Guardians, solidly Conservative and Anglican, persisted in sending all Dissenting children to the local National School: *Grantham Journal* 10 December p. 3 col. 1.

¹⁰⁷ Such actions were widely publicised in the press and relayed to Whitehall. In Gainsborough the Catholics and Guardians hoped that a united and voluntary agreement could be reached, but the Anglicans opposed such a deal: *Stamford Mercury* 8 January 1875 p. 5 col. 5. Such moves show an increased awareness and ability by Catholics to manipulate the political process.

However, such a law would have equated all religions with Anglicanism, effectively demoting it from its national, established position. The Protestant Alliance responded with a political campaign, petitions, letters to MPs and the local press, and the threat of law cases against Guardians who supported the measure: as a result the Bill was lost. This affair gave Catholics political experience and a further rallying point with which to challenge election candidates. More than ever, election candidates began to realise that no matter how small it was, the Catholic vote had to be considered.

All this local agitation was part of a larger political renaissance that was taking place in the 1860s, inspired by a few clergy and a growing consciousness among the laity, especially the Irish, of their inferior constitutional position. People like Frs. Anderdon (Leicester), Griffin (St. Barnabas'), Tempest (Grantham) and McGreavy (Buxton), began to give frequent lectures on a variety of religious-political subjects, such as Henry VIII and the Reformation.¹⁰⁸ Also at this time, night classes were becoming popular and included political debates. At the same time branches of the Catholic Young Men's Society, as at Market Rasen, began to hold political debates and lectures.¹⁰⁹ In the early 1860s Fr. Mulligan (St. Barnabas') re-formed the Nottingham branch of the Catholic Association. Also with Roskell's approval, further branches of the Catholic Registration Society were established. These actively sought to register Catholic voters. This renaissance included several quasi-political-religious societies

¹⁰⁸ This was discussed in Chapter 4. See also *Appendix G* for the way such lectures fitted in with the development of a wider concept of Catholic education. The lectures by Griffin on Henry VIII and the Reformation obviously had nineteenth century parallels. Anderdon's favourite topic was Rome.

¹⁰⁹ See *Appendix D* for details on Confraternities. Strictly speaking all Confraternities were non-political, but as a reflection of the developing Catholic awareness, they turned to political matters. As a result, the St. Patrick's Society became a substitute for the Brotherhood of St. Patrick [Fenians]. At least if the political ideas were expressed in the Church rather than the inn, the priest had a better chance of moulding opinions; *The Tablet* 4 June 1859 p. 356, col. 2. This must also be seen in the light of a priest's attempts to halt the leakages of Catholic male youths. *Nottingham Catholic Magazine* vol.7 (1869) pp. 11-2 stressed a need for political change of attitudes as an antidote to Catholics being attracted to extremists. That the holding of political debates in

such as the Catholic Workmen's Association which met at St Patrick's, Nottingham: a deliberate attempt by Harnett to involve more Catholics in the political process and ensure they acted in accordance with the wishes of the Church.¹¹⁰ All such moves as these were important because they marked the beginnings of the creation of a Catholic electoral machine.¹¹¹ Committees were established for each ward and it was the duty of the members to go round and search out potential Catholic voters. As in Nottingham, Derby, and Glossop, such Catholics were linked with, or aided by the Liberal Party, and had the support of Manning.¹¹² "Involvement of the local clergy in politics was acknowledged as a right by the Catholic Church so they could take an active part in procuring the return to Parliament of good and useful members", according to Lowe, while a report in *The Tablet* noted that Registration Societies in the Nottingham Diocese were to attempt to co-ordinate their activities so that they were more effective.¹¹³ In Lincoln (1865) a rise in Liberal Party activity and Catholic political involvement saw the return of two Liberals instead of a Liberal and Conservative, but how effective the Catholic vote was is questionable as the Conservative defeat was aided in part by the retirement of Colonel Sibthorpe, MP for over 30 years and his place being taken by an unknown outsider. However, a pattern was beginning to form: the Catholics were

¹¹⁰ Confraternities was becoming a national issue is shown in *The Tablet* 7 February 1863 p. 122 col. 4. The Catholic Workmen's Association can be seen as a direct challenge to the Protestant Operatives' Society. For the resulting anti-Catholicism and upset, see Chapter 7.

¹¹¹ *Nottingham Daily Express* 25 June 1870 p. 5 col. 5.

¹¹² *The Tablet* 16 July 1864 p. 459 col. 2 noted that the Nottingham Branch of the Catholic Association "had added another 14 electors to the list". This was in addition to a previous 103: D. Quinn, *Patronage and Piety* p. 49.

¹¹³ W. Lowe, 'The Lancashire Irish and the Catholic Church 1846-71, p. 137. Compare this with *The Tablet* 22 May 1852 p. 324 col. 5, and E. Steele, 'The Irish Presence in the North', p. 236 and *The Month* July-December 1872 p. 249 which both suggest the Nottingham Diocese showed a lack of political interest. For how the priests' actions could be interpreted as a cause of upset see M. Cragoe, 'Conscience or Coercion: Clerical Influence at the General Election of 1868 in Wales', *Past and Present* vol. 149 November (1995), pp. 140-69

becoming more interested in politics, and candidates increasingly realised that the Catholic vote influenced an election result.¹¹⁴

More significant however, was the fact that instead of the development of a Hierarchy-directed, local electoral expression, the laity were beginning to show support for what they considered important, effectively dissipating the cohesiveness of any potentially united Catholic vote. Instead of demonstrating unity and obedience, three strands were starting to emerge in the diocese. The strands were a Catholic-Liberal political expression, a Catholic-Irish political expression, and a Catholic-Conservative expression.

By the mid-1860s a Catholic-Liberal connection was beginning to emerge in some parts of the diocese, following the national lead set by Manning.¹¹⁵ However, apart from Liberal Derbyshire North, Nottingham, Boston, and Lincoln, Catholics were generally subsumed into Conservative representation. In 1865 only six out of 35 local seats returned Liberals, while two others changed from Liberal to Conservative. The Catholic-Liberal link was not strong, but growing. This is shown by the fact that five of the six constituencies returning Liberal MPs were in areas with the diocese's largest concentrations of Catholics. Catholics were attending local Liberal meetings and beginning to help the party achieve electoral successes, as for example, in Lincoln.

Parallel with the Catholic-Liberal connection, was a Catholic-Irish political strand. The local press noted that increasingly, the diocesan Church was influencing the behaviour of the Irish, as for example over the St. Patrick's Day parades, and the way the children were being educated. When Roskell and the priests condemned Fenianism in 1864, they were not decrying Irish nationalism *per se*, but the use of violence to

¹¹⁴ *Leicestershire Chronicle* 26 June 1852 p. 3 col. 3.
Nottingham Daily Express 8 August 1865 p. 4 col. 3. *Boston Society Magazine* (1902) pp. 274-5.

achieve political ends.¹¹⁶ The Catholic Church could not hope to eradicate the wishes of the Irish for their own government: such actions would only have led to a mass exodus of the Irish from the English Catholic Church, and that was against Manning's wishes. Instead, Roskell showed political leadership by encouraging the formation of branches of the Irish Home Rule Association, as in Leicester, Nottingham, Derby, Chesterfield and Glossop. A few priests as well as some middle class Catholics, attended their meetings.¹¹⁷ Whether the Catholic-Irish political ethos would be Liberal or Conservative was another matter, especially after 1870 and the Liberal government's negative attitude to denominational education which cost it much Catholic support. As Quinn notes, this indecision did at least have the effect of ensuring local Liberals took a continuing interest in the wishes of Catholics.¹¹⁸

The Catholic-Conservative connection operated at a variety of social levels. There were Conservative priests like Dwyer, Griffin and Sibthorpe (all St. Barnabas'), and Sing (Derby), whose views were well known, as was their attendance at Conservative events.¹¹⁹ In the rural areas were the lay Catholics of the county

¹¹⁵ D. Quinn, 'Manning as Politician', *Recusant History* vol. 21 no. 2 (1992) pp. 267-286

¹¹⁶ N. Danaher 'The Leicester Irish', pp. 407-47 notes that in Leicester such actions rekindled memories of the part played by the Irish in the Chartist activities. Danaher p. 424 notes how some Irish Catholics in Leicester rejoiced at the Fenians escapes from Manchester in 1867. 44 Irish Catholics supported the Manchester Defence Fund, pp. 425-6. He also notes that the local press queried what this all meant for Catholic loyalty.

¹¹⁷ E.g., *Nottingham Daily Express* 16 January 1872 p. 3 col. 2. The Nottingham branch had about 82 members including several teachers. Here middle class Catholics including the Gibneys (Derby) and the Shepperleys (Nottingham) established and ran meetings, which were often held on Church property, when priests like Harnett would attend. Their meetings were reported in the press: their negative reporting only serving to define and accentuate Catholic-Irish unity: *NDE* 9 April 187 p. 3 col. 5. *NDE* 24 April 1872 p. 2 col. 4. There were growing complaints that these Home Rule meetings were becoming too middle class and failing to attract the working class: *Leicester Journal* 10 January 1868 col. 3. An 'Educated Irishman' as termed in the press, tries to defend the Irish. In the *NDE* 25 May 1869 *Letters by an Irishman* p. 8 col. 5 suggests that the Editorial stance of the paper was doing nothing to heal this rift, but it was a Tory paper. *Alfreton Weekly News* 7 August 1868 p. 4 col. 5 makes the same point.

¹¹⁸ D. Quinn, *Patronage and Piety* pp. 4-31.

¹¹⁹ See for example, the references in C. Wobley, *Lord John Manners and His Friends*. Manners was a friend of De Lisle, another Conservative family: *Victoria County History for Leicestershire* (1954 reprint) p. 134. For Sibthorpe see *Leicestershire Chronicle* 5 September 1873 p. 3 col. 4. Lord Gainsborough also spoke at Conservative meetings in Leicestershire and Nottinghamshire : *Leicester*

constituencies, including the De Lises and Haydocks (Leicestershire), the Leslies (Derbyshire), and in Lincolnshire, members of the Gainsborough, Sutton, Young and Tempest families. There were also the 'suburban' Conservatives: people who perhaps changed allegiances as they became wealthier. Some Catholic Conservatism could be seen as a reaction of English Catholics against an association of Catholicism with the Irish: it was noted in Chapter 4 that English middle-class Catholics often tried to create an identity which would mark them out from the popular stereotyped view of the Irish.

In addition to the aforementioned Catholic political connections, there were the disenfranchised, a nebulous frequently transitory group that encompassed many poor Catholics, the navvies, and usually people who did not regularly attend Mass. Fr. Smith (Nottingham, 1860s) established a branch of the Non-Electors' Movement in an attempt to ensure that their voices were heard in a constitutional fashion.¹²⁰ The grievances expressed by the disenfranchised often involved the Catholic Church: for example, Irish nationalism, opposition to Temperance (Manning supported Temperance), demands for support in times of unemployment and an extension of the franchise. Some middle class Liberals took notice of their demands but at the same time supported changes in the laws to which the disenfranchised objected, as for example over Sunday trading and limiting licensing hours. For the majority of Catholics, the disenfranchised were not their concern, although humanitarian aid in the form of soup kitchens was sometimes provided by a few.¹²¹ However the disenfranchised Catholics expressed their views,

Mail 14 May 1859 p. 2 col. 4. R. Olney, *Lincolnshire Politics 1832-85* shows how the main Catholic and Anglo-Catholic families of Lincolnshire changed from Liberal to Conservative. Prominent lay Catholics and members of the Irish middle class, such as the Dobsons, were also Conservative: *Nottingham Journal* 29 March 1880 p. 3 col. 1.

¹²⁰ Unfortunately he died in 1867: *The Tablet* 4 May 1867 'Obituary' p. 278 col. 1, however, in his 'Obituary' makes no mention of this aspect of his work.

¹²¹ Manning was a supporter of temperance as he saw it as a way of civilising the Irish and thus making them a more respectable part of the English Catholic social scene, and responsive to Church control. Needless to say, many of the Irish did not see things in this light. Over the Sunday Opening issue, many noted that this was the only day of the week in which they could relax and abhorred any

the Church leaders faced the difficult task of finding a legitimate way of effectively representing these demands: support for any one sectional interest could mean the alienation of others.

By the mid-1860s, rather than the single cohesive political ethos desired by the Hierarchy, the diocese possessed a series of conflicting political connections. Supple notes, "It was in their political activity that many of the Catholic laity failed to carry out the role assigned to them by the Church"; Quinn goes even further by stressing, "It was hard to know which way the Catholics would vote, because they did not know themselves", while the Nottingham branch of the Protestant Alliance noted "Local Catholics tend to change their allegiances to ensure that local issues come first".¹²² What was needed was a catalyst that could transform this disparate, sectional, individual based, diocesan involvement into a united political force, hopefully following the Hierarchy's wishes.

The catalyst came in 1868-70, but not from the Hierarchy. Instead it was provided by the Liberal Party in its moves to disestablish the Anglican Church in Ireland, and Catholic condemnation of Forster's 1870 Education Act. The Disestablishment of the Anglican Church in Ireland Act was welcomed by the vast majority of diocesan Catholics, apart from a few Conservatives, of whom De Lisle was the most prominent. He approached the issue of the role of the Anglican Church in

interference. See A. Dingle and B. Harrison, 'Manning as Temperance Reformer', *Historical Journal* vol. XII no. 3 (1969) pp. 85-510. Diocesan Catholics were aware that altering the law on Sunday Trading could lead to riots: B. Harrison, 'The Sunday Trading Riots of 1855', *Historical Journal* vol. VIII (1965) pp. 219-145. See also *Nottingham Daily Express* 11 January 1871 p. 3 col. 5, *High Peak News* 12 February 1874 p. 2 col. 6. Over such issues there was frequently no Catholic line, Dwyer, for example, as Conservative, supported the issue, Edwin De Lisle another Conservative supported the brewers.

¹²² J. Supple, 'The Role of the Catholic Laity in Yorkshire 1850-1900', *Recusant History* vol. 18 no. 3 (1987) pp. 314-7. D. Quinn *Patronage and Piety* p. 10.; *Nottingham Daily Express* 2 November 1864 'Protestant Alliance' p. 2 col. 5.

Ireland from the point of view of Anglican-Catholic unity.¹²³ He, like other Catholics, was not happy with the Liberal position on the Maynooth Grant, as this was to be replaced with an endowment. He further noted that under the Act, Protestant schools in Ireland would receive government aid, whereas Catholic schools in England did not: De Lisle supported the (re-elected) sitting Conservative, John Manners.

The Liberals and the majority of diocesan Catholics saw the Act as creating equality and accepting that Anglicans were a minority in Ireland. Moderate Home Rulers saw it as a step towards overcoming some of the religious-political tensions associated with Fenianism. Using their political skills, local Catholics quizzed candidates and, as some evidence in poll books suggests, voted Liberal. However, as Table 5.1 shows, only five seats changed to Liberal in 1868, suggesting Catholic electoral power was rather limited. What did fire Catholic political unity was Catholic opposition to the 1870 Education Act.

The period up to 1870 witnessed the beginnings of a recognisable diocesan political ethos: a wider social range of Catholics were becoming involved in political happenings, the wishes of the Hierarchy were noted, even if always abided by, and locally, peculiarly Catholic political organisations, were being created to ensure Catholic voices were heard.

6. Stage 2 1870-1892: The Beginnings of an Identity

During the period beginning 1870 the diocesan political ethos would become a more clearly defined feature of the local political scene. In Catholic minds and amongst

¹²³ E. Purcell, *Life and Letters of Ambrose Phillips De Lisle* (London, 1900) pp. 290, 296-7, 310-11, 344, 355.

the public in general, Catholicism became more closely associated with a particular set of political values: in this case, denominational education on the rates, and some, but not total support, for the Liberal Party, especially with regard to Ireland. Education unified local Catholics in a way that no other issue had, while Bagshawe's support for Ireland, and the vociferous opposition this encountered, only served to emphasise the local correlation of Catholicism with Irish affairs. As Aspinwall notes, "the mass of English Catholics receiving primary education for the first time after 1870 would soon start to exercise their political and religious influence".¹²⁴

Prior to 1870 diocesan political involvement regarding education was limited to those directly concerned, such as the Duke of Norfolk, Lord Howard, and Ambrose De Lisle, all at some time members of the CPSC, and a few priests who agitated for reform; for the majority it was simply a financial involvement. After 1870 the increased financial requirement coupled with a need to protect Catholic schools from the ravages of the elected School Boards, meant there was a need for a wider Catholic political involvement in education.¹²⁵ Teachers wanted a better system of funding and frequently raised the matter at election meetings: several candidates incorporated such improvements into their electoral *Addresses*.¹²⁶ When, in 1868, the Liberals announced that they intended to introduce an Education Bill, it became noticeable that lay Catholics

¹²⁴ B. Aspinwall, 'Towards an English Catholic Social Conscience 1829-1920', p. 107

¹²⁵ J. Smith, 'The Priest and the Elementary School in the Second Half of the Nineteenth Century', *Recusant History* vol. 25 no. 3 (2001) pp. 530-542 contains references to the role different Catholics wished to play in the matter of education.

¹²⁶ *Derby Mercury* 19 March 1862 p. 5 col. 3. J. Bastow, 'Elementary Education in the Diocese of Nottingham', p. 158 notes that diocesan teachers were already paid less than 75% of what other denominational schools paid theirs. In 1863 under the revised Code, moneys from the CPSC were now paid direct to the priest who then paid the teachers. This was a very ultramontane move in that it strengthened the position of the clergy, but it meant each individual priest could decide what he paid. As a result pension schemes were gradually halted, and salaries failed to increase. When men left they were usually replaced with cheaper unqualified women paid at a lower rate. See J. Smith, 'The Priest and the Elementary School', pp. 533-4. Locally: *Grantham Journal* 10 March 1894 p. 6 col. 2. Part of the problem was that Manning expected the teachers to make sacrifices for the good of Catholic education.

were showing an increased degree of political cohesion in their efforts to achieve greater equitable treatment by attending rallies organised by the National Education Union in support of denominational education and the National Education League to show their opposition to secular education. Lords Ripon (Lib.), Gainsborough (Lib.), Denbigh (Tory) and Howard (Tory), spoke at diocesan meetings as did De Lisle, thus emphasising the cross-party Catholic political consensus.

Forster's Bill provoked an outburst of indignation.¹²⁷ Education up to the age of eleven was to be paid for by a local School Rate payable by all rate payers, including Catholics, but there was to be no support for denominational education, although Forster managed to get some government grants for such purposes retained. Instead, locally elected School Boards were to administer local secular education, and provide "some Christian education". Provision existed for Workhouse children to be educated at 'efficient schools', but the intention was that this would be at the discretion of Board Schools: such indecision in leaving the matter to local Boards would be another political battle for Catholics. The Act contained a 'six month' clause which allowed such time from when a Board was established for any voluntary body, like the Catholic Church, to bring its schools up to standard or be forced to close them. Secularists imagined this to be the death knell for denominational education, but for Catholics the opposite occurred. A 'Crisis Fund' and political campaign, led by Lord Howard in the absence of Manning were established. Locally Catholics became more politically united.¹²⁸ The Act marked

¹²⁷ It is a matter of speculation as to whether its introduction in February 1870 was a political act timed to happen when all the Catholic Bishops were in Rome for the Vatican Council. Perhaps the government hoped for less opposition by doing it this way.

¹²⁸ *Nottingham Daily Express* 6 September 1870 p. 2 col. 6 sees Roskell and Catholics attending a meeting in Kent Street School to help diocesan schools meet the 'Six Month' clause. J. Bland, 'The Impact of Government Action on Education 1870-1902' *Catholic History Review* vol. 62 (1976) p. 40 notes the Crisis Fund was possibly the most significant impact of the Education Act due to the expansion and unity it caused. New schools built at Stamford, Grimsby and Market Rasen generated much anger: e.g., S. Stanley, *A History of Stamford Mission* (Stamford, 2000) p. 57.

the beginning of a Catholic political ethos, at least with regard to education, which was to last on-and-off for 32 years.

Catholics of all political persuasions were united in their opposition to Forster's Act, but were divided on the methods needed to safeguard Catholic schools. This is a clear example of how practical difficulties fractured the diocesan political ethos. A group we may call the 'Antagonists', typified by Ullathorne and Fr. O'Brien (Hinckley) wanted a total boycott of any money offered by the government and strict independence.¹²⁹ Meanwhile, their opposite numbers, the 'Protagonists', such as Griffin (St. Barnabas') saw their best chances for improving Catholic schools occurring by getting elected to School Boards and so, as Manning believed, protecting Catholic schools from any "approach by stealth". Manning was adamant the ideal of an exclusive Catholic education was not to be compromised.¹³⁰ When Roskell let it be known that he was a Protagonist, diocesan Catholics entered fully into the political process aimed at securing victory for their candidates in School Board elections. From 1871, Catholics called meetings at which a single candidate was chosen as, for example, Worswick (Leicester), Storey-Smith (Chesterfield) and Dwyer (Nottingham).¹³¹ In line

¹²⁹ The idea of strict independence worked well in areas with a major benefactor or where the Catholic population supported a small school. It was not feasible for the major areas like Chesterfield, Derby and Nottingham. The American example of separation of State and Church was often quoted, but there was a different attitude and a more supportive voluntary sector. Manning was originally against School Boards but changed his mind: B. Selby, 'Manning, Ullathorne and the School Board Question', *JEAH* vol.1 no. 5 (1973) *Derby School Board Minutes 1871-4* DRO. *Nottingham Daily Express* 27 March 1874 p. 3 col. 3 shows how Catholics ensured School Board meetings were publicised even when they attempted to ban reporters from their meetings.

¹³⁰ E. De Lisle said the same thing with regard to technical education: *Hansard* 3rd series vol. 338 col. 1889. He did slightly change his mind (1891) over aid for schools in that he would have supported some state interference for more money. In this he was a realist as the situation for Catholic schools was becoming dire. Bagshawe would have none of it: *Hansard* 3rd series vol. 355 col. 654.

¹³¹ Also at Brigg and Eckington. Examples of press reporting: *Leicester Journal* 28 January 1870 p. 8 col. 1, *Nottingham Daily Express* 27 March 1874 p. 3 col. 1. *The Month* July-December 1870, 'The Catholic Interests in the Last Session of Parliament', pp. 373-90. Other Catholic publications such as *Catholic Standard* and *Catholic Opinion* also carried School Board information. The protagonists stressed that the most successful Catholic schools were those in receipt of a government grant and that HMIs saw the need for Catholic schools to have more money. When Harnett stood in 1889 he

with the wishes of the Hierarchy, candidates were proposed and seconded by the clergy or prominent lay Catholics, although some educated lay people like J. Dobson JP, objected to the clergy being candidates, citing their poor knowledge of educational matters.¹³² Manning may have thought “the priest was the wiser judge”, but Dobson, among others, saw the priests replacement of men teachers with cheap, unqualified females after 1861, as an example of how little the clergy really understood about developing education. Fr. Dwyer (Tory) made it known that he only intended to see that the compulsory parts of the Act were implemented and that his role was to contain the power of the Nottingham School Board. Catholics on Glossop Town Council voted *sine die* for a School Board; Hinckley Catholics tried to ignore the local School Board’s existence.¹³³ In Boston and Grimsby, Catholics deliberately stood (and were elected) to break cosy political agreements made by Anglicans and Nonconformists in their attempts to control local education provision.¹³⁴ Due to these voting tactics - vote concentration and direction by the Church - Catholics were able to ensure each School Board contained one Catholic representative.

Meanwhile, as well as the initial political emphasis to secure victory in School Board elections, there was the problem of how Catholics should vote in the 1874 and subsequent Parliamentary elections, especially in the light of the perceived failure in Catholic eyes, of the Liberal Party to honour their commitment to denominational education.¹³⁵ Some Catholics were inclined to follow the Hierarchy’s wishes and vote

made it clear that he was not allied to any party, unlike the Tory Dwyer: *Catholic Educator* 4 October 1889 p. 9 col. 1. *The Wyvern* 9 April 1897 p. 387 col. 1 notes that the Leicester Catholic Club was “the centre of all Catholic efforts in the district”.

¹³² *Nottingham Daily Express* 19 November 1870 p. 3 col. 1. This should be compared to J. Smith, ‘The Priests and the Elementary School’, p. 533. From 1861 money from the CPSC was paid direct to the priest for salaries, and not as previously to the individual teacher.

¹³³ For Glossop see *Glossop Borough Minutes* GPL.

¹³⁴ J. McGeown, *The Little King Looked After Them: A History of St. Mary’s Boston*, (Boston, 1983) pp. 18-9. In 1874 Fr. Johnson topped the poll: *Stamford Mercury* 8 May 1874.

¹³⁵ D. Quinn, *Patronage and Piety* p. 83 notes that some Conservatives did not want to be associated

Conservative, believing such a government would change the 1870 Act as it also affected Anglican Schools.¹³⁶ Others reluctantly supported the Liberals as they disliked the Conservative's foreign policy and their attitude to Irish affairs. Thus any diocesan cohesion generated by Forster's Act was partially dissipated when it came to Parliamentary elections: however, it is probable that local Catholics had some effect on the outcome of the 1874 election for although the Conservatives won, in the diocese three former Tory seats became Liberal.

The political battle over education became more directed and vociferous after Bagshawe's arrival in 1874: now Catholics heard the pulpit being used for religious-political reasons. Bagshawe sought to enhance the anti-School Board Catholic consensus through his *Pastorals*, 'half-penny pamphlets', and by making Catholic education an issue at every election, whether local or Parliamentary. He took every opportunity to speak on the issue, both within the diocese and at every other meeting.¹³⁷ Special collections were ordered (as was their strict timing) to help diocesan schools, and open days and prizegivings multiplied in Bagshawe's political efforts to involve more people and promote Catholic education.¹³⁸ Bagshawe's establishment of the Nottingham Boys' Catholic Grammar School (1876) involving the Catholic middle class was part of this political agenda: by involving the middle classes he hoped to harness their growing political consciousness.¹³⁹ Selby emphasises the importance of the united Catholic efforts regarding education by suggesting, "It is quite probable that the

with the Catholic cause. Also on p. 86 he shows that those Catholics that did embrace the Tories did so more out of anti-Liberalism than in the pursuit of Conservative principles. See also F. Bourne, *The Catholic Attitude to the Education Question* (London, 1929) pp. 5-11.

¹³⁶ Ambrose De Lisle kept to his principles and voted Conservative, still treasuring his belief in Anglican-Catholic Reunion: C. Wobley, *Lord John Manners and His Friends* pp. 251-5

¹³⁷ E.g., E. Bagshawe, *The Danger to Christianity* (Nottingham, 1880) See also Chapters 2 and 3 for references to his use of *Pastorals* and *Circulars*. That his actions were known nationally see *The Lamp*, 48 (1895) 'Denominational Education' p. 276.

¹³⁸ See examples in *St. Philip Neri Mansfield School Log Books* and *St. Mary's Nottingham School Log Books: Parish Collection* NDA.

wholehearted Catholic effort in defence of denominational education at the 1885 election, which was a principal factor behind the establishment of the Cross Commission, would not have been realised without the experience and awareness built up over six School Board elections".¹⁴⁰ In the generation of such political pressures, the Nottingham Diocese played no small part.

Catholic involvement with the School Boards was thus overtly political, and Bagshawe endeavoured to maintain a united opposition to their actions. To this end he emphasised a three-pronged political attack: independent voting by Catholic School Board members, opposition to educational developments if equal opportunity was not given to Catholics, and supporting all that benefited Catholic schools. The way Catholic schools, unlike Anglican or Nonconformist ones in the diocese did not succumb to School Board pressures, was met with increased political efforts by Secularists to defeat them, and increased political resistance by local Catholics. In effect, it became a kind of 'cat and mouse' game, akin to the political efforts used by the Irish MPs in Parliament.¹⁴¹ A Catholic tactic was to call for an enquiry into the need for any new proposed Board School and, by publicity, delay matters so gaining Catholics time to organise an effective political campaign in the press. In Spalding, for example, School Boards retaliated by a rigorous enforcement of increased hygiene standards; and it was only thanks to a diocesan fund-raising effort, which was clearly political and led by Bagshawe, that several schools were saved. Catholics made much political capital out of the way the School Board rate was steadily increasing and succeeded in getting

¹³⁹ There was also an upper class connection in that Lady Herries sent one of her sons to the school.

¹⁴⁰ B. Selby 'The School Board Question', p. 26. Edwin De Lisle endeavoured to ensure the work of the Cross Commission was continually before Parliament by asking questions : e.g. *Hansard* 3rd series vol. 339 cols. 421 and 911.

¹⁴¹ *Hansard* 3rd series vol. 312 col. 1883-94 shows De Lisle condemning Bagshawe's support for 'boycotting', both in Ireland and when he used it to halt School Board meetings.

Edwin De Lisle (Conservative) to ask some pertinent questions in Parliament.¹⁴² In Nottingham, Catholics organised a petition signed by over 1,300 people against School Board extravagance.¹⁴³

In several ways School Boards strengthened Catholic political endeavours. The standard design and prominent siting of Board Schools made them a constant reminder of what Catholics were up against. School Boards had the power to compel Guardians to pay for Catholic inmates' children who attended Board or Catholic Schools. The enforcement of these permissive, not mandatory powers, became a political issue with appeals to Parliament and protests at election times: in Chesterfield, after the School Board refused to pay any such fees, and a Catholic orchestrated public outcry, the government intervened and made them pay.¹⁴⁴ In Leicester and Nottingham, parents were initially made to collect the money personally on a Monday morning during working hours, thus depriving them of valuable income, until it became politically expedient to halt such prejudice.¹⁴⁵ Several Derbyshire Guardians realised in the 1880s that such unpopular actions could cost them their seats.

By the mid-1880s, a political *modus operandi* had been established between Catholics and the School Boards across the diocese, although it was far from amiable.¹⁴⁶

¹⁴² *Hansard* 3rd series vol. 355 col. 224. The School Board rate was supposed to be under 1/- in the £ but this was often exceeded. De Lisle tried unsuccessfully to get the ceiling enforced.

¹⁴³ *Nottingham Daily Express* 4 April 1873 p. 3 col. 5.

¹⁴⁴ Storey Smith resigned, but the government re-instated him.

¹⁴⁵ Eventually such actions rebounded on some Guardians and School Board members who were not re-elected and moneys were paid direct, but whether this was due to Catholic pressure or the fact that enquiries nationally showed some parent were pocketing the money and not sending their children to school is another side of the issue. *Glossop Times* 15 April 1881 p. 8 col. 3, *Nottingham Daily Express* 4 April 1883 p. 3 col. 5, *Derby Telegraph* 28 February 1874 p. 2 col. 3. *GT* 28 February 1874 p. 5 col. 4. *DT* 19 September 1874 condemned all political interference in the fees issue. McKenna argued for direct payment nationally: *Nottingham Journal* 17 June 1879 p. 3 col. 2. In Derby McKenna also argued that under the 1874 Artisan's Dwellings Act, the compulsory numbering of properties would enable the Boards to better enforce compulsory attendance. This would also affect Catholic schools since the more pupils who attended, the greater amount of money they got. It would also show that there was a need for another Catholic school in Derby. See Chapter 7 for details of the building of St Joseph's.

¹⁴⁶ A. Beales, 'The Struggle for the Schools' in G. Beck ed., *The English Catholics 1850-1950* (London,

At the 1884 Diocesan Synod Bagshawe talked of education and increased the number of political meetings held in the run up to the 1885 and 1886 general elections.¹⁴⁷ National figures including Manning, Vaughan and MPs came to speak and thanks to divisions in the local Liberal party, the Conservative Edwin De Lisle was elected for Loughborough.¹⁴⁸

Following the 1885 and 1886 elections, diocesan Catholics became despondent at their inability to force changes in education. Locally, School Boards continued to raise the legal requirements of premises used for education: Catholics were forced to drag their feet in the face of deteriorating economic conditions, while Bagshawe continually exhorted them to contribute to school maintenance.¹⁴⁹ Catholics were helped by Vaughan's insistence (1893) that dioceses group together and jointly finance their schools: Nottingham joined with Northampton.¹⁵⁰ However, what really saved the schools were the changes made to the Revised Code of 1897, and a small increase in government grants. The diocesan political ethos associated with the education question largely held good up to the passing of the 1902 Balfour Education Act which gave denominational education on the rates.¹⁵¹

The nature of the non-education diocesan political ethos can be shown by comparing the positions of Bagshawe, the Christian Socialist, and Edwin de Lisle, the reactionary Conservative, who together mark the extremes of the local Catholic political

1950) p. 378 notes this was a national trend.

¹⁴⁷ Questions were asked in Parliament about prohibiting the use of Church schools for election purposes but De Lisle successfully defended their use: *Hansard* 3rd series vol. 313 col. 1685.

¹⁴⁸ *Bagshawe Box 1* 20 April 1884 NDA, *NJ* 2 July 1884.

¹⁴⁹ See for example, the fears expressed by Croft in *St. Hugh's Lincoln School Log Book Lincoln Mission File: Parish Collection* NDA from 1888. *St. Augustine's Nottingham School Log Book St. Augustine's Mission File: Parish Collection* NDA is another example.

¹⁵⁰ See *Nottingham and Northampton Dioceses' Association Minute Book Bishops Collection* NDA. In reality diocesan religious politics triumphed and the two dioceses ran separately until the Association was wound up in 1902.

¹⁵¹ There were instances of a personal nature where the unity did not prevail: M. Middlebrook, *The Catholic Church Boston* (Boston, 1977) p. 26 notes that Fr. O'Donoghue allegedly dismissed a

spectrum. Bagshawe continuously spoke on the over-riding importance of Catholicism while De Lisle, quoting Papal Encyclicals stressed the importance of the *status quo*. Both men opposed Socialism, but for different reasons: to Bagshawe it was a 'god-less creed', which destroyed the family, while De Lisle was worried at its revolutionary effects.¹⁵² However, any pretensions to political unity were broken when it came to dealing with Ireland and Irish affairs. Bagshawe analysed the troubles in Ireland as a particular example of the wider contemporary evils facing the United Kingdom, which he associated with high rents, low wages, unfettered free trade and non-Christian influences such as atheism and Socialism.¹⁵³ By contrast, De Lisle saw the troubles in Ireland and among the Irish in general, as being due to a lack of a rigorous enforcement of the law.¹⁵⁴ Bagshawe, through Christian Socialism, wanted to change society as a whole, whereas De Lisle wanted the social *status quo* with alterations over specific issues, including protection for [his] hosiery workers of north Leicestershire, and farming landlords, of which he was one.¹⁵⁵ Bagshawe propounded support of the Liberals as a bastion against secular Socialism, supporting their approach to welfare reform, while De Lisle represented those who were opposed to higher taxation. While Bagshawe saw *Christian* Socialism as being based on the teachings of the Catholic

teacher Miss Prendergast, for taking part in politics in 1885.

¹⁵² For example, his mother's family had lost a considerable amount of wealth in the German troubles; Paris in 1871 and the Commune was a very recent memory, and with strikes in England such as the 1889 Dock Strike people like De Lisle felt decidedly uneasy. Locally, Socialists were beginning to organise in the boroughs such as Leicester and Nottingham. Hence his opposition to any form of Socialism, including Bagshawe's Christian Socialism.

¹⁵³ He tried to counter atheism and Socialism by quoting the *Index* and preaching against what he considered inappropriate literature. See E. Bagshawe *On Justice and Mercy to the Poor: a True Political Economy* (London, 1885).

¹⁵⁴ As in his support for the Irish Coercion Bills, e.g., *Hansard* 3rd series vol. 312 col. 1883-94. In a way the Bagshawe-De Lisle debate was a copy at the local level of the Gladstone-Disraeli approach to Irish affairs. Gladstone, like Bagshawe, wanted to pacify Ireland by dealing with the causes of the problems whereas De Lisle, like Disraeli, wanted obedience to the law and peace as a pre-requisite for developments. In this way, the problem arises of wondering whether, apart from over education, Catholics were different in their needs from other groups!

¹⁵⁵ It has already been noted how these issues came up in the Lincoln 1906 election and how different classes and groups of Catholics could vote for separate Catholics, so making it impossible to achieve

Church, this important difference was often over-looked by Catholic Socialists, such as Lord Snell, a local man prominent in the Co-operative movement.¹⁵⁶ In Leicester, the Catholic Irish Home Ruler, Michael Davitt, urged Catholics to support the Liberal-Labour voting arrangements to ensure social reform, although as noted earlier, this did not happen in Lincoln.¹⁵⁷

Ireland, unlike education, was not a single issue affair, but seen by those involved as part of the wider political debate: hence the impossibility of a totally united Catholic approach. What occurred was the emergence of a majority view which saw a measure of constitutional reform as the solution. That it was an association of Catholics and Liberalism was due to Gladstone, the presence of Liberal MPs, Bagshawe and priests at Home Rule meetings, and opposition from local Conservatives: “to Gladstone” was a familiar toast at many Catholic gatherings.¹⁵⁸

Bagshawe and the Irish priests attended the more constitutional Land League meetings held in both Catholic and secular venues. To this end, and in an ultramontane fashion, he ensured that their timings did not coincide with those of Masses. However, it was Bagshawe’s and the clergy’s attendance at the large open air rallies that attracted most press reporting. This may have been the ‘official’ Bagshawe-promoted political line, but it exemplified a perception, denied by some other diocesan Catholics, that they all supported Home Rule and the Irish.¹⁵⁹ The diocesan political disunity over Ireland was noted by the press which commented on how De Lisle questioned in Parliament the legitimacy of bishops attending political rallies, and his quoting Papal Encyclicals which

a united Parliamentary political ethos.

¹⁵⁶ Lord Snell, *Men Movements and Myself* (London, 1936).

¹⁵⁷ For Davitt see N. Danaher, ‘The Leicester Irish, Chapter 9.

¹⁵⁸ E.g., *Nottingham Daily Express* 20 September 1887 p. 8 col. 1. *NDE* 18 December 1889 p. 6 col. 2.

There was a mass meeting in Nottingham’s Albert Hall attended by Irish Home Rulers, local Liberals, Bagshawe and many priests. Parnell came to these meetings, which pleased Bagshawe.

¹⁵⁹ E.g., A letter in the *Nottingham Journal* 10 May 1882 p. 5 col. 6 which criticised Bagshawe’s

(allegedly) showed that the Pope opposed Home Rule.¹⁶⁰ Other Catholics wrote to the press expressing their anger over the Pope's inaction over Ireland and stating He should make up his mind over Irish issues.¹⁶¹ People like De Lisle and Lord Denbigh condemned the association of Catholicism and Irish Home Rule, while yet others, such as Lord Braye, Fr. Griffin and Fr. Baigent, remained aloof from the situation. Thus the only political ethos over Ireland was a divided one.¹⁶² Unanimity existed only in the usual condemnation of violence and Fenianism.¹⁶³

The period 1870-92 had seen a change in the political position of local Catholics. It was a period when the diocesan political ethos assumed a new dynamic. Certainly more people were actively involved in Catholic political events. Catholic institutions aimed at enabling a better expression of any political will flourished. Above all, the most salient feature was the degree to which the clergy, including Bagshawe, influenced how Catholics should act. The political ethos was most united over education at the local level. There was also a lesser degree of unanimity over Ireland locally. However, the principle was that as political needs became increasingly removed from the direct local situation, so Catholic unity became increasingly fractured. When removed from the direct, local situation, matters became hijacked by party politics. Beyond the confines of a local School Board election, at the higher level of Parliamentary politics, Catholics took a wider view of the world, and education and other factors had to be considered. This variation however, was another feature of the

stance.

¹⁶⁰ E.g. *Nottingham Daily Express* 5 May 1888 p. 5 col. 4. *Hansard* 3rd series vol. 313 col. 1095, 1147, 1151 and vol. 322 col. 607. B. Aspinwall, 'Towards a Catholic Social Conscience 1829-1920', suggests "Rome simply did not understand Ireland".

¹⁶¹ E.g., *Nottingham Daily Express* 4 May 1888 'A Catholic' p. 3 col. 4.

¹⁶² There are no references in *Hansard* to Lord. Braye speaking on Ireland. For De Lisle see the Loughborough press for 1886-92.

¹⁶³ *Nottingham Journal* 10 January 1881 p. 3 col. 2 and *Grantham Journal* 25 June 1887 p. 4 col. 2 for example.

diocesan political ethos. What political ethos there was worked most effectively at the local level where the issue was more about religion than party.

7. Stage 3: 1892-1915 Achievement and Stagnation

Between 1892 and 1915 the diocesan political ethos became increasingly volatile and fragile, centring upon changes in emphasis between education, Ireland, and combating Socialism. Bagshawe's mental decline and the appointment of Brindle foreshadowed a less directed, more individual, lay-centred approach to political issues. Over education, opposition to School Boards held, but the political emphasis shifted from a diocesan approach to a more Hierarchy-directed national campaign involving the Anglican Church.¹⁶⁴ Locally, Bagshawe and the Anglican Bishop of Lincoln jointly supported this approach, urging their respective subjects at elections to press for support for denominational education.¹⁶⁵ Both bishops agreed that "the present education chaos must be reduced to order...and that no government that abolished denominational education would survive". However, Bagshawe's support was at the best lukewarm as he would have nothing to do with the Conservatism that accompanied Anglicanism. At the 1900 general election almost half the local constituencies returned Conservative MPs, suggesting divisions in the diocesan political ethos. In order to protect the limited Catholic gains achieved in the 1902 Education Act, Bourne adopted a 'top-down approach', using his allies at Westminster, and forcefully directing diocesan bishops,

¹⁶⁴ This involved Vaughan and the Archbishop of Canterbury, both of whom were Conservative. *The Lamp* XLVIII (1895) p. 276. J. Bland, 'The Impact of Government on English Catholic Education', p. 47 shows the value of this joint approach in "it is essential to remember that Anglican Schools...were in an more influential position". It is also important to note that many of the Anglican schools had closed and their financial position was every bit as bad as that of Catholics.

¹⁶⁵ 'Denominational Education', p. 276. A. Beales, 'The Struggle for the Schools' in Beck, ed., *The English Catholics*, p. 383.

including Brindle on how they should apply the Act since it allowed for “local discretion”.¹⁶⁶ Under the 1902 Education Act, the School Boards were replaced with Local Education Committees, which were sub-committees of the politically elected local authorities. Thus the administration of education at the local level became an increasingly party-political issue. The new Local Education Committees could co-opt religious representatives, and while Liberal Leicester did, Conservative Nottingham had no Catholic representatives until 1909.¹⁶⁷ In general, the new Local Education Committees did not look favourably on Catholic schools, since many were sub-standard in their buildings and in the quality and quantity of their teachers.¹⁶⁸ LEAs constantly sought ways to close down Catholic schools, and in this they were aided by the Liberal government.¹⁶⁹ The result was that Catholic financial and political efforts remained a crucial part of their political ethos.¹⁷⁰ Brindle urged the laity to question all election candidates on their position regarding the Catholic schools, saying “every care should be

¹⁶⁶ Brindle’s role in this is shown in Chapter 3 and Chapter 6 ‘Education’. The Act made it necessary for denominational schools to have one third of their managers appointed by the LEAs but such people did not have to be Catholics. In the case of co-opted members of the LEAs, there was no balance of denominational representatives. Hence the stress of Bourne on a united approach to protect Catholic education. In the case of Catholic Pupil Teachers’ Centres as demanded by Bourne, Brindle failed to respond, largely due to the near bankruptcy of the diocese, but this did mean that non-Catholics took up some appointments in Catholic Schools: *Bishops’ Conference Minutes File 1903 onwards: Brindle’s Papers Bishops Collection NDA*. These *Minutes* show that Brindle was only too aware of the dangers of “discretion” J. Bastow, ‘Elementary Education in the Diocese of Nottingham’, p. 413 notes how secondary education and Religious Education were two such local grey areas. The importance of a common policy is illustrated by events in Bradford in 1905 when some laity were prepared to sit on a joint LEA-Catholic School Appointments’ Committee until Bourne forbade such actions: see A. Beales, ‘The Struggle for the Schools’, p. 387.

¹⁶⁷ Harrison in Leicester was supported by Fr. McNabb in this, as were several others. In Glossop, Fr. Hawkins was a member. In Nottingham in 1909 it was Fr. Brady, an unfortunate choice in the light of his future troubles with Brindle.

¹⁶⁸ For example, Catholic teachers in Nottingham found themselves after 1902 in receipt of a 25% pay rise, while although Catholics had to maintain aspects of the buildings, it still represented a great deal of extra spending and as this meant raising the local rates, Catholic education still remained a local political issue.

¹⁶⁹ The introduction of various Education Bills after 1906 created a climate of opinion in which the future of denominational education was uncertain, making it a political football.

¹⁷⁰ A clear example of this which is discussed in Chapter 6 concerns Louth St. Mary’s Catholic School which was one of the few forcibly closed by the new LEAs that covered the diocese in 1909. The hub of the matter was untrained staff and poor standards reached by the pupils.

taken...every means in their lay power employed...to safeguard education". while Fr. Hays used the slogan "no compromise" when addressing electors.¹⁷¹

A politically sensitive issue was the provision of secondary education.¹⁷² Catholic schools tended to be all-age schools, but as the LEAs demanded separation of older pupils and this required new buildings, priests placed more emphasis on maintaining the existing schools.. This led to power struggles to get LEAs to provide funds for Catholic secondary education: only one school in Leicester, was built prior to 1914.¹⁷³ A wider political issue for Catholics was the use, in state secondary schools, of anti-Catholic material for scholarship examinations: in Glossop (1913) Fr. Hawkins resigned from the LEA over the use of *Westward Ho!* as an optional examination text. Previously, in 1908 he had issued a political *Manifesto* supporting the Liberals and encouraging his parishioners to support the Liberals.¹⁷⁴ Such priestly actions were discouraged by Brindle and Bourne who wanted less direction of the laity by the clergy.¹⁷⁵ What further upset local Catholic sensibilities regarding education was the

¹⁷¹ *Minutes of the Catholic Bishops' Conferences 1903-12: Brindle's Papers Bishops Collection* NDA. *Brindle's 1912 Pastoral Brindle's Papers Bishops Collection: NDA. Catholic Herald* 2 December 1908 p. 16 col. 7 refers to Fr. Hays.

¹⁷² This is defined in Chapter 6. Catholic children did not always start at the age of 5, especially in rural areas, and neither did they attend regularly so that they reached the required standards by the time they were 11 so that it meant that many of 'secondary school age' were still in the primary school. This is shown in the *Registers for Market Rasen Holy Rood School Market Rasen Mission File :Parish Collection* NDA. To avoid children going to state secondary schools, all age Catholic schools were maintained but increasingly especially middle class parents objected and sent their children to the new, better equipped state secondary schools.

¹⁷³ Brindle planned a Jesuit one for Nottingham but the war prevented the implementation of his plans.

¹⁷⁴ Fr. Hawkins was a big man both in his size and personality, and few dared to cross him. See notes on him in *Hawkins Deceased Priests File: Priests Collection* NDA. See also *Catholic Herald* 17 July 1909 p. 11 col. 3. He was criticised by the Socialists and Liberals for his political interference. Lord Howard the local landlord criticised him as his Tory supported candidate was defeated: see correspondence 'Lord Howard to Fr. Hawkins in *Glossop Mission File :Parish Collection* NDA. Overall this incident is another example of how effective the growth of ultramontanism had become by 1910 and how cisalpinism was still cherished by some Catholics.

¹⁷⁵ This problem was not confined to the Nottingham Diocese. Compare the situation in Preston (Liverpool Diocese, 1910) where a petition was presented to the bishop complaining that the laity were put under undue pressure as to how to vote. The bishop replied "the school's question should be paramount"; i.e. he did not condemn the priests although this was not how Bourne wanted the matter treated: *Catholic Herald* 12 March 1910 p. 13 col. 1. *Bishop's Conference Minutes: Brindle's Papers Bishops Collection* NDA show that Bourne wanted the position explained to the

provision of Belgian Catholic secondary education in 1914. These were supported by the Catholics but a comparison with this LEA support for foreign Catholics and their pre-war anti-Catholic attitude over secondary education was noted.¹⁷⁶ Diocesan education policy between 1892 and 1915 thus demonstrates a marked level of Catholic political achievement, although there was stagnation with regard to the provision of secondary education.

The importance of Irish affairs in the diocesan political ethos continued to ebb and flow depending on the efforts of Home Rulers, Irish priests, and the immediacy of elections.¹⁷⁷ Above all, without Bagshawe's leadership, Irish matters underwent a relative decline, reflecting Vaughan's Conservative-based approach using the Lords.¹⁷⁸ In the diocese, the appearance of Liberal Unionism and Socialism divided support for Ireland. Whereas, between 1886 and 1892, Bagshawe and various local priests including O'Reilly (Whitwick) and McCarthy (Ilkeston) regularly attended the Home Rule rallies held in the diocese, after this period local Liberal MPs like Morley and Ellis, and one Conservative MP, Broadhurst, sent 'apologies' for their absences, which suggests that they had mixed views as to how important the Catholic vote was for their

laity and then left to them to vote in accordance with their consciences.

¹⁷⁶ These developments can be traced in *De Belgische Koerier* 22 October 1914-31 July 1915. That it was a more important issue for the Nottingham Diocese than for others see *St. John's Mission Book 1860-1960*, Diocese of East Anglia Archives.

¹⁷⁷ N. Danaher, 'The Leicester Irish' Chapter 9 can be compared with the previous section on the 1906 Lincoln election. At a personal level compare the disagreements of Fr. O'Reilly and Edwin De Lisle: *Nottingham DailyExpress* 1890 p. 8 col. 4. *NDE* 24 June 1892 p. 8 col. 1, Councillor Sharkey (Nottingham and Monahan urge all Irish to vote Liberal in the elections.

¹⁷⁸ Differences in approach by the Westminster cardinals is shown by J. Cashman, 'The 1906 Education Bill: Catholic Peers and Irish Nationalists', *Recusant History* vol. 18 no. 4 (1987) pp. 422-439. K. Aspden, *Fortress Church* Chapter 1 deals with the approach of Bourne to matters. J. Bastow, 'Elementary Education in the Diocese of Nottingham', p. 415 notes the Liberals made 20 proposals 1906-1915 to end denominational education. Brindle showed no affinity with Irish politics, although he visited Ireland (1910, reason unknown): *Catholic Herald* 7 May 1910 p. 1 col. 5. He made no comments on his return. E.O'Callaghan, *English Catholics and the Irish Question*, Phd. Thesis University of Ireland, (1975) pp. 269, 275, 282-3. Manning also warned Bagshawe about aligning Catholics with one section of the community.

re-election.¹⁷⁹ By 1894, local Catholic interest in Irish politics seemed to be waning, only to be partially re-kindled by the approaching 1895 election.¹⁸⁰ Although Catholics, and in particular Irish Catholics, were active in the 1900 and 1906 election campaigns, 'Ireland' featured to a lesser extent in the propaganda. Meetings continued throughout 1900-1908 but at a somewhat muted level: joint meetings, as in the case of Louth and Grimsby, were held and Sabela a member of Grantham Sanitary Authority, agitated for better water supplies for the Irish area of the town.¹⁸¹ This declining interest in Irish affairs is reflected in the Lincoln election of 1906, as already mentioned.

The diocesan Irish political momentum rapidly increased after 1908 with the prospect of the Liberal government introducing the Third Home Rule Bill. Meetings proliferated with Leicester and Nottingham the most active centres. Irish-minded priests encouraged the use of their schools for Home Rule meetings and delegates travelled to Ireland to discuss matters with the Irish Bishops.¹⁸² By 1909 Catholics such as Gibney were expressing strong praise for the Home Rule movement and joint Liberal-Irish preparations were in hand for the 1910 general election. 'A Priest' (name unknown) was recorded as giving a lecture on 'Fenianism'. By 1910, Home Rulers and the Liberals were claiming that "Nottingham was well covered, as was Leicester, and Derby, too, was well organised".¹⁸³ Such comments suggest that in some ways the diocesan political machinery was working well. During 1911 and 1912, both priests and

¹⁷⁹ In 1887 over 300 Catholics were said to be present at a rally *Nottingham Daily Express* 18 March 1887 p. 7 col. 5. *Nottingham Journal* 20 June 1887 p. 3 col. 4 suggests over 3,000 attended a Home Rule rally at Hucknall. Amongst the speakers Michael Davitt was a familiar figure' He worked with John Denvir an ex-Fenian in the Leicester Association to secure the return of Ramsay McDonald in 1906. In the 1902 election, only Morley was returned.

¹⁸⁰ *Nottingham Daily Express* 22 February 1894 p. 1 col. 5, for example. In general, the local press shows a dearth of articles on the Home Rule activities in the Diocese 1895-1900.

¹⁸¹ *Stamford Mercury* 30 June 1903 p. 5 col. 4. *Grantham Journal* 30 May 1891 p. 2 col. 5. O'Donoghue was similarly active in Boston.

¹⁸² E.g., *Catholic Herald* 1 August 1908 p. 1 col. 5. For the Irish visit *CH* 29 August 1908 p. 8 col. 3.

¹⁸³ *Catholic Herald* 23 January 1909 p. 16 col. 4. *CH* 20 March 1909 p. 12 col. 3. *CH* 10 April p. 16 col. 1 *CH* 25 September 1909 p. 1 col. 6. *CH* 18 December 1909 p. 17 col. 3. *CH* 8 January

laity continued to attend Home Rule meetings, both within and outside the diocese. In November 1912 Asquith came to Grantham and Leicester, expressing delight with the support shown by Catholics for the Liberals.¹⁸⁴ However, after the Act was passed, there was a sudden lack of enthusiasm for Irish affairs.¹⁸⁵ It was noticeable that Catholics seemed less interested in attending meetings and travelling to congresses. Irish affairs 1892-1915 show a marked pattern of Catholic involvement, interspersed with periods of stagnation.

Over Socialism, Bourne, and locally Brindle, reversed Bagshawe's negative approach and positively encouraged debates amongst the laity. Brindle supported the Hierarchy's political stance of trusting the laity more in how they voted, while personally showing no party allegiance, supporting instead the Catholic Federation with its approved connections/debates with trade unions and the Labour Party.¹⁸⁶ Brindle was anxious the Catholic Federation should be established across the diocese "for encouraging the defence of the right of the extension of the Faith". Regarded in this light it can be seen as part of the Catholic political machinery. At a mission level there were arguments regarding the political stance, if any, the Catholic Federation should adopt. While the Oldham experience suggested the tying of the Catholic Federation to a particular party-in this case the Liberals- weakened it, other branches at St. Barnabas',

p. 1910 p. 1 col. 7. *CH* 26 March 1910 p. 1 col. 6.

¹⁸⁴ E.g. *Catholic Herald* 4 March 1912 p. 9 col. 3.

¹⁸⁵ E.g., *Catholic Herald* 1 March 1913 p. 1 col. 5. See also S. Gilley, 'The Church and the Irish Diaspora', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* vol. 35 no. 2 (1984) pp. 205-6.

¹⁸⁶ *Catholic Herald* 24 April 1909 p. 16 col. 2. For a picture nationally of the Catholic Federation, see P. Doyle, 'The Catholic Federation', ed. D. Sheils *SCH* vol. 23 (1986) pp. 461-476. However, as Doyle shows, by trying to be impartial and pursue its ends without attaching itself to a party, the Catholic Federation lost its credibility, but as the Oldham experience 1909-10 shows, and involving an election which Churchill stood, alignment with a particular party also weakened the Catholic Federation. See also the references listed in the index to K. Aspden, *Fortress Church*. However, certain branches, such as the Grimsby branch actively promoted its impartiality: W. Bedford and M. Knight, *Jacob's Ladder* (Grimsby, 1996) p. 178. At an election meeting at St. Barnabas' in 1908 it was noted how Irish Home rulers and 4 priests wanted the Catholics to be directed to support the Irish, while Brindle wanted neutrality: *NDE* 30 September 1908 p. 8 col. 3.

wanted it to become a priest-led body for directing the laity, despite Brindle's political neutrality.

Socialism was a worrying development for diocesan Catholics "which produced a very varied response [amongst the clergy and laity] within the Church".¹⁸⁷ The Church's response varied from condemnation by Bagshawe to theological approval by Fr. McNabb OP, Prior of Holy Cross Leicester (1906-14), while Fr. Van Santen O.Praem. (Crowle), withheld absolution from those who showed any support for socialist ideas. Tory Lord Denbigh opposed the ideas whereas Lord Snell, Catholic, Socialist, and supporter of the Co-operative movement, and working class English and Irish Catholics in the towns, supported the Socialists.¹⁸⁸ Bagshawe's Christian Socialism produced a political backlash, highlighted by De Lisle's *Reply to Bishop Bagshawe* (1886) and Lord Snell's objection to "the anti-Socialist wrath whipped up by Bagshawe".¹⁸⁹ A considerable number of Catholics attended a 'Progressive Rally' in Leicester (1906), organised by Michael Davitt, and heard speakers claim "that far from being a god-less party [Bagshawe's words] they were a Christian caring one". In the Spalding constituency, despite Van Santen's opposition, the Labour share of the vote increased. Meanwhile, middle class Catholics, as at Leicester Holy Cross, debated "Can a Christian be a Socialist?"¹⁹⁰ In 1910 McNabb lectured to the NUT, which was increasingly attracting Catholic teachers, on 'The Soul of the Child' and the importance of Religious Education. In 1912 when (Liberal) Leicester Education Committee, of

¹⁸⁷ S. Gilley, 'The Church and the Irish Diaspora', p. 205.

¹⁸⁸ Bagshawe: *Nottingham Journal* 16 August 1878 p. 3 col. 5. Lord Denbigh: N. Danaher, 'The Leicester Irish' p. 421. McNabb: F. Valentine *Father McNabb OP*. (London, 1955), Lord Snell: Lord Snell, *Men Movements and Myself*. (London, 1936), *Catholic Herald* 18 12 1909 p. 16 col. 3 reported that Lord Denbigh was one of the peers who opposed Lord George's Budget in the Lords.

¹⁸⁹ Lord Snell, *Men, Movements and Myself* p. 61. An example of how people could misunderstand the Socialism of Bagshawe and too easily link it with secular Socialism.

¹⁹⁰ F. Valentine *Fr. McNabb OP* p. 122. Several diocesan CYMS groups debated the same or similar motions.

which he was a member, tried to halt such teaching, he aroused public opinion to such an extent that the idea was dropped, less he forced an election in a marginal ward.¹⁹¹

While Brindle strongly supported a neutral Catholic Federation, priests like Harnett and O'Reilly saw Socialism as another political tool to help achieve Home Rule.¹⁹² In 1894 Harnett traced the origins of Socialism to the work of the monks, while in Market Harborough Fr. Kavanagh supported Socialism through his talks on 'The Dignity of Labour'.¹⁹³ These pro-Socialist measures and the increasing vehemence in others show that Socialism was taking hold in Catholic political circles and that they could no longer be ignored.¹⁹⁴ From 1892, the local press contained frequent references to Catholics who attended Liberal meetings and either disagreed with the Party and expressed Socialist views, or who left and joined the Labour Party. Similarly, there were reports of Catholic women attending Labour Party meetings because their candidates supported Women's Suffrage.¹⁹⁵ The fact that areas of major Catholic concentration in 1910 returned two Labour, three Liberal-Labour, and 15 liberal MPs clearly shows that there was a definite connection between Catholicism and Socialism by 1915.

7. Conclusion: The Ethos Overall 1850-1915.

Chapter 5 commenced by defining the diocesan political ethos and stating the reasons why Catholics became involved in politics. This ethos can now be summarised.

¹⁹¹ F. Valentine, *Fr. McNabb*, 123.

¹⁹² E.g., N. Danaher, 'The Leicester Irish', p. 423. P. Doyle, 'The Catholic Federation', p. 464 notes a similar situation in the Westminster Diocese.

¹⁹³ *Nottingham Daily Express* 22 February 1894 p. 8 col. 1. *Catholic Herald* 13 February 1909 p. 12 col. 3.

¹⁹⁴ Fr. Vaughan, brother of the deceased Cardinal regularly visited the diocese and condemned Socialism, as in Grimsby: A. Bedford and M Knight *Jacob's Ladder* p. 180.

The nature of the diocesan political ethos 1850-1915, reflects the four concepts stated at the beginning of the chapter: namely a widening Catholic involvement, how the Hierarchy and local clergy attempted to control lay Catholic opinion, and the development of an associated political machinery. That the fourth concept -a changing political ethos- was involved, is shown by the shifting nature of diocesan politics and variations in the relative importance of the first three. Throughout 1850-1915 there was a diocesan-wide growth in Catholic political involvement which encompassed people of all classes, including the disenfranchised. Increasingly, diocesan Catholics found themselves directed by the clergy: a situation that reached its zenith under Bagshawe, before declining during Brindle's Episcopate. Concurrently with these developments, a discernible trend manifested itself in the form of Catholics expressing their own political ideas. Peculiarly Catholic electoral institutions emerged during the period 1850-1915, but those of the main parties began to dominate as Catholicism became part of mainstream culture. The short life cycle of the Catholic Federation reflects the way Catholic interests had merged with those of other British citizens.

The diocesan political ethos was unique in its association with an ethnic minority, the Irish, in its cross party involvement with the defence of Catholic education, and the fact that Catholics had to operate politically in a Protestant state. It was indistinguishable in that Catholics, like Anglicans and Nonconformists and those of no religion, were also concerned with contemporary secular problems, including foreign affairs, taxation and welfare reform.

As noted in the definition, it was an evolving Catholic ethos, effectively beginning with finding solutions to local problems, and through experience and need, attempting to influence the national situation. In this development the ethos was

¹⁹⁵ E.g., *Nottingham Daily Express* 3 February 1892 p. 3 col. 5. *NDE* 29 May 1894 p. 8 col. 1.

directly affected by the characteristics and Episcopal leadership shown by the various Bishops of Nottingham, especially Bagshawe. In this way, local Catholics became increasingly associated with the Liberals, even if this was contrary at times to the wishes of the Hierarchy. This dichotomy was another facet of the diocesan political ethos, and marked the interaction of church politics, in the form of ultramontanism, with a rise in British liberal ideas on democracy, which emphasised the role of the individual. What was peculiar to the local Catholic political ethos was the way a religious leadership managed, at times, to exert sufficient pressure so as to impose some semblance of uniformity, unity, and direction, on individual political decisions taken by the rank and file.

Catholic political efforts, despite never being totally united, were broadly effective, especially in preserving and then enhancing Catholic education. Such unity was, however, achieved through negative opposition to School Boards, rather than being positively for improvements. The Catholic political ethos was weakened by the degree to which individual Catholics placed religion ahead of other concerns. Individual Catholics found themselves in a variety of political situations across the diocese, and consequently adopted the wide spectrum of political methods and parties existing, in order to rectify the disadvantages they faced. Such diversity was frequently based on numbers, intellectual differences, historical and social background, and ethnicity.

Finally, the differences in the Catholic political ethos, whether in practice, theology, or clerical leadership, should not obscure the fact that there was an effective diocesan Catholic ethos and that other religious groups and secular society as a whole, became increasingly aware of its existence.