ABSTRACT

Peter John L'Estrange
Campion Hall

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The Nineteenth-Century British Jesuits, with special reference to Their Relations with the Vicars Apostolic and the Bishops

This thesis sets out to examine the relations between the Society of Jesus, the Roman Catholic religious order known as the Jesuits, and the Vicars Apostolic and Bishops during the nineteenth-century. Suppressed in 1773 by the Pope, the Jesuits were restored at the beginning of the nineteenth-century and became the largest group among the Regular clergy in the United Kingdom. They possessed a reputation which provoked strong reactions both within and beyond the Roman Catholic community. The thesis concentrates on the relations during the protracted restoration of the Jesuits, which occurred during the struggle for full Roman Catholic emancipation, and on the various disputes (mainly concerned with the Bishops' jurisdiction and the exempt status of Regulars) which arose between the restoration of the Hierarchy in 1850 and 1881, in which year Rome provided a new constitution, Romanos Pontifices, which governed the relations between Bishops and the Regular clergy. Discussion is concentrated on the Jesuits' relations with Henry Manning in Westminster and Herbert Vaughan in Salford, in whose diocese the Jesuits attempted to open a college in Manchester; attention is also given to John Henry Newman, who, whilst not a diocesan Bishop, was a figure of related significance in this context. The interrelationship between the respective attitudes of these men to the Jesuits, and Jesuit views of them, forms the central focus of the thesis. It illuminates the central problem of the Jesuits' identity and activity in the nineteenth century, and reveals the continuity of nineteenth-century disputes with earlier conflicts on the English mission.

ABSTRACT II

This thesis is concerned with the Jesuits in the United Kingdom in the nineteenth century. Although they were the largest group among the Regular clergy, and possessed a reputation which provoked strong reactions both within and beyond the Roman Catholic community, many aspects of their history have remained unexplored. Suppressed by the Pope in 1773, the Jesuits were restored in the early years of the nineteenth century. These years of suppression and of the rebuilding of the English Province of the Society (which only in 1866 reached the size it had been at the time of the suppression) corresponded with the years of struggle for full Catholic emancipation, and with the period of the most rapid growth of the Roman Catholic community, when clerical ascendancy was established over lay control. The restored Jesuits worked on both home and foreign missions, established schools, conducted retreats, and were engaged in writing and publishing. This thesis concentrates not on their ministerial work, nor on their spirituality or internal life, but on their relations with the Vicars Apostolic and (after the restoration of the Hierarchy) the Bishops. These relations, strained at times, helped determine the Jesuits' identity and understanding of their place in the Roman Catholic community, and also had an important bearing on the community's development. The history of the interrelationship between the Jesuits and the Bishops was not solely the history of disputes, and must be seen against the background of extensive co-operation.

Because of the scope of the subject, covering nearly the whole century, the lives of over a thousand Jesuits and ex-Jesuits, and the Vicars Apostolic and Bishops in almost every district and diocese, I have concentrated attention on some significant periods: the protracted restoration of the Jesuits, and the years between the restoration of the Hierarchy in 1850 and the publication in 1881 of the constitution, Romanos Pontifices, which provided for the new arrangement governing the relations between Bishops and the Regular clergy. I have concentrated on the few Jesuits (the Provincials and their consultors) and on the Bishops (Henry Manning in Westminster

and Herbert Vaughan in Salford) who were most closely involved in the controversies which I discuss. My main source has been the correspondence in the Jesuit archives in London and in Rome, which has been largely unexplored for this period.

I situate the disputes (largely an internal Roman Catholic affair) within the prevailing atmosphere of antipathy to the Jesuits, which produced an abundant literature. The attacks on the Jesuits (some of which came from within the Roman Catholic community) were variegated and changed over time, appealing to different audiences. Many of these attacks, which drew on older material and formed part of the more general attack on Roman Catholicism, resulted in a defensiveness which led the Roman Catholic community to minimize those differences which did exist within it, and led the Jesuits themselves to mask their own divisions and to avoid confrontation, as far as possible, with other groups. It was from this tradition of defensiveness, as well as from the tradition of antipathy, that much previous writing on the Jesuits has been composed.

After the suppression, the ex-Jesuits were Secular priests, but were permitted by the Vicars Apostolic in England to remain, in effect, under obedience to their own superior. Protected by the Prince-Bishop, they continued to conduct their college at Liège, which moved to Stonyhurst in Lancashire in 1793, and, because of the need for priests, they continued to serve missions in England and Wales. The restoration of the Society was a lengthy and difficult affair; despite the Pope's oral permission for the English Jesuits to be aggregated to the surviving Jesuits in Russia in 1802, and the worldwide restoration in 1814, the Society was fully restored in the United Kingdom only in 1829 (although civil disabilities remained throughout the nineteenth century). Prior to this restoration, the Vicars Apostolic, anxious that nothing impede full emancipation, would not accept that the Society had been restored because of the objections of the civil authorities. The Jesuits believed that they were protected under the Relief Acts and that the Vicars Apostolic, motivated by ancient antipathy, coveted their property and schemed for their extinction. Difficulties about the title under which Jesuits could be ordained and could be granted faculties led the English Jesuits to

contemplate the possibility of moving to the European continent or to the United States to be able to live and work as Jesuits. Conflicting decisions of Roman authorities caused added confusion. These disputes and the sharp exchanges between the Vicars Apostolic and Charles Plowden, the Provincial who (allied with Bishop Milner) was the dominant figure of the early years of the restored Province, heightened the mutual suspicion which continued to exist for many years.

During the years of suppression and after the restoration, the Jesuits continued to serve missions. They disputed among themselves whether the care of stable Catholic communities in these missions fulfilled the criteria for the choice of ministries laid down in the Jesuit Constitutions and was the proper work of the Society. The Jesuit Generals in Rome repeatedly urged withdrawal from these missions unless there was the possibility, even remote, of establishing a college. The Jesuits in the English Province, while content to withdraw from isolated and solitary missions, saw urban missions, especially in important centres such as London and Liverpool, as their best opportunity to respond to the special needs in a country where Roman Catholics were in a minority. Although they were not agreed in their opinion, many Jesuits doubted whether it would be possible to work in any other way. Throughout the century, missions were both accepted and relinquished, while the English Jesuits increasingly felt that their viewpoint was not properly understood in Rome. This Jesuit presence on the missions meant increased contact with Bishops. Much of this contact was mundane, concerned with the administration and efficiency of missions, but there was also confusion concerning the exemptions of Regulars and the jurisdiction of Bishops and some differences which were resolved only after lengthy dispute. The Jesuits questioned the good will of Bishops in their regard; the Bishops resented the undefined privileges which the Regulars claimed.

I consider the Provincial Synods, which legislated for the new dioceses created by the restoration of the Hierarchy, with regard to their treatment of the Regular clergy, and take examples of the working relations of Ordinaries and Jesuits from the Diocese of Liverpool under Bishop Goss, and the Diocese of Beverley and the Diocese of

Leeds under Bishop Cornthwaite. After years of comparative clerical independence, the new arrangements did not proceed without some confusion, especially since the synodal decrees declined to interfere with the traditional exemptions of Regulars. The opening of a Jesuit college in Manchester in 1875, against the wishes of the Bishop of Salford, is examined in detail, for it was seen as a test-case. The Jesuits claimed that papal privileges enabled them to open a college wherever they served a church, and they also claimed to be fulfilling the wishes of Propaganda in providing education for the middle classes in such towns as Manchester; the Bishop disputed their claim and insisted that the matter was one over which he needed to have authority in his diocese. The immediate difficulty, referred to Rome, was resolved when the Jesuit General, after the Bishop's representations and without denying any privileges, closed the college. The Bishop's statements during the dispute, and the comments and attitudes of the leading Jesuits, revealed the deeper issues which remained unresolved.

The doubts concerning this wider question of jurisdiction were referred to Rome by the Bishops in 1878. An oblique discussion of the issues (ostensibly about other matters), conducted in English periodicals, and confrontations in Jesuit missions over the privileges of the Regular clergy, focused the divergence of opinion. The constitution, Romanos Pontifices, defined in the clearest terms the new relationship between Bishops and Regulars. The lengthy manoeuvres in Rome and in Britain while the issue was being decided, and the arrangements made with Bishops after the constitution had been promulgated, revealed the way in which the Jesuits viewed not only those Bishops involved in the case (and Bishops such as Bagshawe and Eyre, who revealed some want of sympathy for the religious life) but also their understanding of their place in the Roman Catholic community. Despite the complete and immediate acceptance of the decision by the Jesuits, its implementation was not without minor altercations in practice, although there was no dispute about either the direction or significance of the new arrangement, which affected missionary countries throughout the world.

While Vaughan had played the leading rôle in Rome during the jurisdiction case, Manning's influential support was evident and crucial. I consider in detail Manning's relations with the Jesuits, using the comments of contemporary Jesuits, some of whom had been members of his own community of Oblates. Although the full treatment of this question must await the release of Manning's papers, such information as is available is reviewed. The beginning of Manning's antagonism to the Jesuits has been variously placed: while still an Anglican; soon after his conversion to Rome; while working with the Jesuits at Farm Street or in Westminster; in his early years as Archbishop, or during the disputes of the 1870's. There is some evidence for each of these suggestions; by the mid 1870's Manning's reluctance to allow the Jesuits any expansion of their work in London was firm and notorious, although his explanation differed from the interpretation given by the Jesuits. Manning's own account of his relations with the Jesuits was partly revealed in Purcell's biography and was presumed to be described in detail in Purcell's "suppressed chapter". The negotiations concerning the Jesuits' response to the expected publication of Purcell's material, and to other biographical writing on Manning's relations with the Jesuits,are considered. If Manning's own comments about the Jesuits are given their full weight, I argue that his understanding of the deleterious effect of the Jesuits, and his firm exclusion of them from further work in his diocese, dates from the 1870's, especially from the time of the Fourth Provincial Synod.

Newman was not a diocesan bishop, but is a figure of related significance in this context. His relations with the Jesuits are examined in the final chapter of the thesis. Accused with the other Tractarians (and later the Ritualists) of being a Jesuit in disguise, Newman, after his conversion, lived with the Roman Jesuits while coming to the decision to found an English Oratory. His early views on the Society were expressed in his important reflections on the difference between Oratorian and Jesuit spirituality, and by his contact with several colleagues who consulted him before they became Jesuits of the English Province. Isolated, thereafter, in Birmingham from much personal contact with Jesuits, Newman corresponded with several of them,

encouraging Henry Coleridge, the editor of The Month, while disapproving of the Jesuits' methods of controversy, particularly their treatment of Pusey and Newman's own Grammar of Assent. Newman's criticisms of the activities of the Roman Jesuits associated with La Civiltà Cattolica (especially at the time of the Vatican Council) did not extend to the Jesuits of the English Province, whose importance in the Catholic community in the United Kingdom he recognized and whose support he valued, despite the attacks of a few individual Jesuits. Comments of Newman about the Jesuits have been used, isolated from their context, to argue either that he was supportive of them or that he, in fact, disapproved of their influence. The pictures presented have been misleading. Newman certainly noticed some coolness of the Jesuits towards him after the Vatican Council and his Grammar of Assent, a remoteness which some Jesuits thought they also observed in Newman's behaviour towards them. Newman claimed, however, that the Jesuits had always been his friends. Through an examination of his correspondence concerning Jesuits and the letters addressed to him at the Oratory by English Jesuits, I discuss the subtle shifts in the relationship.

Many aspects of the history of the nineteenth-century British Jesuits cannot be discussed in this thesis. This focus on the relations with the Bishops illuminates the central problems of Jesuit identity and activity. It reveals the continuity of the nineteenth-century disputes with earlier conflicts on the English mission. It illustrates the path to their resolution and the new situation of strengthened episcopal control.

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by

PETER JOHN L'ESTRANGE

Campion Hall

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ABBREVIATIONS

A.A.W.	Archives of the Archdiocese of Westminster
A.R.S.I.	Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu (Jesuit Archives, Rome)
A.S.J.	Archives of the British Province, (Jesuit Archives, London)
B.Q.R.	British Quarterly Review
D.N.B.	Dictionary of National Biography
Gillow	J. A. Gillow, A Literary and Biographical History, or Bibliographical dictionary of the English Catholics, 5 vols (1885-1903)
J.E.H.	Journal of Ecclesiastical History
L.N.	Letters and Notices
O.E.D.	Oxford English Dictionary
P.C.	Provincial Consultation
R.H.	Recusant History
S.C.H.	Studies in Church History
Sutcliffe	E. Sutcliffe, Bibliography of the English Province of the Society of Jesus 1773-1953 (1957)
W.L.	Woodstock Letters

The place of publication of all printed works is London, unless otherwise specified.

INTRODUCTION

Voltaire once wrote that a monastic religious order should have no history, but should pass unnoticed while the real world goes its way.[1] He criticized monks for the uselessness of their lives and their corporate wealth, and especially detested the Jesuits, his former schoolmasters and his most effective opponents. Historians of the monastic orders have repeatedly defied Voltaire's strictures. The Jesuits were, of course, not monastic, although features of their life corresponded to those aspects of the monastic life which provide the greatest challenge to the historian: prayer and spiritual counsel.[2] The Jesuits were founded to be involved in the ministry, and exerted a wide influence in the Catholic community at large, quite disproportionate to their size. Accordingly, there have been numerous attempts to write their history, although there has been little analysis of their rôle in the United Kingdom in the nineteenth century.[3] This thesis will examine one part of that history. It will investigate some aspects of the relations between the Jesuits and the Vicars Apostolic and the Bishops from the restoration of the Jesuits (which in the United Kingdom was a very protracted affair) to the time of Herbert Vaughan's translation to Westminster, after the deaths of Newman and Manning. It will concentrate on the various disputes which arose from 1850 to 1881, in which year Rome provided a new constitution which governed the relations between the Bishops and the Regular clergy. Some evidence will be drawn from later to illuminate this period. Discussion is particularly concentrated on the Jesuits' relations with Henry Manning in Westminster and Herbert Vaughan in Salford; attention is also given to John Henry Newman, who, whilst not a diocesan Bishop, was a figure of related

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[1]Cited in J. McManners, "Voltaire and the Monks" in W. J. Shiels (ed.), Monks, Hermits and the Ascetic Tradition (Oxford, 1985), S.C.H., vol. 22, p. 328. Professor McManners traced Voltaire's love-hate relationship with the Jesuits, which has often been understood too simplistically.

[2]For the innovations of the order, which concerned contemporaries, see H. O. Evennett, The Spirit of the Counter-Reformation, ed. J. Bossy (Cambridge, 1968), pp. 74-83.

[3]Previous research will be discussed on pp. 36-38 of this introduction.

significance in this context. The interrelationship between the respective attitudes of these men to the Jesuits, and Jesuit views of them, forms the central focus of the thesis.

These difficulties between the Jesuits and the Bishops in the nineteenth century (which formed, it should be remembered, only one aspect of their relationship) were, in large measure, a product of past disputes in the Roman Catholic community in the United Kingdom. The Archpriest controversy, the seventeenth century disputes concerning the Bishop of Chalcedon and altercations with the eighteenth century Vicars Apostolic provide the antecedents to these difficulties. In fact, since the fourth century, there had been, as well as fruitful interaction, some tension between the institutionalized forms of "religious life", in which men and women followed an ascetical ideal of being a witness to the gospel, and formally recognized church office or the ordained ministry. On occasion, the religious life had been criticized for being élitist, divisive and an arrogant assertion of a "Church outside the Church", while the office of Bishop or pastor had been seen as a temptation to worldliness and an end of discipleship.[1] The religious life and the ordained ministry were often combined, however, and some religious orders, including the Jesuits, had an active, directly ministerial conception of religious life, which was intrinsic to their self-understanding.

The mendicant friars of the thirteenth century, the Dominicans and Franciscans, had broken with the monastic and feudal tradition and enjoyed many privileges and exemptions from the Holy See, including some exemption from the supervision of the episcopacy. The exemptions were granted not only for their protection and their internal organization (as exemptions granted to some monasteries had been), but for their ministry. The question of exemption was an extremely complex one, which led, because of juridical difficulties, to bitter quarrels between Bishops and religious orders which continued for centuries. The issue was discussed, for example, at the Councils of Constance, Fifth Lateran and Trent, because of Bishops' complaints that

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[1]On this tension, see B. Daley, "The Ministry of Disciples: Historical Reflections on the Role of Religious Priests", Theological Studies, 48(1987), 605-629.

exemptions interfered with their exercise of the pastoral office. Yet, despite these difficulties, the various church orders managed to work together for the sake of the ministry, at which the friars were so effective.

The first Jesuits continued and advanced this mendicant tradition, and were granted by the Holy See exemption from episcopal jurisdiction. They were most pragmatic and innovative in their work, which centred around the ministry of the word, and included anything which could be "of help to souls". This involved, obviously, preaching, not only at the eucharist but on other occasions, delivering "sacred lectures", writing and publishing, instructing the unlettered in doctrine, directing the Spiritual Exercises, spiritual direction and "spiritual conversation" with individuals or groups,[1] discussing "cases of conscience" with the clergy and, eventually, conducting schools. It also included work with the neglected whom the ordinary ministry of the Church might not reach -- the poor, the dying, the orphaned and the outcasts of society, as well as with heretics, schismatics and infidels. Quite simply, they understood their mission, as "reformed priests", to be to go wherever there was a need, to minister to those who had no one to minister to them. The professed Jesuits took a fourth vow to go anywhere, if sent by the Pope, who knew, and had a responsibility for, the universal needs. The approval of the Society by the Pope and his direct giving of missions meant that the Jesuits could transcend boundaries of dioceses and cultures to achieve "the greater good of souls". Hence the Jesuits defended the jurisdiction of the Holy See which enabled them to be mobile and adaptable to respond to needs.[2] This was neither monastic stability nor the care of the local community of the faithful (the cura animarum), with its rhythm of liturgical and

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[1]See T. Clancy, The Conversational Word of God. A Commentary on the Doctrine of St. Ignatius concerning Spiritual Conversation (St. Louis, 1978).

[2]My indebtedness here to the work of Dr. J. O'Malley will be obvious: "Priesthood, Ministry and Religious Life: some Historical and Historiographical Considerations", Theological Studies, 49(1988), 223-257; "The Fourth Vow in Its Ignatian Context: A Historical Study", Studies in the Spirituality of Jesuits, 15/1 (1983), and "To Travel to Any Part of the World: Jeronimo Nadal and the Jesuit Vocation", Studies in the Spirituality of Jesuits, 16/2 (1984). Dr. O'Malley's history of the early Jesuits is forthcoming (Harvard University Press).

sacramental life. Jesuits, in fact, renounced this care of souls for other ministries.[1] They were to discern and choose those tasks which achieved the more universal good, were urgent and would otherwise be neglected. The subtle criteria for the choice of ministries were provided in the Constitutions.[2]

The English mission was judged by the early Jesuits to be such a task, and they (who had, in addition to other qualifications, no claim to monastic lands) were sought for it. The needs of the post-reformation Roman Catholic community meant that not only were religious priests extensively used in ministerial work, but also that their, at times, different perceptions of those needs, and of the community's options, could lead to disagreements. The Jesuits saw England as mission territory, where the Tridentine decrees had not been officially promulgated, and, controlled by their own superiors, they emphasised in their missionary strategy the discontinuity with the old ecclesiastical structures.[3] In the debates on the role of Bishops and the Pope at the Council of Trent, Lainez, who succeeded Ignatius Loyola as Jesuit General, had argued for a missionary conception of the church and ad hoc ecclesiastical arrangements which would allow for the greatest flexibility and initiative. His argument, rejected by the Bishops, later brought the charge against the Jesuits of "papalist presbyterianism". Manning, for example, was to repeat the claim that the Pope was the only plank between the Jesuit and the Presbyterian, so opposed did he believe they both were to the episcopacy.[4] As he prepared his book on The Pastoral Office, Manning wrote to Herbert Vaughan that "I have already struck out the whole upon vows and the nonsense of Lainez, who was the author of the whole mischief".[5] The Vicars Apostolic, appointed in 1685, were missionary Bishops, to whom, after a decree of Propaganda in

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[1] Ignatius Loyola, The Constitutions of the Society of Jesus, ed. G. Ganss (St. Louis, 1970), nos. 324-325, 588. [Hereafter, Constitutions.]

[2] Constitutions, nos. 622-623.

[3] See J. Bossy, The English Catholic Community (1975), and the commentary which it produced.

[4] On this question, see J. Bossy's postscript to H. O. Evennett, The Spirit of the Counter Reformation (Cambridge, 1868), pp. 135-142.

[5] Manning to Vaughan, 19 February 1883, in S. Leslie, Henry Edward Manning. His Life and Labours (1921), p. 341. [Hereafter, Leslie.]

1696, Regular clergy were subject with regard to the administration of the sacraments (especially the hearing of confessions) and the care of souls. The jurisdiction of the Vicars Apostolic in these matters, which had been disputed or avoided, was clarified in 1753 in Apostolicum Ministerium, which regulated church administration until the late nineteenth century.

The Jesuit order had been suppressed by the Pope in 1773. The precise significance of this event needed assimilation within the Roman Catholic community,[1] as, subsequently, did the Jesuits' restoration, which coincided with the demand for overall Catholic emancipation. Past dissension between the Jesuits and the Secular clergy was recalled at the time when Protestant fears of Popery's excesses needed to be allayed. The old Appellant arguments were rehearsed about the desirability of excluding the Jesuits so that Roman Catholics might be viewed more advantageously. Once emancipation was achieved (although with legislation prohibiting the Jesuits, who remained illegal throughout the nineteenth century[2]), the need for the appointment of ordinaries was addressed. This posed anew the question of the place of the Regular clergy who served the missions. At the time of the restoration of the Jesuits, and during their attempts to secure churches in London, Bristol and Liverpool, the Jesuits experienced difficulties with several of the Vicars Apostolic, although some -- notably Dr. Milner and Dr. Walsh of the Midland Distrist -- proved supportive. Wiseman encouraged the Jesuits despite the antipathy of his own clergy, but was disappointed to find that they would not work as he expected. Manning, who considered them a "mysterious permission of God for the chastisement of England", restricted their influence. Vaughan, with Manning's collaboration, opposed them in what became a test-case concerning the opening of the Jesuit college in Manchester, but was more amenable once he was himself Archbishop in Westminster. Newman, highly influential, especially after he became a cardinal, uttered what seemed to be conflicting

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[1]See, e.g., A. Weld, The Suppression of the Society of Jesus in the Portuguese Dominions (1877), pp. xi-xiv.

[2]10 Geo. IV. c.7, 28-36. The clauses were repealed in 1926.

comments, but was seen to favour them. Generalizations need to be made with care. Bishops differed in their familiarity with Jesuits, in the number of Jesuit missioners in their dioceses and in their experience of problems which seemed to involve questions of principle.

The scope of the subject demands some restriction, for not every district and diocese, nor every provincialate, can be surveyed. The relationship with the Vicars Apostolic during the long struggle for the restoration of the Society in England will be investigated, because of its lingering effect on the way in which the Jesuits and Vicars Apostolic viewed each other. The effect was most noticeable in the administration of missions, where the continued presence of Jesuits was debated in the English Province and by Jesuit authorities in Rome. Their presence led to the ordinary administrative contact with Bishops, and, at times, to conflict concerning jurisdiction. The relations, with the mutual confusions and ignorances, will be closely examined from the time of the restoration of the Hierarchy to the promulgation of Romanos Pontifices, the constitution which, in theory, and, to a great extent, in practice, resolved the disputed questions (mainly concerned with the exemptions of Regulars) which had not been addressed, or had not been satisfactorily resolved, by the Provincial Synods.

Only a few Jesuits were involved in the negotiations, or in the conflicts, with the Bishops which will be discussed. Most Jesuits were working, as priests or lay brothers, in foreign or home missions or colleges, or were engaged in formation.[1] Their lives were hidden, and remarkably obscure. J. H. Pollen, the Jesuit historian, commented that the story of the nineteenth century English Jesuits was in one sense easy to describe: "For they are amply blessed, according to the beatitude, 'Happy the nation that has no history'".[2] The two most renowned Jesuits, George Tyrrell and Gerard Manley Hopkins, are little discussed in this thesis, for they had almost no contact with Bishops in the period treated here. Tyrrell first met von Hügel in 1897, and his difficulties with

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[1]Lay brothers formed 11% of the English Province in 1840, 15% in 1860 and approximately 18% from 1870 until the end of the century.

[2]J. H. Pollen, "The Centenary of the Restoration of the Society of Jesus", The Month, 122(1914), 62-63.

Cardinal Vaughan over the censorship of his book, Oil and Wine, occurred in 1901, the year in which Vaughan requested his removal from London and when Tyrrell's fixed hostility to Jesuit authorities in Rome became apparent.[1] Tyrrell and Hopkins exemplify that the Jesuits' "individual features were not, as is sometimes thought, obliterated by the impression of a corporate stamp".[2] Jesuits differed, for example, in their estimation of Bishops and in their judgement about policies to be pursued, as will be seen in the process of consultation and representation associated with decisions. Evelyn Waugh's comment that the sixteenth and seventeenth century Jesuits, John Gerard and William Weston, were "contemporaries of the same Society, pursuing the same ends and same dangers, but distinct from one another by all the breadth of catholicity", can be applied, as accurately, to some Jesuits in the nineteenth century.[3]

The focus on this subject of the Jesuits' relations with the Bishops permits an examination of the Bishops' understanding of the needs of the Catholic community and the decisions which they judged should be taken during a period of rapid growth and of pressing need. It also permits an examination of the Jesuits' concerns and their understanding of their place in the developing structures. Historians have largely concentrated on the part played by Bishops in responding to these pastoral needs. The Bishops' desire for strong episcopal control forced the resolution of these disputes with Regulars, and, in turn, was further strengthened by that resolution. Moreover, while the Jesuits increased tenfold during the nineteenth century,[4] they declined as a proportion of the total number of Roman Catholic clergy. John Morris, secretary to Wiseman and Manning and later a Jesuit, calculated in 1891 that, at the time of the suppression, the Jesuits formed about one-half of the Regular clergy in England and Wales, when the Regulars formed more than one-half of the clergy.[5] By contrast, in

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[1] A.R.S.I., Angl. 1021.Ic.21: Colley to Meyer, 2 December 1901. Cf. Angl. 1019.XI.1a: P. Chandlery note, 11 February 1901. Tyrrell's relationship with the English Province merits further investigation.

[2] J. McCabe, A Candid History of the Jesuits (1913), p. 90.

[3] William Weston, The Autobiography of an Elizabethan, ed. P. Caraman (1955), p. viii.

[4] See Appendix I.

[5] He calculated 121 Jesuit priests among 217 Regular priests and 175 Secular priests.

1890, there were about 210 Jesuit priests among 712 Regular priests and 1,776 Secular priests. While Morris saw that the increase of the Secular clergy was natural and normal after emancipation and the restoration of the Hierarchy, he realised that "now we are less than one in ten, instead of more than one in four".[1] The consequent lack of focus on the nineteenth century Jesuits in Roman Catholic historical writing (of which Voltaire would have approved) was not matched, however, by writers outside the Roman Catholic community, who often proceeded from false assumptions. The Roman Catholic response to such critical writing stressed the unity and discipline of the community and minimized the differences which had existed. This tended to convey the impression that the Secular and Regular clergy differed only in their spiritualities and not in distinct traditions of ministry.

ANTI-CATHOLICISM AND THE PATHOLOGY OF THE JESUITS IN BRITAIN.

This Protestant writing on the Jesuits has not been satisfactorily surveyed. A comprehensive review cannot be attempted here, but, before turning to a consideration of previous research and the sources on which this thesis is based, it is important to consider the context within which any discussion of the history of the Jesuits in the nineteenth century must take place. It was because of their activity, and their participation in controversies (far removed from Voltaire's ideal), that the word "Jesuit" provoked such strong reactions in the nineteenth century, as it had since the word entered the English language.[2] Thomas Carlyle noted that the Jesuits had given to modern languages a new substantive, which was, as the Unitarian minister, J. R. Beard, remarked, "one of those vague and mysterious terms which produce in the mind of Englishmen a feeling of involuntary repulsion", and which, like the phantoms of childhood, "makes us feel uneasy, nervous, distressed".[3] Jaime Balmes, the Spanish

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[1] A.S.J., J. Morris Letters: Morris to Knight, 8 April 1891.

[2] O.E.D. suggests the word was first used in 1559. Other words, derived from the word "Jesuit", were also used perjoratively: Jesuitical (1600), Jesuitish (1600), Jesuited (1601), Jesuitism (1609), Jesuitize (1644), Jesuitry (1832), Jesuitocracy (1851). Cf. E. Partridge, Dictionary of Slang and Unconventional English (1937; 1951 edn.), p. 437.

[3] T. Carlyle, Latter Day Pamphlets [1850], VIII, "Jesuitism", pp. 249-286; [J. R. Beard], "Jesuitism as It Is", B.Q.R., 13(1851), 508-9. Beard commented on the word "Jesuitism".

priest and philosopher, wrote in 1849 that there was something very singular about the Jesuits, who excited public attention to such a degree that their mere name disconcerted their enemies: "How many men among us are more alarmed at the foundation of a Jesuits' college than at an irruption of Cossacks!"[1] Queen Victoria, for example, wrote in 1872 to her eldest daughter, the Crown Princess of Prussia:

> The Jesuits are a fearful body -- and I am doubtful whether any laws can be severe enough against them. But I really do not know the state of the case abroad sufficiently well; still I know dear Papa always thought they should be turned out of any country.[2]

Henry Groves, Prebendary of Clogher, commented in 1889 that the words "Jesuit" or "Jesuitical" could be used only with difficulty "in general society without offence, secret or confused".[3] The common picture of the "Jesuit", to which he referred, had been nurtured since the sixteenth century with stories of the Gunpowder plot, equivocation, regicide, the "Jesuit oath", the Popish plot, probabilism, the Monita Secreta, the "end justifying the means", obligatio ad peccatum, "philosophical sin", The Provincial Letters and treasonable attempts to aid the Spanish and French causes. Sir Edward Coke, the Attorney General, described Henry Garnet at his trial in 1606 as a man of great gifts and added that he was "a doctor of the Jesuits, that is, a doctor of five DD's, as dissimulation, deposing of princes, disposing of kingdoms, daunting and deterring of subjects and destruction".[4] It was a perception which was not easily changed, and Jesuits in the nineteenth century continued to defend themselves against these same accusations, which were recycled whenever a mood of uncertainty aroused a fear of Roman Catholics. Pascal's Provincial Letters, for example, were continually popular

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[1] J. Balmes, Protestantism and Catholicity Compared in Their Effects on the Civilisation of Europe (1849), p. 220. Balmes's explanation was that the extraordinary merit of the Jesuits excited envy and dread.

[2] Queen Victoria to Victoria, 26 June 1872, in R. Fulford (ed.), Darling Child. Private Correspondence of Queen Victoria and the Crown Princess of Prussia, 1871-1878 (1976), p. 51.

[3] H. C. Groves, The Doctrines and Practices of the Jesuits (1889), p. vii.

[4] Cited in F. Huntley, "Macbeth and the Background of Jesuitical Equivocation", Publications of the Modern Language Association of America, 79(1964), 390.

with Anglicans and Nonconformists as well as with some Roman Catholics. In their English translation, they first carried the sub-title "The Mystery of Jesuitisme", and their success resulted mainly from their anti-Jesuit content.[1] The restoration of the Jesuits hurriedly brought in 1816 a new translation, which included the bull of restoration and a history critical of the order; several other translations were produced at the time of the Oxford Movement and the restoration of the Hierarchy.[2] The Jesuits were commonly described as "the fire-brands of Europe, the forge and bellows of sedition, infernal emissaries, the pests of the age",[3] for, as a sermon on the fifth of November in 1851 explained, "As Popery is Satan's mimicry of the Gospel, so the Jesuit Order is Satan's mimicry of Christ and his Church".[4] The Jesuits were believed to be prepared, for the supremacy of papal authority, not only to "lengthen the creed and shorten the decalogue", as Abbé Boileau had remarked, but also to "bend every energy, and for this they are at liberty to prostrate truth, and honesty and chastity and all the graces".[5] George Tyrrell, who was dismissed from the Society in 1906 and excommunicated in 1907, commented that when John Bunyan remarked that he was rumoured to be "a witch, a Jesuit, and a highwayman, and the like", they were all equal in Bunyan's eyes.[6]

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[1]This position is argued by J. Barker, Strange Contrarieties. Pascal in England during the Age of Reason (1975), who traced the reception of the work from 1657 to 1830.

[2]Provincial Letters, containing An Exposure of the Reasoning and Morals of the Jesuits ... to which is added, A View of the History of the Jesuits, and the Late Bull for the Revival of the Order in Europe (1816). Lord Ralph Kerr recorded in his diary that, in 1852, "I was put through Paschal's [sic.] Provincial Letters, I remember, to counteract Jesuit influence". L.N., 36(1921), 30. There were English printings of the Monita Secreta (the purported "Secret Instructions" of the Jesuits) in 1824, 1845, 1847, 1850, 1851 and 1880.

[3]Cited in Jesuitism in the Church, by a Curate in Suffolk (1848), p. 27.

[4]Satan's Church: or, The Society of Jesus compared with the Church of God (1851), p. 28.

[5]"Domestic Jesuitism", Fraser's Magazine, 19(1839), 667. Hannah More, an admirer of Pascal, cited Boileau's comment. W. Roberts, Memoirs of the Life and Correspondence of Mrs. Hannah More (1834), I. 278.

[6]The Testament of Ignatius Loyola, trans. E. M. Rix, with preface by G. Tyrrell and historical notes by H. Thurston (1900), pp. 20-21. Tyrrell compared Loyola's Autobiography with Bunyan's Grace Abounding. R. F. Clarke delated Tyrrell to Rome for this preface. A.R.S.I., Angl. 1021.Ib.21 and 22: Clarke to Meyer, 3 and 18 May 1900. Cf. A.S.J., CD/2: Tyrrell to Colley, 10 August 1901.

The Jesuits have been treated differently to other religious orders, both by contemporaries and by later historians. This treatment of them in historical and controversial writing has helped to give rise to misconceptions which, in the nineteenth century, almost determined the course of writing about Jesuits as well as the Jesuits' own approach, both to Roman Catholics and to those outside the community. Protestant authors frequently considered whether the restored Jesuits, with the same Constitutions and rules, were as dangerous as the Jesuits before the suppression, or had been rendered less harmful by altered circumstances. Some still saw them as "Popery in its richest blossom and ripest fruitage"[1]:

> What the cream is to the milk, what the laudanum is to the poppy, what the alcohol is to the grape, or what any other extract, essence or quintessence is to the substance whence it is drawn, that is Jesuitism to Popery.[2]

These writers argued that "Jesuitism" was changeless in its essence, that "the burning fagots were not extinguished, but merely scattered" at the suppression, and that Jesuits continued to scheme with "unabated ardour and stealthy perseverance, if with crippled machinery and diminished effect".[3] It was even argued that the suppression was a cunning device to intrude hordes of Jesuits into unsuspecting Protestant countries.[4] Others, however, believed that, as Popery was not what once it had been, so the Jesuits were different. They could no longer so easily influence monarchs, shrank from regicide, were less lax in their casuistry and less arrogant to Bishops. Isaac Taylor, for

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[1] A. Duff, The Jesuits (Edinburgh 1845; 1852 edn.), p. 27.

[2] A. Duff, The Jesuits (Edinburgh 1845; 1852 edn.), p. 9. J. B. Beard wrote of Jesuitism as "catholicism in its worst form and fullest development". [J. B. Beard], "Jesuitism as It Is", B.Q.R., 13(1851), 513.

[3] [J. R. Beard], "Jesuitism as It Is", B.Q.R., 13(1851), 498.

[4] See C. Haydon, "Anti-Catholicism in Eighteenth-Century England c. 1714 - c. 1780" (University of Oxford D. Phil. thesis 1985), pp. 228-9 and 268. Cf. R. A. Billington, The Protestant Crusade 1800-1860. A Study of the Origins of American Nativism (New York, 1938; Chicago, 1964 edn.), p. 120.

example, believed that, while Jesuitism was unchangeable, its relative influence and efficiency had been altered.[1]

This was not the view, however, in popular literature. The stereotype of the Jesuit in Protestant novels was a distinctly unpleasant one.[2] While it is not proposed to treat these works, the pathological terror revealed in, for example, Eugene Sue's The Wandering Jew (1844),[3] Charles Kingsley's Westward Ho! (1855), Frances Milton Trollope's Father Eustace (1847) and William Sewell's almost rabidly anti-Jesuit Hawkstone (1845), or even the more nuanced treatment in novels such as J. H. Shorthouse's John Inglesant (1880), a work which so impressed both Acton and Edmund Bishop, are not without significance.

The picture of the Jesuit in these novels was credible, to some extent, because so much mystery surrounded the Jesuits. When a character in Sir George Stephen's novel, The Jesuit at Cambridge, confessed "I am in love with this Jesuit's daughter", it was explained to him that "True Jesuits, my boy, have no daughters; unless they have a dispensation whenever wanted, but never mind."[4] Such perceived dispensations and equivocations rendered all things possible, and made the refutation of any improbable charges against the protean Jesuits extremely difficult. As the Jesuit Constitutions and rules were kept secret, it was the order's opponents who publicised their understanding of its principles. An English edition of the Constitutions was published in 1838, together with part of a sermon, preached in Canterbury Cathedral by Bishop Broughton

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[1] I. Taylor, Loyola: and Jesuitism in its Rudiments (1849), and his article, "Jesuitism" in Encyclopaedia Britannica (8th. edn.; 1856), XII. 757.

[2] J. Britten, "Protestant Fiction. II. The Jesuits", The Month, 85(1895), 505-523; M. Maison on "The Wicked Jesuit and Company" in Search Your Soul, Eustace. A Survey of the Religious Novel in the Victorian Age (1961), pp. 169-182, and R. L. Wolff on "Fathers Clement, Oswald, Eustace, and Other Jesuits" in Gains and Losses. Novels of Faith and Doubt in Victorian England (New York, 1977), pp. 31-41, survey some novels, but are far from complete.

[3] Cf. The commentary on Sue's novel in J. Fairplay (ed.), Notes of The Wandering Jew on the Jesuits and their Opponents (1845).

[4] G. Stephen, The Jesuit at Cambridge (1847), I. 144.

of Australia, lamenting the restoration and progress of the order.[1] It was rare for the history of the Jesuits, their organization or way of life to be accurately described.[2] The most outlandish estimates were suggested of the number of Jesuits (together with their affiliates and "female Jesuits") in the United Kingdom, especially those who were believed to honeycomb the Church of England.[3] Samuel Palmer understood the exaggeration when he wrote to George Richmond in 1850: "On dit -- Three hundred thousand Jesuits are coming over in the spring many of them in WOMENS' CLOTHES".[4] Alessandro Gavazzi, however, claimed that "the grenadiers of the Pope . . . the Mamalukes [sic.] of the Pope" had grown from forty at the time of emancipation to "more than thousands" by the time of the restoration of the Hierarchy:[5]

> You find everywhere Jesuits at the head of all conspiracies, all immoral conspiracies in England; Jesuits in disguise, and Jesuits against the English law in England -- yes, I say, the greatest part of the Irish Catholic clergy, and of the English Catholic clergy are, if not all Jesuits, certainly educated by Jesuits, and therefore under Jesuitical inspiration, as you find everywhere.

Gavazzi believed that the Redemptorists, the Passionists and Newman's Oratorians were all Jesuits, "but in disguise, under a different name, in order to deceive the English nation".[6] Some even believed that it was not necessary to be "either a priest or a Papist

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[1]Constitutiones Societatis Iesu. Anno 1558 (1838). Andrew Steinmetz was advised to read the Constitutions in the British Museum before he entered the novitiate in 1838. The Novitiate; or, A Year Among the English Jesuits. A Personal Narrative (1846), p. 9.

[2]For one example of inaccurate description, see H. H. Bourn, Words of Warning respecting The Jesuits, Blasphemously called "The Society of Jesus" (1890).

[3]E.g., the comment that seventeen thousand of the twenty thousand clergymen of the established church were "claimed by the Jesuits as the secret agents of, or sympathizers with, the Roman church". "Marturius", The Sources and Signs of Impending Revolution. A Tocsin to the Nation [n.d.], p. 13.

[4]Palmer to Richmond, 24 December 1850, in The Letters of Samuel Palmer, ed. R. Lister (Oxford, 1974), I. 479. I am indebted to Dr. E. J. Garnett for this reference.

[5]Father Gavazzi's Gift to the People of Ireland (Dublin, 1852), p. 134. L. De Sanctis claimed that there were more Jesuits in England than in Italy. Popery and Jesuitism at Rome in the Nineteenth Century with Remarks on Their Influence in England (1852), p. 134.

[6]Father Gavazzi's Gift to the People of Ireland (Dublin, 1852), p. 139. Gavazzi distinguished between the Redemptorists and the Ligourists, whom he also claimed were Jesuits. The Redemptorists were commonly charged with being Jesuits, e.g., E. Grinfield, The Jesuits: An Historical Sketch (1851; 1853 edn.), p. 280; The Reply of a Ritualist to a Letter Addressed to Him by Two Roman Catholics in Defence of Monsignor Capel (1872),

to secure admission to this Society", for their "doctrine of Probability, renders all religion as passable among them as all crimes".[1] The was little original in such charges; it had been rumoured in 1778, for instance, that twenty thousand Jesuits were in hiding on the Surrey side of the Thames plotting to blow up the Embankment and drown London.[2] Dr. George Oliver related some of the extravagant stories to Dr. Thomas Brown, Prior of Downside and later Vicar Apostolic of the Welsh District and Bishop of Newport and Menevia:

> I have heard almost as strange tales of those arch-Jesuits: that it was proved in a book formerly in Adam's library, that a Jesuit disguised as a serpent was the tempter of our first parents; that another of the Confraternity set fire to Sodom and Gomorrha [sic.] with an electrical machine; that another Jesuit called Haman, plotted the extermination of the Jewish people. Old Prynne would have it, that his ears would never have been cropped by the Star Chamber, had it not been for the Jesuits. De Moulin discovered 650 Jesuits exercising on dromedaries by moonshine on Hampstead Heath . . . Many believed, or affected to believe, that Cromwell had at least 500 Jesuits in his army, and that the very executioner of Charles I was one of their Reverend Fathers.[3]

The disguise and the secrecy with which the Jesuits were presumed to work, "shunning of the light of day", was condemned. Edward Dalton, for instance, believed that it was repugnant "to the manly feeling of an Englishman", diametrically opposed to the openness of the Gospel and preminently unchristian and dishonest:

> the Jesuit, who conceals his real name, hides his real object, contracts his brow and disowns his party, is as contemptible as he is dangerous, and to be scorned as much as to be feared. Give me, any day, the open enemy rather than the secret foe. Rather let me meet any man than the disguised assassin, the soft-treading, oily-tongued, smooth-skinned hypocrite, who will plant a Judas kiss on your brow, and a dagger in your heart's core. The unblushing infidel, the bold and reckless atheist, can be better met, and is a far less dangerous foe to Christianity, than the slippery, turning, vanishing, masking, equivocating Jesuit.[4]

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p. 4, and W. C. Copeland, The Empire's Greatest Danger; or, The Dream of Jesuitism. A Political Enquiry to Meet a National Emergency [1901], p. 40.

[1] The Jesuits Exposed [1839], p. 7.

[2] J. H. Hexter, "The Protestant Revival and the Catholic Question in England 1778-1829", Journal of Modern History, 8(1936), 298.

[3] Oliver to Brown, 10 May 1838, cited in The Month, 113(1909), 530.

[4] E. Dalton, The Jesuits; Their Principles and Acts (1843), pp. 23-24.

James II was one of many who had been accused of being a "Jesuit in disguise",[1] and Jesuits were still believed to be secreted in the established Church, in the universities, in parliament, in journalism and in household service. Gladstone did not escape the charge, despite his including Jesuits among "the men who cherish, methodise, transmit, and exaggerate, all the dangerous traditions of the Curia" and his describing them as "the deadliest enemies that mental and moral liberty have ever known". He proposed Pascal, Bossuet and Ganganelli (the Pope who suppressed the Jesuits) as models of the Catholic faith at its best.[2] Disraeli was similarly accused. The story persisted that Disraeli secretly attended mass at Farm Street and, on his death-bed, had asked to see one of the Jesuits, James Clare, and died a Roman Catholic.[3] In 1875 George Whalley, M.P., accused the whole Disraeli Cabinet of having become a Jesuit tool.[4] Arthur Ignatius Conan Doyle, standing as a Unionist candidate for the seat of Central Edinburgh in the General Election of 1900, ceased campaigning when the district was placarded with notices which stated that he was a Jesuit agent in disguise. Although he no longer practised his Roman Catholic faith, Conan Doyle had been educated by the English Jesuits at Hodder and Stonyhurst and at the Jesuit college of Feldkirch in the Tyrol. The accusations created enough confusion and suspicion to convince him that it was futile to appeal against his narrow loss in the election or to

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[1]C. Haydon, "Anti-Catholicism in Eighteenth-Century England c. 1714 - c. 1780" (University of Oxford D. Phil. thesis 1985), p. 197.

[2]Vaticanism: An Answer to Reproofs and Replies (1875), p. 100; The Vatican Decrees in Their Bearing on Civil Allegiance: A Political Expostulation (1874), p. 27, and W. O. Chadwick, The Popes and European Revolution (Oxford, 1981), p. 375. For the accusation that Gladstone was a Jesuit or a crypto-Jesuit, see The Jesuits and their Class Books: or, The Communism of Celibates (1873), p. 41; Daily Mail, 16 July 1873, cited in J. Handley, The Irish in Modern Scotland (Cork, 1947), p. 119; Manchester Guardian, 7 November 1868, cited in H. J. Hanham, Elections and Party Management. Politics in the time of Disraeli and Gladstone (1959; 1978 edn.), p. 215, and M. F. Cusack, Revolution and War. The Secret Conspiracy of the Jesuits in Great Britain (1910), p. 161. Miss Cusack (the "escaped nun of Kenmare") also accused Manning of being a Jesuit (p. 163).

[3]See R. Montagu, Recent Events and a Clue to Their Solution (1886), p. 59. The story gained currency in Liverpool in 1883. It is recounted, and convincingly refuted, by D. Quinn, "English Roman Catholics and Politics in the Second Half of the Nineteenth Century" (University of Oxford D. Phil. thesis 1985), pp. 253-256.

[4]W. Arnstein, Protestant versus Catholic in Mid-Victorian England. Mr. Newdegate and the Nuns (1982), pp. 199-200.

sue the perpetrators.[1] Some thought it "not unlikely" that Cardinal Wiseman and Archbishops Cullen and McHale were Jesuits,[2] while the Reverend Samuel Potter of Sheffield claimed that Manning, Pusey and Monsignor Capel had been admitted into their ranks.[3]

It is clear that the word "Jesuit" was not always used with a precise meaning, and became, at times, either a synonym for "Papist" or, like "evangelical", a general term of abuse, "a vague and intangible designation . . . for all that was wicked, base and dangerous".[4] The French Jesuit, de Ravignan, complained that, for many, "every priest is a Jesuit, every sincere Catholic is a Jesuit": the name "is a happy expression for hatred; it dispenses with truth; and takes the place of justice".[5] William Anderdon explained that the grossly ignorant thought that "every man must be a Jesuit who wears a Roman collar, only that the deepest, the most jesuitical, are those who do not".[6] Giacinto Achilli, who provocatively entitled one of his books Dealings with the Inquisition; or Papal Rome, Her Priests and Her Jesuits, repeated the common warning against secret Jesuits among the clergy, in government and the Queen's court, and among tutors and teachers of languages, "introduced by foreign ministers". He also warned that:

> some are called Jesuits who are even opposed to the sect of Loyola, and are averse to any connexion whatever with its members; but who still think and act according to the principles of the Jesuits; they are

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[1] P. Nordon, Conan Doyle (1966), p. 65. I am indebted for this reference to Dr. John Walsh. For Conan Doyle's relationship with the Jesuits, see O. Dudley Edwards, The Quest for Sherlock Holmes. A Biographical Study of Sir Arthur Conan Doyle (Harmondsworth, 1984), esp. pp. 60-81 ("The Hero as Jesuit", on Francis Cassidy), 92-109, 146-7 and 324-5.

[2] E. Grinfield, The Jesuits. An Historical Sketch (1851; 1853 edn.), p. 345.

[3] S. G. Potter, Is Mr. Gladstone Worthy of the Confidence of Englishmen? Startling Facts! (1879), p. 2.

[4] J. H. Shorthouse, John Inglesant (Birmingham, 1880; 1881 edn.), p. 181. Cf. J. Wylie, The Jesuits: Their Moral Maxims, and Plots Against Kings, Nations and Churches (1881), pp. 4-5.

[5] G. de Ravignan, On the Jesuits, Their Institute, Doctrines etc. etc. (1844), p. ix.

[6] W. Anderdon, The Jesuits. A Sermon (1880), p. 25.

> equally subtle and ambitious, intriguing, time-serving, deceitful, and hypocritical, in every respect, as are the Jesuits themselves.[1]

The history of anti-Catholicism in the nineteenth century can be illustrated with examples of attacks on the Jesuits. The hand of the Jesuit could be seen by some in Catholic emancipation and in the attempt to begin diplomatic relations with the Papal States.[2] A committee of the House of Lords carried an amendment in 1848 that no ambassador from Rome should be an ecclesiastic, in order to ensure, as the Earl of Eglintoun said, that a papal embassy in London would not be " a nucleus for the Jesuits".[3] Jesuits were believed to be active among the Tractarians and those who attempted to secure the grant for Maynooth, which some considered to be a Jesuit seminary and not merely an institution which used Jesuit text-books.[4] The Record alleged in 1845, for instance, that only half the students at Maynooth became priests, while the others secretly worked as Jesuits.[5] At the Anti-Maynooth conference in 1845, the Reverend John Cumming argued that if "it be just to pay for teaching Jesuitism in 1845, it was wrong to expel the Jesuits in 1829", referring to the restrictions placed on Jesuits in the emancipation legislation.[6] At the time of the restoration of the Hierarchy, "a kind of spiritual Gunpowder Plot for blowing up the Church of England,

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[1]G. G. Achilli, Dealings with the Inquisition; or Papal Rome, Her Priests and Her Jesuits. With Important Disclosures (New York, 1851), p. 99. See p. 118 for the claim that the principal aim of Jesuits was to convert Anglican clergy to Roman Catholicism.

[2]"Amicus Veritatis", Roman Catholic Claims, as Involved in the Recent Aggression Impartially Considered (1851), p. 12. The connection between the restoration of the Jesuits and emancipation will be discussed in chapter 1.

[3]G. I. T. Machin, Politics and the Churches in Great Britain 1832 to 1868 (Oxford, 1977), p. 214.

[4]The suspicion that Jesuits moved among the Tractarians and Ritualists will be discussed in chapter 6.

[5]See J. Woolf, "Protestant Societies and Anti-Catholic Agitation in Great Britain 1829-1860" (University of Oxford D. Phil. thesis 1984), p. 259. A Jesuit, Peter Kenny, had been Vice-President of Maynooth. Cf. [C. Wordsworth], MAYNOOTH, the CROWN and the COUNTRY; or, a PROTEST (1845), pp. 62, 68-70, 87-91 and 127.

[6]A. S. Thelwall, Proceedings of the Anti-Maynooth Conference of 1845 (1845), p. clxvi. Cf. C. Paroissien, The Principles of the Jesuits, developed in a Series of Extracts from their own Authors, with some Illustrations of Romanism, selected from the Report of the Maynooth Commission in 1855 (1860), pp. 210-16.

and English Protestantism",[1] the Vicar of Rochdale explained that those who had been strengthening and encouraging Popery had also been for years undermining the defences of the established Church, and, from her weakness, imparting audacity to her enemies:

> Politicians, latitudinarians, separatists, agitators, infidels, have combined with Jesuits to destroy the walls and shake the towers of the Church, and, consequently, the religious liberty of the State.[2]

The appointment of Roman Catholic priests as chaplains to the armed forces was accompanied by accusations that "the British army is being tampered with by Romish ecclesiastics, and that Jesuits are getting to be the advisers and spiritual commanders of our Roman Catholic soldiers".[3] This was seen to be not only another example of the dereliction of self-defence, but a case of the "war against our laws and our religion . . . carried on at our own expense".[4] Almost without exception, the press blamed the Syllabus of Errors on the inspiration and influence of the Jesuits, who were also charged with the later campaign to have the Vatican Council declare the Syllabus an infallible statement.[5] When the Duke of Norfolk was appointed Postmaster General in 1895, he was one of many to be accused of being a tool in the hands of the Jesuits, who would be able to open secret mail relating to government policy, national security and

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[1] E. Grinfield, The Jesuits: An Historical Study (1851; 1853 edn.), p. 349. Grinfield claimed that the decree announcing the Hierarchy was concocted and framed by Jesuits, and that Roothaan had probably returned to Rome after his 1848-49 visit to Lancashire with a map of the new dioceses in his pocket (pp. 359 and 368).

[2] I. E. N. Molesworth, The Trumpet of Nehemiah. A Sermon, on the Real Causes and Right Preventatives of the Danger Indicated by the Papal Aggression (1850), pp. 11-12. Cf. J. Begg, A Handbook of Popery: or Text-Book of Missions for the Conversion of Romanists: Being Papal Rome Tested by Scripture, History and its Recent Workings (Edinburgh, 1852), pp. 299-302.

[3] E. Harper, The Reformation Endangered. An Appeal to Protestants to Maintain their Religion and Liberties, imperilled on all sides (1859), p. 22.

[4] A Glance at the Intrigues of the Jesuits and their Allies, for the Humiliation of England, and the Extinction of the Protestant Religion, by a Member of the University of Oxford (1868), p. 13.

[5] D. McElrath, The Syllabus of Pius IX. Some Reactions in England (Louvain, 1964), pp. 27-29, 79-81 and 222-224. The Jesuits and the Vatican Council will be discussed in chapter 6.

the private affairs of individuals.[1] For some, this fear of the Jesuits was obsessive.[2] Edmund Gosse's comments about his inarticulate terror, as a child in the 1850s, of the turpitude of Rome had their echo in others' fears of the Jesuit menace.[3]

The great variety of opinion about Jesuits, and about where they might be found, and the fact that such opinions were often expressed in the formulae of controversy, make it difficult to determine what reality these myths had in people's minds.[4] Attacks on the Jesuits were addressed to educated as well as popular audiences, by fanatics as well as by serious scholars. In addition to there being different kinds of writing, with different impacts on different audiences, there were also changes over time. As Jesuits and their work could be observed, and as Roman Catholics were decreasingly viewed as a political threat, it was more difficult to persist with certain claims about Jesuits, although extremists knew no constraint. The severest criticisms could come, however, from unlikely quarters. The article on the Jesuits by the Reverend F. W. Littledale in the ninth edition of the Encyclopaedia Britannica in 1880, for example, was notorious for its acceptance of the Jesuit myth in its fulness.[5] A brief examination of four men can reveal the variety of commentary on the Jesuits, and the confusion, ignorance and partial views which predominated.

FOUR CRITIQUES OF THE JESUITS.

While some historians changed their opinions when their views were subjected to detailed criticism (S. R. Gardiner on the obligatio ad peccatum, for example), a

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[1] P. Waller, Democracy and Sectarianism. A Political and Social History of Liverpool (Liverpool, 1981), p. 156. The Jesuits, in fact, considered the Duke to be unfriendly to them.

[2] See, e.g., Blackwood to G. E., 4 August 1874, in G. S. Haight (ed.), The George Eliot Letters (1956), VI. 74, for Charles Newdegate's obsession with the Jesuits.

[3] E. Gosse, Father and Son. A Study of Two Temperaments (1907; 1986 edn.), pp. 94-95.

[4] For a summary of popular views of the Jesuits, see J. H. Newman, Lectures on the Present Position of Catholics in England (1851; 1903 edn.), p. 17. Cf. pp. 73, 80, 92-3, 248 and 266-7.

[5] F. W. Littledale, "Jesuits" in Encyclopaedia Britannica (9th edn.; Edinburgh, 1881), XIII. 645-56. Cf. W. Loughnan, "The Encyclopaedia Britannica on the Jesuits", The Month, 45(1882), 538-554, and J. H. Pollen, "The New Encyclopaedia Britannica on the Jesuits", The Month, 117(1911), 561-74.

defender of the Jesuits could, at another time, become a critic. Such was the case with a man who was initially an enthusiastic defender of the Jesuits in the first half of the nineteenth century (when they were reluctant to defend themselves), himself an ex-Jesuit who had been dismissed from the Society. Francis Sylvester Mahony was born in Cork in 1804 and educated in the Jesuit colleges of Clongowes Wood in Ireland and St. Acheul in Amiens. After entering the Society and studies in Paris and Rome, Mahony returned to teach at Clongowes in 1830, but, after a short time as Prefect of Studies and Master of Rhetoric, he was sent from the College, and, in Florence, learnt of his dismissal from the Society.[1] Against the advice of the Jesuits, he returned to Rome to continue his studies, and, in 1832, was ordained a Secular priest on his own patrimony. After a short ministry in Cork, however, Mahony settled in London and soon gave up the active exercise of the priesthood, although he never incurred any censure or suspension (and forced an apology when The Tablet suggested that he had). He became well-known in literary circles in London, and wrote for Fraser's Magazine, during the years 1834-36, his Reliques, under the pseudonym of "Father Prout", the Irish parish priest of Watergrasshill, County Cork, an erudite observer of life and letters. Later Mahony wrote for Dickens's Bentley's Miscellany, and led a bohemian life in Paris from 1841. He exchanged conservative for liberal opinions while the Roman correspondent for Dickens's Daily News during 1846-7, under the pseudonym of the Benedictine monk, Dom Jeremy Savonarola, and was the Paris correspondent for the Globe newspaper (where he wrote against Veuillot's L'Univers). Mahony found it difficult to separate himself from his Jesuit past and was occasionally believed still to be a Jesuit. Elizabeth

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[1]Sir Sidney Lee, in D.N.B., XXXV. 336, recounts the circumstances of the episode at Clongowes which contributed to Mahony's dismissal. Cf. C. Kent (ed.), The Works of Father Prout (The Rev. Francis Mahony) (1881), pp. xii-xiv. [Hereafter, Kent.] E. Mannin, Two Studies in Integrity. Gerald Griffin and The Rev. Francis Mahony ("Father Prout") (1954), pp. 135-262, sifts the diversity of opinion concerning the details of Mahony's life. Cf. M. M. de la Roche-Arnauld, The Modern Jesuits (1827), pp. 126-7, on O'Mahony.

Barrett Browning, for example, complained that the "celebrated Jesuit" visited the Brownings in Florence too frequently.[1] Mahony applied to Rome, in 1863, to return to the lay state, and received permission before he died in Paris in 1866.

Although he did not maintain close contact with the Jesuits, Mahony never resented them for dismissing him, and came to realise himself what they had concluded about his lack of suitability for the clerical life. In the sixth Relique, entitled "Literature and the Jesuits", occasioned by the murder of fourteen Jesuits in Madrid, Mahoney wrote with respect of the body "who took such pains to drill my infant mind and who formed with plastic power whatever good or valuable quality it may possess".[2] Claiming to have had "opportunities for a thorough knowledge of his subject -- a matter of rare occurrence, and therefore quite refreshing", he criticized Professor William Robertson, the eighteenth century Principal of the University of Edinburgh, whose treatment of the Jesuits in The History of the Reign of the Emperor Charles V was used by many nineteenth century authors.[3] Mahony questioned Robertson's writing on matters of which he must necessarily be ignorant: "what could a Presbyterian of Edinburgh, even though a pillar of the kirk, know about the inmost and most recondite workings of Catholic freemasonry? What could he tell of Jerusalem, he being a Samaritan?"

> Did he ever go through the course of "spiritual exercises?" Did he ever eat a peck of salt with Loyola's intellectual and highly disciplined sons? "Had he ever manifested his conscience?" Did this venturous foot ever cross the threshold of the Jesuitical sanctuary? Was he deeply versed in the "ratio studiorum?" Had his ear ever drank the mystic whisperings of the monita secreta? No! Then why

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[1]Cited in E. Mannin, Two Studies in Integrity (1954), p. 224. Samual Carter Hall considered Mahony to be a spy for the Jesuit General. A Book of Memories of Great Men and Women of the Age from Personal Acquaintance (1871), pp. 236-7.

[2]Fraser's Magazine, 10(1834), 310-327. Kent, p. 118.

[3]First published in 1777, the work went through twelve editions by 1817. For Robertson's treatment of the Jesuits, see the eleventh edition (1809), III. 190-211. Cf. J. Bell, The Mystery Unveiled; or Popery as Its Dogmas and Pretensions appear in the light of Reason, the Bible, and History (Edinburgh, 1854), pp. 384-98, for an example of the use made of Robertson.

> the deuce did he sit down to write about the Jesuits? . . . The more ignorance, the more audacity.[1]

Mahony did not treat "the debatable ground of 'the order's' moral or political character", but praised the literary achievements of the Jesuits: "A remarkable energy, a constant discipline, a steady perseverance, and a dignified self-respect were their characteristics from the beginning".[2]

Sixteen years later, however, in London in 1851, Mahony heard Alessandro Gavazzi speak on his fellow Italian Barnabite priest, Ugo Bassi, who had been killed by Austrian troops in the Italian campaign. Gavazzi was chaplain-general to the papal forces, and later chaplain and organiser of ambulances to Garibaldi's troops, before fleeing Italy with Garibaldi.[3] Cardinal Wiseman had prevented Gavazzi from working as a priest in London, but Mahony, favourably impressed by Gavazzi, arranged for him to address audiences on the related topics of Italian unity, the errors of Pio Nono, and the Jesuits.[4] Moreover, Mahony assisted in transcribing and translating for publication Gavazzi's addresses, which contained as much of Mahony as of Gavazzi, as is evident from their style. During his years in Rome in the mid-1840s, Mahony had become a supporter of a united Italy and of Gioberti's campaign for national independence combined with religious renewal. Mahony accepted Gioberti's views, expressed in the five volumes of his Il Gesuito moderno, which attacked the Jesuits as the reactionary and oppressive supporters of the Austrian forces.

As a Barnabite, Gavazzi had been confronted by Italian Jesuits, with whom English Jesuits could not avoid being identified.[5] The Jesuits figured prominently in

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[1] Kent, p. 107.

[2] Kent, pp. 110 and 116.

[3] Cf. B. Hall, "Alessandro Gavazzi: A Barnabite Friar and the Risorgimento", in D. Baker (ed.), Church, Society and Politics (Oxford, 1975), S.C.H., vol. 12, pp. 303-356. Hall argued that Gavazzi should not be confused with "hypocritical confidence tricksters like Achilli", nor associated with anti-catholic polemicists or evangelicals (p. 308). He claimed that Gavazzi, despite his theatricality and vulgar streak, was a convinced and principled liberal, whose religious passion for the risorgimento was derived from Italian Jansenism and from the influence of Lamennais, Rosmini and Manzoni.

[4] A. Gavazzi, Orations (1851), p. 48.

[5] G. M. Campanella, The Life of Father Gavazzi (1851), p. 13. Cf. Tyrrell's comment that "the English Jesuit however redeemable independently, is hopeless owing to its

Gavazzi's addresses both in England and Ireland, and later in Canada and the United States, where he lectured in 1853 after some lack of success in Britain.[1] It is instructive to examine Gavazzi's treatment of them, for he was, although no deep or systematic thinker, a leading anti-Catholic orator who appealed to all classes. Palmerston, Peel and Carlyle were among those who heard him, although they were not equally impressed. Despite his strong accent and his passionate rhetorical style, Gavazzi succeeded in attacking the foreignness of the Jesuits, and argued for the enforcement of the emancipation legislation which made it illegal for Jesuits to remain in Britain.[2]

In his lectures, Gavazzi admitted that there were to be found in the ranks of the "sons of Escobar" some unconscious agents and dupes who were put forward as a mask to disarm and delude. Behind them, however, "lurked the plotter and the cheat, the foul type of sanctified intrigue, the byeword for consecrated fraud in the vocabulary of mankind". Gavazzi considered that the Jesuits were omnipotent in Rome, and had, through their control of Propaganda, instruments throughout the world "moulded according to the Loyolan stamp". They were favoured by the Popes because they were "the most compact, the most powerful, and the most faithful janissaries in the defence of the Papacy, i.e. the Apostasy of Rome".[3] Gavazzi hoped that Italian patriots would profit from their exile in foreign countries, and "make it their care to trace out and discover these WANDERING JEWS, whatever their disguise, and openly denounce them to

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connection with the main body; and cannot move forward till Spain, Italy, France, etc., have come up to line -- and then it will be too late". Tyrrell to Ward, [March, 1900], in Letters from a "Modernist". The Letters of George Tyrrell to Wilfrid Ward, ed. M. J. Weaver (1981), p. 30.

[1]For Gavazzi's activities in the United States and Canada, where seven people were killed in riots outside the church in Montreal where he was lecturing, see G. Myers, History of Bigotry in the United States (New York, 1943), pp. 189-193.

[2]On this notion of foreignness, see N. Vance, The Sinews of the Spirit (Cambridge, 1985), pp. 51 and 90.

[3]A. Gavazzi, My Recollections of the Last Four Popes, and of Rome in Their Times; An Answer to Dr. Wiseman (1858), pp. 111 and 257. The Janissaries, the élite corps of the Turkish army which guarded the Sultan, consisted entirely of apostasised Christians. Cf. G. B. Nicolini, The Life of Father A. Gavazzi (Edinburgh, 1851), p. 21.

popular opinion, that they may never more be tolerated in Italy".[1] Mahony, reporting one of Gavazzi's addresses on the Jesuits, described how for

> two hours he continued to accumulate facts and draw inferences illustrative of the mischief traceable to this fatal institution; and though the ground he went over has been frequently trodden, old arguments appeared fresh, trite statements were clothed in such novelty and force of diction, as to keep the assembly in breathless attention to the close.[2]

As Mahony suggested, Gazazzi was far from original in recounting the repeated expulsions of the Jesuits from European countries,[3] in accusing them of being intimate with Wiseman and the Pope, of omnipotence even in minor details of church government, of acquiring wealth, of retarding the progress of education and of using dissimulation, casuistry, a pliant and relaxed morality and the confessional for their own ends. It is significant that Gavazzi's lecture on the falsity, malignity and immorality of the Jesuits was one of his standard presentations. Not only did his linking the British Jesuits with European Jesuits allow him colourful scope, but his descriptions also seemed to match the expectations of his audience.

It was impossible, however, to predict the effect of such performances, or to presume what opinion of the Jesuits might be held. Attacks on the Jesuits meant that they were widely known, even if not accurately. George Eliot believed she needed "the Jesuits' discipline of silence".[4] On the day on which Oscar Wilde was released from Reading gaol, he wrote to the Jesuits at Farm Street to ask if he could begin with them a six month retreat. The messenger waited for the answer, which was a refusal, since the superior replied that at least a year's deliberation would be necessary for such a step

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[1] A. Gavazzi, My Recollections of the Last Four Popes, and of Rome in Their Times: An Answer to Dr. Wiseman (1858), p. 138.

[2] A. Gavazzi, Orations (1851), p. 85.

[3] The expulsions were attributed to their "mischievous machinations, and dangerous and subversive principles". The Jesuits and their Class-Books; or, the Communism of Celibates (1873), p. 6. Exiled Italian, French and German Jesuits established houses of study in England and Wales, and some worked in houses of the English Province. The reception of Spanish and Portugese Jesuits was also planned.

[4] G. S. Haight, The George Eliot Letters (1954), I. 276.

and Wilde could not be accepted at such short notice.[1] Cecil Rhodes was impressed by the effectiveness of the Jesuits. In his fourth will, composed in De Beers' office in London in 1888, Rhodes bequeathed some shares in that company to his brothers and sisters and the balance of his estate to Lord Rothschild. In the postscript of a covering letter, Rhodes instructed Lord Rothschild: "In considering question suggested take Constitution Jesuits if obtainable and insert 'English Empire' for 'Roman Catholic Religion'".[2] The "question" was a secret society which Rhodes intended founding for the purpose of furthering the cause of the British Empire. There is no evidence that Rhodes knew what these Constitutions contained, nor that he had any extensive knowledge of the history of the Jesuits, nor is there any evidence that he had yet met a Jesuit, although he was later to be impressed with the Jesuits he encountered on the Zambesi mission.[3] It is obvious, however, that Rhodes considered the Jesuits to be a powerful and highly disciplined group, spread throughout the world and totally committed to the pursuit of its goals.

In 1889 in London, Rhodes met W.T. Stead, the editor of the Pall Mall Gazette, who had even less knowledge of the Jesuits than himself, and explained his plan for "underpinning the Empire by a Society which would be to the Empire what the Society of Jesus was to the Papacy".[4] Rhodes had written of his secret society as early as 1877, when he was in the Kimberley diamond field at the age of twenty-four.[5] In an "Open Letter" to Stead in 1891, Rhodes still recalled that "the key of my idea discussed with you is a Society, copied from the Jesuits as to organisation . . . a secret society organized like Loyola's".[6] This idea was developed in his sixth and seventh wills (in 1892 and 1893) into a plan for the education of young men from the colonies. Rhodes had not

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[1]R. Ellmann, Oscar Wilde (1987), pp. 495-496.
[2]Rhodes House, Oxford, Rhodes papers, Mss. Africa, t.1(24), Rhodes to Rothschild, 28 June 1888.
[3]W.L., 31(1902), 162.
[4]E. W. Stead, My Father. Personal and Spiritual Reminiscences (1913), p. 237. Cf. F. M. Crawford, An American Politician (1884), I. 132, for the reference to Jesuits in the novel which Rhodes recommended to Stead.
[5]Second will, dated 19 September 1877, Rhodes papers, Mss. Africa, t.1(2).
[6]Cited in J. Marlowe, Cecil Rhodes. The Anatomy of Empire (1972), p. 211.

abandoned, however, his earlier idea, confused though it was with notions of secret societies and Freemasonry, "that men in imperial holy orders should propagate the faith of Britain's dominions".[1] John Xavier Merriman, later Prime Minister of the Cape Colony, wrote to Goldwin Smith that these plans in the last will were "no doubt an attempt to realize some of Rhodes's crazy maunderings to . . . Stead about an order of millionaires on the basis of the Jesuits".[2]

Merriman's correspondent, Goldwin Smith, then living in Toronto and President of the American Historical Association, viewed the Empire and the Jesuits very differently to Rhodes, whom he considered to be almost a satanic influence.[3] Although Disraeli had called Goldwin Smith a pedant and a prig and an "itinerant spouter of stale sedition" for his ideas on the Empire, and had portrayed him in Lothair as the unnamed Oxford professor "of advanced opinions on all subjects, religious, social and political, of a restless vanity and overflowing conceit, gifted with a great command of words and talent for sarcasm", this was no disqualification from further office.[4] Goldwin Smith was Regius Professor of History at Oxford between 1858 and 1866 (a reward for his work on the University reform committees), a foundation Professor at Cornell, and had been invited in 1881 to become Master of University College, Oxford.[5] He vividly exemplified that ignorantly bigoted opinions and education were not incompatible. He held the Jesuits responsible for the growth of French nationalism in Canada, and had informed Gladstone in 1874 that the "old Gallican Church of French Canada" was succumbing to

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[1]R. I. Rotberg (with the collaboration of M. F. Shore), The Founder. Cecil Rhodes and the Pursuit of Power (Oxford, 1988), p. 668.

[2]Merriman to Goldwin Smith, 17 June 1904, in P. Lewson (ed.), Selections from the Correspondence of J.X. Merriman 1870-1924 (Capetown, 1960-69), III. 443-4, cited in R. I. Rotberg, The Founder, p. 668. Merriman, the son of the Bishop of Grahamstown, long served as a Cabinet member in the Cape Colony. D.N.B., 1922-30, pp. 574-6.

[3]D.N.B., 1901-1911, p. 337.

[4]Goldwin Smith replied that Disraeli's comments were "the stingless insults of a coward". R. Blake, Disraeli (1966), p. 519. Isaac D'Israeli's last novel was entitled Despotism, or The Fall of the Jesuits (1811).

[5]D.N.B., 1901-11, p. 337. Cf. Acton's criticism of Goldwin Smith in 1860 in H. Butterfield, Lord Acton 1834-1902 (1948), pp. 5-6 and 12-13.

"Ultramontanism pushed forward by the Jesuits".[1] "The Jesuits", he wrote in 1880, "are not a religious order: they use religious teaching and education merely as engines of a political conspiracy -- call it an ecclesiastical conspiracy if you will, it comes to pretty much the same thing".[2] He believed political intrigue to be their sole raison d'être,[3] and wrote editorials in the Toronto Mail in 1889 opposing the Jesuit Estates Act, by which the Quebec legislature sought to compensate the Jesuits for the lands which were taken by the British Government after the suppression of the Jesuits in 1773.[4] A reading of Lord Acton's letters in 1904 prompted Goldwin Smith to comment that he knew of "no Order so deliberately immoral" as the Jesuits:

> It has wrought incalculable mischief. Germany, I see, is readmitting them. Why, I don't know . . . Anarchism has done some harm here and there, but not a scintilla of the harm that the Jesuit has done. It was the Jesuit that brought on the Thirty Years' War. It was the Jesuit that revoked the Edict of Nantes. It was Jesuit intrigue that caused the Franco-Prussian War. Intrigue has been the Jesuit's policy always and everywhere.[5]

He still believed, in 1905, that "the Jesuit does not care what Constitutions are wrecked so long as the cause of papal domination is served".[6]

Even this small sample indicates that, while the Jesuits seemed consistently to fulfil their founder's hope that they might never fail to suffer persecution, the

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[1]Goldwin Smith to Gladstone, 28 October 1874, in A. Haultain (ed.), Goldwin Smith's Correspondence, comprising Letters chiefly to and from his English friends, written between the year 1846 and 1910 (1913), p. 52.

[2]Goldwin Smith to Hertz, 8 August 1880, in A. Haultain (ed.), Goldwin Smith's Correspondence (1913), p. 91.

[3]A. Haultain (ed.), Goldwin Smith. His Life and Opinions,(1913), p. 228.

[4]E. Wallace, Goldwin Smith. Victorian Liberal (Toronto, 1957), pp. 96, 241-2. On the Act, which provoked a wave of attacks on the Jesuits, see R. Dalton, The Jesuits' Estates Question 1760-1888. A Study for the Background for the Agitation of 1889 (Toronto, 1968).

[5]A. Haultain (ed.), Goldwin Smith. His Life and Opinions (1913), p. 114. The Letters of Lord Acton to Mary, Daughter of the Rt. Hon. W. E. Gladstone , ed. H. Paul, were published in London in 1904. Acton was invited in 1881 to write the article on the Jesuits for the Encyclopaedia Britannica, but the work was never completed. For Goldwin Smith's views on the Jesuits, see his "An Array of Facts" in J. J. Roy, The Jesuit Order, or, An Infallible Pope, who "being dead, speaketh" about the Jesuits [n.p., 1889]. Jesuit Archives, St. Jérôme, 1889/55.

[6]A. Haultain (ed.), Goldwin Smith. His Life and Opinions (1913), p. 222.

hostility shown them was not unambiguous. J. R. Beard admitted that it "would be idle to deny that an institution which has exerted so much influence, has been destitute of good".[1] Critics of the order often acknowledged some wheat among the tares, allowing that there were some honest Jesuits, and that the irreproachable life of some could compensate for the failings of others.[2] Henry Venn, the Secretary of the Church Missionary Society from 1841 to 1872, spent fourteen years writing The Missionary Life and Labours of Francis Xavier, attempting to demythologise Xavier's life from the romance given it by Roman Catholic hagiographers.[3] While hostile towards Roman Catholic missions in the East, Venn, with many other writers, greatly admired Xavier. Sir Culling Eardley Smith, the founder of the Evangelical Alliance, proposed, after the example of the unjust steward, that Protestants imitate, as far as "consistent with Christian integrity", the enthusiam of the Jesuits.[4] Ignatius Loyola was often defended, leaving Lainez and Aquaviva to be blamed for the subsequent evils of the Jesuits. Gavazzi, for example, explained that during Aquaviva's generalate, "the crafty principles of Macchiavellian policy were engrafted on the original stock of stupid but energetic fanaticism".[5] Thomas Arnold believed that no one could doubt "the piety of Loyola and many of his followers", but asked "what Christian, in England at least, can doubt that, as Jesuitism, it was not of God; that it was grounded on falsehood, and strove to propagate falsehood".[6] Here he was echoing John Wesley, who had written in his Journal in 1742 of his qualified admiration for Ignatius, "surely one of the greatest men that ever was engaged in the support of so bad a cause".[7] The Reverend M. Hobart

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[1] [J. R. Beard], "Jesuitism as It Is", B.Q.R., 13(1851), 510.

[2] E. Dalton, The Jesuits: Their Principles and Acts (1843), p. 31; A. Steinmetz, The Novitiate; or A Year Among the English Jesuits. A Personal Narrative (1846), p. 344.

[3] Cf. M. Hennell, Sons of the Prophets. Evangelical Leaders of the Victorian Church (1979), p. 82. For an example of the widespread criticism of Jesuits missions, see R. W. Overbury, The Jesuits (1846), pp. 139-155.

[4] E. Duller, The Jesuits as They Were and Are (1845), p. vii.

[5] A. Gavazzi, Orations (1851), p. 83.

[6] Arnold to Stanley, 28 February 1838, in A. P. Stanley (ed.), The Life and Correspondence of Thomas Arnold D.D. (1844; 1881 edn.), II. 99.

[7] Cited in R. Knox, Enthusiasm: A Chapter in the History of Religion with special reference to the XVII and XVIII Centuries (Oxford, 1950), p. 427.

Seymour, in his Mornings Among the Jesuits at Rome, regarded many Jesuits not as "hypocrites and monsters of deception and wickedness" but rather as "melancholy evidences of the fall of human nature, and sad monuments of the shipwreck of the human judgment".[1] For Acton, it was the "combination of an eager sense of duty, zeal for sacrifice, and love of virtue, with the deadly taint of a conscience perverted by authority, that makes them so odious to touch and so curious to study".[2]

THE ROMAN CATHOLIC COMMUNITY.

These ambivalent feelings towards the Jesuits were also present in the Roman Catholic community in the United Kingdom, part of a defensiveness produced by the exclusion and hostility which the community experienced. It was stressed (by Herbert Vaughan to Edmund Purcell, for example[3]) that the needs of the Catholic community were so pressing that energy should not be dissipated on internal quarrels, nor should divisions among Roman Catholics be displayed and expose the community to the charge that it was as divided as the Protestantism it censured. The Jesuits were careful to give no appearance of disunity among themselves, and, as far as principle allowed, tried to avoid conflict within the Catholic community. In his translation in 1881 of the Autobiography of the Elizabethan Jesuit, John Gerard, John Morris omitted Gerard's passages on the Appellants in the Archpriest controversy which Morris "considered . . . indelicate" or which "referred to disputes which were still a live issue in his own day".[4] The Jesuits were also sensitive to any public criticism. Edward Purbrick wrote, for example, of Macaulay's 1840 essay on von Ranke's History of the Papacy, which mixed criticism with admiration for the Jesuits:

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[1] M. H. Seymour, Mornings Among the Jesuits at Rome (1849), pp. 195-6. Cf. M. H. Seymour, A Pilgrimage to Rome (1848), pp. 249-265.

[2] Acton to M. Gladstone, 20-22 March 1882, in Letters of Lord Acton to Mary, Daughter of The Right Honourable W. E. Gladstone, ed. H. Paul (1904), p. 142.

[3] A.S.J., CL/5: Vaughan to Purcell, 8 November 1894, cited in p.245 of this thesis.

[4] See P. Caraman's introduction to J. Gerard, The Autobiography of an Elizabethan (1951), p. xix. Cf. J. Morris (ed.), The Life of Father John Gerard of the Society of Jesus (1881 edn.).

> Read his pages upon the Jesuits. There is much intellectual appreciation of excellence, much that is a noble defence of S.J., but knowing as much as he did he ought not to have balanced his panegyric as he did by a series of assertions which he might easily have known to be false. He is a fairly respectable Protestant, and shews in his diary and in his history much of the stupid bigotry and ignorant prejudice of the true British Philistine.[1]

The restored Jesuits, fearful of another suppression, were such strong supporters of papal prerogatives that the expulsion of the Society was the frequent consequence of the changes of European governments.[2] When it was suggested in 1873 that the British government be approached to join a protest against the expulsion of the Jesuits from Rome, George Porter, a Province consultor, realised the "great difficulty in asking a Government (ours) that does not acknowledge us in England to appeal for us to an Italian one that does and wants to be rid of us".[3]

It is not surprising, then, that many aspects of the Province's life were not publicised, for they concerned internal or familial matters. There was a perceived need to mask the diversity of opinion which did exist in the Province. An example can be taken from some private reflections of Edward Purbrick, one of the leading Jesuits in the last decades of the century, who had a deserved reputation for both vision and a command of detail.[4] The contemporary of Benson and Lightfoot at King Edward's Grammar School in Birmingham, Purbrick left Christ Church, Oxford, after a year to become a Roman Catholic.[5] He lived in Frederick Oakeley's community at Islington

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[1]A.S.J., Purbrick Letters, 1868-1911, f. 156: Purbrick to Donlevy, 25 October 1893. Cf. T. B. Macaulay, Critical and Historical Essays Contributed to the Edinburgh Review (1895), III. 190-192.

[2]In Europe alone, Jesuits were expelled from Spain in 1820, 1822 and 1834, from Portugal in 1834, from France in 1823 and 1829-30, from Naples and Russia in 1820 and from Italy, Austria and Switzerland in 1848. During Beckx's generalate, they were expelled from Spain in 1854 and 1868, from Naples in 1860, Venice in 1866, Germany in 1872-3, Rome in 1873 and France in 1880.

[3]P.C., 22 January 1873. After the 1848 expulsion, it was thought that the General and his Curia might reside privately in London. P.C., 3 March 1848.

[4]Purbrick was superior of St. Mary's Hall, Rector of Stonyhurst, Visitor of the Canadian mission, Provincial of the English Province from 1880 to 1888 and of the Maryland-New York Province from 1897 until 1901, and Tertian Master of both Provinces where he had been Provincial. There is no biography of Purbrick, as is explained in C. C. Martindale, "Edward Ignatius Purbrick S.J.. A Sketch", The Month, 148(1926), 116-24, 203-11, 299-308.

[5]For Benson's reflections on Purbrick in 1872, see A. C. Benson, The Life of Edward White Benson, sometime Archbishop of Canterbury (1900), I. 333-5.

before he entered the novitiate in 1851. Following ordination in 1864 at St. Beuno's, Purbrick studied theology for a further two years at the Roman College, and made his tertianship in France. During his retreat in tertianship, Purbrick recorded in his diary some thoughts "tending to pride and to defects against charity, viz., comparisons between converts and old Catholics in our Province". Although he was writing at a time of high emotion,[1] Purbrick's comments raise the question of the relations between converts and others in the Province. The two groups have been presumed to have been well-integrated; while education and general suitability were always a consideration, the fact that a Jesuit was a convert was rarely an explicit factor in making decisions about his work or residence. Purbrick noticed "a difference in tone and a want of sympathy and amalgamation between the two sections" in the Province[2]:

> The one set seem all gentlemen, scholars, men of mind and fine feeling, refined and agreeable. The others, uncouth, ill-bred, narrow-minded, without taste or manner and often without delicacy of feeling. And then I am drawn towards the first and away from the latter, and hence come feelings of contempt and very probably external signs of contempt. Also, as the latter vastly preponderate in number, a sort of discontent with the Province etc.[3]

Purbrick immediately examined how he should overcome himself in the matter, and concluded that the distinctions which he made were in the natural order:

> There is worldliness in this and a style of judgment to be abhorred by one who ought to be homo mundo crucifixus . . . What of the Apostles? Only one or two gentlemen amongst them.

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[1]See, for example, his resolutions about penance, A.S.J., 37/5/6: E. Purbrick, Spiritual Notes and Diaries, 1866-1892, II. 103-4.

[2]Over fifty converts entered the English Province before 1864. J. H. Pollen, "The Centenary of the Restoration of the Society of Jesus", The Month 122(1914), 64. Cf. P. A. Adams, "Converts to the Roman Catholic Church in England circa 1830-70" (University of Oxford B. Litt thesis 1977). W. G. Gorman (ed.), Converts to Rome. A Biographical List of the More Notable Converts to the Catholic Church in the United Kingdom during the last Sixty Years (1878; 1910 edn.), listed 115 converts (not including the sons or grandsons of converts) who entered the Society in the sixty years he surveyed, although not all entered the English Province. Gorman was a master at Stonyhurst.

[3]A.S.J., 37/5/6: E. Purbrick, Spiritual Notes and Diaries, 1866-1892, II. 126 ff.

Purbrick admitted that he exaggerated the case; the more he pondered, the more he admitted exceptions (and named Gallwey, Fitzsimon, Eyre and Weld). He acknowledged that, in those he condemned, there were a number of even natural qualities counter-balancing or compensating for the defects he noted -- "And how many supernatural?" Some days later, the "old weed crops up again":

> converts sneered at, despised, hated and all that sort of thing -- and was about becoming angry -- yet how groundless this generalizing! And if not, ought we not rather to rejoice at such being our lot? Did I become a Catholic, did I become a Jesuit, to be caressed by men, to please men, to be held in honour for what was a moral necessity lying upon me? [1]

Purbrick questioned whether there were, in fact, any grounds for this feeling against converts in the Province, and concluded that it was, in any case, an involuntary fault, "a mere defect of judgment".

Purbrick was not the only Jesuit to be concerned about this matter. Around 1880, Thomas Harper wrote to the General about the division he noticed in the Province and the feeling against converts. Beckx denied Harper's complaint that few converts were appointed superiors -- and instanced Collyns, who had been appointed Vice-Rector in Liverpool in 1854 but soon left the Society.[2] On the other hand, William Amherst was so incensed by Wilfrid Ward's comment, in his biography of Wiseman in 1900, that the converts had brought light, that Amherst asked "Where did they get it from and whom has it illuminated?"[3] In articles on Frederick Lucas, Charles Langdale and the Cisalpine Club in the Dublin Review,[4] and in a manuscript which is virtually an autobiography, Amherst denied that the old Catholics were inert, apathetic or uninteresting:

> It is unfortunate that I find it impossible to put my matter before the reader without making use of the terms "old Catholics" and "converts". Anything like a class distinction between English Catholics should be avoided as much as can be. As a matter of fact the distinction exists; there are Catholics in whose families the faith has

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[1] A.S.J., 37/5/6: E, Purbrick, Spiritual Notes and Diaries, 1866-1892, II. 155.
[2] A.R.S.I., Angl. 1005.V.5 [draft]: Beckx to Harper, n.d.. For Newman's interest in Collyns, see p.2?2of this thesis.
[3] A.S.J., OL/1: Amherst notebook, n.d..
[4] These articles are listed in Sutcliffe, p. 2.

> either never been lost, or if ever lost, it was only a temporary loss, and the faith was soon recovered; and there are those who have embraced the faith themselves or whose fathers or grandfathers obtained that blessing for them, let us say from the first quarter of the nineteenth century. But it is almost entirely amongst converts of our own day that there is an inclination to depreciate old Catholics and to fix a date for the revival of the Church in England, about seventy years later than it should be.[1]

Purbrick's and Amherst's comments reveal how much of the history of the nineteenth century Jesuits remains unexplored, and how eirenic generalizations fail to tell the complete story as surely as the partial views of writers who were antagonistic. The Jesuits, in this respect, are similar to many other nineteenth century religious orders and congregations of men and women, which have received surprisingly little attention from historians.[2]

PREVIOUS RESEARCH ON NINETEENTH CENTURY ENGLISH JESUITS.

There has been some research on the Jesuits, as might be expected, given their size, their varied ministry, their foreign connections and their intricate involvement with the Roman Catholic community's history prior to the suppression. Gerard Manley Hopkins and George Tyrrell have received extremely close study, and their Jesuit formation, both academic and spiritual, has been examined.[3] There exist some

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[1]A.S.J., OM/2. This 423 page unpublished manuscript, written in the last years of the century, was originally entitled "A Short History of the Revival of the Church in England and of the action of the Old English Catholic families against the aspersions of some English Catholics of the present day". Amherst published The History of Catholic Emancipation and the Progress in the British Isles (chiefly in England) from 1771 to 1820, 2 vols (1886). An unfinished third volume exists in manuscript, A.S.J., OM/4.

[2]The Redemptorists and the Passionists, however, although numerically quite small, have been the subject of detailed research. See J. Sharp, "Reapers of the Harvest. The Redemptorists in the United Kingdom 1843-1898" (University of London Ph.D. thesis 1986), and the articles by J. Sharp and C. Conrad in the Bibliography. The Redemptorists in England and Ireland at no time numbered more than sixty professed priests during the century.

[3]For Hopkins, see B. Bergonzi, Gerard Manley Hopkins (1977); for Tyrrell, see N. Sagovsky, "On God's Side". A Life of George Tyrrell (Oxford, 1990) and D. G. Schultenover, George Tyrrell. In Search of Catholicism (Shepherdstown, 1981). Further biographies of Hopkins and Tyrrell are forthcoming. Cf. A. Thomas, Hopkins the Jesuit. The Years of Training (1969), which examined Hopkins' Jesuit formation from noviceship to tertianship, 1868-1882, revealing the sources which are available.

institutional histories,[1] and biographies of several Jesuits.[2] The Jesuit lay brother and former Irvingite preacher, Henry Foley, collected documents, mainly from the period before the suppression, which he printed in the seven volumes of his Records of the English Province S.J. (1875-83). While they contain unacknowledged omissions, they have been analysed less than they deserve.[3] The histories of the English Jesuits written by Ethelred Taunton (1901), Walter Walsh (1903) and Joseph McCabe (1913) were hostile works, which also concentrated on the period before the suppression. Following the decree of the 24th General Congregation in 1892 that Provinces should commission their own histories, J. H. Pollen wrote on the history of the English Province during the Elizabethan period, where most writing on the English Jesuits has been focused. More recently, Bernard Basset and Francis Edwards have written histories of the English Province.[4] Edwards, familiar with the archival sources, supplemented Bassett's stylish but general study of individual Jesuits with a study of the English Province considered as an institution, and outlined the foundation of its houses, its work and its problems. Both works cover the history of the Province from the first English mission, and so are restricted in their treatment of the nineteenth century. Bassett treated the question of the opening of the Jesuit college in Manchester in 1875, for example, in one line; Edwards in one page. Edwards, while recounting the disputes between Jesuits and the

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[1]Some Jesuit colleges have their historians and novelists. See, for example, J. Gerard on Stonyhurst, P. Levi on Beaumont, A. Hindle on Preston, and the far more detailed treatment of Liverpool by M. Whitehead, "The contribution of the Society of Jesus to secondary education in Liverpool: the history of the development of St. Francis Xavier's College, c. 1840-1902" (University of Hull Ph.D. thesis 1984). For histories of some Jesuit missions and parishes, see L. Polgar, Bibliographie sur L'Histoire de la Compagnie de Jésus 1901-1980 (Rome, 1983), II. 264-272. H. J. A. Sire , Gentlemen Philosophers. Catholic Higher Education at Liège and Stonyhurst 1774-1916 (Worthing, 1988) treated the "secular philosophers", and P. Edwards, Canute's Tower. St. Beuno's 1848-1989 (Leominster, 1990), a Jesuit house.

[2]Biographies of Morris, Gallwey, Law, Kerr, Vaughan, Dignam, Gerard, Thurston and Martindale are listed in the Bibliography. Obituaries of Jesuits were printed from 1865 in L.N., and are noted, with other biographical writing about authors, in Sutcliffe.

[3]The consultors feared, when the first volume was privately printed, that the standard of editing would be a discredit to the Society. P.C., 30 March and 15 April 1875.

[4]B. Basset, The English Jesuits. From Campion to Martindale (1967); F. Edwards, The Jesuits in England. From 1580 to the present day (Tunbridge Wells, 1985). Edwards's work was written, as he explained, two decades prior to publication.

Secular clergy and Bishops, played down the importance of the "little feuds, the jalousie d'amitié", as Charles Butler described them, which Edwards viewed as somewhat cathartic and as unavoidable, given the strain of mission life and the unbalancing influence of neurotics. He admitted that "the basic problem was a real one, and not reducible to love of power on the part of the bishops or impudent recalcitrance on the part of the Society".[1] But he went no further. The behaviour of the Bishops was, indeed, sometimes viewed by the Jesuits as a love of power, and the Jesuits' actions viewed by some of the Bishops as impudent recalcitrance. These perceptions, partly the result of the restricted understanding of both the Bishops and the Jesuits, were also due to their insight into the importance of what was at stake. An examination of the self-understanding and motivation of both groups is needed, in an attempt to comprehend why harmony was so difficult to achieve, even when goals were so similar.

SOURCES.

Because of the scope of the subject, I have concentrated on material deposited in Jesuit archives, which, while it duplicates some material in diocesan archives, provides complete treatment of only one side of disputes. Manning's papers are unavailable, however, and the relevant Newman papers have been consulted in the archives of the Birmingham Oratory and in the printed edition of his letters and diaries. Such is the extent of the material in Jesuit archives that it has not been covered exhaustively. Although many Jesuits left no record, over one thousand educated men, some of whom were required, by rule, to communicate with superiors by letter, have provided abundant sources. Some did not write as often, nor as openly, as they were required; some wrote perfunctorily or were constrained by the use of Latin.[2] On the occasions, for example, when Jesuits of the English Province felt that they were misunderstood, or that foreign customs were being imposed upon them, this correspondence could be

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[1] F. Edwards, The Jesuits in England (Tunbridge Wells, 1985), p. 199.

[2] Letters to the General, usually written in Latin, were occasionally written in Italian, French or English, if it was known that the General understood. English was sometimes used (or letters were sent through the English Assistant) when there was need for the utmost clarity.

extremely forthright.[1] Such correspondence concerned the minute regulation of community life or accusations of liberal tendencies. The issues can seem trivial, but the principle that knowledge of the local culture and the local Church should be respected, even in an international Society, was considered of the greatest importance for pastoral effectiveness. What was so strongly deprecated was

> a confirmation of the belief that, whereas on the one hand any and every uncharitable opinion formed about the English Province by men who have absolutely no knowledge of England, of its people, its government, its state of religious thought, its social condition and climate, is accepted at once as true and just, there is on the other hand nothing but immediate contempt for the deliberate and conscientious judgment of English Fathers intimately acquainted with all the circumstances of the case and most deserving to be listened to with both ears.[2]

The two principal collections of manuscripts used in the thesis are the Jesuit archives in Rome and in London. The Roman archive includes correspondence to the General and the English Assistant, together with copies of some correspondence from the General and Assistant to the English Province. While this archive has been used in research on George Tyrrell and modernism, it has been virtually ignored for the rest of the nineteenth century. The archive of the British Province includes correspondence to the Provincial, together with the papers of individual Jesuits and the records of Jesuit colleges, missions and houses of formation.[3] Some limited use was also made of the archives of the Irish, French Canadian, Upper Canadian and Maryland Provinces because of their nineteenth century connection (in houses of formation, or as foreign missions) with the English Province.

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[1]See, for example, P.C., 27 May 1856, 29 August 1871, 30 January 1874, 9-11 September 1890 and 16 April 1901, and A.R.S.I., Angl. 1017.I.104 and 1019.Ia.1-10, on the use of alcohol [1896 and 1900-1901]; Angl. 1019.III.29-31, on attendance at funerals [1912].

[2]A.R.S.I., Angl. 1019.Ia.7, Knight to Martin, 25 April 1901. Cf. P.C., 16 July 1901. Tyrrell expressed the same complaint: "We are not even allowed to know England and English as well as Italians and Spaniards do". Tyrrell to von Hügel, March 1900, in M. Trevor, Prophets and Guardians (1969), p. 27.

[3]F. Edwards, "The Archives of the English Province of the Society of Jesus at Farm Street, London", Journal of the Society of Archivists, 3(1966), 107-115, describes some of the archive's holdings.

The records of Provincial consultations, the meetings usually held each month of the Provincial and his four consultors, provide an extremely detailed record of the administration of the Province. The precision with which the records were kept is inconsistent, dependent on the consultor (invariably the Socius to the Provincial) who acted as secretary. The minutes (which begin in 1832) of consultations after the restoration are very uneven until about 1850. From that date, they provide a consistent monthly or bi-monthly record, revealing different modes of government within the Province,[1] but have been neglected except for research into the lives of Tyrrell and Hopkins. The records were highly confidential (and, even so, names are often not used, and some matters not recorded in any detail), and are preserved in the Provincial's office, not in the Provincial archives. These records (together with the letters between the Provincials and the General) must be used with some care, since disproportionate attention was given to few individuals. Jesuits in difficulties were discussed more frequently than those who were content, effective, or, at least, unobtrusive, precisely because the consultation provided the opportunity for the Provincial to take advice. Most consultations deal with matters of the utmost ordinariness.

Letters and Notices was the house journal founded by Alfred Weld in 1862. Although limited in its circulation to Jesuits, notably those of the English Province, the style of the journal was formal and circumspect. It provided obituaries of Jesuits, information from the Provincial, from Jesuit houses and from English Province Jesuits in studies in other Provinces or working in foreign missions, with occasional material on the Province's history. Edmund Sutcliffe's Bibliography of the English Province of the Society of Jesus 1773-1953 provides a largely accurate list of the published writings (with the exception of reviews and letters) of over 420 Jesuit authors, members of the English Province or working in the English Province, while they were members of the Society.

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[1]Cf. Tyrrell to Ward, 22 January 1901: "Father Colley our new Provincial and his new consultors are of the most orthodox Stonyhurst type". Letters from a "Modernist". The Letters of George Tyrrell to Wilfrid Ward 1893-1908, ed. M. J. Weaver (1981), p. 60. See Appendix III.

FURTHER QUESTIONS.

These same sources contain much information concerning the nineteenth century English Jesuits which could be used to investigate what lies beyond the scope of this thesis. It is possible to discover the background and motivation of many of those who entered, and left, the Jesuits, and the ministries to which they were sent. The spirituality of the nineteenth century Jesuits is an important area for research, especially their understanding of the Spiritual Exercises (after Roothaan's editions and instructions between 1835 and 1854) and the ways in which the Exercises were presented to Jesuits themselves, the clergy, religious women and the laity. Some Anglicans showed an interest in the Spiritual Exercises, and even published editions of the text, comparing them with Jeremy Taylor's Holy Living, Baxter's Call to the Unconverted and Law's Serious Call. The community life of Jesuits, their discipline, mode of government and their understanding of the vows await investigation.

The programme of formation and studies of Jesuit scholastics and the academic work of those Jesuits who professed philosophy or theology, or who were part of the "House of Writers", remains largely unexamined. The Province was often said to be "lamentably deficient" in studies,[1] and the inadequacy of the academic formation was revealed by contact with the universities. After the Jesuit students from Stonyhurst were admitted to the University of London examinations, John Bird wrote to Thomas Glover in 1841 that it "has laid open the great deficiency of our studies, and will excite a great spirit of emulation".[2] Similarly, the 1895 entry to Oxford revealed, as John Gerard wrote, that

> our scholarship is very far beneath the level there required. Certainly we shall have plenty to learn, and it will all be worth learning. I look forward to nothing else than a total transformation of our studies and all in the right direction.[3]

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[1]E.g., P.C., 29 August 1871.

[2]A.S.J., 14/2/9, Transcripts, f. 415: Bird to Glover, 23 April 1841.

[3]A.R.S.I., Angl. 1017.V.11: Gerard to Meyer, 15 July 1895. Cf. 1017.V.28 and 29: Gerard to Meyer, 30 December 1898 and 3 March 1899.

In this case, the best students, specially tutored, and prepared by some years of Jesuit studies, were found to be "Much below the general standard, not certainly of English Catholic schools, but of English schools generally".[1] Jesuits studied theology at Stonyhurst and, from 1848, "lost among the Welsh hills" at St. Beuno's, dependent, in part, on professors from other European countries.[2] Peter Gallwey, who spent a year as Rector at St. Beuno's, recalled that "four Professors who taught here have gone out of their minds, two here and two after they left. The solitude tries them".[3] The isolation restricted contact with academic peers,[4] and occasionally resulted in some teaching which worried English Provincials.[5] Joseph Bayma, for example, an Italian scientist and philosopher who taught at St. Mary's Hall for eleven years from 1859, explained transubstantiation with the help of the molecular theory, and was subjected to a Roman enquiry.[6]

Criticism of the programme of studies and the lack of personal care in formation has been expressed in recent writing. The biographies of George Tyrrell, C. C. Martindale and R. H. Steuart, and abundant archival evidence, reveal some of the strains and dissatisfactions experienced during the long years of Jesuit formation.[7]

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[1]A.R.S.I., Angl. 1017.I.98: Joseph Rickaby to Martin, 1 July 1897.

[2]A.R.S.I., Angl. 1019.IV.5: Slater to Sykes, 6 March 1907.

[3]A.S.J., Gallwey Correspondence, f. 37: Gallwey to [Sidgreaves], 8 May 1877. The General agreed in 1865 to consider the theologate's relocation near a large town. P.C., 22 December 1865. Cf. P.C., 20 March 1855, 20 August 1857, 26 July 1858, 18 September 1860 and 20 February 1866. Widespread dissatisfaction with formation led the English and Irish Provincials to appoint a commission to enquire into higher studies in 1902. See Angl. 1019.IVb. for the report (the most revealing submissions, especially Clayton to Meyer, 20 February 1903. Cf. 1019.I.20, Colley to Martin, 6 April 1903.

[4]A.R.S.I., Angl. 1019.IVb: J. Jagger, opinion on studies.

[5]P.C., 26 March 1874. See the comments, in A.R.S.I., Angl. 1019.IV.2-8 [1907], on the desirability of establishing a Collegium Maximum (to combine philosophical and theological studies).

[6]Kleutgen, Franzelin, Liberatore and Provenzali gave their opinion on Bayma's teaching. A.R.S.I., 5.VIII and 5.II. 24 and 47. Cf. P.C., 29 December 1863. Bayma moved to the mission of the Turin Province in California, where he continued to teach the doctrine until the Holy Office deemed his explanation "untenable" in 1875. Cf. G. McKevitt, The University of Santa Clara. A History 1851-1977 (Stanford, 1979), pp. 53-55 and 111-13. Cf. A.S.J., H/1: Walker to Christie, 11 November 1862 and 28 January 1869; C/4: Porter to Purbrick, 13 November 1882.

[7]The Two Voices. Spiritual Conferences of R. H. J. Steuart S.J., ed. C. C. Martindale (1952), p. 55; P. Caraman, C. C. Martindale (1967), pp. 73-110, and, especially, Tyrrell to Martin,

Joseph Thorp ('T', the drama critic of Punch), however, who entered the novitiate in 1891 and left the Society in 1901, after studies and teaching in Liverpool and Beaumont, revealed in his autobiography in 1931 the sensitivity with which he was treated, and a warm sentiment for the Society which would be unnoticed if only certain sources of information were used:

> It was an odd life and none too easy. But it was mitigated by extraordinary good fellowship from good fellows (most) and much discernment and patience on the part of one's professors and superiors . . . The sterner discipline of the ten enclosed years as a Jesuit gave one little, perhaps, that was of material advantage, but much that only a fool would fail to appreciate and value.[1]

The Province's work in foreign missions is not treated in this thesis, although the demands the missions made on men and money, and the desire to balance the needs in the United Kingdom with those in foreign missions were important considerations in many decisions taken in the English Province. Requests for missioners were made even during the years of the suppression.[2] Maryland (a mission of the English Province before the suppression) had its own superior from 1805, but English Jesuits were sent to Calcutta in 1834, to Jamaica in 1837 and to Malta in 1845. Requests for English Jesuits continued throughout the century.[3] Individuals worked in Cyprus, India, Egypt, Syria, New Orleans and Ceylon, while there were more significant commitments to Malta (1845-55; 1877-1907), Jamaica (1837-1893), Honduras (1875-1893), British Guiana (from 1857) the Cape Colony (from 1875) and the Zambesi mission (from 1879). The interprovincial enterprise in the Zambesi was committed to the English Province in 1894, with the consequent policy of strengthening that mission and the

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11 June 1904, in M. D. Petre, Autobiography and Life of George Tyrrell (1912), II. 458-499.

[1]'T' [J. P. Thorp], Friends and Adventures (1931), pp. 35-37. See pp. 37-43 for Thorpe's friendship with Tyrrell. Cf. A. Vidler, A Variety of Catholic Modernists (Cambridge, 1970), pp. 168-171, and Antonia White, The Hound and the Falcon (1965).

[2]See T. G. Holt, "The English ex-Jesuits and Jesuits and the Missions, 1773-1824", A.H.S.I., 37(1968), 153-165.

[3]There were requests for Jesuits to work in Trinidad, Ohio, Mauritius, Upper Canada, Nova Scotia, Madura, New Zealand, Bombay, Missouri, Brazil, the Philippines, China, Gibraltar, and California.

transfer of the smaller missions to other Provinces. Canada was a mission dependent on the English Province from 1879 to 1888, although no English Jesuits were sent. There was disagreement about the demands made by these foreign missions, and the effectiveness of the commitment to them. George Porter in 1880 stated that

> The past history of our foreign missions is not to our credit. We refused New York, Australia; renounced Calcutta to Belgium: and we have on our hands two insignificant missions, Demerara and Jamaica with Honduras and we devote as many men as would have created by this time a grand province in Australia.[1]

One consultor in 1886, however, viewed England itself as "not unlike a foreign mission", and considered that it "would be a pity to take our Fathers from labours of high promise in England to employ them upon rationalistic Pagans who are spoiled by godless civilization".[2] The English Province's commitment to the foreign missions (and to administrative positions in Rome) had been significant, however, especially given the acknowledged shortage of good superiors and administrators.[3] Men of consequence were needed to be the Prefect Apostolic or Vicar Apostolic of missions, since they were, until a later separation of offices, also the religious superior of the Jesuits.

There is a need for further research (similar to Dr. M. Whitehead's examination of the Liverpool college) into the variety of Jesuit educational work, which the Province deemed to be of the greatest importance, and which absorbed so many Jesuits.[4] The Jesuit Constitutions forbade accepting payment for tuition, but an important dispensation, granted by Gregory XVI in 1833, allowed Jesuits in England, Ireland and the United States to receive fees.[5] In addition to Stonyhurst, colleges were founded at Liverpool and Mount Saint Mary's, near Spinkhill, in 1842, at Glasgow in 1859, Beaumont, near Windsor, in 1861, Preston in 1865, and at Wimbledon (1893) and

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[1] A.S.J., C/4: Porter to Purbrick, 27 August 1880. Cf. P.C., 30 January 1874.
[2] P.C., 11 June 1886.
[3] P.C., 6 January 1897: "FF. Weld, Porter, Kerr, Clayton, Sykes are proof that we have given away our most valuable men when we could ill spare them".
[4] The opening of the college in Manchester in 1874 will be treated in chapter 3.
[5] "Accipiendi Minervalia in Collegiis Americae, Angliae, et Hiberniae", 13 January 1833, in Institutum Societatis Iesu (Florence, 1892-93), I. 359; cf. II. 494, 519.

Stamford Hill (1894) in London. Further colleges were opened at Leeds in 1905, and at Leigh in 1903, although this college was closed in 1906 because of lack of support.[1] In addition, Jesuits of the English Province opened colleges on the foreign missions, at Grahamstown (1876), Malta (1877), Georgetown, Guyana (1880) and Bulaweyo (1896). Colleges were not the remote communities they often appeared. Purbrick wrote in 1870, for example, that

> A gentleman called today who told me he was a Catholic till the day of the definition of Infallibility. Now he is nothing and his poor boy was present whom he is removing from a Catholic school to bring him up Protestant. Iniquities multiply.[2]

Yet from the earliest days of the Society, some Jesuits had seen the "multitude of colleges" as being "tombs of the Society" in which talent was buried.[3] Richard Sykes, the Provincial, repeated a similar complaint in 1908:

> Our Colleges are, as I have so often said, bottomless bags which nothing can satisfy. Every year the cry is for more and better masters . . . We are starving our pulpits.

He judged that the commitment to colleges made it difficult for the English Province to prepare professors and writers, "as they have in the more leisured -- should I add, more learned -- Provinces".[4] Michael Maher, the superior of St. Mary's Hall and the Jesuit responsible for instructing the scholastics in pedagogy, repeatedly complained of "what seemed to me the waste of so many highly equipped men for so relatively small apparent results from our Boarding Schools, whilst the needs of the church and Religion in the world were so acute".[5] Alphonse Daignault also objected that "the long

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[1]The college in Leigh was approved by both Bishop and chapter. In other towns, "where a College is even more necessary . . . even when the Bishop wishes to call us in, the Canons prevent it". A.R.S.I., Angl. 1019.I.32: Colley to Martin, 18 July 1903. Cf. P.C., 16 February 1906.

[2]A.S.J., DG/2, 5 October 1870. Cf. 7 October 1870: "Another case of apostasy came under my notice", because of the definition.

[3]The comment is by Juan Maldonado in 1573, cited in A. L. Martin, The Jesuit Mind. The Mentality of an Elite in Early Modern France (1988), pp. 21 and 57.

[4]A.R.S.I., Angl. 1023.I.11: Sykes to Walmesley, 20 December 1908.

[5]A.R.S.I., Angl. 1035: Maher to Walmesley, 18 November 1907.

formation of the Society appears a glaring waste of time, money and energy" if it was to end in teaching the lower grades in colleges. It was, he wrote, "like sharpening a razor to a nicety and using it afterwards to cut a piece of wood".[1] This was far from being a general opinion, but Jesuits were the harshest critics of their own educational methods and results, especially in boarding schools, which Joseph Rickaby described as "Reductions of boys".[2] Rickaby wrote to the General from Beaumont in 1897 about the reforms needed in the colleges, because the boys educated there

> will go out into the world straight from thence, Babies, untaught to do anything for themselves, loving pleasure above all things, selfish, sullen, with no idea that they are called upon to take any trouble in aid of God's Church and God's poor, spiritless, devoid of all strength of character and all noble ambition, -- such is the type they tend to approximate to. So people in the world say, much to the diminution of our numbers and loss of our influence; and they have some cause for saying it.[3]

These aspects of the history of the restored Jesuits in the United Kingdom cannot be treated in this thesis. The focus here on the relations with the Bishops provides, however, an essential foundation for such work. It illuminates the central problems of Jesuit identity and activity in the United Kingdom in the nineteenth century: their fears, constraints and choices. It reveals the continuity of these nineteenth century disputes with earlier conflicts on the English mission. It also illustrates the path to their resolution and the new situation of strengthened episcopal control, in which the Jesuits' decisions about their work would henceforth be made.

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[1] A.R.S.I., Angl. 1019.VII.7: Daignault to Rector, 15 August 1906.
[2] Georgetown University, Woodstock College papers, J. Rickaby, IIC.63.3b(1), 296 [1893].
[3] A.R.S.I., Angl. 1017.I.98: Rickaby to Martin, 1 July 1897. Cf. A.R.S.I., Angl. 1017.V.28: Gerard to Meyer, 30 December 1898.

I. THE RESTORATION

Ignatius Loyola, while a university student in Paris, visited London in the summer of 1531, on a begging tour presumed to be so successful that he found no need to return. After the foundation of the Society of Jesus, many Jesuits succeeded Edmund Campion and Robert Persons, who entered the country secretly in 1562, in working on the English mission. Their labours have often been recounted, by their enemies as well as by their friends. Although the houses of formation of the English Province were based in the Low Countries, about half of the Province at any time worked in England or Wales, a situation which existed until the suppression of the Jesuits in 1773.[1] During the period of the suppression and the protracted restoration of the Society, the relationship of the Jesuits with the Secular clergy and Vicars Apostolic was affected by the history of their disputes in previous centuries, and the troubles of these years of restoration and emancipation affected, in turn, that relationship. Some of the religious congregations which came to England in the nineteenth century -- Rosminians in 1835, Passionists in 1842, Redemptorists in 1843, Oratorians in 1847 and Marists in 1850, for example -- were entering the country for the first time. The Jesuits, however, together with the older orders of monks and friars, had a long history on the English mission. To understand the situation of the Jesuits in the nineteenth century, especially their uneasy relationship with the Vicars Apostolic, it is important to survey the history of the suppression and restoration and to investigate the impact of these experiences.

At the time of their suppression, the Jesuits in England and Wales (numbering 134 priests) were the largest group of Regular clergy.[2] Forming nearly one-third of

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[1]The name of the Jesuit Province was the "English Province" from its foundation in 1623 until it was changed to the "British Province" in 1985. Before the suppression, Scotland had been a separate Jesuit mission, but, after the restoration, Scotland was part of the English Province. Wales was part of the English Province both before and after the suppression.

[2]T. G. Holt, "The English Province: The Ex-Jesuits and the Restoration (1773-1814)", A.R.S.I., 42(1973), 289. In 1771, two years before the suppression, the total number of Jesuits in the English Province was about 290 (-- the Province catalogue for 1771 gives a total of 288), of whom 138 were in England, 104 in Belgium and 23 in Maryland. Cf. F.

the total number of Roman Catholic priests, they worked nearly one-third of the missions. In addition to forming an unusually high proportion of the clergy, the Jesuits were more popular among some parts of the Catholic community in Britain than they were, for example, in France or Rome, and fared rather better at the time of the suppression than their European brethren, who suffered from close links with their governments.[1] Bishop Challoner recognized the importance of the Jesuit contribution to mission activity, and, indeed, to the education of the English Secular clergy. It was even proposed, in the end unsuccessfully, that the ex-Jesuits might form themselves into a congregation of Secular priests, with or without simple vows, and be formally entrusted with the works in which they were already engaged.

THE SUPPRESSION.

When the Society ceased to exist, the ex-Jesuits in the United Kingdom were placed under the direct control of the Vicars Apostolic, according to the terms of the bull of suppression, Dominus ac Redemptor. Challoner treated them with the greatest courtesy and liberality, appointing Thomas More, the last Provincial and the last of the male line descended from the Lord Chancellor, Vicar for his former subjects.[2] Challoner pleaded that it was impossible to execute literally the bull of suppression, which required that every Jesuit be separated from his previous work and surroundings and confined until his future be decided, since to do so might bring him within danger of the penal laws. Consequently, the ex-Jesuits and their property were left much as they had been before the suppression. The other Vicars Apostolic, Hornyold, Petre and Walmesley, behaved similarly, giving to More the power to grant faculties and to move his priests.[3] The ex-Jesuits, then, were nominally Secular priests,

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Courtney, "English Jesuit Colleges in the Low Countries 1593-1794", Heythrop Journal, 4(1963), 255.

[1] J. H. Pollen, "An Unobserved Centenary", The Month, 115(1910), 451. For a treatment of some aspects of the suppression, an event of great complexity, see W. O. Chadwick, The Popes and European Revolution (Oxford, 1981), pp. 345-390.

[2] For Challoner's relationship with the Jesuits, see T. G. Holt, "Bishop Challoner and the Jesuits" in E. Duffy (ed.), Challoner and His Church (1981), pp. 137-151.

[3] E.g., A.S.J., Letters of Bishops and Cardinals, 1753-1853 [hereafter, L.B.C.,I], f. 18: Walmesley to More, 31 October 1773.

but still formed their own body, and retained, in effect, their immediate superior. To all appearances they lived as Secular priests (as they had previously), without habit or an obvious rule of life, but, as Bernard Ward remarked, "they had different antecedents and traditions from the rest of the clergy, and practically formed a body apart".[1] Their numbers were maintained by their alumni or élèves, priests educated at the Pontifical Academy at Liège, to which the College at Bruges (which had been transferred from St. Omers in 1762 when the Jesuits were expelled from France) had moved after it had been suppressed by the Austrian forces in Flanders in 1773. The Academy at Liège, originally founded as a Jesuit house of studies in 1616, survived the suppression because of the protection of the Prince-Bishop, Count van Velbruck, who governed in temporal as well as spiritual matters. The Academy admitted both lay students, who observed as much of the Jesuit rule as they could, and ecclesiastical students, who prepared themselves for the priesthood, some with the intention of taking their vows as Jesuits should the Society be restored.

The Vicar Apostolic of the London District, James Talbot, preferred the subjects of Liège to be on the same footing upon the mission as the subjects of the other clergy colleges, so that prejudices "not thus studiously kept up . . . will die away with time, and perfect harmony be restored".[2] In practice, the Liège alumni were admitted, after probation, not to vows but to a special form of the "mission oath" which the clergy were required to take. They promised to serve the college for eight years after ordination, if called upon (so enabling the ex-Jesuits to maintain the college staff), and then to go to the English or Welsh mission, to live in subordination to the Vicars Apostolic (so enabling the supply of missioners to be maintained). But "whether they shall be missioners or not, and where they shall be stationed, depends upon their Superior", who did not ask leave of the Vicar-Apostolic to move a missioner, but merely informed

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[1]B. Ward, The Dawn of the Catholic Revival in England 1781-1803 (1909), I. 15. [Hereafter, Dawn I].

[2]Talbot to Strickland, 27 March 1784, cited in Dawn I, pp. 78-81.

him of the change.[1] The Liège alumni, then, were considered to belong to the same body as the ex-Jesuits, almost a separate group among the clergy. The extent of the separation, however, was unclear, imprecise and the source of abrasive disagreements.

With the movement of the French Army in the Netherlands in 1794, the Academy fled from Liège to Stonyhurst in Lancashire.[2] The ex-Jesuits, who considered that, by the mere fact of its translation to the English mission which it had always served, the Academy had lost none of its privileges, saw themselves as protected in England by a Papal brief and a foreign Bishop. The matter was not as clear to Dr. William Gibson, who had succeeded his brother as Vicar-Apostolic of the Northern District, even though he received the refugees kindly. He had recently founded his own college near Durham and presumed that the uninvited college in his diocese was under his control and the Presidency was in his gift.[3] On 14 February 1796 Propaganda confirmed the Papal brief of 1778, Catholici Praesules, first granted to the Prince-Bishop of Liège, which had stated that the seminary of the "Gentlemen of Liège" was "an institute of a new kind, an offshoot, as it were, from the ancient mission, and occupied in carrying out its functions". The Prince-Bishop was said to be in entire control of the college, and was protected by the brief against possible objections arising from the bull of suppression. The "Gentlemen of Stonyhurst", by the rescript, had their college placed under the Pope's protection and enjoyed the status and privileges of a Pontifical seminary, but these privileges were neither listed systematically nor explained. Bishops Walmesley, Sharrock and, at a later time, Milner allowed the President of Stonyhurst to grant dimissorial letters for the ordination of his subjects, while the other Vicars did not.[4] These privileges would be contested in the years ahead.

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[1] A.R.S.I., Angl. 1011.V.24: Plowden to Grassi, 27 January 1820. For an example of the terms of agreement made with the élèves, see A.S.J., 14/2/9, Transcripts, f. 377: 11 May 1797.

[2] Cf. Stone to Douglass, 13 January 1794, cited in B. Ward, The Dawn of the Catholic Revival in England, 1781-1803 (1909), II. 100-101.[Hereafter, Dawn II.]

[3] For Gibson's point of view, see M. Haile and E. Bonney, Life and Letters of John Lingard 1771-1851 [1911], p. 105.

[4] J. H. Pollen, "An Unobserved Centenary", The Month, 115(1910), 457.

The "temporalities of the late body of Jesuits in England" long remained another source of contention. At the suppression, the Districts or Colleges into which the Jesuit Province had been divided were financially independent and the property and investments had been left in the care of the ex-Jesuits, who provided for the support of retired or infirm ex-Jesuits. It was understood that, should the Society not be restored, the funds would be left for the benefit of the local church and divided among the Vicars Apostolic for missionary purposes. Charles Plowden was later convinced that this knowledge that the funds of the Jesuits would pass to the Vicars Apostolic on the death of the last ex-Jesuit was one reason for their attempts to prevent the restoration of the Society: "if they acknowledge us for religious men, they could have no pretext to claim our property in London, at Wigan, Bristol, Preston etc., etc.".[1] Plowden believed that "Avarice not less than the 'libido dominandi in cleris' actuate our foes".[2] Difficulties soon arose. In Scotland, the deeds of the Jesuit property had passed to the Vicar Apostolic, Dr. Cameron, who refused to answer correspondence on the subject.[3] In England, to give one example, the ex-Jesuits had sold in 1786 a mission in the Northern District, together with its houses and lands, to the Benedictines. Dr. Matthew Gibson, the Vicar Apostolic, argued that the ex-Jesuits had no right to dispose of the mission, since they were now Secular priests, and he claimed the right to place a Secular priest on the mission should no ex-Jesuit be available. To support his case, he obtained a decree of Propaganda, dated 15 July 1786, which explicitly stated that the property of the ex-

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[1] A.R.S.I., Angl. 1011.V.2 and 18: Plowden to Grassi, 11 January and 15 December 1819. Plowden repeatedly mentioned this in his letters to Rome: e.g., Angl. 1011.II.13: Plowden to Grassi, 14 February 1818 and Angl. 1011.V.30: Plowden to Grassi, 30 March 1820.

[2] A.R.S.I., Angl. 1012.I.6: Plowden to Grassi, 19 July 1820. Plowden claimed that Dr. Gibson and Dr. Collingridge had joined Dr. Poynter (who was making enquiries of the Jesuits' bankers in London) in the quest for property, and Plowden secretly feared "that even Dr. Milner may be on their side". Angl. 1011.IV.60: Plowden to Grassi, 27 December 1818. Cf. Angl. 1011.IV.28 and 58: Plowden to Grassi, 22 July and 18 December 1818, and Angl. 1012.II.1: Plowden to Grassi, 3 June 1820.

[3] A.R.S.I., Angl. 1011.V.6: Plowden to Grassi, 13 February 1819. Plowden wrote that "Having the same interest, he is full as much our enemy, as any of our 3 VV. A". A.R.S.I., Angl. 1011.V.22: Plowden to Grassi, 8 January 1820. For Dr. Cameron's obsessive distrust of the Jesuits, and his fear that Scottish Jesuit funds would be applied to the college at Stonyhurst rather than to the maintenance of the Secular clergy in Scotland, see C. Johnson, Developments in the Roman Catholic Church in Scotland 1789-1829 (Edinburgh, 1983), pp. 37-38.

Jesuits was not to be alienated, and should ultimately be left to the disposal of the Vicars Apostolic, who were to ensure that the decree was observed.

William Strickland, the Procurator in London who vigorously protected the funds of the ex-Jesuits, wrote to the Vicars Apostolic to insist that what had belonged to the Society now belonged to the ex-Jesuits, who would decide temporal matters as they judged best.[1] After consulting Charles Butler for legal advice, Strickland argued that, in soliciting or accepting Rome's interference in temporal or civil concerns, Dr. Gibson was violating the oath of allegiance he had taken under the Act of 1778 and was liable to the severest censures of the law and to the penalties of Praemunire.[2] Strickland appealed for help to the Catholic Committee, whose outlook he largely shared.[3] Members of the Committee wrote to each Vicar Apostolic for clarification, pointing out that "receiving any bull or decree from the Court of Rome on matters of temporal property" was "not only in direct violation of the Oath we have all lately taken, but in breach of the statutes of Praemunire and Provisors, both passed in Catholic times, for the security of the English Catholic Church".[4] The Committee was content with the responses of the other Vicars Apostolic, since there was, in fact, a need to discover who were the correct representatives of the dissolved Society to administer the property which had formerly belonged to it.

THE RESTORATION.

The restoration of the Jesuit order was a curiously protracted affair, especially in the United Kingdom, where it took nearly thirty years. The complex process will

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[1] A.S.J., Strickland Letters, f. 301: Strickland to the Vicars Apostolic, 16 January 1787.
[2] Strickland to Dr. Thomas Talbot, 8 February 1787, cited in Dawn I, p. 105. Cf. N. Abercrombie, "Charles Butler and the English Jesuits, 1770-1823", R.H., 15(1980), 284. On this question, see T. G. Holt, William Strickland and the Suppressed Jesuits (1988), pp. 118-121.
[3] Dawn I, pp. 203 and 253.
[4] Petre et. al. to Vicars Apostolic, 20 February 1787, cited in Dawn I, pp. 105-6. The statutes of Praemunire were passed in 1353 and 1393 to prevent appeals to papal courts from judgments made in English civil courts. The penalty was loss of property. Under Elizabethan legislation (5 Eliz. c. 1, 2), anyone allowing the jurisdiction of the see of Rome in England was subject to Praemunire.

now be traced, for not only does it explain the disputed status of the Jesuits in both civil and canon law, but also the way in which the Jesuits and the Vicars Apostolic viewed each other and the priorities of the Roman Catholic community. There was no certainty that the Society would be restored in the United Kingdom, even though it was restored elsewhere, and several Jesuits expressed their fear that they would all be forced to leave the country in order to be Jesuits. The bitterness which they felt at their treatment by the Vicars Apostolic, whom they believed would needlessly sacrifice them to obtain emancipation, would be dissipated only slowly, and remained a factor to be considered in their decisions about their ministry.

After the suppression, the Society had continued to exist in Russia because the Tsarina Catherine, needing the Jesuits as educators, had not enforced the execution of the bull of suppression. In 1783 the English ex-Jesuits applied to be aggregated to the surviving Jesuits in Russia but were informed that this was impossible since they resided outside the country. When Pius VII formally restored the Society in Russia in 1801, Cardinal Consalvi, the Papal Secretary of State, announced that ex-Jesuits in other countries could be aggregated to the Russian Province. Accordingly, the English ex-Jesuits requested aggregation, as they had twenty years earlier. The Pope gave his consent by word of mouth, since his fixed policy seems to have been never to issue written instructions either for or against the Jesuits, because of his fear of the Spanish minister in Rome.[1] In 1803, then, Marmaduke Stone was appointed Provincial of the English Jesuits by Gabriel Gruber, the newly elected Austrian General of the Society in Russia, and a noviceship began, in secrecy, at Hodder Place, near Stonyhurst, under the direction of Charles Plowden. Stone, the President of Stonyhurst (as the Rector was called until 1814) as well as the Provincial, wrote to the Vicars Apostolic, on Dr. Milner's advice, to inform them of the Pope's viva voce permission for the ex-Jesuits to renew their vows.

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[1] J. H. Pollen, "An Unobserved Centenary", The Month, 115(1910), 458. Cf. Georgetown University, John Carroll collection, 2: Plowden to Carroll, May 1803.

Plowden, who would dominate the early history of the restoration of the Jesuits, had entered the English Jesuits at Watten in 1759. After studies at Liège, Rome and Bologna, he had been a master at the college at Bruges and Liège and imprisoned at the time of the suppression. He served as chaplain at Ellingham in Northumberland and tutor to the Weld family at Lulworth Castle before returning to become Master of Novices.[1] Plowden was a controversialist of the most vigorous kind, and a leading opponent of the clerical and lay members of the Catholic Committee, especially in the controversy known as the "Blue Book dispute" which concerned the oath of allegiance attached to the 1791 Relief Act.[2] Plowden had published the fiercest attack on the Cisalpines, and especially on Berington's Memoirs of Gregorio Panzani, which he labelled "a rant against Popes, who have befriended you, against Jesuits, who have never injured you, and against British catholics of the past and present times who, because they are Catholics, must detest your principles and disavow your doctrines".[3] As Master of Novices and as Provincial, Plowden would contend with the Vicars Apostolic when the existence of the Jesuits was threatened and leave his confrontative mark on the struggling restored English Province and on generations of his novices.

The fact that the Pope's instructions were oral, not written, and would not be confirmed, led, predictably, to difficulties, and to a lack of uniform policy from different Roman authorities. Cardinal Borgia, the Prefect of Propaganda, explained in December 1803 to Dr. Douglass, the London Vicar Apostolic, that the superior of the Jesuits had no authority outside Russia and that the Vicars Apostolic were "not to recognize those who wished to be Jesuits in England . . . unless the Vicars Apostolic are first certified of the legitimate existence [of the Society], and this by the authority of

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[1]Plowden tutored the two sons of Thomas Weld. Thomas, after the death of his wife, became a Cardinal, and Edward a Jesuit.

[2]A.R.S.I., Angl. 1011.II.13: Plowden to Grassi, 14 February 1818.

[3]C. Plowden, Remarks on a Book entitled Memoirs of Gregorio Panzani, preceded by an Address to the Rev. Joseph Berington (Liège, 1794), p. 3. George Oliver commented mildly that, in some of Plowden's writings, "certain tart and acrimonious expressions, and personalities occur, which his riper and better judgment regretted". Collections towards Illustrating the Biography of the Scotch, English, and Irish Members of the Society of Jesus (1845), p. 168.

the Holy See through the Congregation de Propaganda Fide".[1] This instruction, which seemed to contradict the Pope's private permission, was communicated to Stone by Dr. Gibson in February 1804. It had been prompted not by Gibson himself but by the Archbishop of Dublin, Dr. Troy, who enquired whether Stonyhurst was permitted to receive candidates from Ireland into the novitiate, since certain funds would revert to the Irish Bishops on the death of the Irish ex-Jesuits if the Society had not revived.[2] Stone, while promising Dr. Gibson that he would submit to Cardinal Borgia's orders, held firmly to his belief that his vows had papal approval, even if they must remain secret. He understood that the ex-Jesuits could now live together under vow but, as the Pope had said, "in lay dress as they used to do".[3] While restored by the Pope, and privately encouraged by him, they could claim no privileges of the order outside Russia, where the Government approved of them. The Pope's permission affected only the internal forum, Stone said, and those who renewed their vows were Jesuits in private. Not every ex-Jesuit saw the matter as clearly as did Stone, and some would not renew their vows under these conditions.[4] John Carroll, an ex-Jesuit of the English Province who had been appointed Archbishop of Baltimore, was highly suspicious of the verbal

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[1]Borgia to Douglass, 3 December 1803. For the Latin text of the letter, see B. Ward, The Eve of Catholic Emancipation (1912), III. 286-7. [Hereafter, Eve III].

[2]For details of the dispute, see J. H. Pollen, "An Unobserved Centenary", The Month, 115(1910), 460; T. G. Holt, William Strickland and the Suppressed Jesuits (1988), pp. 68 and 88-95, and T. Hughes, History of the Society of Jesus in North America. Colonial and Federal (1910), Documents, I, Part II (1605-1838), pp. 1149-1153. An Irish ex-Jesuit, the sole trustee, was aggregated in England to the Russian Province in 1803, and died in 1807, having willed the ex-Jesuit funds (for the future Irish mission) to Stone. Stone, who asked whether the Archbishop wished to invoke spiritual power to invalidate the will of a British subject, insisted that the property was private, not ecclesiastical.

[3]This distinction between external and internal jurisdiction, and between oracula and oracula non-authentica, is treated in J. H. Pollen, "The Restoration of the English Jesuits, 1803-1817", The Month, 115(1910), 586. Stone, in a letter to Dr. Troy in 1808, accepted that the Pope's verbal approval was not an oraculum in the technical sense.

[4]Plowden, for example, delayed renewing his vows on the ground that, without the Pope's written orders, the oral permission could be disavowed and overturned at any moment. Georgetown University, Maryland Province Archives, 203. W. 14: Plowden to Carroll, 29 May 1803.

restoration, and thought that the English Vicars Apostolic were correct in their attitude towards it.[1] There would be yet more contrary instructions from Rome.

The status of the ex-Jesuits led most of the Vicars Apostolic to refuse to ordain the alumni of Liège and Stonyhurst titulo paupertatis (that is, as members of a religious community subject to the superior) and to refuse the President of the College the right of granting dimissorial letters for ordination, which prevented his presenting his students to a friendly bishop who was prepared to ordain them titulo paupertatis. If the alumni were ordained titulo missionis (that is, as Secular clergy, in the service of the Vicar) the Vicar Apostolic could claim their services and, in effect, prevent their being religious. Moreover, if the alumni received ordination titulo paupertatis at the hands of a bishop overseas, the Vicar Apostolic could refuse to grant them faculties to work in his district on their return.[2]

The Society was restored throughout the world in 1814, but there was no change in the attitude of the Vicars Apostolic, who, with the exception of Dr. Milner of the Midland District, still did not recognise the Society as restored in England and still would not ordain students titulo paupertatis. In a letter to Stephen Tempest, a supporter of the Jesuits, Dr. William Gibson denied that there were Jesuits in England, then proceeded to comment that in 30 years he had not refused a single request of the priests of Stonyhurst: "it seems to me the General of the Jesuits ought to thank me for being so kind to them on all occasions, and I wish that he would inform me who is the Provincial

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[1]T. G. Holt, "The English Province: The Ex-Jesuits and the Restoration (1773-1814)", A.R.S.I., 42(1973), 297-311, discusses the different attitudes of the ex-Jesuits to returning to the Society after the restorations in 1803 and 1814. Of the 73 priests alive in 1803 who had been members of the English Province, 31 renewed their engagement while about 40 did not (although some had expressed the desire to); of the 31 priests alive in 1814, 16 renewed their engagement, while 15 or 16 did not (pp. 307-8).

[2]There is some difficulty about whether to name the priests of Stonyhurst "Jesuits" or "ex-Jesuits" or "Gentlemen of Stonyhurst" or something else. Most participants in the debates about them called them "Jesuits", however they regarded their status. Nicholas Sewall wrote that the Secular clergy "opprobiously [sic.] call us Jesuits, though they deny us to be real Jesuits", and that the priests at Stonyhurst were called Jesuits by Protestant writers against Catholics, by Catholic writers replying to Protestants, by most Catholics and by "the very Ministers of Government". Sewall related that the Spanish Ambassador told Lord Castlereagh that he was going to take his son "to the Jesuits at Stonyhurst". A.R.S.I., Angl. 1011.II.5: Sewall to Grassi, 17 December 1817.

in England as all other Orders do".[1] In the confusion of the time, a rescript obtained in December 1813 by Monsignor Severoli, the Bishop of Viterbo and Nuncio in Vienna, confirming the Pope's verbal permission that the ex-Jesuits might take vows and be admitted to orders, titulo paupertatis, was not passed to the Vicars-Apostolic.[2] The restoration had not, in fact, been announced to Hierarchies, but the bull Sollicitudo omnium Ecclesiarum had merely commended the Society to all. The English Vicars Apostolic claimed that they had been told, in 1803, to await orders, which they still awaited, and they refused to acknowledge that the bull of restoration applied in England until they had been formally notified by the Pope or by Propaganda that it did.[3] They maintained this view despite the fact that the restoration was accepted both by the Irish bishops and by Dr. Milner, who had actually been in Rome for the ceremonies connected with it.[4] The other Vicars Apostolic feared a renewal of the old dissensions and troubles among the clergy should the Society be restored, "not indeed from the constitution and mind of this most holy Society", as Dr. Poynter later wrote, "but from the singular spirit which the English Jesuits showed of old, and which those who now wish to become Jesuits manifest".[5]

DISPUTES CONCERNING EMANCIPATION.

The suspicion between the Jesuits and the Secular clergy had its roots in the disputes concerning the leadership of the church after the death of the last English Roman Catholic bishop in 1585. It touched the very nature of the English mission -- whether it was mission territory where church law was suspended and normal disciplinary rules did not apply or was, instead, "to all intents and purposes a Church under its bishops, its clergy in effect 'parochi', in which case the Tridentine

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[1]A.R.S.I., Angl. 1011.I.6: Gibson to Tempest, 6 May 1817.
[2]For the Latin text of the rescript, see Eve III, p. 289.
[3]Sewall complained that the agents in Rome of the Vicars-Apostolic did all they could "to prevent any such orders coming". A.R.S.I., Angl. 1011.II.7: Sewall to Grassi, 25 December 1817.
[4]Milner wrote: "This event I learn is considered by some of your London Catholics as the downfall of the Catholic religion . . .". Laity's Directory (1815), cited in B. Ward, The Eve of Catholic Emancipation (1911), II. 107. [Hereafter, Eve II.]
[5]Poynter to Propaganda, 18 May 1826, cited in Eve III, p. 21.

conception of the Church, with its emphasis on the dignity and authority of the Bishop, must be maintained".[1] Most conflicts in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries concerned the control Vicars Apostolic should have of the Regular clergy who were serving in their districts as missioners, since the Regulars were also subject to their own superiors. Benedict XIV in Apostolicum Ministerium in 1753 had determined the rules governing the relations between Regular and Secular clergy, stipulating that the Regular clergy were subject to the Vicars in every matter relating to the missions.[2] This instruction was written, however, when the penal laws were in force, religious houses did not exist in England and the English colleges existed only on the continent. Throughout the nineteenth century problems continued to emerge with regard to the conflicting claims of the Vicars Apostolic (and, after the restoration of the Hierarchy, of the Bishops) and the superiors of religious orders concerning the establishment and management of missions and the terms under which their subjects received ordination.[3]

Dr. Poynter was convinced that the restoration of the Jesuits would adversely affect the movement towards emancipation, and that it would be exceedingly delicate and dangerous for him to acknowledge the re-establishment of the Jesuits by an official act. The Vicars Apostolic resolved at their meeting in 1814 that the restoration of the Jesuits in England "would be very prejudicial to the cause of the Catholic Religion in Great Britain, for various and important reasons".[4] The Jesuits knew of threats that the

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[1]E. Duffy, "Richard Challoner 1691-1781: A Memoir", in E. Duffy (ed.), Challoner and his Church (1981), p. 18.

[2]On eighteenth century disputes between the Regular clergy and the Vicars Apostolic, particularly concerning the acceptance of St. Omers by the English Secular clergy after the expulsion of the Jesuits, see T. G. Holt, "Bishop Challoner and the Jesuits" in E. Duffy (ed.), Challoner and his Church (1981), pp. 137-151. For the text of Apostolicum Ministerium, see W. Maziere Brady, Annals of the Catholic Hierarchy in England and Scotland, A.D. 1585-1876 (Rome, 1877), pp. 496-521.

[3]Some of these nineteenth century disputes are treated in chapter 5, "The Vicars and the Jesuits", in J. Connell, The Roman Catholic Church in England 1780-1850. A Study in Internal Politics (Philadelphia, 1984), pp. 122-151.

[4]Cited in Eve II, p. 98. Dr. Collingridge, who was undecided, dissented, and Milner was absent from this meeting, as he was from the meeting in 1813 which declared that there were no Jesuits in Great Britain. As late as 1820, Dr. Poynter was apprehensive that Rome might have granted permission for the validity of Jesuit vows in England,

Government might seize their property (as other civil powers had done at the time of the suppression), or that their property might, by Government authority, be made over to the Vicars Apostolic, "and in this latter plan, we have good reasons to think that some of our Vicars Apostolic concur". The Jesuits feared that they, "like Jonas, must be thrown into the sea, to save the ship".[1] Cardinal Consalvi was aware of the sensitive situation from a visit he had made to England in 1814. He was appreciative of Britain's assistance at the Congress of Vienna and wanted to be gracious in return to the Government whose rapidly expanding colonial empire brought it into increasing contact with the Roman Church. Mutual need in time of war had led both Rome and the British Government to desire improved diplomatic contact.[2] During this visit Consalvi interviewed Joseph Tristram, the Jesuit who succeeded Strickland as Procurator in London from 1812 until 1817, and asked him why the Jesuits "could not agree with our Bishops". Tristram replied that the Jesuits "were desirous of giving them every satisfaction in our power, consistent with our religious engagements", and stated that he did not think "there was any want of due subordination on our part, at least we were willing for Rome to judge between us". When Consalvi mentioned the supposition that the Government would not tolerate Jesuits in England, Tristram questioned whether their existence should depend on the Government:

> would the government ever, heretofore, have had a Jesuit had it been left to them, would they even ever have had a Catholic Priest in England, if they could have hindered it and yet the Jesuits were in this country, though like other Priests they were liable to have been hanged and quartered had <u>that</u> Government, which is now to be consulted on the subject been able to ferret them out.[3]

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while not publicly admitting that the Jesuits had a civil and temporal establishment. Poynter feared that such a distinction would be called "a deception, an equivocation, a cloak for a mental reservation and a proof of the <u>mala fides</u> of Rome with heretics". Poynter to Collingridge, 20 January 1820, cited in <u>Eve III</u>, p. 51.

[1]A.S.J., 14/2/9, Transcripts, f. 403: Sewall to Everard, n.d..

[2]For Consalvi's contacts with the British Government, see G. Mooney, "British Diplomatic Relations with the Holy See, 1793-1830", <u>R.H.</u>, 14(1978), 199-205, and J. T. Ellis, <u>Cardinal Consalvi and Anglo-Papal Relations 1814-1824</u> (Washington, 1942), pp. 132-171.

[3]A.R.S.I., Angl. 1011.IV.11: Tristram to Grassi, 13 May 1818. Tristram was appointed Rector of Stonyhurst in 1819.

Following Consalvi's visit, Dr. Poynter enquired of Propaganda in 1815 what answer he should give if the British Government made the expulsion of the Jesuits a necessary condition for the granting of emancipation. The Prefect, Cardinal Litta, replied that Propaganda wished the Vicars Apostolic to favour the Society and to take pains that it should be restored and re-established. He added, however, that the Pope, in restoring the Society throughout the world, only intended to do so in those countries "in which the civil governments consent to receive and recall" it, so that, should the British Government, for example, wish to admit the Jesuits, a particular Apostolical Grant would not be necessary. Litta counselled Poynter to exercise great prudence and to do nothing which would needlessly irritate the Government.[1] Poynter's position was that the Jesuits looked to the interests of their order, whereas he must look to the interests of the whole Church in London.[2] He enquired of the Tory Government whether there was any objection "to the establishment of the Society of the Jesuits in England". Lord Sidmouth, the Home Secretary, replied in April 1819 that the Prince Regent and the Government felt "insuperable objections to the establishment of the Society of Jesuits in England", and added, in January 1820, that these insuperable objections extended to the whole of the United Kingdom.[3]

The "Gentlemen of Stonyhurst" viewed matters differently, since they considered that the bull of restoration did apply in Britain. They argued that the Government could not differentiate between one set of priests and another after the 1778 and 1791 Acts, because, individually, all were legally tolerated.[4] Consequently, the Government could have no concern whether a priest was ordained under the title of missionis or paupertatis, or was directly subject to a Vicar Apostolic or to a religious

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[1]For the Latin text of Cardinal Litta's letter to Poynter, 2 December 1815, see Eve III, pp. 289-90.

[2]A.S.J., L.B.C., I, f. 256a: Poynter to Consalvi, October 1815.

[3]For the text of the letters, Poynter to Sidmouth, 30 March 1819; Sidmouth to Poynter, 2 April 1819, and Sidmouth to Poynter, 1 January 1820, see Eve III, pp. 299-302.

[4]A clause in the 1791 Act forbade the formal establishment of religious houses, but this provision had been contravened with impunity with the migration to England, during the years of the revolution, of the English religious houses on the continent. It was believed that the clause would not be enforced. Cf. Eve III, p. 24. The 1778 Act referred to Jesuits, since they were were named in the Act of William III which was repealed.

superior. At Stonyhurst they considered themselves to be private individuals, tolerated by the state, who could adopt any rule of conduct or profess any creed they wished. Since the Government already recognised an established Church, they realised that there could be no civil establishment of any other religious association in law, but, as they had taken the required oath, no more could be asked of them. They neither wanted nor expected civil privileges, but believed that some new penal law would have to be introduced for them to be disturbed. Plowden wrote that an Englishman "is free to choose for himself the rule of S. Bennet, S. Francis, or if he likes it better, the institutions of Mahomet". If the Speaker of Parliament or the Prime Minister asked him "are you a Jesuit?", Plowden said he would "flatly refuse him an answer, because that is a private concern; or if I judge it best, I will say 'I am a Jesuit, and I have a right to be so. Your laws allow it.'"[1]

Plowden contended that, while the Government could state that it had objections to the establishment of the Jesuits in England, it was known that any member of a religious order was permitted to remain in England. Writing in 1817 to Giovanni Grassi, the Piedmontese Jesuit who was the agent of the English Jesuits in Rome,[2] Plowden outlined "the reasons generally alleged for our Bishops [sic.] refusal" to recognise the Jesuits as restored. In the first place, whereas the suppression had been notified to the Bishops, they had not been notified of the restoration, which was, therefore, a fact unknown to them. In addition, the Jesuits could not be restored because the civil government would not admit them. Charles Butler admitted that he could find nothing in the bull of 1814 which limited the scope of the restoration, but, on the principle cujus est legem dare, ejus est et interpretare, he believed "that, in the view of the Holy See, no Jesuit has even an ecclesiastical existence in England or Ireland. This I think

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[1]A.R.S.I., Angl. 1011.IV.41: Plowden to Grassi, 3 October 1818.

[2]Grassi, who entered the Society and was ordained in Russia, had some knowledge of affairs in England, having worked at Stonyhurst from 1807 to 1810, when prevented from proceeding to China to work as an astronomer. He moved to the United States to become President of Georgetown College and superior of the Maryland Mission. Plowden wrote to him: "I consider you as sent by Almighty God to Rome, to save our poor little Eng. province, as Joseph was sent into Egypt to save his brothers". A.R.S.I., Angl. 1011.II.13: Plowden to Grassi, 14 February 1818.

might have been prevented: and I do not think it irremediable".[1] Plowden thought that Stephen Tempest, then in Rome, could assist the Jesuit cause by attempting to convince the Cardinal Prefect of Propaganda "that the law of the land supports us, that Ministers here are not quite absolute and despotic, as they used to be abroad, and that they can have no hold of our property. Nothing but Rome itself can hurt us."[2] Scott was not as hopeful about Tempest's assistance, believing that he was "a great Wig [sic.] and we are all Tories: I fear he is too much of a testa calda to do us any service".[3]

Plowden insisted that Jesuit property, at Stonyhurst and elsewhere, was secure under English law, since Ministers had neither the wish, nor the right, to molest the Jesuits. "The only adversaries able to hurt us", he wrote to the Cardinal Prefect, "are to be found among our own Catholic brethren".[4] He believed that the Jesuits were safe as long as Catholic emancipation continued to be rejected, for he suspected that the Government was in league with "the political Cardinal C--i".[5] Ministers, he wrote, feared foreign influence (and so Regular priests who depended upon a foreign superior), and intended to obtain the appointment of Bishops whom they would vest with absolute power over all priests, Secular and Regular. He alleged that the Vicars Apostolic communicated "their own hereditary prejudices to the pretended Parliamentary friends of the Catholic cause" by claiming they could not, as Bishops, answer to the Government for the good conduct of priests "who vow to obey an Extern, a

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[1]A.S.J., Letters of Non Jesuits, 1766-1857 [hereafter, L.N.J.], f. 254: Butler to Scott, 21 March 1823.

[2]A.R.S.I., Angl. 1011.II.6: Plowden to Grassi, 23 December 1817. The Jesuits were convinced that if they had no substantial enemies in England, they would have nothing to apprehend from Rome. A.S.J., L.N.J., f. 210: Sewall to Butler, [May 1819]. Butler, however, wrote "you have nothing substantial to apprehend in England; Your real enemies are on the continent, and their activity in Rome". A.S.J., L.N.J., f. 208: Butler to Sewall, 27 May 1819.

[3]A.R.S.I., Angl. 1011.V.28: Scott to Grassi, 12 April 1820. Strickland and Joseph Reeve, Lord Clifford's chaplain at Ugbrook, had been supporters of the Catholic Committee. For Strickland's involvement, see T. G. Holt, William Strickland and the Suppressed Jesuits (1988), pp. 34-40.

[4]A.R.S.I., Angl. 1011.II.3: Plowden to Litta, 27 November 1817. Cf. Kenny to Scully, quoting Stone, 29 May 1814, in B. MacDermott (ed.), The Catholic Question in Ireland and England, 1798-1822. The Papers of Denys Scully (Dublin, 1988), p. 475.

[5]A.R.S.I., Angl. 1011.IV.41: Plowden to Grassi, 3 October 1818.

foreigner, such as is the General of the Jesuits".[1] Plowden was convinced that the Vicars Apostolic, "flattered with the prospect of having every thing dependent on themselves", and in league with the Board of British Catholics, would sacrifice the Jesuits to secure emancipation. The "anti-Jesuitical zealots" among the clergy were gratifying "their own private passions, their ambition of rule, their hereditary jealousy, alas, even their pitiful avarice".[2] Plowden thought this to be a very short-sighted policy: "their pretended friends, from whom they expect to purchase emancipation by concessions, will be the first men to tear the Prelates' mitres from their heads".[3] The Bishops would be slaves of the crown, "picked by Ministers from the very refuse of the priesthood, not better than the intruded French Bishops, whom Bonaparte found in possession".[4] If the Bishops were to be pensioned by the Government, Plowden was convinced that they would "always be Vetoists", and he favoured their being independent of Government in the exercise of spiritual functions.[5] For similar reasons Plowden opposed Lord Castlereagh's offer to provide salaries for the Irish clergy, fearing that it would separate them from the people, and so disunite the Catholic body.[6] The Jesuits, then, were "doomed to destruction in the clerical counsels of London and Durham".[7] Plowden expressed his concern in a letter to Grassi:

> Our 3 VV. and Bp. Cameron the Scottish Vic., partly from hereditary prejudice, partly from ambition of universal rule, and still more from the hope of acquiring all the temporalities of the rich Jesuits, expect to see every thing temporal as well as spiritual in our ecclesiastical economy, subjected by Act of Parliament to their immediate jurisdiction. It would be so nominally but in reality the

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[1] A.R.S.I., Angl. 1011.II.11: Plowden to Grassi, 28 January 1818 and Angl. 1011.V.2: Plowden to Grassi, 11 January 1819.
[2] A.R.S.I., Angl. 1012.I.12: "Hints for R. F. Genl and his Friend, who means to reason with C. Consalvi", 1821.
[3] A.R.S.I., Angl. 1011.IV.28: Plowden to Grassi, 22 July 1818.
[4] A.R.S.I., Angl. 1011.IV.60: Plowden to Grassi, 27 December 1818.
[5] A.R.S.I., Angl. 1011.V.7: Plowden to Grassi, 28 February 1819.
[6] A.R.S.I., Angl. 1012.I.unnumbered.
[7] A.R.S.I., Angl. 1011.V.15: Plowden to Grassi, 11 November 1819. Cf. Kenny to Scully, 12 February 1815, in B. MacDermott (ed.), The Catholic Question in Ireland and England, 1798-1822. The Papers of Denys Scully (Dublin 1988), p. 536.

whole, and their spiritual authority with it would be at the mercy of a Protestant government.[1]

The Jesuits believed that Sir John Cox Hippisley, M.P., who had undertaken some diplomatic work in Italy in 1779-80 and had been Pitt's secret agent in Rome between 1792 and 1796, was the cause of much of their trouble, both with the Government and in Rome. An Anglican and an ardent enthusiast for emancipation, Hippisley had a wide circle of contacts in Rome. Plowden wrote that Hippisley was "filling and tiring the ears of all who hear him with rants and ravings against Jesuits and Stonyhurst", although Charles Butler feared little from Hippisley's "leaden pen".[2] Plowden believed that Hippisley, in his pamphlets, "publishes in clumsy notes everything he has raked together from the stores of our VV. A and their priests against Jesuits and Stonyhurst".[3] Hippisley even presented to Castlereagh a four volume history of the Jesuits, an "enlightened" attack written at the time of the suppression, so that he could trace the Jesuit danger to the civil power.[4] Plowden claimed, nevertheless, that the bulk of the Catholic gentry were friends of the Jesuits, and believed that Dr. Poynter, aware of this, attempted "to throw the blame and odium of our destruction upon the court of Rome".[5] Plowden's view of a supportive gentry was somewhat optimistic; the reality was more complex. Plowden knew that some of the

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[1]A.R.S.I., Angl. 1011.V.16: Plowden to Grassi, 30 November 1819.

[2]A.R.S.I., Angl. 1011.IV.50: Plowden to Grassi, 10 November 1818. Cf. A.S.J., L.N.J., ff. 202 and 208: Butler to Sewall, 30 April and 27 May 1819. Plowden thought that "so shallow a man . . . will move the house only to laughter". Georgetown University, Maryland Province Archives, 205.Z.19: Plowden to Grassi, 15 May 1816.

[3]A.R.S.I., Angl. 1011.V.10: Plowden to Grassi, 30 July 1819. Peter Gandolphy accused Hippisley of seeking to obtain the confiscation of Jesuit property. A Letter to a Noble Lord, one of His Majesty's Ministers and a Member of Parliament, Relative to Sir J. C. Hippisley's late Conduct at Rome (1819), p. 35. For Hippisley's views on the Jesuits, see his Statement of Facts presented to the Sovereign Pontiff, P. Pius VII (1818), A Letter to Cardinal Litta, Cardinal-Bishop of Sabinum, and late Prefect of the S. Congregation of Propaganda Fide (15 April 1818) and Hippisley to Castlereagh, 10 November 1814, cited in C. W. Vane (ed.), Correspondence, Despatches, and Other Papers, of Viscount Castlereagh, Second Marquess of Londonderry (1853), X. 191-99.

[4]This was probably Abbé C. Coudrette, Histoire générale de la naissance et des progrès de la Compagnie de Jésus, 4 vols (Amsterdam, 1761). Cf. J. T. Ellis, Cardinal Consalvi and Anglo-Papal Relations 1814-1824 (Washington, 1942), p. 138. See A.S.J., L.N.J., f. 206: Sewall to Butler, 20 May 1819. Sewall claimed Hippisley's rancour began with a dispute with the Rector of Stonyhurst in 1811.

[5]A.R.S.I., Angl. 1011.V.16: Plowden to Grassi, 30 November 1819.

gentry were members of the Cisalpine Club, "violent Anti-Romanists . . . though they profess themselves catholics", who would cheerfully sacrifice the Jesuits, "knowing that we are stiff Romanists", and would accept emancipation on any terms whatever.[1] The Jesuits wrote disparagingly of the Cisalpine Club, founded in 1792 to resist ecclesiastical interference in the concerns of English Catholics:

> In these times when a certain alienation from the Holy See is becoming general, and particularly in a country where so much is said about independence, about reducing the Catholic religion to the level of the national Protestantism, or of new fashioning it <u>à la</u> Utrecht, and of causing his Britannic Majesty to become head of the Catholic religion as he is of that of the Anglicans, it is of great importance that there should be religious instructors of whose sincere attachment to the Apostolic See there may be every security.[2]

The Jesuits clearly felt embattled. Sewall informed Grassi of his theory that "the Illuminées, whose plan is to overturn all religion" were determined, as a first step, to see the Jesuits again suppressed "as was done 45 years ago, before Thrones and Altars were openly attacked and pulled down". Sewall claimed that he was well informed that there were many <u>Illuminées</u> in England, "among whom there are some nominal Catholics", who were constantly writing and talking against Jesuits and were "whispering in the ears of the unwary, that the Catholic Religion will never prosper in England , unless the Society is again suppressed, or the Jesuits are prohibited in England".[3] Plowden insisted that Government Ministers knew very little of Jesuits and

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[1]A.R.S.I., Angl. 1011.V.38: Plowden to Grassi, 8 May 1820. Plowden claimed Sir John Throckmorton was "almost the only Catholic of high rank who avowed hatred of Jesuits". Angl. 1011.V.2: Plowden to Grassi, 11 January 1819. After Throckmorton's death, Plowden considered Sir George Silvertop to be "perhaps the only catholic of any note who wishes to do us mischief". Angl. 1011.V.10: Plowden to Grassi, 30 July 1819. Cf. <u>Gillow</u>, V. 507. Edward Scott reported that Silvertop was "full of animosity against the Society: this ignis fatuus is dancing [atte]ndance on Sir John Cox Hippisley". A.S.J., 14/2/9, Transcripts, f. 18: Scott to Lane, 25 July 1820.

[2]Memorial of Grassi to the Pope, November 1818, quoted in <u>Eve III</u>, p. 25.

[3]A.R.S.I., Angl. 1011.IV.44: Sewall to Grassi, 12 October 1818. The French <u>émigré</u> Jesuit, Augustin Barruel, introduced in his <u>Memoirs, illustrating the history of Jacobinism</u>, 4 vols (1797-98) the idea that the French Revolution was the culmination of efforts by a grand international conspiracy led by the Freemasons, Encyclopedists and the Bavarian <u>Illuminati</u>. The suppression of the Jesuits was part of the conspiracy. The Scottish mathematician, John Robison, published his <u>Proofs of a Conspiracy against all the Religions and Governments of Europe, carried on in the secret meeetings of Free</u>

were likely to be misled by false reports: "Believe me, there is a great mass of Protestant fanaticism and bigotry in this nation, which only a few wicked men may easily call into action, against Popery and Jesuits".[1]

Joseph Tristram in 1817 had reminded Grassi, who was about to take up his appointment in Rome, that "the works of God seldom proceed without persecution". Tristram denied the Roman suggestion that the Jesuits were averse to the Vicars Apostolic and to Dr. Poynter in particular. While Tristram admitted that his personal regard for Dr. Milner was "greater than for those we meet, or think we meet with opposition from", he stated that he had "not the least personal dislike to any of the clergy", whom he believed acted from good, though mistaken, intentions.[2] Some other Jesuits, however, expressed very forcibly their doubts about the good intentions of the Vicars Apostolic. Edward Scott, for example, wrote that Poynter was a "courtier prelate, who has the voice of Jacob, but the arms of Esau",[3] and Plowden concluded that both Dr. Gibson and Dr. Poynter were "animated by passion" against the Jesuits, "and what will not passion attempt?"[4] Their dislike of Jesuits proceeded from "ancient rivalship, hereditary in their college of Douay, and from their grasping spirit, eager to obtain the mastery of everything" and impatient to see Regulars subject to them.[5] Plowden thought the Vicars Apostolic to be the source of the rumour, spread by "our catholic clerical adversaries", that "if Jesuits are tolerated, fifty catholic gentlemen will

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Masons, Illuminati and Reading Societies in Edinburgh in 1797. R. Hofstadter, The Paranoid Style in American Politics and Other Essays (1966), pp. 10-12. Cf. R. A. Soloway, Prelates and People. Ecclesiastical Social Thought in England 1783-1852 (1969), pp. 36-41, for the enthusiastic reception of these ideas by some Anglican Bishops.

[1]Plowden also wrote of "the Illuminati of this day". A.R.S.I., Angl. 1011.IV.47: Plowden to Grassi, 25 October 1818.

[2]A.R.S.I., Angl. 1011.I.8: Tristram to Grassi, 9 August 1817.

[3]A.R.S.I., Angl. 1011.V.28: Scott to Grassi, 12 April 1820. Scott entered the Jesuits after the death of his wife and his only child, and was Procurator in London between 1817 and 1833. Cf. Angl. 1011.IV.18: Plowden to Grassi, 13 June 1818: "the time-serving prelate thinks himself honouring God, by hindering our young men from following their vocation, and by excluding them from the sanctuary".

[4]A.R.S.I., Angl. 1011.IV.1: Plowden to Grassi, 21 March 1818. Plowden was one of the two priests who assisted, in place of Bishops, at the episcopal consecration of Dr. Gibson at Lulworth Castle in 1790.

[5]A.R.S.I., Angl. 1011.IV.14: Plowden to Grassi, 24 May 1818.

renounce their religion".[1] He was convinced that the Vicars Apostolic, with Milner's sole exception, readily concurred in "the views of Hippisley, Canning, etc." and even suggested oppressive measures against the Regulars to ensure their own control.

The "Gentlemen of Stonyhurst" relied on the support of Dr. Milner, who also acted as the agent in parliamentary affairs for the Irish Catholic Bishops. These Bishops could not understand the opposition to the Jesuits of the Vicars Apostolic other than Milner, since they saw the Jesuits established in Ireland, ordained titulo paupertatis, and apparently without opposition from the same Government which was said to be hostile to them in England.[2] The Jesuits thought Milner's seminary at Oscott to be a model establishment and argued that their seminary at Stonyhurst was necessary because of the weakness of the colleges at Ushaw and Old Hall.

Cardinal Litta wrote to Stone on 11 June 1817 explaining the meaning of the bull of restoration and recommending that the students from Stonyhurst seek ordination titulo missionis. Soon afterwards, as a result of the disturbances at Stonyhurst, a French Jesuit, Fidelis Grivel, was sent to England as Visitor to the Province, and Charles Plowden was appointed Rector of Stonyhurst and Provincial, although, because the use of these titles created obvious difficulties, he was still sometimes referred to as President.[3] In Rome, Grassi used his influence to persuade Cardinal Litta to write to Dr. Gibson on 14 February 1818 stating that the bull of restoration applied throughout the world, and therefore to England. Plowden was, therefore, Provincial of the Jesuits, and his subjects were to be ordained titulo paupertatis. This letter was sent without the knowledge of the Pope, of Cardinal Consalvi, or of Dr. Gradwell, the newly appointed Rector of the English College and agent for the Vicars Apostolic, who were displeased in

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[1] A.R.S.I., Angl. 1011.IV.43: Plowden to Grassi, 12 October 1818.

[2] In Ireland, however, the Jesuits were never entrusted with missions. Milner related that he was called an "hibernized English Vicar". Milner to Scully, 19 October 1813, in B. MacDermott (ed.), The Catholic Question in Ireland and England, 1798-1822. The Papers of Denys Scully (Dublin, 1988), p. 475.

[3] M. M. de la Roche-Arnauld described Grivel as "the most intriguing, the most polished, the most cunning, the most fanatical, the most incredulous, the most wicked , the most formidable of all the Jesuits". The Modern Jesuits (1827), p. 73.

the extreme and worked speedily to revoke the letter.[1] Since Grassi would not accede to an appeal to forgo the benefits which the original letter granted, Cardinal Litta wrote to Dr. Gibson, on 5 May 1818, to withdraw his earlier letter "as if it had not been written".[2] Cardinal Litta soon ceased to be Prefect of Propaganda, although he served temporarily during the illness of his successor, Cardinal Fontana, who was an ally of Cardinal Consalvi and unfriendly to the Jesuits. Plowden wrote that Litta had been "a well wisher to our cause, but an unactive and almost an [sic.] useless friend". Plowden also considered that Fontana, being a Barnabite, should have better understood the issues in dispute.[3]

After the suppression, the ex-Jesuits and later their alumni had taken their own form of the "mission oath", which bound them to serve the mission in obedience to a Vicar Apostolic.[4] They continued to take this oath even after they began to take Jesuit vows in private. The superior placed his subjects in missions which had traditionally been supplied by the Jesuits and informed the Vicar Apostolic of his appointments. After the worldwide restoration of the Society in 1814, however, the "Gentlemen of Stonyhurst" refused to take the oath, as they believed the situation had altered and they were entitled to be ordained paupertatis. They felt that they could not take the oath without renouncing obedience to their Jesuit superiors, but wanted relief to be given "in the most quiet way, and least offensive to the VV. AA.".[5] The Vicars Apostolic, however, insisted the oath be taken, which caused trouble in the Stonyhurst community: "Our young men know all this, they talk of it, and begin to say that no

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[1]Gradwell suggested on 11 April 1818 that Dr. Gibson reply that Cardinal Litta's directions concerning the restoration of the English Jesuits were "an unnecessary offence to the British Government, and would prove injurious to the church", and therefore it was his duty "not to injure the general body of the English Catholics to gratify a few individuals, in things which are not essential to religion". J. Connell, The Roman Catholic Church in England 1780-1850 (Philadelpia, 1984), p. 142.

[2] For the Latin texts of the letter, Litta to Gibson, 14 February 1818, and the revocation, 5 May 1818, see Eve III, pp. 290-291.

[3]A.R.S.I., Angl. 1011.IV.47: Plowden to Grassi, 25 October 1818.

[4]The Stonyhurst oath differed from that taken by the Secular clergy in that it did not have a clause promising not to enter a religious order, nor any clause restricting the priest to work in a particular district. Cf. Eve III, p. 27.

[5]A.R.S.I., Angl. 1011.II.8: Plowden to Grassi, 29 December 1817.

obedience is due to the Superiors in the Society, that their vows, taken at the end of the Novitiate, were either invalid or are annulled by the oath".[1] Several students had left the college, where there was, Plowden claimed, a "bad spirit of independence, which still gives infinite trouble". For want of men he courted subjects whom he would gladly, in other circumstances, have removed.[2] The Jesuits requested that, if they could not be ordained paupertatis, the oath be altered so that they would not be withdrawn from the obedience of Jesuit superiors and made subject to the Vicars Apostolic, or, alternatively, that the Pope should declare that the oath did not invalidate their vows. It was even suggested that those who could not be ordained paupertatis should go to the United States, to be ordained and to labour in that country, "notwithstanding their oath of serving the English Mission".[3] Sewall wrote (and, although he was a native of Maryland, he was not alone in the opinion) that "if by no means we can propagate the Society, and be employed as Jesuits in England, then we must break up our College here and emigrate to some more friendly country".[4]

It was, then, to prevent insubordination and "the ruin of the College" that the Jesuits sent to Rome to represent their case Edward Walsh, an ex-Jesuit from Durham who had not renewed his vows. He argued, without success, for ordination under the title paupertatis. While in Rome, however, Walsh also "did mischief by his incautious and indiscrete language".[5] He attempted, without any authorisation, to have the management of the English College restored to the Jesuits (who had administered it for two hundred years prior to the suppression) and renewed an old dispute by claiming that some of the funds which were attached to the College were Jesuit funds from before the suppression.[6] In 1789 Strickland had complained to the Pope about the

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[1] A.R.S.I., Angl. 1011.II.7: Sewall to Grassi, 25 December 1817 and Angl. 1011.I.9: Sewall to Grassi, 25 August 1817: "thus there will be no Jesuits in England, which is what our Vicars Ap. wish". Cf. A.S.J., 14/2/9, Transcripts, f. 12: Wright to Tristram, 13 July 1815.
[2] A.R.S.I., Angl. 1011.V.8: Plowden to Grassi, 24 March 1819.
[3] A.R.S.I., Angl. 1011.I.9: Sewall to Grassi, 25 August 1817.
[4] A.R.S.I., Angl. 1011.IV.25: Sewall to Grassi, 14 July 1818.
[5] A.R.S.I., Angl. 1011.II.11: Plowden to Grassi, 28 January 1818.
[6] M. Williams, The Venerable English College Rome, A History 1579-1979 (1979), pp. 62-3.

maladministration of the funds of the Liège college which were managed by the English College and held at Rome after the suppression. He claimed that the work of the college at Liège was continued at Stonyhurst, and that the intentions of some benefactors, whose funds were given for the education of missioners for England, should be respected. Cardinal Corsini, who investigated the claim, concluded that the Liège college funds and the the English mission funds were identical.[1] Plowden, on hearing of Walsh's intervention, denied that he had ever spoken to Walsh about the English College, and admitted to Grassi that, with his scarcity of men and financial resources, he would find the College "a grievous burden, if it were forced upon us, as it was upon our predecessors by Gregory 13th". The rumours that the Jesuits sought control of it, "eagerly believed and retailed by our clerical adversaries", contributed to the prejudice against them in England.[2] One story which Plowden recounted, claiming it was spread by John Lingard , who heard it from Robert Gradwell, was that, in Cardinal Consalvi's absence, "Fr. Grassi with 12 Cardinals went to the Pope with a view to obtain the English College for the Jesuits, and to turn out Mr. Gradwell", but Gradwell secured the Pope's permission to remain in full possession of the College as well as Consalvi's approval of his action.[3]

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[1]A.R.S.I., Angl. 1011.II.8: Plowden to Grassi, 29 December 1817. Plowden claimed that Dr. Gibson and Dr. Douglass, on being asked by him, when he was their ally in the 1790s, to support his case, had instead written to Rome to claim the Liège property for themselves, stating that "to bestow such an income upon a few ex-Jesuits, who had gathered themselves together at Liège, would tend greatly to diminish the authority of the VV. AA. in England". Plowden wrote: "Here, you may imagine, my confidence in Bishop Gibson expired". Angl. 1011.IV.58: Plowden to Grassi, 18 December 1818. On this dispute, see T. G. Holt, William Strickland and the Suppressed Jesuits (1988), pp. 17-20 and 29-31.

[2]A.R.S.I., Angl. 1011.IV.22: Plowden to Grassi, 1 July 1818. Plowden stated that Lingard resented the reception that he had received at Rome (where he was accused of being a Jansenist, and was treated with suspicion by Cardinal Litta) and "he attributed it to Old Walsh and Stonyhurst". Angl. 1011.IV.7: Plowden to Grassi, 13 June 1818. Cf. J. Chinicci, The English Catholic Enlightenment (Shepherdstown, 1980), pp. 57-58.

[3]A.R.S.I., Angl. 1011.IV.20: Plowden to Grassi, 20 June 1818. Cf. M. Williams, The Venerable English College Rome, A History 1579-1979 (1979), pp. 82-3, where Lingard's written account of the incident is slightly different. Such were Gradwell's links with Dr. Poynter and Dr. Gibson, Lingard and Hippisley, that Milner would not use him as his agent in Rome, and made enquiries whether Grassi would be his agent. Cf. Angl. 1011.V.12, 15 and 16: Plowden to Grassi, 14 September 1819, 11 November 1819 and 30 November-1 December 1819. Milner wanted the Jesuits to have control of the English College. A.S.J., 14/2/9, Transcripts, f. 260: Sewall to Hughes, 16 March 1824.

DISPUTES: BRISTOL, LONDON, WIGAN AND OXFORD.

Various disputes with the Vicars Apostolic of the Western, Northern and London Districts further complicated the position of the Jesuits and revealed the traditional tensions between Jesuit missioners and Vicars Apostolic, as well as the frail structures of authority. At Bristol (a mission which had always been in Jesuit hands and had been built largely with ex-Jesuit funds), Robert Plowden, Charles's Jesuit brother who had worked on that mission since 1787, refused to read in 1814 an address of the Vicars Apostolic sent to him by Dr. Collingridge. Plowden claimed the address supported the Fifth Resolution and implied a right on the part of the Government to support the Protestant religion. He was suspended by Dr. Collingridge, who had already taken exception to a catechism which Plowden had written. After some discussion of the theological point involved, Plowden suppressed his catechism and received back his faculties. In the following year, Plowden found himself unable to read to his congregation Collingridge's Lenten pastoral letter, which Plowden thought to be erroneous in appearing to insist on the necessity of the sacrament of Confession for justification. When ordered to read the pastoral, Plowden added his own commentary, denouncing the Bishop from the pulpit as "no Catholic", and saying that the Bishop's doctrine had been condemned by the Church, which taught that "sin may be remitted by perfect charity, without the actual reception of the sacrament of penance".[1] Plowden was again suspended, and forced to leave Bristol. He was accepted by Dr. Milner to work in the Midland District, but was forbidden by his Jesuit superiors to defend himself in print.

Some specific accusations were made by the Vicars Apostolic against the Jesuits. They were accused, in the first place, of leaving missions without assistance. Charles Plowden denied the charge, which he claimed could only refer to two missions. At Bristol (where Dr. Collingridge had expelled Robert Plowden and supported his

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[1]A.R.S.I., Angl. 1011.V.25: Plowden to Grassi, 20 February 1820. This letter is a report on the history of the Bristol mission and its troubles.

assistant, Joseph Tate, an alumnus of Stonyhurst but not a Jesuit, who was in disfavour with the congregation and "advances a multitude of pretensions against Stonyhurst"[1]), Charles Plowden claimed that he had to deal with "a V. A. irritable, violent, overbearing by character , and hostile to us in the extreme".[2] Charles Plowden had been unable to supply an assistant priest, but had received no complaint from Dr. Collingridge at the time, and was still negotiating to provide one. The second mission, at South End cum Soberton in Hampshire, was in Dr. Poynter's District, near where the Vicar Apostolic himself had been "born of a tayler [sic.]" and where some of his relatives still lived.[3] Plowden claimed that the London Jesuits visited the very few Catholics there three or four times a year. All other missions belonging to the Society had been kept supplied, Plowden added, despite the difficulties caused by the Vicars, while many missions in the Vicars' care had been abandoned for years. Plowden listed some of these missions which the Vicars Apostolic neglected and whose representatives had approached Stonyhurst for a missioner. He also responded to the accusation that the Jesuits kept the best missions for themselves.[4]

A further accusation was that the Jesuits had sent priests, or others obliged to serve the English mission, to the United States. Plowden replied that this was absolutely false: those few who had gone were under no obligation of either vow or oath, had departed against the advice of the Jesuits and with, the Jesuits believed, the Vicar Apostolic's consent. While the Jesuits might yearn for the religious freedom of the United States, they had made no decision to send their subjects there. Plowden denied that the Jesuits had ever withdrawn men from other seminaries or withheld them from

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[1]A.R.S.I., Angl. 1011.V.25: Plowden to Grassi, 20 February 1820. Tate later became a Jesuit in Rome in 1823.

[2]A.R.S.I., Angl. 1011.V.30: Plowden to Grassi, 30 March 1820.

[3]A.R.S.I., Angl. 1011.V.23: Plowden to Grassi, 8 February 1820. Plowden thought this was the reason for Poynter's interest.

[4]A.S.J., 14/2/9, Transcripts, f. 17: Plowden to Scott, 27 December 1819. Sewall wrote that Jesuit wealth was "a compleat delusion, like that in France, before the suppression". A.S.J., L.N.J., f. 203: Sewall to Butler, 8 May 1819. Butler had relayed the allegation: "the Jesuits would have all the easy and comfortable situations in England, and that the toil and burthen of the day will fall on the secular clergy". A.S.J., L.N.J., f. 148: Butler to [ ], 21 June 1817.

their proper districts.[1] Stonyhurst was further charged with claiming special privileges. Plowden responded that Stonyhurst claimed only those which belonged to a missionary seminary incorporated by the Holy See, and which were necessary to maintain the institution. He asserted that Stonyhurst claimed only justice in asserting its right to private property and to the jus patronatus which resulted from it.[2]

The Jesuits' cause was not helped by their being linked with Peter Gandolphy, an alumnus of Liège and Stonyhurst, and a master at Stonyhurst from 1801 to 1804.[3] Gandolphy was widely known for his preaching at the Spanish Chapel in London and for his writings, but Dr. Poynter had suspended him and, in a pastoral letter in 1817, denounced his books, Liturgy and Sermons in Defence of the Ancient Faith, which were placed on the Index. Gandolphy, to appeal against the Poynter's decision, travelled to Rome, where he had previously made an attempt to be appointed Rector of the English College. Gradwell prepared the case against him, while Milner supported his orthodoxy, although admitting inaccuracies in Gandolphy's writings and finding that he would not accept advice. Plowden counselled Grassi and Sir Thomas Gage to keep clear of Gandolphy, "a wrongheaded man" but one whom Plowden thought had been "ill used, without any kindness or compassion".[4] Plowden conceived that there could be many inaccuracies in Gandolphy's writings, which he had not read, but thought that Gandolphy deserved consideration because of his readiness to accept correction and the great good which he did through his preaching.[5] He did, however, warn Gandolphy to cease writing when the conflict with Propaganda began, advice which Gandolphy rejected, at which point Plowden refrained from further contact with him.[6] Plowden

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[1] A.R.S.I., Angl. 1011.V.16: Plowden to Grassi, 30 November 1819.
[2] A.R.S.I., Angl. 1011.V.18: Plowden to Grassi, 15 December 1819.
[3] D.N.B. (1889), XX. 400 incorrectly states that Gandolphy was a Jesuit.
[4] A.R.S.I., Angl. 1011.V.31: Plowden to Gage, 8 April 1820.
[5] A.R.S.I., Angl. 1011.II.8: Plowden to Grassi, 29 December 1817. Cf. A.S.J., L.N.J., f. 144: Sewall to [ ], n.d..
[6] A.R.S.I., Angl. 1011.V.unnumbered: Plowden to Grassi, 1 March 1819. Plowden claimed that the Jesuits at Stonyhurst had "always laboured to be neuter in the unfortunate differences which have distracted the Catholic body". Both Gandolphy and Robert Plowden complained of being abandoned by Stonyhurst. A.S.J., L.N.J., f. 146: C. Plowden to [ ], n.d. [June 1817].

insisted that Gandolphy had always acted on his own judgment and contrary to the advice given him from Stonyhurst, yet Dr. Poynter and the London clergy "have regularly attributed to Stonyhurst and to me every step that he has taken" and were expected to use Gandolphy's printed defence of his position "to inflame the public against us".[1] Gandolphy was eventually forced to offer an unconditional apology to Dr. Poynter, and resigned his chaplaincy at Spanish Place. His case was but one instance where "Stonyhurst and its members" were regarded as "the main promoters of resistance and rebellion against papal and episcopal authority and jurisdiction".[2]

Another alleged instance of resistance was the dispute in the predominantly Catholic town of Wigan which highlighted the disagreement between the majority of the Vicars Apostolic and the Jesuits. The single mission in the town had been founded by, and had always been under the care of, the Jesuits or their alumni. When in 1818 the congregation had increased to more than 2,000 and it was proposed to enlarge the chapel (built on land owned by the Jesuits), Dr. William Gibson did not give his approval when he was informed. A new mission, under the care of the Secular clergy, was established, close to the existing chapel, by a small dissident group of laity. Dr. Gibson's Grand Vicar, Richard Thompson, insisted that the new chapel enjoyed the Vicar Apostolic's approval because it left him "unshackled in his appointment of your Pastors", while the Jesuit chapel restricted and limited to a particular college those who served there and excluded the service of other priests, "as an opposition to the Authority of the Bishop".[3] Thompson wrote to Plowden after Cardinal Litta's letter of revocation, in the name of the Bishop (and claiming the authority of the Pope and Propaganda), that "the Order of the Society of Jesus is not restored . . . consequently you are to consider yourselves in no other light than as secular Clergymen".[4] Thompson argued that, as chapels could be built only with the permission of the Bishop, the Jesuit

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[1]A.R.S.I., Angl. 1011.IV.60: Plowden to Grassi, 27 December 1818.
[2]A.R.S.I., Angl. 1011.V.31: Plowden to Gage, 8 April 1820.
[3]A.R.S.I., Angl. 1011.III.unnumbered: New Catholic chapel in Wigan under the Patronage of the Bishop of the District, 6 February 1818.
[4]A.R.S.I., Angl. 1011.IV.24: Thompson to Plowden, 13 July 1818.

chapel would be placed under an interdict. The lay trustees of the Jesuit chapel proceeded to build regardless (the Jesuits claiming that they could not control them since the deeds were in lay hands, although in trust for the Jesuits), and two new chapels in Wigan were being constructed almost side by side.

Plowden admitted that opposition of every sort had always been the lot of the Jesuits and "the most sorely felt has always been the enmity of those, who, in cutting our throats, conceive that they are yielding service to God".[1] Plowden and Thompson were both men familiar with strong language, so the dispute was conducted with some vigour, Plowden even apologising for the strength of his language in one letter to the Vicar Apostolic. Thompson's pamphlet, The Case Stated of the Wigan Chapels (said by Plowden to be written by the faculty at Ushaw[2]), was answered by Plowden's The Case is Altered, which prompted, in turn, Re-statement of the Case, thought to be the work of Lingard.[3] The Jesuits maintained that it was never their intention to claim an exclusive right to the congregation of Wigan, "or to exclude the gentlemen of a different denomination". They only

> deprecated the scandal of opposition; the unchristian intention of unjustly dislodging one or both of them. They are truly grieved, that material had been so sorely wounded, and charity so materially hurt.[4]

They claimed the right to let the congregation build a chapel upon ground which the Jesuits owned, in a mission which they had always served, and considered that the spiritual authority of the Bishop had nothing to do with this temporal right.

Thompson's assertion that whatever property was once held by the Jesuits was now the

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[1]A.R.S.I., Angl. 1011.III.unnumbered: Plowden to Gibson, 29 July 1818.
[2]A.R.S.I., Angl. 1011.IV.5: Plowden to Grassi, 28 April 1818.
[3]A.R.S.I., Angl. 1011.III.unnumbered: Plowden to Grassi, 9 August 1818; Angl. 1011.IV.39: Plowden to Grassi, 16 and 26 September 1818. Plowden later wrote that he was assured "for certain Mr. Lingard is not the author of the late anonymous pamphlet". Angl. 1011.IV.45: Plowden to Grassi, 17 October 1818. Cf. M. Haile and E. Bonney, Life and Letters of John Lingard 1771-1851 [1911], p. 160.
[4]Remarks on the Late Anonymous Publication, entitled A Re-Statement, etc. Relating to the Wigan Chapels. By a Gentleman. To Which is Added A True Statement of Facts, etc.. By a Friend to Truth (Wigan, 1818), p. 30. Sutcliffe, p. 145, attributes this work to Plowden.

property of the Vicars Apostolic, "by determination of the church", they took to be a direct violation of the civil oath of allegiance.[1] Plowden claimed that a quasi jus patronatus which had existed for over 260 years, whereby a patron built a chapel, which was private property, and presented to the Bishop whatever priest he chose, was now being disputed for the first time.[2] He was convinced that "No gentleman will ever allow, that either the Bishop or a Provincial of Regulars, shall force a chaplain into his house or family without his consent . . . Nobody here thinks of electing Bishops, or of choosing priests, who are not approved by the Bishop."[3] Plowden claimed that he was being upbraided by the two Vicars in the Northern District as "a propagator of popular and democratic notions, injurious to the rights and the authority of the Bishops", whose intention, Plowden said, was "to turn all private patronage into episcopal".[4] Plowden replied that he loved and revered spiritual authority, "but no man can bear to see it used as a pretext to promote temporal and interested schemes".[5] Joseph Tristram agreed that Thompson was extolling "episcopal power above the heights of heaven".[6]

The Jesuits were incensed that their presence had been forced upon the notice of the public "as pretenders to be Jesuits" -- "men obnoxious to Government, dangerous to the State, -- nay some priests . . . maintain that our very existence in England is ruinous to Catholic religion".[7] While not allowed to be what they were, they were persecuted as Jesuits in order to draw public odium upon them.[8] For Plowden, their situation was "painful, always to live in hot water, always to be harassed".[9] The dispute in Wigan was eventually resolved by Milner's entering the Northern District to protest to Thompson, and then writing strongly to Dr. Gibson that "when one-third part of the

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[1]A.R.S.I., Angl. 1011.V.31: Plowden to Gage, 8 April 1820.
[2]A.R.S.I., Angl.,1011.III.unnumbered: Plowden to Grassi, 25 August 1818.
[3]A.R.S.I., Angl. 1011.V.24: Plowden to Grassi, 27 January 1820.
[4]A.R.S.I., Angl. 1011.V.14: Plowden to Grassi, 6 October 1819.
[5]A.R.S.I., Angl. 1011.II.13: Plowden to Grassi, 14 February 1818.
[6]A.R.S.I., Angl. 1011.IV.10: Tristram to Grassi, 13 May 1818.
[7]A.R.S.I., Angl. 1011.IV.41: Plowden to Grassi, 3 October 1818.
[8]A.R.S.I., Angl. 1011.III.unnumbered: Plowden to Grassi, 2 August 1818 and Angl. 1011.IV.39: Plowden to Grassi, 16 September 1818.
[9]A.R.S.I., Angl. 1011.V.30: Plowden to Grassi, 30 March 1820.

congregation and the people of God are perishing for want of spiritual food, we the secular Vicars Apostolic conspire to deprive them of it by our opposition to certain colleges, and to that of Stonyhurst in particular".[1] Milner suggested that the Catholics of Wigan send a deputation to plead their case to Dr. Gibson, who consented to their rebuilding their chapel, while also deciding that the Secular chapel should continue. Plowden was surprised by Dr. Gibson's consent, having presumed that little could be hoped for from the journey as "his passion is so violent, his sense so confined, his manners so brutish". Cardinal Litta wrote on 21 November 1818 from Propaganda, where the dispute had been referred, that neither the chapel of the Stonyhurst Fathers nor that of the Secular clergy should be opposed.

The Wigan affair was seen to be important because it was feared that similar moves would be made in Preston, Bristol, Lincoln and other towns where Jesuits served the missions. Plowden wrote that "the secular clergy do not conceal their desire and expectation of possessing" Wigan and Preston and of dislodging the Jesuits.[2] The English Benedictines realised the implications, too, for Dr. John Bede Brewer, the President General of the English Congregation, offered Plowden his support.[3] Thomas Tate, the Jesuit missioner in Wigan, predicted that, were Wigan "to be wrested from the Children of Ignatius, all the Missions in England which the Jesuits have always served, will before long share the same fate".[4] Plowden found Dr. Smith, the Coadjutor of the Northern District, to be "a man of virtue, moderate and quiet, but of little or no energy of character . . . certainly he is not weak, shallow, and passionate like Bishop Gibson", and he considered that, although Dr. Smith was somewhat tinged "with the general prejudices of Ushaw College against us", the Coadjutor would scruple to hurt the Jesuits and "most probably will always be obsequious to directions given to him from Rome".[5]

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[1]For the text of the letter, Milner to Gibson, October 1818, see Eve III, pp. 291-2.
[2]A.R.S.I., Angl. 1011.II.13: Plowden to Grassi, 14 February 1818.
[3]A.R.S.I., Angl. 1011.V.17: Plowden to Grassi, 6 June 1818.
[4]A.R.S.I., Angl. 1011.III.unnumbered: Tate to Grassi, 12 August 1818.
[5]A.R.S.I., Angl. 1011.V.3, Plowden to Grassi: 25 January 1819. Cf. A.S.J., L.B.C., I, f. 239: Smith to Coupe, 12 March 1818.

It was to obtain these directions to the Vicars Apostolic from Rome that Plowden and Grassi devoted their attention.

Further difficulty was caused when the missioner in Oxford died in 1819 and, because the mission was in the Midland District and was served by the Jesuits, Milner applied to Plowden for a new missioner. The priest Plowden wished to send, Robert Newsham, was a native of the Northern District, so it was necessary to seek Dr. Gibson's permission to transfer him to another district. Relations between Gibson (now aged and infirm) and Plowden were poor, and Plowden's request was not answered.[1] Milner intervened and visited Stonyhurst, then wrote to Propaganda to propose a compromise. He suggested that the "Gentlemen of Stonyhurst" would surrender all claim to be publicly considered as Jesuits if Propaganda granted faculties to the Rector of the College both to present his candidates for ordination to any Bishop in England or Ireland who would be willing to ordain them, and then to present them to any of the former Jesuit missions, regardless of the district in which the missioner had been born.[2] To support Stonyhurst's cause, a petition was sent to Propaganda in October 1818 signed by influential laymen who had been educated at Stonyhurst, and by Charles Butler, to assure the Roman authorities that the British Government was not hostile and that Stonyhurst was secured and protected by the existing law.[3] Plowden indicated that the Catholic gentry who signed the petition were eager to obtain emancipation and were "certainly the best judges of their own immediate interests".[4] He feared that

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[1]Dr. Gibson eventually consented to Newsham's move to Oxford, and apologised to Plowden for the long delay in answering his letter. A.R.S.I., Angl. 1011.IV.47: Plowden to Grassi, 25 October 1818.

[2]For the text of the letter, Milner to Litta, 5 October 1818, see Eve III, pp. 292-3.

[3]Lords Arundell, Clifford and Stourton signed the petition, together with seven baronets and thirty-four laymen. Two variant texts of the "Address of English Catholic Laymen in Favour of the Stonyhurst Fathers" are printed in Eve III, pp. 294-298. Gradwell made accusations that the petition was "a surreptitious document", which contained "forged signatures" and was "the work of a cabal". Cf. Eve III, pp. 41-47. Plowden's defence was that those who signed the petition were not seeking the civil establishment of the Jesuits but wanted to counter the opposition against Stonyhurst and "to caution the Pope against the calumnies of Hippisley and others". Cf. A.R.S.I., Angl. 1011.IV.58: Plowden to Grassi, 18 December 1818. On the petition, see J. H. Pollen, "The Eve of Catholic Emancipation", The Month, 121(1913), pp. 11-13.

[4]A.R.S.I., Angl. 1011.IV.50: Plowden to Grassi, 10 November 1818.

emancipation, if "in the style of Dr. Poynter and Quarantotti", would be "worse than all the old penal laws".[1]

Cardinal Somaglia presided at the meeting of Propaganda which granted Milner's request on behalf of the Jesuits with a rescript dated 14 December 1818. Candidates for ordination could now be ordained titulo paupertatis, but without the name of Jesuit, by one of the Irish bishops or by Milner, and would be at Plowden's disposal for work in the college or in one of the traditional Jesuit missions. This rescript, passed from Milner to Plowden, was also kept secret, however, in order to prevent anti-Jesuit clauses being inserted in the emancipation legislation expected to be prepared for Parliament. It remained secret from the other Vicars Apostolic until August 1819, when Dr. Smith, enquiring about the ordination in Ireland of a priest from the Northern District whom he knew had not been given dimissorial letters, learnt of it from Plowden. Dr. Smith then communicated the content of the decree to the other Vicars Apostolic, who realised its implications for the regulation of the missions because, as Dr. Poynter observed, the privileges were granted not only to Jesuits but to all their alumni who had been educated at Stonyhurst.[2] Since the President of Stonyhurst (and not the Vicar Apostolic) would have jurisdiction over a section of the Secular clergy, Dr. Poynter called the decree "the most ruinous measure, and the most destructive of right order and peace in our missions of any that has ever been thought of".[3] Dr. Smith interpreted the decree to mean that the Rector of Stonyhurst could appoint a chaplain to any mission where the lay patron was willing to concede the right, and expected that Jesuits would probably secure the majority of missions supported by the old Catholic families.[4] They could also withdraw at any time, leaving the Vicar Apostolic the responsibility for finding a replacement, and also for serving those missions which were not well endowed.

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[1] A.R.S.I., Angl. 1011.V.22: Plowden to Grassi, 8 January 1820.
[2] A.R.S.I., Angl. 1011.V.11: Plowden to Grassi, 8 September 1819.
[3] Poynter to Kirk, 27 September 1818, cited in Eve III, p. 47.
[4] Poynter feared "the appointment of some Gentleman Priest from Stonyhurst to be made Bishop". Poynter to Kirk, 27 September 1819, cited in J. Connell, The Roman Catholic Church in England 1780-1850 (Philadephia, 1984), pp. 148-9.

Once the Vicars Apostolic knew of the decree, Plowden explained to each of them the claims of Stonyhurst. Dr. Poynter, however, wrote to the Pope a letter, which all the Vicars Apostolic of England and Scotland signed (with the exception of Milner and of Collingridge, who wrote separately), to complain that the Vicars Apostolic had not been consulted about a decision, kept hidden from them, which would introduce confusion into the government of their districts. In Rome, Gradwell presented the case of the Vicars Apostolic to the Pope. The "Somaglian Decree" was reversed by a Papal brief of 18 April 1820 and the privileges granted to the Rector of Stonyhurst were recalled.[1] The brief stated that no such legislation should be enacted in future without consulting the Vicars Apostolic who were concerned. Cardinal Consalvi requested Dr. Poynter to communicate the decision to Lord Sidmouth, and to assure him that the Jesuits were not restored in England since the British Government had expressed strong objections.[2] In addition to the brief, Cardinal Fontana wrote to Milner rebuking him for his writings in the Orthodox Journal and threatening a withdrawal of faculties and his removal as Vicar Apostolic if he wrote again. Plowden informed Grassi that Milner

> appears like a dejected man, and harbours thoughts of resigning his station. I and Fr. Scott encourage him. If he should disappear, the enemies of the catholic cause and of the Society will enjoy more than a temporary triumph.[3]

Plowden was unwilling to believe that Butler, whatever might be said of his past conduct and politics, "now enters into the schemes of Castlereagh and Canning" in accepting conditions for emancipation.[4] Butler stated, in response to Hippisley's

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[1]For the Latin text of the revocation of the "Somaglian Decree", 18 April 1820, see Eve III, pp. 304-306.

[2]For the Latin text of the letter, Consalvi to Poynter, 18 April 1820, see Eve III, pp. 307-308. Plowden had written that he would not put himself in the power "of two such politicians, as are the Romish and British Secretaries of State. I could not expect to obtain truth from either." A.R.S.I., Angl. 1011.IV.45: Plowden to Grassi, 17 October 1818.

[3]A.R.S.I., Angl. 1012.I.2: Plowden to Grassi, 12 June 1820. Plowden commented that the English Jesuits were considered to be "the authors or instigators and advisers of certain offensive articles in the Orthodox Journal". A.R.S.I., Angl. 1012.I.12: "Hints for R. F. Genl and his Friend, who means to reason with C. Consalvi", 1821. For an extract from the Latin text of the letter, Fontana to Milner, 29 April 1820, see Eve III, p. 309.

[4]A.R.S.I., Angl. 1011.V.7: Plowden to Grassi, 28 February 1819.

accusation in 1819 that he was inconsistent, that he had consistently favoured the Jesuits in his historical writings, judging that "the wise and good among them immensely outnumbered the inconsiderate and the bad; -- and that the 'Provincial Letters', 'the Assertions' and the 'Comptes rendus' are most infamous libels". In public, Butler was benignly disposed towards the Jesuits, in private occasionally critical, although "wishing to serve your Society". Butler complained that neither Stone, Plowden, Sewall nor Scott, the leading Jesuits, would meet with Lord Castlereagh to learn at first hand about practicable politics and the Government's concerns.[1] Plowden kept his distance since he considered that if Cardinal Consalvi really knew Lord Castlereagh, "bred and strictly educated in the highest extravagances of Calvinism, a determined enemy of episcopacy, a deep hater of Catholic religion and of Bishops", he would deal with him more circumspectly.[2] Butler suggested that, while taking their stand on the broad ground of religious liberty, the Jesuits "should make every sacrifice to prejudice that prudence can suggest or conscience allows". He recommended using as sparingly as possible such expressions as "Pontifical College --temporalities of Stonyhurst, statutes and rights granted by the Pope", as these were all "verba odiosa; and the less the publick hears of them the better".[3]

Neither the "Somaglian Decree" nor the brief mentioned the word "Jesuit", however, so the priests at Stonyhurst did not concede that they were not restored in England, and Consalvi's letter to Poynter they took to be merely a political gesture, forced by circumstances. Plowden had little doubt that an agreement had already been made "between Rome and our court; I mean terms of vetoistical emancipation, which is now expected to take place". He believed that Jesuits would be excluded by name in the legislation, the Bishops made responsible for all priests, and all houses of education

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[1]N. Abercrombie, "Charles Butler and the English Jesuits, 1770-1823", R.H., 15(1980), 295-299. Lord Clifford conferred with Lord Sidmouth on behalf of the Jesuits, and was to be accompanied at future conferences by Charles Brooke, who would later be Provincial. A.R.S.I., Angl. 1011.IV.14: Plowden to Grassi, 24 May 1818 and Angl. 1011.IV.15: Brooke to Grassi, 29 May 1818.

[2]A.R.S.I., Angl. 1011.IV.37: Plowden to Grassi, 9 September 1818.

[3]A.S.J., L.N.J., f. 216: Butler to Sewall, 21 June 1819.

would be subjected to their jurisdiction: "we see ourselves abandoned by the holy See, and delivered up without resource to our enemies".[1] On the one hand, Ministers were not inclined to grant emancipation while it could be safely refused, and Plowden believed that it would still be refused if every Jesuit were exterminated.[2] On the other hand, Rome "has laid us prostrate before our enemies, and promises to lift us up another day: they in the interim intend to murder us".[3] He believed that "Rome (alas! the Society knows it by fatal experience) is not afraid to sacrifice her best friends, because she knows that they have too much virtue to revolt against her and to join hands with her enemies".[4] Sir Thomas Gage feared for the reputation of Propaganda, which had "already made and reversed their orders three times on the same subject".[5]

Plowden was convinced that the principal Jesuits in England would be interrogated, during the drafting of the emancipation legislation, about their subjection to a foreign superior. He saw that, to be a Jesuit, he must be dependent on the General, yet to acknowledge the fact "would at once ruin our cause". He planned to state that he had no superior,

> either foreign or domestic, who can in the smallest degree infringe the duty of civil allegiance, which he has sworn to the State; that he conceives civil allegiance to be all that the civil magistrate has a right to exact; that every Englishman is free to choose whatever religion and mode or rule of life, that suits him, without being called to account for it, and may therefore subject himself to any man by whom he likes to be guided.[6]

The Jesuit students could, after the brief, only be ordained titulo missionis (under which title Stonyhurst had refused to present them) or after they had been

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[1] A.R.S.I., Angl. 1011.V.39: Plowden to Grassi, 21 May 1820.
[2] A.R.S.I., Angl. 1012.I.12: "Hints for R. F. Genl and his Friend, who means to reason with C. Consalvi", 1821.
[3] A.R.S.I., Angl. 1012.I.4: Plowden to Grassi, 25 June 1820.
[4] A.R.S.I., Angl. 1011.IV.47: Plowden to Grassi, 25 October 1818.
[5] A.R.S.I., Angl. 1011.V.40: Gage to Plowden, 28 May 1820.
[6] A.R.S.I., Angl. 1012.I.4: Plowden to Grassi, 25 June 1820. Plowden, who admitted that this answer was evasive, suggested the alternative of giving no answer, since it was a spiritual matter. He advised the superior of Stonyhurst to say that he held office immediately from the Pope or Propaganda, since "an immediate Superior residing in Rome, would be less objectionable to our Ministry, than one residing in Russia or in France".

domiciled for some time in Ireland or in Rome (where any student could be ordained titulo paupertatis). Plowden, claiming that he was "too old to sit at the table of Lords and squires", nevertheless proceeded to London to place his difficulties before Dr. Poynter. He could not persuade Poynter to alter his stance, although he found him civil, if inflexible.[1] Plowden then travelled to Rome in 1820 to elect a new General at the twentieth General Congregation of the Jesuits, in which he needed a dispensation to take part and vote because he represented a Province of the Jesuits which enjoyed no external privileges in Canon Law. Plowden stated his difficulties to the Pope but received the same answer that the Jesuits' vows were valid and they could live as Jesuits within their houses.[2] He called on Cardinal Consalvi, who "talked himself hoarse to convince me, that we could obtain nothing in England, and that nobody should be ordained there on any other title, than that of secular priests, intirely [sic.] dependent on the Vicars". To overcome the problem with regard to ordination, the English Jesuits decided that all their students with vows would henceforth study theology in Rome, "in spem futuræresurrectionis", but there still remained the problem of having to request faculties from the Vicars Apostolic on their return.[3] It was envisaged that the last alumni would be ordained in 1820.[4] Plowden, who wrote that he was to carry back to England "a head and heart almost equally broken", died in France on his return journey.[5]

Although victory belonged to the Vicars Apostolic, a compromise had been reached, drafted by Lingard at Poynter's instigation and presented to Propaganda by Gradwell. The proposal allowed the President of Stonyhurst to send his alumni to any Bishop for ordination, but he should only send them to another Bishop when the Vicar

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[1]A.R.S.I., Angl. 1012.I.5: Plowden to Grassi, 4 July 1820: "The principle on which he rests, is pitifully false; but he is happy to advance any thing plausible, to hinder our progress, though it should even cause our ruin."

[2]Plowden had earlier reported the rumour from Rome that "the Pope falls into frights as often as English and Irish Jesuits are named". A.R.S.I., Angl. 1011.IV.43: Plowden to Grassi, 12 October 1818.

[3]A.R.S.I., Angl. 1012. I.17: Plowden to Grassi, 6 June 1821.

[4]A.R.S.I., Angl. 1011.V.24: Plowden to Grassi, 27 January 1820.

[5]A.R.S.I., Angl. 1012.I.17: Plowden to Grassi, 6 June 1821.

Apostolic of the district refused to ordain them. They would be ordained titulo missionis and sent by the President (after being examined by the Bishop or his Vicar prior to being given faculties) to those missions traditionally served by the Society (with a list of those missions being given to the Vicar Apostolic). Missioners could then be removed only with the consent of the Bishop.[1] Pius VII approved in April 1820 of this compromise, which continued to govern conduct until the full restoration of the Jesuits in 1829. Lingard informed Gradwell that, after Plowden's death, the priests at Stonyhurst changed their attitude and were particularly civil to the Secular clergy, even providing him with books and manuscripts for his historical research.[2]

The Vicars Apostolic, with the exception of Dr. Milner, discussed the status of the Jesuits in 1823, the proximate occasion being the ordination, titulo paupertatis, of a native of the London District, after a residence of only one year in Ireland, and his return to work on the English mission. The Vicars Apostolic understood that "the Society of Jesuits is not established in any part of the British Empire, since the Civil Government, the consent of which is required for its establishment, in any particular place, has not consented to its establishment there". The Vicars Apostolic agreed that they could not admit the exercise of jurisdiction by any Jesuit superior in England, and that any British subjects who had taken vows or been ordained as Jesuits could not be recognised in England as Jesuits or "as persons enjoying the privileges of the Order or Society of Jesus by the Vicars Apostolic of England".[3] When Charles Brooke, the Provincial, appealed to Dr. Poynter in 1826 to recognise the Society in the London District, Poynter explained that it was not within his power to do so. He observed that

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[1]"Rev. John Lingard to Rev. Robert Gradwell Recommending a Compromise with the Stonyhurst Fathers, 28 October, 1819", cited in Eve III, pp. 302-4. Lingard wrote that this arrangement gave Stonyhurst all it could reasonably desire, yet preserved "to the bishops as much authority as it would be prudent to claim, while that house has so many friends". M. Haile and E. Bonney, Life and Letters of John Lingard 1771-1851 [1911], p. 175.

[2]M. Haile and E. Bonney, Life and Letters of John Lingard 1771-1851 [1911], p. 197. Butler informed Lingard in 1822 that there had always been an "anti-Plowden party at Stonyhurst".

[3]Poynter to Caprano, 18 May 1826, cited in Eve III, pp. 189-190. Poynter was responding to Propaganda, after an appeal from Brooke to the Pope.

Brooke seemed "to regard the consent of the Civil Government in this matter, rather as an object to be attended to, or not, as religious prudence may suggest, than as a conditio sine qua non, for the existence of the Society even in a canonical sense in this Kingdom".[1] Poynter quoted Cardinal Consalvi's letter that the Society was not established in England, and stressed that the Secretary of State referred not to the civil existence of the Society, but to its canonical existence, since the Pope had instructed that the Society could not be restored until the consent of the Government had been given. Brooke was, in fact, aware of the delicacy of the situation. He thought it probable (and Edward Scott thought it certain) that "any order to the VV.AA., in whatever form, to recognise us as religious, would create serious alarm in Government (we know with how little reason) and provoke some measures which might deprive the Catholics of this country of our services, tho' those services are really conducive to the stability of that government and the good order of the country".[2] Plowden had argued similarly that "true Catholics" were, "by principle of religion, friends to order and subordination, that English and Irish Catholics and especially their secular and regular clergy, are from interest, as well as from religious principle, seriously attached to the Powers that are, and therefore that they may safely be trusted".[3]

Brooke considered that any order which gave the Jesuit superior untramelled disposal of his subjects would solve his problem, at least temporarily. He agreed that Jesuits could be ordained titulo missionis, "a title quite consonant with our calling", if it were thought proper, "provided there was no oath restricting the disposal of the individual, this being the summa res". Two consultors agreed with him, while another consented and would submit to such an expedient, but neither request nor desire it. Nicholas Sewall, the former Provincial, preferred, however, to seek full recognition, "with all the risks attending it". He suggested that the Secretary of Propaganda might

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[1] A.S.J., L.B.C., I, f. 252: Poynter to Brooke, 26 May 1826. Brooke, who was ordained at Maynooth in 1802 before entering the Jesuits at Hodder in 1803, was Provincial between 1826 and 1832.

[2] A.R.S.I., Angl. 1012.III.18: Brooke to Glover, 19 February 1826.

[3] A.R.S.I., Angl. 1012.I.11bis: n.d.. The handwriting is Plowden's.

send a letter (the text of which he proposed) to ease the doubts of the Vicars Apostolic by informing them that the Pope, "without interfering in the least with the Civil Government of England", had stated that the bull of restoration had re-established the Jesuits in all parts of the world "and of course in the British Dominions, in foro ecclesiastico: and therefore your Lordship must make no scruple or difficulty in treating the members of the Society of Jesus, in England, as the Religious of other Orders are treated according to the Regulations of Benedict XIV".[1] Brooke left the matter in the prudent hands of Thomas Glover, the English Jesuit who had replaced Grassi as agent in Rome in 1825, "to proceed as the directions of our Fathers, the advice of friends and the circumstances which may present themselves shall guide you", aware that Glover was constrained by what had already been done. He recommended that Glover entertain and "show much respect for Ecclesiastical authorities, however adverse", and advised him to soften the tone of his memorials into something "more gentle and respectful".[2] Brooke would not, however, agree with those who proposed to draw up a new authoritative declaration of Catholic principles, to quieten the fears of Protestants. This he considered to be "a declaration of Gallican principles, or something still farther, respecting their connection with Rome", and firmly held that "we shall never be better subjects for being worse Catholics".[3]

The eventual restoration of the Jesuits in England was due in large measure to the Franciscan Vicar Apostolic, Dr. Collingridge, who had altered his previous opposition. Collingridge had once suggested that the Vicars Apostolic establish an independent board to examine the Jesuit candidates for orders and the mission, "considering that we know of their deficiencies in Dogmatical Divinity and of the nature of their casuistry".[4] Plowden, who thought him to be "unmannerly" and "the

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[1] A.R.S.I., Angl. 1012.III.7. The handwriting is that of Sewall. Cf. Angl. 1012.III.9: Sewall to Fortis, 27 February 1825.
[2] A.R.S.I., Angl. 1012.III.18: Brooke to Glover, 19 February 1826.
[3] A.R.S.I., Angl. 1012.III.20: Brooke to Glover, 20 April 1826. Brooke was referring to a pamphlet, A Letter to the Duke of Norfolk on the Catholic Question (1826), written by Sir Robert Horton M.P., the Under Secretary of State for War. Cf. Eve III, pp. 169-70.
[4] J. B. Dockery, Collingridge. A Franciscan Contribution to Catholic Emancipation (Newport, 1954), p. 152.

most coarse and illiberal" of the Vicars Apostolic,[1] had reported that Collingridge had declared to Lord Clifford that, if emancipation were offered by the Government on the condition of sacrificing all Regulars, "he would not hesitate to give them up: that their subjection to their own Superiors was an injury to the Bishops".[2] Collingridge now considered that the restoration of the Jesuits would not make the achievement of emancipation any more difficult, nor would the Society's suppression make the Government any more favourable. At a meeting of the Vicars Apostolic in August 1827, Collingridge suggested that they petition Rome for the restoration of the Jesuits in England. When the other Vicars Apostolic did not support him, he sent a petition in his own name, and, in his own district, asked the Jesuit Provincial in 1828 to resume the care of the Bristol mission, which Collingridge had supplied since 1821.

On Dr. Poynter's death, Collingridge wrote concerning the recognition of the Jesuits to Dr. Baines, his Coadjutor, who was recuperating in Rome and who viewed the situation sympathetically, partly because of his close contact with Thomas Glover. Collingridge presumed that the difficulty in granting the Jesuits permission to "ordain or give dimissorials titulo paupertatis, etc., all which regard the forum mere internum, or mere ecclesiasticum, with which Civil government even, can claim no right to interfere", lay in the Pope or Consalvi's informing the Government that the Jesuits were not restored because of the Government's objection. As there was a new administration in London, Collingridge asked Baines if means could be found "for letting these gentlemen into the enjoyment of their privileges, or rather for permitting the Bishops to recognise the privileges which they already enjoy by the circuitous and expensive mode of sending their subjects for profession to foreign parts".[3] Baines considered that a Bishop was at liberty to recognise Jesuits in his own district. He argued that Consalvi's letter concerning the Government's stance had been addressed to Dr. Poynter to be communicated to Lord Sidmouth and Ministers, not to the

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[1]A.R.S.I., Angl. 1011.V.16: Plowden to Grassi, 30 November 1819.
[2]A.R.S.I., Angl. 1011.V.22: Plowden to Grassi, 8 January 1820.
[3]Collingridge to Baines, 14 December 1827, cited in Eve III, pp. 207-208.

other Vicars Apostolic, and was a political note from the Secretary of State, not a rescript from Propaganda. Baines considered that Consalvi's letter was vague and unsatisfactory, confusing the executive and legislative powers,

> leaving the re-establishment in England of the Jesuits to the will of Government (Gubernium). . . Now what is meant by Gubernium? If it means the Ministry of that day, it no longer exists. If it means the King and Parliament, they were never consulted.[1]

Baines believed that Rome's decision resulted from the disgraceful intrigue and misstatements of Dr. Poynter and Dr. Gradwell, who had colluded with the Government to "put down religious orders". Baines drew up a petition, presented in his own name and that of Dr. Collingridge, which sought the formal recognition of the Jesuits as re-established in England, and he argued that the objections raised against the validity of their restoration in England were without foundation.[2] The recently appointed Vicars Apostolic were not as opposed to the Jesuits as their predecessors had been, and some favoured a resolution of the problem. The only Vicar Apostolic strongly opposed was the new Coadjutor in the London District, Dr. Gradwell, who had received an admonition from the Pope about his anti-Jesuit leanings. On 1 January 1829 Leo XII decreed that the bull of 1814, Sollicitudo, was operative in England, and members of the Society could be ordained titulo paupertatis and could live publicly as Jesuits. Edward Scott in London wrote to Glover in Rome: "thanks to heaven for the happy results of your long and laborious exertions -- We have now crossed the Rubicon, and must march on boldly."[3]

During these "long and laborious exertions", the Jesuits had frequent opportunities to reflect on the causes of their uncomfortable situation. The circumstances were exceptional, as there was little possibility of normal church government in the aftermath of the French Revolution and the Napoleonic wars,

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[1]Baines to Collingridge,15 January 1828, cited in Eve III, p. 208. The legislature, he pointed out, had already enacted the Relief Acts.

[2]For the Latin text of the petition see Eve III, pp. 309-310, and for an extract from the accompanying memorial, 14 August 1828, see T. Hughes, History of the Society of Jesus in North America. Colonial and Federal (1910), Documents I, Part II (1605-1838), pp. 1143-1146.

[3]A.R.S.I., Angl. 1012.IV.6: Scott to Glover, 29 January 1829.

especially while the Pope was a prisoner in Grenoble, Savona and Fontainbleau.[1] The Vicars Apostolic craved emancipation, and thought hyper-caution to be the best means to achieve it. The Jesuits, for their part, certainly felt thwarted and excluded, and feared having to move to the United States or the continent in order to be able to live as Jesuits. Charles Plowden (who guided the generations of novices from 1803 until 1817), Nicholas Sewall (who succeeded him as Novice Master) and Charles Brooke, all intimately involved in the dispute, were the Provincials who guided the English Province until 1832. Those who succeeded them as Provincial were students affected by the dispute, sent for studies overseas when it was difficult to obtain ordination as Regulars from the Vicars Apostolic.[2] Their relations with the Vicars Apostolic, and with the Secular clergy, could not but be affected by these events. Even when allowance is made for the exaggeration in some of their statements, the whole controversy profoundly influenced their attitude and approach in the succeeding years.

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[1] J. H. Pollen, "The Recognition of the Jesuits in England", The Month, 116(1910), 23-36, attempted to interpret the motives and actions of both the Vicars Apostolic and the Jesuits during these years.

[2] Richard Norris (Provincial between 1832 and 1838), John Bird (1838-41) and Randal Lythgoe (1841-48) were novices under Plowden. William Cobb (1848-51), who began his novitiate at Mont Rouge in Paris in 1824, completed his term as Provincial in 1851. The next two Provincials, John Etheridge and Joseph Johnson, both commenced their novitiate at Hodder in 1827.

II. JESUIT MISSIONS

Most chapters of this thesis discuss disputes between the Jesuits and the Vicars Apostolic and the Bishops. These disputes concerned the restoration of the Jesuits, as has been recounted, and the privileges and exemptions of the Regular clergy, on which attention will be focused in the following chapters. The history of the relations between the Jesuits and the Bishops, however, did not consist solely of such disputes. This chapter will investigate the back-drop to those disputes: the work shared by the Secular and the Regular clergy on missions. There was, even in the dioceses of Bishops thought to be most antagonistic, a large measure of cooperation. The responsibility of the Vicars Apostolic or Bishops for many aspects of missionary work was undisputed, as was their concern, with Jesuit superiors, to find pragmatic solutions to problems. Although disagreements arose, these usually concerned the administration of missions and only rarely involved principles of exemption or jurisdiction. Both these disagreements and the disputes which did involve matters of principle were a consequence of the Jesuits remaining "on the mission". Their reasons for choosing to do so are important and will now be investigated. The concern here is not to describe missionary life, nor to investigate whether Jesuit missions were in any way distinctive, but to examine the Jesuits' option to continue to work on the missions. It was a question debated among themselves throughout the century, and a cause of friction not only with Bishops but with Jesuit authorities in Rome.

While each dispute between the Vicars Apostolic and the Jesuits cannot be treated in detail, it is important to recognise that mutual suspicion, evident in the clashes surrounding the restoration, still lingered after the Society was restored. It was magnified at times by personal incompatibility, and the traditional clerical rivalry fostered in the separate colleges in which the clergy were formed. When the Vicar Apostolic of the Western District, for example, failed in an attempt to have Wiseman appointed his Coadjutor in 1834, Randal Lythgoe wrote to Thomas Glover in Rome that

> Bishop Baines is very indignant, and frets and chafes, and believes, I have no doubt, that it is all through the intrigues of the Jesuits: the

> simple truth is, no Jesuit ever was or ever will be consulted on the making of a bishop, and no Jesuit ever has either directly or indirectly obtruded an opinion upon the subject.[1]

Glover explained that "Dr. Penswick has refused leave to Errington to come here, for he says if Wiseman goes he is quite sure the English College will get into the the hands of the Jesuits". Baines was considered to have organized the petition to Rome in 1835, signed by all the Vicars Apostolic of England and Scotland except Dr. Walsh,[2] which requested that the 1753 regulations of Benedict XIV concerning the missions be strictly observed, and protested at the attack on the authority of the Vicars Apostolic by the protection and favour shown to the Jesuits and other religious.[3] Baines wrote to Dr. Briggs in 1838 about his troubles at Prior Park: "There is some agency at work against us which I cannot comprehend, all sorts of misrepresentations go like wildfire in all directions . . . Can the S.J.s be at the bottom of it?"[4]

The suspicion of the undefined privileges of Regulars was increased by two decrees of Propaganda in 1838. One allowed Regulars to attach indulgences to certain religious observances, and to set up, according to privileges already granted, confraternities in their missions. Secular missioners feared that this would attract to the churches of Regulars the faithful from other missions. The other decree gave Regulars the right to build public churches without reference to the Vicars Apostolic,

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[1]A.S.J., 14/2/9, Transcripts, f. 34(1): Lythgoe to Glover, 26 July 1834. Cf. f. 46: Arundel to Lythgoe, 4 August 1835. Glover was Ullathorne's first confessor in Rome. From Cabin Boy to Archbishop. The Autobiography of Archbishop Ullathorne (1941), p. 131.

[2]A.S.J., 14/2/9, Transcripts, f. 34(2): 3 April 1835. The Scottish Vicars Apostolic apologized "for having allowed themselves to be too easily surprised by the VV. AA. of England", and declared that "they have no hostile feelings towards religious". Cf. A.S.J., College of St. Ignatius, 1750-1874, f. 230: Glover to Lythgoe, 30 June 1835.

[3]A.S.J., College of St. Ignatius, 1750-1874, f. 203 and f. 215: Glover to Lythgoe, 26 May 1835. Cf. f. 207: Lythgoe to Glover, 29 April 1835. Lythgoe believed the Vicars Apostolic were attempting to suppress Regulars.

[4]Baines to Briggs, September 1839, cited in C. Leetham, Luigi Gentili: A Sower for the Second Spring (1965), p. 100. Although Baines inherited a dispute over the Bristol mission, and issued a pastoral in 1834 disapproving of certain devotions introduced by the Jesuits, he was not opposed to Regulars. Cf. E. Stuart, "Bishop Baines and his 1840 Lenten Pastoral", Downside Review, 105(1987), 43. Brooke wrote that Baines regretted "the want of dependence of the regulars on the VV. AA. -- and he is a man who pursues what he wishes, boldly and unscrupulously". A.S.J., College of St. Ignatius, 1750-1874, f. 232: Brooke to Lythgoe, 20 July 1835. Cf. A.S.J., College of St. Ignatius, Farm Street, 1802-1835, [Hereafter, Farm Street, 1802-1835] f. 28: Bird to Glover, 5 June 1840.

who, as they had not been consulted, opposed the measure.[1] Dr. Walsh (who regretted having signed the protest concerning the decrees which the Vicars Apostolic sent to Rome[2]) informed Lythgoe that he had executed the decree in the Midland District, and had apprised the Jesuits, the Benedictines and the Dominicans that "there is the full liberty to build chapels, the more the better, and to receive members in the Society of the Sacred Heart of the Bona Mors".[3]

Such were the difficulties between the Vicars Apostolic and the Regulars that Dr. Thomas Brown, the Vicar Apostolic of the Western District, proposed in 1841 an arrangement to promote better understanding. He had learnt that the Pope had indicated to Wiseman his weariness of the incessant disagreements between Vicars Apostolic and Regulars, and wished that those differences might be settled in England. Dr. Brown considered that past disagreements, often long and scandalous, had arisen from, or been fostered by, the partial and sometimes contradictory reports to Propaganda of the contending parties, "sometimes . . . warped and misled by peculiar interests or prejudices". It was extremely difficult "for a tribunal, so remote as in Rome, to arrive at the truth of facts and proceedings in this country".[4] He suggested that disputes between Vicars Apostolic and Regulars be first submitted to arbiters, Secular or Regular ecclesiastics, two chosen by each party, who would themselves appoint a fifth. They would constitute a commission of enquiry, take an oath of impartiality and examine witnesses under oath. Dr. Brown thought that the report of the majority of this commission would lead to an amicable understanding, and that Regulars could subscribe to these proposals without difficulty. John Bird, the Provincial, considered

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[1] A.S.J., Epist. Gen., I, f. 314: Glover to Lythgoe, 29 January 1839.

[2] A.S.J., L.B.C., I, f. 295: Walsh to Lythgoe, 1 March 1839. Walsh wrote that the Provincial "kindly but very candidly told me what he thought of my conduct" in signing the protest. Walsh admitted that he had been "alarmed by the anticipation of the danger of discension [sic.] between Secular and Regular clergy". A.R.S.I., Angl. 1013.I.14: Walsh to VV.AA., 29 January 1839.

[3] The devotions of the Bona Mors Confraternity , or "The Art of Dying Happily in the Congregation of Jesus Christ Crucify'd and of his Condoling Mother" had been established by the Jesuit General in 1648.

[4] A.S.J., L.B.C., I, f. 297: Brown to Bird, 26 June 1841. Brown based his idea on the commission appointed by Rome in the dispute between Dr. Baines and the Benedictines in the Western District.

the proposal unfair and one-sided, however, and did not believe it would work as intended. He thought Brown to have been a very good choice as Vicar Apostolic -- "he has openly avowed that he will make no distinction between regular and secular -- that all shall find a brother in him".[1] Yet Bird thought the bigotry of the Secular clergy would render any arbitration partial, and that the conclusions would satisfy no-one. He wrote that his consultors considered that "we should be putting ourselves in the hands of our enemies . . . If Rome gives us up we must yield and build no Churches. Rome is our only resource".[2]

Dr. Brown was disappointed with the Jesuit response, especially since the Dominicans and Benedictines had indicated approval of his proposal. The Vicars Apostolic, whom he had consulted, were disposed "to renounce the influence of their authority, and submit to a commission of inquiry, having among its members Ecclesiastics of an inferior degree to themselves". Some Vicars Apostolic welcomed the proposal, "wishing well to all the Orders of the Church, and persuaded that there existed among all a real desire of justice and peace". Others, however,

> would have preferred a joint representation to the Holy See, signed by all the VV. AA. against the usurpations of the Regulars -- and of these there was one or two who asked me significantly, if I knew so little of the Society, as to imagine that it would enter into any scheme of peace that would debar it from the chances of intrigues. These, therefore, showed their willingness to come into the proposal I made, as an experiment upon the sincerity of the Society, which they felt assured would be unsuccessful.[3]

Dr. Brown requested Bird to reconsider the Jesuits' position, assuring him that the commission would only enquire into the facts of a case, not decide it. At worst, an impartial statement of facts could be forwarded to Propaganda should there be an appeal, or should the matter be one of principle which could be decided only in Rome.

Charles Brooke, a former Provincial, called upon Dr. Brown to discuss with him the Jesuits' fear of his proposal. Brooke explained that the hesitation was not "caused

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[1]A.S.J., 14/2/9, Transcripts, f. 176: Bird to Glover, 31 October 1840.
[2]A.S.J., L.B.C., I: Bird to Glover, postmarked 22 August 1841.
[3]A.S.J., L.B.C., I, f. 298: Brown to Bird, 25 July 1841.

by any unwillingness that the truth should be ascertained or justice be done", but by the fear that the Jesuits would not get an impartial hearing because of the dispositions of the Secular clergy.[1] After he received an explanation of how the commission might operate, Brooke recommended that the Jesuits support the proposal, as it would be "conducive to the benefit of religion, which is, I believe, what we have in view". Glover, however, supported Lythgoe's reluctance to participate in the commission. He wrote from Rome, soon after Lythgoe's appointment as Provincial:

> Whatever you could say in your own behalf would be received as suspicious, and containing some cunning device, by men, who are determined to believe, that no Jesuit can act or speak honestly. See if the proposed tribunal, examining witnesses on oath, is not contrary to the laws of the land. If so, you have an all-sufficient reason to refuse it. Before the proposed tribunal you would have as much chance of justice as an Irish Catholic before an Orange judge and jury.[2]

These "tares of factious disunion" continued to exist in many parts of the "English vineyard".[3] When the clergy in Lancashire met in 1842 to arrange for a fund to support the Vicar Apostolic, John Bird, who had become the Jesuit missioner in Preston when he completed his term as Provincial, did not attend. He did not think it unreasonable that his congregation should contribute to the maintenance of their Bishop, and informed the meeting that "the Society would concur in any measures that might be agreed upon". He wrote to the Provincial, however, that his reason for not attending "was chiefly that I did not wish to go alone amongst so many enemies of the Society -- and I could not take with me any one who was not invited".[4] When, because of accusations which were being made against them, there was discussion about replacing the entire staff of the Jesuit church in London in 1857, one consultor

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[1] A.S.J., L.B.C., I, f. 301: Brooke to Bird, 17 August 1841.
[2] A.S.J., 14/2/9, Transcripts, f. 177: Glover to Lythgoe, 18 September 1841.
[3] G. Oliver, Collections, illustrating the History of the Catholic Religion in the Counties of Cornwall, Devon, Dorset, Somerset, Wiltshire and Gloucester (1857), p. 226.
[4] A.S.J., 14/2/9, Transcripts, f. 52: Bird to Lythgoe, 21 [ ] 1842.

commented that there were "facts that show what a set there is against us, and how necessary it is to be on the alert".[1]

JESUIT DEBATES CONCERNING MISSIONS.

The pastoral ministry among the Roman Catholic community, whether in itinerant circumstances or in the more stable situation of a family chaplaincy or mission, had been the work of the Jesuits in the United Kingdom since the mission of Campion and Persons. The small number of priests, together with the fact that open educational work among Catholics had to be conducted (except during the reign of James II) across the Channel, had meant that all priests, Regular as well as Secular, were engaged in directly pastoral work, much of it unspectacular and, of its nature, unrecorded. On the suppression of the Society, many ex-Jesuits continued in this work, or returned to it, and the Jesuits remained on missions throughout the nineteenth century. The situation was not static, for, during the years of the suppression, over twenty missions were handed over to the Vicars Apostolic in the north of England alone.[2] Marmaduke Stone wrote to a Jesuit in Maryland in 1803 that "We have even been upon the verge of displeasing our most respectable friends in this country by not being able to supply them with Chaplains".[3] Some missions traditionally served by Jesuits before the suppression were maintained by ex-Jesuits or their alumni during the years of the suppression and still served by Jesuits after the restoration. Others passed out of the control of the ex-Jesuits and then back into Jesuit hands. In the case of Bristol, this happened twice, and led to a dispute between Dr. Baines and the Jesuit Provincial concerning the right to the mission which was only resolved in 1844.[4] Occasionally, as at Worcester, a mission passed to another religious order until the Jesuits were in a position to resume serving it. Some missions remained in the hands of

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[1] P.C., 20 August 1857.

[2] For a list of missions handed over prior to 1817, see A.S.J., L.N.J., f. 154, and for a list of those relinquished after the restoration, see Appendix II. For a list of chapels built by the ex-Jesuits, see L.N.J., f. 353: Oliver to Norris, 17 September 1834.

[3] A.R.S.I., Angl. 1001.II.15: Stone to Neale, 27 January 1803.

[4] Cf. A.S.J., 14/2/9, Transcripts, f. 173: Bird to Baines, 1838.

ex-Jesuits who did not rejoin the restored Society -- Joseph Dunn, at Preston, is one example -- while others were served by Secular priests, alumni of Liège or Stonyhurst, who gave their obedience to the Jesuit Provincial while not being members of the order. An analysis of the catalogues of the Province from the early nineteenth century shows how fluid was the situation.[1] Forty six missions traditionally supplied by Jesuits were handed over to the Vicars Apostolic or Bishops between 1833 and 1901, while some new missions were undertaken. It was only a very small part of missionary work in the Catholic community; the Reverend John Cumming was imagining things when he wrote in 1839 that "Jesuits, like the locusts of Egypt, swarm in our parishes".[2]

Charles Plowden reported from Stonyhurst in 1820 that fifty three missions were served by "ancient Fathers of the Society and by members of this College".[3] Nicholas Sewall, Provincial from 1821 to 1826, accepted even more missions and erected churches in them.[4] Sewall defended his position on the ground that it "seems expedient to retain our present Missionary Establishments, and to form new ones of the same kind, whenever the means of forming them can be procured: because, in our present missionary system, more good may be done to our neighbour than could be done in any other system".[5] In correspondence with Aloysius Fortis (Vicar in Rome of the General in Russia and later General between 1820 and 1829), who opposed the retention of missions, Sewall answered the four principal objections to Jesuits being engaged in missionary work. To the first objection, that the system "gives offence to the VV. AA. and induces them to oppose our being recognised as religious men in this country",

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[1]Catalogues of the restored Province exist in manuscript from 1831, and the earliest printed catalogue is for 1842. Henry Foley later compiled catalogues from the Province Registers and other sources for the years 1803, 1807, 1810, 1815, 1820, 1825 and 1828.

[2][J. Cumming], "Statistics of Popery in Great Britain and the Colonies", Fraser's Magazine, 19(1839), 261.

[3]A.R.S.I., Angl. 1001b.V: Plowden to Fortis, 16 November 1820.

[4]A.R.S.I., Angl. 1002.V: Brooke to Fortis, 2 August, 1826. Cf. A.S.J., 14/2/9, Transcripts, f. 352: Scott to Hughes, 25 November 1825: "But our Revd. Superior seems still [as] much bent as ever on chapel [building]."

[5] Angl. 1002.V.8: Sewall to Fortis, 16 September 1824. Cf. Angl. 1002.V.3 and 5: Sewall to Fortis, 5 October 1822 and 27 January 1824, and Angl. 1002.I.24: Sewall to Fortis, 25 August 1824.

Sewell replied that, if the Society were to exist at all in England, it must perform "the ordinary functions of our Institute, viz. preaching, instructing and hearing confessions". He did not consider that Jesuits could exist for long in England if they only conducted schools, nor did he think the Vicars Apostolic would accept any other system in which Jesuits could still perform these functions of the Institute. The second objection was that the missions were, in reality, no different from parishes, to hold which was inconsistent with the Institute. Sewall argued that the missions in Britain differed essentially from parishes in that the Jesuit missioners had none of the canonical rights of parish priests, except the faculty of administering the sacraments, "which all Missionaries in heretical countries have". He compared the missions to residences "such as our Missionary Fathers had in the East Indies or South America". Most missions had no certain revenue, being supported by the donations of the faithful, and were placed "not in a Catholic country, but in the midst of Heretics, and are therefore in reality, as well as in name, Missions".[1] The third objection made against missions, especially solitary ones, was that those who served there were "in danger of losing the religious Spirit". Sewall suggested the vigilance of superiors and several specific precautions to guard against these dangers: instructions, inquiry into the missioners' conduct, and an occasional change of mission or a recall into "some regular house of the Society for a time, to renew their spirit". The fourth objection was that more good would be done by fewer and larger missions, but Sewall favoured retaining the present missions and forming new ones. He admitted that, when missions could be placed together without sacrifice, it was desirable to do so, and he approved of the attempt to increase the number of missioners in order to have two whenever they could be supported in the same place. Sewall informed Fortis that, since the suppression of the Jesuits in 1773, about forty missions in England had been surrendered for want of priests to supply them, and some were still without a priest. Sewall believed that

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[1]The Jesuit fear of the cura animarum was threefold: of being placed under episcopal control in a way which would weaken religious obedience; of having to accept stipends for ministerial work; of superiors not being perfectly free to withdraw or change Jesuits. Cf. A.R.S.I., Angl. 1019.I.13: Moore to Meyer, 19 September 1902.

> if we were to give up our present missions, it would be impossible for the VV. AA. to supply them, and the whole Body of Catholics would cry out against us. Should the VV. AA. ever have priests enough to supply all the Missions, and should think of forming Parishes, as they are in Ireland, then would be the time for us to resign our Missions.

Charles Brooke, who succeeded Sewall as Provincial, refused to accept new missions and argued that the missions already served, especially those which were less promising, should willingly be handed over to the Secular clergy. Experience taught, however, that the attempt to effect this often led to difficulties with the laity and the Vicars Apostolic, who praised the Jesuit missioners.[1] Brooke criticized the lax discipline on the missions, which he explained by the foundation of some missions during the difficult years of the suppression. The missioners were under the immediate authority of the Provincial until regional colleges with local superiors were revivified in 1832 by the Provincial, Richard Norris.[2] In 1831, when there were 112 Jesuits in the Province, two-thirds were in the communities at Stonyhurst, four in Preston, four in London and the rest on scattered missions "in ones with here and there a two".[3] It was considered that this experience on the mission made it difficult to return to the regular life of a larger community, and some argued that such work on missions was never contemplated as Jesuit work, since only colleges, residences and professed houses had been envisaged.[4]

The Jesuit presence in the missions was, then, regularly criticized by some in the English Province and by Jesuit authorities in Rome. The Generals argued throughout the century that missions should be retained only where there was the possibility, even remote, that a college might be opened. The English Jesuits were content to surrender some missions, especially distant and solitary ones, but responded

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[1] A.R.S.I., Angl. 1002.V: Brooke to Fortis, 2 August, 30 September and 31 October 1826, and 5 July 1831.

[2] On the need for local superiors, see A.S.J., 14/2/9, Transcripts, f. 254: Scott to Hughes, 25 March 1822.

[3] L.N. XXVI(1901-02), 124.

[4] L.N. XVI(1883), 150. William Waterworth's appointment as Rector in London in 1854, after nine years on the mission at Hereford, was considered to be extraordinary.

that the situation in which the Province worked was unique. These missions, serving isolated Catholics, differed from those in Roman Catholic countries, which had been forbidden in the Jesuit Constitutions as the ordinary work of Jesuits.[1] It was claimed that the Secular clergy needed to be assisted, not only in pastoral work, but also by providing in their midst educated and dedicated priests who might serve as models -- a claim which many, obviously, found offensive. It was argued that the Jesuit colleges in England would flounder if suitable students were not recruited from these missions to be sent for their education. The debate about missions recurred consistently and the arguments did not greatly change, only the locale of the missions under discussion. The missions which Jesuit authorities in Rome thought could be handed over with the greatest ease were sometimes those which the English Jesuits wished to retain, at least for a time.[2] The reasons varied: the mission may have been so poorly cared for that it would be an embarrassment to transfer it in its current state;[3] there may have been some prospect that a district might develop with the coming of the railway or industry;[4] there may have been a debt on the mission, and Jesuit funds needed to be recouped,[5] or the mission may have possessed a large benefaction which enabled other poorer missions to be sustained.[6] The Jesuits were reluctant to abandon or offend patrons and benefactors who had supported the Society in times of hardship, especially when their

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[1] "In colleges of the Society, curacies of souls should not be accepted . . . which may much distract from study and obstruct the purpose which is sought in these colleges in view of the service of God. Similarly, such duties should not be undertaken in the houses or churches of the Professed Society, which as far as possible ought to be left free to accept the missions from the Apostolic See and other works for the service of God and the help of souls." Constitutions, no. 324. Cf. nos. 325 and 588.

[2] E.g., A.R.S.I., Angl. 1005.I.11: Seed to Beckx, 26 February 1863.

[3] P.C., 17-18 January 1860, concerning Ugbrook and Teignmouth; P.C., 16 February 1881 and 11 March 1889 concerning Great Yarmouth. Wigan was said to be "not efficiently supplied" and "the feeling of the people towards our Fathers is not favourable". P.C., 19 July 1878. Pontefract was said to be "in such a state from long neglect that it could not without positive scandal be given up at present". P.C., 16 March and 13 June 1887.

[4] P.C., 3 October 1873, concerning Gillmoss.

[5] P.C., 18 September 1900, concerning Richmond and Yorkshire houses.

[6] P.C., 6-7 April 1857, concerning Ulverstone; P.C., 2 January 1901, concerning Skipton: "Some less important works are important for income".

help might soon be needed again.[1] Pastoral work often suited men who were incapable of teaching, and rural missions could satisfy those who were aged, infirm, content to work there or difficult to place elsewhere.[2] Jesuit pastors questioned whether their flocks would receive better care if the missions were ceded.

There was no uniform opinion among the Jesuits. John Holden, a tertian in France in 1847, was one who discounted the arguments put forward in favour of retaining missions, and believed that the missions led to conflict with the Vicars Apostolic. Holden, who had been a Secular priest before becoming a Jesuit in 1840, claimed that, from his knowledge "of all the Vicars Apostolic except Dr. Griffith [sic.], and my intimate acquaintance with very many of the Secular Clergy in England", the Jesuits could only benefit from giving up these missions or placing them "on a footing more suited to our religious mode of life". He considered that once they had become "real Jesuits", they would be eagerly solicited by the Vicars Apostolic and clergy to give retreats, preach, hear confessions, "which functions are in accordance with the Institute", instead of being "as we now are, objects of envy, from our easy livings, of hatred, from our forbidding and haughty carriage, and nick-named by them the 'Aristocracy' of the Clergy". While admitting that some Vicars Apostolic were prejudiced against the Society, Holden believed that "the prejudices of the generality are honest and their ill-will, even that of Dr. Griffith [sic.] himself, is directed not against the Society so much as against certain members of it who perhaps in some measure deserve it". In his own case, Holden said, Dr. Walsh hesitated for a long time before he gave him permission to enter the Jesuit novitiate, "because he feared (I have

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[1] P.C., 20-21 July 1852: "considering the circumstances in which we are placed and that we might stand in need of the support of the gentry". Cf. P.C., 5 May 1861, 11 November 1862, 17 January 1865, 5 March 1874 and 16 February 1876.

[2] A.R.S.I., Angl. 1005.I.3: Seed to Beckx, 19 February 1861; P.C., 17 February and 9 March 1857. After the establishment of the Board of Education in 1899, "men usefully employed" in missions were unable to teach in colleges because of the training required for registration as teachers. Cf. P.C., 29 September 1904.

it in his own hand-writing) my motive was to obtain a better living or benefice on a Jesuit mission".[1]

LONDON.

This was the precise charge made against the Jesuits when they attempted to obtain a church in London. Thomas Glover was prepared to give up ten country missions for one in a large town: "if we are ever to do any good in England, it is in great towns: 'magnas Ignatius urbes'".[2] The Jesuits conducted a school from 1824 at Marylebone, and some pastoral work was associated with their presence in London.[3] Faculties were given, however, only to a restricted number of Jesuits, who wanted a church which could be served by a community of at least three priests. Two sisters, the Misses Gallini, had built in 1834 the church at St. John's Wood, which they wished to be served by Jesuits, but Randal Lythgoe informed Glover that

> Those of the clergy who are supposed to enjoy his confidence constantly give out that his Lordship [Bramston] will never consent to the Society having an establishment in the London district. In fact the question at issue is simply this . . . are all religious or regular establishments to be for ever excluded from the London District? The Bishop may disguise the question in any way he pleases, but this in reality is the fact. If then the Society is defeated in the present contest, we may give up all hope of ever seeing any of our houses established in London.[4]

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[1] A.R.S.I., Angl. 1003.XI.3: "Substance of a Conversation between an Italian and an English Jesuit, which took place at Paris, about the end of October 1846, on the subject of the Jesuits' Colleges and Residences in England". The handwriting is that of John Holden (1797-1861). This report contains a long description of the many dangers for a Jesuit of life on solitary missions. On Jesuit wealth, see A.S.J., 14/2/9, Transcripts, ff. 247-8: Scott to Hughes, 18 July and 14 November 1820, and T. McCoog, "'Laid Up Treasure': The Finances of the English Jesuits in the Seventeenth Century" in W. J. Shiels and D. Wood (eds.), The Church and Wealth, S.C.H., vol. 24 (Oxford, 1987), pp. 257-8.

[2] Farm Street, 1802-1865, f. 11: Glover to Jenkins, 28 December 1839 (concerning Bristol). Cf. College of St. Ignatius, 1750-1874, f. 189: Glover to Norris, 23 August 1834 (concerning London).

[3] The school closed in 1838. A.S.J., College of St. Ignatius, 1750-1874, ff. 93-123.

[4] A.S.J., College of St. Ignatius, 1750-1874, f. 175: Lythgoe to Glover, 2 May 1834. Cf. ff. 169 and 187: Lythgoe to Glover, 11 April and 7 August 1834; Epist. Gen., I, f. 318: Glover to Lythgoe, 6 August 1839.

Convinced that the Jesuits would "take bread out of [the] mouths of his priests",[1] Dr. Bramston also feared "the danger of giving umbrage to the Government by permitting a regular establishment of the Jesuits in London".[2] Dr. Griffiths, his Coadjutor, had accused the Jesuits of forcing themselves on the Vicar Apostolic. Lythgoe understood that, at Dr. Griffith's consecration, the assembled Vicars Apostolic (with the exception of Dr. Walsh and Dr. Penswick) discussed "how to check the progress of the religious orders in this country".[3]

The Provincial, Richard Norris, favoured pursuing what he believed to be the sisters' just claim to have the Jesuits, but was opposed in this course of action by all his consultors . He reported that they stated:

> we do not think we can usefully serve the mission here, unless we preserve a good understanding with the VV. AA. generally: (for we may expect to find individuals among them sometimes more or less unfavourable to us) and we think this good understanding cannot be preserved, unless they are assured that we shall never attempt to undertake any new mission, nor any new missionary work of any great moment, without their full and willing consent; nor act in any missionary matter, otherwise than in perfect subordination to them.[4]

Norris, however, did not believe that the disinclination of the Vicars Apostolic to admit the Jesuits necessarily implied "that it is the will of God we desist". He wanted to urge the matter "with respectfulness, with temper and with candour", believing that to yield to the Vicars Apostolic at once would look like weakness. Gregory XVI agreed that the London mission should be given to the Jesuits,[5] but Dr. Griffiths, who could not in conscience accept this arrangement, eventually persuaded the sisters, by suggesting that a scandal was growing, to present the church to the Secular clergy.

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[1] A.S.J., College of St. Ignatius, 1750-1874, f. 142: Memorandum of A. G. Knight, recording P. Gallwey's reflections in 1901.

[2] A.S.J., College of St. Ignatius, 1750-1874, f. 220: Lythgoe to Norris, 17 June 1835. Cf. f. 184: Norris to Glover, 24 July 1834.

[3] A.S.J., College of St. Ignatius, 1750-1874, f. 201: Lythgoe to Glover, 13 February 1835. Ambrose Lisle Phillips was "grieved and scandalised and disgusted at this petty dirty despicable jealousy" of the Regular and Secular clergy in London. A.S.J., L.N.J., f. 351: Phillips to Lythgoe, 28 August 1834.

[4] A.S.J., College of St. Ignatius, 1750-1874, f. 187: Norris to Glover, 7 August 1834.

[5] A.S.J., College of St. Ignatius, 1750-1874, f. 240: draft, Lythgoe to Stapleton, July 1835.

Dr. Griffiths, who succeeded as Vicar Apostolic in 1836, was also thought to favour the exclusion of the Regular clergy from central London. When the Jesuits asked for his sanction for a London chapel in 1840, however, he offered them a site in the East End, near Bethnal Green and Hackney, where the people were poor and poorly served by chapels, and the Jesuits' labours would not interfere with others. The Jesuits, however, wanted an establishment in the West End, where they had purchased land in Farm Street in 1841. Having improvidently expended their own resources on building other churches, especially at Bury St. Edmunds and Hereford, they were dependent on benefactors, who would not consent to their building in what John Bird, the Provincial, called "the filthy suburb of Bethnal Green or Hackney", where they would "be banished from London at least from all that is respectable".[1] Bird considered the offer of other localities "an insidious insult", and concluded that as long as the Vicars Apostolic "can refuse us leave to build in any part of London where such a building would be advantageous to the Society they will do so".[2] Dr. Griffiths was convinced that the Jesuits had no wish to serve the poor, but sought a fashionable congregation in an area already well-served;[3] Lythgoe, in fact, believed that he had offered the East End with the expectation that the Jesuits would decline, "that he should thus be able to shew to Rome that the object of the Society was not to do good but to gain money".[4] Lythgoe argued, however, that religion could not make "great progress in this country unless some of the Persons of Property embrace it and for this purpose they must have an opportunity of hearing the Truth",[5] while Glover indicated that London had 30,000 more Catholics than Rome, with considerably fewer chapels.[6]

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[1]Farm Street, 1802-1865: Bird to Glover, 25 July 1840. Cf. f. 28: Bird to Glover, 5 June 1840.
[2]Farm Street, 1802-1865, f. 42: Bird to Jenkins, 20 June 1841. Cf. f. 60: Lythgoe to Glover, 31 December 1842. Lythgoe wrote that the offer was "in mockery to the Society".
[3]Farm Street, 1802-1865, f. 60: Lythgoe to Glover, 31 December 1842.
[4]Farm Street, 1802-1865, f. 34: Lythgoe to Glover, 29 July 1840.
[5]Farm Street, 1802-1835, f. 36: Lythgoe to Glover, 17 April 1841. Norris assured Dr. Walsh that the Jesuits would work equally with the poor as with the rich, and asked to be reprimanded if they did not, and be removed if they did not amend. Farm Street, 1802-1865, f. 3: Walsh to Norris, 12 January 1835 and f. 5: Norris to Walsh, 15 January 1835.
[6]A.S.J., Epist. Gen., I, f. 333: Glover to Lythgoe, 3 January 1843.

The London clergy, who had protested to Rome about the attempt to gain control of the Sardinian Embassy chapel for the Jesuits in 1839,[1] petitioned that only the Secular clergy be appointed Vicars Apostolic.[2] Dr. George Oliver noted that the priest who organized this petition was the President of the Old Brotherhood of the Secular Clergy.[3] Lythgoe explained that

> Their reason for this request is a repetition of all the old stale accusations of Dodd, viz. that the Regulars are great with [scions ?] of Family, that they court them and neglect the Poor, etc. etc.. The fact is that the greatest part of those who come to their duty to me are servants. I have some of the Peers and one member of the House of Commons, but I should starve if I had to depend upon what I receive from them.[4]

Charles Weld wrote to Grassi in Rome in 1844 that Lady Clare had invited a Neapolitan Jesuit to establish a mission for her in London. Weld believed that:

> Dr. Griffiths will hardly dare to refuse faculties . . . and this will be another great step towards trampling down the horrible system of 'exclusive salvation' (which I take to mean that a man can only save his soul if he have a secular, and not a regular confessor) to which the prosperity of the Church and the welfare of innumerable souls are now sacrificed in the London district.[5]

Cardinal Acton's report to Propaganda on the dispute surrounding the Jesuits' attempt to enter Liverpool stated that Liverpool and London were not isolated incidents, and raised the general question of "whether or not, and how far religious corporations may be allowed to settle in the great towns of England".[6] A petition in favour of the Jesuits in

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[1]A.S.J., Epist. Gen., I, f. 323: Glover to Lythgoe, 9 November 1839. Glover did not know by whom the proposal was made, and had serious reservations.

[2]A Most Humble Supplication and Declaration of the Secular Priests Exercising the Functions of the Apostolic Mission in the London District (1840), cited in S. Gilley, "The Roman Catholic Mission to the Irish in London", R.H., 10(1969), 130. This article, pp. 123-145, provides some background to the St. John's Wood and Farm Street disputes. Cf. A.R.S.I., Angl. 1003.XVI.22: Brownbill to Roothaan, 27 April 1843.

[3]A.S.J., DK/3: Oliver to [ ], 31 January 1843. Although not a Jesuit, Oliver wrote of "My superiors" and "our province". A.S.J., L.N.J., f. 247: Oliver to Glover, 1 December 1822. He was the missioner in Exeter from 1807 until his retirement in 1851. Gillow, IV. 213-17; D.N.B., XLII. 142-3.

[4]Farm Street, 1802-1865, f. 25: Lythgoe to Glover, 30 May 1840.

[5]A.R.S.I., Angl. 1003.V.8: Weld to Grassi, 4 June 1844.

[6]Farm Street, 1802-1865, f. 53: Glover to Lythgoe, 18 September 1841. For Acton's reports, see A.R.S.I., Angl. 1013.III.6 (on Liverpool) and 20 (on London).

London (drawn up by Lythgoe and signed by members of old Catholic families, headed by Lords Stourton and Petre) was presented in Rome by Sir John Lawson in 1844. Dr. Griffiths claimed that the signatories were wealthy and from outside London, and proceeded to Rome, accompanied by Dr. Cox, the President of Old Hall, to protest.

A chapel could not be built without the Vicar Apostolic's consent, but, if consent was refused, sufficient reason needed to given. Propaganda finally permitted the Jesuit church to be built on the Farm Street site, but without the rights of a mission.[1] An annual payment was to be made to the Vicar Apostolic and to the nearby Warwick Street chapel, which would be affected, and the Jesuits were required to serve a poor district "as a counterpoise to our position in Farm Street among the rich".[2] Some Jesuits considered these conditions hard and shameful and a "manifestation of the Spirit of mammon".[3] The General disapproved of the conditions at first, because he considered that the Jesuits would be unable to "preach Christianity without begging", but was later convinced by Cardinal Acton's arguments.[4] Lythgoe accepted the conditions so that the Jesuits would "then be able to labour for the salvation amongst all classes".[5] Dr. Griffiths refused to lay the foundation stone of the church, which was opened in 1849 with Wiseman preaching on the catastrophe that the suppression of the Jesuits had been for the Church. Wiseman supported the Regulars against his own clergy, but was disappointed that they did not work with the poor, as he had expected. He wrote that Farm Street "by its splendour attracts and absorbs the wealth of two parishes, but maintains no schools, and contributes nothing to the education of the poor at its very

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[1]Farm Street, 1802-1865, f. 63: Acton to Lythgoe, 25 April 1843. There was no objection made in practice to visiting the sick or administering the last sacraments.
[2]A.R.S.I., Angl. 1021.Ic.8, Colley to Meyer, 12 January 1901. The responsibility for the mission in Horseferry Road, Westminster, was given in 1851. The lay trustees of the Warwick Street chapel feared encroachment from Farm Street. P.C., 4 February 1850.
[3]Farm Street, 1802-1865, f. 66: Glover to Lythgoe, 30 April 1843. Glover favoured rejecting the conditions, and employing the Jesuits as writers: "When the Catholics of London shall deserve the services of the Society God will remove all obstacles".
[4]Farm Street, 1802-1865, f. 69: Weld to Lythgoe, 28 May 1843. Cf. f. 71: Weld to Lythgoe, 1 June 1843: "when the voice of a preacher is drowned in the begging box an English audience never tries to understand his argument".
[5]Farm Street, 1802-1865, f. 74: Lythgoe to Acton, 15 June 1843.

door".[1] The work at the mission in Westminster, however, was not insignificant. In 1852, for example, Farm Street counted 11,811 confessions, 44 converts and 137 "reclaimed" (that is, "brought back to the practice of religion"), while the little-known Westminster mission counted 5,430 confessions, 29 converts and 460 "reclaimed" (many, presumably, from the prisons at Millbank and Tothill Fields, the workhouse or the hospitals, whose Jesuit chaplains lived at Westminster).[2]

These missions in large towns began to be viewed more favourably than smaller missions. John Holden thought that the Jesuit General had been misled in being advised to maintain so many small missions and needed to be acquainted with the evil. Holden recommended strong action: that the General should "throw into the English Province a little foreign leven [sic.]" -- "some Jesuits of other nations, and amongst others a keen Frenchman or two of tried virtue and sufficient acquirements be mixed with the English Province", in order to see it "in a more satisfactory state". Holden did not press for the abandonment of all missions, for he admitted that, in towns where the Jesuits lived together and had a considerable congregation, much good was done. He recommended that if missions could not be regulated, they should be turned over to the Bishops "as being perfectly unsuited to the mode of life which a Jesuit ought to lead, and sometimes very detrimental".[3]

Similar arguments against the Jesuits' maintaining small missions were used fifty years later by Thomas Lyons, the missioner at Rhyl.[4] He claimed that, through "harassing parochial work and other excuses", there was "much deterioration of the spiritual life" as well as neglect of recollection and of serious study. Moreover, the missions "seem to produce in our young Fathers a growing worldly spirit -- an unwillingness to be guided by superiors, a craving for ease and creature comforts".

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[1] Wiseman to Faber, 27 October 1852, cited in E. Purcell, Life of Cardinal Manning, Archbishop of Westminster (1896), II. 3. [Hereafter, Purcell.]

[2] H. Roper, Farm Street Church (1960), p. 5. Some priests had a conscientious objection to making known the number of penitents reclaimed. P.C., 23 February 1887.

[3] A.R.S.I., Angl. 1003.XI.3: J. Holden, "Substance of a conversation . . ."

[4] A.R.S.I., Angl. 1017.I.103: excerpts cited by Chandlery from a letter of Lyons, c. 1897. Lyons (1837-1918) worked on several missions. Cf. L.N., XXXIV(1917-18), 133-5.

Bishops and the Secular clergy did not hold Jesuits generally in high esteem, he wrote, because of their style of work on such missions. Jesuits were very little known in Yorkshire, Surrey, and the Midland counties, because "most of our strength is wasted on small missions (chiefly in Lancashire)", whereas "effort should be made to make ourselves felt in towns like Birmingham, Leeds, Bradford, Sheffield, Newcastle, etc. -- where there is ample room for us". Not only did Lyons consider that the administration of the Province suffered because of the difficulty of finding superiors for so many residences, but he denied the claim that the smaller missions furnished vocations to the Society or many boys for the colleges. The novices, he said, were recruited mainly from the colleges, from large cities and from the ranks of professional men.[1] Lyons further suggested that a more healthy spirit would exist among the scholastics if work on these small missions was diminished, since they questioned their long course of study as preparation for such work.

THE ACCEPTANCE OF MISSIONS

As long as Jesuits remained on the mission, they were forced to consider which missions they should accept and which they should surrender to the Bishops. Missions were offered in various ways. In the early years of the century, the Vicars Apostolic, in their shortage of clergy, sought Jesuits to work on their missions. Dr. Baines in 1826, for example, requested a Jesuit for the Salisbury mission, which had been served by Jesuits until they were replaced by a French émigré priest during the suppression.[2] A Bishop could issue the invitation, as in Manchester in 1866, despite the complaints of the local clergy. An individual benefactor could build or endow a church, and invite the Jesuits to staff it: the church at Brough, for example, was built at the sole expense of Sir William Lawson in 1834-36. In Liverpool, a group of the laity formed a society in

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[1]Lyons listed the missions which "furnish few or no subjects to Society": Rhyl, Wakefield, Skipton, Denbigh, Bedford Leigh, Richmond, Prescot, Accrington, Wardour, Worcester, Clitheroe, Blackpool, Holy Cross St. Helen's, Wigan, Galashiels, Dalkeith, Selkirk and Bury St. Edmunds.

[2]Baines to Tristram, 6 April 1826, cited in T. G. Holt, "An Establishment at Salisbury. Some Letters concerning Catholicism in the City 1795-1834", R.H., 18(1986), 108. The Jesuits could not provide a priest, but provided financial assistance.

1840 to erect a church "to be presented to the President of Stonyhurst College . . . whose predecessors were once the only Catholic Missionaries in Liverpool",[1] but they had asked the approval neither of the Vicar Apostolic nor of the Jesuits. Dr. Briggs refused consent, but on Dr. Brown's appointment to the new Vicariate of Lancashire in 1840, agreement was given to erect a church. This led to an appeal to Rome by those who disapproved of the new church and its clergy. After Cardinal Acton's intervention, Propaganda decided in 1842 that the church could be opened after a delay of six years (to obviate any pecuniary loss to the existing chapels), but that the Jesuits could not conduct baptisms, marriages nor funerals and should pay a yearly tax to the Bishop. While the church was being constructed, however, the Bishop agreed that it could operate as a parochial church.[2]

Numerous requests to the Jesuits could not be met. In 1850, for example, some Catholics in Sheffield petitioned the Provincial for priests to serve a chapel being built there. The Provincial directed them to send "a respectable petition to the Bishop to allow the same", but, when Dr. Briggs declined, the consultors decided that "no further steps can be taken at present and that this should be intimated to our friends, thanking them for their kind efforts on our behalf".[3] An offer was made of a mission in Birmingham in 1858 when the Jesuits were seeking openings in large cities. With the Oratorians already established, the Provincial judged that the Jesuits would need to spend a large amount of money. Although the Bishop was very willing to receive them, the local clergy, "among whom it has been said that we are forcing ourselves upon the place", were not, so the Jesuits decided that "this was not the time or place for us".[4] Within a mission conducted by the Jesuits, a group could request a church in its own district. The Jesuits saw that effective pastoral care often meant building additional

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[1]Before the supression, all priests in Liverpool were Jesuits. The Benedictines took over the mission in 1783, but there was an ex-Jesuit presence until 1813.

[2]N. Ryan, St. Francis Xavier's Church Centenary (Liverpool) 1848-1848 (Liverpool, 1948), pp. 19-21. Cf. M. Whitehead, "The English Jesuits and Episcopal Authority: the Liverpool Test Case, 1840-1843", R.H., 18(1986), 197-219, who stresses the importance of the case.

[3]P.C., 5 November 1850 and 4 March 1851.

[4]P.C., 26 July 1858. Cf. A.S.J., L.B.C., II, f. 116: Waterworth ms., n.d.; P.C., 3 December 1851.

chapels, which would, in time, become separate missions, "likely to prove a great burden".[1] There were five Jesuit churches in Bournemouth, four in Wimbledon and two in Oxford before new missions were created.

THE SURRENDER OF MISSIONS.

While some missions were accepted, others were handed to the Bishops. In 1824, for example, Nicholas Sewall withdrew the Jesuits from Durham, after he and the President of Ushaw decided that one chapel was enough to serve the town, and Sewall disliked the idea of drawing lots to see which party should withdraw. Even when the Jesuits were convinced that it was opportune to cede a mission, it could be difficult to have the Bishop accept it. The Bishop of Nottingham, in one instance, wished to have the mission of Lincoln in 1842, but was not in a position to accept it until 1868.[2] He had promised to receive it in 1859, but repeatedly delayed by pointing to the needs of his diocese and his lack of priests. On the other hand, the Jesuits only reluctantly withdrew from Norwich in 1880 to enable the Duke of Norfolk to build a new church to be served by the Secular clergy.[3]

In 1859 the consultors confirmed that "our policy at present should be to concentrate our FF [Fathers] in communities rather than scatter them".[4] They noted in 1873 that conditions had changed since the time when Aquaviva, the General, had tried to secure in England a chain of missions to enable the missioners to help and comfort each other. Large towns such as Liverpool, they said, "were better nurseries for ours than country missions". They suggested offering to the Bishops some small missions, "where there was little prospect of a great increase", to try to obtain churches in large towns.[5] There was still a variety of opinion. One consultor in 1881 considered that "as soon as a mission had been brought to the stage of being able to stand by itself, it should

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[1] P.C., 16 February 1896.
[2] P.C., 22 June 1842.
[3] P.C., 5 April, 4 August, 9 and 29 September and 29 December 1880.
[4] P.C., 17 February and 9 March 1857. Cf. A.R.S.I., Angl. 1005.I.11: Seed to Beckx, 26 February 1863, and P.C., 9 January 1873.
[5] P.C., 3 October 1873.

be given up to the Bishop", an opinion which supported the General's view that outlying missions should not be accepted "unless we do it as an act of charity to the Bishop, and with the understanding we are preparing the place for him".[1] With few Jesuits, and expanding works, choices were inevitable. In 1882 a consultor expressed the view that small missions in England should be given up rather than "permit the fearful spiritual destitution in Honduras", where many died without help from a priest. The Provincial replied, however, that the General had refused to allow priests to be withdrawn from small missions because of the delicate issue of episcopal inspection of mission accounts in the aftermath of Romanos Pontifices,[2] and the other consultors considered that work in England ought not to be damaged for the sake of Honduras. It was clear that attitudes were hardening, as the English Jesuits considered that their urgent representations of the insufficiency of their numbers for fulfilling obligations at home and abroad had not been heard.[3] The General's normal policy was that Jesuit work on missions was merely provisional: "the non-multiplication of Parochial charges is a fixed and immutable decision".[4] When Anderledy, after an initial refusal, consented in 1887 that the offer of a mission at Wimbledon be accepted, it was on condition that other missions be relinquished. The consultors believed that they could meet the General's wishes "without any hurried or violent surrender of missions", and questioned whether the General fully understood that "that our status in England is missionary and not parochial at all".[5] The English Province delegates to the 24th General Congregation in 1892 attempted to have the missions "recognised as the genuine work of the Society".[6]

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[1] P.C., 6 July 1881 and 8 February 1882.
[2] P.C., 15 March and 26 April 1882. The consultors decided that Gilmoss, with a dwindling congregation and no prospect of development, should be handed to the Bishop.
[3] P.C., 11 October 1882.
[4] A.S.J., Purbrick Letters, f. 135: Purbrick to [ ], 8 April 1887.
[5] P.C., 3 September and 6 October 1891. Cf. P.C., 29 September 1904.
[6] A.R.S.I., Angl. 1017.I.104: De statu rerum in Anglia, summarised by Chandlery in 1907 in "Notes on the English Province". Cf. A.S.J., 19/3/6, f. 179: Postulatum.

It was clearly intended to attempt to move from the smaller missions to urban missions where colleges could also be established. In commenting on the state of the Province around 1896, John Gerard, who was to be appointed Provincial the following year, suggested the possibility of offering the Bishop of Birmingham the church and residence in Worcester in exchange for a chapel and college in Birmingham, the Bishop of Leeds the church and residence at Wakefield in exchange for a church and college in Leeds or Bradford, the Bishop of Middlesbrough the church in Richmond for a church and college in Middlesbrough or some other large town, the Bishop of Salford the church and residence at Bedford Leigh for a College in Manchester, and wrote of the possibility of colleges at Brighton, Bristol, Edinburgh and Bournemouth.[1] While the suggestions were highly impractical, not least because of the want of Jesuits, Gerard's intentions were obvious. Convinced that there would be a request to provide help on a large scale in Wales, the consultors considered that it was "not a kind of enterprise of which we should make very much, even if we had -- as we have not -- the men and money. Certainly it would not be according to our vocation to establish little missions all over Wales".[2]

As Rector in Manchester, Bernard Vaughan had, in addition to his own community, the Jesuits in six smaller missions in his care. He informed the General that none of these small missions in his College "is what Your Paternity would regard as in any sense needful or even particularly desirable for a Jesuit Province".[3] Vaughan commented in 1899 that one Jesuit, "an excellent religious", was "not the type of man to put over Ours" because he was "too parochial, wanting in width and largeness", and Vaughan warned of the "great danger of our men becoming local, limited in their thoughts and ambitions to the square mile within the area of their scanty Parish". Vaughan concluded that, in all these missions, "there is wanting a little more of the

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[1] A.R.S.I., Angl. 1017.I.104: De statu rerum in Anglia.
[2] P.C., 25 July 1895. Cf. P.C., 6 January 1897 and 25 August 1898.
[3] A.R.S.I., Angl. 1018.XI.14: Vaughan to Martin, 19 January 1898. The missions which came under the Manchester Rector were St. Helen's (Lowe House and Holy Cross), Portico, Ditton, Prescot and Bedford Leigh.

fire, the dash, and the spring of the Apostle". His own work in the large mission in Manchester offered considerably wider scope to develop this vibrancy.[1]

In 1898 Michael King, the Socius to John Gerard, wrote to the General about what he understood to be English pragmatism. He explained that the Jesuits of the English Province were in agreement with the General about the criteria for the choice of ministries. Both desired efficient colleges which would have a marked influence on the country and agreed that small, and even large, missions should be surrendered if they stood in the way of attaining this ideal. Both wanted Jesuits living in large communities, with large churches, in such towns as Manchester, Birmingham, Edinburgh, Liverpool and Leeds -- towns which could become centres of intellectual life. Both would like to have a staff of writers and missioners "ready to combat error":

> But it is an ideal which it will take years and years to perfect. It must of necessity be slow work if it is to be lasting work. It is no good to pull down the old building before the new one is built. Much good missionary work is being done, and the influence of the Society extended, by men who could do but little work in Colleges . . . It seems to me (with all possible respect I say it) that your Paternity looks rather to what should be done, and we look to what can be done. All that can be done is I think being done towards the realization of the ideal before both our minds.[2]

He argued that closing all the small missions would not strengthen the colleges, nor was it possible to staff new colleges or find the pupils for them.

The consultors thought that the General suspected them of timidity in not opening more colleges, did not understand the difficulty they had in staffing the existing ones, and should be made to understand "the very peculiar position of the Church in England and consequently of our Province".[3] They considered that representations should be made against the idea that colleges "constituted the primary or only work which the Society should take in hand", because of the danger "of our

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[1]A.R.S.I., Angl. 1018.XI.16: Vaughan to Martin, 31 January 1899. Cf. Angl. 1019.I.1, which cites Vaughan's letter of January 1901.
[2]A.R.S.I., Angl. 1017.I.101: King to Martin, July 1898. On King, see L.N. XLVII (1932), 64-73. Cf. P.C., 11 June 1897, after the General had ordered the surrender of several smaller missions.
[3]P.C., 18 January 1898.

being held to be a literary rather than an apostolic body".[1] They thought that the surrender of two or three missions each year was too precipitate, and that the General would be satisfied with the closure of one mission each year, even when such closures would be ones which were forced upon them. While prepared to surrender some rural missions, they wanted to ask the Bishop of Leeds, for instance, "to let us into some larger towns and we will hold the small missions to help him for the present".[2] In 1902 the Provincial Congregation forwarded to Rome a postulatum that the missions should be retained, because of the fear of the loss of influence, the loss of students in Jesuit colleges and the loss of vocations to the Society.[3] At the 1902 Congregation of Procurators in Rome, their representative was asked to explain

> the necessity of keeping in touch with the Catholics in England for their sake and our own with the consequent duty of not relinquishing the work we have unless it can be replaced by something better. Although a large town is preferable to a small one that does not prevent the large town plus the small one being preferable to the large one alone.[4]

The General warned the English Province to expect to have their missions "divided and diminished without mercy" by the Bishops, and advised them to win favour by some voluntary surrenders. The consultors, alienated from Jesuit authorities in Rome because of misunderstanding about the liberal tendencies of the Province, also thought it was folly to trust the gratitude of Bishops and diocesan chapters for future openings: "Probably Father General only meant it for an obiter dictum".[5]

These deliberations about the most appropriate work for Jesuits in the United Kingdom, and about their presence on the missions, continued throughout the century. They were, in the first instance, conducted among the Jesuits themselves. Their continued presence on the missions, however, and their desire to consolidate their

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[1] P.C., 17 January 1899. Cf. P.C., 25 February and 7 November 1899.
[2] P.C., 18 September 1900 and 2 January 1901.
[3] A.R.S.I., Angl. 1019.I.13: Moore to Meyer, 19 September 1902. Moore and John Clayton were critical of the Provincial and were Meyer's informants. Cf. A.R.S.I., Angl. 1019.II.5 and 6: Murphy to Meyer, 9 March 1904 and Clayton to Meyer, 9 March 1904.
[4] P.C., 9 Sept 1902.
[5] P.C., 17 November 1903.

work in the larger towns, meant increased involvement with the Bishops, whose concern these missions were. The Bishops' concern was largely undisputed by the Jesuits, and was accepted more amicably than episcopal intervention in the disputed questions concerning exemptions, which will be discussed in the following chapter.

JESUITS AND BISHOPS.

Despite these disagreements and disputes, it should not be thought that the relations between Jesuits and Bishops were always confrontative. Vicars Apostolic and Bishops often expressed their admiration for the Society and their appreciation of its assistance in missionary labours. While there is an element of the pro forma about many of these testimonials, it should not be presumed that they were insincere.[1] Dr. George Brown, the Vicar Apostolic of the Lancashire District, for example, had been hostile to the Jesuits' return to Liverpool and imposed restrictions on them in subsequent years. Yet he wrote to Randal Lythgoe, the Provincial, in 1842, soon after Propaganda had consented to the building of the Jesuit church:

> I beg to assure you that it is [my] most urgent wish to cultivate a friendly and harmonious intercourse with all the Clergy in my district especially with those of Your Society among whom I can number so many Personal friends, whose virtues have secured my sincere respect and whose zealous and edifying attention to the sacred duties of the ministry merits all praise. In thus expressing myself, I do no more that give utterance to the sentiments which I really feel towards the members of your Society and which I have never failed to express to everyone in authority here [in Rome], as often as the occasion of doing so presented itself.[2]

Many similar examples of commendation of Jesuit cooperation could be given.[3]

Jesuits not only staffed missions but also served as confessors and conducted retreats for the Secular clergy at the requests of Bishops. In 1853, to take only a single

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[1]For an extravagant example, see A.R.S.I., Angl. 1019.XI.1b: Thomas Wilkinson, Bishop of Hexham and Newcastle, to Browne, 28 May 1901.

[2]Brown to Lythgoe, 14 May 1842, cited in A.R.S.I., Angl. 1004.XII.1: Lythgoe to Roothaan, 27 December 1849. Cf. Angl. 1004.VI.2: Grant to Etheridge, 11 October 1853. Grant had informed Lythgoe that he would not have in his diocese any priest "who had quitted the Society". Angl. 1004.II.17: Barrow to Etheridge, 18 August 1853.

[3]E.g., A.R.S.I., Angl. 1004.VI.11: Wiseman to Beckx, 5 April 1858; Angl. 1005.IX.6, where Manning praised the mission in Westminster, 14 October 1865.

year, Thomas Tracy Clark preached the London clergy retreats for both the Westminster and Southwark dioceses, and James Clare the retreat for the Salford clergy.[1] Jesuits were called upon to conduct missions in churches throughout the country. Gerard Manley Hopkins, who took part in one during Lent of 1882, described it as "something like a Revival without the hysteria and the heresy".[2] The Jesuits conducted their first public mission in London, at Dr. Whitty's invitation, at Moorfields in 1852, and, on an average, conducted around 30 missions each year. Between 1862 and 1865, for example, besides their ordinary work at Farm Street, the London Jesuits conducted missions at the Pro-cathedral at Moorfields, St. Georges's Cathedral, Islington, Clerkenwell, Bermondsey, Lincoln's-Inn-Fields, Greenwich, Fulham, Westminster and a score of other places, besides preaching clergy and convent retreats, 118 in all.[3]

Jesuits and Bishops not only shared the labours of the missions, but also were united by family bonds. Bernard, Roger,[4] John[5] and Herbert Vaughan were brothers, and nephews of William Vaughan, Bishop of Plymouth (who was the nephew of Cardinal Weld). William Amherst (himself rumoured to be about to be appointed a Bishop in Scotland[6]) was the brother of Francis Kerril Amherst, Bishop of Northampton from 1858 to 1879. Arthur Knight, Socius to the Provincial between 1881-1898 and 1901-1908, was one of the two Jesuit brothers of Edmund Knight, Bishop of Shrewsbury from 1882 to 1895.[7] Robert Brindle, Bishop of Nottingham from 1901-1915, who died in retirement in the Jesuit college at Mount Saint Mary's, had three Jesuit uncles. William

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[1]A.R.S.I., Angl. 1004.II.14: Barrow to Etheridge, 17 June 1853. The London retreats were arranged by Dr. Whitty. There were occasional complaints, e.g. Dr. Brown of Shrewsbury in 1865 concerning a retreat given by William Eyre. A.S.J., Letters of Bishops and Cardinals, 1840-1891 [hereafter, L.B.C., II], f. 348: Brown to Weld, 13 June 1865.

[2]Hopkins to Bridges, 3 April 1882 in The Letters of Gerard Manley Hopkins to Robert Bridges, C. C. Abbott (ed.),(1935; 1955 edn.), p. 143.

[3]The removal of priests to assist with Lenten missions was considered to be detrimental to Jesuit churches, at the busiest time of the year. P.C., 2 March 1891.

[4]Monk of Downside and Archbishop of Sydney.

[5]A Carthusian for a time, and Bishop of Sebastopolis and Auxiliary in Salford, 1909-15.

[6]A.S.J., BU/13: F. K. Amherst to W. Amherst, 11 December 1877.

[7]A.R.S.I., Angl. 1019.VII.2: Knight to Martin, 10 January 1905. Cf. Angl. 1019.VII.3: Knight to Martin, 25 June 1905. Knight ordained over 250 Jesuits at St. Beuno's.

Eyre was the brother of Charles Eyre, Vicar Apostolic of the Western District of Scotland in 1868 and Archbishop of Glasgow from 1878. These, and many other, familiar relationships tempered disagreements and polarization.

The Jesuit Constitutions forbade the acceptance of dignities or prelacies, unless compelled by the Pope.[1] There were attempts, nevertheless, to have Jesuits appointed Bishops. In 1854 the General wished to send John Larkin, a Jesuit from the United States, to England "in order to escape a Bishoprick". While the Jesuits of the English Province were ready to welcome him, they were reluctant to send a Jesuit to the United States as his replacement, on the ground that "even here Fr. Larkin might be appointed Bishop".[2] Apart from appointments in foreign missions (where English Province Jesuits served as Archbishop of Bombay and as Vicars Apostolic in British Guiana, Jamaica, Honduras and on the Zambesi mission), Jesuits were occasionally suggested for appointments to English, Welsh and Scottish sees. John Morris, for example, was listed on the terna for the Diocese of Southwark in 1885,[3] and Bernard Vaughan was proposed for a Welsh see in 1895, and rumoured, at various times, to be about to be appointed to Salford, Bombay and Toronto. When the General refused permission for Vaughan to accept the Welsh diocese, Vaughan, in fact, was relieved and stressed that he did not seek such ecclesiastical dignity.[4] Edward Purbrick and H. S. Kerr declined the see of Bombay, on the grounds of health, before George Porter was appointed in 1886, and

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[1] Constitutions, nos. 817-818. The one exception Ignatius Loyola allowed was bishoprics in mission lands, where there was no danger of ambition or gain. Cf. pp. 334-5. Ignatius wrote in 1546 that he believed the acceptance of bishoprics would be "one of the best, if not the best of all" means of ruining the Society. W. J. Young (ed.), Letters of St. Ignatius Loyola (Chicago, 1959), p. 112.

[2] P.C., 23 June 1854. Larkin, born in England of Irish parents, and a former Sulpician, had been named Bishop of Toronto, Canada, in 1848, but succeeded in having the appointment rescinded.

[3] A.R.S.I., Angl. 1006.V.1: S.C. de Prop. Fide, "Ristretto con Sommario sulla nomine del Vescovo di Southwark in Inghilterra, Giugno 1885."

[4] A.R.S.I., Angl. 1018.XI.3: Vaughan to Martin, 21 July 1895, and 1018.II.32, where Charles de Vere Beauclerk, the missioner at Holywell (who was caricatured by Frederick Rolfe [Baron Corvo] in Hadrian VII), was also mentioned as a possible appointment for Wales. Vaughan wrote that Manning tried to persuade him to enter "the Noble College instead of the Noviceship". Cf. C. C. Martindale, Bernard Vaughan S.J. (1923), pp. 66 and 165.

James Hayes declined the see in 1891.[1] There were other requests, in England as elsewhere. Anderledy, the Vicar General, even ordered prayers in 1887 against "the impending calamity of multiplied dignities" throughout the Society.[2]

The popular conception of the tight discipline and efficient organization of the Jesuits, tending to partisan exclusivity, was much exaggerated. Some Jesuits supported a Bishop in his disagreement with a Jesuit. In 1888 the Professors of Theology at St.Beuno's agreed with the Bishop of Shrewsbury's theological objections to Augustus Dignam's promotion of some aspects of devotion to the Sacred Heart.[3] Jesuits differed in their estimation of Vicars Apostolic or Bishops, as Vicars Apostolic and Bishops differed in their estimation of individual Jesuits and the Society. To take only the example of Glasgow, between 1863 and 1867 most of the Jesuits supported the Irish Coadjutor, Dr. James Lynch, against Dr. Gray, the Vicar Apostolic of the Western District. Robert Whitty, however, the Superior in Scotland (himself suggested by Irish priests as a possible Bishop), kept Manning, the Visitor Apostolic, informed of the situation and warned him against George Lambert, the Glasgow superior and Lynch's confidant.[4]

Not only did Jesuits disagree with each other, and Provincials with decisions of their predecessors, but occasionally a Provincial could find himself in the position of being unable to carry out what a predecessor had decided. In 1854, for instance, Joseph Johnson wrote to Bishop Errington of Plymouth of his reluctance to accept the charge of the mission of Teignmouth which the former Provincial, John Etheridge, had sanctioned. Johnson explained his difficulty in providing for the colleges and missions already in Jesuit hands and considered that "we ought not to bind ourselves to

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[1] A.R.S.I., Angl. 1007.VII.4, G. Porter *to* Anderledy, 28 December 1886; A.S.J., DG/4: Purbrick to S.M. Berchmans, 13 November 1889; Angl., 1007.VII.8, Hayes to Anderledy, 21 February 1891

[2] P.C., 12 January 1887. Cf. P.C., 5 December 1890: "It is the duty of the English Province as hardest hit to take the initiative".

[3] P.C., 3 September 1888. Dignam was the confidant of Fanny Margaret Taylor and the director of the Apostleship of Prayer based at St. Helen's.

[4] See V. A. McClelland, "The Irish Clergy and Cardinal Manning's Visitation of the Western District of Scotland 1867", Catholic Historical Review, 53(1967), 1-27 and 229-250. On a later disagreement over Bishop Mackintosh, see A.R.S.I., Angl. 1020.II.22 and 29: Campbell to Wernz, July 1912 and Hanson to Wernz, 4 January 1913. Cf. Angl. 1020.II.25 and 31: MacMahon to Wernz, 9 January and 3 July 1913.

undertake new solitary Missions".[1] Errington suggested that, for the sake of the benefactor, the mission be taken on trial, as the missioner could live with another Jesuit on the mission at Ugbrooke. He accepted that the Jesuits could then withdraw if they found the mission a burden, "or in your opinion not worth a priest, whilst you had other more numerous congregations to supply".[2] At Johnson's request, Errington signed an agreement that "in consideration of the uncertainty of the permanent success" of the mission, future Provincials "shall be at full liberty to resign the said mission, or quit it, when they respectively shall judge it expedient".[3]

The surrender of the mission at Exeter provided another example of different policies being pursued by Provincials. Bishop William Vaughan approached Peter Gallwey, the Provincial, about the mission at Exeter in 1870, as there had been rumours of the Jesuits' withdrawal, and the Bishop considered the mission to be poorly served.[4] The Jesuit consultors were willing to surrender the mission, and secured the General's formal approval. The negotiations were nearly completed when Robert Whitty, the newly appointed Provincial, visited Vaughan to express what he said was the widespread regret in the Province that the mission was to be surrendered. Vaughan was extremely annoyed, and attributed "this sudden love for Exeter on the part of some of the fathers to pique arising from a false reporting that I intend to yield Exeter to the Benedictine Fathers".[5] Vaughan claimed that it was evident that the demands of large establishments meant that the Jesuits could not give much consideration to small missions such as Exeter. He believed they contemplated relinquishing it, as they already had given up the missions of Teignmouth and Ugbrook in his diocese, against his wishes and without consulting him. This uncertainty about Exeter, Vaughan wrote,

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[1] A.S.J., L.B.C., II, f. 301: Johnson to Errington, 1 July 1854.
[2] A.S.J., L.B.C., II, f. 303: Errington to Johnson, 7 July 1854.
[3] A.S.J., L.B.C., II, f. 297: Errington to Johnson, 18 May 1854. Cf. P.C., 25-27 July 1859, on the rumour of Errington's appointment to Calcutta: "his Grace has been in the habit of giving great troubles to Regulars".
[4] A.S.J., DK/3: Vaughan to Whitty, 30 August 1870.
[5] A.S.J., L.B.C., II, f. 310: Vaughan to Whitty, 19 September 1871. Vaughan denied that Exeter had been offered to the Benedictines. A.S.J., DK/3: Hobson to Myers, 18 August 1871.

and his conscientious desire to do what he believed was best for his diocese, prompted him to ask for the mission. He denied feeling any hostility towards the Jesuits , with whom he claimed to have always been on the most friendly terms, and denied that financial considerations played any part in his decision. He did not wish to incur the odium of dismissing the Jesuits, but asked for the mission to be handed over, "bringing to a point what had long been contemplated".[1]

John Morris replied on behalf of Whitty that the Jesuits did not believe there was any hostile animus or jealousy on the part of the Bishop towards the Society, nor did they believe the story about the Benedictines. They had not kept from Vaughan the knowledge of the strong feeling in the Province that the mission should be retained, and were still prepared to yield the mission if the Bishop asked for it.[2] Should the Bishop leave it in Jesuit hands, Whitty undertook to place two priests there, and remove the uncertainty about the Jesuit commitment to the mission. Vaughan replied that the principle concerning the transfer had been agreed between himself and the Provincial and his advisers, before external pressure had been applied by those who "have at most but a limited and perhaps one-sided knowledge of the facts and circumstances that have influenced and decided the question".[3] He did not believe that the Jesuits could do for the Exeter mission what they had an inclination to do, and hoped that the disagreement,

> as with lovers' quarrels . . . may tend to cement the friendship that has long existed between us, and I trust that the day may come when the Society may open an Establishment in the Diocese of Plymouth that may instruct youth, receive Priests for their retreats and be able to go forth to all parts of the Diocese giving Missions and Retreats whenever called.

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[1]Vaughan claimed that some Jesuits said that he disliked Religious and was attempting to drive them from his diocese. A.S.J., L.B.C, II, f. 321: W. Vaughan to Whitty, 22 November 1871.

[2]A.S.J., L.B.C., II, f. 314: Morris to W. Vaughan, 29 September 1871. Cf. L.B.C, II, f. 320: W. Vaughan to Whitty, 23 October 1871.

[3]A.S.J., L.B.C., II, f. 316: W. Vaughan to Whitty, 11 October 1871.

Whitty agreed to hand over the mission, still insisting that the "uncertainty arose from your Lordship's well known wish to take the mission and not from any want of good will on the part of the Society to keep it".[1]

During the difficulties associated with the restoration of the Jesuits in England, Nicholas Sewall wrote in 1822 to Fortis that "Your Paternity's advice . . . to conduct ourselves with the greatest prudence, civility and submission to our VV. App., shall, as much as I can do, be observed by all".[2] Provincials were sensitive to maintaining good relations with Bishops and Secular missioners, and usually intervened with Jesuit missioners long before a Bishop's formal complaint made it necessary.[3] Peter Gallwey, for instance, enquired of Henry Everard in Liverpool in 1875 whether a missioner, William Kay, was so unpopular with the Secular clergy that he should be removed. Everard replied that Kay was frequently invited to preach in Secular churches, "which would hardly be the case if he were so much disliked". Although Kay was dogmatic and meddled in the domestic affairs of the laity, Everard wrote that

> whether this is sufficient cause for his removal it is for your Reverence to judge . . . if it were known that the Bishop had any hand in his removal I think it would cause a great outcry against his Lordship himself -- and would all be put down to jealousy.[4]

The intervention of Bishops, whether mild or severe, usually concerned the effectiveness of missioners. Dr. Walsh, for example, asked Edward Scott in 1831 whether an additional Jesuit could be sent to the mission at Worcester, to serve alongside

> Mr. Tristram, who is a most exemplary, zealous and laborious ecclesiastic, but has no turn for public speaking, which is so desirable in our large towns. I hear constant regrets expressed on the subject, and who, with a hunger and thirst after the salvation of souls, can help feeling regret on the subject! . . . My dear Mr. Scott,

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[1] A.S.J., DK/3:Whitty to Vaughan, 18 October 1871.

[2] A.R.S.I., Angl. 1002.I.7: Sewall to Fortis, 23 February 1822.

[3] See the complaints about John Rigby, the missioner at Pontefract. A.S.J., BC/7: Barrow to [Weld], 7 March 1865. Cf. A.R.S.I., Angl. 1004.XVI.3: Brownbill to Etheridge, 30 June 1853, and P.C., 3 December 1851.

[4] A.S.J., RW/3: Everard to Gallwey, 8 November 1875.

> inter nos, I perceive an unfortunate prejudice against your order amongst many of the English clergy.[1]

Some years later, Dr. Walsh again wrote on the subject of "defective preachers" in his District and the need for placing talented preachers in such congregations as Lincoln, Bury St. Edmunds and Market Rasen rather than "send them to Preston, or to any numerous Catholic congregation in Lancashire".[2]

The General admitted to Lythgoe in 1854 that the "slight peculiarities of one or at most two of our English Fathers have obtained an unenviable distinction for our whole Province. We may very properly despise the causes, and yet much deplore the effect".[3] An individual Jesuit, or ex-Jesuit, could cause protracted trouble to both Provincials and Vicars Apostolic or Bishops. One example is James Carr, who was educated at Stonyhurst and entered the noviceship in 1813. After studies and teaching at Stonyhurst, he was sent to the mission at Norwich in 1822. His behaviour there was unsatisfactory, and Dr. Walsh asked for his removal. After Carr had spent a year at Worcester, Dr. Walsh again requested that the Provincial remove him. Carr, believing that he was persecuted by superiors and foreseeing only a future of misunderstanding, asked in 1827 to be dismissed from the Society. He wrote to the Provincial: "I have not sufficiently, I fear, understood how to please two superiors, the Bishop and yourself, and by trying to please both I have incurred the strong displeasure of one, yourself, and the transitory displeasure of his Lordship".[4] Six months after being released from his vows, however, Carr asked for his readmission to the Society, and began his novitiate again. At the end of his novitiate (a year of which he had spent on a mission), Carr refused to take vows. The Provincial consented to his pleas and placed him on the Lincoln mission, although Carr did not enter into a contract as an élève. Dr Walsh refused, at first, to grant him

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[1] A.S.J., L.B.C., I, f. 299: Walsh to Scott, 22 February 1831. Walsh admitted to "warmly espousing" the Jesuit cause.

[2] A.S.J., L.B.C., I, f. 290: Walsh to Norris, 7 March 1831. Walsh had in 1835 requested Norris and Brooke to help him resign his district and enter the Society. Both dissuaded him, and said that they would write to Rome to oppose the move. A.S.J., College of St. Ignatius, 1750-1874, f. 240: Norris to Glover, 10 August 1835.

[3] A.S.J., Epist. Gen., II, f. 421: Beckx to Lythgoe, 14 January 1854.

[4] A.S.J., L.N.J., f. 289: Carr to Brooke, 5 June 1827.

permanent faculties, and later requested his removal. Carr now insisted that the Jesuits had a duty to maintain him, and, although the Provincial denied any responsibility, Carr was placed on the missions at Wardour and Lulworth. He was removed from both missions, with the Jesuits finally intimating that they had no further need of his services.[1]

Dr. Ullathorne's dealings in 1853 with John Etheridge, the Provincial, concerning Henry Brigham, the Jesuit missioner at Oxford, provide an example of a Bishop and Provincial conferring on a pastoral problem. A delegation of the laity from Oxford had approached Ullathorne and requested him to visit the Oxford mission and to look to its management. Their specific charges against Brigham, who had been the subject of complaints in his previous mission,[2] were of "indifference and coldness with respect to the interests of religion and the feelings of the congregation" and severity, "even to females, in the confessional", which, it was alleged, made the Oxford mission "a contrast to the missions around". The delegation offered to buy the chapel and present it to the Bishop, but Ullathorne quoted Benedict XIV's regulation, and the custom, that Regulars and Seculars should both keep the missions they had founded. He stated that "if there were abuses, there were also remedies, without going to these extremes". Ullathorne informed the Provincial that, if the allegations continued, he would make a visitation of the mission and hear all parties before forming his judgment:

> I think you ought to know from me, that whatever be the facts at Oxford, the reputation of the Society is certainly suffering through the opinion which is formed and spread out of Oxford respecting the management of that mission. It is of course our joint duty to look at it. And it is in no unfriendly spirit I write this letter.[3]

Ullathorne's own impression was that the feeling in the mission was not against the Society but against the individual, who had the misfortune to succeed "one who however excellent, was never a very active missioner". Ullathorne wondered whether

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[1] A.S.J., L.N.J., f. 344: Norris to Richard Thompson, 25 January 1834.
[2] A.S.J., L.B.C., I, f. 315: Wareing to Lythgoe, 20 August 1845, concerning Bury St. Edmunds.
[3] A.S.J., L.B.C., I, f. 344: Ullathorne to Etheridge, 10 February 1853.

"a priest of kindly and conciliatory manners and of some activity" would remedy everything: "Would not an Oxford convert be very desirable in Oxford, provided he were prudent"?

Etheridge thanked Ullathorne for his kindness in writing in so friendly a spirit and "in trying to prevent any necessity for a just intervention of your Episcopal authority". The Provincial felt, however, that the matter had gone beyond all compromise. The complaints, partly against the incumbent and partly against the Society, were such that Etheridge did not feel he could remove the missioner without it being "a condemnation of Fr. Brigham and a reproach on us". After making his own enquiries, he could not find Brigham guilty of any canonical fault worthy of censure, nor could he condemn him for any grave omission of pastoral duty. Etheridge did not see how he could "with justice act on the suggestion which your Lordship so charitably and so prudently offers", nor could he complain if Ullathorne exercised his undoubted jurisdiction and made a visitation of the mission. He assured the Bishop that he felt "most happy in cooperating with your Lordship in the most perfect friendliness and charity".[1] Brigham reported to Etheridge, who had become the English Assistant in Rome, that Ullathorne conducted his visitation with great kindness and "said most emphatically that he had assured the four agitators for a bishop's chapel in Oxford that such a proposal was utterly inconsistent with all he had heard and seen and <u>indeed quite out of the question</u>".[2]

Brigham, however, was soon transferred to Farm Street. Wiseman wrote to the Provincial that, had he known, he would have objected Brigham's receiving faculties in London:

> As it is, I will only grant them for a limited time, to avoid scandal, which might result from a denial; but I must request you to name some one with different ideas from what he gave proof of in his administration of Oxford. I do not mean to accuse him of any moral offence for I know nothing against him: but I cannot consider him

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[1] A.S.J., L.B.C., I, f. 346: Etheridge to Ullathorne, 15 February 1853.
[2] A.R.S.I., Angl. 1004.XVII.2: Brigham to Etheridge, 27 October 1853.

> provided with that energy and zeal, and other high missionary qualifications, which the work of London demands.[1]

Johnson, the new Provincial, replied that he had, in fact, communicated the change of missioners in Oxford and London to the Vicar General, and had expected that Wiseman would have been informed on his return from Rome. He asked that Brigham be allowed to remain at Farm Street, and requested full and permanent faculties for him.[2] Some years later, after Dr.William Vaughan complained of Brigham's care of the Teignmouth mission, the consultors decided to retire him from missionary life.

Bishops, because of their position, could become reluctantly involved in disputes between Regulars. Wiseman, who had been involved in a libel case in 1854-5 with an ex-Jesuit, Richard Boyle, whom he had removed from the Islington mission in 1850 to place Frederick Oakeley there,[3] found himself involved in another dispute, this time between the Oratorians and the Jesuits. In 1856 Frederick Faber formally appealed to the Cardinal for justice and protection against William Waterworth, the Rector of Farm Street, whom Faber thought to be the mouth piece of the Society. Monsignor Talbot had informed Faber that Waterworth had secretly and informally delated the Oratorian to Rome "for having published three works all of them full of heresy", and that Waterworth had claimed that Ullathorne and other English Bishops shared his opinion. Waterworth denied delating Faber, and wrote to Wiseman that he had, in speaking with Talbot about the accusations made against the Farm Street Jesuits, merely enquired about the Roman opinion of Faber's writings, since Waterworth's penitents were troubled by them.[4]

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[1] A.S.J., L.B.C, II, f. 19: Wiseman to Johnson, 28 April 1854. Cf. P.C., 24-26 January 1854.
[2] A.S.J., L.B.C, II, f. 21: Johnson to Wiseman, 3 May 1854. Cf. P.C. 30 January 1856, 17-18 January 1860 and 19-21 March 1860.
[3] B. Bogan, The Great Link. A History of St. George's Cathedral, Southwark, 1786-1958 (1958), pp. 236-7. There are some inaccuracies in this account. Cf. A.S.J., L.N.J., ff. 441 and 451: Boyle to Lythgoe, 22 January and 15 April 1846, and, f. 443: "A Case of Conscience", in which Boyle detailed all his troubles with Jesuit superiors and with Sir Charles Tempest.
[4] A.R.S.I., Angl. 1004.VI.9: Wiseman to Waterworth, 3 September 1856. Cf. A.S.J., L.B.C., II, ff. 35 and 39: Waterworth to Wiseman, 19 September 1856, and Wiseman to Johnson, 12 November 1856..

Because of the sensitivity of the Jesuits' position, some of these individual cases appeared more symbolic or representative than they were. These cases concerned the ordinary administration of missions, where the Bishop's right to intervene was undisputed. Other incidents, however, revealed the unresolved questions concerning jurisdiction which became apparent in the years after the restoration of the Hierarchy. The ways in which these questions were addressed will now be investigated.

III. THE PROVINCIAL SYNODS AND THE MANCHESTER COLLEGE.

Randal Lythgoe informed Thomas Glover in Rome in 1842 that a London priest had warned him that the expected establishment of the Hierarchy would destroy religious orders in England. Lythgoe wrote that

> I replied that I did not see it, however hazardous the thing might be to religion generally . . . We I think ought not to appear opposed to it. But Rome should examine the Question in all its bearings.[1]

The position of the Regular clergy was closely examined during the years following the restoration of the Hierarchy, and the examination revealed the understanding of the Church held by both Bishops and Regulars. In most respects it was a shared understanding, but conflicting judgments about priorities and the perceived problem of divided control, exacerbated by clashes of personality, led to serious disputes. Although these concerned principles, they were fought over what appeared to be small issues. This chapter will examine the disputes from the time of the restoration of the Hierarchy to the celebrated case of the opening and closing of the Jesuit school in Manchester in 1875. The following chapter will examine the appeal which ensued and led to the Roman decision in 1881, newly regulating the relations of Bishops and Regulars. Not all Bishops were equally concerned with the disputes, and these chapters will concentrate on Herbert Vaughan and Henry Manning, who were most closely involved in them. Manning's relations with the Jesuits will be treated more extensively in Chapter Five.

FIRST AND SECOND PROVINCIAL SYNODS.

The legislation concerning the organization of dioceses which followed the restoration of the Hierarchy was the work of the Provincial Synods. After years of comparative clerical independence, this organization could only be a gradual process and it did not proceed without dispute. The First Provincial Synod in 1852, in its decree on the Regular clergy, extended the right of episcopal visitation to all public churches

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[1]Farm Street, 1802-1865, f. 60: Lythgoe to Glover, 31 December 1842.

served by Regulars, so that the Bishop could oversee the administration of the sacraments and the care of souls. There was confusion, however, because of the introduction into the preamble to the decree of the statement that "we readily admit and in no way propose to interfere with the privileges and exemption they [Regulars] lawfully enjoy, either in their houses or out of it".[1] Superiors of Regulars were urged to consult the Bishop before appointing or removing missioners, who needed to obtain faculties from the Bishop to preach and hear confessions, and could be judged in their competence in theology before being granted them. Regular missioners were exhorted to "conduct themselves in the same or even a better way" than the Secular clergy. No new religious houses were to be founded without the express permission of the Bishop.

When the decrees of the Synod were ratified in Rome, there was appended to the published version an instruction of Propaganda, issued in 1848 for the Vicars Apostolic in China, which insisted on the dependence of Regular missioners upon the Vicars Apostolic. The instruction, which Propaganda now considered relevant to England and Wales, stated that "with the sole exception of internal regular discipline, Regular Missioners, including as expressly mentioned the Fathers of the Society of Jesus, are under the jurisdiction of the Vicars Apostolic as regards the entire business and direction of the Missions". The instruction stipulated that Regular missioners were to receive faculties from the Vicar Apostolic and could not be removed without his consent. Vicars Apostolic, as delegates of the Holy See, were to resolve disputes between themselves and Regulars. In such cases of conflict between a Vicar Apostolic and a religious superior, the Vicars Apostolic

> must always prevail and not be paralysed by scruples about the latter. A very strange idea indeed would it be if anyone thought that a Religious should set the obedience which he has professed towards the Superior of his Order before that which is above every other kind of obedience, viz., the obedience due to the supreme authority of the Holy See and the Vicar of Jesus Christ, or that he should allow any point whatever of regular internal discipline to outweigh the chief and most serious duties of the Missionary, or that he should prefer a

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[1]R. Guy (ed.), The Synods in English: Being the Text of the Four Synods of Westminster, Translated into English (Stratford-on-Avon, 1886), p. 193. [Hereafter, Synods.]

> private good to a public one and to the eternal salvation of the vast number of souls committed to his care.[1]

This instruction, which antedated the restoration of the Hierarchy, was not written with English conditions in mind. Religious superiors in England opposed the inclusion of the instruction with the synodal decrees and approached the Bishops in July 1853 to request that the legislation concerning Regulars be kept within the terms agreed upon at the Synod, which their representatives had accepted. The superiors stressed that, while they would normally notify the Bishop and seek his approval prior to moving their subjects, they wished to reserve their right not to do so in certain circumstances. They saw difficulties if they were dependent on the consent of the Bishops, for it would "most seriously affect the due and requisite submission of our subjects to the authority of their Religious Superiors", which was necessary "to provide as well for the government of their houses as for the missions supplied by them".[2]

At the first hint of "most stringent laws regarding Regulars", James Brownbill, the Rector in London, wrote to John Etheridge, the Provincial who was in Rome for the General Congregation at which he was elected the English Assistant, that his first impression was that the best remedy would be "to call to our aid the Law of Praemunire".[3] George Jenkins, the Procurator in London, wrote to Etheridge that it would be very difficult in certain cases, after the publication of the regulations, for a superior to remove a missioner "without a collision with the Bishop and without the Bishop putting in a man of his own".[4] Two Bishops, Dr. Briggs and Dr. Brown, had assured the Jesuits that "they themselves felt the document in question went much too far; that they could never think of employing a Religious Priest who should be refractory to his own Superior, in fine that all they sought was that timely

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[1]Decree of 30 September 1848, Sulla dipendenza dei Missionari Regolari dai Vicari Apostolici ed altri Superiori di Missione, in Synods, pp. 212-214.

[2]A.A.W., R91/9: Major superiors to Wiseman and Bishops, 25 July 1853. For this reference I am indebted to Dr. R. Schiefen.

[3]A.R.S.I., Angl. 1004.XVI.3: Brownbill to Etheridge, 30 June 1853.

[4]A.R.S.I., Angl. 1004.V.2: Jenkins to Etheridge, 1 August 1853. Jenkins, who had not seen the regulations, thought that they devolved from the principle that the Pope, as the superior of the Regulars, had delegated his authority to the Bishops.

communication should be made to them of appointments and removals that they might have an opportunity of remonstrating with the Superior if they deemed it necessary".[1] Since the Bishops declared that they had neither solicited nor sought the instruction, Andrew Barrow, the Vice-Provincial, reported that some Religious superiors believed the "Bishops here are better disposed to us apparently than Rome itself". The Bishops refused, however, to modify the instruction, a copy of which Cardinal Wiseman had sent to Barrow with the request that it "be followed in the case of all regular Missionaries".[2] Barrow forwarded it to Etheridge:

> I need not add any comment, though comment enough would readily present itself to any of us, but it speaks for itself . . . This afternoon we s[hould] have debated in Parliament the second reading of a Bill, to authorise the visitation of our Convents by Magistrates. Whilst our enemies are attacking the Religious from without, it seems our friends too are to undermine our Religious engagements, to teach us to set at nought the authority, which we had vowed to obey. [3]

Etheridge was informed by Wiseman that only an approach to the Cardinal Prefect of Propaganda could prevent the publication of the instruction with the synodal decrees.[4] In Rome, Wiseman informed the Congregation of the concern of the Regular superiors, and the Prefect assured them that the instruction, written for the situation in China, applied only proportionately to the situation in England and should not be interpreted narrowly.[5]

These incidents would be remembered, if not always accurately. When the General, Beckx, was forced to flee Rome in 1873, he was reminded by George Porter that when his predecessor as General, Roothaan, was obliged to leave Rome in similar circumstances and was in exile from 1848 to 1850, "le Cardinal Wiseman obtenait de la

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[1] A.R.S.I., Angl. 1004.XIV.1: Baron to Etheridge, 9 November 1853.
[2] A.R.S.I., Angl. 1004.II.17: Barrow to Etheridge, 18 August 1853.
[3] A.R.S.I., Angl. 1004.II.15: Barrow to Etheridge, 22 June 1853. Barrow hoped the General Congregation might try to stop the enforcement of the regulation.
[4] A.R.S.I., Angl. 1014.I.1: Wiseman to Etheridge, 12 September 1853. The Provincials of all the congregations of Regulars in England found it impossible to meet together to obtain unanimity of action. Cf. Angl. 1014.I.2: Aylward to Etheridge, 13 September, 1853.
[5] A.A.W., 140/1: Fransoni to Wiseman, 21 September 1853. For this reference I am indebted to Dr. R. Schiefen. Cf. R. Schiefen, Nicholas Wiseman and the Transformation of English Catholicism (Shepherdstown, 1984), p. 213.

Propagande des pouvoirs de Supérieur sur la Province d'Angleterre". Porter claimed that Wiseman, although he was to exercise these powers only in the event of Roothaan's death, had sought from Andrew Barrow, during the Provincial's absence in Rome, the titles of all Jesuit property in England. Porter believed that only Roman intervention, obtained with difficulty, saved the Society on that occasion, and he warned Beckx two decades later:

> Si je rapelle maintenant c'est afin de suggérer à Votre Paternité la considération s'il serait utile de prendre quelques précautions contre la repetition d'une pareille ruse. Nous aurions à faire avec un ennemi plus terrible et le résultat serait la destruction de cette province.[1]

Porter's comments revealed the nervous state of mind of one English Jesuit, who was to organize the jurisdiction case in Rome for the Regulars, and become Rector of Farm Street and Archbishop of Bombay. His assumptions concerning the two Archbishops, shared by other Jesuits, are highly significant, and explain, to a large degree, the behaviour of the leading Jesuits of the English Province during these years.

While the stricter regulations of the 1848 instruction were not enforced, it was clear, after the Synod, that the Bishops were in control of missions, but would not interfere with the community life of religious. Some matters, particularly those involving temporal affairs, were not discussed at this First Provincial Synod -- perhaps to avoid dissension (since Regular priests were still required on missions), or in the hope that, with strengthening episcopal control, the problems would be solved in time -- and they remained disputed. The Second Provincial Synod in 1855 treated the outstanding question of the ownership of church buildings and benefactions, which were decreed to belong to the mission, not to the religious body which served it, unless this was specifically stated in the terms of benefaction. These regulations, however, were not retrospective.

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[1] A.R.S.I., Angl. 1005.XIX.17: Porter to Beckx, 16 December 1873. I can find no substantiation of Porter's claim.

The Bishops were often unsure of what was specifically entailed in the exemptions claimed by Regulars. Dr. Clifford, for example, when forwarding in 1858 to the Jesuit missioners in the Clifton diocese the visitation papers which he sent to all missioners, insisted that he did not intend "to interfere with any legitimate exemptions that may exist relative to visitation", and asked them to state what omissions or modifications were required to make the papers conformable to the exemptions the Jesuits claimed.[1] It became clear that the Regular clergy were themselves unsure of the existence and extent of the exemptions which they were entitled to claim, and even their canon lawyers, more aware of what was involved, could disagree. Yet there was a deep suspicion of the encroachment of Bishops into areas in which they had previously not interfered. In 1859 the Provincial, Joseph Johnson, learnt that the Prefect of Propaganda had informed the President General of the English Benedictine Congregation that

> it does not appear that the privileges of regulars Juris Communis were restored by the hierarchy Bull; but that now the Holy See might be more inclined to restore them if application were made, and that such application might be made by the Regular Superiors in England in a joint petition.[2]

Johnson and his consultors, who thought that great prudence was required, referred the matter to the General, for "it might be a snare by which we should be put entirely at the mercy of officials in Rome".

BISHOP GOSS.

Bishops and Provincials had frequent contact concerning the conduct of missions which the Jesuits served. Two episcopates can provide examples: Goss in Liverpool and Cornthwaite in Beverley and Leeds. These were dioceses where the Jesuits provided a significant proportion of the clergy, and where the Bishops were

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[1] A.S.J., L.B.C., II, f. 118: Clifford to Jesuit missioners, October 1858. Cf. f. 119: Clifford to Johnson, 12 October 1858.
[2] P.C., 25-27 July 1859.

active in regularizing administration.[1] In the Liverpool diocese, when Alexander Goss succeeded as Bishop in 1856, the Regulars (notably the Benedictines) formed nearly one-half of the clergy, and the Jesuits served twelve missions. Goss complained that these Regulars were not sufficiently under his control and could not be deployed to serve what he saw to be the needs of the diocese. In 1859 he requested either the completion of the visitation questionnaire (which had first been issued in 1855) for the Jesuit mission in Liverpool, or a formal request for exemption, for he had received from the Jesuits only the "status animarum, which is only a small portion of what I am bound to take cognisance". The Jesuits, on all their missions, refused to provide information about temporal affairs, which included details of the ownership of property, salaries, rents, debts, endowments, mass obligations and matters concerned with schools. Goss, who attempted to be as conciliatory as possible, wrote to the Provincial that

> to respect the rights of others I am willing to leave any doubtful subjects or difficulties for future settlement. Even if I think that I cannot yield the claims of exemption that may be made, yet I will not urge them, but waive them, so that nothing may interrupt our happy harmony. I have nothing to do with religious property nor with the observance of religious rule.[2]

When Joseph Johnson completed his term as Provincial in 1859, Goss wrote to him, trusting "that the good understanding which would have continued under yourself will not be broken or interrupted under your successor".[3]

There was, however, a series of altercations. In 1864, Goss complained to the Rector in Preston that, prior to the collection for the Mission Fund of the diocese, one of the Jesuits at St. Wilfrid's "advised members of the congregation not to give more than

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[1]See P. Doyle, "The Episcopate of Alexander Goss of Liverpool, 1856-1872: Diocesan Organisation and Control after the Restoration of the Roman Catholic Hierarchy" (University of London Ph.D. thesis 1981), esp. pp. 233-268 and 310-11 on Goss's relations with the Regulars. Doyle argues that the Regulars fought a rearguard action against full acceptance of episcopal control and caused considerable trouble, but offered nothing distinctive to justify a special position.

[2]A.S.J., L.B.C., II, f. 185: Goss to Johnson, 17 January 1859.

[3]A.S.J., L.B.C., II, f. 189: Goss to Johnson, 26 December 1859. Cf. P.C., 26 August 1862.

one penny each", and, after the collection, "expressed himself very glad indeed that it was scarcely as much as last year for it was quite enough for the Bishop". Goss wrote:

> Now a house divided against itself cannot stand. This priest holds his right to teach the people from me to whom is committed the care of Christ's flock. Is he gathering with me or is he scattering, if he presumes to strive to undo what I laboured to do and to discountenance what I recommend? I care not who is Bishop, but there can be, and must be only one, and as I am in possession it is my duty to maintain my position and the use of those weapons which the church has placed at my command. During my Episcopate I have tried to govern with an even hand. I have made no distinction of rank or profession amongst my clergy. I have been especially careful not to interfere with the discharge of those duties which a religious as such owes to his Superior: is it too much to expect from him obedience in those matters which are under a Bishop's jurisdiction?[1]

In 1865, Goss sent his second visitation enquiry, and asked that Regulars who sought exemption should state the grounds for their claim. Alfred Weld, the Provincial, did not request exemption, as he "could not think it would ever be questioned". Goss gave the assurance that, while not pronouncing on their validity, he would respect the claims of all Regulars:

> No Bishop, however ignorant, would be unwise enough to interfere with privileges conceded by the Holy See, though I conceive that if he had any respect for the duties of his office, he would be bound to ask for the authority of claims never before made, and not even then attempted to be substantiated.[2]

Small incidents revealed deeply entrenched positions. In 1869, for example, George Tickell, a Jesuit in Liverpool, had breached the diocesan regulations concerning the administration of marriage, having received advice from his Rector, George Porter. Tickell's faculties were withdrawn for three months, and he was required to be

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[1] A.S.J., L.B.C., II, f. 190: Goss to Cobb, 24 December 1864.

[2] A.S.J., L.B.C., II, f. 216: Goss to Weld, 4 December 1869. Canon law stipulated that a monastery with more than twelve members was entirely exempt from the Bishop's jurisdiction in temporal matters. Parishes which were part of a monastery were considered to share in this exemption. Under Apostolicum Ministerium single religious living on missions enjoyed full monastic privileges, while being subject to the Vicar Apostolic in all matters concerning the administration of the sacraments and the cure of souls.

examined before they were restored.[1] John Etheridge, a missioner in Liverpool and a former Provincial and English Assistant, wrote to the Provincial, anticipating that the Bishop would "take some extreme measure towards Fr. Porter":

> Fr. Rector [Porter] either from inability to act or because he thinks it better that the hostility of the Bishop and Clergy should come to a head is quietly waiting for the blow . . . The question before the Bishop is whether he shall take away F. Porter's missionary faculties for his having given an incorrect answer on a matrimonial case submitted to him by F. Tickell; but the spirit which animates the Bishop's policy is a desire to deal a blow on the Society because Fr. Porter has often shown, so it is said, very little esteem of the knowledge and practical wisdom of the secular clergy. He bears himself arrogantly, they say, he is aggressive, he speaks of the clergy with very little regard.[2]

Porter admitted to Goss that his advice may have been incorrect, but trusted that "nothing will drive me into opposition or into any course wanting in the courtesy due to your sacred office". He assured the Bishop that it was "well known to many persons that I have always refused to defend opinions of my own (in public, I mean) when your Lordship was known to hold contrary opinions, precisely on the ground that I would not on any account appear in opposition to my Bishop".[3] Porter later objected to the Bishop's request for a Jesuit to be ordinary confessor to a blind asylum, and, on the Provincial's instructions, declined to provide one, claiming that Jesuits were exempt and "not liable to be called upon to act as Ordinaries in any Institution, or indeed to undertake any duty beyond the strictly quasi-parochial duties of our own church". The Provincial had instructed him to inform Goss of the refusal "with every profession of respect to Your Lordship and with the assurance that he takes this step only to satisfy his conscience in which he feels bound to preserve the rights and privileges of his subjects".[4] The Bishop soon released the Jesuits from the chaplaincy of a military

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[1] A.S.J., L.B.C., II, f. 196: Goss to Tickell, 10 July 1869. The Provincial defended Tickell. Cf. ff. 200 and 210: Weld to Goss, n.d. and 12 August 1869. The punishment was slightly mitigated, after Jesuit representations.

[2] A.S.J., L.B.C., II, f. 193: Etheridge to Weld, 2 June 1869.

[3] A.S.J., L.B.C., II, f. 195: Porter to Goss, 4 June 1869.

[4] A.S.J., L.B.C., II, f. 205: Porter to Goss, 15 August 1869. Cf. C/4: Porter to Weld, 16 August 1869. For complaints about Goss's treatment of Jesuit missioners, see A.R.S.I., Angl. 1005.XI.4, Cobb to Beckx, 25 January 1870.

barracks in Preston, which (unlike the chaplaincy to the blind asylum) carried remuneration, because of the Provincial's advice.[1] The principle at issue was entangled, not for the last time, with the personalities involved.

It was not without reason, then, that Goss believed that the religious life and pastoral work on the missions were incompatible, and he attempted to have the issue discussed at the Bishops' meeting in 1868. The Jesuits disliked having missioners living alone, and preferred that they live in common if missions were close together. They were, however, bound by the regulations concerning clerical residence in missions. They petitioned Goss in 1869 to allow the missioner at Portico to live outside his district, together with another Jesuit of the neighbouring mission. Goss replied that, while he could understand the Jesuits' desire, he could not countenance non-residence, which arose from the cure of souls: "I do not ask you to violate your rule either in this or any other instance; but if you find that missionary duty is incompatible with religious life, or the rules of the Order, or your Superior's wish, you have the remedy in your hands".[2] When Robert Whitty was appointed Provincial, Goss, who did not understand the obstruction he encountered, assured him that "I think you need fear no encroachment on my part, for though I am thought to stand on my rights, I never knowingly lay a finger on the rights of others".[3] As the Bishop improved the administration of the diocese, it became more difficult for Regulars to claim, or explain, exemptions. George Porter admitted to Whitty that it was hard to defend the Jesuits' claim that the Bishop should not be informed about temporal affairs, especially fees from ministeria and accounts of expenditure on the church: "the Bishop might at least complain, you do not spend enough, and what answer should we have?"

The First Provincial Synod had decreed that all priests, Secular and Regular, who had the cure of souls, were obliged to attend deanery conferences. The Jesuits disputed who among their missioners held "the cure of souls", and tried to claim some exemption

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[1] A.S.J., L.B.C., II, f. 211: Cookson to Walker, 16 October 1869.
[2] A.S.J., L.B.C., II, f. 213: Goss to Weld, 23 October 1869. Cf. f. 186: Goss to Johnson, 5 February 1859.
[3] A.S.J., L.B.C., II, f. 226: Goss to Whitty, 7 June 1871.

from attending the conferences or providing the written answers (which they were obliged to submit even if they could not be present) to the cases of conscience which were to be discussed. The Jesuits claimed, in Liverpool, that Bishop Brown had exempted them from attending (although they could provide no documentary evidence for this), but Goss was not satisfied that a legitimate claim of exemption had been established. When the Second Diocesan Synod in Liverpool decreed that all clergy on the missions were to attend conferences, the Jesuits then claimed exemption from attending the diocesan synod, a claim which Goss allowed, provided they sent suitable representatives.[1] The Jesuits were themselves divided on the question of attending these clergy conferences and diocesan synods. Some claimed full exemption, on the ground that communities of Regulars held their own conferences to discuss cases of conscience. Others, such as William Eyre, put forward the case that Jesuits should attend the diocesan synods -- even in Liverpool, where the community was larger than twelve. After providing the Provincial with a modern authority to support the argument that Jesuits were not so bound, Eyre wrote that he disagreed with this position. He did not consider that Jesuits could stand upon their privileges if, when they accepted missionary duties, they consented, explicitly or implicitly, by written documents or word of mouth, to waive them. Eyre believed that Ignatius Loyola would have wished Jesuits to yield whenever they could, and that the Constitutions obliged Jesuits to give way to Bishops where it could be done. He also argued pragmatically that if Jesuits were to insist on their rights, Bishops could also insist on full compliance with diocesan statutes, and he thought it better that Jesuits should endure the inconvenience of annual attendance at the synod than raise opposition needlessly.[2] He did not go as far as sharing Goss's vision of what the conferences and synods might achieve.[3]

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[1]On this question, see P. Doyle, "The Episcopate of Alexander Goss of Liverpool, 1856-1872: Diocesan Organisation and Control after the Restoration of the Roman Catholic Hierarchy" (University of London Ph.D. thesis 1981), pp. 259-261.

[2]A.S.J., 0A: Eyre to Provincial, 26 January [n.y.].

[3]For Goss's understanding of the importance of these conferences, to secure uniformity in exercising missionary faculties, to provide for communication and to further theological education, see P. Doyle, "Missed Opportunities: Clerical Conferences in the Nineteenth Century", Downside Review, 100(1982), 263-273.

BISHOP CORNTHWAITE.

Robert Cornthwaite, Bishop of Beverley from 1861 and the first Bishop of Leeds from 1878, was generally popular with the Regular clergy in Yorkshire. A Jesuit, John Morris, his Vice Rector when Cornthwaite was Rector of the English College in Rome, preached at his funeral in 1890. Yet Cornthwaite experienced differences over many years with Jesuit Provincials. Some of these differences concerned the efficiency of missioners. Cornthwaite complained, for instance, about the Wakefield mission to Thomas Seed, the Provincial, in 1864:

> I am so satisfied that a great more might and ought to be done there, that when I ask myself the question, what would be my course were the mission a secular one, I must perforce reply that I should feel bound in conscience to replace the present priests by ten others of greater energy and proportionate zeal.[1]

Cornthwaite sought the replacement of one Jesuit missioner, whose "odd and eccentric ways will always stand in the way of his doing any great good", and whose presence had "long laid heavily upon my conscience". Cornthwaite was offended by the Provincial's strong reaction, which he thought was based on "the supposition that you look upon me as, to say the least, no friend of your holy Society". Cornthwaite claimed that he was also the legitimate judge of the efficiency of the mission, and renewed his request.[2]

Cornthwaite made no attempt to exclude Jesuit missioners, and, in fact, exhorted them to remain on the small missions of Broughton and Pontefract in his diocese. He considered that Jesuits were "safer from the dangers incident to small missions than my clergy and I have no desire to have any more at my disposal, not even well endowed ones".[3] In 1874, however, Cornthwaite complained to Gallwey about the "constant

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[1] A.S.J., L.B.C., II, f. 69: Cornthwaite to Seed, 16 February 1864. Cornthwaite, Rector of the English College from 1851 to 1857, had arranged for the return of the students to instruction by the Jesuits. For details of Cornthwaite's life, see J. Supple, "Robert Cornthwaite: A Neglected Nineteenth Century Bishop", R.H., 17(1985), 399-412.

[2] A.S.J., L.B.C., II, f. 70: Cornthwaite to Seed, 16 February 1864. The missioner was replaced by two others. Cf. P.C., 23 February and 5 August 1864.

[3] A.S.J., L.B.C., II, f. 76: Cornthwaite to Weld, 19 October 1866. In 1873 Cornthwaite formally requested the removal from Skipton of a missioner, whose involvement with

removals and rapid changes of late years and especially since you came into office" of Jesuit missioners in his diocese:

> It may be worth while to consider whether sufficient regard is had to the missions in those removals. I grant you full right to remove your men: I grant that it may be very profitable to their religious spirit. But the flocks should be considered also, a little more, as it appears to me: and I am bound to speak for them as I am responsible for them. Take one example: Skipton: that mission sees at this moment its 17th priest, if not 18th, since I have been Bishop. It cannot be good for the flock.[1]

The Bishop realised that the Jesuits would willingly surrender the Skipton mission, among others, and that he was unable to provide a priest. He insisted, however, that his gratitude did not condemn him merely to be silent and patient: "with my responsibilities I must be allowed to hope for and ask for something better".[2]

Other differences with Provincials involved the disputed rights of the Regular clergy. In 1876 Cornthwaite indicated that he wished to form a separate mission (and eventually provide a missioner) at Castleford, which had been served by Jesuits as part of the mission at Pontefract. The consultors did not agree that the Bishop had the right to open a Church without their consent, for the Jesuits had attended the mission. While there was some doubt whether the Jesuits should retain the mission, the consultors referred the question to the General as "the principles involved in it . . . seemed to be of so great importance that we ought not to give it up, and as if one instance were passed over, other occasions would be used as by this precedent".[3] Since the Jesuits did not want to add to their number of solitary missions, they agreed that a Secular missioner should be placed there. The Provincial, however, asked the missioner at Pontefract to

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one of the nuns in the local convent "has injured her greatly as a Religious". L.B.C., II, f. 86: Cornthwaite to Whitty, 4 April 1873.

[1] A.S.J., L.B.C., II, f. 90: Cornthwaite to Gallwey, 27 December 1874. The General frequently commented on the excessive changes of subjects in the English Province, particularly during the years 1874-82. E.g., A.S.J., Epist. Gen., III: Beckx to Gallwey, 10 April 1875, where he states that even Bishops who most favour the Society complain, especially when they are not forewarned of changes.

[2] A.S.J., L.B.C., II, f. 90: Cornthwaite to Gallwey, 27 December 1874.

[3] P.C., 1 December 1876. Cf. A.S.J., L.B.C., II, f. 75: Cornthwaite to Weld, 21 September 1866, where he first indicated his wish to have a mission at Castleford.

approach Cornthwaite to insist that, while they would gladly withdraw, the consent of the Jesuits was necessary for their legal exclusion from missionary work. They would not think of withholding consent, but were bound to maintain their status as Regulars.[1] Cornthwaite was offended, and asked whether it was "not unwise as well as unjust always to suppose an antagonism, and to meet every act as an assault?"[2]

FOURTH PROVINCIAL SYNOD.

The Fourth Provincial Synod in 1873 considered the position of Regular missioners. The Jesuits claimed that the original text of the decree (and also its amended version) contained a direct attack on their privileges. Manning, who explained that the text of the decree had not been drafted by the Bishops, denied that there was any intention of derogation. He believed, with some other Bishops, that certain Regulars claimed to govern their congregations by a jurisdiction independent of the Hierarchy. Dr. Thomas Brown, who instanced the case of a mission in his own Diocese of Newport and Menevia which supported only two Benedictines when it was capable of supporting five, argued that Bishops should have the right to control the accounts of Regular missions.[3] Ullathorne added that this power sought by the Bishops over Regulars and their accounts, which would merely ensure that churches were kept in proper repair, would not withdraw Regulars from the authority of their own superiors. Alfred Weld, the English Assistant in Fiesole, who believed that Dr. Brown's "simplicity has led him to see nothing in the decree that was contrary to the rights of Religious",[4] understood that some Bishops had spoken of the need to alter the law, and to call upon the Regulars, especially the Jesuits, "to yield up what the church had granted them in a different state and condition of society".[5]

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[1]A.S.J., BC/7: Jones to Clifford, 15 December 1876.
[2]A.S.J., BC/7: Cornthwaite to Clifford, 20 December 1876. Cf. Clifford to Cornthwaite, 21 December 1876.
[3]In canonical parishes, the law imposed on missioners the obligation to apply to the needs of the parish, and then to the poor, the income which was surplus to their decent support. Missions in England, not being canonical parishes, were not so bound.
[4]A.S.J., BN/6: Weld to Gallwey, 13 April 1874.
[5]Quotations are from a report of the debate on the decree concerning Regulars at the Synod, drawn up in the form of a memorial by Jones, n.d., A.S.J., F/1. For the reaction to

Some Regulars considered that a Provincial Synod could not interfere with privileges granted by the common law of the church or by indults from Rome. They admitted that, in all things concerned with the cura animarum and teaching the faithful, they were as much subject to the Bishop of the diocese as were the Secular clergy. But the Jesuits denied Manning's claim that they sought a jurisdiction independent of the Bishops, and considered, moreover, that the decree was concerned not with jurisdiction nor the cura animarum: "its whole drift and scope being concerned with the dominion of property". The Jesuits submitted

> that the extension of the cumulative powers which Bishops have over them and their property directly infringes on the rights which their own superiors have in their regard; withdraws them from their dependence on their own Superiors, and is calculated to disturb the status given to them for the well being of the church.

Existing laws and instructions from Propaganda, the Jesuits considered, were quite sufficient to secure to the Bishops "all the control over missionary property which they can reasonably lay claim to", and rendered unnecessary the alterations contemplated in the decree.

Letters from Propaganda in June 1868 and July 1869 had given the Bishops the right to demand of Regular, as of Secular, missioners, an account of property given to them intuitu missionis, to ensure that surplus income was spent on the mission, although Regulars were not bound to account to the Bishops for property belonging to them as Regulars. Doubtful cases were to be settled between Bishops and Regular superiors, or by reference to Rome. The proposed decree of the Fourth Synod altered the right of a Bishop to call for a mission's accounts into a law obliging Bishops regularly to exact such accounts. The decree proposed to subject to the visitation of the Bishops the status materialis of all churches of Regulars where parochial sacraments were administered, or, in the amended form of the decree, all the public churches of Regulars. The term status materialis was understood to include the fabric of the

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the decree by the consultors, see P.C., 24 February 1875. One consultor suggested that a meeting of Regular superiors to plan common action should not be held in a Jesuit house so that "less attention might be drawn upon our body".

church, its land, annexed buildings, and, perhaps, revenues. What had been contemplated only for parochial or quasi-parochial churches would thus, the Jesuits complained, be extended to all churches. The status materialis invariably belonged to Regulars, occasionally increased by the subscriptions of the faithful. The Jesuits feared that to subject this "to indiscriminate visitation would be practically to transfer the dominium of it to the Bishops, and consequently so far, to deprive the Regulars of it". The Jesuits claimed that they worked on missions because of the needs of Catholics, not because the work was "congenial to the Institute". They claimed never to withdraw money from missions, and, in fact, supported Jesuits on most small missions from the Society's funds. "Bearing this in mind", they wrote, "it appears to us a wanton and ungracious act to enforce that which the church has left optional and which has not hitherto been generally enforced". The ingratitude the Jesuits felt was expressed in the conclusion to their commentary on the Synod's deliberations:

> Finally, we submit that when an order like the Society has freely spent its means and impoverished itself for the good of the missions, and has trained at its own expense a numerous and efficient body of missioners who are devoted to their work; while it is yet prepared to do what it can and in every way cordially to cooperate with and submit to the good will of the Bishops, it hardly appears wise in the pastors of the Faithful to force them to stand on rights which they have hitherto cheerfully forgone in order that they may be allowed to retain the status which the Church wishes them to have and which it is not lawful for them to abandon.

In March 1874, Weld wrote from Fiesole to Gallwey, the Provincial, that Manning had petitioned Propaganda for the withdrawal of the constitution Apostolicum Ministerium of Benedict XIV, which would result in religious houses with fewer than twelve subjects falling under the jurisdiction of the Bishop. The Roman Jesuit canon lawyer, Ballerini, informed Weld that the Jesuit privileges did not depend on the constitution, but on "seven or eight decrees to the same effect which belong to common law". Ballerini understood that, while it had been resolved at the time of the restoration of the Hierarchy to withdraw Apostolicum, there had been no intention of removing Jesuit exemptions, only annulling other regulations no longer of use, such as that

concerning the periodic return of priests from scattered missions in England to their colleges on the continent.[1] Weld suggested that a memorial be drawn up, and, although he did not understand the position clearly, offered arguments, both practical and theoretical, which could be used to defend the existing arrangement.

Weld argued, with more feeling than legal acumen, that religious "make a great sacrifice in living out of regular monasteries for salvation of souls and exemption from Bishops was given as compensation".[2] If the constitution were withdrawn, Weld claimed, religious on the missions would find their lives impossibly complicated by a double obedience. Although the need for Regular priests to serve missions was not as great as it once had been, there was still an evident need, with Bishops in almost every diocese complaining of the shortage of priests. Regular missioners no longer lived in the houses of the laity, as they did in the time of Benedict XIV, but in small communities on missions. Weld indicated his real fear that "to withdraw privileges would be equivalent to taking the missions from us":

> To take all the missions away suddenly would be a great injury as it would alter the mode of life and support, and would be equivalent to expelling many from the country. We could not find support in large houses except in very few places.

He claimed that, in the fifty or sixty years prior to 1868, the Society had sacrificed a sum exceeding £43,000 in surrendering missions without asking for compensation, and, in addition to this sum, had spent, during the same period and without any return, more than £90,000 on schools and churches. Jesuits destined to be missioners were educated at the Society's expense,

> and if one dies or is sick [we] are expected to have [one] in his place immediately, and notwithstanding [the] Bishop has collection for educating secular clergy in our churches, whereas we receive nothing and never take anything away from our mission.

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[1] A.S.J., BN/6: Weld to Gallwey, 6-8 April 1874. Cf. BN/6: Weld to Gallwey, 11 May 1874.
[2] A.S.J., C/3: Weld to Gallwey, 11 March 1874.

Weld concluded that the proposed withdrawal of the constitution governing missions would be hard and unjust. This threat to the work of the English Jesuits was recalled during the years when the jurisdiction case was being decided in Rome. Weld wrote in 1881 that the General opposed surrendering missions

> until 1. we see how the question of the Bishops turns out, and 2. till our position in Europe is a little safer. He thinks we may yet want a pied à terre wherever we can get one.[1]

Late in 1875, Bishop Weathers, the Auxiliary in Westminster, informed the Rector of Farm Street and the Jesuit missioner at Westminster that, at Manning's direction, and in accordance with the decrees of the Fourth Provincial Synod, he would visit Regulars where they had the charge of any mission or the administration of any public church, and asked whether they claimed total or partial exemption.[2] John Morris advised Gallwey that the Bishop had no right to visit the confessionals and inspect the bench rents at Farm Street. Morris judged that a Bishop could visit the parish priest's confessional, but not that of other priests, in a mission church belonging to Regulars and could only inspect the bench rents where Regulars were simplici deservienti in a mission, which was not the case at Farm Street. In fact, Morris wrote, "No case of abuse of any description will empower the bishop to visit an exempt regular Church", for, while a Bishop had authority as Apostolic Delegate in specified cases over delinquent Regular clergy, he had no power of visitation of a place.[3] James Clare, the Rector, replied that, as Farm Street had no missionary district or cure of souls, it was "exempt from Episcopal Visitation, and I beg respectfully to remind your Lordship".[4]

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[1] A.S.J., C/3: Weld to [ ], 2 May 1881
[2] A.S.J., F/3: Weathers to Clare, 22 October 1875.
[3] A.S.J., F/3: Morris to Gallwey, 7 December 1875. There was a further attempt to make a visitation of Farm Street in 1905. The Provincials of the Irish, Dutch and Belgian Provinces, and the Rector of the exiled French Jesuits in Canterbury, who had been consulted, gave "the assurance that Residences (non parochial) of Ours have never in a single instance had Episcopal visitation". P.C., 4 March 1905.
[4] A.S.J., F/3: Clare to Weathers, n.d. [1875].

THE MANCHESTER SCHOOL CASE.

These matters were still in dispute, twenty five years after the restoration of the Hierarchy, when a small incident in Manchester occasioned a conflict which led to a review in Rome of the legal relationship between Bishops and Regulars and a dispute which concerned the Jesuit General more than the expulsion of the Jesuits from France.[1] Dr. Clifford later reflected that the "ignorance which at this time reigned concerning the privileges of the Jesuits was wonderful". The Jesuits made claims about special privileges, granted by Popes and revived at the Society's restoration, which were "met everywhere with tacit acceptance", although few knew, or knew how to discover, how well-founded the claims were. Dr. Clifford wrote that the Bishops merely wanted a clear declaration of the extent of the privileges, "to prevent their clashing with the authority of the Bishops in points regulating the dioceses".[2]

This dispute, which moved from the issue of the right of Regulars to establish a school to the wider and long unexamined issue of jurisdiction, was prolonged and complex, but is of an importance to justify its being examined in detail. Manning, for whom it was a crisis for the Church next to the restoration of the Hierarchy, wrote that the importance of the case was "no less than this: Who is to form the clergy and educate the laity of England?"[3] The constitution which was promulgated in 1881, Romanos Pontifices, had effect throughout the missionary countries of the world.[4] Ullathorne noted that the outcome of the dispute would "affect one half the Church directly, and the other half indirectly, but effectually".[5] Some Bishops and some Regulars considered that they were victims of a conspiracy. Herbert Vaughan related that the

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[1]A.S.J., C/4: Porter to Purbrick, 9 July 1880; Cf. Morris letters: Morris to Scott Murray, 19 May 1880.

[2]Clifford, unpublished memorandum, cited in J. G. Snead-Cox, The Life of Cardinal Vaughan (1910), I. 275-76. [Hereafter, Snead-Cox.]

[3]Manning to Ullathorne, 26 July 1880, cited in Leslie, p. 312. Manning used this expression of several crises. Cf. Manning to Clifford, 10 May 1877, cited in Snead-Cox, I. 326.

[4]The constitution defined the relations between Bishops and Regulars in England and Scotland. It was extended to the United States in 1885, to South America in 1900, to the Philippines in 1910, to Canada in 1911 and generally to missionary countries. Cf. art. "Romanos Pontifices" in Catholic Encyclopedia (1912), XIII. 154.

[5]Ullathorne to Manning, 1 January 1879, cited in Leslie, p. 306.

Roman Jesuit who represented the Regulars had remarked that the Jesuits decided to conduct the case over an English incident rather than an American one because they thought "it is easier to fight the English Bishops than the Americans, who are more numerous, violent, and of Irish origin and character".[1] Some Jesuits saw an attempt by Vaughan and Manning to hinder their work. To understand the dispute in 1875, it is necessary to review the coming of the Jesuits to Manchester.

ENTRY OF THE JESUITS INTO MANCHESTER.

In 1839 some laymen had petitioned the Provincial for a Jesuit church in Manchester. Apart from the problem of there being few Jesuits available, the Vicars Apostolic had disputed the right of Regulars to build chapels and retain them. A decree of Propaganda in 1838, however, which allowed the Regular clergy to erect churches, altered the situation and the Provincial, John Bird, who expected another formal offer to be made, had informed the deputation that if they would build a house and a church he would "send 3 Priests to Manchester in 3 or 4 years time: they seem to think reasonable that they should do this -- and it may easily be done in the rich town of Manchester". Bird, however, expected opposition to the 1838 decree from the Vicar Apostolic, Dr. Briggs:

> it will be presented at Rome as an opposition to the Bishop -- as a party concern. The Bishop indeed has behaved so ill to the Manchester people to disgust them thoroughly -- but their first application to us was before a late quarrel.

This quarrel concerned Dr. Briggs's refusal to allow the construction of Pugin's church until other smaller chapels had been built. Bird believed that this "seems to have been done in order to our exclusion [sic.] ".[2] Bird requested Thomas Glover's help to approach the General, who had directed that no new missions be accepted in England.

The Jesuits did not, in fact, enter Manchester until in 1853 they opened a middle school with the permission of the Bishop of Salford, Dr. Turner. It was closed, however,

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[1]Vaughan to Manning, 15 January 1880, cited in Leslie, p. 308.
[2]A.S.J., 14/2/9, Transcripts, f. 183: Bird to Glover, 5 May 1839.

within two years. Both the Bishop and the Secular clergy had opposed a Jesuit church in Manchester (-- a large portion of the clergy had also opposed the school[1]), with the result that the school, unsupported by a church, suffered financial loss. The Jesuit consultors concluded that they could "hardly be called upon to give such a large sum annually to the town without any return or chance of getting a church there".[2] The decision was a financial one: the Jesuits found Dr. Turner obliging, and closed the school "with great regret". On their leaving, the Bishop thanked them for their kindness and courtesy, and vowed "to keep up and maintain that cordiality and harmony which ought to exist between a Bishop and the Society".[3] They were later reproached by Dr. Turner's successor, Herbert Vaughan, for leaving Manchester, and were accused of coming to the city with pecuniary motives and of not spending on the school the sum they had promised.[4]

Despite the opposition of his chapter, Dr. Turner invited the Jesuits to return to Manchester in 1866, and gave them a district in which they built the church of the Holy Name. He made the invitation to Thomas Harper, who was preaching a series of sermons in Salford Cathedral during Advent of 1865, and Harper communicated the offer to the Provincial, Alfred Weld. Dr. Turner expressed the wish to have priests who would treat in the pulpit the subjects of the day -- "you are the only people who can do it"[5] -- and be available as confessors and spiritual directors to his clergy. He wrote to

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[1] The Case of The Bishop of Salford and The Society of Jesus (1879), p. 7. [Hereafter, Case.] The author of this anonymous work was Henry Coleridge. A.S.J., RX/5: G. Porter to Coleridge, 15 August 1878. The Jesuits did not ask leave to have a parochial church, "it being at that time desired not to increase the number of such churches which were to be served by the Society in England", but were not permitted a church without a parochial district. Case, p. 9. For the opposition of the Secular clergy, see L.B.C., I, ff. 338 and 342: Turner to Etheridge, 4 January 1852 [1853] and 25 January 1853.

[2] P.C., 16-18 May 1854.

[3] A.S.J., RX/5: Turner to Johnson, 20 May 1854, cited in Case, p. 10. [References will be given both to the archival source and, if the correspondence has also been published, to the printed version.]

[4] Case, pp. 8-11, where Vaughan's comments are answered. Coleridge commented that Vaughan wrote "in a way which . . . would not be surprising in a Jansenist enemy of the Society , who wished to give the impression that the Jesuits' great object in opening the schools was, not the good of souls, but to make money". Case, p. 54.

[5] A.S.J., RX/5: Harper to Coleridge, 23 April 1878, cited in Case, p. 24. Cf. RY/2/2: Harper to Provincial, 24 May, n.y., concerning Vaughan's account: "I am so astonished at the

Weld that he was trying "to remove certain difficulties in the way arising from the prejudices and alarms on the part of the local clergy: for, strange as it may appear, the opposition comes from the clergy and that too from a quarter where I least expected it".[1] On this occasion Dr. Turner asked the Jesuits to open a church, but not a school, and the Provincial acquiesced in the Bishop's wishes, as he had no desire to begin a college at that time. Weld wrote, and gave to the Bishop, a note which recorded that "The Society does not usually open a school without the consent of the Bishop", which was the only formal record of the arrangement. It was Weld's understanding, however, that this was acquiescence in a temporary prohibition, not a condition for the Jesuits' return to Manchester. He did not consider that he had entered into an agreement which would exclude the future establishment of a college, nor done anything to bind his successors as Provincial. Weld believed that if the Bishop had wanted a further pledge, he was at liberty to have asked for it, but had not done so.[2] One condition of the Jesuits' return -- they claimed it was the only condition -- was that they purchase some land on the boundary of their district, which had been secured by the pastor with a view to building a chapel.

The Jesuits later argued that they usually opened colleges in large towns where they had a church, and that this custom derived from the Institute and from the character and object of the Society. They claimed the right, from Paul III, to receive scholars for education wherever they had a church, and further claimed that they were restored by Pius VII in 1814 expressly with a view to the services they might

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expressio falsi and suppressio veri contained in it, as touching the re-entrance of ours into Manchester".

[1]A.S.J., L.B.C., II, f. 336: Turner to Weld, 27 September 1866. Cf. f. 334: Turner to Seed, 3 October 1861: "It has always been my study to maintain a good understanding with the Society and I shall continue to do so. I flatter myself I have been instrumental in removing old prejudices: indeed, I may add that the most perfect cordiality subsists, in my diocese, amongst the Secular and Regular Clergy".

[2]Vaughan stated that the Jesuits were not invited, but petitioned to return to Manchester, and were admitted on certain stipulated conditions. He "holds the Society up to reprobation as breakers of the compact that a school was never to be opened". Case, pp. 23 and 40-1. The Jesuits did not learn of this alleged "compact" until 1874, and complained that Vaughan only had a "very partial acquaintance with the circumstances". Case, p. 60.

render to Catholic education. They argued that, had Weld wished to bind his successors as Provincial "that the normal objects of the Society were never to be carried out in Manchester", he would have needed to bring the matter before his consultors, whose advice he was bound to seek in matters of importance, and the General. There was no such consultation, the Jesuits said, and, had there been an agreement, it would have been an absolute bar to violating such a pledge.[1] From the time of their return to Manchester, the Jesuits hoped for their future college. They purchased land for it, in fact, during the lifetime of Dr. Turner.[2]

THE JESUIT CASE.

Herbert Vaughan succeeded to the see of Salford in 1872. In 1873 he was approached at the Fourth Provincial Synod by Peter Gallwey, the Provincial, who asked for leave to open a school in the district belonging to the Jesuit church in Manchester and in connection with it. Vaughan refused, but, in the following year, Gallwey wrote to him that the Jesuits wished to open a school in Manchester, and believed that it would provide vocations to both the Secular and Regular clergy -- "not only for your Lordship's Diocese, but for other poor souls besides -- provided the chance is given by early education". Gallwey intimated that Jesuit privileges made it unnecessary for them to abide by the Bishop's wishes in this matter, but would prefer to act with his assent.[3] Vaughan clearly did not want the Jesuit college, for he claimed that vested interests would be endangered if the Jesuits proceeded, as he had undertaken to develop one of the existing grammar schools into a commercial college. He opposed a Jesuit college,

> considering all the circumstances, the present backward condition of our Diocesan and Hierarchical organization -- the vested interests at stake -- the opportunity you have already had -- the undertaking to

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[1] Case, p. 19.

[2] A.S.J., RX/5: G. Porter to Coleridge, 15 August 1878, cited in Case, pp. 26-27. George Porter, then Rector of Liverpool, and Thomas Seed, the Rector of St. Beuno's, came to Manchester with the Provincial to negotiate the agreement with Dr. Turner in 1866.

[3] A.S.J., RX/5: Gallwey to Vaughan, 7 August and 11 December 1874, cited in Case, pp. 80-85. Cardinal Franchi had suggested that Weld proceed to England "to help smoothe things with Vaughan so as to bring him amicably to accept his position". Weld replied that he thought Gallwey could do this much better. BN/6: Weld to Gallwey, 7 April 1874.

> which I am pledged, and the fact that you already possess one College in the diocese.[1]

Vaughan wrote that the Jesuits should be content with "their already large and disproportionate share in higher education" and with the favour which he had shown them by recommending Stonyhurst, by his inviting Jesuits to give retreats to his clergy and to many convents and by his inviting them to take a certain part in the diocesan college which he was establishing.[2]

The Jesuits, for their part, stressed the need in England for the provision of education for the higher class and middle-class Catholics, who were "carried away by the influences around them, especially the intellectual influences, and make shipwreck of faith as well as of virtue".[3] The Jesuits claimed that it would be "almost an act of treason to them [the middle-class] and to the Church, for a Society which professes very principally the work of education to contemplate its abandonment in any place where it was practicable". Manchester, in particular, with a population of around 92,000 Roman Catholics and with a further 40,000 Roman Catholics in its environs was considered to be "one of the great centres of activity and population, not only in England but in the world".[4] The diocese of Salford was "comparatively speaking, in an exceptionally backward condition", with large debts and with the Secular clergy (one third of them foreigners) "most inadequate for the work which lies before it".[5] Such was the need that the Jesuits felt that "the fear of clashing interests, and the desire to monopolize the field of labour, which have at times so much influence in the prevention of good works of all kinds" ought to be swept aside. It was, they said, a matter "of saving souls from ignorance and from the loss of faith". The Jesuits claimed

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[1] A.S.J., RX/5: Vaughan to Gallwey, 17 August 1874, cited in Case, p. 82. Stonyhurst was in the Salford diocese. Vaughan wrote that the vested interests were those of the Xaverian Brothers and those of the Bishop and Diocese. Cf. C/3: Weld to Gallwey, 14 January [1875]. Weld asked for "some facts if you can to shew how uneducated the Xaverian Brothers are", in order that he might argue that other schools were needed.

[2] Vaughan to Roman agent, 20 December 1874, cited in Case, pp. 89 and 91.

[3] Case, p. 28. The middle-class "requires peculiar attention on the part of Catholics, if the position of the Catholic body in England is to be improved or even maintained".

[4] Case, p. 29.

[5] Case, p. 46.

they had no desire to override the reasonable wishes of the Bishops, nor to defy their legitimate authority, but wished to use their privileges because

> it would be impossible for them to employ their subjects and let them labour for the glory of God if they were in all cases to wait for the permission which the Bishops are determined never to give them. It is a question of prudence and charity, whether, in any given case, the Society should use its privileges: but those privileges cannot have been conferred for no purpose, and the question is raised at once above all special considerations of time, person, and place, when it is sought practically to abrogate those privileges altogether, or to deny their existence.[1]

While the Jesuits denied that they wanted a monopoly of education, they also denied the Bishop's implied right of monopoly: it was not the doctrine of the Church, they said, "that the Bishop is bound to assume a monopoly of the management of that education, or even that he is justified in attempting to exclude from a share in it the religious Orders which have been sanctioned by the Holy See for the purposes of education".[2] They felt that the attempt to exclude them from educational work resulted in hardship for parents, "who have a right which even Bishops cannot claim to take from them, to choose, if they think it best, education conducted by religious persons for the children whom God has intrusted to them".[3] The Jesuits claimed that many of the laity, well conversant with the circumstances of the cases in which Bishops and Jesuits had clashed in London, Liverpool and Manchester, were convinced "that a determination exists in the minds of some members of the English Hierarchy to impair, as far as lies in their power, the influence of the Religious Orders in this country, and especially the influence of the Society of Jesus".[4]

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[1] Case, p. 49.

[2] Case, p. 33. Cf. Case, p. 100: "The Regulars in his diocese were not, as he [Vaughan] appears to have thought, his subjects in any matter relating to education".

[3] Case, p. 41. Cf. A.S.J., RY/2/2: Noble to Furniss, n.d.. Dr. Noble, a Manchester physician, complained to Weld that the laity were not consulted about the education they wished for their children. Cf. RX/5: Weld to Gallwey, 4 May 1875. Purbrick believed that the laity seemed "mostly to take our side, but wild talk will do us no good". Purbrick letters, f. 9: Purbrick to Morris, 19 June 1875.

[4] Case, pp. 47 and 48. Cf. Case, pp. 74-75: "It is supposed that Bishops are loyal to the Holy See, and do not resent the use in their own dioceses of privileges which that See has conferred on Regulars for the general good of the Church, which is a far greater good

Coleridge, collating the material which other Jesuits sent him, concluded that jealousy against the Society and a desire to monopolize the higher education of the laity led to the opposition to the Jesuit college. The Bishop of Salford was said to have shown "no lack of the aggressive and exclusive spirit which has caused so much grief and scandal in this country":

> No one would be tolerated among the Catholics of England who denied, in the abstract, any of the rights or prerogatives of the Holy See. But to oppose the exercise of the rights of Religious Orders, and to give an exaggerated impression of the omnipotence of the Bishops in their dioceses, to speak as if they had in their hands the monopoly, not only of the care of souls, but of the work of education of all grades, the highest as well as the most primary, is, in the ultimate analysis, to question the powers of the successor of St. Peter.[1]

The Jesuits believed that their responsibilities to the Church from which they received their privileges and their work did not cease

> because this or that Bishop, from grounds which they deemed evidently unreasonable or at least narrow, wished to exclude them from the sphere of education and keep that sphere in his own hands. One of the great ends for which God has established the Holy See at the head of the Church has always been acknowledged to be that individual bishops might be supervised and overruled, if they sought what they considered a particular good or interest to the detriment of the common good and interest of the Body of Christ.[2]

The Jesuits concluded, then, that they should not shrink from the use of their privileges (which, in this case, they believed conferred the right to open a school, without the leave of the Ordinary, wherever they had a church), especially "when their work is hindered by that very kind of opposition against which those privileges are intended to protect them".[3] They did not believe that Vaughan had the absolute right which he claimed to prohibit the Jesuit college. Cardinal Franchi, the Prefect of Propaganda, advised Weld, who had consulted him about the existence, recognition and

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than that of a particular diocese, and of which the Holy See is a better judge than an individual Bishop."

[1]Case, p. 50.

[2]Case, p. 59.

[3]Case, p. 60.

use of Jesuit privileges in general, that the Jesuits had a right to open a school on the property of their house.[1] Franchi advised Weld not to present a petition for a college in a particular place, but to stand upon the right which the Jesuits already had.[2] Weld, anxious to have a record of this important advice, asked the Cardinal to write to the General. Franchi did so, encouraging the English Jesuits to work in education, and mentioning the particular needs of the middle-class in London and Manchester.[3] Armed with this assurance, one consultor proposed writing to Manning about the possibility of a school in London since "good might come from a plain statement of facts", but the other consultors thought that "it might embitter a feeling which exists against us".[4] Gallwey admitted to Weld that the Jesuits were not prepared for immediate action in London and his chief object in writing to Manning would be "to get his refusal in writing -- I had no hope of a favourable answer". He believed that Manning had recently proceeded to Rome not only to receive his Cardinal's hat, but because he felt he was "being baited by the Jesuits", and was irritated by the complaints of the laity who were sympathetic to the Jesuits. While Gallwey denied rumours that the Jesuits had made complaints about the Bishops in general, he admitted that "many of the Laity and Clergy also give utterance to the notion that the Archbishop is very unfriendly to S.J.".[5] As there was little space on the Farm Street site and a London school would have to be built at some distance from the church, some of the consultors suggested that "the first attempt had better be made at Manchester".[6]

Weld insisted that he had consulted Cardinal Franchi for "the security of his own conscience", as he wished to know whether Dr. Turner's prohibition of a college still applied once the new Bishop in Salford had been appointed. Vaughan accused Weld of

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[1] P.C., 13 November 1874.
[2] A.S.J., C/3: Weld to Gallwey, 7 November [1874].
[3] A.S.J., C/3: Weld to Gallwey, 16 November 1874.
[4] P.C., 24 February 1875.
[5] A.S.J., AB/7: Gallwey to Weld, 7 March 1875.
[6] P.C., 13 November 1874. Manning's leave would be required for a different site, but Cardinal Franchi promised Weld that the opposition would be overcome. Case, pp. 78-9. Cf A.R.S.I., Angl. 1005.IV.1: Franchi to Beckx, 13 November 1874.

trickery and surreptitious conduct on three counts: in concealing from Cardinal Franchi Vaughan's opposition to a Jesuit school in Manchester, in laying Weld's own understanding of the original agreement with Dr. Turner before the Cardinal (since it differed from that of some senior Secular priests in Manchester), and in approaching other Cardinals of Propaganda and obtaining a favourable opinion as to the abstract rights of the Society regarding the use of privileges, even without the consent of Bishops.[1] Vaughan claimed that these declarations to Weld were then unworthily used by Gallway as legal decisions against the Bishop.

Gallwey now wrote to Vaughan to state that the General, anxious to carry out the suggestion of Propaganda, wanted to open a school in Manchester.[2] Vaughan did not reply, beyond inviting the Provincial to dine with him, but Gallwey had already left Manchester. When Gallwey wrote again on the first day of 1875, hoping for the Bishop's consent and blessing for the school, Vaughan requested that Gallwey delay opening the school until Propaganda had been consulted, and Vaughan had returned from the United States, since he was about to depart on an appeal for funds for the Mill Hill missioners.[3] Later Vaughan would argue that this letter contained or implied a notice that he questioned the rights asserted by the Jesuits, that he had appealed to Rome and had prohibited any further steps until a decision had been taken. The Jesuits maintained that they were unaware that Vaughan denied their right or that he had formally appealed to Rome, and so did not press him with proofs of the existence of privileges which he had never questioned. They understood that Vaughan merely requested the support of Propaganda in order that the rights of the Jesuits might not be exercised.[4] Weld advised Gallwey not to petition Vaughan again about the school "in

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[1] "It seems, however, as if there were persons -- not Protestants or enemies of the Church -- who do not appear to think that a member of the Society of Jesus can be trusted to state his own case of conscience fairly". Case, p. 74. Vaughan wrote that some "casual remarks made by Mgr. Howard to Father Weld on the preference shown by the Jesuits in England for the rich" led to the correspondence between the General and Cardinal Franchi. Case, p. 76.

[2] A.S.J., RX/5: Gallwey to Vaughan, 11 December 1874, cited in Case, pp. 83-85.

[3] A.S.J., RY/2/2: Gallwey to Vaughan, 1 January 1875.

[4] Case, pp. 97-8.

case he holds out", but suggested that he inform the Bishop that Propaganda had desired the Jesuits to begin the work, so no further leave was required, and no opposition to the Bishop was intended in merely carrying out those wishes: "you may put sugar on this pill without destroying the substance of it".[1]

Soon after Vaughan's return from the United States, the General ordered the Provincial "to carry out the instructions of Propaganda by opening a school of higher education in Manchester, and to try to secure the sanction of the Bishop of Salford".[2] Not every Jesuit agreed with this move. One consultor saw "so little benefit likely to be gained by a school in Manchester that he would not be disposed to insist upon it's [sic.] establishment in opposition to the Bishop", while two other consultors hoped to secure the school without acting openly against the Bishop, "especially as he had begged for a delay of the question". The Rector and the consultors of the College of which Manchester was part recommended, however, that the school commence, and Weld was anxious for "some thing that can be called a beginning", even if it were only a few boys.[3] Weld advised Gallwey to inform the Bishop that a start had been made, pre-empting the Bishop's appeal to Propaganda. Accordingly, Vaughan was informed the morning the school opened, Gallwey writing that "we are not acting disloyally towards you, or in a factious or intriguing spirit, as has been said, -- but following a course that is reasonable, right and dutiful".[4]

Vaughan immediately objected that the school had been opened "against the expressed and known prohibition of the Ordinary", and threatened that all the Jesuits employed in the school would cease to hold faculties in the diocese and be suspended absolutely a divinis if it were not closed within a week. He wrote to the Jesuit superior

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[1] A.S.J., C/3: Weld to Gallwey, 11 January [1875]. He suggested Gallwey might write to Vaughan, asking him to withdraw his opposition so as to free Gallwey from "a most unpleasant dilemma" of not wishing to oppose the Bishop while carrying out a request of Propaganda.

[2] P.C., 3 March 1875. Cf. A.S.J., C/3: Weld to Gallwey, 2 February 1875.

[3] A.S.J., C/3: Weld to Gallwey, 17 February 1875: "It seems to me that in England we talk so long about what we are going to do that other people have time to take the work out of our hands and do it themselves."

[4] A.S.J., RY/2/2: Gallwey to Vaughan, 13 March 1875, cited in Case, p. 118.

in Manchester that the opening of the school was a grave act of disobedience and insubordination and a direct violation of the agreement between Weld and Dr. Turner.[1] Moreover, he did not admit the right of the Society, which he said had not been proved to him.[2] The Provincial begged for a delay, so that he could confer with his consultors and inform the General. After being advised by some Jesuit theologians, Gallwey questioned the Bishop's proposed censure on several grounds. Bishops were strictly forbidden to inflict suspension on religious communities inconsulta Sede Apostolica, and were forbidden to withdraw faculties from so many of a religious community that only two remained to hear confessions in their church. Gallwey pointed out that a Bishop could not suspend a religious to whom he had once granted faculties to hear confessions unless for some cause connected with the confessional or for violating an interdict imposed by the Bishop himself. The Manchester Jesuits had not been charged with any such offences. Gallwey called to the Bishop's mind the canonical principles that if a community is punished by censure, those who are innocent do not incur the censure, that no one can be censured for the fault of another, and that a grave censure cannot be inflicted on any one who has not been guilty of a grievous sin. Gallwey stated that "whatever sin is committed, must be committed either by me or Father General".[3]

The Provincial and the Bishop agreed that no new scholars should be admitted, and that the school should be closed at the beginning of the following week for the holidays. Propaganda then communicated that proceedings against the Society were to be stayed while the Bishop wrote an account of the incident, and that the existing state of affairs should not be altered until a decision had been given. Gallwey believed that this notice from Propaganda exonerated him from his compromise with the Bishop. Although he understood that he was entitled to carry on the school until Rome should

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[1]A.S.J., RX/5: Vaughan to Birch, 16 March 1875.
[2]Vaughan to Gallwey: 16 March 1875, cited in Case, pp. 119-120.
[3]A.S.J., RY/2/2: Gallwey to Vaughan, 17 March 1875, cited in Case, pp. 122-3. Gallwey begins this section of his letter: "I venture, in all respect, to invite Your Lordship's attention to certain Pontifical Bulls and Decrees of the Sacred Congregation of Bishops and Regulars".

adjudicate, he still agreed to observe the arrangement which he had made with Vaughan. When the Bishop's secretary called on the Jesuit superior in Manchester to ask if the school had been closed "according to the Bishop's instructions", he was told, significantly, that it had been closed in obedience to the Provincial, agreeably to the arrangement with the Bishop.[1] At the end of the holidays, the school re-opened. The Provincial understood that he had observed the agreement that the school should close for the holidays. The Bishop, however, considered the re-opening "uncanonical" and a violation of the agreement which he had reached with Gallwey.

THE BISHOP'S CASE.

Vaughan presented a statement of his position to the Bishops assembled at their Low Week meeting in 1875, but would not show a copy to Gallwey, who was in ignorance of the charges made against him.[2] Gallwey was permitted, after making a request through Dr. Ullathorne and Dr. Clifford, to present a memorial on the issue to the assembled Bishops, although he thought it unnecessary and imprudent to accept an offer to present further material verbally.[3] His consultors did not at first

> approve of a memorial, but considered that it might be well that Dr. Clifford and perhaps Dr. Danell and Dr. Chadwick or even Dr. Ullathorne should be in full possession of the step which had been taken. They thought that if these Bishops were aware of the cautious manner in which all had been done by previous correspondence with Dr. Vaughan and the reasons which moved the Provincial to act, good might result from their being well informed upon these points.[4]

Vaughan had informed Gallwey that the Hierarchy had been appointed as a commission by Propaganda "to examine the whole question" and that the Hierarchy formed a "higher tribunal" before which the case lay. Gallwey, however, understood that

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[1] A.S.J., RX/5: Birch to Gallwey, 22 March 1875, cited in Case, p. 124.

[2] P.C., 15 April 1875. This statement of the case was printed as Vaughan's first pamphlet The Jesuit Claim to Found a College of the Order in Manchester, in opposition to the Judgment of the Ordinary (1875).

[3] A.S.J., RX/5: Gallwey to Dr. Brown, 4 November 1875.

[4] P.C., 30 March 1875. William Clifford was Bishop of Clifton, James Danell Bishop of Southwark and James Chadwick Bishop of Hexham and Newcastle. Gallwey's memorial to the Bishops, 7 April 1875, A.S.J., RX/5, is printed in Case, pp. 128-131.

Propaganda itself was the body which should decide the question, since he had not been notified (as a party to the case) that Propaganda had delegated its functions as a tribunal to the English Hierarchy, "or even -- what is not the same thing, but far less -- appointed the English bishops as a Commission to examine the whole matter".[1] Gallwey concluded his memorial to the Bishops:

> I hope that I have not, either in this paper, or in any part of my correspondence with his Lordship, used any word that is either disrespectful or unkind, and as I do not in any way complain of his Lordship for upholding what he thinks to be his Episcopal rights, or protecting what he conceives to be the interests of his flock, so on the other hand I hope that neither his Lordship of Salford, nor any of their Lordships, will take it amiss that we strive by all lawful means to preserve our right to take part in education, which is as essential to our Institute as the choir duties are to cloistered Orders.[2]

Vaughan believed that he was supported by the majority of the Bishops and claimed that, had they opposed him, he would have yielded.[3] William Waterworth, the Jesuit missioner at Worcester in Ullathorne's diocese, informed Gallwey that Ullathorne was indignant at "being made a Cat's paw of Bishop Vaughan, and dragged into a disagreeable controversy".[4] Ullathorne, who observed that "a new hierarchy is jealous of its rights and guards itself against any interference with those rights, until claims are canonically established", suggested that a good deal of trouble could have been avoided had the Bishops been distinctly informed of Jesuit privileges.[5] He informed Gallwey of what transpired at the Bishops' meeting when the case was discussed.[6] Bishop Brown of Newport and Menevia thought it unfair that the Jesuits had not been provided with a copy of Vaughan's pamphlet, although he would not send to Gallwey his own copy as it was marked "strictly private and confidential". He regretted that Gallwey had not addressed the Bishops, who wished to know whether the bull of restoration

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[1] Case, p. 116.
[2] Gallwey's memorial to Bishops, 7 April 1875, A.S.J., RX/5, cited in Case, p. 131.
[3] A.S.J., RX/5: Weld to Gallwey, 19 April 1875.
[4] A.S.J., RX/5: Waterworth to Gallwey, 6 May 1875. Waterworth added: "Dear Fr. Provincial we shall certainly pray that you may like Noe ride safely through this deluge of dirty waters."
[5] A.S.J., RX/5: Waterworth to Gallwey, 8 August 1875.
[6] A.S.J., RX/5: Ullathorne to Gallwey, 8 April 1875.

renewed the privilege of erecting a college wherever the Society served a church. If it had, Dr. Brown wrote, the matter would have been decided. As a result of Gallwey's absence Vaughan "was uncontradicted on several matters, telling in his favour, yet not convincing", and several Bishops had felt the need to hear the other side.[1]

Vaughan stated his arguments against the Jesuit college. He claimed that a diocesan college in Manchester was necessary if clergy were to be recruited for the diocese. The Jesuits responded that the word "clergy" was being used to exclude Regulars, "as if a Religious Priest did not belong to the ranks of the Clergy, because he is not so absolutely under the authority of the Bishop as a Secular Priest", and that the language used by Vaughan made it "a sort of duty for religious to oppose seculars, and for seculars to oppose religious".[2] Vaughan then suggested that the Jesuits were not popular in Manchester "except among a very small number of their personal friends", and that Jesuit education, since it concentrated on the classics and not on commercial subjects, was not adapted to the wants of Manchester: "I venture to think that the Church would make a serious blunder if in this centre of commerce we set down a College founded upon the system of 300 years ago".[3] The Jesuits pointed to their flourishing college in Liverpool, which seemed to satisfy the "commercial classes" and which was "the only instance of any importance in England in which the Society has been allowed -- and even in this case, not without great opposition -- to open a College for the middle classes of the kind which is primarily contemplated by the Institute, that is, a day school, such as used to be that of the Roman College at Rome". They also claimed an elasticity for the "Jesuit system", which could be modified to meet "the

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[1]A.S.J., L.B.C., II, f. 165: Brown to Gallwey, 22 May 1875.

[2]Case, pp. 44-5.

[3]Vaughan to Roman agent, 20 December 1874, cited in Case, p. 90. The discussion of "classical" and "commercial" education occurred in all Jesuit colleges, as elsewhere. Cf. M. Whitehead, "The Contribution of the Society of Jesus to Secondary Education in Liverpool. The History of the Development of St. Francis Xavier's College, c. 1840-1902", (University of Hull Ph.D. thesis 1984), pp. 292-298 and 362-372 for Liverpool examples.

requirements of any particular class or population".[1] The Jesuits believed that they were supported by the laity in their educational endeavours because the Society had

> throughout the times of persecution suffered and laboured much in the cause of religion in England, and especially . . . since the end of the last century its members have been actively employed in the work of educating almost more than in any other. Thus it inherits the confidence of a considerable number of the Catholics in this country, a confidence which, however, it could not retain if it were not at present satisfying the wants of those who trust their children to its guidance, or if it were "unsuitable" to the country.[2]

Weld wrote to Gallwey that it should not be assumed that the pupils in the proposed Jesuit college in Manchester would come exclusively from the Jesuit parish, for the college would provide a classical education to all boys capable of profiting by it: "How many parents in Glasgow wanted a classical education?"[3]

Gallwey, who thought that Henry Birch, the superior in Manchester, was too timid, had ensured that other Jesuits were "in the front to bear the brunt" of the expected trouble. Birch considered that Vaughan had been misled in believing charges that the Jesuits had sought to exercise undue influence in the parishes of the Secular clergy in Manchester:

> If members of the laity outside the district of the Holy Name have frequented either the services or the confessionals of the Church of the Holy Name, it has been their own act, and they have exercised a liberty in these respects, never denied to the laity anywhere, and equally open to them in respect of any other Church of the Diocese.[4]

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[1] Case, pp. 36-7. The Jesuit colleges at Stonyhurst, Beaumont and Mount Saint Mary's, were referred to as pensionnats. The colleges in Glasgow and Preston were similar to Liverpool. The Jesuits claimed that Vaughan insisted that the Jesuit college stay closed while the case was being decided because he feared that it would be a success with the commercial classes in Manchester if it remained open.

[2] Case, p. 44.

[3] A.S.J., C/3: Weld to Gallwey, 16 August [1874]. Cf. T. Parkinson, Education in Itself and in Its Relation to Present Wants (1863), pp. 32-36 for a defence of "classical" education, in a lecture delivered soon after the beginning of the Jesuit school in Glasgow.

[4] A.S.J., RX/5: Birch to [ ], 19 May 1875. Weld thought Birch "a man of small ideas" and "too small for that place". BN/6: Weld to Gallwey, 18 December 1874. Cf. P.C., 10 April 1874.

Birch wrote that he knew nothing of alleged boasting about the effect of Jesuit missions in London, Liverpool and Manchester, "but it would surely have been a great disgrace to the Society if its advent had not brought new life and an accession of strength". He insisted that the Manchester Jesuits had exercised great reticence in speaking about the Bishop and the case with the laity, and had done all they could to prevent scandal.

THE CASE IN ROME.

The dispute about the Manchester school was referred to Propaganda. Finding Cardinal Franchi sympathetic on the question of education, Weld also

> shewed him how the Bishops sacrificed our interests by dividing our parishes after we had built large Churches etc.. I then shewed him what sacrifices we had made for religion, how much we had spent on parishes, how much we had given up to the Bishops without compensation, all of which surprised him a good deal.[1]

Weld believed that the Pope and several of the most influential Cardinals were favourably disposed to the Jesuits: "if we can carry on the contest in good humour, so that in Rome they may see that giving us our right will not make a rupture, they will support us".[2] He also believed that Vaughan laboured at a disadvantage in Roman circles: "I fancy he cannot write Italian, and is not fresh in Latin so he does not write direct to the Cardinal".[3] Weld considered Vaughan "a good fellow, though I always think he has learned too much from the Archbishop",[4] but noticed that Vaughan first used one argument, then another, "which is a sign that they are none of them the real one".[5] The Jesuits remained optimistic, for they understood that the Pope had admonished Manning about his treatment of the Society. Weld wrote that Cardinal Franchi had told the Pope

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[1] A.S.J., C/3: Weld to Gallwey, 7 November [1874].
[2] A.S.J., C/3: Weld to Gallwey, 14 January [1875]. He noted that "they are very averse to a formal decision against a Bishop".
[3] A.S.J., RX/5: Weld to Gallwey, 14 April 1875.
[4] A.S.J., BN/6: Weld to Gallwey, 18 December 1874. Cf. RX/5: Weld to Gallwey, 12 May 1875, where Weld refers to Vaughan's "power of bully".
[5] A.S.J., RX/5: Weld to Gallwey, 10 April 1875. Vaughan wrote to Manning, if in Rome, or to the Rector of the English College, who carried the message to Propaganda.

> that these English Bishops now that they have got the Hierarchy they think they are to develop it and have everything in their hands whereas they ought to make use of religious too. He said the Pope quite agreed with him and told him to speak to Manning in that sense.[1]

The General did not believe the affair could be decided against the Jesuits, nor did Armellini, the Secretary of the Society, nor did Weld himself: "If reasons avail I think we are sure to win".[2] Weld reported that the Secretary of Propaganda agreed that the matter would end favourably for the Jesuits, although the decision could be delayed. Weld hoped that the decision would be given quickly, before the case reached the full Congregation, to avert "the great danger I feared, of it becoming the occasion of a general question against religious". Fearful that the Cardinals "might bring on a decree annulling our privilege in practice",[3] he was aware of the importance of the decision: "If we gain the point, the importance to the Society cannot be overestimated".[4]

Cardinal Franchi was annoyed that the Jesuits had publicised his letter to the General, which supported their work for middle-class education and urged them to begin in London and Manchester, and was "desperately afraid of having committed himself". He indicated to Weld that the Jesuits were not safe from being sacrificed at the last moment. So Armellini encouraged the Cardinal to stand firm and "to tell Vaughan openly what he always acknowledged that we have right with us".[5] Weld considered that Franchi was compromised by his letter should the question go before the Cardinals,[6] and wrote to Gallwey:

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[1] A.S.J., C/3: Weld to Gallwey, 19 March 1875.
[2] A.S.J., RX/5: Weld to Gallwey. 13 and 19 April 1875.
[3] A.S.J., RX/5: Weld to Gallwey, 28 April 1875.
[4] A.S.J., RX/5: Weld to Gallwey, 13 April 1875.
[5] A.S.J., RX/5: Weld to Gallwey, 24 April 1875. Weld did not understand why Franchi was offended by the use made of his letter, as it "was surely meant to be used". Cf. RX/5: Weld to Gallwey, 25 April 1875.
[6] A.S.J., RX/5: Weld to Gallwey, 28 April 1875. Cf. C/3: Weld to Gallwey, 12 March 1875: "The Cardinal cannot deny it now, for F. General has reminded him of it." Cf. Weld to Gallwey, 15 March 1875: "I am afraid the Cardinal feels that he has committed himself, and I fear he is looking for a way to get out of it". Weld did not consider the decision could be given against the Jesuits, but thought that Franchi might, unofficially, ask them to desist.

> On the whole I think there is a little weakness in his Eminence and that he will be very glad if we can fight it out with the Bishops without a row, but did not want to fight himself, but I think he is committed too much -- both by what he said and what he has written to back out if it comes to a regular appeal to the principle and as we should certainly have from others of the most influential Cardinals of Propaganda on our side. I am standing to our right.[1]

Weld was less confident, however, when he moved from Fiesole to Rome, where the decision was to be taken. While the abstract right of the Jesuits was not questioned, both Cardinal Franchi and Archbishop Howard, to whom Weld had spoken, thought it had been imprudent to assert it.[2] Dr. Clifford, who had accepted the role of peacemaker in Rome, "was evidently staggered at the idea of our going in the teeth of the Bishop".[3] The opinion in Rome also condemned Vaughan for his threat of suspension, as being quite out of his power, and for his pamphlet. Franchi met with Vaughan in an attempt to win him round -- a matter, Weld wrote, "of finding some way out of the clash without sacrificing the Bishop". Vaughan, however, would yield to none of the modes of compromise which Franchi proposed. Weld then tried, without any success, to persuade Franchi to tell Vaughan clearly "that we were according to Canon Law and that once that is understood it follows that he acted quite beyond his jurisdiction and therefore it is he that is in the wrong". In attempting to find a compromise, Franchi enquired if the Jesuits would be willing to take part in Vaughan's school. He was informed that the Jesuits "are not mere schoolmasters", but influenced youth in "the management and government as well as the teaching" and insisted on having their own school. Weld explained to Gallwey:

> The Cardinal told me the Bishops wanted the Congregation to go into the whole question of right, but he did not wish to do that, it was a large affair. I quite agreed, and added that there was no need of it: it was perfectly clear. I would demonstrate it to anyone. On the whole my interview has rather encouraged me; as I think the right is felt,

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[1] A.S.J., C/3: Weld to Gallwey, 11 January [1875]. Cf. C/3: Weld to Gallwey, 2 February 1875: "I think he will do anything for us that does not bring him into real conflict but if it comes to a formal representation to Propaganda I do not trust him".

[2] A.S.J., RX/5: Weld to Gallwey, 23 April 1875.

[3] Weld did not consider Clifford would be much help, as he was "very sore about our taking action in spite of the Bishop". A.S.J., RX/5: Weld to Gallwey, 28 April 1875.

> as well as the reasonableness, and weak as he is, he will probably find some means to avoid deciding directly against right.[1]

Another Cardinal advised Weld that a compromise would be necessary, as it was almost impossible to expect, if the matter went before the Congregation, a decision against the whole Hierarchy. Weld suggested to Gallwey that "the system of jealousy and repression", evidenced by the exclusion of Jesuits from education in large towns, should be brought into the open, and "will tell well with some of the principal Cardinals".[2] Weld remarked that Franchi, while still acknowledging the Jesuits' right, increasingly wished them to yield, since the Pope was impatient for an agreement.[3]

RESOLUTION.

Vaughan asked the General to set aside questions regarding the privileges of the Society and to close the school for the good of the diocese.[4] The General acceded to this request, since the privileges of the Society remained intact, and replied that "we have it much at heart to labour in the vineyard of the Lord in good harmony with the Most Reverend Bishops".[5] After a discussion between Franchi, the General and Vaughan, the Cardinal dictated to the General the substance of a letter, closing the school unconditionally, without, however, renouncing any privilege or acknowledging any fault. Weld noted that, while the General agreed to compromise, he insisted that the Bishop's school should be at such a distance from the Jesuit church that a Jesuit school in the future would not be rendered impossible: "We shall certainly have our school later: the time will depend on the extent of his failure to supply the want, and the demand of Catholics for education of the Society". Weld thought that "the necessity of a better school will be apparent at once",[6] and felt disappointed that Cardinal Franchi "had been playing with us, as I believe meaning us to yield all the time".[7] Weld

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[1] A.S.J., RX/5: Weld to Gallwey, 30 April 1875.
[2] A.S.J., RX/5: Weld to Gallwey, 6 May 1875.
[3] A.S.J., RX/5: Weld to Gallwey, 14 May 1875.
[4] A.R.S.I., Angl. 1014.IV.4: Vaughan to Beckx, Whitsunday, 1875.
[5] A.S.J., RX/5: Beckx to Vaughan, 25 May 1875, cited in Case, p. 136.
[6] A.S.J., RX/5: Weld to Gallwey, 15 May 1875.
[7] A.S.J., RX/5: Weld to Gallwey, 25 May 1875.

commented that Vaughan, in expressing his thanks to the General,"must have felt humble pie in writing this after what he had done and printed against us. Words do not cost much".[1]

VAUGHAN'S PAMPHLETS.

After Beckx consented to Vaughan's request, the Jesuits were advised to remain silent about the schools they hoped for in both London and Manchester.[2] Weld wrote that humility and obedience on the part of the Jesuits would be blessed, and might enable the Jesuits "to break through the cautious policy which has hung over our Province for so many years, and made us refuse every mission that has been offered us, so that all the great English speaking colonies are in the hands of foreigners".[3]
When Weld met with Vaughan and exchanged the pamphlets which the Bishop and the Jesuits had written, he found him very bitter against Gallwey and himself: "It is sad to see how much of his case consists of accusation, indeed I might say of deformation, a great deal of the rest of it is special pleading, though to one who does not know all the case it is very telling".[4] After reading the pamphlets, the General asked Gallwey to protest to Vaughan that his pamphlets contained incorrect assertions injurious to the Jesuits, and to ask for a rectification "for the sake of charity and mutual confidence".[5]
Vaughan was charged with mixing the issue in dispute in Manchester with

> charges of deliberate bad faith, violation of engagements, acting in the dark, inexactness of statement, and the like, against members of

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[1]A.S.J., RX/5: Weld to Gallwey, 18 May 1875.
[2]A.S.J., RX/5: Weld to Gallwey, 1 June 1875. Towards the end of 1875, Vaughan asked Gallwey to open a middle school at Accrington. None of the consultors advised that this should be done, and one "was disposed to think that the Bishop should be asked what he meant". P.C., 30 December 1875.
[3]A.S.J., RX/5: Weld to Gallwey, 25 May 1875. Weld suggested opening a Jesuit school in Southwark or St. Helen's.
[4]A.S.J., RX/5: Weld to Gallwey, 1 June 1875. Cf. C/3: Weld to Gallwey, 14 October 1875: "the line that you and I are guilty and not the Society has been Vaughan's from the beginning". Weld suggested that Gallwey put to Manning his dilemma -- seeking the honour of the calumniated Society and the desire to maintain charity: "If he wrote you a letter advising silence for the sake of peace, it would be a document as good in many respects as a defence."
[5]A.S.J., RX/5: Weld to Gallwey, 13 June 1875. Cf. RX/5: Weld to Gallwey, 23 September [1875]. Armellini was to ask Cardinal Franchi either for a formal letter condemning Vaughan's pamphlets, or to allow the Jesuits to defend themselves.

> the Society in high position of authority, and it is therefore difficult altogether to disengage the points which really admit of argument from other matters.[1]

The complaint was also made that Vaughan's language in his pamphlets, in which imputations of trickery and fraud were frequent, was not preserved in the document which he sent "to be used in the calmer atmosphere of Rome".[2] Thomas Greenan, one of the Jesuits in Manchester, claimed that

> The bishop's allegations are nothing more nor less than the common anti-jesuit Ushaw slang. Canon Carr of Formby -- the epitome of that sort of thing, made just the same complaints of our Society and curiously enough in almost the self-same words.[3]

Coleridge, the editor of The Month, complained that the columns of The Tablet (of which Vaughan was the proprietor) were opened to letters freely critical of the Jesuit system of education. In addition, "departing from the usual law of courtesy which is observed among themselves" by journals, The Tablet admitted letters attacking and criticizing articles which had appeared in The Month. Coleridge wrote that

> It cannot be denied that the anti-Jesuit feeling was distinctly fostered by this policy on the part of the directors of the Tablet, as well as by other means -- especially by the circulation of the pamphlet of the Bishop of Salford on the question which had shortly before arisen between himself and the Society concerning the opening of a college of the Society in Manchester.[4]

Although Vaughan's pamphlet had not been published, it was known to have been printed and circulated "among persons of influence, and that in a community like that of the Catholics in England -- a general impression is easily produced even by what

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[1] Case, p. 31.

[2] Case, p. 147.

[3] A.S.J., RY/2/2: Greenan to [ ], n.d.. The handwriting is that of Thomas Greenan. Cf. L.N., XXVIII(1905-06), 207-11.

[4] A.R.S.I., Angl. 1014.VI.19: H. J. Coleridge, "Remarks on Some Passages in the Sommario Addizionale". Cf. A.S.J., F/3: Ms. notes on disputes with Bishops, Westminster and Salford: "The whole tone of the 'Tablet' . . . is one-sided, as against the Society. Communications giving a favourable view of us are rejected, or the authors told not to write so favourably."

is directly communicated only to a few".[1] The distribution of the pamphlet contributed, Coleridge wrote, to "exciting in England impressions unfavourable to the Society" because it "contained almost numberless personal insinuations of the gravest character". Weld and Gallwey were accused of deliberate bad faith and the Jesuits in Manchester were said to be guilty

> of rousing the laity against the Bishop, and, in short, in a great many other ways insinuations of dishonourable conduct were freely made and repeated, and the Society in general was represented as having no regard to any interests but its own, and as seeking wealth and aggrandisement, when it professed to be serving God.

On the assumption that Vaughan acted on "the Christian law of judging every one in the most favourable and charitable manner possible", Coleridge concluded that "therefore the best things he could in his conscience say of Fathers Weld and Gallwey were the insinuations of which we are speaking".[2] Coleridge argued that the pamphlets had led to "a great amount of talk against the Society" and "a widespread feeling of hostility to Religious Orders for which the circulator of these pamphlets is largely responsible".[3] The college in Manchester had been closed on the authority of the General, and Coleridge insisted that this termination of the question was not equivalent to a decision in favour of the Bishop and against the Society. Yet the effect of the circulation of Vaughan's pamphlet, without any alteration or addition, after the decision had been taken, was to assert that Rome had decided that the Society's proceedings had been what the pamphlet claimed them to be:"'uncanonical',

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[1]The pamphlet was The Jesuit Claim to found a College of the Order in Manchester, in opposition to the Judgment of the Ordinary (1875). Vaughan wrote a second pamphlet, The Bishop of Salford's Reply: Uncanonical re-opening of the Jesuit College, and Summary of the whole Case (1875), responding to Gallwey's Facts and Documents relating to the College of the Society of Jesus in Manchester (which was translated into Italian for use at Rome: Fatti e Documenti relativi ai Collegio della Compagnia di Gesu in Manchester, presentati a Sua Eminenza Rma, il Cardinale Prefetto di Propaganda [1875]). The Jesuits later published The Case of the Bishop of Salford and the Society of Jesus (1879).

[2]Case, p. 148.

[3]Case, p. 102. Weld personally complained about the pamphlets to Vaughan in Florence, and considered that Vaughan was "evidently uneasy and wants to make up". A.S.J., C/3: Weld to Gallwey, 23 December 1879.

'surreptitious', 'contrary to the laws of the Church', and even scandalous". Coleridge believed that "the effect of these statements was to spread abroad the opinion that the question of right had been decided by the Holy See against the Society, just as the other statements of the Bishop were calculated to spread injurious views of the personal character of eminent members of the Society, and indeed of all its members". The Tablet stated that the Roman Curia had declared that the head of each diocese was the Bishop, to whom all the members of the clergy, whether Secular or Regular, were bound to tender obedience. Vaughan, spoken of by one of his fellow Bishops as the "Bismark" of the English Jesuits,[1] had answered a memorial of some laymen supporting the Jesuit college by reminding them that "it was not loyal or just to 'reopen' a question which had been 'decided' by the supreme authority in the Church". Coleridge wrote that

> such is the tone of his pamphlet all through, so full is almost every page of charges against the Society, some openly made, and others not quite so openly insinuated, that it is impossible to be certain that here also there does not lurk some charge of the same character with that which accused Father Weld of deliberate deceit, and that the words do not mean what they would mean if they occurred in an article in a Protestant newspaper, the readers of which are accustomed to find the name of "Jesuit" continually connected with accusations of fraud and deceit.[2]

POLLEN'S JUDGMENT.

In 1910, J. H. Pollen, the Jesuit historian whose mother was the daughter of Charles Laprimaudaye, Manning's curate at Lavington, wrote to John Snead-Cox concerning the forthcoming biography of Vaughan, which contained chapters both on the Manchester school dispute and the subsequent dispute which culminated in Romanos Pontifices. Snead-Cox acknowledged that there was space at the end of each of these chapters for a short statement of the Jesuit position to supplement his treatment of the questions, which had been sympathetic to Vaughan.[3] Pollen composed these

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[1] A.R.S.I., Angl. 1014.VI.19. Vaughan believed that the Jesuits applied this title to him. Vaughan to Manning, 25 May, 1875, cited in Leslie, p. 303. Cf. Snead-Cox, I. 300, where it was reported that "the friends of S.J." called Vaughan "a tyrant and a Bismarck".

[2] Case, pp. 114-5.

[3] A.S.J., RY/2/2: Snead-Cox to Pollen, 6 April, n.y.[1910].

statements, and, although not published, they (and the notes which accompany them) reveal a considered Jesuit commentary on these events, long after they were resolved.[1] With regard to the Manchester school, Pollen insisted that it should not be supposed that the Jesuits had no case. They were acting at the express desire of the Prefect of Propaganda, and were making use of privileges which Popes had granted and had sustained for centuries. Pollen did admit that where the Jesuits failed "was in the personality of their Provincial":

> Father Peter Gallwey, though a man of great gifts and heroic virtues, came of a stock for which fighting held no fears, and he entered too lightly into a contest, which could only end in defeat. I may add that his confreres in general sided against him, but they could do nothing, for in this case the initiative fell to the leader. His mistake (as I have heard him own) lay in not perceiving the true bearings of Cardinal Franchi's letter.[2]

Pollen claimed that Gallwey interpreted too narrowly this letter which exhorted the General to do more for middle-class education, specifying Manchester as one appropriate place, and suggesting he might use the Jesuit privilege of opening a college where they were already received:

> He regarded it as imposing a duty, in the execution of which he might not to look [sic.] aside to the right or to the left, nor allow anything to deter him. In reality the Cardinal's object was a broad one, the benefit of the diocese. He never contemplated the school becoming a casus belli against the Bishop. Father Gallwey ought to have recognised that Rome would delight in the energy and goodwill of a bishop like Vaughan, and would be sure to support his plans, when this could be done with any propriety. This failure on Father Gallwey's part led inevitably to a decision adverse to the Society.[3]

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[1] Cf. Sydney Smith's comments in his review of Snead-Cox, The Month, 116(1910), 15-16.

[2] A.S.J., RY/2/2: Pollen Ms., "Appendix. Note on the Case of the Jesuits (Chapter XII)". The comment on the school case was to fit on p. 304, and the comment on the jurisdiction case on p. 357, of Snead-Cox. Pollen has heavily corrected his text. At one stage he wrote that Gallwey was "no doubt imprudent and bellicose", and misled by what he heard from Rome.

[3] A.S.J., RY/2/2: Pollen Ms.. Cf. OA: Eyre to Purbrick, 22 February 1884. Eyre reported the remark that difficulties could be expected "considering that the Province is stacked with powerful Irishmen, each of whom is flourishing his shillalagh [sic.] ".

Pollen recalled that the situation was confused at the time, but, as Armellini wrote to Gallwey: "However euphemistic be the letter of His Eminence to the Bishop, it is substantially in favour of our schools".[1] Pollen also commented that Vaughan's argument against the Jesuit college was not "at first sight convincing", while his repeated threats of censure and gratuitous attacks on Jesuit privileges left the Jesuits no alternative "except to continue the struggle until their privileges were recognised".[2]

There is much in Pollen's argument that the Jesuits' action was not unreasonable. He overstated his case, however, in arguing that other Jesuits opposed Gallwey but were powerless. There is some evidence of opposition among the very few Jesuits who were consulted, but Gallwey was not unsupported. Once the decision was taken, however, there was no wavering, nor any overt sympathy for the Bishop's position. When Herbert Vaughan visited Stonyhurst in May 1875, he found himself involved in an argument with William Eyre. Eyre described it:

> The conversation ended by his saying that there was no use trying to keep the peace, that if God had not meant war he would not have allowed Father Provincial to be elected. I ended all by saying that when the war began, his Lordship would know where to find me, namely in the van of the Jesuit army.[3]

The final conflict of the war, as Vaughan and Eyre predicted, was beginning.

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[1] A.S.J., RX/5: Armellini to Gallwey, 7 April 1875. Armellini followed Weld's advice of suggesting to Franchi that the Pope speak with Vaughan (as he had with Manning) about his relations with the Regulars: "One word said by the H.F. to this Bp. who is a follower of the Card. and one of his Oblates, may do more good than any conference before the Cardinal Prefect". RX/5: Armellini to Gallwey, 19 April 1875.

[2] Hermann Walmesley, the English Assistant, researched the Beckx-Gallwey correspondence for 1873-1876. He noted that Franchi clearly accepted the Jesuit right to open a school where they were established, and that Beckx insisted that false charges should be answered: "It is a pity that Cox in writing of this matter did not say in so many words that his readers must bear in mind that there is another side to the question." A.S.J., RY/2/2: Walmesley to Pollen, 11 May 1912.

[3] A.S.J., OA: Eyre to Johnson, 7 May 1875.

IV. ROMANOS PONTIFICES

Manning had confided to Vaughan in March 1875 that the real issue in the Manchester school dispute was "the relations of the Society to the Bishops":

> I have long felt that the English Province is altogether abnormal, dangerous to themselves, mischievous to the Church in England. I have seemed to see it and feel it with more than natural intellect and natural discernment. I am now convinced that I am right, and I propose to go through the whole work or warfare which has now been begun -- for their sakes as well as for ours.[1]

Manning proposed at the Low Week meeting of Bishops in 1877, therefore, that the issue of jurisdiction be referred to Rome for settlement. Ullathorne and Clifford drew up a list of the matters on which the Bishops sought a decision and summarized them in twelve dubia, which were forwarded to Rome. The Bishops petitioned for a constitution, similar to Apostolicum Ministerium, which would determine the relations between Bishops and Regulars in the new situation after the restoration of the Hierarchy.[2] Manning suggested to Ullathorne that the Bishops merely wanted a "solution of doubt, definition, and declaration", not a modification of the relations existing between Bishops and Regulars.[3] Ullathorne was more forthright in stating that the position of Regulars had utterly changed over the centuries, and that this should be reflected in church law. "Formerly established and upheld by the sovereigns or landowners, and having their own work apart", he wrote, "they are now everywhere the co-operators with the Bishops".[4] The exact meaning of that "co-operation" would now be debated, in the United Kingdom and in Rome. The debates, and the situation in the dioceses which they reflected, will be examined in this chapter.

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[1]Manning to Vaughan, 25 March 1875, cited in Snead-Cox, I. 293.

[2]A.S.J., RZ: Relatio super Dubiis ad Episcoporum in Anglia Jurisdictionem et Regularium Privilegia spectantibus (1877). The dubia are listed in Snead-Cox, I. 322. Manning, together with Clifford and Bagshawe, presented the statement of the Bishops' case in Rome, and Ullathorne accompanied them.

[3]Manning to Ullathorne, 9 May 1877, cited in Leslie, p. 305. The Scottish Hierarchy formally associated itself with the English Hierarchy in the case in July, 1878.

[4]Ullathorne to Manning, 1 January 1879, cited in Leslie, p. 306.

Despite the Provincial Synods, several matters which concerned Regulars needed resolution. Although the Manchester college had been closed, the Jesuits still claimed the right to open colleges without the leave of the Bishop, by converting a foundation already existing to another use. The right of the Bishops to inspect poor schools, pious establishments or cemeteries in Regular missions was disputed, as was their right to divide missions served by Regulars (and their obligation to give preference to Regular clergy in serving the new missions), to force head priests and assistants on Regular missions to attend clerical conferences and synods or give an account of mission finances. George Porter travelled to Rome in April 1877 "to expose our difficulties with the Bishops and the dubious points upon which we differ".[1] He was convinced that officials in Rome understood the difficulties which existed between the Jesuits and some Bishops in England: "So far all is couleur de rose. I only fear we are eating the plums first and that the dough will have to be chewed separately".[2]

James Jones, who had succeeded Gallwey as Provincial in 1876, realised the importance of the Bishops' dubia. He wrote to the Rectors that the Bishops had forwarded a complaint to Rome in their Relatio "in which it is alleged that neither vita communis nor observantia religiosa are maintained in the Missionary Residences of Regulars in this country, and this is urged as a reason for subjecting these residences to the authority of the Bishops according to the constitutions enacted for the government of suppressed monasteries".[3] Jones stated that these were "about the gravest charges that have ever been brought against us, and unless they are disproved in Rome, will lead to our having to resign our missions and smaller houses". He stressed the importance of disproving the allegations, and asked the Rectors to ensure the observance of the essentials of common life. He specifically requested them to ensure

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[1] P.C., 1 and 27 March 1877.
[2] A.S.J., C/4: Porter to [ ], 16 April 1877. Cf. Porter to [ ], 8 April 1877.
[3] A.S.J., RX/5: Jones to Rectors, 4 April 1878. Bishop Amherst claimed that the Relatio only meant that some religious did not live in what were, in the technical sense, religious houses. L.B.C., II, f. 238: Amherst to Jones, 11 June 1878. Jones, an Irishman, was Vicar General of Jamaica 1865-68, then Professor of Moral Theology at St. Beuno's 1871-76, and Rector from 1873.

that consultations, exhortations and cases of conscience were held in the missionary Colleges, and that the General's Monita concerning missions were observed, especially the regulations concerning religious poverty.[1]

Jones later wrote to the Prefect of Propaganda , "exposing the spirit shewn by some of the English Bishops towards Religious, as it is manifested by both their acts and words", and criticizing their false idea of episcopal authority and of the exemptions and privileges of Regulars. He listed each nineteenth century dispute with an English or Scottish Bishop, from the exclusion of Jesuits from London and Liverpool, through the period of relative peace under Wiseman and Grant, to the troubles concerning jurisdiction.[2] Jones considered that the Bishops intended "to keep down religious". He explained, vigorously and by no means even-handedly, that the discord between Secular and Regular clergy dated from the time after the Reformation, when the Secular clergy demanded Bishops "as a divine right in an independent and national spirit", and were supported in this by the Jansenist, Saint-Cyran, in his Petrus Aurelius, nominally exalting the Bishops but in reality attacking the Holy See and the Jesuits.

Jones wrote that he was

> far from wishing to accuse the members of the renewed hierarchy of any intention to renew or perpetuate this national spirit which at all times has been so great a source of evil to the Church in our island, but certain writings that have been put forth by Ecclesiastical dignitaries and clergy in high position have caused many to fear that that spirit is not yet extinguished amongst us.

He quoted the recent almanacs of the dioceses of Liverpool and Salford which referred to "the abnormal and unjust rule" of the Archpriest, "this previously unheard of form

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[1]These Monita were issued in February 1858 and January 1870. P.C., 23 March 1858.

[2]A.S.J., RZ: A sua Eminenza Reverendissima Il Cardinale Simeoni, Prefetto della S. Congregazione de Propaganda Fide. Questo Privato Memoriale del P. Giacomo Jones della Compagnia di Gesù, Preposito Provinciale in Inghilterra (1879). The letter, of 32 pp., is printed. There are different drafts of this letter, in Italian and English, with additional material. Cf. A.R.S.I., Angl. 1014.IV.10 (with material on Vaughan and Manchester), and A.S.J., F/3 (from which the quotations are taken). The General decided this letter should not be presented to the Cardinal, but, on Ballerini's advice, later gave permission for it to be shown to the Pope. C/4: Porter to Purbrick, 19 May and 1 June 1880.

of government", as a state of "mitigated Presbyterianism".[1] Religious were accused of enjoying privileges which could never have existed under the ordinary government of the church and of having "corporate interests too fondly cherished". Jones argued that Catholics who read these opinions saw in them "to their great scandal nothing more than an effort to depress the religious orders and those who understand things better see also an approach to the Protestant spirit of the independent character of Bishop". Incidents at the Fourth Provincial Synod had convinced him that this spirit was not confined to only one or two Bishops, for, prior to the Synod, Jones claimed, the Bishops had agreed that they would "oppose themselves to a further development of Religious Orders" and sought to expropriate what belonged to Regulars and declare it to be diocesan property. Regulars were exhorted to renounce their privileges, as the Bishops attempted to subject all churches and schools to visitation. The dubia forwarded to Rome, he claimed, were "so worded that whereas they apparently regard only obvious principles of Canon Law. they are evidently intended to suggest answers subversive of the right of religious". So notorious was the Bishops' opposition to the Jesuits, Jones concluded, that "many seculars wonder that the enemies of the Society in France have not used the conduct of the English Bishops as an arm against us there":

> This is the spirit that is now moving Rome to obtain a decision that will limit the action of religious and reduce them to the state of a national clergy, and it is against this spirit that we ask protection. We ask for no new legislation, but simply that the law as it is be clearly declared.[2]

THE DEBATE IN JOURNALS.
I. NEWMAN AND THE EPISCOPATE.

While a decision was awaited for over four years, aspects of the case were debated in English journals. The Month published in September 1878 an article on "The Tractarian and Ritualist Views of the Episcopate", occasioned by the re-publication of

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[1] Almanac of the Diocese of Liverpool (1879), p. 18; Almanac for the Diocese of Salford (1878), p. 47, cited in Jones's Memoriale, A.S.J., F/3.

[2] Weld argued that one effect of the violation of the exemption of religious in Europe had been "the nationalization of religious orders, and hence the formation of a national church". A.S.J., C/3: Weld to Gallwey, 15 May 1875.

Newman's Anglican writings in Via Media. Henry Coleridge contrasted the view taken by the Ritualists of the office and authority of the Anglican episcopate with the view of Newman while he was an Anglican. Coleridge attempted to show that the view of the episcopate taken by the Tractarians, based on the epistles of Ignatius of Antioch, was excessive, because exclusive. Newman had considered the Bishop in each diocese to be the one centre of unity and authority and was comparatively indifferent to the "Bench of Bishops", which became for some Tractarians a supreme authority, representing the Church in a way which individual Bishops did not.[1] Coleridge noted that when Newman wrote to Wiseman to inform him that he had become a Roman Catholic, Newman understood that he was transferring his allegiance to the Pope. Coleridge argued that, had Newman remained an Anglican, and had his movement advanced like that of the Ritualists, he would have realised the insufficiency of his own theory of unity and its need to be supplemented. The Ritualists had endeavoured to found and manage religious orders, the regulation of which was one of those points in the Catholic Church for which the existence and influence of a central authority was, Coleridge claimed, particularly necessary. The Ritualists, who disavowed and rebelled against the authority of their Bishops, were thus inconsistent with their principles and with the teaching of the early Tractarians, whose legitimate descendents they claimed to be. While Newman made a Pope of his Anglican Bishop, the Ritualists made Popes of themselves.[2] The Tractarians may have been excessive in their deference to Bishops, but the Ritualists, through fear of the heresy or the Erastianism of their Bishops, had fallen short of the right measure of deference:

> To consider that each Bishop has a universal mission, identical in its range with that of the Apostles, as conveyed by our Lord's words, is to suppose that our Lord has provided for the unity and harmony of the government of His Church by a means which is directly calculated to promote division. There would then come to be as many centres of unity as to faith and discipline as there are episcopal sees in the world.[3]

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[1] The Month, n.s., 15(1878), 497 and 505.
[2] The Month, n.s., 15(1878), 497.
[3] The Month, n.s., 15(1878), 10.

The Jesuits had decided at this time to insist on the independence of religious orders in the work committed to them by the Holy See, since "some certainly inadequate ideas on the practical extent and use of that supremacy were current in certain quarters".[1] To do this quietly and inoffensively, they decided not to publish a distinct article in The Month, but to append, to Coleridge's article, a note written by Jones:

> The danger of laying profane hands on the rights and functions of the Holy See, by an undue exaltation of episcopal authority, is fully exemplified by the theory repeatedly put forward within the last few years, that to the Bishops of a country exclusively belongs the authority to regulate and control measures affecting Catholic education. We do not assert that those who propound this theory mean to call in question the immediate authority of the Holy See; but they most assuredly have used it to strike at the independence and efficiency of those by whom that authority is locally represented; and in so doing they have indirectly though unconsciously assailed that authority itself.

Jones stated that the Regulars represent the immediate authority of the Holy See, and that some Regulars are exempted from all other authority in carrying out commissions in the work of education:

> The Church has intrusted a commission, let us suppose, to this or that religious body for the education of Catholic youth. To enable that body to do its work effectively, she exempts that body from all other ecclesiastical authority than that of the Holy See. To ignore this commission and exemption would be as un-Catholic and disloyal, as it would be to subject its operations to the tribunal of Catholic or non-Catholic public opinion.[2]

It was later insinuated that the whole article had been written with the single purpose of making an attack on the Bishops in the note. Coleridge denied any attack and Edward Purbrick, the Rector of Stonyhurst, assured Vaughan that the note had not been written by Coleridge and was composed only "to undo scandal after we had, to prevent

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[1] The Month, n.s., 15(1878), 497. Cf. Coleridge's comments in A.R.S.I., Angl. 1014.VI.19.

[2] The Month, n.s., 15(1878), 12. Jones first saw Coleridge's article when it was set in type. Coleridge explained to the consultors that he had been directed by the Provincial to write the article to point out Newman's exaggerated view. P.C., 13 November 1878.

scandal, remained silent under many cruel attacks". Purbrick added that whatever a Jesuit said was liable in some quarters to be misunderstood.[1]

The Tablet, at first, reviewed Coleridge's article favourably, commenting that the "Catholic notion of the submission due to the episcopate is also very fairly stated, though not, perhaps, without what may be called a regular bias, and we are not sure that the opinion of the writer, that no more authority belongs to an extra-Synodical gathering of Bishops than is due to the authority of each of them, would be universally accepted".[2] The subsequent issue of The Tablet, containing an article universally attributed to Vaughan, was more severely critical, and put forward charges of habitual unstraightforwardness.[3] On learning that the note in The Month had been added by a different author, The Tablet withdrew its charge but maintained that the style of the writer in The Month was "nagging".[4] Attacks on the Jesuits continued in The Tablet until December, with Vaughan distinguishing between the Society and the writers of The Month, whom he accused not only of attacking the Bishops but of endeavouring to appeal to public opinion on matters which were "before the peaceful tribunals of the Holy See". He contrasted the Jesuit writers with the Ritualists in their treatment of Bishops; while the Ritualists openly denounced Bishops, The Month made veiled attacks upon them.[5] Two issues were specifically mentioned: the inspection and examination in religious knowledge in poor schools under Jesuit control, and the independence and autonomy of colleges of higher education conducted by the Regulars. The Jesuit

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[1] A.S.J., DG/3: Purbrick to Vaughan, n.d. [November 1878].

[2] The Tablet, 14 September 1878, p. 331. The Month argued that the Catholic system did not speak of the Hierarchy, but of Bishops, each in his own diocese. Beyond the Bishop was a Metropolitan, and the Pope. Informal assemblies of Bishops, unless in Synod, were allowed weight, influence, importance and usefulness, but no new authority. Measures decided at these meetings affected each diocese by the authority of the diocesan Bishop, not the Hierarchy. The Month claimed that this did not minimize the rights of Bishops, but rather defended them: "if all the Bishops of the Hierarchy but one were to agree on some disciplinary rule, that rule would certainly not bind in the diocese of the dissentient". The Month, n.s., 15(1878), 506.

[3] The Tablet, 21 September 1878, pp. 357-8. Cf. The Month, n.s., 15(1878), 498.

[4] The Tablet, 5 October 1878, p. 427.

[5] The Month, n.s., 15(1878), 499. The Month countered that Vaughan was the first writer to refer publicly to a case which was before the tribunal at Rome.

consultors discussed whether Vaughan's accusations should be answered, and whether in The Tablet or The Month. They concluded that the insinuations were so unfair that it was necessary to respond, that the reply should appear in The Month and that Coleridge should be the author, so that "the Provincial should not appear to be mixed in the controversy".[1]

Dr. Vaughan wrote to the Provincial of his annoyance at "the many statements made upon the hostility of the Bishops and himself in particular to Religious Orders -- and that he had been traduced by the Fathers of the Society". The consultors warned Jones against claiming that the Society identified itself with The Month, "as so large a number of the Society disapproved of the style of writing often adopted and of the political questions introduced and of the want of defence of the Pope and particularly as so many disapproved of the late articles written upon the Episcopacy". They advised Jones not to act with Vaughan as the representative of the Bishops and to be very guarded in dealing with him, since Gallwey's confidential communications with the Bishop had been made known. Despite their advice to ask Vaughan for more details rather than meeting with him, "as the charges against members of the Society are too general", Jones visited the Bishop in Salford.[2] He requested that the objectionable statements in the Bishop's pamphlets, which he considered to be grievously injurious to the reputation of the Society, be withdrawn and stated that Coleridge understood the comments in The Tablet to be a personal attack, and to be Vaughan's work. Jones felt sheltered against the personal abuse which he had brought upon the editor of The Month, and was anxious to prove his support for his writers. Vaughan emphatically denied that the attack was personal, would withdraw nothing, and asked that objectionable statements be pointed out to him. As Gallwey had already done this, the consultors suggested representing the matter to Cardinal Simeoni in Rome. Jones directed John Morris to prepare a statement of the objectionable articles and letters

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[1] P.C., 13 November 1878.
[2] P.C., 9 October 1878. The consultors voiced their unease with the censorship of The Month, especially the difficulty censors would have in correcting Coleridge.

which had appeared in The Tablet and elsewhere which remained uncorrected. Morris, formerly the secretary to two Archbishops, asked to be excused, so Jones offered to perform the task himself and to translate the articles in The Month into Latin "that the provocation and the motive of self-defence might stand forth on our side".[1] He refused to allow Jesuits to co-operate with The Dublin Review until Vaughan made reparation commensurate with the injury done by his pamphlets.[2] Porter later wrote that "Acts of restitution, whether in the case of stolen goods or injury to character, are among the most difficult to human nature; the fact of a mitre does not render such acts any easier to its wearer".[3]

Two Secular priests wrote to newspapers minimising the range and effect of the privileges and exemptions granted to religious orders by the Holy See. Canon Toole of the Salford chapter wrote to the Manchester Guardian to claim that exemptions were granted to Regulars to secure observance of their rule and peace among their own members.[4] In many respects, he argued, Regulars were indeed subject to the jurisdiction of Bishops. After the editor of the Manchester Guardian had commented on the debate in The Tablet and The Month, an anonymous correspondent wrote to defend The Month and the Jesuits, and admitted that the Secular clergy owed their obedience to their Bishops and received their jurisdiction from them:

> But with regulars, . . . this is not the case, and therefore your simile does not hold good, when you say that "it is as though the Brigade of Guards, while being led against an enemy, were to turn suddenly on their leaders, and accuse them of treachery". The Jesuits are the body guard of the Pope only, not of the Bishops, nor are the latter rightly considered the leaders of the former, in the ordinary acceptation of that term.[5]

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[1] P.C., 20 October 1878.
[2] A.S.J., RX/5: Jones to Coleridge, 12 and 15 October 1878, and Jones to Vaughan, 9 November 1878.
[3] A.S.J., C/4: Porter to Jones, 16 January 1880.
[4] 15 October 1878, cited in The Tablet, 9 November 1878, pp. 582-3. Canon Toole was said to be "a great opponent of the Society". Case, p. 35. Cf. A.S.J., RX/5: Weld to Gallwey, 19 April 1875: "It was he chiefly that kept us out of Manchester for nearly 20 years".
[5] Cited in The Tablet, 9 November 1878, p. 582. When The Tablet criticised The Month for not disavowing this letter, the Jesuits replied that they had no commission to supervise the whole press, Catholic and Protestant. Cf. Dr. Clifford's diary, 1 March 1881, cited in Snead-Cox, I. 347: "I told him [Cardinal Bonnechose] of the line taken up by the Jesuits

The Reverend the Honourable William Petre, the founding headmaster of the school at Woburn Park in Surrey, wrote in The Tablet that the Bishops were the immediate and only representatives of the authority of the Holy See to the Secular clergy and the laity, and that religious orders enjoyed entire exemption only for their own members and autonomy.[1] Petre had published pamphlets which described the Jesuits as unsuitable to teach the higher classes in England, and a correspondence ensued in The Tablet from October 1878 until February 1879, in which, the Provincial complained,

> our whole system of education was attacked and the Protestant system exalted. Our restriction on books, our asceticism, our safeguard for purity and modesty were ridiculed, our care of the scholars held up as tyranny, to the triumph of infidel journals, who wrote at length on this exposure of the Jesuit system but not one Bishop raised his voice in defence of a system so approved by the Church.[2]

Dr. Vaughan proposed to Purbrick that, as Rector of Stonyhurst, he should defend, even anonymously, the Jesuit system of education against Petre's attack, but Purbrick declined. He claimed that, as Petre had criticised an article in The Month, it was for that journal to take up the matter, if it chose, for he saw that he would be drawn into open controversy with Petre if he refuted his position "as it ought it be refuted". As a Jesuit, Purbrick was subject to censorship, so could not be as expeditious as Vaughan wanted. Moreover, Purbrick hesitated to discuss such matters in public:

> Where in the Church has this been the practice of loyal Catholics? Mr. Petre implies . . . that he is using his pen, tongue, and energy to improve things existing. Will he really maintain that he has a mission to teach the Religious Orders of the Church in pamphlets for the general public, Catholic and heretical, how they are to improve

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in the Month, etc., of Regulars being a bodyguard of the Pope and necessary as a kind of watch over the conduct of Bishops as a security against schism."

[1]The Tablet, 28 September 1878, p. 396 and 12 October 1878, pp. 461-2.

[2]A.S.J., F/3: Jones to Simeoni, 1879. For Petre's comments on Jesuit education, see his Remarks on the Present Condition of Catholic Liberal Education (1877), esp. pp. 19-21; The Position and Prospects of Catholic Liberal Education (1878), esp. Part I, pp. 11-14, 45-46, and Part II, pp. 7-40; and Catholic Systems of School Discipline (1878). Cf. V. A. McClelland, "'The Liberal Training of England's Catholic Youth': William Joseph Petre (1847-93) and Educational Reform", Victorian Studies, 15(1971-72), 257-277.

> their methods of carrying out the Apostolic work entrusted to them? If so, then his self-conceit is as exorbitant as his principle is unCatholic.[1]

Petre later tried to make peace with the Jesuits, offering to make any reparation which they required. He regretted writing as he had, claiming that it was an indulgence due to youth and inexperience, for he was drawn aside by the strong anti-Jesuit current in which he lived.[2]

II. MANNING 'ON THE WORK AND WANTS OF THE CHURCH IN ENGLAND'.

In October 1878, The Month reviewed Abbé Bougaud's Le Grand Péril de l'Eglise de France au xix^me^ siècle, which had commented upon the insufficiency of the French clergy. Coleridge acknowledged that Bougaud evidently did not "maintain the opinion that the whole work of the Church is confided by Providence and by the Holy See to Bishops and the secular priests, and that whatever work is done by regulars is done by them as supernumaries and volunteers, helping others in the discharge of duties which properly belong to them alone".[3] Coleridge did claim, however, that Bougaud may have exaggerated the danger of the shortage of clergy by ignoring the fact that a large part of the work of the Church was done by the Regular clergy: "he has not spoken -- perhaps he did not think it requisite to speak -- with all that fulness of statement which sympathetic neighbours would have liked".[4] These comments had an obvious resonance in the English context. The Tablet interpreted the writer of the review in The Month to urge "as a means of preventing jealousies and displeasure at work done by others because we cannot do it ourselves, the throwing open of every diocese to every religious order that wishes to enter it".[5] Coleridge replied that it was a simple absurdity to question the perfect right of Bishops to refuse admission to a diocese or some of its works. The object of his article had been to argue not that the Secular clergy should be

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[1] A.S.J., DG/3: Purbrick correspondence, Purbrick to Vaughan, n.d. [November 1878].
[2] A.S.J., C/4: Porter to Jones, 16 January 1880. Cf. P.C., 5 August and 3 December 1878. The consultors "did not deem it requisite that we should cultivate intimacy with him".
[3] H. J. Coleridge, "Dangers to the Church in France and England", The Month, n.s., 15(1878), 134.
[4] The Month, n.s., 15(1878), 140.
[5] The Tablet, 9 November 1878, p. 581.

excluded from other work than that of the parochial ministry, but that others besides the Secular clergy should not be excluded from that other work. The effect of the misrepresentation, Coleridge claimed, was to charge the Jesuits with disrespect for the Bishops. The Tablet commented that the conduct of The Month in this matter only confirmed the impression of "a certain narrowness and touchiness".[1]

The first issue of The Dublin Review under Vaughan's proprietorship also reviewed Bougard's book in an article by Cardinal Manning, "On the Work and Wants of the Church in England", which supplemented his 1863 article of the same title.[2] Manning, who held the necessity of a regularly constituted Hierarchy for the essential existence of the Church, stated that, from the Reformation to the restoration of the Hierarchy, the Church in England lay in a depressed and enfeebled state: "for a long time there was no bishop at all, then came one alone; then for another interval there was again none at all; then some men began to say that a bishop was not wanted except to confirm". The Vicars Apostolic had been denied the name of true pastors, and, Manning claimed, the divine organization of the Church had ceased for three hundred years in England. With the restoration of the Hierarchy, the Bishops exercised "a divine, ordinary and immediate jurisdiction of their own, still further extended in its reach as delegates of the Holy See".[3] Coleridge, who believed that part of this Dublin Review article was framed with the intention of directly contradicting what had been written in The Month, claimed that Manning's argument was a development of what "had already been set forth in the Dioceses of Liverpool and Salford in Almanacks published by authority". Coleridge admitted that Manning, although "his statements may have differed from theirs as to their theological teaching", did not, like Vaughan, impute bad faith to the writers of The Month, nor engage in personal attacks so freely

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[1]The Tablet, 7 December 1878, p. 711.
[2]The Dublin Review, 3rd series, 1(1879), 49-73. Jones quoted Manning's article in his 1879 letter to Cardinal Simeoni, A.S.J., F/3.
[3]The Dublin Review, 3rd series, 1(1879), 70-71. Manning used almost identical language in his 1889 notebooks when explaining his attitude to the Jesuits .

and so repeatedly.[1] The Jesuits concluded that priests such as Petre and Toole, and Bishops such as Manning and Vaughan, held the very opinions about Regulars against which it had been the object of Jones's note in The Month to protest.

Some of these criticisms of The Month which The Tablet published were repeated in a Sommario Addizionale concerning the relations of the Jesuits and the Bishops, forwarded to Rome and almost certainly the work of Vaughan. Coleridge complained that extracts from The Month in this Sommario were inaccurately quoted (-- one was even wrongly attributed to The Month) or conflated, without any explanation of the context in which they occurred. He insisted that not one of the passages had anything to do with the relations of the Society with the Bishop, and that the object of the articles from which the extracts were taken was, in each case, something altogether different from what was claimed in the Sommario. These attacks, he wrote, were intended

> to prove that there is among the members of the Society a certain animus of hostility to the Bishops. It may fairly be asked, what kind of animus is exhibited, by the charges in the Tablet and the Sommario, against the Society -- not indeed, it is hoped, on the part of the Bishops, but at least on the part of one of them?[2]

In December 1878, The Month surveyed the series of attacks on the Jesuits, and stated that the Jesuit writers did not think it right to keep silence while The Month was misrepresented as being "hostile to the English secular clergy, disrespectful to the Bishops, and not quite free from heterodoxy itself".[3] They complained of Vaughan's anonymous attacks in The Tablet, which were read by many whom he knew would not read explanations of them in The Month:

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[1]A.R.S.I., Angl. 1014.VI.19: H. J. Coleridge, "Remarks on Some Passages in the 'Sommario Addizionale', relating to The Month and Catholic Review", undated [1880]. These remarks, 23 pages of heavily-corrected typescript, were forwarded to the General. Porter was warned to be especially cautious in showing Coleridge's writings to Cardinal Simeoni, "as Bishop Vaughan might deem it a duty to make representations against statements made in it". P.C., 19 January 1881.

[2]A.R.S.I., 1014.VI.19 [1880].

[3]"On a Late Series of Articles in the Tablet", The Month, n.s., 15(1878), 493. Coleridge was the author of this note, which is not attributed in Sutcliffe.

> He says he wants to show that he had grounds for thinking that we might have meant what he now says he believes we did not mean. But he hurls about charges, which, if they were true, would go far to prove that we were bad Catholics. This is the kind of controversy which we call unscrupulous. "No matter what harm you do, crush your opponent."[1]

Despite the Jesuits' denial of any intention to attack the Bishops in The Month, the charge had been repeated, and, Coleridge wrote, "a suspicion of this sort when it once possesses the mind, will feed itself upon the most harmless things". He claimed that Vaughan not only quoted incorrectly but also habitually imputed to Jesuits the intention of hinting what they did not venture to state. When The Month, for example, had written of how disadvantageous to vocations to the priesthood was "the absence of education continued at a University after school days are over", this was represented in The Tablet as favouring "the desire for a Catholic College at Oxford".[2] Coleridge commented that this imputation cast a doubt on Jesuit loyalty to the Holy See. Porter considered that it was perfectly reasonable for the Jesuits to defend themselves:

> It seems to me we have been scared by the Bishops from the use of legitimate weapons: the use of lay influence I consider legitimate; so do I call writing in The Month respecting the true nature of "exemption": we have been silent, on the hocus pocus that we ought not to open our mouths pendente like, as if there could be any dispute as to the existence and character of exemption. Our enemies gain by our silence, because they trade on the ignorance of the public and the ignorance of the clergy on this matter. Our policy has been much too tame.[3]

THE QUESTION OF REGULAR EXEMPTION: SCHOOLS.

The debate in journals only reflected the difficulties experienced by religious orders on the missions. The Fourth Provincial Synod had stated that the education of the faithful was subject to the Church and, as "the hierarchy are the church authorities in this country . . . in England education is entirely dependent on and subject to the Bishops". The Synod quoted a reply of Propaganda which stated that, allowing the legitimate privileges of Regulars, mission schools were subject to

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[1] The Month, n.s., 15(1878), 506-07.
[2] The Month, n.s., 15(1878), 133 and 500.
[3] A.S.J., C/4: G. Porter to [ ], 27 April 1880.

episcopal visitation, with regard to the buildings (if these belonged to the mission), accounts, discipline, management, and relations with the civil government. Some schools, however, had been built with the funds of the Regulars, who claimed that their privileges meant that the schools were not subject to the Bishop. There was no dispute about a Bishop's right to visit the faithful to ascertain who could receive the sacraments, especially confirmation. The Jesuits argued, however, that the Bishop's officials could discover this information in churches. They were uncertain whether Propaganda correctly understood that the position in England was "quite different from anything existing in Rome".[1]

Most congregations of Regulars were affected by this dispute, and feared that the visitation of schools was linked with the proposal that colleges of higher education conducted by the religious orders were to be subject to a Central Board of Examiners, with undefined powers, under the authority of the Bishops.[2] The Provincial of the Capuchins, for instance, wrote to Jones in 1877 that he was "really alarmed at the germs of animosity which have found their way into the minds of the best men of the English Episcopate, and of which the differences which arise now and then may be considered only as partial outbursts".[3] While he admitted that a Bishop had the right to ensure that the faithful were instructed in doctrine, and could proceed against those who taught heresy, he did not believe that a Bishop had the ordinary right of visitation of Regulars. A Servite priest in London had taken the initiative in refusing to admit diocesan inspectors to his school, and suggested that the religious orders act uniformly in the matter.[4]

Gallwey met in Liverpool with the senior Jesuit missioners in Lancashire in June 1876 to discuss the problems arising from the inspection of schools.[5] The Bishop

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[1] A.S.J., C/4: Porter to Purbrick, 15 February 1881.
[2] Cf. A.S.J., C/4: Porter to Purbrick, 15 February 1881. Porter wrote that, after attempting to have a Board of Examiners for colleges, Manning was now "beginning at the other end and covets the control of the Parochial Schools".
[3] A.S.J., F/1: Anthony to Jones, 19 March 1877.
[4] A.S.J., F/1: Bosio to Gallwey, 10 February and 12 October 1875.
[5] A.S.J., F/3: "Consultation held at Liverpool, 21 June 1876", from which the quotations are taken.

of Liverpool had instructed priests that only children who were sufficiently instructed, and judged to be so by the inspector, were to be presented for confirmation. He was reported to have said that "he would 'withhold his intention' if any child presented itself for the Sacrament of Confirmation, who had not passed the Ecclesiastical Inspector".[1] Gallwey consulted his missioners on the Bishop's syllabus for religious education, the method of examination and the effect that the inspections would have on the children in the schools. The Secular missioner at one Liverpool church had complained to Bishop O'Reilly about the injustice of comparing the reports of the diocesan inspection and the Government inspection and the want of charity in publishing not only the reports but the deficiencies of teachers which they described.[2] The Jesuits agreed with these complaints, and considered the method of religious education to be "evidently prejudicial to the Teachers, to the children, to Religion". Some Jesuits admitted the benefits of inspection: it promoted religious education among the teachers and maintained standards, while to refuse inspection would "grievously offend their Lordships, and lend an additional reason for getting rid of Religious from Missions". Gallwey had himself surveyed the standard of religious education in the poor school at St. Francis Xavier's, Liverpool, and found it to be deficient. He had asked:

> When was the Pope infallible? When he spoke 'ex cathedra'; they answered without knowing the meaning of the cathedra. They were evidently crammed.

Some Jesuits considered, however, that they could not expect justice from the Secular priests who were inspectors. Thomas Porter, the Rector in Liverpool, commented that,

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[1] A.S.J., BB/13: Kelly to Porter, 12 March 1876. The comment was thought to refer to the Catholic Grammar School and to St. Walburge's school in Preston. The missioner wrote to the Bishop, asking him to re-confirm one child who, although inadvertently not examined, had been confirmed. For dealings with the Bishop of Liverpool, see P.C., 29 October 1875, 4 - 5 May 1876, and 2 January 1877.

[2] A.S.J., F/3: Prest to O'Reilly, 6 May 1876. The Government report, a confidential document for the school manager, commented on the merits and demerits of schools and mentioned pupil teachers by name. Gallwey advised his missioners that the Bishop be given, under protest, a copy of the report of the Government inspection. P.C., 1 March 1877.

in their reports, they "pass judgment on Religious, put up to obloquy Christian Brothers, publicly expose the faults of Masters".

James Jones presented to the Liverpool meeting his view that "the interference of Bishops into the affairs of regulars requires immediate action on our part, for it extends to our very status as Religious". Jones's opinion was important for he was, with Morris, the English Jesuit most proficient in canon law, and would be Provincial during much of the period when the question of jurisdiction was being decided in Rome. Jones explained that Manning's views were "founded on an exorbitant view of the Hierarchy, and there can be no doubt of his opposition to the Regulars and of his wish to impede their efficiency". Jones took the position that, since religious orders were "quite independent of the Hierarchy", Bishops had no right to inquire into the mode of education in colleges conducted by the Society, nor to interfere in any way whatever. He thought the contemplated Bishops' college in London, "under a Senate created by themselves to which College other Catholic educational Institutions may be affiliated", to be an overt attack on the independence of religious orders. He stated his certain opinion that Bishops had no right to inspect the poor schools of Regulars, and even doubted whether Bishops could legitimately examine the children from poor schools in the church: "Benedict XIV details the things to be inspected by a bishop during his visitation, in this enumeration schools are not mentioned".[1] Jones insisted that, once an inspector had been admitted to a school on the authority of the Bishop without any protest, the right of interference would be established. He saw the need for concerted action among religious orders for the protest against the "invasion" of poor schools to be effective.

Gallwey concluded that it was evident that the system of inspection was harmful, and that the attempt to conciliate the Bishops by yielding had not been effective. He thought that Jesuits should be aware of their rights and press them, for "Bishops are not acquainted with our privileges". John Morris advised Gallwey that matters of

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[1] Jones wrote to the Provincial to clarify his remarks. A.S.J., F/3: Jones to Gallwey, 22 June 1876. Cf. F/3: Jones to Martin, 25 June 1876.

general principle and of local complaint about inspectors should be kept separate, lest Propaganda think it had addressed the first by issuing directives about the second. His own opinion was that it was certain that Propaganda would give the Bishops power to visit children in schools, and that to dispute that issue would be to court defeat.[1]

There followed a series of confrontations in Jesuit missions, with the Bishops' inspectors refused entry to schools. In August 1877 Henry Everard, although willing to provide any information regarding religious education, refused to consent to a proposed examination by the Bishop's inspector in the poor school in Liverpool because the Jesuit claim of exemption from such examination was before Propaganda.[2] Walter Clifford, the missioner at Pontefract, similarly refused to admit the Bishop's inspectors. Bishop Cornthwaite explained his position:

> I hold that the children of your schools are my responsibility, and yours only as far as I committed it to you. The responsibility I am now discharging, in their regard, I have never divested myself of: I could not, if I would. But in sending the inspector, I not only discharge a duty, I exercise a right, of which I am in possession: you can protest of course, and appeal, that is your right; but your claim has to be proved: mine has been exercised, and so far, admitted.[3]

Bishop James Brown of Shrewsbury also formally protested at the exclusion of his inspector, which he regarded as "in every way uncanonical" and "a direct violation of my authority as the Bishop of the diocese", from the Jesuit missions of Denbigh and St. Asaph. He was grieved that his long-standing amicable relationship with the Jesuits had been interrupted, and regretted that they had not communicated with the Bishops directly, "instead of allowing, or rather ordering, that these open ruptures should take place in perhaps fifty missions throughout the country".[4] Jones, now the Provincial, assured the Bishop that he would make the fullest reparation if it were found that the Jesuits had resisted unlawfully or shown any disrespect to the Bishop or his

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[1] A.S.J., Morris Letters: Morris to Gallwey, 28 June 1876.
[2] A.S.J., RW/3: Everard to Carr, 21 August 1877. An offer was sometimes made to send the children to the church, should the inspector wish to examine them on doctrine.
[3] A.S.J., L.B.C., II, f. 104: Cornthwaite to Clifford, 2 December 1877.
[4] A.S.J., L.B.C., II, f. 375: Brown to Jones, 22 July 1877.

representatives.[1] Jones claimed, however, that the Jesuits at Denbigh and St. Asaph had not exceeded their instructions, but had merely spoken to the inspectors in private, with due respect, informing them that the schools were exempt and that, as the question had been referred to Rome, the Jesuits could not lawfully concur in permitting the visitation. They did not obstruct the inspectors, and offered to supply full information about the religious education of the children and all matters connected with it. Jones claimed that there was nothing new in these instructions and that, of the various ways provided in canon law for dealing with such a situation, this was "the most moderate and respectful to the Bishops that could be desired". He understood that some Bishops preferred dealing with the managers of the schools rather than the Provincial. The case in Rome had forced the necessity of this action, which he thought the Bishops would have accepted as a matter of course:

> I deeply grieve having been the cause of offence to your Lordship, or to any of the Bishops, or that an act of mine should have incurred the severe censures expressed in your letter. I had hoped that a pure Canon Law question should have been disposed of without exciting angry feelings. I set before my mind at the beginning of this question to respect the rights of the Bishops as something sacred, and I should feel myself deeply guilty at the very thought of touching upon them. The Church has selected the landmarks between the two jurisdictions, and my wish is not to remove them, but, if while guarding those entrusted to my keeping and doing so in the most moderate respectful and considerate way I can, I incur nevertheless the displeasure of those whom I love and venerate, as try as I do your Lordship, I must only bear my sorrow.[2]

Despite this explanation, Dr. Brown reiterated his view that, until proof of exemption had been satisfactorily shown, "it is clear that the authority of the ordinary is in possession".[3]

Bishop Amherst protested at the exclusion of the inspector at Norwich. The brother of a Jesuit, he saw the refusal as the beginning of another chapter in the conflict between Secular and Regular clergy, "as disastrous and destructive,

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[1]A.S.J., BN/1: Jones to Brown, 24 July 1877.
[2]A.S.J., BN/1: Jones to Brown, 27 July 1877. Cf. C/4: Porter to Purbrick, 16 May 1880.
[3]A.S.J., L.B.C., II, f. 377: Brown to Jones, 2 August 1877. There were many similar instances. Cf. f. 265: Johnson to Bagshawe, 16 September 1877, for Chesterfield.

diametrically opposite to what should be in aedificationem, as an opening of closed sores, and as a declaration of war, wh[ich] I had hoped was at an end". He wrote to the Provincial:

> For 20 years I have subjected myself to misrepresentation and misunderstanding for the sake of keeping peace at Norwich, and now I see all upset by the policy of the Society, several of whose fathers have with one mind and heart with me on the matters that concern us all equally, behaved in such a way as to show the people that the Society is not a sect, and has, ultimately, but one object common to it and the secular clergy.[1]

While he could not understand why poor schools should be exempt from episcopal visitation, Amherst insisted that this was the only question which concerned him. He was not involved in other disputes between some Bishops and the Society, and while his name (with all the other Bishops) had been placed at the end of the dubia which had been sent to Rome,

> it was so placed with a repeated written protest that I had no complaint whatever to make. I put it there to have the vexed questions settled, if possible, and all the bishops know that that was my motive. You hint that some of us have been gravely misinformed; why, then, were we not rightly informed by the Society?[2]

OTHER DISPUTES.

While the visitation of schools was the principal occasion of conflict with Bishops, there were other matters, which fostered divisions among the laity, about which the Jesuit consultors felt that remonstrances should be made to Rome.[3] In 1873 the Provincial had reported that "difficulties were raised against Religious, and their power was being much weakened", and two Bishops had limited faculties to the

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[1] A.S.J., L.B.C., II, f. 234: Amherst to Jones, 6 May 1878. Bishop Amherst had tried his vocation with the Dominicans and claimed he had learnt reverence for the religious orders at Oscott. Cf. f. 238: Amherst to Jones, 11 June 1878.

[2] A.S.J., L.B.C., II, f. 234: Amherst to Jones, 6 May 1878.

[3] P.C., 27 March 1877, discussed several of them, e.g., the collections which were made in Jesuit churches for the Bishops' seminarians and charities. Cf. P.C., 3 December 1878. A majority of consultors thought that the collection for Peter's Pence made in Jesuit churches should be forwarded to Rome by the Provincial and not sent through the Bishop. The General, however, instructed that it be paid through the Bishops. A.S.J., 19/3/5: Beckx to Jones, 17 February 1879.

boundaries of missions.[1] Before the restoration of the Hierarchy, it was rare that clear limits were assigned to missions. William Waterworth wrote that missioners "worked where we were wanted", with limits "rather private agreements, than Episcopal ordinances", and received faculties which could be exercised anywhere in a district.[2] Dr. O'Reilly and Dr. Cornthwaite would not grant faculties without an examination, unless the priest had been approved in another diocese.[3] In 1876 Dr. O'Reilly refused faculties to one Jesuit and limited those of another, John Gerard, to the Jesuit church in Liverpool.[4] Jones did not consider that there was any doubt in law that a Bishop had the right to limit the faculties of Regulars to a single church, nor that a Bishop could refuse faculties for the reason that a priest was not a missioner but a master in a college. He commented, however, to Gallwey:

> But in both cases the proceeding is harsh, contrary to the spirit of the church, and morally wrong. Unless a Bishop had some better reason for such restrictions, I should find it hard to give him absolution -- were he my penitent. I think if a supplication were addressed to the Propaganda the Bishop would secure an admonition to temper a little his severity.[5]

The law regarding the attendance at clerical conferences and diocesan synods was unclear and a source of antagonism. Those who held the cure of souls were bound to attend, but whether any but the head priest of a mission held the cure of souls was disputed. The question was an important one because it determined whether the Provincial could move the assistant priests on a Regular mission, even for a short time, without the Bishop's concurrence, and whether these assistant priests were bound to attend the diocesan synod or pay the cathedraticum.[6] The acting Provincial admitted that attendance at synods was a question on which "different people take different

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[1] P.C., 22 December 1873.
[2] A.S.J., AB/6: Waterworth to [ ], n.d.
[3] P.C., 26 March 1874. Dr. Brown consented, as was more customary, to approve priests who satisfied Jesuit examiners.
[4] P.C., 16 February 1876.
[5] A.S.J., F/1: Jones to Gallwey, 18 April 1875. Dr. O'Reilly gave faculties only for the Jesuit church to Jesuits teaching in Liverpool. The same arrangement applied to Secular priests who were schoolmasters. BB/13: O'Reilly to Porter, n.d..
[6] A.S.J., F/1: "History of question - Conference", n.d..

views", and reported the opinion of a Jesuit professor "that not one of our Fathers is obliged to attend Synods".[1] The Bishop of Salford asked Purbrick, the Rector of Stonyhurst, to state the ground for his claim for exemption from the diocesan synod in 1875. Vaughan wrote that he did not wish to cause inconvenience, nor diminish legitimate privileges, but simply needed to ascertain the position, and accepted that the duties to be discharged in the college "could form a most legitimate cause of excuse for absence for the greater number".[2] Purbrick did not refer to any particular law but claimed exemption for all the Jesuits at Stonyhurst, with the exception of the priests in charge of missions, "on the ground of our being an exempt Order".[3] John Morris encouraged Purbrick in his action:

> The bishop is taking up a false position in requiring us to prove in detail all our exemptions. This was the ground he took in the Manchester matter, -- that we had no right to use a privilege until it had been proved in his Court. He assumes that we are bound, and calls on us to disprove the presumption. If we were his subjects, it would be so, but we are not and he is not our Superior. The presumption of law is against him, and the <u>onus probandi</u> of any authority over us rests with him.[4]

Several disputes with Bishops concerned the division of missions and the building of churches close to the boundary of a Jesuit mission. In 1876 the Provincial reported to the General that "the Bishops seemed to consider it right to put churches near to Ours".[5] It was questioned whether Regulars should pay financial levies and taxes imposed by a Bishop in his diocese. At a clergy meeting in Liverpool in 1874, called to organise a tax for episcopal expenses, Thomas Porter doubted the legality of levying the tax on the Jesuit mission, and wanted the matter referred to Rome.[6] The <u>cathedraticum</u> was paid after the Third Provincial Synod by all who held the cure of

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[1] A.S.J., CL/5: Johnson to [ ], 22 April 1877. Johnson suggested informing the Bishop that a doubt had been raised and that attendance should not be taken as a precedent.
[2] A.S.J., CL/5: Vaughan to Purbrick, 12 December 1875.
[3] A.S.J., CL/5: Purbrick to Vaughan, n.d., [December1875].
[4] A.S.J., CL/5: Morris to Purbrick, 17 December 1875.
[5] P.C., 27 June 1876. The protest concerned Dr. Vaughan in Manchester and Dr. O'Reilly in Preston. Cf. P.C., 20 and 27 March 1879 for boundary disputes at Gillmoss, Portico and Preston.
[6] A.S.J., RW/3: Porter to [ ], 1 May 1874.

souls and by superiors of communities which had public chapels, unless they could prove they had exemption. Morris suggested to Gallwey in 1875 that the money be forwarded with a note to say that it was regarded as a voluntary subscription.[1] Similarly, the Jesuits did not admit they were liable to a tax for administrative funds, but sent one Sunday's collection, which usually approximated the assessed sum, as a voluntary contribution.[2]

BISHOP BAGSHAWE AND ARCHBISHOP EYRE.

Such disputes led Gallwey to suggest to Jones, his successor as Provincial, that

> religion would be much advanced in the country if when Bishops have to be appointed an effort were made to secure men who would act in a conciliatory manner both to Regulars and Seculars -- e.g. such as Dr. Grant and Dr. Danell. If it were made once evident that the Holy See does not approve of a high spirit towards Regulars, and the discord which it produces, things would mend.

He thought that those to be appointed Bishops should first be tried in subordinate posts, for "an inferior man who has risen gradually makes fewer blunders and causes less misery than a better man raised suddenly":

> All the appointments made lately have been fatal ones for us. Dr. Bagshawe -- Vaughan -- O'Reilly. Dr. Bagshawe as an Oratorian had never governed and was trained in a very narrow spirit. Formerly our agent in Rome used to be consulted, if I mistake not, when a Bishop had to be appointed. Something of this kind is wanted now. We want a man of weight resident in Rome.[3]

Soon after his appointment to Nottingham in 1874, when he had been recommended to Rome by Manning before the chapter had forwarded its terna, Dr. Edward Bagshawe had written to Gallwey, the Provincial, concerning the missions of Regulars in his diocese. He requested an account of the subscriptions for the church at Chesterfield, to

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[1] A.S.J., F/1: Morris to Gallwey, 3 July 1875.

[2] A.S.J., Purbrick Letters, f. 31: Purbrick to Lea, 1 October 1881.

[3] A.S.J., 4/4: Gallwey to Jones, 7 April 1877. Cf. Epist. Gen., I, f. 317: Glover to Lythgoe, 2 April 1839. Glover refused to assist Dr. Walsh in securing Wiseman as his Coadjutor: "I never have and never will have anything to do with the choice or nomination of a V.A.. It is no concern of ours." Cf. ff. 323 and 324: Glover to Lythgoe, 9 November 1839 and 4 Feburary 1840. Glover did, in fact, provide information, "as it is well known we seek no mitres for ourselves".

discover whether it had been built with the alms of the people or of the Society, and also for an account of the offertories, collections and bench rents of that mission.[1] As the Jesuit missioners had not answered the questions which Bagshawe had sent to all missioners (and which he believed the Second and Fourth Provincial Synods had given him the right to put), he asked Gallwey whether there was any reason why there had been no reply, although he did not wish to press for a decision if the interpretation of the decrees was still in question.[2]

Bagshawe, and the Bishops whom he had consulted, could see no doubtful points in the decrees. He again requested Gallwey to inform him "what the doubts are about which you are seeking to be enlightened, and what is the possible interpretation of the Decrees which might stand in the way of my asking the above questions".[3] Having waited for eight months, and received neither answers nor an explanation why they could not be provided, Bagshawe prepared, and forwarded to Gallwey, a new set of questions, which he thought conformable to the decrees of the Fourth Synod and to other instructions of Propaganda. He offered to modify them, if necessary, before sending them to Regular missioners in his diocese, "and in the event of their again neglecting to answer should have to regard them as contumacious and complain of them as such".[4] Gallwey, forced to reply, indicated that the instructions of Propaganda applied to Regulars who occupied missions simplici deservienti. As no Jesuit missions in Bagshawe's diocese were held under that tenure, Gallwey submitted that episcopal visitation was regulated "still as heretofore by the Bull 'Firmandis' which we find emphatically cited in Decree XIV, as still retaining its full vigour". He assured Bagshawe that the Jesuit missioners did not neglect to answer his questions "from any

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[1] A.S.J., L.B.C, II, f. 245: Bagshawe to Gallwey, 22 February 1875. The Second Synod decreed that churches built in whole or part by alms, since the time of the Synod, were subject to the obligation of being perpetually used for the benefit of the faithful of that place, although special arrangements could be made. The Fourth Synod decreed that offertories, collections and pew rents were given to the priests of the mission for their services, and not to the order.

[2] A.S.J., L.B.C, II, f. 247: Bagshawe to Gallwey, 27 February 1875.

[3] A.S.J., L.B.C, II, f. 249: Bagshawe to Gallwey, 11 April 1875. Bagshawe was Bishop of Nottingham from 1874 until his resignation in 1901. He died in 1915.

[4] A.S.J., L.B.C, II, f. 250: Bagshawe to Gallwey, 17 September 1875.

spirit of contumacy", but awaited instructions from their superiors, "whose province it is, as appears from the instruction to which your Lordship has referred, to come to an understanding, as far as can be done, with the Ordinary".[1] If missioners were not to be blamed for a silence directed by their superiors, Bagshawe questioned Gallwey about the doubtful points and about whether Gallwey denied the Bishop's competence and authority to put the questions, "so that I may be able to put them with the hope of a reply". Gallwey marked those questions which he understood the Bishop could fairly ask, and assured Bagshawe that Jesuits would "render any account of our missions which the Holy See shall prescribe":

> while we have helped the missions under our care with sums of money not belonging to them to an amount that would scarcely be believed no instance to my knowledge has been alleged of our ever wronging any mission in any Diocese.[2]

Bagshawe's conduct here seems quite unobjectionable, and the request not unreasonable. The limits of jurisdiction were disputed, however, and the Jesuits were reluctant to provide the information. Some years later, Bagshawe's dislike of the Jesuits had become notorious, and, in 1879, Vincent Hornyold gave the Provincial some details of Bagshawe's outbursts. Asked "on what grounds he held such sinister views of the Society and its doings",

> The Bishop answered that his 1st ground of complaint was because the Jesuits were corrupting the Catholic youth of England by their mode of Education. 2nd. That wherever they went, they destroyed the missions of the secular priest residing in the same towns where they were. 3rd. That nothing was less true than to talk of the Jesuits as the upholders of the H. See for in reality they were her worst enemies.[3]

Hornyold related that, on another occasion, when Bagshawe was "holding forth on his favourite topic", a Secular priest answered: "Till now I imagined that heretics and bad

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[1] A.S.J., L.B.C, II, f. 252: Gallwey to Bagshawe, 27 September 1875.

[2] A.S.J., L.B.C, II, f. 256: Gallwey to Bagshawe, 15 October 1875.

[3] A.S.J., L.B.C, II, f. 268: Hornyold to Jones, 5 May [1879]. Hornyold (1849-1929), who was related to Peter Gandolphy and whose mother was the daughter of Charles Langdale, entered the Jesuit novitiate in Rome and studied philosophy in Germany. He was a scholastic at Stonyhurst at the time of writing, and later became Rector in Malta and superior of the Mission and Vicar General in British Guiana. L.N., XLIV(1929), 316-9.

Catholics were the only enemies of the Society, but today I perceive by Your Lordship's words that I was quite mistaken". William Browne, who had resigned as Bagshawe's Vicar General, informed Gallwey that the Bishop "launched out so severely against the Religious Orders, when dining with his Brother, that the latter got up and sent all the children present out of the room, saying he would never let his children listen to such language, no matter from whom. Our good Bishop seems to have a mania on the subject!"[1] Mrs. Elizabeth Eaton provided further details of the accusations which Bagshawe made "to all whom he meets":

> He spoke of it's [sic.] being a grievance to Bishops that religious Superiors moved their subjects from place to place without his sanction. He said he was looked upon as a confirming machine. The Jesuits through their Colleges etc. get hold of the best men -- who would be doubly as useful to souls if they were seculars and worked under the Bishop. He said your wealth and resources were unlimited. Your poor missions were not half worked, your attention bestowed on rich. He asked me and then I said I was in the habit of going to you for direction, whether you did not get large sums out of me . . . He would hardly believe you had not asked me for money in the confessional, and said he understood it was a Jesuit practice!! He said the Church in England would get on as well without the Jesuits and when we spoke of the sufferings the Order had endured in England for the Faith he made light of it and said it was part of your policy to magnify your services. Bishops were of divine institution but not religious orders.[2]

While Mrs. Eaton considered that she and her husband (who supported the accuracy of her statement) were among the Jesuits' "wise friends", she admitted that great mischief was done by the imprudence of some enthusiasts: "as if there were no Priests they could go to but those of the Society".[3]

Gallwey, then, believed that Dr. Bagshawe and Dr. O'Reilly, as well as Manning and Vaughan, showed "a high spirit towards Regulars". This lack of understanding of Regulars was also revealed in some of Archbishop Charles Eyre's statements between

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[1] A.S.J., L.B.C, II, f. 266: Browne to Gallwey, n.d. Cf. f. 272: Eaton to [ ], 25 May 1879.
[2] A.S.J., L.B.C, II, f. 272: Eaton to [ ], 25 May 1879. The Eatons lived at Tolethorpe Hall, Stamford.
[3] Cf. "Alpha", Brief of Clement XIV Suppressing the Jesuits, translated with introductory remarks (1869), p. 8, on the "supercilious superiority over those wise, humble and simple-minded Catholics, who look up to the bishops and parochial clergy for guidance".

1880 and 1885 during the dispute with his brother, William Eyre, the Rector of Stonyhurst, over their father's will and the distribution of his large estate. The Archbishop (who received half the estate) and Lord Arundell of Wardour, the executors, possessed joint power to control the disposal of the other half of the estate, which would pass to Count Eyre's three remaining children if the executors declined appointment or did not exercise a discretion to the contrary. The legal case was not, in fact, a dispute between the Archbishop and his Jesuit brother, but between the beneficiaries of the will and the two executors. There were many complicating factors. Neither executor could act without the other, and Lord Arundell, a supporter of the Jesuits, believed that William was entitled to his inheritance.[1] Count Eyre had disapproved of his son's entering the Jesuits,[2] and had consistently asserted that he would never bequeath anything to the Society and would leave a legacy to William only on condition that he personally benefitted from it.[3] William was indiscreet, and lacked confidence in Purbrick, the Provincial, who, in turn, thought him disloyal, impulsive and deceived by his imagination.[4] The details of legal proceedings in the Court of Chancery and before the Congregation of Bishops and Regulars, the various compromises suggested by the Archbishop and their rejection by the Jesuits, and the debate about whether a Jesuit's patrimony belonged to the house in which he was living or to the Province, are of no concern here. What are significant, however, are the Archbishop's comments on the Jesuits which the dispute prompted.

The Archbishop, who had already argued with the Jesuits in Glasgow concerning their chapels and school, opposed the use of William's share of his father's estate for building at Stonyhurst. He considered the Jesuits wealthy enough not to need the money, and quoted the Marquis of Bute, who told him that the Jesuits' "rent-rolls, from houses in London, and other sources of income, was larger than his own". The

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[1] A.S.J., OA: Arundell to Ferrieri, 1 May 1882.
[2] A.S.J., OA: Count Eyre to William Eyre, 30 October 1854.
[3] A.S.J., OA: William Eyre to Archbishop Eyre, 19 February 1881.
[4] A.S.J., OA: Purbrick note, "Eyre Correspondence", n.d.. Eyre defended all his actions. Cf. William Eyre to Purbrick, 1 September 1882.

Archbishop also disapproved of boarding schools, from his unhappy years at Ushaw, "where the Education was immeasurably inferior to what his shoeless boys and girls were receiving in his diocese for two pence a week". The Jesuits were accused of constantly sending to Glasgow raw scholastics, instead of having trained teachers. When William replied that these complaints did not apply at Stonyhurst, the Archbishop

> then said, laughingly, that in the middle ages they may have thought it very clever to say that a religious might be poor and his order rich, but that nowadays people were not to be taken in; and that either a religious should have the use of money or the order forbidden it. He asked me if I wanted him to believe that an order founded for the redemption of captives was necessary for the existence of the church, and whether it was not time for some of the nonsense talked about religious orders to come to an end.[1]

William denied that his brother's hostile feelings were restricted to the Jesuits. Disputes with the Benedictines at Fort Augustus and the Franciscans in Glasgow had "alienated him from Religious in general, in the sense that he does not believe in them".[2]

The Archbishop did not agree that William, vowed to poverty and under obedience, should receive his share of the estate, as it would belong to the Society.[3] He proposed several compromises, offering his brother part of his share while giving the remainder to the dioceses and Catholic charities, and thought this was "surely enough, if not too much to take from one family for a Society of Religious professing poverty; and to be taken against the known and acknowledged wishes of the Testator".[4] Purbrick considered that the Archbishop

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[1] A.S.J., OA: William Eyre to Purbrick, 8 September, 1881. Cf. Weld to William Eyre, 26 October 1881. Weld wrote that the Archbishop "gave me his own ideas about the religious orders being as poor as the men themselves were and said that if a College were worth anything it ought to be able to support itself".

[2] A.S.J., OA: William Eyre to Purbrick, 15 October 1881. Cf. William Eyre to Purbrick, 19 October 1881, where he again defended his brother from the accusation of hostility to the Jesuits.

[3] A.S.J., OA: Archbishop Eyre, Memoranda, n.d. These notes were circulated by the Archbishop to publicise his position. A copy came to Purbrick in March 1884, from a Jesuit who received them from his brother, a Secular priest.

[4] A.S.J., OA: Archbishop Eyre, Memoranda, n.d.

> tries to import into the case with a view to prejudicing the Protestant mind the fact that Fr Eyre is a Jesuit -- though he knows Jesuits have no legal existence in England, that legally it is a crime for a Jesuit to live in England without being registered as such, and that the whole of this talk about his being a Jesuit is irrelevant to the case, and therefore only imported in odium Societatis. He writes far and wide and talks against the Society and against me . . . who forces him to demand all, who will not allow them to meet or correspond, who meddles in family affairs and worms out family secrets . . .

Purbrick noted that the Archbishop proposed to give larger donations to Manning and Vaughan than to other Bishops, "which looks rather like a bribe to men who were known to be unfavourable to the Society to take his side".[1]

Such comments of Bishop Bagshawe and Archbishop Eyre, reflecting their understanding of religious life, together with the experience of the various disputes on the missions, prompted the Jesuits to suspect that invitations to cooperate with such Bishops might lead to subjugation, and prompted them to be very protective of their privileges, which were under review in Rome.

ROME.

Ballerini, who, with the assistance of Weld, in Fiesole, was conducting the case on behalf of the Regulars, informed the English Jesuits that the Bishops were urging a reply to the dubia. Both the Provincial, James Jones, and George Porter travelled to Rome at the end of 1879 to assist with the case. Jones had asked his consultors' advice whether he should inform the Pope of "the state of mind of the Bishops in regard of Religious Orders". All the consultors advised caution, and the statement only of those facts which could be proved. Jones also sought their opinion about surrendering all Jesuit missions rather than accepting episcopal visitations of schools. The consultors

> were of one mind that it would be most injurious to religion and to the Society to do so. The Bishops it was said would at once take the good lay missions and leave the smaller ones in our hands. If the Bishops wish to ascertain the knowledge of the children, no one could object to it.[2]

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[1] A.S.J., OA: Purbrick to [Porter], 28 April 1883.
[2] P.C., 3 November 1879.

Herbert Vaughan also proceeded to Rome in January 1880, to remain until the case was decided, for he feared the Jesuits would use delaying tactics, their knowledge of curial procedure and their connection with Regular cardinals to influence the decision.[1] The case was removed from Propaganda, on Manning's suggestion, and a commission of nine cardinals was appointed to consider it. Ballerini worked exceedingly slowly, to the frustration of all parties, but pointed out that the Bishops had taken a year to draw up their dubia, "each of which on account of their vagueness required a whole treatise on Canon Law".[2] He was convinced that intrigue was operative, and that it was an injustice to attempt to expedite his work. Even Porter was frustrated with Ballerini's delay:

> He won't pay any attention to my advice or entreaties; he laughs at the Pope's anger and I doubt whether the General will be able to do much with him. Ballerini is right about the intrigue; but the cause is not precisely a judicial one and it is impolitic, to say nothing else, to provoke the Holy Father who will give the decision and does not profess to guide himself by the law of the past, but by what Cardinal Manning calls the altered circumstances of the Church in England.[3]

Porter, who believed that Manning was attempting to hasten the decision, hoped that the Pope would give the case the fullest consideration.[4]

The dubia affected not only Jesuits, but all Regulars. Porter reported that the Franciscans, Dominicans, Capuchins, Augustinians and Passionists were "very cordially with us". The Rosminian, Lockhart, was in Rome to meet Manning and, Porter concluded, to assist him, while the Redemptorists "who have been all along very shaky

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[1]The consultors agreed that, en route to Rome, Jones should call on the Nuncio in Paris, "a friend of the Society", to "expose our side of the case pending at Rome". P.C., 3 November 1879. The Regulars presented Riposta per parte dei Regolari ai Dubii proposti dai Rmi Vescovi d'Inghilterra alla S.C. della Propaganda, Riposta per parte dei Regolari alla Allegazione ed alle Nuovi Osservazioni sel Sig. Avvocato Salvatore Martini per Rmi Vescovi di Inghilterra, and Osservazioni dei Regolari Inglesi circa una nuova Constituzione pontificia chiesta dai Rmi VV d'Inghilterra, A.S.J., RZ.

[2]A.S.J., C/3: Weld to Purbrick, 25 June 1880.

[3]A.S.J., C/4: Porter to [ ], 19 January 1880. Porter suspected that Ballerini might be removed from the case. His language was considered too strong and caustic, and some obnoxious expressions of the "wilful old gentleman" needed to be deleted. Cf. C/4: Porter to [ ], 26 January and 7 March 1880.

[4]A.S.J., C/3: Porter to [Jones], 6 March 1880.

in their adhesion to the common cause, have been thinking of withdrawing".[1] Porter explained that the Redemptorists in England had "no parishes, no schools, they had nothing at stake".[2] Manning, however, informed Vaughan that the Franciscans, Capuchins, Servites and Dominicans were wavering in their suppport and wished to withdraw, but were afraid of the Jesuits. Manning considered that all the Regulars needed reform, "everyone except the Redemptorists, who are in England and here observant, humble, and laborious".[3]

When Weld visited the Prefect of the Congregation of Bishops and Regulars to explain "the system of jealousy of influence not Episcopal which prevails in England", he found that Cardinal Ferrieri "thought that some one in England had not got rid of all the effects of Protestantism".[4] Weld considered the agitation "to be a mixture or combination of the old old secular spirit with the Rambler party of Döllingerist tendency".[5] He agreed, nonetheless, that the Jesuits would recite the prayer for the success of the Bishops' cause, but thought it "rather hard that the public knowing the case should be told that the defeat of the Regulars is of the greatest importance for religion in England".[6] The Jesuits added the Veni Creator to the daily litanies, "that the H. Father may be enlightened and directed aright".[7] Porter considered that the

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[1]A.S.J., C/3: Porter to [Jones], 6 March 1880. Porter wrote that R. A. Coffin (Provincial of the Redemptorists from 1865 to 1882, and later Bishop of Southwark) was only half-hearted in support. Coffin came to Rome for his sciatica, but Porter "thought the sciatica was not the only or the principal reason". C/4: Porter to [ ], 3 November 1879. Porter recorded the assistance he had received from Dominicans and Benedictines in keeping their superiors informed. Cf. C/3: Porter to Purbrick, 28 February 1881.

[2]A.S.J., C/4: Porter to [ ], 3 November 1879.

[3]Manning to Ullathorne, 9 April 1879, cited in Leslie, pp. 306-7. Cf. A.S.J., RZ: "Address of Superiors of Religious Orders in England to Religious Cardinals", 24 February 1881. Redemptorists and Passionists were bound by their concession of exemption to maintain communities of twelve, or fall under the Bishop's jurisdiction. C/4: Porter to Purbrick, 8 April 1880.

[4]A.S.J., C/3: Weld to Jones, 23 March 1880. Bishop Thomas Brown wrote to William Waterworth: "if you and I had the management of the matters the troubles would soon cease". L.B.C., II, f. 167: Brown to Waterworth, 31 January 1879. Brown in 1852 had invited Waterworth to be his Vicar General. A.R.S.I., Angl. 1004.II.10: Etheridge to Roothaan, 27 September 1852.

[5]A.S.J., AB/7: Weld Ms. on Bishops, n.d..

[6]A.S.J., C/3: Weld to Purbrick, 22 December 1880.

[7]Jesuit Archives, St. Jérôme, 5279/6: Purbrick to Hudon, 5 May 1880. Cf. A.R.S.I., Angl. 1014.VIII.3: Purbrick to Rectors, 19 May 1881.

difficulties which the Regulars experienced resulted from the fact that the Bishops and Secular clergy were more frequent correspondents with Propaganda: "Card. Manning writes more letters to Propaganda than any Bishop in the world".[1] Porter had received from Dr. James McCarten, the Secular priest at Walsall, a report of a conversation critical of the Jesuits, heard at Oscott "and most probably from the Bishop himself". Dr. McCarten commented:

> I am sick of hearing such stuff, day after day, week after week, month after month, and year after year: but "mud enough thrown, etc.". I sent it that you may see in what way an ecclesiastical cause is prejudiced by its discussion among young priests who have no personal acquaintance with the Jesuits.[2]

Porter understood that Manning was attempting to draw the American and perhaps the Irish Bishops into his scheme, as he already had drawn the Scottish Bishops, and informed Purbrick that Cardinal Howard was bitterly hostile to the English Jesuits, especially Gallwey. Purbrick, soon after he became Provincial, wrote to the superior of the Jesuits in Canada, a mission which had recently been placed under the English Province, that he had begun to see certain evil effects of the contest in Rome amongst the English Catholic laity[3]:

> I have reason to believe that H.E. Card. Manning has been at work upon the Irish and American Bishops. There is no end to his activity and intrigues. Cardinal Howard said the other day "If only the American Bishops had gone with us, we could have crushed the English Jesuits". It is nothing short of that is being aimed at, though the Tablet is for ever throwing dust in peoples' eyes.[4]

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[1] A.S.J., C/4: Porter to Jones, 23 March 1880. Cf. Porter to Purbrick, 25 May 1880.

[2] A.S.J., RX/5: McCarten to Porter, 7 January 1879.

[3] Jesuit Archives, St. Jérôme, 3124-2: Purbrick to Charaux, 28 March 1880. Purbrick considered that Jones, the former Provincial, should be in Rome to press the Jesuit case: "besides I am a bad linguist, no canonist, and not posted up in this particular matter as he is". A.S.J., U/2: Purbrick to Weld, 4 April 1880. Porter disagreed, and did not consider Jones exact in his assertions --"he is most reckless and when he is not well, he is more reckless than at other times. His imagination gets too much the better of him." C/4: Porter to Purbrick, 27 April 1880.

[4] Jesuit Archives, St. Jérôme, 3124-3: Purbrick to Charaux, 11 May 1880. Cf. A.S.J., C/4: Porter to Purbrick, 8 May 1880: "Cardinal Howard . . . <u>according to his custom</u> abused the English Jesuits very roundly". Cf. C/3: Weld to Purbrick, 25 June 1880.

At the beginning of 1881, Weld realised that the case of the Regulars was encountering difficulties. "The idea of answering dubia is all nonsense", he wrote, for "the Bishops are working to get the law changed: and answer will be not what the law has been, but how it is to be conceded to the pressure of the Bishops, everyone I believe acknowledging that what they ask is exorbitant".[1] Purbrick agreed and expected concessions to be made to the Bishops.[2] Porter even suspected that the churches of Regulars in England would be placed under committees of the laity and made the property of the mission, as had been done in the Netherlands.[3] The General had represented that, since most Jesuit churches had been built with Society funds, such a scheme would be tantamount to confiscation. Porter was also worried that the movement among some young English Benedictines to withdraw from missionary work in favour of the conventual life would adversely affect the Regulars' cause.[4] Vaughan reportedly assured other religious orders, especially the Benedictines, that the Bishops' complaints were only against the Jesuits. Porter had tired of Roman procedure and could imagine, he wrote, a better method of getting at the truth, "if that were the object, than this hugger-mugger process of writing on the sly and toadying to Cardinals and secretaries".[5] He was disedified by the intrigues and the system whereby everything was "trusted to second rate diplomacy",[6] and was convinced that the Bishops' proposals

> would render missionary duty odious and intolerable to the Regulars; as Card. Pie said, it would necessarily drive them from all missionary duty. Card. Manning and Dr. Vaughan wish for this consummation ... The signatures of the whole English Hierarchy and the adhesion of the Scotch Hierarchy say more than all the Bishops mean. My conviction is that the greater number only wish to know the law: the

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[1] A.S.J., C/3: Weld to Purbrick, 11 January 1881.

[2] Jesuit Archives, St. Jérôme, 3124-14: Purbrick to Hudon, 11 March 1881.

[3] The proposal was made by Cardinal Ferrieri, Prefect of the Congregation of Bishops and Regulars and formerly Nuncio to The Hague. A.S.J., C/4: Porter to Purbrick, 26 December 1880. The commission abandoned the scheme.

[4] A.S.J., C/4: Porter to Purbrick, 10 April and 11 May 1881. Cf. RX/5: Dom P. A. Allanson, "A statement of the Regulars showing that they have never been responsible to the Bishops, but to their religious superiors in temporals, since the 4th Council of the Lateran in 1215", n.d., and RZ: Responsum Patrum Benedictinorum ad Relationem super dubiis ad Episcoporum in Anglia jurisdictionem et Regularium Privilegia Spectantibus.

[5] A.S.J., C/4: Porter to Purbrick, 11 March 1881. Cf. Porter to Purbrick, 25 May 1880.

[6] A.S.J., C/4: Porter to Purbrick, 7 July 1880.

> Cardinal and Dr. Vaughan wish to destroy the exemption of the Regulars . . . and perhaps a few others go with them.[1]

Porter did not consider Vaughan a gracious or courteous adversary: "any weapon that comes to hand is a good one".[2] He believed that "his Lordship's desire for peace very much resembles his affection for the Society: in both cases he protests very earnestly, but his deeds do not correspond".[3] Jones was encouraged by a report in The Tablet, which he understood to come from Vaughan, "saying that the decision would be very unimportant", and judged that, if Vaughan made little of it, it was because he had slight hope of success.[4] Weld also predicted that the decision would be generally favourable to religious,[5] and the Jesuit Cardinal Franzelin approached the other Regular cardinals to enlist their support.[6] When Vaughan relayed a rumour that the decision favoured the Bishops, Manning advised him to ensure that their lawyer maintained his vigilance "until even the smoke is down", for "Father Parsons will turn over once more in his grave".[7] Repeated delays, caused partly by the death of Pius IX, but principally by Ballerini, beset the case. Ballerini's reply was finally delivered in May 1880, enabling the commission to begin its hearings in September and deliver its report to the Pope in January 1881.

ANDERDON'S SERMON.

While the commission of cardinals was deliberating, a further incident in Manchester revealed the preoccupations of the protagonists. Vaughan brought to the attention of Purbrick (for the Provincial to deal with in his own way) a complaint made about a sermon preached in the Jesuit church by William Anderdon. Vaughan

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[1] A.S.J., C/4: Porter to Purbrick, 30 June 1880
[2] A.S.J., C/4: Porter to Purbrick, 29 January 1881. Cf. Porter to [ ], 19 January 1880.
[3] A.S.J., C/4: Porter to Purbrick, 19 May 1881. Cf. Porter to Purbrick, 10 April 1881: "He is an unquiet man if not an active man . . . He has courage! More than courage, he has 1000£ a year, by his Father's death".
[4] A.S.J., U/2, f. 104: Jones to Weld, 24 December 1880.
[5] A.S.J., C/3: Weld to Purbrick, 22 March 1881.
[6] A.S.J., C/3: Weld to Purbrick, 28 February 1881. Cf. C/4: Porter to Purbrick, 15 February and 27 March 1881. The Regular cardinals drew up a memorial for the Cardinal Secretary of State.
[7] Manning to Vaughan, cited in Leslie, p. 314.

informed Purbrick, "that you may know the person you have to deal with and to shew to what lengths he is capable of being led by his feelings", that he knew that Anderdon, some years previously, had sent to a newspaper an attack upon Manning. Anderdon was now reported to have used his sermon to explain the formation of Jesuits, and the advantages to students of being entrusted to the Jesuits for their education, and to have used the words:

> Well may bitter tears fall from the eyes of parents at the thought of not possessing the college we would have established amongst them, and at the loss their children have suffered in being deprived of it.[1]

Anderdon was also reported to have justified Jesuit privileges and exemptions, and the right of the laity to frequent the Jesuit church.[2] Vaughan understood this to be the use of the pulpit to discuss a question being decided in Rome, and suggested to Purbrick that firmness was needed to keep his Jesuits in order, as it "would be an untold disaster were a schism to spring up amongst us".[3]

Purbrick promised Vaughan an investigation of the complaint which "betrays a most unfriendly animus".[4] Anderdon defended himself to Purbrick,[5] who forwarded a copy of the published sermon to Vaughan, with the comment that he found in it nothing that could give offence, and nothing that needed to be repudiated.[6] Anderdon had, in fact, preached not about affairs in Manchester but about the persecution of Jesuits in France, and had not referred to any matter pending between a Bishop and the Society. Purbrick denied that the offensive passage in the sermon had even been spoken by Anderdon, and claimed that what Anderdon had actually said had been so

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[1] A.S.J., RX/5: Vaughan to Purbrick, 3 January 1881. Anderdon had apologised to Manning, his uncle, for publicising the fact that Manning prohibited his preaching in the Westminster Archdiocese. Anderdon had thought that his reputation in Leicester (where he had been Anglican vicar) would suffer unless the reason for Manning's prohibition was known. Manning had promised to keep Anderdon's indiscretion private, and Purbrick questioned how Vaughan knew of it.

[2] A.S.J., RX/5: purported verbatim copy of Anderdon's sermon, 5 December 1880.

[3] A.S.J., RX/5: Vaughan to Purbrick, 3 January 1881.

[4] A.S.J., RX/5: Purbrick to Vaughan, 7 January 1881.

[5] A.S.J., RX/5: Anderdon to Purbrick, 9 January 1881.

[6] W. H. Anderdon, The Jesuits: A Sermon preached in the Church of the Holy Name, Manchester, on the Second Sunday of Advent, 1880 (1880).

distorted as to make the report a malicious invention. Anderdon's comments about the non-obligation of the laity to hear mass in their own parish church, which Purbrick defended as sound in doctrine, had been prompted by the enquiries of the faithful and the need to instruct their consciences. Purbrick concluded that Anderdon was innocent of the very serious charge which had been brought against him, and had done nothing in the remotest degree provocative of schism. Purbrick did, however, inform Vaughan of "the indubitable and lamentable fact" that one of his Salford priests had accused the Jesuits of being schismatical.[1] Purbrick assured Vaughan that he constantly and uniformly urged upon Jesuits silence, forbearance, patience and meekness, and prayed that none of his subjects would be betrayed into imprudence of speech or inconsiderate action under trying circumstances.[2]

Vaughan replied that he accepted Anderdon's assurance that he made no reference to Manchester, and admitted that nothing in the sermon corresponded to the extract about which the complaint had been made. He commented, nevertheless, that the "printed sermon falls very far short in pungency and imprudence of the one he delivered", with scarcely any allusion to persecution in France:

> I fear such a sermon is little likely to conciliate or to do good. The self-laudation and scarcely veiled assumption of superiority over every other class of clergy, whether secular or regular, might easily provoke feeling of animosity and criticism. The application to the Society of the words of Our Lord . . ."He that is not with me is against me" is surely unwise under present circumstances.[3]

Such sermons, Vaughan wrote, "however well intended and however true ad literam they may possibly be", tended to define parties, to exaggerate differences, and to be taken as party statements. He regretted talk of the Jesuits being schismatical, but thought that both he and Purbrick would have to endure such talk until calm returned:

> It is like the raging of one of your men that there is "heresy" in the English Episcopate, that we are "persecutors" and "a set of imbecilles

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[1]A.S.J., RX/5: Purbrick to Vaughan, 12 January 1881.
[2]Purbrick wrote to the Province on this matter, 31 March 1880.
[3]A.S.J., RX/5: Vaughan to Purbrick, 19 January, 1881.

> [sic.], ignorant of theology and Canon Law" -- speeches I am sure you disapprove of as much as I could.

With the decision of the commission of cardinals expected, Vaughan hoped that "we shall all look upon it as a final conclusion to all our differences".

Purbrick, however, considered that Vaughan's reply reiterated the charge it professed to withdraw. While Anderdon had denied not only the allusion but ever using the reported words, Purbrick understood that Vaughan replied with "I am glad you did not mean it", with the further insinuation that the offensive words had been suppressed in the printed version. Purbrick reminded Vaughan that this was a "method of reply which is exactly the same as that which Newman exposed in Mr. Kingsley".[1] Purbrick agreed that if Anderdon had meant to reflect upon the English Bishops, "to expatiate in self praise and pharisaical preference of self to others, to make arrogant assumptions, and all the while hypocritically to veil his purpose", Purbrick would not defend him. He contended, however, that Anderdon was wholly innocent of all that had been imputed to him, and was perfectly free to speak about the persecution of Jesuits in France[2]:

> as usual there are many who know nothing of the Jesuits but are ready to howl with the wolves. Is it not permissible under such circumstances to give some defence of the Society, to shew what its training, spirit and objects are? And will not any friendly mind be ready to put a good construction on the attempt? And to excuse, if excuse is necessary, some warmth of feeling . . . Is this justly to be termed reproachfully self-laudation?

Purbrick also failed to understand Vaughan's reference to the fear of schism:

> Who are the probable schismatics and from whom? It cannot be that Your Lordship thinks the English Jesuits likely either as a body or as individuals to cut themselves off from the Unity of the Church? Nor can I suppose that Your Lordship apprehends any such action on the part of your own clergy or the Catholic laity. I suppose then that schism is here to be taken in the wide sense of dissensions or divisions, party spirit and disunion amongst the Catholics of England.

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[1] A.S.J., RX/5: Purbrick to Vaughan, draft reply to letter of 19 January 1881.

[2] The Ferry Laws led to the expulsion of the Jesuits from France, and the transfer of some of their houses of study to England, Wales and the Channel Islands. Manning refused to consent to the editorial offices of Etudes being in London. U/2: Jones to Weld, 24 December 1880: "I think this ought to be known in Rome". Cf. P.C., 19 July 1879.

Purbrick lamented that Vaughan "should have so lightly brought the charges", and maintained that he thought they had been proved to be unfounded. Even if not as openly controversial as Vaughan alleged, Anderdon was nonetheless clearly making a topical point, and the English implications would have been obvious. Yet Purbrick would not concede this, nor would Vaughan tolerate it.

PROMULGATION OF ROMANOS PONTIFICES.

When Romanos Pontifices was promulgated in May 1881, eleven of the twelve dubia were decided in the Bishops' favour, with the Jesuits mentioned by name in the constitution. Monsignor Gadd in Rome, who reported that the Bishops were "contentissimi", predicted that the constitution would bring peace to England "if only the Jesuits would submit".[1] Ullathorne wrote to Bishop Clifford about the constitution:

> If it tends to bring our brethren of the religious orders, and especially those of the Society, to a more modest estimation of their position it will be to them a great blessing, for nothing is more injurious to any religious body than a false tradition fostering the corporate pride of men who are individually humble. One valuable result will be to rectify certain vague and misty notions which prevailed quite as much in Rome as in England, if not more so.[2]

Weld wrote: "I need not make any comment unless it be bonum mihi est quia humiliasti me".[3] Porter was offended as much by the hostile and harsh style of the document as by its content.[4] He explained that

> the Regulars feel they have received a blow in the eyes of the world: the Constitution gives all its praise to the inclyta gens Brittanorum and the Bishops; for the Regulars it has scarcely a kind word. A very bitter enemy of the Regulars said he was pained to see the past services and sacrifices of the Regulars in England so entirely ignored. The tone of the Constitution is hostile to Regulars, and it is easy to see that the Pope is anxious to invest the English Episcopacy with all the importance he can give it.[5]

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[1] A.S.J., C/4: Porter to Purbrick, 16 May 1881.

[2] Cited in C. Butler, The Life and Times of Bishop Ullathorne (1926), II. 189.

[3] A.S.J., C/3: Weld to Purbrick, 20 May 1881. For an English translation of the text of Romanos Pontifices, see Synods, pp. 197-212.

[4] A.S.J., C/4: Porter to Purbrick, 19 May 1881.

[5] A.S.J., C/4: Porter to Purbrick, n.d. [May 1881].

The Benedictines were also disappointed. From Downside, Gasquet wrote that the "victory of the bishops is complete":

> Card. Manning was executing a 'pas seul' the other morning, a kind of war dance to commemorate his victory. I cannot see how regulars can continue to serve small missions now with any certainty of safety.[1]

While upholding the principle of the exemption of Regulars, Romanos Pontifices defined the limits of that exemption. Regular missions were to be on the same footing as other missions, with the Regular clergy who worked on them subject, in their ministerial work, to episcopal visitation and jurisdiction and required to follow synodal decrees which concerned the cure of souls or the administration of the sacraments. Those who held the cure of souls were obliged to attend the diocesan clergy conferences and synods. The Bishop, with the advice of his chapter, could divide existing missions and found new churches, although there were formalities in law to be observed. The opinion of the head priest of the mission which was to be divided needed to be sought, and, if worked by Regulars, the Provincial needed to be consulted. The Bishop could invite whatever clergy he chose to work these new missions, with Regulars being given no preferential treatment. The Bishop could visit poor schools in missions worked by Regulars, who were not permitted to open new schools or colleges, residences or churches, nor convert existing works to other purposes, without the express permission of the Ordinary and the Holy See. The decree of Propaganda of April 1869 governing financial matters was embodied in Romanos Pontifices. Regulars working on missions, no less than Seculars, were obliged to account to the Bishop for property and funds given to and held for the mission.

Purbrick immediately wrote to all Rectors to secure uniformity of action, and asked Jesuits to receive the constitution "with hearty and entire obedience", even though parts of it were found "not to be in perfect accordance with our hopes, and some

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[1]Downside E.B.C., 1881-2: Gasquet to Gilbert, 18 May 1881. I am indebted to Dom Aidan Bellenger for this reference.

things may not be flattering to our self-love".[1] He urged them, even within Jesuit communities, to say nothing "savouring either of disloyalty to the Holy See or want of charity towards the Bishops", nor to reflect upon "any of those persons who have had a part in bringing this event about, or the means employed to secure the result". He also warned against regret or dissatisfaction with the Jesuits who conducted the case.[2]

The General was not as despondent as Purbrick. He admitted that the constitution put an end to the Jesuits' taking up new missions in England and Scotland, and would force them to surrender some less important missions. He believed that this could be done gradually, however, and even hoped some money might return to the Province, since, in the Netherlands, the Bishops had repaid the debts of missions to the Society. Porter reported that Beckx thought that

> the Bishops have persuaded the Cardinals that the Regulars ought not to be allowed any further extension in England. The Bishops aimed at completely crushing us out of the Missions: they made great efforts to have the exemption of the smaller residences taken away: to obtain some "ingerenza" in the nomination of the missioners and, I am told, the right to limit the number of missioners. Rome took a firm stand and the distinct reassertion of the exemption of the small houses, as well as of certain privileges, together with the silence on particular demands of the Bishops were intended to show the mind of the H. Father.[3]

The General's advice was to proceed quietly, to avoid collisions as far as possible, and to study the practical questions carefully.

When Purbrick informed the Provincials of other religious congregations of his plans, the consultors considered that the Rosminians and the Redemptorists "could not be considered as having made common cause with the religious and that all the

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[1]A.R.S.I., Angl. 1014.VIII.3: Purbrick to Rectors, 19 May 1881.

[2]Approval might be gauged from the election in 1883 of Gallwey and G. Porter to the 23rd. General Congregation, which Weld and Purbrick attended ex officio. At the Congregation, Purbrick, who was defeated in the election for the English Assistant, wrote: "Curiously all the English Assistancy, America included, were for me". A.S.J., 19/3/6: Purbrick's diary, 23 G.C., p. 29.

[3]A.S.J., C/4: Porter to Purbrick, n.d.[May 1881]. Porter believed it would be easier to open colleges under the new constitution, since each case would come under the notice of Rome: "The interests of education are too well understood there, they will not in the long run be sacrificed to the prejudices of the Bishops".

Franciscans had not been equally cordial in their sympathy".[1] The consultors agreed that superiors alone were required to attend diocesan synods, and, while there was no need to decline attendance at clergy conferences where this had been customary, the Bishops immediately concerned should be informed before attempting to exercise the right of exemption. They thought it better "to comply with any invitation which may be sent than to try to 'beg off' from the letter of law which after all does not press very heavily".[2] In the case of poor schools, it was necessary to admit school inspectors and answer all questions bearing on religious instruction and discipline, "exactly as secular priests would have to answer".[3]

At their Low Week meeting in 1883 the Bishops formed a committee, under Herbert Vaughan, to consider all cases arising out of Romanos Pontifices. Purbrick corresponded with Vaughan about the details of the interpretation of the constitution.[4] In addition, in several amicable discussions with the committee, Purbrick clearly indicated, as his consultors had advised,[5] that he did not confer with them as the representative of the Regulars dealing with a committee representing the Hierarchy, but simply to exchange ideas "and so facilitate his action in the several dioceses, for his concern as head of a Religious Order was with the Bishops separately not with the Hierarchy collectively".[6] A form of financial statement was drawn up which was

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[1]P.C., 14 June 1881. Cf. A.S.J., C/4: Porter to Purbrick, 18 March 1881 on the waverings of the Franciscans and Capuchins.

[2]A.S.J., C/3: Weld to Purbrick, 8 February 1882. The understanding was that in any house of six or more religious (whether ordained or not) only the quasi-parochus was required to attend the conference. Cf. Purbrick's instructions to superiors, 20 June 1881. For the dispute between Dr. Bagshawe and Purbrick over whether assistant missioners held the cura animarum, see Purbrick Letters, ff. 37 and 45: Purbrick to Bagshawe, 4 May 1882 and Purbrick to Sidgreaves, 9 May 1882. Cf. L.B.C., II, ff. 293 and 295: Bagshawe to Purbrick, 27 April and 5 May 1882. Purbrick was advised in these canonical matters by Jones. Cf. F/3: Jones to Purbrick, n.d..

[3]P.C., 14-15 June 1881. Porter, having returned from Rome, substituted for Gallwey at the consultation. Cf. A.R.S.I., Angl. 1014.VIII.5.

[4]A.S.J., F/3: Purbrick to Vaughan, 24 February 1883. For a comparison with the situation in the United States, see G. Fogarty, "The Bishops versus Religious Orders: The Suppressed Decrees of the Third Plenary Council of Baltimore", The Jurist, 33(1973), 384-398.

[5]P.C., 25 April 1883.

[6]P.C., 21 January 1896. Purbrick reported on "the history of the manner in which the provisions of the Romanos Pontifices were reduced to practice". Cf. A.S.J., F/3: Purbrick

accepted by all the Bishops, but there continued to be disputed matters for several years, for little care had been taken in the past to ascertain, for example, the intention of benefactors as to whether property was given to the Society absolutely, or only for so long as it retained a mission.

While the constitution had clarified most contentious issues, disagreements were not ended, and Bishops did not always consult as they were obliged by the terms of Romanos Pontifices.[1] When Armellini mentioned to Cardinal Simeoni, as "an illustration of what the Regulars were to expect in the future", that Dr. Bagshawe attempted to place Secular priests on the Jesuit mission at Chesterfield, Armellini was assured that the Regulars could count on the protection of Propaganda.[2] The Jesuits realised they had no choice but to accept the constitution's new arrangement. In 1887, for example, Bishop Cornthwaite claimed a contribution from every mission in his diocese for his support. The consultors admitted the Bishop's claim to be supported, and only questioned whether to protest about the means of imposing the claim. They concluded that it was better to "accept it quietly as it is in itself reasonable, and it would have the appearance of fractious opposition if we separated ourselves in such a matter from the rest of the clergy of the diocese".[3] The boundaries of missions continued to be a cause of friction. The consultors learnt in 1882, for example, that a church was to be built in Manchester "and there is no concealment of the intention to relieve us of as many members of our congregation as can be persuaded to desert us for a Church pushed forward on purpose to the confines of our district". In a mission with heavy commitments, this was a deprivation of the means of paying the debt.[4] A similar complaint was made in 1901: "It is idle for the Bishop to say that no aggression is intended. The aggression itself consists in planting a church on the line of

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Ms, "Notes of Conversation with Bishop of Salford regarding visitation of Regulars, August 4, 1883", and F/3, Purbrick to Vaughan, 24 February 1883.

[1] A.R.S.I., Angl. 1019.I.27-29: Colley to Martin. Cf. P.C., 6 May and 12 October 1903, and A.S.J., L.B.C., II, f. 229: Ms. notes, n.d..

[2] A.S.J., C/3: Porter to Purbrick, 27 May 1881.

[3] P.C., 23 February 1887.

[4] P.C., 8 February and 9 April 1882. Cf. P.C., 15 May 1888.

demarcation between two parishes."[1] In 1891 the Bishop of Salford had proposed a division of the Jesuits' Accrington mission, and would not entertain their suggestion of an alternative division. Since "futile objections only irritate and serve no good purpose", the Jesuits agreed with the Bishop's general design, but asked for a delay of some years to consolidate and help remove the debt on the mission. If the Bishop refused to grant the delay, the Jesuits realised that nothing could be done, but they tried to secure a promise "against further molestation on the other side" of their district to prevent future trouble.[2] The General advised that disagreements with Bishops should be avoided as far as possible, not only for the sake of peace but "because a case must be very clear indeed to be given against a Bishop".[3]

While Provincials could complain about the Bishops' attitude to mission boundaries, Jesuit missioners could complain about the Provincials' attitudes. Nicholas Papall protested to the General about Purbrick's attempts in 1882 to alter the boundaries of two contiguous Jesuit missions in Preston, and disputed the Provincial's powers to dismember a mission district. It was unclear whether in Preston the Bishop had ever sanctioned the division of the missions, since, if he had, he would need to alter the boundaries. George Porter in Rome warned Purbrick that "Papall by trying to keep all will give the Bishop a pretext for taking a portion of the district", and wanted to avoid any question of the Bishop's right to determine the limits of districts.[4] Another Provincial, John Clayton, also attempted to alter the boundaries in 1889. Papall wrote to Whitty, the English Assistant, that "it imparts an invasion of rights exclusively episcopal; and we all know how tender our Bishops are on this point and most especially Dr. O'Reilly".[5] Both Provincials looked upon the matter as a domestic issue, and expected Jesuits to abide by their decision without appeal to external authority. Papall, however,

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[1] P.C., 22 December 1901.
[2] P.C., 27 November 1891.
[3] A.S.J., 19/3/5: p. 11.
[4] A.S.J., C/4: Porter to Purbrick, 16 October 1882. Cf. Porter to Purbrick, 25 October 1882: "We are quite safe as long as we keep within the limits of our own community; once we touch the parishoners, shall we be equally safe?"
[5] A.R.S.I., Angl. 1007.I.1: Papall to Whitty, 22 February 1889.

argued that it was an episcopal matter: "I think myself that the best thing a Provincial can do here in England is to let attributions exclusively episcopal alone". He wanted the Bishop to approve the division in order to make it "thoroughly canonical, authentic, final and binding": "if it seems to dare to tell the Provincial to keep his hands off such matters, it is to prevent them from being burnt".[1]

Jesuit secondary colleges, although exempt, could cause difficulties with Bishops. While most colleges remained unmolested, James Hayes, the Rector in Liverpool, wrote to the General in 1903 that "our chief difficulty is hierarchical", for Bishop Whiteside seemed to think "that all training of Catholic Youth should be under the Bishops, and that all exemption from direct Hierarchical Jurisdiction is somewhat out of joint with the divinely appointed Government of the Church". Hayes claimed that the Bishop and his clergy considered St. Francis Xavier's to be "only a private concern of the Jesuits, not the College of the Liverpool Catholic Body". Hayes was aware of rumours that a new college would be founded in Liverpool by Christian Brothers, brought from Ireland and "more under Episcopal control than we Jesuits". Hayes warned of the risk that they might not be financially supported by the diocese, nor retain the favour of the Bishop and his clergy.[2] He regarded the Bishop as "a veritable Sphinx, whose intention, as to developing Secondary Education, is still a dark mystery":

> His Lordship, though in a way friendly to us, is no real friend of our College, and has no idea of using the Society in the work of Education more than he is absolutely obliged. You see, we do not belong to him, and according to his way of looking at English Catholic Education, "omnia et omnes sint in manu Episcopi". Our exemptions and privileges are in his way. If we only belonged to his Diocese and were completely under him, then he would find us invaluable. But our College is exempt, and our influence is S.J. and not Diocesan, "hinc illa lacryma".[3]

In his unpublished summary written to supplement Snead-Cox's chapter on Romanos Pontifices in his biography of Vaughan, J. H. Pollen reflected that it was not

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[1] A.R.S.I., Angl. 1007.I.2: Papali to Clayton, 22 February 1889.
[2] A.R.S.I., Angl. 1020.IV.3: Hayes to General, 8 September 1903. Cf. P.C., 2 March 1903.
[3] A.R.S.I., Angl. 1020.IV.4: Hayes to Martin, 13 July 1904.

difficult to understand the resistance of the Regulars in the jurisdiction case. The Bishops were asking for alterations in ecclesiastical law which seriously affected the status and incomes of missions throughout much of the world. As the Bishops "were also manifesting open ill-feeling against their opponents", it was not surprising that the Regulars took full time to prepare their case, nor that Rome moved cautiously in deciding it.[1] As this was "the first serious church legislation on any scale since the Regulae Missionis of 1753", Pollen wrote, debate was necessary and the process could be expected to take years -- as did the drafting of the Regulae Missionis, the decree of 1696 and the Archpriest legislation.[2] In his own notes, Pollen commented that

> Most of Vaughan's growlings amount to no more than the utterances of an impatient man, who had tackled a job much larger than he foresaw when commencing, and blames everybody but himself. Mixed with this the natural though not heroic sentiments of an advocate, who seeks every means to look at things in his own way; who tries to talk round judges, in a way we should think scandalous in England. He does not hesitate to rake up old scandals -- goes to Perugia to copy some 300 years old! What is more Pope Leo is represented as abetting! Evidently if judgment was to be prejudiced, it would not be in a pro-Jesuit direction.

This sense of being misunderstood and treated unfairly lay behind the Jesuits' arguments from history and canon law, which they understood only imperfectly, about their exemptions. In practice, they learnt to be reasonably content with the outcome. Sydney Smith reflected their view, more than a decade after the decision, that

> As regards the Romanos Pontifices we have always regarded it as on the whole an admirable settlement of the conflict between Regulars and Bishops, and have always sought loyally to obey it.[3]

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[1] A.S.J., RY/2/2: Pollen Ms., "Note on the case of the Regulars (Chapter XIV)" [c.1910]..
[2] A.S.J., RY/2/2: Pollen Ms. Notes for addition to Snead-Cox chapter.
[3] A.S.J., I/4: Smith MS. He was commenting on a statement in Purcell, II. 509. His one objection was that the consent required of both the Bishop and the chapter for the foundation of new religious houses made their establishment "practically impossible".

V. MANNING AND THE JESUITS

It has been asserted that Henry Manning gave anti-Jesuit sentiment its classic expression. His presumed hostility to the Society, no secret during his lifetime, was further publicised by Purcell's forthright biography, while the material which Purcell suppressed from publication was imagined to be more damaging still. This chapter will investigate Manning's dispositions, as far as the records permit investigation, and the reaction of the Jesuits.

One witness was William Eyre, who had the charge of the secular Philosophers at Stonyhurst from 1871 to 1879. In 1878 he responded to the Provincial's request for evidence concerning Manning's hostility to the Jesuits, for, in preparing the jurisdiction case in Rome, an attempt was made to record the attitude of the Bishops. Eyre's point of view, although shared by many Jesuits, was the more significant in that he had once been friendly with Manning.[1] He wrote:

> I can say that for nearly a quarter of a century I have had my own conviction confirmed from numerous sources, that the Cardinal has laboured underground to undermine the influence of Religious Orders. His pupils have been indoctrinated with the same views and inoculated with the same poison. He looked upon Religious Orders as nuisances, and as obstacles to Episcopal action. He knows so little about Church History that he is unaware of the constant succession of facts which in each succeeding century made it imperative that Rome should call in delegated authority, increase the facilities of appeal, and in every way limit the means of practising tyranny over clergy and people on the part of the Bishops. He is so little conversant with St. Thomas that when the Angel of the Schools considers Religious Orders as of the fine flour and essential Spirit of the Church, he believes that they are the refuge of persons too weak-minded to govern themselves.[2]

Eyre proceeded to comment on the accusation that Manning was the particular enemy of the Jesuits. Eyre conceded that for twenty years he had refused to admit what he now

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[1] A.S.J., AB/7: Manning to Eyre, 10 October 1853. Eyre wrote that in 1853, as he was about to enter the Society, he advised Manning to become a Jesuit, but Manning replied "I can be holier without doing so". Eyre to Jones, 22 November 1878. Cf. The Society of Jesus: Its History, Work and Fellow-Workmen (1873), p. 13, on Manning's "rejection (as rumour has it) by the Society of Jesus in the early days of his Catholicism".

[2] A.S.J., AB/7: Eyre to Jones, 22 November 1878. Weld wrote that Manning's view was: "The weakminded ensnared by religious life [are those] who have not the strength of character but must rely on others". AB/7, Weld Ms..

owned: that he had proofs which "amount to demonstration" that Manning had "housed a bad spirit on the part of the Clergy against Regulars" and had renewed, with increased acrimony, the old antagonism between Secular and Regular clergy. Eyre asserted that the teaching of Manning "and of his zealous and untrained instruments is in complete dissonance with the teaching of the Saints and theologians of the Church".[1] He remarked that he felt scandalised by the rumours which were freely circulated concerning the action of some English Bishops in connection with religious orders, "and their boasted reception in Rome":

> I was brought up in the belief that to join a Religious Order was to put yourself in a state of life -- penance; that doing this, was an act of heroic virtue. When I studied or taught Theology, I learnt that becoming a religious was an equivalent of being baptised. I mastered all the other teaching of the Church and her schools, upon this most vital question. I fully expected the contempt and hatred of infidels without, and of bad priests within, the pale of the Church. But of late, it has been to me the source of most grievous scandal to think that we who have done everything for the Church and the Papal See, should be secretly persecuted by the head dignitary of the Holy See in this country, and rumours should be set afloat that we were about to be condemned at Rome. This too, when the crying scandals <u>existing everywhere</u> call unmistakably upon the Bishops to show their zeal otherwise than in trying to visit fonts and Church towers.

Eyre related that Manning had urged him to do all he could "to bring my own people to reason, for, Manning said, 'it would not take much to bring about another Suppression of the Order'". Eyre commented:

> I trust that at Rome they will know how to appreciate the ridiculously exaggerated ability of a man who has three hobbies, to make every one a tee-totaller; to build a Cathedral which would cost a million when he has not a million pennies; and to govern all England when he cannot keep his own priests in order, -- and has not the confidence of one third of the English Catholics.[2]

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[1]Eyre had in mind Herbert Vaughan's preface to <u>On the Choice of a State of Life</u> (1874) by Jean Baptiste Malou, the Bishop of Bruges. The original work regarded religious life highly, but Eyre understood Vaughan's preface (pp. vii-xxx) "to prove that there are no opportunities of practising perfection peculiar to Religious Orders".

[2]Eyre, educated at Ushaw, Oscott and in Rome, was a Secular priest who worked in Chelsea with his brother, Mgr. Vincent Eyre, before entering the noviceship in 1853. He had attended the Fourth Provincial Synod as a theologian, and was appointed in 1879 Rector of Stonyhurst. <u>L.N.</u>, 24(1897-98), 424-430. Weld had written that Eyre "would not be satisfactory as a Rector of Ours. He is too loose in his ideas. He does very well where he is." A.S.J., BN/6: Weld to Gallwey, 18 December 1874.

Many Jesuits would have agreed with what Gladstone wrote in his diary after meeting Manning in 1861: "Under external smoothness and conscientious kindness, there lay a chill indescribable".[1] Manning, on the other hand, claimed that he shared none of the traditional anti-Jesuit prejudice, and that the books and personal relations which brought him to Roman Catholicism were largely of the Society. James Brownbill received him into the Church in the chapel of the Jesuit residence at Hill Street in 1851, Père de Ravignan assisted him at his first mass, at Farm Street, and Manning preached his first sermon as a Roman Catholic in the Jesuit chapel in Westminster. During his years of theological study in Rome, Manning returned to England each summer and was based at Farm Street, where he had a confessional and pulpit. This arrangement continued from his return to London in 1854 until 1856. His confessor, William Waterworth, was a Jesuit, and Manning claimed that many Jesuits in England and Rome were his friends:

> My whole mind was in their favour, till I began to see their corporate action upon the Church in Rome and in England. It is visible at this day, and it is traceable backwards in history. They see the good they do, but they do not see the good they hinder. In exalting the Society they depress the Church.[2]

Peter Gallwey, who, as a priest at Farm Street from 1857 and as Provincial from 1873 until 1876, knew Manning, put a different gloss on Manning's attitude to the Jesuits. Gallwey, a significant witness, claimed that many of the laity and the clergy had known for years that Manning was extremely unfriendly to the Society. Gallwey wrote in 1875 to Alfred Weld, in Fiesole, that Manning had held this spirit of hostility almost since his conversion, that it arose not from any excesses of the Jesuits but from

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[1]20 March 1861. The Gladstone Diaries, ed. H. C. G. Matthew (Oxford, 1978), VI. 18.

[2]Purcell, suppressed chapter, p. 5. The "suppressed chapter" is discussed on p. 245. Manning commented in his diary that during his visit to Rome in 1848 he heard expressions of distrust of the Jesuits and the attention they paid to the aristocracy. Purcell, I. 364 and 386. Cf. V. A. McClelland, Cardinal Manning. His Public Life and Influence 1865-1892 (1962), p. 53. Manning's coming to understand "their corporate action upon the Church in Rome and in England" could date from his Anglican days, but is more likely to refer to the 1870s.

Manning's perception that the Society was so prominent and so influential that the Secular clergy and the Hierarchy were "thrown into the shade". Gallwey reported that when Manning was in Rome immediately after his Roman Catholic ordination, he said to John Wynne, as they stood beside the Roman College, where they studied: "How comes it that these men have such influence? We must bring them down."[1] Gallwey observed that Manning's hostility to the Jesuits, and his desire for their "levelling down", had been sometimes masked and sometimes open during the intervening years, but strangely persevering. Even during Manning's period of "marvellous intimacy" at Farm Street -- "apparently one of themselves" -- Manning was "all throughout undermining them -- forming as F. Waterworth calls it his petite Eglise".[2]

It is unclear why Manning moved from Farm Street. His own explanation was that the large number of penitents and converts whom he attracted was an inconvenience for the church, and that he departed most amicably, grateful for the hospitality he had received.[3] He purchased property in Westminster, close by the Jesuit mission, and established the church of St. Peter and St. Edward, before founding the Oblates of St. Charles at Bayswater. The Jesuits, who served the mission in Westminster, had bought land, with Wiseman's approval, for a residence and college, but Manning was thought to have influenced Wiseman to deny them permission to build there. Gallwey claimed that Manning entered Westminster under the guise of special friendship with the Jesuits, to work under them. Soon, however, the district was divided, the Jesuits were forbidden to build, and eventually sold their land, believing that Manning "wants to have Westminster in his own hands".[4] At this time, Gallwey

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[1]Wynne was a Fellow of All Souls, Oxford, from 1841-51, who became a Jesuit after his ordination in 1854.

[2]A.S.J., AB/7: Gallwey to Weld, 7 March 1875. Gallwey was resident at Farm Street from 1857 until his death in 1906, with the exception of his years as Novice Master (1869-1873) and as Rector of St. Beuno's (1876-7).

[3]Purcell, II. 57.

[4]P.C., 17 March 1867. Cf. A.R.S.I., Angl. 1004.III.28: Johnson to Beckx, 24 January 1858. Wiseman wrote in 1856 that his desire that the Jesuits build a church in Westminster was not "affected by the consideration that Dr. Manning has obtained a site, and is about to build a church in the immediate neighbourhood of the site above mentioned". Cf. A.S.J., AB/7: Gallwey to Weld, 7 March 1875. Gallwey claimed that Manning was the "moving spirit" behind the prohibition on the Jesuits building College of St. Ignatius,

wrote, Manning's comments began to be reported: "the Jesuits may do for the North -- not for the South"; "Farm St. is like a big stone standing in the way of those who would till the soil"; "Farm St. with its irresponsible confessions". These comments, which referred to there being no district or cura animarum attached to the Farm Street church, Gallwey took to be an attack "on the system approved by the Church -- Regulars without parochial duties", the system under which Regulars worked in most European countries. Gallwey, in remarking on the frequent complaints that the Jesuit church drained money from adjoining chapels, noted that there was no moral fault alleged in any of these London accusations, which only repeated Manning's Roman statements that "we are incompetent and deserved not our influence".

Manning replaced Robert Whitty as Provost of the Westminster chapter in 1857, and later believed that the Jesuits had supported Dr. Clifford to succeed Wiseman at Westminster, and that they were disappointed with his own appointment. Once Archbishop, in Gallwey's estimation, Manning attempted to centralise authority by abolishing clerical and lay committees and by ending the successful Immaculate Conception charity at Farm Street.[1] Gallwey's opinion was that Manning's actions were disheartening for the laity and Regulars alike, "and tended much to disunite instead of combine". Some convents were forbidden to have Jesuits as extraordinary confessors, and there were instances of Jesuits not being permitted to celebrate mass in chapels in private residences, since Secular priests were available.[2] Gallwey claimed that Manning opposed the Sacred Heart nuns from a fear that Jesuit influence should grow through their work.[3]

1750-1874: Colley to Johnson, n.d., commented on Manning in Westminster: "Lord, save us from our friends". Cf. L.N., 54(1939), 213-221.

[1]A.S.J., 4/4: Gallwey to Jones, 7 April 1877. Gallwey was a member of the committee, chaired by Charles Langdale, which dealt with matters concerning workhouses and prisons. Gallwey wrote that Manning disliked committees which "pretended to teach him his duties; and he undertook to settle all questions with Mr. Gladstone. From that day to this I doubt whether any step has been gained either in workhouses or prisons".

[2]Gallwey gave details of some of these matters, drawing general conclusions from specific incidents. A.S.J., 4/4: Gallwey to Jones, 7 April 1877.

[3]P.C., 27 March 1877: "the Cardinal had refused permission to the community of the Sacred Heart Convent because of this preference of the Society".

Some of Manning's close associates became Jesuits. Canon John Morris, secretary to both Wiseman and Manning, who entered the Jesuit noviceship in 1867, wrote after Manning's death:

> I never had from him an unkind word, he never did a harsh thing in my regard; and though by my own act I separated myself from him and all his interests, he never shut me out from his friendship. I never noticed any coldness in his manner towards me at any time during these five-and-twenty years.[1]

Morris had first applied to become a Jesuit in 1851, while Vice-Rector of the English College, but the Pope had refused him permission. In 1853 Morris reported that another priest had been refused leave to become a Jesuit, even though he had his Bishop's consent in writing: "So that I see the Will of God for the present at least clearly enough, that my Casa Professa is to be the English College -- but how long I do not know".[2] In 1856 Morris renewed his petition, and was surprised to receive permission to apply to the Jesuits. By this time, however, his inclination had changed, and he did not enter the Society immediately but returned to work in the Westminster Diocese.[3] A decade later, Morris made known to Manning his desire to enter the Society, and reported to Weld, the Provincial, that Manning

> was extremely kind, and said just what I expected -- that I should have no difficulty from him on the score of prejudice against the religious life, but that my aptitude was for administration and that God had shewn me my position . . . It was all very friendly and affectionate; but of course he stood out that I was in my proper place and that my retreat had "unsettled" me. I told him you had said that the Society would require his consent.[4]

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[1] "The Cardinal Archbishop", The Month, 74(1892), 165.

[2] A.S.J., Morris Letters: Morris to Scott Murray, 1 November 1853. Grant wrote to Propaganda in 1851 to ask that permission be withheld from Secular priests who wished to abandon their dioceses and enter religious orders. Cf. R. Schiefen, Nicholas Wiseman and the Transformation of English Catholicism (Shepherdstown, 1984), pp. 206-7.

[3] A.S.J., Morris Letters: Morris to Wiseman, 9 February and 28 August 1856. Morris later began work on Wiseman's biography. Wilfrid Ward made use of Morris's manuscript in his biography of Wiseman.

[4] A.S.J., Morris Letters: Morris to Weld, 30 November 1866. Morris had made the retreat with the Jesuits at Roehampton.

Manning remained friendly after Morris entered the Society, and, when Morris was appointed Rector of the Jesuit college in Malta in 1877, wrote that he cherished their old affection and confidence: "I have always thought of you as one who is seeking God's will and not your own".[1] Morris was said to be the Jesuit "least obnoxious" to Manning.[2] George Porter wrote in 1880 that Morris had "a tender feeling for the Cardinal and the Bishops, which I do not consider to be suited to the actual circumstances".[3]

Manning was cooler towards his nephew and secretary, William Anderdon, who became a Jesuit in 1872, and William Humphrey, a former Scottish Episcopalian and Oblate of Saint Charles, who became a Jesuit in 1874. Humphrey (whom Herbert Vaughan described as looking like "a frontispiece to the Seven Penitential Psalms") was sent by Manning to Rome after his conversion "to forget or to ignore all the Chrisitanity you have ever learned and to begin at the beginning, and have it taught to you, and learn it all up again as for the first time".[4] While Humphrey was still an Oblate, Manning had approached him to preach a retreat to the seminarians at Hammersmith, "and urge on them certain views with regard to the Religious State, which Fr. Humphrey thought inexact".[5] Once Humphrey and Anderdon had become Jesuits, Manning gave neither of them faculties in the Westminster Archdiocese. Manning informed Anderdon (who, as a Jesuit novice, had expressed his mind very freely to his uncle) that he would be given faculties for hearing confessions in any special case, if the name of the penitent were sent to the Archbishop. When giving a retreat at a school, Anderdon was granted faculties to hear the confessions only of the retreatants, and then only of the intern students, not the externs.[6] Humphrey, as a

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[1]A.S.J., DZ/M: Manning to Morris, 18 August 1877.

[2]A.S.J., AB/7: Humphrey to Jones, 30 March 1878. Morris preferred Manning -- or Talbot -- to succeed Wiseman at Westminster. R. Schiefen, "Anglo-Gallicanism in Nineteenth-Century England", Catholic Historical Review, 63(1977), 41.

[3]A.S.J., C/4: Porter to Purbrick, 19 May 1880.

[4]W. Humphrey, Recollections of Scottish Episcopalianism (1896), p. 52.

[5]A.S.J., AB/7: Karslake to Jones, 27 November 1878. Humphrey wrote that his own views on religious orders and the religious life were "diametrically opposite" those of Manning. Humphrey to Jones, 30 March 1878.

[6]A.S.J., F/3: Ms. notes concerning complaints against bishops in the Archdiocese of Westminster and the Diocese of Salford, n.d..

Jesuit, was twice denied permission to preach at Farm Street on the feast of St. Ignatius. He thought the explanation lay in the fact that he was well known as a confessor in London, and might attract the laity to Farm Street from Bayswater and the pro-cathedral at Kensington: "I doubt it; but I do not doubt that he thought so".[1] He advised the Provincial that if Manning could dictate which Jesuits could be given faculties in the Archdiocese, "you would be allowing men who pass from the secular priesthood to the Religious life, to be, for so doing, under a note of Episcopal censure".[2]

Manning's "refusal" of faculties for Humphrey and Anderdon took the form of advice to the Jesuits not to press for them. When Gallwey visited Manning to urge the case, Manning remained unmoved and accused the Jesuits of spreading rumours that faculties had been denied, as well as of prompting the newspapers to write against him. Purbrick suggested that Anderdon explain to Manning that his publicising in a newspaper the fact that he could not preach in Westminster was done without the approval of his superiors, lest the Society be identified in Manning's mind with a single case. As the Jesuits were not responsible for the rumours and "as no one would dream that H.E. was afraid to avow or ashamed of the line he took", Purbrick believed that there was no "breach of confidence in assigning the true reason for the non-fulfilment of Fr. Provincial's well-known intentions" that Anderdon and Humphrey work in London.[3]

Gallwey stated that Jesuits who had been Manning's intimate friends testified that "the mind of His Grace is quite hostile to S.J.", and that, in private conversations

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[1]A.S.J., AB/7: Humphrey to Jones, 30 March 1878. Humphrey joined the staff of the church at Farm Street on Manning's death. L.N., 30(1910), 501-2. The Marquis of Bute proposed Humphrey for a Bishopric in Scotland in 1877. Bute to Barnabo, 9 December 1877, in D. McRoberts (ed.), Modern Scottish Catholicism (Glasgow, 1979), p. 27.

[2]A.S.J., AB/7: Humphrey to Jones, 18 May 1878. Compare this case with that of Harmar Denny, an American convert at Oxford who became an Oblate of St. Charles at Bayswater. Denny returned to Pittsburg with a view to founding an American congregation of Oblates, on the Bayswater model, but entered the Jesuits in Maryland in 1871. Manning released him from his oblation without any difficulty and gave him an exeat from the Westminster diocese. "Father Harmer C. Denny. A Sketch", W.L., 43(1914), 337-366. Cf. p. 350 for Denny's comments on the Jesuit theological and spiritual writings used by the Oblates.

[3]A.S.J., Purbrick Letter, f. 17: Purbrick to Anderdon, 30 November 1880.

and addresses to the Oblates, he had depreciated the Religious state and exalted the diocese: "He is unwilling to recognise anything but the Diocese. This is not orthodoxy".[1] Yet Manning continued to co-operate with Jesuits, as was required, and his personal relations with most Jesuits do not seem to have been noticeably affected by the controversies with the Society. James Jones, who succeeded Gallwey as Provincial while the jurisdiction case was being decided in Rome, commented that he had excellent relations with Manning: "I never found him act otherwise than as a gentleman".[2]

From the correspondence available for consultation, there is evidence that, in his early years as Archbishop, Manning expressed a willingness to work with the Jesuits for the good of the diocese.[3] In 1865 he wrote to the Provincial, Alfred Weld:

> I should think myself guilty of a grave fault, and I should go against both my instincts and my conscience if I were to entertain for the Society any sentiments but those of veneration and affection. They who have heard me speak of it know that I do not share even in a particle of a feeling which I am sorry to know exists in some quarters. If at any time I have thought the acts or plans of any member of the Society to be not conducive to the good of the Diocese, I hope you will not count me as an opponent. We must perhaps see things from different points of view. and we may perhaps be of opposite opinions, but you will not I feel sure think this to be beyond the bounds of fraternal charity so long as these differences are maintained in the spirit of kindness and of peace. This I need not promise you will always be my feeling towards the Society.[4]

The General received reports as early as the beginning of 1866 of Manning's poor relations with Gallwey, and was relieved when Manning wrote to assure him that he was completely satisfied with Gallwey and the English Province.[5] There was some

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[1]A.S.J., AB/7: Gallwey to Weld, 7 March 1875. Gallwey named Anderdon, Humphrey, Karslake and Morris, former Secular priests and two of them Oblates, as Manning's "intimate friends".

[2]A.S.J., I/4: J. H. Pollen, Ms. notes on Purcell's suppressed chapter. Michael Gavin had questioned Jones about his relations with Manning.

[3]The Manning papers, which have been in the care of the Rev. Professor A. Chapeau, have been unavailable for consultation. Purcell reported that "The unlucky Jesuits were a fertile subject of discussion between Manning and Mgr. Talbot". Purcell, II. 388.

[4]A.S.J., AB/7: Manning to Weld, 5 January 1865. Cf. Manning to Weld, 22 May 1865, where he wrote that he intended "to promote the most cordial union between the Diocese and the Society".

[5]A.S.J., Ep. Gen., II, Beckx 1853-73: Manning to Beckx, 16 January 1866. Cf. A.R.S.I., 1005.XVI.3, Gallwey to Beckx, 8 June 1867 (part of this letter is missing), and Ffrench to Weld, 3 February 1866: "it is so important A.M.D.G. to preserve his [Manning's] kind

evidence to support Manning's claim. In 1867 he asked for a Jesuit to be appointed to give his clergy retreat.[1] When he saw the need to require the Jesuits to conform, he stated his reasons with clarity and presumed a good understanding. When the First Provincial Synod had decreed that women should be excluded from church choirs, for example, Farm Street was slow to effect the change and The Month published an article which seemed to oppose the decree. Manning assured the Provincial that if he had thought the editor, Henry Coleridge, "had made a slip I did not think he could 'mean mischief'". Manning stated, however, that he thought a retraction should be published because the article betrayed "an instinct at variance with the Church: and with the 'sentire cum Ecclesia'. I could say more but this is more than enough, I am sure with us."[2] During the Vatican Council, Manning's theologian was the Italian Jesuit, Matteo Liberatore, whom he had requested from the Jesuit General, because certain of his favouring the definition of Papal Infallibility.[3]

JESUIT EXCLUSION FROM LONDON

Despite these attempts to work together, tensions were soon evident. At the beginning of 1869 the Jesuits purchased a vacant convent building in Chelsea, which happened to lie in the district of the Oratorians, to use as a residence for the Provincial and his staff, the Jesuit writers and their printing press, and visiting priests. While there was no intention of opening a public chapel, it was hoped that the college which the Jesuits desired in London might eventually be located there, to provide public lectures in Philosophy for Jesuit students and others who might attend. Manning wrote

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esteem etc. -- especially as one can see that there are not wanting susurratores [sic.] to catch at anything to create a slip". Gallwey, in December 1866, warned J. E. Wallis, the editor of The Tablet, to be prudent not to arouse Manning, since The Tablet and Farm Street were both obstacles to Manning's notion of authority. Gallwey believed Manning took Milner as his model. Cf. S. J. Acheson, "Catholic Journalism in Victorian Catholic Society 1830-70, with special reference to The Tablet" (University of Oxford M. Litt. thesis 1981), pp. 186-8.

[1] A.S.J., AB/7: Manning to Weld, 27 May 1867. He suggested James Clare.

[2] A.S.J., AB/7: Manning to Weld, 25 September and 8 October 1868.

[3] A.R.S.I., Angl. 1005.IX.11: Manning to Beckx, 22 September 1869. Manning requested Liberatore, Brunengo, Steccanella or Tarquini. On Manning's links with the Jesuits of La Civiltà Cattolica, see M. Buschkühl, Great Britain and the Holy See, 1746-1870 (Dublin, 1982), pp. 129-132.

to Weld, the Provincial, that the Oratorians objected to the purchase "with very well founded reason". Not only had they been deprived of the convent whose nuns had worked among the women of their parish, but they believed that their own work with young men would be injured by the presence of the Jesuits, who would be building "on other men's labours". Manning wrote:

> It is true that I have fully approved and wished to see you found a College but when you spoke of it and proposed Hammersmith, I answered that the west of London was already preoccupied: and I suggested to you other parts of London, which are destitute, and full of souls. If you will enter upon some of these tracts which cry for help I shall rejoice and thank God: but to enter where need is not, and where the ground is fully occupied, and I must add under the singularly grievous circumstances which have deprived the Oratory of the fruit of years of devoted labour deprives this proposal of everything which otherwise would make me rejoice to approve it. [1]

Weld replied that he never intended the Jesuits to undertake ministerial work in Chelsea, and had no trace of ill-natured feeling towards the Oratorians, but doubted both that the Jesuit presence would affect the Oratory and that the Oratorians really felt deprived by the loss of the convent.[2] The Oratorians had complained to the Archbishop about the behaviour of their solicitor in the transaction, and the matter was referred to James Hope-Scott for arbitration. Hope-Scott informed Weld that Manning stated his case "with sufficient warmth to make me warm for you":

> His main objection is the old one. S.J. is coming into, or to the neighbourhood of parishes sufficiently served already. It will have a chapel -- it will attract -- and in the end it will starve these parishes as it has Warwick Street. This will be still more the case if it keeps school, for its pupils will form a nucleus, and their families will gather round it.[3]

The superior of the Oratory informed Weld of his belief that to the extent that the Jesuit college succeeded, the Oratorian work would decline, "at least all but the work of looking after the sick and poor in the parish". He presumed a Jesuit school would

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[1] A.S.J., AB/7: Manning to Weld, 19 February 1869.
[2] A.S.J., AB/7: Weld to Manning, 11 March 1869; BF/1: Weld to Manning, 12 March 1869. Another congregation of nuns had sought the property.
[3] A.S.J., BF/1: Hope-Scott to Weld, 10 March 1869.

have influence with the upper classes, which would lead to a request to hear confessions, and eventually to the provision of a public chapel:

> You said to me at Roehampton that you felt that what was good for your Society was good for religion in general,[1] but I think this requires limitation -- if what is good for you paralyses the good of other religious bodies I do not think it is good for religion in general . . . As I said to you, there is work in London for Jesuits and Oratorians but I do not think it is good for the progress of religion in London that they should be close together so that they must of necessity clash.[2]

At the same time, Manning wrote to Weld that he would do all in his power to promote a Jesuit college, but when he had suggested a plan which would have been acceptable to the Jesuits,

> the firm, decided and not unreasonable attitude of those of my Clergy whom I am bound to hear, rendered it my duty not to press the subject. This will I trust assure you of two things; first, that on my part there is a willingness limited only by my duty to the Diocese to do all in my power according to your wish: and next that I have also to consider the just and reasonable judgment of a large Clergy who have every right to my respect.[3]

Weld assured the Oratorians that he would do nothing shabby or unbrotherly, and expressed to Manning his desire for the most complete union between the diocese and the Society. He also expressed his conviction that it was an opportune time for Manning to prove to the Society his determination "to encourage its legitimate development in the diocese and in London":

> The Society is a literary and scientific and generally a teaching body, and to be properly represented in the diocese ought to have an establishment where it can develop that part of its work principally as regards higher studies. I think it might now be fairly impressed

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[1]This may be the source of a quotation which Manning used against the Jesuits, although he claimed similar words were addressed to him.

[2]A.S.J., BF/1: Gordon to Weld, 15 March 1869. Gordon feared that the good relations "between your distinguished priests and our humble selves should ever be disturbed".

[3]A.S.J., AB/7: Manning to Weld, 16 March 1869. Cf. Weld to Manning, 19 March 1869. The correspondence does not always distinguish between the Jesuits' plan to move their students of philosophy and theology, Jesuit and lay, to a site either in, or close to, London, and their desire to open a middle school.

> upon the Clergy that we have a right to some fit position in which we may carry out the educational and literary position of our vocation.[1]

Weld asked to be given another suitable position, in the west or north-west of London, should Chelsea be unacceptable, since the Jesuits had bought the property on the open market and in good faith, and he needed to satisfy the General that he was not sacrificing the interests of the Society.[2] The proposed Jesuit college could not be at Farm Street because of its restricted site, nor, Weld argued, could it be to the east of London, "as it would then fail to exact the influence which is desired", since higher education "can only be for the respectable Classes". He was sure that Manning, "in giving due weight to the reasons of your Clergy will be able to convince them that what I ask is only what is reasonable and just".[3] Manning, in turn, assured Weld that he would readily and promptly cooperate with him in "giving to the Society the place and work due to it in the Diocese":

> I am desirous, and I cherish a strong hope that we shall view our respective wishes not only from our own, but each others [sic.] point of sight, and that the union of cooperation and confidence between us and those for whom we act will be greatly increased by what has taken place.[4]

Manning found himself unable, in practice, to permit the Jesuits the school they wanted in London. The Jesuits had thought that Manning was simply objecting to particular sites which they suggested.[5] Weld believed that he had Manning's

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[1]A.S.J., AB/7: Weld to Manning, 19 March 1869.

[2]A.S.J., BF/1: Weld to Manning, 1 April 1869.

[3]A.S.J., AB/7: Weld to Manning, 19 March 1869. Cf. BF/1: Seed to Weld, 24 January 1869, commenting on Chelsea: "Is it a locality that our aristocratic friends would have a difficulty in approaching? (Some such must at times call on the Provincial or the Superior.)"

[4]A.S.J., BF/1: Manning to Weld, 25 March 1869. Not all Jesuits approved of the plan for a middle school in London. George Porter thought there was no "fair prospect of holding our own amidst the lay teachers and the public schools", and considered the price suggested for land for the London school to be excessive. He thought that London was only advantageous for higher studies. College of St. Ignatius, 1750-1874, f. 154: Porter to [ ], 2 November 1869.

[5]"Archbishop has already made mention of this place as one which he would sanction for our school . . . and even if he did not retract his word would push forward through his clergy his own school so as to destroy the efficiency of ours." P.C., 22 December 1873. Cf. A.S.J., C/3: Weld to Gallwey, 19 and 26 November 1874.

permission in 1869, and that he was only prevented from opening a college by not being able to secure the site which he desired.[1] Weld was then distracted by the question of higher education, and his successor, Robert Whitty, did not press the question. On becoming the English Assistant, Weld advised Gallwey, who succeeded as Provincial in 1873, that he should try to bring the matter to a conclusion.[2] Weld, as he confided to Cardinal Franchi, was anxious about the educational question, for he knew that missions were not considered proper work for Jesuits, and that the Bishops would not permit the Regular clergy to have churches without districts attached to them. He wrote that "there remains little else but education", prompting Gallwey's attempt to establish Jesuit schools in London and Manchester.[3]

Weld was quite certain that the Pope had admonished Manning about his treatment of the Jesuits, and had instructed him not to oppose the Regulars or their schools.[4] After attention had been drawn by the Fourth Provincial Synod to the want of middle-class education, the Jesuits renewed their request to open a school, and believed that Manning would not object as long as the school did not encroach on existing interests.[5] "In addition to the ordinary arguments in favour of middle-class education already well known to your Grace", the Jesuits proposed some special reasons commending their petition: education was "so principal a work of our Institute"; the land purchased for the projected college in Westminster had been subsequently sold to Manning; a London college might provide clergy for the foreign missions "in which

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[1] A.S.J., C/3: Weld to Gallwey, 26 October [1874], and 12 March [1875]. Cf. Weld to Gallwey, 26 November 1874: "My idea would be to aim at a lower middle class at first in the idea of making a Catholic higher middle class because the boys thus educated may all take higher positions that their parents. This would meet Dr. Manning's objection better which is that there are not Catholics but he himself uses the expression 'full of souls'."

[2] A.S.J., C/3: Weld to Gallwey, 26 October and 26 November 1874.

[3] A.S.J., C/3: Weld to Gallwey, 7 November 1874.

[4] Weld mentioned this in several letters, e.g., A.S.J., BN/6: Weld to Gallwey, 7 April 1874, where he adds: "I expect it will prevent the memorial against us which I considered to be a certain consequence of the meeting of the Bishops at this juncture: and a memorial from an entire hierarchy could not help making an unfavourable impression". The certainty of the Pope's admonition is mentioned in C/3: Weld to Gallwey, 19 March 1875; RX/5: Weld to Gallwey, 7 April and 9 April 1875, and Armellini to Gallwey, 19 April 1875.

[5] A.S.J., L/1: Gallway to Manning, Holy Innocents [1874]. Gallwey proposed that the Jesuits leave the West End to feed St. Charles's College, and open a Grammar School to be fed by Islington, Somers Town and other central districts.

the English language is spoken, many of which are confided to our care". They argued, finally, "from the great gain to peace, charity, and I may add to due subordination which would issue, if the notion circulated among a certain number of the laity, that your Grace is unfriendly to the Society could be uprooted".[1] A similar letter was drafted the following year for presentation to Manning. Weld forwarded the General's comments on Gallwey's draft, and suggested such changes as softening the expression, omitting passages which could be interpreted as threats, and introducing the letter "rather more delicately with more compliment etc. (if the English way will allow of it)". Weld advised Gallwey to enquire if Manning, despite his denials, had specific complaints against the Society or any individual Jesuits, since "we cannot expect all to be perfection in a body consisting of so many men":

> I know that it may seem to some Bishops that we are too independent of them, but I may submit that this independence is approved of by the Holy See and by the Council of Trent, and is really nothing more than a right which the H. See reserves to itself.

Weld advised Gallwey to suggest that a refusal to be allowed a school "would increase I very much fear an impression which I and all of us would deplore no less than your Grace".[2] Weld understood that, if Manning refused leave, the Jesuits would be free to begin a school on the property of their Farm Street church.

Manning again insisted on the delicacy involved in respecting the labours of others. He wrote to Gallwey that while London was a large city where there was thought to be room for anything, "Catholic London is a very small area and is very fully pre-occupied by works which have cost great effort and have a precarious support". He could not permit the Jesuits the middle school they desired:

> After deducting the poor there will remain so small a middle class that I am convinced, as are also those who best know the Diocese, that another College or Upper School would only introduce a hurtful and painful competition and rivalry, with all its evils religious and social. You will see from this that my mind is between two things, the desire to assent to your wish and the conviction that to do so would be

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[1] A.S.J., AB/7: [Gallwey] to Manning, 27 February n.y..
[2] A.S.J., C/3: Weld to Gallwey, 4 March 1875.

> adverse to the welfare of the Diocese and its existing works. I can in no way convey to you any idea of the care and caution needed in this respect. And I feel sure that you will believe that whatsoever I could do consistently with my first and highest duty I would gladly do to meet your desire.[1]

In 1876 Manning wrote at length to Gallwey, who had requested an interview to discuss the relations between the Jesuits and the diocese. Manning stated that he, too, had long desired such a discussion, but felt that he should respond to a Jesuit initiative rather than organise a meeting himself. Because previously arranged meetings had been postponed, Manning decided to put in writing what he should otherwise have said to Gallwey. While agreeing with Gallwey that both the Jesuits and the diocese had "unwise friends", he considered this to be an inevitable evil and altogether secondary to what he regarded as the inherited "constitutional question", which arose from the exceptional state of the Church in England and the history and strength of the Jesuits:

> Of all the religious orders the Society has most need of charity, humility, abnegation of self, and considerate forbearance in all things that touch the welfare of others in England by reason of its own hitherto abnormal state and of the exceptional circumstances of the Church which is only in the first period of its reorganization after three centuries of wreck.[2]

Manning recounted the history of his life as a Roman Catholic and insisted that he had been, if anything, more sympathetic to the Regular clergy than to the Secular. His treatment of the Jesuits, he assured Gallwey, came from no personal bias -- he remarked that he had been especially friendly with the Italian Jesuits of the Civiltà -- but from his reading of the history of the Church. With the restoration of the Hierarchy, he claimed, the English church was under the common law of the Church and the jurisdiction of ordinaries. He opposed the Immaculate Conception charity at Farm Street because he felt it was incompatible with the order and development of the diocese: "We are often so occupied by the thought of the good we may do that we lose

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[1] A.S.J., AB/7: Manning to Gallwey, n.d.. The first page of the letter is missing.
[2] A.S.J., I/4: Manning to Gallwey, n.d.. The letter, 18 pp., in Manning's hand, is marked (also in Manning's hand) "This letter was never given to Fr. Gallwey". It was written after the "question which arose last year at Salford". Cf. Leslie, p. 294.

sight of the greater good we may unconsciously destroy. It would not be . . . a justice to pull stones out of our neighbour's wall to build our own."[1] His opposition to the Jesuit school in Manchester was based on his experience that vocations did not come to the diocese from Jesuit schools -- "they become Jesuits".

MANNING AND THE JESUITS: AFTER THE FOURTH PROVINCIAL SYNOD.

Both Manning's contemporaries and later historians have suggested various periods for the genesis of his antipathy to the Jesuits: before his conversion to Rome, the time soon after his conversion, his early years as Archbishop, or during the 1870s. After the Fourth Provincial Synod, the only synod over which Manning presided and one at which Gallwey and George Porter strongly defended the rights of the Regulars,[2] it was clear that Manning's attitude had hardened. Weld learnt from Cardinal Franchi that Manning urged that "hitherto the Religious in England had been everything, and that now it was time for the hierarchy to have its right position".[3] In 1875 Manning wrote to Gallwey that he had given a careful and definitive answer when he refused permission for the Jesuit college, and stated that the subject could not be reopened:

> I regret any thing on our part which shall have the appearance of opposition to your wish. But you must endeavour to place yourself, some what [sic.] more, in our position, and appreciate the vital necessity of giving to the Diocese an organization adequate to its spiritual needs. Anything which should hinder this would not be "in aedificationem sed in destructionem". I pray in every Mass that between the Society and the Diocese there may be a mutual joy in each others [sic.] perfection, and a perfect absence of variance or of ill feeling.[4]

In 1876 Manning questioned the number of Jesuits based in the London residence. On succeeding to Westminster in 1865, he had given the Jesuits at Farm

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[1] A.S.J., I/4: Manning to Gallwey, n.d..
[2] Purcell, II. 762. Gallwey's address was interrupted by Ullathorne. A.S.J., F/3: Manning to Gallwey, 31 October 1878.
[3] A.S.J., C/3: Weld to Gallwey, 11 January 1875. Franchi insisted that Regulars should be used as auxiliaries, not excluded. Cf. 4/4: Gallwey to [Sidgreaves], 15 June 1876: "His Eminence told me distinctly that our position is too strong -- that the Hierarchy must grow".
[4] A.S.J., L/1: Manning to Gallwey, 1 March 1875. Cf. P.C., 3 March 1875.

Street faculties for other parishes in the diocese. He now wrote to Gallwey that he had so acted because he was "unwilling to seem inclined in anything to cross your wishes", and had warned that he would raise the matter in the future should the Secular clergy complain. Manning observed that the practice was "creating observation and feeling which both you and I desire to avoid". He indicated that, whereas in 1865 there were seven Jesuits at Farm Street, there were thirteen in 1876: "It is clear that the risks of 'malaise' are thereby greatly increased. Your prudence and charity will readily see what is 'ad majorem Dei gloriam'."[1]

In 1880 Manning wrote to the Provincial about anonymous newspaper reports that the Jesuits were prepared to buy from Mgr. Capel the land and public school associated with the failed Kensington College (from which the Jesuits had been excluded[2]), and to invest £100,000, at a day's notice. Although Manning did not believe that the Jesuits had anything to do with the rumours, he did not trust Capel, whose duplicity he had experienced the previous year. On that occasion, Capel had offered the land to the Provincial (while denying to Manning that he had done so), but the Provincial had declined to buy it without Manning's consent.[3] Manning now wrote to Purbrick that he feared the name of the Jesuits could be put forward "in a way that would sacrifice what is of sevenfold greater moment to the Catholic Church in England, and I am sure dearer to you as it is also to me than an improved Middle Class School in London".[4] Purbrick, who denied all knowledge of the affair, thought it ridiculous to imagine that the Jesuits possessed such riches at a moment's notice. He wrote to Manning:

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[1]A.S.J., F/3: Manning to Gallwey, 17 February 1876.

[2]A decade after Manning's death, a consultor reflected that "the very purpose with which the Bayswater College was started was to exclude S.J.". P.C., 28 November 1904.

[3]A.S.J., AB/6: Capel to Jones, 15 February and 17 February 1879. The Kensington College was amalgamated with St. Charles's College, as an advanced department, in 1878. Manning offered to purchase the land himself, but insisted that this was not in order to build a college in rivalry with Beaumont, "but to guard against any such evil towards anyone". He added: "There are mischievous minds 'out' as the Americans say: and they do endless harm among us". Manning to Gilbert, 1 October 1879.

[4]A.S.J., AB/6: Manning to Purbrick, 22 October 1880.

> If I entertained the intention of setting up any school in your Eminence's Diocese, or mooting the question in any way, Your Eminence is the first person outside our Society to whom I should address myself. But I am well aware that with Your Eminence's present convictions such an application would be useless. And however much I may regret their existence, I should scorn to stoop to indirect means of compassing what I could not obtain by direct.[1]

When Capel protested his suspension in Rome and the Provincial provided Robert Whitty and John Morris to advise him, the gesture was construed by Manning to be an act of hostility.[2] George Porter, for one, found that "the untiring professions of friendship from an enemy are tiresome", and asked "Could malice be more malicious and more stupid?"[3]

In 1880 Gallwey composed "A few thoughts and facts with regard to the Education question", to explain his understanding of the long confrontation between Manning and the Jesuits.[4] He stated that Manning twice gave his consent in writing for the Jesuits to open a school for the middle classes in London, and the Fourth Provincial Synod had recognized the need for such schools and called on the clergy to found them. Weld had represented the need in London and elsewhere to Cardinal Franchi at Propaganda, and was encouraged to supply the want. By this time, Gallwey claimed, Manning was resolved "to hinder any further development of S.J.", and indicated that there was no room for a Jesuit college, as it would injure the existing colleges, St. Edmund's and St. Charles's. Gallwey claimed that it was well-known that both these colleges had failed to attract middle-class Catholic support, and were in difficulties. At the same time that Manning excluded the Jesuits, he issued a pastoral

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[1] A.S.J., AB/7: Purbrick to Manning, 22 October 1880.

[2] A.S.J., C/4: Porter to Jones, 16 January 1880. Cf. Porter to [ ], 19 January 1880, and Manning Journal, Book 4, p. 108, cited in V. A. McClelland, Cardinal Manning. His Public Life and Influence, 1865-1892 (1962), p. 119.

[3] A.S.J., C/4: Porter to Purbrick, 16 January 1880 and 4 November 1880. Cf. Porter to Purbrick, 16 February 1883. Manning's agent called on Porter to beg him not to take Capel's side, "saying the Cardinal understood the Jesuits espoused the cause of Capel". Porter replied that the Jesuits had no intention of taking either side.

[4] A.S.J., L/1: Gallwey to [ ], 18 November 1880.

letter encouraging his priests to found middle schools.[1] Some laymen, believing that there was still a need beyond that supposed by Manning, put before him a statement concerning the large number of Catholic children attending Protestant schools. Gallwey wrote that Manning at first thanked the laymen for their information, but later asserted that their allegations were unfounded and that there was no further need for middle schools beyond the eleven already existing.[2] The laymen continued to press for a middle school, especially one conducted by the Jesuits. Manning "proclaimed that he intended to satisfy the demand by founding a middle school under Christian Brothers"; then, with the laymen still persisting, he announced the establishment of two new schools. Gallwey wrote that

> The extraordinary efforts made by H.E. to establish such Colleges now -- after his repeated declaration and his solemn assurance to the Holy See that none were wanted -- scandalise the Laity -- as they . . . prove that his chief object is to prevent the establishment of a College S.J. though he calls on them for the love of J. Xt. to help his efforts.[3]

While Gallwey believed that it would be possible to organise a large and influential meeting to promote a Jesuit college, he suspected that the Provincial would oppose this, partly because of the shortage of Jesuits to staff such a college. Weld wrote to Purbrick in 1880: "The question of the London school will make a comical history if it comes to be written. It is not finished yet."[4]

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[1] James Clare wrote to Manning, 27 July 1875, to ask whether this expression of a wish for grammar schools was intended to cancel his directive to the Provincial that the Jesuits should not establish a school in London. Purcell, II. 770.

[2] Manning was annoyed by the publication in La Civiltà Cattolica of correspondence about the number of Catholics attending Protestant schools in London. Weld wrote: "They will publish any thing we like, but I told them it was necessary to be very careful". A.S.J., C/3: Weld to Purbrick. 11 January 1881. Weld's contact at Civiltà was Valentino Steccabella, who was appointed Provincial of Venice in February 1881. Cf. Porter to Purbrick, 16 February 1881: "He is a loss to me and to our cause".

[3] For a point of view different to Gallwey's, see V. A. McClelland, Cardinal Manning. His Public Life and Influence, 1865-1892 (1962), pp. 55-57. The de la Salle Brothers, who conducted a school in the Southwark diocese, withdrew their offer to staff Manning's school.

[4] A.S.J., C/3: Weld to Purbrick, 8 November 1880.

George Porter reported that Manning had said he would offer the Society a school in London if he failed to carry the Bishops' case in Rome.[1] Porter believed that Manning deeply resented the treatment of his writing in The Month, "and his feelings cannot have been softened by the uniformly friendly remarks on Cardinal Newman".[2] The Jesuits realised, however, especially after Romanos Pontifices, that they would not be permitted a school while Manning remained Archbishop. Purbrick wrote in 1882:

> It would be cowardly to give way to H.E.'s prejudice; and in case of appeal to Rome being necessary, we should certainly gain our cause, and if not, we should be no worse off than before. The Cardinal cannot hate us worse than he does; and yielding won't pacify him.[3]

By 1884 the Jesuits avoided anything which involved "the necessity of dealing with Cardinal Manning".[4] When an approach was made for a contribution to the Cardinal's jubilee appeal in 1888, the Consultors thought that the Society should give something: one suggested ten pounds, another one guinea.[5] The Jesuits did open schools in London, at Wimbledon (which was in the Southwark diocese) in 1893, and Stamford Hill in 1894, once Vaughan was Archbishop.

It may seem that Manning's reasons for not allowing the Jesuits to work as they wished were practical ones, based, as he often explained, on the needs of the diocese and his responsibility for it. They had, however, a theological background. Since his evangelical conversion, Manning had an over-riding belief in the abiding presence of the Holy Spirit within the Church, preserving its unity, discipline and teaching.[6] This teaching he understood (especially after his conversion to Rome) to come from the centre of unity, and from the Bishops, to whom he believed religious orders should be

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[1]A.S.J., C/4: Porter to Purbrick, 4 May 1881: "I scarcely think he would be as good as his word; but he has enough of Dizzy in his composition to turn round and make a complete change of front".

[2]A.S.J., C/4: Porter to Purbrick, 19 May 1880.

[3]A.S.J., College of St. Ignatius, 1807-1909, f. 28: Purbrick to Sidgreaves, 15 July 1882, concerning the chaplaincy at Wormwood Scrubs prison.

[4]P.C., 30 April 1884.

[5]P.C., 17 July 1888 and 6 May 1889. Eventually the Rector gave twenty pounds for Farm Street and five pounds for Westminster. It was thought that "this could sufficiently represent S.J. without the Provincial giving anything separately".

[6]See D. Newsome, The Parting of Friends (1966), pp. 325 and 410.

entirely subject. Where they were not subject, and, as he believed, were set up as a group within the Church, he tried to diminish their influence wherever he could. Manning explained to Vaughan in 1880 that

> It is only the remnants of the old Regulars, led by S.J., that strive for predominance. And I believe that the multiplication and elevation of the priesthood of the future depends upon the recalling of S.J. to its limits and to a life of interior perfection. Let them keep their culture, intellectual and spiritual, but learn the humility of the Franciscans and the charity of the Redemptorists.[1]

Although Manning had not invited the Jesuits to participate in his tertiary college at Kensington, he believed that their lack of co-operation with his plans for education had caused the ruin of some of his ventures, and he felt bitter disappointment. Porter reported from Rome that the Secretary of State had been informed by Manning that "the University at Kensington failed through opposition of the Jesuits".[2] Weld had been informed that "The Cardinal had declared the Kensington fiasco due to the Society alone because the Catholic Aristocracy had declared against it at our bidding and that nothing could be done until the aristocracy was wrested from our influence".[3] Protective of their exemptions, the Jesuits resisted attempts to have a Central Board of Examiners superintend colleges, and maintained their own secular philosophers at Stonyhurst after the Kensington College had begun.[4] Some Jesuits, although not all, differed from Manning in favouring the entry of Catholics to the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge.[5] There were obvious personality clashes between Manning and some

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[1]Manning to Vaughan, 23 February 1880, cited in Leslie, p. 340.

[2]A.S.J., C/4: Porter to Purbrick, 4 April 1880: "We know of this in a way which will not allow of our directly meeting the charge". Manning had written of a proposed University that "The Society of Jesus alone contains in itself men capable of holding professors' chairs in all the chief faculties of arts, literature, and science." "The Work and Wants of the Catholic Church in England", Dublin Review, n.s., 1(1863), 158.

[3]A.S.J., AB/7, Weld Ms., quoting Mrs. Hornyold.

[4]For the Jesuit reaction to the Kensington College, see V. A. McClelland, English Roman Catholics and Higher Education 1830-1903 (Oxford, 1973), pp. 282-292. Weld believed that the college would fail to such an extent that an accomodation would have to be made with the Jesuits, "and we have only to be quiet till the day comes". A.S.J., RX/5: Weld to Gallwey, 13 June 1875.

[5]In 1885, R. F. Clarke wrote for The Month proposing a new Catholic University College. The article was suppressed for fear it would "gravely displease Cardinal Manning and it would do real injury to Stonyhurst". P.C., 19 October 1885. The reports of the seven

leading Jesuits, and human pettiness, clothed here in ecclesiastical dress. What appeared to be rivalry and grasping for power on both sides, however, was, in part, the expression of different perceptions of the needs and priorities of the community. In meeting them, Manning was reported in Rome to be very restless, "girando", "furioso"; the Jesuits were no less so.[1]

CHARLES KARSLAKE, OBLATE OF SAINT CHARLES AND JESUIT.

When the Provincial was gathering information in 1878, Charles Karslake, who had recently entered the Society from Manning's own foundation, the Oblates of St. Charles, was asked to comment on whether Manning had used expressions "at variance with common Catholic usage" when he spoke within the community of Oblates on the work of Regulars and their churches, vocations, vows, the Spiritual Exercises, and the position and work of the "pastoral" clergy (the expression Manning preferred to "secular" clergy). Karslake was reluctant to refer to what he learnt at Bayswater, but was assured that the Provincial merely wanted to forward the information in a confidential statement to Cardinal Simeoni and would not use it against Manning in any hostile way. Karslake wrote:

> As Your Reverence may be aware I have a very great esteem, reverence and affection for His Eminence as a thoroughly upright and most conscientious man and a most loyal and docile Son of Holy Church, and besides owe him a great debt of gratitude since he both received me into the Catholic Church and ordained me Priest and would normally feel very sorry to make anything known which might be used to his detriment . . .[2]

Karslake thought his opinion should be discounted on other grounds as well. He pointed out that the Professors at St. Beuno's had judged that, at the end of his studies, he was "in theological knowledge, below mediocrity", and, since that time, he had

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Jesuit censors on Clarke's article reveal the varied opinions of Jesuits. A.S.J., L/1. Extracts of the reports are printed in V. A. McClelland, English Roman Catholics and Higher Education 1830-1903 (Oxford, 1973), pp. 354-364.

[1] A.S.J., C/4: Porter to Purbrick, 25 May 1880.

[2] A.S.J., AB/7: Karslake to Jones, 27 November 1878. Cf. C/4: Porter to Purbrick, 28 November 1880. Porter suggested asking John Rigby or Waterworth if they had ever noted any doubtful propositions in Manning's writings.

scarcely been able to add to his knowledge of the treatise De Virtute Religionis. Although he had been a Jesuit for five years (during which time he had not met Manning), and an Oblate at Bayswater from 1863 to 1873,

> if there be truth in St. Philip Neri's statement that it wants three generations at least to get a genuine Catholic out of a convert, I can scarcely hope that the 16 years I have been received has sufficed to wash out of me all taint of the Protestant leaven in which for the first 22 years of my life I was brought up, and consequently I feel that for me to be trying to point out where the expressions of my betters diverge from a concord with "Catholic usage" is like trying to pull the mote out of my brother's eye without first getting rid of the leaven [sic.] from my own.[1]

Karslake revealed that Manning was guarded in expressing his views about Regulars in his sermons, exhortations and retreats at Bayswater. Karslake himself never knew that Manning had any hostility to Regulars:

> he never said that the life of the Oblates was better than that of the Regulars in itself but only that it was better suited to us, and the only thing I remember as having sounded to me a little strange was that in speaking of the Ascension he would say, with reference to the words of the angels "Why standing [sic.] ye gazing" etc. and "go you into the City etc." the last was our life, work etc. others meaning Religious Orders might prefer the gazing up into Heaven, but our vocation was to go and work for Christ.[2]

Karslake only learnt of Manning's hostility to the Jesuits from the superior of the Franciscan convent at Bayswater, to whom he confided in 1873 that Gallwey, then Provincial, had consented to receive him as a Jesuit. She expressed disbelief that Manning would ever give him leave:

> you know nothing then of what his feelings are about the Society. We may not even confess to a Jesuit priest, when I want to, I have to go on the sly which I dislike doing. Why, he has walked up and down

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[1]Karslake, half brother to the Solicitor General and Attorney General, Sir John Karslake, was educated at Westminster and studied Law. L.N. 33(1915-16), 220-223. He served twelve Jesuit missions over a period of 37 years, and was writing to Jones from Bedford Leigh, where he was replaced as missioner by G. M. Hopkins. Cf. The Sermons and Devotional Writings of Gerard Manley Hopkins, ed. C. Devlin (1959), p. 227.

[2]Cf. A.S.J., AB/7: Weld Ms. on Manning's views: "Vocation to religious life -- a phase of mind through which each one passes -- even he himself once desired to be a Jesuit -- then a Dominican -- finally had strength of mind to pass unscathed. By this means he succeeded in keeping F. Karslake for some years from the Society".

> this room for half an hour together declaring against the Society and the way it had behaved to him.[1]

Karslake found her prediction to be true when he visited Manning at Ushaw to reveal his desire and make application to go to the Jesuits. Manning refused to allow him to enter the Society, hinting that, while to lose Karslake would be a loss which the Oblates could bear, he feared that others might follow. When Karslake stressed that he had taken means to preserve himself from illusion and had made the Spiritual Exercises, Manning said that the Exercises were written with the very object of inducing people to join the Jesuits, and blamed the superior of the Oblates for allowing Karslake to make a retreat with the Jesuits.[2] Manning discounted as inapplicable or irrelevant the arguments which Karslake brought forward from Aquinas and Anselm about the perfection of the religious state. When Karslake admitted that a Bishop was in a state of perfection, Manning argued that a priest must be also: "He said I was changing obedience to a Bishop for obedience to a Priest and offered to give me a vow of obedience himself if I wished it".[3]

In addition to these statements on the religious life, Karslake admitted that Manning had made, "with more or less clearness or obscurity", the statements which the Provincial had gathered and forwarded to him for his comments. The Provincial had asked only for "reliable" information, so Karslake felt relieved from reporting "a great deal of dubious hearsay". He admitted that Manning had said that the priesthood was a sign of perfection already acquired, that the dignity of the priesthood was insufficiently understood and that "a much more ardent and loyal devotion to the Holy

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[1] A.S.J., AB/7: Karslake to Jones, 27 November 1878.

[2] Humphrey wrote that Manning forbade the Oblates to make their retreat at Manresa, believing that the Exercises were constructed "simply to draw men into the Society". Humphrey added that several Oblates had made retreats there, unknown to Manning. A.S.J., AB/7: Humphrey to Jones, 30 March 1878.

[3] Karslake reported that Manning's view (quoting de Montfort) was that "no vow on earth could have bound me more" than the total oblation of the Oblates. A.S.J., AB/7: Karslake to Jones, n.d.[1878]. Thomas Murphy, who directed the retreat which Karslake made in 1873, wrote that Karslake posed objections to the religious state, the result of Manning's influence: "the impression left on my mind was painful to a degree. In general they were the ordinary objections brought by infidels etc. against the Catholic Church adapted against the Religious Orders". Murphy to Jones, 24 M[ay] 1878.

See is desirable in England, not only amongst the laity but also among the Priests as well Regular as secular". He confirmed that Manning had stated that "the Apostles were not religious", that "the Hierarchy is the direct institution of Christ, the Religious Orders but the work of Holy Men" and that "before the Hierarchy was established Christianity had ceased to be preached in England". Further comments referred specifically to the Oblates. Manning was convinced of "a sad deficiency amongst . . . Priests of what he called the Ecclesiastical spirit of which we had the most perfect type in S. Charles", and said that missions preached by some of the Regulars did almost more harm than good, and that "Priests more familiar with pastoral work were better fitted for giving them". The Oblates were "just as well or better fitted to teach Colleges, give Missions, etc. as the Regulars, and that the object of the latter decreases, when Congregations of this sort appear".[1] Manning believed that too much fuss was made about religious vows as a means of perfection, and "too little about poverty of spirit and that charity in which the essence of perfection resides". Manning also claimed that "the espionage system of Jesuit Colleges seems badly adapted to the English character". Karslake reflected that some of these statements were inexact and false, "others may be benignly understood, others are open and very properly here". While Karslake struggled to be fair both to Manning and to his Provincial, he was clear about the central point at issue:

> No reliable information had ever come to me that His Eminence entertains feelings of "uncompromising hostility" to the Society, though of course the University affair, and the Manchester affair, and his requesting that Faculties for Fr. Humphrey should not be asked have a very ugly look, his hostility is confined altogether I believe to the English Province, and his antipathy regards some rather than all the Fathers of that Province whom he fancies neglect a little the "suaviter in modo" while they practise the "fortiter in re". Fr. Gallwey seemed a great crux to him formerly, how things go now, I do not know.

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[1] Jones claimed that Manning compared a Secular priest who became a religious "to a soldier who leaves the ranks to join an ambulance". A.S.J., F/3: Jones to Simeoni [1879].

He asked the Provincial to be mindful of Ignatius' words at the beginning of the Exercises[1] and not to be hard on Manning, "a dear friend of mine", "otherwise I will pray to our Lord to make you a Bishop in punishment for your little sympathy with the difficulties in which a Bishop in England is placed".[2]

MANNING'S WRITINGS ON THE JESUITS.

In the entries in his notebook in April 1889, Manning wrote that he wished "to put down carefully my judgment as to the Society of Jesus, because I have often been thought and said to be opposed to it". He favourably acknowledged the work of the Society at the time of the counter-reformation, its work as a school of theology, as a missionary body and as "a zealator by example and provocation to priests and people". Yet he believed that the suppression of the Jesuits was a just penalty, and foresaw another suppression:

> it [the Society] is not everything, nor can it take the place of the Universal Church, nor of the Hierarchy, nor of the Holy See. And here is the danger. There can be no doubt that its corporate action has been excessive . . . My firm belief is that to the action of the Society of Jesus in Rome from Father Parsons' time to 1773 may be traced the loss of the English people.[3]

Manning argued that, by their deliberate action in trying to divide and discredit the Secular clergy and in opposing the renewal of the episcopate in England, the Jesuits destroyed the priesthood. The Jesuits themselves increased and "became the domestic chaplains of a rich remnant of Catholic families; but the people were lost". Without a succession of priests the multitude of the poor fell away for want of pastors, while the chief Catholic families, although continuing in their Catholicism, were "absorbed in the English world". By contrast, according to Manning, Ireland was "saved to the Faith

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1". . . it must be presupposed that every good Christian must be more ready to excuse the proposition of another than to condemn it; and if he cannot save it, let him inquire how he understands it: if the other understand it wrongly, let him correct him with love; if this suffice not, let him seek all possible means in order that the other, rightly understanding it, may save it from error". Spiritual Exercises, ed. J. Morris (1880; 1929 edn.), p. 11.

2A.S.J., AB/7: Karslake to Jones, 27 November 1878.

3Purcell, suppressed chapter, p. 2. These notebook entries were included by Purcell in his unpublished chapter on Manning's relations with the Jesuits.

by the perpetuity and fidelity of the Irish Episcopate and Priesthood". At the same time, the threat of Spanish intervention, encouraged by the Society, aroused the English or national spirit: "It is no longer a question of religion, but of hearth and home, of wives and children". The consequence of the attempt to restore Catholicism by foreign and armed intervention was "to set the English people for three hundred years against Rome; and to create the hideous oaths of allegiance which in England existed to a few years ago, and in Ireland exist to this day". Manning concluded that "The Spanish policy, the political conspiracy, the reign of James II, have lost us the heart and trust of Englishmen." It is not without significance that he wrote on the Jesuits soon after reading T. G. Law's edition of Bagshaw's True Relation of the Faction begun at Wisbech, an acrimonious anti-Jesuit work first published in 1601.[1] For documentary evidence of his claims, Manning appealed to M. A. Tierney's edition of Dodd's Church History of England which was published during 1839-43, and which was, even in Tierney's revision, notorious for its defence of the position of the Secular clergy.[2]

Manning claimed that, had the Society not been suppressed in 1773, the Hierarchy would not have been restored in 1850. Until the suppression, he argued, the colleges and seminaries in Rome for the training of the clergy were in the hands of the Jesuits. The best students became Jesuits and the remainder were "impoverished, depressed, and dependent". During the years of the suppression, and the early years of the restored Society when the Jesuits had not recovered their influence, the Secular clergy, in both Rome and England, was restored to its independence and self-formation. In tracing the history of the Jesuits from their foundation, Manning claimed that, although they were strong supporters of the papacy by their fourth vow of obedience to the Pope, "in their spirit they are less papal than anti-episcopal". The claim of

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[1]Bagshaw's tract was reprinted in T. G. Law, A Historical Sketch of the Conflicts Between Jesuits and Seculars in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth (1889). Law, a former London Oratorian and the brother of Augustus Law, the Jesuit missionary, had been educated at Stonyhurst. D.N.B., 1901-11, pp. 423-4. Cf. T. Clancy, Papist Pamphleteers. The Allen-Persons Party and the Political Thought of the Counter-Reformation in England 1572-1615 (Chicago, 1964), pp. 82-85.

[2]On the composition of Dodd's work, see E. Duffy, " A rubb-up for old soares; Jesuits, Jansenists, and the English Secular Clergy", J.E.H., 28(1977), 313-17.

dependence on the Pope bred, he said, "a spirit of independence of local authority". He saw this spirit in their treatment of Jesuits who became Bishops, and he compared Jesuits to "the Low Church Evangelicals in the Anglican Church, who look upon their Bishops as 'enemies of vital godliness'", with "only a plank between them and Presbyterianism".[1] Manning summarised his case against the Jesuits:

> I must believe that a false policy, for which the Spanish spirit of the Society is chiefly responsible, has lost the English people. The exclusive, narrow, military, aristocratic character of the Society shown in the time of James I, with the archpriest figment, and the continual thwarting of the English clergy down to good F [Lythgoe], whom I just remember, seems to me to be a mysterious permission of God for the chastisement of England.[2]

Manning's own experience of Jesuits in the years since he became a Roman Catholic had convinced him that the Jesuits continued to behave as they had in the past: "The Society is St. Ignatius in perpetuity, Spanish, aristocratic, absolute, and military". Manning believed that the Society, in the years since the restoration of the Hierarchy, had "again and again been a cause of dissension" until it brought the conflict in Rome which led to Romanos Pontifices. He had "no will to record the pettinesses, which nevertheless do great harm", but held that the action of the Society upon the clergy had been "impoverishing both in men and in money, and depressing in spirit in standard [sic.]".[3] Rather than elevating and stimulating the Secular clergy, the Society had provoked rivalry and intermeddling.

PURCELL'S LIFE OF CARDINAL MANNING.

In April 1894, the Jesuit consultors discussed what notice they should take of Edmund Purcell's forthcoming biography of Manning, since they expected that the Society would be attacked. One consultor urged that a "vigorous refutation of the false

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[1] Purcell, suppressed chapter, p. 10. Cf. F. Vincent, On the Jurisdiction of the Crown in Matters Spiritual: A Letter to the Rev. H. E. Manning (Late Archdeacon of Chichester), in reply to his letter to the Lord Bishop of Chichester on the Above Subject (1851), p. 48, quoting Dr. South: "Jesuitism is nothing else than Popish Puritanism". See the Introduction to this thesis, p. 7.

[2] Purcell, suppressed chapter, pp. 12-13.

[3] Purcell, suppressed chapter, p. 13.

doctrine and false facts should be placed on record in some published form as soon as the accusations are made public", but the more general opinion was that "there should not be a direct contradiction emanating from ourselves", because "the very spirit of hostility which pervades the late Cardinal's remarks makes them less formidable, and our friends may defend us more powerfully than we can, and will provoke less controversy". The General urged them, however, to be prepared for the publication of Purcell's treatment of Manning's views with a refutation which was temperate, yet firm, strong and solid.[1] The work was distributed among three Jesuits, who could consult Sylvester Hunter and John Gerard. William Humphrey would prepare "all that touches dogma -- vows, religious state etc.; all the assertions not in harmony with decisions of the Holy See and the mind of the Church", and J. H. Pollen and Herbert Thurston would deal with the history of the Jesuits in England and with "the false history of Dod [sic.] and Tierney".[2]

Prior to the publication of his biography, Purcell was urged by Cardinal Vaughan to omit "all detailed mention of the Cardinal's strictures upon the Jesuits". Vaughan wrote that it would "amply suffice for your justification as an honest Biographer to state incidentally that he entertained prejudices or strong opinions against the Society, or against their system", and he assured Purcell that he was not called upon to open a discussion "on a subject in which many others are more intimately concerned than the Cardinal". Vaughan claimed that he was guided in this request by personal feeling for neither Manning nor the Jesuits, but by a conviction of what was for the public good and the good of the Church:

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[1] A.S.J., CL/5: Martin to Scoles, 14 February 1895. Cf. A.R.S.I., Angl. 1022.III.2: Pollen to Walmesley, 3 May 1921.

[2] P.C., 12 April 1894. Humphrey was the author of The Religious State. A Digest of the Doctrine of Suarez, contained in his treatise "De Statu Religionis", 3 vols (1884), and Elements of Religious Life (1895). Thurston was an historian on the staff of The Month, and Pollen was engaged in research into the history of the Elizabethan Jesuits. Cf. A.R.S.I., Angl. 1017.IV.unnumbered: "Report on the progress of the History of the English Province of the Society of Jesus, 1895-1899" and Angl. 1019.VI.6: "Review of historical work, 1899-1908" [1908]. For Ms notes (by Sydney Smith, Humphrey and Pollen) of the responses to Manning's treatment of the nine hindrances to the conversion of England, see A.S.J., I/4.

> The present need and interest of the Catholic Church in England, both within and without, is peace, mutual good will among ourselves and union of forces. The history of the past, when regulars and seculars fought each other in prisons and even in the presence of martyrdom, ought to be our warning. We are numerically small both to supply our own wants and to evangelize our countrymen. We cannot afford to weaken our influence by raising suspicions, by domestic contentions, fighting useless battles over again, and presenting a divided front to the enemy. If you introduce Cardinal Manning's charges against the Jesuits, the Jesuits or their friends must answer them; people will be forced to take sides; valuable talents and time, -- all urgently needed for important work before us -- will be wasted. Once open the flood gate, and who shall confine the flood? Cardinal Manning's life will be abundantly interesting without drawing out an episode in it -- an episode which he himself confined to his own private notebook and did not intend for the British public. All that he gave the world to know was that he did not employ the Jesuits, when the choice lay before him; and I do not see why you should give the world any further information than this.[1]

In the preface to his first volume, Purcell wrote that he had omitted, for the present, the autobiographical note which Manning had written "on the corporate action of the Society of Jesus in England and in Rome".[2] He informed Vaughan that he had omitted from his biography charges that the Holy See was subservient to the Society, acted under the direction of the Jesuits, and had intervened for political purposes in the affairs of foreign countries: "such charges, coming from Cardinal Manning, might, as your Eminence feared, be made a handle of against the Holy See by Foreign Governments". He also omitted charges that Jesuits, "when made Bishops had at times been put out of life: that the Jesuits had in the days of their domination so impoverished the clergy of Rome as to render them unfit to become Bishops, Nuncios

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[1]A.S.J., CL/5: Vaughan to Purcell, 8 November 1894. On the details of the publication of Purcell's biography, see S. Gilley, "New Light on an Old Scandal: Purcell's Life of Cardinal Manning", in D. A. Bellenger (ed.), Opening the Scrolls. Essays in Catholic History in honour of Godfrey Anstruther (Bath, 1987), pp. 166-198.

[2]Purcell, I. vii. This withdrawn material is known as the "suppressed chapter". A copy is in A.R.S.I., Angl. 1006.VII.3, (and in several places in A.S.J.), printed, 16 pp., and entitled "Cardinal Manning's Judgment on the Society of Jesus. An autobiographical note, 1889-90." The pagination follows the printed version. Parts of Manning's comments in the chapter have been included in published material: pp. 2-5 in F. Edwards, The Jesuits in England. From 1580 to the Present Day (Tunbridge Wells, 1985), pp. 300-302; pp. 7-13 in S. Leslie, Henry Edward Manning. His Life and Labours (1921), pp. 290-292 and 295-297; pp. 13-14 in Purcell, II. 766-7. The manuscript is "Book No. 8: continuation of Ms begun in a Roman folio book on Feb. 18 1878 in the Vatican in Conclave, No. II".

and the like". Purcell did not consider, however, that Vaughan's request to omit material on the Jesuits had meant

> that Cardinal Manning's well-known opposition to the Jesuits should be omitted from his "life". It would be a suspicious gap in the history. It would leave an incomplete picture of the man.[1]

Purcell explained that "In an evil hour I listened to timid counsels given from a high sense of duty, and out of a deep religious desire to avoid conflicts and controversies, and to preserve concord and charity among the Catholics of England". He regretted that Manning's comments were not examined by impartial criticism in free discussion.[2] While admitting to misgivings that Manning's reputation might possibly suffer by the suppression of the real reasons for his hostility towards the Jesuits, he was convinced that "no one, after reading the Life will impute -- as previously was too often the case -- such antagonism to petty feelings of pique or jealousy".[3] Because the motives which dictated Manning's attitude to the Jesuits were not disclosed during his lifetime, his antagonism was variously explained:

> Hence a haunting fear possessed the minds of many, that his antagonism to the Jesuits arose from jealousy of their hold on the more educated laity: or of their influence social as well as religious over the higher classes; or to a touch of resentment at the careless way in which the misjudged Jesuits seemed to treat alike his favour or disfavour.[4]

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[1]Georgetown University, Shane Leslie papers, Manning folders: Purcell to Vaughan, 30 October 1896.

[2]Purcell later wrote that he wished Manning's views on the Jesuits would be published "lest the microbes of calumny and suspicion continue to breed in the darkness of an unwarranted silence". E. Purcell, Life and Letters of Ambrose Phillips de Lisle (1900), I. 90. Cf. E. Purcell, "On the Ethics of Suppression in Biography", Nineteenth Century, 40(1896), 539.

[3]E. Purcell, "Poisoning the Wells of Catholic Criticism", Nineteenth Century, 39(1896), 524. Purcell was replying to two reviews of his biography, by Herbert Vaughan and Wilfrid Meynell, in the previous issue of the journal. Cf. Purcell's comments in the suppressed chapter, p. 14.

[4]Purcell, II. 770. Around 1866 Talbot commented to Manning that Gallwey and the London Jesuits were exercising "a most pernicious influence which ought to be counteracted. All the chief Catholic laymen, bound hand and foot, have fallen late into their hands. Poor Father Gallwey is an ambitious man." Purcell, II. 388.

The consultors agreed that the importance of the publication demanded extra censorship.[1] Vaughan was certain that the suppressed chapter, although not published, would be made public, and hoped that the Jesuits would defend themselves "by anticipation against the strictures". He wrote to Gallwey, expressing his sorrow at seeing Gallwey's name mentioned in "the most injudicious Biography", "most times with censure, and the whole matter of the Cardinal and the Jesuits and Regulars most painfully ripped open".[2] The Provincial, Francis Scoles, and the consultors,"men of judgment here, living in the midst of the turmoil", thought it most imprudent to anticipate and to be seen to be aggressors. Scoles did not want to set up a controversy voluntarily, "we Jesuits putting forward the case in our own way, and settling it in our own fashion", since this would prompt further writing in other journals.[3] The Jesuits were ready to defend themselves, however, should the accusations appear, and agreed "that we must be careful now not to overdo the attempt to be kind to Manning's memory or we shall find it difficult to defend ourselves afterwards". They made the broad distinction "which will cover whatever needs writing later, between good motives and bad theology or history".[4] Purbrick hoped that "much less damage will be done than at first blush seems likely":

> Purcell has committed many indiscretions, and his inferences are not easily excused, yet Manning emerges to use the expression of the reviewer in the 'Times' a good man though not the best of the good. [5]

Sydney Smith, one of the Jesuits on the staff of The Month, reviewed the biography, and, in defending Manning, was extremely critical of Purcell for publishing the Cardinal's personal notes.[6] With regard to Manning's attitude towards

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[1]P.C., 21 January 1896.
[2]A.S.J., CL/5: Vaughan to Gallwey, 12 January 1896. For one reaction to Purcell's published comments on the Jesuits, which "confirmed all one had read of Jesuitical intrigues and the underground connexion between the advanced Ritualists and the Roman Church", see Samuel Smiles, My Life-Work (1902), pp. 357-8. W.T. Stead called Purcell's book "a cheap substitute for Purgatory".
[3]A.R.S.I., Angl. 1017.VIII.2: Scoles to Meyer, 29 February 1896.
[4]P.C., 25 February 1896.
[5]A.S.J., DG/3: Purbrick to [Mother General], 28 January 1896.
[6]"The Life of Cardinal Manning", The Month, 86(1896), 153-179 and 395-424.

the religious orders and the Jesuits, Smith commented on only one matter -- Manning's theology of the priesthood and of religious life -- "and even this we permit ourselves only because it may assist to promote agreement by removing a misconception" and for fear that silence might be misconstrued, since Manning's comments had been published. Smith explained that theological language expressing doctrine could be perplexing, "and the Cardinal, in this, perhaps, suffering from the enforced curtailment of his formal theological studies, appears to have misunderstood the purport of the phrase, 'State of Religious Perfection'". Manning had objected to such statements as "the priesthood is the higher dignity, but the religious life the more perfect state". Smith argued that Manning's concern that his Secular priests conceive as highly as possible of the dignity of their state and of the holiness of life which it demanded, had led him to misunderstand the strict theological meaning of such statements.[1] Smith noted that, despite the dignity of the priesthood and the holiness which should accompany it, all the Church exacted was the promise of celibacy and the observance of canons and diocesan regulations. Those, however, who embraced the evangelical counsels without vows embarked on the "life of perfection", and, if they practised the counsels with vows, they were in a "state of perfection" which the stability of the perpetual vows supplied.[2] A Bishop was in a slightly different "state of perfection", not through consecration but because of the bond of being wedded to his diocese, which provided a stability which could be dissolved by the Pope alone, and in

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[1]For Manning's 1887 autobiographical comments on this notion of "perfection", especially at the Fourth Provincial Synod, see Purcell, II. 762-767. Manning wrote The Pastoral Office on these matters, but Ullathorne, in addition to making many corrections to the text, advised against publication.

[2]Smith wrote in his Ms. "Notes on Manning's Hindrances": "You will notice that he does not in the least understand what is meant by the theologians, indeed by the Church, when the religious life is spoken of as a state of perfection . . . There is no further ground for supposing that the faithful generally took this line, still less that the regulars encouraged them in it". A.S.J., I/4. On Manning's desire to improve the standing of the Secular clergy, see P. Doyle, "Pastoral Perfection: Cardinal Manning and the Secular Clergy", in W. J. Sheils and D. Woods (eds.), The Ministry: Clerical and Lay (Oxford, 1989), S.C.H., vol. 26, pp. 385-396. Cf. Manning to Ullathorne, 9 March 1883, cited in Leslie, pp. 342-3..

the interests only of the Church, not of the Bishop himself.[1] While the Secular priest did not share in this state of perfection, there was nothing, Smith pointed out, which discouraged high aspirations in priests who did not feel themselves called to what the Church called the "counsels of perfection". Perfection lay in the exercise of charity, the highest theological virtue, and to this all were invited.[2]

Smith believed (although he did not publish this opinion) that Manning's "real objection to the men-religious was that they were not wholly under the jurisdiction of the Ordinary". Smith admitted in his notes for Pollen that the Bishops in England "have been all through, from the time of the establishment of the Hierarchy, a most edifying set of men, and nearly all of them excellent administrators". He denied that the Jesuits had kept back the Secular clergy, and thought that Manning was influenced by the fact that few, if any, Bishops were teetotallers: "Manning's way of putting the Drink question was that any one who was not a Teetotaller was not indeed committing sin, but was not leading the higher life. In fact what he denied to the Three Evangelical Counsels, as imparting the pursuit of the higher life, he conceded to Teetotalism".[3] Smith considered that Manning was quite incorrect in his judgment about what were the real hindrances to the spread of the Catholic Church in England. Purcell had listed eight of Manning's nine hindrances, and omitted his treatment of the ninth -- the Jesuits.[4] Smith believed the real hindrances came from without, and from two main causes:

> (1) the fearful misconceptions as to the true nature of Catholicism which are still widely prevalent among the people here, and (2) the amount of petty social persecution which is the usual lot of any one who thinks of becoming a Catholic. No doubt there is improvement, and increasing improvement in regard to both these points, but the evil is very deep-seated, and many of us doubt if the country as a whole can ever be brought back to the faith.[5]

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[1]This is the perfectio exercenda, distinguished from the perfectio acquirenda which belongs to the religious state. This theological use of the word "perfection" does not refer to moral perfection, but to the removing of obstacles in the way of charity.
[2]The Month, 86(1896), 422-24.
[3]A.S.J., I/4: Smith Ms.
[4]Purcell, II, chapter XXVII. The hindrances are listed on p. 774.
[5]A.S.J., I/4: Smith Ms.

Before Smith's review of Purcell was published, the editor of The Month, John Gerard, read it to the Provincial, Francis Scoles, who approved of it and wrote to Rudolf Meyer, the Missouri Jesuit who was the English Assistant in Rome, that,

> whilst it is no mere white-washing of Cardinal Manning but a very fair appreciation of his worth -- it points out clearly that in the matter of his views on the religious state etc. he is at variance with settled and received teaching but he [Smith] does it by a very simple theological statement and with no incrimination. I fancy it is just the kind of article that I have heard by a side wind that Cardinal Vaughan would like written.[1]

When Meyer suggested that the English Jesuits defend themselves, Gerard explained that nothing could be done immediately apart from publishing in The Month the second part of Smith's review. He pointed out that the Jesuits were not supposed to know the contents of the suppressed chapter, nor the charges against the Society which it contained. It was the opinion of "the gravest and most experienced of our Fathers here", whom Gerard had consulted, that the Jesuits should not be the ones to make public the attack upon them -- Gallwey was "quite pathetic in urging that we should not seem to bring the matter forward".[2] To publish the attack would be taken "as confirming all the insinuations which have been freely made, that the Jesuits have captured the document, and thus been able to do what no one else could, and hinder the appearance in the biography of what was distasteful to them". Gerard thought that no Protestant would believe that the version given by the Jesuits was the true one: "they would make sure that we gave only what we thought we could answer". He argued that the reply to Manning's "sweeping accusations" would take time and labour:

> Leaving out of consideration his charges against the corporate action of the Society, and their attitude towards the Church and its Bishops, the historical questions involved are most delicate, and require much research, for which at present we have not the full materials. There is the whole character of Father Parsons and his conduct, to be treated, and that is a subject so thorny that nobody as yet has ventured upon it. No doubt his motives were pure and lofty,

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[1] A.R.S.I., Angl. 1017, unnumbered: Scoles to Meyer, 26 February 1896.

[2] Sydney Smith stated, however, that Gallwey was "most anxious that, as things had gone so far, it should be published". A.S.J., I/4: Smith Ms.

> but he did much, in both secular and ecclesiastical politics, which if not regrettable, at least affords a powerful handle to our enemies -- for he was the most influential English Jesuit of his time, and from Rome directed the English mission.

With regard to Manning's accusation that Persons prevented the appointment of Bishops in England, Gerard wrote that

> there is no doubt he did oppose it. His ground was that there were none among the secular clergy fit for the Episcopate. He was very probably right, but to quote such a reason would be to arouse a storm of ill feeling, which would be a calamity.

Gerard argued that it was impossible to treat Manning's accusations without examining such questions, "and the work must be long". So he advised deliberation and patience, for he considered that the suppressed chapter, if published, would

> in all liklihood fall absolutely flat with the Protestant public. It is not the sort of thing they want or expect. They look for gunpowder plots or assassinations from Jesuits, and won't care two pence for Canon Law and that sort of thing. Those who care for the kind of argument in which Cardinal Manning indulged have it all in Tierney, Law and others, from whom he borrowed it, (for he produced nothing fresh.) To take up the cudgels against him would only be to call public attention to what, on many grounds, it is desirable to leave in decent obscurity.

Gerard wished to convince Vaughan of this, for he judged that the Cardinal "with his many good qualities, and, I believe, good dispositions towards us, is apt to rush at his fences and commit himself to doubtful experiments".[1] Scoles, too, thought that Vaughan had acted "hastily and not wisely to us":

> Without waiting to see what we had to say, or consulting us or our feeling in a matter which so closely concerns us, he has used his position to further an opinion on the prudence of an action, which <u>may</u> in all probability bring the Society in England and also in Rome into difficulties.[2]

Sydney Smith also wrote to Meyer that he had contacted Vaughan about his review of Purcell. Vaughan urged that the Jesuits should counter Manning's charges

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[1]A.R.S.I., Angl. 1017.VIII.1: Gerard to Meyer, February 1896.
[2]A.R.S.I., Angl. 1017.VIII.2: Scoles to Meyer, 29 February 1896.

by providing not a profound historical explanation of their actions but rather "a popular explanation of a much lighter kind and bearing reference more to present circumstances than to our doings, proper or improper, in days long past". Smith agreed that this would be the most effective course, since an exhaustive account, as Gerard indicated, would need to be preceded by an exhaustive investigation, and "meanwhile interest will have died away, and the mischief have been done.[1]

Smith indicated to Meyer his own criticisms of Manning's argument in the suppressed chapter. He thought it could be argued that, instead of endorsing those who disliked the Society, Manning had actually bestowed praise and acquittal rather than blame, since one of his chief charges was that "the Society has excelled so much in its spiritual and intellectual attainments as to draw all that is best in the Church to its bosom, and so leave to others only inferior quality". Changing his argument, Smith suggested that Manning underrated the quality of those "whose call has not been to the Society". The Jesuits, Smith claimed, had no interest in denuding other branches of the clergy. He admitted that the Jesuits

> had a very little at one time to do in keeping out the Hierarchy, and then the action taken was not so much to stop the establishment of a Hierarchy as to prevent its getting into the hands of a very unorthodox section of the secular clergy. Besides it was long ago.

Smith faced Manning's charge that by their policy of inviting the Spaniards to drive Elizabeth from the throne, and by political plots, the Jesuits turned the sympathies of the English people away from the Church. His answer was that every endeavour to identify the Jesuits with political conspiracies had broken down, and that much historical investigation was required before it could be determined to what extent the Jesuits were responsible for the Armada:

> And also we must bear in mind that, although after the event we see that the Armada was a mistake, it is by no means so clear that it ought to have seemed so before the event. The policy of inviting foreign help to deliver one's own countrymen from tyranny was at all events not a policy peculiar to our side. Compare the action taken by

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[1] A.S.J., RY/2/2: Smith to Meyer, 11 March 1896.

> Protestants under James II in calling in William of Orange, the action of Elizabeth herself in aiding the French Huguenots to rebel against their lawful sovereign, English action against the Neapolitan Government in this century, and again in the American question just now.[1]

Realising that this sounded somewhat defensive, Smith explained his position to J. H. Pollen. The plots of which he was speaking did not include such schemes as the Armada, which he called "policies not plots":

> I was thinking of the Gunpowder Plot and affairs of that kind which Gerard has been investigating. The policies, it seems to me, can be defended, not perhaps as having been very wise, but as at least intelligible in good and high-minded men. I hope however they will not ever be able to convict us of plots for assassinating Queen Elizabeth . . .the notion seems altogether objectionable.[2]

In addition to his criticism of the suppressed chapter, Smith examined, in his notes prepared for Pollen, some of Purcell's published comments about Manning and the Jesuits. Manning had written to Talbot in 1866 that "the watered, literary, worldly Catholicism of certain Englishmen" would "find no little favour among English Jesuits".[3] Smith saw no difference between English and other Jesuits in this regard,

> But Manning felt instinctively that some English Jesuits -- probably he was thinking chiefly about Father Coleridge -- would sympathise with Newman's regrets that the converts of Faber's and Manning's school should be trying to force down the throats of English people certain extravangances of language about our Lady etc. -- a point of which Manning himself would have probably taken a different view in the latter days of his life.[4]

Smith noticed that while both Wiseman and Manning criticised the Jesuits, they did so for conflicting reasons. Wiseman complained that the Jesuits in London, pleading their shortage of priests, would not undertake Lenten missions, whereas Manning did not want them even to be invited to give such missions, as he considered the work should

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[1] A.S.J., RY/2/2: Smith to Meyer, 11 March 1896. He asked Meyer to investigate in Rome the accuracy of Manning's statements about the Jesuits and the Roman Secular clergy. Pollen wrote on this letter "and Transvaal and Armenia".

[2] A.S.J., RY/2/2: Smith to Pollen, 24 April 1896.

[3] Purcell, II. 324.

[4] A.S.J., I/4: Smith Ms.

be left to the Secular clergy.[1] In a note in 1887, Manning had commented that at the Fourth Provincial Synod, George Porter had remarked that The Sincere Christian and the Catechismus ad Parochos were the books for the Secular clergy: "He did not say, but this means, that all that is higher is not for them".[2] Smith placed Porter's remarks in their context. The Bishops had proposed that seminarians should study ascetical theology at the conclusion of their studies, to prepare them "for guiding souls in the way of higher perfection". Porter had spoken of the dangers of such a scheme, as Smith explained:

> They would only imbibe the crudest notions of high spirituality, enough to enable them to imagine they knew a great deal, and could really guide such souls, whom accordingly they would guide very much amiss. It was not a question of keeping the secular clergy down to a lower level of spirituality, but of pointing out that such a delicate art as direction of chosen souls could not be done on the wholesale, and purely out of books.[3]

The suppressed chapter remained unpublished, but there lingered for several years the fear that it would become public. In 1905 the consultors expected that Francis Wyndham, the superior of the Oblates of Saint Charles at Bayswater, would publish the material from the suppressed chapter in a book on Manning. They thought it scandalous to revive the attack, but considered that they were still constrained from replying until it appeared. If publication did eventuate, they would "insist on its being given from beginning to end and word for word, because then it refutes itself since it carries with it false doctrine about religious vows (-- condemned proposition ?) -- the Protestant idea that they are not consistent with Christian liberty".[4] Similarly, a projected life of Manning by the Oblate archivist, William Kent, was announced for 1906, and renewed Jesuit fears.[5] In 1907 the consultors again suspected that it was too

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[1]Wiseman to Faber, 27 October 1852, cited in Purcell, II. 3.

[2]Purcell, II. 507.

[3]A.S.J., I/4: Smith MS.

[4]P.C., 2 January 1905. Cf. A.R.S.I., Angl. 1019.II.21: Sykes to Martin, 4 January 1905.

[5]The work was mysteriously withdrawn from publication and destroyed. Cf. S. Gilley, "New Light on an Old Scandal: Purcell's Life of Cardinal Manning" in D. A. Bellenger (ed.), Opening the Scrolls. Essays in Catholic History in Honour of Godfrey Anstruther (Bath, 1987), p. 194. Cf. A.R.S.I., Angl. 1019.II.25: Sykes to Martin, 12 August 1905.

late to prevent the publication of the suppressed chapter. They thought that the whole of it should be made known, including Manning's "proximately heretical opinions about vows"[1] -- "we can supply any part omitted"[2] -- and knew that they possessed a prepared answer. Wilfrid Meynell warned them, prior to publication, that Snead-Cox's biography of Vaughan would contain chapters dealing with the Manchester controversy, and this, "with the projected publication of certain of Cardinal Manning's statements about S.J. will cause a 'nine day wonder'". The consultors considered they had little option but to wait the course of events.[3]

After Gallwey's death in 1906, a majority of consultors agreed with requests that his biography should be written.[4] His obituary in Letters and Notices merely recorded that, during his Provincialate, the Fourth Provincial Synod was held and the school in Manchester was opened, "events which afterwards led to the publication of the Papal Constitution Romanos Pontifices". The only comment made about these events was that

> In the debates which then ensued Father Gallwey took a considerable part, but it would be injudicious to enter into details concerning them here, the more so as the full history of these incidents has not yet been attempted.[5]

In 1910, however, in the aftermath of the modernist troubles, the consultors decided that no biography, nor even chapters of it in The Month, should be published:

> if a life is to be published it should be complete; and that would introduce subjects better left alone; moreover, just when Cardinal Vaughan's Life is in everyone's hands, and Cardinal Manning's is shortly to appear, old controversies would have to be recalled, nor could we omit them, for silence on our part would be taken as

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Material from the proof sheets of the book was used, prior to publication, in "Manning and Gladstone. The Destroyed Letters", Dublin Review, 138(1906), 41-58. The review is unsigned, and attributed to Wilfrid Ward by M. J. Weaver, "A Bibliography of the Published Works of Wilfrid Ward", Heythrop Journal, 20(1979), 412. A further review, promised for the subsequent issue of The Dublin Review, did not appear.

[1] A.R.S.I., Angl. 1023.I.13: Sykes to Walmesley, 29 September 1907.

[2] P.C., 27 September 1907.

[3] P.C., 22 May 1908.

[4] P.C., 30 December 1906. Purbrick urged it, Joseph Rickaby was proposed as the author, as were John Gerard, Herbert Lucas and J. H. Pollen.

[5] L.N., 29(1907-08), 50.

> justification of all that has been alleged in certain chapters of Cardinal Vaughan's Life.[1]

A detailed defence by the Jesuits had to await the publication in 1921 of Shane Leslie's biography of Manning, which included part of Manning's notebook writings on the Jesuits. The work had been long in preparation. In 1913 Leslie wrote to Meynell that he was trying "to finish the rough draft of H. E. M. I think I have extracted the last tear of Florence Nightingale, the last gossipry of Mgr. Talbot and the last groan of Peter Gallwey from the Archives."[2] In 1913 Leslie sent his manuscript to Pollen and Sydney Smith for corrections and suggestions. He had included letters which

> seemed to really illustrate the feelings of the partisans at the time of conflict (1) because they are true relatively (2) because they make background for the greater truth that the Church profits by internal struggles i.e. that the peace is lasting.[3]

On the other hand, he excluded letters which he thought were exaggerated and unfair to the contestants:

> I can think of two (1) a letter of Mgr. Talbot out of his insane asylum as to a rumour among the Jesuits that Bp Vaughan was going mad. (2) a letter of an English Bishop complaining that the Jesuit artillery in Rome was manned by women. Both these seem to be much too amusing to be true. What is the use of being pro or anti Jesuit in writing history?

Herbert Lucas, who had been dismissed from his chair of Scripture at St. Beuno's in 1902 for his moderate support of critical biblical scholarship and his writings on Americanism, reviewed Leslie's biography in The Month in 1921. He did not question Manning's motives, and argued that Manning's position was consistent, given that he was persuaded that the Jesuits had disastrously impeded the revival and progress of Catholicism in England and that the religious orders, and especially the Jesuits, had

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[1]P.C., 14 December 1910. P. Fitzgerald, Father Gallwey. A Sketch (1906) and M. Gavin, Memoirs of Father P. Gallwey S.J.(1913), were published, but skirted contentious issues. For Purbrick's view of Snead-Cox, see A.S.J., Purbrick Letters, f. 201: Purbrick to Rector, St. Andrew-on-Hudson, 19 October 1910.

[2]Georgetown University, Shane Leslie papers, Box 1, Correspondence: Leslie to Meynell, 12 August 1913.

[3]A.S.J., 39/3/4/5: Leslie to Thurston, 19 October 1913, marked "Private except for Frs. Smith and Pollen".

unconsciously helped to debase the tone and spiritual standards of the Secular clergy by setting before them low ideals, and by denying or ignoring that real holiness of life was within the reach of a Secular priest. Lucas wrote:

> That these things were not so is, needless to say, my firm belief, but this belief is in no wise inconsistent with a sincere admiration for one who, being otherwise persuaded, acted consistently in accordance with his persuasion. And while we may regret in the great Cardinal a certain proneness to form, on insufficient grounds, judgments which were in accordance with his predispositions or preconceptions, and a certain readiness to impute unworthy motives to those who thought otherwise than he did, because his own view seemed to him so transparently correct, we may thankfully acknowledge the good results of a struggle which indirectly at least had the effect of putting both seculars and regulars on their mettle.[1]

J. H. Pollen had prepared his response to Purcell's suppressed chapter prior to the publication of the biography in 1896, but it remained unpublished for many years. Pollen admitted that Manning's charges against the Jesuits would be remembered, even though Manning did not "patronise the vulgar cries against the order". Pollen wrote that the manner in which Manning brought his charges

> enables us to attribute them (if it may be said with respect) to his anecdotage. They are set forth in such a rambling, indefinite, vague, over wrought, unbalanced way, that we may conclude that the Cardinal was not writing in his ordinary, sane, scholarly mood, but in some depression, melancholy, or fit of the blues.[2]

Manning's indictment belonged to a class of literature which was unfortunately long lived, Pollen thought, and the Jesuits should not add to its sadness with their own acrimony. Still, he analysed some examples of Manning's lack of order, repetitions and overstatements to justify his claim that Manning wrote in a mood of depression:

> It is easy to see that the Cardinal's extraordinary misconceptions are not the outcome of historical research. Their origins must be sought elsewhere, that is in his peculiar views on the nature and functions of the episcopal hierarchy.

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[1] The Month, 137(1921), 292.

[2] A.S.J., I/4: Pollen MS. These notes date from c. 1896.

Pollen claimed, for example, that Manning's charge that the Jesuits were "Spanish in perpetuity" was "quite ridiculous: no proof, no names, no dates, no particulars". He concluded that it was

> perhaps meant as an attempt to damn them as un-English. Whatever the object, the charge is curiously irrelevant. It would certainly be rather difficult to consider "Spanish" such striking types of Englishmen and Irishmen as Father George Porter and Father Peter Gallwey.

It was twenty-five years before parts of these notes were published in an article in The Month, soon after the appearance of Leslie's biography.[1] In claiming that Manning was primarily a man of action, Pollen suggested that "Abstract thought was not his highest faculty". He admitted that if some of Manning's charges had been proposed with greater discrimination, there was an element of truth in them. Yet Manning had taken the "various jars, differences and controversies with members of the Society, such as may so easily occur during the course of a long, active, pushful life" and overweighted them with "strange lapses in theological reasoning and in historical accuracy".[2] Pollen subjected Manning's theology of the priesthood and the religious life, and the accuracy of his historical assertions, to a detailed examination. He attempted to show that Manning's four assumptions, that the Church ceased to exist in England for three hundred years, that the people of England were "lost to the Faith", that the Jesuits at Rome successfully resisted the establishment of the Hierarchy and imposed on Rome the policy of Spanish intervention in England, did not stand examination. While he thought that

> one might reasonably have expected that men, who were both honourable and well-intentioned, should have been treated with more consideration until their cases could be discussed with adequate care,

he also stated that Manning had, apart from the deficiencies of his theories, "an instant apprehension in practice of the higher and better course".

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[1] "Cardinal Manning and the Jesuits", The Month, 137(1921), 481-493.
[2] The Month, 137(1921), 481 and 492-3.

VI. NEWMAN AND THE JESUITS*

John Henry Newman was not alone among the Tractarians in being accused of being a Jesuit, an infiltrator in disguise, a wolf in sheep's clothing, bent on destabilizing the established Church. In Loss and Gain, Newman wrote of this fear of "concealed Jesuits" housed in Oxford.[1] He heard himself accused, and even one of his friends stated that "his mind was always Jesuitical".[2] The charge was a very common one: these "dastardly priests kindling a latent fire for divisions and ruin, and truckling over to Rome" were, actually, "disguised disciples of Ignatius Loyola".[3] The usual imputation was that

> The Puseyites, Tractarians, and Jesuits of the Pusey and Newman School at Oxford, educated of late years in all the errors of corrupted Christianity, are spreading themselves widely all over England, and filling the places of Clergymen and Schoolmasters in the establishment.[4]

They were compared with the High Church party of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, but were considered to be even more dangerous, "deceived by the far deeper and more accomplished Jesuits of 1830 to 51, acting now, exactly as they did then, on their 'Secret Instructions', -- 'By others, rather than themselves'".[5] C. P. Golightly, the High Church opponent of Tractarianism, charged that some in Oxford "openly praise the Jesuits, talk of Saint Ignatius Loyola, have plans for taming refractory Bishops", but the more common accusation was that the Tractarians were insidious, "in the Church

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*An earlier version of part of this chapter has been published as "Newman's Relations with the Jesuits", Heythrop Journal, 29(1988), 58-85.

[1] J. H. Newman, Loss and Gain (1848; 1911 edn.), pp. 116 and 241.

[2] The Autobiography of Isaac Williams B.D., ed. Sir George Prevost (1892), p. 54.

[3] The Coming Conflict, or Rome and Russia against England (1853), p. 10.

[4] Priestcraft and Popery. A Solemn Warning to the People of England against Priestcraft, Popery, Puseyism and Jesuitism [1852], p. 14. Many novels of the period warn against Puseyism as part of a Jesuit plot to convert England to Rome. Alfred Lennox; or Puseyism Unveiled (1851) is one example.

[5] "The Fatal Harmony", or an agreement Betwixt The Jesuits and "High Church", to make void the Laws of God and Man in England, early in the Eighteenth Century (1851), p. 35. This pamphlet reprinted a work published in 1716. Cf. A. P. Stanley, The Life and Correspondence of Thomas Arnold (1858), II. 245-6, for Arnold's different feelings towards a Roman Catholic and a Newmanite.

but not of the Church", destroying it by sap rather than by storm.[1] On reading Tract 90 in 1841, the young Charles Kingsley wrote to his mother from Cambridge:

> Whether wilful or self-deceived, these men are Jesuits, taking the oath to the Articles with moral reservations which allow them to explain them away in senses utterly different from those of their authors. All the worst doctrinal features of Popery Mr. Newman professes to believe in.[2]

Among the Anglican Bishops who attacked the Tracts, the Bishop of Ossory sought to expose "the dishonest casuistry to which the Jesuits have given a name", which "is employed upon a scale to which it would be hard to find a parallel, except in the more notorious of their own writings".[3] For the Tractarians were believed to be employing the stratagems which had long been thought to distinguish the Jesuits: they were permitted to become heretics and schismatics to serve the Church (and so could profess belief in the Thirty Nine Articles), and they worked as educators among the young, sowing seeds of strife and division while affecting an air of piety, and contriving to obtain the sanction of those with influence and authority. The doctrine of reserve and the practice of caution were understood, particularly after Isaac Williams' Tract 80, to be instances of Jesuitical dishonest concealment[4]:

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[1]C. P. Golightly, letter to Standard, 26 November 1841, cited in Correspondence Illustrative of the Actual State of Oxford with Reference to Tractarianism And the Attempts of Mr. Newman and His Party to Unprotestantize the Catholic Church (Oxford, 1842), p. 13. Cf. Puseyism. The School of the Infidels. By a Layman of the Established Church (1865), p. 10, and P. Toon, Evangelical Theology 1833-1856. A Response to Tractarianism (1979), pp. 83-4. Lord John Russell, in his Letter to the Bishop of Durham, associated the "mummeries of High Church superstition" with the subversive designs of Rome. The Times, 7 November 1850, cited in E. Norman, Anti-Catholicism in Victorian England (1968), p. 160.

[2]Kingsley to his mother, June 1841, in Charles Kingsley. His Letters and Memories of His Life. Edited by his wife (1908), p. 16. For an appeal to remain calm in the midst of accusations of "Jesuits in disguise", see [J. W. Knott], A Letter to the Parishioners of S. Saviour's, Leeds, From Their Vicar (1851), p. 8.

[3]J. T. O'Brien, A Charge Delivered to the Clergy of the United Dioceses of Ossory, Ferns, and Leighlin at his Primary Visitation in September 1842 (1843), pp. 171-173.

[4]For an example of the genre, see H. Fish, Jesuitism traced in the movements of the Oxford Tractarians (1842), esp. pp. 13-23 and 60-64. The accusation continued to be made throughout the century, of both Tractarians and Ritualists. One title summarizes much of the extensive writing: The Half-Way House: or, The Sign of the New Jesuitical Hostelrie . . . by a 'Ritualist' (1894). Cf. P. Maurice, The Ritualists or Non-Natural Catholics, Their Origin, Progress and Principles Explained and Elucidated [1868] and L. E.

> That the movement was a concerted one, that it was well planned, that it was wide spread, that it originated with the Jesuits, and that its tendency was Romeward, there can now be no manner of doubt. That it could have sprung from attached members of the Church of England within her pale is a simple absurdity. The mere fact of the choice of the great seat of learning at Oxford for this movement -- a poisoning of the stream at its very fountain head in order that it might thus pour its corrupted waters over the whole country -- is in itself a demonstrative proof that the leaders of it were subtle and designing men.[1]

G. P. Golightly had used the same image of the "poisoned fountain" from which was poured forth upon the country "a torrent of insolent, assuming, fanatical, Jesuitical young clergy, full of hatred to the Reformers and the Reformation and of predilection for the Church of Rome, who will bring themselves and the Church of England into odium wherever they go".[2]

In the Apologia, Newman acknowledged that the whole strength of Kingsley's charge lay in "the antecedent prejudice that I was a Papist while I was an Anglican":

> There has been a general feeling that I was for years where I had no right to be; that I was a "Romanist" in Protestant livery and service; that I was doing the work of a hostile Church in the bosom of the English Establishment, and knew it, or ought to have known it . . . Evidently I had certain friends and advisers who did not appear; there was some underground communication between Stonyhurst or Oscott and my rooms at Oriel. Beyond a doubt, I was advocating certain doctrines, not by accident, but on an understanding with ecclesiastics of the old religion. Then men went further, and said that I had actually been received into that religion, and withal had leave given me to profess myself a Protestant still. Others went even further, and gave it out to the world, as a matter of fact, of which they themselves had the proof in their hands, that I was actually a Jesuit.[3]

Ellsworth, Charles Lowder and the Ritualist Movement (1982), p. 140, for allegations that the Cowley Fathers and the Society of the Holy Cross behaved like Jesuits.

[1]R. Brown, Light and Darkness: A Historical Parallel (1859), pp. 29-30. Brown was also the author of Jesuitism (1869).

[2]C. P. Golightly, letter to Morning Herald, 10 February 1842, cited in Correspondence Illustrative of the Actual State of Oxford with Reference to Tractarianism And the Attempts of Mr. Newman and His Party to Unprotestantize the Catholic Church (Oxford, 1842), p. 35.

[3]J. H. Newman, Apologia Pro Vita Sua, ed. M. J. Svaglic (Oxford, 1967), p. 9. Cf. R. Brown, Light and Darkness: An Historical Parallel (1859), p. 24: "If not a Jesuit, he certainly acted the Jesuit to perfection."

The conspiracy theory which underlay these accusations had its uses, but, in fact, Newman, while an Anglican, seems to have had no contact with actual Jesuits. One, Robert Newsham, was the Roman Catholic missioner in St. Clement's in Oxford from 1818, and was there while Newman was curate in 1825-26, but the two do not seem to have met until 1845.[1] As editor of the British Critic in 1839, Newman had allowed an article on the Jesuits to be published, although he "did not like the tone",[2] and in 1837 he had himself written of the French Jesuits in an article on Lamennais.[3] Yet, while knowing no Jesuits, Newman wrote to his sister from Littlemore that "the atrocious lies -- I can call them nothing else -- which are circulated against myself, have led me to feel how very false the popular impression may be about the Jesuits, etc.".[4] It was said of Newman, as of the Jesuits (and Newman admitted this was one of the most plausible arguments against the Church of Rome), that, despite prejudice and exaggeration, there could not be so much suspicion or imputation without cause for it.

NEWMAN AND THE ROMAN JESUITS.

Newman began to meet Jesuits in England soon after he changed his allegiance. On his tour of Catholic institutions he made a visit to Stonyhurst, unremarkable except for his meeting with Norbert Korsack, a Polish Jesuit who had lived in Russia during the suppression. The Provincial, Randal Lythgoe (who was believed to favour ignoring the Tractarians until they submitted to Rome[5]), wrote to Newman to assure him that he

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[1]Newsham left the Jesuits in 1849. On his work in St. Clement's, see P. Maurice, Popery in Oxford (Oxford, 1833), pp. 4-5 and 11. Newsham rejected Dominic Barberi's offer to preach a mission in Oxford. D. Gwynn, Father Dominic Barberi (1947), p. 206.

[2]J. H. Newman, Apologia Pro Vita Sua, ed. M. J. Svaglic (Oxford, 1967), p. 64. The article was by Edward Churton, "Revival of Jesuitism. Political View", British Critic, 25(1839), 143-186. Walter Walsh commented on this that "a fellow feeling makes us wondrous kind towards those whose tactics we may adopt". The Secret History of the Oxford Movement (1899), p. 190.

[3]"Affairs of Rome", British Critic, 22(1837), 261-83, reprinted as "The Fall of de la Mennais" in Essays Critical and Historical (1871; 1910 edn.). See, I. 156-7.

[4]Newman to Mozley, 30 November 1844, in A. Mozley (ed.), The Letters and Correspondence of John Henry Newman. During his Life in the English Church (1898), II. 402.

[5]Farm Street, 1802-1865, f. 58: Lythgoe to Glover, 27 December 1842: "Newman and his Followers may create a sort of Jansenism in the Protestant Church but will not become Catholics". Lythgoe did not expect many Tractarians would come to Rome, and wrote to

and his companions would be welcome to make the Spiritual Exercises should they wish.[1] Newman did not avail himself of the offer, but took the opportunity to express his reverence and admiration for the Society. Yet while admiring it, only a little observation at close quarters made it clear to him that he would never be a Jesuit. James Hope had suggested to Newman that a Roman sojourn at Propaganda, which was staffed by the Jesuits, would give him the opportunity to observe them without having committed himself.[2] Newman travelled to Rome and resided at Propaganda, where he was impressed by some Jesuits, particularly the delicate and observant Rector, Antonio Bresciani, and the Spiritual Father, Giuseppe Repetti, his confessor, whom he described as "one of the holiest, most prudent men I ever knew".[3] Newman was struck by the ascetic life of the Jesuits he met:

> I go up in a cold evening to Padre Repetti, one of the Confessors, to keep myself awake, or rather from being torpid. I find him in a cheerless room, door and window not shutting close -- no fire of course -- a miserable bed -- a few poor pictures on the walls -- a few books on a shelf -- the room, however, perfectly clean, and he reading. What has he to look forward to in life? Nothing; nothing is there to support him but the thought of the next world.[4]

Under Repetti's guidance, Newman excluded several options which had been suggested to him: that he join the Lazarists, the Dominicans, the Jesuits. Attracted to Wiseman's suggestion of the Oratorians, he decided to found an English Oratory.[5]

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put Glover and others "on your guard against the schemes of Dr. Wiseman and others being to [sic.] eagerly listened to".

[1] J. H. Newman, Letters and Diaries, ed. C. S. Dessain et. al. (London and Oxford, 1961-), [hereafter, LD], XII, Lythgoe to Newman, 17 October 1845. Newman was acquainted with the text of the Spiritual Exercises, parts of which he had used in 1842-43 at Littlemore. Cf. P. Murray, Newman the Oratorian (Dublin, 1969), p. 79. [Hereafter, Oratorian.] Newman and his companions also used Marmaduke Stone's Meditations and Considerations for a Spiritual Retreat of Eight Days (Dublin, 1843).

[2] LD XI, Hope to Newman, 23 April 1846. For Hope's early views on the Jesuits and his discussions with Roothaan in Rome in 1840-41, see R. Ornsby, Memoirs of James Robert Hope Scott (1884), I. 245-51.

[3] J. H. Newman, Certain Difficulties Felt by Anglicans in Catholic Teaching (1876), II. 21.

[4] LD XII, Newman to Dalgairns, 26 January 1846. Expelled from Rome in 1848, Repetti worked and died in South America.

[5] LD XI, Newman to Dalgairns, 18 October 1846.

In Rome Newman found that the Jesuits were prominent, "the most wonderful and powerful body among the regulars," -- "with no persons do we get on so well". At the Roman College, Newman studied with the Jesuits whom he considered to be Rome's leading theologians, Carlo Passaglia and Giovanni Perrone.[1] He warned J. D. Dalgairns to be free of prejudice about the Jesuits: "Not that I mean to be a Jesuit or to persuade you -- but I really do think we should leave ourselves open to everything".[2] While clear he would never be a Jesuit, Newman spoke of his admiration for them: "When I hear of the horrible calumnies which men like Sewell, who live in clover, urge against them, I think how things will appear on the last day, when all veils are removed".[3] These "plodding, methodical, unromantic" Jesuits were so different from the Jesuits of fiction that Newman was struck by how little they were understood or estimated generally:

> I respect them exceedingly, and love individuals much -- they are a really hard-working, selfsacrificing body of men -- but they have little or nothing of the talents the world gives them credit for. I don't mean that they have not clever men among them but it will illustrate what I mean, when I say that they are like first class men at Oxford -- and it is a very curious fact that the first class men who have become converts have become Jesuits, Tickell, Collyns, Christie, and Meyrick. They have certainly very clever men among them in this sense; but tact, shrewdness, worldly wisdom, sagacity, all those talents for which they are celebrated in the world they have very little of. They are continually making false moves, by not seeing whom they have to deal with.[4]

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[1] W. Ward, The Life of John Henry Cardinal Newman (1912; 1921 edn.), I. 184-7. Driven from Rome in 1848, Perrone taught theology at St. Beuno's in Wales. He returned to be Rector of the Roman College and defended Newman in Rome, especially in 1867. Cf. LD XII, Newman to Penny, 13 December 1846. Passaglia resigned his professorship in 1857 (over the issue of the Pope's temporal power) and left the Jesuits in 1859. Cf. LD XVI, Newman to Stanton, 15 August 1855.

[2] LD XII, Newman to Dalgairns, 15 November 1846. Cf. LD XI, Newman to Stanton, 6 November and 8 December 1846.

[3] LD XII, Newman to Dalgairns, 26 January 1846. William Sewell, Fellow of Exeter College, Oxford, was the author of Hawkstone (1845), which vitriolically attacked the Jesuits. On Sewell's phobia about the Jesuits in Ireland, whom he considered to be a secret foreign army, see P. Nockles, "Community and Change in Anglican High Churchmanship 1792-1850" (University of Oxford D. Phil. thesis 1982), p. 404. Sewell wrote about this Jesuit menace in "Romanism in Ireland", Quarterly Review, 67(1840), 127, 150-156, and in "Romish Priests in Ireland", Quarterly Review, 67(1841), 542-546.

[4] LD XII, Newman to Mozley, 25 July 1847. Cf. Newman to Mozley, 15 September 1847. In this letter Newman commented on the suppression of the Jesuits, "one of the most mysterious matters in the history of the Church", and on the work of J. Crétineau-Joly,

Newman thought the Jesuits to be in the same political position as the Conservatives of 1830 -- "unpopular in the extreme, and the butt of journalists -- considered the enemies of all improvement and advance". He compared them with his Oxford friends of sixteen years before: the Kebles, A. P. Perceval and R. H. Froude, who strongly opposed the first Reform Bill. He found in Rome a "deep suspicion of change, with a perfect incapacity to create anything positive for the wants of the times". The Jesuits (unlike the indigenous Secular clergy) came from different countries and were identified with the anti-national party in popular opinion, and were the object of demonstrations in Rome.

ORATORIAN AND JESUIT SPIRITUALITY COMPARED.

Newman never took any steps to apply for admission to the Jesuits, although some expected that he would.[1] William Anderdon, for example, wrote in his diary in October 1845 that "N will very likely become a Jesuit; and should he be ordered to proselytize, it will be awful!"[2] Newman's decision in February 1847 to found an Oratory was the result of his reflection on the difference between Jesuit and Oratorian spirituality. While stressing his admiration for the Jesuits, Newman considered that his colleagues in the Oratory should, since they were not Jesuits, immerse themselves in the spirit of what they were. He recalled Pericles' contrast between the Athenians and Spartans in the funeral oration in Thucydides, and likened the Oratorians to the Athenians and the Jesuits to the Spartans. The Athenians, he reminded his

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Clément XVI et les Jésuites (Paris, 1847), which implied that Pius IX was another Clement XVI. Newman also noted Blanco White's praise of the Jesuits in Letters from Spain; by Don Leucadio Doblado (1882), to which he referred in Letters on the Present Position of Catholics in England (1851; 1903 edn.), pp. 17-20, and commented on uninformed attacks on the Jesuits.

[1] In 1878 Newman wrote to contradict an article in the Quarterly Review which reported that he had offered himself for admission to the Jesuits and had been refused. He wrote that he had been thinking of joining them -- as he had considered entering several other orders -- and praised them in letters to his companions in England. Albany Christie entered the Jesuits and may have indicated that Newman might follow him. Cf. Memorandum, 10 May 1878, "Paper on the choice of vocation in Rome after conversion", Oratory Papers, No. 36, in Oratorian, pp. 388-391.

[2] A. Pollen, John Hungerford Pollen 1820-1902 (1912), p. 52.

companions, have no need of laws but perform from the force of inward character those actions which others do from compulsion:

> Ours is in one respect more anxious and difficult -- we have no vows, we have fewer rules -- yet we must keep together -- we require a knowledge of each other, which the Jesuits do not require. A Jesuit is like a soldier in the phalanx -- an Oratorian like a legionary -- he fights by himself -- he guides himself by "carità" -- which means by tact, self-knowledge, knowledge of others.[1]

Newman returned to this theme in a chapter address to the Oratorians in England in February 1848, which is a lengthy and detailed contrast of the Jesuit and the Oratorian ethos. In his study of Newman as an Oratorian, Placid Murray stressed that the contrast should be understood not as personal animosity towards the Jesuits, but as Newman's effort "to describe an idea (the English Oratory was not yet six months old) as against an existing institution", although Murray did allow that "perhaps he does less than justice to Jesuit practice in the course of his comparison".[2]

Newman believed that he was preserving his own personality in not becoming a Jesuit. Were he to become a Jesuit, he wrote to J. D. Dalgairns, "no one would know that I was speaking my own words: or was a continuation, as it were, of my former self".[3] Ambrose St. John commented, when Newman, in a note, confused one Jesuit with another, "N says it's all the same, all Jesuits have the same cut about them".[4] Newman certainly did shrink from what he thought was the corporate conformism imposed by the Jesuits. He contrasted the Oratorian, acting from internalised laws and self-moved, with the Jesuit who had a rule to fall back upon, and obedience to a superior to complete what the rule left vague or obscure. The Oratorian, Newman said, worked independently, although bound by personal attachment to others, and depended upon his own resources, consideration, fellow-feeling, tact and good judgement, "whereas

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[1]LD XII, Newman to Knox, 14 September 1847. Knox had enquired whether he should remain at St. Sulpice in Paris, because of the attention given there to the interior life, or join the English Oratorians in Rome.

[2]Oratorian, p. 80.

[3]LD XI, Newman to Dalgairns, 31 December 1846.

[4]LD XI, p. 275.

the Jesuit does not know what tact is, cannot enter into the minds of others, and is apt to blunder in important matters from the habit of mechanical obedience to a Superior and a system".[1] Newman allowed that there could be exceptions among gifted Jesuits (like Francis Xavier or the missionaries in China or Paraguay), but he saw in the Jesuits of his day "among a hundred high qualities, a want of sagacity and mental dexterity in meeting the age and the men and difficulties belonging to it". He considered that the Jesuits were the Knights Templar of modern history, who possessed both the excellence and faults of soldiers: "they are perfect as an organised bodies [sic.], but, as individuals, they are often little more than mechanical instruments, and are least of all men able to deal with strangers or with enemies, not to say with friends". The Jesuits were part of a whole, whereas each Oratorian stood by himself and was a whole. The two institutions, Newman continued, pursued different methods to form their respective characteristics: obedience to the official superior being the prominent principle of the Jesuit, and personal influence that of the Oratorian. Newman considered that absence of spontaneous action was the scope to which the Spiritual Exercises and Jesuit training were directed, and, from the Oratorian perspective, viewed the Spiritual Exercises with some disfavour since he thought that, "with all the prudence of the director", momentous questions could be decided in a state of excitement. To conclude, he contrasted the warmth of Oratorian life with the "resigned, mortified, I will add cold spirit" of the Jesuits, "which becomes those who have emphatically put off all earthly feelings and ties".[2]

NEWMAN AND INDIVIDUAL ENGLISH JESUITS.

It is instructive to see what had impressed Newman. Even allowing for his purpose in comparing the Oratorian and Jesuit vocations, and allowing, too, for the fact that he was making generalizations from his brief experience in Rome, it could not be said that Newman had a close knowledge of the texts of Jesuit spirituality and

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[1]Oratory Papers, No. 6, Oratorian, pp. 208-212.
[2]Oratorian, pp. 212-13. Cf. LD XIII, Newman to Faber, 13 February 1849.

government, nor wide experience of Jesuit life. This resulted, in part, from the fact that while Newman knew several Jesuits, both in Rome and England, he could not be said to have been very close to many of them, and most of the Jesuits he did know were associated with him in the years before they joined the Society. He learnt little about the Society from them, and, in Birmingham, was remote from much personal contact with Jesuits. One provided a link between the Oratorians and the Jesuits. Robert Whitty introduced himself to Newman by letter in 1843, and in the winter of 1845-46 Newman met the young Irish priest, a professor at St. Edmund's, Ware, "a more winning person I never saw".[1] Whitty showed great sympathy with the converts and intervened with Frederick Lucas (whose brother, Edward, was married to Whitty's sister) when Newman found some Tablet articles objectionable.[2] Bound by ordination to the London District, Whitty felt drawn more and more to the Oratorians, and lived at Maryvale for a time. Newman had plans for him to teach Philosophy and Moral Theology to the Oratorian students and to be "the beginning and centre" of an Oratory in London, where he had formed connections, and had an extended influence and many years' experience. Whitty, however, delayed commencing his noviceship with the English Oratorians in Rome, and could not be sent with Faber and the original band of Oratorians to London.[3] Faber and the London party disliked him and did not want him as part of their community, feeling he would make trouble and would respect Newman alone. Whitty accused Faber of being anti-Irish,[4] but such were his contacts in London that he felt a repugnance to Birmingham. Despite a proposal that he might found a second Oratory in London, Whitty left Birmingham in 1849 and severed his connection with the

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[1]Birmingham Oratory Archives [hereafter Oratory], P.C. 131: Whitty to Newman, 12 May 1843; LD XII, Newman to St. John, 22 November 1845.

[2]Oratory, P.C. 131: Whitty to Newman, 1 January 1846. The Tablet was occasionally accused of being "the organ of the Jesuits". Cf. S. Garratt, The Irish in London (1852), p. 203.

[3]LD XIII, Newman to Faber, 15 March 1849 and Newman to Whitty, 11 April 1849. Had Whitty gone to Rome, he would naturally have led the London Oratory. Cf. Newman to W. G. Ward, 22 July 1849.

[4]LD XIII, Faber to Newman, 23 June 1849; Whitty to Newman, 12 April 1849; Faber to Newman, 7 July 1849. Whitty regretted that both Oratories began "without some admixture of the old Catholic element". St. Andrews, Wilfrid Ward Papers, VII, 315a(13): Whitty to Ward, 28 February 1895.

Oratory in 1850. He remained attached to Newman, who was amused by his confused reasons for seeking to return to London:

> As for Dr. Whitty, his notion is that he is sent to the poor, that is to the Irish poor, that is to those who are in gross sin, that is to those who have in them the material of saints, that is not to those who are going on to perfection, that is not to the many, for he is not strong enough, that is to London, that is to Lord this or Lady that.[1]

Whitty was Wiseman's Vicar-General when he received his pastoral letter "from the Flaminian Gate" in October 1850, with instructions that it should be read in Catholic churches. Whitty realised its inflammatory nature, but judged that he had no mandate to withhold it. It was Whitty who later wrote to Dr. Cullen to suggest that Newman should be consulted on the proposed Irish University and invited to lecture on Education.[2] Whitty was Rector of St Mary Moorfields and Provost of the newly erected chapter until he entered the Jesuit noviceship at Verona in 1857. For a time he was the superior of the Jesuit mission in Scotland and was theologian at the Vatican Council to Bishop Moriarty of Kerry, who remained until the end one of the minority bishops hoping for an interruption before the vote on Infallibility. Whitty was recalled from the Council to be the Provincial of the English Jesuits, and was, from 1887 to 1892, the English Assistant. Newman called him "an old friend of 33 years standing . . . and you have always been a kind friend -- amid all the changes of a very eventful time".[3]

There were other Jesuits who had been Newman's companions before joining the Society, or had consulted him about their decision. Albany Christie had studied Medicine at King's College, London before becoming a Fellow of Oriel from 1840 to 1845. A pupil of Pusey and an extreme Tractarian, he was advised by Newman in 1844 not to take orders, and lived at Littlemore in 1845. He walked with Newman from Oxford to Littlemore when the great separation was approaching: Newman was silent the whole way, and when they arrived, Christie's hand was wet with Newman's tears.[4] Christie

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[1] LD XIII, Newman to Faber, 11 July 1849. Cf. Newman to Whitty, 10 August 1849.
[2] F. McGrath, Newman's University: Idea and Reality (1951), pp. 104-5.
[3] LD XXIX, Newman to Whitty, 9 March 1879.
[4] W. Ward, The Life of John Henry Cardinal Newman (1912; 1921 edn.), I. 21.

became a Roman Catholic in London and lived at Maryvale until 1847, but decided to join the Jesuits rather than the Oratory. The Jesuits refused Wiseman's suggestion to Newman that Christie be Professor of Theology at the University in Dublin.[1] Another convert was John Thomas Walford, who was educated at Eton and King's College, Cambridge, where he was a Fellow from 1856 to 1866. An assistant master at Eton, Walford held extreme High Church views, and became a Roman Catholic after a retreat with the Jesuits at Milltown Park, Dublin. He taught for a year at the Oratory School before entering the Jesuits in 1867. He wrote that an answer Newman gave to an enquiry concerning Pusey's Eirenicon in 1865 was of great help in his deciding to resign his mastership at Eton, and he thanked Newman for the help his writings had given, "especially your Apologia and Loss and Gain, in which you often seem to be reading my soul, and expressing my thoughts, and relating events which occurred to me, or conversations in which I have taken part". On Newman's death, Walford wrote to Neville: "I still look on His Eminence as my Father and myself as one of his special children, and the Oratory as once my home".[2]

William Anderdon, educated at Balliol and University College, Oxford, visited Newman at Littlemore and corresponded with him for some years about his religious difficulties, until his appointment as Vicar of St. Mary's, Leicester, where his house became a small religious community. Anderdon wrote that the Lectures on Anglican Difficulties were "the first words that really unsettled in me the false foundation which had seemed so firm, and at the same time encouraged me to trust that I should find peace and assurance on the rock beyond".[3] He was received as a Roman Catholic by de Ravignan in Paris in 1850, and later went to Dublin to take charge of the University Church, and to be Pro-Vice-Rector of the University on Newman's departure in 1858. Newman hoped that Anderdon might start a Dublin Oratory, but from 1866 he was

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[1]LD XVI, Newman to Bowles, 15 June 1854.
[2]LD XXII, Walford to Newman, 6 March 1866; Oratory, N. Corr. 1890.c.: Walford to Neville, 12 August 1890.
[3]Oratory, M. L.: Anderdon to Newman, 9 October 1885. Cf. W. Anderdon, Contending for the Faith: a Sermon on a Late Decision (1850). For Anderdon's reflections on de Ravignan, see A. Pollen, John Hungerford Pollen 1820-1902 (1912), pp. 147-8.

secretary to his uncle, the Archbishop of Westminster, and there appears to have been a falling-out with Newman. Despite Manning's opposition, Anderdon entered the Jesuits in 1872, as Newman many years earlier had predicted.[1] Richard Frederick Clarke was a Fellow of St. John's College, Oxford, from 1860 to 1869, who was drawn increasingly to Roman Catholicism. In 1868 he consulted Newman about whether he could in conscience make the declaration against transubstantiation required of office-holders in the University, as he was about to be offered a salaried position. Newman advised him that if he had any doubts about transubstantiation he could make the declaration, but if he had no doubt he should refuse.[2] Clarke was received at Farm Street, by Coleridge, in 1869, the last Fellow of a College to resign on ceasing to be a member of the Church of England, and entered the Jesuits in 1871. He edited The Month from 1882 to 1893, and founded Clarke's Hall at Oxford in 1895. Gerard Manley Hopkins, while an undergraduate at Balliol, visited Newman in 1865. A disciple of Pusey and Liddon, Hopkins was received into the Roman Catholic Church by Newman at the Oratory in 1866, and taught at the Oratory School the following year. Newman wrote that he saw clearly that Hopkins did not have a vocation to the Oratory. He entered the Jesuit noviceship in 1868 with Newman's advice: "Don't call 'the Jesuit discipline hard', it will bring you to heaven. The Benedictines would not have suited you".[3] Hopkins later proposed to write a commentary on A Grammar of Assent, but Newman would not consent. Many other Jesuits, Edward Purbrick, Sylvester Hunter and Eric Hanson among them, admitted that they owed their conversion to Newman.[4]

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[1]LD XIV, Newman to Wilberforce, 11 March 1851; LD XXIV, Newman to Wilberforce, 20 August 1868. Cf. LD XVII, p. 215.

[2]LD XXIV, Newman to Clarke, 21 April 1868.

[3]LD XXIV, Newman to Hopkins, 14 May 1868; LD XXX, Newman to Hopkins, 27 February 1883.

[4]Hanson, the Headmaster of St. Aloysius, Glasgow, wrote: "Religiously I owe almost everything to Newman". He was especially interested in Newman's ideas on the laity -- but found "the clergy, if Irishmen, do not like it . . . 'clericalism is the enemy'". St. Andrews, W. Ward papers, VII, 126/1: Hanson to Ward, 11 February 1912. For Tyrrell, see N. Sagovsky, "'Frustration, disillusion and enduring filial respect': George Tyrrell's debt to John Henry Newman", in M. J. Weaver (ed.), Newman and the Modernists (New York, 1985), pp. 97-115. Cf. T. M. Loome, Liberal Catholicism, Roman Catholicism, Modernism (Mainz, 1979), pp. 17 and 33-40.

Newman continued to be interested in the careers of two Oxford converts who eventually left the Jesuits. Charles Henry Collyns was educated at Harrow and Christ Church, Oxford, as was Robert Coffin, whose curate at St. Mary Magdalene's in Oxford Collyns became in 1844.[1] Collyns became a Roman Catholic in 1845, and taught at Prior Park before becoming a Jesuit in 1847. He left the Society in 1856, was readmitted in France, finally leaving the Society and the Church in 1858. Newman found his departure "incomprehensible", when Christie wrote to tell him that Collyns was proud and argued, and Coffin reported that a Jesuit told him that Collyns was "speaking against all dogmatic religion".[2] Collyns later became Vice-President of the Vegetarian Society and Secretary of the British Temperance League. Thomas Meyrick was a scholar at Corpus Christi College, Oxford, who stayed at Littlemore, became a Roman Catholic in 1845, and a Jesuit in Rome in 1846. Newman perhaps saw that there was some imbalance in his character and that he was subject to depression, but later suggested him to J. M. Capes as a censor for The Rambler: "He is now a priest, an amiable, elastic-minded person -- and you commonly like the Jesuits".[3] Meyrick twice left the Jesuits, and, for a time, abandoned the Church. In 1879 he was taken, from the Jesuit College of Clongowes, outside Dublin, to an asylum. He secured his release and published in 1881 My Imprisonings; or An Apology for Leaving the Jesuits. Newman wrote to Walford in 1882 to enquire about Meyrick, "separated from you by a melancholy illness".[4] Meyrick was restored to the priesthood and died at Rome in 1903. Newman was also concerned with the career of John Barrow, who had been at Queen's College, Oxford, for twenty-five years before becoming Principal of St. Edmund Hall from 1854 to 1861, where he appointed Liddon his Vice-Principal for the final two

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[1]Coffin made a retreat with the Jesuits, elected to join the Oratory and later became a Redemptorist.

[2]LD XIX, Newman to Flanagan, 25 February 1859; Newman to R. Ornsby, 31 January 1859.

[3]LD XV, Newman to Capes, 9 April 1852.

[4]LD XXX, Newman to Walford, 3 June 1882. In 1880 Weld was anxious that Meyrick (who had been certified sane) be dismissed from the Society by his own written petition, in case it was claimed that the Jesuits sent away a man of unsound mind: "He is undoubtedly a most unsafe man in the Society, and it will be a great relief when he is gone, much as I grieve for him". A.S.J., C/3: Weld to [ ], 26 February 1880. Cf. P.C. 15 January and 8 May 1878.

years. Barrow resigned, supposedly because of financial troubles in the college but in fact because of sexual impropriety with a student, and spent three years as a recluse in France before becoming a Roman Catholic there in 1864 and a Jesuit of the Toulouse Province. Changing his name to William Bernard, he was sent to the mission of Madura in India. He returned to France in 1873, was ordained a priest in 1876 and died at Bordeaux in 1880. When approached about a biography of Barrow, Newman was concerned that there would be a great scandal if details of Barrow's Oxford career became known.[1]

It was inevitable that, through his writing, and their shared concerns, Newman would come into contact with other Jesuits. Some of these Jesuit writers were well-known, others quite obscure. William Waterworth, for example, the Rector of Farm Street and the missioner at Worcester for twenty-five years, supported the Home and Foreign Review when it was under attack from Dr. Grant of Southwark.[2] William Eyre was censor of the Dublin Review when he apologized to Newman "in consequence of Manning's being very much against him".[3] Eyre hoped Newman would not consider him implicated in any way in Manning's hostility, since, as theological censor, he could merely judge whether anything given to him that touched upon theology could be published, and had no influence over the journal nor power of his own to hinder anything being written.

HENRY COLERIDGE AND "THE MONTH".

Newman's closest friend among the Jesuits was undoubtedly Henry James Coleridge, the son of Sir John Taylor Coleridge, great-nephew of the poet and brother of

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[1] LD XXIX, Newman to Batut, 29 January 1880. Notes on pp. 233-4 and 275 give further details. Cf. J. N. D. Kelly, St. Edmund Hall. Almost Seven Hundred Years (Oxford, 1989), pp. 80-83, on Barrow's career at St. Edmund Hall and his resignation. Dr. Kelly points out the error in LD concerning the reason for Barrow's departure from Oxford.

[2] LD XX, Acton to Newman, 9 July 1862.

[3] LD XXI, Neville's Memorandum, 17 February 1865, p. 414; LD XX, Ward to Newman, 28 October 1862. W. G. Ward wrote that Eyre took exception to Newman's position in the Apologia, but this could be a reflection of Ward's own strong opinion. Cf. Coleridge to Russell, 16 January 1865, cited in A. Macauley, Dr. Russell of Maynooth (1983), p. 201.

the Chief Justice.[1] Educated at Eton and Trinity College, Oxford, Coleridge was elected a Fellow of Oriel in 1845 but left in 1848 for a curacy near his family in Devon. He became a Roman Catholic in 1852 and studied in Rome as one of the first students at the Collegio Pio, was ordained a priest in 1856 and entered the Jesuits in 1857. Before Coleridge proceeded to Rome, Newman had sought him for the staff of the University in Dublin, and Wiseman later wanted him for the college at Hammersmith. From 1865 until 1881 Coleridge resided in London and edited The Month, frequently corresponding with Newman to ask his advice on matters pertaining to his journal, and keeping him informed about the English Jesuits. Newman had encouraged Fanny Margaret Taylor when she founded The Month in 1864, and gave her The Dream of Gerontius to publish.[2] When Coleridge succeeded her as editor, on the Jesuits' taking control of the journal in April 1865, Newman continued his advice which Coleridge continued to seek because he considered that The Month suffered from "the original flaw in its constitution -- the attempt to be light and serious, amusing and important at once".[3] Although Coleridge asked Newman for material which he might publish -- "you can help us as no one else can -- two or three articles in the first numbers will probably make all the difference of success and failure"[4] -- Newman could provide little. Between October 1864 and March 1866 he did send a page of sayings from a "Father of the Desert" until Punch parodied them and, as Coleridge said, "snuffed them out".[5] Newman often remarked on

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[1]Newman was familiar with many members of the Coleridge family. Cf. LD XXI, Coleridge to Newman, 26 June 1864.

[2]On the Jesuit decision to accept The Month, and Manning's encouragement, see the revealing letters, A.R.S.I., Angl. 1005.II.6: Gallwey to Beckx, 2 January 1865, and Weld to Beckx, 1865. Cf. Angl. 1005.XXII.7: Whitty to Beckx, 28 July 1862.

[3]Oratory, V.C. 56: Coleridge to Newman, 4 January 1866; P.C. 30: Coleridge to Newman, 26 April 1865. Tyrrell made a similar complaint in 1891: "It is very hard to write for no definite class of readers". Tyrrell to Thurston, n.d. [Sept.- Oct. 1891] in R. Butterworth (ed.), A Jesuit Friendship. Letters of George Tyrrell to Herbert Thurston (Roehampton, 1988), p. 34. For Newman's relations with the Jesuits of The Month, see J. Gerard, "The Month and John Henry Newman", The Month, 101(1903), 1-16, 113-129, 225-240, 337-352, and C. C. Martindale, "Newman and The Month", The Month, 190(1950), 365-374. The fullest exposition of Newman's views on what The Month should be is in his letter to Gallwey, 26 February 1865, in LD XXXI, Appendix. For the early history of The Month, see J. L. Altholz, "The Month, 1864-1900", Victorian Periodicals Review, 14(1981), 70-71.

[4]Oratory, P.C. 30: Coleridge to Newman, 26 April 1865.

[5]Punch, 10 March 1866. Cf. LD XXII, p. 35.

the pleasure he took in observing The Month's advance, and in its clear, forceful, well-reasoned and courteous tone, but he sympathized with the difficulties Coleridge was apparently meeting in his work.[1] Newman considered that The Month's fault was that it was tethered, and that Coleridge was hampered "by the rules prescribed by those whom he has to consult; for he does not say 'I' but 'we'".[2] When Newman suggested that Coleridge seek Richard Simpson's help, Coleridge declined in order to prevent unpleasantness, since Simpson "might say things to which we should be obliged to object".[3] In writing to console Emily Bowles in 1871, after Coleridge had rejected one of her poems, Newman explained:

> Depend upon it, he has a very difficult part. Perhaps he ought never to have been what he is -- and now his simple duty is to be obedient -- alas, how difficult in the case of sensitive minds, with intellectual and logical perception. It is the duty of all members "sentire" with what the existing body "sentit" -- to believe, because others believe; how confusing! There are men of hard minds who can do it -- but there are those whom it crushes.[4]

Newman, in fact, considered that Coleridge ought not to have been a Jesuit:

> Alas I, rightly or wrongly, have long thought that Fr C's vocation lay in a different direction. I did towards him, what I doubt I ever did to anyone else -- viz. (before he had made his choice) to ask him to belong to the Oratory. (Only two persons did I ever mention this to.)[5]

Newman continued to encourage Coleridge. In December 1872 he wrote: "It must be a great trial to you to have so much trouble with The Month, to succeed so in its form and

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[1]LD XXII, Newman to Chatterton. 10 October 1865; LD XXIV, Newman to Bowles, 25 March 1869 and Newman to Coleridge, 30 June 1869.

[2]LD XXII, Newman to Chatterton, 10 October 1865.

[3]LD XXI, Coleridge to Newman, 15 June 1865.

[4]LD XXV, Newman to Bowles, Easter Monday 1871. Cf. LD XXV, Newman to Bowles, 30 April 1871: "You may be sure that C[oleridge] has great trouble in holding his own". Cf. C. N. Luxmoore to A. Hopkins, 13 June 1890: "To get on with the Jesuits you must become on many grave points a machine, without will, without conscience". Further Letters of Gerard Manley Hopkins, ed. C. C. Abbott (1938), p. 249.

[5]LD XXIV, Newman to Bowles, 28 July 1869.

in its matter, and yet to have so little encouragement as I fear you have".[1] Coleridge commented on this letter from Newman:

> He always said the S.J. had been most kind to him, -- but in different countries and circumstances, it might take a different line here and there, and now and then. No doubt some of the English S.J. talked against him, and would have been glad if we had written against him on certain points. But he quite understood that I could never have been a party to it, and I think the best men of ours were on the same side.[2]

It was to the Farm Street Jesuits, Henry Coleridge and James Brownbill, not to the London Oratory, that Newman sent his London converts -- "that Oratory has no more connection with me and the Oratory here than with any other religious body".[3] While admiring the industry and discretion of the Jesuits he knew, Newman, on several occasions, remarked on their caution: "The English Jesuits are queer people, intensely cautious and scared just now, as if they were on the eve of being turned out of the country".[4] Newman understood how the Jesuits were perceived, both by some prominent Catholics and by others outside the Roman Catholic community, and was conscious of what they might achieve, or hinder, by the positions they adopted.

PUSEY, THE "EIRENICON" AND "THE MONTH".

Newman's personal influence on many Jesuits was profound, and they were sensitive to what he thought, even though he was never a diocesan Bishop. Soon after The Month was in Jesuit hands in 1865, for example, Coleridge reviewed Pusey's An Eirenicon in a Letter to the Author of "The Christian Year", a book which contained

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[1]LD XXVI, Newman to Coleridge, 29 December 1872. Other Jesuits were concerned about The Month. Cf. A.S.J., Purbrick Letters, 1868-1911, f. 1: Purbrick to Russell, 20 January 1868, for his criticism and vision.

[2]Oratory, P.C. 64: "JHN to Jesuit Fathers 1844-1889". Coleridge wrote notes, around 1892, on some of Newman's letters to him. A.S.J., 38/3/5/2. A copy is in the Birmingham Oratory Archives, P.C. 64.

[3]For some examples, see LD XXII, Newman to Bristowe, 15 April 1866; LD XXX, Newman to Fortey, 6 July 1882; LD XXIX, Newman to Fullerton, 21 May 1880.

[4]LD XVI, Newman to Froude, 8 June 1855. On the caution of the Jesuits, see W. Ward, The Life of John Henry Cardinal Newman (1912; 1921 edn.), I. 220; LD XII, Newman to Capes, 22 November 1848. For Newman's comments on Jesuit discretion, see Historical Sketches (1872-3; 1912 edn.), II. 369.

some remarks critical of the Jesuits.[1] Newman considered that the review was very ably written, but harsh: "There is a text about 'smoking flax'".[2] Coleridge acknowledged that he and Newman viewed Pusey very differently:

> We who did not "go over" in '45 have writhed under him: there is hardly one of us (e.g. F. Hathaway, Wynne, Pollen, etc. etc.) whom he has not, as we feel now, imposed on and dealt unfairly with, (as we think) to keep us back . . . Then our Pusey is the Pusey of the present day, who is continually treating others as he did some of us. I think also he is the Pusey of the book; for three fifths of it at least cannot be brought under the name of an Eirenicon.[3]

Newman had replied to Pusey with his own A Letter to the Rev. E. B. Pusey D.D. on his recent Eirenicon,[4] limiting himself to the one area of Marian teaching and devotions. He tried not to offend Pusey, but distinguished between "doctrine" and "devotion" and showed that Pusey, in trying to establish which Catholic practices were not de fide, had attacked extremists and Ultramontane Catholics but made no allowance that extreme views were not universal. Newman also criticized Coleridge's article on "Archbishop Manning and the Reunion of Christendom",[5] and advised him to refrain from abuse and vituperation even while he stated his opinion that Pusey's facts were incorrect: "I think an Anglican would say 'The writer is fierce', and would put you aside in consequence as a partizan".[6] Newman provided several examples of what he judged to be Coleridge's excess, and urged him to recollect "that your object is to convince those

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[1]H. J. Coleridge, "Dr. Pusey on the Church of England" and "Dr. Pusey as a Controversialist", The Month, 3(1865), 534-50 and 619-38. For the background to the Eirenicon, see C. R. Strange, "Reflections on a Controversy: Newman and Pusey's Eirenicon", in P. Butler (ed.), Pusey Rediscovered (1983), pp. 332-348.

[2]LD XXII, Newman to Coleridge, 11 December 1865.

[3]Oratory, V. C. 56: Coleridge to Newman, 12 October 1865. Frederick Hathaway had been Vicar of Shadwell and Fellow, Bursar and Dean of Worcester College, Oxford, before becoming a Jesuit in 1852. Pusey had been Wynne's confessor, and had kept him on the "right side of the Tiber". A. Pollen, John Hungerford Pollen 1820-1902 (1912), pp. 53-4, 58, 175-99 and 247.

[4]Newman wrote of the Eirenicon: "you discharge your olive-branch as if from a catapult". Certain Difficulties Felt by Anglicans in Catholic Teaching (1876), II. 7. Newman's pamphlet, with others, was reviewed by Coleridge in "Pamphlets on the Eirenicon", The Month, 4(1866), 249-70.

[5]The Month, 4(1866), 379-91.

[6]LD XXII, Newman to Coleridge, 13 April 1866.

who respect and love Dr Pusey, that he has written hastily and rashly and gone beyond his measure". He warned that "to mix up your irrefutable matter with a personal attack on Pusey, is as if you were to load your gun carefully, and then as deliberately to administer some drops of water at the touch hole". Coleridge later acknowledged that Newman's criticism of him was reasonable, and he explained that he lived

> in an atmosphere where Pusey's name was a bugbear -- we heard constantly of his unfair dealings in controversy. His sanguine character made him always think what he wished to be the case, and it was the same as to his controversial statements -- and he very seldom acknowledged a misstatement except by tacitly altering it.

Coleridge felt that Newman did not realise "how aggravated we were by Pusey's controversial methods, which came across us. He seemed to us to live and write for the sake of preventing conversions to the Catholic Church by every means, fair or foul".[1]

As a consequence of Newman's criticism, Coleridge considered abandoning controversial writing, but Newman reassured him: "I do not know anyone who would write with greater taste and self-restraint, to say nothing of higher qualities, than yourself". It was because he wished Coleridge to continue to write that Newman extended his criticism to disapprove of an article in The Month which referred to "the probability that the 'Eucharistic Sacrifice' of the Ritualists, in spite of chasubles, and lights, and incense, is only the manipulation of a piece of quartern loaf". Newman wrote:

> if there is one thing more than another likely to shock and alienate those whom we wish to convert, it is to ridicule their objects of worship. It is wounding them in their most sacred point. They may have a false conscience, but, if they are obeying it, it is laughing at them for being religious.

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[1] A.S.J., 38/3/5/2: Coleridge's notes to Newman's letters of 13 April 1866 and 24 October 1866. (LD XXII, p. 306.) Coleridge detailed some of his criticisms of Pusey, "what in another man we should call dishonesty and unscrupulousness", in letters to Newman. Oratory, V.C. 56: Coleridge to Newman, 12 October and 23 November 1865.

Newman wrote of his own eucharistic belief as an Anglican, and concluded that "ridicule is not the weapon of those who desire to save souls. It repels and hardens".[1]

Newman reiterated that abuse of Pusey would convert neither Pusey nor any of his followers. Pusey had complained to Newman that he considered the review in The Month to be "little more than a personal attack on myself and if I guess the writer aright, he ought to have known my mind better in some things".[2] Pusey also complained about a sermon preached by Gallwey in Frederick Oakeley's church in Islington in 1865: "How fierce Fr Gallwey is! He calls me by Satan's name, 'the Accuser', directly applies the description of Satan Rev. XXII, 10 to me, besides putting many things in my mouth, which I have never said". Newman replied that he was grieved by Gallwey's words, but explained to Pusey the anger his Eirenicon had induced.[3] Newman had hoped, by writing a reply himself, to prevent others attacking Pusey. He again wrote to Pusey: "I am very sorry the Jesuits are so fierce against you -- They have a notion that you are not exact in your facts, and it has put their backs up; but we are not so exact ourselves, as to be able safely to throw stones".[4]

Newman was similarly critical of the tone of Thomas Harper's Peace Through the Truth. Essays on Subjects Connected with Dr Pusey's "Eirenicon", and wrote to Harper that the work would make Pusey's friends angry, which he knew not to be

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[1]LD XXII, Newman to Coleridge, 24 October 1866 and 21 October 1866. The passage on the eucharist occurred in "Unionist Essays", The Month, 4(1866), 356. Coleridge noted that another Jesuit wrote the sentence, and he, as editor, allowed it to pass.

[2]LD XXII, Pusey to Newman, 11 November 1865; Newman to Harper, 12 February 1866. Pusey had been criticized -- by Dr. W.F. Hook, for example -- for his conduct in relation to St. Saviour's, Leeds: "Is this . . . conduct that can be justified by any but a Jesuit? Do not mistake me -- I do not think you are a Jesuit; but I believe you to be under the influence of Jesuits. Your own representatives here say as much; they seem to admit that you were only the puppet while others pulled the strings." Hook to Pusey, 19 December 1846, in H. P. Liddon, Life of Edward Bouverie Pusey (1898), III. 126.

[3]LD XXII, Newman to Pusey, 12 February 1866. Gallwey's sermon was printed as The Lady Chapel and Dr Pusey's Peacemaker (1866). Cf. pp. 11 and 55.

[4]LD XXII, Newman to Pusey, 2 April 1866. Since The Month could give only a "general and light" treatment, Coleridge proposed that Jesuit professors write a series of essays on theological subjects raised by the Eirenicon. The plan did not come to fruition. Cf. LD XXII, Newman to Coleridge, 24 November 1865.

Harper's intention.[1] When Harper asked Newman to expand his criticism, Newman replied that while the book would be no less successful with candid, earnest readers, its tone might be a stumbling block, or excuse, to others:

> Even those Anglicans who in their hearts criticise Pusey, do not like strangers to be severe on him. Then, as far as Pusey himself, I am led to believe that the very fact that you were not a stranger to him gives a special point to your animadversions on him. You do not so much argue against him, as reflect upon him, and this he feels. His feeling is, why am I treated more roughly than Leibnitz was by Bossuet?[2]

Pusey wrote to Newman that he thought some of Harper's book "involved an amount of detraction, which would be matter for confession".[3] After Pusey had laboured for some time on his reply to Harper, Newman informed him: "I have again and again protested against the tone taken as regards you in The Month. And, strange to say, (for men view things so differently,) its conductors have not only wished to leave off attacking you, but consider they have".[4] Harper fell ill at this time and was unable to complete his next volume in response to the Eirenicon, which was to address another topic which Pusey had treated, Papal Infallibility. Newman advised Pusey that the subject "has got into the hands of Fr Botalla [sic.], a foreign Jesuit, who I am sorry to hear has taken an extreme line which Fr Harper would not have taken".[5]

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[1]LD XXII, Newman to Harper, 2 December 1866. Harper had experienced difficulties, as a High Church curate, with Bishop Phillpotts of Exeter and Bishop Blomfield of London. He was preaching in St. Peter's, Buckingham Palace Gate, where he was incumbent, when Gladstone and Manning visited the church in 1850, and Manning made his decision to go to Rome. J. R. Gasquet, Cardinal Manning (1895), pp. 105-6. Harper became a Roman Catholic in 1851 and a Jesuit in 1852.

[2]LD XXIII, Newman to Harper, 9 January 1867.

[3]LD XXIII, Pusey to Newman, 22 January 1867. For Pusey's comments on Harper's work, see H. P. Liddon, Life of Edward Bouverie Pusey (1898), IV. 150-151. Newman encouraged Pusey to respond to Harper: "in being silent you are being unfair to your own people: but further, you are thereby unfair to your own cause". LD XXIII, Newman to Pusey, 4 August 1867.

[4]LD XXIV, Newman to Pusey, 14 November 1868.

[5]P. Bottalla, The Pope and the Church considered in their Mutual Relations with Reference to the Errors of the High Church Party in England. Part I, The Authority of the Pope (1868); Part II, The Infallibility of the Pope (1870). For an example of Bottalla's approach, see Part I, p. 211: "But no schism or heresy, ancient or modern, ever originated in the exaggerated prerogative of the Roman Pontiff".

The Belgian Jesuit and Bollandist, Victor de Buck, the friend of Dupanloup and Montalembert, took a different approach from the English Jesuits, and was sympathetic to Pusey and hopeful about the eventual reunion of the churches. Although only minimally acquainted with English Jesuits, de Buck corresponded with Richard Simpson, Pusey and Alexander Forbes Penrose, the Bishop of Brechin. After de Buck's enthusiastic unsigned first review of the Eirenicon appeared in Etudes,[1] Coleridge wrote to the French Jesuit editors to suggest that their treatment might be less optimistic. De Buck's second article was prefaced by a note which merely acknowledged the severe judgment of The Month on Pusey's book, and the contradictory opinions in England, but did not doubt Pusey's sincerity. Weld, too, wrote to the French Provincial, Armand de Ponlevoy, concerning the unfortunate effect the articles on Pusey were having in England. He explained that Manning (who had already complained to Jesuit editors in Brussels), the Jesuits and almost all informed Catholics were agreed in their opposition to Pusey. The article in Etudes had followed the small party of Roman Catholics (which included Newman and Oxenham) who were more favourably disposed. As a result, the Jesuits appeared to be divided, and Weld sought to have the editors of Etudes consult with English Jesuits before writing on such questions. Richard Littledale, the influential Ritualist writer, agreed to keep de Buck and the editors of Etudes informed about the English Church, but wanted his name kept secret lest their collaboration be taken as proof of a Jesuit-Ritualist secret conspiracy. De Buck later attended the Vatican Council as the personal theologian to his fellow Belgian, Peter Beckx, the Jesuit General. He was ordered by the Holy Office in November 1869 to discuss no further the reconciliation of churches with Pusey and Forbes (whom he had encouraged to attend the Council). His correspondence with Pusey ended after the decree on Infallibility, which had made Pusey aware of Manning's growing influence.[2]

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[1] "Le docteur Pusey et son nouveau programme d'union avec l'Eglise catholique", Etudes religieuses, historiques et littéraires, 9(1866), 132-44, 259-86, 378-411.

[2] J. Jurich, "The ecumenical relations of Victor de Buck S.J., with Anglican leaders on the Eve of Vatican I" (University of Louvain-la-Neuve Doctorate of Sacred Theology thesis 1988), especially pp. 283-4, 344-7, 356-8, 378-80, 472, 645 and 674-6. The English Jesuits remained antagonistic to Pusey. R. Clarke's obituary of him in The Month,

The English and Belgian Jesuits were considered to be more moderate than the Jesuits in Rome, and, among themselves, the English and Belgian Jesuits differed on their attitude to Pusey and the Anglican Church.[1]

THE JESUITS AND INFALLIBILITY.

Despite these lessons in controversial writing, Newman wrote in 1868 of the English Jesuits: "As far as the Jesuits go in England, they take a moderate line -- they back up the Rambler -- they have been some of my best friends". He saw them, and the great body of Jesuits, as opposed to the organization and special privileges of La Civiltà Cattolica: "though I dare say they agree with its opinions, I don't think they like or sympathise in its violence, bigotry, and dogmatism".[2] As early as 1853, the Provincial had written to the General that the Civiltà's "writing against constitutional or representative government as being even Anti-Catholic" was "likely to do the Society great harm in these countries, America, etc.".[3] Soon after the Jesuits controlled The Month, Coleridge contemplated a Jesuit theological review in England, either to supplement or to replace The Month, and wrote to Newman in confidence.[4] Newman thought of replying with the utmost frankness, but the letter was never sent:[5]

> I have ever received great favours from the Jesuits, and I have very good friends among them, and, as far as I know, and as I believe, no enemies. But, with many others, and with most other thinking men,

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46(1882), 153-61, was extremely critical. Cf. H. P. Liddon, Life of Edward Bouverie Pusey (1898), IV. 173-189. I am indebted to Dr. Jurich for helpful discussions on de Buck.

[1]Cf. von Hügel to Wilfrid Ward, 5-7 July 1900, cited in L. Barmann, Baron Friedrich von Hugel and the Modernist Crisis in England (Cambridge, 1972), p. 147.

[2]LD XXIV, Newman to Pusey, 1 November 1868. Newman assured Pusey that Clifford, not Manning, had been "the Jesuit candidate for the Archbishoprick . . . Lord Clifford . . . had been a great ally of the Jesuits -- and the son had been brought up almost under their shadow, though he was not in one of their Schools". Expelled as a student from Rome in 1848, Clifford resided with the Jesuits in Louvain and at St. Beuno's.

[3]P.C., 25 January 1853.

[4]The Rambler was offered to the Jesuits in 1854, The Weekly Register in 1866 and again in 1877. P.C., 24-26 January 1854, 13 September 1866 and 10 July 1877. Coleridge persistently requested either a weekly or a quarterly journal, but the consultors refused to allow it. P.C., 15 October 1874, 5 August 1878 and 9 September 1880.

[5]Coleridge's letter cannot be found. LD XXIV, Newman to Coleridge, 29 April 1869. Newman requested Coleridge to burn the letter as soon as he had read it. For the restrained letter which Newman did send, see LD XXIV, Newman to Coleridge, 2 May 1869, where he concludes: "I have no sympathy with an intolerant English Civiltà".

> I dread their unmitigated action on the Church. Every religious body is good in its place; every religious body is dangerous, if it aims to engross the whole Church. The Jesuits, the Dominicans, the Franciscans, the secular Priesthood, the Colleges of a university, the Theological Faculties, are so many distinct and independent influences modifying each other, subserving the whole Church . . . Now from their wonderful system, and from their natural and commendable esprit de corps, the Jesuits tend (if I may use an undignified metaphor) to swamp the Church.

Newman foreshadowed a second suppression of the Jesuits:

> He [God] has once interfered and thrown you back; and, if you get too powerful, He will do so a second time . . . the more a man feels the greatness of the services which the Society has rendered to her [the Church], the more, from gratitude to it, will he fear for them such an increase of power as may be dangerous to them, because dangerous to her.

Newman then specified what troubled him. The Jesuits "are said to have the Pope in their hands -- and the Civiltà seems to me, as far as I hear about it, to be hurrying on measures which I cannot contemplate without pain".[1] He feared that, because of bad counsel, "the Church should only consist of the poorer and uneducated classes, and that, as in the beginning, the talent and learning and wisdom of the world should be excluded from the divine election". Newman admitted that a theological review set up in England under the auspices of the Jesuits would be an enormous improvement on W. G. Ward's Dublin Review, yet he had the most serious reservations. Newman wrote, some days later, to Sir John Simeon about the activities of the Infallibilists in Rome that it was the mistake of "those Jesuits, who are notorious for maladresse, to be putting difficult things forward, rubbing them into people's faces, abusing everyone who differs from them". He believed that "the Jesuit Party" wished to secure a definition of the Pope's Infallibility "by some indirect act", but he did not think that they would be

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[1]The Civiltà was considered to be semi-authoritative. Cf. LD XXV, p. 17, Moriarty to Newman, 20 February 1870. Dr. Moriarty considered the views of the Jesuit writers to be an index of the Pope's personal feelings and opinions. Bishop Thomas Brown gained the assurance of the General and other Jesuits that "there was no indisposition towards N manifested or even entertained by the writers or any one writer of the Civiltà Cattolica". Cf. LD XXIII, p. 204, Brown to Ullathorne, 24 April 1867. Ullathorne showed the letter to Newman. Coleridge wrote that Beckx's opinions differed from those of the Civiltà, "which was distinctly primed by the entourage of the Pope". A.S.J., 38/3/5/2: note on Newman's letter of 30 April 1870.

successful, and, while he believed that many Jesuits opposed the Civiltà, and its special privileges, he feared that they might, at any moment, be called to order.[1] Newman was in no position to give to these Jesuits in Rome the advice he gave to Coleridge about effective controversial writing.

Whitty assured Newman that, from his conversations with many Jesuits in Rome, there was no foundation to rumours that the Jesuits were prejudiced against Newman: "With them here, as in England, I can say that I have never in my life met with men whose ideas and feelings about you and your writings so thoroughly coincide with my own. And when I say this I mean a great deal."[2] Whitty feared that harm would result from public controversy among Catholics over the question of Infallibility. While still superior of the Jesuits in Scotland, Whitty had, as he told Newman, written to W. G. Ward:

> and implored of him for heaven's sake to prove the Pope was right and to explain to us his teaching and not to go on giving us extrinsic and violent arguments for believing . . . I have never felt any difficulty in accepting the doctrine of the Pope's infallibility as revealed. But how far the world is prepared for its definition now or will be the better for it, is another question. If defined, it will be so no doubt for higher reasons than these alleged now for the opportuneness. It has bearing on some future unknown to us.[3]

Whitty felt very deeply the need for the fullest discussion of the doctrine, and asked Newman's assistance with historical questions on behalf of Dr. Moriarty. Whitty informed Newman that there was a minority of 150 Bishops, from a great variety of Churches, who opposed a definition of Infallibility, and he hoped that a way would be

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[1]LD XXIV. Newman to Simeon, 8 May 1869. Simeon had sent to Newman notes of a conversation between Cardinal Antonelli and Odo Russell, the British quasi-Minister at Rome, and wondered whether this revealed a split between the staff of the Civiltà and the French Jesuits. LD XXIV, Simeon to Newman, 6 May 1869. For Odo Russell's views on the Jesuits in Rome at this time, see N. Blakiston (ed.), The Roman Question. Extracts from the despatches of Odo Russell from Rome 1858-1870 (1962), pp. 303-4 and 370.

[2]Oratory, P.C. 131: Whitty to Newman, 26 January 1868. Ullathorne told Newman that the Rector of the English College had reported that the Roman Jesuits were hostile to Newman's projected foundation in Oxford. Whitty had visited the Oratory in September 1865 and, in a conversation with Ambrose St. John, promised the support of the Jesuits if Newman would take the lead in meeting the infidelity of the day. LD XXII, p. 60.

[3]LD XXV. Whitty to Newman, 23 February 1870. Cf. Oratory, P.C. 131: Whitty to Newman, 26 January 1868.

found of securing doctrine without, at the same time, "wounding weak consciences or placing obstacles in the way of souls outside the Church". Newman agreed with Whitty that there was a need for patience, both to reach the truth and to convince others:

> My thesis is this: -- you are going too fast at Rome: -- on this I shall insist . . . We need to try the doctrine by facts, to see what it may mean, what it cannot mean, what it must mean. We must try its future working by the past. And we need that this should be done in the face of day, in course, in quiet, in various schools and centres of thought, in controversy. This is a work of years. This is the true way in which those who differ sift out the truth. On the other hand, what do we actually see? Suddenly one or two works made to order -- (excuse me, I must speak out.) Fr Botalla [sic.] writes a book -- and, when he finds a layman like Renouf, speak intemperately, then, instead of setting him an example of cool and careful investigation, he speaks intemperately too, and answers him sharply, some say angrily.[1]

Whitty communicated this letter to the Jesuits at the Gesù in Rome (some of whom, at the beginning of the Council, he experienced great difficulty in persuading that "the dislike of the definition was both widespread and sincere"), and informed Newman that Italian, French and German Jesuits did not criticize him "as seems to be the case in England". Appointed Provincial of the English Jesuits, Whitty asked whether he might, during his period in office, consult Newman and St. John: "I seem myself to be wholly unfit for such an office and especially in these times". He came away from Rome and the Council "far more impressed with the deep conscientious love of truth displayed than the human passions of which so much is said and written".[2] Coleridge, too, differed from Newman in his view of the Council. He informed Newman that he was about to write in The Month on the question of Infallibility so that he would not have to put the article into other hands "which may commit us to a line I won't take":

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[1]LD XXV, Newman to Whitty, 12 April 1870. Bottalla was a Sicilian Jesuit who taught theology at St. Beuno's from 1862 to 1870, then worked on Jesuit missions in England. He engaged in an extended controversy in 1864 with Harper, and others, concerning Newman's theory of the development of doctrine. A.R.S.I., Angl. 1005.XIII.8: Bottalla to Beckx, 23 June 1864. Cf. Angl. 1005.XIII.7-12. He wrote The Pope and the Church (1868 and 1870), and, in reply to Peter Le Page Renouf's The Condemnation of Honorius (1868), which was placed on the Index, Pope Honorius Before the Tribunal of Reason and History (1868).

[2]Oratory, V.C. 45: Whitty to Newman, 15 May 1870.

> It is meant to be a simple common sense view of the matter -- taking the line -- the only one I can take -- that hactenus the movement for the definition of infallibility seems to be a genuine impulse of the assembled Bishops . . . somehow, I can't distrust the Church.[1]

Convinced of the inexpedience of the definition, and of the harm that was being done by the exaggerated claims of the extremists, Newman wrote to his own Bishop, Ullathorne, "as strongly as ever I could . . . little guarding my words or preventing misinterpretations of them".[2] This letter was made public through extracts published in newspapers, which quoted the sentence: "Why should an aggressive insolent faction be allowed to make the heart of the just to mourn?" Newman denied that this sentence was in his draft, but friends, who had copies of the letter, assured him that it was. Newman explained that when he wrote that people were "angry with the Holy See for listening to the flattery of a clique of Jesuits, Redemptorists and converts", he did not mean the Jesuits as a body, but a small faction among them. He wrote to Coleridge: "I am sure you will believe that I had no intention whatever of aiming at the Society, or its general action, by those words", and said he was thinking of the Univers, the Civiltà and the Tablet.[3] Coleridge replied that he would never have thought that Newman meant anything against the Society, and he attempted to explain to Newman the behaviour of the Civiltà:

> In the country, its conductors are very much leagued with the Tablet people but they don't know England, and have the misfortune to think they do. The "insolent and aggressive faction" among English Catholics are [sic.] loud at Rome, and take in good Father Cardella. But I really doubt whether you would find much to object to in the Civiltà itself.[4]

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[1]LD XXV, Coleridge to Newman, 12 April 1870. Coleridge's article was "Thoughts on Infallibility. I. Present Aspects of the Question of Definition", The Month, 12(1870), 612-628. Coleridge explained his differences with Newman (who thought he wrote with great moderation and candour) in a letter, Oratory, V.C. 45: Coleridge to Newman, 26 April 1870.

[2]LD XXV, Newman to Waterworth, 11 April 1870.

[3]LD XXV. Newman to Coleridge, 22 March 1870. Cf. Newman to Coleridge, 12 April 1870.

[4]Oratory, V.C. 44: Coleridge to Newman, 29 March 1870. Valerian Cardella was driven from Rome in 1848 and taught theology at St. Beuno's until 1852, when he returned to teach at the Roman College. In 1868 he was appointed Rector of the community responsible for the Civiltà, and was later Provincial of the Roman Jesuits. He moved to Woodstock College in Maryland to be Professor of Canon Law, and played an important rôle in the Third Council of Baltimore in 1884.

Ullathorne read Newman's letter to Whitty, who assured Newman "I never had any doubt about your real meaning as to the part of the Society in the question". Whitty explained that, by conviction and by tradition, the great majority of Jesuits were in favour of both the doctrine of infallibility and the definition -- some of them warmly:

> Still the mixture of nations makes us tolerant and certainly all are not in favour of the full definition asked. I have spoken very frankly myself to our Father General on Dr. Moriarty's views whose Theologian I am and of the other English speaking Bishops. He did not use the occasion to put the smallest constraint on me or to express even a wish as to any line I was to take. In this as in other matters I find that St. Ignatius in giving us true obedience has given us real liberty.[1]

Newman believed that the Jesuits accepted his assurance

> that (though I <u>am</u> deeply pained at the Civiltà and its belongings) I have never dreamed of speaking offensively of the Jesuit body. The truth is, between ourselves, I have believed the common reports, that the Fr General and the mass of the Society do not like the policy which made the Civiltà what it is. And I am disposed to go on believing it, even though it were contradicted.[2]

At Farm Street, however, Albany Christie preached a sermon critical of Newman's letter to Ullathorne, the sermon being reported in <u>The Weekly Register</u>, to the great embarrassment of Alfred Weld, in his last days as Provincial. He wrote to Newman to apologize for "the manner in which you were brought before the public in Farm Street Church", and expressed his sorrow that

> such a thing should have been done which I should never have allowed if the sermon had been submitted to me before it was delivered or I had had any notion that you were to be the subject of comment from the pulpit. I am sure you will forgive the preacher and not attribute to any want of kindness of heart conduct which he thought, there is no doubt, to be for the best.[3]

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[1]Oratory, V.C. 44: Whitty to Newman, 23 February 1870.
[2]LD XXV, Newman to Coleridge, 30 April 1870. Gavazzi wrote that the <u>Civiltà</u> was so ultra-fanatic in its tone "that the <u>Armonia</u> of Turin, the <u>Univers</u> of Paris, and the <u>Catholic Standard</u> of London, may, by comparison with it, be looked upon as the perfume of Sharon by the side of the sludge of the Thames". <u>My Recollections of the Last Four Popes, and of Rome in Their Times; An Answer to Dr. Wiseman</u> (1858), p. 145.
[3]Oratory, V.C. 45: Weld to Newman, 1 May 1870.

Coleridge, too, wrote about the mixture of extreme simplicity and gaucherie in Christie, who was "quite beside himself about the Infallibility question -- it is brought up 'in season and out of season', the latter far more than the former". Coleridge assured Newman that, while Christie had a large following as a confessor, he did not at all lead opinion as a preacher:

> It is one of those things, neither few nor unimportant, that remind me, from time to time, of what Fr. Ravignan said to the Superior when the latter had suppressed one of our Colleges on account of certain supposed Ultra legitimist manifestations -- that we are very often, if people would believe it, très maladroits.[1]

Another sermon on Papal Infallibility, in which Gallwey stated that a new definition every morning would be "a daily provision of manna", caused Lady Chatterton to complain to Newman. While stressing that Gallwey had only written that he would enjoy the daily definitions and did not anticipate any such thing, Newman said that the incautious remarks were "simply cruel . . . The writer did not know what he was doing".[2]

A GRAMMAR OF ASSENT.

When An Essay in Aid of a Grammar of Assent was published in 1870, The Month, prior to a later review, published a brief analysis of the book, and large extracts from this analysis were reprinted in The Weekly Register and the Westminster Gazette. The Tablet, in an article written by Herbert Vaughan, conflated disconnected sentences of this analysis to give the impression that The Month disapproved of Newman's book, a criticism all the more serious when the editor was known to be a friend of Newman. Coleridge noted that the Jesuits of The Month "were always supposed to be enthusiastic about everything which came from N, and people were surprised, consequently, when there appeared what seemed a rather cold and judgmental notice of the Grammar". The summary was "necessarily written in very unimpassioned language and we were

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[1]Oratory, V.C. 45: Coleridge to Newman, 2 May 1870.
[2]LD XXV, Newman to Chatterton, 6 August 1870. Gallwey's sermon was published as St. Joseph and the Vatican Council (1870). The remark is on p. 17.

supposed to be disloyal in our allegiance".[1] Coleridge sent The Weekly Register a letter from "The Writer of the Notice in The Month", and a covering letter of his own expressing his surprise that the publication of the abstract "should have suggested the erroneous inference as to a want on our part of cordial confidence in one whom we . . . most affectionately admire, revere, and trust". "The Writer of the Notice" (the Birmingham Oratorian, Ignatius Ryder) explained how his words had been altered in The Tablet, and commented that he could "quite understand that a journal whose only canon of literary morality is to praise its friends and abuse its enemies, should be simply unable to comprehend a notice, the specific character of which is neither laudatory nor abusive, but descriptive".[2]

William Waterworth wrote to thank Newman for A Grammar of Assent: "The Vaughans and Wards may write nonsense against it: but what they say will not affect even in an infinitesimally small way the English mind". Waterworth, himself an inopportunist with regard to the definition who deeply regretted the language of the Civiltà, had tried to counter exaggerated statements on Infallibility in The Tablet by writing some pseudonymous articles in The Weekly Register on the difference between "faith and opinion". He claimed he was held up to misrepresentation and abuse, and accused of denying the Infallibility of the Pope, although his articles had never referred to the correctness or incorrectness of the assent given to Infallibility but had spoken only of "how we were to qualify our assent, and I think I know that on Catholic principles that assent was at the best based on opinion and had no claims on our beliefs as Catholics".[3]

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[1] A.S.J., 38/3/5/2: Coleridge's note on Newman's letter of 13 March 1870.
[2] LD XXV, pp. 50-51. The controversy continued in The Weekly Register from March until April, moving from the issues raised by Newman to other issues of the day.
[3] Oratory, V.C. 45: Waterworth to Newman, 10 April 1870. Because of the response to Waterworth's articles in The Weekly Register, 22 January - 26 February 1870, it was decided that Waterworth should not write without submitting his articles to higher superiors. Vaughan thought Coleridge was the author, and had been silenced. Cf. M. Trevor, Newman: Light in Winter (1962), p. 478. The Irish Provincial feared that an Irish Jesuit was involved and asked Weld to discover the author of the letters. Irish Province Consultors' Minutes, 21 March 1870.

Thomas Harper, although he had "considerable difficulties about the logical and philosophical scaffolding" of A Grammar of Assent, volunteered to review the book for The Month, and his critical articles appeared from May until September 1870, when they were stopped. Newman, while admitting that Harper was friendly, saw that the main argument of his book "does not fall within the philosophical and logical traditions of the Society".[1] Newman began to read Harper's articles, but "they were (to my ignorance of theology and philosophy) so obscure, and (to my own knowledge of my real meaning) so hopelessly misrepresentations of the book, that I soon gave it over", and did not reply to the criticism.[2] Coleridge knew that Harper's critique had hurt Newman greatly, but Newman assured him "if I am to be fried, kinder hands than yours and Father Harper's could not have been selected".[3] To his friend, Canon Walker of Scarborough, Newman wrote that he thought Harper had the wish to follow him, and had undertaken the review so as to be more tender to Newman than others would be:

> I consider it necessary for the Jesuit students to be told whether my book is safe or not, and in a great measure he writes for them. Also, the Jesuits have been taunted as being too kind to me -- and hence they are forced to speak -- and The Month has been charged with giving up the Jesuit tradition -- accordingly he at once denies that there are traditions simply Jesuit, and defends what he considers not merely Jesuit but Scholastic, nay the received tradition of philosophical and logical points.[4]

Newman found it a mystery why Harper was permitted, or told, to continue with the articles, and thought that perhaps Harper was strained from overwork:

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[1]LD XXV, Newman to Coleridge, 30 April 1870.

[2]LD XXV, Newman to Coleridge, 5 February 1871.

[3]LD XXV, Newman to Coleridge, 13 April 1871. Coleridge had written that Harper would write the review better than anyone else available, and as "a thorough scholastic in philosophy" would represent those "traditions which Vaughan says I shouldn't 'dare' to depart from". Oratory, V.C. 45: Coleridge to Newman, 12 April 1870. For further comments on Harper's scholasticism and his attitude to Newman, see Oratory, P.C. 32: Coleridge to Newman, 3 May 1871; P.C. 131: Whitty to Newman, 19 January 1879; LD XXVIII, Coleridge to Newman, 11 April 1877. Harper remained friendly towards Newman. Cf. LD XXV, Harper to Newman, 13 January 1871 and LD XXX, Newman to Harper, 28 July 1884.

[4]LD XXV, Newman to Walker, 3 July 1870. Cf. Newman to Giberne, 14 July 1870.

> the Jesuits do overwork their men; they over task them, they crush them -- at least all but men of wooden build, as Albany Christie -- but men like Harper, Coleridge and Meyrick -- but I cannot make out why he is let so to let out and keep on. It has struck me that, since my published dislike to their proceedings relative to the Council, they have thought they must separate themselves from me.[1]

Newman restated in his journal in 1874 his belief that the Jesuits were distancing themselves from him, a change he had noticed since the time of the Vatican Council and Grammar of Assent. He wrote that, with regard to the great controversies of the day. Catholics thought he was either "passé" or had "taken a wrong line in respect to them":

> At least I think the Jesuits do. They would think my line too free and sceptical, that I made too many admissions etc.. On the contrary I cannot at all go along with them -- and, since they have such enormous influence just now, and are so intolerant in their views, this is pretty much the same as saying that I have not taken and do not take, what would popularly be called the Catholic line.
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> I may seem inconsistent or ungrateful to them in this -- that I must grant that, in spite of their violence against Rosmini, Ubaghs, etc., they have never fallen upon me -- the contrary -- yet I think they have not felt the same since the Vatican Council and the Grammar of Assent -- certainly not, if their sentiments towards me are to be measured and interpreted by my feelings towards them. They certainly seem to me to be too powerful for the health of the Divine Body out of which they grow and which it is their business and duty to subserve.[2]

A LETTER TO THE DUKE OF NORFOLK.

In 1874 Peter Gallwey and James Jones urged Coleridge to encourage Newman to answer Gladstone's pamphlet on the Vatican decrees, and after A Letter to the Duke of Norfolk had been published, Jesuits from Stonyhurst and St. Beuno's were among the many who wrote to congratulate him.[3] Harper was lavish in his praise of the work, but

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[1]LD XXV. Newman to Copeland, 23 December 1870.

[2]H. Tristram (ed.), John Henry Newman: Autobiographical Writings (1956), pp. 270-271. Cf. St. Andrews, Wilfrid Ward papers, VII, 251(3): Joseph Rickaby to Ward, 5 February 1912: "I doubt if he has always hit the mark in his Grammar of Assent: still I believe that in that book future exponents of the theological treatises De Fide and De Veru Religione will have their armoury and their weapons. We may suffer from a too intense, too rarified and too icy Scholasticism."

[3]Oratory, V.C. 48: Coleridge to Newman, 14 November 1874; LD XXVII, Ramière to Newman, 25 February 1875. Ramière, the editor of Etudes, had some slight reservations about Newman's position.

was afraid to write to Newman "because I doubt whether he will like my prize-ring practice on poor old Pusey".[1] One Jesuit critic, however, was Paul Bottalla, who published a series of articles critical of the Letter in the Catholic Times of Liverpool. He had attempted to publish in The Tablet, but the editor had been advised not to permit any critique of Newman's pamphlet. Bottalla wrote to W. G. Ward, "one of the few in England who can judge with great independence of the correctness of my remarks", that he did not intend

> to take the side of opposition against Dr. Newman, but only the defense of the pure Catholic doctrine . . . I think that it is not a prudence to hold our tongue, when Protestants may in future times avail themselves of the principles of Dr. Newman against the Catholic Church.[2]

Jones (who would be appointed Provincial the following year) dissented from Bottalla's attack and wrote to Newman to say that, as a Moral Theologian and as a teacher who had long reflected on the issues, he saw nothing in the Letter which a theologian could fault. He had recently told Newman that he sympathized "very much in your aversion to extravagance and interference in matters where the Church has left us free to form our own judgement".[3] Newman wrote to Lord Blanchford that, despite Bottalla's attack, made "without the sympathy of the body", "the Jesuits as usual have stood my friends".[4] Some months previously he made similar remarks to Lord Blanchford when discussing the need for theological schools in England:

> This I may say for my comfort -- the only great school now going is the Jesuit School, and they have always been for me -- not always, I suppose, agreeing with me (about that I know nothing) tho' often agreeing, but always taking my part and backing me up, (I don't include the Civiltà party, about which there is some mystery) but all the Jesuits I have come across for thirty years. My Grammar of

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[1]Oratory, V.C. 49/2: Harper to Todd, 17 January 1875. The letter was forwarded to Newman by Lord Emly. LD XXVII, p. 204. Harper still defended his criticism of Pusey.
[2]LD XXVII, p. 403, Bottalla to Ward, 25 February 1875. The consultors considered that application should be made to the General for Bottalla to return to his own Province. P.C., 15 April 1875. When complaints were made to Rome about Newman's Letter, Cardinal Franchi sent it to Cardella for his opinion.
[3]LD XXVII, Jones to Newman, 20 April 1875 and 21 January 1875.
[4]LD XXVII, Newman to Blanchford, 12 April 1875.

> Assent did not go in their groove, and I suppose they did not like it, but that did not alter their uniform line of conduct towards me.[1]

THE JESUITS AND THE UNIVERSITIES.

Newman consistently expressed his view that the Jesuits were the clergy in the best position to provide for the pastoral care of Roman Catholics at the Universities. When plans were being discussed for founding a College or Hall at Oxford for the Catholics who were beginning to attend after religious tests had been removed in 1854, Newman wrote to Sir Rowland Blennerhasset in 1860 that he hoped "your friends of Stonyhurst" would, in time, have a Hall in the University:

> There is this great difficulty indeed, -- how to avoid, first controversy, and then the bitterness and division resulting from antagonistic views -- A University should be a place of peace. The Jesuits, I think would take the right line so far as this -- that they would keep themselves clear of the imputation of what are called "un-English" views in politics. John Bull fears the Pope is going to destroy his political liberties -- and he fears an organised ecclesiastico-political party which is to meet him in pitched battle. I think the Jesuit Fathers would disabuse him of this apprehension.[2]

After Propaganda had ordered the English Bishops in August 1867 to issue pastoral letters explaining the danger to faith and morals consequent upon attending non-Catholic Universities, the Bishops discussed plans for a Catholic institution of higher studies. Weld, the Provincial, spoke with Newman of his plan to transplant the Jesuit classes of philosophy and theology from St. Mary's Hall, Stonyhurst and St. Beuno's to a location on the banks of the Thames, close to London. James Hope-Scott thought Weld to be "a man of wider views than those which are usually attributed to S.J. in matters of education; and I think he feels the necessity of giving a more hearty English tone to the system of management, and more of the Oxford and Cambridge turn

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[1]LD XXVII, Newman to Blanchford, 5 February 1875. Cf. Oratory, P. C. 131: Whitty to Newman, 19 January 1879: "I do feel strongly that of all the wants of the Church in England our greatest want (next to God's grace) is that of a sound and profound Philosophy and Theology. Would that we had a Roman College or a Maynooth!"

[2]LD XIX, Newman to Blennerhassett, 3 May 1860. Cf. LD XIX, pp. 350-1, Memorandum, 1860, "Catholics at Oxford". Newman did not favour a Catholic college, but wanted Catholics to attend existing colleges, with a community of priests, themselves educated at the Universities, to provide for their pastoral care. In drawing up a circular for his proposed Oxford Oratory, Newman was advised by Hope-Scott to make alterations lest it sound "like a fling at the Jesuits". LD XXI, Newman to Hope-Scott, 31 October 1864.

to the studies", and believed that Weld had enough Anglican converts in the Society to support and carry out his plan.[1] Weld's idea was that Jesuit and lay students should study together, and he thought "it would be a great thing to indoctrinate the lay youths in Philosophy - as an antidote to Mill and Bain". Newman, while he could not imagine some of his recent students at the Oratory school sitting down to texts of scholastic philosophy, wished Weld success and promised to send him students if he had the opportunity, "for it is fair that he should have his innings".[2] Hope-Scott was very enthusiastic about the plan "of the old Oxford system reappearing under the dress of S.J.", and thought that the Jesuit plan had overwhelming advantages "as contrasted with any attempt at an University by the Bishops and Secular Clergy in our time".[3] Newman, however, in his correspondence with Hope-Scott, was somewhat cooler, for his Dublin experience had taught him the importance of being able to confer degrees and of having the full participation of lay Professors in teaching and government. He suspected that the Jesuits only wanted the support of his name, and his Oratory students, and would be able to give him nothing in return.[4]

In November 1871 Archbishop Manning and Bishops Clifford and Ullathorne organized a meeting with the heads of religious orders and of colleges "to consider the state of Catholic education for our higher classes". Newman advised Whitty not to attend: "I will say to you what I would not say to anyone but an intimate friend -- I have not trust in [the] initiative".[5] Whitty replied that he, together with some other heads of

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[1]LD XXIII, Hope-Scott to Newman, 26 September 1867. Weld had previously negotiated with Dr. Clifford to have the Jesuit college at Prior Park. Clifford to Manning, 7 November 1867, cited in V. A. McClelland, Cardinal Manning, His Public Life and Influence 1865-1892 (Oxford, 1962), pp. 104-7. Cf. A.S.J., L.B.C., II, f. 142: Clifford to Weld 4 November 1867.

[2]LD XXIII, Newman to Hope-Scott, 10 October 1867. Both Newman and the Jesuits were concerned with the Philosphy, French and Classical texts set for study by London University. Cf. LD XXIV, Newman to Bellasis, 12 July and 23 July 1868. Newman believed that the Jesuits knew the workings of the University best, but were too cautious and timid to protest. Coleridge sought to publish Newman's letter of protest in The Month. LD XXIV, pp. 121 and 264.

[3]LD XXIII, Hope-Scott to Newman, 26 September and 27 September 1867.

[4]LD XXIII, Newman to Hope-Scott, 25 September and 30 September 1867.

[5]LD XXV, Newman to Whitty, 21 November 1871. In his draft, Newman wrote "in the Archbishop" in place of "in [the] initiative".

religious orders and colleges, shared Newman's distrust, but they were anxious to connect their colleges with Oxford and Cambridge and wished to petition for examinations and degrees without residence, "to escape from the objectionable 'Mental Philosophy' of London University and secure other advantages . . . Why should we not take advantage of the ferment in men's minds now and see what the Christian and believing element in those Universities would do for us and with us?"[1] Although a Catholic University was Newman's ideal, he held that it was a "speculative perfection" and he did not believe there could be one in England, for "our present rulers would never give us a real one".[2] Instead, Newman thought that the Bishops should relax their prohibition against attendance at the ancient Universities, and that the Jesuit mission at Oxford should be strengthened as much as possible.[3]

When the Bishops in 1882 renewed, in even stronger terms, their prohibition against attending the Universities, Newman still urged the Jesuits to make more of their presence in Oxford. He wrote to Lord Braye that, with Pusey and Liddon gone,

> The undergraduates and Junior Fellows are sheep without a shepherd. They are sceptics or inquirers, quite open for religious influences. It is a moment for the Catholic Mission in Oxford to seize an opportunity which may never come again. The Jesuits have Oxford men and able men among them. I doubt not that they are doing, (as it is,) great good there; but I suppose they dread the dislike and suspicion which any forward act of theirs would rouse; but is it not heart piercing that such an opportunity should be lost?[4]

He wrote in almost identical terms to R. F. Clarke, suggesting that the Jesuits, to grasp the opportunity, should double or treble the three priests they had working the

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[1]LD XXV, Whitty to Newman, 24 November 1871.

[2]LD XXIII, Newman to Shiel, 22 March 1867. Cf. J. Coulson, "Newman's Idea of an Educated Laity - The Two Versions" in J. Coulson (ed.), Theology and the University. An Ecumenical Investigation (1964), pp. 47-63. The Idea of a University was not the definitive statement of Newman's position.

[3]Cf. LD XXVI, Newman to Howard of Glossop, 27 April 1872. After plans that the Oxford mission be entrusted to Newman had been abandoned, the Jesuits had resumed it. Whitty wrote to inform Newman. LD XXV, Whitty to Newman, 21 February 1871; Newman to Whitty, 22 February. 1871.

[4]LD XXX, Newman to Braye, 2 November 1882.

mission. Clarke placed the suggestion before the Provincial, but, while agreeing that the situation was lamentable, replied to Newman that

> it would require a phalanx of our best men to make any lasting impression on the University and we cannot at present afford, on the chance of doubtful success at Oxford, to draft our best men away from our growing Colleges and from large cities.[1]

NEWMAN'S SUMMARY.

Newman never wrote the work he planned on the Jesuits, which would have complemented his writing on the Benedictines and given a clear statement of his view of the Society.[2] He did, however, provide his own summary of his relations with the Jesuits when responding, in 1881, to Jones, who had written to assure Newman that the English Jesuits were not duplicitous nor hypocritical when they expressed their veneration of him. Newman replied that he had not heard of the reports of which Jones wrote:[3]

> I will not deny that there is one foreign member of the Society, whom I have been told I ought not to trust,[4] and again that there is one ecclesiastical organ of your body, which I have not considered to be my friend. But then I perfectly recollect that, in a private confidential letter of mine which was, to my great mortification, sent to the English papers, in 1870, I had spoken of a violent party made up [of] "Jesuits, Redemptorists and converts", though I had not at all thought of including the English and Irish Jesuits in it. Here, however, I must except one old friend of mine, many years, as now, one of your body whose words against me were, I dare say, elicited under the provocation of the above named letter.[5] Excepting him, or

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[1]LD XXX, Newman to Clarke, 5 November 1882; Oratory, M. L 1882: Clarke to Newman, 18 November 1882.

[2]Cf. Historical Sketches (1872-3; 1912 edn.), II. 366, 369-70, and Sermons Preached on Various Occasions (1857; 1908 edn.), pp. 220-221, where Newman wrote of Benedict, Dominic and Ignatius as "three Patriarchs, whose Orders divide between them the extent of Christian history". Cf. Wilfrid Ward, Ten Personal Studies (1908), pp. 292-298. Ward considered that Newman represented the Benedictine style of Catholicism, and Manning unmistakably -- despite his opposition -- the Jesuit. Cf. F. von Hügel, The Mystical Element in Religion as Studied in Saint Catherine of Genoa and her Friends (1908; 1923 edn.), I. 63-64.

[3]LD XXIX, Jones to Newman, 1 April 1881. Jones feared that Newman had heard of his confidential letter to Cardinal Simeoni, in which he had commented on views which Newman held, while an Anglican, of the Anglican episcopate. A.S.J., RZ: Jones to Simeoni, April 1879. See pp. 172-4 of this thesis.

[4]Valerian Cardella.

[5]Albany Christie.

> rather putting him out of my thoughts, I have all along had no hesitation in saying every where, that in my various trials "the Jesuits have ever been my friends" . . . I am well aware that, in so large a body as yours, there must ever be great varieties of opinion, all sensitively held.[1]

In 1879 Whitty sought Newman's help in securing a solution of the dispute in Rome between the English Bishops and the religious orders. Newman considered that the Society was "too great and too powerful to suffer in its religious influence by restrictions in its work of an ordinary nature".[2] George Porter asked Coleridge if Newman might be approached to write in favour of the Jesuits. Porter also wrote to Purbrick:

> What is wanting at Rome is a clear insight into the true character of Cardinal Manning's action. I hold a decided opinion that he wishes to injure the Religious Orders, and I firmly believe he is doing the devil's work in England, as much as the French Liberals are doing it in France, though he does not go all their length. If Cardinal Newman would write that the action of the English bishops distresses the laity and scandalises them; that the Regulars show no disposition to attack the Bishops; that they attend to their work; that they do a great work and do it well, to the edification of the laity; that the Bishops have of set purpose revived and intensified old dissensions; and if he would add anything else which presents itself he would render us a great service and a great service to the cause of religion.[3]

While Porter hoped that Newman would testify "to our general place and value in the work of the English Mission and to the fact that seculars as a rule are edified by our men", he did not expect that Newman would help. Porter felt that, since the Vatican Council, Newman "has not looked on that 'extraordinary body', as he styled the Society in a memorable letter[,] as favourably as he had done previously". Porter also believed

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[1]LD XXIX, Newman to Jones, 2 April 1881. For a contrary opinion, see J. C. H. Aveling, The Jesuits (1981), pp. 35-37, where it is argued that Newman retained from his days in Rome "a dislike of the Society which his frequent dealings with Jesuits only served to deepen", and that Newman was prevented by his ecclesiastical position from expressing his views openly.

[2]LD XXIX, Whitty to Newman, 13 March 1879; Newman to Whitty, 6 June 1881. The Birmingham Oratory supported the Bishops in the case. Cf. C. Butler, The Life and Times of Bishop Ullathorne (1926), II. 188-9. Purbrick made a similar approach to Newman, "but I could not gain all I wanted, though he was kindness itself and spoke most warmly of the English Province". Jesuit Archives, St. Jérôme, 3124-3: Purbrick to Charaux, 11 May 1880.

[3]A.S.J., C/4: Porter to Purbrick, 19 April 1880.

that Newman resented "(what I deplored at the time) F. Weld's noisy attempt to undertake a University on our own account", and thought that "the memory of those days still rankles in the man [,] of Cardinal Manning also".[1] Porter's observation that Newman's attitude to the Jesuits had altered was similar to Newman's observation that the Jesuits were distancing themselves from him. Newman considered that the Roman decision in 1881 in favour of the Bishops, Romanos Pontifices, seemed to do no more than protect the Seculars "against the spontaneous, grand, inevitable prestige and energy of the Jesuits", and he thought that the decision was the greatest possible compliment to the Jesuits.[2] Distressed by this dispute, Alexander Fullerton, a convert of many years' standing, had written a long letter of grievance to Newman about the state of Catholic affairs in England. He particularly deplored the attacks by English Catholics on the Jesuits and "the constant opposition of Cardinal Manning, the Bishop of Salford and the Bishop of Nottingham to the religious orders in general and the Jesuits in particular", and claimed that he could cite "petty and hostile persecutions against the members of the Order".[3] Newman, while saddened that all groups in the Church were not able to "live and let live", stated his general feeling

> that nothing can materially hurt the Jesuits; they are too strong, too necessary to the Church to have reason to fear. It seems to me that it is their very strength which occasions the opposition made to them and their character is deservedly so high.[4]

When Newman was elevated to the Cardinalate, Weld wrote from Fiesole to thank him for "the kindness which your Eminence has always shown to our Society". Newman replied: "I have always admired and honoured your Society, though I have felt that its grandeur and force of action was so much above me".[5] Newman had told Coleridge in 1877, as he said he told many others, that throughout his Catholic life

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[1]A.S.J., C/4: Porter to Purbrick, 1 June 1880.
[2]LD XXIX, Newman to Fullerton, 21 June 1881.
[3]Oratory, Miss. Letters 1880(1): Fullerton to Newman, 20 May 1880.
[4]LD XXIX, Newman to Fullerton, 21 May 1880.
[5]LD XXIX, Newman to Weld, 19 May 1879.

"none had been so kind to me as the Jesuits".[1] When Newman died in 1890, Purbrick broke the news to Coleridge, now paralysed, who burst into tears. Purbrick was acting as Master of Novices, and read to the Jesuit novices a letter he had received from Newman ten years previously, which expressed the hope that "his kind friends in the Society would not forget him in his last hours". Purbrick spoke to the novices of Newman as "the First man of the century, that he, Fr. Coleridge, Fr. Anderdon etc. owed nearly everything to him, and urged them to do all they could in praying for him".[2]

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[1]LD XXVIII, Newman to Coleridge, 13 November 1877. The Marquis of Ripon asked Coleridge's advice concerning the approaches that he should make to Newman and to Rome concerning the possibility of Newman's being made a Cardinal. A.S.J., 38/3/5/2: Ripon to Coleridge, 25 March and 17 April 1878.

[2]Oratory, N. Corr, 1890. c.: Walford to Neville, 12 August 1890.

CONCLUSION

A full history of the nineteenth century Jesuits would need to take account not only of their varied work but also of what is so difficult to record: their prayer, their devotion, their faith and their hopes. It would need to investigate what prompted a man like Hopkins to write from Stonyhurst that "this life here though it is hard is God's will for me as I most intimately know, which is more than violets knee-deep".[1] Hopkins, despite poor health and depression, later expressed his belief that he had "done God's will (in the main)" during his more than "three hard wearing wasting wasted years" of teaching and examining in Dublin.[2] Many other Jesuits, in their own way, expressed similar sentiments, but little of the history of their noiseless work in colleges and on home and foreign missions, or of their spiritual preoccupations, has been recounted in this thesis. One Jesuit, writing of the mission at Wakefield, noted the gap in parish records:

> 1828 to 1855. No record of passing events can be found, if it was ever kept. Perhaps there would have been little to record beyond the daily round of hard missionary work in a very extensive parish, under circumstances that were particularly trying arising chiefly from poverty and the opposition of non-Catholics.[3]

George Porter, the Rector of Liverpool and Farm Street who became Archbishop of Bombay, commented, on reading Robert Elsmere in 1888, that Mrs. Ward's "humanitarian Ellsmere [sic.], with all his go and energy. is a poor contrast to a simple humdrum priest hearing confessions or administering the sacraments or catechizing children".[4]

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[1]Hopkins to Baillie, 10 April 1871 in Further Letters of Gerard Manley Hopkins, ed. C. C. Abbott(1938), p. 88. Cf. The Sermons and Devotional Writings of Gerard Manley Hopkins (1959), ed. C. Devlin, p. 176 for Hopkins's reflections on the hidden life at Nazareth and p. 262 for his 1888 retreat notes on this theme.

[2]Hopkins to Bridges, 17 February 1887 in The Letters of Gerard Manley Hopkins to Robert Bridges, ed. C. C. Abbott (1935), pp. 250-1..

[3]L.N., XXX(1909-10), 535. The mission was typical in many ways. A church was built in 1828, and enlarged in 1853 and 1879. During the two years 1856-57, there were 20 converts and 747 persons reclaimed to the faith, "a good many of the latter being prisoners".

[4]5 October 1888, The Letters of the late Father George Porter S.J. Archbishop of Bombay (1891), p. 414.

This thesis does, however, contribute to that history, although it has treated part of the lives of only a few Jesuits and left unexamined their spirituality and the history of the institutions in which they laboured. The thesis has considered the discernment and decisions which determined the work the Province should undertake. An understanding of this process, and its difficulties, provides an appreciation of the broader picture, not only of the English Province but the Catholic community in which it worked. The Provincial Congregation in 1847, reacting to the suggestion that a Visitor might be sent to the Province, stressed the need for new direction: "la Province n'a entièrement renoncé à ces idées et à cette manière d'être qui réglait notre existence depuis la suppression jusqu'au rétablissement de la Compagnie".[1] William Amherst later referred to this period when he wrote that William Cobb was "the representative man in a state of transition in the English Province", a transition Amherst described as "from the Stonyhurst Province to the English Province".[2] This transition (which began earlier than Amherst admitted) was the result of the Jesuits' questioning the work in which they were engaged. Their treatment by the Vicars Apostolic and Bishops led them to reflect on their identity as Jesuits. The Jesuits felt misunderstood, particularly in the difficulties associated with the restoration of the Society and their being permitted to work in large towns. However inarticulately, they sensed that their status as Regulars was not only unappreciated but also threatened.

The history of the Roman Catholic community cannot be reduced to a history of such internal conflicts. Most Jesuits of the English Province, active in the ministry, were oblivious of much that has been discussed in this thesis. Edward Norman has commented that the concentration of some historians on earlier disputes in the Roman Catholic community left "the perpetual Catholic life, as led quietly by men and women in the parishes -- without controversy and without doubt -- with no memorial". He also remarked, correctly, that such controversies were not without a constructive

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[1] A.R.S.I., Angl. 1003.III.35.

[2] A.S.J., OL/1, W. Amherst notebook, n.d.: "All S.J.s will understand what I mean by the "Stonyhurst Province". Cobb was Provincial between 1848-51. Lythgoe is often credited with the change of direction in the Province.

importance. Serious issues were involved: "-- the preservation of the faith itself, as in the earthen vessels of worldly judgement -- and men would have been less than human had they not, from time to time, disagreed over the best course to achieve that end".[1] These nineteenth-century disputes, particularly those concerning the exemptions of Regulars which have been explained in this thesis, were disputes about the outstanding needs of the community and priorities in meeting them.

The Bishops, especially Vaughan and Manning, were committed to meet these needs in their dioceses. Their interpretation of the history of past disputes between the Secular and the Regular clergy coloured their view of the Jesuits. Some of their criticisms of the behaviour and attitudes of the Regular clergy had validity, and would have been more convincing had they been made with greater discrimination. The principles at issue were confused by clashes of personality. The Jesuits were unsure of their ground in claiming privileges, and were not persuasive in their arguments. Their views were affected by what they perceived to be the Bishops' lack of appreciation of their past and present labours and lack of understanding of the religious life. Sensing that they were also increasingly misunderstood by Jesuit authorities in Rome, they lacked the confidence to imagine working in other than the institutional ways with which they were familiar. The Jesuits seem to have been genuinely surprised by the reaction to their not conforming to diocesan reorganization after the restoration of the Hierarchy. They had little choice but to accept the outcome of the case in Rome, Romanos Pontifices, which clarified the situation and even gave them a measure of protection. Knowing their new and distinctive situation, they felt less threatened as Regulars, and were able to work with some confidence. Yet a sense of difference and a certain mutual wariness remained implicit in the relationship between some Bishops and Jesuits. Later disagreements over liberalism and modernism, especially with Jesuit writers on the staff of The Month, were to give occasion for heightened episcopal control. The Jesuits had their

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[1] E. Norman, Roman Catholicism in England from the Elizabethan Settlement to the Second Vatican Council (Oxford, 1985), p. 2.

own community and understanding, and, in a sense, their own language.[1] When the Spanish General, Martin, visited England in December 1892, he met Archbishop Vaughan. They spoke in French, and the conversation, according to James Hayes, who accompanied Martin, was "most safe, mostly about the best way of converting the rest of England". After the interview, Martin "shrewdly remarked: 'He was friendly, but not a friend'".[2]

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[1]See E. Griffiths, The Printed Voice of Victorian Poetry (Oxford, 1989), p. 267 on the language of Hopkins and Newman.
[2]Ms. of James Hayes, L.N., 45(1930), 187.

APPENDIX I

POST-RESTORATION ENGLISH PROVINCE[1]

	Priests	Scholastics	Brothers	Total
1815	37	32	4	73
1819	42	39	8	89
1829	54	47	8	109
1831	54	46	10	110
1840	71	46	15	132
1850	90	78	26	194
1860	140	82	40	262
1870	156	128	63	347
1880	207	168	82	457
1890	262	214	102	578
1900	321	233	119	673
1910	385	212	119	716

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[1]Catologus Provinciae Angliae, 1910, p. 94.

APPENDIX II

NINETEENTH CENTURY JESUIT MISSIONS (WITH DATE OF TRANSFER TO BISHOP)

Accrington	1959
Ackworth	1845
Alnwick	1855
Allerton	1853
Bedford Leigh	1960
Blackpool	
Boscombe	
Boston	1858
Bournemouth	1968
Bristol	
Brough	1863
Broughton	1893
Bury St. Edmunds	1929
Chesterfield	1932
Chideok	1840
Chipping	1857
Clayton	1853
Clitheroe	
Courtfield	1833
Croft	1854
Dalkeith	1902
Denbigh	1932
Ditton	1900
Edinburgh	
Enfield	1873
Everingham	1881
Exeter	1871
Galashiels	1902
Gilmoss	1887
Glasgow - St. Joseph	1930
- St. Aloysius	
Grafton Manor	1874
Gunnerside	1858
Henlip	1858
Hereford	1857
Holywell	1930
Irnham	1845
Lincoln	1868
Liverpool	
Llandrindrod Wells	1930
London - Farm Street	
Lydiate	1859
Lymington	1865
Lulworth Castle	1893
Manchester	
Mark Cross	1874
Market Rasen	1859
Mayfield	1870
New Hall	1885
Norwich	1881
Oxburgh Hall	
Oxford	1980

Pontefract	1889
Portico	1933
Preston -St. Wilfrid	
-St. Ignatius	1959
-St. Walburge	1955
Prescot	1932
Pylewell	1851
Richmond	1961
Rhyl	1931
Roehampton	1963
Ruthin	1871
Selkirk	1902
Shepton Mallet	1854
Skipton	1914
Soberton	1837
South Hill	1854
Spetchley	1855
Spinkhill	1973
Stamford Hill	
Stapleton Park	1833
St. Asaph	1931
St. Helens - Lowe House	1981
- Holy Cross	1932
St. Leonards on Sea	1846
Stockeld	1849
Stourton	1860
Teignmouth	1871
Tisbury	1933
Tunbridge Wells	1866
Ugbrook	1861
Ulverstone	1863
Wakefield	1931
Wardour	1933
Westminster	1901
Wigan	1933
Wimbledon	
Worcester	1990
Wingerworth	1836
Yarmouth	1962

APPENDIX III

MINUTES OF PROVINCIAL CONSULTATIONS

The minutes of consultations (kept from May 1832) are complete except for the following periods:

Provincial	Period
Norris	July 1832-February 1833 May 1833-April 1834 May 1834-February 1835 June 1835-April 1836 June 1836-July 1838
Bird	September 1838-January 1840 April 1840-August 1840 April 1841-September 1841
Lythgoe	November 1841-January 1842 August 1842-March 1848
Cobb	April 1848-March 1849 March 1849-June 1849 October 1849-February 1850 February 1850-May 1850
Etheridge	January 1853-October 1853
Johnson	October 1854-February 1855
Seed	May 1860-September 1860 March 1863-August 1863 May 1864-September 1864
Weld	September 1865-December 1865 March 1866-July 1866 April 1869 to July 1869
Whitty	June 1870-November 1871 December 1871-July 1872 November 1872-January 1873 February 1873-August 1873
Gallwey	
Jones	April 1877-July 1877 August 1877-October 1877
Purbrick	
Clayton	September 1892-January 1893
Scoles	
Gerard	
Colley	

APPENDIX IV

PROVINCIALS OF THE ENGLISH PROVINCE.

Marmaduke Stone	19 May 1803
Charles Plowden	8 September 1817
Nicholas Sewall	August 1821
Charles Brooke	15 February 1826
Richard Norris	28 May 1832
John Bird	25 June 1838
Randal Lythgoe	14 September 1841
William Cobb	1 January 1848
John Etheridge	6 January 1851
Joseph Johnson	24 September 1853
Thomas Seed	2 January 1860
Alfred Weld	8 September 1864
Robert Whitty	19 May 1870
Peter Gallwey	9 July 1873
James Jones	1 September 1876
Edward Purbrick	30 March 1880
John Clayton	15 August 1888
Francis Scoles	8 September 1894
John Gerard	8 Septenber 1897
Reginald Colley	1 January 1901
Richard Sykes	24 May 1904
Joseph Browne	17 November 1910

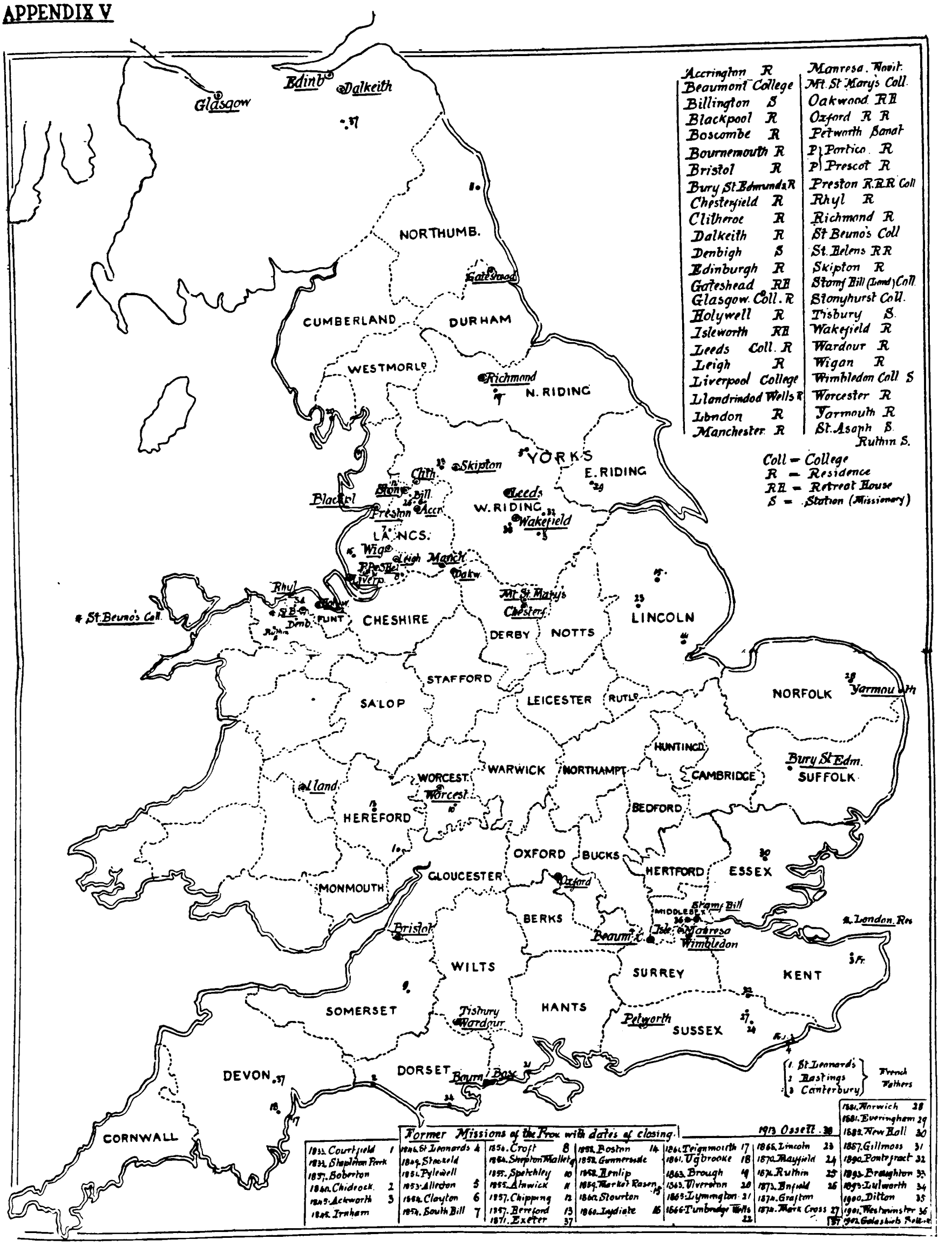
ENGLISH ASSISTANTS. [After the restoration of the Society, and prior to 1853, the English Province was part of the Spanish Assistancy. Thomas Glover was Assistant from 1829-1840.]

John Etheridge	1853
John French [Ireland]	1858
Alfred Weld	1873
Joseph Keller [Maryland]	1883
Robert Whitty	1887
James Jones	1892
Rudolph Meyer [Missouri]	1893
James Hayes	1906
Hermann Walmesley	1907

GENERALS.

Gabriel Gruber [Austrian]	1802-1805	[in Russia]
Thaddeus Brzozowski [Polish]	1805-1820	[Appointed General by the bull of Pius VII in 1814]
Aloysius Fortis [Italian]	1820-1829	
John Roothaan [Dutch]	1829-1853	
Peter Beckx [Belgian]	1853-1887	
Anton Anderledy [Swiss]	1887-1892	[Vicar General with the right of succession from 1883]
Louis Martin [Spanish]	1892-1906	
Francis X. Wernz [German]	1906-1914	

APPENDIX V



MAP OF THE ENGLISH PROVINCE (FOREIGN MISSIONS EXCLUDED)

L.N., 32(1913-14), 288-9.

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