# *'The Presence of the Incarnation':*
# *Roman Catholic social and political thought in England, 1830-1914*

A thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in History

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'The Presence of the Incarnation': Roman Catholic social and political thought in England, 1830-1914


## Short Abstract

This thesis offers a new intellectual history of Roman Catholicism in England between 1829 and 1914. Charting contributions to a range of national and international debates – theological, philosophical, scientific; socio-economic, ecclesiological, and political – it shows that the dominant mode of Catholic thought was Ultramontane, and argues for a new reading of Ultramontanism. What historians characterise as the 'ecclesial ideology' of a 'fortress Church' should instead be understood as an incarnational theology preoccupied with the world and its transformation.

Across the 1830s and 40s, a cosmopolitan Ultramontane party staked out a unique position in British public life. Drawing on continental Catholic discourses, they promised to Recusants, Tractarians, and Romantics a comprehensive critique of 'liberalism', and an 'integrated', incarnational alternative. Their synthesis was comprised of three elements: a eucharistic ecclesiology; a political theology, in which a sovereign Church consecrated society and guaranteed the 'liberties of Christendom'; and a political economy that fused an incarnational anthropology with Thomist ethics to challenge Malthusian orthodoxy and develop a reformist science of social wealth. This paradigm disrupted national debates and reshaped the Catholic body.

Two mid-century revolutions, which Ultramontanes thought linked, forced them to revise this synthesis. Responding to positivism, they sought new ways to articulate Christ's 'real presence' – historical and dogmatic-sacramental – in the world. Responding to the Risorgimento, they argued that the Church occupied a special place in a secularising modernity: a body politic seeking the world's transformation into heaven's antechamber. The dynamised incarnationalism that emerged from this moment positioned Catholics to develop a renewed critique of what they thought *fin-de-siècle* liberalism's oppressive cultural politics and economic model. It gained traction in national discussion, but increasingly divided theocratic collectivists from corporatist pluralists and Liberal Catholics. All, however, remained committed to their common inheritance and goal: advancing 'the Kingdom of the Incarnation' in social engagement and public debate.

'The Presence of the Incarnation': Roman Catholic social and political thought in England, 1830-1914

Long Abstract

This thesis offers a new intellectual history of Roman Catholicism in England, from the aftermath of Emancipation in 1829, as Catholics found their way into the political nation, to the eve of the First World War, when sacrifice would cement their place in it. Charting Catholic contributions to national and international debates – on the nature of the newly-emancipated 'body'; the transformation of Christendom by modernity's 'revolutionary' forces (liberalism, nationalism, socialism); positivism's challenge to faith and political economy's challenge to social cohesion; the nature of the modern state and the place of faith communities in liberal democracies – it shows that the dominant mode of Catholic thought was Ultramontane, and argues for a new reading of Ultramontanism. What historians have characterised as the unchanging 'ecclesial ideology' of a 'fortress Church' – a synthesis of authoritarian clericalism, 'tyrannous Transcendentalism', and reactionary politics, ghettoising Catholics from the modern world – should instead be understood as a proactively creative incarnational theology, immersed in contemporary debate and preoccupied with the world and its transformation.

Ultramontanes believed that Christ's incarnation had 'restored' Creation; and that in those institutions of the 'new Creation' over which He ruled – the Church and Christendom – the Kingdom of God was already begun. But from the Reformation to modernity's politico-philosophical 'Revolution', agents of an antichristian international had denied Christ's real presence in the world, suppressed the Church's temporal power, and sought to dissolve the political order of Christendom. Ultramontanism was thus a sweeping diagnosis of the threat to the Tridentine Church: Protestants, positivists and liberals hammered away from without, seeking to topple Christ from his throne and return society to a state of pagan brutishness – 'man without God in the world'; 'lukewarm' collaborators subverted from within – Jansenist, 'enlightened', and Liberal Catholics conniving in this 'desecration' by rationalising faith and naturalising politics. But as it developed from the later eighteenth century, Ultramontanism was also an imaginative defence of the incarnational order, and an attempt rhetorically and liturgically to 'resacralise' modernity: political order, social life, and economic relations would be 'reintegrated' and 'restored to Christ'. What Ultramontanism feared, it did not flee but sought consciously to redeem.

The introductory chapter argues that the scholarship of English Catholicism misconstrues this because it has rarely taken Ultramontane theology seriously. Absorbed in debates framed by the Second Vatican Council

(1962-65) on the place of the Church in the modern world, historians have succumbed to anachronism and appointed themselves hanging judges, rehearsing uncritically the tendentious tropes of Liberal Catholics, Modernists, Liberal Anglicans and secularisation theorists. Here, Ultramontanism was deemed an *anti*-intellectual force, closing the Catholic mind to control the Catholic community. Many historians of its continental iteration – and of 'political Catholicism' – fall prey to the same functionalist fallacy, conceptualising Ultramontanism as the hierarchicalisation of the Church and the mobilisation of the laity in modernity's 'culture wars'.

The poverty and presentism of these paradigms is made clearer still when contrasted with the emerging cultural historiography of nineteenth-century continental Catholicism. It urges the centrality of theological debate to social imaginaries, and rediscovers in theological discourse the key to the relationship between devotional culture and political action. But in its focus on Catholic-majority countries, it, too, has yielded a distorted image of modern Catholicism, creating an impression of a cultural system rich but narrowly Latinate.

In fact, the Ultramontane project held a particular attraction and took a particular form far beyond the 'supernaturalised lands' of the continent. Weaving an English thread back into this pan-European story helps us to interrogate nineteenth-century notions of a 'Protestant north' and 'Catholic south' – coded, respectively, 'rational' and 'irrational', 'progressive' and 'stagnant', and each in their residual power entrenching ideological narratives about modernity. It also helps us to challenge one of the stubborn binaries in Catholic political thought: between a 'reactionary Ultramontanism', antagonistic to the world remade by the French Revolution, and a world-affirming Gallican tradition, eirenically engaged with civic republicanism and liberal democracy. The 'rupture' that many detect between the First and Second Vatican Councils can even be read as another manifestation of that very French *querelle*: between the disciples of Joseph de Maistre and Jacques Maritain. But the polarity looks less stark from the vantage-point of the British Isles. A 'liberal Ultramontanism' – unapologetic in its supernatural faith; vigorously apologetic in seeking to Catholicise the liberal state – was more than a paradox or an anomaly; it was real, and its influence deserves careful consideration in charting Catholicism's encounter with modernity.

As in cultural politics, then, so too in political thought: a European story has lost its English thread, and with it, part of its fabric. The same is true in reverse. Scholarship has 're-centred' the religious *mentalités* of the Victorian age, only to leave Catholicism – certainly the defining Catholicism of this age – on the margins. The contextualisation of English Ultramontanism as a species of European anti-Jansenism and a neglected form of British incarnationalism redresses this omission. It also illuminates the transnational nature of 'English' Catholicism, integrates Victorian Catholic history into the research agendas of British and European scholarship,

and points to the European horizons of much British debate. Addressing this blind spot not only sharpens our historical lens so we can see this age more clearly: it allows us to turn it back on that blurred thing called 'British liberalism', showing how indispensable Catholicism was as its foil, foe – and sometimes critical friend. Many jarring contradictions were effaced by the paradoxical presence of 'modern Ultramontanes' and the perplexing resilience of their 'rampant Popery'.[1]

Chapter 1 sets out the challenges presented by the nature of the project and the opportunities afforded by adopting a new approach to meeting them. I seek to historicise Ultramontanism by 'theologising' it – exploring its assumptions and ambitions; its intellectual traditions and contexts; and the substance, method, and media of its argument. It is a study of the Ultramontane mind in motion, as it sought to reimagine the new body of English Recusants, Tractarian converts, Irish migrants, and continental interlopers, by structuring every genre of literature – from history to hymnody, patristics to political economy – around the ür-symbol of the incarnation. It thus concerns itself with public debate carried on in printed literature – particularly in *The Dublin Review*, the chief organ of Ultramontane thought, of which no systematic study has been made – adverting to private sources where they help to throw new light on questions of intellectual formation or purpose. Such an approach points to the ways in which this 'closed' mindset in fact proved a vector of intellectual commerce, bridging divides between Britain, Ireland, and the continent, and connecting discourses secular and religious. Similarly, it is hoped that the arguments advanced might resonate beyond the historical academy, speaking to debates in political theory and theology concerning the pluralism of modern liberalism and the posture of the Church in the modern world; each of these siloed discourses has much to gain from familiarity with the other.

Chapter 2 explores the campaign waged from the 1830s by Nicholas Wiseman and his Ultramontane party to define the nature of the emancipated Catholic community in England, and it establishes the contexts and claims of their political theology. Drawing on the incarnational discourses then shaping post-revolutionary Catholic thought on the continent, and positioning themselves as champions of an ancient English 'Orthodox' tradition, Wiseman's party distinguished 'Catholicism' from rival pretenders: a Cisalpine cadre they thought infected with scepticism of the supernatural, and a Tractarian phalanx posing as Catholics but compromised by Reformation schism and heresy. This campaign was carried on in periodicals and pamphlets and modelled on the erudite polemics of Rome's *scuola antigiansenistica*. It was grounded in a eucharistic ecclesiology, but developed into a

[1] [E. A. Freeman], 'Mrs Hope's Conversion of the Teutonic Race', *SR*, 33.855 (1872), 345.

broader vision, designed to reshape the contours of British debate: in an integrated incarnational realm, a Church supernatural, universal, and sovereign restored to man the fullness of his humanity by regenerating his 'feminine' capacity for faith and love, and restored to humanity its citizenship in the Kingdom of Christ by reconsecrating a political order popular, paternal, plural and free.

Chapter 3 demonstrates that, into the mid-1860s, this political theology was complemented by a distinctive political economy. Historians of 'Social Catholicism' too quickly dismiss this anti-Malthusianism as sentimental lamentation about the plight of the 'holy poor'. Blending an incarnational anthropology with a Thomist ethics, the professors of Maynooth and Louvain, and their British disciples, cradle and convert, developed a hopeful science of social wealth and a reformist policy programme, challenging the orthodoxies of classical economics.

Across the first decades of Wiseman's campaign, then, Cisalpinism was supplanted by an assertive but eirenic Ultramontanism, which presented Christendom as a realm of 'liberty consecrated' and the Church as the guardian of faith and freedom against liberalism's excesses. The synthesis proved successful. Its promise of a supernaturalised realm lured many Tractarians across the Tiber and established the religious 'common sense' of the Catholic body; its rhetoric of 'liberal conservatism' distanced it from the politics of continental reaction and situated it as a distinctive, disruptive voice in British debate.

But Ultramontanism was no sooner ascendant than it was radicalising. Two mid-century revolutions forced Wiseman's successors to rework his synthesis. The positivist paradigm shift in science and philosophy saw the tectonic plates of theology unsettled; the dogmatic foundations of an incarnational religion seemed increasingly insecure. Under the force of the liberal-national revolutions in Italy and elsewhere, the pope's sovereignty seemed shattered, and with it the right of the Church to a public presence. Chapters 4 and 5 chart the ways in which Ultramontanes navigated these years of doubt and upheaval.

Rejecting the notion of a 'fortress Church', heedless of the challenges of modern thought, Chapter 4 explores Catholic critiques of Comtism and scientific naturalism. Catholics presented themselves as sceptics, challenging the methodological assumptions of positivism and what they thought Liberal Anglicanism's compromising 'neo-Christianity'. Forging space in debate for epistemic difference, they reaffirmed in imaginative ways the grounds of a dogmatic faith. This has gone unnoticed. Lamenting the 'great hope' and 'great failure' of Liberal Catholicism, broken on the rack of ecclesiastical authority, historians have missed the bigger picture: almost all Catholics sought, in philosophy, theology, and history, creatively to defend and confess their king's 'two bodies' – that of Jesus Christ, incarnate God; and that of his sacramental-dogmatic body, the Church. Although Liberal

Catholics differed with Ultramontanes over the tactics with which to engage the enemy, they offered only a corrective to Ultramontane exuberance. And like their brethren, Ultramontanes adopted a multi-faceted response to positivism and its successors: drawing on Scotist theology and neo-Thomist philosophy, they challenged narrowing binaries in conventional thought – faith or reason; contemplation or action; individualism or evolutionism – to articulate a reflective mode of moral action in a purposive universe. Documenting shared assumptions and the common purpose of galvanising serious moral discussion, this account shows that party labels fashioned in the context of these debates have too readily been taken at face value as denoting hermetically-sealed positions. This was not true for philosophy – nor, as Chapter 5 makes clear, was it true for politics.

Catholics saw the two spheres as interwoven, felt challenged in each, and sought to frame a coherent response. Chapter 5 sketches the hostile environment they perceived by mid-century: a reinvigorated anti-Catholicism at home; abroad, the shadow of 1848. The unravelling of the Papal States, cheered on in Britain, seemed to draw the two campaigns together and suggest the moment's epochal significance. Nationalism and liberalism waged a war against Christendom; positivism, a war against the incarnation. Ultramontanes drew ever-clearer lines between their theology and political thinking. The result appeared to be an angry rejection of modernity, *tout court*. But in exploring the theology of temporal power developed to meet this crisis, the chapter interrogates the cliché of Catholicism's 'fortress' mentality. For a younger generation of thinkers, Rome was not the pope's bunker, but the model of a world-renewing political order. The assault on papal sovereignty thus constituted an apocalyptic subversion, challenging Christ's lordship over the nations and the legitimacy of the Church's temporality as a body politic shaping social life. Seeking to unsettle liberal hegemony in political debate – exposing its assumptions (Protestant/Comtean eschatology) and consequences (insidious anti-pluralism) – Ultramontanes asked searching questions of the democratising, modernising public sphere: what room for the sacred in a secular space? what room for difference in a liberal community? Disruptive, too, was their newly millenarian incarnationalism, presenting the Church's mission in modernity as ushering in the 'Third Age of the Spirit', when the world would be transformed into heaven's 'antechamber'. In this, they argued, looking to the future, her temporal power was more necessary than ever.

The final section of Chapter 5 argues that Liberal Catholicism is best understood as a rejoinder to this political theology. Expansive dogmatism, Acton feared, would see Catholics branded intellectual zombies and Rome's political puppets – fears realised during the culture wars of the 1870s, when Gladstone denounced 'Vaticanism' as an existential threat to free societies. But as in philosophy, so too in politics: dispute played out in

a shared religious framework. Indebted, like Ultramontanes, to the developmentalist incarnational theologies of Josef Görres and J. A. Möhler, Liberal Catholics, too, anticipated the dawn of a new Christendom – but insisted that it would be consecrated by scientists, not statesmen (or superannuated hierocrats). God's Kingdom would be realised in the illumination of men's minds; the Church's temporal power was evolving. One voice, only, questioned the very possibility of a Christian polity in this order of time: venerated since Vatican II for developing a theology of conscience fit for a post-Constantinian age, J. H. Newman in these years was an idiosyncratic figure – understood by few, held suspect by many.

By the late nineteenth century, most Catholics thus faced the future hopeful of the world's transformation. Historians bemoan Catholic 'ghettoisation' in these years. In fact, Chapter 6 argues, so far into the world was the Church driven by incarnationalism that some feared a creeping immanentism. Economic malaise exacerbated this tendency. The 'crisis' in political economy encouraged Ultramontanes into debates challenging liberal political theories and presenting a social theory of Christ's kingship. But as some heralded 'Catholic socialism', the Ultramontane synthesis fractured. This, however, was not an end. Just as liberalism faltered and was reconfigured, new growth came out of the fissures in Ultramontanism. Manning's followers, drawing on the ethics of Alphonsus Liguori and the radicalism of Félicité de Lamennais, gravitated towards collectivism and prophesied the Kingdom come in popular theocracy. Others, like the economist, C. S. Devas, recoiled. Seeking to re-balance Catholic thought, they articulated an incarnationalism rooted in the pluralism of their forebears and in the world-renouncing spirituality of Newman. Both strands were woven into national discussion. Many liberals – civic-republican, anti-clerical, politico-economic, anti-democratic – developed their ideas in conscious critique of Catholicism; others – Christians, socialists, pluralists – found in Catholicism a range of intellectual resources with which to frame their own conceptual endeavours. Energised and engaged in their generation's debates – and in their distinct voice, often inspiring and infuriating their fellow-citizens in equal measure – the Catholics of these years were very far from the ghetto.

# *Acknowledgements*

In a letter to his nephew in 1848, Nicholas Wiseman lamented the 'solitude' that can attend scholarship – the 'shattered nerves' and 'sleepless nights', the 'hours of tears, which no one ever witnesses', 'the dread often of instant insanity'. There have been times when this melodrama struck quite the chord – so I am thankful for the cloud of witnesses that surrounded me, offering encouragement (and a sense of perspective) in the course of my research.

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For total immersion in the weirdness of the Victorian imagination, it is my bounden duty also to state what I think is my gratitude to the members of the Oxford Gilbert & Sullivan Society.

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AMDG

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# *Abbreviations*

*For the full titles of works listed here, see the bibliography*

## 1. Primary sources

(a) Journals

| | |
|---|---|
| *British Critic* | *BC* |
| *British Quarterly Review* | *BQR* |
| *Catholic Magazine and Review* | *CMR* |
| *Catholic World* | *CW* |
| *Church of England Quarterly Review* | *CEQR* |
| *Civiltà Cattolica* | *CC* |
| *Contemporary Review* | *CR* |
| *Dublin Review* | *DR* |
| *Edinburgh Review* | *ER* |
| *Fortnightly Review* | *FR* |
| *Home & Foreign Review* | *HFR* |
| *International Journal of Ethics* | *IJE* |
| *National Review* | *NR* |
| *Nineteenth Century* | *NC* |
| *Quarterly Review* | *QR* |
| *Saturday Review* | *SR* |

(b) Books / Pamphlets/ Correspondence

| | |
|---|---|
| C. S. Devas, *Political Economy* | *PE* |
| E. H. Thompson, J. S. Northcote, *Clifton Tracts* | *CT* |
| Manning, *Sermons on Ecclesiastical Subjects* | *SES* |
| — *The Temporal Power of the Vicar of Jesus Christ* | *TP* |
| Newman, *Discourses Addressed to Mixed Congregations* | *DMC* |
| — *The Letters and Diaries of John Henry Newman* | *NLD* |
| Thomas O'Hagan, *Occasional Papers and Addresses* | *OPA* |
| Robertson, *Philosophy of History* | *PH* |
| Wilfrid Ward, *Ward and the Catholic Revival* | *WCR* |
| Wiseman | |
| — *Principal Doctrines* | *PD* |
| — *Real Presence* | *RP* |
| — *Essays on Various Subjects* | *EVS* |

## 2. **Secondary sources**

(a) Reference works

| | |
|---|---|
| *Australian Dictionary of Biography* | *ADB* |
| *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* | *DBI* |
| *Dictionary of Irish Biography* | *DIB* |
| *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* | *ODNB* |

(b) Books

| | |
|---|---|
| Bossy, *English Catholic Community* | *ECC* |
| Lothian, *Catholic Intellectual Community* | *CIC* |

| | |
|---|---|
| Nockles, *Oxford Movement in Context* | *OMC* |
| Richardson, 'Serial Struggles', | *SS* |
| Skinner, *Tractarians and the 'Condition of England'* | *TCE* |
| Stedman Jones, Claeys, eds., *Cambridge History of Nineteenth-Century Political Thought* | *CHPT* |

**(b)** Journals

| | |
|---|---|
| *American Catholic Quarterly Review* | *ACQR* |
| *American Historical Review* | *AHR* |
| *Catholic Historical Review* | *CHR* |
| *English Historical Review* | *EHR* |
| *European Journal of the History of Economic Thought* | *EJHET* |
| *History of European Ideas* | *HEI* |
| *Historical Journal* | *HJ* |
| *History of Political Economy* | *HPE* |
| *International Journal for the Study of the Christian Church* | *IJSCC* |
| *Irish Theological Quarterly* | *ITQ* |
| *Journal of British Studies* | *JBS* |
| *Journal of Church and State* | *JCS* |
| *Journal of Contemporary History* | *JCH* |
| *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* | *JEH* |
| *Journal of the History of Ideas* | *JHI* |
| *Journal of Modern History* | *JMH* |
| *Journal of Religious History* | *JRH* |
| *London Review of Books* | *LRB* |
| *Past & Present* | *P&P* |
| *Recusant History* | *RH* |
| *Studies in Church History* | *SCH* |
| *US Catholic Historian* | *USCH* |
| *Victorian Studies* | *VS* |

For, with the old order destroyed,
a universe cast down is renewed,
and integrity of life is restored to us in Christ.

From Preface IV of Easter, in the Roman Missal:
*'The restoration of the universe through the Paschal Mystery'*

The world is charged with the grandeur of God.
It will flame out, like shining from shook foil;
It gathers to a greatness, like the ooze of oil
Crushed. Why do men then now not reck his rod?
Generations have trod, have trod, have trod;
And all is seared with trade; bleared, smeared with toil;
And wears man's smudge and shares man's smell: the soil
Is bare now, nor can foot feel, being shod.

And for all this, nature is never spent;
There lives the dearest freshness deep down things;
And though the last lights off the black West went
Oh, morning, at the brown brink eastward, springs —
Because the Holy Ghost over the bent
World broods with warm breast and with ah! bright wings.

Gerard Manley Hopkins SJ, 'God's Grandeur' (1877)

# Chapter I

## *Fossil, fortress, or the Word made flesh: the historiography of English Ultramontanism*

> It is Ultramontane … to believe the infallibility of the Church, … or to abominate civil marriages, or to condemn secret societies, or to dislike secular education, or to go frequently to confession and Communion, or to subscribe to the *Dublin Review*, or to do penance, or to say that the author of the *Eirenicon* does not quote fairly, or to prefer the celibacy of the clergy to their marriage, or to deny that Garibaldi and Victor Emmanuel are Christian heroes, or to say that the "Black Rubric" in the Anglican prayerbook denies the Real Presence … [It has acquired] the rank of an expletive … which young gentlemen bring home from school for the astonishment of their sisters. It is impossible to tell how long it may be before it gets into the cookery-books … [Ultramontanism is held to be] hard, haughty, exaggerated in its pretensions, contemptuous of ecclesiastical rights, local usages, national modes of thought and feeling. To the popular mind it suggests the idea of pomposity in purple, of sleek foreigners sent from Italy to fatten on rich ecclesiastical benefices, of arrogant and inexorable tribunals, of severe fulminations enforced by "bell, book and candle." Its style is supposed to be bombastic, its controversy … to be guided by the maxims that "no faith is to be kept with heretics," that moral assassination is allowable towards enemies of the faith, that anything, true or false, may be said against an opponent of the truth … Ultramontanism is supposed to supersede argument by arbitrary assumptions, to meet reasoning by anathemas, and to deal with opposition after the fashion in which the bureaucracy of a despotic centralisation deals with obnoxious editors … It is thought … never to apologise, never to forgive; always to aim at the extermination of its enemies …[1]
>
> — Henry Coleridge SJ (1869)

For the English, mused Henry Coleridge SJ (1822-93), editor of the Jesuits' flagship periodical, *The Month*, Ultramontanism had been ever mysterious. Its very definition puzzled Protestants, 'who have not agreed whether it means something very mountainous, something more than mountainous, or something over the mountains'. Where the term was applied 'to persons, to organs, to lines of conduct … habits of thought … [or to] any definite and particular doctrine', one searched in vain for any coherent commentary at all; etymological 'obscurity' was prelude to theoretical 'perplexity'. 'Ultramontanism' meant everything and nothing. It was at best an 'invidious epithet'; as a critical term, 'unmeaning'.[2]

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[1] 'Y' [Henry Coleridge], 'The Roman Spirit: Thoughts on Ultramontanism', *The Month*, 10 (April, 1869), 382-5

[2] Ibid., 382-3; cf. [Coleridge?], 'Ultramontanism and Ultrapaganism', *Month*, 18 (March, 1873), 166f. (For authorship of anonymous articles in the *Month*, see: *Index to the Month, 1864-1908* (London, Roehampton, 1909)) The English were not alone in their mystification: 'In the early 'seventies some learned men journeyed from Bavaria to Aldenham to learn from [Lord] Acton the origin of the term "Ultramontane". Acton explained, without flinching, that the word originated during the troubles

Coleridge penned his waspish reflection on the eve of the First Vatican Council's decrees on papal infallibility, and in the midst of the debate they occasioned on the loyalties of British Catholics. By that point, 'Ultramontanism' had indeed become a catch-all term in the popular imagination, one deployed polemically, corralling together those aspects of nineteenth-century Catholicism most odious to the freeborn Briton. It was Roman theology, unadulterated: 'carnal' and 'idolatrous';[3] a 'sliding-board of soul-destroying error', on which the unwary lost hold of a Christianity national and rational and fell into the Babylonian captivity of 'the Popedom'.[4] In this 'Hildebrandine' system – so named after Pope Hildebrand / Gregory VII (r.1073-85), remembered as the mediaeval Church's most dangerous innovator for extending the reach of canon law and paving the way for papal supremacy – a priestly caste, taking its orders from Rome, presided over a 'temporal … [and] spiritual despotism'.[5] This model of 'hierocracy' – at once anachronistic and troublingly resilient – obviated the possibility of citizenship: it meant not only future 'exclusion from the Kingdom of God' but 'political death' in the present. In the claims it made on the consciences of Catholics, and in its willingness to pose as a popular power that would speak for 'God and the people' against property and parliaments, it was a menace to the national-liberal polity of modernity (whether that of 1688 or 1789).[6] Its 'ecclesiastical Caesarism' was contrary to the 'advancing spirit of rationalism', and inimical to the disinterested pursuit of historical truth;[7] its casuistry envisaged a 'separate jurisdiction', where every civil and commercial transaction was 'triable twice over; once before the court, once before the confessor'.[8] So 'barbarous' a regime was necessarily deaf to the cry of progress: while England embraced railways and refrigeration, the lands languishing under the 'degrading thraldom' of the popes[9] became 'a den of misery,

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at Munich over the promotion of the King's favourite, Lola Montes … Her adherents were dubbed Lolamontanen, and her opponents Ultramontanen. The wise men then started solemnly on their homeward journey, satisfied that they had filled the remaining void in their erudition.' 'Quirinus Nepos' to *The Tablet*, 19 Nov. 1921, 664-5.

[3] Thomas Turton, *The Roman Catholic Doctrine of the Eucharist* … (Cambridge, 1837), 311-13, 320-21; [Turton], 'The Doctrine of the Eucharist', *BC*, 22 (July, 1837), 130-63, esp. 135; 'Jesuitism and Romanism absolutely identical', *CEQR*, 4 (Oct. 1838), 386-404.

[4] *Rome The Babylon of the Apocalypse* … (1851), 3, 31-5; [E. Hood], 'Pity the Sorrows of an Poor old man', *Eclectic Review* (Aug. 1861), 222-38; 'The experiences of a 'vert', *London Quarterly Review*, 32.63 (April, 1869), 102-32.

[5] Robert Southey, *Book of the Church*, 2 vols. (1824), II, 528.

[6] [Gladstone,] 'Farini's *Stato Romano*', *ER*, 95 (April, 1852), 357-96: 358-9, 360-6 387, 395; [Gladstone], 'Sardinia and Rome', *QR*, 97 (June, 1855), 41-71: 56-8, 67-70; [Gladstone,] 'From Oxford to Rome', *QR,* 81.161 (June, 1847), 131-67, 151; 'Ritual and Ritualism', *CR*, 24 (Oct. 1874), 674), 35-6; *The Vatican Decrees in their bearing on Civil Allegiance* … (1874), 5-11, 37, 50; George Croly, *The Apocalypse of St. John* … (1838 [1827]), vii., 200-28, 357-62; *Times*, 13 Jan. 1888, p.7.

[7] H. Piggott, 'The Lamentations of an Italian Parish-Priest', *The Wesleyan-Methodist Magazine* (Feb. 1891), 96-105: 99; Lecky, *History of the Rise and Influence of the Spirit of Rationalism in Europe*, 2 vols. (1865), II, 268; E. A. Freeman, 'Literature', *The Academy*, 566 (10 March, 1883), 161-63.

[8] 'Penance and Absolution', *Fraser's Magazine*, 75.446 (Feb. 1867), 227-42: 231-4, 241.

[9] H. G. Spillan, *To the Educated Roman Catholics of the British Empire* (Dublin, Oct. 7, 1848), 1-3; The Committee of the Priests' Protection Society, *Fourth Address to British Protestants Throughout the World* (Dublin, 1 Jan., 1851), n.p.

oppression and ruin [where a] haggard and care-worn set of spectral nobles parade … unswept streets, while a mass of sickly and hunger-stricken paupers dance frantically to the sound of their own clattering jaws'.[10]

Coleridge, then, was both right and wrong: 'Ultramontanism' was an accusation, and one bandied venomously about; but 'argumentative warfare' did not preclude sustained reflection. No unified theory of Ultramontanism emerged from the disparate body of anti-Ultramontane writings; but from the pens of Evangelical apocalypticists and Tory Churchmen, from anti-clerical Comteans and Broad-Church historians, from travel-writers, novelists, poets, and political economists, there was certainly a coherent sense of what Ultramontanism 'meant' to those it seemed to menace. As we shall see, many of these readings were as perceptive as they were bigoted. If it was 'by no means easy to harmonise them into an intelligible commentary', neither was it impossible to discern internal consistencies and shared assumptions. They attacked a political theology foreign and doomed to extinction – but at that moment disconcertingly vibrant and in their midst.

*A fragmented historiography*

Confronted with the enormity of Ultramontanism, contemporaries knew what they saw and they did not like it. Historians have rarely been willing to confront their own prejudices with the same honesty; but most neither like what they see of it, nor believe that there was all that much to it. The term continues to be used in the literature more often as a 'shibboleth … of reproof, than as a tool of historical analysis'.[11] This thesis takes a different approach. Like contemporaries, it sees Ultramontanism as the dominant mode of Catholic thought across the long nineteenth century. An incarnational theology, immersed in contemporary debate and preoccupied with the world and its transformation, it was the paradigm within which or against which other discourses – like Social Catholicism and Liberal Catholicism – took shape.

Some historians help us to see as much. Aspects of the eighteenth- and early-nineteenth century English Ultramontane *mentalité* have been mapped by Duffy, Nockles, and Leighton.[12] The work of Champ[13] and Richardson[14] has situated thinkers like John Milner (1752-1826), Vicar Apostolic of the Midland District, in a

[10] [Wiseman's] pastiche of English writing on 'Italy and the Papal States', *DR*, 41 (Sept. 1856), 171-227, 177-189.

[11] See R. Sullivan's review of J. von Arx's *Varieties of Ultramontanism*: *CHR*, 84 (Oct. 1998), 717-18.

[12] See, e.g., Eamon Duffy, 'Ecclesiastical Democracy Detected: III, 1796-1803', *RH*, 13 (1975), 123-48; Peter Nockles, '"The Difficulties of Protestantism": Bishop Milner, John Fletcher and Catholic Apologetic against the Church of England from the Era of the First Relief Act to Emancipation, 1788-1830', *RH*, 24 (Oct. 1998), 193-236; Cadoc Leighton, 'John Milner and the Orthodox Cause', *JRH*, 32 (Sept. 2008), 345-60.

[13] 'Priesthood and Politics in the Nineteenth Century: the Turbulent Career of Thomas McDonnell', *RH*, 18 (May, 1987), 289-303.

[14] 'Serial struggles: English Catholics and their periodicals, 1648-1844' ['SS'], Durham Ph.D Thesis (2003).

prosopography British and Irish, and in a print culture marked by intra-mural dispute and embedded in national and transnational debates on issues ranging from epistemology to political authority. Indeed, Richardson's work shows how far Nicholas Wiseman (1802-65) understood his mission to England as a revitalisation of this 'Orthodox' tradition, whose leaders in previous generations included Milner, Charles Walmesley (1722-97), Vicar Apostolic of the Western District; Joseph Strickland (1732-1790), chaplain to the Stonor family; and Charles Plowden (1743-1821), Jesuit Provincial. Rosemary Hill's portrait of the 'Gothic' Catholics in the *milieu* of Augustus Pugin (1812-52) – like John Talbot, 16th Earl of Shrewsbury (1791-1852), and the convert mediaevalist, Ambrose Philipps de Lisle (1809-78)[15] – further sharpens focus on the self-conscious cultural contestation of the 1830s, unsettling deterministic accounts of English Catholicism's 'transformation', and suggesting 'Romanisation' to be a shorthand in need of parsing.[16]

The urgency of that task becomes clearer when considering the literature on the Victorian and Edwardian eras, when Ultramontanism is held not only to have 'triumphed' but become 'triumphalist'.[17] The first of these ages was defined by converts to Wiseman's Church: H. E. Manning, 'more Roman than Rome; and more Ultramontane than the pope';[18] F. W. Faber, whose 'zeal … turned King William Street … into a little Italy';[19] and W. G. Ward, the 'Ultramontane Carlyle', ['w]hose faith and works were bells of full accord'.[20] The second age was dominated by two more portable cathedral bells,[21] chiming as one: Chesterbelloc. These colourful poets, prelates, and polemicists have been the focus of unbroken – but uneven – scholarly focus. The development of Manning's theology has been sensitively analysed by Pereiro,[22] and aspects of his political theology have attracted attention.[23] Greater interest has been directed towards Hilaire Belloc (1870-1953) and G. K. Chesterton (1874-1936), whose

[15] *God's Architect. Pugin and the Building of Romantic Britain* (2008).

[16] This is as true of accounts unsympathetic to Wiseman — like J. D. Holmes, *More Roman than Rome: English Catholicism in the Nineteenth Century* (1978), ch. 2 — as it is to those prone to heroising his work — like Brian Fothergill, *Nicholas Wieman* (New York, 1963); R. J. Schiefen, *Wiseman and Transformation of English Catholicism* (1984) — and those striving to keep his impact in perspective, like E. R. Norman, *The English Catholic Church in the Nineteenth Century* (Oxford, 1984), ch. 3.

[17] Holmes, *More Roman*, chs. 4, 5.

[18] 'Work and Wants of the Catholic Church in England', *DR*, 1 (July, 1863), 162.

[19] Christopher Sykes, *Two Studies in Virtue* (1953), 71-2.

[20] 'Ultramontane Carlyle', *Spectator*, 6 Dec. 1873, 9; Tennyson, 'Memorial Lines to William George Ward', quoted in Wilfrid Ward, *William George Ward and the Oxford Movement* (1889), v.

[21] Emerson's characterisation of Carlyle, cited in Michael Bentley, 'Victorian historians and the larger hope', in Bentley, ed., *Public and Private Doctrine: Essays in British History presented to Maurice Cowling* (Cambridge, 1993), 139.

[22] *Cardinal Manning: from Anglican Archdeacon to Council Father at Vatican I* (Leominster, 2008 [1998]).

[23] Jeffrey von Arx, 'Cardinal Henry Edward Manning', *Varieties of Ultramontanism* (Washington, D. C., 1998), 85-102; Gilley, 'Manning: the Catholic Writings', in V. Alan McClelland, *By Whose Authority? Newman, Manning and the Magisterium* (Bath, 1996), 253f; Peter Erb, 'Introduction' to *The Correspondence of Henry Edward Manning and William Ewart Gladstone* … ed. P. C. Erb (Oxford, 2013), I, xiii-cxx.

cultural criticism and impact have been explored – though not always with an eye to their theological contexts.[24] But of Ward, their predecessor in polemic, Hoppen's dated studies[25] remain the most insightful since the (quasi-parricidal) biographies penned by the philosopher's apprentice and son, Wilfrid (1856-1916).[26] Similarly, it has taken fifty years for scholars to heed Alfred Gilbey's lament, that Faber had been marginalised by a generation cringing at his 'hot-house piety';[27] Cadoc Leighton's study of his apocalypticism[28] – part of a general recovery of Catholic providentialism[29] – constitutes a corrective to a largely hagiographical genre.[30]

Like their eighteenth-century predecessors, these figures have now been situated in their wider intellectual environments. A richer sense of Ultramontane culture – its representative 'practitioners';[31] its quest for hegemony in education[32] and print media[33] – has thus been restored. And almost single-handedly, over decades of pioneering scholarship, Sheridan Gilley has reconnoitred tracts of Ultramontane thought, rooting it in its incarnational-theological context, and drawing attention to its preoccupation with the poor and its propensity to populism.[34] These are avenues of exploration that draw the research agenda closer to what is now a sophisticated historiography of Tractarianism and Anglo-Catholicism, the stable of so many converts to (and critics of) Ultramontanism[35] – and closer, as we shall see, to the developing literature on continental political theology.

Yet as the nature of this laundry-list suggests – observe how many of these studies are chapters in edited volumes, or articles published in the formidable (but niche) *Recusant History* (now *British Catholic History*) – our understanding of what Fr. Coleridge's contemporaries meant by 'Ultramontanism' remains inchoate, and its place

[24] Robert Speaight, *The Life of Hilaire Belloc* (New York, 1957); Margaret Canovan, *G. K. Chesterton: Radical Populist* (New York, 1977); Tom Villis, *Reaction and the Avant-Garde: The Revolt against Liberal Democracy in Early Twentieth-Century Britain* (2006); J. R. Lothian, *The making and unmaking of the English Catholic Intellectual Community, 1910-1950* (Notre Dame, Ind., 2009).

[25] E.g. 'Church, State, and Ultramontanism in Mid-Victorian England: The Case of William George Ward', *JCS*, 18 (1976), 289-309.

[26] *Ward and the Oxford Movement*; *William George Ward and the Catholic Revival* (1893). But see H. R. David, 'William George Ward, the *Dublin Review*, and Neo-Ultramontanism', in Kenneth Parker, M. J. G. Pahls, eds., *Authority, Dogma, and History: the role of the Oxford Movement Converts in the Papal Infallibility Debates* (Palo Alto, CA, 2009), 129-58.

[27] 'Review', *New Blackfriars*, 43 (1962), 142-44.

[28] 'Finding Antichrist: Apocalypticism in Nineteenth-Century Catholic England and the Writings of Frederick Faber', *JRH*, 37.1 (March, 2013), 80-97.

[29] Leighton, 'Thomas Allies, John Henry Newman, and Providentialist History', *HEI*, 38 (2012), 248-65.

[30] Raleigh Addington, ed., *Faber: Poet and Priest. Selected Letters …* (Glamorgan, 1974); Melissa Wilkinson, *Frederick William Faber: a great servant of God* (2007).

[31] Jennifer Supple, 'Robert Cornthwaite: A Neglected Nineteenth-Century Bishop', *RH*, 17 (May, 1985), 399-412.

[32] Bernard Basset, *The English Jesuits from Campion to Martindale*, ed. Roger Charles (Hertfordshire, 2004 [1967]), 137-75.

[33] Susan Acheson, 'Catholic Journalism in Victorian Catholic Society, 1830-1870, with special reference for the '*Tablet*'', Oxford M.Litt. Thesis (1981); Richardson, 'SS', 151ff.

[34] See the Bibliography.

[35] Peter Nockles, *The Oxford Movement in Context: Anglican High Churchmanship, 1760-1857* (Cambridge, 1994); Simon Skinner, *Tractarians and the 'Condition of England': The Social and Political Thought of the Oxford Movement* (Oxford, 2004); James Kirby, *Historians and the Church of England: Religion and Historical Scholarship, 1870-1920* (Oxford, 2016).

in the intellectual life of the age (except as a foil), largely unexamined. To the extent that we can approach such an understanding, it is only by stepping back, as from a mosaic, and seeking to discern the patterns in the pointilism.

## *'Fossilism': the Liberal Catholic history of Ultramontanism*

If the age of Catholic revival was the age of Ultramontanism, why has no attempt been made to write its intellectual history? In one sense, the omission is strange. There exists a considerable literature on anti-Ultramontane thinking. By this I do not mean the historiography of anti-Catholicism,[36] but rather of the 'enlightened' Catholic tradition: from late Recusancy[37] and Cisalpinism[38] to Liberal Catholicism[39] and Modernism.[40] Monographs are buttressed by biographies of canonical figures, like Lord Acton[41] and Maud Petre,[42] and of those slippery subversives, John Lingard[43] and John Henry Newman.[44] If these schools ought not to be conflated, there is no question but that each possessed a coherent vision of Church-world relations; and that each rejected Ultramontanism and propounded 'enlightened' alternatives to it, advocating engagement with the cultures of their times, and insisting Catholicism was compatible with all those regimes held that was true, and would purify what was not.

If it seems strange that we should have an understanding of the minds and manifestos of the 'parties of opposition', but not of the governing party itself, it is nevertheless revealing of assumptions in the academy. For most historians, Ultramontanism was government only, and repressive government at that; no real 'thinking' was involved. Indeed, where thinking began, obedience to authority ended; so the intellectual historian could only really *be* the historian of Liberal or Modernist Catholicism. This sentiment shrieked from every page of the erudite but hagiographical studies of Trevor, Himmelfarb, and Altholz on Newman, Acton, and the Liberal Catholic party,

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[36] For overviews: M. Drury, 'Anti-Catholicism in Germany, Britain, and the United States: A Review and Critique of Recent Scholarship', *Church History*, 70.1 (March, 2001), 98-131; Miriam Burstein, 'Anti-Catholic Sermons in Victorian Britain', in R. Ellison, ed., *A New History of the Sermon. The Nineteenth Century* (Leiden, Boston, 2010), 233-68.

[37] Gabriel Glickman, *The English Catholic Community, 1688-1745: Politics, Culture and Ideology* (Woodbridge, 2009).

[38] J. P. Chinnici, *The English Catholic Enlightenment: John Lingard and the Cisalpine Movement, 1780-1850* (West Virginia, 1980); Brian Carter, 'Controversy and Conciliation in the English Catholic Enlightenment, 1790-1840', *Enlightenment and Dissent*, 7 (1988), 3-24.

[39] Josef Altholz, *The Liberal Catholic Movement in England: The "Rambler" and its Contributors, 1848-1864* (1962); Damian McElrath, *Richard Simpson: A Study in XIXth Century English Liberal Catholicism* (Louvain, 1972).

[40] Most recently, Darrell Jodock, ed., *Catholicism Contending with Modernity: Roman Catholic Modernism and Anti-Modernism in Historical Context* (Cambridge, 2000).

[41] Gertrude Himmelfarb, *Lord Acton: A study in conscience and politics* (1962); Owen Chadwick, *Acton and History* (Cambridge, 1998); Roland Hill, *Lord Acton* (Yale, 2000).

[42] Ellen Leonard, *Unresting Transformation: the theology and spirituality of Maude Petre* (1991).

[43] Peter Phillips, *John Lingard, Priest and Historian* (Leominster, 2008).

[44] The scholarship is vast, often hagiographical. For good material on his political thought as a Catholic (consistent with Nockles/Skinner on the Tractarian Newman): Gilley, 'Newman and Prophecy, Evangelical and Catholic', *Journal of the United Reformed Church History Society*, 3 (March, 1985), 160-87; M. R. O'Connell, 'Politics and Prophecy: Newman and Lamennais' in Iain Ker and Alan Hill, eds. *Newman after a Hundred Years* (Oxford, 1990), 175-92; Brian Horne, 'Church and Nation: Newman and the Tractarians', *IJSCC*, 5.1 (2005), 25-40.

respectively. Published or republished in the midst of the Second Vatican Council (1962-65), these works depicted their protagonists as prophets – languishing under what Newman called 'the dull tyranny of Manning and Ward', but mapping out the means by which the Church would be liberated a century later: the vanquished of Vatican I became the spiritual godfathers of Vatican II. And if the righteous, persecuted in their own time, were now to be canonised, their Ultramontane tormentors were now to be posthumously confronted with their crimes (and their 'traditionalist' successors in the Curia made to reckon with that dark legacy in an age of dawning freedom). Liberal Catholicism was judged a 'remarkable attempt to find a *modus vivendi* between the … Church and the secular principles of the nineteenth century' – but 'the story of a great hope and a great failure',[45] because subverted by an ignorant ascendancy: a party of overgrown schoolboys, selfish, bullying, fat and fatuous, turbulently emotional and psychologically 'insecure'; a party of intellectually 'sterile' bureaucrats, their imaginations stunted by 'stiff-necked scholasticism', their egos titillated by Inquisition role-play; a party of 'ineffective dreamers' with autocratic – even 'demonic' – tendencies, bent on 'war against the secular State'.[46] Acton's injunction that the historian was to be 'hanging-judge' is one his champions gleefully embraced.

Ultramontanism, in this reading, was not an idea, but an institutional force designed to suppress ideas. Scholars of Modernism – almost all of them theologians, and many of them linked to the Roman Catholic Modernist Group (RCMG), a research network convened under the auspices of the American Academy of Religion – beat the same drum. In a post-conciliar flux,[47] these self-consciously 'political' scholars sought to prod the Church out of its 'walled village' and into the modern world; they hoped that exonerating the Modernists and vilifying their integralist opponents might help, showing the foot-soldiers of the future that they stood in a noble tradition but would need to fight to secure its victory.[48] The crusade intensified across the 1980s, as liberationist theologies were censured by the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith. Like the 'tendencies' identified in the work of Gusatvo Gutiérrez and his allies, 'Modernism', these apologists insisted, was a chimera confected by Vatican bureaucrats to silence debate.[49] They sympathised with those creative intellects, like George Tyrrell (1861-1909), crushed by an official mind that imagined 'truth' to be like a 'fly forever crystallised in amber'. The 'ecclesial ideology of

[45] *LCM*, vii.

[46] Meriol Trevor, *Newman. The Pillar of the Cloud* (1962), 3, 350-2, 634-6; *Newman. Light in Winter* (1962), 4-19; Himmelfarb, *Acton*, 17-29, 36.

[47] John Root, 'Review', *CHR*, 68 (Oct. 1982), 694-5.

[48] Elizabeth McKeown, 'After the Fall: Roman Catholic Modernism at the American Academy of Religion', *USCH*, 20 (Summer, 2002), 111-16.

[49] C. Talar, 'The "Synthesis of All Heresies": Roman Catholic Modernism', *Religion Compass*, 4.7 (July, 2010), 426-35. On the sense of solidarity with victims of the CDF: Gabriel Daly, 'Catholicism and Modernity', in *Trajectories in the Study of Religion*, ed. Ray Hart (Atlanta, 1987), 242.

Ultramontanism',[50] contrastingly, was depicted as a fusion of 'tyrannous Transcendentalism' and reactionary politics – one which again resorted to brute '[a]uthority' rather than 'argument' in stifling criticism and innovation.[51]

Writing in 1979, T. M. Loome eviscerated this 'shoddy scholarship' and 'outrageous partisanship'.[52] Again in 2002, Gilley criticised the RCMG's 'stock view' as presentist and prejudiced.[53] As with the accounts of Liberal Catholicism, so, too, with those of Modernism: scholars have swallowed the dissidents' characterisation of their enemies. The *Rambler* circle, for instance, had denounced the Ultramontane 'spiritual coxcomb', who would anathematise modern thought as 'intellectual pride' and fob the troubled Catholic off with injunctions to deeper 'piety' and readings in obsolescent scholasticism.[54] And perhaps the most influential history of Ultramontanism is Acton's philippic of 1863, where he sought to reclaim the term by redefining it as

> a habit of intellect carrying forward the enquiries and supplementing the work of authority. It implies the legitimate union of religion with science, and the conscious intelligible harmony of Catholicism with the systems of secular truth. Its basis is authority, but its domain is liberty, and it reconciles the one with the other.

Acton then conveniently branded as a 'spurious Ultramontanism' that which most contemporaries recognised as really-existing Ultramontanism, enabling him to needle his enemies from a position of assumed orthodoxy. He characterised the theology of this 'extreme' party as 'recklessly' anti-historical – confusing the 'substance' of dogmas like 'the existence of God' with the contingent 'accidents' of Roman devotions – and its politics as irreducibly Maistrean, an apology for '[t]yranny, poverty, and slavery'.[55]

The schema was taken up thirty years later by Wilfrid Ward, who, in contextualising his father's project, lamented the rupture between the liberal Ultramontanism of Mennaisians, like Jean-Baptiste Henri Lacordaire (1802-61) and Charles Forbes René de Montalembert (1810-70), and those indebted to the traditionalism and absolutism of Louis de Bonald (1754-1840) and Joseph de Maistre (1753-1851). In Ward's mind, this second party mutated into an 'new Ultramontanism', mirrored outside France by the Mayence school in Germany and the papal polemicists at the *Civiltà Cattolica*. Published as Modernism emerged, and reissued in 1912, after its condemnation

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[50] Lawrence Barmann, 'The Pope and the English Modernists', *USCH*, 25 (Winter, 2007), 31-4, 50.

[51] Daly, *Transcendence and Immanence: A Study in Catholic Modernism and Integralism* (Oxford, 1980), 120, 189, 215. Cf. Ellen Leonard, 'English Catholicism and Modernism', in Jodock, *Contending with Modernity*, 248-74.

[52] Loome, T. M., *Liberal Catholicism, Reform Catholicism, Modernism* … (Mainz, 1979), 126.

[53] 'Review' [of Jodock et al], *JEH*, 53.1 (2002), 195-7.

[54] [Simpson?], 'Laforet's Exposition of Catholic Dogma', *Rambler* (June, 1858), 407; 'S.R.' [Simpson], 'The Conservative Reaction', *HFR*, 1 (July 1863), 48-50; [Simpson], 'Dr. Ward's Philosophy', *Rambler*, 5 (May 1861), 61-80; [Acton], 'Contemporary Literature', *HFR*, 2 (Jan. 1863), 216; Acton to Simpson, 8 March 1859, quoted by Dom Aelred Watkin and Herbert Butterfield, 'Gasquet and the Acton-Simpson Correspondence', *Cambridge Historical Journal*, 10 (1950), 82; Acton to Simpson, 23 Jan. 1861, in Gasquet, *Lord Acton and his Circle* (1906), 167.

[55] [Acton], 'Ultramontanism', *HFR*, 3 (July, 1863), 187, 204; esp. 168-70, 175-185; Acton, letter to the *Times*, 21 Nov. 1874, repr in J. Rufus Fears, ed., *Selected writings of Lord Acton* (Indianapolis, 1988), III, 368.

in Pius X's bull, *Pascendi* (1907), Ward's study was cautious in its criticism of the 'extremists': Ultramontanism '*appeared*' to be the 'fanatical opponent of modern civilisation'; some Liberal Catholics could be *just as* 'extreme'.[56] Indeed, he even praised the architects of Ultramontanism for their design of an ecclesiastical system fit to meet the Reformation 'emergency'. But the performative judiciousness of this historicisation was all part of Ward's Newmanian strategy of polemic-by-eirenicon: he hoped to kill Ultramontanism with kindness, persuading Ultramontanes that the 'rigidity of Rome' was always intended to be 'temporary', and that the 'ideal Church – the organism wherein the Christian idea … grows and assimilates in … the culture of each successive era' – was ready to flourish in modernity.[57] This eirenicism, however, was born of hope rather than expectation. With 'Modernism' checked, the reality, Ward feared, was the death of 'active thought'; a 'false conservatism' condemned the Church to 'fossilism'.[58]

## *'Fortress Church': the history of modern English Catholicism*

Much of the literature on Liberal Catholicism and Modernism, then, merely rehearses the prejudices of Liberal Catholics and Modernists about their Ultramontane nemeses. Heroising the party of thought means caricaturing its opponents as thought's malevolent enemies. That such tropes have so long been accepted speaks to foundational assumptions in the historiography of modern English Catholicism, which charts the creation, from ca. 1835-1950, of a 'fortress Church'. This is largely the doing of John Bossy and those who sought to fill his boots.

Bossy's magnum opus, *The English Catholic Community, 1570-1850* (1975) marked a watershed in Catholic scholarship, the chronicles of which had traditionally combined erudition with social-ecclesiastical engineering, seeking to refashion the Catholic population in England into an acculturated part of a plural polity (as per the Cisalpines); or into a 'body', whose religious unity transcended its social fragmentation (as per Victorian Ultramontanes); or into a resurgent 'minority', internally 'amalgamated' and 'merged in the general life of the nation'.[59] From the 1950s, however, an ecclesiastical history that served as a surrogate form of ecclesiology came under attack from social historians (for many of whom, ironically, religious history was merely a surrogate form of

[56] *WCR* (1912 [1893]), 82-129 (esp. 116-9), vii-xi. For Tyrrell's denunciation of 'extremist Ultramontanism': *Faith of the Millions. Second Series* (3rd edn. 1904), 85-6.

[57] *Problems and Persons* (1903), xiii; esp. 66-90.

[58] In *Men and Matters* (1914), v-ix; 304-7.

[59] Philip Hughes, *The Catholic Question 1688-1829* (1929); *Rome and the Counter-Reformation in England* (1944 [1942]); E. Watkin, *Roman Catholicism in England from the Reformation to 1950* (1957); David Mathew, *Catholicism in England. The Portrait of a Minority* … (1948 [1936]), preface, 187f.

present-minded sociology).[60] Simultaneously, grand narratives of a Catholicism 're-born' in its 'second spring' were complicated by a spate of local studies stimulated by the opening of county archives.[61] It soon became possible to write a new synthesis of English Catholicism's social history. This Bossy was primed to do. Cambridge dons had exorcised the apologetic spirit of his youth; and in the heady atmosphere of late-1950s Paris, he converted to a form of historicism shaped by an encounter with *annales*, *marxisant*, and anthropological thought.[62] He came to see 'Catholicism [as being] less concerned with doctrinal affirmation … than with a set of' rituals marking rites of passage.[63] Drawing on new local studies and the work of cultural historians, like Jean Delumeau and Peter Burke, he eschewed a martyrological narrative of crucifixion and resurrection, and sought instead to trace the popular history of England's Catholic 'community' over the *longue durée*.[64]

Bossy's thesis on continuity and change was provocative. He theorised post-Reformation Catholicism as a new creation, the product of missionary priests from the continent and the Recusant gentry around whom their congregations clustered. The 'radical transformation' of this community began long before the 'second spring', as gentry decline across the eighteenth century coincided with urbanisation; but it was catalysed across the first decades of the nineteenth century, both by the rapid Irish 'influx' and by an 'ideological … renunciation of the community's actual past', driven by 'a number of disparate sources – romantic-mediaevalist, Roman-ecclesiastical, ex-Anglican'. By 1850, the 'traditional community' was 'transformed beyond recognition'.[65]

The book's methodological effects have been even more significant: in casting Catholicism as a species of Nonconformity in a world of amorphous identities, Bossy (alongside his contemporary, J. H. Aveling) wrenched the historiography of Catholicism out of confessional hands and reintegrated it into academic debate.[66] A paradigm shift was effected: from 'Church' to 'community'. The sociological baggage the term carried was soon subject to scrutiny;[67] but even as Bossy tip-toed away from it – his works after 1975 contain fewer and fewer references to

[60] Matthew Grimley, 'The Fall and Rise of Church and State? Religious History, Politics and the State in Britain, 1961-2011', in Peter Clarke and Charlotte Methuen, eds., *The Church on its Past* (Suffolk, 2013), 501-2.

[61] J. H. Aveling, *Northern Catholics. The Catholic Recusants of the North Riding of Yorkshire, 1558-1790* (1966); John Williams, *Catholic Recusancy in Wiltshire, 1660-1791* (1968).

[62] Peter Jupp, 'John Bossy: A Personal Appreciation', in Simon Ditchfield, ed., *Christianity and Community in the West: Essays for John Bossy* (Aldershot, 2001), 294-307.

[63] Bossy, 'The Character of Elizabethan Catholicism', *P&P*, 21 (April, 1962), 39-59.

[64] 'Review [of Williams, *Wiltshire*]', *JEH*, 22.3 (July, 1971), 271; 'Review [of Delumeau, *Le Catholicisme entre Luther et Voltaire*]', *EHR*, 87 (1972), 864-5; 'Review [of Pullan, *Rich and Poor in Renaissance Venice*]', *HJ*, 15 (1972), 584-6; 'Review [of Burke, *A New Kind of History*]', *History*, 59 (1974), 327-8; Simon Ditchfield, 'Introduction', in *John Bossy*, xv-xxix: xvii.

[65] *ECC*, 295-9, 385-90.

[66] Aveling, *The Handle and the Axe: the catholic Recusants in England from Reformation to Emancipation* (1976).

[67] Maryanne Kowaleski, 'Introduction' to a special issue on 'Vill, Guild, and Gentry: Forces of Community in Later Mediaeval England', *JBS*, 33.4, (Oct. 1994), 337-9.

the 'community'; more and more to 'English Catholics' – others have developed it in new directions.[68] For Bossy, there were two forms of 'community': one true/good, the other false/bad. Medieval Catholic communities were autochthonous 'bod[ies] of people', living out their Christianity in authentic 'ways of life', beyond the reach of 'the Church restrictively defined'.[69] The Counter-Reformation destroyed them, imposing on the 'ordinary population[s]' of Europe 'a system of parochial conformity' and an 'externally enacted code of behaviour … watertight and universally enforced'. Communities were atomised and confessional bodies built from the scattered shards of the world that had been lost. Indeed, in hollowing out organic collectives, Tridentine impulses to control foreshadowed the oppressive technocracy of the modern state.[70] In the English context, the process seems in Bossy's mind to have been mitigated by the complexities of negotiating a hostile Protestant environment – until Irish migration and emancipation empowered a new, un-'traditional' Ultramontane party to realise its wildest dreams: the 'restoration' of the hierarchy in 1850 was Trent for slow learners.

When Bossy deployed the concept of 'community', however, he did so not only in a context of historiographical experimentation, but against the backdrop of ecclesiastical ferment. Paris in the late-1950s fizzed with theological, as well as political, debate, with Catholics divided over the historicity of the faith, 'theologies of decolonisation', and the shape of the coming Council.[71] In the following years, as Bossy honed his theory of community, many 'progressive' Catholics were making use of the Council's 'spirit' to deconstruct in the present that Tridentine behemoth Bossy was subverting in the past, and to rescue from the rubble of neo-scholasticism and curial imperialism the scriptural image of the Church as 'the people of God'.[72]

That this de-clericalising, democratising project affected Bossy's contemporaries in the academy is clear in the case of his collaborator, Aveling, a one-time 'rip-roaring traditionalist' who came to see the Councils of Trent and Vatican I as having put the Church in a 'deep-freeze', and who hoped that his research would fire the torch of dissent just as the Vatican II 'volcano' shook the Church to its foundations.[73] The moment affected Bossy, too. His *marxisant* analysis of the Church as a form of social discipline, imposed by a clerical class on 'ordinary people', and advancing the exploitative process of modernity, made him an implicit ally to reformists – and they

[68] Benjamin Kaplan, Bob Moore, Henk van Nierop and Judith Pollmann, eds., *Catholic communities in Protestant states: Britain and the Netherlands, c.1570-1720* (Manchester, New York, 2009).

[69] *Christianity in the West, 1400-1700* (Oxford, 1985), vii-ix.

[70] 'The Counter-Reformation and the People of Catholic Europe', *P&P*, 47 (May, 1970), 51-70.

[71] Jürgen Mettepenningen, *Nouvelle Théologie — New Theology: Inheritor of Modernism, Precursor of Vatican II* (2010); Elizabeth Foster, '"Theologies of Colonisation": The Catholic Church and the Future of the French Empire in the 1950s', *JMH*, 87 (June, 2015), 281-315.

[72] *Lumen gentium* (1964), spoke of the Church as 'the People of God'.

[73] Geoffrey Scott, 'John Hugh Aveling, 1917-1993', *RH*, 30.1 (May, 2010), 162-75.

recognised it.[74] Indeed, while he looked sceptically on the 'radically modernised Catholicism' of reformers like Hans Küng – his existentialism was 'unhistorical'; his 'humanism', bourgeois boilerplate – Bossy sympathised with this 'gently anarchic' spirit, which desired to 'dismantle' the Church's 'monarchical … traditions' and re-imagine it 'as a *community* … a locus of friendship'.[75] In this sense, Bossy and Aveling were part of a generation of Catholic scholars, lapsed and liberal, whose desire to step outside the sectarian ghetto and demolish martyrological models of reading the past, was itself shaped by an ecclesiological agenda envisaging the Church's 'rebirth' in the present. Their historical attempt to reconstruct the process by which older forms of Catholic community were swallowed up by the 'fortress Church' paralleled theological attempts to reconstruct new forms of Catholic community that might break out of that fortress and engage with the modern world. This was *aggiornamento* historiography: no less partisan for being scholarly, no less blatant for being sublimated.

The impact of Bossy's work is hard to overstate. It confirmed that the 'traditional' community's 'transformation' in a process of demographic change had been electrified by the vanguard of an Ultramontane revolution; and it suggested that this clique of ecclesiastical Leninists should be held responsible for a 'grave breach in the development of the community's tradition'.[76] Both argument and judgement gave credence to Liberal Catholic and Modernist characterisations of Ultramontanism. Indeed, a fusion of the two genres could soon be seen in attempts to project Bossy's history across the rest of the century. The Ushaw historian, J. D. Holmes, charted the 'transformation' of English Catholicism into something no longer itself: something 'more Roman than Rome'. For Holmes, Manning's motto captured the nature of the Ultramontane project: 'Romanisation' was the legitimating rhetoric of a kind of colonisation, driven by a cabal of ecclesiastical adventurers, whose 'aggressive' single-mindedness was matched only by their 'fanatical' narrow-mindedness. Their project was properly understood as a power grab: attaining 'autocratic control', they neutered sources of opposition (often in flagrantly uncanonical manoeuvres), and 'impose[d] their own particular ecclesiological views on the Church at large'. They showed vision – as in their concern for the plight of the poor (albeit haphazard); their missionary fervour (albeit futile); and their commitment to education (albeit sectarian). But ultimately these always-'uncompromising' men of often-'disreputable' means transformed a 'community' in the midst of other national confessional communities

[74] Ditchfield, 'Introduction', xxiv-v.
[75] 'The Case of Hans Küng: Christianity Translated', *Encounter*, 50 (Jan. 1978), 41-45. Emphasis added.
[76] *ECC*, 385.

into a Romanised 'Church', an 'obscurantist' 'ecclesiastical dictatorship' walled off from the world and deaf to its cries: a kind of clericalised, nineteenth-century North Korea.[77]

Correctives to this caricature followed from two outsiders: the Canadian priest, Richard Schiefen, and the conservative Peterhouse don, E. R. Norman. They admired what Holmes reprobated: the swashbuckling ambition of the Ultramontanes in constructing a counter-cultural polity, faithful in a time of Christian collapse. Schiefen was the more judicious.[78] But he praised Wiseman's gifts, and suggested that the 'transformation of English Catholicism' was both 'far-sighted' and skilfully effected.[79] Norman was more forthright: the Ultramontane era was no unhappy 'Italianate interlude' between an 'authentically English' Recusancy and the brave new world of *aggiornamento*; Wiseman and his successors deserved credit for building a Church that grew in numbers and public estimation.[80] Yet both Schiefen and Norman were operating within Bossy's paradigm. They, too, charted the 'transformation of English Catholicism' in the building-up of a 'Church', 'centralized, clericalized, disciplined'.[81] They simply judged the process differently, seeing in it a salutary lesson, rather than a warning, for a twentieth-century Church in crisis. Moreover, like Holmes and Bossy before them, they conceptualised Ultramontanism narrowly, as the process and legitimating ideology by which this transformation was made possible.

Thus, whether presenting a 'high political' account of the schemes of 'great prelates', an ecclesiastical-historical account of institutional restructuring, or a cultural-historical account of the community's socio-devotional transformation 'from below' – and whether celebrating Ultramontanism or reprobating it – the term was used in a functionalist sense. For all these authors – and for many more who took their national studies as a starting-point, and have deepened our understanding of the Ultramontane project by considering its impact on matters like parochial administration, episcopal authority, secular-regular relations, seminary reform, and Catholic education[82] – Ultramontanism denoted an audacious power-grab that made possible a cultural revolution: seizing the commanding heights of the episcopate, the 'Romanisers' suborned the seminaries, silenced the critical press, scattered the scions of Cisalpinism, squashed the intractable, and saturated English dioceses with un-English

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[77] Holmes, *More Roman*, *passim*, but esp. 55-9, 72-87, 100, 111, 149, 192, 249-54.

[78] 'Some Aspects of the Controversy between Cardinal Wiseman and the Westminster Chapter', *JEH*, 21 (1970), 128-48; '"Anglo-Gallicanism" in Nineteenth-Century England', *CHR*, 63.1 (Jan. 1977), 14-44; 'Review [of Norman]', *CHR*, 72 (April, 1986), 293-5.

[79] *Transformation*, esp. 142-5, 161-2, 169-71.

[80] 'Review [of Schiefen]', *Albion*, 17 (1985), 100-1. (Bossy poked fun at Norman's presentism: Ultramontanism stiffened his spine as he faced down the tambourine brigade at the World Council of Churches. 'Sticking up for Holiness', *TLS*, 4232, 11 May, 1984, p.513.)

[81] Norman, *Roman Catholicism in England from the Elizabethan Settlement to the Second Vatican Council* (Oxford, 1985), 107.

[82] E.g., Peter Doyle, *Bishop Herbert Vaughan and the Jesuits: Education and Authority* (Suffolk, 2010); Serenhedd James, *George Errington and Roman Catholic Identity in Nineteenth-Century England* (Oxford, 2016).

devotions. So total was their victory that they could soon turn to the conquest of Britain's colonies.[83] Ultramontanism meant the ecclesiastical and aesthetic-devotional domination of Rome; the clerical creation, in the resonant term of Hornsby-Smith and Aspden, of a 'fortress Church'.[84]

*Fortress of mind and manners*

This impression of life inside the fortress is buttressed by the literature on Catholic engagement – really, strategic *non*-engagement – with the world beyond. Its conclusions are little different from those of Gertrude Himmelfarb in the early 1960s. Politically, no coherent project is discerned in Ultramontanism beyond the desire to cocoon the Church from modernity and sacralise the papacy as the means to that end.[85] It is acknowledged that Manning complicates this narrative: he wrote about politics, and his intransigence on the 'papal question' evolved into a dialogue with the liberal state on the 'Social' and 'Irish' questions. But historians concur that the cardinal's contradictions were never resolved, and that his social thought offered no escape-map from the ghetto.[86]

The conclusion is reinforced by scholars of 'Social Catholicism', a theology in search of its genealogy and embarrassed by its discoveries. They concede that Manning's mystical antennae sensed the movements of Providence towards equality – he seems to be 'waiting like one inspired – the watchman of Dumah unsleeping, sure of the dawn';[87] but he fails in the mission set for him by the future: to bring 'his co-religionists to share his belief in the centrality of the problem of the poor to their Faith'. In this, he is held to have been struggling against the mindset he did so much to foster: Catholics rhapsodised about finding Christ's face in the 'holy poor', but failed to reckon with the social question in its urgent complexity.[88] Though '[s]ociety had been transformed' in the economic processes of the previous centuries – and though radicals and Social Gospellers recognised as much and responded imaginatively – Catholics 'retreated' into their ghetto, clinging to the notion that change could be made in spasmodic acts of charity, and indulging quaint schemes for the regeneration of industrial society by sodalities and guilds.[89] Even those who took the 'first tentative steps' towards a 'paradigmatic shift in outlook' by speaking

[83] Peter Cunich, 'The death of archbishop Roger Bede Vaughan', *Journal of Australian Catholic Historical Society*, 29 (Jan., 2008), 7-22.

[84] Hornsby-Smith, *Roman Catholics in England. Studies in Social Structure since the Second World War* (Cambridge, 1987), 6-30; Aspden, *Fortress Church: The English Roman Catholic Bishops and Politics 1903-63* (Herefordshire, 2002).

[85] Dermot Quinn, *Patronage and Piety: The Politics of English Roman Catholicism, 1850-1900* (1993), xii-xv, 10-12, 48, 55.

[86] See ch. 5 below.

[87] William Barry, 'Cardinal Manning', *The Bookman*, 60.356 (May, 1921), 90.

[88] C. B. Merrell, 'The Late Victorian Roman Catholic Periodical Press and Attitudes to the "Problem of the Poor"', De Montfort Ph.D Thesis (2001), ii, 1, 194-5; G. Gunnin, *John Wheatley, Catholic Socialism, and Irish Labour in the West of Scotland, 1906-1924*, (1987), 71; Bernard Aspinwall, 'Towards an English Catholic Social Conscience, 1829-1920', *RH*, 25 (2000).

[89] Merrell, 'Periodical Press', 68-9, 202, 35f; Acheson, 'Journalism', 5-6, 99.

in neo-Thomist terms of 'social justice' lacked a 'systematic social theology' and a deep sense of the Church as 'the People of God'. They were on the Right Side of History – but not far enough Left. The fortress of Manning and Vaughan is thus seen as peculiarly retrograde in European terms. The only consolation was that some of the inmates – and architects – had sensed as much, and that the struggle for liberation would, in Vatican II, be brought happily 'to fruition'.[90]

To the extent that this mentality changed in the early twentieth century, Aspden argues, it was incrementally, and in deviation from the 'Ultramontane ideal' of Rome's enforcer, Cardinal Merry del Val (1865-1930). Indeed, that marginal deviation was made possible only because the embers of the Cisalpine flame – a sense of Englishness, freedom, and fair play – flickered still in the hearts of the laity. But it did not burn with anything like a revolutionary zeal: even the doughty Catholic Social Guild was prone to 'irrelevant' 'medieval romanticising' that did more to 'contain … enthusiasm for social change' than to achieve it.[91] And even as World War I started to shake the foundations of the fortress, the dominant 'siege mentality' not only precluded engagements with progressive thought, but fostered a paranoid vision of the emerging order. The 'Bellocian' orthodoxy of the inter-war years – a 'radical populism', advocating 'cultural and political revolution' against liberal democracy and welfarism – owed much to the Ultramontane neurosis that contact with modernity 'risk[ed] corruption'. This *réchauffé* Maistreanism, scholars suggest, was the real cancer: it not only kept Catholics in a ghetto; it winked at fascism.[92]

The English experience is here situated in a wider narrative about the nature of European Catholicism between the Civil Constitution of the Clergy (1790) and *Gaudium et Spes* (1965): under the influence of a 'Black International' – Jesuits, *intransigenti*, *integristi* – Catholics were corralled into a citadel of the faith, and from its turrets hurled anathemas at the forces of modernity.[93] The 'fortress', in other words, was armed with offensive, as much as defensive, capabilities. Devotional-cultural and institutional hegemony enabled Ultramontanes to 'mobilise' the faithful in pursuit of sectarian interests: 'political Catholicism'. Only in the inter-war years is this 'ideological' model held to give way to a concern for social betterment, as 'a more educated, self-confident and urbanised Catholic

[90] C. W. Hutton, 'Roman Catholic Social and Economic Thought in England c.1880-c.1914. Some Tentative Steps Towards a "Third Spring"?', Oxford D.Phil Thesis (2012), ii-vii, 16, 27, 239-43. Hutton draws on established orthodoxy: Alec Vidler's *Century of Social Catholicism, 1820-1920* (1964) published during Vatican II, ignored English contributions to early Catholic economic thought. Paul Misner's work found little of note: *Social Catholicism in Europe* (1991); 'Social Catholicism in Nineteenth Century Europe: A review of recent historiography', *CHR*, 78 (Oct. 1992), 581-601.

[91] Aspden, *Fortress Church*, 1-9, 63.

[92] *CIC*, xxii-xxiii; Villis, *Reaction*, 1-14.

[93] Lawrence Cunningham, *An Introduction to Catholicism* (Cambridge, 2009), 253.

laity' was slowly 'emancipated from clerical supervision'.[94] In England, the counter-cultural hermeticism is so ingrained that 'Bellocianism' does not give way to 'integrationism' until after World War II.[95]

Even as a new wave of scholarship challenges the antimonies of secular progress and Catholic reaction, and insists that the 'New Catholicism' be seen as a creative response to modernity rather than a detour to a 'parallel universe', one of its leading Anglophone interpreters still conceptualises Ultramontanism as a process and ideology of 'mobilisation' – simply a more adaptable means than hitherto recognised of 'galvanising' a confessional 'consciousness' in the laity so that they could be thrown into struggles on behalf of ecclesiastical interests.[96] Tenbus' recent study of Catholic action shows the resilience of this paradigm: the chief force shaping the 'evolution' of the nascent community, he argues, was the 'arduous struggle over education', driven by the hierarchy and press, and moulding a 'new Catholic identity' characterised by 'obstinacy, defensiveness, tenacity and, occasionally, aggression'.[97]

This political ghettoisation is presented as mirroring a disconnection from modern thought; scholars still see the 'iron form' of Catholic philosophy[98] shackling believers to an alternate reality. Consider Cashdollar's study of those theologians who grappled with (and adapted to) positivism.[99] In a work otherwise marked as much by its humanity as its erudition, he characterises as 'authoritarians' those who met the Comtean challenge with dogmatism, rooting his analysis in Leslie Stephen's diagnosis of the converts as 'sceptics afraid of themselves'. Ward, Newman, W. H. Mallock, Orestes Brownson: each is laid out on the psychiatrist's chair to have the subtleties of conversion 'explained' as the product of existential angst. The Romanisers proceed, in Cashdollar's reading, through several stages of grief, as their world crumbles around them. After denial becomes untenable, they are 'forced to confront' positivism. But proving less resilient than their 'judicious conservative' brethren, and less 'prudent' than the liberals seeking reconciliation with the new dispensation and 'reconstruction' on its grounds, these 'pessimists', 'seized by desperation', began 'piling bricks higher on the walls that protected their faith', 'fle[eing] from contact with modern thought' and escaping 'infinite doubt' in the fortress on the Tiber.[100] Here is

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[94] Jonathan Sperber, *Popular Catholicism in Nineteenth-Century Germany* (1984), 58, 124; Martin Conway, *Catholic Politics in Europe, 1918-1945* (1997), 3-5, 20-4, 99-100.

[95] *ECC*, 369. See Alana Harris's shrewd review of Lothian: *EHR*, 126 (Feb. 2011), 235-37.

[96] Christopher Clark, 'The New Catholicism and the European culture wars', in Clark and Wolfram Kaiser, eds. *Culture Wars: Secular-Catholic Conflict in Nineteenth-Century Europe* (Cambridge, 2003), 11-13, 23-5.

[97] Eric Tenbus, *English Catholics and the Education of the Poor, 1847-1902* (2010), 1-9.

[98] Michael Hodgetts, 'The Iron Form: Catholics and Philosophy Between the Councils', in in V. A. McClelland and M. Hodgetts, eds., *From Without the Flaminian Gate: 150 Years of Roman Catholicism in England and Wales, 1850-2000* (1999), 84-107.

[99] *The Transformation of Theology, 1830-1890: Positivism and Protestant Thought in Britain and America* (New Jersey, Surrey, 1989), Part II, *passim*.

[100] Ibid., 16, 275, 444-45.

the Catholic response to modernity: fear – flight – repression – regression: cognitive dissonance paralysed the critical faculties of all but a few, far-sighted Liberal Catholics; prejudice condemned 'unintellectual Ultramontanes' to irrelevance.[101]

The criticism – how else are we to read it? – was familiar to contemporaries. Converts, sneered the *Saturday Review*, in 1858, craved an end to the difficulties of free thought: "'I will silence my reason for fear it should drive me mad'".[102] In doing so, they turned their backs on the world and, as T. H. Green lamented upon hearing of Gerard Manley Hopkins' conversion, put 'the service of an exceptional institution … in opposition to loyal service of society'.[103] Even some of those converts came to the same conclusion. In the midst of debates on 'Vaticanism', the editor of the *Rambler*, J. M. Capes (1813-89), whose positivist doubts had occasioned his conversion in the 1840s, now described his 'isolation' in a world-denying Church. Its introversion bred paranoia, fear of 'denouncements', rule by 'terror', and war against the 'critical faculty'. To speak anachronistically, Capes saw an Orwellian polity built on one 'self-contradictory' lie, the preposterousness of which no Catholic could mention, the connivance in which proved corrosive of real faith: transubstantiation was a 'radically unsound' dogma, extrapolated from an 'extinct metaphysics', and enforced by 'infallible' 'autocracy' at the expense of 'scientific fact'. To affirm it – and embrace the supernatural superstructure of which it was the foundation – was to abdicate reason and seal oneself off in an alternate reality. This was 'suicidal'; the Church's withdrawal from the world was mirrored in the believer's alienation from self: Catholicism *contra mundum*. The liberation preached by the historical Jesus could only be found by embracing instead the Comtean creed of reality.[104]

The master-image of this conceit was unmistakable: Capes had come to conceptualise Catholicism as an insane asylum crammed with self-identifying stigmatics. It was a cult into which he had been lured at a moment of vulnerability; from the tortures of its prison he had eventually escaped. Other lapsed converts spoke in similar terms. The one-time priest, Arthur Galton (1852-1921), decried the 'fortress of the "Romans"', from which the captive Englishman should storm to freedom.[105] Recovering Tractarians, like Gladstone and E. A. Freeman, contributed to a pan-European discourse refashioning enlightened liberalism in opposition to an 'orientalised'

[101] Holmes, *More Roman*, 13-15.

[102] 'Rome and the Last Four Popes', *SR* (3 April, 1858), 348-50.

[103] Quoted in D. M. Thompson, 'The Christian Socialist Revival in Britain: a Reappraisal', in Jane Garnett and Colin Matthew, eds., *Revival and Religion since 1700: essays for John Walsh* (1993), 290.

[104] *Reasons for returning to the Church of England* (1871), 4-5, 87-88; 96-102; *To Rome and Back* (1873), 'Preface', 349-52; *What can be certainly known of God and of Jesus of Nazareth?* (1880), x.

[105] 'Why I left the Catholic Church', *NR*, 35 (June, 1900), 588.

Romanism,[106] a system of spiritual and temporal incarceration devised by a gaoler every bit as despotic as the 'Giant Pagan' of the Porte. 'Giant Paip'[107] 'disinterred … like hideous mummies picked out of Egyptian sarcophagi' the 'rusty tools' of Hilderbrand's tyranny, demanding man submit to 'moral and mental slavery'; duty to self, soul, and society demanded that the Englishman break free.[108] Italian émigrés, for whom papal dungeons were more than metaphorical, preached the same message. Aurelio Saffi (1819-90), an associate of Mazzini, exhorted liberals in his native and adopted homelands to shake off the 'shackles of theocracy'.[109] The first Italian tutor at Oxford's Taylor Institute, he kindled anti-papal passions in the young 'lights of liberalism', like James Bryce and Frederic Harrison. The latter, visiting Rome in 1893, recalled the city before its fall in 1870 as a 'fortress … in ruins', a 'citadel of the popes, their prison-house, their refuge'. The papal city was a concrete symbol of the religion it preached: it was a place of 'superstition and fraud', sinister anachronism and exotic silliness, where one might see

> grotesque parades of cardinals, … narrow, ill-lighted streets; the swarm of monks … the air of mouldering abandonment … as of some corner of mediaeval Europe left forgotten and untouched by modern progress, with all the historic glamour, all the pictorial squalor, all the Turkish routine, all the magnificence of obsolete forms of civilisation.[110]

Such ritual denunciations of the fortress, haunted by hierophants, became integral to the liturgy of liberalism. Sitting through the performance, decade after decade, Catholics felt fury subside into boredom. W. H. Kent OSC (1857-1935) bemoaned the fact that, even at the end of the century, admirable theologians like A. M. Fairbairn could locate Catholicism's 'ultimate source in … despair of the reason'. Born of an unwillingness seriously to engage with Catholic thought, this kind of superficiality was 'painful' to observe in intelligent minds.[111]

Yet the framing of the 'fortress' literature shows how the positivism of thinkers like Fairbairn structured – and continues to structure – the historiography of Catholic religious life in general, and Ultramontane thought, in particular. Not only is the language of the criticism familiar: Catholic engagement with modern thought is similarly ignored or dismissed. Cashdollar's Newman and Ward are of interest while contemplating how best to navigate the sea of doubt; their philosophy as Catholics goes unmentioned, as though life on the other side of the Roman drawbridge was a blank. Unmentioned, too, is that fact that Ultramontanes themselves came to employ

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[106] Manuel Borutta, 'Anti-Catholicism and the Culture War in Risorgimento Italy', in Silvana Patriarca, Lucy Riall, eds. *The Risorgimento Revisited. Nationalism and Culture in Nineteenth-Century Italy* (Basingstoke, 2012), 200-6.

[107] [Freeman], 'Mahometanism in the East and West', *North British Review*, 23 (Aug. 1855), 463.

[108] Gladstone, *Vatican Decrees,* 46, 12.

[109] [Saffi], 'Religion in Italy', *WR*, 60 (Oct. 1853), 311-41. Sabine Freitag, *Exiles from European Revolutions, Refugees in Mid-Victorian England* (Oxford, 2003), 74-6.

[110] Harrison, 'Rome Revisited', *FR*, 53.317 (May, 1893), 713, 703, 716-7.

[111] 'Dr. Fairbairn on "Catholicism"', *DR*, 124 (April, 1899), 391-7, 406.

the image of the 'fortress' in surprising ways. Ward certainly spoke of the 'Church built on the Rock of Peter' as the 'inexpungable fortress of truth' in the war between 'the army of Dogma and the united hosts of indifferentism, heresy, atheism'.[112] But in the context of cultural contestation, others deployed it in service of a cruciform message. For the popular author, Fr. Kenelm Digby Best, Catholicism was exemplified at once at Canossa and Golgotha. The first was that fortress where the 'independence of the Temporal Power' cowed Erastianism. But what mattered was not Henry IV's shoeless submission in the snowdrift, but the faith-born fortitude in Gregory VII's vindication of the 'truth'. Rome might well fall; but to 'fall' in the manner of Christ would only win the 'crown of martyrdom', burnishing the Church's 'Spiritual Jurisdiction'.[113] A similar argument could be found during the Kulturkampf. No Catholic believed the Church an 'impregnable … fortress', capable of repelling Prussian hordes. But 'armed [only] with that deadly weapon, the Rosary,' the Church's 'defeat' would reap spiritual rewards, as sacrifice broke the spell of worldly power.[114]

The fortress image, then, was paradoxical: it could suggest the defiance of the culture warrior against the world; the unworldliness of the sacrificial lamb, concerned with the world's conversion; the martyrdom of the Rosary-telling nun, defusing the world's aggression. Different meanings found expression in one versatile image; indeed, the 'fortress' often implied or projected a series of other images which mirrored, clarified and distorted its own *prima facie* meaning. Shifting significations depended to on theological traditions and liturgical symbols, linguistic conventions and nuances, chosen media and metaphorical contexts.[115] But few historians have shown interest in the Ultramontane *mentalité*, or in the polity it sought to construct; Ultramontanism is simply taken to mean the closing of the Catholic mind and the ghettoisation of Catholic society. Kent's sense of frustration in 1899 would not be misplaced today.

## *In the rubble of the fortress: the Word made flesh*

There are, however, signs of change. Recent historiographical trends have unsettled the narrative of conquest and fortress-building. In England, the cultural approach championed by Bossy in the 1970s and taken up in earnest from the 1990s has had the ironic effect of challenging both his thesis of radical rupture and the functionalists'

[112] 'Preliminary Essay', *Essays on the Church's Doctrinal Authority* (1880), 24. Cf. *WCR*, 130-36.
[113] Best, *Victories of Rome and the Temporal Monarchy of the Church* (5th edn, 1906), vi-xv, 18, 43-44, 80-92, 125, 169-72.
[114] 'The Impregnable Fortress: Prince Bismarck and the Centre Party', *ACQR*, 15 (July, 1890), 409.
[115] On metaphor in political thought: Jane Garnett, 'Whose logic? Reflections on gender in the history of ideas', *HEI*, 28 (2002), 77-82.

account of Ultramontane colonialism. The most significant intervention – Mary Heimann's – argues that Second-Spring revivalism was no 'foreign' imposition; the community's identity was negotiated in devotional forms long-shared by English and Irish Catholics.[116] Heimann and others[117] have recovered the vitality of an evolving devotional life, continuous with older forms of spirituality, and integrating new, Ultramontane idioms; they have also redirected scholarship by emphasising the agency of 'ordinary souls' and women in its construction, and by highlighting the embeddedness of Catholic communities in a web of national and transnational spheres.[118] Tenbus's study on the education crusade builds on this from a political angle. Taken together, the impression is of a community gradually transformed by its own agency.[119]

Where Bossy wrote in a context dominated by the secularisation thesis, this scholarship emerged at a moment when religious forces were resurgent. Sociological 'explanations' of the 'decline' of nineteenth-century religious imaginaries were being supplanted by historical attempts to understand the experiences of the faithful, and to situate them as forces in dialogue with the world around them — not sixteenth-century fossils washed up on modernity's shore to await their museum curator. Scholars of the Catholic revival in Germany, for instance, criticised the dominant historiographical lens as residually *kulturprotestantisch*, incapable of seeing in popular Catholic piety that *Innerlichkeit* taken to be the essence of 'real' religion; as crudely instrumentalist, incapable of perceiving in 'political Catholicism' something other than the clerical manipulation of a pliable laity; and as teleologically-minded, incapable of understanding the Ultramontane revival as anything other than a Catholic *Sonderweg*. These assumptions were exposed as normative critique cloaked in historical analysis.[120] In its place, historians were challenged to take the Catholic revival seriously on its own terms: to chart the formation of modern Catholic identity in forms of ritual representation and symbolic 'resacralisation'; in cultures of 'clericalism' and 'feminisation'; in the ascendancy gained by Ligorian ethics and neo-Thomist philosophy; in a paradoxical politics that was populist, nationally-minded, and lay-led, but also papalist, internationalist, and anti-Erastian.[121]

[116] *Catholic Devotion in Victorian England* (Oxford, 1995).
[117] Jennifer Supple, *The Catholic Revival in Yorkshire, 1850-1900* (Leeds, 1990).
[118] Heimann, 'St Francis and Modern English Sentiment', in *John Bossy*, 278-293.
[119] Gilley, 'The Garibaldi Riots of 1862', *HJ*, 16 (December, 1973); Tenbus, *Education*, 1-9. Cf. Heimann's conclusions in her review of Tenbus: *VS*, 55 (Spring, 2013), 514-6.
[120] M. L. Anderson, 'The limits of secularization: on the problem of the Catholic revival in nineteenth-century Germany', *HJ*, 38 (Sept. 1995), 647-50; 'Piety and Politics: Recent Work on German Catholicism', *JMH*, 63 (Dec. 1991), 686-90, 704.
[121] 'German Catholicism', 691-2; 'Limits of secularization', 654-68.

Studies of devotion have certainly proliferated.[122] But historians of confessionally-divided societies like Germany and Britain have struggled to offer accounts of how revivalist 'piety' connected with culture-war 'politics'. The 'New Catholicism' feels familiar: although more conscious of the rituals and symbols of the faithful, more willing to chart the ways they contested modernity's meaning, scholars like Clark and Tenbus continue to see Ultramontanism primarily as a means (aggressive mobilisation) to nebulous ends: cultural power to create 'a self-contained Catholic community'; ideological power to mould the public sphere; political power to shape legislation; constitutional power to de-secularise the state.[123] Still lacking is an understanding of how devotional communities (often reductively gendered 'female') related to Catholic political machines, gendered 'male' and ready for war.[124] Still lacking is an intellectual exploration of what precisely Ultramontanes meant when they articulated and pursued their goals – as M. L. Anderson lamented some 30 years ago.[125]

The historiography of France, Italy, Spain, and Austria, where Ultramontanism was far from a minority occupation, offers a path forward. The contexts within which Ultramontane theology developed across and between these lands have been meticulously analysed; indeed, theology and religious writing has become the indispensable tool to understanding the relationship between 'piety' and 'politics'. Its study is helping historians understand how and why 'devotional communities' got off their knees and onto the streets – in part, by interrogating those categories, which suggest a mental switch can somehow be flipped so that prayer gives way to protest. It was a distinction few contemporaries would have recognised as they picked up their rosary beads and marched against Garibaldi.

The most significant conclusions of this literature can be found in the work of Van Kley, Boutry, Caffiero, and others. As the chapters that follow build on their insights, a précis of that scholarship is pertinent. In short, they argue that modern Ultramontanism must be understood as a political theology. Much more than a scream of rage against democracy, ecclesiastical and political,[126] it emerged in the late eighteenth century as a consciously

[122] David Blackbourn, *Marpingen: apparitions of the Virgin Mary in Bismarckian Germany* (1993); Ruth Harris, *Lourdes: Body and Spirit in the Secular Age* (1999).

[123] Tenbus, quoting M. Ó Tuathaigh, 'The Irish in nineteenth-century Britain: problems of integration', in Swift and Gilley, *Victorian City*, 125-6: 7-8; Clark and Kaiser, 'Introduction', 1-5.

[124] The doubt niggles at Heimann: see her review of Tenbus: *VS*, 55 (Spring, 2013), 514-6. For the problem with the 'feminisation' of Catholicism, contrast Oliver Zimmer, 'Beneath the "Culture Wars": Corpus Christi Processions and Mutual Accommodation in the Second German Empire, *JMH*, 82 (June 2010), 317-9, with C. Harrison, 'Zouave Stories: Gender, Catholic Spirituality, and French Responses to the Roman Question', *JMH*, 79.2 (June, 2007), esp. 281-82n20.

[125] 'German Catholicism', 704.

[126] Van Kley, 'Christianity as Casualty and Chrysalis of Modernity: The Problem of the French Revolution,' *AHR*, 108.4 (Oct. 2003), 1081-1104.

'orthodox' defence of Catholicism: tough on the French Revolution, tough on the cause of the Revolution: 'Jansenised Gallicanism'.

Ultramontanes were right in thinking that Gallicanism had been transformed from the days of Louis XIV, when it entailed assertions of royal authority over Church temporalities and a desire to clip papal wings. Across the eighteenth century, Gallican apologists drew on authorities like Marsilius of Padua (d.1342) to advance the more radical claims that the Tridentine vision of hierarchy culminating in papal monarchy betrayed the ecclesiology of the primitive Church; that papal temporal power was an aberration; that national churches were rightly ordered on conciliar lines deferential to the civil power; and that a national episcopate, derelict in duty, might be held to account by 'an assembly of the faithful' – by parish priests, or even the laity, in the form of a *parlement* – which had the right to sit in judgement not only on the Church's temporal affairs, but on its doctrinal decisions.[127] This was more than a merely muscular Gallicanism. It was suffused with a Jansenist theology which had itself undergone a 'dramatic' change since its persecution began in earnest in the 1670s and culminated in the most controversial of a flurry of papal condemnations, *Unigenitus* (1713). The amorphous teachings of Cornelius Jansen, Bishop of Ypres (1585-1638), starkly Augustinian and savouring to Rome of crypto-Calvinism, had been reformulated in Pasquier Quesnel's *Réflexions morales* (1693), and radicalised further by his adherents in the *parlements* and episcopate, who faced excommunication in 1718 in appealing *Unigenitus* to a General Council. More, now, than a theology emphasising the Fall (and concomitant concupiscence), the irresistible efficaciousness of grace, and the necessity of 'conversion' before admittance to the sacraments, Jansenism became an 'oppositional … ideology', challenging fundamental tenets of Tridentinism. Its central image of a transcendent God, other to sinful man (and the intractable nature surrounding him), raised doubts as to the elevated status of divine-right kings, ecclesiastical hierarchies, heroic saints and tales of their supernatural derring-do. God's majesty was seen to de-divinise not only Caesar but the priestly caste purporting to channel His divine mysteries. Strictures against frequent communion also called into question the sacramental system and its functionaries; instead, Jansenists demanded, let the people of God grow closer to Him in reading His word (in the vernacular).[128]

In France, the Gallican tradition, 'radicalised' by Jansenists, yielded a new religious 'synthesis'. Advocating a kind of delayed reformation, it began to merge with 'enlightened discourse'. In suppressing the Jesuits (1764),

[127] Dale van Kley, 'Piety and politics in the century of lights', in Mark Goldie, Robert Wokler, eds., *Cambridge History of eighteenth-century political thought* (Cambridge, 2006), 110-15; idem, 'Catholic Conciliar Reform in an Age of Anti-Catholic Revolution', in J. Bradley, Dale Van Kley, eds., *Religion and Politics in Enlightenment Europe*, (Notre Dame, 2001), 63-5.

[128] Van Kley, 'Piety', 112-15; 'Conciliar Reform', 64-9.

*parlement* asserted its sovereignty over the church of the French and affirmed its commitment to purified religion; in nationalising and reorganising the French church in the Civil Constitution of the Clergy (1790), the revolutionaries asserted the sovereignty of the French nation and its commitment to the same.[129]

This urge to Erastian purification could be seen across Europe, as 'international Jansenism' built up a 'Republic of Grace' that both resembled and competed with the 'Republic of Letters'.[130] In Italy, successors to the Christian humanism of Lorenzo Valla, driven underground by the Counter-Reformation, re-emerged in a 'Catholic Enlightenment'. As Roberto Romani has shown, moderate '*lumi*' like Lodovico Muratori (1672-1750) propounded a new religious anthropology, and argued for scholarship over scholasticism and Stoic reason over popular 'superstitions'. But the argument that this 'moderatism' was a very different tradition to Jansenism, and that Jansenism was, before 1789, 'a spiritual and theological movement', largely apolitical, is unconvincing.[131] A large body of scholarship suggests that, in the context of the anti-Jesuit campaigns of the 1760s, the Catholic 'enlightenment' fragmented and polarised; and reforming light began its 'imperceptible shading' into Jansenism, a self-consciously political, highly politicised theology. By the 1780s, a Jansenised Gallicanism had taken root in northern Italy, and showed its force at the Synod of Pistoia (1786), where Grand Duke Leopold of Tuscany encouraged his bishop, Scipione de'Ricci – influenced by the Jansenist, Pietro Tamburini – to 'reform' the church. Jansen's doctrine of grace was expounded; popular devotions, like the cult of the Sacred Heart, were suppressed. Gallican liberties and regalist principles were professed; Roman interference was abjured, religious houses abolished, parish boundaries redrawn.[132] In Austria, Leopold's mother, Maria Theresa, and his brother, Josef II, embarked on a similar course of action. Enamoured of Jansenism and other reformist discourses – masonic, cameralist, meliorist – they waged war on '*Aberglaube*' and on the stubborn independencies of papacy and monastery, subversive and useless to the civil power. In Spain, Carlos III and his Jansenist advisers did likewise. In each case, Van Kley has argued, 'the boundary' between Jansenised Gallicanism and 'more enlightened forms of regalism was indistinct'; each together played its part in creating the climate of 'the Revolution'.[133]

[129] Van Kley, 'Piety', 114; 'Conciliar Reform', 68-9; Van Kley, 'Church, State, and the Ideological Origins of the French Revolution', *JMH*, 51 (Dec. 1979), 629-66.

[130] Douglas Palmer, 'The Republic of Grace: International Jansenism in the Age of Enlightenment and Revolutions', Ohio State Ph.D Thesis (2004).

[131] *Sensibilities of the Risorgimento, Reason and Passions in Political Thought* (Leiden, Boston, 2018), 32-8; 27-9.

[132] Van Kley, 'Piety', 119-26; 'Conciliar Reform', 69-88; Alberto Aquarone, 'Giansenismo italiano e rivoluzione francese prima del Triennio giacobino', in *Alla ricerca dell'Italia liberale* (Napoli, 1972), 7-86.

[133] Van Kley, 'Piety', 127-31.

The sharper our sense of this transnational intellectual context, the more compelling is the implication found in the French and Italian scholarship, that Ultramontanism needs to be understood as politico-theological *anti*-Jansenism. Gradually from the mid-seventeenth century; rapidly in the wake of the Civil Constitution of the Clergy, there emerged a phalanx for the defence of Tridentine Catholicism. In France, a new *parti dévot* took shape: some traditional Gallicans; some papalists; many Jesuits, furious at the suppression of the Society; but all committed to an Aristotelian philosophy and Thomist theology, to affective devotions, like the cult of the Sacred Heart, to episcopal hierarchy in ecclesiology and monarchical absolutism in politics. Increasingly, they saw this orthodox system unravelling, and came to see the papacy as its last bulwark. The writings of French conservatives such as Abbé Bertrand Capmartin de Chaupy, Abbé Augustin Barruel, the Comte d'Antraigues, Joseph de Maistre, and Louis de Bonald, were echoed across Europe by scholars and prelates like Rafael de Vélez and Anton Migazzi; and by a formidable 'ex-Jesuit International', led by Hervás y Panduro and François-Xavier de Feller.[134]

But all roads lead, of course, to Rome. Italian scholars have not only explored dynamics in counter-revolutionary thought;[135] they have offered a rich contextualisation of the *intransigenti*, the guiding intellects of Roman policy in the age of restoration. Part of the anti-Jansenist international, this school argued that a corrupted theology, straying from incarnational truth, had served as the religious matrix of the Revolution.[136] After 1815, the '*scuola antigiansenistica*' – comprising philosophers like Nicola Spedalieri (1740-95) and Tommaso Maria Mamachi (1713-92); polemicists, like Luigi Caccagni (1740-98); and a cadre of Jesuits, including Francescantonio Zaccaria (1714-1795), Gianvincenzo Bolgeni (1733-1811), and Rocco Bonola (1736-1811?) – intensified this line of attack. The substance of this 'theological and ecclesiological anti-jansenism', and the way in which it became – as Pelletier's archival survey has documented – the Curia's 'dominant mode of apprehending and evaluating the ecclesiology of the Revolution', is considered in the first chapter of this thesis.[137] So, too, is the answer proffered by Ultramontanes to what they thought Jansenism's etiolated vision of the faith: a robust reassertion of Trent. What scholars like Caffiero have shown to be a theology preoccupied with the defence and expansion of the supernatural economy

[134] Van Kley, 'Piety', 116-19, 126, 127-9, 131. See also: Darrin McMahon, *Enemies of the Enlightenment: The French Counter-Enlightenment and the Making of Modernity* (New York, 2001), 20-32, 106-15; T. Hochstrasser, 'Cardinal Migazzi and Reform Catholicism in the Eighteenth-Century Monarchy', in Ritchie Robertson, Judith Beniston, eds., *Catholicism and Austrian Culture* (Edinburgh, 1999), 22-26; R. Herr, *The eighteenth-century revolution in Spain* (Princeton, 1958), 411-13, 420.

[135] Michele Simonetto, 'Scrittori controrivoluzionari italiani', *Studi Storici*, 49.4 (Oct. 2008), 1149-1160.

[136] Anna Foa, *Gli intransigenti, la Riforma e la Rivoluzione francese* … (L'Aquila, 1975); Luigi Fiorani and Domenico Rocciolo, *Chiesa romana e rivoluzione francese, 1789-1799* (Roma, 2004), 370-85.

[137] For this assessment of Pelletier's *Rome et la Révolution française. La théologie et la politique du Saint-Siège pendant la Révolution française (1789-1799)* (Rome, 2004): Philippe Bourdin, Philippe Boutry, 'L'Église Catholique en Révolution: l'historiographie récente', *Annales historiques de la Révolution française*, 355 (Jan. 2009), 17-19.

of the incarnation (sacraments, saints, stigmatics, miracles, popular devotions)[138] was bound up with an explicitly political mission: Ultramontanism was an incarnational political theology. Its world-affirming philosophy and Church-exalting ecclesiology envisaged the renewal of Christendom as a political order popular and orthodox, built on the bedrock of a papacy supreme and infallible. In this, it was at war with those bent on toppling Christ from his throne – the 'Jansenistical' elites of every land, who, in a relentless conspiracy, attempted to control the Church by expropriating its property and hollowing out its religious life.

This contextualisation has helped scholars theorise the relationship between 'piety' and 'politics': across the 1820s, they trace in Rome the unfolding of a '*projet zelante*': a city 'profaned' by Jansenistic revolution would be 'reconsecrated' to the incarnate God in the liturgical imposition of '*une théologie de la visibilité*', and the rhetorical sacralisation of the body of the 'Sovereign Pontiff' and his 'holy city'.[139] In France, too, historians are now less fixated on anatomising the absolutist Ultramontanism of Maistre and the democratic-revolutionary Ultramontanism of Lamennais, and distinguishing the one from the other; on a wider canvass, they are plotting a 'postrevolutionary generation' of men and women that theologised the project of political reconstruction as a form of liturgy, with Rome as its centre and model.[140] This paradigm's promise has not gone unnoticed by scholars of twentieth-century political Catholicism, who are increasingly being urged to take this 'theological turn'.[141]

*The age of incarnation*

Such an approach is unlikely to startle historians of British religion, who 'constantly make and remake' the 'discovery' that 'English political debate is recurrently subordinate to English political theology'.[142] By the mid-nineteenth century, 'subordinate' is perhaps too strong a word; but over the last forty years, scholars have worked both to historicise theology and to show how theology affected almost every mode of socio-economic, political, and historical thought. Catholic theology, however, has received scant attention in this literature. And, as we have

[138] Marina Caffiero, *La politica della santità. Nascita di un culto nell-età dei Lumi* (Rome, 1996).

[139] Philippe Boutry, 'Une théologie de la visibilité: le projet *zelante* de resacralisation de Rome e son échec (1832-1829), in M. Visceglia, C. Brice, eds., *Cérémonial et rituel à Rome (XVIe-XIXe siécle)*, (Rome, 1997), 343f.

[140] Vincent Petit, *Église et Nation: La question liturgique en France au XIXe siècle* (Rennes, 2010), 27-38; C. Harrison, *Romantic Catholics. France's Postrevolutionary Generation in Search of a Modern Faith* (2014), 1-27; Carolina Armenteros, *The French Idea of History: Joseph de Maistre and his Heirs, 1794-1854* (2011), chs 3, 5, 8; Sylvain Milbach, 'Introduction' to *Lamennais: A Believer's Revolutionary Politics,* trans. ed. Richard Lebrun, Jerry Ryan (Leiden, Boston, 2018), 1-31.

[141] Renato Moro, 'Religion and Politics in the Time of Secularisation', *Totalitarian Movements and Political Religion*, 6 (June, 2005), 71-86.

[142] J. G. A. Pocock, 'A discourse of sovereignty: observations on the work in progress', in Nicholas Phillipson and Quentin Skinner, eds., *Political Discourse in Early Modern Britain* (Cambridge, 1993), 378.

seen, historians of Catholicism have not always integrated their research into it; writing about ghettoisation has become a form of ghettoisation.

But as this thesis shows, the intellectual hermeticism of the Ultramontane Church is a myth. In fact, it was as unusually wide-ranging in its interests as it was cosmopolitan in its composition; and it threw itself into British debates armed with French symbology, Spanish mysticism, German romanticism, Italian neo-scholasticism, Irish constitutionalism, and Tractarian political economy. This was conscious: Wiseman's aim, when he founded the *Dublin Review*, the chief organ of Ultramontane thought, was to redress the 'defect' of provincial English ignorance with 'supplie[s] from the rich stores of the Continent'; England would be converted by a school of thinkers reflecting the diversity of Catholic thought and the uniformity of Catholic truth.[143] He may have been succeeded by Manning, whom the priests of Southwark cattily dubbed 'Monsignor Ignorate', and Ward, who delighted in describing his editorial policy as 'strong and narrow – very strong, and very narrow'; but in fact the controversial strategy initially adopted, of intense and creative engagement with evolving British debates, never changed.

Historians have not fully reckoned with this. We do not even have a systematic study of the *Dublin*.[144] Histories of Catholic print and periodical culture have focused on bringing to life a disputatious community of communities. However necessary in capturing differences of opinion, such a focus tends to produce a caricature of the Catholic body: a community possessed by such fratricidal or authoritarian impulses that it was incapable of engaging with the world around it. This simply echoes the earnest but self-important concern of men like Acton and Newman that, bereft of journals edited by them, Catholics would be seen as 'an unEnglish body, taking no interest in English questions … useless and hostile'.[145] A survey of the most important Catholic media suggests a very different picture, and promises tangible methodological benefits.

The periodical culture chiefly examined in this thesis illuminates the breadth and complexity of Catholic engagement with a range of questions, contexts and perspectives. Consciously intellectual publications like the *Dublin* and the *Month* confronted and contested in time-sensitive ways a range of ideologies, as well as commending and censuring those voices, foreign and domestic, claiming the authority of Catholicity. Readership of the *Dublin* waxed (in the years of Tractarianism) and waned (across the low-point of the late 1850s to under 1,000 copies a

[143] [Wiseman], 'Review of French Catholic Literature', *DR*, 2 (April, 1837), 588, 595.

[144] For aspects of its publication history: J. A. Lester, Jr. and Esther Rhoads Houghton, 'The Dublin Review, 1836-1900', *Wellesley Index to Victorian Periodicals, 1824-1900*, (Toronto, 1972), II, 11-22; Altholz, 'Daniel O'Connell and the *Dublin Review*', *CHR*, 74 (Jan. 1988), 1-12; idem, 'Early Proprietorship of the *Dublin Review*', *Victorian Periodicals Review*, 23 (Summer, 1990), 54-6; Acheson, 'Journalism', *passim*. On the editorship of Wilfrid Ward (1906-15): Dom Paschal Scotti, *Out of Due Time. Wilfrid Ward and the* Dublin Review (Washington, D.C. 2006).

[145] Newman to Fr. Gallwey, 26 Feb. 1865: quoted in Acheson, 'Journalism', 102.

quarter). But by 1860, the *Edinburgh Review* had a circulation of only some 7,000, yet continued to play a serious role in shaping national conversation; raw numbers tell but part of the story of significance.[146] It is not simply that organs of orthodoxy were shared and discussed in the seminaries, schools, convents and confraternities proliferating across the country. As scholarship has shown, debates within and between these periodicals (each multi-vocal, even when presenting as 'strong and narrow') fed on and into other forms of print and oral culture. As we shall see, they often electrified epistolary networks; provoked occasional speeches, sermons, pamphlets, tracts and treatises; framed the reception of monographs and multi-volume studies; and, crucially for a religious body, mediated scholarly moral and theological matter to an interested public – translating (literally and figuratively) and repurposing foreign works for a British context. Published weekly or monthly, their iterative nature allowed for speedy response to developing debate, sharpening their role as dynamic sites of cultural production. If they were thus participants in and vectors of national and transnational debate – an interface between the local and cosmopolitan frameworks of reference essential to Catholic identity – they were also a bridging point between written argument and the critical conversation found in monasteries, missionary-society gatherings, public meetings, and parliamentary debates. Periodicals thus maintained a dialogical relationship between conceptual endeavour, 'higher journalism', and the discussion so integral to nineteenth-century oral and associational culture.[147] This thesis traces those communicative patterns so as to bring into greater relief the sense of a body talking itself into being and reckoning with the world around it.

If Ultramontane controversial strategy did not change, neither did its goal. The 'defect' in the reformed English mind was the same as the defect in the mind of the continent's Jansenised revolutionaries and revolutionised masses: they had lost sight of the incarnation. They would either be drawn back to that light or perish in modernity's wastelands. In this sense, we can situate Ultramontanism in the English landscape as a dogmatic, missionary form of incarnationalism. In the first half of the century, this locates it in what some see as a minority Romantic milieu; in the second half of the century, it risks being lost in a carnival of 'incarnationalisms'. Orientation is made possible by a broad consensus on the shape of the mapped terrain – albeit with some borders contested, some blanks unreconnoitred. The process of cartography began almost accidentally. Positing an 'eschatological revolution' in mid-century Protestant opinion, prompted by the rising tide of 'doubt' and the moral

[146] Ibid., 119-20.

[147] For an historiographical overview: Kay Boardman, '"Charting the Golden Stream": Recent Work on Victorian Periodicals', *Victorian Studies*, 48.3 (Spring, 2006), 505-17. For reflections on the value of this method in religious intellectual history, and examples in practice: Skinner, *TCE*; Jane Garnett, 'Anglican Economic and Social Engagement', in Rowan Strong, ed., *The Oxford History of Anglicanism, vol. 3: Partisan Anglicanism and its Global Expansion* (Oxford, 2017), 462-66.

revulsion of a younger generation for the punitive theology of their parents, Boyd Hilton adumbrated a shift from the socioeconomic vision of rentier capitalists – 'static (or cyclical), nationalist, retributive and purgative, employing competition as a means to education', and underpinned by the theological ür-motif of the atonement – to a perspective more optimistic, shaped by the Broad-Church 'incarnationalism' of F. D. Maurice, Benjamin Jowett, and J. R. Seeley, and centred on the image of a merciful man-God.[148] Just as the presence of atonement-shaped modes of thought was identified in allusions, linguistic patterns and conceptual parallels in the first half of the century – catastrophism in geology; mechanistic dualism in philosophy – Hilton suggested that from the 1860s, this incarnationalism could be seen 'ramifying' into other spheres of intellectual life. Behind the Idealism of T. H. Green, or the organicist literature of George Eliot, lurked two assumptions, distinct but compatible: the immanentist science and developmentalist philosophy of Hegel, Comte, and Herbert Spencer, which took as its core analytical unit the 'collective life' of the human organism; and the Liberal Anglican conviction, 'centred on an immanentist belief in [a] divine will … working out its purpose in man's actions' and building the 'organic Christian society', collective, cooperative, enabling. This was the age of the 'sunshine generation', who saw in Christianity the means by which man – or certainly the Englishman – might be made perfect.[149]

Despite protesting its provisionality, this section of the book drew criticism; the 'incarnational' affinities between scientific naturalism and latitudinarian theology were compellingly suggested more than they were proven.[150] Indeed, Cashdollar's study of positivism, demonstrating Comte's influence on almost every branch of Anglophone religious thought,[151] inverts Hilton's intuition, suggesting that incarnationalism was a *response* to positivism: that an epistemological challenge in the first half of the century, revolutionising the meaning of 'science', effected fundamental change in the limits and nature of theology in the second. But the accounts are not incompatible. Hilton's theory of shifting sentiments complements Cashdollar's account of theological reorientation. Together they chart a transformation in Protestant thought across the mid-Victorian era: the torch was passed to a new generation of Liberal Anglicans, conscious of the challenge of 'nescience', but determined to re-state truths in non-dogmatic forms, the better to demonstrate Christianity's credibility to a generation of tortured doubters.[152]

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[148] Hilton, *The Age of Atonement: the influence of evangelicalism on social and economic thought, 1795-1865* (Oxford, 2001 [1988]), 271-6, 282, 285-6, 289.

[149] Ibid., 303-39; B. M. G. Reardon, *From Coleridge to Gore: a century of religious thought in Britain* (1971), 436-55.

[150] Hugh MacLeod, 'Varieties of Victorian Belief', *JMH*, 64.2 (June, 1992), 335. Cf. Hilton's 'Postscript', *Atonement*, 392.

[151] Cashdollar, *Transformation*, Part I. Cf. T. R. Wright, *The Religion of Humanity: The Impact of Comtean Positivism on Victorian Britain* (Cambridge, 1986), 149-61.

[152] Cashdollar, *Transformation*, 47, 69, 173-4, 427-30.

With Liberal Anglicans coming to 'dominate the leadership of the Church of England in the late nineteenth century', there is much to recommend this emphasis.[153] But the framing is too narrow to capture the complexity of incarnational thought across the nineteenth century.[154] Gradually, historians have sketched a 'spectrum of different views, ranging from the "humanitarian" incarnationalism of Seeley or Green, which emphasised Christ's humanity, to the "Catholic" incarnationalism of the High Church, which emphasised Christ's divinity, with Maurice's theology taking an intermediate position between the two'.[155] Concerning the former, important work has been done in extending the Hilton-Cashdollar thesis by contextualising the philosophical[156] and political[157] preoccupations of British Idealists, as well as the incarnational basis of their project.[158] Incarnationalism's centrality to political thought has also been a focus of scholarship on the opposite end of the spectrum and at the far side of the century: Nockles and Skinner have emphasised the vitality of High-Church and Tractarian political theology, and its rootedness in a sacramental faith. The incarnate God, these catholic-minded Anglicans believed, was present in the eucharist, and the root from which their branch of the Church universal drew life; all whiggish wrongs in state and society would be effaced once the constitutional prerogatives of that Church were acknowledged afresh, and she was again empowered to do her duty as counsellor of kings and patron of the *pauperes Christi*.[159]

Yet these points on the 'spectrum' were not fixed. An implicit narrative suggests how they connected. After the waves of 'perversion' to Rome, 'younger adherents' pushed a sectarian sacramentalism to 'new and more radical conclusions'.[160] In the face of the social question, a common anti-individualism drew them into a Christian Socialism otherwise built on a series of antitheses – between the more and less radical, sacramentalist and immanentist, Anglican and Nonconformist.[161] Like Liberal Anglicans, Anglo-Catholics rejected what they thought a too-stark evangelical distinction between heaven and earth; the chasm was bridged in the incarnation, making Christianity's sociopolitical embodiment essential to its meaning. Thus, although differing on the locus of that embodiment – in the common life of the nation; in the sacraments and fruits of the Church – they found in the 'ferment' of the social crisis reasons to downplay disputes, and to emphasise their common vocation: building up

[153] Jeremy Morris, *F. D. Maurice and the crisis of Christian authority* (Oxford, 2005), 195; Grimley, *Citizenship, community, and the Church and England: liberal Anglican theories of the state between the wars* (Oxford, 2004), *passim*.

[154] Bebbington, 'Religion and Society', 1003.

[155] Kirby, *Historians,* 205.

[156] Rosemary Ashton, *The German Idea: Four English Writers and the Reception of German Thought 1800-1860* (Cambridge, 1980); Kirk Willis, 'The Introduction and Critical Reception of Hegelian Thought in Britain 1830-1900', *VS*, 32 (1988), 85-110.

[157] Sandra den Otter, *British Idealism and Social Explanation* (Oxford, 1996).

[158] Peter Hinchliff, *God and History: Aspects of British Theology 1875-1914* (Oxford, 1992), 124-43; Grimley, *Citizenship*, 42f.

[159] *OMC*, chs 1-3; *TCE*, *passim*.

[160] Kirby, *Historians*, 21.

[161] Peter d'Alroy Jones, *The Christian Socialist Revival, 1877-1914* (Princeton, 1968), 88.

the Kingdom.[162] In figures like B. F. Westcott and Gladstone, Broad and High churchmanship was increasingly reconciled – especially where such figures sat on a 'progressive' axis favouring both social and theological reform.[163]

Even this expanded account has been further stretched. Countering contemporaries' claims of their otherworldliness, historians have shown that Evangelicals – Anglican and Nonconformist – drew on the incarnation to develop a political theology of the Kingdom, and of the social legislation conducive to its establishment.[164] Indeed, as Martin Spence has documented, those cast as the most world-renouncing of apocalypticists were, from the 1830s, preaching an incarnational, world-affirming message about the materiality of salvation: the coming of Christ's Kingdom in the 'redemption of space and time'.[165] In the decades that followed, a common focus on the realisation of the Kingdom in social reform can be seen to underpin almost all varieties of Christian and quasi-Christian thought, from Wesleyan Methodist, Congregationalist and Baptist, to Unitarian, Theosophist and Spiritualist.[166] An interest in Jesus the carpenter, and an immanentist understanding of the social organism's evolution into universal brotherhood, could even bleed into a more explicit religion of Socialism.[167]

Much British religious argument, then, is seen to be rooted in incarnational discourse. But on the place of Roman Catholicism in this vast field, the historiography is silent. Ironically, British incarnationalism thus appears a composite of almost every intellectual community – Christian and otherwise – save that which across the century loudly and self-consciously ordered its life on that 'that all-embracing Mystery': the 'cardinal verity of the *Incarnation*', the 'foundation of our religion'.[168]

Few historians of Catholicism have challenged what is in effect a new intellectual ghettoisation. Those that have were writing before the research agenda developed. Gilley, for instance, beginning in the late 1960s, emphasised the centrality of incarnationalism to Ultramontane socioeconomic commentary.[169] And in a seminal 1972 article, Emmet Larkin argued that Ireland's 'devotional revolution', effected in a post-Famine context by Ultramontanes like Cardinal Cullen, was marked by the 'ascendancy of the more relaxed moral theology of St

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[162] Cheryl Walsh, 'The Incarnation and the Christian Socialist Conscience in the Victorian Church of England', *JBS*, 34 (1995), 360f; Stephen Yeo, 'Thomas Hancock, 1832-1903: "The Banner of Christ in the Hands of the Socialists"', in Maurice Reckitt, ed., *For Christ and the People* … (1968), 10.

[163] Walsh, 'Christian Socialist', 360f; Bebbington, *The Mind of Gladstone: Religion, Homer, and Politics* (Oxford, 2004).

[164] Thompson, 'The Christian Socialist Revival', 273-95; Garnett, 'Aspects of the relationship between Protestant ethics and economic activity in mid-Victorian England', Oxford D.Phil Thesis (1987), 18-19, 270-71.

[165] *Heaven on Earth: Reimagining Time and Eternity in Nineteenth-Century British Evangelicalism* (Eugene, OR, 2015), 177, 51.

[166] P. T. Phillips, *A Kingdom on Earth: Anglo-American Social Christianity, 1880-1940* (Pennsylvania, 1996), 9-16.

[167] Mark Bevir, 'The Labour Church Movement, 1891-1902', *JBS*, 38 (April, 1999), 217-19, 224-5.

[168] Aubrey de Vere, *May Carols* (1857), 1; [Frederick Oakeley], 'Devotional use of the breviary — Advent and Christmas', *DR*, 21 (Jan. 1847), 286; [J. S. Northcote, E. H. Thompson], 'Advertisement', *Clifton Tracts*, I, 3-5.

[169] See esp: 'Heretic London, holy poverty and the Irish poor, 1830-1870', *Downside Review*, 89, (1971); 'Supernaturalised Culture: Catholic Attitudes and Latin Lands, 1840-60', *SCH*, 11 (Oxford, 1975), 309-24.

Alphonsus de Liguori, with a greater emphasis on the Incarnation than the Atonement, and on a God of love rather than of fear'.[170] The implications of these insights have been pursued by Irish historians, mirroring the historiographical developments we have charted in Italy or Austria, and adding texture and nuance to our understanding of Ultramontanism as it took root in one part of the United Kingdom;[171] in England, they went largely ignored. Marking the 150th anniversary of the restoration of the hierarchy, one of the doyens of Catholic historiography, V. Alan McClelland, observed that Ultramontanism might be defined as the 'principle of cohesion' undergirding the campaign to form – from the *disjecta membra* of English and Irish, 'old' and convert, rich and poor – a new body, conscious of being internally united and 'ingrafted' into the universal Church. That 'principle of cohesion' legitimised a process of 'centralisation', but was also tied to an incarnational theology. This, he concluded, was 'paradoxical'. The paradox was pursued no further.[172]

## *Political theology, past and present*

In the chapters that follow, I seek to unpack this paradox, exploring the relationship of incarnational theology to the construction of a new Catholic body in England and to that body's thinking about the world around it. I do so, persuaded that the history of political theology affords us valuable means of engaging with the Victorian and Edwardian mind, which sourced its images and idioms, its purpose and meaning in visions of the godly society. But I am conscious, too, that the historian speaks of the past in the present – loitering at the edge of contemporary debate, like a cat in the doorway, hoping to be helpful, a dead mouse in its maw. Beyond its contribution to the historiographical fields reconnoitred above, this study makes an offering to a number of live political discourses. Some are self-consciously religious (languages of political theology); some, to use Weber's term, are religiously 'unmusical' (most forms of political theory). Each might benefit from an encounter with the unfamiliar intellectual tradition examined in this study, as well as the context in which it took shape. They will not find in it "'forgotten alternatives whose revival might miraculously answer our problems today'" – but the encounter might 'help us ask better questions'.[173]

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[170] 'The Devotional Revolution in Ireland, 1850-75', *AHR*, 77 (June, 1972), 625-52.

[171] See, e.g., Oliver P. Rafferty, 'The Ultramontane Spirituality of Paul Cullen', and Ciarán O'Carroll, 'The Pastoral Vision of Paul Cullen', in Dáire Keogh and Albert McDonnell, eds., *Cardinal Paul Cullen and his World* (Dublin, 2011), 61-77; 115-29.

[172] 'The Formative Years, 1850-92', in *Flaminian Gate* (1999), 6-8.

[173] István Hont, *Jealousy of Trade: International Competition and the Nation-State in Historical Perspective* (Cambridge, MA, 2005), 115, quoted in Lasse S. Andersen and Richard Whatmore, 'Liberalism and republicanism, or wealth and virtue revisited', *Intellectual History Review*, 33 (2023), 131-60.

Contemporary Catholic political theology, for instance, asks questions prompted by a narrowing set of concerns framed in a narrowing historical horizon. It is unsurprising that Vatican II sets the agenda: after all, the purpose of an Oecumenical Council is to *be* definitive. But there is a tendency to identify the Council and its 'spirit' with a small number of thinkers (like Rahner and Küng, de Lubac and von Balthasar) and their ruminations on Church-world relations, as framed in dialogues with a select assortment of Church Fathers (Augustine, Aquinas) and those philosophers held to be modernity's midwives (Marx, Kant). The temptation to focus on these *periti* and their preoccupations – on the history they imagined and abridged; on their contextually-specific readings of a canon and anti-canon of 'great thinkers' grappling with 'perennial problems' – risks distorting the Church's memory of its encounter with modernity and preventing reengagement with important strands of Catholic thinking.

Scholars 'progressive' and 'conservative', alike, succumb. For Massimo Faggioli, champion of Pope Francis' 'new ecclesiological orientation', Catholics must frame questions of politics, religious pluralism, and political economy in the light of *Gaudium et Spes*, *Dignitatis Humanae* (the Council's Declaration on Religious Freedom), and Pope Francis' Social Catholicism. Only thus can the Church put behind her the nightmare of the 'long nineteenth century', when she clung to Constantinianism and flirted with Fascism.[174] On the other end of the spectrum, the conservative scholar, Tracey Rowland, suggests that divisions between modern Augustinians and Thomists over the standing of 'the world' and its relationship to the Kingdom can be elided in a common embrace of the patristic vision and a common rejection of nineteenth-century neo-scholasticism, which kettled the Church into a cul-de-sac.[175] This approach speaks to other Christian critics of modernity, like the Anglican school of 'Radical Orthodoxy', which traces the pathologies of secularism back to deformations wrought in the Thomistic synthesis by Duns Scotus and other scholastic vandals.[176] But need such a dialogue come at the expense of an encounter with the fullness of Catholic intellectual history? Need Faggioli's 'new theological vision' come at the expense of selective blindness about the Church's past before 1965?

A Catholic political theology for the twenty-first century should not trade in stereotypes, nor consign the intellectual world between Trent and Vatican II to the dustbin of history. The Anglican theologian, Oliver O'Donovan, has shown what creative thinking can emerge from reflection on Christendom – a 'political order derived from a millennium of close engagement between church and state'.[177] And the Christendom begun with

[174] Faggioli, *Catholicism and Citizenship. Political Culture of the Church in the Twenty-First Century* (Collegeville, Minnesota, 2017), xviii-xix; chs. 3-5.

[175] Rowland, *The Culture of the Incarnation. Essays in Catholic Theology* (Steubenville, Ohio, 2017), chs. 1-3.

[176] P. J. deHart, *Aquinas and Radical Orthodoxy: a Critical Inquiry* (Abingdon, 2012), 3-9.

[177] *The Desire of the Nations: rediscovering the roots of political theology* (Cambridge, 2003), 193-5, 216, 228-9.

Charlemagne did not end with Luther or Napoleon. In the decades after the French Revolution, Catholics grappled with its transformation in an age marked by new forces: the rise of demagogic nationalism; the globalisation of technology capitalism; the challenges posed by authoritarian states and a protean liberalism to the freedoms of the individual conscience and the ecclesiastical body politic. There are continuities, parallels and analogies here with the emerging world order. Are those debates to be silenced in the thunderclap of *Gaudium et Spes*? That would seem a self-defeating, self-denying ordinance. The twentieth-century Catholic mind, shaped by the horrors of totalitarianism and the certainties of Cold-War bipolarity, spoke from a particular historical experience: one that the Church can afford neither to forget, nor exclusively to remember. The field of vision need not be narrowed. The greater its breadth – the greater its range of historical reference and understanding of its own historicity – the richer a new Catholic political theology will be.

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That call might sound attractive to sundry conservatives, who have in recent years rummaged around in Catholicism's 'pre-liberal' past as they seek the materials with which to construct a 'post-liberal' future. The 'new integralists' – like the Austrian Cistercian, Edmund Waldstein, and the Harvard Law professor, Adrian Vermeule – merit attention. Like Oxford's Tractarians in the 1830s, they are embarked on a seductively exciting project to 'recover' the 'authentic' Catholic political tradition – a world-mastering theology buried under decades of world-accommodating bromides about 'religious liberty'. In seeking to defend the Church and the world against totalitarianism, thinkers like John Courtney Murray and Jacques Maritain stand accused of bartering away key tenets of Catholic political theology for the tolerant peace promised by liberalism.[178] But it did not – could not – come. Like socialism or fascism, liberalism, integralists argue, is an ersatz political religion, practised by elites and boasting its own eschatology, sacraments, liturgy, clerisy and demonology.[179] This is cloaked in its language of 'neutrality'; but liberalism 'enforces … a substantive theory [of the good], based on a particular and erroneous anthropology' and tending towards social atomisation and the persecution of the unconverted.[180] There is no safe space within

[178] Waldstein, 'The Primacy of the Common Good', *Josias*, 19/6/23: https://thejosias.com/2023/06/19/the-primacy-of-the-common-good/.

[179] Vermeule, 'The Liturgy of Liberalism', *First Things*, 1/1/2017: https://www.firstthings.com/article/2017/01/liturgy-of-liberalism.

[180] Patrick Deneen, *Why Liberalism Failed* (New Haven, 2018); Vermeule, 'Integration from Within', *American Affairs*, 2.1 (Spring, 2018): https://americanaffairsjournal.org/2018/02/integration-from-within/.

its 'imperium'; liberalism is driven relentlessly on by its own logic: to eradicate difference and abolish the ultimate illegitimate privilege – salvation – in which there is neither equality of opportunity nor outcome. The catacombs beckon. The 'only way out' is conquest.[181] Driven by fear, but buoyed by the rediscovery of the Church's true teaching – the 'subordination of the temporal to the spiritual'[182] – Catholics are enjoined to seize the commanding heights of the liberal state and impose their own 'comprehensive theory of the good'. Whether this is matter of 'coercion' or 'conversion', Vermeule muses – quoting, bizarrely, the anti-Catholic jurist, James Fitzjames Stephen – is immaterial. The state must be 'captured' and redirected 'to the promotion of human dignity' – a staging-post to 'the restoration of an integrally Catholic state'.[183]

Like the Tractarians, these integralists find inspiration in a romanticised past, apt to be instrumentalised. Waldstein's claims are grounded in a series of syllogistic arguments, supported with reference to a history of Ultramontane thinking that is conveniently colligatory (stitching together authorities from moments in ecclesiastical history that serve his agenda; leaving on the cutting floor those that do not) and wilfully anachronistic (projecting, for example, thirteenth-century orthodoxies onto fifth-century debates).[184] Vermeule, meanwhile, is indebted to a genealogy of modernity and a set of assumptions that seem a synthesis of Maistre and Carl Schmitt[185] – penetrating critics of liberalism who admired the 'political form of Roman Catholicism', but whose intellectual formation and ambitions place them on the periphery of the Catholic political tradition, and often in opposition to it.

Eclecticism is no sin: Catholicism, being universal, contains multitudes, and many of the thinkers examined in this study were students of a range of thinkers. In Manning we can trace the influence of Church Fathers like Eusebius, counterrevolutionaries like Bonald, and socialists as diverse as Lamennais and Henry George. But there was no question as to how these influences were reconciled: there were many masters, but only one Master. The 'counter-cultural' theology articulated by Victorian Ultramontanes was grounded in an incarnational ecclesiology. Can the same be said of the new integralism? It is certainly powerfully provocative; it asks searching questions of liberalism, and recalls Catholics to their political vocation, when many seem content to blend into the culture, as

[181] Vermeule, 'Raillement: Two Distinctions', *Josias*, 3/16/18: https://thejosias.com/2018/03/16/ralliement-two-distinctions/; 'A Christian Strategy', *First Things*, 1/11/2017: https://www.firstthings.com/article/2017/11/a-christian-strategy.

[182] Waldstein, 'Integralism and Gelasian Dyarchy', *The Josias*: 3/3/2016 [rev edn] https://thejosias.com/2016/03/03/integralism-and-gelasian-dyarchy/; 'Hans Urs von Balthasar's Critique of Integralism', *Josias*, 27/2/2018: https://thejosias.com/2018/02/27/hans-urs-von-balthasars-critique-of-integralism/

[183] Vermeule, 'Integration', 'Raillement'.

[184] See Waldstein's arbitrary use of Walter Ullman's scholarship in 'Gelasian Dyarchy'.

[185] 'The Ark of Tradition', *Kirk Centre*, 19/11/2017 https://kirkcenter.org/reviews/the-ark-of-tradition/.

truly 'invisible Christians'. But can we take seriously a discourse dismissive of most Catholic politics since the *Syllabus Errorum*? In its hunger for 'state capture' and a 'genuinely illiberal' political order, can it resist what previous generations of anti-liberal integralists, like Charles Maurras (1862-1952), could not: the allure of fascism? Does it not suffer from the same flaw – calling itself Catholic but failing to integrate its politics into the wider ecology of Catholic theology? If so, is it anything more than naïve antiquarianism at the service of mere ideology?

Not all post-liberals are spiky Schmittians. Some use history to challenge anachronistic conceptualisations of Church and State as separate institutions and illuminate contemporaries' 'integral vision … of social reality'. There was a world before liberalism; there will be a world after it.[186] But as many of the creative intellects surveyed in this study – like Montalembert and Wiseman – understood, Catholics cannot simply *think past* liberalism, imagining themselves before and then projecting themselves beyond it. The world of Louis IX was reordered by the time of Louis XIV, revolutionised by the death of Louis XVI. One need not be a Marxist to understand that there have been several other transformations, tragedies, and farces since – and that they must be reckoned with. In that sense, post-liberals would do well to engage with that body of Catholic thinking which has since the Revolution sought to relate claims of Christ's sovereignty to the modern-democratic age. That tradition of 'liberal Ultramontanism' has been brilliantly analysed by Emile Perreau-Saussine. Rejecting the 'reactionary Ultramontanism' of Maistre and his continuators as a flawed vision, confounding the sacred and the secular, it respected the God-given integrity of the *saeculum* and envisioned the Church as a *corpus mysticum*, often engaged with the politics of this temporal order but always living in view of the world to come. This was the tradition, Perreau-Saussine concludes, that 'ultimately triumphed in the Catholic Church' by the late nineteenth century – and provides still the safest guide through modernity's minefields.[187]

There is merit to his method: its chronological sweep – from the age of absolutism to that of neo-liberalism – helps clarify key debates in the Church's modern history. But two criticisms might be made. Firstly, Perreau-Saussine's liberal Ultramontanism is a French solution to a French problem, leavening Hildebrandism with a chastened Gallicanism, and thus reconciling (to a degree practical and sufficient) the claims of a pre-modern, hierarchical body with the macadamising tendencies of democratic modernity. But as this study shows, liberal Ultramontanism should be seen as a transnational phenomenon. The species that developed in Britain and Ireland certainly owed much to French debates – as it did to Italian, Spanish, German and American – but just as much,

[186] Andrew Willard Jones, *Before Church and State: A Study of Social Order in the Sacramental Kingdom of St. Louis IX* (Steubenville, 2017), 2.

[187] *Catholicism and Democracy: An Essay in the History of Political Thought* (Oxford, 2012), esp. 51-8, 147-52.

if not more, to the constitutional discourses, historical memories and social imaginaries of these islands. Sensitivity to the cross-currents of debate between different national and denominational religious cultures over time can help us scrutinise old certainties with new eyes.[188] In this instance, it not only belies the notion of a monolithic 'Black International', deaf to the world around it: it points us beyond Ultramontanism's *own* rhetorical claims to changelessness – '*semper eadem*', '*non possumus*' – to its readiness for pragmatic dialogue in the public sphere; its recognition that politics is less usually a realm of conversions than it is the slow boring of hard boards. In this view, Vatican II becomes not the disavowal of an authentic Catholic politics, but its most recent development, and a manifestation of myriad Ultramontanisms from around the world. Catholic political thought certainly needs more history – but not in the sense of eleventh-century papal rescripts exhibited afresh for the renewed obedience of a forgetful flock, as integralists seem to wish. It needs to reflect on those efforts by Catholics from across 'the liberal domain' in the modern age to rearticulate the meaning of Christ's kingship.

How are we to understand those efforts and meanings? Here we come to a second criticism. A pupil of Pierre Manent (who was in turn influenced by the philosopher, Leo Strauss), Perreau-Saussine tends to see those efforts manifested in structured *political* argument – Péguy's response to Comte, Tocqueville's to Rousseau. But this study unsettles two premises of *Catholicism and Democracy:* that liberal Ultramontanism 'distinguished sharply between the theological and political domains'; and that as a form of political thought 'rooted in Catholic tradition', it evolved 'against political theology'.[189] As we have noted, the work of scholars like Boutry and Caffiero points in a different direction. In fact, the evidence in the chapters ahead suggests that many liberal Ultramontanes recognised only the most porous of borders between 'the political' and 'the theological', and would likely not have recognised at all the distinction between 'political thought' and 'political theology'. The incarnation structured almost every aspect of the Catholic mind and almost every genre of Catholic writing.

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Careful history, then, can help shape more rigorous forms of Catholic political thinking, encouraging chronological and conceptual curiosity; a wariness of anachronism and instrumentalism in our approach to the past; and a willingness to admit the theological grounds of much Catholic argument. Appreciating the historical significance

[188] For an example of this method in action: Jane Garnett, 'The Gospel of Work and the Virgin Mary: Catholics, Protestants, and Work in the Nineteenth Century', *SCH*, 37 (2002), 255-74.

[189] *Catholicism and Democracy*, 51-8.

of incarnationalism to political economy, for instance, might help us understand the tensions between the two most important Catholic political theologians of the last twenty years: Pope Francis and Pope Benedict XVI.

Francis' position places him in a long tradition of papal social teaching about modernity's brutalism. Encyclicals like *Fratelli tutti* (2020) reformulate arguments found in *Populorum progressio* (1967) and *Rerum novarum* (1891), encouraging the faithful to engage in politics with a view to the world's structural and sacramental transformation. Voiced with a new urgency for a new challenge, they call for an 'integral ecology' – one mindful of the climate as a common good of all peoples and future generations; one critical of the 'anthropocentrism' that commodifies and imperils it. In 'protect[ing] all life' and 'prepar[ing] for a better future', Catholic action is linked to the incarnation of Christ, who lived 'in full harmony with Creation' and in 'hidden' ways transformed it 'for the coming of [the] Kingdom'. That this ecology is to be 'integral' – embracing the fullness of our humanity, and thus concerning a human nature incorporated into the divine – serves as a reminder that even 'ecumenical' political appeals from Catholics are grounded in incarnational faith. That it culminates in a call for a 'true world political authority' to grapple with the crisis speaks to the abiding conviction in this tradition that an 'integral' politics capable of doing justice to the world will only emerge when guided by an 'integrated' system of governance, ethical and political – a claim as old as papal supremacy, and restated by many of the nineteenth-century thinkers encountered below.[190] Old habits die hard.

Benedict XVI's final encyclical, *Caritas in veritate* (2009), situated itself squarely in this tradition.[191] American neo-conservatives reached for their smelling salts: had the conservative pontiff been kidnapped by the crusty old socialists of the Pontifical Council of Justice and Peace?[192] In fact, Benedict's call was for nothing like a Kojèvian universal state at 'the end of history'. The reform of global capitalism's oppressive aspects, he argued, requires coordinated transnational responses – but responses sensitive to the principle of subsidiarity (policy decisions should be made at the most appropriate level: global, national, local) and grounded in the moral law.[193] These caveats, in turn, should be read in the light of Benedict's wider magisterial teaching – particularly *Spe Salvi* (2007), his encyclical on the nature of true (Christian) and false (intra-historical) hope. This theme dominated his theology for decades, not least in his denunciation of liberation theology. When South American theologians like Gustavo

[190] *Laudato Si*, §10, 175, 246: https://www.vatican.va/content/francesco/en/encyclicals/documents/papa-francesco_20150524_enciclica-laudato-si.html.

[191] *Caritas in veritate*, §8, 67: https://www.vatican.va/content/benedict-xvi/en/encyclicals/documents/hf_ben-xvi_enc_20090629_caritas-in-veritate.html#_ednref147.

[192] George Weigel, '*Caritas in Veritate* in Gold and Red', *National Review*, 7/7/2009: https://www.nationalreview.com/2009/07/caritas-veritate-gold-and-red-george-weigel/.

[193] *Caritas*, §57-67.

Gutiérrez called for a Christ-inspired reimagining of human society – the forging of a revolutionary-utopian community of justice that would anticipate the Kingdom of God[194] – Josef Ratzinger, then Prefect of the Congregation of the Doctrine of the Faith, censured their 'historicist immanentism', their 'radical politicisation' of incarnational faith, such that it comes to be 'conceived as a purely temporal messianism'.[195]

The critique reflected Ratzinger's conviction (shared by correspondents across a war-scarred generation, like von Balthasar and Eric Voegelin) that the enormities of Nazism and Communism could be traced to their desire to 'immanentise the eschaton': to make real and present in time the perfection of heaven.[196] For Ratzinger, Augustine showed that this mentality, common in antiquity, was anathema. Christ was the end of History. *Pace* those mediaeval millenarians like Joachim of Fiore (d.1202), who thought of Him as the world's mediator to a 'Third Age of the Spirit', before the End of Time, Augustine recalled Christians to the finality of the Cross. Salvation was *already* achieved. God's 'citizenry' now made their pilgrimage through a *saeculum senescens*, a time that was passing away, and in a common space with those who loved only the world and would pass away with it.[197] Freed from Adam's urge to 'duplicate the eschaton' by building with his own hands his own paradise, man could live with 'reckless self-surrender' and be incorporated into Christ's 'mystery-presence', the Church.[198] There, in a eucharistic communion apart from the world but seeking its transformation in sacrificial love, the disciple worshipped and waited – not building a new Babylon, but praying for the new Jerusalem, coming down out of heaven from God.[199]

The tensions between these incarnational 'models' are very real; their paradoxes deserve scrutiny. The 'progressive' Francis sits more squarely in the integralist tradition – the Church triumphant, the world redeemed – than his 'arch-conservative' predecessor. Indeed, Benedict's juxtaposition of the *societas Christi* with the disordered desires of nation-states sounds similar to the ecclesiology of the Mennonite radical, John Howard Yoder, who sees the Church as an *altera civitas*, 'a new social order' of suffering witness that challenges the power politics of a fallen world.[200] But if such paradoxes are to generate light as well as heat, they should be set in perspective. The

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[194] Gutiérrez, *A Theology of Liberation: History, Politics and Salvation*, ed. trans. Caridad Inda and John Eagleson (1974), 28.

[195] Ratzinger, *Libertatis Nuntius*, (6/8/1984), IX.6, 1, 4: https://www.vatican.va/roman_curia/congregations/cfaith/documents/rc_con_cfaith_doc_19840806_theology-liberation_en.html

[196] Voegelin, *The Political Religions* (1999), 50-51. For Voegelin's influence on Ratzinger: D. Vincent Twomey, 'Introduction' to John Thornton and Susan Varenne, eds., *The Essential Pope Benedict XVI* (New York, 2007), 428n15.

[197] Ratzinger, *Theology of History in St. Bonaventure*, trans. Zachary Hayes (Chicago, Ill., 1971), 97-110.

[198] Von Balthasar, *A Theology of History* (1964), 113-18, 88-92; Ratzinger, 'Eschatology and Utopia', in *Church, Ecumenism and Politics* (Vatican City, 2008), 223-35: 243; Aidan Nicholas, *The Thought of Pope Benedict XVI* (2007), 105.

[199] *Values in a Time of Upheaval*, trans., Brian McNeil (San Francisco, 2005), 11-30.

[200] Compare Yoder, *The Priestly Kingdom* (1984), 12, with Ratzinger, *Church, Ecumenism and Politics*, 193-203, 239-46.

contrasting emphases are best understood as the product of unresolved tensions over the 'boundaries' of the incarnation in a world after Christendom. Rather than find these papal pivots disconcerting, Catholics can engage with them as new manifestations of old traditions. In seeking their origin and historical significance, they will find no oven-ready answers for the future. But they might find consolation, inspiration and warning in the examples of their nineteenth-century forebears, who approached similar questions not only with an earnest faith, but a clarity of vision, a breadth of erudition, and a commitment to serious argument.

*

Some in the final audience I address may doubt whether these attributes can sit coherently in one person or body of people. Political philosophers in the liberal tradition are certainly not alone in thinking that 'Athens and Jerusalem' are worlds apart.[201] But with force and effect, they have argued that the chasm between religion and reason cannot be spanned and should not be hazarded: that the former must be quarantined if there is to be a polity of peace grounded in the latter.[202] The principle has become the common-sense intuition of Western societies, albeit in different forms and with varying effects: in France, the *laïcité* of the Fifth Republic; in the US, the 'separation of Church and State'; in Britain, a constitutional establishment reformed by Emancipation and Human Rights Acts and tempered by cultural ignorance. 'Faith' is a private matter to be yielded as little space as possible in public argument, lest it revive 'enthusiasm' or galvanise 'extremism', summoning up the spectre of the grim-faced Covenanter or legitimising the pseudo-jurisprudence of the provincial imam. But the controversies generated in policing these borders reveal the fissures in Western societies and the incoherences in their public debates. 'Secularism' is a shibboleth in need of interrogation.[203]

The contention that the public realm should be a 'neutral' one, where matters might be discussed and resolved in a common, secular, language, is not new. If the Catholics of this study are to be believed, it was the polemical project of liberalism since the seventeenth century.[204] But it gained hegemony when recast in the

[201] Leo Strauss, 'Jerusalem and Athens: Some Introductory Reflections', *Commentary*, 43 (1967), 45-57.

[202] Richard Rorty, 'Religion as Conversation-stopper', in *Philosophy and Social Hope* (New York, 1999), 169.

[203] See, e.g., Suella Braverman, 'We do not have blasphemy laws in Great Britain', *The Times*, 4/3/23: https://www.thetimes.co.uk/article/suella-braverman-we-do-not-have-blasphemy-laws-in-great-britain-9ps9lj8r5. (For the unfounded rhetoric of sharia law show trials on which Braverman's account was based: Harry Lambert, 'Once upon a time in Wakefield', *New Statesman*, 25/3/2023: https://www.newstatesman.com/the-weekend-report/2023/03/inside-wakefield-koran-incident.)

[204] Some philosophical realists agree: Glen Newey, *Toleration in Political Conflict* (Cambridge, 2013), 102-22.

smoothly reasonable language of John Rawls. Over the last fifty years, his neo-Kantian moral and political theory has become the dominant mode of thinking about social principles, relations, and institutions, especially in the Anglophone world.[205] It promised justice as fairness in a plural society; and it insisted that those organising principles could be shaped by a range of 'comprehensive moral doctrines', which would meet in the debate of the public sphere, their transactions underwritten by the broad-based norms of the liberal regime.[206] Many Rawlsians came to believe that for the 'reasonable citizen', all views could be heard, all circles squared.

They couldn't, of course. After all, whose 'justice' was it anyway, which 'rationality'?[207] Over time, ever-sharper criticisms were directed at philosophical liberalism's abstraction from really-existing human beings and political societies, and at the arrogation of 'reason' to itself. These objections, advanced by philosophical realists,[208] were echoed from right and left.[209] But with the post-Cold War consensus crumbling, the liberal regime is now in 'crisis'. Confidence in its grand narratives is collapsing. Globalisation and its ostensible corollaries – free trade and open borders; bailouts for speculators and the mass migration of cheap labour – persuaded many that 'liberalism' was merely a legitimating rhetoric for exploitative capitalists intent on hollowing out nation-state democracies and selling them for parts. Its increasingly polarising orthodoxies – on equality, justice, gender, identity, culture, and history – suggested it was a cult of the few and not the many: a subscription service for the citizens of nowhere. But with conventional Socialist and Conservative parties having made an oblation of their traditions on liberalism's altar of profit and progress, many have abandoned 'compromised' political establishments, and either sought out new modes of political expression and identitarian association, or revitalised older moral traditions and communitarian cultures. This helps to explain some of the tensions and radicalising opinions in liberal societies today.[210] It also helps to explain why there is a revolt against liberalism's specious neutrality and the policies smuggled into public life under that veil.

This 'neutrality' was achieved, critics argue, only by smothering every moral tradition in its tolerant embrace. Each in turn was de-fanged; liberalism became the monopoly on the legitimate use of political reason. Communitarian thinkers, in particular – amongst the most influential, ex-Marxist Catholics like Alasdair MacIntyre and Charles Taylor – warn that this straitjacket proves especially asphyxiating for religious bodies; the sovereign

[205] Samuel Freeman, 'Introduction', in Freeman, ed., *The Cambridge Companion to John Rawls* (Cambridge, 2002), 1-61.
[206] Rawls, *Justice as Fairness* (Cambridge, MA, 1971); *Political Liberalism* (New York, 1993).
[207] Alasdair MacIntyre, *Whose Justice? Which Rationality* (1988).
[208] Bernard Williams, 'A Fair State', *LRB*, 15.9 (May, 1993).
[209] David Chandler, *Free and Equal: What would a Fair Society Look Like?* (2023), ch. 3.
[210] Adrian Pabst, *The Demons of Liberal Democracy* (Cambridge, 2019).

vitality of all communities and moral traditions outside the liberal Leviathan is effectively denied.[211] The Catholic concept of the Church, the Islamic notion of the *umma*: neither will be recognised for what it claims to be; each is expected to take its place as a domesticated deity in the liberal pantheon. Should any of these slumbering gods awaken and make a nuisance of themselves, liberalism detects an existential menace and lashes out in forms of cultural coercion or legislative fiat.[212]

It is thus not only anti-liberal pessimists, like John Gray, and post-liberal Schmittians, like Vermeule, who warn that implicit in the nature of liberalism is the temptation to slide from professed neutrality to persecuting toleration and a partisan framing of 'the good'. It is also realist, socialist, and communitarian philosophers, pluralist thinkers[213] and theologians.[214] Like conservative Catholics,[215] scholars of Islam echo this critique.[216] Although Muslim diasporas in Western states can accommodate themselves to the framework of liberal citizenship, the *umma* – a global community drawing on a pre-colonial 'memory' – necessarily challenges secularist and individualistic assumptions of liberalism, as well as its theories of obligation and community-formation.[217] These religious communities thus demand respectful breathing-space and critical agency as they seek to theorise, debate and live out notions of the commonweal.

Rawlsian liberalism is thus unlikely to re-enchant: its 'long neglect of "non-ideal" realities, interests, and ideologies' makes it unappealing to those now fired by notions of justice formed in loyalties to identities and communities that are anterior to, 'beneath', and beyond the state.[218] Many theorists and historians concede as much, and seek to wean the liberal tradition from a philosophy whose 'recent fixation … with neutrality' they deem 'alien' to its own 'tradition' – a tradition rightly understood as a 'cultural compound' of varied discourses, a partisan 'civilising mission', and a moralising form of national politics.[219]

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[211] Alasdair MacIntyre, *After Virtue: a study in moral theory* (1997), 251-3; Charles Taylor, 'Modes of Secularism', in Rajeev Bhargava, ed., *Secularism and its Critics* (Oxford, 1998), 31-53.

[212] John Gray, *Two Faces of Liberalism* (Cambridge, 2000).

[213] Cecile Laborde, *Liberalism's Religion* (Cambridge, MA, 2018).

[214] David Nicholls, *The Pluralist State: the political ideas of J. N. Figgis and his contemporaries* (1994 [1975]); Rowan Williams, *Faith in the Public Square* (2012), 11-74.

[215] Tracey Rowland, *Ratzinger's Faith. The Theology of Pope Benedict XVI* (Oxford, 2008), 112-4.

[216] Maleiha Malik, 'Muslims and Participatory Democracy', in M. Siddique Seddon, D. Hussain and N. Malik, eds., *British Muslims: loyalty and belonging* (2003), 69-85; Abdal Hakim Murad, *Travelling Home: Essays on Islam in Europe* (Cambridge, 2020).

[217] Faiz Sheikh, Samantha May, 'Remembering the *Umma* in the Confines of the Nation State', in Jane Garnett and Sandra L. Hausner, eds., *Religion in Diaspora: Migration, Diasporas and Citizenship* (2015), 80-99.

[218] Katina Forrester, *In the Shadow of Justice: Postwar Liberalism and the Remaking of Political Philosophy* (Princeton, NJ, 2019), 273-7.

[219] Michael Freeden, *Liberal Languages: Ideological Imaginations and Twentieth-Century Progressive Thought* (Woodstock, 2005); Eugenio Biagini, 'Neo-roman liberalism: "republican" values and British liberalism, ca. 1860-1875', *HEI*, 29.1 (2003), 55-72; J. P. Parry, *The Politics of Patriotism; English Liberalism, National Identity and Europe, 1830-1886* (Cambridge, 2006); Helena Rosenblatt, *The Lost History of Liberalism* (Princeton, 2018).

There seems as yet to be no 'acceptable' alternative to liberalism, but its meaning is unstable and future uncertain.[220] As it goes in search of itself, this study recalls liberalism to some of its earlier identity crises – from the perspective of those who watched them unfold and sought to channel its impulses in different directions. Victorian Catholics proved effective in exposing liberalism's conceptual slippage from a language of civil-rights neutrality into a sinister neo-'Caesarism' – the insistence that minorities, to escape suspicion of sedition, hold the same 'plans and wishes' as their compatriots, educate their children no differently to their fellow citizens, and harbour no subversive 'dislike' of 'Mr. Swinburne's poetry, or Mr. Mill's philosophy, or Mr. Froude's history'.[221] In a series of significant national debates, they helped to shape not just the practice but the theory of a plural liberalism, and affirmed the legitimate place of reasoning faith in the public sphere. Moreover, they used this position to challenge stultifying consensuses on a range of national and international issues: from the nature of the state and its place in an international order of laws and norms, to the nature of those religious bodies operating under its canopy but claiming a life beyond its reach; from the tendencies and transformations in liberal philosophy, to the poverty of political economy and capitalism's obligations to social justice. In that sense, this study is an accidental history of liberalism – nether from 'above' nor 'below', but from the margins, in the mirror. Here, in the company of critical friends, liberalism might find a new self-knowledge in understanding how it has been seen, censured – and sometimes even celebrated.

[220] Raymond Geuss, 'Liberalism and its Discontents', *Political Theory*, 30.3 (2002) 320-38; Duncan Bell, 'What is Liberalism?', *Political Theory*, 42.6 (2014), 682-715.

[221] [Henry Coleridge?], 'Ultramontanism and Ultrapaganism', *The Month*, 18 (March, 1873), 163-73.

# Part I

# The Wiseman Synthesis

# Chapter II

## *Integral incarnationalism: Eucharist, Church, and world in Ultramontane political theology, ca.1830-50*

> When the Son of God … hath once consented to take upon Him the nature of man, frail, disfigured, and disgraced by sin, it is not, surely, for man's reason to calculate what more He may be impelled to do. After the first step, from the glory of heaven … into the womb, however pure, of woman, the step from this to the cross, and from the cross to the altar, must seem but as comparatively short in His gigantic career of love.
>
> — Nicholas Wiseman (1827-35)[1]

> [T]he key note of all the Roman services is, "The Word was made flesh, and dwelt among us." The presence of the Incarnation broods like a spirit over all: gives meaning to every genuflection at the altar; … harmony to that wonderful array of saints … Around the Incarnation drawn out, applied to daily life … the whole worship revolves … What is the secret of this? It is that daily approach ... to the Most Holy One; that daily reception of Him, which deifies flesh and blood.
>
> — T. W. Allies (1849)[2]

As Nicholas Wiseman, the papal favourite and improbably young Vice-Rector of the Venerabile Collegio Inglese, rhapsodised in Rome on the multiplying 'mysteries of love' inaugurated by the incarnation, and impressed upon his mixed English congregations the true nature of the Church as the Kingdom of God, the Catholic community in his homeland contemplated a variety of possible futures. A 'very small body' of Recusants, 'trained to a life of retirement … rejoiced to have seen the day of Catholic Emancipation and sang their *Nunc dimittis*'.[3] A younger generation, whose 'fathers had witnessed the aurora breaking into daylight', made ready to strike out under a 'risen sun' and 'use the victory which their parents had gained'.[4] And whether departing the political arena in peace or paving a new path forward in faith, they pondered the nature and purpose of their body: how would they use emancipation, and to what end? What now did it mean to be a Catholic in England?

An impression prevails that the answers to these questions were largely predetermined: that demography was destiny; and that English embourgeoisement, Irish migration, and continental devotional influences were

[1] Wiseman, 'The two great mysteries of love', in *Sermons on our Lord Jesus Christ and on His Blessed Mother* (Dublin, London, 1866 [1864]), 86. The sermon was delivered in Rome between 1827 and 1835: see the Preface, iii-v.

[2] Allies, *Journal in France in 1845 and 1848* … (1849), 186-8.

[3] Bernard Ward, *The Sequel to Catholic Emancipation:* … (1915), I, 3-7.

[4] W. J. Amherst, SJ, *The History of Catholic Emancipation* … (1886), I, 1-4.

inexorably reshaping the Recusant community on Ultramontane lines.[5] Where this anachronism has been challenged, and the agency of the early Ultramontane movement more fully recognised, it has been in the service of a functionalist sociology of the ecclesiastical polity, the narrative of a power-grab that made possible a cultural revolution.[6] But if this latter explanation captures more faithfully contemporaries' experiences of cultural contestation across the 1830s, it does little to help us understand the Ultramontane campaign in its own terms: what did 'Romanisation' *mean* to its champions?

The conventional answer to that question – the ecclesiastical, intellectual, and aesthetic-devotional domination of Rome – does not take seriously the politico-theological framing of the Romanising campaign by the Ultramontanes themselves. The first half of this chapter argues that at the heart of their crusade lay the doctrine of the incarnation, which they held to be the foundation of the faith and the key to a right understanding of nature, the social order, and the ecclesiastical polity; they saw it as the motor of history and history's end, for it sacramentalised the mundane world, incorporating the faithful into Christ's mystical body, the Church, and building God's Kingdom on earth. Drawing on the counter-revolutionary theology then ascendant in Rome, and the incarnationalism of the disciples of that turbulent theocrat, Félicité de Lamennais (1782-1854), Wiseman insisted that any attenuation of this sacred mystery – any attempts by 'man's reason' to set limits to its action in history – represented a threat to the meaning of Catholicity. His first decade in England is thus best understood as a battle against those who would call themselves 'Catholic' but question the transforming power of the incarnation. This was a polemical war on two fronts, carried out in a revitalised Ultramontane print culture: against Cisalpine agents of a Jansenist international, accused of bartering incarnational orthodoxy for social respectability; and against a Tractarian phalanx, charged with professing themselves champions of dogma while clinging pertinaciously to a church riddled with rationalism. The fruits of these false theologies, Wiseman argued, were eucharistic and ecclesiological heterodoxy.

But as the second half of the chapter demonstrates, Ultramontane controversial strategy across the 1830s and '40s was not limited to hectoring correctives. This was an age of ferment – of constitutional, politico-economic and scientific experimentation – and in the face of pressing challenges, social and ecclesiological, Christians explored the Church's place in a transforming world. In Britain, Anglicans from the Evangelical, Broad- and High-Church traditions contributed to a range of complex, cross-cutting debates on the tensions between faith and

[5] Bossy, *ECC*, esp. 334-7, 385-90; Norman, *English Catholic Church*, chs 1-3.
[6] Holmes, *More Roman*, ch. 2; Schiefen, *Transformation*, *passim*.

reason, the nature of the state, and the fabric of modern society, often joining Romantic and radical thinkers in criticising a dominant, 'mechanistic' liberalism.[7] Catholics, whose very emancipation had raised questions about 'religion, national history and the meaning of British national identity',[8] were determined to enter these debates, using them as controversial opportunities to showcase the intellectual rigour and imaginative possibilities of their tradition (and, of course, the limitations of their rivals'). No Christian, they insisted, should accept a shrunken sense of the world's sacramentality. Protestantism and rationalism had narrowed the meaning of what it was to be human and distorted what it was to apprehend meaning and live meaningfully. But the intellect, so pushing and prideful when left to its own rationcinations, could be trained to a higher perfection when re-humanised – when restored to its rightful place in an incarnational anthropology, where human beings were those who thought, felt, imagined, worked and prayed all at once and all together. To their rivals, the Ultramontanes held out a politico-theological vision of a world 'charged', in the words of the later convert, Gerard Manley Hopkins (1844-89), 'with the grandeur of God'. Positioning themselves as purveyors of a Christian wisdom lost to England at the Reformation but renewing the life of Catholic Europe, they sketched an integrated incarnational realm, in which a Church supernatural, universal and sovereign consecrated a political order popular and paternal, pluralist and free.

## *The scuola ecclesiologica romana*

Portly gourmand, prolix raconteur, professional pedant, Wiseman was an unlikely revolutionary. To understand how he was radicalised, we must turn to his formative experiences. He was born in Seville in 1802, in a land where, as one biographer put it, 'Jesus [was] loved, and Mary honoured; and where the mysteries of religion interpenetrate[d] and entwine[d] themselves round the daily lives of the people'. His 'mother laid him as an infant upon the altar', consecrating his life to Christ's service. These earliest memories seem to have lingered in the mind of the Ushaw boy, where Dr. Lingard's example of undemonstrative piety left less of an imprint than the sense of living in a centre of exilic scholarship created by revolutionary violence.[9] The Tridentine world soon summoned him home; and he felt the dawning of a 'new era' when, as a wide-eyed sixteen-year-old, he heard the words 'Ecco Roma' and set foot in 'the queen of cities'.[10]

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[7] See, e.g., Garnett, 'Anglican Economic and Social Engagement', 460-5.

[8] Michael Tomko, *British Romanticism and the Catholic Question: Religion, History and National Identity, 1778-1829* (Basingstoke, 2010), 3.

[9] *Records and Recollections of St. Cuthbert's College, Ushaw;* (Preston, 1889), 106, 67-70. For Lingard: Ibid., 74-81, and Wiseman's *Recollections of the last four popes and of Rome in their times* (1858), 328-31.

[10] Wiseman, *Recollections*, 4-5.

In the Rome of papal restoration, Wiseman encountered an ecclesiastical polity attempting to put itself back together again after years of tumult. In one sense, the context can be framed as a debate between cautious reformers seeking to 'readjust' the Church to a new world, and *zelanti* whom even Metternich thought retrograde.[11] Yet if the Curia was divided over the propriety of retaining Napoleonic innovations, it was at one in identifying the great challenge of the age. Pius VII, who as Napoleon's prisoner had almost compromised the Petrine office by signing the Concordat of Fontainebleau (1813), now proved single minded in establishing the principles of papal primacy and the groundwork of papal supremacy.[12]

The architects of this project – the '*intransigenti*' – had argued since the 1790s that a corrupted Catholic theology had served as the matrix of the Revolution.[13] After 1815, the Jesuit-dominated '*scuola antigiansenistica*' intensified this line of attack: Jansenists were a fifth column bent on protestantising the faith, enslaving the pope, ending the Church's *potestas indirecta*, and erecting a 'monstrous civil theocracy' directed by an enlightened elite;[14] conspiring with Protestants, *philosophes*, and masons, this enemy within had weakened the Church's doctrine and discipline as prelude to a wider attack on Christendom, and on Catholicism, *tout court*. Jansenised Gallicans – and variations on that theme: Febronianists, Regalists, and Josephists – were denounced as 'the principal authors of the revolution'.[15] Indeed, a 'theological and ecclesiological anti-jansenism' became the Curia's 'dominant mode of apprehending and evaluating the ecclesiology of the Revolution'.[16] Promoted by the papal academies, and by influential theologians like Filippo Anfossi (1748-1825) and polemicists in the quasi-official *Giornale ecclesiastico di Roma*, it became the public doctrine of the Papal States.[17] So pervasive was this *antigiansenismo* that even seminarians trudging through the scholarly works of antiquarians like Carlo Fea (1753-1836) could not escape it;[18] and it percolated out to the people and the lower clergy.[19]

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[11] Luigi Mascilli Migliorini, 'La Restuarazione come giudizio politico e come problema storico', in Chiara Coletti, Stefania Petrillo, eds., *Luoghi, figure e itinerari della Restauruazione in Umbria.* (Roma, 2017), 17-22; Frank Coppa, *The Modern Papacy, 1798-1995* (1998), 51-55.

[12] Lewis Rayapen and Gordon Anderson, 'Napoleon and the Church', *International Social Science Review*, 66.3 (Summer 1991), 123-24; [C. W. Russell] 'Artaud's *Life of Pius VII*', *DR*, 10 (Feb. 1841), 91-92.

[13] Foa, *Gli intransigenti*; Daniele Menozzi, *La Chiesa cattolica e la secolarizzazione* (Turin, 1993).

[14] S. H. de Franceschi, 'L'autorité pontificale paceau legs de l'antiromanisme catholique et régaliste des lumières: Réminiscences doctrinales de Bellarmin et de Suàrez dans la théologie politique et l'ecclésiologie catholiques de la mi-XVIIIe siècle', *Archivum Historiae Pontificiae*, 38 (2000), 122, 146-58.

[15] G. Alberigo, *Lo sviluppo della dottrina sui poteri nella Chiesa universale* (Roma 1964), 330. Cf. Dale Van Kley, 'From the Catholic Enlightenment to the Risorgimento: the Exchange between Nicola Spedalieri and Pietro Tamburini, 1791-97', *P&P*, 224 (2014), §III; Daniele Menozzi, ed., *Le religione e il mondo moderno, vol I: Cristianesimo* (2008), §I.

[16] Bourdin and Boutry, 'L'Église Catholique', 17-19.

[17] 'L'autorité pontificale', 122, 152-3; C. Michael Shea, *Newman's Early Roman Catholic Legacy, 1845-1854* (Oxford, 2017), 36n16.

[18] See Fea's *Ultimatum per il dominio indiretto della Santa Sede* (1826); Wiseman, *Recollections*, 144-8.

[19] Massimo Cattaneo, 'L'opposizione popolare al "Giacobinismo" a Roma e nello Stato pontificio, *Studi Storici*, 39.2 (Spring, 1998), 533-68.

Thus, alongside a generation of Roman-educated clerics, Wiseman came to understand that 'the Revolution' was neither simply a French phenomenon, nor one narrowly political. Its origins could be traced back, through the centuries, to every corner of Christendom; and it manifested itself in myriad subversive forms before the 'volcano' erupted, covering with 'ashes … the teeming produce of civilisation', and reducing men to bestiality, 'without instinct for morality or civilisation'.[20] He also imbibed the conviction that the answer to Jansenism was a muscular reassertion of Tridentine Catholicism. This is not to be confused with 'reaction', nor with the Traditionalism of Maistre and Bonald. Remaining rooted in Thomist thinking, the Ultramontanism of these years built on the work of orthodox *lumi*, like Tommaso Mamachi and Nicola Spedalieri.[21] The former called for a critical but eirenic engagement with Newtonian natural philosophy, as long as it could be brought to recognise epistemic pluralism, the validity of scholastic language, and the integrity of supernatural revelation.[22] The latter, a product of the Sicilian enlightenment, had developed a world-affirming language of natural rights and intra-mundane progress, but insisted that no such world could exist without the framework of revelation to hold it together.[23] Thomist *antigiansenisti* added to these metaphysical propositions the ecclesiological conclusion that a natural society, ordered by and yearning for God, needed a hierarchical Church with a panoply of temporal powers, independent of the state but supreme in matters religious.[24] And this juridical model of the Church as a *societas perfecta* (associated with Second Scholastic thinkers like Francisco Suárez), was complemented by the '*ressourcement*' theology of Giovanni Perrone SJ (1794-1876) – who drew, in turn, on the scholarship nurtured by philologists and antiquarians like Giuseppe Mezzofanti (1774-1849) and Angelo Mai (1782-1854) – to articulate a neo-patristic vision of the Church as Christ's mystical body, an institution social and sacramental.[25]

From this world-affirming philosophy and Church-exalting ecclesiology emerged an Ultramontane political theology. The Church's mission in the revolutionary world was the defence of the incarnation's supernatural economy (sacraments, saints, stigmatics, miracles, popular devotions)[26] against those bent on toppling Christ from his throne – the 'jansenistical' elites of every land, who schemed to control the Church by expropriating its property and hollowing out its religious life. This species of 'liberalism', they argued, was merely the continuation

[20] Wiseman, *Recollections*, 70-9.
[21] See Ch 1, p. 24, above.
[22] Cesare Preti, 'Mamachi, Tommaso Maria', *DBI*, 68 (2007).
[23] 'Spedalieri and Tamburini'.
[24] Eluggero Pii, 'Un aspetto della reazione cattolica: il caso Spedalieri', *Cristianismo nella storia*, 10 (1989), 251-72.
[25] Shea, 'Ressourcement in the Age of Migne: The Jesuit Theologians of the Collegio Romano and the Shape of Modern Catholic Thought', *Nova et Vetera*, 15.2 (2017), 585-7. Cf. Christopher Korten, 'Converging Worlds: Paul Cullen and the World of Mauro Cappellari', in Keogh and McDonnell, *Cullen and his World*, 34f.
[26] Marina Caffiero, *La nuova era. Miti e profezie dell'Italia in Rivoluzione* (Genoa, 1991).

of revolution by other means. But anti-liberalism did not pit the Church against 'the people'. On the contrary: the Church was the ally and guardian of the people, who loved the easy yoke of Christ, and who were realising that liberalism did not mean democracy so much as the rule of a sacrilegious, exploitative oligarchy.[27] The world would be resacralised, and Christendom revived as a political order popular and papal.[28]

From the moment he arrived in Rome, Wiseman was eager to contribute to this project. Lacking sympathy for the speculations of tidy-minded Thomists,[29] he gravitated to the liberal-arts eclecticism of what would in time be known as the '*scuola romana*'. A linguist by training, he believed that the kind of philological-antiquarian research championed by Fea and Mai could be put to apologetic use; scientific truth – an aspect of God's reality – would be made useful to true religion.[30] The substance and tone of that apologetic was set by the great '*projet zelante*' of the 1820s: a city 'profaned' would be 'reconsecrated' – in the liturgical imposition of '*une théologie de la visibilité*', and the rhetorical sacralisation of the body of the 'Sovereign Pontiff' and his 'holy city'.[31] Indeed, Wiseman's work in the following decades can best be understood as an attempt to vindicate the Ultramontane thesis that the doctrine of the incarnation was vouchsafed to the Church in the eucharist, which was guarded, in turn, by the institution of the papacy and the person of the pope.

The Roman teaching that the incarnational order rested on the papacy made an early impression. Wiseman's first meeting with Pius VII formed, he later reflected, his life's 'starting-point'. The nostalgia of his 1858 *Recollections* notwithstanding (as well as their sacralisation of the papacy at precisely the moment of its political collapse),[32] their testimony to his contemporary preoccupations seems credible: the evidence points to the excitement of a novice, who, on initiation into the priesthood at the hands of Christ's Vicar at a moment of eschatological gravity, had devoured the writings of the *antigiansenisti*. The pope was God's chosen agent in 'holy history', to whose temporal tiara had been added, in contest with Revolution, 'the halo of a Confessor'. Had not Providence intervened to 'rescue' and 'restore' him? Did not God's people, in cheering that restoration, recognise the pontiff as His oracle and vicegerent? To encounter the pope in the flesh was thus to forge a unique 'personal bond'. 'Rome' was no longer a distant bureaucracy, but the name of him whom Christ had chosen as steward of

[27] 'Spedalieri and Tamburini', §III.

[28] For more on the polemical and publishing contexts of these years: Christopher Korten, '*Il Trionfo*? The Untold Story of Its Development and Pope Gregory XVI's Struggle to Attain Orthodoxy', *Harvard Theological Review*, 109.2 (April, 2016).

[29] Apologetic should not needlessly be 'shackled with scholastic forms', he later proclaimed: 'Authority of the Holy See in South America', *DR* 5 (July, 1838), 239.

[30] G. Monsagrati, 'Il peccato dell'erudizione: Gaetano Moroni e la cultura romana della Restaurazione', in A. Bonella, A. Pompeo, M. Herder, eds., *Roma fra la Restaurazione e l'elezione di Pio IX* (Roma, Freiburg, 1997), 649-63.

[31] Petit, *Église et Nation*, 27-38.

[32] 'The Roman Question', *The Christian Remembrancer*, 38.106 (Oct. 1859), 355-64.

His Kingdom. When, in 1824, Wiseman defended his doctoral dissertation before some of the best minds in Rome – the audience included Lamennais before his condemnation, as well as Dom Cappellari, who, as Gregory XVI would later issue that condemnation – his sense of validation came only after laying the thesis at the pope's feet, and receiving from him some 'paternal' praise. Newman's cardinalatial motto might have been Wiseman's: *cor ad cor loquitor*. The pope whispered to his heart; forevermore he felt 'himself almost under the direct tuition of the Holy See'. This ripening of 'abstract belief into an affectionate sentiment', he later opined, was the essence of what 'is unmeaningly called "Ultramontanism"'.[33]

At the heart of this emotional papalism was a political theology deeper than these anecdotes might suggest. It centred on the relationship between the papacy and the eucharist, and the ways in which that relationship was liturgically 'performed' in ceremony and ritual.[34] Consider Wiseman's account of the Corpus Christi procession in the days of Pius VII. The cardinals parade like 'Roman senators'; the Swiss Guards bristle with bright steel. Yet the centre of Wiseman's picture is that before which the former process and over which the latter held 'lofty poles of a rich silver-tissue and embroidered canopy': the 'crowning object of the entire procession', 'the golden Monstrance … that contains the holiest object of Catholic belief'. In Wiseman's vision, the eucharist was the centre of all life; around it whirled the carnival of Christian society. Directly 'behind' the monstrance, 'the Pontiff kneels', playing a vital double role. In a striking passage, the pope is shown to embody the devotion of the faithful as their high priest and to become almost an emanation of the divine into the world:

> Thus he is borne along, so that all may see and join him in his devotion … the closed eyes that saw none of the state and magnificence around, but shut out the world from … [his] entranced adoration … [A]bstracted from all that sense could convey, [he] was centred … in one act of mind, soul, and heart, in one duty of his sublime office, one privilege of his supreme commission. He felt, and was, and you knew him to be, what Moses was on the mountain, face to face, for all the people, with God; the vicar, with his Supreme Pontiff; the chief shepherd, with the Prince of pastors; the highest and first of living men, with the One living God.[35]

A similar argument underpins his account of Leo XII's coronation in 1823, when multitudes 'as varied in class and clan as were the visitors at Jerusalem at the first Christian Whitsuntide' gathered for 'something greater' than a coronation. The centre of their adoration was the eucharist on the altar: 'Towards it all look … kneel, and worship'; in its presence, the 'sovereign Pontiff himself is nothing'. But if the pope knelt as equal 'dust and ashes', he entered

[33] Wiseman, *Recollections*, 42, 17-24.
[34] Caffiero, *La nuova era*, 133-58.
[35] *Recollections*, 55-9. Cf. A. Paravincini Bagliani, *Il corpo del papa* (Torino, 1994).

into a still-more mystical bond with Christ than others: he alone was 'conscious of only one single Presence, and [he] stood as much alone as Moses … [was,] with One other only besides himself, on Sinai'.[36]

Wiseman in these passages has the pope mirror the threefold office of Christ as prophet, priest, and king. In calling God's people back to His presence, leading their worship, and ordering a body politic around the body of Christ, the pope seemed to Wiseman a type of Moses and Melchizedek – uniquely so, for he was the only monarch in the world who could become, 'again and again, the centre of … [something] so magnificent, morally as well as materially … bring[ing] together thousands of strangers and of subjects, ambassadors, kings, and even emperors, with multitudes of poor'.[37] Through the agency of his Vicar, Christ brought His Kingdom visibly into the world, challenging its established powers, 'material' and 'moral', and rededicating Rome as His new 'Jerusalem', perpetual, universal, visible.

It was only natural that these should be Wiseman's memories of the 1820s; across these years, his postdoctoral research showed a similar preoccupation. Published to international scholarly acclaim, his *Horae Syriacae* (1828) was an exploration of the ways in which to study Syriac (Aramaic) illuminated scripture. The Republic of Letters was perplexed, however, by the polemical essay on the eucharist that framed the work: why detract from scholarship with a sectarian apology for Rome's exegesis of Matthew 26: '*hoc est enim corpus meum*'?[38] The answer lay in Wiseman's personality, gregarious and devout: the 'bitter' anguish of hours spent in friendless libraries could never be justified for its own sake;[39] but intellectualism could be made fruitful when it helped expound doctrine – and none was in greater need of exposition than the eucharist and the words of institution. Positioning himself in the *scuola romana* tradition, Wiseman argued that historical-critical and philological study vindicated Rome's theology and refuted those who would render the meaning of the Blessed Sacrament figurative, symbolical, or spiritual.

The principal foes here (Calvin, Melanchthon) were predictable. But Wiseman also took aim at Anglicans like Thomas Hartwell Horne, who had worked as an assistant to the Cisalpine historian, Charles Butler (1750-1832), and published historical and anti-Roman studies side-by-side in the 1820s.[40] And in his footnotes Wiseman

[36] *Recollections*, 224-31.
[37] *Ibid.*, 95.
[38] *Horae Syriacae* (Roma, 1828). For the response: Ward, *Wiseman*, I, ch. 3; Timothy Larsen, *A People of One Book. The Bible and the Victorians* (Oxford, 2011), 47-48. Cf. V. de Caprio, 'Il classicismo del "Giornale Arcadico" di fronte alla letteratura moderna', in *Roma fra la Restaurazione*, 665-85.
[39] See Schiefen, *Transformation*, 17-18.
[40] *Introduction to the Critical Study and Knowledge of the Holy Scripture* (1821); *Romanism Contrary to the Bible* (1827).

waged a guerrilla campaign against those implicated in Jansenism.[41] Oriental studies had been shaped by eucharistic controversies of the preceding centuries, with Jansenists and Ultramontanes raiding the East for antiquity's final testimony on eucharistic orthodoxy. Wiseman was aware of this context: his first footnote invoked Edmé Aubertin (1595-1652), the Huguenot minister who initiated that debate's opening phase; and throughout his essay, Wiseman nodded to the authority of anti-Jansenists, like the Oratorian, Richard Simon (d. 1712), while criticising the work of those like Mathurin Veyssière de Lacroze (d.1739), whose Jansenism became a gateway drug into Huguenotism.[42] Minimisers were as dangerous as mutilators. Rome alone preserved the integrity of Christ's meaning at the institution, and His real presence in the world. Wiseman's philological findings were appended to a eucharistic treatise precisely because that was the order, in his mind, of their relative significance.

## *The English mission: Catholicism and its counterfeits*

The same preoccupations informed the next stage of Wiseman's career: his mission to England. By 1829, he was Vice-Rector of the Venerabile and a scholar of international repute. Corresponding with leading lights of the Catholic revival, he was impressed by the gains being made for the faith across Europe. Commissioned by the pope as preacher to English travellers in Rome, he began to feel his obligations to this new evangelism. Protestantism seemed to be experiencing a crisis, as historicist hermeneutics and positivist science ate away at its foundations; Tractarian tumult suggested England was next. The ramparts of its confessional state had crumbled before the united power of prelates, politicians and people, as represented in the campaign of Bishop Milner and Daniel O'Connell for a Catholic Emancipation without concessions to British Erastianism. This was the cry of liberty and orthodoxy – one that had triumphed in Tuscany, in nullifying the Jansenist Synod of Pistoia (1786),[43] and in Belgium, in overthrowing Orangeist tyranny and establishing a state truly liberal and truly Catholic (1830). If France had its Lacordaire, and Germany its Görres – champions of an orthodoxy resurgent and boldly demanding liberty – what of England? If not Wiseman, who? if not then, when?[44]

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[41] *Horae Syriacae*, 4-6, 67.

[42] Alastair Hamilton, 'From East to West: Jansenists, Orientalists, and the Eucharistic Controversy', in W. Otten, A. Vanderjagt, H. de Vries, eds., *How the West Was Won: Essays on Literary Imagination, the Canon and the Christian Middle Ages for Burcht Pranger* (Leiden, 2010), 83-100. On Simon: Jacques Le Brun, 'L'antiaugustinisme de Richard Simon', *Revue de l'histoire des religions*, 2 (2012), 257-73. On de Lacroze: Anthony Grafton, *Bring out Your Dead: the Past as Revelation* (2001), 202.

[43] See above, p. 23.

[44] On developments in Protestantism: Jonathan Sheehan, *The Enlightenment Bible: Translation, Scholarship, Culture* (Oxford, 2005), 219-40. On Wiseman's correspondence with Catholic revivalists: Ward, *Wiseman*, I, 136f. Ultramontane pride in the campaigns in Tuscany, Ireland, and Belgium would be a recurring motif in the *Dublin*: e.g., [John Steinmetz], 'Civil and religious education in Belgium', *DR*, 8 (May, 1840), 373-414. For the importance of Catholic revivalism to those campaigns: Shaun

Across the early 1830s, he shuttled between England and Rome, publishing, encouraging, censuring. For the next twenty years, the Ultramontane school he built advanced an ecclesiological argument derived from the *scuola romana* and adapted to the particularities of the English context. The Church, it argued, was the incarnational Kingdom of God: Christ's sacramental body, sovereign, universal, and world-transforming; vitalised as a communion of love by His eucharistic real presence and embodied as a visible communion in the form of episcopal and papal government. Such a vision challenged, in an abstract sense, the political theology underpinning the constitutional model of 1688.[45] But contrary to the fears of Protestant polemicists, that his arrival heralded an attempt by 'ULTRA papistry' and Irish nationalism to 'dissolv[e the] compact structure of CHURCH AND STATE', Wiseman's focus in these years was narrower.[46] He came not to assert suzerainty over Protestants, but to claim exclusive right to the name of Catholic. There would be no conversion of England until those embracing that name embraced also its Roman meaning.

In this, he took aim at the alternative visions of Catholicity propounded by the enemy within (Cisalpinism), and the enemy without (Tractarianism). Each would be shown that its flawed vision could never arrest what Churchmen like William Dodsworth rightly identified as the 'death-like torpor' engulfing English Christianity, nor withstand the 'march of mind' mentality that followed in its wake.[47] A new 'Jerusalem' would be built only on a confession of Roman truth.[48]

*Cisalpines challenged*

The first targets of his mission were those 'Cisalpine' Catholics whose shuffling brought shame to a Church of martyrs and betrayed the festering 'cancer' of Jansenism.[49] For the next two decades, Wiseman exhibited a neuralgic nervousness of 'Jansenism' and 'Gallicanism' in the Catholic body; his heresy-hunters, like the papal chamberlain, Mgr. George Talbot (1816-86), were still picking up the scent into the 1870s. For some historians, this was self-serving paranoia, justifying a crackdown on mild-mannered Recusants, whose only crime was a reluctance to have

Blanchard, *The Synod of Pistoia and Vatican II: Jansenism and the Struggle for Catholic Reform* (Oxford, 2020), 162-211; Ambrose Macaulay, *The Catholic Church and the Campaign for Emancipation in Ireland and England* (Dublin, 2016); Stefaan Marteel, *The Intellectual Origins of the Belgian Revolution: Political Thought and Disunity in the Kingdom of the Netherlands, 1815-1830* (Basingstoke, 2018), ch. 5.

[45] On which: J. C. D. Clark, *English Society, 1688-1832: ideology, social structure and political practice during the ancien regime* (Cambridge, 1985).

[46] 'Introduction'*, Church of England Quarterly Review* (Jan. 1837), 1, 4-6; 32-33.

[47] Dodsworth, *Romanism Successfully Opposed Only On Catholic Principles* (2nd edn., 1839?), 5-8.

[48] Wiseman to Richard Monckton Milnes, Sept. 1835, quoted in Ward, *Wiseman*, I, 215-16; Fitzgerald, *Catholic Life*, I, 57; *EVS*, II, 25-6.

[49] Wiseman, *EVS*, II, 138.

foisted upon them the devotions of excitable Italian missionaries.[50] There is more than a grain of truth to this, as we shall see. But dismissing Wiseman's concerns does little to help us contextualise the contest. Posing as the champion of incarnationalism, he was laying claim to the leadership of the 'orthodox' party and promising to carry forward its crusade: to secure the English front in the wider war against the Jansenist international.

For that older generation – Milner, Walmesley, Strickland, Plowden – the Cisalpines, like their comrades across the seas, took a low view of papal authority and a minimising stance on the supernatural. Catholicism's minority status in a country far from Rome – geographically and historically – only made their threat graver. This explains Milner's vituperations in the 1780s. At the height of the controversy over the Synod of Pistoia, (where, as we have seen, Jansenist prelates sponsored by Leopold of Tuscany had attempted to curb 'superstitious' enthusiasms for cults of the saints and the Sacred Heart), Milner became obsessed with the spread of latitudinarianism in the Established Church. He feared that Cisalpines, intoxicated by the ambient 'Hoadlyism' and the currents of Josephism wafting in from abroad, would welcome the Jansenist parasite into the Catholic body; once it had degraded the Church's immune system (dogma), it would devour her vital organs (supernatural faith). By the 1790s, these fears seemed justified. Sir John Throckmorton, drawing on the works of Jansenists like Quesnel, called into question aspects of the incarnational economy: transubstantiation, the veneration of the saints, the Temporal Power, and papal infallibility. The scholar-priest, Joseph Berington (1743-1827), went further still, praising Pistoia's puncturing of Rome's pretensions; dismissing as clerical skullduggery and the superstitious 'sotishness of the multitude' the Marian miracles identified in Italy during Napoleon's invasion; and anticipating the destruction of the Papal States as a consummation devoutly to be wished. In Scotland, these heterodoxies were openly canvassed by Alexander Geddes; in England, they 'disfigured' the religious consciousness of the Recusant gentry, whose willingness to barter with the faith in pursuit of Protestant approbation made them 'betrayers of their religion'.[51]

On the eve of his return to England in 1835, Wiseman feared that neither Emancipation nor the continent's revivalist Ultramontanism had dispelled this mood, and that there lurked in the Catholic community an anti-Roman resistance movement. In the decade that followed, its prosopography would become clearer, its

[50] Schiefen, 'Anglo-Gallicanism', 15-19.

[51] 'SS', 63-73, 118-9; Leighton, 'Milner', 350-52; Duffy, 'Ecclesiastical Democracy III', 123-48; Vidmar, *English Catholic historians and the English Reformation, 1585-1954* (Brighton, 2008), 29, 39; Mark Goldie, 'Alexander Geddes at the limits of the Catholic Enlightenment', *HJ*, 53.1 (March, 2010), 73-74; Leopold Gooch, 'From Jacobite to Radical: the Catholics of North East England, 1688-1850', Durham Ph.D Thesis (1989), 246. For the tendentiousness of Milner's arguments: Nockles, "'Difficulties of Protestantism'", *passim*.

rootedness in schools and seminaries a cause for concern. From Ushaw, it included Catholic England's most celebrated scholar, John Lingard (1771-1851), as well as professors Thomas Youens (1790-1848) and Robert Tate (1799-1876), each of whom would later serve as College president.[52] At Ampleforth, Peter Baines (1787-1843) proved intractable.[53] And from St Edmund's, Ware – its president, Edward Cox (1802-1856); its graduates, the historians Mark Aloysius Tierney (1795-1862) and Daniel Rock (1799-1871) – emanated a pointed challenge to Wiseman's project. Collectively, these men wanted an English hierarchy for an English Church. They had not successfully rolled back the frontiers of the state in Britain, only to see them reimposed at a Roman level by Propaganda and its puppets.[54]

It was less the 'Anglo-Gallicanism' of this party that alarmed Wiseman than what he thought the subterranean Jansenism animating it. As Richardson has shown, alarm-bells began to ring when a controversy erupted in 1831 in the *Catholic Magazine and Review*, a periodical Wiseman had hoped to make the vehicle of an English-Irish Ultramontanism.[55] Henry Weedall (1788-1859), President of Oscott, recounted in the *Magazine* his recent pilgrimage to Naples, where he had witnessed the liquefaction of the blood of St Januarius. His article was an attack on rationalists seeking to demystify or denigrate the miracle, and an encomium to the papacy as guardian of the realm of the incarnation. Travelling through the insurrection-torn Papal States in the aftermath of Gregory XVI's enthronement, Weedall goaded Beringtonians: Rome might teeter but would never fall; papal-guarded supernaturalism was eternal.[56] In response, Lingard and his supporters – Tierney, Rock, Tate and McDonnell – demanded that Milnerites like Weedal and Frederick Husenbeth (1796-1872) abandon 'turbulent … zeal' for empiricism and politeness. Shortly thereafter, Lingard suggested that the Litany of Loreto, a sixteenth-century innovation containing 'incomprehensible' Marian epithets ('the morning star, the gate of heaven') be discarded as repugnant to the 'more correct taste of the present age'. Ultramontane objections were ridiculed – ascribed to the unmanly credulity of 'old Catholic women, of both genders' – and catastrophised, as another dangerous provocation to Protestant society by the 'monopolizers of orthodoxy'. He even pressed the Vicars Apostolic to render Challoner's far-from-Italianate devotional treatise, *The Garden of the Soul* (1740) more intelligible; demanded

[52] *Records and Recollections*, 166, 206-32.
[53] Ward, *Sequel*, I, 65-71; Schiefen, 'Anglo-Gallicanism', 16f and *Transformation*, 117; Norman, *Catholic Church*, 89-96.
[54] Schiefen, 'Anglo-Gallicanism', *passim*.
[55] 'SS', 171-2. Champ, 'Thomas McDonnell', 289.
[56] 'Letter from Dr. Weedall, on the miracle of St. Januarius', *CMR*, 1 (July, 1831), 345-51; Husenbeth, *The Life of the Right Reverend Monsignor Weedall* (1860), 169-70; Chinnici, *Catholic Enlightenment*, 137-9; 'SS', 172-3.

the catechism be made shorter and simpler; and produced a daringly un-mystical (if undaringly anonymous) translation of the Gospels.[57]

Together, these controversies seemed to Wiseman proof of the persistence in the Catholic body of a Jansenist temperament – 'short of absolute heterodoxy' but hardly less 'vicious'.[58] The case of Daniel Rock was especially troubling. A contemporary of Wiseman's at the Gregorian, he, too had undertaken post-doctoral research on the history of the eucharist, with his patron, the Earl of Shrewsbury, funding field studies to Rome's antiquities.[59] Published as debate with the Tractarians deepened, Rock's *Hierurgia* (1833) was, like Wiseman's later lectures, aimed at his 'inquiring … Protestant fellow-countrymen', and took the form of a manual-cum-apologetic, vindicating the Mass. Like Wiseman, he, too, devoted sustained attention to the eucharist as sacrifice and rubbished the 'irreligion' of the reformers, whose figuratism would 'abridge the omnipotence of God'. Indeed, his thesis was similar to Wiseman's, not only because Rock, too, enjoyed philological and archaeological argument, and abhorred the reformers' distinction between 'spirit' and 'flesh', but because he drew directly on the findings of Wiseman's *Horae Syriacae*.[60]

But now, in the pages of the *Dublin Review* – a periodical Wiseman had established to counter Cisalpine influence – Rock launched a thinly-veiled assault on Ultramontane 'credulousness'. One article purported to vindicate the rationality of Romanism, demolishing popular anti-Roman myths and inveighing against those 'enlightened' Protestants who played to 'sectarian prejudices' by portraying the pope as a kind of 'magician', bewitching princes and people, alike, with pretended powers. But nestled within this ostensibly orthodox apologetic lay a determination to unsettle a core epistemological claim of Ultramontanism: that ordinary people commonly experienced through their natural senses supernatural intimations of the incarnate God, who made known His presence not only in the eucharist, but in miracles, liquefactions, ecstasies, and levitations. The modern age, Rock warned, was as populated by 'credulous' men as the ancient – men too quick to believe the 'fallacious testimony … [of] the senses', which were 'inadmissible as faithful guides in any investigation on the mysteries of religion'. There was a gulf between 'reason' and the 'inexplicable truths of revelation'; the 'unenlightened' masses needed a 'very few … gifted … individuals' both to guide them to the right understanding of the 'truths … of

[57] Quoted in 'SS', 172-89. Cf. Chinnici, *Catholic Enlightenment*, 149-54.

[58] Wiseman to William Tandy, 2 Dec, 1833; 17 Jan. 1834: 'SS', 187-8, 218-25.

[59] Rock, *Hierurgia; or the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass*, 2 vols. (1833), I, vii; Bernard Kelly, 'Life of the Very Rev. Daniel Rock, D.D.', in Rock, *The Church of our Fathers*, eds. G. W. Hart and W. H. Frere, new edn. 4 vols. (1905), I, xvii-xxvi.

[60] *Hierurgia*, 167-258, esp. 210, 220-25, 231-37, 242-43.

science' and to 'subdue' their reason sufficiently to believe the 'infinitely higher order of mysteries … of revealed religion' – like transubstantiation.[61]

Here – subtle, unmistakable – were the Jansenist suggestions that reason and revelation stood obdurately apart, resistant to Thomist synthesis, and that the mysteries of Athens and Jerusalem were to be guarded by a gnostic priesthood, savants who alone could steer both Church and state. This epistemology was just as pronounced in the work of Mark Tierney, former Ware professor and from 1824, chaplain to the Duke of Norfolk. As his 1834 study of Arundel suggested, Tierney possessed a Cisalpine sensibility, believing that history advanced in whiggish procession from 'the rude institutions … of our ancestors … [to] the superior blessings of the present age'; 'encouraged' man 'to look forward for the improvement of whatever still remains imperfect'; and 'illuminate[d] the path by which we are to advance in … social benefit and individual fame'. And this was a project to be pursued collaboratively by all the forces of enlightenment a country could muster: a polite clerisy, who disdained sectarianism and convened in learned societies under the patronage of civic notables and great families.[62]

These same sentiments informed Tierney's most audacious endeavour: the revision, continuation, and republication of Charles Dodd's Gallican *Church History of England* (3 vols. 1737-42). Hugh Tootell (1671?-1743), of Recusant stock, had adopted the pseudonym 'Dodd' as a seminarian on the continent; his *Church History* was the culmination of decades of archival research, and years of maturing contempt for the Jesuits and their misguided mission to England.[63] In the footnotes of his revised edition, erudite and epigrammatic, Tierney amplified what he found most congenial in Dodd: his 'uncommon' 'liberality of mind', and (provocatively quoting Berington), his freedom from "'the degrading impressions of party zeal'".[64]

Tierney was careful to give Rome its due. History attested to the papacy's primacy, its indispensability to the growth of Christianity, and its campaigns to suppress 'abuses', many of which stemmed from attempts by the civil power to monetise ecclesiastical temporalities.[65] Similarly, he levelled against the Crown and the reformers a familiar litany of crimes: the murder of Becket (Erastian); the dissolution of the monasteries (rapacious); the enclosure of ecclesiastical lands (a still-festering 'injury inflicted on the poor').[66] But, as with Rock, these arguments could soften but not obscure the anti-Ultramontane import of the work. Rome's agents – popes like Gregory VII;

[61] 'Fallacious evidence of the senses', *DR*, 3 (Oct. 1837), 525-6, 537, 540-9.
[62] *The History and Antiquities of the Castle and Town of Arundel*, 2 vols. (1834), I, 1-2, vi-vii.
[63] On Dodd: Glickman, 'Gothic History', 347-69.
[64] *Dodd's Church History of England* …, 5 vols. (1839-43), I, vii.
[65] Ibid., I, 4n1, 26n1, 81n1, 97n3, 131n1; quotation at 86-7n.
[66] Ibid., I, 98-9n1; II, 14-5n.

legates like Poole; foreign orders like the Jesuits – were the primary authors of Catholic misfortune. Their unwarranted 'temporal pretensions', 'colonial' mindset, and tendency to 'degeneracy' and 'hypocrisy' had been rightly challenged by reformers like Wycliff. '[I]ntemperate' Ultramontanes had not tried hard enough to 'enjoy the friendship' of England's crown or people. Animated by a 'spirit of intolerance', they had been easily provoked into 'barbarities', like the 'infamies' of Mary Tudor.[67] Deference would, in time, have yielded liberty to tender consciences – and perhaps even fruitful colloquies with Anglicans, many of whom, although leery of the scholastic terminology around transubstantiation, still acknowledged the 'reality of Christ's presence' on the altar, the seven sacraments, and the communion of saints.[68] Throughout, Tierney drew on Lingard's monumental *History of England* (1819) to gloss and correct Dodd.[69] In turn, Lingard modestly offered 'high commendation' to a project that owed so much to his own research. In doing so, he underscored the importance of those who undertook the impartial study of Catholicism, shunned the 'slanderous fables of religious sectarianism', disavowed 'doctrines which we do not hold, and practices of which we are ignorant', and sought to draw the Catholic community into a rational public sphere based on 'tolerance'.[70]

Nothing could have been better calculated to infuriate Wiseman than the fact that these slyly insubordinate opinions had slipped into his own magazine. Nor was anything likelier to harden his resolve. Lingard and his associates, if less heterodox than Berington, were tainted by his legacy. Their valorisation of 'enlightenment' signified ignorance of Roman theology; he half-cringed, half-fumed at the cries for *aggiornamento* from a dying generation who 'knew but little of the taste of the age'.[71] Their palates would have to be re-educated – as would those of the Anglicans who thought one could savour without swallowing whole what the leading French Ultramontane, Louis Veuillot (1813-83), called '*le parfum de Rome*'.[72]

*The Dublin Review*

Wiseman would drive this campaign; but he sought to institutionalise the project by mobilising others like him who *did* know 'the taste of the age'. The party of populist orthodoxy had attempted this before: the Milnerite, W. E. Andrews (1773-1837), had published journals like the *Catholic Advocate* and collaborated with O'Connell on the

[67] Ibid., I, 75n1, 98-9n1; 148-9n1; II, 25n1, 103n1, 107n4, 111n, 121n. For the Jesuits, 176-7n4 and *Arundel*, II, 520.
[68] *Church History*, I, 117n1; II, 11-12n, 42-3n1, 131n.
[69] Ibid., II, 85n1, 87n1, 94n1; Lingard, *The History of England,* 8 vols. (1819).
[70] 'Dodd's Church History of England', *DR*, 6 (May, 1839), 397-401, 407-9.
[71] Wiseman to William Tandy, 2 Dec. 1833 and 17 Jan. 1834, quoted in 'SS', 187-8, 218-25.
[72] Veuillot, *Le Parfum de Rome* (1871).

*Truthteller*. But Emancipation achieved, the party fragmented; 'Jansenist' infiltration of the *Catholic Magazine* proved how fragile England's indigenous Ultramontanism was.[73] Wiseman, however, had more successful models on which to draw. His periodical would be as polemical as the *Giornale ecclesiastico* in putting modern journalistic means to ends combatively *zelante*, and as scholarly as the *Annali della Scienze Religiose* – recently founded by cardinals Thomas Weld and Antonino de Luca – in showcasing the best of Roman scholarship.[74] It would also be as cosmopolitan as the Catholic body Wiseman envisaged, enabling the new generation to transcend the 'parochialism' of the past.

In this sense, the title was a statement of intent. *The Dublin Review*, first published in 1836,[75] seemed a curious name for a journal dedicated to the revival of English Catholicism (though as Colin Barr has shown, almost all Anglophone Catholicism would come in these decades to bear the imprint of Irishmen moulded in Rome).[76] Two considerations were at play. Firstly, Wiseman wished to suggest the alignment of Ultramontane theology and O'Connellite, populist politics. This required delicacy: the synthesis – which had seemed providentially favoured in Ireland and Belgium – was now rendered dangerously problematic in France. The theory of 'God and Liberty' propounded by Félicité de Lamennais earlier in the decade had initially flattered but then frightened the Vatican. The brilliant Breton polemicist's critique of Restoration-era religion – statist inference and deadening indifference – culminated in a cry for a saviour. Lamennais alighted first on the papacy, which he pronounced the infallible founder of a new social order; but rebuffed by a Rome wary of his radicalism, he divinised democracy instead.[77] His condemnation (in encyclicals of 1832 and 1834) – and even more, his angry defiance – rattled Ultramontane ranks: the Church's 'most … eloquent apologist … since Bossuet' had plunged into an 'apostacy' [sic] 'the most melancholy … since that of Tertullian'.[78] The episode prompted pained questions over the Church's politics. Was liberty really compatible with faith – or was the very notion, as Gregory XVI seemed to suggest, a 'wicked abuse of the word of God', corrupting men into 'anarchy'?[79] Against this backdrop, Wiseman set out to restate the synthesis he had heard praised in Rome and seen vindicated in practice – nowhere more inspiringly than in Ireland.

[73] See Acheson, 'Journalism', 86-9, 146; 'SS', ch. 3.

[74] Wiseman's manifesto for an enlightened orthodoxy: *Twelve Lectures on the Connexion between Science and Revealed Religion* … 2 vols. (1836); for the *Annali*: Shea, *Legacy*, 35n15.

[75] On the *Dublin*'s foundation: see above, p. 26n144; 'SS', 201f.

[76] *Ireland's Empire: The Roman Catholic Church in the English-Speaking World, 1829-1914* (Cambridge, 2020).

[77] Milbach, 'Introduction' to *Lamennais: A Believer's Revolutionary Politics*, 1-31.

[78] [John Burton Robertson], 'Religious and Social Condition of France', *DR*, 16 (March, 1844), 5; 'Joseph de Maistre', *DR*, 33 (Dec. 1852), 423-4.

[79] *Singulari Nos* (1834) §6.

If Ireland's liberalism was faithful, and the Liberator's loyalty unimpeachable, a popular political Catholicism remained possible.[80]

The title was also to signal an epistemic challenge to Cisalpinism: the composition and concerns of the Catholic body were to undergo radical expansion. The 'defect' of provincial English ignorance would only be redressed by 'supplie[s] from the rich stores of the Continent'.[81] Naturally, this meant 'Romanisation': in the years that followed, Wiseman alone produced thousands of pages of text for the *Dublin*, suffused with the teachings of the *scuola romana* and sprinkled with glowing references to the works of Mamachi, Bolgeni, Spedalieri, and others. The journal would speak for orthodoxy and authority.[82] But Wiseman also amplified a chorus of voices from across the revivalist camps of the continent. From the professors of Maynooth – a generation shaped by anti-Jansenist theology and constitutionalist, O'Connellite politics, and shepherded by C. W. Russell (1812-80), later President of the College and with Wiseman the driving force of the *Dublin* – there emerged a critique of Malthusian political economy,[83] one further developed in appeals to incarnational anthropology and natural-law ethics by Lacordaire and the economists of the Catholic University of Louvain, like Charles de Coux (1787-1864) and Charles Périn (1815-1905). An incarnational philosophy of history, derived partly from the writings of German pluralists like Friedrich Schlegel (1772-1829) and Josef Görres (1776-1848), and partly from the apologetics and apocalyptics of the *scuola romana*, was propounded alike by cradle Catholics with continental horizons, like John Burton Robertson (1800-77), and converts, like Thomas Chisholm Anstey (1816-1873), who had recently moved from Tasmania to the Middle Temple, and, under Wiseman's direction, from a flirtation with Tractarianism to an obsession with Belgian guilds and German metaphysics.[84] And the fundamental incarnational theology and symbology of many of the *Dublin*'s contributors can be traced to the disciples of Lamennais – and even to the master himself. For sundry radicals, socialists, and Tractarians in the early 1830s, Lamennais' vision seemed 'a fireship launched in the

[80] Divisions over Repeal and suspicions of Wiseman's meddling in Irish affairs would come to show this an ideal not easily rendered practicable: see Oliver P. Rafferty, 'Nicholas Wiseman, Ecclesiastical Politics and Anglo-Irish Relations in The Mid-Nineteenth Century', *RH*, 21.3 (May, 1993), 381-400.

[81] [Wiseman], 'French Catholic Literature', 588, 595.

[82] 'French and Italian Catholic Literature', *DR*, 4 (April, 1838), 547-48; 'Italian Catholic Literature', *DR*, 5 (Oct. 1838), 582; [C. W. Russell], 'Rome as it was under Paganism', *DR*, 15 (August, 1843), 127.

[83] On Maynooth's pre-iteration of the 'devotional revolution': Dónal Kerr, 'Dr Patrick Murray (1811–1882)', *ITQ*, 49 (1982), 229–50. On Russell: Ambrose Macaulay, *Dr Russell of Maynooth* (1983). On George Crolly (1813-78): Emmet Larkin, *The making of the Roman Catholic church in Ireland, 1850–1860* (Chapel Hill, N.C. 1980), 308-14, 338-43; P. J. Corish, *Maynooth College, 1795–1995* (Dublin, 1995), 52, 92, 123–4, 144-54. On Patrick Murray (1811–1882): Kevin McNamara, 'Patrick Murray and his writings', *ITQ*, 49 (1982), 252–75. On Matthew Kelly (1814-1858): John Healy, *Maynooth College. Its Centenary History* (Dublin, 1895), 593-8, 714-15, 720-21.

[84] On Anstey: Edward Lucas, *The Life of Frederick Lucas*, 2 vols. (2nd edn. 1887), I, 10, 31-6; 'SS', 210-12. Lingard thought the *Dublin* full of unhappy 'German mysticism': Rosemary Mitchell, *Picturing the past: English History in Text and Image, 1830-1870* (Oxford, 2000), 183.

midst of the moral world'.[85] But for Catholics like Robertson, who, after a schooling at Ware, studied for several years at La Chênaie, Lamennais' Breton base, or John Steinmetz (1795-1883), a Cambridge-educated linguist and lawyer, who converted in Bruges in 1819 with Lamennais as his sponsor, the influence of *Mennaisisme* proved profoundly personal.

In its earliest years, as we have seen, Wiseman failed to exercise complete editorial control over the *Dublin*. But the plurality of opinion was as accidental as it was temporary. The disappearance of Lingard and Rock from the roll of contributors testified to his growing authority over the *Dublin*'s contributors, tone, and 'line'. Despite a diversity of backgrounds and intellectual affiliations, it soon became a means of contextualising and reinforcing his own public utterances and amplifying those voices he trusted.

*Opening new horizons*

This single-mindedness could be seen in the reviewers' efforts to clear the ground for an incarnational political theology. They sought first to subvert the 'Gallican' bond between England and Catholic-minded Englishmen, Cisalpine or Tractarian, and thus open them to what Newman would soon concede to be Rome's 'great truths'.[86] The first such argument was predictable: despite Emancipation, England remained an inveterately anti-Catholic country and part of an international anti-Catholic alliance. The 'silent persecution' of these states was insidious because presented as the 'smothering protection' of the tolerant. Behind such 'liberalism' lurked the tyranny of the Prussian, measuring out the wine for each priest's chalice, and the oppression of the sons of Cromwell, riding their 'pale horse[s] over [Ireland's] mud-cabins'.[87] There could be no naïve compromise between the Church and such enemies.

But in these days, before the first significant waves of conversions, the Ultramontane cry was cultural more than it was political. At a time when Romantic thinkers, like Southey, were increasingly concerned that the Reformation had brought an end to the collegiate and monastic learning of a golden 'patriarchal age', and spawned in its place the "'foul philosophy'" of a commercial society, [88] Catholics held out the promise of an uncorrupted wisdom, rooted in a rich mediaeval scholarship and ready for the challenges of modernity. Speaking directly to

[85] *Times*, 11 June, 1834, p. 3, quoted in W. G. Roe, *Lamennais and England: the reception of Lamennais's religious ideas in England in the nineteenth century* (Oxford, 1966), 32.

[86] [Newman], 'Dr. Wiseman's Lectures on the Catholic Church', *BC*, 19 (Oct. 1836), 377.

[87] [Wiseman], 'The Persecution of Catholics in Prussia', *DR*, 2 (Dec. 1836), 168-9, 183-4, 186. Cf. [John O'Connell], 'The "no-Popery" current, liberal and conservative', *DR*, 2 (April, 1837), 329-338.

[88] Connell, *Romanticism*, 241-6, quoting from [John Rickman and Robert Southey], 'On the Means of Improving the People', *Quarterly Review*, 19 (April, 1818), 81.

contemporary neuroses, they presented as an absurd myth the equivalence of Romanism and obscurantism, and instead cast Protestantism and *philosophism* as agents of intellectual regress. Professor Russell, drawing on the scholarship of the celebrated German historian, Ignatz von Döllinger (1799-1890), insisted that with the Reformation had commenced the closing of the European mind. The reformers were anti-rationalists; wherever their nominalism spread, science retreated.[89] The effects were manifest in England's 'coxcombry'.[90] While the 'living literature of the Continent' plumbed great mysteries of meaning, Englishmen remained 'sunk' in 'materialism', captive to the 'degrading influence of Locke' and the 'indifference springing … [from] Protestant[ism]'. Cisalpinism was charged with shackling 'British Catholics' to the 'fetters' of this rationalism, which 'chills the feelings … debases the understanding' and atomised men from each other. If it was to return to life as a moral '*community*', the Catholic body's silent majority would have to embark upon a project of re-education.[91]

Ultramontanism was presented as the key to this project. The 'bold design' of continental thinkers, past and present, would empower Catholics to break free of the 'Gibbonlike infidelity' corrupting them, and think 'independently' again.[92] Learning from Maistre, Bonald, Chateaubriand, and Schlegel, they could reclaim their patrimony and thus their hope of shaping the future. Inverting Protestant myths, they could join this Catholic 'phalanx' in wresting 'the empire of narrative' back from the Church's foes, and expose centuries of "'conspiracy"'[93] and 'misrepresentation', which had turned the 'ages of faith' into a 'dark age', fit only to be 'sneered' at by '[e]very good Protestant, from the swaddler in his tub to the bishop on his lawn'.[94]

Positioning Ultramontanism as the opposite of such partisanship, antiquarians like Thomas Flanagan (1814-65) demanded 'historical atonement'; for had not scholarship by Christians of all stripes – from Muratori and Lingard to Johannes Voigt (d.1863) and S. R. Maitland (d.1866) – uncovered a mediaeval world very different to the 'barbarism' supposed by 'enlightened' bigots?[95] Was it not proven that this was an age when the clergy

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[89] [Russell], 'The Reformation as described by the Reformers', *DR*, 25 (Sept. 1848), 229-35, 225-9, 219. Cf. J. Warren, '*The Dublin Review* (1836-75), its Reviewers and a "Philosophy of Knowledge"', *RH*, 21 (1992), 86-98.

[90] [J. B. Robertson], 'Science and Revealed Religion', *DR*, 2 (April 1837), 293, quoting Schlegel; [William Howitt], 'Literature of the aristocracy', *DR*, 2 (Dec. 1836), 114.

[91] 'Revealed Religion', 293-7; 'Literature of the aristocracy', 123-9.

[92] 'Literature of the aristocracy', 114. Cf. [John Miley], 'Gibbon; or, the infidel historian, and his Protestant editors', *DR*, 8 (Feb. 1840), 189-220; Faber, *The Spirit and Genius of St. Philip Neri* (1850), 99.

[93] [Anstey], 'Ozanam's *English Chancellors*', *DR*, 3 (Oct. 1837), 305-7, quoting Maistre. Cf. Robertson's Preface to Frederick von Schlegel, T*he Philosophy of History,* ed. trans. J. B. Robertson, 2 vols. (1835), xviii-xx.

[94] '*Chancellors*', 307-9, drawing on Ozanam's *Deux Chanceliers d'Angleterre* (1836) and Montalembert's *La Vie de sainte Élisabeth de Hongrie* (1836); [James Roche], 'D'Aubigné's *History of the Reformation*', *DR*, 20 (March, 1846), 35; [George Crolly], 'Maitland's *Dark Ages*, *DR*, 17 (Sept. 1844), 159-63.

[95] 'Chancellors', 305-7; '*Dark Ages*', 174; [Thomas Flanagan], 'The Anglo-Saxon and Ancient British Churches', *DR*, 18 (March, 1845), 128-74; [Robertson], 'Hurter on the Institutions, Manners, and Customs of the Middle Age', *DR*, 28 (March, 1850), 50-1.

educated princes and paupers, 'shedding the light of the Gospel among those who walked in darkness'?[96] *Philosophes* like Hume could scorn these monks as brain-dead chroniclers; yet without such minds as Matthew of Paris (d.1259), a millennium of history was but 'a blank'.[97] These 'calumniated times' were no doubt 'imperfect'. But had not towering intellects, like the historiographer, Friedrich Hurter (d.1865), been converted from Protestantism in an encounter with the imagination of Catholic Christendom – the metaphysics of Aquinas, the jurisprudence of the Italian schools, the poetry of Dante?[98] The point was pressed repeatedly (and, as we shall see below, its political implications teased out[99]): the fair-minded judge could break free of parochial prejudices by expanding his intellectual horizons.

If he looked far enough, he would see that across Catholic Christendom there still flickered a thousand points of light, promising 'order, progress, and civilisation', and that one sun kept all illuminated.[100] Here again, Ultramontanes sought to invert a settled national myth, freeing Cisalpines and Tractarians to look at Romanism afresh as a future-shaping faith. Far from the 'calumnies' of her foes – that she was the persecutor of Galileo and propagator of Inquisition – Rome, they countered, was the historic patron of learning. Popes from Sylvester II (r. 999-1003) to Gregory XVI (whose reign had begun in 1831), were scholars themselves and of all the world's prince-patrons 'the most friendly to science'.[101] There had always, they conceded, been some 'slaves of Aristotle and the schools'.[102] And there were still those 'who sought in obscurantism, a refuge … against religious and political innovations' – 'a policy as infatuated as it is culpable', abetting the unbelief they purported to despise.[103] But the benighted papist was a straw man: Catholics understood that there could not follow from 'the study of astronomy any objections … against' dogmas of the faith. Modern Rome honoured her inheritance as a beacon of discovery in 'philology, physiology, geology, chronology, and early history, archaeology and biblical criticism'. Catholicism meant the regeneration of man; and this, Ultramontanes enthused, presenting themselves as prophets confident of a Christian future, entailed the 'regeneration of all the sciences'.[104]

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[96] '*Dark Ages*', 159-63.

[97] [Flanagan], 'The Church and Empire in the Thirteenth Century', *DR*, 17 (Dec. 1844), 487-94.

[98] 'Hurter', 52-5, on Hurter's *Geschichte Papst Innocenz* (1835), reviewed in *Annali*, 3.8 (sett.-ott. 1836), 161-80.

[99] See p. 80: § 'The Coming Middle Ages'.

[100] 'Chancellors', 310. For this 'historicist' vindication of Christianity: Armenteros, *French Idea of History*, ch. 3.

[101] [Felix Papencordt], 'Sylvester II and Gregory VII', *DR*, 6 (May, 1839), 299-300; [Peter Cooper], 'Galileo and the Roman Inquisition', *DR*, 5 (July, 1838), 72-7, 105; [Wiseman], 'Early Italian Scientific Academies', *DR*, 3 (July, 1837), 154.

[102] 'Galileo', 105.

[103] *Philosophy of History*, xviii-xx.

[104] 'Academies', 154; 'Revealed religion', 297-303. N. Morrish, 'Wiseman on Sacred Scripture and the Authority of the Church', Navarra Ph.D. Thesis (1987), 469f.

In his 'citation of writings almost inaccessible to the English scholar', and his success in startling the Establishment from its metaphysical torpor, Robertson exhibited Wiseman as evidence of this proposition: he was revealing to England afresh the ancient truths reaffirmed by the higher sciences, and his insights had far-reaching implications for modern philosophy, ecclesiology, and politics.[105] Robertson here drew attention to a series of provocative interventions by Wiseman in English debates, in which he expounded the principles of the *scuola romana*, and challenged Tractarian and Cisalpine alternatives. The first of these took the form of lectures before mixed congregations in Rome, which laid out the compatibility of Catholicism's supernatural economy with modern science, and then exemplified this approach by building on the *Horae Syriacae* to vindicate the dogma of the real presence.[106] This Roman salvo was followed by a barrage from London pulpits. In Advent 1835 and Lent 1836, in the Sardinian Chapel at Lincoln's-Inn-Fields and St Mary's, Moorfields, Wiseman delivered a course of lectures on ecclesiology.[107] Together, these addresses set out to establish the link between a right understanding of the eucharist and the Church.

In the question of the real presence, he argued, Christians faced the litmus test of their faith in the incarnation. What Tractarians and Cisalpines would find in that mystery was a new vision of reality. Here, he – and others in the *Dublin* circle – owed a debt to Lamennais' erstwhile disciples: Lacordaire, Montalembert, Olympe-Philippe Gerbet (1798-1864), and Frédéric Ozanam (1813-53). Their theology, like Wiseman's, had been formed in the crucible of the Restoration era. They knew that the Revolution had rent communities asunder and torn the individual from the ecclesial fabric of relationships and traditions which had long given meaning to life. But they rejected the notion that restoring mouldering Gallican dynasties would do much to heal this wound. Neither would the denunciations of democracy propounded by Bonald and Maistre suffice to 'restore' to its integrity a world turned inside-out, as much as upside-down. A truly Catholic political theology began, for the Mennaisians – and, following them, Wiseman and his followers – in a eucharistic-social theology of the incarnation; it aimed at the world's sacramental transformation.[108]

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[105] 'Revealed Religion', 297-302.

[106] Wiseman, *Science and Revealed Religion; The Real Presence of the Body & Blood of our Lord …* (1855 [1836]).

[107] Wiseman, *Lectures on the Principal Doctrines and Practices of the Catholic Church,* 2 vols. (1836).

[108] Bee Wilson, 'Counter-revolutionary thought', in Gareth Stedman Jones, Gregory Claeys, eds., *CHPT* (Cambridge, 2011), 30-2; Armenteros, *French Idea*, ch. 3; Perreau-Saussine, *Catholicism and Democracy*, 46-9.

In the first edition of the *Dublin,* Robertson situated Wiseman's London lectures in the context of this project, which understood the eucharist to be 'the heart of Christianity'.[109] Robertson focussed on his own mentor, Gerbet, a scholar-priest who, having failed to convince Lamennais to accept his papal condemnations, abandoned him in 1836 and denounced his 'apostacy'.[110] Like Wiseman, Gerbet's *Considérations sur le dogme générateur de la piété catholique* (1829) drew on the insights of philosophers and symbologists to emphasise the intuitive plausibility of the incarnation: the 'great mystery of love' had been 'foreshown … in the sacrifices of … patriarchal religion'; the indistinct notion of God-with-us 'sustained the hopes of the ancient just'.[111]

Lurking here in the notion of an almost-necessary incarnation was a preference for Duns Scotus (1266-1308). The Franciscan philosopher had challenged the Thomist understanding of the incarnation as a response to sin – God's eternally-foreseen (but not willed) action to address Adam's 'happy fault' – by arguing hypothetically that the Second Person of the Trinity would have become incarnate, even had Adam not sinned. The motive of the incarnation was the perfection of Creation: victory over sin was a happy but subordinate effect, accomplished in the process of fulfilling God's loving design: that God himself should become man.[112]

This Scotism was openly avowed in Gerbet's next argument, a summary of the incarnational credo that would underpin Ultramontane assumptions over the next century. The dogma of the real presence was presented as belonging to an "'order of ideas, of which the Incarnation is the foundation … whereof the basis is *the restoration of beings according to the primitive plan of creation*'". The eucharistic sacrifice was the "'means whereby the *permanent incarnation is individualised in each Christian*'". This amounted to an ascent from the shadows of man's supernatural intimations to an experience of divine reality. Emphasising the similarity of Gerbet's approach to that of the Tübingen theologian, J. A. Möhler, in his *Symbolik* (1835), and thus conveying the sense of common purpose across the Catholic continent, Robertson urged his readers to see the real presence as participation "'in the very substance of the God-man, who becomes incarnate in each one of us … It is the union with God raised … to its highest degree of intensity, and carried as far as it is possible to attain within the limits of our present existence. Beyond it, would be heaven.'"[113]

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[109] 'Gerbet on the Eucharist', *DR*, 1 (May, 1836), 201. On Gerbet, and expiation as the motor of history: Armenteros, *French Idea* chs. 5, 7.

[110] [Robertson], 'German Catholic Literature', *DR*, 9 (Nov. 1840), ix-xii.

[111] 'Gerbet', 201.

[112] See John Galvin, 'Jesus Christ', in Francis Schüssler Fiorenza and John Galvin, eds., *Systematic Theology: Roman Catholic Perspectives* (2nd edn. Minneapolis, 2010), 278.

[113] 'Gerbet', 207-9, quoting from *Considérations sur le dogme*, esp. 76-9 and Möhler, *Die Symbolik* (Mayence, 1835), 310. Emphasis added.

If the full perfection of the heavenly Kingdom lay beyond, Gerbet and Wiseman believed that, through the eucharist, man entered into the incarnational Kingdom, which was its form in the present order of time. And if Gerbet elucidated the divinising effects of the eucharist on the individual Catholic, Wiseman drew on Ozanam to emphasise its ecclesial and social nature. A man of action as much as of words, Ozanam sought to present intellectual evidences of the Church's truth and concrete evidences of her goodness, establishing, in 1833, the Society of Saint Vincent de Paul to serve the poor of Paris. His *Deux Chanceliers de l'Angleterrer* (1836) won Wiseman's admiration;[114] and he guided Anstey's review of that work.[115] In the course of his comparative analysis of Bacon's 'rationalism' and Becket's Christianity, Ozanam had argued that even the best of natural men was but a "'statue of gold with … feet of clay'", because "'passion'" could so easily "'intoxicate'" the intellect and enslave the will. Salvation came in "'rays of light'" cast by orthodox teaching on the "'understanding'", and in "'rays of warmth'" flowing from the eucharist into human "'charity'". Together they restored "'the primitive harmony of the soul'", "'regenerating the will'" and guaranteeing man's safety by placing him in the arms of a "'loving … society'", the Church.[116]

In a striking parallel, Wiseman's account of the relationship between the Church and the eucharist cast them as twin modes of man's redemption, together building the Kingdom on earth. As linked as head and heart, they might even be understood as aspects of God's 'intellect' and 'affection'. The Church was the 'communion with heaven' which the sons of Adam had vainly sought in gnostic cults; the eucharist was the 'communion with heaven' which pre-Christians had vainly sought in ritual sacrifice. Together, they drew man out of the isolation to which the Fall had condemned him, and 'restored' him, in 'intellectual and moral life', to the fullness of self. Man walked once more with God in the garden of Eden regained – the Church his 'tree of knowledge', the eucharist his 'tree of life'. From the burning branches of the former beamed 'rays of … light to the benighted nations': life-giving doctrine. In the fruit of the latter, 'we partake of a victim, which … incorporates us with God'. Here was the work of 'redemption'. But redeemed man was also rescued from the fratricidal impulse of Cain: sonship regained meant sociability restored: 'they who sit daily round the same table, are the children of the same house'. As another Mennaisian, Prosper Guéranger (1805-75), had argued, while reestablishing monastic life in France, the

[114] [Wiseman], 'Review of French Catholic Literature', *DR*, 2 (April, 1837), 593-4. For Wiseman's friendship with Ozanam: Ward, *The Life and Times of Cardinal Wiseman*, 2 vols. (1912), I, 134-6; Fothergill, *Wiseman*, ch. 6; Wiseman Correspondence, UC/P7/1/440 (8 March, 1840).

[115] [Anstey], '*Chancellors*', 307. For Wiseman's supervision of Anstey's work: UC/P7/1/271 (9 Jan. 1837); UC/P7/1/280 (3 March, 1837); UC/P7/1/321 (14 April, 1838).

[116] Anstey quoted from Ozanam: 'English Chancellors', 310.

Mass was 'the means for being incorporated into a human community, the Church'. In this sense, Wiseman affirmed, redemption was not otherworldly, but the cooperative action of God and his 'children' as they built in the world the 'house of faith' and 'bond of union' wherein man was transformed. In creating that communion, the Church and the eucharist 'harmonise together, and are absolutely necessary to one another'. The former 'preserves us in religious unity'; the latter 'keeps us in communion … members of one body'.[117]

Rather than a crude assertion of Roman power, it is in this context that we must read Wiseman's account of ecclesiastical authority, which countered Cisalpine and Tractarian claims of Roman authoritarianism, and presented Ultramontanism as an ecclesiology of 'communion' that reflected Christ's hierarchical kingship. The Church in its juridical aspect mattered because it gave temporal structure to supernatural mystery: it provided for unity of worship and made possible the Church's purpose as a sacramental 'kingdom'.[118] This was not to suggest some brittle distinction between form and essence. The Church's structure, Wiseman argued – drawing on the patristic metaphorical theology beloved of Tractarians, and urging them to see its inevitable conclusions – was episcopal, with the papacy as the 'cope-stone to the entire edifice, whereby it is … united and … crowned'. But this was not a matter of sociological pragmatism. Rather, it was only thus that the many 'members' of a mystical body could ensure that they were 'inly communicating … like branches of one tree'. Communion with Rome was not a matter of subordination to the Curia, but a wholehearted participation with the very 'root' of Christ's mystical body on earth, under the species of bread and wine. It meant union with Christ, whereby the divisions of self, sect, and nation were effaced, leaving but 'one canticle of praise … one symbol of belief … one sentiment of charity'; thus 'professing alike, they kneel in countless multitude before one altar', and a 'golden bond … joins them unto Christ' and one another.[119]

The incarnational Kingdom was thus presented as unique amongst kingdoms in this order of time. The state, too, was juridically structured to deeper normative ends: its institutions were designed to nurture a sense of civic community. Each was a *societas perfecta*. But there the analogy ended. The Church's 'perfection' was of a different ontological – or eschatological – order; its 'perfection' meant more than having no need of the state in order to flourish. Unlike the commonwealth, whose citizens formed a metaphorical – but not a metaphysical – union, the Church was a body politic in a sacramental sense: in a manner both mystical and real. The state was

[117] *PD,* II, 235-8. For Guéranger's: R. Franklin, *Nineteenth-Century Churches: The History of a New Catholicism in Württemberg, England, and France* (New York, 1987), 16.
[118] *PD*, I, 7, 94-110.
[119] *PD*, I, 261, 95-6, 77-9.

'like' the Church in the sense that a shadow was 'like' the thing that gave it form. Indeed, the most perfect historical body politic, Israel, was but a 'shadow' of the Church: a theocratic state covenanted to God, Israel was a 'chrysalis', holding within it another body destined for perfect union with God. Unlike the state, and unlike the church of Protestant imagining – each a 'mere aggregate of individuals … bound up … by external ties' – the Catholic Church was the Kingdom prophesied in the Old Testament, foreshadowed in Israel, promised by Christ.[120]

Taken together, this amounted to more than a reiteration of Tridentine ecclesiology – or, indeed, a pre-iteration of *Pastor Aeternus*, Vatican I's dogmatic constitution of the Church, which focussed on juridical questions of authority and infallibility. More than a century before Henri de Lubac and others called for an understanding of 'the Church as communion', Wiseman had built on Roman and Mennaisian discourses to adumbrate a eucharistic ecclesiology.[121] Church and eucharist were two indivisible aspects of one 'sacrament': communion was a foretaste of what the Church would become as the Kingdom of heaven; and the eucharist, a promise of life in the beatific vision. Here, in the fullness of God's presence, man would 'feed upon his unsating glory', until all 'affections are blended together', and creation is carried up into 'universal love'.[122]

*Tractarians challenged*

The model was intended as a direct challenge to Tractarian ecclesiology, whose champions were urged to reflect on the comparative poverty of their regenerative model. Of the eucharist, their authorities, from the Caroline divines to Pusey, were charged with suggesting that the words of institution be taken seriously but not literally – as grave a breach with Catholic tradition as it was heedless of modern hermeneutics.[123] Returning to the themes of the *Horae*, Wiseman argued that, behind lofty rhetoric lurked the low prejudice in favour of the figurative, which degraded 'the dignity of the Eucharist'.[124] Situating them thus in the penumbra of Protestantism, Ultramontanes could enflame the anxieties of Anglican scholars like E. H. Dewar (1812-62) about the excesses of the Reformation and its legacy, reproaching Tractarians that they stood on a spectrum with other deplorables, past and present: Calvinists, who slandered the eucharist as the 'tyrann[ical tool] … of an encroaching priesthood' and a form of

[120] *PD*, I, 92-6.

[121] On de Lubac's debt to Gerbet's *Considérations*: Aidan Nicholas, 'Henri de Lubac: Panorama and Proposal', *New Blackfriars*, 93.1043 (Jan. 2012), 19.

[122] *PD*, II, 239.

[123] *EVS*, II, 22-6; *Real Presence*, 175-97. For the Tractarians' reliance on a 'narrow span' of authorities: *OMC*, 4. Wiseman paraded his familiarity with the hermeneutics of Protestants scholars like C. A. Keil (1754-1818).

[124] *EVS*, II, 43-5.

'idolatry';[125] 'antichristian' pantheists, like D. F. Strauss, who denied the possibility of 'any supernatural … revelation from God to man'.[126]

Robertson drew on Möhler polemically to explain to Tractarians the *fons et origo mali*, and to goad them into conversion. Abjuring the corporeal real presence, Protestantism recoiled from the ür-symbol of the incarnation, and in its place had proffered the atonement. But the problem with building a theology around the image of Christ as "'universal victim'", he charged, was that the Cross became a symbol of God's absence, as much as His abiding presence: from the depths of death, God undid the sin of Adam, with man standing guiltily by, a witness to the grace of salvation. This was an insufficient account of His action and man's response. Christ did not remain nailed to the Cross, his "'objective atonement'" once and for all – remembered forever but frozen in time. Rather, his sacrifice was made daily "'on our altar'": Christ became "'a special victim for ourselves'", to be "'cherished'" by each communicant and every communicant together. The atonement was to be set in its incarnational context: the precious blood flowed from the Cross into the chalice and then infused the life of each communicating Catholic, who was no longer a witness, merely, but a participant in grace, responding to God's offer of salvation by seeking incorporation into His body. To reject this as 'mysticism' first led Protestants to distance God from the world; then to transcendentalise Him; eventually to dismiss the extra-sensory as 'irrational'. Protestantism and atheism were presented as existing along an anti-incarnational, devolutionary chain, each mutation bringing humanity one step closer to a "'moral desert … where all the fountains of love are dried up'".[127]

Cisalpines and Tractarians were here warned against doctrinal trimming and the linguistic gymnastics necessary to deflect from the same. Russell chided those Anglicans who believed themselves in some kind of 'internal communion' with the Church, and upbraided the convert, Ambrose Phillipps de Lisle, whose campaign for the 'corporate reunion' of Canterbury and Rome implicitly endorsed Tractarian farragos: there could be neither compromise nor constructive ambiguity about the plenitude of the incarnation. Leibnitz, he recalled, had sought a similar 'reconciliation', instigating dialogue with Antoine Arnauld, author of *De la fréquent Communion* (1643), the Jansenist party's seminal subversion of eucharistic orthodoxy. Though well-intentioned, their colloquies were pernicious, haggling over the eucharist, then sketching innocuous views of papal primacy and the immaculate

[125] [Dominick Murphy], 'The Reformation in Sweden.', *DR*, 19 (Sept. 1845), 229-30; [Wiseman], 'Steinmetz's Noviciate, or a year among the English Jesuits', *DR*, 20 (June, 1846), 430; [Roche], 'D'Aubigné's *History*', 31; [Russell], 'Maitland's Essays', *DR*, 27 (Sept. 1849), 3-4, 15.

[126] [Russell], 'Dewar's German Protestantism', *DR*, 9 (Dec. 1845), 401-5, 419-20, 424-31; 'Reformers', 236.

[127] 'Gerbet', 208-9, quoting from *Considérations*, 63-8. Cf. [Wiseman], 'Review of French Catholic Literature', *DR*, 2 (April, 1837), 591-2.

conception.[128] The lesson was plain: those tainted with Arianism could not negotiate the nature of Catholicism.[129] The truth in its integrity commanded submission.

Ultramontanes taunted that Tractarians would find this harder than Jansenists, who could at least have their heresy denounced by an 'infallible authority' and return, repentant, to the integrity of the faith.[130] Try as they might, those struggling to arrest Anglican decline into the 'abyss' were doomed to failure for two, related reasons. First, the key symbolical step away from the incarnation had been taken generations earlier by Luther and his continuators. Second, unless they were prepared to disavow the whole course of the Reformation – the mature ecclesiology of which was built on pragmatic fudge; peace over truth – Tractarians could never escape the absurdity of 'Socinians, like Hoadley … and Catholicly-inclined minds, like Dr. Pusey' laying equal claim to defining Anglican orthodoxy on so fundamental a dogma as the eucharist. '[T]his very circumstance proves that it cannot be Catholic': the 'lowest scheme of opinions which she tolerates must determine her character, not the highest'.[131] In those two conceptual moves, Catholicism had been defined down, and its re-elevation rendered impossible. Tractarians could not 'unprotestantise' Anglicanism's teachings on eucharistic communion in a church erected on an equally erroneous understanding of ecclesiastical communion. A flawed understanding of the incarnation caused them to lose a sense of the fullness of the mystery of the former; and of the latter, that mystery's authority.[132]

Churchmen leaned on the Caroline divines, insisting that Catholicity 'did not imply a dogmatic centre of unity embodying the universal church', but rather a 'federation of separate territorial entities that each upheld certain … "fundamentals" of catholic faith and apostolic order' – and that Rome's model of unity through submission led not to communion but tyranny.[133] Savouring to Ultramontanes of Gallicanism, this 'branch ecclesiology' was attacked as an apology for schism: Donatist, in refusing to accept that each claiming 'communion' needed to be a 'partaker of the sacred mysteries', as defined by Rome;[134] Eutychian, in preferring the civil power over the champion of the real presence, the Holy See.[135] The more militant Tractarians became in affirming the Catholicity of their 'living branch' (specifically with reference to eucharistic orthodoxy),[136] the more stinging the Roman rebukes. Ironically, many came from Lingard: his works, undergoing revision in the 1840s, were

[128] G. W. von Leibnitz, *A System of Theology*, trans., ed. C. W. Russell (1850), xxix, lvi, lx-lxvi, cxxxii-cxxxv.
[129] 'Maitland's Essays', 5.
[130] *EVS*, II, 136, 153-4. Cf. Nockles, *OMC*, 118.
[131] *EVS*, II, 350-1.
[132] [Russell], 'Faber's Foreign Churches', *DR*, 13 (Nov. 1842), 412.
[133] *OMC*, 153; Palmer, *A treatise on the Church of Christ*, 2 vols. (1838), I, 454.
[134] *EVS*, II, 201-62: 205-8, 245-50.
[135] [John Maguire], 'Perceval's *Peace Offering and Roman Schism*', *DR,* 3 (Oct. 1837), 468-72, 485, 516, 519, 480-1.
[136] Peter Le Page Renouf, *Doctrine of the Catholic Church in England on the Blessed Eucharist* … (1841), 3, 62.

increasingly congenial to Ultramontanes, documenting the dependency of the British 'branch' on 'the common root' of Rome.[137] For Thomas Flanagan, these revisions exonerated Lingard of crypto-Jansenism and proved England's traditional fealty, evident in its long submission to papal authority and its acknowledgement of 'the real presence, in their churches, of the Incarnate Deity'.[138] History was also mobilised to challenge the 'delusion' of a lonely, living branch protruding from the moss-encrusted Church of Antiquity – the gambit of every schismatic body that set about 'tracing the stream of the Reformation to within the sacred enclosure of the apostolic college itself'.[139] A curator 'in the British Museum' would struggle to corral a 'stranger assemblage' of antique forbears than these Protestant genealogists.[140] But then Anglicans sought for this elixir precisely because theirs was not really a 'living' Church.[141] Brandishing their *catenae patrum* was no substitute for an episcopate; antiquarianism could not from Antiquity a teaching Church conjure. As ever, the litmus test was the eucharist. A church with no 'infallible authority' competent to pronounce on that dogma was not really a 'living Church'.[142]

To this historical polemic, Wiseman added some spiky exegetical reflections. The branch metaphor was 'unfit' for purpose. Branches, 'however joined together, never can form a plant. They must branch out *from* something; they must have a TRUNK; as that trunk must have *a root'*. Scripture was clear: Christ called himself 'the vine' and the disciples his 'branches': their purpose was to 'communicate' – 'form one' – by entering into 'union with a main stem'. From the Roman 'stem' flowed life – 'bishops … indulgences, decrees, rubrics, canonizations, definitions' – because Christ was Rome's source of eucharistic life. The hollowness of the English claim to be a living branch was nowhere more exposed than in its eucharistic bareness: 'a table without food, … no rallying-point for the Church's children to grow around'.[143] Ultramontanes would concede the legitimacy of the branch metaphor only when it admitted of its limitations, and gestured to the wider ecology of a Roman-rooted Church, its life emanating from Christ's eucharistic presence and carrying the faithful of all nations into a communion beyond the reach of worldly powers.

[137] Lingard, *History and Antiquities of the Anglo-Saxon Church* (1844), Note E, I, 370-9.
[138] [Flanagan], 'British Churches', 130-2, 172.
[139] [Anstey; Wiseman correcting], 'The Vaudois', *DR*, (Oct. 1837), 325, 346.
[140] [Myles O'Reilly], 'Scipio de Ricci', *DR*, 32 (March, 1852), 48.
[141] *EVS*, II, 195.
[142] *EVS*, II, 136, 153-4. Cf. *OMC*, 118.
[143] *EVS*, II, 304-9; 316-7, 331-32.

## *Political theology: the Kingdom of the incarnation*

The groundwork of their theology established, Ultramontanes moved to show Cisalpines and Tractarians what it would mean to embrace Rome's dynamic incarnationalism. They presented a cultural-political vision of Catholicism as one integrated realm, in which a Church supernatural, universal and sovereign restored to man the fullness of his humanity by regenerating his 'feminine' capacity for faith and love, and restored to humanity its citizenship in the Kingdom of Christ by reconsecrating a political order popular, paternal, pluralist and free.

In this, their project bore the imprint of traditionalist-theocratic thought and shared a Romantic sensibility. Like Maistre, Bonald, and the *scuola romana*, they saw the crises and charisms of each of Europe's nations in the context of the great empire of Christendom, and here identified a problem deeper than the balance of constitutions or the decrees of positive law – namely, a sickness to be healed 'in the very fabric of society'. Amongst '"the first to identify the social with the political realm,"' the theocrats' 'narrow, religious conception of power had the perverse effect of vastly widening the scope of the rest of their politics, to encompass the family, customs and economics'.[144] The social was the political. Ultramontanism in England would follow suit, seeking what Maistre in the *Considérations sur la France* (1797) called not only 'a *contrary* revolution but *the contrary of* revolution'. This meant the regeneration of 'a world cast down' – a sense of selfhood lost and social bonds dissolved. It meant the reintegration of a world torn apart into unendurable antitheses – nature and supernature, science and faith, Church and state, capital and labour, masculine and feminine. The project thus shared in the Romantic desire to reconcile the antinomies of modernity. Inspired by Friedrich Schlegel and Josef Görres, Ultramontanes rejected the 'materialistic' rationalism held to prevail in the eighteenth century, and argued instead for a healing, human mode of reasoning – one that captured the epistemological and moral importance of feeling, faith, symbolism and imagination. They thus conceived of their mission as one of cultural conversion. The world would not be renewed by a science of politics predicated on the self-interest of deracinated individuals; its answers were hopeless because its terms were impoverished and its language senseless. A more fundamental critique was needed, one that would renew the fullness of personhood in 'organic' communities, rooted in history, bound by mutuality, and recognising the moral essence of each member.[145] Distinguishing English Ultramontanes like Wiseman and Robertson was

[144] Wilson, 'Counter-revolutionary thought', 16-20, and quoting from Owen Bradley, *A Modern Maistre: The Social and Political Thought of Joseph de Maistre* (1999), 24.

[145] John Morrow, 'Romanticism and political thought in the early nineteenth century', *CHPT*, 39-76.

their conviction that this creative regeneration would be achieved in a blood sacrifice more powerful than Maistre's and a 'community of communities' deeper than Schlegel's: the eucharist.

*Making people whole in holy lands*

For one who believed in the incarnation, Ultramontanes argued, the world was destined not for natural death but supernatural transformation. Reductive 'materialism' rendered this truth incomprehensible to Protestants, who denied the sacramentalisation of the world around them. Catholics, meanwhile, believed, and saw the Kingdom emerge in their midst. Nowhere was this more obvious than in the 'supernaturalised lands' of the continent. There, one reasoned neither as a utilitarian automaton nor a shrivelled pharisee, but thought and felt with 'soul and heart' as a human being – fallen and impulsive; but sure, too, of a nature that had been redeemed in body and spirit. There, the rhythms and rituals – even the idioms and gesticulations – spoke of a people who knew themselves touched by the incarnation and drawn into Christ's body:

> The religion of England is the religion of one day in the week ... But … [g]o any morning into the villages of Italy, and see, before the sun has risen, the entire population crowded in the church, … then watch them, as they depart, calling down the blessing of heaven on their daily labour, dispersing in merry groups down the hill, to dress the vine, … Then when the evening bell tolls, … see them return, fatigued yet cheerful, to … God's altar ...[146]

In Spain, too, one met 'stout' peasants whose scriptural reading had not 'Protestantized' them, but 'warmed their devotion', revealing prophesies of the Blessed Virgin, and urging them into Tridentine forms of 'devout behaviour', like the *quarant ore*.[147]

Ultramontanes were here arguing that to restore what the patristic authorities and sacramentaries so beloved of the *scuola romana* called 'the integrity' of human life would affect the individual Catholic's body, the collective Catholic body, and the wider body politic.[148] Drawing on a Rousseauean theme repurposed by Maistre and Bonald, the *Dublin* emphasised one way, in particular, in which this multifaceted renegotiation could be advanced all at once: the moralising role of women.[149] Readers were enjoined to recapture that which Protestant

[146] [Wiseman], 'Religion in Italy', *DR*, 1 (July, 1836), 460-74. Cf. idem, 'De Jorio on Italian gesticulation', *DR*, 3 (July, 1837), 1-15 and 'Italian guides and tourists', *DR*, 6 (Jan. 1839), 1-30.

[147] [Wiseman], 'Spain', *DR* (June, 1845), 372, 472-3.

[148] Preface IV of Easter, from the revised Roman Missal of Vatican II but drawing on sources close to the hearts of the *scuola romana*, both biblical (Rom. 5, 2 Cor. 4) and patristic (e.g. Verona Sacramentary, 94). See Anthony Ward, Cuthbert Johnson, 'Fontes Liturgici: the sources of the Roman Missal (1975). II Prefaces', *Notitae*, 24 (Rome, 1987), 574 [166]: http://paulorenaliturgia.com/wp-content/uploads/2019/02/252-253-254.pdf

[149] Wilson, 'Counter-revolutionary thought', 21-5.

and revolutionary influences had denigrated: the religious experiences of women, and the spiritual sensibilities which they – often more 'naturally' than men – cultivated. One of the reasons, Wiseman argued, that the young men of Catholic lands embraced popular devotions as much as did the 'devout female sex', was that they inhabited a culture where such practices were not only normalised but valorised.[150] All around them, they encountered examples of how the obedience of Catholic women – lay and religious, contemporary and historic – testified to God's presence in the world. They understood that if they were to become 'Catholic men … worthy of the name',[151] they needed to learn from these women how to confess the incarnation and its consequences. The restoration to integrity of the three-fold Catholic body – man, Church, state – was to mean, in part, its 're-gendering'.

Readers – many seminarians and Tractarians – were directed first to the convents of the continent. Maligned and misunderstood in England as asylums for the mentally imbalanced,[152] they were here conceived as models of heroic regeneration. Embracing a Marian pattern of life, their receptivity to divine will made them channels of grace and bulwarks against modernity's 'successive revolutions'. In Spain, the successors of St. Theresa of Avila lived as 'cloistered spouses of the Lamb'. But this did not entail withdrawal from the world. Their loving 'communion' with one another and God was presented as a protesting contrast to 'enlightened' society, where the 'rapacity' of the 'millionaire stock-jobber' left millions in 'ragged indigence'.[153] The resilience of these communities in the present stemmed from their conscious participation in a centuries-long 'struggle between barbarism and Christian civilisation'; they knew that in the 'ages of faith', 'the poor were fed in the convent instead of the workhouse', and they discovered in that memory their social obligations in the present.[154] These enclosed communities of women were thus shown to be a powerful imaginary from which Catholics in the world could rediscover their duty to it.

Ultramontanes also offered up for emulation examples of women who challenged worldliness from positions of worldly power.[155] Montalembert's *Histoire de sainte Élisabeth, reine de Hongrie* (1836), showed that a lay princess could, in suffering the persecution of proto-Erastian forces, and embracing, as a widowed queen, a life of chastity and poverty, attain 'contemplative perfection'. The 'active charity' of her life and the miracles that followed

[150] 'Spain', 472-3.
[151] [John Steinmetz], 'The visible and the invisible', *DR*, 5 (Oct. 1838), 432-3.
[152] [M. J. Quin], 'Maria Monk's "Black Nunnery"', *DR*, 1 (May, 1836), 151-74.
[153] 'Spain', 372-9, 456-62.
[154] [Crolly], '*Dark Ages*', 174.
[155] On the readership, see ch. 4, below: § 'Mary and the Martyrs'.

her death were presented as genuinely world-transforming in ways that the fever dreams of communist quacks like Robert Owen and Saint-Simon never could be.[156] Catholic women – and the men with the strength to follow them – could find in such examples the inspiration for a life of charity and world-transforming 'social reform' that would shame the most progressive *philosophe*.[157]

In their individual bodies, and embodied as communities, these women were held up as having forged a contrast with the predatory world around them. Their sacrifices demonstrated the power of the Church's eucharistic life, and their actions made them prophets and channels of the Kingdom: in them, it could be seen breaking into the world. This was an argument advanced by John Steinmetz, who had spent time pondering his vocation with a community of Discalced Carmelites in Ypres,[158] and who now ruminated in the *Dublin* on the case of Anna Katherina Emmerich (1774-1824), an Augustinian nun from Münster, whose 'extasies and … commerce with the *invisible world*' had been documented by the German Romantic poet, Clemens Brentano (1778-1842).[159]

Emmerich's 'admittance' to 'the secret essence of things' began in the Rhineland in 1798 with a vision of Christ. Steinmetz did not need to remind his readers that these lands had, in the era of Robespierre and Napoleon, witnessed upheaval, sacrilege, and counter-revolutionary miracles. Nor did he need to spell out the politico-theological significance of Emmerich's vision: when Christ offered her "'the choice'" of "'a garland of flowers … [or] a crown of thorns'", her embrace of the latter signified a rejection of the forces of rationalism and revolution, and a defiant proclamation of Christ's lordship. The stigmata she then acquired marked her as a modern 'Catherine of Sienna' (a mystic martyr for whose wounds 'no physical hypothesis could account'). Emmerich was a herald of the Kingdom. As Münster became a province of the Napoleonic Kingdom of Westphalia, and Bonapartists suppressed her Augustinian convent in Dülmen,[160] she was granted an apocalyptic revelation, glimpsing what Christ would see in the world's last days, as the traitors to his reign were unmasked. Steinmetz's readers would immediately have identified them as Jansenists: men and women of "'lukewarmness … and deceptions'", whose "'corruptions'", like those of "'the pretended reformers'", culminated in the mutilation of the eucharist, and the denial of a visible Church and a supernaturalised world.[161]

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[156] 'Montalembert's *St. Elizabeth*', *DR*, 3 (Oct. 1837), 384-401.

[157] [Robertson], 'Hurter', 52-5; [Matthew Kelly], 'Baron Cauchy's *Religious Orders*', *DR*, 17 (Dec. 1844), 376-92.

[158] Steinmetz to Wiseman, 15 June, 1836: UC/P7/1/248.

[159] *La douleureuse Passion de Notre Seigneur Jesus Christ, d'après les Méditations d'Anne Catherine Emmerich* … (Paris, 1835).

[160] On Westphalia as a laboratory of the enlightened state: Michael Broers, 'The First Napoleonic Empire, 1799-1815', in Stefan Berger and Alexei Miller, eds., *Nationalising Empires* (2015), 127-8.

[161] 'The visible', 428-30, 435-6.

Steinmetz's article was intended to 'admonish' 'the Catholic who slinks away' before the 'sceptical spirit of the age' – the imagined Cisalpine leery of the supernatural. Ultramontanism was presented as custodian of a richer wisdom. The 'Christian philosopher' well understood that 'phenomena' mostly admitted of 'natural causes'. But, Steinmetz warned – inverting the gendered language used by Lingard during the Januarius controversy – he could not succumb to the 'morbid sensibilities' of the sceptic. The Cisalpine intellectual was far less a 'Christian philosopher' than the Westphalian stigmatic: he lacked what she had in abundance: the wisdom and courage of obedience.

For Steinmetz and Wiseman, this was a choice and a distinction as much social and political as it was interior and philosophical; indeed, their point was that modernity had left the individual intellect deracinated from its ecclesiastical-hermeneutical context, and that the two needed to be reintegrated. The Cisalpine who allowed his 'Protestant and philosophical friends to water down' the 'outworks' of his faith did so 'out of a mistaken notion of liberality' that caused faith to 'degenerate into indifference'. To follow the Jansenists was to choose a path for oneself – and drive society "'towards the abyss'".[162] Conversely, the Catholic who took an Emmerich for his pattern-man had a heart and mind open to the miraculous, bearing witness to the world's sacramentalisation and the real presence on earth of "'our celestial fatherland'".[163]

*Christendom's 'liberty consecrated'*

Ultramontanes thus presented the Kingdom's sacramental in-breaking as embodied, communal, public, and transformational: by definition, political. '[R]ealised' in spontaneous acts of allegiance and worship, it left politics almost indistinguishable from liturgy – as Wiseman suggested, in recalling a scene in Spain:

> In the plaza … before the house was a parish church. It was pouring rain, yet the bell announced the communion was about to be borne to some person. All were busy, talking … till one of the little children … suddenly exclaimed, "'*Sale Su Magestad*," — "His Majesty is coming out," when all was instantly hushed, every one fell on his knees, and remained in adoration till the sounds of the procession had died away. What a simple expression! yet how full of energy, reality, and life!'[164]

But Reformation and Revolution had almost destroyed this world; and if Ultramontanes were convinced that modernity's shrunken vision of man was compounded by its narrowing vision of the body politic, they were less certain how to build again, in political form, the Kingdom of the incarnation.

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[162] 'The visible', 408-10, 432-3, 415-22.
[163] '*St. Elizabeth*', 386, quoting *Élisabeth de Hongrie*, cx.
[164] *EVS*, II, 396-9, 402-3.

The state of Christendom presented a paradox. On the one hand, there were grounds for hope. Lamennais' disastrous attempt 'to engraft on Catholicism revolutionary principles' notwithstanding,[165] Wiseman and others believed, as we have seen, that a Catholic politics, popular and orthodox, remained possible. It was sanctioned by neo-scholastic authority, and successful – by armalite and ballot box; monster rally and press columns – across the continent. Yet Ultramontanes also saw reasons to be fearful. Restoration had promised to set the Church free, but everywhere the old chains were reforged. In France, Mennaisians felt stifled by the dead hand of Bourbon Gallicanism. On the right bank of the Rhine, Ultramontanes like Görres raged against its German equivalent, the regalist ecclesiology of Febronianism. Even the pope's patrons propped up the Temporal Power in troublingly transactional terms.[166] In this moment of uncertainty, Ultramontanes felt torn, and began to contemplate the necessity of a third way: if it proved too compromising to seek by political means (radical or restorationist) the world's "'regeneration'", then perhaps it would be necessary to defend 'purity of doctrine' by severing ties with the political order altogether, thus saving the Church from either democratic or neo-Josephist 'bondage'.[167]

As Wiseman knew, these were questions unsettling Anglicans, too. Tractarians like Keble feared that in Britain, as on the continent, Erastian forces coveted the Established Church's temporalities and promoted latitudinarian divines to dissolve its doctrines. Those like Pusey worried about a knee-jerk anti-Establishmentarianism, renouncing the Christendom ideal and returning the Church to the catacombs.[168] Wiseman's wager across the 1830s and '40s was that he could reconcile the tensions in Ultramontane thought, and convince Cisalpines and Tractarians that Rome had an answer to the crisis of Christendom, where they did not, and gave hope of renewal, where they could not. Drawing on the 'future-oriented' discourses of Romantic Catholics, like Ozanam and Görres, the *Dublin* writers sought to show that Ultramontanism offered creative ways to renew an order shaken to its foundations by revolution and still unsettled by radicalism. The 'consecrated liberty' of mediaeval Christendom could be reimagined for the modern age, and modern liberty itself *re*-consecrated in an alliance of those faithful to the incarnation: the papacy and the peoples.[169]

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[165] [Robertson], 'Religious and Social Condition of France', 5.

[166] Perreau-Saussine, *Catholicism and Democracy*, 47-9; Paul Gottfried, *Conservative Millenarians: the Romantic Experience in Bavaria* (New York, Fordham University Press, 1979), ch. 6; Owen Chadwick, *A History of the Popes, 1830-1914* (Oxford, 2003), 9-12.

[167] [Felix Papencordt], 'Sylvester II and Gregory VII', *DR*, 6 (May, 1839), 315-7, quoting Johannes Voigt, *Hildebrand als Papst Gregor VII und sein Zeitalter* (Weimar, 1815); [Wiseman], 'South America', 237, 248-9.

[168] *TCE*, 90-3.

[169] For the 'future-oriented' quality of these varieties of Ultramontanism: Morrow, 'Romanticism', 39-76; Jon Vanden Heuvel, *A German Life in the Age of Revolution. Joseph Görres, 1776-1848* (Washington, DC, 2001), 250-303; Harrison, *Romantic Catholics*.

From its foundation, then, until at least 1848, the *Dublin* circle sought to situate Catholicism in Britain's Romantic milieu. This has often been labelled a 'counter-culture': a cluster of 'intellectual currents' from across the political spectrum that challenged a 'ruling-class ideology steeped in evangelicalism, natural theology, utilitarianism, political economy, and a muscular-corpuscular understanding of the body'. It sought instead organic connectedness in a world atomised by social change.[170] The term, as Philip Connell suggests, can prove useful in imposing 'broad … coherence' on a heterogeneous body of discourses, and in capturing the ways in which contemporaries framed deeply-felt 'dialectical antagonisms – utilitarian and Romantic, science and feeling, the "march of mind" and nostalgic medievalism, the cash nexus and moral economy'. But it needs to be treated with care: not in such a way as to turn complex tendencies into caricatures, nor to reify the antitheses mobilised by belligerents in a self-styled culture war.[171] To assume the given reality of 'two cultures' is to distort these debates. It implicitly crowns one 'culture' – the 'mechanical' – victorious; with its triumph predetermined, its definitions of contested concepts like 'liberty' and 'progress' are internalised as inescapable. 'Romanticism', contrastingly, is dismissed as performative 'reaction' or unserious 'escapism'.[172] We are left with the impression of a 'monolithic liberal consensus', opposed by a marginal Romanticism that substituted poetic reflection for creative social thought and lacked meaningful reforming instinct.[173]

Recent studies have revised this notion of two hermetically-sealed cultures. Connell, for instance, traces Romanticism's persistent dialogue with liberalism. Even Robert Southey's 'neo-feudalism', influential 'from Young England to the Gothic revival', was 'deeply infected with the arguments and assumptions of Malthusian economic thought', which Southey ostensibly set out to refute.[174] Castellano, meanwhile, emphasises the radical quality of this conservatism, which challenged the hegemony of rationalism, individualism and political economy, and sought intergenerational social relations rooted in reciprocity and an historic 'social ecology'.[175] In a similar vein, Skinner and Kirby have traced the emergence and evolution of a 'reactionary' Tractarianism – a self-conscious 'insurgency' against Whig-Protestant orthodoxy – that boldly claimed and enlarged the language of modern English liberty

[170] Boyd Hilton, *A Mad, Bad, and Dangerous People? England 1783-1846* (Oxford, 2006), 439-41, 475-84.
[171] *Romanticism, Economics and the Question of "Culture"* (Oxford, 2001), 4.
[172] Katey Castellano, *The Ecology of British Romantic Conservatism, 1790-1837* (New York, 2013), 1-6.
[173] Connell, *Question of "Culture"*, conclusion, esp. 280-4.
[174] *Ibid*, 234f, esp. 259, 266.
[175] Castellano, *Ecology*, 4-6.

(constitutional *and* ecclesiastical), and insisted that, rightly understood, it involved a paternal care for the poor and a restructuring of society.[176]

This echoes what we have seen to be the recent focus of counter-revolutionary and Romantic Catholic historiography: restitutive *and* creative – an alternative vision of the modern world grounded in an alternative understanding of modern liberty and promising a regeneration of the human spirit and society. This 'culture' could prove just as 'infectious' to liberal thought as political economy proved to Romanticism. As Roberto Romani has shown, modern democratic theory owed much to the 'spiritualisation of politics' effected by Ultramontanes. The influential theorist of liberalism, Alexis de Tocqueville (1805-1859), anchored the core argument of his *De la démocratie en Amérique* (1835-40) in an insight bequeathed by Bonald, Maistre, and Chateaubriand: that it was not a society's institutions that determined its fate, but its *moeurs* – 'the ideas and sentiment reigning among a people', rendering them capable of great sacrifices and thus fit (or not) for freedom: for law, mutuality, public duty and voluntaryism.[177] In the place of 'two cultures', then, we should envisage one discursive space – contested but co-habited, and inevitably cross-fertilising.

None of this, of course, is to deny that many thought of (and positioned) themselves as 'insurgents' battling against a disordered liberalism. To them the *Dublin* professed itself a critical friend and directed its most pointed arguments. Ultramontanes showed themselves wedded to many Romantic-conservative principles: to the ideal of Church-State union; to the rights of property; to the notion that a nation's welfare lay in the alliance of crown, Church, corporations and people against the factionalism of a venal elite; and to the belief that a nation's constitution was an organism that developed in imperceptible ways, and did not admit of abstract reinvention. [178] But they could not accept that these were *English* truths, yielding 'English liberties' and an English moral character fit to hold them. They were the common inheritance of Christendom; English exceptionalism had not cultivated these principles so much as it had exposed them to peril by planting them in poisoned Protestant soil. High Tories upheld the constitution in Church and State; but their Establishment was Rome's enemy and needed to be destroyed. Liberal Tories upheld property; but their Malthusianism made it the tool of oligarchic capitalism. Paternalists – whether of a Young England, Tractarian, or Carlylean persuasion – sought to 'prescribe' a spiritual 'medicine' for an ailing 'body … politic'; but they did so vainly, outside the 'COMMUNION OF CHRIST'S

[176] *TCE*, 18-23; Kirby, 'An Ecclesiastical Descent: Religion and History in the Work of William Stubbs', *JEH*, 65.1 (Jan. 2014), 89-93.

[177] *National Character and Public Spirit in Britain and France, 1750-1914* (Cambridge, 2002), 122-56, esp. 156, 148.

[178] See Emily Jones, *Edmund Burke and the Making of Modern Conservatism* (Oxford, 2017), 18, 18n11, 21-24.

CHURCH CATHOLIC'.[179] Nor did the chasm separating Ultramontanes from English conservatism bespeak an affinity for Bourbon or Jacobite legitimism; they feared the oblivion to which it would condemn them, and felt excitement at the prospects of a democratic age. Thus, in a time of socioeconomic dislocation and political tumult, this generation of Ultramontanes ploughed their furrow in a crowded field, seeking to convince England that the temporal power of the Catholic Church meant ordered liberty for Europe, and that the pope was the ultimate guarantor of both 'Gothic' freedoms and international peace.

*Past and present: 'the coming middle ages'*

As in matters of theology, they sought to persuade on the ecumenical basis of 'scientific' argument; their historical narratives thus emphasised the relationship between Church and state, while preserving the integrity of the spiritual and temporal orders. The 'Ages of Faith' were presented as an era when moral force moulded a society free and prosperous. The Church, which had once 'formed a community set apart from a corrupt world', now baptised that world. In the consecrated polity of Christendom, the relations between sovereign and subject were 'settled'; 'paternal' values underpinned an authority never vicious, an obedience never grudging. There flourished in the 'mixed monarchy' of each Christian state a true liberty. The monarch was no 'pensioner' of parliament, but a guardian of fundamental laws. Aristocratic dominance did not preclude popular influence, but guarded against outbreaks of wild democracy. Municipal institutions checked centralising trends that fed the ambitions of degenerate elites, preserving the plurality of the commonwealth. And the Church's freedom – and its temporal power, which allowed it to exercise 'considerable influence in matters of state' – served to guarantee this complex system of overlapping 'liberties'.[180]

As Robertson, in particular, sought to show, this was not simply a vision of the past, but a manifesto for the future – a paradox derived from Friedrich Schlegel's concept of 'the coming Middle Ages'.[181] After his studies with Gerbet, Robertson had travelled to Bonn and been introduced to the mystical, 'utopian reactionism' of German Ultramontanism by the canonists, Friedrich Windischmann (1811-61) and George Phillips (1804-72). Drawn into this orbit, he came to see Schlegel and Görres as 'oracles of that illustrious school of liberal

[179] [Wiseman], 'National Holydays', *DR*, 14 (May, 1843), 481-505.
[180] 'Hurter', 50-5; [Anstey], 'Chancellors', 305-9; *PD*, I, 95.
[181] [Robertson], 'Gerbet on the Eucharist', *DR*, 1 (May, 1836), 200-21; *The Philosophy of History …by Frederick von Schlegel,…* ed., trans. Robertson, 2 vols. (6th edn. 1848 [1835]), I, v-vi. On the 'utopian reactionism' of Schlegel's concept of the 'coming Middle Age': Gottfried, *Conservative Millenarians*, 18-21, 110-14.

Conservatives', whose voices seemed to him like 'Burke thundering from his tomb', prophesying the 'regeneration of Europe'.[182] Both Schlegel and Görres had been scarred by Bonapartism, which had imposed on Europe the 'political materialism' of the French Revolution: its 'mechanical absolutism', its abstract jurisprudence, its bureaucratic 'centralisation', its 'blood-suck[ing]' speculative finance. Both shared with the German historical school an appreciation of law as an organic evolution of the spirit of a people, and an appreciation of the polity as a single but irreducibly plural organism. The Christian commonwealth of the future, which they envisaged and which Robertson urged on England's Catholics and Tractarians, would recognise the 'eternal corporations in human society – the family – the church – the state – the guild – and the school'; it would defend the integrity of their corporate lives and their 'organic cooperation'. Thus would it obviate the 'military despotism' of bloody-handed revolutionaries and bloody-minded reactionaries, and forestall the kind of anarchic democracy that might facilitate their emergence.[183]

The belief – 'organic and counterrevolutionary, … [that] infinitesimal interactions between individuals and the institutions that formed them' could bring about 'moral progress' – was one propagated by the early Maistre.[184] But in a British intellectual culture seeking answers to socio-political crises in its 'Gothic bequest', the *Dublin* reviewers believed it would resonate. Germany's Burkeans would remind England's that the constitution their common master so valorised was rooted in "'Germanic freedoms'", which had evolved from "'participation in the Wittenagemots'" to Magna Carta's assertion of 'popular freedom'. Here, Robertson insisted, was proof that, for all her 'Protestant zeal', England's constitution had 'preserved more of what be called *political Catholicism,* than almost any other country'.[185] Scholars like Francis Palgrave (d.1861) and S. R. Maitland (d.1866) were situated in a tradition dating back to Tudor jurists, like Sir Edward Coke (d.1634), which acknowledged the spiritual, symbolical, and legal continuities between the empire of Rome and the Gothic nations.[186] These were arguments that Catholics

[182] [Robertson] 'The Life and Writings of Görres', *DR*, 6.11 (Jan., 1839), 44; *Philosophy of History* [*PH*], lv.

[183] *PH*, xxvii-xlix; 'Görres', 36-8. This paragraph draws on: Martin O'Malley, 'Currents in Nineteenth-Century German Law, and Subsidiarity's Emergence as a Social Principle in the Writings of Wilhelm Ketteler', *Journal of Law, Philosophy and Culture*, 3.1 (2008), 26-30; J. Q. Whitman, *The Legacy of Roman Law in the German Romantic Era: Historical Vision and Legal Change* (Princeton, 2014 [1990]), 8; Michael Dreyer, 'German Roots of the Theory of Pluralism', *Constitutional Political Economy*, 4.1 (1997), 12-16; John Inglis, *Spheres of philosophical inquiry and the historiography of medieval philosophy* (Leiden, 1998), 41-7; Roger Aubert, ed., *The Church between Revolution and Restoration*, trans Peter Becker (1981), 337. For Burke's influence in Germany: Wilson, 'Counter-revolutionary thought', 27-30.

[184] Armenteros, *French Idea*, 312-3.

[185] 'Görres', 46-51, quoting *Germany and the Revolution*, trans John Black (1820); *PH*, xlix-lii; 'Chancellors', 305-9.

[186] [Robertson], 'Summary of German Literature', *DR*, 6 (Jan. 1839), 282; 'Görres', 36-7. On Palgrave's *History of England* (1832): R. J. Smith, 'European Nationality, Race, and Commonwealth in the Writings of Sir Francis Palgrave, 1788-1861', in Alfred Smyth, *Medieval Europeans: Studies in Ethnic Identity and National Perspectives in Medieval Europe* (Hampshire, 2002), 237-42. For favourable references to Palgrave: 'W. F. F[inlason]', 'Robberies of Religion, Ancient and Modern', *Rambler*, 10 (Nov. 1852), 390-3; to Coke: 'Chancellors', 321.

of all stripes, from Milner to Lingard, had popularised before and during the Emancipation debates.[187] They were rearticulated now at a time when readers of either the patriarchal Southey or the radical Cobbett felt deepening alarm about the tendencies of commercial-industrial society, deepening ambivalence about its origins in the Reformation, and deepening determination to seek in the Middle Ages political models that might unsettle the oppression and exploitation endemic in the modern liberal polity.[188] (The socio-economic aspects of this Catholic challenge, and its resonance in the 'condition of England' debates, especially amongst Tractarians, is considered in the next chapter).

It was only at this point that Ultramontanes broached the thorny topic of the papacy. They cast its role in this history as the guardian of Christendom's liberties.[189] That Tractarians, neurotic about Erastianism, might pay attention to such an argument, did not pass unobserved. The unanimous chorus of European scholarship, they were informed, testified to the indispensability of the papacy's 'supremacy' in disciplining 'regal tyranny' and standing for the reign of Christ and the rights of the *pauperes christi*. Against that, who cared for the croakings of provincial Protestant divines?[190]

Such arguments were advanced by the German scholar, Felix Papencordt (1811?-1841). Like the stigmatic, Anna Emmerich, he had grown up in Napoleonic and post-Napoleonic Westphalia. At the Grammar School in Paderborn, he watched a prelude to the Kulturkampf rage, as Prussian bureaucrats challenged the Jesuits' grip on education.[191] After studying under von Ranke, Papencordt turned to the continuities of European history embodied in the city and empire of Rome. It seems likely that it was when working in Roman archives (ca.1836-40) on barbarism and populism, that he met Wiseman and won his admiration.[192] Papencordt was not uncritical of the mediaeval papacy; but his background, and the radicalisation of Catholic Germany by the 'Cologne Affair' of the late 1830s, when Prussia provocatively arrested what it thought a turbulently 'Romish' bishop, moulded an increasingly Ultramontane temperament.[193] He presented the Hildebrandine model – the papacy's muscular assertion of ecclesiastical supremacy – as the only defence of the Church's political and doctrinal liberty; for the

[187] See R. J. Smith, *The Gothic Bequest: Mediaeval Institutions in British Thought, 1688-1863* (Cambridge, 1987), 135-6, 147-9.

[188] Connell, *Romanticism*, 234f; Smith, *Gothic Bequest*, 156-8; Matthew Roberts, 'Catholicism and Constitutionalism in William Cobbett's English and Irish Medievalism', in David Matthews and Michael Sanders, eds., *Subaltern Medievalisms*, 19 (2021), 28; Kirby, 'Ecclesiastical Descent', 89-95.

[189] 'Chancellors', 310.

[190] 'British Churches', 128-30, 132-6, 149-55; 'Chancellors', 319-21; 'Hurter', 53-5; 'Church and Empire', 492-4,

[191] Friedrich Hohmann, 'Von der Jesuitenschule zum staatlichen Gymnasium Theodorianum', in Klemens Honselmann, *Von der Domschule zum Gymnasium Theodorianum in Paderborn* (Paderborn 1962).

[192] *Geschichte der vandalischen Herrschaft in Afrika* (Berlin, 1837); *Cola di Rienzo und seine Zeit* (Hamburg, 1841).

[193] Görres, writing as 'Athanasius', led the charge against Prussian 'revolutionary despotism'; Papencordt was writing for Görres' *Historisch-politische Blätter* at this time. See Vanden Heuvel, *Joseph Görres*, 322-47.

forces of worldliness – aggrandising princes, compromising prelates – were ever working to bring Christ's body into 'bondage'.[194] And this model was also the groundwork of Christendom's ordered liberty: Josephists thwarted and her supremacy acknowledged, the papal Church kept to her proper sphere, serving as the "'guardian'" of religious purity and as instigator of worldly "'regeneration'".[195]

Amongst the most impressive fruits of this 'regeneration', Ultramontanes argued – seeking to appeal to those liberal Tories wedded to Castlereagh's Concert system – was the mediaeval Church's 'paternal umpirage' of international affairs. Wiseman again brandished the work of German Protestants, who, in the welter of Revolution, had come to admire Rome (or even convert). The Savigny-school jurist, K. F. Eichorn, the philosopher-poet, Novalis, and the economist, Adam Müller, were all marshalled to support the claim that papal supremacy had made possible a 'marvellous scheme of international jurisprudence', encompassing the Church and each commonwealth in 'one great Christian state'. The political order it sustained had faced criticism; but as 'the moderns' cast about for principles that would restore 'civilisation', would they not look with 'envy' on Christendom's 'glory'?[196]

Honesty would surely cause them to regard with shame the era that followed. The Reformation exploded the architecture of international order, introducing 'division into the whole community'. With the peoples cut off from their papal protector, nothing could stop the rise of national despots, like the Tudors.[197] The pattern was everywhere identical: a greed-driven Reformation engorged the Crown, suborned the ancient corporations, drove Christ from the public sphere and lured men into 'profane' private lives. (Ultramontanes found consolation in the 'avenging ministers' sent by heaven to punish such royal sacrilege: hereditary madness and other forms of 'family misfortune'.)[198] Protestant 'absolutism', so appealing to court Jansenists, then gradually seduced Habsburgs, Wittlesbachs and Bourbons. Thus in rebellion and conspiracy was all Christendom 'protestantised'. In time, the legislation of 'despotic bureaucrats' tormented the people and guaranteed that the "'Church was … not merely despoiled, but fettered, … secularised, and incorporated with the abstract state'".[199] Across all the realms of post-

[194] 'Gregory VII', 302-7.

[195] Voigt, quoted in 'Gregory VII', 315-7.

[196] 'Hurter', 51-4; 'Chancellors', 319-20. Anstey's references to Wiseman relate to his essay 'La vita ed il Pontificato di Gregorio VII', *Annali*, 1.2 (sett.-ott. 1835), 267-77; 1.3 (nov.-dic. 1835), 374-84.

[197] 'Chancellors', 321; [Flanagan], 'Mary, Queen of Scots', *DR*, 19 (Sept. 1845), 195-229.

[198] [Murphy], 'Gustavus Wasa.', 229-265.

[199] [Robertson], 'Moral and Intellectual Condition of Catholic Germany', *DR*, 11 (Aug. 1841), 57, 78-9, 91-2, 104; quotation at 57 from Görres, *Athanasius* (1837) — a work which readers of the *Dublin* had already heard much about: [Joseph Axinger; trans. Catherine Bagshawe], 'Affairs of Cologne', *DR*, 9 (Nov. 1840), 117-56.

Reformation Europe, where the citizen was 'mummified', the ancient corporations 'dissolved', and the Church enslaved, there brewed Revolution and its 'procession of … furies': 'anarchy', 'plunder' and 'terrorism'.[200]

By such a process, Ultramontanes argued, had Christendom been deconsecrated and destroyed. But it would be wrong to suggest that they were fantasists, who thought Eden could simply be restored. The 'Ages of Faith' were certainly idealised by Wiseman's circle – and their successors demonised. But they were keen to prove their historical sensibility and political adaptability to the present. The eleventh-century states of Christendom, they conceded, were plagued within by 'infidelity', 'ignorance', and proto-Erastianism; their borders were menaced by internal strife and 'Asiatic Mahometanism'.[201] In fact, not only were these days far from halcyon – they were also irretrievably lost. Anstey and Robertson employed the metaphor of 'childhood' in describing the middle ages, accepting that its 'innocent … aspirings' belonged to the past. In the centuries of 'adolescence' (Reformation to Revolution), Protestants and Catholics, alike, had 'offended against their mother'.[202] The 'glowing fragments' of Kenelm Digby's romantic-mediaeval *oeuvre* were haunting, one of Wiseman's converts insisted, drawing on a theme popularised by Walter Scott, precisely because they were gone.[203]

In their own minds, these Ultramontanes did not seek to weave infantilising stories for the faithful, nor did they think themselves literary Jacobites, clinging to a long-vanished ideal. Rather, they presented themselves as addressing a world in its 'manhood', awoken from childhood's dreams, but prepared, as a prodigal son, to 'recall' youth's 'heroic achievements'. The more truthfully that age of childhood was made known, the keener their compatriots' understanding of its 'contradistinction' to modernity's maladies.[204] Hildebrandine Christendom would never – should never – be restored, Anstey insisted, sensitive to English criticism of papal tyranny and popish plots:[205] the kind of direct temporal power wielded by the popes in the eleventh century did not need to be claimed in the nineteenth.[206] But in 'rending justice to the past', modernity's contours could be reimagined. Churchmen might be brought to recognise that, at a time of growing civil tyranny, the mediaeval Church had wielded her

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[200] 'Görres', 38-45; *PH*, xviii-xx, xxxvii.

[201] 'Gregory VII', 268. Mention of Muhammad invoked a trope in Western thought, restated by Maistre, that cast Islam as the cult of an irrational, power-mad man – thus neatly mirroring critiques of modern Antichrists, like Rousseau and Comte, against whom a new struggle for Christian civilisation was to be waged. On the mobilisation of Muhammad in complex ways by Ultramontanes: Joseph Peterson, *Sacred Rivals: Catholic Missions and the Making of Islam in Nineteenth-Century France and Algeria* (Oxford, 2022), 15-40.

[202] 'Hurter', 51; 'Chancellors', 309.

[203] [Capes?] 'Short Notices', *Rambler*, 3 (Nov., 1848), 211. On Digby, author of *The Broad Stone of Honour* (1822), *Mores Catholici,* 9 vols. (1831-42), see Kevin Morris, 'The Cambridge Converts and the Oxford Movement', *RH*, 17 (May, 1985). On Scott: Smith, *Gothic Bequest*, 134.

[204] 'Hurter', 51; 'Chancellors', 321, 311.

[205] Ward, *Dawn*, II, 62-3.

[206] 'Chancellors', 321, 311.

*plenitudo potestatis* in defence of liberty, and that modernity was a regression to antiquity's 'state-idolatry'.[207] Every Tractarian shrieking about 'national apostasy' might be made to see that such a Protestant- and Jansenist-inspired Caesarism had become intrinsic to 'the code of political liberalism' – as was evident in attacks on the Church from London to Lisbon and Madrid to Mexico City.[208]

The present-mindedness of this historiography should not distract us from its future-oriented utopianism. Wiseman's party held out to 'Catholicly-inclined minds' the prospect of a different kind of liberalism – one that did not serve the interests of plutocrats and radicals, but guaranteed the interlocking liberties of a plural body politic. And if the goal was a neo-mediaeval organism, the means, Wiseman suggested, would be modern and democratic, realised in a new alliance of those faithful to the incarnation: the papacy and the peoples. As in the days of Hildebrand, so now again, Christ's Vicar heard the 'louder peal of that popular opinion, which all along had … [repudiated liberal] tyranny' and yearned for God and freedom. Together, they could rebuild Christendom.[209]

This sanguine approach to democracy and its re-sacralising potential was positioned so as to avoid conflation with Lamennais' political theology. Instead, Wiseman drew on Tocqueville, who acknowledged that democracies – prone to Caesarism and individualism – were always dangerous and often wicked, but also demonstrated that the Church, in moulding their public spirit, could flourish in democratic lands. A truly free society, where habits of religious devotion ensured that incarnational truth could be lived and preached unhindered, was not jealous of the Church's missionary growth or its status as a social power. Such a republic might never formally recognise the kingship of Christ, but might allow itself, nevertheless, to be regenerated.[210] Wiseman's bullishness about this prospect – made clear in his article on South America – was reinforced in a striking way, with the radical, H. S. Chapman (1803-81), commissioned to write a series of articles on Catholicism's progress in the new world.[211] This editor of Bentham had seen in Montreal the power of mobilised Irish and French Catholics in pursuit of an elected legislative council; he had come to the Tocquevillian conclusion that, far from 'the "natural enemy of democracy"', Catholicism could be its champion and beneficiary.[212] Wiseman believed that the good

[207] 'Chancellors', 307-11. For Anstey's crusades against anti-Catholic legislation: Ward, *Sequel*, I, 76-8, and II, 72-82.
[208] 'South America', 237, 248-9; *EVS*, II, 1-26; 27-72; 73-102.
[209] 'South America', 248-9, 251-2.
[210] Perreau-Saussine, *Catholicism and Democracy*, 51-8; J. Jennings, 'Constitutional Liberalism in France', *CHPT*, 365-9.
[211] See [Chapman] in the *DR*: e.g. 'The Canadian Question', 3 (July, 1837); 'The Irish in America', 3 (Oct. 1837); 'Principles of Colonization: New Zealand', 4 (Jan. 1838); 'New Zealand', 9 (Aug. 1840).
[212] [Chapman], quoting Tocqueville, 'Transatlantic Travelling', *DR*, 7 (Nov. 1839), 428.

news of that reconciliation needed to be preached by Catholic papers – even if the author was more at home in the anti-clerical *Westminster* than in the explicitly-clerical *Dublin*.[213]

### *Criticisms, controversies, conversions*

Wiseman's party thus offered an integral, dynamic incarnationalism. At its heart was a Scotist-Mennaisian conviction in the eucharistic exaltation of Creation. God's Kingdom had begun with the incarnation; the mustard seed grew with each life incorporated into Christ's body. It could be thus conceived and seen because Rome's science refused to deny the Creator the ability to straddle the gulf between transcendence and immanence. It was brought to fruition in the lands of Christendom, where social bonds were eucharistic, and the civil power recognised the Church as the guarantor of liberty and agent of regeneration.

Anglicans understood this vision for what it was. Their responses to the challenge revealed an Orthodox-Latitudinarian-Evangelical consensus against Ultramontane integralism, in all its aspects.[214] For the High-Church polemicist, Thomas Turton, the '[h]ermeneutical chemistry' involved in transubstantiation betrayed a linguistic and epistemological irrationalism. Wiseman was right to see the eucharist as the paradigmatic expression of Christ's presence; but the Kingdom's liminality – in, but not of, this world; present, but yet to come – degenerated in Roman religion into something crudely immanent, confirming the reformers' conviction that papalism was a compromise with the paganism it had supplanted.[215] Christ's real presence, which drew all into mystical communion, acquired, in Roman rendering, a sinister coercive implication: if God incarnate was materially present in Roman tabernacles, then the 'Judaising' temptation inevitably arose to spread the writ of His Kingdom – to give it real temporal power. Christ had come to set men free; but who could be surprised when papists promised not the bible, but the 'dagger' and the 'scaffold'? Wiseman and his cadre would seduce the Englishman into 'idolatry', then enslave him 'to a foreign pontiff and potentate'.[216]

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[213] R. S. Neale, 'Chapman, Henry Samuel', *ADB*.

[214] See Waterman, 'A Cambridge *Via Media* in Late-Georgian Anglicanism', *JEH*, 42 (1991), 419-36; Pietro Corsi, *Science and Religion: Baden Powell and the Anglican Debate, 1800-1860* (Cambridge, 1988), chs. 1-2; Richard Brent, *Liberal Anglican Politics: whiggery, religion, and reform, 1830-41* (Oxford, 1987), 148-9.

[215] Turton, *Doctrine of the Eucharist*, 311-13, 320-21; [Turton], 'Doctrine of the Eucharist', esp. 135. Cf. 'Philalethes Cantabrigiensis' [Bishop Kaye of Lincoln (1783-1853)], 'Dr. Wiseman', *British Magazine and Monthly Register,* 11 (1 Jan. 1837), 9-20; (1 Feb, 1837), 131-4. On Turton and Kaye's intellectual context: D. M. Thompson, *Cambridge Theology in the Nineteenth Century* (Hampshire, 2008), 61-62, 13-25.

[216] 'Jesuitism and Romanism', 386-404; and *CEQR* (Jan. 1837), 1, 4-6; 32-33; 43; 53-67. Cf. Burstein, 'Anti-Catholic Sermons', esp. 236-7.

'Advanced' Tractarians, however, were unsettled by the naturalism and low ecclesiology they detected in such responses. Entering into a period of 'perplexity', they were coming to believe that 'Romanism' might recall Anglicans to 'true views of divinity' and help them to see in the Church something more than a 'mere establishment'.[217] As has been documented, the argument from incarnational supernaturalism and universality proved crucial for many in this mould. But it should be stressed that Ultramontane polemic worked hand-in-hand with the 'impact of foreign travel' to emphasise the 'insularity of Anglicanism' and the 'looming reality of Latin Christendom':[218] the further they went from England, the louder Wiseman's arguments echoed in their minds. Travelling Tractarians explored a realm where the learned rejoiced at miracles,[219] and where Socinianism had not 'clouded' 'the sacrifice of the altar',[220] nor Erastianism 'the august mystery of the Incarnation'.[221] The feeling was captured powerfully by T. W. Allies, journeying through France and Italy in the mid-40s. He felt the effects of incarnationalism in the Mennaisians' 'regeneration' of Parisian workmen, and in Italy's workhouses, built around the altar rather than the principle of deterrence. The marker of a Christian land, he concluded, was its adherence to Roman eucharistic doctrine; for where 'the Incarnation of Love' was experienced as reality rather than rhetoric, God's Kingdom broke into time: Christ 'comes amid a cloud of His saints: … their works are mighty … [and] prevail because they, being flesh and blood, have become partakers of the Word made flesh … the extension and drawing out of the Incarnation', cooperators in the world's redemption.[222] Like many contemporary incarnationalists – from Broad-Church thinkers, who saw salvation worked out in the temporal-spatial sphere, to premillennialist Evangelicals, who saw social reform as an aspect of the deeper renewal of corporate time – these Tractarians sought a theology and experience that did justice to the presence of the Kingdom.[223] For them, Puseyism was no longer enough; they wanted what Wiseman promised.

Other Tractarians were more affected by the Ultramontane insistence that the fullness of the incarnation was implicated with the *sovereignty* of Christ's mystical body. Some suggest that Hildebrandine fantasies led these sovereigntists to flirt with 'reactionary' politics – as though to embrace Catholicism was to hanker after the firm

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[217] [Newman], 'Wiseman's Lectures', 373-8, 384-90, 402-3.

[218] *OMC*, 170-5; Nockles, 'Sources of English Conversions to Roman Catholicism in the Era of the Oxford Movement', in McClelland, ed., *By Whose Authority?*, 3; McClelland, 'Thomas William Allies', 279. See also: Jeremy Morris, 'British High Churchmen, continental church tourism, and the Roman connection in the nineteenth century', *JEH*, 66 (2015), 772-91.

[219] See Robert Ornsby, *Memoirs of James Robert Hope-Scott*, 2 vols. (1884), I, 218-30.

[220] F. W. Faber, *Sights and Thoughts in Foreign Churches* … (1842), 301-2, 363; [Russell], 'Faber's Foreign Churches', 377-80, 407; Addington, *Letters*, 170, 185-6, 190-7.

[221] J. L. Patterson, *Journal of a Tour in Egypt, Palestine, Syria, and Greece* … (1852), 136-7, 419-24, vi-vii; [Walford], 'Patterson's Tour in Egypt, &c.', *DR*, 32 (June, 1852), 422.

[222] Allies, *Journal in France*, 42-3, 113, 119-20, 188, 338-9, 365; Mary Allies, *Thomas William Allies, 1813-1903* (1924), 51-61.

[223] Spence, *Heaven on Earth*, 1-7.

smack of Mary Tudor's government.[224] As we have seen, however, this was not what Wiseman offered. For those worried that the church of the state 'subsist[ed] *in* the state' and could claim no life outside the state,[225] Wiseman's model held obvious appeal. It acknowledged that the Church had obligations in and to the world; indeed, it spoke in exalted terms of the world's consecration, and mapped an attractive path to its regeneration: populist and pluralist, and thus righteously disruptive without being revolutionary. But it also emphasised that this mission was predicated on the Church's freedom: that the Church would not be held hostage by the states it promised to consecrate.

That attraction was clear from the later 1830s. Newman's revulsion at Lamennais' 'rebellion' was belied by his sneaking regard for the heresiarch's willingness to scorn 'the smiles of a court' and re-found the Church's power in an 'appeal to the people'.[226] He and Keble popularised the provocative anti-Erastianism of Hurrell Froude (1803-36), itself forged in a critical engagement with Lamennais; the effect was felt across the next decade in the radicalism of young Tractarians, like J. W. Bowden and E. A. Freeman, who presented the uncompromising churchmanship of Becket and Hildebrand as the only way to save the ecclesiastical polity from secular profanation.[227] Edward Churton's 1839 survey of the 'Revival of Jesuitism' in Europe also demonstrated Tractarians' growing interest in the ascendancy of popular Ultramontanism. He pointed not only to a devotional revolution, but to the Catholicisation of revolution itself: Rome was asserting its freedom from the state, and recapturing temporal power in the project of 'Papal democracy'.[228]

It was precisely this boldness that intoxicated J. D. Dalgairns (1818-76). The Guernsey man was the *jeune membre de l université d Oxford*, whose 1838 letter to *l'Univers* alerted France to the Oxford Movement.[229] When Hilaire Lorain (1796-1866), Director of Seminarians for the diocese of Dijon, travelled to England to meet the Tractarians, he developed a rapport with this young enthusiast; Dalgairns became his Oxford sherpa. Hailing from a diocese that had been divided over the Civil Constitution of the Clergy, Lorain saw Gallicanism and Jansenism as twin heresies that turned that state against the Church and the soul against God's love.[230] Already immersed in French

[224] H. J. Laski, *Studies in the Problem of Sovereignty* (1917), 166f.
[225] Newman to Pusey, 24 Jan. 1836, quoted in *OMC*, 84-5.
[226] [Newman], 'Affairs of Rome', *BC*, 22 (Oct. 1837), 271.
[227] Newman and Keble, *Remains of the Late Reverend Richard Hurrell Froude* … 4 vols. (1838-9); Skinner, *TCE*, 88-91, 256-9; Kirby, 'From Tractarian to Democrat: The Intellectual Formation of E. A. Freeman', in G. A. Bremner and Jonathan Conlin, *Making History: Edward Augustus Freeman and Victorian Cultural Politics* (Oxford, 2015), 33-6.
[228] [Churton], *The Revival of Jesuitism* (n.d.), *passim*; quote at 26. For Churton's obsessive references to the Sacred Heart, 26-41; for Lamennais, 14. Originally: 'Revival of Jesuitism. Political View', *BC*, 25 (1839), 143-86.
[229] See 'Chronique', *Revue Ecclésiastique*, 8 (Juin, 1845), 166.
[230] L'Abbé Charles Lorain, *Vie de M. L'Abbé Lorain* … (Dijon, 1888), 175, 220-1.

ecclesiastical history and literature,[231] Dalgairns was drawn, under the influence of this 'second father', to the vision of the Church as a *societas perfecta*, free from state interference. In 1841, he reviewed favourably the sympathetic survey of Jansenism by the novelist, Charles Augustin Sainte Beuve (1804-59), and chastised Maistre for the 'fanciful unreality' of his reactionary Ultramontanism.[232] A year later, he was praising Mennaisians like Montalembert, who showed that Jansenised Gallicanism made of the Church a 'mere portion of a state pageant'. Tractarians were enjoined to heed the lesson. Against liberalism and revolution, 'crusade' and 'martyrdom' might be the only answer. To sever the union of Church and State and suffer the consequences, might, in an emergency, be the only way to vindicate the Church's sovereignty.

But his Ultramontane diet also convinced Dalgairns that such severance could never be the end of Catholic politics: the sovereignty that began in the Church's freedom culminated in her mission to consecrate all things to Christ. It could not, therefore, 'declare that it has no politics', which might mean adopting by turn 'whatever idols the populace may choose to set up'. It stood for something politically substantive: the lordship of Christ, a world redeemed:

> Just as Christianity, in ennobling the soul, has also ennobled the body, … so in opening eternity upon us, it has also given us deeper views of space and time; it has made them sacramental. Days and places, specially dedicated to the saints, are means to us of communion with them; … means by which we call around us the chariots of God, even thousands of angels … and all the hosts of the heavenly Jerusalem, to which even now, upon earth, we are come.[233]

But how could the heavenly Jerusalem find a home on earth if the Church had been taken captive? Sovereignty had to be defended in freedom before it could be realised in rule. By 1845, Dalgairns had been received by the Italian missionary, Fr. Dominic Barberi. He made directly for Lorain's seminary at Langres.[234]

Thereafter, the question of the Church's sovereignty only grew in importance. Controversies like the Gorham Judgement of 1850 (in which the jurisdiction of a lay body – the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council – was shown superior to Church courts, and by which a bishop's right to be arbiter of his clergy's orthodoxy was called into question) wounded High Churchmen, but left them hopeful that these were anomalies that could be rectified; to the Romanisers, they revealed the '*ab initio* Erastianism of the Reformation'.[235] An equally important

[231] Churton may have been the trigger: fifteen years later, Dalgairns still wrote about 'The Revival of Jesuitism' with pain and fury: see *The Devotion to the Heart of Jesus; with an Introduction on the History of Jansenism* (1853), v-ix.
[232] [Dalgairns], The Abbess Angélique and Marie des Anges', *BC*, 60 (1841), 365-6.
[233] [Dalgairns], 'Rio's Petit Chouannerie, *BC*, 64 (Oct. 1842), 261-6, 273-4, 284-5, 298-9.
[234] Brompton Oratory Archive: *Oratory Notes, 1845 to 1910* (1911?), 45-8.
[235] *OMC*, 243; 93n187; 95-101.

factor, however, weighed on Tractarian minds. In 1850, Pius IX exercised Rome's sovereignty by restoring the hierarchy that had fallen into abeyance with the Reformation. Wiseman's tin-eared pastoral, 'From without the Flaminian Gate', announcing England's 'restoration' to 'its [Roman] orbit', excited the country's native anti-popery, Lord Russell's native whiggery,[236] and Queen Victoria's native petulance ('Am I queen of England, or am I not?').[237] Historians have focussed on Catholic controversialists' efforts to defuse the fracas;[238] but equally notable was the way they pressed the moment to provocative ends, contrasting the crises of 1850 in order to vindicate Rome's exclusive claim to Catholicity.

The convergence of crises was presented as Providence's 'calculated' effort to 'probe' and expose 'the Establishment'.[239] Here, Newman argued, life 'confronted' death. The real Church, he told bishops gathered for their first Provincial Synod, had been 'resurrected';[240] what was a 'wax-work' in comparison with a 'Church which really … lives'?[241] The arguments deployed were sharply drawn in that language of contrast, Wiseman's rhetoric now widely adopted: the Church was depicted as a living body, head and members, organically united in sacraments, and exhibiting sovereignty and supremacy amongst the world's kingdoms.[242] The Gorham Judgement was 'the most decisive religious crisis of our era' because it revealed the Anglican Church to be no such body.[243] A variety of maliciously vivid metaphors were mobilised to condemn this 'sham',[244] which, since the institution of Royal Supremacy, was but a 'slave of the state';[245] a rootless, 'separated branch'; a 'mushroom' – a fungal growth and source of hallucination, incapable in its lifelessness of fending off the 'cancer' of heterodoxy.[246] It was a corpse, 'perished' and already 'corrupt';[247] or a body corrupted in a different way – 'a monarch's cast-off mistress, now in

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[236] His letter to the Bishop of Durham, carried in the *Times* on the resonant date of 4 November, decried the pope's 'pretension to supremacy'; his Ecclesiastical Titles Act (1851) made it a criminal offense for anyone outside the Established Church to claim an ecclesiastical title of 'any city, town, or place … in the United Kingdom'.

[237] See Norman, *English Catholic Church*, 96-104; Fothergill, *Wiseman*, 150f; Ward, *Wiseman*, I, 527f; C. T. McIntire, *England against the papacy, 1858-1861: Tories, Liberals, and the Overthrow of the papal Temporal Power during the Italian Risorgimento* (Cambridge, 1983), 29-33.

[238] Ker, *John Henry Newman*, 360-75.

[239] [Wiseman], 'The Hierarchy', *DR*, 29 (Dec. 1850), 508-9.

[240] Newman, 'The Second Spring', in *Sermons Preached on Various Occasions* (1908 [1857]), 167-9, 176.

[241] Newman, *Lectures on the Present Position of Catholics in England* (1908), 9.

[242] [Wiseman], 'Catholic Hierarchy (Part II)', *DR*, 30 (March, 1851), 182; [Walford], 'The doctrine of the Holy Eucharist', *DR*, 36 (March, 1854), 73-4; [Crolly], 'Wilberforce on the Church', *DR*, 37 (Dec. 1854), 474-5, 481; [Dalgairns], 'The Church and the King Before and After the Reformation', *Rambler* (May, 1850), 450-1.

[243] [Wiseman], 'The Gorham Judgement', *DR*, 28 (March, 1850), 235.

[244] Allies, *The See of St. Peter* (1850) 9-12.

[245] [Russell], 'Allies on the Primacy', *DR*, 29 (Dec. 1850), 412-3; [Allies], 'Archdeacon Wilberforce on Erastianism', *Rambler*, 8 (Sept. 1851), 222.

[246] *EVS*, II, 138; 309; [O'Reilly], 'Scipio de Ricci', 50-1, 65-8; [Capes], 'Prospects of the Anglo-Catholic Party in the Established Church', *Rambler*, 5 (May, 1850), 392-5; [Capes?], 'The Pope', *Rambler*, 6 (Nov. 1850), 409-41.

[247] [Walford], 'Eucharist', 43, 73; Allies, *See of Peter*, 40-2; [Wiseman], 'Gorham', 269.

her dishonourable age vainly striving to cover her nakedness with the gifts which purchased her seduction'.[248] It was a treacherous harlot, abandoning her children 'like the foundlings who strew the banks of Chinese rivers'.[249]

Manning later reflected that it was contrasts drawn on the sovereignty or slavery of the incarnational body that determined his conversion.[250] He was not alone. For William Dodsworth (1798-1861), hitherto a critic of Romish 'idolatry',[251] the Gorham Judgement imperilled all the 'mysteries of the faith … linked together' as extensions of the 'the Incarnation'.[252] The argument was echoed by many Puseyites, who turned on their guru,[253] reproaching him with Wiseman's words: a church that winked at Socinianism was no part of the mystical body.[254] Catholics could not enter "'synagogues of Satan'"; they had to flee the 'sundered … branch' for the 'True Vine'.[255]

R. I. Wilberforce (1802-57) had spent a decade working to avoid this conclusion.[256] His sacred history – *The Five Empires* (1840) – shared the consensus against Ultramontanism. Influenced by Thomas Arnold and Francis Palgrave, it offered a counter-myth to that advanced by Robertson and Papencordt. The Church was presented as a universal 'empire', whose 'unity' did not entail uniformity; and 'modern history' as the realisation of God's Kingdom in the life of the Gothic nations, which preserved the faith *against* the papacy, the 'phantom of departed empire'.[257] But as controversy on the nature of Catholicity deepened, and Wilberforce attempted to develop a comprehensive incarnational system, the dichotomies between 'temporal' and 'spiritual' became for him untenable, and branch ecclesiology unsatisfactory. Notions of 'communion' founded on a 'spiritual real presence' and unity-without-uniformity did not do justice to the integrity of a body mystical *and* natural.[258] The events of 1850 proved conclusive. He demanded that the pretensions of a secular court to jurisdiction over Christ's body be rebuffed.[259] But it was not to be. In his final substantial work as an Anglican, *The Doctrine of the Holy Eucharist* (1853), Wilberforce despaired of a Church wilfully susceptible to Socinianism. Nowhere mentioned, Wiseman was everywhere present: in Wilberforce's arguments on the words of institution; in his impatience with Anglicanism's tolerance of heterodox

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[248] [Allies], 'Wilberforce', 228, 220, 227; [Capes], 'The Hierarchy', *Rambler*, 6 (Dec. 1850), 474, 477-9; [P. Maxwell], 'State Bishops', *DR*, 31 (Dec. 1851), 483.

[249] [Oakeley], 'Dr. Pusey's Teaching and Practice', *DR*, 30 (March, 1851), 157, 176.

[250] [Manning], 'Work and Wants', 145-6.

[251] Dodsworth, *Romanism,* 5-9, 18-19.

[252] Dodsworth, *The Gorham Case Briefly Considered* (1850), 11-12; *A House Divide Against Itself…* (1850), n5-6; 7-9.

[253] W. H. Anderdon, *Contending for the Faith* (1850), 12; Dodsworth, *A letter to the Rev. E. B. Pusey* (1850), 8-9, 16-17.

[254] William Maskell, *The Want of Dogmatic Teaching in the Reformed English Church* (1850), 15-21, 73-6.

[255] Anderdon, *Contending*, 3, 11, 18, 13.

[256] On Wilberforce's reputation: Thomas Mozley, *Reminiscences, chiefly of Oriel College and the Oxford Movement*, 2 vols. (2nd edn. 1882), I, 225. For his incarnationalism: *TCE*, 259-62; Geoffrey Rowell, 'Christ and the Church in Robert Isaac Wilberforce's *Doctrine of the Incarnation*', in McClelland, ed., *By Whose Authority?*, 259-72.

[257] *The Five Empires: an Outline of Ancient History* (London, Oxford, Derby, 1852 [1840]), 3, 168-84, 217-31; *Rutilius and Lucius; or Stories of the Third Age* (1824), 88, 221-24. Cf. Ó Siochrú, 'Freeman', 55.

[258] *The Doctrine of the Incarnation* … (2nd edn, 1849 [1848]), 264-403, 4.

[259] *The Doctrine of Holy Baptism* … (2nd edn. 1849), 252-64.

eucharistic theories; in his reliance on Roman authorities to expound the real presence.[260] Wiseman loomed, too, in the choice facing Wilberforce: a Church that lived on the 'supernatural principle' and claimed a 'sovereign power' to guard it, or an Establishment 'self-contradictory', schismatic and heterodox.[261] He chose Rome.

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What did it mean to be a Catholic in England? In 1829, the answer to that question was unclear. In the decades that followed, it was hotly contested. The notion that Cisalpinism was moribund, and an Ultramontane Church inevitable, seems dubious. Milnerites agitated, Irishmen immigrated, continental devotions proliferated; but to the kind of synthesis presented by Lingard, no alternative emerged – until his pupil founded a rival school, propounding an integral incarnationalism. Cisalpine apprehensions that such a vision would drive potential converts away proved unfounded:[262] rather, it polarised – alienating those, like Gladstone, who rejected its totalising claims, but showing itself 'dangerously effective' with Newman's disciples.[263] Wiseman's victory was also secured in the cowing of Cisalpinism. The rhetoric of 1850 – the Church as a 'living body', unafraid of those threats that might 'paralyse' it – served his partisan purpose, and glossed over nascent disputes on the nature of ecclesiastical governance.[264] But if this language was tendentious, it was not baseless. Lingard had grown less rebarbatively anti-Roman. And even as he campaigned against Wiseman in the 1840s, Daniel Rock returned to the orthodoxy of youth. In a three-volume work on the liturgy, published as Wiseman was made head of the hierarchy, Rock attacked Puseyism and reaffirmed transubstantiation.[265] As controversy deepened over the pope's temporal power and infallibility in the late 1850s, he would pen a Marian rhapsody worthy of the most enthusiastic Ultramontane, endorsing the dogma of the immaculate conception (defined in 1854 but at first resisted by many 'Gallicans') and placing the Blessed Virgin at the centre of the incarnational economy:

> For whom amid the bright cherubic choir —
> What one of all those seraphim of fire,
> Did God e'er make unto Himself to be
> His handmaid clean in so great mystery,
> To clothe with flesh the Word's Divinity?[266]

[260] *The Doctrine of the Holy Eucharist* (1853), 113-51, 25-46; 128, 163-73, 180-296.
[261] *Seven Letters to the Editor of the Weekly Register* (1855), 25-9; *An inquiry into the principles of Church-Authority* (1854), *passim.*
[262] Schiefen, *Wiseman*, 135.
[263] Roundell Palmer to William Palmer, 19 March, 1841: *Memorials* (1896), I, 313.
[264] 'Hierarchy', 182. On Wiseman's designated, dumped successor: see James, *Errington*, ch. 6.
[265] Rock, *Church of our Fathers.*
[266] Rock, *The Mystic Crown of Mary* … (1857), 4.

By 1866, the once-suspect Robert Tate, now President of Ushaw, would treat Archbishop Manning to a display of Ultramontane exuberance at the erstwhile centre of Lingardism. A life-sized portrait of Pius IX graced his study wall. The College would soon petition the Vatican Council to affirm the dogma of infallibility; a *Te Deum* would be sung to greet the definition.[267]

After years of missionary activity and dispute, Wiseman was winning. His paradigm's appeal lay in its premise and positioning: an incarnational account of the relationship between the natural and supernatural, presented as a reclamation of Christian truth and wisdom to an age and realm grown timidly secular. A eucharistic ecclesiology developed into a cultural-political vision: in an integrated incarnational realm, the Church restored to man the fullness of his humanity, and restored to humanity its citizenship in the Kingdom of Christ. The vision gained traction in British debates marked by deeply-felt (if often deliberately-exaggerated) polarities. Its muscular assertion of universality and supernatural faith disrupted and reshaped the contours of religio-political argument. The effect was paradoxical: broadening its range of reference and horizons of possibility; but also playing to its binarising rhetoric to 'expose' the common rot in British thought and force the Catholic-minded to choose a side – Rome or Socinus? Those who embraced the fullness of incarnational faith were promised a place in the vanguard of a cultural revolution. This appealed to minds seeking a comprehensive alternative to modernity's creeds: 'We claim', the recent convert, T. W. Allies, thundered in 1851, 'to be a kingdom'.[268] It also resonated with those who surveyed despairingly the social crisis of the age, as the next chapter now shows.

[267] *Records and Recollections*, 208-15.
[268] 'The Catholic University', *DR*, 31 (Dec. 1851), 556-8.

# Chapter III

## *The spectre of Malthus, the promise of Aquinas: developing a Catholic political economy, ca.1830-70*

> Through a rift in the roof the light of the rising sun found entrance, and streamed, a solid mean, athwart the smoke from end to end. Right beneath that beam, there sat upon the earthen floor a little naked infant, an orphan, who laughed as if in scorn of the misery around him … It was probably the contrast between the fearless child and the haggard group around him that impressed me; and I have since thought that the outcast I then saw, so unprotected, yet so well protected, might be a symbol of his country. Since it was the will of God, while many strong men dropped, to preserve that child whom there was no mother to cherish, and whom, if a casual hand of charity maintained, many a more charitable heart must have sighed to retain — perhaps he has been preserved to some good end. Perhaps, also, this country may be preserved for some good end …
>
> — Aubrey de Vere (1848)[1]

As the Irish Tractarian, Aubrey de Vere (1814-1902), ventured out of his estate of Curraghchase, Co. Limerick – some 250 hectares of land granted to his ancestor, Vere Hunt, for service in the Cromwellian army – he stalked over famine-stricken fields and contemplated the evil origins and consequences of plantation. A Romantic steeped in Coleridge, Carlyle, and Keble, de Vere was drawn to critiques of whiggish and utilitarian political economy; but like others in his circle – William Monsell, 1st Baron Emly (1812-94); his brother, Stephen (1812-1904), a humane landlord who travelled incognito on a famine ship bound for Canada to catalogue the horrors on board – Aubrey was ultimately convinced that Roman Catholicism presented the only comprehensive answer to the social crisis.

Passed over by historians straining to hear pre-echoes of a progressive 'Social Catholicism', there in fact emerged from the time of Wiseman's arrival in England a distinctively Catholic political economy. It countered Malthusianism with a cosmopolitan synthesis of traditions: the anti-evangelicalism of Tractarian converts and Louvain professors; the natural-law rhetoric of the Maynooth theologians; and the historical political economy associated with Whateley's successors at Trinity College, Dublin. Catholic writers thus naturally engaged with Romantic and paternalist discourses, but – as in constitutional and ecclesiological debates – positioned themselves at an angle, rejecting what they labelled flawed alternatives drawing from the same, poisoned well: the answer to Malthus would be found neither in a wild Carlylean 'vortex' nor in a twee Dickensian vignette. Although from the

[1] de Vere, *English Misrule, Irish Misdeeds* (1848), 204-7.

1850s aspects of Wiseman's Ultramontanism faced a growing challenge from the party around Acton, there was a broad and sustained consensus on this approach to the social question: fusing an incarnational anthropology with Aristotelian ethics, and drawing from other revisionist discourses, Catholics developed an optimistic science of social wealth and a reformist policy programme. Complementing the political theology surveyed in the previous chapter, this political economy set out a vision of a Catholic society – one that would cherish the integrity of the individual, body and soul, and use state power to advance the common good over sectional interests.

## *The 'dark enchantment' of Malthusian economics*

As in ecclesiology and political theology, so, too, in political economy: the 1840s saw a marked shift in Catholic discourse. In the 1830s, Whig governments promised 'justice to Ireland', and the wisdom of Malthus and Mill echoed in the Catholic press.[2] The Liberator's son extolled the principles and rewards of 'enlightened' political economy.[3] Canon Perrin, of St Patrick's (Church of Ireland) Cathedral, Dublin, was accorded space in the *Dublin* to advocate the 'necessity of a Poor Law for Ireland': the needy would chafe against the 'prison-like restrictions' of the workhouse; the 'well-meaning' would shriek that 'voluntary benevolence will be utterly dissolved'; but those possessing 'moral sense' would see the 'imperative'.[4] One of the last echoes of this orthodoxy was heard in 1852. When J. B. Byles (1801-84) published his *Sophisms of Free Trade* (1849), a critique of Cobdenism that sent ripples of anxiety through high-and-dry economic circles,[5] his fellow London barrister, P. B. Maxwell, was given space in the *Dublin* to sneer at those seeking to resuscitate the 'expiring creeds' of a pre-commercial age. 'The light' of *laissez-faire* liberalism was dissolving the 'stock dogmas of the old idolatry', he crowed; though there might linger in the darkness of Tory backwoods a predilection for 'Paganism in social science', soon even those 'last abodes of superstition' would see a 'protectionist ... as rare a bird as a jacobite or an alchemist'.[6] A Trinity Dublin man, and not apparently himself a Catholic, Maxwell's forensic mind and controversial bent had endeared him to the *Dublin*'s titular editor (another London barrister), H. R. Bagshawe; he had served as a willing auxiliary in the polemical war against the Establishment's endowments.[7] But this defence of classical economics – branding its enemies heretics and obscurantists; suggesting the correlation of 'unenlightened' to 'unreformed' and framing rhetorically the

[2] J. R. Roszman, '"Ireland as a weapon of Warfare": Whigs, Tories, and the problem of Irish outrages, 1835 to 1839', *HJ*, 60.4 (Dec. 2017), 971-95.
[3] [O'Connell], 'No-Popery', 329.
[4] [Mark Perrin], 'A Poor Law for Ireland', *DR*, 2 (Dec. 1836), 51-7, 75.
[5] E. A. Bowring and Lord Hobart, *Free Trade and its So-Called Sophisms* (1851).
[6] [Maxwell], 'Byles's *Sophisms of Free Trade* and Popular Political Economy', *DR*, 32 (June, 1852), 385.
[7] [Maxwell], 'Cunningham's London', *DR*, 30 (March, 1851), 33-68; 'State Bishops', 475-519.

asymmetrical war between muscular, rational, progressive Protestantism, and the bathetic romance of nostalgic Catholicism – proved a moment of rupture. Like Daniel Rock, rapped out for epistemological heterodoxy, Maxwell would never write for the *Dublin* again.

Indeed, across the 1840s, such voices disappeared from Catholic discourse; the Great Famine first rendered them notorious, then consigned them to oblivion. When, in 1863, John O'Hagan, Professor of Political Economy at Newman's Catholic University, lamented the country's '[a]venging cares and sullen sorrows, fear and penury, ill-counselling famine, toil, and death', and asked, in anguish, 'by what dark enchantment … the fair soil of Ireland [had] borne such progeny?', Catholics on both sides of the Irish Sea answered in one voice and word: Malthus.[8] They first rejected Malthusianism as a perversion of the Christian faith. They turned then to the evils of the social system built on this false theodicy, arguing that violent expropriation, landlordism, and punitive pauperism were the poisoned 'fruits' of Malthus' errors.[9]

*'A revived Manichaeism'*

The Catholic assault on Malthusianism began in earnest in France and Belgium in the 1820s. There, a heterogeneous counter-culture had emerged, critical of the '*philosophie économique*' hatched in Protestant England and then adopted by 'enlightened' revolutionaries, like the Helvétius-inspired Huguenot, Jean-Baptiste Say,[10] and smuggled into the 'Christian' works of Say's diffuse intellectual progeny.[11] Drawing on the kind of fundamental critiques of Smithian economics found in Sismondi's *Nouveuax Principes d'Économie Politiques* (1819), Legitimists like Alban Villeneuve-Bargemont joined Mennaisians like Ozanam and Philippe Buchez in excoriating the 'English model' of political economy. They argued that the fusion of Malthus and Bentham, Protestantism and *philosophisme,* had spawned a pseudo-science – one that banished the supernatural from Creation, asserted (and endorsed) natural man's 'insatiable egoism', and led to the 'progressive distress of the working populations' of Europe.[12] Collaboration between intellectuals like Villeneuve-Bargemont and Armand de Melun – an admirer of *l'Avenir*,

[8] [O'Hagan], 'Tenure of Land in Ireland', *HFR*, 2 (April, 1863), 346-8.

[9] For an overview of the Irish clergy's response to the Famine: Dónal A. Kerr, *'A Nation of Beggars'? Priests, People, and Politics in Famine Ireland, 1846-1852* (Oxford, 1994).

[10] Colin Jones, *Charity and bienfaisance: the treatment of the poor in the Montpellier region 1740-1815* (Cambridge, 1982), 1-8, 235, 252-7.

[11] G. Faccarello, P. Steiner, 'Religion and Political Economy in Early Nineteenth-Century France', *HPE*, 40.5 (2008), 56.

[12] Quoting from Villeneuve-Bargemont, *Économie Politique Chrétienne* (Paris, 1834). On these developments: Timothy Smith, 'The Ideology of Charity, the Image of the English Poor Law, and debates over the Right to Assistance in France, 1830-1905', *HJ*, 40.4 (1997), 997-1032; Cheryl B. Welch, 'Social science from the Revolution to positivism', *CHPT*, 174-84.

member of Madame Swetchine's Liberal Catholic *salon*, and founder of the *Société d'économie charitable* – drew 'liberals' and 'conservatives' closer together, and won converts from the *laissez-faire* school. Increasingly, thinkers like François Joseph Droz sought to reintegrate political economy into a moral framework, distancing it from both Ricardian mathematics and retributive evangelical theodicy, and re-grounding it as a science – at once optimistic about Creation's bounty and man's angelic nature, and explicitly ethical rather than dubiously 'neutral' in its assumptions and judgements.[13]

This body of thought began to filter into British and Irish circles in the work of Charles de Coux (1787-1864) and his disciple, Charles Périn (1815-1905). De Coux knew 'the English model' at first hand: he was raised there by his migrant parents. He also knew that another world was possible: like Tocqueville, he travelled widely in the Americas. Returning to Paris in 1823, and to the faith under the direction of Lamennais, he was drawn quickly into reformist circles. In *l'Avenir* he warned that political economy, ignoring the 'restraining influence' of religion, served only the 'great barons of industrialism' and pauperised the poor. In a lecture series delivered at Ozanam's request,[14] he warned that a new economics, ethical in scope and incarnational in anthropology, could only come into being when the theoretical groundwork of Protestant political economy – Malthusianism's 'despair'; utilitarianism's materialism – was unmasked and refuted.[15] Between 1834 and 1845, de Coux held the first Chair in Political Economy at the Catholic University of Malines (later Louvain). There he expounded these views in his *Cours d économie sociale* (1836-40), published in Gerbet's *L'Université catholique.*[16]

Wiseman enlisted him to write for the *Dublin*, and praised his work in public.[17] At the same time as Catholics were being advised to read Montalembert's histories and Schlegel's philosophy, de Coux encouraged readers of the *Dublin* to discover the works of the French 'Catholic school' of economists, too 'little known in England'; here, he promised them, they would find the resources to strike at the root of Protestant political economy. This school had unmasked Malthusianism as 'revive[d] Manicheism', implying that 'it was to punish Adam for the fault he had not yet committed, that God imposed on him the command to increase and multiply', and 'blam[ing] Providence' for the 'wretchedness' of a people pauperised by industrialism. It had shown that in a

[13] António Almodovar, Pedro Teixeira, 'The Ascent and Decline of Catholic Economic Thought, 1830-1950s', *HPE*, 40.5 (2008), 66f.

[14] Published by *l'Agence* as *Essais d'économie politique* (1832).

[15] Vidler, *Social Catholicism*, 7-9.

[16] Gilbert Faccarello, 'From the Foundation of Liberal Political Economy to its Critique. Theology and Economics in France in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries', in Paul Oslington, ed., *The Oxford Handbook to Christianity and Economics* (Oxford, 2014), 87-9.

[17] See *PD*, I, 14-15.

world seen as irredeemably fallen, 'the poor' could never be recognised as 'suffering members of Jesus Christ', and so 'atheistical politicians' did not scruple to draft poor-relief legislation encouraging the putative progenitor to diminish the dangerously numerous human 'stock by throwing himself into the water'.[18] A creation so unloved could only merit punishment; suicide seemed reasonable in the circumstances.

There is evidence to suggest that de Coux's *cri de coeur* resonated in Catholic circles in Britain and Ireland, and was soon being transposed into a new key for its new context.[19] In the years that followed, as the Irish famine took hold, the *Dublin* sharpened its attacks on the Protestantism of political economy. The Malthusian theodicy on which it was built was 'dishonouring to the Creator', fulminated the Irish Liberal politician, Thomas O'Hagan: 'preach[ing] a gospel of despair to prostrate nations … [it was] invented to sanctify the iniquities of conquest, and perpetuate the oppression of the weak'.[20] In its 'fallacious … theoretical assumptions' and 'heartless … practical conclusions', 'the economy of Malthus'[21] ignored the teaching of Christ, calumniated the pauper as an 'idler' and criminal, and withheld relief from the starving lest it incentivise beggary. Its precepts condemned 'tens of thousands' to death. That it could be expounded by clerics like Malthus and Whately, demonstrated the moral bankruptcy of the Establishment and the falseness of its theology.[22] How, despaired the Irish barrister, Patrick McMahon, could men of faith indulge such 'half-political, half-religious' cant, in which 'Providence' was invoked to 'confirm by a miracle the last grand Anglo-Saxon discovery in economic science'? How could the Anglican clergy sanction a 'metaphysics of theology' that cast the poor as nothing more than 'demons in human form'?[23]

Two answers were proffered: pathologies of theological deformation. Reflecting on the tradition of pessimistic providentialism dating back to seventeenth-century works like Edmund Spenser's *View of the State of Ireland* (1633), the journalist M. J. Quin argued that theodicy was merely a rhetorical device, cynically deployed by colonisers to 'impute the blame' for the 'evill which hangeth upon the country' to a 'fatall course appointed of God' – rather than to their own 'councels and plots'.[24] 'Providence' had become a smokescreen behind which 'the disciples of Malthus' sought refuge; from here, they could 'enslave' the innocent whilst blaming 'the malediction

[18] [Charles de Coux], 'Christian Political Economy', *DR*, 3 (July, 1837), 175-6, 169-71, 189-90. On the naturalism of utilitarianism: idem, 'Saint Simonism', *DR*, 4 (Jan. 1838), 138-9. Wiseman had already spoken admiringly of him: *PD*, I, 14-15

[19] For Louvain's influence more widely: [Henry Formby], 'The University of Louvain', *DR*, 25 (Sept. 1848), 20-40.

[20] Thomas O'Hagan, 'Ireland in 1853', in *Occasional Papers and Addresses* [*OPA*] (1884), 281-2.

[21] [Patrick McMahon], 'Ireland. – A Peasant Propriety', *DR*, 29 (Dec. 1850), 456-7.

[22] Fr. James Maher to Archbishop Whately, 8 April, 1847, in *The Letters of Rev. James Maher* … ed. Patrick Moran (Dublin, 1877), 2-3.

[23] [McMahon], 'Hancock's *Impediments to the Prosperity of Ireland*', *DR*, 28 (June, 1850), 414-6; idem, 'Depopulation: Fixity of Tenure', *DR*, 13 (Nov. 1842), 559.

[24] [Quin], 'The Wants of Ireland', *DR*, 10 (Feb. 1841), 218.

of Heaven'. Alternatively, Maynooth's Prof. Crolly observed, 'the Landlords' could see themselves as a 'special creation of Providence', sent by God to 'over-run – indeed, ride rough-shod over – all creation'.[25]

The Irish-born Archbishop of New York, John Hughes, an important authority in these debates, detected less cynicism than the cooperation of congruent languages. The 'pure selfishness' of Benthamite man had been repackaged in the polite language of 'rational self-interest' and detoxified of antichristian overtones in the apologetics of colluding Protestants. Thus sanctified, the 'divinity of the Fiscal' worshipped by economists and ministered to by its 'high priest', Lord Russell, wrought its mischief; a 'vicious system of social economy' threatened the 'annihilation of a whole Christian people'.[26] McMahon was even more stinging: Protestantism was neither instrumentalised nor manipulated, but fully realised, in Malthusianism. Its 'rabid' doctrines could be traced all the way back to the 'parent trunk' of Luther's tyrannical theology.[27] Their nominalist God, like their divine-right kings, knew neither mercy nor charity; He was simply the manifestation of 'Arbitrary Power'.[28]

The critique of the foundations of Protestant political economy was echoed in the polemic of Tractarians and converts. As early as 1829, Newman had marked down 'Utilitarians, political economists, useful knowledge people' as 'enemies' of 'Truth'.[29] The more he learned about it – his library held editions of Malthus, Ricardo, Senior, and Whately[30] – the less he liked it. In 1840, he railed against 'political Economists who cannot accept … the Scripture rules about almsgiving, renunciation of wealth, self denial, etc.'[31] This was more than an attack on 'utilitarianism'.[32] Just as incarnationalists fought 'Hoadlyians' on the question of the eucharist, here, too, they waged war against a latitudinarianism accused of sanctioning the separation of science from theology, and a Malthusian fatalism, indicted for leaving the weak to perish in Providence's game of 'self help'.[33] In this, Newman was but one of many who saw 'the condition of England question' as inseparable from the question of England's Catholicity;

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[25] [George Crolly], 'Irish Factions, Parsons, and Landlords', *DR*, 27 (Dec. 1849): 471, 501-2; 'Hancock', 400; [McMahon and J. S. Campbell], 'Sanatory reform' [sic], *DR*, 25 (Sept. 1848), 127-9; '[Jonathan Duncan], 'Tenure of Land in Ireland', *DR*, 24 (June, 1848), 350, 376.

[26] *A Lecture on the Antecedent Causes of the Irish Famine* … (New York, 1847).

[27] [McMahon], 'Measures for Ireland: Tillage – Waste Lands – Fixity of Tenure', *DR*, 25 (Dec. 1848), 291; [McMahon], 'Sinnett's Byways of History', *DR*, 24 (March, 1848), 109-114.

[28] [McMahon], 'Arbitrary Power – Popery – Protestantism', *DR*, 8 (Feb. 1840), 29-30; Part II: 10 (Feb. 1841), 56.

[29] *NLD*: to Mrs. Newman, 13 March, 1829 (unless otherwise stated, all Newman correspondence is taken from the *Letters and Diaries of John Henry Newman*, 32 vols. (1961-2008): see digitalcollections.newmanstudies.org and the Bibliography.

[30] James Earnest, Gerard Tracey, *John Henry Newman: an annotated bibliography* … (New York, 1984).

[31] *NLD*: to Mrs. John Mozley, 25 Feb. 1840.

[32] There are conceptual confusions in Paul Oslington, 'Newman, Nassau Senior, and the separation of Political Economy from Theology', *HPE*, 33 (2001), 825-42.

[33] Peter Mandler, 'Tories and Paupers: Christian Political Economy and the Making of the New Poor Law', *HJ*, 33.1 (1990), 81-103; Hilton, *Age of Atonement*; Waterman, *Revolution, Economics and Religion: Christian Political Economy, 1798-1833* (Cambridge, 1991); idem, 'Cambridge "Via Media"'; Cf. Newman, *Apologia pro Vita Sua* (1865), 285-97 (Note A – esp. no. 6).

their fear that Protestantism yielded liberalism in theology and Erastianism in politics was mirrored by an anxiety that evangelicalism, sapping from the world its sacramental charge, sanctioned an ethic of 'worldliness'.[34]

A wave of converts conceived and presented their embrace of Rome as the rejection of that 'Mammonism'. Horrified by industrialisation, Philipps de Lisle sought at his estate of Grace Dieu to fashion a utopian-mediaeval community on the pillars of the eucharist, labour, and alms. Only in the soil of the old faith, he suggested, could such a garden grow.[35] Tractarians were more polemical. Repulsed by their youthful evangelicalism, they conducted postmortems on what they now thought a distorted theology that had disfigured economic thought and social life – and been further distorted, in turn, by that disfigurement. The problem, argued J. H. Pollen – one of Pusey's protégés, and from 1847 a priest in Leeds slums – was that the theology of justification 'supposed the mystery of the Incarnation to be subservient ... to the Atonement'. Protestants thus lost a sense of the 'deeper and wider marvel' of Christianity: 'the taking of the Manhood into God', the dawn of a 'new Creation'.[36] England's bourgeois theodicy conceived of the atonement as a type of 'commercial transfer', and tended to collapse into the 'vague Theism' of shopkeeper-spiritualists, Ward contended. Respectable evangelicals, embarrassed by the thought of God's real presence in the poor, instead directed man to the dutiful fulfilment of his daily business, and offered him an intellectual-sentimental relationship with 'the Infinite'. In its reductive dualism, this failed to fashion an ethics for the rich and left the poor an afterthought of a capricious Divine Accountant.[37] It was thus, Faber had whispered, in the early days of the Movement, that the spirit of 'utility' at work amongst 'mercantile' evangelicals had been 'insinuate[d] … into … the Church' and was 'doing the work of the devil'.[38] In a sermon before the traders of Southampton in 1839, Henry Wilberforce made the challenge public. As in religion, so in business: 'private transactions' were 'blessed' when all parties were recognised as members of 'one body in Him', obviating the possibility of exploitation. Evangelicalism was presented as attenuating that sense of incarnational community, and re-conceiving the economic sphere as a realm of selfish individualism, where each pursued his interest with reference to 'earthly thoughts, earthly business, and earthly language'.[39]

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[34] *TCE*, 10.

[35] Hill, *God's Architect*, 169-76. Cf. Sarah Lloyd, *Charity and Poverty in England, c.1680-1820: Wild and Visionary Schemes* (Manchester, 2009).

[36] Pollen, *Narrative of Five Years at St. Saviour's, Leeds: …* (Oxford, 1851), 71-3. Anne Pollen, *John Hungerford Pollen, 1820-1902* (1912), 63, 132, 194-5, 364.

[37] [Ward], 'Catholicism, a Conservative Principle', *DR*, 29 (Dec. 1850), 416-32; Wilfrid Ward, *Oxford Movement,* 264-86.

[38] Faber to Morris, 22 May, 1836, in Addington, *Letters*, 53, 80-5.

[39] Wilberforce, *The Building of the House of God* (Southampton, Oxford, London, 1839). This was a critique recognised and creatively confronted by Evangelicals, often in dialogue with Catholicism: see Jane Garnett, '"Gold and the Gospel": Systematic Beneficence in Mid-Nineteenth-Century England', *SCH*, 24 (1987), 347-58, esp. 351-52.

Thus, Ward claimed, the 'common Protestantism of the day', might confess Christ and yield the '*profession*' of '*Benevolence*'; but taking theological fright at the reality of the incarnation, it could not 'fit man for that abandoning self-sacrifice' which was true Christianity, and so its '*practice*' was 'disguised selfishness', and its issue, alienation, oppression, and social unrest.[40] The social scars of Malthusianism were increasingly evident to these Catholic writers. As early as 1837, one *Dublin* reviewer railed against a theologised utilitarianism which left 20,000 Dubliners dead 'in one year of absolute want, whilst abundance of food was being exported to England for the benefit of absentee landlords'.[41] By the time of the Famine, Catholic writers had developed a theodrama of Irish history, which over the next twenty years came to serve as an analogy for the experience of all peoples visited by the avenging angel of Malthus. Conquest, they argued, brought tyranny: political, religious, and economic. The coloniser's notions of 'exclusive propriety' destroyed Celtic, Catholic understandings of common ownership, creating 'a nation of paupers'; and the dispossessed were punished for losing to the elect – in both the pauperism of their own land, and the slum-cities and punitive institutions that awaited them in prosperous England.

A political economy derived from an image of a punitive Providence led to the 'original sin' of Ireland's 'conquest'.[42] It was clear, one reviewer argued, that Protestantism had inspired the English invasion, and that centuries later, the '"wildest reveries of Malthus"' still urged upon the conqueror policies of deterrence and forced emigration. The 'sacred name of religion' was 'prostituted … to maintain a system of monopoly' in land and religion.[43] This project of confiscation was effected 'in the spirit of military violence and subjugation'; in the 'plunder' and 'parcelling out' of stolen territories, by which the land became 'alienated' from its 'natural' inhabitants; and in the erection of a network of battlements, from 'barracks [and] prisons' to 'colleges [and] churches', such that it might be held in perpetuity.[44] All this was the work of a 'murderous aristocracy': 'Cromwell' stalking the land in his progeny. These 'Egyptian taskmasters' were animated by 'Orangeism, Landlordism, and Statechurchism'.[45] Malthus in jackboots would clear the 'Irishry' off the land – by 'exterminating' the 'vermin', if necessary. Thus 'colonised' and 'economised', Ireland would 'make room for Protestants'.[46] (In the decade after

[40] 'Conservative Principle', 428-9.
[41] [Fr. Nicholas Duff?], 'English Tourists in Ireland', *DR*, 3 (Oct. 1837), 403.
[42] 'Factions', 477; 'Wants', 220-1.
[43] 'Tourists', 404-16, quoting from Bryan, *A Practical View of Ireland* … (Dublin, 1831), 287; cf. xi-xiv.
[44] 'Wants', 220-1, 225-6, 246; 'Factions', 472.
[45] [Matthew Kelly] 'The Aristocracies of Ireland', *DR*, 22 (March, 1847), 132; 'Factions', 471, 481; 'Depopulation', 553.
[46] 'Wants', 225-6; 'Measures', 308-9; 321, 331-2; 'Factions', 501-3.

the Famine, the O'Hagan brothers warned that Ireland would never recover until these institutions of the 'Protestant state' were dismantled.[47])

Confiscation was then presented as having led to turmoil and 'tyranny'. In the 'cold calculations of a new experimental philosophy', the commonwealth and human goods had been re-conceived in economic terms as material wealth, having no human reference.[48] What had been 'natural', and held in common in the public interest, was now commodified, such that it became the object of egoistic possession and consumption. If this was true of the polity – an 'Orange-Tory despotism' negated the possibility of mutual 'society'[49] – it was true perforce of the country's natural resources. Her waters were plentiful, insisted McMahon (who worked with Anstey in Parliament to ameliorate the condition of Irish fisheries). But as a result of legal 'contrivances … a few individuals had … appropriated to themselves the exclusive fishery of all the tidal rivers, bays, harbours, and sea-coasts of the country'. The people were not 'even deemed entitled to existence upon it'. Those 'nature intended' to be 'the richest … and happiest' were made by the conqueror's laws the 'most wretched'.[50]

In the context of a growing social crisis, Catholic economists warned that the 'land question' was even graver and more urgent. Land was not, as in England, a mere 'commodity in the market', but the prerequisite of an Irishman's 'comfort and respectability'.[51] Yet the conqueror refused to acknowledge any 'community of interest between landlord and tenant'. There was no 'natural connexion … so necessary in a moral and political' relationship – only 'buyer and seller'. All relations were commercial transactions effected 'in mercantile language' and in pursuit of the landlord's 'profit', even if it must be 'realised from the life-blood of his fellow-countrymen'. Rent-remission in times of hardship, which should have been an 'act of charity' – 'almost a matter of prescriptive right' – became inconceivable. Thus was the tenant kept in 'villeinage' and 'the sacrosanct barrenness of our bogs … guarded by the … fanaticism' of economists.[52] By the 1840s, Ireland's greatest bounty had become the 'alembic of all evil'; it remained so in Catholic minds long into the 1860s, as we shall see in the final section of this chapter.[53]

This argument – that Protestant political economy commodified for individual possession and consumption that which by nature belonged to the commonwealth, for use in the common good – suggested two

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[47] *OPA*, 274-5, 280; [John O'Hagan], 'The Hopes of Ireland', *Rambler*, 2 (1 March, 1860), 281-4; idem, 'Perraud on Ireland', *HFR*, 1 (Oct., 1862), 295-6; 305-11.

[48] 'Factions', 472-4, 501-3; Maher to Whately, 2-3. 'Peasant Propriety', 456.

[49] 'Tourists', 402; 'Wants', 225; 'Aristocracies', 130-33; 'Arbitrary Power (II)', 29

[50] [McMahon], 'Illegality of Crown Grants of Public Fisheries', *DR*, 11 (Nov. 1841), 356; idem, 'Irish fisheries', *DR*, 24 (March, 1848), 99.

[51] 'Factions', 502.

[52] 'Tourists', 414; 'Measures', 298.

[53] [John O'Hagan], 'Tenure of Land', 346-8.

distinct influences. The first was of Lacordaire, who had made his name as 'the resistless preacher' of the age with lectures at Nôtre Dame (1835-51) that rebutted the Ricardianism of French rationalists. His power, contemporaries agreed, lay in his spellbinding rhetoric[54] and compelling vision of Catholicism as a social system, ordained to regulate 'the relations between the visible and the invisible' (all without the unhappy excesses of his teacher, Lamennais).[55] He both battered the 'sceptical' and 'carried their hearts by storm'.[56] The final eight *conférences* of his first lecture series (1845) were recommended to readers for their 'masterly' treatment of the property question.[57] Rejecting socialism ('the establishment of universal servitude'), Lacordaire nevertheless presented Christianity as having always subjected private property to 'evangelical law', effecting a 'total revolution' in the structures of 'heathen society'. Slavery made of the worker 'a domestic animal'; Christianity established man's inalienable 'proprietorship of [his own] labour'. Exclusive proprietorship 'deprived the poor of all right', and deprived those who 'possess no labour' – children, the sick, the aged – 'of all dignity'; Christianity redefined the nature of property, with Aquinas showing that it was not 'egotistical in its essence', but only in 'use', and that it was 'only necessary to regulate and to limit that use' in accordance with 'legitimate want', 'in order to assure to the poor their share in the common patrimony'.[58] Catholics in England would internalise these arguments and redeploy them in new contexts across the rest of the century.

The second influence on these critics of exclusive propriety also drew on the language of natural justice. Paradoxically, it was Protestant. Catholic economists who emerged from Trinity College, Dublin, such as John O'Hagan and Patrick McMahon, were bitterly critical of the institution – an agent of indifferentism with which 'the mass of the people have no more connexion than the Fellahs of Egypt with the training schools of the Mamelukes'.[59] But they were also inspired by some of its dissident professors. O'Hagan had enrolled in the same year that Isaac Butt (1813-79) took the Whately Chair in Political Economy, delivering influential lectures that challenged *laissez-faire* orthodoxy.[60] Indeed, one of O'Hagan's first forays into political economy took up Butt's

[54] [J. C. Hedley], 'Lacordaire and the Conferences of Notre Dame', *DR*, 15 (Oct. 1870), 392-3.

[55] [F. T. Marzials], 'Père Lacordaire', *QR*, 116.231 (July, 1864), 114, 129, 133-5; [Capes], 'Contemporary Biography', *Rambler*, 1.1 (1 Jan. 1848), 2-5; [Hedley], 'Lacordaire', 356-9, 367, 372, 377, 381, 392-3. For context: Michael Drolet, 'Democracy and political economy: Tocqueville's thoughts on J.-B Say and T. R. Malthus', *HEI*, 29.2 (2003), 162f.

[56] 'Notices of Books', *DR*, 32 (March, 1852), 284-7; Notices of Books', *DR*, 35 (Sept. 1853), 266-7.

[57] [Hedley], 'Lacordaire', 372.

[58] *Conferences of the Rev. Père Lacordaire* … trans., ed., Henry Langdon (1853), 518, 520-7.

[59] [John O'Hagan], 'Reform of the Dublin University – the Scholarship Question', *DR*, 23 (Sept. 1847), 251; [McMahon], 'Hancock', 399-400.

[60] Butt, *Introductory Lecture Delivered before the University of Dublin* (Dublin, 1837); *Rent, Profit, and Labour* … (1838).

protectionist themes.[61] In this, he was one of many influenced by the willingness of the 'Dublin School' to challenge 'non-interference': as the Famine worsened, those who had held the Whately chair, like W. N. Hancock (1820-88), proved willing to reject Lockean notions of exclusive possession when they became oligarchic; to call positive law into question when it became a tool of exploitation; and to blame 'the scions of landlordism' for their own ruination.[62] Heartened, the *Dublin* amplified the voices of other dissenters, such as the paternalist, Jonathan Duncan (1799-1865). He advocated the seizure of encumbered estates on the grounds that 'unconditional proprietorship' was a 'pure fiction', and that laws enshrining it were subject to the common good and divine law. Notions of a general Providence, before which men were to sit, stupefied, betrayed an inability to 'recognise God as the Supreme Legislator … [and] Lord of the land', active in the world and holding 'statesmen' as 'his accountable agents'.[63] It was not God who had left Ireland's 'ports deserted, her manufactories in ruins', nor God who turned 'her tradesmen into paupers'.[64] The moral choices of the powerful did that. Accordingly, those with a true sense of the 'common weal' could make *good* moral choices: could drive off parasitic 'Insurance Companies and absentee proprietors', raise wages, and feed the people.[65] If Tory paternalists could see that this was not the language of communists, but of Common Law jurists and moralists like Coke and Latimer,[66] and if even oracles of orthodoxy, like J. S. Mill, could concede, in this crisis, that 'the soil of a country is by natural law the inheritance of the whole community', and the 'right of property … coexistent only with … beneficial occupation',[67] might not the average Englishman be brought to recognise 'the laws of nature' and the rights of 'the rest of the community'?[68]

Mobilising French/Catholic and Irish/Protestant critiques of exclusive propriety, Catholics were able to juxtapose what they presented as commonly-held assumptions about economic justice with the specious, self-interested maxims of political economy – the law of nature with the factitious 'science' of a landlord class.

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[61] [O'Hagan], 'On the expediency of protecting Irish manufactures', *Transactions of the Dublin University Philosophical Society*, 1 (1843), 178-89. For Butt's Tory political economy, see, e.g., Joseph Spence, 'Isaac Butt, Irish nationality and the conditional defence of the Union, 1833-70', in D. George Boyce and Alan O'Day, eds., *Defenders of the Union: A survey of British and Irish unionism since 1801* (2001), 71-5; On the wider intellectual rebellion: Peter Gray, 'Irish social thought and the relief of poverty, 1847-1880', in *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 20 (2010), 141-56.

[62] 'Measures', 332; 'Hancock', 399-403; 'Spirit', 363-4..

[63] [Duncan], 'Tenure of Land', 355-7. For Duncan's long-standing interest in the question: 'D. J.' [with Christian Isobel Johnstone], 'A new remedy for the distresses of Ireland', *Tait's Edinburgh Magazine*, 6.63 (March, 1839), 137-51. For his anti-bullionist, anti-Peelite politics: *ODNB*.

[64] [Patrick Murray], 'Recent Publications on the Irish Question', *DR*, 16.31 (March, 1844), 235.

[65] 'Tenure of Land', 373.

[66] 'Depopulation', 512-30, 556.

[67] 'Measures', 313-6, 332.

[68] [McMahon], 'Ireland. – Spirit of Recent Legislation', *DR*, 27 (Dec. 1849), 346-7.

If Protestant political economy denied natural law, it was also held to deny the supernatural fact of the incarnation. The results of this impoverished anthropology, Catholics argued, could be seen in the brutish response of a Malthusian society to its social crises. For the Roman-educated Myles O'Reilly (1825-1880) writing from Italy before his return to a famine-stricken homeland, and reflecting on the contempt of economists like N. W. Senior for what they maligned as the 'mischievous' charity of Catholic states, it was clear that different visions of God led to radically different social systems. Those who ministered in Genoa's confraternity of the Misericordia to the sick and dying, kept before them an image of their Redeemer as one who was born in a stable, 'stamped suffering with the seal of His divinity', and 'proclaimed' the 'great principle of society' as bearing one another's burdens. Those fixated on a vision of God as a remote, 'merciless judge' were blinded to his presence before them in his 'suffering members': instead of 'works of love', they sought the 'repression of vice'; to avoid 'demoralisation' they demanded that society 'leave foundlings to perish' but 'build high the prison and the gallows'.[69]

This polemical contrast sought to disrupt prevailing rhetorical configurations of the social question, which cast Catholicism as a force for superstitious fecklessness and Protestantism as a triumph of the godly will. In the context of charged, binarised 'Condition-of-England' debates, it presented a compellingly humane image of Catholicism, which knew poverty to be a state consecrated by Christ and calling forth the 'universal charity' that was His most hallowed 'doctrine' – and it essentialised Protestantism as bourgeois cant that made poverty an evil to be punished.[70] If the contrast troubled Evangelicals, who sought to prove beneficence a quintessentially Protestant virtue,[71] it haunted Tractarians – especially those in Ireland – who worried it was anything but. The de Vere brothers came from an Ascendancy whose faith in political economy was being shaken by the 'calamity' unfolding around them. 'Moderate liberals', like their uncle, Lord Monteagle (who, as an improving landowner and former Chancellor of the Exchequer, had been a disciple of Thomas Chalmers), now tired of 'lectures' on 'sound principles', and insisted that 'Government must be prepared to face much responsibility if they wished to keep society together'.[72] Aubrey, too, was increasingly impatient with conventional wisdom. At TCD in the 1830s, he had watched Whately demolish his opponents 'as a grey-hound rolls over the little dogs in play'. But now Butt and

[69] [O'Reilly],'Whiteside's Italy in the Nineteenth Century', *DR*, 26 (March, 1849), 4-11; [O'Reilly], 'Poor Administration at Home and Abroad', *DR*, 29 (December, 1850), 324-27.

[70] 'Poor Administration', 326-7. See Garnett, 'The Gospel of Work', 256-8.

[71] Garnett, '"Gold and the Gospel"', 350-3.

[72] Quoted in Gray, 'Irish social thought', 235-6. Cf. Hilton, *Atonement*, 60, 237; D. Howell-Thomas, *Duncannon: reformer and reconciler, 1781-1847* (1992), 297, 308.

his successors were in revolt against their forbear; and de Vere rebelled against the liberal dogmas of his London companions, 'Whewell, Hallam, Macaulay, and Milman'. Utilitarianism and latitudinarianism were each as ignorant of the supernatural 'as an oyster is secure from gout in his toes'. Nor could the fashionable alternatives – Coleridge's Platonism, Carlyle's abstractions – see that 'Truth … [came] in an embodied form'.[73] But *pace* de Vere's first biographer, Wilfrid Ward (a Tory troubled by *fin-de-siècle* collectivism), this was not a narrowly philosophical conversion – first to Tractarianism, then to Rome. Like other Tractarians, de Vere wanted to see incarnational truth 'embodied' and 'act on men': in the Church and the world.[74] It became clear to him, when he returned to Ireland in the midst of 'black 47', and watched the country's food, and then its people, 'melt like snow before our eyes', that Protestantism, where it acted in the world at all, did not act like Christ. To the contrary. According to his brother, Stephen – who ran the family estate and had witnessed the horrors of the famine ships – the inmates,

> from the drivelling idiot of 90 to the babe just born [were] huddled together without light, without air; wallowing in filth and breathing a foetid atmosphere; … living without food or medicine … dying without the voice of Spiritual Consolation; and buried in the deep — without the rites of the Church…[75]

What 'converted him' to Catholicism, Stephen told Aubrey, was not just disgust at those Malthus-mandated voyages to export the guilty from the land they had cursed, but the contrasting experience of a truly Christian answer to tragedy: on the famine ship, 'sharing with [the poor] all the sufferings and perils [of the journey] … feeding the hungry, teaching the young, and nursing the dying', he had encountered the face of Christ.[76]

Aubrey's own sense of the mystery of the incarnation now deepened. He sought a truth that was not simply 'embodied' in creedal statements, but in society – a reflection of 'Divine things' in 'a mirror of God's making'. The mirror held up to Ireland appalled him, as he made clear in *English Misrule, Irish Misdeeds* (1848), a polemic which Lord John Manners thought the 'most valuable contribution to our Irish Political Literature since the days of Burke', and which affected thinkers as diverse as J. S. Mill and Richard Monckton Milnes.[77] In it, he assailed Malthusianism as the master-lie of a 'dog-like' civilisation: the 'secular' had eclipsed the 'miraculous', and

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[73] Ward, *Aubrey de Vere. A memoir* … (1904), 71-4.

[74] Newman, 'Memoir of Henry W. Wilberforce', in Henry Wilberforce, *The Church and the Empires* (1874), 1-13; Newsome, *The Parting of Friends: the Wilberforces and Henry Manning* (1966), 354-8.

[75] For de Vere's report: *The Elgin-Grey Papers, 1846-1852*, ed. Arthur Doughty (Ottawa, 1937), 1341-47: 1341-2.

[76] De Vere, *Recollections of Aubrey de Vere* (1897), 252-3.

[77] Manners to de Vere, 16 Feb 1848. For the effect on Mill: Mill to de Vere, 3 Feb., 1848: see 'Manuscript Letters and Poems from Aubrey de Vere', National Library of Ireland, Department of Manuscripts: MS 5505, letters 7, 28, 33. On Monckton Milnes, see his contribution to the 'Destitute Persons (Ireland) Bill, *Hansard*, 8 February 1847, vol. 89, cc942-87; and T. W. Reid, *The Life, Letters, and Friendships of Richard Monckton Milnes* … 2 vols. (New York, 1891) I, 114-20. For the response of Tractarian converts like Capes and Northcote: 'Notices', *Rambler* 1.6 (Feb. 1848), 99-101; 'Aubrey De Vere's *English Misrule and Irish Misdeeds*', *Rambler*, 1.9 (Feb. 1848), 168-70.

'self-love' smothered self-sacrifice; the language of 'Providence' had been perverted into the apologetic theology of the strong.[78] Carlyle's rejoinder – that the Irish were 'by Nature's own verdict … slaves' and 'deserved to be so'[79] – only confirmed for de Vere that, outside the Catholic Church, Malthus reigned everywhere: he moulded the assumptions of even self-styled critics of political economy, just as he lurked behind the quasi-secularised double-predestinarianism of Sir James Stephen, who patiently explained to de Vere that the Celt's fate was to submit to the 'incoherent rhapsody' of Providence.[80] The result of this theodicy was the massacre of innocents. Accompanied on one occasion by William Monsell – with whom he would soon convert – de Vere travelled over 'famine-stricken moors' and came to

> a deserted cabin … [whose] only inmate was a little infant … On slightly moving the tattered coverlet of the cradle, a shiver ran over the whole body of the infant, and the next moment, the dark, emaciated little face relapsed again into stillness. Probably the mother returned to find her child dead. Mr. Monsell burst into a flood of tears.[81]

De Vere's final warning in *Misrule* was of the 'Irish invasion' that would result from the famine – a prophecy that the condition of Ireland would soon become the condition of the Irish in England. Sure enough, 'a trickle in the 1790s' became 'a flood from the late '40s'.[82] The pre-famine influx had already proven a shock to the small English Church, faced with a great unwashed liable to 'leakage'. Large numbers of clergy died from exhaustion, cholera, and typhoid. By the mid-1840s, with the numbers continuing to rise – in 1841, there were 291,000 Irish migrants in England and Wales; by 1851, 520,000 – and with urban growth creating housing shortages and sanitation problems, the mission to the Irish never seemed more important, nor closer to collapse.[83] Seeking to reshape a sophisticated – but often anti-Irish, anti-Catholic – body of social criticism, Catholic thinkers identified three Malthusian instruments of social control enslaving the poor and tearing them away from Christ: the city, the

[78] For his mindset at the time of writing: Ward, *de Vere*, 145-51; for anti-Malthusianism: *Misrule*, 1-48, 51, 115, 188;
[79] Carlyle to de Vere, 7 Feb. 1848, NLI, MS 5505.49.
[80] Stephen to Aubrey de Vere, n.d. 1848, NLI, MS 5055.20. For Stephen's providentialism: [Stephen], 'The Clapham Sect', *ER*, 80.161 (July, 1844), 251-307.
[81] *Recollections*, 250.
[82] Gilley and Swift, *The Irish in the Victorian City*, 1.
[83] David Miller, 'Irish Catholicism and the Great Famine', *Journal of Social History*, 9 (1975), 81–98; Frank Neal, 'The Famine Irish in England and Wales', in Patrick O'Sullivan, ed., *The Meaning of the Famine* (London and New York, 2000 [1997]), 56-65.

workhouse, and the prison. In each instance, they upended conventional thinking by insisting that the evils stemmed not from the presence of the Irish or the 'savagery' of the poor, but the absence of the incarnation.[84]

The modern city was a swamp of sin.[85] Newman moved to Birmingham in 1849, converting a distillery into an Oratory,[86] and signalling a conviction that transubstantiation on Gin Lane was the real answer to atomising social forces. Only thus could brotherhood be restored to 'a population … so vast that each is solitary'.[87] In the anonymous 'turmoil' of 'the modern city', man had lost communion with other men, and lost thereby a sense of God's love.[88] Worshipping 'mammon', he became enchanted by the 'interests of this world', and sought 'dominion over the whole of material existence'.[89] 'Individualism' unravelled the 'social fabric', creating in its place a system of competition sanctioned by Europe's 'powerful [liberal] class': in England, 'Whigs and Whiggish Radicals', in France, 'Guizot and Thiers', whose advice to the poor was '*enrichissez-vous*'.[90] The results were clear in the 'radical corruption' of England's 'manufacturing towns', where all men were 'aliens' to one another, and where the poor suffered 'ceaseless labour' in the 'blaze of furnaces'.[91] They were less visible but no less egregious in her centres of finance, where the acquisitive, genuflecting 'before Baal', demonstrated 'crookedness in everything'.[92] Charlatans peddling 'financial schemes' played on the 'gullibility of the public'; when the bubbles burst, artisans and widows became the collateral damage.[93] Capitalism was presented as a return to the exploitation of antiquity.[94]

This was not simply a tragedy to be lamented: it was a monster in the making. Commercialism had created something dangerous in and to the social body. A world so brutalising, Wilberforce and Manning had warned in their Tractarian days, would 'provoke' God's 'wrath': neither Britain's 'greatness' nor her vast 'resources' could then prevent 'our cities' becoming 'as desolate' as 'Tyre'.[95] The threat seemed increasingly urgent. Ward feared 'growing … dissatisfaction with the existing social relations'.[96] Wiseman, drawing attention to Mayhew's *London Labour and London Poor* (1851), and betraying the influence of a Francophone conservatism fearful of revolutionised

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[84] For the body of social criticism: Tristram Hunt, *Building Jerusalem: the rise and fall of the Victorian city* (2019), ch. 1; Peter Jones, Steven King, *Bearing Witness: Pauper Voices, Public Opinion and Workhouse Reform in Mid-Victorian England* (Cham, 2020), ch. 1; Martin Wiener, *Reconstructing the Criminal: Culture, Law, and Policy in England, 1830-1914* (Cambridge, 1990), 26f.

[85] For the Tractarians on the evils of 'the city': *TCE*, 194-8..

[86] *NLD*: to Wilberforce, 9 December, 1848; to Mrs J. W. Bowden, 5 Oct., 1848.

[87] *Discourses Addressed to Mixed Congregations [DMC]* (1906 [1849]), 238-40.

[88] Dalgairns, *Jansenism*, 232, 181-3; and 'The German Mystics of the Fourteenth Century', *DR*, 44 (March, 1858), 90-1.

[89] *DMC*, 89. Wiseman, *A Sermon Delivered in St. George's Catholic Church, Southwark …* (1850), 20-1; Wiseman, *The Social and Intellectual State of England, Compared with its Moral Condition. A Sermon …* (1850), 5-6.

[90] [Capes], 'Communism', *Rambler*, 5 (Feb. 1850), 113.

[91] Pollen, *Narrative*, 71-3; Anne Pollen, *Pollen,* 63, 132, 364.

[92] Faber, *Genius of St. Philip Neri*, 92-99.

[93] 'Bubbles of Finance', *Month*, 3 (July-Dec. 1865), 219.

[94] 'Communism', 110; *State of England,* 14-16.

[95] Wilberforce, *House of God,* 8; Manning, *Proceedings at a meeting held in the Egyptian Hall …* (1846), 27.

[96] 'Conservative Principle', 416-7.

pauperism, led his audience from the image they knew they feared – the 'absolute beggar' – down into darker 'abysses', which they could not begin to comprehend. Here lay the 'sleeping dragon' of 'Proletarianism', which had destroyed ancient Rome and modern Paris.[97] The state's 'strong arm' might soon be needed to slay this beast, lest the 'scum of Europe' again unleash 'revolution and plunder'.[98] Yet behind this apocalyptic metaphor – and Wiseman's purple pen conjured up many more: swelling swamps, metastasising cancers, towering infernos[99] – lay an important conviction: this 'giant evil' was not a person in the natural order, but a creation of man's moral choices. Christ's holy poor had become capitalism's mutant monster. Faber, as usual, went further than most: for if the *pauperes christi* had been so brutalised as to become almost another 'race',[100] the Catholic was compelled to look to the source of all those lies which disfigured men's hearts. There stood another dragon: the devil, who had 'been allowed to set up a kingdom in opposition to God', and who employed a 'multitude of … unseen spirits … in the great conurbations of public houses, gin-palaces, theatres, casinos, ball-rooms, public meetings, parliaments'.[101] The 'very frame' of modern society was 'anti-christian', being 'made for the purpose of neutralizing the Sacraments, and of keeping men … from the Precious Blood of Jesus'. Its jaws gaped: one slip and 'society so holds them down, that … it seems as though the very grace of God could no longer reach them'.[102] Dragging man away from the city of God, the city of man was itself a form of demonic possession.

Imprisonment, of course, could be literal as well as spiritual; indeed, one could compound the other. For Ultramontanes, the inmates of England's prisons and workhouses were often convicted of no crime beyond their poverty, then deprived not only of their freedom, but of access to the spiritual liberty of the sacraments. These instruments of Malthusian devising stripped man of his incarnational nature. The evil intent was traced to the Reformation, which had 'transferred the patrimony of the poor' from the Church 'to the hands ... of a detestable oligarchy', which then waged 'warfare' against the 'enemy' it had impoverished. Applicants for relief were spied on, branded, hanged. In England's 'tyrannical' poor-relief system, 'Antichrist' had built 'a hell upon earth'.[103] Across the 1850s and 60s, Ultramontanes saw that hellscape expanding.[104] Pride and prejudice let English poets 'sing' an

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[97] [Wiseman], 'Industry of the Poor', *DR*, 30 (June, 1851), 485. For the rhetorical contexts: Welch, 'Social science', 182; Gertrude Himmelfarb, *The Idea of Poverty: England in the Early Industrial Age* (New York, 1985), chs. 14-15.

[98] 'Communism', 113.

[99] *State of England*, 14-16; 'Industry of the Poor', 485-90.

[100] See Wiseman's language in *Sermon Delivered in St. George's*, 6-7, 10-11; *An Appeal to the Reason and Good Feeling of the English People* … (1850), 30-31. Cf. 'A Glimmering Dawn', *Month*, 1 (July-Dec. 1864), 136-51; '"La Carita" at Naples', *Month*, 4 (Jan-June, 1866), 415-7.

[101] Faber, *All for Jesus: or, the Easy Way of Divine Love* (1863 [1854]), 5-13.

[102] Dalgairns, *Jansenism*, 181-3, 232-3.

[103] [Simpson], 'The Communion of Labour', *Rambler*, 6.35 (Nov. 1856), 383-90.

[104] [F. M. Taylor], 'Works of Charity', *DR*, 42.83 (March, 1857), 123-142.

'Age of Progress' and liberty. But the 'haughty boast/ That all are free who do but touch your coast' rang empty to those with eyes: for 'the Poor-house, in monastic guise / With spires and pinnacles invades the skies!'[105] Cold statistics alone could not tell this story – though the vastness of the cruelty heaped on the Irish poor would shame the Pharos, Gallwey thundered from his Farm Street pulpit.[106] A true appreciation of the inmates' plight necessarily began in incarnational encounter:

> To look at them, they seem to have … the faculties of other human beings ... Human they are to suffer, to sin … to love. But … pauperised, denationalised, demoralised … [in] many an impregnable Poor-Law Bastille ... [they are] marked off ... from the reasonable herd of men. It needs no Darwin to theorise the origin of this species. Take a lot of boys and girls — orphans are best — cram them into a workhouse, let committees be their father and hirelings their mother, feed them by contract, educate them by machinery, press them into one great indistinguishable mass, and in a single generation you will have them monstrously transformed, a burden or an offence.

The workhouse was 'hell' because it undid what Christ's incarnation had effected: it de-divinised man.[107]

The same was true of the institutions erected by the Malthusian state: 'reformatories, penitentiaries, hospitals, madhouses'. In denying access to the sacraments, prisons were presented as negating the possibility of the convict ever finding 'full freedom' or acquiring the 'self-reliance' preached by bureaucrats.[108] Who could wonder, the convert, J. C. Earle (1814-85), mused, that recidivism in England was so much higher than in Catholic states?[109] Searching questions were also asked of England's orphanages. Exalting the role of the Christ-child and emphasising the redemptive social significance of children,[110] Catholics denounced the parade of 'officials' who stood between interred minors and 'the ordinary channels of grace'. The author of this 'oppression' was 'tyrannical public opinion'; its only beneficiary, 'Satan'.[111] So why, demanded Frederick Hathaway SJ (1814-91), who had been dismissed as a prison chaplain by Middlesex Magistrates for catechising inmates, were Catholics' taxes being spent 'bewildering the minds of our orphans?'[112] Anyone with an incarnational sensibility could see that the conditions in these institutions were an indictment of a putatively Christian society:

> Visit the place — it is not hard to find;
>
> Look at the children, while you bear in mind

[105] 'The Workhouse', *Month*, 3 (July-Dec. 1865), 129-33.
[106] *How some of the poor are wisely oppressed in workhouses* … (1861), preface, 18-19, 20-21.
[107] 'Glimmering Dawn', 136-9, 140-6.
[108] [Frederick Hathaway?], 'The Prisoner's Cry for Justice', *Month*, 4 (Jan-June, 1866), 513.
[109] [J. C. Earle], 'Hope for the Prisoner', *Month*, 2 (Jan-June, 1865), 34, 39-45.
[110] Julia Kavanagh, 'Glimpses of Rome', *Month*, 2 (Jan-June, 1865), 207; '"La Carita"', 415-7.
[111] *Wisely oppressed*, preface, 18-19, 20-21.
[112] 'Φ' [Frederick Hathaway?], 'De Profundis', *Month*, 4 (Jan-June, 1866), 291-302, 303.

> Their future fate …
>
> Can you forsake them, knowing what you know,
>
> Or rest contented with "it may be so";
>
> …
>
> Think of the gracious hands of One that blessed
>
> The throng of children that about Him pressed…[113]

That '[s]ome Poor-law Guardians' were 'indignant at denunciations of their cruelty', when inmates were being contained in so economical a manner,[114] testified to a Malthusian understanding of the poor as a 'refuse population'.[115] Catholics were exhorted to see the world differently, conscious that for any betrayal of their baptismal vows, they would have to atone before heaven:

> [For he who has] ever wronged … the poor … in apathy and neglect, … [or in] misplaced exertions … helped to maintain a system that has changed the white-robed, consecrated child of the baptismal font into a blighted ruin, … it were better for him that, with a millstone round his neck, he had been cast into the depths of the sea, unless he now redeems the past. So speaks the God of infinite mercy …[116]

God's judgement could not be separated from his law of love:

> The most forsaken do not stand alone,
>
> Whose angry angels plead before the Throne
>
> For vengeance on the murderers that slay,
>
> And those that look, and pass another way.[117]

## *Catholic political economy*

As in constitutional questions, the incarnational critique of political economy situated mid-century Catholics in – or awkwardly adjacent to – a pantheon of paternalist protest. But here, too, they found it impossible to see their enemy's enemies as their friends, and presented each alternative critique of political economy as vitiated by the same naturalistic assumptions as their common foe. Carlyle, for instance, pathologised like a Catholic: he

[113] 'The Workhouse', 129-33.
[114] Φ [Hathaway?], 'Audi alteram partem', *Month*, 4 (July-Dec. 1866), 144-6.
[115] 'Miss Carpenter on our Convicts', *Month*, 3 (July-Dec. 1865), 646-51.
[116] *Wisely oppressed*, 7, 3-4, 35-6.
[117] 'The Workhouse', 129-33.

instinctively understood 'the Condition of England' question as a 'crisis of modern speculation' stemming from the rejection of God in favour of 'Humanitarianism', a revolutionary creed preaching 'the earthly regeneration of collective man, by the development of his natural powers'.[118] But blind to the incarnation, this Presbyterian-turned-pantheist espoused an immanentism that tended toward relativism and brutalism.[119] Young Ireland, too, inveighed against Manchester-School materialism – but proffered as an answer another species of creative destruction: 'blood sacrifice' to sweep modernity away and plant in its place a pastoral utopia.[120] The Maynooth professors savaged the Mazzinian mysticism in which it was grounded[121] and the 'communism and confiscation' to which it led. It was a 'suicidal policy' providing ammunition to anti-Irish bigots in England; a quasi-masonic cult propagated by 'apostates' who worshipped at the shrine of the French Revolution.[122] An O'Connellite, constitutional politics of reform was held up the only appropriate mode for the Catholic.[123]

Dickens was more congenial. He 'exposed' both the 'hatred of poverty that lurks in the heart of the worldly man' and Malthusianism's subversion of social bonds based on love. Ultimately, however, Dickens lacked deep 'religious character'.[124] His mawkish dualism of 'love and murder, wreathed roses and knotted scorpions',[125] argued James Stothert (a Cambridge convert and first President of the Edinburgh Society of Saint Vincent de Paul), yielded a 'superficial … benevolence'; his 'Pagan' ethics acted as a 'subtle poison', diverting society from salvation to sentimentality.[126] Christian Socialism fared little better. The 'experiment' was an interesting one; but, conceived in Erastian minds, it could hardly transcend 'the usual liberalism of the day, and the vulgar puffing of "nationalities"' common to the country's 'social philosophers'.[127] Thinkers like F. D. Maurice were deluded in hoping that 'the

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[118] [Peter Le Page Renouf], 'Carlyle's "Past and Present"', *DR*, 15 (Aug. 1843), 182-200; [John O'Hagan], 'Carlyle's Works', *DR*, 29 (Sept. 1860), 170-1.

[119] [Anstey], 'Carlyle's Works', *DR*, 5 (Oct. 1838), 350-8.

[120] David Dwan, 'Young Ireland and the "horde of Benthamy", in Roger Swift and Christine Kinealy, eds. *Politics and Power in Victorian Ireland* (Dublin, 2006), 109-18. For the debt to Carlyle: John Morrow, 'Thomas Carlyle, "Young Ireland" and the "Condition of Ireland Question"', *HJ*, 51.3 (2008), 643-67.

[121] On Young Ireland, contrast Colin Barr, "Giuseppe Mazzini and Irish Nationalism, 1845–70," in Christopher Bayly, Eugenio Biagini, eds. *Giuseppe Mazzini and the Globalisation of Democratic Nationalism* (Oxford, 2008), 128, with Eva Stöter, "'*Grimmige Zeiten*": The Influence of Lessing, Herder and the Grimm Brothers on the Nationalism of the Young Irelanders', in Tadhg Foley, Sean Ryder, eds., *Ideology and Ireland in the Nineteenth Century* (Dublin, 1998), 173–80. For the complex interrelationships between the Irish and Italian contexts, see the essays in Colin Barr, Michele Finelli, and Anne O'Connor, eds., *Nation/Nazione: Irish Nationalism & the Italian Risorgimento* (Dublin, 2014).

[122] 'Factions', 468-511.

[123] [John MacDonnell], 'Rise and fall of Chartism', *DR*, 8 (Feb. 1840), 271-85; [Murray], 'Irish Agitation and French Revolution', *DR*, 15 (Dec. 1843), 472-3, 482-4; [Murray], 'Ireland and its Rulers', *DR*, 17 (Sept. 1844), 1-4; 'Aristocracies', 124-35; [Crolly], 'Lord Castlereagh', *DR*, 25 (Dec. 1848), 429-54. See Kerr, *Nation of Beggars*, 125-46.

[124] [Russell], 'Dickens' Chimes', *DR*, 17 (Dec. 1844), 560-68; 'Dickens' *Christmas Carol*', *DR*, 15 (Dec. 1843), 510-29.

[125] [Murray], 'Pictures from Italy', *DR*, 22 (Sept. 1846), 184-201.

[126] [Stothert], 'Living Novelists', *Rambler*, 1 (Jan., 1854), 41-51; 'Duties and Responsibilities of Writers of Fiction', *Rambler*, 9 (June, 1852), 477-83.

[127] de Vere to Miss Fenwick, 1850, in Ward, *de Vere*, 161; [Simpson], 'Short Notices', *Rambler*, 3.13 (Jan. 1855), 73-74.

attacks of communistic socialism' could be repelled by Protestantism. The plenitude of the incarnation subsisted in the Catholic Church alone: all others opened the door to dissolution, religious and social.[128] Young England could be admired[129] — and dismissed[130] — for the same reason.

The fruits of a corrupt Protestant culture, these dissident discourses could neither formulate a deep critique of, nor alternative to, Malthusianism. The first problem was foundational: they would not recognise the incarnation as the starting-point of anthropological reflection. But they were as wrong about reason as they were about revelation: their second problem was a refusal to engage with the ethics of natural law. Here, Catholics began to set forth their alternative science of society. An incarnational anthropology yielded a protagonist very different to *homo oeconomicus*: a man open to the fullness of being and thus re-sensitised to the natural law inscribed on his heart. This, in turn, allowed him to re-conceive of wealth along the Thomist-Aristotelian lines we have already seen sketched by Lacordaire: not as a good in and of itself, but only according to social use – and thus to be measured according to the needs of the community. These assumptions were presented as underpinning flourishing Catholic social models, past and present; the society that limited the meaning of wealth did not limit its prosperity. To articulate these assumptions in scientific form would help in the wider politico-theological project of fashioning a fundamental alternative to 'British Liberalism',[131] and show Catholics 'bold' in their desire 'to reconstruct society according to the pattern laid down by the Divine lawgiver'.[132]

*The New Dublin School*

Newman saw this as one of the challenges of his new university. Political economy was not, he insisted in his inaugural lectures, 'the measure of all things', but a 'narrow truth' mistaken for a 'broad truth' – which, when 'extravagantly, ruinously carried out, in spite of other sciences, in spite of Theology … [became] a great bubble and burst'.[133] The work of reformation and relativisation here implied meant more than the 'christianisation' of a 'secular' science. As we have seen, the problem for Catholics with political economy was not its secularism, *per se*,

[128] 'Maurice on Catholicism and Civilisation', *Rambler*, 4.20 (Aug. 1855), 144-50.
[129] [Dominick Murphy], 'Faber's Sir Lancelot', *DR*, 18 (June, 1845), 320-31.
[130] 'Holydays', 481-505.
[131] [Robertson], 'What has the Church done for Trade and Manufactures?', *DR*, 34 (June, 1853), 514.
[132] 'Christian Political Economy', *DR*, 6 (April, 1866), 348-77. Language suggests this was by Ward or O'Hagan.
[133] Newman, *The Idea of a University* … (1907 [1852]), 86ff.

but the Protestantism underpinning it. A truly Christian political economy would have to be Catholic: re-grounded in the wider ecology of the moral sciences, which were in turn re-rooted in the incarnation.

Who could supply that demand? Some fifteen years earlier, in the heat of combat over Oxford appointments, Newman had lamented to Henry Wilberforce that no man of 'good principles can be found to understand the study of Political Economy'.[134] Failing now to install Wilberforce in the Chair, he unearthed two (more qualified) candidates – both on 'the youthful side of 30', but conveniently Irish, soundly constitutional, and advocates of Louvain's 'good principles'.[135]

The first was Myles O'Reilly, heir to Knockabbey Castle, Co. Louth. This 'dapper little man' was more than 'a keen breeder of racehorses … and a fearless rider to hounds':[136] he had been educated at Ushaw and taken a London degree in 1845, followed by an LLD in Rome, where he had made contacts in elite ecclesiastical circles. If many of his peers drifted, in those years of ferment, toward Young Ireland radicalism, O'Reilly remained rooted in the constitutional-reformist tradition mapped out by Maynooth: all his life, he reprobated republicanism and revolution, whether Irish, English, or Italian.[137] And after a sojourn in Louvain, he believed that he had found a science to complement that politics. While there, he encountered Charles Périn, the Brussels lawyer who had succeeded his mentor, de Coux, in 1845, and established himself as an influential voice in Catholic economics with the publication of *Les économistes, les socialistes et la christianisme* (1849). This erudite polemic insisted on the shared positivist assumptions of liberal and socialist economists; warned that those doctrines represented twin aspects of the Revolution's science of 'sensualism'; and called on Catholics to develop a science of sacrifice that could save society from 'fire' and 'terror'.[138] O'Reilly returned to Dublin clutching Louvain's architectural sketches, as well as an intellectual blueprint for a new Dublin School of economics.[139] Expounding Périn's work, he concluded that if such a science of 'social economy' could be honed and tested in the laboratory of famine-stricken Ireland, 'it may be said, that, if to France be awarded the honour of having given birth to the science of political economy, and

[134] *NLD*: 27 Feb. 1837.
[135] *NLD*: notes to 6 March, 1854; to de Vere, 21 Aug. 1854; to Monsell, 29 Jan. 1863.
[136] Fergal McGrath, *Newman's University: Idea and Reality* (1951), 98.
[137] O'Reilly, *Memorials of those who suffered for the Catholic faith* … (1868), vi-vii; xiii-xiv, xvii-xviii.
[138] Périn, *Les économistes* … 176-8. On Périn: Christine Morel, 'Un Journal Démocrate Chrétien en 1848-1849: "*L'Ère Nouvelle*"', *Revue d'histoire de l'Église de France*, 63.170 (1977), 25-55; Almodovar and Teixeira, 'Economics and Theology in Europe…', in Oslington, *Handbook*, 116.
[139] McGrath, *Newman's University*, 89-98. Cf. Colin Barr, 'The Failure of Newman's Catholic University of Ireland', *Archivium Hibernicum*, 55 (2001), 126-39.

England may justly claim the merit of having first made it practical; to Ireland is due the glory of having perfected it, by having made it Catholic'.[140]

O'Reilly, however, was to pursue that glory by leading a different charge: entering the Louth Rifles in 1854, he made military science his study and went on to muster Catholics for the defence of the Papal States.[141] The campaign in Dublin thus fell to John O'Hagan (1822-90), the son of a Newry merchant, and product of an elite (if eclectic) education in Dublin – under Jesuits at Belvedere College, Protestants at Trinity, and lawyers at the King's Inns. Unlike O'Reilly, none of this inoculated him against Young Ireland. He wrote heady ballads under the guidance of Thomas Davis, and in 1848 served as Gavan Duffy's defence counsel.[142] Yet he was further from the barricades than this suggests. His attack, later in life, on those who had loosed the 'anarchic forces which are the awful menace of our time' might be read as the special pleading of Gladstone's appointee to lead the Land Commission; but he had always seen Young Ireland as a cultural movement – more the child of Manzoni than Mazzini. Where it protested Ireland's slide into 'mechanical civilisation' and championed forms of material progress, 'duly subordinated, not deified', he supported it. His deeper commitment, however, was to the 'regeneration' of 'the loves' of the Irish people, which, he concluded, could be achieved only by the Church.[143] Thus, at the height of Young Ireland's power, O'Hagan considered abandoning his career at the bar to take up not arms, but the pen: to join the fiery convert and friend of Ireland, Frederick Lucas, in the apostolate of the papers and write about Maistre. His friends knew him as 'a nineteenth-century edition of Blessed Thomas More'. He was less a revolutionary nationalist than the 'Lay Missioner'.[144]

Paradoxically, this 'intense faith' seems to have been solidified at Trinity, where O'Hagan felt himself surrounded by a Protestant 'indifferentism' that lured his peers into the 'errors' of positivism and pantheism.[145] With views such as these, as well as a shared love of Young Ireland's poetry and a determination to reclaim it for the Church, he soon came to the attention of Prof. Russell and became a *Dublin* reviewer.[146] By the time Newman

[140] [O'Reilly], 'Christian Political Economy', *DR* 33 (Dec. 1852), 303-21.
[141] See Ciarán O'Carroll, 'The Irish Papal Brigade: Origins, Objectives and Fortunes', in Barr et al., *Nation/Nazione*, 84f.
[142] See *The Spirit of the Nation. Ballads and Songs by the Writers of "The Nation"* (Dublin, 1845), 281-3.
[143] O'Hagan, 'Irish Patriotism – Thomas Davis', *CR*, 58 (Oct. 1890), 598-602, 608.
[144] 'M. R.' [Matthew Russell], 'Poets I have known', *Irish Monthly*, 31.356 (Feb. 1903), 61-85.
[145] [John O'Hagan], 'Reform of the Dublin University', 251.
[146] [O'Hagan and Russell], 'M'Carthy's Poems', *DR*, 28 (March, 1850), 167-81. For their friendship: C. W. Russell Papers: NUI Maynooth, Russell Library, NRA 28335, box 14, fol. 49: 1-67. For Russell's friendship with Thomas O'Hagan, see *OPA* 250-60.

had appointed him to the Chair of Political Economy in 1854,[147] he, too, had immersed himself in the Louvain tradition, as his inaugural lectures make clear.[148]

Both O'Reilly and O'Hagan shared Newman's determination to liberate the social sciences by catholicising them. Sketching their manifesto, O'Reilly deplored the way Catholics had 'been Protestantized', meaning by this, that a Protestant vision of reality, turning away from the incarnation, served to desacralise Creation and make it safe for positivism. Natural man cried out for transcendent grace; his own voice echoed back to him across the wastes of an unredeemed world. He sought divine light to guide his philosophical quests; his ears grew 'weary with the parrot cry … "what has religion to do with history, with law, with political economy?"' And in 'nothing ha[d] this been more than case than in political economy'. Here, argued O'Hagan, taking aim at de-Christianised speculations of McCulloch and Ricardo, was a science spawned in the matrix of materialisms to which Protestantism had given birth. By the time of the Revolution, a system of pseudo-ethics had been construed by the science's 'advocates' to paper over the moral vacuum at its core whilst preserving its spurious 'neutrality'. It was predicated on utility as the rule of action; man's natural perfectibility; and the 'indefinite development of wants', defined as 'riches'. On this science, he claimed, Protestants – and the positivists and socialists who followed in their wake – sought to construct a social order. It was a project doomed to fail because it disregarded the natural law and distorted the nature of man. 'Political and social economy is the question of the hour', O'Reilly concluded; but it would remain an 'imperfect' science if not founded on 'Catholic truth' and re-grounded in 'the cognate subjects of metaphysics and ethics'. Christianity could not be 'circumscribed'.[149]

*A Scotist-Thomist social economy*

How did those 'truths' inform a Catholic political economy? O'Reilly and O'Hagan began by setting out a Scotist-incarnational anthropology and a Thomist-Aristotelian science of society – one that challenged what they thought both the radical individualism implicit in the utilitarian model of man and the consuming collectivism envisioned by liberal-nationalist models of society. This perceived polarity of materialism and mysticism they countered with

[147] For the circumstances: *NLD*: to de Vere, 21 Aug. 1854. See Colin Barr, *Paul Cullen, John Henry Newman, and the Catholic University of Ireland, 1845-1865* (Notre Dame, Ind., 2003), 135.

[148] O'Hagan, 'Views Preliminary to the Study of Political Economy', *Atlantis*, 3.5 (Jan. 1860), 24-48. It seems no copy of the lectures survives. But given their outline in the University Almanac – see Oslington, 'Newman, Nassau Senior', 834n13 – the substance of the first two lectures looks to have been printed in the University journal, *The Atlantis*.

[149] For these quotations: 'Views Preliminary', 24-6, 32-33, 35-6; 'Christian Political Economy', 303-8, 317-8. Cf. 'Scholarship Question', 251.

a theological-philosophical account of an irreducibly socialised, sacralised man, and with an economics of abundance predicated on the bounty of Creation and pursuing the elevation of all in dignity and wealth. This was explicitly articulated as a 'third way' between capitalism's systematisation of profit-or-pauperism and the chimerical equality of a socialism atheistic and tyrannical. Catholics thus situated themselves in a multilayered, dynamic set of national and transnational debates over the scope and influence of political economy as that mode of thought came, across the first half of the nineteenth century, to dominate moral and scientific discourses on the state of society. In France and Belgium, as we have seen, social economists confronted the 'rationalist' and 'sensationalist' political economy of 'idéologues' like Destutt de Tracy with a populist theory of social wellbeing.[150] In Britain, Tractarians, Evangelicals and Broad-Church thinkers mobilised their distinct theological and ecclesiological traditions to challenge political economy's epistemological claims and moral influence, 'providing a fertile ground for the reception of Ruskin and other critics who sought to widen economic discourse in the later part of the century'.[151] Drawing on aspects of the continental critique, Catholics claimed a place in this British debate adjacent to those other Christian dissenters from political economy's hegemonic claims. This amplified the chorus of opposition – but it also complicated it, introducing a new (Thomist) conceptual framework and grounding its socio-economic vision in an explicitly transnational ecclesiology.

Catholics thus assumed a unique role in debate, acting again as a disruptive and creative intellectual force. They sought to unsettle the 'scientific' maxims of British political economy by challenging both what they took to be its individualistic, materialistic assumptions, and the constrainingly narrow, national horizons within which it and its Anglican rivals took shape. Developing a distinctive conception of man-in-society, with an integrated economic sphere characterised by interdependence and judicious political intervention, they sought to recentre the spiritual and social as analytic categories – categories which they thought lost in a language that privileged the marketised individual and power of the State. Reviving these subtle, less tangible concepts would, they hoped, aid in their wider politico-theological campaign: restoring complex, corporate pluralism to a world desacralised, atomised and macadamised by Reformation and Revolution, and thus restoring both its liberty and its regenerative potential.

[150] Welch, 'Social science', *CHPT*, 174-84.

[151] Garnett, 'Anglican Economic and Social Engagement', 462-6; Jane Garnett, 'Political and domestic economy in Victorian social thought: Ruskin and Xenophon', in Collini, Whatmore, and Young, eds., *Economy, Polity, and Society: British Intellectual History, 1750-1950* (Cambridge, 2000), 216-7.

That man was inclined towards evil, Catholics argued, but could in self-renunciation attain virtue, was a truth attested by classical philosophy and 'universal consent'.[152] Created above other beasts with the 'stamp of infinity', he was made for goodness, a moral cooperator in Creation. He found happiness not in pleasure-maximisation, but in following the law of nature, fulfilled in self-sacrificing action.[153] This 'dictate of natural reason' had the additional sanction of revelation; for the principle of sacrifice was elevated in Christ's incarnation and passion into the basis of the new anthropology of the second Adam. A Catholic 'social science of man' did not deny the pull of self-love – but countered that man's nature was defined by Christ, not concupiscence. The pattern-man of any science seeking to understand reality, the *Dublin* insisted, reviewing Périn's *De la Richesse dans les Sociétés Chrétiennes* (2 vols. Paris, 1861), was *Christ*, not *homo economicus*.[154]

No longer a science of self-love, political economy could thus break free of its narrowing conceptual framework – radical individualism – and attain a 'wider scope': the 'production and distribution of social happiness' conducing to man's total 'well-being'. It could thus become again what Aquinas had shown it to be in *De Regimine Principum* (c.1265): that branch of politics – itself a portion of ethics, concerned with the legislator's role in in promoting 'the virtuous life' of a 'community' – occupied with the definition of wealth and its use by a 'just and beneficent government'.[155] Such a programme entailed the elimination not of the individual, but of individual*ism*. The 'natural state of man', argued Thomas O'Hagan, in Aristotelian-Thomist terms, 'is not a state of savage isolation. It is that in which he … fulfils the duties of social life, and attains the fullest development of heart and intellect of which his being is capable'.[156]

But in a rebuke to the mystical-national collectives envisioned by Fichte and Young Ireland, and the amorphous 'civilisations' conjured by liberals like Guizot, the Catholic vision of 'social life' was presented as respecting rather than subsuming the individual: 'society' was neither an 'abstraction' nor an 'annihilating … Divinity', but a metaphor for common moral feelings. It was no less real and spiritual for that; but it began in, and never transcended, the individual heart; it was designed for training to perfection the individual soul, which was made for communion with God and other men.[157]

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[152] 'Christian Political Economy', 311-2.

[153] 'Views Preliminary', 32-9.

[154] 'Christian Political Economy', 305-6; 'Christian Political Economy' (II), *DR*, 6 (April, 1866), 355-6.

[155] 'Christian Political Economy' (I), 303-4, 317-8; 'Trade and Manufactures', 514. O'Reilly's reference was to Books 1-2 of *De Regimine Principum*, in which Aquinas draws on Aristotle's *Politics* I.2 and III.9.

[156] *OPA*, 294.

[157] 'Views Preliminary', 27-32; 'Christian Political Economy' (II), 358.

It was in this framework that wealth could be rightly understood: as one thread in a web of social institutions, like laws and sentiments, designed to help men of all stations to combat the 'allurements of passion' and realise God's will.[158] Wealth was not to be renounced but relativised and reintegrated into an incarnational-ethical framework. Indeed, that Catholicism welcomed wealth became an important theme in these years, with apologists seeking to counter the trope that their Church was at best culpable in inculcating indifference to prosperity, at worst guilty of demonising it. To the contrary, Robertson argued, drawing on the work of the Spanish apologist, J. L. Balmes (1810-48): societies like Holland and Britain, afflicted by Protestantism's spiritual schizophrenia, both denied the world and desired it, and had developed a perverse understanding of wealth.[159] It became for them a mere 'steeple-chase' after 'money';[160] it 'degraded' '[g]reat traders, with unbounded capacities for social usefulness, … [into] mere money-lenders'; it culminated in 'multitudes … crowded together' in factories, slums, and workhouses, 'existing only for the production of wealth'.[161] Protestant societies were thus ineluctably divided into two nations: 'greedy competitors' and their victims.[162]

Catholicism, contrastingly, was shown to affirm the goodness of created nature and the sacramental nature of the new creation. '[E]minently social', it understood sociability to have been implanted by God and reconsecrated by Christ.[163] Thus in commerce, as in all things political, there was an 'analogy… between the spiritual and the temporal order'. Providence made use of 'commercial intercourse' to erode the 'barriers against' men's 'physical [and] moral union', drawing all to Christ. The 'commercial greatness' and concomitant hegemony of Catholic states like Spain and Florence had been dedicated to God's greater glory.[164] Indeed, examples as diverse as sixteenth-century Venice and nineteenth-century Belgium showed the Catholic republic the most 'industrious and mercantile' of polities – but one where wealth was consecrated as 'an offering … before the altar', and thus held 'in its true relation to the other agencies of … national advancement', understood to be a mutual good for the 'prosperity of the whole'.[165]

The first of these 'agents' was the labourer, to whom Lacordaire, as we have already seen, had re-granted 'proprietorship' over his handiwork. He, too, had contributed to the polity's wealth. His 'conquest[s] … over the

[158] 'Views Preliminary', 37.

[159] [Robertson], 'Balmes's Catholicism and Protestantism', *DR*, 24 (March, 1848), 31-57; [Robertson], 'Effects of Catholicism and Protestantism on Civilization', *DR*, 26 (March, 1849), 214-41.

[160] 'Christian Political Economy' (II), 365.

[161] *OPA*, 304-5.

[162] 'Christian Political Economy' (II), 365.

[163] 'Balmes', 53; 'Effects on Civilisation', 214-16, 241.

[164] 'Trade and Manufactures', 510-40.

[165] *State of England,* 8-10; *OPA*, 280; 'Christian Political Economy' (II), 356, 365.

material world' were made at the expense of 'self-indulgence' and helped chasten a nature prone to revolt; no 'unreasoning machine', he deserved the 'reward of his sacrifice and virtue'.[166] Even as he endorsed this argument, John O'Hagan worried that some Catholics were prone to increasingly sentimental 'claptrap' about the poor; but twenty years later, it was an established orthodoxy (as we shall see in the final chapter), with Manning, increasingly radicalised by the plight of Ireland, praising in 1874 labour's 'dignity' and 'rights'; arguing for an expansive understanding of 'capital' that recognised its foundations 'in the … power … [of] labour'; and insisting that, if capital was indeed refined labour, then labour necessarily possessed the rights of capital, property, liberty, and association.[167]

Secondly, Catholics argued, the poor had a stake in this wealth. The 'first great mystery of the christian dispensation – the incarnation and birth of our Lord'[168] – had seen God reach across the 'abyss' of being and assume 'Adam's nature'. But in forging this 'personal union',[169] Christ had not chosen as his coheirs a spiritual elect; the 'moral character' of all 'people' had been transformed. Christ's example of self-emptying 'charity' meant that His mystical body on earth strove to share the 'fruits' of redemption with the whole world. The 'first great principle of all Christian civilisation' – 'thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself' – was therefore, Wiseman insisted in Mennaisian mood, radically 'expansive', 'embrac[ing] all' and effacing 'all distinctions … natural, social, or domestic', until the 'whole of mankind' was 'knitted' into 'one man' in Christ.[170]

The 'working of a principle like this', he argued, before congregations of peers, dons, and Irish poor (the latter often segregated from the rest so their fleas wouldn't eat Faber's altar-lace) was 'necessarily' that of 'active charity' for the weakest, as exemplified in the lives of St John of God (d.1550) or St Vincent de Paul (d.1660). They were not judged according to the measure of Bentham – 'put aside' because lacking 'usefulness' – but according to the measure to Bethlehem; the weakest was loved best.[171] Precisely that weakness and brokenness Christ had exalted: the 'incarnation of the All-holy', Newman told his congregation, came not in 'pomp and pride' but in poverty, 'hunger and sleeplessness; His hands … rough and bruised with a mechanic's toil'.[172] Christ thus identified especially with the poor, whom the Oratorians saw in their midst. Lacordaire went further still: in the 'revolution

[166] Ibid., 360-3; *OPA*, 305-8; 'Christian Political Economy' (I), 312-5.
[167] *The Dignity and Rights of Labour* … (1934), 12-22. See p. 202 below.
[168] *State of England*, 8.
[169] Newman, *DMC*, 292, 298-300, 284, 299.
[170] Wiseman, *Sermon Delivered in St. George's*, 3-11
[171] Ibid., 10-13.
[172] *DMC*, 305.

of love' effected by the incarnation, '[t]he poor is Jesus Christ himself'.[173] Both agreed that those with the 'faith to admit the Incarnation', 'must admit it in its fulness' and live out its ethic.[174] Fresh from his Italian training, and drawing on the Jesuit scholastics, Juan de Lugo (d.1660) and Domenico Viva (d.1726), Newman spelled out to his community what this meant: they were to imagine Christ pleading before them: 'I come ... in deformity and in shame ... Gaze on Me, O My children … for I am helpless'.[175] With 'hearts [thus] dwelling on Jesus as a person', Dalgairns urged, Catholics could emulate Him, entering into His 'burning love' for every man.[176] Emulation became embodiment: those made one with Him in the eucharist became one with Him in 'self-consuming charity'.[177] Thus were the hearts of the 'slaves of mammon' set free by the 'Presence of the Word Incarnate'.[178]

Conceiving of society thus – as the practice of mutuality, rather than a 'steeple-chase' after lucre – Catholics argued for a political economy of 'fraternal love'. The Church had thus for centuries 'brought her whole weight to bear incessantly upon this one singular point': the 'equitable distribution of wealth and property among the whole body politic'.[179] Thus would it avoid becoming the 'source of discord' that 'selfishness and communism' suggested was inevitable. But this was no ploy periodically to placate the disadvantaged, Catholics insisted: the 'sole justification' for the private possession of wealth was Providence's determination to make some men labourers in capital for the benefit of all. Theirs was a 'mission of proprietorship': to give work to the labourer and charity to the destitute.[180] Foregoing jealous possession for stewardly renunciation, their vocation was to ensure the 'more equal distribution of riches among all classes', so as to 'soften the too harsh contrast between excessive wealth and excessive indigence', engender 'kindlier feelings' between social 'ranks', and thus build the *res publica christiana*.[181]

*Practical reform*

Catholics conceded that such a vision would seem to some contemporaries a 'shadow of reality', lacking 'legislative decrees'.[182] Even sympathetic historians, eyeing the racier neo-Thomist injunctions that lay ahead, tend to brush

[173] *Conferences*, 529-31.
[174] *DMC*, 355.
[175] *DMC*, 305, 322.
[176] Dalgairns, *Jansenism*, 234-5.
[177] *DMC*, 320.
[178] *DMC*, 17. Cf. *Loss and Gain: the Story of a Convert* (1906 [1848]), 420f. Cf. Harriet Diana Thompson, *The Life of S. Charles Borromeo*, ed. E.H. Thompson (1858), esp. chs 15-22.
[179] 'Christian Political Economy' (II), 356, 365.
[180] Ibid., 360-3.
[181] 'Trade and Manufactures', 515-6.
[182] *Conferences*, 529-31.

past those who took up the Louvain tradition. What did it amount to but the desire of 'moderate' Catholics to inject some moderating ethics into capitalism? For those who followed Louvain – Frédéric Le Play's 'School of Angers', O'Hagan's 'School of Dublin' – the individual and the market economy remained the fundamental units of economics. They were really just 'liberal[s]'.[183]

It is certainly true that they were not revolutionaries. They thought political economy had been corrupted, but that elements of the science might be salvaged to some good end. Yet the critique we have charted was both radical and sophisticated; the alternative they sketched drew a Scotist anthropology into dialogue with a Thomist philosophy of social justice. Nor should we overlook the determination of these thinkers to develop practical policy prescriptions from their first principles. Anstey and MacMahon, as we have seen, fought in Parliament for a 'common good' fisheries policy in the 1840s. More striking still was the programme articulated across the 1860s by the O'Hagan brothers. Irishmen aligned to the Liberal Party, their work can be situated in the wider 'reformist' discourse taking shape in the wake of the Famine. But if it built on the revisionist historicism of Butt's Dublin School, and implicitly endorsed key planks of the Tenant League's platform (such as fixity of tenure), in scope and suggestion it was a distinctly Catholic form of liberalism.[184] Standing in an O'Connellite tradition, they sought, in principled and pragmatic ways, to contest the ambitions and foundations of the Protestant state by unravelling the evils of 'the conquest' in gradual, 'judicious legislation'.[185]

Nations had 'long memories', Thomas O'Hagan warned his fellow Liberals: if their party were to 'obliterate' that of the Famine,[186] they needed to disavow those 'flaunting the flag of political economy in the face of a starving people';[187] move beyond cosmetic reforms, like the Encumbered Estates Court, which left the foundations of the landlord's 'tyranny' unshaken;[188] and foreswear the kinds of quick fixes envisaged in London – like replacing bankrupt landlords with solvent merchants in search of rapid returns, which would subject Ireland's poor to the calculations 'of a usurer'[189] and condemn them to permanent 'slavery'.[190] One might question the demand for fixity of tenure as 'interference with the rights of property'; but the refusal to entertain the basic

[183] Misner, 'The Predecessors of *Rerum Novarum* within Catholicism', *Review of Social Economy*, 49.4 (1991), 457-8.

[184] For context: Clive Dewey, 'Celtic Agrarian Legislation and the Celtic Revival: Historicist Implications of Gladstone's Irish and Scottish Land Acts 1870-1886', *P&P*, 64 (1974), 43-9.

[185] For the wider context to these contestations of British/Protestant power, especially by an Irish Church seeking to advance its own interests and create a 'Catholic nationalism', see Oliver P. Rafferty, *The Church, the State and the Fenian Threat, 1861-75* (Basingstoke, 1999); *The Catholic Church and the Protestant State: Nineteenth-Century Irish Realities* (Dublin, 2008).

[186] 'Recent Irish Legislation', 52-5.

[187] [John O'Hagan], 'Current Events', *HFR*, 1 (July, 1862), 262-6; idem, 'Current Events', *HFR*, 1 (Oct. 1862), 567-9.

[188] 'Perraud', 295-6; 305-11; 'The Hopes of Ireland', 281-4.

[189] 'Current Events.' (July, 1862), 259-62.

[190] 'Recent Irish Legislation', 56; '1853', 286.

demands of the Tenant League, such as compensation for improvements made to property occupied, offended against natural justice, portending a second 'Exodus' in a generation,[191] and provoking the 'demon of agrarian crime'.[192] Above all, Liberals were encouraged to repeal legislation that set 'exclusive ownership' above the common good.[193] Here, they were directed to the best scholarship – from Irish Tories like Butt to Whig-Liberals like Sir Henry Maine – which showed unanimity amongst the world's ancient civilisations (and conveniently corroborated Thomist views): 'ultimate property … was not in the possessor'. Indeed, Celtic Ireland's Brehon Law – a local manifestation of this natural law – had decreed that the land was 'the domain of the whole … tribe', thus legitimising periodic 'redistribution'. The evolution of this egalitarian system into a 'kind of peasant proprietorship' had been disrupted by Elizabethan 'gamesters'; it needed now to be restored.[194]

It is not particularly illuminating to call this 'liberalism' – or 'Liberal Catholicism'. More accurately, we might see it as a Catholic liberalism, grounded in the kind of Scotist and Mennaisian assumptions that Wiseman's Ultramontanism had synthesised and popularised. The O'Hagans attempted to prod the Liberal Party away from its mid-century moorings in the political economy of Malthus and Mill and the anti-Catholicism of Russell and Palmerston, and towards a vision of an actively reforming state, which hope Gladstone seemed to embody. The O'Hagans were liberals, writing in Acton's *Home & Foreign Review*, branding aspects of their party, past and present, 'odious'.[195] If the Party could not reconcile itself to the demands of moderate, reform-minded Catholics, it would only excite that which it purported to fear: a *mésalliance* of 'fanatical republicanism' and political 'clericalism'.[196] To allow this to take root was to collude in 'foster[ing] a spirit of hostility between' Ireland and England, imperilling the union.[197]

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The Catholic political economy of these decades was closely tied to the Catholic political theology analysed in the last chapter. Echoing a range of critics of the 'master science' of the age – unsettling its certainties and challenging its 'laws' as unjust – a Scotist incarnationalism traced the *fons et origo mali* of the social crisis to the de-sacramentalisation of the world by Protestantism, and maintained that Creation, perfected by Christ and desecrated

[191] 'Tenure of Land', 368-9.
[192] 'Perraud', 292-4; 'Current Events' (Oct. 1862), 569-70.
[193] *OPA*, 285-90, 295-8.
[194] 'Tenure of Land', 348-60; 364-7. For engagement with Maine: C. S. Devas: *Groundwork of Economics* (1883), 75.
[195] [O'Hagan], 'Current Events', (July, 1862), 262-6; idem, 'Current Events', (Oct. 1862), 567-9.
[196] 'Perraud', 305-11; [O'Hagan], 'Current Events', *HFR*, 3 (July, 1863), 376-8.
[197] 'Recent Irish Legislation', 78.

by man, could be restored by agents of God's Kingdom. In an ultimate sense, this would require re-conversion and reintegration into the incarnational realm. Ultramontanes like Dalgairns were likeliest to make explicit this conclusion. But as this survey of a cross-section of Catholic socioeconomic thought makes clear, it was an assumption commonly held. So too was the consensus that Catholics were not obliged to await the New Jerusalem, coming down out of heaven. Their theology envisaged the Kingdom's realisation in the world's gradual reconsecration. And if that world-transforming project was primarily conceived in sacramental, then ecclesiological-constitutional, terms, this body of social criticism and policy prescription demonstrates that it was also pursued in political reform.

The vision was presented as an integral whole: theological renewal opened imaginative vistas where society could be redeemed. A political theology maintaining that the world's vocation was to be gathered up by the Church, in order that it might become the groundwork of the Kingdom, sanctioned a practical-minded, Thomist reformism. The Catholic's duty in the world was to be a vector of that Kingdom. In his capacity as citizen, that required him to confront complex ethical questions, and to let reason guide him to what the natural law showed to be justice. We can detect here a consistency with what historians have shown to be the desire of a later Social Catholicism to make state policy an agent of the common good. But we should note that this intellectual framework did not yet yield a stat*ism*. Explicit at this point is a suspicion of other species of Romantic, collectivist, or pantheist-monist thinking: nationalism, Christian Socialism, and Carlyleanism were seen as secular perversions of Catholicism. Nor, indeed, was the state to be trusted: had it not shown itself to be an agent of Antichrist? But if England's radical 're-conversion' seemed a distant prospect, it might still be recalled, Catholics hoped, to its ancient 'liberal conservatism'; the pluralist polity might still facilitate the ethical politics of loyal, Christian subjects.

From the later 1850s, the rise of positivism and the war on Rome would cause that hope to falter.

# Part II

# Challenge and change

# Chapter IV

## *Comte and the body of Christ:*

## *Catholicism and the positivist challenge, ca. 1850-90*

> Between sacred and profane the old wall of division has been broken down. It is impossible for any man to explain the world without fixing his regard on Jesus. He is real to the present generation, even to those who do not believe, as He never was to … the free-thinker of a previous age. Theologians comprehend … that creeds and dogmas are but aspects of His world, His works, His personality. Critics know that they have to deal with Him as fact. And the relation of Church and Testament is explored on all sides, with a view to discovering the Founder in the institution, and to bring out His truth in the record.
>
> — William Barry SJ (1905)[1]

Having re-imagined the Catholic community as an expansively incarnational body, the Ultramontane party was, by 1850, in the ascendant. But at this moment of triumph, challenges were emerging which threatened to undermine the very foundations of a such a faith. Historians have characterised the decades that followed as a struggle between diverging assessments of Catholicism's compatibility with 'modern thought'. To the challenges of biblical criticism, agnosticism, and evolutionary science, a party of obscurantists retreated to the 'fortress' of infallibility, where authority and 'emotional' devotions blotted out the world beyond; its institutional power, brutally asserted at the Vatican Council, snuffed out the 'great hope' nurtured by Liberal Catholics of a rapprochement between the truths of revelation and the conclusions of modern science.[2] But as with political economy, if we look beyond intra-mural debates on the appropriate tone and tactics to be adopted by Catholic controversialists, we can detect a broadly coherent – and creative – response to the fundamental philosophical challenge of the age: the possibility of supernatural faith, expressed in the traditional Christian categories of dogma and devotion.

Catholic thinkers of all parties were troubled by the shadow of Auguste Comte (1798-1857), as much as they were haunted by the spectre of T. R. Malthus. His teachings gradually but irrevocably transformed the British intellectual landscape. Even if positivism's more exotic ideas, like the 'religion of humanity', converted only an enthusiastic cadre,[3] its core epistemological claims – that the mind knew only natural phenomena and their interrelations under general scientific laws; that all real knowledge was thus historical and empirically verifiable;

[1] William Barry SJ, *Ernest Renan* (1905), 123-4.
[2] See, e.g., Altholz, *Rambler*, 5, 244. The narrative is continued in Aspden, *Fortress Church*.
[3] Wright, *Religion of Humanity*.

that notions of a personal deity or of his miraculous interventions in nature were anachronisms to be chased from the public sphere – swept almost all before them.[4] Catholics, however, proved imaginative and uncompromising opponents, seeking again in public controversy to distinguish themselves as guardians of an ever-green dogmatic orthodoxy and disrupters of a stultifying naturalistic consensus. Exploring a variety of encounters with Comtism, this chapter argues that Liberal Catholics and Ultramontanes, alike, sought to defend, in philosophy and theology, their king's 'two bodies'[5] – that of Jesus Christ, incarnate God, whom positivists wished to lay on the mortuary slab for dissection; and that of His sacramental body, the Church, which positivists promised to demystify.

In the course of that encounter, however, important aspects of Wiseman's synthesis were restated. Building on the earlier challenge to the myth of a masculine, Protestant reason, and to the apodictic maxims of political economy, a new generation of Ultramontanes identified 'liberalism' with 'rationalism': an urge to deny nature's supernatural charge and to supplant the incarnational order with a mystical materialism that worshipped power. The result was a stylised sharpening of Catholicism's rivalry with 'modern thought'. Emergent discourses – like the Comtean, Darwinian, or Straussian – seemed to present a new configuration of philosophical liberalism, which asserted epistemic hegemony by claiming the supremacy of scientific naturalism over all other modes of cognition and conceptual endeavour. Fearing that this rendered religious reason an oxymoron and supernatural experience an impossibility, Catholics insisted afresh on the reasonableness of faith and the tangible reality of the Kingdom. But the rhetoric in which Ultramontanes framed their critique alienated not only avowedly 'progressive' Christians and the 'judicious conservatives' seeking to rearticulate the faith for a new context, but Liberal Catholics, like Lord Acton and Richard Simpson, who feared that Ultramontanism was becoming a mirror image of Comtism. The political implications of a 'war' with 'rationalism' unnerved them even more, as the final two chapters show.

## *The critique of positivism and 'neo-Christianity', ca. 1850-70*

### *The necessity of dogma*

Catholics sought first to defend the dogmatic nature of faith in general – and the primary dogma of the incarnation, in particular – against a Protestantism reshaped by its encounter with positivism. By the 1850s, they felt their prophecy of Anglicanism degenerating into Socinianism had been vindicated. The new tracts for the times were

[4] Cashdollar, *Transformation of Theology*, 1-11.
[5] Ernst Kantorowicz, *The king's two bodies: a study in mediaeval political theology* (Princeton, 1957).

those of the authors of the *Essays and Reviews* (1860); the triumph of the 'Hoadlyian' tendency signified that 'the idea of supernatural faith [was] utterly eliminated from Anglican theology'. The 'neo-Christianity' left behind was but a 'residuum'.[6] Demonstrating the effect of his re-education at Langres, Dalgairns explained to Faber's Oratorians that, where Rome had fought off Jansenism, Anglicanism had been suborned by dogma-deniers, making such a defence impossible.[7] From H. L. Mansel's philosophy of religion to H. H. Milman's histories, a diffuse but coherent project was at work: a 'rationalising school' bent on 'frittering away the great mysteries of the Christian faith'.[8] Its strategy of subversion sought to cloak 'naturalism' in 'orthodox' rhetoric, while 'the substance' of doctrines was 'refined away'.[9] In a theological atmosphere 'impenetrable as the lurid yellow of a London fog',[10] the doctrine of the incarnation was 'obscure[d] … in a cloud of verbiage',[11] and the christological heresies of antiquity re-spawned.[12] And the poison in London would spread far beyond, warned the Cambridge convert, T. W. Marshall (1818-77): making 'void' at home the 'doctrine of the Incarnation, upon which alone Christianity rests', Protestant missionaries measured their 'success' abroad in nurturing Nestorianism.[13] The tendencies of such a theology were clear: pantheism beckoned. Shrinking 'from the sublime thought' of an incarnate God, the moderns sought 'a sheathed Divinity diffused throughout the universe … [For] the Wood-God and River-Nymph captivate the fancy and do not over-awe the soul'.[14] 'Shades of Apostles and Martyrs', Maynooth's Prof. Crolly sputtered: 'was this the chimera' that 'enlightened modern Protestant Christianity' had 'substituted for Paganism?'[15]

This concern with Protestantism's trajectory obsessed the converts, pervading whole numbers of the *Dublin.*[16] So too did an anxiety that Liberal Catholics had failed to heed the obvious lesson: that there could be no compromise with Comtism. Those who did not apprehend the binary nature of the choice between rationalism and supernaturalism became positivism's useful idiots. The charge was unfair – but not wholly unfounded. Those

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[6] [Russel], 'Anglican Neo-Christianity', *DR*, 49 (Feb. 1861), 459-61, 464-6, 476-9. For the Liberal Anglican response to positivism: Cashdollar, *Transformation*, 375-86; Corsi, *Baden Powell*, 174ff. Contemporaries like Frederic Harrison, whose faith had just collapsed, also saw the *Essays* as a Comtean experiment in 'neo-Christianity': Altholz, *Anatomy of a controversy. The debate over Essays and Reviews*, *1860-64* (1994), 40.

[7] *Jansenism* (1853), 3-8, 26-33, 45. The lectures, transformed into this treatise, became influential, being republished up to 1910 and translated into German.

[8] [Russell], 'Milman's History of Latin Christianity', *DR*, 37 (Dec. 1854), 404-49; [Russell], 'Maurice's Essays', *DR*, 36 (March, 1854), 212-5, 255-7.

[9] 'Maurice's Essays', 247-54, 231, 241-5, 217-8. Cf. [Russell], 'Milman's Latin Christianity (Vols. IV-VI)', *DR*, 40 (June, 1856), 281-99.

[10] [Dalgairns], 'German Mystics', 90-3.

[11] 'Neo-Christianity', 477.

[12] John Brande Morris, *Jesus the Son of Mary* … 2 vols. (1851), I, Preface, chs 3, 9.

[13] Marshall, *Christianity in China: A Fragment*. (1858), 85-6.

[14] de Vere, *May Carols* (1857), vi.

[15] [Crolly], 'Miracles — the natural and the supernatural', *DR*, 47 (Feb. 1860), 482-6, 468-9.

[16] See, e.g., [Walford], 'Oxford — its Past and Present', [de Vere], 'The Plague of Controversy', and [William Jennings], 'Tendencies of Modern Logic': *DR*, 36 (June, 1854), 314-51, 351-418, 419-51.

in the orbit of Lord Acton (1834-1902), like the Oscott philosopher, Charles Meynell (1828-82), were alert to the force of the positivist challenge but also sympathetic to the doubter's dilemmas. They admired those reconstructing grounds for belief, especially Kantians like Mansel and William Hamilton, who emphasised man's limited capacities and transcendence's limitless mystery.[17] And they reprobated the readiness of the 'spiritual coxcomb' to denigrate the positivist challenge as 'intellectual pride', demonise 'Kantians' as crypto-pantheists, and fob the troubled Catholic off with injunctions to deeper 'piety' and schemes of reading in fossilised scholasticism. Fearing the expansive dogmatism of a 'spurious Ultramontanism' – which confused the 'substance' of dogmas with the contingent 'accidents' of Roman devotions,[18] thus making Catholicism vulnerable to positivist attack – they sought to distinguish between an 'outward shell of variable opinions' and an 'inward core of irreversible dogma', around which those historical, human opinions were 'constantly forming', disintegrating, and reforming.[19] In response to the positivist challenge, Catholics could acknowledge reason as the arbiter of visible 'phenomena', whilst defending the reasonableness of faith as the appropriate 'mode' of cognition for 'heavenly things'. The critical Catholic did not fear the future, nor see a zero-sum war between supernatural and materialistic empires of thought, with theologians defending everywhere and at all times the lonely citadel of faith against the crusading clerisy of modern science. Even the most combative of the latter, like the Royal Institution's Professor of Natural Philosophy, John Tyndall, would, in his 1874 Belfast Address, disclaim a totalising materialism, and seek to 'wrest from theology the entire domain' – not of *all* thought, but of 'cosmological theory' only.[20] Peaceful coexistence was possible, perhaps even fruitful commerce; for all scientific discoveries were necessarily compatible with the 'revealed truth' of *Logos*.[21]

The implications of these lines of thought brought censure. Acton's gnomic aphorisms obscured his meaning; Simpson's 'incorrigible irreverence' was often all-too plain.[22] Yet the *Rambler* set was embracing neither neo-Kantianism nor post-Kantian Ontologism.[23] Their admiration for such theology had strict limits. Mansel's premise, that the scientific part of the mind did not receive theological ideas, was wrong, Simpson insisted; his conclusion that 'scientific theology' had thus been vanquished, was risible.[24] For Meynell, 'Kantean conceptualism'

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[17] [Meynell], 'The Philosophy of the Absolute', *Rambler* (Sept. 1858), 173; [Simpson], 'Mansel's Bampton Lectures', *Rambler* (Dec. 1858), 407-15. See Bernard Lightman, *Origins of Agnosticism*, 7, 30-31.

[18] See ch. 1, p. 8, above.

[19] [Acton], 'Ultramontanism', 204-6; Simpson to Acton, n.d., quoted in Altholz, *Rambler*, 142; [Simpson], 'Reason and Faith', *Rambler*, 5 (July, 1861), 182.

[20] Bernard Lightman, 'On Tyndall's Belfast Address, 1874', in Dino Franco Felluga, ed., *BRANCH: Britain, Representation and Nineteenth-Century History* (Dec. 2011): *https://branchcollective.org/?ps_articles=bernard-lightman-on-tyndalls-belfast-address-1874*.

[21] [Simpson], 'Reason and Faith', *Rambler*, 5 (Sept. 1861), 329; Altholz, *Rambler*, 142-4.

[22] Quoted in Altholz, *Rambler*, 28. See Ullathorne, *A Letter on the "Rambler and the Home and Foreign Review."* …(1862), 42.

[23] See R. Bellamy, *Modern Italian Social Theory* (Stanford, 1987), 100.

[24] [Simpson], 'Bampton Lectures', 412-13, 408.

threatened to seal off access to the 'supersensual world'. Against this challenge, it was the duty of Catholics to reaffirm 'the realism of Plato'. The true 'champions of reason' rejected immanentism and held man to be a sensorium of transcendence.[25] They would not endorse the 'immense simplification of thought' that decreed metaphysics an impossibility and man a 'machine' with 'no more prospect of a future life than a pumpkin'. Against this 'last bubble of philosophy' – conjured by Kant, inflated by Comte – they would ever protest.[26]

And protest they did. For all their 'play of mind',[27] and even allowing for a desire to persuade ecclesiastical authority of their soundness, the *Rambler* subjected positivism to sustained and searing criticism. Not satisfied with denouncing a general tendency to 'rationalism', they sifted a vast body of literature to detect the evil spirit lurking in all: Comte. Acton assailed T. H. Buckle's *History of Civilisation in England* (3 vols. 1857-61); its reductive materialism and frank 'unreason' showed Comte to be 'the key to the whole book'.[28] If pernicious in the hands of historians, positivism was corrupting when let loose on the wider public. Thackeray's Comtean determination to take 'his generalisations for facts … undermines all allegiance to intellectual truth', Simpson spat, 'squeezes all dogma out of religion, all certainty out of philosophy, all principles out of politics, and all … order out of society'.[29] Even the angelic George Eliot, whose humanism was indebted more to the 'historical method of the Germans' than it was to the 'revolutionary' French 'systematiser', ultimately betrayed the 'radical' positivist prejudice that religion was an irrational 'emanation of the feelings', destined to wither away.[30]

Liberal Catholics also insisted just as loudly as their Ultramontane brethren on the necessity of dogma. It was the 'very basis of the moral code' and the bulwark of belief.[31] As the debates over *Essays and Reviews* and Bishop Colenso's biblical criticism raged, Acton drew a line in the sand, beyond which the *Home and Foreign Review* would not stray. He warned against the temptation towards a 'mystical' Christianity without dogmatic foundation or 'ecclesiastical organisation'.[32] Positivist scholars, like Michelet, or the disciples of Swedenborg, who dared to opine on the sacred science of dogmatics, were savaged for their 'superficiality'.[33] Anglicans like Milman who deployed

[25] [Meynell], 'Philosophy of the Absolute', 174, 189.

[26] [Simpson?], 'Positivism', *Rambler*, (May, 1858), 347-52; [Simpson] 'Noble on the Mind and the Brain', *Rambler* (May, 1858), 353-56.

[27] Matthew Arnold, 'The Function of Criticism at the Present Time', *Essays in Criticism*, 1st Series (1902), 20.

[28] [Acton], 'Mr. Buckle's Philosophy of History', *Rambler*, 10 (Aug. 1858); repr in *Historical Essays & Studies*, eds. Figgis and Laurence (1907), 324, 332-8, 342-3.

[29] [Simpson], 'Thackeray', *HFR*, 4 (April, 1864), 476-511.

[30] [Simpson], 'George Eliot's Novels', *HFR*, 3 (Oct. 1863), 522-49.

[31] [Acton] 'Confessions of Frederick the Great', *HFR*, 2 (Jan. 1863), 159; and see [Acton's specific addition to an article of Thomas Arnold Jr.], 'Venn's Life of St. Francis Xavier', *HFR*, 2 (Jan. 1863), 187.

[32] [Acton] 'Contemporary Literature', *HFR*, 2 (Jan. 1863), 240.

[33] [Acton], 'Contemporary Literature', *HFR*, (April, 1864), 717-21.

positivist methods without contemplating the likely conclusions – 'refined Epicureanism' for the elite; 'undisguised heathenism' for 'the many' – were accused of threatening belief in Christ's divinity, leaving 'prejudice' the only rampart between Protestantism and 'unbelief'.[34] Indeed, the 'unmeaning' definition of the incarnation offered by the *Essays and Reviews*, the liberal convert, H. N. Oxenham, concluded, proved the 'suicidal' urge of 'neo-Protestantism'.[35] How close it came to the unscientific, '*a priori*' positivism of Ernest Renan, whose penchant for 'conjectural divination' left the man at the centre of his *Vie de Jésus* (1863) 'not a historical personage, but a production of imaginative art', and whose determination to de-divinise Christ derived from a 'hat[red of] Christianity as an obstacle to social progress'.[36]

No Catholicism worthy of the name could slide in that direction. Though infuriated by the politics surrounding the definition of the immaculate conception (1854), Acton denounced those Catholics who flirted with anti-dogmatism at such a fraught historical moment: they were 'Jansenists' drifting from the 'Catholic system', and doomed to be 'absorbed by … [a] Protestantism' veering into infidelity.[37] Tübingen's Hegelian historicism demonstrated that the end-point of such rationalism was pantheism.[38] A truly Catholic science could not minimise the 'doctrine of the Incarnation'. In its final number before folding (following implied censure), the *Home and Foreign* carried an article by the Franciscan philosopher, John Roberts, which, for all its criticism of the arch-dogmatist, W. G. Ward, shared his conviction that what needed most urgently to be restated in modern theology was the orthodox teaching: that Jesus Christ was fully man and fully God, 'the Head of the human race regenerated; the second Adam; in [whom] we … find our true perfection'.[39]

In this body of writing, we see a convergence in Ultramontane and Liberal Catholic philosophy, too easily obscured. We can also pinpoint more precisely the nature of their divergence. Neither the critique of Comtism nor the warnings against the trajectory of Protestant thought assuaged Ultramontane fears. '[T]rembl[ing] for the foundations of Christianity',[40] they worried that Acton's triangulating strategy of critical engagement and dogmatic retrenchment was a busted flush. His circle appeared to see an equation composed of three elements: revelation, the Church, and the world. They understood revelation primarily in a philosophical light, representing it as a compendium of divine truths announced to rational-faithful man by the Church, revelation's 'organ'. Thus, the

[34] [?], 'Contemporary Literature', *HFR* (July, 1863), 214-23.
[35] [H. N. Oxenham], 'The Neo-Protestantism of Oxford', *Rambler*, 4 (1 March, 1861), 293, 311.
[36] [Simpson?], 'Contemporary Literature', *HFR*, 3 (Oct. 1863), 654-60.
[37] [Acton] 'Contemporary Literature', *HFR*, 2 (Jan. 1863), 278.
[38] [Acton], 'Döllinger's *History of Christianity*,' *Rambler*, 4 (Jan. 1861), 167.
[39] 'O.S.F.' [J. W. Roberts], 'Dr. Ward on Intellect', *HFR*, 6 (May, 1862), 484.
[40] 'Maruice's Essays', 241, 251-4

Church was catechist, mediator of eternal truths. In the world of phenomena, man simply went about his business, applying reason to the rational realm in which he lived, and carrying with him a tool-box of dogmatic beliefs and derivative ethical propositions in which he would rummage when trying to mend the broken world around him. For Ultramontanes, this amounted to conceding and then policing the border erected by Comte between things visible and invisible. In assigning to an etherealised Church the pared-down role of enunciating to the faithful the dogmas acceptable to enlightened scholars – who, in questions dogmatic and miraculous would give the benefit of the doubt to Doubt – Liberal Catholics seemed to have endorsed a position that most Catholics considered untenable (and to have done so in an infuriatingly patronising way).[41] If, despite the bitter disputes over infallibility, Simpson died in the bosom of Rome, and Acton remained 'in fundamental things … a *croyant* of a simple kind',[42] how, Henry Coleridge asked, could they have been so naïve as to think that a 'core' of dogmatic truths could long remain safe from a movement determined to dethrone God and destroy the possibility of supernatural belief? How could they wink, like Jansenists, at those 'attacking [Christianity's] outworks', and then draw back in a pose of *dévot* terror when the 'braver infidel', like Renan, carried the logic of positivism through to its conclusion, until it 'struck a blow at the heart of the Christian system'? For works like those of Renan exposed the 'central question' driving the positivist project: 'whether the Word was made flesh, and dwelt among us'.[43]

Why not ask this question, Ultramontanes urged, when it mattered most, and when no logical objection stood in the way? Ward agreed with Renan on the importance of defining the friend-enemy distinction between astringent rationalism and expansive supernaturalism, and in dismissing as mere distraction the metaphysical trimming of Liberal Catholics. The 'Christian system' was one with the person of Christ; the supernatural body of the Church and its dogmas was the organic outgrowth of its 'heart', the incarnate God. Thus, all questions of dogma and supernaturalism resolved into the christological question. Liberal Catholics bristled at the 'multiplication' of dogmas by the Church – 'but this is a question of degree', Ward chided, 'not of principle'. The fundamental question was whether the principle of dogma was *at all* admissible; this, in turn, was really to ask whether one believed that Jesus was the Christ. Would this 'great central Truth' be accepted or attenuated, so that Jesus became 'most highly favoured, … best loved of God's creatures' – anything but truly human and truly divine?

[41] [Wiseman], 'Present Catholic Dangers', *DR*, 41 (Dec. 1856), 450; Ullathorne, *On Certain Methods of the "Rambler"* …(1863), 31-2.

[42] Acton to Mary Gladstone, 19 June 1884: *Letters to Mary Gladstone*, ed. Herbert Paul (1904), 298-300; 'Quirinus Nepos', *Tablet*, 19 Nov. 1921, 664-5.

[43] 'Renan's "*Vie de Jesus*"', *DR*, 2 (April, 1864), 387.

The choice was between the 'vital Catholic Image … of God Incarnate', and an impoverished counterfeit, which was 'no real Christianity' at all.[44]

Just as Wiseman had sought in the 1830s to make every debate a binary choice – for or against the real presence – Wiseman's disciples now argued that all dogmatic questions resolved into an acceptance or rejection of the incarnation, as traditionally understood. Presenting England's Christian culture as collapsing around them, Manning maintained that here lay the 'test of the disciples of Jesus Christ': 'Like, as in warfare, [where] the hottest conflict is always around the person of the king', the speculations around the 'Person' of Christ were the work of 'the disciples of Antichrist'; they would 'dissolve Jesus' and had to be resisted.[45] Lacking both the explanatory framework and ritual-devotional tools necessary to handle this 'mighty truth',[46] Protestants had fallen prey to the 'constant tendency' in human nature to 'let go our belief in it', and to stumble, via undogmatic Protestantism, into Unitarianism, rationalism and unbelief.[47] Yet the confession of the incarnation was the acceptance not only of salvation, but of a world where God operated freely and frequently in 'the order of nature', such that the 'natural' and the 'supernatural' formed one integral whole. There could be no dogma without *this* dogma; without this dogma, 'no real Christianity at all'.[48]

*The possibility of faith*

If they disagreed as to how dogma was to be defended, Catholics were at one in affirming, *contra* Comtism, its intellectual viability. As that challenge grew across the 1860s, they turned to offer a defence more fundamental still: of the possibility of faith itself. Once again, despite differences in method and style, these interventions proved broadly consistent in outlining the groundworks of a Catholic epistemology.

First came a history and analytical critique of Comtean science. This was honed by the Jesuits – at their burgeoning Lancashire base of Stonyhurst; in their crop of new colleges, like the school of advanced study at St. Beuno's, in Wales; and in their 'House of Writers' at Farm Street, from which issued the Society's critical review, *The Month,* and its devotional magazine, *The Sacred Heart Messenger.*[49] Their analysis was framed in the neo-scholastic

[44] [Ward], 'The Dogmatic Principle', *DR*, 1 (Oct. 1863), 465-70, 478; [Ward], 'The Archbishop of Westminster on the Sacred Heart', *DR*, 22 (Jan. 1874), 147-8, 160-1; [Ward], 'Rome and the Munich Congress', *DR*, 3 (July, 1864), 65, 94.
[45] *The Divine Glory of the Sacred Heart* (1873), 1-7.
[46] Dalgairns, *Jansenism*, 96-105.
[47] 'Dogmatic Principle', 465-70, 478.
[48] [Crolly], 'Miracles', 485-6.
[49] Edwards, *Jesuits in England*, 174-5, 185, 192-6. Basset, *English Jesuits*, 137, 144-8, 163.

language increasingly dominant in Rome. Its roots lay in the Thomism nurtured across the eighteenth century by the Vincentians of Piacenza and the Dominicans of Spain and Naples; it had inspired theologians like Serafino Sordi (1793-1865), who had in turn energised a generation of Jesuits influential in Pius IX's Rome – Luigi Taparelli d'Azeglio (1793-1862), Matteo Liberatore (1810-92), and Josef Kleutgen (1811-83).[50] Seeking a 'speculative system' more 'unified' than the *scuola romana*, they forged from the works of Aquinas and his commentators – Cajetan, John of St. Thomas (1589-1644), the Carmelites of Salamanca (1624-1709) – a philosophy that could do battle with the heresies of modernity.[51] For Liberatore and Kleutgen (the principal author of *Dei Filius*, the Vatican Council's Dogmatic Constitution on the Church), Cartesian subjectivism had driven the world into the madnesses of 'rationalism': Humean empiricism, Kantian criticism, post-Kantian idealism, unsystematic eclecticism. Catholics seeking a bridge to this thought-world had wandered off the reservation: into the irrationalism of Mennaisian Traditionalism or the ontologisms of Tübingen and Rosmini. Only a renewed Aristotelian realism would restore to man a sense of self, society, nature, and meaning; without God or His law there could be no real epistemology, metaphysics, anthropology, ethics, or politics.[52]

Positivism, the English Jesuits argued, represented a philosophical regression, recovering pre-Socratic philosophy in order to restrict the meaning of 'reason'. Its intellectual history was vital to understanding its menace. It was spawned, Joseph Rickaby (1845-1932) claimed, in the ferment of post-revolutionary France. Absorbing 'the Gospel according to Napoleon', Comte had sought in philosophy the 'regeneration of mankind'. But in supplanting theological and metaphysical illusions with a purely phenomenal reality, the 'zealot' made a 'double error'. The first was born of ignorance: dismissing 'abstractions' as mere 'logical forms' lacking 'corresponding objective realities', Comte simply misunderstood metaphysics.[53] (Jesuits like T. M. Harper (1821-93) and John Rickaby (1847-1927), Joseph's younger brother, traced this error to Hobbes and hammered away at his materialist fallacies.[54]) More troubling to the elder Rickaby was the Comtean redefinition of 'science': denying 'the eternal essences of Being', and recognising only 'physical phenomena', it reversed the Platonic-Aristotelian ontological breakthrough, which

[50] S. Seay, 'For the defence and beauty of the Catholic faith: the rise of neo-scholasticism among European Catholic intellectuals, 1824-1879', *Logos*, 5.3 (2002), 131-46.

[51] José Pereira, 'Thomism and the Magisterium', *Logos*, 5.3 (Summer, 2002), 147-9, 156-63. For the internal variations and disputes at this time between Jesuits on the usefulness of scholasticism: Oliver P. Rafferty, 'The Thomistic Revival and the Relationship between the Jesuits and the Papacy, 1878-1914', *Theological Studies*, 75.4 (Dec. 2014), 746-73.

[52] James Hennessy, 'Leo XIII's Thomistic Revival', *Journal of Religion*, 58 (1978), s185-s197.

[53] Joseph Rickaby, 'Auguste Comte and his Philosophy. I', *Month*, 12 (March, 1870), 290-303.

[54] Harper, *The Metaphysics of the Schools,* 3 vols. (1879-84), I., vii-ix; John Rickaby, *General Metaphysics* (1918), esp. 1-10. See McClelland, *English Roman Catholics and Higher Education, 1830-1903* (Oxford, 1973), 363, 38, 404.

understood 'reason' as a faculty capable of reaching beyond the empirically-verifiable and into the realms of transcendence.[55]

Newman chaffed at the 'iron form' of scholastic logic, but his arguments at this time were strikingly similar. Over the previous fifty years, he had adumbrated a variety of responses to scepticism. Republishing many of these essays in 1870, he drew attention to his deepening appreciation of the scale of the challenge, and of the role of the Church in repelling it.[56] In a 'sharp' critique of J. R. Seeley's positivist history of Christ-the-lawgiver, *Ecce Homo* (1865), he argued that a sacramental-hermeneutical community could draw on its own imaginative resources to shrug off 'falsely … scientific' assumptions.[57] As contemporaries perceived,[58] and as historians are rediscovering,[59] Newman's quarry in works like *An Essay in Aid of a Grammar of Assent* (1870) was positivism. He aimed to counter it in two ways, as he explained in a new preface to his republished *University Sermons* (1871): firstly, 'reason' could not be what positivism made it – 'any process or act of the mind' dealing with secular things but blind to those moral realities integral to human nature; secondly, faith was itself a mode of reason.[60] Harper subjected the *Grammar* to severe scrutiny.[61] Yet it won the approval of the equally-censorious editor of the *Dublin*, the 'animal heat' of whose controversial style was often a cause of pain at the Birmingham Oratory.[62] In this instance, Ward had only praise for Newman's contribution to the 'crisis in European thought'; for what master and apprentice both sought to show, in their different ways – Ward tackled J. S. Mill on memory and intuition; Alexander Bain on free will; the anti-dogmatic scientists of the X-Club on God's activity in a uniform universe – was that 'reasonable' 'proof', 'not inconsistent with phenomena', and even leading to 'certitude', could be advanced for theism and Catholicism.[63]

To this critique of 'unscientific' positivism, the Jesuits added one further indictment: its pernicious consequences. The abdication of the rational search for cause, truth, and 'absolute' issued in false intellectual humility: in the claim that 'Being' was 'unknowable'. Behind coy agnosticism stood 'utter scepticism'.

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[55] 'Comte… I', 302-3.

[56] Newman, *Two Essays on Biblical and Ecclesiastical Miracles*, 3rd edn. (1873), vii-viii.

[57] 'An Internal Argument for Christianity', *Discussions and Arguments on Various Subjects* (1907 [1872]), 372-80, 363-4, 380-7; *NLD*: to Malcolm MacColl, 25 May, 1866.

[58] [J. B. Mozley], 'Dr. Newman's *Grammar of Assent*', *QR*, 129 (July, 1870), 130-50.

[59] T. M. Porter, 'Reason, Faith, and Alienation in the Victorian Fin-de-Siècle', in Bödeker, Reill, and Schlumbohm, eds., *Wissenschaft als kulturelle Praxis, 1750-1900* (Göttingen, 1999), 401-14.

[60] *Fifteen Sermons Preached before the University of Oxford* (1871), xi-xviii; Porter, 'Reason, Faith', 409.

[61] [Ward], 'Certitude in Religious Assent', *DR*, 17.32 (April, 1871), 254. For Harper's reviews: *Month*, 1 (Jan.-June, 1870), 599-610, 667-92; 2 (July-Dec. 1870), 31-58, 159-83. Cf. Peter L'Estrange, 'The Nineteenth-Century British Jesuits, with special reference to their Relations with the Vicars Apostolic and the Bishops', Oxford D.Phil Thesis (1990), 288-91.

[62] Ryder, *Idealism,* iii, 5-8, 12-13.

[63] 'Certitude', 274, 253, 262, 272-4. For an account of these debates: *WCR,* 320-60, and his 'Introduction' to his father's *Philosophy of Theism*, I, xi-xiii. On Newman's understanding of reasoning as a demanding moral exercise: Jane Garnett, 'Newman and the Power of Conviction: Truth and Complexity', *International Journal for the Study of the Christian Church*, 20.2 (2020), 122-30.

'Phenomenalism' made man's apprehension the measure of all things: nothing was, except what *seemed* to man; objectivity 'dwindles down to feeling'. If so, 'what better are mankind than the inmates of a world-wide mad-house, comparing notes on their delusions, and clapping their hands in maniac glee when the same fitful vision agitates a number of their brains together?'[64] From such nihilistic scepticism no ethics could emerge; its necessary issue was despair.[65] In 'the world turned atheist', there was

> no God, no human soul; man, sprung originally from the beast, still a beast, to perish as a beast … And … [in place of] Christendom … Heathendom … a vast chaos, the Spirit of God no longer moving over it, but darkness on the face of it, deepening ever more …[66]

## *The critique of 'neo-positivism', ca. 1870-90.*

The Catholic philosophical critique of positivism was thus wider, deeper, and more coherent than has been acknowledged. But just as it did not begin and end in the Birmingham Oratory, neither did it sputter to a halt in the *fin-de-siècle*. Newman grew old, and found it hard to keep abreast of philosophical trends;[67] Ward secured his intuitionist victories just as Herbert Spencer's evolutionism shifted the grounds of debate.[68] But a younger generation renewed the anti-positivist crusade, as positivism itself underwent redefinition.

For this generation, the gravest threat came from the newly-united Germany. They positioned themselves as clear-eyed critics of its tendencies – and of their assimilation into British thought. That behind the 'tall talk' of 'German erudition' lurked 'revolting impiety' had long been a maxim of Ultramontane polemic.[69] But now, they warned, as a nation-state forged in iron and blood declared a Kulturkampf on the Church, its 'antichristian' forces were unleashed. D. F. Strauss (1808-74) captured the zeitgeist. His explosive early work, *Das Leben Jesu* (1835-36),[70] had re-conceived 'Jesus' as a psychic 'projection of Jewish messianism', liberating the *logos* from flesh, and rationalising the Gospels' miracles as mythicised retellings of mundane events. Now, shortly before his death, Strauss's *Der alte und der neue Glaube* (1872) 'cut the last strings even to a … Hegelianised form of Christianity', and 'embraced "the Universe" as revealed by science'.[71] In England, its pantheism proved notably uncontroversial.

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[64] Joseph Rickaby, 'Man the Measure of all Things', *Month*, 12, (Feb. 1870), 129-41; 'Auguste Comte and his Philosophy. II', *Month*, 12 (April, 1870), 391-93.
[65] Rickaby, 'Comte … II', 389-97; 'Comte … I', 298.
[66] [Murray], 'The world turned atheist', *DR*, 18 (Jan. 1872), 135-7.
[67] *NLD*: to J. R. Mozley, 21 Oct. 1869.
[68] *WCR*, 324; Wilfrid Ward, 'John Stuart Mill', in *Men and Matters* (1914), 195.
[69] [Ward?], 'Notices of Books', *DR*, 15.29 (July, 1870), 242-3; [Russell], 'Dewar', 401-33. See p. 68 above.
[70] *The Life of Jesus, Critically Examined*, trans. George Eliot, 3 vols. (1846).
[71] J. W. Burrow, *The Crisis of Reason: European Thought, 1848-1914* (2000), 197-8.

When Gladstone exhorted the pupils of Liverpool College to counter these 'extremest forms of unbelief' by holding fast to the 'incarnation of our Lord',[72] he was widely pilloried. Resorting to the gendered binaries of manly rationality and womanly superstition, the press expressed incredulity that the leader of the 'party of progress' should allow himself to be 'overwrought' by the 'enthusiasm' of a Tractarian youth.[73] Even those appalled by 'gross materialism' refused to defend a 'literalist' incarnationalism.[74] 'Godless MATERIALISM', thundered the Professor of Exegesis at King's College, London, could not be met with dogmatic 'despotism'.[75]

Ultramontanes sensed an opportunity. That the 'Catholics of the Empire' would alone defend Gladstone spoke eloquently of the Protestant nation's moral turpitude.[76] Here again was vindication for the old guard: as prophesied, Anglican 'puzzleheadedness' had become 'pertinacious heresy';[77] the earnest latitudinarianism of Dr. Arnold had degenerated into the polished blasphemies of his son.[78] Younger Catholics, too, like Richard Clarke (1839-1900) – the last man forced to sacrifice his fellowship on being received into the Roman Communion[79] – despaired that even traditional Lutherans were describing Christ as 'the embodiment of that personal truth "which on its passage through the conscience is translated into life"'.[80] Protestantism was abandoning dogma so that it might speak instead the modish language of the 'latest Rationalism'.[81]

That rationalism was pathologised by a rising generation of Jesuits like Clarke and Michael Maher (1860-1918), an 'urbane' Irishman who reorganised Stonyhurst's curriculum in accordance with Leonine principles.[82] The apologist most successful in articulating Catholic contributions to these debates was William Barry SJ (1849-1930). A prize essay at the Oratory School on the life of Christ had drawn him to Faber's attention, catapulting him to a scholarship at Sedgley Park, Oscott, where, under the tutorship of Meynell, the linguist, Karl Kemen, and its president, J. S. Northcote, he mastered Italian and German, and placed seventh of some 1000 candidates in the London Matriculation exams. In Rome, he sat at the feet of leading Jesuits (Giovanni Perrone, J. B. Franzelin, Camilio Tarquini, and Antonio Ballerini), and on the eve of the declaration of papal infallibility, knelt in prayer

[72] *Times*, 23 Dec. 1872, p.8.
[73] *Times*, 9 Jan. 1873, p.9; Leslie Stephen, 'Are We Christians?', *FR*, 13.75 (March, 1873), 281-3, 296-303; 'Mr. Gladstone's "Defence of the Faith"', *WR*, 43.2 (April, 1873), 367-89.
[74] Jacob Frohschammer, 'Strauss on the Old and the New Faiths', *CR*, 22 (June, 1873), 39-40, 47-9.
[75] [G. H. Curteis], 'Dr. Strauss' Confession', *ER*, 138.282 (Oct. 1873), 539, 546, 569.
[76] 'Notices of Books', *DR*, 20 (Jan. 1873), 212-3.
[77] [Manning], 'The "Guardian's" Pertinacity in Heresy', *Tablet*, 27 Sept. 1873, 389.
[78] [Ward?], 'Literature and Dogma', *DR*, 20 (April, 1873), 358-77.
[79] 'The Late Father Richard F. Clarke', *Tablet*, 15 Sept. 1900, 402-3.
[80] [Clarke], 'The Bremen Lectures', *DR*, 21 (July, 1873), 103-7, 110.
[81] [Barry], 'Mr. Tyndall and Contemporary Thought', *DR*, 27 (Oct. 1876), 438.
[82] *Stonyhurst Magazine*, 15.218 (Oct. 1918), 492.

before St. Peter's shrine, 'where the lamps burn[ed] like a cluster of golden bees'. Clasping his doctorate and a signed photograph of Pio Nono, he had returned to England via Commune-ravaged Paris in 1872, just in time to witness the opening volleys of the Strauss controversy, and to trace in his mind the line from that incendiary 'nihilism' to the burnt-out husk of the Tuileries.[83] Also returning to England in 1872 to join these young Jesuits in 'the Mission of the Magazines', was W. S. Lilly (1840-1919), a Peterhouse scholar who had served for a decade in the Indian Civil Service.[84] Reading in Eastern spirituality had engendered in him an abhorrence of undogmatic 'mysticism'.[85] Newman convinced him to be received into a Church infallibly dogmatic, and drew him into the Catholic literary world.[86] Lilly, in turn, drew on Newman's apologetics to combat anew the 'Materialism' of 'modern thought', and came to be admired as a man of erudite 'raillery'.[87]

Responding to developments in positivism, these younger Ultramontanes discerned in modernity's DNA a double helix: materialistic and mystical. The first strand saw the 'un-Christian' age of Renaissance and Reformation emancipate the individual mind and set about destroying Christendom's sacramental structure; thus emerged the 'anti-Christian' age of Hobbes's materialism, Locke's psychology, d'Holbach's physics, and Kant's declaration that the 'Natural' we knew 'through a glass darkly' and the 'Supernatural' we could know not at all. In response, the collaborating Christianity of the time sought to 'explain away its mysteries' and 'reduce it[self] to a system of morality little differing from that of Epictetus'. By the end of the eighteenth century, man lived in a 'phantasmal and disinherited world', a prison from which there was no escape: for Comte denied the possibility of transcendent light, and his disciples, like G. H. Lewes, forged new chains of 'self-consciousness' and 'scepticism'.[88]

The issue of such hyper-rationalism was shown to be neo-mysticism. Materialists like Feuerbach and Büchner pronounced a 'new revelation', which 'denies the reality of aught above matter'.[89] But their Promethean 'conquest' of nature reignited man's 'aboriginal fear' of the world in its 'terrible unfathomed mystery'. The neo-gnostics thus worshipped the matter they could not comprehend. The principle of 'Progress' allowed them to reconcile rationalist method with fetishistic worship. Kant provided the schema: an 'Absolute World' of necessary

[83] Gilley: 'Father William Barry: Priest and Novelist', *RH*, 20 (1999), 523-29; Barry, *The Dayspring* (New York, 1904), v.
[84] 'Death of Mr. W.S. Lilly', *Times*, 1 Sept. 1919, p.13.
[85] [Lilly], 'The Sacred Books of the East', *DR*, 8 (July, 1882), 1-32; Lilly, *Ancient Religion and Modern Thought* (1884), 103-92.
[86] See Lilly, 'Cardinal Newman', *FR*, 26.151 (July, 1879), 17-22; *NLD*: to Northcote, 13 Dec. 1873; to Coleridge 11 Jan 1874; diary for 16 Feb. 1875.
[87] 'Obituary', *Tablet*, 6 Sept. 1919, 307; Walter Pater, "'A Century of Revolution'", in *Uncollected Essays* (Portland, ME, 1903), 118-9, 120-22.
[88] Lilly, *Some Considerations on the Civilization of the Nineteenth Century* (1876), 1-4, 12-13, 21-22; 'Newman', 1-2; [Lilly], 'The Goal of Modern Thought', *NC*, 11.63 (May, 1882), 699, 715; Lilly, 'The New Naturalism', *FR*, 38.224 (Aug. 1885), 243-4; Lilly, 'Mr. John Morley', *DR*, 17.1 (Jan. 1887), 1-12.
[89] Maher, 'Modern German Philosophy' (pI): *Month*, 60.275 (May, 1887), 62-7; (pII), *Month*, 60.276 (June, 1887), 181-4.

laws and its manifestation in the 'Relative World' of historical time. Hegel radicalised it, conceiving of the worlds as conjoined aspects of one unfolding reality: the universe contained in itself infinite possibilities, and developed from within its own infinity. With the 'immanent' thus absolutised, God was superannuated: 'allow Hegel to speak, and Darwin becomes master of the age'; 'evolution' provided the definitive account of immanent history.[90]

This Idealism, Barry warned – taking early aim at T. H. Green and his followers – might sound congruent with incarnationalism's sense of the world divinised by the Word made flesh; but Antichrist always looked like Christ. According to Straussism, man assumed his place in the 'All' as the culmination of matter; 'sprung from nothing, he is the incarnation of the brute'. Christianity was presented as breaking with this pantheism, locating man's origin and destiny in a personal God. Without that 'notion of personality', without 'confessing Christ', there was 'no ground for hope or … love'.[91] All that remained was *will*. That was the substance of Schopenhauer's ethics – a socio-sexual struggle for existence, which cast man as the 'sport' of a 'dark, mysterious power'[92] – and Zola's aesthetics, which saw in the human person only the '*bête humaine*, more subtle than any beast of the field', but languishing in the same 'filth'.[93] Yet even behind this 'pitiless realism', Catholics argued, lurked the ineradicable desire of a 'metaphysical animal' to find 'mystical' lessons in matter, even if it meant making of existence a struggle for annihilation.[94] Drawing on the comparative study of religion pioneered by Max Müller,[95] Lilly delineated modern pessimism's indebtedness to eastern spirituality. In its lamentations on the 'misery' of the solitary soul in the 'whirlpool of existence', in yearning for the 'Abolition of Self', it was merely 'Buddhism vulgarised'.[96]

Scientists were as guilty of this superstition as Schopernhauerians. John Tyndall, in particular, was subjected to withering attack. The methodological materialism outlined in his Belfast Address of 1874 purported simply to demarcate the proper boundaries of natural science, but was framed as a dialectical-historical struggle between the reactionary forces of theology and the progressive potentialities – scientific *and cultural* – of nature. Here, Catholics insisted, was a transparent attempt to define Christianity out of public discourse, arrogate all cultural authority to naturalists, and then to fabricate a cult of nature strong enough to sustain public favour. Part 'nescience', part superstitious 'reverence for that ineffable mystery which surrounds us', Tyndall's materialism was

[90] [Barry], 'Modern Society and the Sacred Heart', *DR* 25.49 (July, 1875), 1-38: 11-18. For Barry's gratitude to Ward: *Heralds of Revolt* (1909 [1904]), iii.
[91] Barry, 'Sacred Heart', 21-24.
[92] Lilly, 'Goal', 700-5.
[93] Lilly, 'New Naturalism', 242-4, 252; 'Goal', 697; Barry, *Heralds*, 232-36, 158-94.
[94] 'Realism', 232-6; 'Goal', 705, 716.
[95] See Stefan Collini, Donald Winch, John Burrow, *That Noble Science of Politics* (Cambridge, 1983), ch 7.
[96] 'Goal', 706-12.

a 'Brahminism without hereditary castes'.[97] Positioning Catholicism as that form of Christianity unillusioned as to the urgency of the threat and best-equipped to counter it, Barry and Lilly sought out public platforms to make this ecumenical warning: the infection was catching. The ethical positivism of George Eliot, who seemed 'wistfully regretful' of her own incapacity to believe, was giving way to the aggressive irrationalism of the X-Club.[98] Would British Christians capitulate, compromise – or look again to the coherent alternative proffered in the dogmatic-devotional system of Rome?

Influential in honing this argument and lending it scientific ballast was St. George Jackson Mivart (1827-1900). A convert at 17, he had studied with the entomologist, George Waterhouse, and the morphologist, Richard Owen. He differed sharply with Darwin's outriders over the implications for Theism of natural selection.[99] His indictment of Spencer's sensationalism – the most formidable foe of 'all truth' and 'morals' – gave impetus to a body of Catholic writing that gained a wider audience.[100] Behind Spencer's becalming shibboleths about an "'unknown and unknowable power'" lay 'sublimated expressions' of 'gross Materialism'.[101] His attempt to link Darwin to Comte (by hypothesising that mental associations – at root non-rational because originating in instinct – evolved into forms of thought in arbitrary genetic chain reactions) removed his psychology 'from the region of rational discussion, and situat[ed] it where proof and disproof are alike impossible': in the realm of the mystic.[102] How predictable that such unreason should open the door to the 'jugglery' of theosophists and the 'shoddy' occultism of the Society for Psychical Research.[103] How frightening that Spencerians would forge a new theory of moral sentiments from the sum total of man's 'mind-stuff':[104] for where matter was absolutised, 'physiology [was] made the test of morals'. In Nietzsche's *Beyond Good and Evil* (1886), the new 'Bible of Positivism', Comte had finally 'conquered'.[105]

This was the great 'moral crisis … of the world's history'. The denial of dogma was culminating in the triumph of a 'false philosophy', 'ruinous to ethics, the arts, the social order'.[106] And just as the creative responses

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[97] 'Tyndall and Contemporary Thought', 466. See Lightman, 'On Tyndall's Belfast Address, 1874'; Ian Hesketh, 'The making of John Tyndall's Darwinian Revolution', *Annals of Science*, 77 (2020), 524-48.

[98] Barry, *Renan*, 115; *Heralds*, 25-6; Lilly, 'Free-thought — French and English', *CR*, 41 (Feb. 1882), 227-32, 243.

[99] [Mivart], 'Darwin's *Descent of Man*', *QR*, 131.261 (July, 1871), 47-90.

[100] [Mivart], 'Herbert Spencer', *QR*, 135.270 (Oct. 1873), 509-13. From 1874-80, Mivart wrote a nine-part critique of Spencer's oeuvre: see esp. 'Mr. Herbert Spencer's "System of Philosophy"', *DR*, 3 (Jan. 1880), 26-73.

[101] Lilly, 'Materialism and Morality', *FR*, 40.239 (Nov. 1886), 575-80; Lilly, 'Our Great Philosopher', in two parts – *CR*, 55 (May, 1889), 752-70; 56 (Oct. 1889), 586-609; Clarke, 'The Coryphaeus of Agnosticism', *Month*, 45 (August, 1882), 457-60.

[102] Maher, *Psychology: Empirical and Rational* (1923 [1890]), 35, 279-80, 286-87; Mivart, 'Mechanical Philosophy', *BQR*, 158 (April, 1884), 258-60, 275-6; Mivart, 'Catholicity and Reason', *NC*, 130 (Dec. 1887), 859-61.

[103] Lilly, 'Modern Mysticism', *FR*, 36 (Sept. 1884), 292, 300-5; Bernard Boedder, *Natural Theology*, (1915 [1891]), 207-9.

[104] 'Materialism and Morality', 575-80.

[105] *Heralds*, 361-62, 366, 371-77.

[106] 'Materialism and Morality', 583; *Heralds*, iv.

of Newman and Ward had signalled decades earlier that there was nothing retrograde about dogmatic faith, this younger generation, too, looked to challenge naturalism and immanentism by imaginatively restating incarnational verities. In the context of a wider revival in Christian moral philosophy, countering crude materialism and absolute idealism,[107] they claimed a unique place in the public square on the basis of prescience, intellectual consistency, and a distinctly unembarrassed rootedness in a science 'dogmatically Christian'.[108]. Joseph Rickaby defended free will as the fundament of morality and the bedrock of the 'conception of personality' (a term he borrowed from the apologist, W. H. Mallock).[109] Building on Ward's criticisms of associationists like Spencer, Maher developed a neo-scholastic psychology. Drawing inspiration from Louvain's Institute of Philosophy, busily training a generation of Catholic psychologists,[110] he built laboratories at Stonyhurst and championed an experimental science, predicated on the originality of thought over sensation, the freedom of will, and the uniqueness of personality. *Psychology: Empirical and Rational* (1890), ran to nine editions, earning its author praise in a sceptical academy,[111] and a D.Litt from the University of London. 'Grote', *The Tablet* exulted, would 'turn uncomfortably in his grave'.[112] These critical, creative responses to positivism were inculcated by the Jesuits in their charges. In adversarial seminars, the 'Stonyhurst Philosophers' honed their 'intellectual weapons' against the 'sophistic subtleties of the … sceptic', debating pantheism and materialism, psychology and positivism, the ethics of suicide, and natural theology.[113] Many became laymen of distinction. B. H. Newdigate (1869-1944) was soon a prominent writer on political economy.[114] George Shee (1869-1939) made his mark in Liberal-Imperial circles concerned with 'national decline', and became a prominent critic of Nazism.[115] Francis Urquhart (1868-1934) went up to Balliol as an exhibitioner in 1890, and was elected in 1896 the first Catholic tutorial fellow in Oxford since the Reformation, doing 'much to reconcile conservative Catholics with the university'.[116]

[107] Garnett, 'Gospel of Work', 272-3.
[108] Barry, 'Berthold Auerbach', *DR*, 8 (Oct. 1882), 372-73.
[109] *Free Will and Four English Philosophers: Hobbes, Locke, Hume and Mill* (1906).
[110] Maher, 'Cardinal Mercier's Philosophy', *Tablet*, 27 Jan. 1917, 101-2.
[111] Robert Kugelmann, *Psychology and Catholicism: Contested Boundaries* (Cambridge, 2011), 87-89.
[112] 'Notes', *Tablet*, 11 May, 1901, 727-28.
[113] 'An Evening with the Stonyhurst Philosophers', *Tablet*, 8 Dec. 1888, 894; 'News from the Schools', *Tablet*, 26 May 1888, 863.
[114] 'Catholic Truth Society', *Tablet*, 5 Nov. 1898, 740; 'News from the Schools', *Tablet*, 14 Aug. 1886, 546.
[115] 'Notes', *Tablet*, 11 Aug. 1888, 807; 'Et Cetera', *Tablet*, 12 Nov. 1910, 781-82; G. R. Searle, *A New England? Peace and War, 1886-1918* (Oxford, 2004), 319. For Shee's assault on 'Hitlerism': 'Mussolini and Hitler: A Parallel and a Contrast': *Tablet*, 8 Sept. 1934, 295-7; 15 Sept. 1934, 327-28.
[116] Speaight, *Belloc*, 119-23.

Catholics sought not only to construct defences against positivism, but to articulate a compelling alternative to its vision of reality. Converts contributed greatly to this effort. They did not intend to devote their prime to petrification. They proved determined – in works of theology and devotion, hagiology and history, fiction and hymnody – to counter Comtism by restating the tenets of supernatural Christianity and reaffirming what they took to be its integrative account of nature and anthropology. In doing so, they built on the Ultramontane rhetoric of the 1830s, complicating conventional understandings of a 'manly' rationality and proffering a different mode of thinking and acting – one that sought to show faith and reason reconciled in a world being redeemed.

As we have seen, this was not a strategy born of naïveté. The converts acknowledged the power of science and the attractions of the civilisation it was building. But they would not reconstruct theology in accordance with positivism's assumptions. Science was a 'worldly' discipline; its neutrality could not be assumed. Indeed, in contrast to Wiseman's eirenicism of the same decade, Faber opined in 1836 that 'antichrist' lived in the scientific 'spirit of the age'.[117] As an influential convert, he warned, in popular volumes like *All for Jesus* (1854), that Satan was 'everywhere active' in the world's 'wicked philosophies'.[118] This 'empire of the demons' combined 'fearful intelligence' with 'fearful power'; each 'freshly named science' sought to 'explode the Church as false, or set her aside as doting'. The duty of the Christian was thus to show scepticism in the face of positivism's totalising claims, and to proffer to the market-place of the mind an incarnational account of the world, 'popularis[ing] … the science of theology' as others had 'astronomy' or 'geology'.[119] This was a competition. At best, the sciences could, as Wiseman promised, offer complementary insights into nature. But Faber emphasised a rivalry that endured.[120]

One of the most substantial contributions to the converts' incarnational account of the world came from Henry Coleridge – one-time Oriel fellow; Gorham-Judgement convert;[121] student of the *scuola romana* (1853-56); and from 1865 the first Jesuit editor of the *Month*. Troubled by the popularity of 'scientific' treatments of Jesus' life – like those of Strauss, Renan, and Seeley – Coleridge nevertheless saw that they gave the public what it wanted. Catholics needed to counter the counterfeit, producing 'simple', 'short' summaries of Christ's life that rejected as unscientific the presupposition that Jesus could not have been the Christ, and took seriously the evidences attested

[117] Faber to Morris, 22 May, 1836: Addington, *Letters*, 53.
[118] Faber, *All for Jesus*, 5-11, 28-9.
[119] *The Blessed Sacrament: or, the Works and Ways of God* (London, Dublin, Derby, 1855 [1845], 29-30, vii.
[120] *All for Jesus*, 5-11.
[121] On Gorham, see ch. 2, § 'Criticisms, controversies, conversions'.

in prophecy and miracles.[122] Between 1865 and 1893, in the midst of onerous editing duties, Coleridge undertook the task, and succeeded in fulfilling his criteria – save that at some 20 volumes and 30 million words, *The Life of our Life* (1874-92) was not 'short'.[123]

The project began with the publication of *Vita Vitae Nostra* (1869), a Latin 'harmony' of the Gospels setting out his theory of the unity of the evangelists' accounts. Intended as an aid to reflection on scriptural reading – thus following the Ignatian method of study and meditation – the work was warmly received by the Roman Jesuits.[124] In the preface to a revised translation (1876), Coleridge outlined his methodology. '[R]ationalistic critics' diced the gospels into 'portions', each discredited in turn. Treating the texts as 'specimens in a museum', they refused to respect the arrangements of 'their authors … who had the best means of ascertaining the truth'. Coleridge presented the role of the exegete not as critic but as 'harmonist', showing 'deference' to the composers of the masterpiece before him. His work demanded linguistic and historical erudition, but also the 'skilled' touch of the orthodox theologian. Only when immersed in the life of the Church – that 'nucleus' formed by Christ and guided by his apostles – could one comprehend the meaning of the gospels, which had taken shape in that hermeneutic community.[125] Thus formed, he could see beyond 'external facts', and discern the 'Counsel of God' as it 'unfolded' through time.[126]

Building on the challenge to a 'masculine' rationality posed by the early Ultramontanes, the scholar was taught to 'read' the world and its history by Mary, the Church's Mother: following her 'beautiful habit', 'enlightened Christian reason' was deployed in a spirit of the 'simplest piety'; 'all the mysteries' to which men were 'the instrument or the witness' were to be 'pondered' in the 'heart'.[127] As in the work of Newman, this was not a demand for blind obedience, but a summons to reflection – a process peaceful but searching, still but liberating.[128] For the positivist, the star in the East was mere astronomical chance. For the Catholic, fusing 'masculine common sense' with the fertile 'theological culture' nurtured by Holy Mother Church, the star was a symbol and prophecy 'that a new creation … [was] to be made'.[129]

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[122] 'Renan's "*Vie de Jesus*"', 390-417.
[123] The vols. were not written in sequence and are confusingly numbered: see the Bibliography, below.
[124] 'Bibliografia', *CC*, 7 (Giugno, 1869), 67.
[125] Coleridge, *Life of our Life*, I, xxxvi-vii, v-ix, xli, xlii, xiii-xv.
[126] *Life*, I, 24,
[127] Luis de Palma, *The history of the Sacred Passion*, trans. ed. Coleridge (1872), 'Preface': x; Coleridge, *The Mother of the King* … (1886), viiii-ix.
[128] See Garnett, 'Truth in Complexity'.
[129] *Life*, I, 34-5.

*The Scotist science of the New Creation*

Behind any true history, then, lay a true 'science of theology'. For Ultramontanes, this began with an account of the 'cardinal verity of the *Incarnation*'.[130] Myriad studies were produced on that 'one great doctrine' – which, in the words of the *Clifton Tracts* (apologetical pamphlets edited by the converts J. S. Northcote and E. H. Thompson), was the 'very foundation of our religion'.[131] In expounding it, converts demonstrated the influence of Wiseman's Scotism. God had come 'in passible flesh', Faber wrote, 'principally to save fallen man'.[132] But there was a wider plan in motion: Christ's predestination was bound up with his incarnation; Creation was not simply redeemed by Christ, but created with Christ 'as its foundation':[133]

> the first sight in creation was the Babe of Bethlehem … Through this … lay the passage from the Creator to creatures. This was the point of union, the junction between the finite and the Infinite … This first-born creature, this Sacred Humanity, was not only the primal creature, but it was also the cause of all other creatures whatsoever.[134]

Newman, too, moved in the Scotist direction, arguing, in his *Discourses to Mixed Congregations* (1849), that Christ 'seems to say … I had had it in mind to come on earth among innocent creatures … to be their equal yet their God… and to prepare them for … heaven …; but, before I carried My purpose into effect, they sinned'.[135] The universe, then, was Christocentric. There was no Comtean chasm between Creator and Creation, argued de Vere: the very idea of Christ exploded the notion of 'a God who stands afar off'. Instead, it was clear that

> the Incarnation is the *Complement* of Creation … When the "Word was made Flesh," a bridge was thrown across that gulf which had else for ever separated the Finite from the Infinite. The same high Truth which brings home to us the doctrine of a Creation, consecrates that Creation, reconstituting it into an Eden meet for an unfallen Adam and an unfallen Eve; nay, exalting it into a heavenly Jerusalem, the dwelling place of the Lamb and of the Bride.[136]

For de Vere's friend, Harriet Thompson – quoting the French apologist, Auguste Nicolas (1807-88), who sought to show Catholicism more world-transforming than socialism – Christianity was "'all comprised in the mystery of

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[130] [Oakeley], 'Devotional use of the breviary', 286.

[131] 'Advertisement', *CT*, I, 3-5.

[132] *Blessed Sacrament*, 423. Cf. Dalgairns, 'German Mystics', 93-4; *Sacred Heart*, 96-105.

[133] Carol, *Why Jesus Christ?* 158.

[134] Faber, *Bethlehem* (1860)*,* 27-8. For an acknowledgement that his theology 'assume[s] throughout … the view taken by the Scotists': *Blessed Sacrament*, 423-4; A. B. Calkins, 'Mary the Coredemptrix in the Writings of Frederick William Faber (1814-1863)', in *Mary at the Foot of the Cross* … (New Bedford, MA, 2001), 317-43.

[135] *DMC*, 321-22. For Newman's incarnationalism: 'Editor's Notes' to Newman, *Fifteen Sermons Preached before the University of Oxford*, eds. J. Earnest and G. Tracey (Oxford, 2006), 272; G. Rowell, 'The Scotist doctrine of the incarnation and the Anglican tradition: Newman in frame and context', in E. J. Ondrako, ed., *The Newman-Scotus Reader: Contexts and Commonalities* (New Bedford, MA, 2015).

[136] *May Carols*, vii. On his debt to Faber: de Vere to Harriet Thompson, n.d. NLI: MS 13.112(1).

the incarnation … which is but the Blessed Trinity coming out of Itself, so to say, for the salvation of the world'". To turn away from Scotism, she suggested (echoing Robertson's argument of the 1830s) was to lose one's grip "'not [on] *a* truth only, but emphatically *the* truth … the social dogma'", and thus slide from Socinianism to Pantheistic Communism, where God was first distanced from Creation, then banished so that man might be deified.[137]

That the converts embraced this Scotism so completely speaks to its popularity in Rome, where it gained currency in the works of the Tyrolese Jesuit, Johann Baptist (later Cardinal) Franzelin (1816-86). From 1850, when he took the chair in dogmatics at the Collegio Romana, Franzelin rose to prominence as one of the city's leading thinkers, later serving as papal theologian at the Vatican Council, where he penned the first draft of the decree on the Church. He worked with his fellow Jesuits – but as a disciple of Perrone; an orientalist, like Wiseman; a proponent of patristic rather than scholastic thought; and an admirer of Möhler's symbolism and Döllinger's histories, Franzelin was no conventional neo-Thomist. His *Tractatus De Verbo Incarnato* (1869) sought, in the tradition of the *scuola romana*, to situate the incarnation at the heart of an apologetic (rather than strictly systematic) theology.[138] It proved popular in in England, a country he had come to know as an exile in 1848, when he was hosted by the Stonyhurst-educated Lord Clifford.[139]

What converts so admired – so 'scientific and orthodox' a 'genius', Ward gushed – was that Franzelin expounded not the Thomist but the Scotist view of the incarnation, and boldly claimed Thomas for the Scotists.[140] The motive of the incarnation was the perfection of creation. Victory over sin was a happy but subordinate effect, accomplished in the process of fulfilling God's loving design: 'That God Himself should become man', Franzelin argued – in a section of the *Tractatus* commonly incorporated into devotional manuals – is 'the climax of the manifestation of God'.[141] Ward's admiration ran deep: he became an acquaintance of Franzelin and filled the *Dublin* with excerpts from the works of his 'great master'.[142] The sentiment was widely shared – both on account of the message, and the congenial, patristic-apologetic style in which Franzelin framed it. He came to be deployed as a

[137] 'Protestantism and Socialism', *Rambler* (May, 1853), 390-410, quoting from Nicolas' *Du Protestantisme* (1852).

[138] McCool, *Nineteenth-Century Scholasticism: the Search for a Unitary Method* (1999 [1977]), 1-10, 17-20, 83-4, 167-72; Aidan Nicholas, *Catholic Thought since the Enlightenment: A Survey* (Leominster, 1998), 61-3; Tracey Rowlands, 'Tradition', in Nicholas Adams, George Pattison, Graham Ward, *The Oxford Handbook of Theology and Modern European Thought* (Oxford, 2013), 285-6.

[139] N. Walsh, *John Baptist Franzelin, S.J.* … (Dublin, 1895), esp. 91-3.

[140] 'Notices of Books', *DR*, 15 (July, 1870), 242-3.

[141] *The Heart of Jesus of Nazareth … by Cardinal Franzelin*… (Wells, 1890), xvi.

[142] [Ward], 'Notices of Books', *DR*, 14 (Jan. 1870), 239-40; *WCR*, 32-7; 'Franzelin on the Subject and Object of Infallibility', *DR*, 17 (July, 1871), 258-68.

key authority on dogma, devotion, and Church-state relations.[143] By the end of our period, he was seen as orthodoxy's gatekeeper.[144] Rome's opponents also recognised his importance. *The Saturday Review* saw him as an *eminence grise* of the Council.[145] One convert who abandoned Rome during the debates on infallibility, complained that Franzelin, not Newman, was the 'true exponent' of the Roman system in its 'undiluted Ultramontanism'; his baleful influence was to be felt 'in every College Library, and in many of the Missions' of the Catholic body across Britain and her empire.[146]

The implications of a Scotist incarnationalism for 'theology' and 'anthropology' were profound, Ward declared. Where nature was not 'already complete' in Creation, but where instead Creation gained in Christ its 'note of totality', there emerged a Christocentric vision of Creation and human nature.[147] The disciple could begin to apprehend the effects of the incarnation on 'Manhood' itself, recast in Christ's image: 'transfiguration'.[148] The converts aimed to convey these truths in mutually-reinforcing ways. The hymns of poets captured in stanzas what theologians struggled to convey in volumes. De Vere:

> Met in a point the circles twain
> Of temporal and eternal things
> Embrace, close linked. Redemption's chain
> Drops thence to earth its myriad rings.[149]

Matthew Bridges:

> Word Incarnate!
> Dread unfathomable wonder, —
> Miracle of love and grace:
> God and man, once far asunder,
> Here approach, unite, embrace!
> Here Jehovah, the Eternal,
> Shines behind a human veil:
> Prostrate fall the powers infernal, Satan trembles, death is pale![150]

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[143] Allies, *Church and State as seen in the Formation of Christendom* (1882), 115-8; Tickell, *The Incarnate Word and the Devotion to the Sacred Heart* (1887). On Tractarians and the *scuola romana*: C. Michael Shea, 'Newman, Perrone, and Möhler on Dogma and History: A Reappraisal of the "Newman-Perrone Paper on Development"', *Newman Studies Journal*, 7.1 (Spring, 2010), 45-55.

[144] Lawrence Barmann, *Friedrich von Hügel and the Modernist Crisis in England* (Cambridge, 1972), 76.

[145] 'Ultramontane Criticism', *SR,* 35.907 (15 March, 1873), 348-50.

[146] Willis Nevins, 'Undiluted Ultramontanism', *Spectator*, 7 Sept. 1878, 1126.

[147] 'Notices of Books', *DR*, 15 (July, 1870), 242-3.

[148] Dalgairns, *Jansenism*, 105-8.

[149] *May Carols*, no. XXI.

[150] 'Christmas', in *Hymns of the Heart* (1848), 28-33: 30.

Again following Wiseman, the converts insisted that this transfiguration was wrought by the twin forces of the eucharist – 'the Incarnate One Himself'[151] – and the Church, 'in which the Saviour dwells by a kind of second Incarnation'.[152] Dalgairns presented this as a challenge to positivist anthropology. Men were creatures defined by their 'affections', as materialists partially – but reductively – understood. The eucharist had the power to draw 'misplaced affections' under the 'power of God', until 'the creature … wrapped up in self … becomes … a victim for the being who is loved': 'We are raised above ourselves … transform[ed] … into Himself'.[153] For the converts, as for the Mennaisian Wiseman whom they followed, 'sacramental union' with Christ was indeed 'transcendent' and 'personal' (Faber's words); far from being ethereal or individuated, however, it created a corporate body, living in the world but pulling men from its 'giddy vortex'.[154] In the eucharist, the Church revealed herself as the Kingdom breaking into time and redeeming it. Indeed, it was on the Feast of Corpus Christi, when the 'Church Militant' celebrated the 'consummating mystery of Transubstantiation', that she was 'blended for a moment with the Church Triumphant'. Forgetting 'her exile' as a 'caravan of pilgrim soldiers', she experienced an 'antepast of Heaven'. In these moments 'wholly supernatural', Christ's 'kingdom and sovereignty' broke out into the world, transfiguring it into the new Jerusalem.[155]

*Building the Kingdom: Mary and the martyrs*

The communicant's participation in this process was emphasised, too, in myriad works of Mariology. A hallmark of advanced Tractarianism, Marian devotion was energised by the 1854 definition of the immaculate conception. For Faber, God had willed the incarnation, and thus also willed Mary.[156] 'She was … the gate by which the Creator entered into his own creation'.[157] If Christ was 'sole Redeemer', Mary was, in a 'dependent sense, and by participation', his 'co-redemptress'. She gave her 'free consent … to the Incarnation', so that Christ came into the world and 'went to Calvary as her free-will offering to the Father'. Her 'co-operation' was 'requisite to the

[151] *Blessed Sacrament*, 32.
[152] Marshall, *Christian Missions* … 3 vols. (London, Brussels, 1862), III, 470-1.
[153] Dalgairns, *The Holy Communion, its Philosophy, Theology, and Practice* (Dublin, London, 1861), 116-7, 129-31, 138-42.
[154] *Blessed Sacrament*, 22-3, 296; idem, *Devotion to the Pope* (London, Dublin, Derby, 1860), n.p.
[155] *Blessed Sacrament*, 27-8; 'Corpus Christi', *CT*, I.21, 23-4.
[156] This paragraph draws from Calkins, 'Mary the Coredemptrix', §II.
[157] *Bethlehem*, 32-5.

accomplishment of [His] redemption'. Indeed, the Redeemer and the Redeemer's mother could not really be 'divided': 'Are not her mysteries His, and His mysteries hers?'[158]

Faber drew from the Mariological studies of eighteenth-century Ultramontanes like Louis Marie de Montfort (1673-1716) and Alphonsus Liguori (1696-1787). The genre was increasingly popular,[159] as can be seen in the work of Harriet Thompson. Exploring images of Marian devotion (and placing the hermeneutical ruminations, with dubious literary effect, in the mouths of fictional fishermen, their cottages cluttered with Liguori's collected works), Thompson echoed Faber – and showed just how far from Lingardism the theology of the converts had come. Through Mary 'the mystery of the Incarnation' entered into the world. She was the "'Morning Star … which heralds the approach of the "Sun of Justice"', the pattern-woman of a nature restored. Eve had tempted Adam; death ensued. Mary 'tempted' God to become incarnate; she was 'the mother of the new creation … the Church'. Holding her hand, man entered into – and saw how to help build – 'Christ's kingdom'.[160]

It is thus true that Mary was, to an extent, a case apart in the economy of grace; we must exercise caution in deducing a wider applicability from her position of power.[161] And yet precisely such an applicability many Catholics deduced. Not all proved as exuberant as Faber.[162] But many shared his notion of Mary as co-redemptrix,[163] defending it with authorities patristic and modern.[164] Following the pattern we saw established in the 1830s, in reflections on the politics of St Elizabeth and the visions of Anna Emmerich, they emphasised the particular incarnational charism of women, who, as types of Mary, challenged worldliness, and in embracing the supernatural – and spurring men to do the same – helped build God's Kingdom.

Fiction became a powerful tool in advancing this apologetic. Consider Wiseman's *Fabiola* (1854) and Newman's *Callista* (1855), twin novels, published in response to waves of anti-Catholic agitation and directing the faithful to the example of the primitive Church's martyrdoms. In *Fabiola* – intended not as 'frivolous' fiction but as moral instruction (though not always helped in this by Wiseman's digressions on oriental carpets) – Lucina urges her son, Pancratius, to follow his father, 'the martyr Quintinus', and enlist in the 'white-robed army that surrounds

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[158] Faber, *The Foot of the Cross …* (1858), 448-59.

[159] Barbara Corrado Pope, 'Immaculate and Powerful: the Marian Revival in the Nineteenth Century', in Atkinson, Buchanan, Miles, eds., *Immaculate and Powerful. The Female in Sacred Image and Social Reality* (Wellingborough, 1987), 181-2.

[160] Harriet Thompson, *Mary, the Star of the Sea …* (1848), 218-23, 231, 226-7.

[161] Engelhardt Herringer, 'Victorian Masculinity and the Virgin Mary', in Bradstock, Gill, Hogan, and Morgan, eds., *Masculinity and Spirituality in Victorian Culture* (Hampshire, London, 2000), 53-55.

[162] See Ronald Chapman, *Father Faber* (Westminster, MD, 1961), 148.

[163] [Ward], 'Devotion to the Most Holy Virgin — authority of the Church', *DR*, 21 (Sept. 1846), 37-65; [Morris] 'The Reasonableness of Forbearance Towards some not yet Converted', *DR*, 21 (Jan. 1847), 331.

[164] [Renouf], 'Veneration of the saints in the early Church', *DR*, 16 (June, 1844), 333-41; [Oakeley], 'Breviary', 286-7; [W. G. Todd], 'Passaglia on the prerogatives of Mary', *DR*, 41 (Sept. 1856), 117-71.

the Lamb'. In a melodramatic flourish, she draws from a gem-set purse a sponge, 'dry … but deeply stained', and explains:

> "This … is thy father's blood… I gathered it myself from his death-wound … [which] he had received for Christ."
> She … kissed it fervently; and her gushing tears fell on it, and moistened it once more. And thus liquefied again, its colour glowed bright and warm … The holy matron put it to her son's quivering lips, and they were empurpled with its sanctifying touch. He venerated the sacred relic … and felt as if his father's spirit had descended into him … [T]he future martyr was consecrated, by the blood of his father commingled with his mother's tears.[165]

Like Mary, Wiseman suggested, wives and mothers cooperated with God's will to bring the Kingdom into the world. Their faith made them channels of His miraculous power.

But again complicating any straightforward sense of women occupying a 'separate sphere' in Kingdom-building, Catholics emphasised that women *became* martyrs – witnesses to another world – as much as they *raised* them. The sacrifice of St. Cecilia, tortured before a bloodthirsty audience, was juxtaposed with a celebration of the eucharist, where 'the Sacrifice of Our Lord's Body and Blood', draws the gathered faithful into 'communion with the martyrs'. In their faith, women were soldiers of the incarnation engaged in 'fearful war' against worldliness.[166] They were the victims neither of superstition nor manipulation, Newman insisted, but – like Emmerich – true philosophers. His heroine, Callista, emerges from the shadows of the polity's *doxa* into truth, sensing the 'presence' of a personal God. Truly to engage the mind was to discover God's presence – and then, in witnessing to it, to suffer for it, so that its reach might grow. For testifying to a truth beyond 'Caesar', Callista is tortured and executed, but her blood becomes the seed of the Church. Though laid out for the desert's vultures, nothing touches the '*corpo santo*'. It comes to exert a 'strange influence' on the world around it. Agellius, the young man wavering in his faith, who once admired Callista's 'beauty' and 'elevation of mind', now feels her 'presence' more deeply; in carrying her 'sacred body' to a place of rest, he is drawn back to the Church. Miracles multiply: nearness to her body exorcises evil spirits from the possessed Juba; the Church at Sicca undergoes a 'resurrection', which neither 'magistrates [nor] mob' could withstand.[167]

These novels restored agency to Catholic women at a time when conversion was portrayed as intellectual collapse.[168] In the following decades – as the positivist challenge sharpened and 'rationalism' seemed the engine of

[165] *Fabiola* … (1856 [1854]), x, 13-14, 280.
[166] Ibid., 232-33, 217-18, 257.
[167] *Callista* … (1904 [1855]), 225, 233-7, 276-83, 286.
[168] See, e.g., H. C. G. Matthew, *Gladstone, 1809-1898* (Oxford, 1997), 247.

'Revolution', Risorgimento, and Kulturkampf – Ultramontanes like Lady Georgiana Fullerton (1812-85) and Lady Elizabeth Herbert (1822-1911) shifted the rhetorical emphasis: fictional representations gave way to factual reconstructions of women's apostolate. New Emmerichs were brought before Catholic audiences – 'lives' of modern women, lay and religious, whose faith helped usher in the Kingdom. Many had experienced, in frequentation of the eucharist and meditation on the Sacred Heart, mystical encounters with the crucified Christ or His Blessed Mother. Such stories often centred on the woman's body as battlefield: demons possessed them as they drew closer to Christ; triumph came with the worldly body's death, and full entrance into His mystical body.[169] Elizabeth Canori Mora (1774-1825), for instance, a wealthy Roman lady, experienced the trauma of losing two children and the pain of an adulterous husband; she was afflicted with mysterious illnesses and tortured by Satan for nine days and nights. Freed from her agony by Pius VII, she rededicated her life to Christ, transformed her home into a 'temple', modelled on the example of the holy family, and joined the Trinitarian Third Order. She became a channel of God's grace, and in death, Christ's 'true Spouse'. In a time 'when domestic happiness' was 'so lamentably rare', Lady Herbert opined (her husband had died young and his family threatened to take her children from her when she converted), Canori Mora's example showed the Christian wife and mother the path to 'victory': 'embracing [the] Crucifix' and the eucharist would make them heralds of the Kingdom.[170]

Similar themes emerged in a vast Marian literature, and in the biographies of women religious, like the French nuns, Catherine Labouré, Justine Bisqueyburu, and Appoline Andriveau, who experienced across the 1830s and 1840s visions of Jesus and Mary, the Pietà and the Passion, and from whom derived, respectively, the Miraculous Medal, the Green Scapular, and the Red Scapular of the Passion, 'devotional articles' associated with miraculous healing in a world torn by irreligion and revolution.[171] If they were deployed differently in England, and if the devotional culture was managed cautiously by the episcopate,[172] writers such as Fullerton and Herbert nevertheless popularised a stridently miraculous vision of discipleship, which empowered the faithful to help conquer modernity's malaise.[173]

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[169] See Ann Taves, 'Context and Meaning: Roman Catholic Devotion to the Blessed Sacrament in mid-nineteenth-century America', *Church History*, 54.4 (1985), 482-95.

[170] *Life of the Venerable Elizabeth Canori Mora*, trans. Lady Herbert (1878), 1-11, v-vii.

[171] *The Miraculous Medal. Life and Visions of Catherine Labouré*, trans. Lady Georgiana Fullerton (1880); M. Aladel, *The Miraculous Medal* …, trans. 'P.S.' (Philadelphia, 1880); *Sister Apolline Andriveau and the Scapular of the Passion*, trans. Lady Herbert (1897). See Chris Maunder, *Our Lady of the Nations: Apparitions of Mary in Twentieth-Century Europe* (Oxford, 2016), 18-28.

[172] See Heimann, *English Devotion*, 107; Susan O'Brien, 'Religious Sisters and Revival in the English Catholic Church, 1840s-1880s', in Clarke and Laven, eds., *Women and Religion in the Atlantic Age, 1550-1900* (Oxford, 2016), 151-52.

[173] *A short memoir of Esterina Antinori*, trans. Lady Herbert (Dublin, 1884).

For young Catholic Englishwomen, like the four Vaughan sisters who became nuns, these examples stirred a vocation – convinced them that in 'frequentation of … [the Blessed] Sacrament', the disciple could ready herself for martyrdom and open the world around her to 'transfiguration'.[174] But it is important to underscore that these examples – and the wider rhetorical field we have here explored – proved equally inspiring to *men* like the Vaughan *brothers*: three bishops, a Jesuit, a missionary, and an abbot, each of whom sought in different ways to sacramentalise the world.[175] As we have seen – from the 1830s critique of 'scepticism' through to this mid-century contestation of positivism – Catholics had confronted and complicated the polarity conventionally assumed and polemically articulated between manly/Protestant rationalism and womanly/Catholic faith. Female figures and feminine values were shown to be heroic and 'philosophical'; the 'manliness' of deep thought and bold action was shown often to reside pre-eminently in saintly women. Boundary-blurring was designed to expose the poverty of Protestant/positivist conceptualisations of 'faith' and 'reason', 'philosophy' and 'devotion', 'prayer' and 'action'; and the recalibration of the those categories was seen to be part of the integrative reimagining of the human being – a creature whose piety drew on 'male' and 'female' characteristics and renegotiated gender stereotypes.[176] These regenerated creatures were then shown to be incorporated into the temporally-unfolding drama of Creation's redemption; they were both its first fruits and the seeds of its second spring. As usual, Faber (developing Wiseman's Mennaisianism), was willing to go furthest. Like Mary, he argued, in a 'dependent sense, and by participation, *all the elect* co-operate with our Lord in the redemption of the world'.[177] The incarnation meant the transfiguration of the world into the Kingdom – not simply at the end of time, but in it; not only by Christ, but through him, with him, and in him, by his eucharistic body – male and female – the Church.[178]

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Surveying, in the early years of the twentieth century, the decades of struggle over Christology, William Barry felt bullish about Catholicism's enduring power. 'Positivism … has conquered', he conceded – but only with

[174] Lady Lovat, *Clare Vaughan* … (New York, 1896 [1887]), 80-1. Cf. J. G. Snead-Cox, *The Life of Cardinal Vaughan*, 2 vols. (1910), I, 99-101.

[175] Snead-Cox, *Vaughan*, I, ch. 2; [Herbert Vaughan], 'Popular Devotion in Spain', *DR*, 1 (July, 1863), 1-32; Dom J. Castaniza, OSB, *Spiritual Conflict and Conquest... edited, with preface and notes, by Canon Vaughan, Monk of the English Benedictine Congregation, reprinted from the old English Translation of 1652* (1874), xxiii-iv; Kenelm Vaughan, *The Brotherhood of the divine expiation: a paper presented to the international Eucharistic Congress at Jerusalem in 1893* (1893).

[176] I build here on Tine van Osselaer, *The Pious Sex, Catholic Constructions of Masculinity and Femininity in Belgium, c.1800-1940* (Leuven, 2013); Harrison, 'Zouave Stories'.

[177] *Foot of the Cross*, 449. Emphasis added. See also: 5-7, 158-9.

[178] See Ward, *de Vere*, 353-6.

qualifications and not necessarily for all time.[179] Indeed, it had helped Catholics to refocus 'regard on Jesus … in a more vivid fashion than ever before'. Just as the positivist demanded, Christ was being 'dealt with … as a fact'; but contrary to the positivist, Catholics would not interpret that 'fact' on a naturalistic level and then imbue the immanent with mystery. Jesus could not truly be seen as mere man any more than a man could merely be seen as a bundle of 'aims and appetites'. Catholics were more positivist than the positivists, Barry provocatively claimed, because aiming for the whole truth about Christ and man disclosed by 'the facts'.[180] There were more things on heaven and earth than were dreamt of in Comte's philosophy.

Catholic thinkers certainly opposed aspects of 'modern thought'; but the notion of a 'siege mentality' in a 'fortress Church' hardly does justice to their agility and conscious dynamism. From the 1850s forward, they subverted the caricature of their faith by positioning themselves as the ungullible – prepared to point out that the Emperor's new clothes were threadbare at best, and to ask why Christianity should be so suddenly unfashionable. As emergent forms of 'rationalism' gained hegemony, and sought to discredit Catholicism as the abdication of reason and the construction of an alternate, neo-mediaeval reality of miracles, apparitions, and dogmatic infallibility, Catholics pushed back. Unsettling discursive consensus and challenging an assumed linearity to its development, they interrogated claims to 'scientific' authority and exposed what they thought its sublimated mysticism. Defending their place in the public square by demonstrating philosophical and methodological seriousness, they insisted on a framework of liberalism that made room for epistemic difference and genuine debate. Mill's death may have been to Ward a 'severe controversial disappointment', but Catholics hoped that other 'lights of liberalism' and heralds of 'nescience' would prove as willing to engage them in good faith. Beyond the level of philosophical abstraction, they hoped that a wider, religiously-literate public would see that Catholicism offered more than the rigour of its metaphysics – more than a system of thought. Incarnational theology was presented as a unique, constructive, and emancipatory mode of reflection and experience – for men and women. In an age of appetitive individualism and deterministic evolutionism, it affirmed the possibility of faith and moral agency. In a time of alienating experimentation on the world, it enjoined patient meditation on the nature of humanity and on the depths of the unseen and unseeable – a mode of reflection that informed moral action in a purposive universe. Like the many other Christian responses to positivism and other modes of 'modern thought', this constructive Catholic philosophy bolstered religious confidence and provided an impetus to the wider revival

[179] Barry, 'Nietzsche', 371.
[180] Barry, *Renan*, 123-24; 'Nietzsche', 362.

in moral philosophy in the late-nineteenth century. Similarly, the richly textured, multi-faceted 'science' of theology promised modes of reflection that challenged conventionally binarised notions of masculine and feminine, and experiment and action, in ways that were echoed by thinkers like John Ruskin, F. D. Maurice, and Matthew Arnold, and found wider resonance in public discussion. [181]

Here was a development of Wiseman's incarnational argument first articulated in the 1830s, and echoed in debates across the following decades on theology, society, and political economy. All Catholics agreed that positivism was the product of an impoverished 'naturalism' that splintered, flattened, and distorted understanding of the world, human nature, and human flourishing – and that the answer to this challenge was the integrating power of the incarnation. But distinguishing the Ultramontane imagination from that of the Liberal Catholic was its expansive incarnationalism: its insistence that God designed the incarnation to make of the natural and supernatural one integral whole for "'the restoration of beings according to the primitive plan of creation'", and, *pace* positivism, that this 'restoration' could be seen and felt everywhere in nature, from the recesses of the mind and the codes of our genes to the pages of history and the quiet spaces of the homestead.

But what of the loud spaces of the public sphere? As the next chapter shows, the more mid-century positivism seemed to embolden political liberalism, the more Ultramontanes sought to bolster Christendom by casting it, too, ever-more directly, as an integral aspect of the 'economy of the Incarnation'.

[181] Garnett, 'Anglican Economic and Social Engagement', 464-9.

# Chapter V

## *Apocalypse of the incarnation:*

## *the Roman Question and the political theology of Christendom*

> There are in the world only two societies – the natural and the supernatural. The natural existed four thousand years before the supernatural was founded. The civilization of Pagan Rome was the society of nature, founded on the will and power of man, without faith in God. The supernatural is the Church Catholic and Roman, which came upon it … remoulded, and consecrated its life and structure. The Vicar of the Incarnate Word, clothed in his twofold Sovereignty, spiritual and temporal, was the creator of this new order of European society. He is the symbol as well as the fountain of sacerdotal and royal power, and all the nations united to him are constituted upon the supernatural basis of the Incarnation, and derive their life from Christianity. What, then, is the falling away of nations from the obedience of the Holy See, but a fall from the supernatural order, and a return to natural society? … [T]he Sovereignty of the Vicar of Christ … is the keystone of the arch. If it be struck out, the whole fabric of the Christian Society throughout the world must be loosed to its base.
>
> — H. E. Manning (1860)[1]

> When the civil powers of the world shall desecrate themselves and lose their relations to Christianity, they will inaugurate the beginning of the last times, when Antichrist shall come.
>
> — H. E. Manning (1860)[2]

> St John says, '*Mundus totus in maligno positus est*'; is this the declaration of an ever-enduring fact? I think it is. If so, the world, though stamped with Christian civilisation, still '*in maligno positus est*'.
>
> — J. H. Newman to T. W. Allies, 22 Nov. 1860[3]

Across the first years of Wiseman's crusade, Ultramontanes spoke confidently of Christendom as a realm of freedom and Catholicism as a guardian of liberty against liberalism's excesses. By 1850, as Wiseman trumpeted the Church's 'restoration' and Newman preached its 'second spring', that optimism was already faltering – and not only because of the scientific challenges sketched in the last chapter. Catholics increasingly felt themselves embroiled in a complex culture war. Migration, conversion, and Romanisation were transforming the Catholic

[1] Manning, 'Occisi et Coronati. Preached at the Solemn Mass of Requiem for those who fell in battle for the liberties of the Church and the sovereignty of its Head, 1860', *SES*, I, 273-4.

[2] Manning, *The Temporal Power of the Vicar of Jesus Christ* (1880 [1860]), 74.

[3] Quoted in Mary Allies, *Thomas William Allies, 1813-1903* (1924), 112.

body in Britain; but those same forces, when seen as invasion, perversion, and 'papal aggression', reinvigorated an atavistic anti-Catholicism. On the continent, too, it seemed the Church was besieged by a familiar foe. What were the 1848 revolutions but the rebellious spirits of 1793 redivivus – an 'unforgotten terror' of spoliation and sacrilege, a bloodlust for 'the murder of unoffending … ecclesiastics', and the demonic determination to dethrone the pope?[4]

In the decades that followed, as they battled against positivism and charted a wave of attacks on the Church's political influence across Europe, Ultramontanes came to draw ever-clearer lines between their theology and politics. They perceived the ascendancy of a radicalised liberalism, which in scientific naturalism decreed Christian philosophy obsolete, and in revolutionary nationalism banished the Church from the public sphere. They were two modalities of one malignity: the desire to unravel the incarnational synthesis. 'What rationalism is in intellectual order', W. G. Ward thundered in 1863, 'that is revolutionism in the political; and from these two poisonous sources flows forth that pestilential stream of speculation and action which is the misery of our time.'[5]

Commentators find this unedifying. Like those contemporaries who scolded Manning and Ward as 'theopoliticians' for defending a failed ecclesiology in wild language,[6] they reprimand the Romanisers for dragging the English Church into the 'eddies' of a 'reactionary … Ultramontanism', idolising Maistre and fetishising the auto-da-fé;[7] and for violating tender consciences by insisting that Liberal Catholics affirm the dogmatic necessity of the pope's Temporal Power in Italy – which they knew to be neither a dogma nor a necessity.[8] At best, this was a temporary 'failure of the imagination';[9] at worst, another manifestation of the Ultramontane *libido dominandi*.[10]

The self-evident truths of the 1960s were not, however, self-evident in the 1860s. Manning should not be chastised for attending the First rather than the Second Vatican Council; nor Newman venerated for 'anticipating' ecclesiological strategies more congenial to twentieth-century tastes. Such presentism makes it difficult to appreciate these debates on their own terms. This chapter seeks to move beyond diachronic narratives about the Church's place in modernity, a framing that creates a pantheon of prophets, pointing towards *Gaudium et spes*, and a rogues' gallery on 'the wrong side of history', clinging to mouldering copies of *Unam sanctam*.[11] It seeks instead

[4] [E. S. Purcell], 'The Italian Revolution', *DR*, 48 (May, 1860), 158; [W. F. Finlason], 'The Government of the Papal States', *DR*, 46 (June, 1859), 398.

[5] [Ward], 'Intrinsic End of Civil Government', *DR*, 1 (July, 1863), 67.

[6] H. I. D. Ryder: *Idealism in Theology. A Review of Dr. Ward's Scheme of Dogmatic Authority* (1867), iii, 5-13.

[7] Laski, *Sovereignty*, 166f.

[8] Purcell, *Manning*, II, 151-3; Altholz, *Liberal Catholicism*, 122-8, 152-4, 184-5, 209-21.

[9] von Arx, *Varieties of Ultramontanism*, 85-102; 'Manning's Ultramontanism and the Catholic Church in British Politics', *RH*, 19.3 (May, 1989), 335.

[10] Wilfrid Ward, *Newman*, I, 526; H. A. MacDougall, *The Acton-Newman Relations. The Dilemma of Christian Liberalism* (New York, 1962), 56.

[11] Boniface VIII's 1302 bull decreeing the subordination of secular to papal power.

to understand the Ultramontane politics of these years as its protagonists did. It begins by mapping the context in which they saw themselves intervening – a consensus, 'blind, deaf, and unanimous against us';[12] one which cast the Church's temporal power as an anachronism to be swept away, and which Liberal Catholics seemed implicitly to endorse. Manning and his followers countered by dynamising Wiseman's incarnationalism, sharpening it with an apocalyptic edge and aiming it at a British political culture accused of incubating new species of liberalism inimical to Christianity's political claims. Against Protestant prophecies of papal apocalypse and Comtean assertions that the supernatural was redundant in a scientific age, they argued that the Church's mission in modernity was to ward off Antichrist and usher in the 'Third Age of the Spirit', when the world would be transformed into the 'antechamber of heaven'. In this, they insisted, looking to the future, her temporal power was more necessary than ever.

## *England and the 'Roman Question': anachronism and apocalypse*

By 1848, the problem of Catholicism's temporal power was already exercising English minds. If 'hardly a dog barked' at Emancipation,[13] fears grew across the 1830s that O'Connell's politics and Wiseman's theology represented a growing threat. Disavow it as they might, the spectre of Lamennais – the monstrous hybrid of Maistre and Robespierre, the personification of 'jacobinical popery' – seemed to brood over manifestations of popular unrest in Catholic lands.[14] Polemicists like George Croly warned that Rome was preparing a 'Revolution on a scale coextensive with mankind'.[15] True Britons understood that their liberties had been won – and needed constantly to be vindicated – in opposition to her 'temporal … [and] spiritual despotism', which such a revolution would doubtless inaugurate.[16] Alarm bells rang, then, as they watched Fenian mobs roam English streets, in thrall to their Italian prelates and Marian idols.[17] And where the 'Popedom' of the 1830s and '40s seemed radical and menacing, England seemed weak. Women gave themselves up to conventual captivity.[18] Churchmen were seduced into 'soul-destroying error', forsaking nationality and evangelical truth for 'Hildebrandism' and a 'womanly' craving

[12] Manning to Talbot: 7 March, 23 June, and September, 1861, quoted in Purcell, *Manning*, II, 164-7.
[13] Boyd Hilton, 'The ripening of Robert Peel', in Bentley, ed., *Public and Private Doctrine,* 79-80. Some dogs barked: Connell, *Romanticism*, 235-8.
[14] Gilbert Cahill, 'Irish Catholicism and English Toryism', *Review of Politics* 19.1 (1957), 63.
[15] *The Apocalypse of St. John,* vii., 200-28, 357-62.
[16] Southey, *Book of the Church*, II, 528.
[17] Gilley, 'The Garibaldi Riots' and 'Vulgar Piety', *passim.*
[18] Rene Kollar, *A foreign and wicked institution? The Campaign against convents in Victorian England* (2011).

for the certainty of the confessional.[19] Each wave of migration, conversion, and concession to its priests – active, as in the Maynooth grant; passive, in accepting the 'restoration' of a Roman hierarchy – heightened the fear that there existed a vast conspiracy, directed by the pope and threatening the English polity. Political parties found it expedient to harness this sectarianism.[20]

Thus, when Carlyle opined that the 'Doomsday' of 1848 had been 'awakened' by Pius IX, he spoke to a Protestant public primed to believe him.[21] But he also addressed the anxieties of a less 'enthusiastic' cross-section of society, which – from Mazzini's revolution of 1848 to Piedmont's liberal-nationalist crusade across the decades that followed – came to see the 'Italian Question' as, at root, a 'Papal Question'.[22] By the mid-1850s, there was a consensus in 'respectable public opinion' that tumult in Italy concerned Englishmen not only as Europeans preoccupied with the preservation of order, but as champions of 'the spirit of freedom'. It was believed that the papacy's Temporal Power in Italy served as a model for Catholic politics across the world, instilling in communicants a conviction that the Church's influence should be used to suborn non-Catholic states and coercively control their citizens. Until the 'temporal dominions of the Pontiff' were decoupled from his spiritual prerogatives, and Italy's 'regeneration' begun in a bout of 'secular purgation', they would remain 'a moral plaguespot, at once contagious and infectious', frustrating any 'settlement' of Europe's 'vexed affairs'.[23]

At one level, the language betrayed the agenda of Comteans and anti-clericals, who deployed 'republican' authorities, from Machiavelli to Macaulay, to excoriate the 'degeneracy' and despotism of priestly rule.[24] 'Hierocracy' – based not on human 'needs' but the 'immutable dispensation' of an inscrutable deity – was not only 'incompatible with civil rights', but a 'delusion' 'crying out' to be 'extinguished'.[25] Whiggish thinkers, too, drawing on the same Scottish enlightenment inheritance, demanded the end of this 'barbarous' 'anomaly'.[26] But it was the

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[19] *Rome The Babylon of the Apocalypse*, 3, 31-5; 'Sorrows of a Poor old man', 222-38; 'The experiences of a 'vert', 102-32. (See ch. 1n4.)

[20] Cahill, 'English Toryism', 75-6; Frank Wallis, 'The Revival of the Anti-Maynooth Campaign in Britain, 1850-52', *Albion*, 19.4 (1987), 527-47.

[21] 'The Present Time', *Latter-Day Pamphlets* (1 Feb. 1850), 2-6.

[22] [Charles Lever], 'The Italian Question', *The Dublin University Magazine*, 48 (Sept. 1856), 364-79; [W. R. Greg], 'The true difficulties of the Italian question', *NR*, 8 (April, 1859), 488-502; [William Stigand], 'The Patrimony of St. Peter', *ER*, 112 (July, 1860), 135.

[23] See Edwin James' contribution to the Commons debate on the 'Affairs of Italy', *Hansard*, 7 March, 1861, vol. 161 cc.1542-627; 'The Papal States', *Illustrated London News*, 1051 (22 Sept. 1860), 263.

[24] e.g. 'The Unpublished Works of Francesco Guicciardini', *Athenaeum*, 1568 (14 Nov. 1857), 1413-5; 'Guicciardini', *SR*, 4.108 (Nov. 1857), 473-4; 'Rome and the Last Four Popes', *SR* (3 April, 1858), 348-50. For Macaulay's anti-hierocratic politics: [Macaulay], 'Milton', *ER*, 42 (Aug. 1825), 327; *The History of England* (1861), V. 149; Burrow, *A Liberal Descent. Victorian historians and the English past* (Cambridge, 1981), 53-4, 70-93.

[25] [W. C. Cartwright], 'The Italian question', *WR,* 71 (April, 1859), 444-5, 460-1; [Cartwright], 'The Roman Question', *WR*, 16 (July, 1859), 197-214, 186-9.

[26] [Greg], 'The Kingdom of Italy', *ER*, 113 (Jan. 1861), 277-9; [Stigand], 'Patrimony', 132; Collini et al, *Noble Science*, 110f.

image of an epochal struggle between English 'progress' and Roman 'priestcraft' that truly bound the nation together. Gladstone, in particular, spoke a language of contrasts that appealed as much to anti-clericals as to convinced Protestants. Aristotelian, Churchman, and Peelite, this combustible, charismatic thinker framed the Roman Question as an historical contest between liberty (classical and Christian) and papal mummification: between man's natural yearnings for citizenship, as endorsed by Christianity's 'dualism of authorities', and a hierocracy which left him to choose between 'political death' and 'exclusion from the Kingdom of God'. Religiously reformed and politically reforming, England had a providential calling to lead this war: to see 'the Popedom' 'sink like lead into [an] unfathomable abyss', and stand righteous at 'the opening of some new Apocalypse' – the reign of God in Christian liberty.[27]

Liberal Anglicans shared his sense that the hand of Providence could be traced in history's whirlwind.[28] Lord Russell, who served as Prime Minister (1846-52; 1865-66) and Foreign Secretary (1852-53; 1859-65) for much of this period, and whose conflation of Protestantism and liberty was deep-rooted,[29] summed up the sentiment: 'Italy has outgrown the Papacy … [it] is only an anachronism'.[30] Parliament parroted it back to him: papal 'fanaticism' was yielding to a 'religious movement' of national 'regeneration': 'The Reformation has commenced in Italy'.[31] Firm Protestants, too, drawing on a feverish (and frustratingly anti-climactic) apocalyptic tradition,[32] hoped that the pope's 'degrading thraldom' was drawing to an end – preferably in as bloody a dénouement as that of the 'priest-ridden Empire of Montezuma'.[33] It was England's vocation to defeat Rome's bid for 'universal

[27] [Gladstone], 'Farini's *Stato Romano*', 358-9, 360-6 387, 395; 'Sardinia and Rome', 56-8, 67-70; 'Oxford to Rome', 151. Cf. Richard Shannon, 'Gladstone, the Roman Church, and Italy', in *Public and Private Doctrine*, esp. 114; Boyd Hilton, 'Gladstone's Theological Politics', in Michael Bentley and John Stevenson, eds., *High and Low Politics in Modern Britain: Ten Studies* (Oxford, 1983), 28-58; Bebbington, *The Mind of Gladstone: Religion, Homer, and Politics* (Oxford, 2004), 113-25. On his Aristotelianism: R. J. Helmstadter, 'Conscience and Politics: Gladstone's First Book', in B. L. Kinzer, ed., *The Gladstonian Turn of Mind* (1985), 3-22. His gendered attack on the 'barrenness' of priestly rule ('*Stato Romano*', 362, 381-2) drew on republican assumptions that a society run by 'eunuchs' necessarily corrupted public virtue: J. G. A. Pocock, *The Machiavellian Moment: Florentine Political Thought and the Atlantic Republican Tradition* (Princeton, 1975), 394-412. For the psychodrama behind these pieces — the triangulations of a Puseyite suspected of crypto-Romanism but 'lacerated' by the 'perversions' of friends and family — see Perry Butler, *Gladstone: Church, State and Tractarianism* (Oxford, 1982), 78-9, 143.

[28] Peter Mandler, '"Race" and "nation" in mid-Victorian thought', in Stefan Collini, Richard Whatmore, and Brian Young, eds., *History, Religion and Culture: British Intellectual History 1750-1950* (Cambridge, 2000), 225-7.

[29] *An Essay on the History of the English Government* … (1821), iii-iv, 360.

[30] Russell to Odo Russell, 12 Dec. 1859, quoted in McIntire, *England against the Papacy,* 156. Cf. Brent, *Liberal Anglican Politics*, 40-51; Duncan Forbes, *The Liberal Anglican idea of history* (Cambridge, 1952), 6, 7, 97.

[31] Robert Peel, *Hansard*, 7 March, 1861, vol 161 cc.1542-627. Cf. Danilo Raponi, 'Religious Reformation and National Unity: British Protestants and Italy, 1860-1870', in Rosalind Crone, David Gange, Katy Jones, eds.*, New Perspectives in British Cultural History* (Newcastle, 2007), 78-89.

[32] Kenneth Newport, *Apocalypse and Millennium: Studies in Biblical Exegesis* (Cambridge, 2000), 49-61. Newman had fun parodying the genre: 'Dr. Newman's Lectures', *DR*, 32 (March, 1852), 254.

[33] Spillan, *Educated Roman Catholics*, 1-3; Priests' Protection Society, *Fourth Address*, n.p.

monarchy' in both 'Church theocracy' and 'temporal sovereignty',[34] and to see the 'Babylon of the Apocalypse … committed to the burning flame'.[35]

Not all could support this assault. The leading Liberal Anglican, F. D. Maurice, was circumspect;[36] and some High Churchmen balked at legitimising the liquidation of so long-standing an ecclesiastical temporality, identifying in Sardinian 'Caesarism' rather than popery the 'precursor of Antichrist'.[37] Yet even they found it impossible to disavow entirely.[38] Here again was the broad Anglican consensus, which, as we noted previously, saw Rome's theological 'carnality' as the basis of its political coerciveness: it understood spiritual communion as temporal submission.[39] Anti-clericals did not have to share this diagnosis to reach a similar conclusion: priestly power was a subversive force, and the Roman species was the worst in the Christian genus.[40] Most non-Catholics could therefore agree that, odious in itself, the Temporal Power in Italy also served as the archetypal regime for Catholicism's despotic politics; that both were incompatible with modern liberty; and that the former needed to be swept away if the threat of the latter was to be neutralised.

## *The* Dublin's *lament: liberalism as bigotry and elite betrayal*

Feeling themselves part of a pan-European, persecuted body, and appealing again to what lingering Romantic sentiment they could by targeting Tories leery of Palmerstonian braggadocio, Wiseman's Ultramontanes contested these British claims to superiority by virtue of a vaunted liberalism. They sought to expose the prejudices underpinning an aggressive foreign policy; to show how far its animating ideas strayed from the 'liberties of Christendom'; and to warn that Britain risked being drawn into an ideological struggle on the side not of freedom, but of revolution.[41]

The root of the problem, the *Dublin* contended, was that, so far as the Temporal Power was concerned, Britain simply saw what was not there, and could not see what was. British liberalism – so proud of its phlegmatic

[34] E. Marshall, *Lectures on Prophetic Subjects … Revelation XIII.* (1861), 16-21, 69-70.
[35] *Rome The Babylon of the Apocalypse*, 3, 31-5.
[36] *Lectures on the Apocalypse* (Cambridge, 1861), vi-vii, 230-53.
[37] 'The Roman See and Sardinia', *CR*, 59 (1860), 215–6.
[38] H. G. Robinson, *The Expediency of Establishing a Protestant Association Disputed* (London, Preston, Liverpool, 1851), 11, 21, 8; Isaac Williams, *The Apocalypse with Notes and Reflections* (1852), xii, 330-420.
[39] See p. 86, above: §'Criticisms, controversies, conversions'.
[40] von Arx, *Progress and Pessimism: Religion, Politics, and History in late nineteenth century Britain* (1985), 124-7.
[41] For those Tories opposed to Palmerstonianism: Geoffrey Hicks, 'Don Pacifico, Democracy, and Danger: The Protectionist Party Critique of British Foreign Policy, 1850-1852', *International History Review*, 26.3 (Sept. 2004), 515-54.

rationality and creed of civic toleration – was blind because conceived behind a 'veil of ignorance and prejudice'.[42] This distorted both the *past* of the Papal States, which historians approached with an attitude of 'pharisaical detraction' and the assumption of its redundancy,[43] and its *present*, with superficial travellers 'sneer[ing] at sacred things and places' with the 'dimpling self-complacency of a Dickens',[44] and concocting 'portentous charges' and schemes of social reform on baseless anecdotage and sectarian bigotry.[45] Products of provincial chauvinism and metropolitan capitalism, they simply sought England in other places, ricocheting across the continent in search of the 'same frivolities' as 'occupy the London season', until all the 'great cities' of Christendom 'have become almost perfectly assimilated in taste, manners, and … moral character' – until all was either made England in their minds, or confirmed as irredeemably 'foreign'.[46] It seemed impossible for John Bull to comprehend a polity built on piety rather than profit. But how could a 'grasshopper' comprehend 'the hidden life' of a mystic?[47]

'Protestant bigotry' and English exceptionalism, concluded J. F. Maguire (1815-72; founder of the O'Connellite *Cork Examiner* and an Independent Irish Party MP), 'animated the diplomacy of the Foreign Office'. It was a line echoed around Catholic Europe.[48] But like other Ultramontanes, Maguire believed that popular opinion was being manipulated by liberal elites, more than *it* buffeted *them*. The opportunistic Russell, for example, 'selected this anti-Papal crusade as a good card – the same card [he] played in 1851, when he wrote the Durham letter. It is a desperate attempt on the part of a shaky Administration to prop up their falling power by pandering to Protestant hate of Catholicity'.[49] Arguments like these sought to exploit divisions in the Liberal coalition by placing Peelites under the spotlight. Would they embrace a charlatan posing at once as 'a liberal and a bigot' – preaching toleration but practising persecution; professing faith in 'the facts' but ignoring the inconvenient truth of 'good government'?[50] Would they swallow the whiggish fiction that Piedmont was a bastion of liberty made in England's 'image', when, in despoiling churches, attacking convents, and infringing religious freedom, it embodied

[42] Maguire, *Rome: its ruler and its institutions* (1857), xii.

[43] [W. F. Finlason], 'Bad Popes', *DR*, 38 (March, 1855), 1, 13-14, 21, 59-66; [John Ennis], 'Is Ranke an Historian?', *DR*, 14 (May, 1843), 321-79.

[44] [G. W. Abraham] 'Lord Broughton's Italy', *DR*, 46 (March, 1859), 135, 151; [Wiseman], 'Superficial Travelling: Dickens, Mrs. Trollope', *DR*, 14 (Feb. 1843), 255-68.

[45] [Oakeley], 'Meyrick on the Church of Spain', *DR*, 32 (June, 1852), 289-93; Wiseman, 'Spain', 370-80.

[46] 'Italian guides', 1-5. Cf. John Pemble, *The Mediterranean Passion: Victorians and Edwardians in the South* (Oxford, 1987), 274.

[47] 'Meyrick', 289-93.

[48] Félix Dupanloup, *The Papal Sovereignty* (1860), 281-324.

[49] Maguire, 'Affairs of Italy', *Hansard*, 7 March, 1861, vol. 161 cc.1542-1627.

[50] [Wiseman], 'Italy and the Papal States', *DR*, 41 (Sept. 1856), 174-89; Pope Hennessy speaking on 'Italian Affairs', *Hansard*, 4 May 1860, vol. 158 cc682-4; 7 March, 1861, vol. 161 cc.1542-627. Wiseman's contempt for Russell's bigotry was visceral: Wiseman, *On the Nature of an Inaugural Discourse* … (1856).

the spirit not of 1688 but of 1789?[51] Would they countenance Cavour's 'braggart threats' and Russell's 'revolutionary pledges', risking 'confusion, confiscation, and extermination' in Italy so that England might 'see parliaments instead of consistories, and potatoes in place of macaroni'?[52] Would they condone 'anarchical doctrines' that would in course conjure up 'a mob' on their own doorstep?[53]

The emphasis on the threat to order signalled an attempt to rally right-thinking conservatives to a defence of the Vienna system – a regime prefigured by mediaeval papal diplomacy; expertly crafted by Castlereagh in response to revolutionary excess; and now sabotaged by his successors. Protectionist Tories were apt to listen.[54] The Liberal MP and constitutional lawyer, George Bowyer (1811-83), and the Irish Tory, John Pope Hennessy (1834-91), warned in Burkean language that the policy of 'non-intervention' was undermining the public law of Europe, legitimising revolutionary violence as a means of territorial aggrandisement and regime change. Britain would reap the whirlwind: another Napoleon would not be long in marching 'at the head of half a million of armed men' definitively to destroy what these liberal dilettantes were whittling away. Abandoning a policy pursued by governments since Pitt for 'the phantom of Italian unity' was a strategic rupture and a moral error; it 'degraded British diplomacy and deeply stained the honour of England'.[55] In a lecture to the Catholic University of Dublin, Robertson urged Tories to heed the wisdom of Bolingbroke and Burke, who each broke bravely with the whiggish foreign policy consensus of his day: they could remoralise the realm if they would cease 'hallooing on the hell-dogs of Revolution, as they … tear up the vineyards of the Vicar of Christ!'.[56]

The appeal was reinforced by framing the conflict as a struggle for Christian monarchy against restive liberalism. The former was not an anachronism, Wiseman contended, but a moral choice. Tories were urged to reflect on the contrast between the 'Pontiff, abounding in love for his people, anxious to confer upon them the largest amount of freedom compatible' with law – and those who would usurp him: Garibaldi, a robber-baron leading a 'band of insane revolutionists'; Vittorio Emmanuele, a fraud with the 'the temperament of a he-goat'.[57] Inverting liberal tropes, Ultramontanes contrasted the personal, accountable rule of the supposedly 'reactionary' King of Naples with the rigged machinery of the liberal polity, where 'troublesome … applications' from the poor

[51] [George Bowyer], 'Rome and Sardinia', *DR*, 39 (Sept. 1855), 196.
[52] [Wiseman], 'Papal States', 172.
[53] *Tablet*, 14 Jan. 1860, 24.
[54] Hicks, 'Don Pacifico', 518-26.
[55] See interventions by Bowyer, Pope Hennessy on 'Italian Policy', *Hansard*, 4 March 1861, vol. 161 cc1331-84.
[56] Robertson, *Lectures on the Life, Writings, and Times, of Edmund Burke* (1868), xx.
[57] Maguire, *Rome,* 44-5; *Hansard*, 7 March, 1861, vol. 161 cc.1542-1627.

were stonewalled by self-perpetuating Whig elites and swallowed up in a faceless bureaucracy.[58] In their England, 'poverty [was] a crime'; 'mental affliction' triggered utilitarians' 'scientific' modes of 'torture'; and the unchurched became victims of a licentious public morality. Contrastingly, papal government sought to 'protect the weak', nurture localism, promote trade and agriculture, and defend 'moral civilisation'. These were aims which every Tory should endorse. What was the pope but Lord Eldon in a mozetta? The duty of every paternalist lay in ensuring that such whiggery was not exported to Italy, where true 'kingly dignity' – the 'kindness' redolent of the Confessor – could still be found.[59]

In an age of 'progressive improvement' and Gladstonian finance, such rhetoric was unlikely to resonate widely; the superiority complex of British liberalism would not easily be unsettled. Yet in giving voice to infuriated Catholics in Britain and Ireland, it amplified the body's popular consensus and built bridges with other likely allies. Although the *Rambler* criticised Ultramontanes for partisanry – romanticising the Papal States and fanning the flames of sectarianism – Acton, William Monsell (both Liberal MPs), and T. F. Wetherell (a War Office official), reproached Peelites in similar ways and echoed arguments about the fraying of international norms.[60] Patriarchalism, too, resonated with some supporters of an active monarchy – not least the Queen.[61] Wiseman's line even paved the way for a political alliance in 1858-9, when he urged Catholics to vote out the Liberal coalition, helping to usher in a Tory ministry that showed circumspection in Italian affairs.[62]

Yet beneath this attempted rapprochement with Liberal Catholics and conservatives, we can discern a hardening and darkening in Catholic political thought: the Church was at war and in need of militants. Britain's assault on the Temporal Power unsettled Wiseman's band of 'liberal conservatives'. The Gothic, 'catholic' constitution they once lionised now seemed a mediaeval mirage. Its spirit of liberty had been seized by a demonic force – its essence, bigotry and hypocrisy; its aesthetic, blasphemy; its means, 'revolution'; its end, the destruction of Christendom. At a surface level, the *Dublin* was engaged in conventional political argument; underneath bubbled a choleric, Maistrean, political theology.

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[58] 'Italy and the Papal States', 187.

[59] Ibid., 193-5, 223-4, 197, 207-8, 219; [Finlason], 'The Massacre at Perugia', *DR*, 47 (Sept. 1859), 256-7.

[60] [Acton], 'Contemporary Events', *Rambler* (Sept. 1859), 406-7; [Wetherell], 'Thoughts on the causes of the present war' and [Acton], 'Foreign Affairs. Public Opinion in England', *Rambler* (July, 1859), 186-98, 273-4; For Acton's public position: Quinn, *Patronage and Piety*, 9-10.

[61] McIntire, *England against the papacy*, 146-9, 19, 73-6.

[62] Ibid., 66-70, 107-13. It was not politically profitable in the longer term: Quinn, *Patronage and Piety,* 9-11.

Hitherto, Ultramontanes had been cautious in deploying this body of thought outside ecclesiological or historical debate. Wiseman and his party articulated a political theology of the Church and its place in the world, but maintained a sense of the autonomy of 'the political': as we have seen, they were indebted less to Maistrean-Mennaisian notions of theocracy than they were to the pluralist constitutionalism of Burke and Görres, and the philosophy of democracy propounded by Tocqueville and sanctioned by the Suarezian populists of the *scuola romana*. In Perreau-Saussine's categories, they sought to articulate a relationship between the *corpus mysticum* of the Church and the *corpus politicum et morale* of the temporal order. Their political thinking, while grounded in theological assumptions, never abandoned history or philosophy for a totalising political theology. On the contrary: they sought to hold those categories together.[63]

It was not simply the Roman Question that began to disturb this balance, but the growing influence of thinkers like Dalgairns and Harriet Thompson. Swayed to conversion by an integral incarnationalism, they wished (as has been said of Ward in a similar context) 'to pursue [the] theory to its ultimate conclusion, and sometimes beyond':[64] to argue that the incarnation sacramentalised the political realm, as much as it did 'the world', in general, and to mobilise that incarnationalism in defence of the Church's temporal power. Given his ability to draw a diverse body together against an enemy he did much polemically to construct, the most important of these thinkers was Henry Edward Manning, Wiseman's right-hand man, and from 1865 his successor as Archbishop of Westminster. The role of political theology in his journey across the Tiber illuminates the preoccupations of a generation radicalised by the trauma of conversion.[65]

*God & the Nations: Consecration, desecration, conversion*

The Anglican Manning believed that the Church had been sent into the world on Pentecost as a 'witness unto all nations'.[66] These nations were not socially-contracted conglomerates but 'families and tribes', drawn together by Providence. Like 'gigantic men' with 'a sort of individual being', they possessed a spiritual-historical unity. They had once lived as God's family, but in falling away from Him, became divided. The Church's mission was to reverse

[63] *Catholicism and Democracy*, 51-8.

[64] Hoppen, 'Liberal Catholicism', *JEH*, 23 (Oct. 1972), 323-44.

[65] Cf. Erb, 'A Question of Sovereignty: the Politics of Manning's Conversion': http://pitts.emory.edu/collections/digitalcollections/lectures/erb-aquinas.cfm.

[66] Manning, *The English Church, its Succession, and Witness for Christ.* (1835), 20-22, 5-8.

that: to bring one faith and collective redemption to the nations. As had been foreshadowed in God's covenant with Israel, they occupied a special place in sacred history, cooperating with the Church to usher in the Kingdom.[67]

Various influences led Manning to this theory. It spoke to the spell cast by the Romantic Christian nationalism of Coleridge, Southey, and George Chalmers.[68] It was rooted in ecclesiastical-historical accounts of national development found in the works of English divines, jurists, and antiquarians stretching back from Palgrave to Hooker, and across party lines, from the divine-right absolutism of Spelman to the latitudinarianism of Stillingfleet. From this literature, Manning formed the conviction that the English nation had been organised by the united action of the spiritual and the civil powers, sitting in councils which may as well have been called synods; and that the later notion of an 'ancient constitution' founded on parliamentary supremacy was a whiggish ruse.[69] Especially important was the political theology of Origen and Eusebius. Moving closer to Tractarianism, he immersed himself in patristics and adopted the narrative of the Fathers' *Heilsgeschichte* (echoed in Wilberforce's *Five Empires*): that under the Church's guidance, the nations progressed from polytheism, polyarchy and war, to politico-theological unity.[70]

Fusing these influences, Manning developed an account of the nations' response to the Church's witness. Yearning to escape isolation and 'antagonism', they recognised Christ as Lord, and 'consecrated' themselves collectively to Him. One could speak of 'the faith *of Britain*': 'the whole population' confessed Christ, and 'established' and 'endowed' the Church, giving it powers and properties. These 'accidental blessings' remained 'separable altogether from [the Church's] indestructible essence'; but they were solemn vows undertaken by the nations, knitting them together into the one body of Christendom.[71] At first, this held for Manning a technical, legal significance: things 'inalienably consecrated' by 'free will' could 'never be taken away without Sacrilege' – not properties, powers, nor the nation itself.[72] But as his sacramental sense deepened, 'consecration' took on new importance. The 'power supernatural' 'working in the world' meant that, while the Church and the sacraments

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[67] Manning's letters to Gladstone, Feb. 1837, 370217mg and 370320mg, quoted in *The Correspondence of Henry Edward Manning and William Ewart Gladstone.* ed. Peter Erb (Oxford, 2013), I, 21-2, 27-31; Manning, *The Unity of the Church* (1842), 233; Manning, *The Principle of the Ecclesiastical Commission Examined* (1838), 10-11.

[68] Pereiro, *Manning*, 15-16; Patterson, 'On Some reasons for not despairing of a national return to the faith', *DR*, 6 (July, 1881), 208-9; Purcell, *Manning*, I, 24.

[69] Manning's works cited above contain references, inter alia, to Hooker's *Lawes of Ecclesiastical Politie* (1594); Dugdale's *Monasticon Anglicanum* (1655-73); Stillingfleet's *Origines Britannicae* (1685); and Palgrave's *Rise and Progress of the English Commonwealth* (1832). Cf. Isaac Kramnick, 'Augustan Politics and English Historiography: the Debate on the English Past, 1730-35', *History and Theory*, 6.1 (1967), 37-8.

[70] Manning, *Unity*, 233; *Five Empires*, 3, 183, 193-206. See Harry Maier, 'Dominion from Sea to Sea: Eusebius of Caesarea, Constantine the Great, and the Exegesis of Empire', in Mark Vessey, Sharon Betcher, Robert Daum and Harry Maier, eds., *The Calling of the Nations: Exegesis, Ethnography, and Empire in a Biblical-Historic Present* (Toronto, Buffalo, London, 2011), 161-5.

[71] *Unity*, 233; *The English Church*, 15, 20-2.

[72] To Gladstone, Feb. 1837: 370320mg, in *Correspondence*, I, 27-31. Cf. Henry Wilberforce, *House of God*, 11n.

alone were 'holy', there was a 'relative holiness' in 'all things' consecrated. If a man's 'mortal body' could be a 'temple of the Holy Ghost', was not everything 'consecrated' a kind of sacrament, and a consecrated *nation* higher still – "'the house of God … the gate of heaven'"?[73]

This was an account consciously framed against the backdrop of 'national apostasy'. Erastianism was overturning that 'coincidence of polity' which 'Christ ordained'.[74] Seeking to understand the crisis, Manning turned to a tradition that had long thundered against 'desecration' – that of Burke, Cobbett, Milner and the Gothic revival, as revitalised by the Tractarians.[75] The questions that consumed him were thus whether grand-scale sacrilege could be forestalled – and, if not, what the Christian ought to do? It was after a trip to Rome with Gladstone in 1838, during which he first met Wiseman, that Manning began to frame the question thus. Coinciding with research into the Church's 'state before Constantine', the visit deepened his suspicion that the Roman 'system' better accorded with Christ's vision of Church-State relations; for in these 'last ages', when 'national Churches' were enslaved and the Church returned to its primitive condition, 'isolated & separate from the Civil Powers', Rome asserted its sovereign life in claiming spiritual independence and the temporal powers that guaranteed it.[76]

It would take a decade for this apprehension to harden into conviction and catalyse conversion. Indeed, when he returned to Rome in 1848 (this time with Dodsworth), Manning seemed to have resiled from his 'Romeward' position. The moment's possibilities excited his instinctive radicalism; he felt at home in the liberal *circolo Romano* and to likeminded Anglican correspondents bemoaned the ascendancy of the Curia's *retrogradisti*: 'hinder[ing] the independence of Italy' would make Christianity, 'free and spiritual', the handmaid of 'despotism' – a '*sacrilege*'. The Jesuits' rhetoric was 'all Evil Merodach and Jechoias'. It had nothing constructive to say of a world where the 'epoch' of the Church's temporal power was 'past' and its duty was to 'vindicate its divine liberty from the civil [power]'.[77] The disciple of Froude embraced the promise of Gioacchino Ventura (1792-1861), a liberal Ultramontane close to the new pope, Pius IX: Christ's reign could be renewed in popular re-acclamation.[78]

But Manning's litmus test remained unchanged. This renewal, he told friends like Robert Wilberforce – unnerved, as we have seen, by British debates in the late 1840s about the Church's sovereignty – was a 'transition

[73] Contrast *English Church*, 24-5, with *The Sanctity of Consecrated Places.* (1841), 5-14.

[74] *Ecclesiastical Commission Examined*, 10-11, 38-41.

[75] For this tradition: Kirby, *Historians and the Church of England,* 137-8; Philip Aspin, '"Our Ancient Architecture": Contesting Cathedrals in Late Georgian England', *Architectural History*, 54 (2011), 213-32; Newsome, *Parting*, 286-94.

[76] *Correspondence*, lvi-lxiii; Newsome, *Parting*, 267, 269n10.

[77] See the letters in Purcell, *Manning*, I, 385-9 (emphasis added); 388-9; 370-1; 376-7.

[78] Ibid., 397-8, 372-9, 384. On Ventura's complex thought: Romani, *Sensibilities of the Risorgimento,* 137, esp. n203; Alberto Belletti, 'Father Gioacchino Ventura and Daniel O'Connell's Funeral Oration', in Barr et al., *Nation/Nazione*, 59-70.

of the greatest peril'; it could only be legitimate where the process and outcome honoured what was holy. If 'the people' were 'patient', they might have Christ and liberty. But if 'they take to church-robbing as [they] do in England … there is nothing of secular confusion which may not happen'.[79] In fact, Manning had, over preceding months (like Faber, Patterson, and Allies[80]), come to imbue Christendom with a higher sacral charge, and thus to fear its desecration even more. On his journey to Rome, he embraced the devotional life of Liège, where he had a 'strong feeling of the reality of the Incarnation'. At Aachen, he reflected that this incarnational order was irreducibly political: at Charlemagne's tomb, alongside parents crossing their children with holy water, he felt that he 'stood over the spring of a great power which had still hold upon us … the fountain … of our … Christian civilisation'.[81] And the longer he spent in Rome, the less persuaded he was that this most sacred of cities could be safely reconsecrated to Christ by its people. He wished Ventura right, but believed the testimony of his eyes: revolutionaries commenced conscriptions at the Coliseum, with men made to swear by the Cross their fidelity to Italy – a 'wild sight' at a place of multiple martyrdoms. Republicans, meanwhile, demanded that the pope bless a 'national' war 'against the Catholic [Habsburg] Emperor'. These were the signs of the times: they spoke of sacrilege. Thus, when, towards the end of his sojourn, a priest confided in him that, '"We in Italy are on the eve of … [a] Reformation"', Manning felt at the prospect what Gladstone did not: dread. 'Satan' loomed over Italy.[82] Unnerved by a 'mob' enamoured of liberal maxims, Manning's imagination had in months darkened from sanguine providentialism to sanguinary apocalypticism. He no longer laughed at the '*retrogradisti*'; he had become one.[83]

As in England, so, too, in Italy, what was unfurling was not popular reconsecration, but revolutionary *desecration*. And if the new Italian state followed the advice of Erastian Whigs – purloining the Church's property as a prelude to compromising her independence and unravelling her formularies – it was not obvious that the Church should offer herself up as an oblation to liberalism. This, of course, is what Manning believed the Church of England to be doing in its response to the string of 'desecrations' culminating in the Gorham Judgement. It was not enough for the Bride of Christ to capitulate before her attacker and cry 'martyrdom': a 'spotless victim' had to fight for her rights so as not to collude in her violation. This, Manning believed, was what Pius IX did in Italy. His defence of the Church's independence ensured he could exercise the Church's full sovereignty, as in his restoration

[79] See Purcell, *Manning*, I, 397-8, 376-7, 384.
[80] See ch. 2: 'Criticisms, controversies, conversions'.
[81] Purcell, *Manning*, I, 348-53.
[82] Ibid., 397-8, 372-9; 403-4.
[83] Cf. Archbishop Paul Cullen's reaction to 1848: Colin Barr, 'Paul Cullen, Italy and the Irish Catholic Imagination, 1826-70', in Barr et al., *Nation/Nazione*, 135f.

of the English hierarchy. Anglicanism, Manning wrote to Wilberforce – now as a seminarian from the halls of the Accademia Ecclesiastica – showed itself to be 'an illusion convicted by the light of the Divine Presence'.[84]

*The Roman Question as apocalyptic desecration*

In facing the liberal challenge to Christendom, Canterbury desecrated, Rome vindicated: these were the convictions of the convert. But when, a decade later, Manning surveyed the body of British invective levelled against the Temporal Power, he was despairing of Rome's defenders, who had not reckoned with the moment's true significance. They had identified the enemy – 'political Protestantism' – but had 'no argument' against it.[85] Manning was determined to redress this deficiency. Entering the debate at a fraught moment, early in 1860, he delivered a flurry of public lectures, reported and translated across the continent and amounting to 'the most complete piece of political theology on the subject published anywhere in Europe, including Rome'.[86]

Firstly, he argued, the Temporal Power was the reward of peoples, princes, and providence for 300 years of martyrdom. Secondly, it was God's gift of security to the Church – a 'necessity' because guaranteeing '*perfect* freedom' in the exercise of her 'powers and prerogatives'. Those Britons who thought temporal power an historical accident that had served its purpose needed to confront the choice they were really making: 'the catacombs or the Vatican; martyrdom or sovereignty'.[87]

But if this proposition most enraged Liberal Catholics (who believed Manning was nudging the Temporal Power towards dogmatic status, and resented the implication that prudential political judgements were to be made a matter of 'obedience' and 'loyalty'[88]), Manning's third thesis would prove the most significant. Building on thirty years of Ultramontane rhetoric, he presented to the Catholic body and to British society an incarnational theology of the Temporal Power, reframing its crisis as an apocalyptic desecration. In doing so, he purported to expose the 'real' nature of the debate. For too long, Catholics had argued in good faith about the socio-economic and political state of the *Patrimonium Petri*, only to be 'perplexed by Protestants' invoking 'Anti-Christ', and progressives the

[84] In Purcell, *Manning*, II, 27. For Manning's reaction to the Gorham Judgement, see ch. 1.

[85] To Talbot: 7 March, 23 June, and September, 1861, quoted in Purcell, *Manning*, II, 164-7.

[86] McIntire, *England against the papacy*, 26n48, 171f. Across 1860, Manning gave three lectures at St. Mary of the Angels, Bayswater; two more followed in 1861. These were published separately – *Temporal Sovereignty of the Popes* (1860); *The Present Crisis of the Holy See Tested by Prophecy* (1861); *The Last Glories of the Holy See Greater than the First* (1861) – then together: *The Temporal Power of the Vicar of Jesus Christ* (1861). For reception: Purcell, *Manning*, II, 153. All references are to the 3rd edn (1880).

[87] *TP*, 25-7.

[88] *TP*, 29. Cf. Manning's rebuttal: 'The Temporal Power of the Pope', *Tablet*, 20 Oct. 1866, 661-2.

demon of 'reaction'. It was time for 'a return of the attack'. Catholics would counter the Protestant-progressive apocalypse with one of their own. '[I]ntimately connected with the Incarnation', Rome was presented by Manning as that consecrated realm where Christ's presence established the groundwork of the heavenly Jerusalem.[89] It was the tangible fragment on earth of Christ's Kingdom, and an indispensable imaginary, refuting the claims of rationalism and revolution. To destroy it, or connive in its destruction, meant repudiating a social order founded on the incarnation, and restoring 'the natural society of man without God in the world'. What could a desecration this grave signal but 'the beginning of the last times, when the Antichrist shall come'?[90]

Framed thus, the Catholic body would be brought to a 'true' understanding of the crisis. Breaking free from the conventional wisdom that at stake in the Roman Question were ordinary political goods – liberty, nationality, good governance – and exposing the liberal myths underpinning that wisdom, they would come to perceive its theological import. They would thus be equipped to face the radical threat posed by philosophical and political liberalism to the very idea of a Christian political order – and to do so as Wiseman would have wished: 'One Fold', in 'steadfast obedience', ready to serve as martyrs to Christ's Kingdom.[91] Facing this living counter-narrative and its army of adherents, liberal society would be brought to a reckoning: forced to confront its unspoken assumptions, and to wrestle with the fact that communities living under its canopy would hold their own – and fight for them.

Deployed in the heat of polemic, but building on the ecclesiology he had been developing since converting, Manning's argument began with an account of the 'new creation' forged by the incarnation. Like those of Faber and Dalgairns, it had a Scotist flavour. God willed to become man so that men might truly become his 'sons'. From the moment of the incarnation, God ruled in a new way, assuming 'temporal' as well as 'eternal sovereignty'.[92] But unlike Faber and Dalgairns, whose accounts then centred on the incarnation's perpetuation in the eucharist, Manning turned to pneumatology. The Ascension was an expansion 'of the mystery of the Incarnation': an inauguration of a 'Third Age' of the Spirit and the Church.[93] '[T]he dispensations of God are progressive', he emphasised; on Pentecost there came 'a fulness and perpetuity of His Presence unknown before' – the Church:

[89] To Talbot, 19 July, 1861: Purcell, *Manning*, II, 158.

[90] *TP*, 74-5.

[91] Purcell, *Manning*, II, 87-140, esp. 140, 134-5, 100; Manning to Monsell 2 Mary, 1852, Monsell of Tervoe Papers: NLI MS 19, 337 acc 3163, 2a.iii. Cf. E. R. Norman: 'Cardinal Manning and the Temporal Power', in Derek Beales and Geoffrey Best, eds., *History, Society and the Churches: Essays in honour of Owen Chadwick* (Cambridge, 1985), 235-6.

[92] *TP*, 4-6.

[93] *SES*, II, 1-34.

'Jesus teaching and reigning upon earth … to the consummation of the world'.[94] Thus, although the 'natural' temporality of the first Creation had not been destroyed, it had been superseded; there was now a 'supernatural' Kingdom exercising sovereignty 'over the whole world'. There were, in effect, two worlds running in parallel towards the *Parousia*. The 'source' and end of the Church's life – the heavenly Jerusalem – transcended nature, setting it above all things natural. But its mission was to gather the natural world back to itself. In His 'eucharistic presence', Christ effected this reintegration, sacramentalising what was natural. Charge of this eucharistic mission He had 'vested' in Peter. Thus, on the pope and his successors was founded a 'society of divine origin', with 'rights higher in kind than any human society', and a mission of incomparable consequence.[95]

Two new influences were at work here. The first was the *scuola romana*. During Manning's time in the Accademia, its influence was pervasive.[96] His reminiscences listed its leaders as 'friends … confessors and directors in study'.[97] In Perrone, Rector of the Collegio; Antonio Ballerini (1805-81), Professor of Ecclesiastical History; and Carlo Passaglia (1812-87), whose incarnational system he warmly praised, Manning encountered exponents of those themes which had animated Wiseman.[98] As demonstrated in sermons during his visits to England across the early 1850s, the most significant for Manning's ecclesiology was the *scuola*'s sense of the Church as a 'new creation' and *societas perfecta*.[99] At its centre stood the Petrine See, the perfect expression of the Church's supremacy as 'the voice of God now'.[100]

Manning's insistence that Pentecost had initiated a 'Third Age', where the Church and the Spirit set about constructing the Kingdom on earth, betrayed a second influence: that of Maistre, and his posthumously-published *Les soirées de Saint Pétersbourg* (1821). As Armenteros has shown, the millenarianism of this work savoured of myriad mysticisms – from the apocalypticism of mediaeval friars, like the Calabrian divine, Joachim of Fiore (c. 1135-1202), who prophesied the coming of the Kingdom on earth, to the occultism of enlightenment intellectuals, like Count Jan Potocki (1761-1815), who traced in history the realisation of Christ's reign.[101] But Maistre had also drawn on scientific speculation – notably, on the biological theory of 'palingenesis', which Charles Bonnet (1720-

[94] *SES*, I, 11, 14-16, 41, 91.
[95] *TP*, 5-8, 11-19.
[96] Shea, '*Ressourcement*', 579-81.
[97] Purcell, *Manning*, II, 14-19.
[98] For Perrone: Shea, '*Ressourcement*'. See Egidio Papa, 'Ballerini, Antonio', *DBI*, 5 (1963); Luciano Malusa, 'Passaglia, Carlo', *DBI*, 81 (2014); Manning to Robert Wilberforce, 25 Jan 1853: Purcell, *Manning*, II, 27.
[99] *SES*, I, 118-45.
[100] *The Grounds of Faith* (1856 [1852]), 60.
[101] Armenteros, *French Idea*, ch. 5. On Joachim's allure: Warwick Gould, Marjorie Reeves, *Joachim of Fiore and the Myth of the Eternal Evangel in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries* (Oxford, 2001), 5-6, 60-3, 150. Manning had an abiding interest in the Franciscan spirituality and was buried in Franciscan garb.

93) had derived from Leibnitz's theodicy to suggest that each era contained within itself the 'germ' of the next. The idea had been adapted by the young counter-revolutionary, Pierre-Simon Ballanche (1776-1847), who, in his *Palingénésie sociale* (1827), argued that this 'Third Age' would be realised when an epochal 'victim-initiator', attuned to the will of Providence, expiated the sins of his age in suffering ordeal, and ushered the universe into rebirth.[102] Mennaisians like Gerbet and Ozanam read him eagerly, concluding that sacrificial suffering was the motor of history, and that history was not (as Augustine had suggested) mere time to be waded through after the Resurrection, but the arena in which God's Kingdom was being built.[103]

It is not clear whether Manning read Ballanche; but the *Dublin* had commended his *oeuvre* in 1837; and the commentary of the convert, J. C. Earle, suggests that his prefectibilist speculations were well known (if suspect).[104] It *is* clear, however, that Manning had immersed himself in the thought of Maistre, Lamennais, Ozanam, and Gerbet. He had in 1848 endorsed the Mennaisians' theology of history, derived from a dialogue with Ballanche: that 'the idea of the progress of humanity' (as Gerbet put it in his *Introduction à la philosophie de l histoire* (1832)), 'is a wholly Christian idea', and that the world was moving towards a democratic age when mankind would be fully emancipated in a new 'Christian republic'.[105]

This was a theme to which Manning would return from the early 1870s, as he focussed on the plight of the poor. In the early 1860s, he was more concerned that the peoples of Europe were not fit to inherit the Kingdom because they were attacking its earthly architect: the papacy. To his Anglican theology of national consecration, he added the pope and stirred. Christ was *Rex Gentium*: His Kingdom sought the salvation of individuals *and* the 'regeneration' of nations.[106] The popes' mission was to make that happen. For 300 years, this meant clashes with Caesar's pretensions; but eventually Rome fell to 'ruins', and the popes were made 'princes by the providence of God' and the acclamation of peoples. Modelling Christ's sovereignty, they became 'the first seed of Christian Europe'.[107] Until this mission, 'the races and families of men lay scattered and broken'; at the sound of Peter's

[102] Arthur McAlla, *A Romantic Historiography: The Philosophy of History of Pierre-Simon Ballanche* (Leiden, 1998), Part 3; Armenteros, *French Idea*, ch. 7.

[103] Ibid., esp. conclusion; Wilson, 'Counter-revolutionary thought', 35-8; Reardon, *Liberalism and Tradition: aspects of Catholic thought in nineteenth-century France* (Cambridge, 1975), 55-8.

[104] 'French Catholic Literature', *DR*, 3 (Oct. 1837), 550-56; [Earle], 'Madame Récamier and her Friends', *DR*, 5.9 (July, 1865), 88-121.

[105] Armenteros, *French Idea*, 328-38; Wilson, 'Counter-revolutionary thought', 37-38; Edward Berenson, 'A New Religion of the Left: Christianity and Social Radicalism in France, 1815–1848', in François Furet and Mona Ozouf, eds., *The French Revolution and the Creation of Modern Political Culture* (1989), 544.

[106] *TP*, 34-6; 'Sermon for Rosary Sunday', *Tablet*: 9 Oct. 1869, 601.

[107] *TP*, 11-19, 36-9. Cf. *Political Aspect* (1866).

voice, they 'were incorporated into the mystical Body … and received a new life'.[108] Here was a 'new creation' – the language mirrors exactly that which Manning had used to describe the incarnational body brought to life on Pentecost – in which the nations were 'consecrated' to Christ.[109]

The papacy's role in saving the nations from the 'brutality' of their passions had been deployed before in argument.[110] Manning's claim was more radical: if everything consecrated was, in a sense, sacramentalised, and if a consecrated nation was a 'house of God', how much higher a 'family of nations' consecrated to Christ by His vicegerent? Christendom was presented as an extension of the Church's incarnational life: they became 'equivalent and convertible terms'.[111] This, Manning rhapsodised, was nothing short of a 'resurrection' of 'the nations'. Their 'dry bones' were breathed on by the Spirit, given 'undying life' in the sacraments, and 'knit together' by the papacy, so that they became 'the first fruits … of the Kingdom'. Thus, he contended – seeking to electrify his audiences out of the sense that this was another matter of quotidian controversy, and instil instead a sense of wonder and millenarian urgency – the Kingdom, like the resurrection, was 'neither a sterile fact in the past, nor only an event to come, but a living and active power in the present, penetrating the very substance of our life'. Between 'already' and 'not yet', Manning's preference was clear: '*even now*', he argued, we 'sit with Him on his "seat of majesty"'; the 'supernatural order' was alive '*both now* and in eternity', a 'new creation' 'uniting heaven and earth', with the angels '*already* ascending and descending the mystical ladder … from the earth into the presence of God'.[112]

Like Thomas Arnold and Robert Wilberforce before him, Manning saw the Kingdom growing as a garden in the life of the nations – but in his account, the popes planted the seeds, cultivated the flowers, and weeded out evils.[113] The sentiment was echoed by Manning's convert outriders, who shared his desire that all Catholics should be alive to the sacred-historical significance of ecclesiastical politics. For Allies, Henry Wilberforce, Henry Formby (1816-84), and others, History was to be understood through the lens provided by the Book of Daniel, the Fathers, and Duns Scotus: as the theodrama of the incarnation and the 'New Creation' erected on Rome's ruins.[114] This was a radically new type of 'Universal Empire', de Vere emphasised: not

[108] *SES*, I, 417-21.
[109] *TP*, 38-44.
[110] John Miley, *History of the Papal States from their Origin to the present day*, 3 vols. (1850), I, Preface, xix.
[111] *TP,* 44; 'Pastoral for Trinity Sunday, 1866': *Tablet*, 2 June 1866, 341.
[112] *SES*, I, 362-75; 415-7, 421-2; *SES*, II, 164. Emphasis added.
[113] *SES*, I, 112; 178-80.
[114] Allies, *Formation of Christendom* (1897 [1865]), I: 90-131; (1906 [1882]), IV: 236-72; Wilberforce, 'Champagny's Roman Empire', *DR*, 6 (April, 1866), 449, 462; [Formby], 'Roman History a Foremost Bulwark of the Christian Cause against the Antichrist of our Times', *DR*, 28 (Jan. 1877), 97-103.

The Roman boast of universal Power,
Scandal of crowns and hearths — the Grecian dream
Of Beauty perfect in a finite mould —
And sacerdotal Egypt's Priestcraft old —

Here, instead was the 'stupendous living Reality … of spiritual things'. The incarnation was 'renew[ing]' the nations, 'reintegrat[ing]' them into a 'supernatural order'.[115] The Fall had not altered the fact that God was 'the one Creator … of the order of Nature and the order of Grace'; Christ's incarnation restored their 'marriage'.[116]

These converts were also to the fore in echoing Manning's presentation of the progress of God's Kingdom as a project directed by the papacy, and advanced through – or against – the powers of the world.[117] Rome was the keystone of that order, the 'new Jerusalem', its air 'redolent of grace' and radiating 'supernatural life'.[118] It was neither a mere strip of land nor a 'city in the clouds', but 'a sacramental [place]; an earthly reality with a significance not of earth …, – the gate of Heaven, where the spiritual opens out into the material world'.[119] This transfiguring politics was no abstraction, the novelist, Julia Kavanagh (1824-77), told readers of *The Month*: it could be felt by the pilgrim, who, from the 'magnificence of the Pontifical Mass' down to the 'poor priests' with 'their congregations kneeling around them', experienced a city in perpetual 'worship', calling the world to adoration.[120] '[D]ivinely chosen' to be a 'sanctuary' for 'the living Representative of our Lord in His triple office as King, and Priest, and Prophet',[121] Rome had become the archetype of an incarnational polity, binding together the 'religious, social, and political' realms.[122] From this seed had sprung 'the great tree filling the earth' and spreading the writ of the Kingdom: Christendom.[123] Mundane historiography, Wilberforce carped, could not reckon with the spiritual enormity of this rupture. But Catholics were encouraged to recognise the 'most important revolution which ever took place', lifting man (as revolutionaries promised, but failed, to do) from the sound and fury of 'the heathen world' to the resurrection-life of the Kingdom.[124] For a number of prolific converts – Allies;[125] de Vere;[126] Anne

[115] Ward, *de Vere*, 40-45, 210-11, 58-9, 299.
[116] Allies, *Church and State*, 131-5.
[117] *CT*: 'How the Pope became a King', I.20, 2-16; Matthew Rhodes, *Pius IX and the Temporal Rights of the Holy See* (New York, Boston, Montreal, 1860 [1859]), 62-77; Allies, *Formation* (1906 [1887]), V: 6-7, 17-22, 99ff.
[118] [Matthew Rhodes, 'M. S.'], 'Is Temporal Prosperity a Note of the Church?', *Rambler*, (July, 1859), 231-4.
[119] [Barry], 'Is the Roman Question at an End?', *DR*, 29 (July, 1877), 10-15.
[120] Kavanagh, 'Glimpses of Rome', *Month*, 2 (Jan.-June, 1865), 199-209.
[121] [Barry], 'Father Curci and the Roman Question', *DR*, 30 (Jan. 1878), 11-12.
[122] Rhodes, *Pius IX*., 10-11, 52-60; [Alexander Cruikshank], 'Rome', *DR*, 14 (Jan. 1870), 32.
[123] [Lilly], 'The Study of Medieval History', *DR*, 28 (April, 1877), 386-87, 399-400.
[124] 'Formation of Christendom', 425; [Wilberforce?] 'Julius Caesar. By Napoleon III.', *DR*, 7 (July, 1866), 9-11.
[125] *Formation,* vol. VI. *The Holy See and the Wandering of the Nations* (1888), 59-188.
[126] *Legends and Records of the Church and Empire* (1887), Preface, xiv; acknowledging debt to Allies at ix.

Hope (1809-87), Dalgairns' tutee, whose scholarship even Freeman grudgingly respected;[127] and Emily Bowles, who wrote popular histories for children and adults – the papacy's 'creation of the new world' was the essence of modern history.[128] The nations, heeding the voice of Peter, acknowledged Christ's lordship, and thus recognised the inviolability of the soul and the fraternity of all mankind.[129] However imperfectly, men had acclaimed 'the temporal reign of Christ' – a 'foreshadowing' of God's 'final victory'.[130] A great leap forward had been made.

*Apocalypse: the great leap backwards*

The Papal States were thus presented as the first embodiment of an incarnational political order, and the 'creative' principle from which Christendom's 'fair fabric' 'rose up'.[131] That keystone was now imperilled, Manning averred. In one sense, this was nothing new: from Luther's challenge to Cavour's, the voice of Peter had been slandered and suppressed, such that recent centuries were rightly understood as a war between 'Rome and rationalism'.[132] But the struggle was now entering a decisive stage and Catholic action was necessary. Consciously deploying the imagery of the 'fortress Church' to impress upon the faithful the urgency of the moment and their obligations in meeting it, he warned that the forces of nationalism and positivism were laying siege that citadel where 'the Word made Flesh reigns still in the fulness of His Sovereignty'. In this final assault, 'the revolution' revealed its goal: the 'desecration' of 'the Holy City' would herald the 'desecration' of all Christendom.[133] Once the keystone was 'struck out, the whole fabric of Christian society … must be loosened to its base,[134] a regression from the 'new creation' to a 'natural society' that would leave 'man without God in the world'. This revolution could not triumph in any ultimate sense. But it was a moment of apocalyptic gravity: an attack on the Kingdom, heralding 'the beginning of the last times, when the Antichrist shall come'. Conjuring the visions of St Hippolytus (c. 170-235), who wrote during the persecutions in the reign of Septimius Severus, Manning thundered that this regression would

[127] Hope, *Conversion of the Teutonic Race*, ed. J. D. Dalgairns (1872), esp. ch. 3. For Freeman's approbation: 'Mrs. Hope's Conversion of the Teutonic Race', *SR*, 33.855 (16 March, 1872), 345-46.
[128] [Bowles], 'The true Mission of the Teutonic Race', *DR*, 20 (April, 1873), 330-6, 335-6.
[129] Allies, *Formation*, Part First: 'Inaugural Lecture', 14.
[130] [Cruikshank], 'The Middle Age: Their Position in Church History', *DR*, 19 (Oct. 1872), 322-5.
[131] *TP*, 34-44.
[132] *SES*, I, 60.
[133] *SES*, III, 53-76; quoted here from *Tablet*: 16 Nov. 1867, 723-5; *TP*, 72-3.
[134] *SES*, I, 267.

'inaugurate' an age before the end of all things, when the final empire would be shattered, and the nations, casting off law and 'conscience', would embrace 'hatred of Christianity'.[135]

These speculations were slapped down by curial authorities as 'inopportune'.[136] Historians, too, criticise Manning: either for too excitable an imagination or for the 'failure of the imagination' this peculiar *reductio ad apocalyptum* represented. He would soon have to abandon it, they admonish, in favour of a more practical ecclesiology.[137] His aggressive rhetoric certainly pained Newman, appalled Acton, and scandalised liberal opinion.[138] But if it polarised, it also succeeded in galvanising Catholics.[139] It did so not because it was strange, but because it energised strands of continental Ultramontanism popular in England – discourses arguing that the incarnational Kingdom was under attack by the new species of 'Jansenism' embodied in liberalism.

The first of these was the orthodoxy of Rome, where the assumptions of the *scuola antigiansenistica* framed the Jesuits' approach to the Risorgimento. This was not foreordained. The aim of those Jesuits grouped around *La Civiltà Cattolica*, like Taparelli d'Azeglio and Liberatore, had been eirenic: to develop a Thomist politics that transcended state-of-nature abstractions but accepted the necessity of change and the aspirations of nationality to independence.[140] But they believed that Risorgimento liberalism, too, needed to make concessions: to accept that a Catholic political order had a *prima facie* right to exist; and that the democratic principle did not trump the sacral. Traumatised (like Manning) less by the revolutions of 1848 than by the 'statolatria' they seemed to inspire and the destruction of the Church's temporality on which they seemed bent – across the 1850s, Piedmont curtailed freedom of worship, taxed ecclesiastical institutions, and suppressed religious orders – the Jesuits returned to the polemic of their forbears.[141] The 'rationalism' of foreign Protestants, Jansenists, masons, and Jews, set up natural 'idols' ('the nation', 'the people') which sought to devour those organs of the body politic that preceded liberalism

[135] *TP*, 72-5. Manning seems not to have drawn on the 18th-century Catholic apocalypticism analysed by Newport: *Apocalypse and Millennium*, 69-86.

[136] Talbot to Manning, 6 July 1861, quoted in Purcell, *Manning*, II, 156.

[137] Von Arx, *Varieties*, 86-102; Norman, 'Manning and the Temporal Power', 235-6. Cf. Barry Sargent, 'The Idea of Christendom in the Writings of Henry Edward Cardinal Manning', Marquette Ph.D Thesis (1997) https://epublications.marquette.edu/dissertations/AAI9811403/.

[138] *NLD*: Acton to Newman, 4/6/1861; [Simpson], 'The Roman Question', *Rambler*, 4 (Nov. 1860), 1-27; [Simpson] 'Dr. Manning on the Papal Sovereignty', *Rambler*, 6 (Nov. 1861), 106-119; *The Gladstone Diaries. Vol. V. 1855-1860*, ed. H. C. G. Matthew: 7 Jan. 1860; [Oxenham]: 'Döllinger on the Temporal Power', *ER*, 116 (July, 1862), 263-4.

[139] McIntire, *England against the Papacy*, 171f.

[140] O. Logan, 'Jesuit Pulp Fiction: The Serial Novels of Antonio Bresciani in *La Civiltà Cattolica*', *SCH*, 48 (2012), 385-96.

[141] Daniele Menozzi, 'I gesuiti, Pio IX e la nazione italiana', in Alberto Banti e P. Ginsborg, eds, *Storia d'Italia, Annali* 22, Il Risorgimento (Torino, 2007), 451-78.

(the family, the Church, Christendom), and to build a new world on the basis of an atomised, de-divinised individual.[142]

Like Manning, the men of the *Civiltà* saw themselves as liberal conservatives mugged by reality. They had sought a *modus vivendi* with liberalism. But far from accepting a 'neutral' public space, the liberalism of these years was 'revolutionary': unrelenting in its struggle for hegemony and exclusive possession of political life. It sought to drive the supernatural kingdom from the natural world. The struggle was now seen and styled as apocalyptic.

Similar themes were broached in England by Faber,[143] and, most influentially, Dalgairns. Studying in Rome and Langres, he immersed himself in the *dévot* narrative of modernity as *un complot janséniste* seeking to purge the world of Christ's presence.[144] The thesis was impressed upon London congregations across the 1850s, in lectures which became his first significant publication as a Catholic: *Devotion to the Heart of Jesus; with an Introduction on the History of Jansenism* (1853). For Dalgairns (and disciples like Harriet Thompson and W. F. Finlason, the *Times*' chief legal reporter), history's driving force was the 'eternal' struggle between the Church and 'the "world"', that spirit unreconciled to Christ's lordship and manifesting itself in two forms: nationalist statism and rationalist liberalism. The dialectic was traced through European history, with Ultramontanes uncovering for their audiences a 'systematic conspiracy' of Jansenist elites, centuries-long, continent-wide: insinuating themselves into positions of secular power, they sought to use the state to fetter the Church and suffocate her supernatural life. The dynamic was clearest and most radical in France, where, from Louis XIV's Gallican Articles (1682) to Napoleon's Organic Articles (1802), 'temporal rulers' sought to 'arrogate to themselves … control of the Church', and Pascal's righteous reformers became Robespierre's henchman in dechristianisation.[145] But its subtlety in England made it all the more insidious. The Reformation, triggered by a Whig 'oligarchy' bent on 'sacrilege' and 'spoliation', initiated a 'revolution' that continued still in the 'conspiracy' of 'Protestant lawyers', a 'Protestant press' and collaborating 'Erastian Catholics', to seize the Church's trusts in order to destroy its temporalities and snuff out its spiritual

[142] Gaetano Greco, 'La "*Civiltà Cattolica*" nel decennio 1850-1859…', *Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa,* III, 6.3 (1976), 1066-7, 1073-9.

[143] Leighton, 'Finding Antichrist'.

[144] Dalgairns drew on: Bérault-Bercastel's *l'Histoire de l'Église*, 24 vols. (1778-90); Barruel's *Mémoirs pour servir à l'histoire du jacobisme* (1797); Rohrbacher's *l'Histoire universelle de l'Église catholique*, 30 vols. (1842-49). See also Dalgairns to Miss Octavia Farrant, June 1856: Brompton Oratory Archives, *Correspondence to and from Father Dalgairns*, vol. 24, p.7; Richard Costigan, *Rohrbacher and the Ecclesiology of Ultramontanism* (Rome, 1980), 18n72.

[145] Harriet Thompson, *Borromeo*, 2-3; [Finlason], 'Jansenism, Gallicanism and Jacobinism', *DR*, 37 (Sept. 1854), 116-8, 139, 162-71; Dalgairns, *Jansenism*, 6-7, 33.

essence.[146] Catholics were urged to let the scales of liberalism and nationalism fall from their eyes: to see modern history as a war against the incarnation, culminating in the Jacobinism and Comtism ravaging Europe; and to see the forked tongue of the Liberal Catholics who would promise an honourable peace with the liberal foe.

The Jansenist apocalyptic had long been familiar to readers of the *Dublin* in Wiseman's work and Robertson's. The latter had drawn on Görres and Schlegel to argue that 'the Revolution' emerged from the Jansenist dismemberment of the mediaeval commonwealth, and that the same forces were still at work in modernity.[147] In the later 1850s, as Professor of History at the Catholic University, he returned to these themes, presenting himself as an unhappy 'prophet' whose visions had come to pass: the 'mania' swept up by the Reformation's 'sirocco wind of impiety' was climaxing in 'revolutionary democracy'.[148] This was nothing less, Robertson explained – first to his students, then to the reading public – than a war on the incarnation. Drawing on a Görresian hermeneutic, Catholics were urged to read political ideas through the lens of Christology. '[M]odern false theories as to the relations between Church and State correspond to the ancient heresies relating to the Person of our Lord'; where 'Erastianism, … the ecclesiastical supremacy of the State, corresponds to Arianism', and 'Calvinism, which merged the State in the Church, answers to Eutychianism', liberalism, the 'doctrine of the total separation of Church and State … corresponds to Nestorianism, or the denial of the Unity of our Lord's Person'.[149] Liberalism was thus theorised as the latest, most lethal solvent of incarnationalism. It tore asunder what Christ had restored to integrity – denying in philosophy the possibility of a supernatural epistemology; in theology, the possibility of the hypostatic union; and in politics the possibility of an incarnational social order. Like other integralists, Robertson stressed that the masses bore only a diminished responsibility for the 'mania' of liberal revolution: ordinary people did not awake one morning neo-Nestorians. For him, as for others, like the Irish journalist, W. B. McCabe, heresy was the luxury and the curse of intellectuals; popular political revolution was ultimately a product of elite religious betrayal.[150] Beware liberal statesmen, he warned, and the Catholics who would collaborate with them.

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[146] [Finlason], 'Robberies of Religion', 398; 'Catholic Testators and Protestant Conspirators', *Rambler*, 11 (Jan. 1853), 16-29. For Finlason's account of the Whig conspiracy driving English history, see the *Dublin*: 'The Reformation the Result of Tyranny', 41 (Sept. 1856), 1-27; 'The Great Rebellion and the anti-Catholic Faction', 41 (Dec. 1856), 383-411; 'The Revolution, the Conspiracy of an Oligarchy', 42 (March, 1857), 26-76.

[147] *PH*, xxxvii; 'Condition of Catholic Germany', *DR*, 11 (Aug. 1841), 53-93.

[148] [Robertson], 'Montalembert's Catholic Interests of the Nineteenth Century', *DR*, 34 (March, 1853), 150; *Public Lectures delivered before the Catholic University of Ireland* (1859), xi-xiii.

[149] *Public Lectures*, 174n, citing Görres, *Athanasius*.

[150] [McCabe], 'The Austrian Revolution and its Results', *DR*, 25 (Sept. 1848), 50-3.

Manning's intervention channelled these discourses into one mythos, casting the Roman Question as the dénouement of *le complot janséniste*, and enabling integralists across the 1860s to decode its unfolding events and unmask its protagonists as scenes and actors in a single theodrama. They relished the challenge. Not only the final acts of the Risorgimento, but the tumult of Spain's 'Gloriosa' and the opening salvos of the Kulturkampf, became the obsessive focus of integralist writing. In each case, the Catholic body was presented with the same, urgent argument about the crisis of Christian politics.[151] With the Temporal Power compromised, Christendom was splintering. 'Revolution' sought 'to dethrone, not the Pontiff only, but Jesus Christ'.[152] Nationalists isolated and enchained the Church;[153] Jansenists and neo-gnostic positivists dismembered it.[154] The result was not liberty but licence. '[C]onstitution-mongers' trampled 'monarchical, clerical, aristocratic, and popular rights'; despoiled the 'inheritance of the poor'; legislated for divorce; and asserted the 'supremacy of the material over the moral order'. Each sacrilege further 'impair[ed] the soul's full power of external action',[155] and emboldened the 'modern paganism' of 'Caesarism': the 'liberal absolutism' that would not 'tolerate … what it calls an *imperium in imperio*'.[156] For the Catholics of such states, Manning prophesied at Requiem masses for Rome's defenders, 'a new era of penal laws' loomed and martyrdom beckoned.[157]

In fact, Ultramontanes warned, all citizens of the liberal imperium would suffer as the international realm descended into anarchy. Rotting internally, these states could not confect a common identity: nationalism made Christians strangers to one another.[158] From alienation developed 'natural morality'. Gladstonian liberalism promised a new moral world order; but with 'the family of Christian peoples … dissolved', the international system

[151] See, e.g., the discourse on Spain: [Wiseman], 'Miscellaneous Intelligence', *DR*, 9 (Nov. 1840), 32-5; [Robertson], 'Cardinal Ximenes and his Times', *DR*, 33 (Sept. 1852), 140-1, 160-8, 171-81; [Crolly], 'Prescott's Philip II.', *DR*, 40 (June, 1856), 455-7; [Herbert Vaughan], 'The Revolution in Spain', *DR*, 13 (July, 1869), 169-76.

[152] *Tablet*: 16 Nov, 1867, 724.

[153] Hope, *The Life of S. Thomas À Becket* (1868), Preface; *Franciscan Martyrs in England* (1878), i, 1-2. 250.

[154] [Harriet Thompson], 'The Principles of '89', *DR*, 3 (Oct. 1864), 253, 254-6; Robertson, *Freemasonry* … (Dublin, London, 1862), 1; *Burke*, xiii-iv.

[155] *SES*, I, 402; 'Trinity Sunday Pastoral', 341; *SES*, II, 115-58: 150-4; Rhodes, *Pius IX*., 10-11, 76-85, 123, 233-4; Rhodes, 'Modern Principles of Government – Real Progress', *DR*, 48 (May, 1860), 81-107; 'P. Felix on Real Progress', *DR*, 48 (Aug. 1860), 422-52; 'Foreign Events of Catholic Interest', *DR*, 5 (Oct. 1865), 510-12.

[156] 'Champagny', 473-5; 'Political Aspect', 661-2; *SES*, I, 426-31; 'Foreign Events of Catholic Interest', 514-16; [Robertson], 'Dr. Jarcke's Political Essays', *DR,* 30 (June, 1851), 401-9; [Robertson], 'Maistre', 447-8; 'Montalembert', 141-5, 160-5, 173-4; *Lectures*, x-xiv.

[157] Manning, 'Occisi et Coronati' (1860), *SES*, I, 263-83: 272-3; 'Christ and Antichrist' (1867), *SES*, III, 53-76. Cf. Lucy Riall, 'Martyr Cults in Nineteenth-Century Italy', *JMH* (June, 2010), 255-87.

[158] *SES*, I, 249; 178-80.

regressed to a 'state of nature'.[159] Where 'brute force' prevailed, 'the world's last winter' seemed at hand.[160] The choice for all peoples was stark: Rome or revolution: order or chaos?

Catholics were urged to read with alarm the signs of the times. The 'political Anti-Christ' was loosed upon the earth'.[161] It even seemed to some that 'Antichrist … has prevailed': despots like Bismarck, 'the German Nimrod', would soon 'constitute the worship of the One God a crime of treason', and spread their iniquity in war. Liberalism's many manifestations were presented as aspects of one drive to establish a 'universal monarchy' that would rival and end 'the Sovereignty of God'.[162]

## *Liberal Catholicism: the enemy within*

'Progress' was regress; papal apocalypse was not the defeat, but the triumph, of Antichrist: Manning's intervention turned on its head the popular historical-eschatological narrative about the Temporal Power. It also served as a rejoinder to those Catholics who were believed by integralists to have implicitly endorsed such fallacies. Manning was reworking Wiseman's thesis as it faced its most significant challenge in a generation from a party whose providentialist political theology advanced a strikingly different vision to that of the integralists.

As we saw in Chapter 4, those in Acton's circle believed that the most effective way of defending Catholicism in a positivist age was to distinguish between the faith's dogmatic essence and those historical accidents that marked the life of the Church. The Temporal Power seemed one such accident. Their position on it can be briefly stated: in an age of barbarism, it became necessary; for centuries, its exercise had usually been benign and certainly lawful; its impending fall to revolution was dangerous but unavoidable. They hoped in this argument to wrench from the realm of quasi-dogmatic discussion a matter with no business there. This would detoxify – by de-sacralising – British debate, which, obsessing over 'Antichrist', pitted the Church against the world and threw Catholics back into a ghetto. Most importantly, it would facilitate an imaginative response to the crisis. Apocalypticism, they worried, was an emotion, not a strategy. All abhorred the 'sacrilege' of Victor Emmanuel – but once Laertes had wept, fought, fasted, eaten a crocodile: what then? Were Catholics to believe that Christ's temporal sovereignty had been 'ended' by some Piedmontese regiments and comic-opera plebiscites? As Döllinger

[159] *SES*, III, 141-44; 'Sermon for Rosary Sunday', *Tablet*, 9 Oct. 1869, 603; *Popular Objections to the Vatican Council* … 118-9; Rhodes, *Pius IX.*, 40-7, 52-60, 123.
[160] Robert Montagu, *Arbitration instead of War* … (1872). Harper, *Sermons* …, 3 vols. (1870-75), II, 7, 24.
[161] Robertson, *Burke*, xiv-xv, 380.
[162] 'Roman History', 103-6.

and Newman saw it, this was not an apocalyptic, but a *providential*, moment. God – not Antichrist – was at work, 'interrupting' His usual mode of temporal sovereignty and liberating the Church from worldly entanglements the better to conquer the new barbarism menacing his Kingdom: unbelief. This was painful new terrain, but martyrdom promised resurrection. In committing to a pluralist order, which guaranteed freedom of belief and a free marketplace of the mind, Catholics would, as a creative minority carrying 'the ark of God' through troubled times, communicate with renewed force the 'Image of Christ', and win for Him a new 'spiritual dominion'.[163]

On the virtue and necessity of embracing pluralism in the present, there was unanimity, with Montalembert's theory and the practice of Germany and Ireland important common influences.[164] On Providence's plans for the future, however, internal differences were sharp. Döllinger and Acton shared the Ultramontane inheritance: a nostalgia for the 'liberties of Christendom'; a conviction that what God had 'interrupted', He would restore in new form. Indeed, their ecclesiology was in many ways similar to Manning's. They were indebted to the *Eos* Circle and the Tübingen School of Möhler, which sketched an historical incarnationalism, wherein the Body of Christ on earth, guided by the Spirit, gradually 'fathomed' the 'mystery' of the Kingdom, and brought the Church and the world to a 'higher whole'.[165] Döllinger and Acton anticipated the dawn of that new Christendom, but argued that it would be consecrated by scientists, not statesmen: *Wissenschaft* would see 'God … more fully known' and His Kingdom realised in the illumination of men's minds.[166]

Newman, however – whose deference to the hierarchy meant he refused to speak against the Temporal Power,[167] and even caused him performatively to stomp his feet when preaching against Garibaldi's 'sacrilege'[168] – took a more radical stance. His evangelicalism never deserted him. When Anglicanism seemed to be exposed as prettified Erastianism, it did not convince him (as it did others) that he had been seduced by a *false* model of Christendom – but rather that *all* models of Christendom were false; that the consecration of contingent ecclesiological formations was the work of man, not Christ. The Church alone was the Kingdom of the incarnation;

[163] Quoting from Monsell, 'Catholic Policy', *Rambler* (May, 1861), 16; Newman, *Grammar*, 465-6; [Simpson; substantially Acton], 'The Roman Question', *Rambler* (Jan. 1860), 148-9. I summarise the Liberal Catholic position from [Simpson], 'The Theory of Party', *Rambler* (Sept. 1859), 345-7; Monsell, *A Lecture on the Roman Question* (1860); [Acton], 'The States of the Church', *Rambler*, (March, 1860), 291-332; [Acton], 'Döllinger on the Temporal Power', *Rambler* (Nov. 1861), 1-62.

[164] Matthew Potter, *William Monsell of Tervoe 1812-1894. Catholic Unionist, Anglo-Irishman* (Dublin, 2009), 68-9; 121-7.

[165] T. A. Howard, *The Pope and the Professor: Pius IX, Ignaz von Döllinger and the Quandary of the Modern Age* (Oxford, 2017), 70-5, quoting James Burtchaell, 'Drey, Möhler, and the Catholic School of Tübingen', in Ninian Smart, John Clayton, Patrick Sherry, Steven Katz, eds., *Nineteenth-Century Religious Thought in the West* (Cambridge, 1985), II, 131.

[166] [Acton], 'Ultramontanism', 163.

[167] Mivart, 'Cardinal Manning', *The New World,* 5.18 (June, 1896), 217.

[168] *The Pope and the Revolution* (1866).

and, as he hammered home to Allies, '*the whole world lieth in wickedness*'.[169] The Temporal Power ensnared the Church in that worldliness. Providence, he daringly, anonymously argued, had decided now to bring the 'powers of hell' to its gates and let the 'wild winds of heaven dance over it'.[170] He hoped the Church would learn the lesson: it was not 'one social body, one temporal interest', but a 'unity of faith in what is unearthly'. It had no formal business in or with the political order.[171] This was not, to his mind, pessimism or resignation, but the vision modelled by the Cappadocian Fathers and saints like Philip Neri – a vision vigilantly opposed to 'the World', one that lit up the imaginations of those trapped in its phantasms and shadows, and carried them into the 'mystery' of Christ's Kingdom.[172]

Where Döllinger and his followers, like Acton, Simpson, and Oxenham, articulated a kind of new, intellectual integralism, Newman's critique was more Augustinian: the Church ploughed its lonely furrow through every age, before and after Constantine. Both, however, believed that an integralism wedded to one mediaeval moment lacked the prophetic vision to embrace modernity's challenges.

Manning was not deaf to these accusations. He had levelled them against the *retrogradisti* in 1848, and believed that the Church had a duty to act creatively in moments of change. But this, Catholics were warned, could not come at the expense of wilful blindness: the sacrileges of revolution told against liberalism. They indicted as naïve those who thought it a doctrine of neutrality, within which Catholicism might flourish; they exposed as chimerical the hope that in its present form it might be christianised. And Liberal Catholics were as wrong about the Church as they were about the world: Ultramontanes reprobated what they thought a tendency to dilute the Mystical Body's presence in the world – either by etherealising it as an ideational force, or by quarantining it within the precincts of the sanctuary. Those who wished the Church out of the Vatican and back to the catacombs needed to get a grip:[173] there was no romance about those centuries of 'perturbation', nor did they have normative force. For Edmund O'Reilly, Irish Jesuit Provincial and an important authority in Anglophone debates,[174] to deny the

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[169] *LD*, 26 Oct. 1863. For this correspondence: Mary Allies, *Allies*, 111-18. I synthesise from: Misner, 'Newman and the Tradition concerning the Papal Antichrist', *Church History*, 42.3 (September, 1973), 377-95; Gilley, 'Newman and Prophecy', esp. 170-71; Norman, 'Newman's Social and Political Thinking', 162f; O'Connell, 'Newman and Lamennais', 175-92; Ker, *Newman*, 83, 148, 210, 413, 495-8.

[170] [Newman, 'O. H.'], 'Temporal Prosperity a Note of the Church', *Rambler* (May, 1859), 102-5; [Newman, 'O. H.'], 'Prosperity, not the prize, but the reward of Christian virtue', *Rambler* (July, 1859), 236-8; [Newman, 'J. O.'], 'The Prospect of War', *Rambler* (May, 1859), 109-113.

[171] [Newman], 'The Cardinal Archbishop and the Irish Election.', *Rambler* (July, 1859), 251-8; *Lectures on Catholicism in England* (Birmingham, 1851), 370ff.

[172] See 'The Mission of St. Philip Neri', and 'The Secret Power of Divine Grace', in *Sermons Preached on Various Occasions*, 199-241; 47-59; the three-part series in the *Rambler*: 'O' [Newman], 'The Ancient Saints: St John Chrysostom': 'The Separation'; 'The Exile'; 'The Death': (1 Nov. 1859), esp. 45-53; (1 July, 1860), esp. 201; (1 Sept. 1860), esp. 338, 346-8.

[173] Rhodes, *Pius IX*, 86, 109.

[174] Matthew Russell, 'A Sketch of the Author': O'Reilly, *The Relations of the Church to Society*, ed. M. Russell (1892), n.p.

'necessity' of the Church's temporal power was 'un-Catholic'; to maintain that its loss would be 'beneficial' was 'heresy'. What 'spurious liberality' to suggest the Church 'had no business meddling in worldly things'. What 'reckless presumption' to charge her with the 'error, … [of being] mischievously mistaken concerning her own condition … for ages'.[175] In fact, William Barry suggested, behind this party's 'Ebionitish temperament' – and implicit both in its tactics of disingenuous denial and its tendency to anti-Roman 'nationalism' and dogmatic indifferentism – Catholics should see lurking the spirit of Jansen.[176]

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Against this spirit, as much as against the objections of Protestants and positivists, Manning returned to the historical and political incarnationalism articulated by Wiseman. The Church was Christ's Mystical Body, consecrating the world until it became the 'antepast of heaven'. But this was no simple restatement; he also revitalised aspects of the Ultramontane tradition dormant since the last great crisis of the Temporal Power in the age of Napoleon. Wiseman and Robertson drew on Gerbet's eucharistic theology to envisage the Church's redemption of Creation, a mysterious process; their theology was compatible with a pluralist politics and a reformist political economy. But confronting what they thought radicalised forms of liberalism, Manning and his cadre drew on Maistrean apocalypticism and Ballanche's palingenesis to proffer something more urgent and tangible: the reign of Christ realised in the political order built on the rock of Rome.

The primary audience was the burgeoning Catholic body; this was an attempt to shape the tone and substance of its politics, especially as it touched ecclesiastical matters. Those who had converted in order to embrace Ultramontanism's high view of the Church feared that they were living again through the nightmare of their Anglican years: that this crisis was the latest manifestation of liberalism's war on Christianity's public presence. With Cisalpinism a recent memory and Liberal Catholicism promising a rapprochement with modernity, the new Catholic body needed reminding of its public doctrine – needed Romanising anew.

'At the present day, unfortunately', Trollope wryly remarks in *Barchester Towers* (1857) – a novel that satirised ecclesiastical warfare in general, and the windy rhetoric of High Churchmen in defence of their temporalities, in particular – 'public affairs will allow of no martyrs, and therefore it is that there is such a deficiency

[175] O'Reilly, 'The Pope's Temporal Power', *Month*, 15.21/22 (Sept-Oct. 1871), 203-3, 181-9.
[176] [Barry], 'Curci', 7-10, 22-3; Barry, 'Note to the articles on F. Curci', *DR*, 31 (July, 1878), 208-12.

of zeal … Who can fight strenuously in any combat in which there is no danger?'[177] Manning sought to mould a generation of martyrs by heightening fears that something dangerous *was* in train. He succeeded in shaping Catholic discourse and action – ironically, nowhere more so than at the requiems for those who died in defence of the Temporal Power.

But Ultramontanes sought also to speak beyond their own body: to challenge, in the language of apocalypse and martyrdom, what 'public affairs' would or would not 'allow'. In a context of national consolidation, liberal hegemony, and the pan-European 'culture wars' then mobilising a range of combatants – from polemical anti-clericals to those Christian moderates arguing for a modernity of moral, pluralist polities – this positioning was provocatively agonistic. That, however, was the point. Just as in philosophical debate, so, too, in political: Catholicism was presented to the British public as a living moral order, demanding engagement on its own terms, and respectful treatment of what it held sacred. Unmasking the anti-Catholic prejudice they detected behind liberal constructions of the moment – the normal, natural process by which 'good government' was secured – Ultramontanes reframed the question as one fundamentally religious. At issue was no ordinary problem, susceptible to bien-pensant treatment, like the health of the public finances or the state's appropriate posture in foreign policy. At issue was the reign of Christ on earth. 'Respectable public opinion' was thus challenged to grapple with the atavistic Protestantism of its 'shadow self', and to reflect that its 'common sense' treatment of the Roman Question would not be seen by Catholics as a disappointment, but as a deeply-felt desecration and apocalyptic apostasy. At the same time as Mill's *On Liberty* (1859) challenged a modernising mass society to guard against the kind of consensus that choked out the voices and practices of non-conforming individuals, erasing the contrasts in which moral character was clarified,[178] Catholics insisted that a similar – or greater – respect be accorded to the country's oldest religious community. Could modern liberalism live with others? A highly moralised body of discourses concerned with the national framing of political relationships, political liberties and the common good,[179] could it acknowledge that neither its framing of political order nor its substantive notion of the good was accepted by all? Could it allow that some might seek to renegotiate the contours of both? As the final chapter shows, Catholics would sharpen this challenge across the 1870s and 80s.

[177] Anthony Trollope, *Barchester Towers*, ed. John Bowen (Oxford, 2014), 277.
[178] Ross Harrison, 'John Stuart Mill, mid-Victorian', in *CHPT*, 302f.
[179] J. P. Parry, 'Liberalism and Liberty', in Peter Mandler, ed., *Liberty and Authority in Victorian Britain* (Oxford, 2006), 71-100; Biagini, 'Neo-roman liberalism'.

Theirs was not simply a politics of agonism, however. In their burst of polemical activity, Catholics echoed and galvanised the calls of other Christians – like premillennialists – to see Christ's Kingdom reconfiguring the temporal-spatial order. Eucharistic, papal, and pan-European, their preoccupations were distinct; but their insistence that a Kingdom palpable and present be taken seriously in British political debate not only polarised and perplexed – it also resonated. In fact, *pace* the claims of detractors, Manningite Ultramontanism condemned Catholics neither to a futile fight for Rome, nor to a quixotic quest for the lost Atlantis of Christendom. On the contrary: it opened popular, even revolutionary new ways of imagining the Church's temporal power and the building-up of Christ's Kingdom, as the final chapter now shows.

# Chapter VI

## *'The Kingdom of God … must be pre-figured': Catholic visions of state and society, 1870-1914*

> It is not the will of God that faith and society, religion and politics, should be divided. They are elements of the creation and of the new [creation], which He has united in one. Into the dogma of faith indeed politics do not enter; into many regions of politics religion does not enter; yet there is an indissoluble bond between the spiritual order of the Church and the natural or political order of the world, in the great primary laws of ethics and the first principles of Christian morality.
>
> — H. E. Manning (1866)[1]

The fall of Rome and the Vatican Council's decrees on infallibility are commonly taken to mark the moment when the drawbridge went up and a fortress Church shut itself off from the world. The following decades are said to be defined by a 'triumphalist' Ultramontanism – its pre-modern culture secured by the suppression of dissent; its residual temporal power pursued in the subversion of democracy and the frustration of social reform. Those who took 'tentative steps' in the direction of *aggiornamento* were kneecapped by neurotic agents of papal autocracy.[2] Challenging that myth, this chapter emphasises Ultramontanism's internal variations, as well as its critical engagement with non-Catholic thought in the decades before World War I.

Across those decades, Ultramontanes continued to affirm the necessity of the Temporal Power, which they thought not a bug but a feature of the incarnational Kingdom, and which all Catholics were therefore obliged to defend, even as it crumbled.[3] Christianity could not be what 'insolent' liberals envisaged and insidious Liberal Catholics winked at: empty rhetoric about a 'mystical paradise upon earth, in which gentle, unpractical, feminine natures may converse, apart from the destinies of mankind and the government and course of the world'. Catholicism meant something different: 'God reigning among us', directing the 'actions of men' and the 'will' of nations, 'not only in their relations to the life to come, but also to this'.[4]

But was this a principle to be defended or a regime to be restored? Much depended on how different Ultramontanes read the signs of the times. On certain 'facts', all were agreed: the Revolution seeking to supplant

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[1] '[Cardinal Manning's] Pastoral on Trinity Sunday', *Tablet*, 2 June, 1866, 341.
[2] Aspden, *Fortress Church*; Hutton, 'Tentative Steps', 23; Merrell, 'Catholic Periodical Press', 68-9, 202, 35f.
[3] Patterson, 'Exiled Popes', *CR*, 24 (June, 1874), 488-91.
[4] Manning, *SES*, II, 119-21.

Christendom had brought socioeconomic chaos and was hurtling towards political crisis – not only on the Continent, but in Britain. Here, Catholics simply saw with certainty (and relish) what many of their countrymen also apprehended. By the mid-'70s, the effects of the 'Long Depression' began to tell. Rising food prices caused rural unemployment and social dislocation; internal migration led to urban overcrowding, flooded labour markets, plummeting wages, and deteriorating working conditions. The resulting discontent, alongside disturbances in Ireland that aggravated a restless migrant proletariat, exploded in demonstrations like the Bloody Sunday riots of 1887, and drove the growth of socialism.[5] Liberalism seemed on the cusp of a crisis of legitimacy; and as the 'mid-Victorian consensus' fractured, its master science unravelled. With revisionism radicalising into revolt, the one-time 'demigod' of political economy was, by the 1890s, but a 'broken idol'.[6] From its ruins, a host of 'ethical collectivists' proclaimed the benefits of Socialism, Fabianism, Trade Unionism, Idealism, a new Conservatism, and a New Liberalism. Many of their prescriptions seemed scientifically plausible and politically popular. A series of 'fraught' debates on the nature of citizenship and the national polity – framed in the language of the 'social organism' and its 'evolution' – emboldened anti-individualist thought and re-conceptualised the state as a moral and moralising force.[7] A day of reckoning seemed at hand.

But at this point, Ultramontanes parted ways. Manning and those in his mould were accused of standing athwart history, bellowing an 'eternal *non possumus*';[8] but as we have seen, they were in fact temperamentally expectative, searching for God's hand in human history. With 'the Revolution' in crisis, their apocalypticism developed into a kind of millenarianism. In Catholic lands, where it had shallow roots, liberalism's promises of a 'secular millennium' had proven hollow, they exulted; the people could see that 'apostasy' brought only oligarchy and the 'divine chastisement' of communism;[9] it was a failed 'experiment', which, given the chance, they would overturn in 'spontaneous plebiscite'.[10] Even in England, Ultramontanes could see men casting off the yoke of Malthus; they took heart that in the vanguard of this revolution marched a phalanx of incarnational thinkers – from Labour Church nonconformists and Evangelical Social Gospellers to Maurician Liberal Anglicans and the

[5] See C. Ó Gráda, 'British agriculture, 1860-1914', in R. Floud and D. N. McCloskey, eds., *The economic history of Britain since 1700* (Cambridge, 1994), 145-72; Gareth Stedman Jones, *Outcast London* (Oxford, 1971), 285, 190-1; Victor Bailey, 'The Metropolitan Police, the Home Office and the Threat of Outcast London', in Bailey, ed., *Policing and Punishment in Nineteenth Century Britain* (1981), 94-125; Mark Bevir, 'Fabianism, Permeation and Independent Labour', *HJ*, 39.1 (1996), 185.

[6] Devas, 'Notes on Social Science', *DR*, 63 (July-Oct. 1893), 662-4.

[7] Jose Harris, *Private Lives, Public Spirit: Britain 1870-1914* (1994), 180-3, 193-227.

[8] [Oxenham]: 'Döllinger', 291.

[9] 'The Communistic Government of Italy', *DR*, 10 (July, 1883), 175-77; A. H. Atteridge, 'Italy, Present and Future', *DR*, 17 (April, 1887), 359-80; Patterson, *Rome and Italy* … (1876), 5-10, 17-38.

[10] Barry, 'Roman Question', 22-4; Ellen Clerke, 'Spanish Society in Modern Fiction', *DR*, 1 (Jan. 1892), 109-11.

'sacramental socialists' of Anglo-Catholicism – who sought to build on earth 'the Kingdom of God'.[11] England's difficulty was Rome's opportunity: a world renouncing liberalism and its empty promises would find in Catholicism the regenerative theocracy it desired. For Rome alone, insisted Cuthbert Hess (1866-1939), Superior of the Capuchin Friary, Oxford, truly understood that 'the Kingdom of God in eternity must be pre-figured, even on earth'; Rome alone had the 'tradition' of temporal power to make this project conceivable; Rome alone had the popular mandate from 'the multitude' to make it attainable.[12]

Not all agreed. Many Catholics worried that the polity being created in this twilight of liberalism was more to be feared than loved. Was not the ethical state limbering up to regulate the economy the same 'Caesarist' menace that purported to interrogate the 'hidden loyalties' of its Catholic citizens and legislate against those 'cults' propagating counter-cultural values? It was not enough for Leviathan to announce its conversion to 'ethical collectivism', if those were the ethics 'of the brothel … and the torture trough'; or if by 'collectivism' was meant socialism and the 'idolatry of mere power'.[13] Thus, a school of thought developed which, although still committed to the principle of Christ's temporal sovereignty, restricted its practical applicability to Rome alone, and which accepted modern pluralism not simply as a fact to be acknowledged but as a necessary bulwark against liberal 'Caesarism'. Looking back to mediaeval models of pluralism, rather than forward to a Mennaisian democratic theocracy, it surrendered the commanding heights of the state in an attempt to de-divinise it. But in its desire to suffuse with an incarnational spirit the socio-economic 'corporations' of a plural body politic, it was no less determined to build on earth the Kingdom of God.

## *Caesarism and Ultramontanism*

### *Ultramontanism as pragmatic liberalism*

The most important pluralist Ultramontane was the man history remembers as England's arch-integralist: W. G. Ward. There is good reason for this misremembering. From the 1860s, Ward led a campaign to ensure that 'the Roman thesis' was not abandoned: that Catholics proclaimed the Church a *societas perfecta,* as complete in itself as

[11] Bevir, 'Labour Church Movement'; Thompson, 'Christian Socialist Revival'; Grimley, *Citizenship*; d'Alroy Jones, *Christian Socialist Revival*; Cheryl Walsh, 'Incarnation and the Christian Socialist Conscience'; Phillips, *Kingdom on Earth.*

[12] Hess, *Catholic Ideals in Social Life* (1911 [1904]), 131-7.

[13] Lilly, 'Materialism', 575-80; Maher, 'German Philosophy', 62-7; 'German Philosophy (II)', 181-84; [Ward], 'Caesarism and Ultramontanism – Mr. Fitzjames Stephen', *DR*, 22 (April, 1874), 413-4.

any civil power, and the *societas suprema*, the 'claims' of which 'take rank before the claims of all other societies'.[14] Such juridical arguments were not abstracted from theology; they drew on prophetic and patristic authorities.[15] But they were consciously rooted in a philosophical, rather than sacred-historical, framework. Against modernity's low view of the state, a compact of human contrivance, Ward reaffirmed the Thomist vision of a community ordered to truth. The state was a divine ordinance for the maintenance of justice, designed to facilitate man's virtuous social life, and to assist the Church in the 'furtherance of the Kingdom of Christ'.[16] Thus, the two societies were given for the common goal of the world's redemption; God's intention was that they should cooperate towards that end.[17] But in this mission, according to Ultramontanes like the censorious Jesuit, Fr. Harper, the state – granted not a 'shard of light' for the direction of the soul's salvation – assumed a position of subservience, just as a ship's sailors would to their captain in avoiding 'shipwreck'.[18]

'Liberalism' – in this interpretation, more a category error than an apocalyptic menace – set the two 'societies' asunder, with the blandishment that they were 'both supreme, only in different spheres'. But Catholics were warned to see the 'impossibility' of accepting the principle that these societies were divorced and 'equal', or its implication: the individual and societal privatisation of morality.[19] Liberal Catholicism was deemed equally problematic: the demand that the Church accept 'liberty of conscience' and 'a free Church in a free state' conceded in principle the separation of Christendom's two swords, thus 'sanctioning a mode of speech which suggested that the Church's politico-religious doctrines' were wrong – *and had ever been wrong*; and that the separation of Church and state effected by modernity was not simply expedient but *right – and had ever been right*.[20] For the sake of evading obloquy in the present, the Church was asked to disavow her past and principles. Impossible: prudent praxis could not an orthodoxy fashion. Lamennais, the 'most formidable heresiarch' of the age, had sought to do just this, converting an enforced (at times congenial) separation into a maxim.[21] But if it was 'aggressiveness and inflexibility' to cling to the thesis of supremacy, was it 'not a fault ingrained in the nature of Christianity', one which could never be 'surrendered', even if it meant martyrdom?[22] At best, Liberal Catholicism amounted to a salutary warning

[14] [Ward], 'Hergenröther on Church and State', *DR*, 29 (Oct. 1877) 311-6; O'Reilly, 'State of the Question', 192-6.
[15] Harper, *Sermons by Fathers of the Society of Jesus*, (1872), II, 144-5.
[16] [Ward], 'Church and State', *DR*, 26 (April, 1876), 366; idem, 'Father Liberatore, Father Harper, and Lord Robert Montagu', *DR*, 18 (April, 1872), 300-2.
[17] 'Church and State', 366.
[18] 'Intrinsic End', 69-81; Harper, *Sermons*, II, 150-3, 159-67 (cf. Plato, *Republic*, VI: 488a-489d).
[19] Ibid., 149.
[20] 'Intrinsic End', 68, 104-10. Hoppen, 'Church, State, and Ultramontanism', 302-5; 'Liberatore, Harper, Montagu', 292.
[21] [Coleridge], 'Lacordaire', *Month*, 5 (July-Dec. 1866), 233; [Coleridge?], 'The Liberalism of Lacordaire', *Month*, (June, 1870), 646-50.
[22] 'JG' [John Gerard SJ?], 'St. Ambrose', *Month,* (Jan-June, 1872), 356-7, 372.

against the instrumentalisation of the Church by the state. But Ward urged Catholics to see that its 'exaggerated spiritualism' failed to explain how the *Church* was to instrumentalise the *state* in furthering the Kingdom, and even suggested that its earthly realisation was somehow misconceived.[23] Were it to be adopted as the Church's position, it would implicate the faithful in moral perversities, sanctioning the state's abandonment of a God-given mission, and the role that nature had accorded it: to serve as the instrument for the ethical 'corporate action of the community'.[24]

Newman was impatient with arguments he had shown Gladstone to be 'unreal' some two decades earlier: Ward's recitation of a moribund thesis did the Church a disservice, when she had a duty to look reality in the eye and re-think the reign of Christ.[25] But Ward's portrayal as a provincial Pio Nono is a caricature which contemporaries (and historians) too uncritically rehearsed, and which his own self-fashioning as a gleeful 'bigot' did much to entrench.[26] His position, as it evolved across the 1870s, was subtler than this – yet if anything, it was too subtle by half. Like Robertson, he looked back to the jurisprudence of the *Eos* circle, as mediated by the Ultramontane canonist, Josef Hergenröther (1824-1890). Although a foe of Döllinger, Hergenröther also sought to fashion a political theology applicable to the reality of a confessionally plural Germany. His revision of the Roman thesis gave Ward licence to concede that, under the new 'circumstances' of modernity, Rome's Church-state 'principles' had to undergo 'practical modification'. The Church's 'right of command', never abjured, fell into abeyance. Theoretically, men were bound to obey her; but in withholding their consent to her authority, her indirect temporal power mutated into a mere 'duty of warning'.[27] The Church, England's Catholics were told, could acknowledge the liberal state's achievements in guaranteeing a species of justice; 'impose on her children a full and loyal general acceptance of its authority'; and in practice 'come to … terms with the [modern] State'.[28] Indeed, the Church not only 'admitted' these realities; she resiled from more exotic, Hildebrandine claims. The Roman thesis pertained now *only* in nations 'unanimously and profoundly Catholic, existing in active relations with the Holy

[23] [Barry], 'Curci', 28.

[24] 'Intrinsic End', 83-99, 69-81, 104-10.

[25] Newman to Gladstone, 18 April, 1845, in *Correspondence of John Henry Newman with John Keble and Others* … (1917), 375-377; Gilley, *Newman and his Age*, 241.

[26] Hoppen's 'Church, State, and Ultramontanism' falls into this trap: 308-9. For Ward's 'bigotry': *WCR*, 313.

[27] 'Hergenröther', 317-25. Cf. Hergenröther, *Catholic Church and Christian State* … trans. C. S. Devas, 2 vols. (1876), I, 11-30, 57-65, drawing on Karl von Moy (1799-1864), and the British canonist, George Phillips (1804-72), a pupil of Savigny and Eichorn and collaborator with Jarcke and Guido Görres. For the enmity with Döllinger: *Anti-Janus*, trans. J. B. Robertson (Dublin, London, 1870).

[28] 'Hergenröther', 325.

See';[29] coercive force could not be used to 'bring about' Catholic unity in a pluralist state.[30] Ward deployed Liberatore, doyen of the Roman Jesuits, to make the daring suggestion that Augustine's '*compelle intrare*' had been misconstrued: the 'apostolate of the sword was always the prerogative of the Koran, not of the Gospel'.[31] Catholics were urged to see that 'Liberal principles' allowed, however inadequately, 'the social influence of religion … [which] had alone the power to restore to the Church … [her] legitimate empire over men'.[32] Though it would have pained all parties to admit it, the Hergenröther-Ward position was not dissimilar to that of Döllinger and Acton: God was finding other ways to realise His Kingdom.

This was an extraordinary codicil to what seemed on the surface a restatement of *Unam Sanctam*. But these Ultramontanes were as pragmatic about reality as they were fanatical about principle; and they had no time for the quixotic nonsense of those who confused the two. For contravening the principles of Catholic teaching on the authority of ordained powers, the kind of legitimism torturing France stood condemned as 'mischievous'; for burdening the Church with the Gallicanism of 'converted Caesars', it stood condemned as a matter of historical fact.[33] The Bourbons, for instance, were charged with creating a 'society cankered to its very core' in the 'corruptions of their court' and 'the enslavement of the Church': waving 'like a gigantic upas-tree of national crime in the eye of heaven', it justly 'brought down the vengeance of a revolution'.[34] Admiration for absolutism was a matter of private judgement, Ward acknowledged – before breezily dismissing its adherents as mentally infirm and politically pernicious: 'between Jacobitism and Jacobinism there is but the difference of one letter'.[35] Suarez could be reconciled with Bossuet: Catholics could embrace a democracy forged in revolution, however 'odious'; it simply needed to be understood that 'the people' never 'possessed' sovereignty, which remained with God.[36] Subtly recalling Ultramontanes from the advanced lines and apocalyptic attitudes of 1859-71, Ward explained that the Temporal Power was the 'one civil government – just one – which may be called the satellite and reflection of the Church herself'. No other regime but the pope's served as the 'citadel of Catholic order, liberty, and progress'. No usurpation but Victor Emmanuel's had so entirely failed to acquire legitimacy, nor faced so universal a rejection by the people it had abducted.[37]

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[29] 'Church and State', 358-64.
[30] 'Fitzjames Stephen', 411-12.
[31] 'Liberatore', 73.
[32] 'Liberalism of Lacordaire', 653-5.
[33] [Ward], 'Sovereignty in Modern States', *DR*, 23 (Oct. 1874), 259-64; [Gerard], 'St. Ambrose', 345.
[34] [W. H. Anderdon SJ], Montalembert's Political Future of England', *DR*, 40 (June, 1856), 444-5.
[35] 'Sovereignty', 294-5, 311.
[36] Ibid., 265-72; Harper, *Sermons*, II, 154.
[37] 'Fitzjames Stephen', 311; 'Sovereignty', 309, 296-9.

In short, these Englishmen tried hard across the 1870s to show that they were not French. If it must inhabit a modern *milieu*, they argued, then despite its manifold faults, England's constitution approximated to the optimum political system for the Church – an argument still being rehearsed to Catholic undergraduates at Oxford and Cambridge twenty years later.[38] Although they muttered all kinds of imprecations against the evils of the British system, Catholics, Coleridge crowed, 'love our freedom … we are proud of the upright manliness … of our public men, of the loyalty of all parties to the Constitution, and that absence of swagger … gingerbread and tinsel which distinguishes [us from other states].'[39] A decade later, Ward's successor as editor of the *Dublin*, J. C. Hedley, congratulated English Ultramontanes on their good sense. Although some 'made light-headed … by the assimilation of French Legitimist articles have … denounced … the whole machinery of modern politics … [as] Freemasonry triumphant' – and although there was some 'unhappy truth' in that 'violent' discourse – most had never succumbed to the cancerous *politique réactionnaire* of France.[40]

*Liberalism and Caesarism*

Newman was as impatient with such caveats as he was with the Roman 'thesis': more fatuous 'unreality'. What were Englishmen to make of so 'paradoxical' a position, which insisted that Catholics (especially those in 'indifferent' states) defend the Constantinian model with increasing vehemence the faster it crumbled – but only in principle? What were they to think of those proclaiming infallible a set of Hildebrandine maxims, whilst minimising them *sotto voce* – and then, when Catholicism's nebulous ambitions became a cause of public alarm, wondering, po-faced, what all the fuss was about? In Newman's terms, Ward's was a 'false position': not only perverse, but dangerous.[41]

The 1874 crisis over 'Vaticanism' seemed to prove as much. Under the influence of Döllinger and Acton, Gladstone, ejected from office and plotting his return, recaptured the public imagination with the most lurid 'no popery' polemic since Russell's Durham Letter of 1850 (discussed above),[42] accusing 'the Ultramontane party …

[38] 'Church and State', 365-70; Joseph Rickaby, *Political and Moral Essays* (Chicago, 1902), 67-71.
[39] [Coleridge?], 'Christian Imperialism', *Month*, 16 (March, 1879), 314-5.
[40] 'Catholic Union and Catholic Parties', *DR*, 15 (Jan. 1886), 133-6.
[41] *NLD*: to Pusey, 17 Nov. 1865; to Hope Scott, 11 April and 23 May, 1867; to Lord Emly, C. W. Russell, and Ryder, 4 Nov. 1874.
[42] Ch 2, p. 89. See Acton to Gladstone, 1 Jan. 1870: *Correspondence of the First Lord Acton*, eds. J. N. Figgis, R. V. Laurence (1917), 91; Josef Altholz and John Powell, 'Gladstone, Lord Ripon, and the Vatican Decrees, 1874', *Albion*. 22.3 (Autumn, 1990), 451; H. C. G. Matthew, 'Gladstone, Vaticanism, and the Question of the East', *SCH*, 15 (Oxford, 1978), 417-42.

throughout Europe' of being insincere citizens of the liberal state, availing of its protections whilst harbouring principles subversive of its foundations. Parsing their casuistry, Gladstone had been led to the 'revolting conclusion' that in the Eternal City itself

> there is a fixed purpose among the secret inspirers of Roman policy to pursue, by the road of force, upon the arrival of any favourable opportunity, the favourite project of re-erecting the terrestrial throne of the Popedom, even if it can only be re-erected on the ashes of the city, and amidst the whitening bones of the people.

And what was true of the city for which the Ultramontane 'thesis' had been fashioned, could be true, in theory, anywhere; for in the *Syllabus Errorum* and the decrees of the Vatican Council on infallibility, Rome had 'refurbished' her claims to 'universal monarchy' and made them binding on the conscience. In a crisis, could Catholic citizens be trusted? If trapped in 'moral and mental' slavery to doctrines which the world thought 'rusty' and renounced, but which the popes had merely shelved as weapons to be dusted down when the moment proved propitious, could Catholics be anything other than sleeper cells in liberal polities? The pope did not presently 'propose … to seize Woolwich, or burn Portsmouth', Gladstone gamely conceded; but Ultramontanes employing 'spiritual weapons' to achieve temporal power only failed to *use* 'temporal means … *because they have them not*'. A Church which subverted the principles of a liberal society and 'impede[d] the performance of civil duties … [brought] into question … its title to civil protection'.[43]

For Liberal Catholics, the furore underscored the counter-productive nature of Ward's opacity. The performative defence of the principle of temporal power obviated the good of its practical renunciation. The critique has been echoed by historians, who chide its lingering authoritarianism or cringe at its 'irony'.[44] But the disciples of Görres felt vindicated. They believed they had scored an important point, building on the Roman Question debates to expose the emerging form of liberalism as a dangerous hypocrisy. It promised freedom, Devas argued, but insisted that goal could only be achieved if citizens affirmed the principles of 'absolute civil and religious liberty' and professed sacrosanct the sham neutrality of the public sphere. To these principles, Catholics were supposed to sacrifice their own – not merely in the 'practical modification' of their own beliefs, but in confessing an alternative creed and yielding to it their interior assent. The liberal state's promise of 'absolute … liberty' was a mirror-image of the Catholic 'absolutism' it excoriated; it tended to mean 'the omnipotence of the abstract State'.

[43] *Vatican Decrees*, 5-11, 37, 50, 35-6.
[44] Hoppen, 'Church, State, and Ultramontanism', 309.

It brooked no challenge to its first principles – from the Church; from other social bodies; or even from the recesses of the individual conscience. It would tolerate everything but difference.[45]

This was more than a rhetorical game. Ultramontanes were positioning themselves as clear-eyed critics of English liberalism as its diffuse discourses evolved in what they deemed dangerously monist directions. If the Christian republicanism of Gladstone demanded recitation of a civic creed, the communitarianism of Liberal Anglicans and Idealists seemed to press further still, conceptualising the state as a moral organism, and implicitly raising questions about the validity of a body claiming itself part of a universal *societas perfecta*. From a very different perspective, but with a similarly marginalising result, the authoritarian 'sovereigntism' of James Fitzjames Stephen wanted the rational few to wield state power against the enemies of ordered liberty – not least the Ultramontane priest, who set himself up as 'Grand Lama of mankind'.[46] In a society defined by any of these hegemonic discourses, what room for Rome?

Building on Newman's riposte to Gladstone over Vaticanism – where he had inverted Protestant tropes by positioning Catholics as the defenders of the rights of conscience against oppressive national power[47] – Ward and Devas asked whether the nightwatchman state was to defend liberty by holding citizens at gunpoint and demanding they stand and deliver a public profession of private beliefs? In the introduction to his 1876 translation of Hergenröther's essays, Devas pathologised what many Ultramontanes thought the most dangerous impulses lurking behind such discourses, warning that a liberalism rooted in Rousseauean notions of the 'general will' of the 'nation' meant the destruction of every liberty, fellowship, and corporate body. Positioning British debates in close parallel to those of the Kulturkampf, Devas underscored the pertinence to his audience of the kinds of arguments being made by the anti-Hegelian canonist, Ferdinand Walter (1794-1879), the jurist, Otto von Gierke (1841-1921), and Hergenröther himself: like Schlegel and Görres before them, these men were mobilising ancient corporations against 'rationalist', statist legal systems, and exposing a tendency in modern liberalism to see 'the will of the people' as a sum of the rights of atomised parties to a social contract, magically cohering into a national *geist*. British

[45] 'Introduction' to *Christian State*, 1-8.

[46] Stephen, 'Caesarism and Ultramontanism (II)', *CR*, 23 (Dec. 1873), 1017. On the Catholic/Irish 'threat', as perceived by Fitzjames Stephen (and other sceptics of 'populism', like Lecky): Tom Dunne, 'La trahison des clercs: British intellectuals and the first home-rule crisis', *Irish Historical Studies*, 23.90 (Nov. 1982), 134-73.

[47] *A Letter Addressed to His Grace the Duke of Norfolk* … (1875).

Catholics were warned: modern liberalism spoke of freedom but demanded the 'worship of the fatherland'. Follow it, and 'the State [would] be made into a god'.[48]

As we saw in Chapter 4, Catholics had developed a critique of such 'mystical materialism'. They were thus unsurprised that the nations sewing seeds of philosophical poison were reaping a rotten political harvest; and they found myriad ways to make the links plain, and to suggest that Britain was drifting in the same direction. Bismarck confected a 'State cultus' where Strauss left a void;[49] this 'Teutonic despotism' was being embraced by soi-disant liberals everywhere,[50] who seemed to yearn for conscription, socialism, and religious persecution.[51] Italy cravenly followed the 'Prussian model' in ecclesiastical confiscations and suppression; her politicians railed against clericalism but fetishised 'militaryism' and thought 'Hannibal's conquerors' could be 'taught the goosestep'.[52] The same incubus was identified in France: the positivist savants of the Third Republic had decreed that 'Pantheistic Materialism' was to be the 'new religion' of the people; catechisms drafted to re-educate the masses required the citizen to confess that '"Nature always has been, is, and always will be, republican"'.[53] The new 'Religion of Humanity' even had its 'diabolic martyrs' in Britain,[54] with the materialism of the X-Club mirrored in the power-idolatry of 'liberals' like Morley; both intended to discredit the Church in order to supplant her.[55]

This new 'Caesarism', Catholics argued, began by claiming no knowledge of God and ended claiming to *be* one.[56] The abstraction of 'the State' eclipsed the reality of the political community; its 'glory' became a substitute, civic religion.[57] Churches deemed subversive of this 'terrestrial Jerusalem' were denounced by demagogues, harassed in law, and 'enslave[d] … to the State', which tampered with their creeds, conscripted their priesthoods as 'moral police', and constricted ecclesiastical life to the 'fashion[ing of] rubrics … [and] sacred vestments'.[58] The new liberals expostulated about mental slavery, but would cow the Church to crush the conscience. They preached toleration but practised cultural persecution, stoking fears of Grand Inquisitors and liberties imperilled. To escape

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[48] *Christian State*, 19-21; [Robertson] was an early adherent of Walter: 'German Catholic Literature', *DR*, 7 (Aug. 1839), 255-6. For Hergenröther's context: Michael Printy, *Enlightenment and the Creation of German Catholicism* (Cambridge, 2009), 1-5, 29-37; 'Introduction' to Gierke, *Community in Historical Perspective*, trans. Mary Fischer, ed. Antony Black (Cambridge, 2002 [1990]), xix-xx.

[49] [Barry], 'Roman Question', 15-18.

[50] [Lilly], 'Modern Thought', 700.

[51] Maher, 'German Philosophy (I)', 62-7; 'German Philosophy (II)', 181-84.

[52] Patterson, *Rome and Italy,* 5-10, 17-38.

[53] Lilly, 'Free-thought', 227-32, 241.

[54] Barry, 'The Progress of Nihilism', *DR*, 61 (July, 1886), 9-10, 11-12, 17.

[55] 'Fitzjames Stephen', 413-4; 'Introduction' to *Christian State*, 1-2.

[56] Manning, 'Caesarism and Ultramontanism', *Miscellanies* (1877), II, 115-63.

[57] William Loughnan SJ, 'The Hero of New Italy', *Month*, 26 (July, 1882), 305-15; [Barry], 'Italy and Leo XIII', *DR*, 30 (April, 1878), 484-7.

[58] Joseph Rickaby, 'Plato's Republic', *Month*, 16 (Jan-June, 1872), 25-50; 'Ultrapaganism', 163; Harper, *Sermons*, II, 153-8.

suspicion of sedition, Catholics were to hold precisely the same 'plans and wishes' as their compatriots, educate their children no differently to their fellow citizens, and harbour no subversive 'dislike' of 'Mr. Swinburne's poetry, or Mr. Mill's philosophy, or Mr. Froude's history'.[59] There was, Ultramontanes insisted, a 'constitutionalism' which Catholicism could happily endorse – but this was contrasted with the 'diseased' liberalism of modern 'Caesarism': 'It is to legitimate civil power what elephantiasis is to the human frame, or mania to the human mind'.[60]

*Ultramontanism as pluralist liberalism: the Kingdom come in corporations*

If this Ultramontane strategy was 'paradoxical', it was nevertheless purposeful. It rejected liberalism's first principles in order to preserve the principle of Christ's sovereignty. Doing so relativised the modern state. From its grandest claims, Catholic citizens withheld recognition, checking its pretensions. They were enjoined to do their civic duty – as real as it was provisional – but to refuse the state superintendence over the conscience.

The position has been criticised as purely negative: an undertaking by the Church to retreat from politics, on the understanding that the state would leave the Church to order her own affairs. After much rodomontade, Ultramontanism was merely Liberal Catholicism for slow learners.[61] But such a critique does not do justice to the breadth of this discourse. In the face of the Caesarist threat, it counselled Catholics to engage politically and press for a pluralist liberalism. If the state would not accept the Church to be the *societas suprema*, then it should be brought at least to acknowledge her as a unique *societas perfecta* – an independent polity; godfather of those natural laws that set limits to positive law; patron of those natural fellowships whose existence told against a mortal god conjured from atomised individuals. In a negative sense, the Church demythologised the state. But in a positive sense, Ultramontanes hoped that as the monist idol crumbled, new forms of an older social life would again breathe freely. Drawing on the Catholic political economy whose mid-century development we charted, and positioning themselves alongside a host of Anglican associationalist and pluralist thinkers, from Stewart Headlam to J. N. Figgis, they envisaged the Church resuscitating what liberalism had suffocated: a network of corporations – anterior to the state and beyond its reach – through which the incarnation would again transform the world.

For thinkers like Lilly and Devas, that hope was rooted in the signs of the times: the country seemed ready to disavow the 'sophisms' of political economy and embrace the social economics long preached by its critics.

[59] 'Ultrapaganism', 163-73.
[60] *Catholic Church*, 246; 'Caesarism and Ultramontanism', 120.
[61] Daly, 'Catholicism and Modernity', *passim*; Hutton, '"Third Spring"', ii-vii.

They built on the tradition expounded by Louvain and Lacordaire, O'Reilly and O'Hagan. Presenting Catholicism as a Noah's Ark that preserved (as it inspired) dissentient voices like John Ruskin's, demanding an ethical economics, they championed a paradigm shift from a science of *homo oeconomicus* to a science of the *oikos* (household) and *polis*, natural communities in which man's innate sociability blossomed.[62] Those corporations had 'natural' needs, determined – and limited – by their purpose: 'the good life'. Wealth was simply the finite property conducive to that end. Those concerned with acquiring more had abandoned *oikonomia* – an economics of ethical human flourishing – for *chrematisike*, 'dollar-hunting maxims elevated … into a science'.[63]

Thus, like Ruskin, Catholics too were interested in constructing an economic theory around the household. It modelled an economy of mutuality in which property was shared, and wealth judged in accordance with its social effect.[64] But like Carlyle and Dickens before him, Ruskin did not get a free ride. Ultramontanes stressed that the Athenian paradigm of the household, as outlined in Xenophon's *Oeconomicus*, which Ruskin had translated in 1876, had not saved antiquity from materialism, and would not rescue modernity from positivism. The 'community of goods between husband and wife' which it purported to advocate was belied by an authoritarian patriarchalism, legitimising man's arbitrary power of divorce, and winking at prostitution and sodomy. Its 'mutuality' was little more than polished power-politics.[65] Nor were the teachings of Aristotle beyond reproach in this regard: they had taken shape in a slaver society, and had little impact on contemporaries. Those who sought to swim against modernity's prevailing currents with the flotsam of Athens as their only support would, they warned, find themselves caught in positivism's eddies and swept back along its streams.[66]

As emboldened by the publication of Leo XIII's encyclical on marriage, *Arcanum Divinae* (1880) as they were unnerved by the growth of feminism and divorce, Catholics held out what they thought a qualitatively better alternative: the corporation of the Christian family. It was a 'carnal' 'union' raised to become a sacrament, even 'a type of the Incarnation'.[67] These Scotist sociologists saw here rich theoretical promise, and an opportunity to situate Catholicism in social debate as a force at once traditional and radical. 'Christian equality' was show to have

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[62] Devas, *Groundwork*, 10-15; *Political Economy* (1910 [1892]), 637-40, 650-4; 'The Restoration of Economics to Ethics', *IJE*, 7 (Jan. 1897), 191-204. For the context and impact of Ruskin's interventions: Garnett, 'Ruskin and Xenophon', 216-22. Cf. J. A. Hilton, 'Ruskin's influence on English Catholicism', *RH*, 25 (May, 2000), 96-105.

[63] On the Aristotelian distinction between 'οἰκονομική' and 'χρηματιστική', and references to Aquinas' reading of the same (*Summa*, 2a.2ae.Q.50.art.3): *Groundwork*, 8-10. Cf. Barker's trans of the *Politics*; rev. R. Stalley, (Oxford: 2009 [1995]), esp. Stalley's notes, 326-7. Devas, 'Lessons from Ruskin', *Economic Journal*, 8.29 (March, 1898), 28-33

[64] *PE*, 1-2; 'Lessons', 29-33.

[65] Devas, *Studies of Family Life. A Contribution to Social Science* (1886), 61-4. See Garnett, 'Ruskin and Xenophon', 205-223.

[66] *PE*, 637-40, 655-9. On slavery: Devas, *Key to the World's Progress,* (1912), 139-50.

[67] Devas, *Family*, 143-6.

exploded antiquity's structures 'of power'. Patriarchalism yielded to 'the equality of mutual dependence'. The place of the 'Christian woman' in the world was encouraged – whether as a 'leader of Pontiffs and people', like Catherine of Siena; a learned professional, like the eighteenth-century anatomist, Anna Mazolina; or a minister to the marginalised, the 'hidden apostleship' of so many women.[68] Even the child, in her 'likeness to God', was liberated from 'absolute dependence' on parents or state, and recognised as a member of Christ.[69] Such an ideal was not easily realised, Harriet Thompson acknowledged in her novel, *The Wyndham Family* (1876); but in a truly Catholic home – grounded in the faith of the 'Christian matron' who frequented the Blessed Sacrament – the tensions between young and old, men and women, 'upstairs' and 'downstairs', could be effaced, and the world regenerated.[70] Here was the means by which humanity could be united and 'spiritualised'.[71] Catholicism could thus be positioned as a liberative force, and 'Post-Christian' sociologists criticised for advocating forms of 'emancipation' that entailed regression to the servitude of antiquity.[72]

This Christian family not only modelled an economy of mutuality, but served as the matrix of the mediaeval social market; in both principle and praxis, the family was the origin of an ethical economy – and could be so again. This was an argument championed by scholars in the regular clergy, like F. A. Gasquet OSB (1846-1929), from 1878 the prior of Downside, from 1900 Abbot President of the English Benedictines; T. B. Snow OSB (1838-1905), who ministered in Liverpool and Dulwich, establishing guilds and Young Men's societies under saintly patronage;[73] and Bede Jarrett OP (1881-1934), who in 1904 became the first Dominican undergraduate in Oxford since the Reformation, and at 33 was elected the Order's Provincial. They drew on the trope that the Reformation had destroyed Christendom's socially-beneficial web of corporations – one previously deployed by Milner, Lingard and Tractarians; one reinvigorated by French and German Catholics, like Charles de Ribbe (1827-99), Lujo Brentano (1844-1931) and Georg Ratzinger (1844-99),[74] and now finding resonance amongst historical economists of an Idealist and High Church bent.[75] Catholics were presented with a moralised vision of the

[68] Ibid., 146-9, 155-8.
[69] Ibid., 162-4, 270-5; [Lilly], 'Medieval History', 404-5, 413-14, 422-3.
[70] *The Wyndham Family*, 2 vols. (1876). In vol 1, cf. 1-31 with 40-50. Quoting at 41-4.
[71] [Lilly], 'Modern Thought', 712.
[72] Ibid., 162-4, 270-5; [Lilly], 'Medieval History', 404-5, 413-14, 422-3.
[73] T. Almond, J. Richards, 'In Memoriam: Abbot Snow', *Downside Review*, 5 (Easter, 1905), 1-18.
[74] On de Ribbe: Devas, *Family*, 182-3. On Brentano (nephew of Clemens; see ch. 2): Peter Ghosh, 'From the "spirit of capital" to the "spirit" of capitalism: the transition in German economic thought between Lujo Brentano and Max Weber', *HEI*, 1 (March, 2009), 62-92. Devas frequently drew on Ratzinger's *Geschichte der kirchlichen Armenpflege* (Freiburg, 1868).
[75] For High Church/ 'red Tory' assessments of this genre: William Cunningham, *The Growth of English Industry and Commerce* (Cambridge, 1890 [1882]), 432-3, 309-15, 394-7, 452-6. For the dialogue between Devas and this school: Cunningham, 'Review [of *Family Life*]', *Economic History Review*, 2.6 (April, 1887), 360-61; Devas, 'Review [of Cunningham's *Modern Civilisation* (1896)]', *IJE*, 7.3 (April, 1897), 381-2. Cf. Kirby, *Historians and the Church of England*, ch. 6.

mediaeval economy that had been lost. Modelled on the family, it possessed an in-built safety-net, a web of charitable bodies, animated by the incarnational spirit of 'brotherly love', and 'knit[ing] … together' all social ranks.[76] Invoking the polemical contrasts popularised by Carlyle in an equally 'hungry' decade, when the laws of political economy seemed equally unjust, condemning the poor to 'inanition' and rebellion, these clerics presented the 'old Catholic institutions', like the abbeys and almshouses, as both centres of sanctified labour and 'harbours of refuge' 'for the starving and the destitute'.[77] The most significant of them, the monasteries, constituted a network of 'institutions so organic and so beneficent' that they formed a 'fair vineyard' of England – the incarnational metaphor helping to advance the argument that they consecrated the land and brought forth the blessing cup of communion, which drew all together as one.[78] Catholics were urged to reflect on this moral inheritance. Clergy were reminded that the economy of Christendom had granted the poor a 'right – *right*, mind – to a share in the ecclesiastical revenues of their Church'; and all Christians reminded that 'duties of common brotherhood' unsettled modern notions of 'absolute, individual possession', which had emerged from the '*moral* wretchedness of Protestantism'.[79]

For pluralists, the familial-incarnational principle did not simply mitigate market evils; it prevented them. It was advanced by Catholics as an alternative ethic in an age of atomising capitalism. Echoing the work of continental thinkers, like Ratzinger, and Christian Socialists in Britain like J. M. Ludlow,[80] they argued that the wealth-creators of the mediaeval economy were the guilds – corporations founded in acts of piety and pervaded by the 'spirit of the family'. Its members were neither cut-throat competitors nor parasitic employers but '*domestici Dei*': members of God's family.[81] Like a family, and in contrast to capitalism, this economic body provided 'permanence in time and fixity in place' – even the 'communistic periodical redistribution' of property by a 'patriarchal' elite tied to the poor by faith.[82] A labourer became an 'apprentice', 'bound' to his 'master … by a solemn covenant', to the point of becoming 'one of the family'. Workers and widows were cared for 'as though they all had been brothers'.[83] Presented, like the family, as a radical-traditional solution to modern problems, guilds

[76] Snow, 'The Church and the Crafts', in *Church and Labour. Four Lectures* (1896), 24-32.

[77] L.D., 'A Letter to the Working Men of England', *The Catholic Church and Labour* (1908), 1-9. Cf. Thomas Carlyle, *Past and Present* (1843), Books I and II.

[78] Gasquet, *Henry VIII and the English Monasteries*, 2 vols. (1893), II, 490.

[79] Gasquet, 'Christian Democracy in Pre-Reformation Times', in *The Catholic Church and Labour* (1908), 1-15; Snow, *St. Gregory the Great, his Work and Spirit* (1892), 187-212; *Labour and Capital in England from the Catholic point of view* (1876), iii-v.

[80] Garnett, 'Anglican Economic and Social Engagement', 469.

[81] 'Medieval History', 411-4; 'Modern Thought', 712; *The Claims of Christendom* (1894), v-viii; 110-26. He drew on Gerbet's *Rome Chrétienne*, ch. 7.

[82] [Devas], 'Christian Charity and Political Economy', *DR*, 29 (Oct. 1877), 371-6.

[83] Devas, *Studies of Family Life* (1886), 182-3: S126-7.

were shown to 'spiritualise' the mundane world of business; dedicating their trades to God, and marking out the seasons in holydays and miracle plays, they framed commerce as an activity pointing towards a 'higher aim': the Kingdom.[84] This was the opposite of nostalgia, Catholics insisted, countering a common criticism which saw them dismissed from public debate.[85] None was 'such a *laudator temporis acti* as to suppose' that the guild economy could be imitated back into life. But if society would reexamine discarded economic models, it might find the conceptual resources for a different world. Natural-but-sacramentalised corporations – addressing the 'grievances of the modern workman', without conceding the necessity of socialism – could become the fundamental units of an ethical-mutual and pluralist 'Christian collectivism'.[86]

By the second decade of the twentieth century – when, as we shall see below, many Christians of all denominations were growing warier of a more tightly-defined, partisan socialism; more critical of the kind of 'Hegelianism' they detected in works like Bernard Bosanquet's *Philosophical Theory of the State* (1899) – Jarrett was carefully situating Catholic corporatism adjacent to other forms of British (especially Anglican) pluralism. Since its foundation in 1889, the Anglican Christian Social Union had been navigating between the Sylla of statism and the Charybdis of individualism in search of an ethical vision of the polity. In both its associational culture and its scholarly periodical, the *Economic Review* (which engaged critically with the politico-economic ethics of Aquinas), the CSU sought to stake out a place for the Church in what its leaders, like Henry Scott Holland, thought a dangerously undifferentiated public sphere: an intermediary community between the individual and the state, bound in mutuality to sacrificial duties for one another as well as to active citizenship in wider society.[87] J. N. Figgis, Anglican monk of the Community of the Resurrection in Mirfield (which had deep connections to the CSU), drew on Gierke, F. W. Maitland, and Acton to push this position further, countering what he thought the incipient tyranny of monist-sovereigntist models with a vision of the state as a community of communities and realm of freedom.[88] Jarrett drew not only on Ward and Hergenröther, but on these discourses (mediated to him at Oxford under the influence of the political theorist, Ernest Barker),[89] to articulate a Catholic pluralism – one that

[84] Snow, 'Crafts', 24-8; W. Strappini SJ, 'English Guilds in the Middle Ages', *Month*, 79 (Dec. 1893), 478-90.

[85] Gervase Rosser, *The Art of Solidarity in the Middle Ages. Guilds in England 1250-1550* (Oxford, 2015), ch. 1, esp. 15-18.

[86] Gasquet, *Last Abbot of Glastonbury* … (1908), 261-79; Devas, 'Catholic Socialism', *Tablet*, 21 Dec. 1896, 982-4; Snow, 'The Church and the Workman', in *Church and Labour*, 33-44; Gasquet, 'Christian Democracy', 16.

[87] Garnett, 'Anglican Economic and Social Engagement', 471-8.

[88] Alan Wilkinson, 'John Neville Figgis and Christian Socialism', *Journal of the United Reformed Church History Society*, 7.1 (Oct. 2002), esp. 25-7; Nicholls, *The Pluralist State*, ch. 1.

[89] On the development of pluralism: Rosser, *The Art of Solidarity*, 8-9, 19-26; J. T. Levy, 'From liberal constitutionalism to pluralism', in Bevir, ed., *Modern Pluralism: Anglo-American Debates since 1880* (Cambridge, 2012), esp. 26-33. On Barker's mixture of idealism and pluralism: David Runciman, *Pluralism and the Personality of the State* (Cambridge, 1997), ch 7.

could be traced to the textured reality of medieval life and to the conscious development across the thirteenth-century of the representative principle in institutions like Church convocations and religious orders.[90] This pluralism was acutely socially conscious; Jarrett accepted that the evils of possessive individualism might, *in extremis*, sanction redistribution. But he warned that most advocates of socialism premised their arguments on an 'idea of a State' imbued with all the black 'magic' of that 'abstract title' – the powers to conjure with 'the whole social order' and 'violently' menace liberty.[91] Far safer, Catholics were told, to entrust justice to corporations. They acted as a 'disruptive power', forestalling the emergence of 'one single whole that swallows up parts'.[92] In localising and pluralising social justice, and educating their members in the ethics of voluntaryism and deliberative democracy, they enlivened citizens with a kind of republican virtue. Here was the goal of Leo XIII's social teaching: a modern democratic polity that acknowledged the indissolubility of corporations and empowered them to work towards social justice and the Kingdom of God.[93]

## *Prophecy and palingenesis*

Pluralist Ultramontanism looked back to the middle ages for inspiration; looked around it warily at dangers in the present; and looked forward to the world's slow sacramentalisation. It did not set every Catholic heart aflame. Manningites thought it too timid a response to the dynamics of the *fin-de-siècle*. They soon abandoned catastrophist apocalypticism for prophesies of theocracy reborn. The Revolution that despoiled Pius IX would go the way of the 'phantasmagoria of human things, washing about … at the foot of the rock of Peter'; man would 'return' to the desire that Christ's Vicar be 'King as well as Father and Priest',[94] as they would to the Psalmist's promise of a Messiah at once regal and priestly.[95] Even as the Vaticanism storm raged, Barry saw an angel in the whirlwind: the Church's 'crisis' signified the origins of a 'counter-scheme, a further unfolding … of the Incarnation' by which, in 'suffering' and 'love', the world would be brought to 'peace'.

Here was the Ultramontane trope – articulated by Ballanche; adopted by Manning; and which Manningites like Barry heard echoing in the philosophy of Carlyle and the evolutionism of sociologists like Benjamin Kidd –

[90] John-Baptist Reeves, 'Biography of Father Bede Jarrett, OP', *New Blackfriars*, 20.231 (June, 1939), 420-26.
[91] Jarrett, *Mediaeval Socialism* (1914), 6-7, 15-16, 49-53.
[92] Ibid., 60-2; Jarrett, *The English Dominicans* (1921), 151-3.
[93] Snow, 'Crafts', 26-32; 'Workman', 33-44.
[94] 'Exiled Popes', 488-91; Harper, *Sermons*, II, 167-9.
[95] [W. E. Addis], 'Notice of Books', *DR*, 6 (July, 1881), 287-92.

that humanity's suffering would effect a return to God. 'Emergency' would bring forth the 'man of genius' to usher in a 'Third Age', when humanity would attain an 'entire redemption'. Catholics were to envisage a 'Christian Restoration'; 'God's grace and man's free will' would build up 'the heavenly Sion' – a 'palingenesis' of soul and society.[96]

Like the pluralists, these palingenesists surveyed modernity and concluded that it was in crisis. But they feared less, hoped more. Crucial to this was the cultic importance they (like Wiseman in the 1830s) ascribed to the person of the pope. With the election in 1878 of Cardinal Pecci as Leo XIII (1810-1903), Providence had provided the requisite 'man of genius'. By refusing to 'consecrate' the Revolution, and by exposing its desire 'to have the entire material world to itself', Pius IX was presented as having saved the Church from surrender to liberalism.[97] Leo XIII would now lead it forward in a campaign of reconquest. The necessary '*non possumus*' became a hopeful *nunc possumus*: now we can.[98]

Two revivals convinced them of Leo's 'genius'. The first was philosophical. Leo's Thomistic revival provided new weapons with which to challenge modernity's philosophies, and a language of social economy capable of facilitating dialogue with ethical collectivism. But in Leo's magisterium, Manningites discerned also the political theology of a prophet, whose turn to 'Catholic action' would see the 'reign of Christ' restored in popular acclaim. In a manner different to Ward and the pluralists, Manning's disciples met the moment by radicalising not the pluralism but the populism of the 1830s.

*Liguori's shadow and the law of nature*

As we have seen, the rhetoric of natural law had long mattered to Catholics. Now, apologists like Devas redeployed Louvain's Thomism against new forms of positivist economics, insisting that 'economical science' was 'a portion of Ethics'.[99] The Bishop of Nottingham, E. G. Bagshawe (1829-1915), drew on Thomistic commentaries by Jesuits like the Salamanca scholastic, Juan de Lugo (1583-1660), and the French Liguorian, Jean-Pierre Gury (1801-1866), to argue for the primacy of the 'common good' of each 'Commonwealth' over sectional interests. The impulse to 'plutocracy' exhibited in capitalist states was to be guarded against, and the dignity of the labourer defended –

[96] [Barry], 'Sacred Heart', 3-5, 28; 'Rome and Democracy', 221, 238. On Carlyle and 'palingenesis': C. Harrold, *Carlyle and German Thought: 1819-1834* (New Haven, CT, 1934), 111.
[97] 'Curci', 28; 'Leo XIII', 473-8.
[98] Hedley, 'Catholic Union', 133-6.
[99] Devas, *Groundwork*, 1-16.

where necessary, 'by legislation'.[100] Anticipating *Rerum Novarum* (1891), Bagshawe argued for a just wage that would provide 'decent living and clothing' for an employee and his family.[101] From this latter 'natural right', Catholics had, by 1914, inferred a host of others: the right to a 'living wage' (Rowntree and Hobson were to be consulted on the particulars); to a pension; and to an escape from poverty (to be effected by 'a more equitable distribution of national income').[102] Such conclusions reflected the common sense of a whole generation of Catholic public moralists[103] and echoed the convictions of social thinkers and policy-makers from a range of 'progressive' and 'collectivist' perspectives.[104]

While many of these themes – the primacy of 'the commons'; the critique of capitalism; the valorisation of labour – were well-established, neo-scholasticism sharpened injunctions on redistributive justice. We frequently find rehearsed the conventional argument on the boundedness of wealth in communities modelled on the household; the 'monstrous' error of conflating 'exclusive dominion' with 'exclusive use'; and the conclusion that use of private property had to be consistent with the common good. But there was a new precision and prescriptiveness in that conclusion. Joseph Rickaby SJ, conceded that it was not easy to determine when natural law could be invoked so that mis-used property might be 'reclaimed'. But to the scholastics at Stonyhurst – and then to the wider reading public – he insisted that even the most benighted capitalist should be able to see that '[a]ll property that can ever be immediately serviceable for saving human life, is held under this burden, that a perishing fellow-creature, who cannot otherwise help himself in a case of extreme need … may make such use of the property of another as shall suffice to rescue him from perishing offhand'.[105] This was what Devas presented as the operative clause in the right to life: a man in 'extreme necessity may take from another without any sin what is enough for his immediate support'.[106] It did not confer ownership – simply the right of taking what is another's 'as though it belonged to no one'.[107]

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[100] E. G. Bagshawe, *Mercy and Justice for the Poor, the True Political Economy* (1885), 13-31; Devas, 'An Olive Branch on State Socialism', *DR*, 19 (April, 1888), 335.

[101] Citing Devas, *Groundwork*, 542.

[102] Welch, *Socialism*, 34-46.

[103] From a vast corpus: Alexander Mooney, *Catholic Social Principles of Social Reform* (1910); F. W. Keating, *The Church and Social Reformers* (1911); Charles Plater, *Social Work in Catholic Schools* (1911)..

[104] Peter Clarke, 'The Progressive Movement in England', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 24 (1974), 159-67; Jose Harris, 'Political Thought and the Welfare State, 1870-1940: an Intellectual Framework for Social Policy', *P&P*, 135 (1992), 116-41.

[105] *Moral Philosophy*, 255-62, 281-2.

[106] Devas, 'Christian Charity and Political Economy', *DR*, 31 (July, 1878), 28-30.

[107] *Moral Philosophy*, 278-92.

The language signalled an indebtedness to something more than neo-scholastic philosophy; it bore the imprint of the moral theology of St. Alphonsus Liguori (1696-1787), founder of the Redemptorists, and author of the monumental *Theologia moralis* (9 vols. 1748-85). Canonised in 1839, Liguori had become popular amongst Ultramontanes, who embraced him as a badge of difference from their Protestant countrymen and Recusancy's 'inoffensive orthodoxy'.[108] Newman's self-distancing in the *Apologia* from a system of moral reasoning that Kingsley damned as alien and unmanly[109] represented a declaration of independence from the Romanising consensus in Liguori's favour. Faber's Oratorians translated Tannoja's epic *Life* of the saint;[110] R. A. Coffin, first Provincial of the English Redemptorists, popularised his meditations on the economy of the incarnation;[111] Manning's acolytes insinuated that those who regarded Liguori 'un-English' were crypto-Jansenists; and he remained a useful stick with which to beat Liberal Catholics into the twentieth century.[112] But Liguori was also embraced by Ultramontanes for unmasking the 'rational' approach to capitalism as an apologia for the 'oppressor of the poor'.[113] It was on Liguorian manuals of casuistry – Gury's *Compendium*; Pietro Scavini's *Theologia moralis* (1841) – that Devas drew in framing his emergency ethics of redistribution;[114] and his judgements would long be brandished in rebuking materialism's moral deafness.[115]

Liguorian arguments may never have echoed beyond seminary halls, however, had not Manning intervened. Close engagement with 'the Irish question' and its reformist discourses, evidenced in his *Letter to Earl Grey* (1868), had radicalised his social thought, as exemplified in his polemic on *The Dignity and Rights of Labour* (1874) and his deepening association with the Irish Land League.[116] He now responded furiously to the Bloody Sunday riots of November 1887, telling huge crowds that 'Necessity has no law, and a starving man has a natural right to his neighbour's bread', which 'prevails over all positive laws of property'.[117] He thus encouraged Catholics to speak of social questions in a resonant language of 'the moral law', and to use terms in the collectivist vocabulary

[108] [Russell], 'Notices of Books', *DR*, 24 (June, 1848), 517-25.
[109] Altholz, 'Truth and Equivocation: Liguori's Moral Theology and Newman's "Apologia"', *Church History*, 44.1 (March, 1975), 73-84.
[110] A. M. Tannoja, *The Life of St. Alphonso Maria de Liguori*, 5 vols. (1848-49).
[111] *The Works of St. Alphonsus Liguori*, 5 vols. (1854-61).
[112] [William Roberts], 'St. Alphonsus and the *Christian Remembrancer*', *DR*, 37 (Dec. 1854), 326-403 (Roberts was Manning's nephew); 'DBC', 'Notices of Books', *DR*, 134 (Jan. 1904), 217-8.
[113] 'Usury and the Canon Law', *DR*, 22 (Jan. 1874), 86, 91.
[114] On seminary use: 'Notices of Books', *DR*, 21 (July, 1873), 264. Cf. C. Curran, *The Origins of Moral Theology in the United States* (Washington, D.C., 1997), 56f.
[115] Cardinal Capecelatro: 'Notices of Books', *DR*, 127 (Oct. 1900), 475-77.
[116] Fergal Casey, 'The Greening of Cardinal Manning', in Rafferty, *Irish Catholic Identities* (Manchester, 2013), 243-56.
[117] 'Condition of the Working Classes', *Times*, 6 Dec. 1887, p.6.

without necessarily meaning by them what Social Gospellers or Idealists did.[118] But were they 'socialists'? Manning refused to embrace the sobriquet because its meaning was in flux[119] (though he bristled that *any* opposition to 'individualism' was unthinkingly taxed with being Socialistic'[120]). Some of his disciples, like the housing activist, Henry Harrod, were equally cautious.[121] But the wider anti-liberal discourse to which Catholics contributed detoxified the term. Bagshawe blazed a trail, envisaging systematic schemes of redistribution.[122] Socialists slipped into many an 'abyss of error', one priest acknowledged, but these were 'pardonable extravagance[s]' in extreme circumstances. Catholics were urged to solidarity: if it refused to provide for the common good, the right to property itself could be revoked;[123] in this sense – and when shorn of 'frightful' materialist prejudices – a Catholic could call himself a socialist.[124] Given that most species of British socialism abjured Marxism and focused on 'social regeneration', alignment even appeared desirable: for 'wherever there [was such] an unselfish love of one's neighbour', Hess thrilled, 'there is the Spirit of God'.[125]

If the language of natural law facilitated dialogue with collectivists, it also opened the Catholic body to attack. Manning's 1887 address excited responses ranging from the suspicious to the splenetic. Malthusians railed against demoralisation,[126] asking whether a man might not, under such 'arbitrary figments', steal the necessary sum for a 'life-saving' holiday in the Canaries.[127] Spencerian social Darwinists scoffed at the notion that nature had a preferential option for the poor.[128] For political economists, this very senselessness made Manning's theory dangerous: *The Times* recounted a meeting of 2,000 unemployed men in Greenwich who had been told that their children were 'skeletons', and that 'if things went on many days they would have to consider what Cardinal Manning had said ... that necessity knew no law'. Here was the *lawlessness* of nature.[129]

This rhetoric signalled anxieties about natural law – how it might be mobilised, and to what end – that could be traced to Mill. His article on 'Nature', written in the 1850s and aimed at natural-rights theorists and evangelicals, was revised and republished in 1873 in the midst of his debates with Ward, and attacked 'the Catholic

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[118] See: Thompson, 'Christian Socialist Revival', 283-4, 292-3; Roe, *Lamennais in England*, 160.
[119] Leslie, *Manning*, 378.
[120] *Rights of Labour*, 69-70.
[121] J. Cleary, *Catholic Social Action in Britain 1909-1959* (Oxford, 1961).
[122] *Mercy*, 20-8.
[123] J. Welch, *Socialism, Individualism and Catholicism* (1910), 34-47.
[124] Welch, 'The Morality of English Socialism', *Irish Ecclesiastical Record,* 20 (July, 1906), 31-55.
[125] Hess, 'Social Work', in *Social Life,* 128-35. Cf. Hess, *Socialism or Democracy* … (1926), v-vii.
[126] 'Conference of Poor Law Administrators', *Times*, 8 Dec. 1887, p.10.
[127] J. Davies, 'The Problem of Poverty', *Universal Review*, 1 (July, 1888), 380f.
[128] 'A.' to the *Times*, 13 Feb. 1888, p.10.
[129] *Times*, 13 Jan. 1888, p.7.

religion' as the chief offender in seeking to instantiate 'the general scheme of nature' as determinant of 'our voluntary actions'. To accept natural law, Mill insinuated, was to accept Roman law: the rule of an 'infallible Church and its army of Inquisitors'. All the poverty of Italy – intellectual and material – would surely follow.[130] The attack was joined by other lights of liberalism, who took aim at natural law's economic import by focussing on its theological baggage. Liguori was an easy target. His popularity soared amongst Ultramontanes just as Ultramontane-baiting became a national pastime. Declared a Doctor of the Church in 1871, his teachings and method were widely (wrongly) considered to be binding on Catholics. In personal and political ethics, they were held to lead to casuistry, Machiavellianism, and 'ecclesiastical Caesarism'.[131] As a form of political economy, they were contrary to the 'advancing spirit of rationalism'.[132] The Liguorian confessor, offering guidance on 'buying, selling, hiring, letting, lending and borrowing', did so as though 'we still … had the Pope and his priesthood interfering in … our courts … [and] commercial … relations'. In the economic sphere, as in the constitutional, Rome demonstrated its 'traditional antagonism' towards the civil power, grasping after a 'separate jurisdiction' by making every transaction 'triable twice over; once before the court, once before the confessor'. In a flourish of free-thinking magnanimity, *Fraser's* cautioned against 'attributing to individuals the obliquities … [of] their system'. Nevertheless, a 'thorough-going pupil' of Liguorian economic ethics 'would be one in whom we could have no confidence, and from whom we should lock up our spoons'.[133]

*Lamennais' ghost: the 'Grand Theocracy'*

British liberals did not really fear cutlery theft by shifty-looking Jesuits. As these responses indicate, what they feared was the intention behind the mobilisation of natural law: Rome's renewed attempt to reestablish its temporal power in attaching itself to 'the will of the people'. This suspicion was not unreasonable. The collectivism embraced by these Social Catholics was part of a rhetorical renovation of Wiseman's popular Ultramontanism. Here, superficial continuities belied significant change. No longer tempered by the Görresian-Tocquevillian synthesis – where the Church was the consecrating keystone of a popular but plural order – 'Manningism' echoed in a charged

[130] Mill, *Nature, The Utility of Religion, and Theism* (1874), 3-68.
[131] [R. W. Church?], 'Liguori's Theory of Truthfulness', *CR*, 27.83 (Jan. 1854), 41; [W. C. Cartwright], 'The Doctrines of the Jesuits', *QR*, 138.275 (Jan. 1875), 59, 105-6; Lilly, '"The End Sanctifies the Means"', *FR*, 98.583 (July, 1915), 200-1.
[132] Lecky, *Spirit of Rationalism*, II, 268.
[133] 'Penance and Absolution', *Fraser's Magazine*, 75.446 (Feb. 1867), 231-4, 241.

socialist-millenarian atmosphere; rather than seeking a return to the incarnationalism of Mennaisians like Ozanam, it sought to re-engage with the theocratic thought of their master.

The spectre of Lamennais had long haunted the Catholic establishment. His attempt 'to engraft on Catholicism revolutionary principles', as well as the 'depth' of his 'apostacy [*sic*]'[134] left his name synonymous with error.[135] To his lingering influence were traced many perversities in continental 'political Catholicism'.[136] The *Rambler* denounced, as vehemently as the *Dublin*, the 'apostle of fanaticism' who once held a generation under his spell.[137] As we have seen, however, there was more than a hint of fascination in this horror – especially for the many Tractarians intoxicated by *L'Avenir*.[138] Lamennais' strategy also made sense to Irish Catholics, and to those in England who saw the Irish Church as a model. *Mennaisisme* seemed to them simply a theologisation of Irish praxis; indeed, his political theology of a Christendom reborn in martyrdom, liberty and faith owed much to his romanticised vision of the Irish, '*fort dans leur faiblesse*'; of their priests, who repulsed Erastian encroachments and lived amongst their flock; and of O'Connell, the Mosaic radical leading God's people out of bondage. His one-time disciples, Montalembert and Dupanloup, saw Christ incarnate in a people who had suffered everything except apostasy.[139] His most forceful British exponent was naturally Frederick Lucas, editor of the *Tablet*, champion of Ireland, sceptic of ecclesiastical temporalities, and scourge of exploitative oligarchs (including England's condescending Catholic gentry).[140] Like his predecessors in radical Catholic politics – such as Fr. Thomas McDonnell – Lucas saw in Ireland a vision of the Church of the future: not Catholic, merely, but liberating as well; not liberating, merely, but Catholic as well.

If this palingenetic tradition was suppressed between 1848 and 1870, it was not snuffed out.[141] In numerous essays, Lamennais appeared camouflaged as 'Savonarola' – whose heresy saw him burned at the stake with papal sanction, but whose portrait was 'painted by Raffaelle among the doctors of the Church in the Vatican' just a decade later.[142] Why not? What integralist could dispute his assumption that 'it is the duty of religion and its

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[134] [Robertson], 'Religious and Social Condition of France', *DR*, 16 (March, 1844), 5.

[135] [Coleridge], 'Lacordaire and the Order of St. Dominic', *Month*, 5 (July-Dec, 1866), 331-48; [Coleridge?], 'Liberalism of Lacordaire', 644-7.

[136] Acton, 'Ultramontanism', 172-4, 192-3.

[137] Ferdinand d'Eckstein, 'The Abbé de Lamennais', *Rambler* 1 (1 May, 1859), 61.

[138] Roe, *Lamennais*, 32; Mozley, *Essays Historical and Theological*, 2 vols. (1878), I, xix.

[139] Seamus Deane, 'A Church Destroyed, The Church Restored: France's Irish Catholicism', *Field Day Review*, 7 (2011), 202-49.

[140] Gilley, 'Frederick Lucas', 60-66; Patrick Maume, 'Brethren in Christ: Frederick Lucas and social Catholicism in Ireland', in Rafferty, *Irish Catholic Identities* (Manchester, 2013), 231-42.

[141] Auguste Godde and James Manning, *Pius the Ninth,* 2 vols. (1847), I, i-iii; Aeneas McDonnell Dawson, *The Temporal Sovereignty of the Pope* (1860), 34-40.

[142] [Capes], 'Savonarola: Catholicism in the 15th and in the 19th Century', *Rambler*, 12 (Nov. 1853), 341-56; Part II: 12 (Dec, 1853), 449-73.

ministers to direct the consciences of … governments [and] nations'?[143] Here was the paradox: Lamennais was anathema across these decades for advocating the separation of Church and state; even disciples who denounced him were 'stained' by propinquity to heresy.[144] But the end to which that separation was the ostensible means – the re-foundation of Christendom in popular acclaim – remained a legitimate (simply inopportune) ecclesiological strategy. By 1870, however, liberals had effected a divorce that Ultramontanes had unceasingly denounced; so ironically the Mennaisian vision of a popular theocracy became, now, *opportuno*.

Enter the great opportunist. Building on steps toward Lamennais' historicisation – the publication in the later 1860s of his correspondence was seen as a moment when the 'silence around his name' could yield to dispassionate reflection[145] – Manning, writing anonymously in the dying months of Pius IX's pontificate, propounded a neo-Mennaisian framework in which Catholic politics could be reconceived. Mennaisians' failings were not excused; but in changed circumstances, the truth of their prophesies could be acknowledged: that the Church must accept democracy as a Providential law, seeking its 'salvation in the poor', as the poor sought theirs in the Church; that God was bringing low the power of kings and capital, and rebuilding a *respublica Christiana* of true 'brotherhood'.[146] Catholicism would bring "'society to its perfection,'" realising on earth 'the Kingdom of God'.[147]

From this manifesto, Manningites like Barry and Hilaire Belloc developed in parallel to the ethics of natural law a radical political theology: action-oriented, millenarian, theocratic. It was grounded in a version of the incarnational apocalyptic (the emergence of which we charted in the last chapter).[148] But in this iteration, capitalism rather than Jansenism figured as the narrative's Antichrist, legitimising the worship of 'Mammon', the 'tyranny of Individualism', and all their attendant evils: the desecration of family life; the exploitation of workers; 'iniquitous' speculation; the 'insecurity' engendered by globalisation; the parasitic nature of a cosmopolitan military-industrial complex.[149] Indeed, just as an older generation fulminated against the Jansenist conspiracy, these Manningites criticised capitalism as a scheme and swindle. It was the fruit of theft – by the few, of the many. A shadowy clique

[143] [O'Reilly], 'Savonarola', *DR*, 37 (Sept. 1854), 201-5.
[144] 'Liberalism of Lacordaire', 644-7.
[145] V. Mercier, 'Early years of Lamennais', *Month*, 7 (Nov. 1867), 436-50.
[146] [Manning], 'Frederic Ozanam', *DR*, 28 (April, 1877), 318.
[147] [Coleridge], 'Lacordaire', 223, citing Lacordaire's *La Système Philosophique de la Mennais*, ch. 10.
[148] See Barry, *The Papal Monarchy* (1902), 2-6, 10-12, 190-5, 282, 309-10, 402-20; *The Papacy and Modern Times* (1911), vii-ix.
[149] [Barry], 'Carlyle', *DR*, 13 (Jan. 1885), 84; 'The Church and the Social Revolution', *DR*, 24 (Oct. 1890), 291; 'Rome and Democracy', 142 (Jan. 1908), 234-5; Belloc, 'The Liberal Tradition', in *Essays in Liberalism* (1897), 4-6; Snow, 'Workman', 33-44; *CIC,* 16-21.

– Presbyterian magnates; 'the Jew' – had hijacked the modern polity, transforming it into an engine of oppression.[150]

Belloc warmed to this theme. Grandson of a radical Whig, son of a Unitarian converted by Manning's preaching, he was repulsed by the Tory gentry at Newman's Oratory, and drawn, in his father's native France, to the populist-nationalist socialism of the communard, Paul Déroulède, whose *Ligue des Patriotes* indulged Maistrean conspiracies about duplicitous elites (Jansenist, Masonic, Jewish) and fought to liberate France from 'cosmopolitan thievery'.[151] An Ultramontane apprenticeship was foreordained. Idolising Manning, taking up his causes on the rights of labour and Ireland, and adopting his core conviction – that '[a]ll human conflict is ultimately theological'[152] – the young Belloc internalised the political theology of the 'democratical cardinal' and immersed himself in the familiar narrative of modernity as an Erastian-capitalist 'revolution' effected in 'robbery' and tending to 'anarchy'.[153] For a wide audience, Catholic and non-Catholic alike, he spotlighted moments in an 'economic conspiracy' of dispossession. It stretched from the Reformation to 'the nightmare of Cosmopolitan Finance',[154] and was sanctified by the mythology of 'Protestant Teutonism', which hoodwinked the people into believing themselves free whilst decreeing 'infallible' the legal foundations of a usurping oligarchy. Each vaunted 'reform' left the 'heart of evil untouched'; the 'true' people, Catholic at heart, went unheard and lived unfree.[155]

This was more than an 'anti-Whig history'.[156] Like Dalgairns, Belloc presented Catholicism as a 'popular … religion' with a temporal mission, warring against the antichristian spirit concentrated in powerful, plausible elites: Arianism in the early Church; Protestantism in the Reformation; atheism in modernity.[157] Intellectually, it meant positivism; politically, it preached Caesarism; economically, it heralded 'Industrial Capitalistic Society'.[158] Under each guise, it sought an end to the incarnational order. In one sense, then, there was nothing new about this *fin-de-siècle* apocalypticism – save that alongside the usual cast of Jansenists and masons, chaos was blamed on

[150] Barry, 'Emancipation from the Jews', *NR*, 27 (June, 1896), 576-92. Cf. Simon Mayers, 'From "the Pharisee" to "the Zionist Menace": Myths, Stereotypes and Constructions of the Jew in English Catholic Discourse (1896-1929)', Manchester Ph.D. Thesis (2012), chs. 3-4.

[151] Tom Villis, *Reaction and the Avant-Garde* (2006), 1-3.

[152] *CIC*, 2-12; Speaight, *Belloc*, 40-5.

[153] Gasquet, *Henry VIII,* II., 494, 505-7, 508-16; Cunningham, *English Industry,* 432-3.

[154] *Emmanuel Burden* (1904), 89.

[155] 'Liberal Tradition', 1-6, 18-28; '"Democracy and Liberty" Reviewed,' *CW*, 66 (Oct. 1897), 105-8; 'Lord Acton on the French Revolution,' *The Nineteenth Century and After*, 69.411, (May, 1911), 847-9; 'The Catholic Conscience of History,' C*W*, 92 (Oct. 1910), 1-9; Cf. Cowling, *Religion and Public Doctrine in Modern England* (Cambridge, 2003), II, 330.

[156] Victor Feske, *From Belloc to Churchill* (1996), 234-5.

[157] Belloc, 'The Beginnings of the Nations', *CW*, 92 (March 1911), 765-79; 'The Results of the Reformation: II', *CW*, 94, (Jan. 1912), 515-24; 'The Church and French Democracy VI.', *CW*, 99 (April, 1914), 15-24.

[158] Belloc, 'Reformation II', 515-6.

capitalists and the vaporous Idealists, tyrannical Socialists, and vegetarian Buddhists they trailed in their wake.[159] But as we have seen, it was being articulated at a moment of expectative fervour, and in a context where Catholics could conceive of themselves as Kingdom-builders. They were encouraged not only to name the evil, but to work for its redemption. Christ, Barry urged, still willed the 'transformation' of 'laws, customs, peoples, on a heavenly pattern' – the building-up of a 'Theocracy incarnate', such that politics would be a form of 'liturgy'.[160] This was positioned as a radical-popular project: what would appear 'from *above*' to be 'a Theocracy' would seem 'from *below* … a Democracy'.[161] Manningites called for the conscientisation 'of the Catholic masses by instruction, co-operation, and practical Christian life'; the 'drilling' of this 'machine of war'; its mobilisation for elections. A 'wave' of popular acclamation would see the forces of revolution 'swamp[ed]', and a 'grand theocracy' erected on 'the ruins of the Middle Age, and after the nineteenth century … has passed away'.[162]

Here was theological sanction for a competitive, collaborative Catholic politics in a democratic age. For Barry, deliberately echoing the language of Protestant socialists, to crouch in the confessional as 'social Quietists' was to assume that God 'means His reign to begin when the world has been burnt with fire on the Day of Judgement, but not a moment sooner'. Instead, Catholics were called to 'legislate in union with men of various creeds and parties for the common good'.[163] Manning's last years of social campaigning bore witness to this principle.[164] It also coloured his interpretation of *Rerum Novarum*: he urged Catholics to resurrect a 'Christian Commonwealth' from modernity's rubble of selfishness and 'sacrilege'.[165] The encyclical (the translation and reception of which he carefully choreographed), was thus hailed by many – inside and outside the Church – as a kind of Kingdom-event:[166] an inspiring declaration, in the words of the leading Anglican social thinker, Henry Scott Holland, that the sovereignty of the 'heavenly society' *already* extended to earth; that the 'rights' of its 'citizenship' were '*already* due'.[167] Here was a 'revolution' in the Church's attitude to 'modern society', the campaigning journalist, W. T. Stead, told the wider public: to their Catholic fellow citizens, the world was 'no

[159] *Lambkin's Remains*, 51-7; 'Liberal Tradition', 7-8; Barry, 'Rome and Democracy', 221-7.
[160] 'Rome and Democracy', 218-20, 235; 'The genius of Rome', *QR*, 191 (Jan. 1900), 38-9, 55.
[161] *Papal Monarchy*, 423; 'Thoughts on the Encyclical of Leo XIII to the Bishops of Spain', *DR*, 10 (July, 1883), 177-9.
[162] Atteridge, 'Italy', 379-80; Hedley, 'The Pope', *DR*, 7 (April, 1882), 480; 'Leo XIII', 496.
[163] [Barry], 'Social Revolution', 291-4.
[164] On people trafficking, temperance: 'National Conference in London', *The Sentinel*, 77 (Sept. 1885), 475-6.
[165] *Dignity*, 70-1; 'Condition of Labour', 153-67.
[166] Leslie, *Manning*, 379-81; 'The Pope's Encyclical', *Times*, 1 June, 1891, p.9.
[167] Henry Scott Holland, 'Encyclical Letter of Pope Leo XIII. on the Condition of Labour', *Economic Review*, 1 (Oct. 1891), 455-65. Emphasis added.

longer merely the ante-chamber of eternity'; its inhabitants were 'citizens of the Kingdom of God on earth, charged with the duty of transforming the world'.[168].

*Social and political Catholicism: the Kingdom imminent*

Reformers like Stead rejoiced to have Rome on their side, and predicted that this new paradigm would have positive ramifications. Seminarians would study 'the science of modern agriculture' as much as they would the science of theology; 'councils of arbitration' as much as 'councils of the Church'.[169] Twenty-five years later, Charles Plater SJ (1875-1921), published a work which demonstrated the shrewdness of this prediction. The Church's 'duty', he argued, 'does not end with the declaration that injustice is to be removed. She must labour to remove it', taking 'in hand the cause of the weak', and, like Christ, dispensing 'temporal benefits'.[170] He spoke for a generation convinced of the merits of 'Social Catholicism' and determined, after the deaths of Manning (1892) and Leo (1903), that the Church not 'retire into a cloister … sulking'.[171]

In this, they had to navigate treacherous currents. Catholic socialism was denounced in the press as either naïve or nefarious – unscientific muddleheadedness or a cynical attempt to regain the Church's temporal power by insinuating itself into the fabric of modern democracy.[172] Meanwhile, unnerved by the radicalism Manning had unleashed, elements in the Catholic body sought to bury Manningism along with its avatar: the press defined it down;[173] the cardinal's protégé, Archbishop Vaughan, ascribed it to creeping dementia;[174] the leading Catholic public intellectual of the age, Wilfrid Ward, sneered at those 'capricious impulses' which had led Manning to 'prophecy' and to 'play-act' at politics.[175] At the same time, the new pope, Pius X (1834-1914), worried about the Church's immersion in socioeconomic activity, and laid down 'principles' to 'regulate' efforts for 'Christian Action'.[176]

Yet the faithful were not cowed, affirming instead the increasing relevance of Social Catholicism. The poet, Katharine Tynan (1859-1931), rejected Wilfrid Ward's intellectualist argument that Neman's philosophical

[168] W. T. Stead, 'The Pope's Encyclical on the Condition of Labour', *Review of Reviews*, 3.18 (June, 1891), 620-23.
[169] Ibid., 620-23.
[170] Plater, *The Priest and Social Action* (1914), 23-8.
[171] Barry, 'Rome and Democracy', 232-3,
[172] 'Conference of Austrian Bishops', *Times*, 15 March, 1892, p.5; 'Sense and Nonsense', *SR*, 71 (23 May, 1891), 614.
[173] 'The Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster', *Month*, 69 (Aug. 1890), 457-63; St. George Mivart, 'Cardinal Manning', *New World*, 5 (June, 1896), 222, 204.
[174] McClelland, *Cardinal Manning: his public life and influence, 1865-1892* (1962), 146.
[175] Maisie Ward, *The Wilfrid Wards and the Transition* (1934), I, 222; Ward, 'Newman and Manning', in *Ten Personal Studies* (1908), 271-5.
[176] *Fin dalla prima nostra* (1903); *Il fermo proposito* (1905), §13; *Docente Apostolo* (1910).

theology readied the Church for modernity in a way that Manning's political theology could not. The 'democratic cardinal' spoke to 'the world … beyond the green peace of quadrangles'; the bridge to the future lay not in hermeneutics but in praxis.[177] The choice would define the Catholic body in the new century, insisted Manning's biographer, A. W. Hutton (1848-1912), and the *littérateur*, Ida Ashworth Taylor (1847-1929): a 'simple' faith, practised in social action, promised 'expansion'; the 'futile' efforts of 'intellectuals' to win over elites in theological abstraction portended decline.[178] A large body of opinion was clear: however 'unwise' at times his tone, Manning's policy (as they chose to remember it) had 'reclaimed' Rome's place at the centre of British life.[179]

The same voices minimised Pius X's concerns as mere cautions against 'perverse' readings of the Leonine corpus.[180] *Rerum Novarum* remained the 'turning point' in modern ecclesiastical history.[181] All further pronouncements were to be read in a sense compatible with its 'real' meaning, as interpreted by the certified exegetes of the Catholic Social Guild, an association summoned into being to issue licenses for this sensitive activity.[182] The Church, they announced, had allowed its 'sphere' of activity to become 'contracted' by the structures of liberalism. It would be 'widened ... by judicious social action'.[183] The clearer Pius X's suspicions became, the more dexterous this party proved in eliding the differences with his predecessor and insisting on the orthodoxy of their mission.[184] They pressed for the laity to show its 'public spirit' in action.[185]

This appeal to the language of ethical collectivism was deliberate. Manningites found the idea of the 'social organism' attractive. They could agree with Idealists that the state was no 'mere machine', but a higher 'unity' for the 'general good of society';[186] it was there that man, a 'political animal', would realise 'fellowship'.[187] Without the cultivation of this spirit, the social 'body' fell into 'decay'; 'morbid' subcultures fetishised their own 'isolated interests'.[188] *With* its cultivation, urged Margaret Fletcher (1862-1943), at the inaugural meeting of the Catholic Women's League (1907), the social 'organism' might be 'drawn together'.[189] Employing the term enabled Catholics,

[177] 'Some Personal Recollections of Cardinal Manning', *CW* (May, 1892), 180-88.
[178] Hutton, *Cardinal Manning* (1894), 256-8; Taylor, *The Cardinal Democrat* (1908), 2-3, 6-7.
[179] S. F. Smith, 'The Life of Cardinal Manning', *Month*, 86.380 (Feb. 1896), 153; F[lotsam], 'Catholic Socialism', *Month*, 65.551 (May, 1910), 524-5.
[180] Plater, *Social Action*, 22, 204-17, 24-5.
[181] Barry, 'Cardinal Manning', 90.
[182] See Crawford, 'The Coming of Age of the CSG', *Irish Quarterly Review*, 19.75 (Sept. 1930), 458.
[183] Plater, *Social Action*, 37-8.
[184] See Keating's 'Introduction' to Plater's *Social Action*, xi-xiv.; cf. Parkinson, *Pope Pius X on Social Reform* (1911); Capecelatro, *Christ, The Church, and Man*, 18, 73-4; Francis Thompson, *St Ignatius Loyola*, ed J. H. Pollen (1909), 131.
[185] Hedley, *Public Spirit*; Michael Maher, *English Economics and Catholic Ethics* (1912), 12-15.
[186] 'Books, &c.', *Tablet*, 10 Jan. 1874, 43. Cf. Harris, *Private Lives*, 227f.
[187] Lilly, 'Issues of Life and Death', *Tablet*, 19 Nov. 1887, 804-5.
[188] Meyrick Booth, 'The Decay of Fixed Ideals', *DR*, 296 (Jan. 1911), 44-5.
[189] 'The Catholic Women's League', *Tablet*, 28 Dec. 1907, 1018-21.

like the moralist, Bernard Vaughan SJ (1847-1922), to address public matters, like the justness of employment law, without recourse to the sectarian tone of natural-law claims.[190] More broadly, the language allowed Catholics to theorise social action in pluralist polities. They pointed to the promising examples of France and Germany – even Protestant Holland, where Catholics cooperated with other common-good parties in an 'avowedly theocratic spirit', legislating to protect the Sabbath, to regulate capital, and to introduce national insurance. Catholics followed the complementary calls of Leo XIII and Pius X: rallying to the republic, they restored all things in Christ.[191]

Many thus shared Manning's conviction that they could work with other millenarian-minded British Christians to build the Kingdom. Here was a 'modification' of the integralist thesis – albeit one starkly different to that of Hergeneröther: the state was not to be bridled, merely, but ridden. And if palingenesists were accidentally ecumenical, they remained essentially integralist. Even they might snigger at the vision of the novelist, R. H. Benson, of a 'Catholic colony' populated by rosy-cheeked farmers praying the Angelus before a statue of Thomas More.[192] But in a faithful country, like Spain, Catholic action was shown to mean the realisation of Wiseman's wildest dreams.[193] And despite some softening sentiment on Italian nationalism,[194] the keystone of this argument remained unshaken: in refusing to surrender their sovereignty, the popes had preserved the principle that the nations yearned for 'the Kingdom of the Incarnation'.[195] All Catholic action, an 1891 CTS meeting on servants' rights heard, was part of a campaign to extend 'the frontiers of the Kingdom of Peter'.[196] The Church's battle, proclaimed the *Dublin's* editor, James Moyes (1851-1927), upon Pius X's election, was 'evolving'; but her promise to the 'suffering masses' was unchanging: 'the unity of the Papacy with a civil princedom' and 'the unity of Church and State' in furthering the common good.[197] In February 1912, the *Tablet* reported the celebrations in Rome, led by the Ushaw-educated integralist and Cardinal Secretary of State, Merry del Val, of the 1600th anniversary of the Edict of Constantine.[198]

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[190] 'Father B. Vaughan and Sweated Industries', *Tablet*, 1 Feb. 1908, 185.

[191] Dorothy Acton, 'The Catholic Party in the Netherlands', *DR*, 305 (April, 1913), 232-53. Cf. 'Catholic Social Efforts in France', *DR* (July, 1906), 87-93; 'Catholic Social Work in Germany', *DR*, 286 (July, 1908), 1-24.

[192] Benson, 'A Catholic Colony (A Suggestion)', *DR*, 293 (April, 1910), 383-95; 'S.', 'Some Recent Books', *DR*, 284 (Jan. 1908), 187-9.

[193] [Manuel Bidwell?], 'Church and State in Spain', *DR*, 140 (Jan. 1907), 33-41; 'The Reaction in Spain', *DR*, 141 (July, 1907), 272-84.

[194] Thomas Scannell, 'Pastor's History of the Popes', *DR*, 111 (July, 1892), 1-30; 'PH,', 'Garibaldi', *DR*, 141 (July, 1907), 192-3; H. M. Vaughan, 'Niccolò Macchiavelli', *DR*, 144 (Jan. 1909), 329-38.

[195] C. P. Collingridge, *The temporal power of the pope* (1891). Cf. Best, *Victories of Rome.*

[196] *Tablet*, 4 July, 1891, 21.

[197] 'The New Pontificate', *DR*, 133 (Oct. 1903), 253, 256-9; Peter Haythornthwaite, 'Dante and Union of Italy', *DR*, 141 (July, 1907), 365.

[198] 'Rome', in *Tablet*, 3 Feb. 1912, 181.

Behind this rhetoric of continuity with the integralist tradition of Wiseman, we can detect a conceptual shift. By the turn of the century, Barry was ready to unveil (for audiences popular and academic, Catholic and non-Catholic) what others had only intimated: the 'prophet' of this 'new age' was not Lacordaire or Ozanam, but Lamennais himself – 'eaten up', like Savonarola and Tertullian, 'by inner turmoil', but like them a 'genius' whose 'vision of a Catholic democracy' was rooted in Thomist insights and promised 'Christian progress'.[199]

Barry's wager was that Catholics could now claim the prophecies of *Des progrès de la Révolution* (1829) – '*Dieu et Liberté*' – without endorsing the heresies of the *Paroles d'un Croyant* (1834), which subordinated the Church to God's immanent revelation in 'the People'. But this was a difficult distinction to maintain. Many failed to grasp it. Those who did could not always keep hold of it. Others wished actively to elide it. Barry belongs in the former camp. He proclaimed Lamennais 'the Jean Jacques of Catholicism', but seems to have been unclear what he meant by that.[200] On the one hand, he savaged the Genevan, 'out of whose … moonstruck brain the French Revolution burst';[201] and whose anti-civilisational 'austerity' was a 'Gnostic' rejection of Catholicism's sacramental 'vocation'.[202] Yet he was also ready to suggest that the Rousseauean tradition might now, at 'the consummation of the age', prove indispensable.[203]

Could Rousseau's call for revolutionary purity, however, be separated from his naturalism? Could Lamennais' call for a revolutionary Christianity be separated from his Rousseauean immanentism? As suggested by our analysis above of the elements of Manningite thought – the social organism's palingenesis effected in the praxis of God's people – modes of muddled immanentist thinking were increasingly common, and questions like these increasingly pressing. This was inevitable. Catholics were seeking their place in a culture saturated by evolutionary and Idealist idioms and seeking to reconcile Spencer's theories of nature's inexorability with Green's insistence on its ethical-rational purposiveness.[204] But the closer the Church drew to the world, seeking its transformation, the closer the world came to swallowing up the Church. Two efforts to frame a neo-Mennaisian ecclesiology in this context demonstrated its perils.

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[199] 'Lamennais', *QR*, 185 (April, 1897), 447-50, 454-8; 'Rome and Democracy', 217-40; *Papacy and Modern Times,* 220-3; 'Catholic Europe', in *Cambridge Modern History,* (1902), I, 649-50.

[200] 'Lamennais', 447-9.

[201] *Papal Monarchy*, 309-10; *Heralds*, 192, 234-6.

[202] 'The Secret of Catholicism', *NR*, 27 (Aug. 1896), 819-20.

[203] 'Lamennais', 447-9.

[204] Harris, *Private Lives*, 227-30.

Belloc's writings from the 1890s and early 1900s reveal a mind moulded by Rousseau, as mediated by Maistre and Lamennais. Disdaining German historicism, he embraced the French tradition, reaching from Maistre to Michelet: history as a search for the 'unity' of a 'great' 'story' and its imaginative 'resurrection'.[205] The Ultramontane narrative of capitalism as Jansenist conspiracy was one such exercise. But his wider account of modernity and its potential was more ambivalent. Not only did Belloc praise the 'apostolic quality' of Rousseau's 'Faith' – that man was 'part of Nature'; that complex social forms, separating him from nature, were 'evil' – he adopted the conviction that civilisational decadence would be swept aside in a reassertion of moral right and spiritual freedom.[206] For Belloc, 'the people' would be the agent of this terrestrial redemption. Liberals like Acton were charged with misconstruing Rousseau's 'General Will' as brute majoritarianism. Following Maistre (who was in turn fusing Aristotle with William of Ockham), Belloc redefined it as humanity's unconscious conscience: a generation's standard of justice and programme of reform.[207] Following Lamennais, he saw this *sensus communis* – the Will of God, as generally understood and embodied in His people – taking the form of a crusade, a 'frenzied apostolate' in pursuit of purity at a moment of crisis. Belloc did not present the image of a Christianised revolution so much as the idea that an innately moral revolution (like the French) was itself a type of Christ.[208]

It might not have been entirely 'sane' of the Jacobins to 'attempt to realise in the State an equality and a justice that can only exist in the soul', he conceded; Utopia could not be produced in a 'machine' – even one as effective as the guillotine.[209] This caveat notwithstanding, the whole thrust of his argument derived from the Mennaisian conviction that God's sovereignty, immanent in His people, could be discerned even in those forces that seemed to menace the Church; his sense that the Revolution was but a form of Revelation – a disfigured incarnation of Christ's mystical body, carrying within it the promise of an earthly redemption. This was heady, Joachitic stuff. It did not last. Over the course of the following decade, as he contemplated the restive masses, and Pius X's war on Modernism, Belloc's political theology moderated. In *The Servile State* (1912), God's reign was no

[205] 'The Historian,' *The Living Age*, 9.2943 (Dec. 1900), 723-26.

[206] *Danton. A Study* (New York, 1899), 26-9; Speaight, *Belloc*, 139-42.

[207] *Danton*, 1-3; 'The Cambridge History of the French Revolution,' *The Bookman*, 26.156 (Sept. 1904), 203-7. For Maistre's dialogue with Rousseau: Armenteros, 'Human Nature to Normal Humanity: Joseph de Maistre, Rousseau, and the Origins of Moral Statistics', *JHI*, 68 (2007), 107-30.

[208] *Danton*, ix, 26-9. On Lamennais' immanentism and engagement with Rousseau: Milbach, 'Introduction' to *Lamennais,* 5-10; Vidler, P*rophecy and Papacy* (1954), 23-34, 72-5, 89; John Oldfield, *The Problem of Tolerance and Social Existence in the Writings of Félicité Lamennais, 1809-1831* (Leiden, 1973), 41-7, 106-13; 130-1.

[209] *Danton*, 286-7; 'The Sea-Fight off Ushant', *Scribner's*, 34.2 (August, 1903), 163-72.

longer imagined as the product of a spirit-filled 'People', but – more conventionally – a *respublica Christiana* built on interlocking corporations and a resuscitated faith.[210] Monist immanentism yielded to pluralism and mystery.

If Belloc's engagement with Lamennais led to a popular-political immanentism, the Jesuit apologist, George Tyrrell, derived from Lamennais a popular-theological immanentism. And where Belloc tip-toed away from the abyss, Tyrrell charged in. At the Farm Street *scriptorium*, this gifted Irish convert began to drift from incarnational dogma.[211] In 1895, he recited the integralist creed: 'the Catholic conception of the Incarnation' was that the supernatural 'perfects' the natural; so the Church's concern was 'the perfection of the human race, present no less than future, natural no less than supernatural, social no less than individual'.[212] But by 1897, he hailed Lamennais' social vision: 'the cause of the Church and of society … were one and the same', for the Church's '*voice was at once the voice of humanity and the voice of God*'.[213] Like the Anglican thinker, Hastings Rashdall, Tyrrell had no time for the 'hazy', compromising Christian Socialism of those who would 'pare Christianity down' to 'progress' so as 'to gain it a newer lease of life by proving its serviceableness to social and political ends'.[214] But the impress of Idealism was increasingly clear. The premise of Lamennais' thought – that man is a social animal – led Tyrrell to the conclusion that 'the perfection of humanity' lay in its 'self-development' into an 'association for mutual help' – an insight which 'holds good, not for individuals alone, but for societies, and for Church and State'.[215] Here was the germ of the suggestion that the Church was *one* society for the 'perfection of humanity' – but that humanity also strove for that perfection *in and of itself*. At the same time as humanity was being divinised, Christ was being humanised, and the eucharist cast as a point of symbiosis with 'Reality', as much as a process of incorporation into Christ's body.[216] Further meditations on the relationship of 'created spirit and its indwelling Creator' disclaimed any intention of offering 'exact' ecclesiological images, but culminated in a striking essay on that 'Mystical Body' which theorised 'the "idea" of the Church' as an 'organism' for humanity's flourishing – one 'where the initiative and movement is from below'. Some 'theorists' would reduce them 'to the condition of slavery'; but Tyrrell presented the people of God as 'the spontaneous growth' of 'that governing idea which was forcing itself into

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[210] *The Servile State* (1912), 63. Belloc, 'Reform (III): The Restoration of Property,' *Oxford and Cambridge Review* (Oct. 1912), 53-7. Contrast McCarthy, *Edwardian Radical*, 306f, with Speaight, *Belloc*, 129-34.

[211] See Nicholas Sagovsky's entry on Tyrrell in the *ODNB*. Cf. the more sympathetic studies in Oliver P. Rafferty, ed., *George Tyrrell and Catholic Modernism* (Dublin, 2010).

[212] *Faith of the Millions. First series* (1904 [1901]), 8-11, 17.

[213] *Faith of the Millions. Second Series* (1904 [1901]), 85-6, 88-9, 90-2. Emphasis added.

[214] *First Series*, 68-74, 79-82; Jane Garnett, 'Hastings Rashdall and the Renewal of Christian Social Ethics, c.1890-1920', *Religion and Revival*, 297-316.

[215] *Second Series*, 88-9; cf. *Hard Sayings* (1904 [1898]), 410-11.

[216] *Nova et Vetera* (1905 [1897]), 81-83, 108.

reality' through time.[217] By 1907, finding himself on the brink of excommunication, Tyrrell's immanentism reached its climax – in a final reflection on Lamennais. The heresiarch won praise for seeing that Catholicism's 'supernatural character … consists with its being a co-factor in the natural process of man's spiritual development' – that Catholicism is 'divine with the divinity of a *natural* process'.[218]

*Pluralist pushback*

Belloc and Tyrrell were two of the most gifted Catholic writers of these years. Consciously or otherwise, their immanentist idioms echoed those of Benjamin Jowett, T. H. Green, Edward Caird, and B. F. Westcott, then seeking to reformulate theology in the wake of the Comtean challenge.[219] This 'neo-positivism' was contested by most Ultramontanes in vigorous (now familiar) ways, as an "'incarnationalism'" unworthy of the name: its humanisation of Christ was an attempt to banish the miraculous[220] and 'live by … [the] Idea of Christ … without believing in [the Person]'.[221] Catholicism was presented as a purer, orthodox expression of doctrine and moral philosophy, of which these discourses were pale imitations – partly hopeful, partly hazardous. For Devas, each of these thinkers was 'a Beowulf attacking the ancient … Grendel of materialism in her fetid marsh', and thus 'altogether our ally'. But in seeking to escape Comte, they had succumbed to a kind of Kantian nominalism, which reduced reality to a product of thought. Thus was the 'creature enthroned in the place of the Creator'; Hegelian 'pseudo-mysticism' loomed.[222] Newman's witticism seemed pertinent: mysticism began in mist – and ended in schism.[223]

Even the earnest incarnationalism of the *Lux Mundi* (1889) essayists – seeking to rescue personality, conscience and freedom from absolute idealism and crude materialism – was held suspect. Aged converts like de Vere (and, more ambivalently, Newman) lamented what they thought the betrayal by Charles Gore and his High Church circle of the Tractarian inheritance: one might sympathise with the apologetic intent of showing Catholicism unafraid of modern thought; but to succumb to the temptation of historical-critical exegesis was to

[217] *Hard Sayings*, viii-x, 397-99, 410-11, 418-20. See Sagovsky, *Between Two Worlds: George Tyrrell's relationship to the thought of Matthew Arnold* (1983), 63f.

[218] *Through Scylla and Charybdis; or, the Old Theology and the New* (1907), 74-7. Emphasis added.

[219] Cashdollar, *Transformation*, 329-445.

[220] 'XYZ', 'Professor Jowett', *DR*, 122 (Jan. 1898), 33-6.

[221] Lilly, 'Professor Green', *DR*, 22 (July, 1889), 100, 107-10, 116f.

[222] Devas, 'More Light on Religion and Philosophy', *DR*, 135 (July, 1904), 120, 122n; 'Christian Democracy', 127-9. Cf. Joseph Rickaby, F*irst Principles of Knowledge* (1901 [1888]), x-xiii, 260; Bernard Boedder SJ, *Natural Theology*, 112-70, 200-7.

[223] Barmann, 'The Modernist as mystic', in Jodock, ed., *Catholicism Contending with Modernity*, 215-47.

seek 'the "Kingdom of God" through the abuse of man's lesser gifts'.[224] Wilfrid Ward echoed this ambivalence. He was anxious to avoid rehearsing the polarised debates of the 1860s on scientific freedom and ecclesiastical authority, and fearful that imaginative, impetuous minds, like Tyrrell and Baron von Hügel, would follow Gore's lead and provoke Rome into a new round of witch-hunts. He thus sought to steady Catholic intellectuals in their adherence to 'a living authoritative tribunal', entrusted with expounding to man's limited reason the truths of a revelation which appeared, 'naturally enough, beyond us, because they belong to a sphere which God sees and which we do not see.' The rearticulation of orthodoxy could not follow from a false liberalism of method, which would inevitably reflect the 'Tyranny of the Zeitgeist', a 'naturalistic habit of mind … [which] comes easily in an age of science' – but which is 'un-Christian'.[225] The criticism was commonly echoed.[226]

Many Catholics were equally troubled by what they thought the consequences of the immanentist tendency: from Caird's philosophy to Mrs Humphrey Ward's fiction, Christians were abandoning incarnational faith in favour of a 'mere enthusiasm', acted out in '"work"', and veering from 'Agnosticism' to the worship of the 'Social Organism'.[227] The criticism betrayed nervousness that Manningism was drifting in this direction. Joseph Rickaby warned Catholic undergraduates at Oxford and Cambridge against a theocratic temptation that might lure them into too close an alignment with neo-Aristotelians and neo-Rousseaueans, like Green and Bosanquet, who promised to reimagine the state as an engine of morality. *Pace* their 'Greek notions', man was 'not a political animal all over': he had interests that would not be redeemed in the 'temporal order'. On this basis, the 'theocracy' of Manningites was dismissed as the dream of 'sundry mediaeval enthusiasts' – never the 'developed doctrine' of the Church. That, he snapped, to those in his audience reading too much Plato and Plater, is why the Church did not concern herself with 'tariffs', 'sewage', or 'vaccination', *per se*, but only insofar as they were 'obstacle[s] to salvation'. Theocrats who sought more from the state than the freedom to pursue 'holiness' merely emboldened Caesarists, who would eagerly expand 'the region of government control' over man's body and soul.[228]

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[224] [de Vere], 'The Great Religious Problem of the XIXth Century and *Lux Mundi*', *DR*, 4 (Oct. 1892), 345, 250, 339, 355-8. On Newman's response, see Wilfrid Ward's letter to Josephine Ward, 12/4/1890 in Maisie Ward, *Transition*, 191. On the context: Jane Garnett, '*Lux mundi* essayists', *ODNB*.

[225] Ward, 'New Wine in Old Bottles', in *Witnesses to the Unseen and other essays* (1893), 74-95; 'Oxford Liberalism and Dogma', in *Last Lectures* (1918), 282-5 (originally in *FR* (July, 1914), 29-40). For Ward's reminiscences of his growing suspicions of Tyrrell and von Hügel: *Transition*, 306f. Cf. Scotti, *Out of Due Time*, 9-10.

[226] W. L. Gildea, 'One of Canon Gore's Dissertations', *DR*, 118 (April, 1896), 347-69; 'Mr. Ottley's "Doctrine of the Incarnation"', *DR*, 120 (Jan. 1897), 128-9, 139.

[227] [Bellesheim], 'Notes on Novels', *DR*, 19 (April, 1888), 427-8; Devas, 'Christian Democracy', 127-9; 'Social Idealism', *Tablet*, 5 Aug. 1911, 206-7.

[228] *Political and Moral Essays*, 114-30, 67-71, 161-6, 144-50, 166-70.

Rickaby was not alone in doubting that the successor of Peter could remake the world holding the *Summa* in one hand and *L'Avenir* in the other, nor that a wooly-minded preference for praxis would corrode the understanding of the Kingdom as the body of Christ – given, not made; eucharistic, not democratic; and though world-transforming, also world-transcending.[229] Ironically, such thinkers found themselves turning to those previously suspect for their 'liberal' tendencies. The corporatist pluralism of Devas, for instance, was indebted not only to Görres, but likely to the insights, un-cited, of Richard Simpson. Devas' earliest writings on political economy, from the mid-70s, closely echo Simpson's of the late-50s, when Devas was a student at Eton, devouring Catholic writings and preparing to convert. (He would later marry the daughter of one of Simpson's close friends.[230]) Devas imbibed Simpson's fear, that the 'gross materialism' of the positivist state meant that even benign social reforms carried the imprint of Antichrist – the desire to control the citizen and crush the Church.[231] And like Simpson, he was troubled by the naïveté of integralists who thought they could tame Leviathan by baptising it. Tocqueville's intellectual disciples were Rousseau's useful idiots, accepting 'personal freedom' to be the 'original *datum*' of political life; conceding democracy to be the 'sole element in the State'; and thus imperilling the liberty of the Church – and all liberty. He who rode the tiger was invariably eaten by it. There would be 'stability' only when freedom was understood to be the 'fruit of the harmony of corporate, political, and individual liberty', which could be fostered only by the Church.[232] She did this not in an exercise of temporal power, but in a 'symbolic sense'. Inspired by her, a thousand corporations had sprung into life, renewing the face of the earth. Preserving the integrity of her own life as the archetypal corporate body, and defending the anteriority to the state of all 'corporations which aim at objects outside the sphere of political regulation', she had built up, indirectly, God's Kingdom.[233]

In the 'long nightmare' of human history, Jarrett mused in 1914, and in this 'time of crisis', when 'civilisation stands at the cross-ways', such 'sobriety' was out of fashion. Indeed, to be 'flamingly ideal' in vision but 'eminently reasonable' in practice might mean that the Church never even succeeded in recapturing public opinion, on which morality in the modern world now depended. But he urged Catholics to embrace a counter-

[229] See Rickaby's *Oxford and Cambridge Conferences* (1899), 26-30, 88-94, 95-105, 241ff.

[230] Oscar Browning, *Memories of Sixty Years* (1910), 124-6; Simpson to Acton: 26, 28 July 1858; 17 May 1859, *Correspondence*, I, 67-70, 159.

[231] [Simpson], 'The Morals and Politics of Materialism', *Rambler*, 6 (Dec. 1856), 448-9; 'The Greatest-Happiness Principle', *Rambler*, 10 (Oct. 1858), 229-50; 'The Antecedents of the French Revolution', *Rambler*, 6 (Oct. 1856), 289. Cf. the series by [Devas], 'Christian Charity and Political Economy'.

[232] [Simpson], 'Tocqueville's Remains', *HFR*, 6 (1 Jan. 1862), 171-2; 'The causes of the French Revolution', *Rambler*, 6.35 (Nov. 1856), 382. Cf. Devas, *Groundwork*, 67-71.

[233] [Simpson], 'The Rise of the English Poor Law', *HFR*, 4 (April, 1864), 610-12, 622.

cultural identity, and seek the world's transformation in hidden ways. St. Anthony had not, on the surface of things, transformed the course of political life; he had not even converted his own city to his economic doctrines. 'Yet it is something to have held up to the views of men an ideal of Christian polity, of social life, of the high ethics of commerce … The people may not follow the vision, but woe to the prophet who is silent'.[234]

The theology underpinning this Ultramontane pluralism looked away from the integralist imaginaries of Wiseman and the *scuola romana*, Manning and the Mennaisians. In fact, the Catholic body's most authoritative commentators on ecclesiology in the pre-war years – Devas, Rickaby, Wilfrid Ward – turned to Newman. The 'Great Master' provided them with an incarnationalism convincingly orthodox, yet married to a sober, Augustinian sense that 'the world [was] a rough antagonist to spiritual truth'; that the Catholic's understanding of the 'mystery of the Incarnation' might easily be ensnared by the world's 'dark … illusion'; that his grip on the image of Christ might falter in the face of a 'furious mob'.[235] Newman's wisdom, they urged, lay in apprehending that '[t]he Catholic Church alone could … withstand the social and intellectual' revolution, as "'the concrete representative of things invisible'".[236]

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Catholic thinkers in these years were not immured in a fortress. They were engaged in public debate, and as determined to defy the compartmentalisation of their thought according to contemporary categories ('ecclesiological', 'political', 'socio-economic') as they were their faith from public life. They positioned Catholicism as a unique antidote and alternative to the contemporary configuration of liberal modernity: conceptually eclectic but methodologically rigorous; multifaceted but internally consistent; distinct and often polarising, but sharing a wider wish to renew the world at the dawn of a new century. At the level of political theory, they confronted liberal thinkers with the sovereigntist and monist assumptions underpinning emergent notions of citizenship and the state. But refusing to be trapped in the 'false position' of countering modern Caesarism with modern hierocracy (as James Fitzjames Stephen alleged), they shifted the grounds of debate from high-political questions of authority and allegiance to the welfare of society. This was not to surrender, but to reframe, the question of Christ's reign on earth. Drawing on that Ultramontane tradition dating back to Bonald, of identifying the social with the political

[234] *St Antonio and Mediaeval Economics* (London, Roehampton, 1914), vi-xi.
[235] Devas, *Key to the World's Progress* (1912), v-vi, 304-6, 64f; Rickaby, *Conferences*, 88-95; Wilfrid Ward, *Witnesses*, 12-13.
[236] Ward, *The Life of John Henry Cardinal Newman* (1912), I, 13-14, 22-23.

realm – thus 'widening the scope … of their politics, to encompass the family, customs and economics'[237] – they developed a complex, dynamic political theology. It was by no means a political *credo*: different Catholics emphasised different aspects of their world-disrupting, world-renewing incarnational vision. But its very dexterity was its strength. With it, they could refute the accusation of being fifth columnists for a papal empire, and yet challenge the public doctrines of the liberal state, and proclaim their intention of building on earth the Kingdom of God in either a panoply of moral corporations or a mass movement towards 'democratic theocracy'. In ways that are still not appreciated in historical scholarship, many liberals – civic-republican, anti-clerical, politico-economic, anti-democratic – developed their ideas in conscious critique of this Catholic model; and others – Christians, socialists, pluralists – found in it a range of arguments and intellectual resources with which to frame their own conceptual endeavours. Energised and engaged in the debates of their generation – and in their distinct voice, often inspiring and infuriating their fellow-citizens in equal measure – the Catholics of these years were far from the ghetto.

[237] Wilson, 'Counter-revolutionary thought', 16-20, quoting from Bradley, *Modern Maistre*, 24.

# *Conclusion*

The story of the 'Second Spring' has been told many times. I have tried to tell it differently: as the history of a culturally conditioned theological tradition – a cluster of incarnational discourses that shaped the mind and body of English Catholics. As a method, this is not unproblematic. Reflecting on Boyd Hilton's 'age of Atonement', even a sympathetic Sheridan Gilley questioned whether a single symbol could for any given era furnish the key to all mythologies.[1] It is a wise word of caution. A new lens can mean new blind spots: awkward claims overlooked, dissonant chords muffled. Gerard Manley Hopkins, after all, failed his exams at St. Beuno's for too-exuberant a Scotism.[2] Mid-century converts like T. W. Marshall,[3] and influential late-century priests with Recusant roots but impeccable Ultramontane credentials, like Kenelm Vaughan (1840-1909) and his brother, Bernard (the Jesuit 'Savaughanarola'), emphasised a language of atonement and expiation, and preached a bonfire of the world's vanities.[4] If the incarnation was often the first word in Catholic theology and political thought, it was not always the last. Moreover, in amplifying the voices of incarnationalism's Ultramontane champions, and marginalising those of Newman and Liberal Catholics, I risk seeming to condone that party's struggle for dominance. If so, I hope – as Fr. Welsh hoped, in embracing the identity of a Catholic Socialist – that the method might be judged a 'pardonable extravagance': a corrective to a literature that has largely misrepresented those who thought and talked the new Catholic body into being. I hope that I have done enough to show that Ultramontanism was, anyway, far too dynamic a tradition to become one reified 'ecclesial ideology' of control.

If these are the risks, what have been the rewards? This new lens has helped clarify an old vision – one almost lost to sight in the sunny uplands of a condescending posterity. We have glimpsed again the world that contemporaries saw shimmering before them: a world 'charged with the grandeur of God', where 'a universe cast down' had been 'renewed, [and] the integrity of life restored'. This conviction structured and popularised the dominant mode of Catholic thought. Against what it considered a concatenation of mutating heresies – from Socinianism and Jansenism to positivism and political economy; nationalism and socialism to liberalism and Caesarism – Ultramontanism was a reaffirmation of 'the presence of the Incarnation' in the world; of a Catholic Christianity embodied, public, and political; and of the Mystical Body's mission to transform the world into 'the

[1] Gilley, 'Review', *CHR*, 80.3 (July, 1994), 620-22.
[2] Norman White, 'Gerard Manley Hopkins', *ODNB*.
[3] Marshall, *Missions*, I, 16-20; III, 404-13.
[4] Kenelm Vaughan, *The Brotherhood of the divine expiation* … (1893); Bernard Vaughan, *The Sins of Society* … (1907).

antechamber of heaven'. These were assumptions shared by thinkers as chronologically distant and temperamentally different as Robertson and Plater, and reprobated by non-Catholics as far apart in time and mind as Wiseman's High-Church critic, Thomas Turton, and the ethicist, T. H. Green.

These assumptions shaped the imagination of all Catholics across the century: Liberal Catholicism and Social Catholicism should be understood as variants of and responses to this discourse, rather than the discrete and oppositional identities they often assumed in polemic (or had bestowed upon them by historians). But these assumptions and arguments were themselves in a process of discursive development. What I have called the Wiseman synthesis was radicalised by Manning and those in his orbit. The core conviction – of a new Creation being transformed into the Kingdom of heaven – remained. But the sense of gradualism and practicality so pronounced in Tocqueville's politics and Maynooth's economics began to fade. In the polarising world of mid-century liberalism, a new generation pressed with a new urgency the scientific reasonableness of theological reason and the tangible reality of the supernatural kingdom: culturally, in a sacralised public sphere that made space for saints, miracles, and suffering love; politically in the consecrated realm of Christendom. In the feverish atmosphere of the *fin-de-siècle*, these tendencies became ever-more pronounced. Lamennais and Liguori loomed larger in an Ultramontane mind seized with prophecies of theocracy reborn; they fed a belief that the Church would master the moment and carry the world back to Christ. As Ultramontane pluralists recoiled from talk of 'palingenesis', Wiseman's synthesis began to unravel.

The French, then, were to blame. To Maistre could be traced that most turbulent variant of what Armenteros calls 'the French idea of history' and what Perreau-Saussine deems an un-Catholic political theology, conflating the temporal and spiritual. Those who grew queasy at the radicalism on which it was premised and immanentism to which is was tending sought to rescue an idea of sacred history shared by many Liberal Catholics, and, with Newman, to restore balance to the mysterious tension in this order of time: 'already' and 'not yet'.

This tension has long been obscured behind the clouds of polemic generated by the partisans of ecclesiastical disputes. It is time to look again. That shortly after Manning's death, Cardinal Vaughan afforded to Lord Acton (the newly-minted Regius Professor of Modern History at Cambridge) a place of honour at the opening of Westminster Cathedral, points to more than the natural clubability of Recusant stock:[5] it gestures to intellectual connections we have only dimly perceived, and conversations we have only patchily translated. If we are to

[5] Hill, *Acton*, 373.

continue plotting Catholics on an 'X axis' that ranges from 'more Roman' to 'less', we should refrain from then inferring a 'conservative' or 'liberal' politics (which might tell us a good deal about our own preoccupations but a deal less about contemporaries'), and instead supplement it with a 'Y axis' that plots the believer's sense of the incarnation – 'more tangible and immediate' or 'less'; more immanent or more mysterious.

To reckon with the Catholic vision in its complexity is also to understand nineteenth-century Britain better. It is to feel the force of religious thought in public discourse. It is to appreciate the paradoxical character of Catholic argument – ebullient and anxious; scholarly and polemical; relentlessly critical and irredeemably hopeful – and its paradoxical effect on public opinion, at once magnetic and repulsive. Acknowledging that Catholics did not seal themselves off in an 'intellectual cage', but engaged critically with the ideas of the age and were engaged critically in return, it is to trace the impact of that voice in national life. From history to ethics, epistemology to economics, Catholics contributed to discussions on the nature of reality and revolution, value and virtue, the right ordering of the soul and the state, the wrong renderings of justice and liberty. Engaging with the world around them, past and present, they sought to shape the mind of the nation and the face of the future. In doing so, they brought a unique, disruptive voice to the public sphere: conjuring a different history, citing different authorities, gesturing to a different horizon, they challenged its very parameters and foundations.

These interventions are often scorned by the intellectual descendants of those whom Catholics censured. But whether for Pusey or Mill, Scott Holland or the Holland House Whigs, the freethinking *Fraser's* or the hot-Protestant pulpit, Catholic thought *mattered* – as a model or a rival; a past to be celebrated or reprobated; a present to be navigated; a future to be embraced or aborted. Catholicism, Macaulay reminded his readers in 1840, was as old as 'the smoke of sacrifice [that] rose from the Pantheon … but full of life and youthful vigour', such that 'she may still exist … undiminished … when some traveller from New Zealand shall, in the midst of a vast solitude, take his stand on a broken arch of London Bridge to sketch the ruins of St. Paul's'. In its antiquity, universality, and vitality, Catholicism was a social imaginary of such force and contrast as to unsettle in Britain popular assumptions and national myths. Casting a cold eye on the Protestant-progressive polity – muscular, rational, commercial – Catholics distanced themselves from its public doctrines and thus set them in perspective; they were neither natural nor inevitable, but essentially contestable (and, invariably, flawed). Affirming their Britishness, they challenged the meaning of that term; making powerful converts to their cause, they expanded the borders of that identity. Resident aliens, they formed an *altera civitas*, refusing to accept the state's own account of itself, or society as it was, or the irrefragable 'laws' of its sciences.

The Ultramontanism of these years thus left important legacies. In it, we can find the origins of paradigms that shaped modern Catholicism and modern Britain – but not always in the ways assumed. Commonly seen as the theological matrix of a 'fortress Church' that barricaded itself into the cloisters against the twentieth century – and barracked it in populist rhetoric, pitting a pure 'people' against a predatory 'elite' – Ultramontanism is then held to give way to a lay-led community, immersed in ecumenical action for the common good. Integralism yields to integrationism; a reactionary, clericalised Ultramontanism that looked at the world with fear and loathing, to a Liberal and Social Catholicism that saw in the world a prompt to human curiosity and a calling to social justice. But this study shows that these tendencies are rightly understood as two sides of the one coin. Both trace their paternity to Manning, Lamennais, Scotus. Both affirmed the world as an incarnational realm of redemption. Narratives about the modernisation and secularisation of the Catholic body – and, indeed, the national and international communities of which it was part – thus seem less credible. In seeking more plausible accounts of modernity and its religious imaginations, historians might fruitfully explore the theology underpinning much nineteenth- and twentieth-century politics.

If historians thus pause to reconsider the last century, political theorists might reflect again on our own – an age in many ways defined by crusading (and often conspiratorial) species of populism, and by calls for a 'social justice' that might rehumanise polities captured by technology and capital. They need not follow J. B. Robertson and Josef Görres in thinking liberalism a type of Nestorianism to find food for thought in the theological origins of many of their discipline's core concepts and pressing debates. They might even conclude that Ultramontanes protested too much in sometimes setting liberalism and Catholicism apart as apocalyptic nemeses. For not only did Catholic argument shape monistic and populist discourses on the right and left of the 'new liberalism': it also demanded a political community with high ambitions for justice and low pretentions to perfection – an enabling state whose ineradicable pluralism would never enable statism. The subtlety of that position was often obscured in the heat of contemporary polemic and in the provocations of those Ultramontanes who embraced a stylised rhetoric of oppositional defiance. And it has been all but lost to view in the crudely schematised and polarised models of Catholicism developed in recent decades: traditionalist or liberationist, world-denying or world-affirming. But a demanding and challenging Ultramontanism posed awkward questions of liberalism then – as it does now. And it speaks to a vision of intellectual integrity that poses awkward questions of Catholic politics – as it is now and might be hereafter.

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** Note that:*
** Unless otherwise stated, the place of publication, for Primary and Secondary sources, alike, is London.*
** Square brackets indicate that an article was written anonymously.*
** I have listed the very large number of anonymous and unattributed sources together, in chronological order, in the hope that this might make them easier to locate.*

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