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Phyllis Maureen Wyman

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THY KINGDOM COME
A STUDY OF ROMAN CATHOLIC EDUCATION IN RICHMONDSHIRE
FROM THE REFORMATION TO 1904

Phyllis Maureen Wyman (Sr. Clare Veronica)

ABSTRACT

Since the second Vatican Council, religious congregations have been urged to seek their initial charism. This study primarily concerns the charism expressed in the motto of the Assumption Sisters, 'Thy Kingdom Come', as pursued in their educational apostolate, particularly in the Richmond area.

Founded and guided by members of the Mennaisien school, whose thinking was based on an interpretation of Augustine of Hippo's 'City of God', their outlook was both ultramontane and liberal. The Congregation operated within an eschatological optic, to be worked out according to each local situation. The aim was to 'Restore all things in Christ'.

The starting point of the study is the idea of conflict and opposition in the Gospels and in Augustine's work. There follows an outline of the Church's educational role, a general picture of pre-Reformation schools in the area, and a brief account of recusant educational effort from 1548. The ideals of the Jesuits and their work, both internationally and locally, are seen to rest on similar foundations to those of the Assumption sisters.

The body of the thesis commences with the growth of liberal Catholicism in Europe, England and America. The American Louisa Caton, later Duchess of Leeds, influenced by the educational and political activities of her family, invited the Assumption sisters to work in England in 1849. Their background and their educational philosophy and practice occupy the major section 'The transformation of society'. The final part 'From principles to practice', is more domestic in scope, and deals mainly with the educational works undertaken by the sisters in Richmond from 1850 to 1904, in conjunction with the local Jesuit clergy.

The concluding section returns to the ideal of Jesus Christ, liberator and King of the world, seen as the one in whom the universe will be 'restored' through the work of education.

THY KINGDOM COME

A STUDY OF ROMAN CATHOLIC EDUCATION IN RICHMONDSHIRE

FROM THE REFORMATION TO 1904

Phyllis Maureen Wyman
(Sr. Clare Veronica
Congregation of the Assumption)

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PREAMBLE

The capture of Rome by the Goths, the founding of the Society of Jesus, the spiritual rebuilding of France after the revolution of 1788 to 1789, the American bid for independence from England, and the educational struggles of the nineteenth century, appear at first sight to be totally unrelated events. A common strand, however, does seem to link these diverse incidents across time and space, a thread which can be summarised in the words:

"Thy Kingdom Come".

The phrase was chosen as their motto by the Assumption sisters, soon after their foundation in 1839. Their founder, Theodore Combalot, had conceived of a congregation of women religious working for the rebuilding of a divided world through the work of education. The extension of the Kingdom of God in the individual soul as well as in the society of the day involved a whole hearted service to God; an effort of zeal for a broken world in need of healing.

The idea had two main roots; Augustine of Hippo's 'City of God', and the 'Spiritual Exercises' of St. Ignatius. Combalot had studied the first through his connections with Felicité de Lamennais, and the second through his abortive training in 1825 as a Jesuit novice. Influenced as she was by her director, Anne Eugenie Milleret de Brou's writings on education for the early sisters, echo this concept of a divided world in which the Standard of Christ must be raised.

Jesuit aims, and those of the Assumption family, became linked with the mission of the sisters to Richmond in 1850. Though this study is based primarily in this geographical location, far away from the revolutions, riots, religious upheavals and intellectual ferments which swept over America and France during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, it is apparent that these successive waves of change have had far flung, if perhaps diluted effects, in many spheres of English life, not least in education.

This study of the provision of education for Roman Catholics in Richmondshire, has necessitated a consideration, albeit in general terms, of many movements, so interwoven that their disentanglement is well nigh impossible. They should perhaps be seen as cross-currents, rather than events in parallel.

Richmondshire is a remote region of uplands, moors and dales, with a history of Catholic recusancy. Throughout the area Catholic families were protected by their geographical setting from the

political and religious movements which profoundly affected more southerly regions of England from the sixteenth century. Around Richmond itself, in Swaledale, and along the edge of the uplands towards Ripon, about half the gentry were Catholics in 1600. Whilst seminary priests from Douai made no great efforts to sustain the faith in this area during penal times, the Jesuits made it one of their main fields of activity.

Kinship among the Catholic gentry created a network of family missions served by the Jesuits, extending from the Stricklands of Westmoreland, through the Lawsons, Gerards and Stapletons of Richmond, to the Haggerstons of Northumberland. These chaplaincies were initially the educational focus of each area, later becoming the foundation of the present day parishes and their schools.

Many omissions have been made. This study does not set out to be a complete survey of the state of Catholic education in the past. Official statistics, recusancy lists, government returns, visitation records, parish records, and those of the Catholic Poor School Society are contradictory and frequently incomplete. Information of a reliable nature lies for the most part in individual parish and diocesan archives, and in the day books and correspondence of different Religious Orders, often uncatalogued and rarely arranged chronologically. There are few studies of the period on which to base such a work, apart from those of A.C.F. Beales who died before completing his survey. (1) The only detailed considerations of the locality are those of Kitching, supplemented by the more recent analysis of literacy in the York diocese by Moran. (2)

Kitching's valuable contribution gives a broad view of the situation in the area specified, and I am indebted to him for many of his references and sources for the earlier period, which partially complete those of Beales. However, the nature of Kitching's work precluded the working out in detail of the events and movements in one small locality, and he gives little information on the philosophical ideals behind any of the Catholic incursions into education, or the influence from the continent of Europe which coloured some of the practices in Catholic schools set up in England after the Reformation.

Moran has achieved a listing of many educational establishments during the period 1340 to 1580, unknown to A.F. Leach, formerly regarded as the authority on pre-Reformation Yorkshire schools. (3) Her work, together with descriptions of known chantry schools from local history documents, has enabled me to gain a picture of early schools in the district.

This then is an examination of Catholic education at local level, covering the Richmondshire area in particular, but with due reference to other locations. Commencing with a general examination of the role of the Church in education from earliest Christian times, with special consideration of the influence of Augustine of Hippo, there follows an outline survey of educational provision in Richmondshire from the introduction of Christianity to the Reformation, for which no other general survey exists. The main body of the thesis gives a more detailed analysis of the Richmondshire district from the closure of the Grammar school in 1548 and the exclusion of Catholics, up to 1904 when the Catholic Education Committee came into being.

An attempt has been made to highlight such political, religious and philosophical influences as have guided the course of events from the Reformation period onwards. I have not however attempted to give more than a general impression of the growth of school provision in the town of Richmond and the neighbouring villages during the period. Noteworthy however, is the number of denominational schools which grew up in the district, no Board school having ever existed in it.

I have attempted to place the development of Roman Catholic education in Richmond in the nineteenth century within the general context of the founding members of the Sisters of the Assumption: the 'Transformation' or 'Regeneration' of society, by means of education. In making this attempt, since the object of the study is historical rather than spiritual, I have endeavoured as far as possible, to avoid material of a hagiographical nature. The most valuable source has been the Assumption archives in Paris, where the original correspondence is housed, rather than the very edited lives of the foundress and histories of the Congregation.

The nature of the study has necessitated an incomplete consideration of the spiritual ideals guiding the sisters, and a total neglect of the precepts of their first director, the Abbé Théodore Combalot, on the adoption of Mary, the 'Transformed woman' as their model. Similarly I have given no more than a hint of the insights of Combalot, Emmanuel d'Alzon and Sr. M. Eugénie on the priestly role of the teacher, on the transformation of the person on mission by means of the Eucharist, and on their teaching on the regeneration of the world through the Mystical Body of Christ, a task to which all Christians are called. (4)

Assumption school Richmond was the first Catholic secondary school for girls in the North Riding after the Reformation. With its transfer to lay management between August 1988 and August 1990, this is also a commemorative document.

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PART I

PERSPECTIVES

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CHAPTER 1

EDUCATION AND THE CHURCH:

FROM THE APOSTOLIC ERA TO THE FLOWERING OF THE MENDICANT ORDERS

Teachers, as distinct from preachers, are first heard of in the Christian world in Antioch. (1) Theirs was a special gift of mission, and theirs was a divine appointment. Their interpretation of the Hebrew Scriptures, their proclamation of the Gospels and the sayings of Jesus, and their imparting of Christian tradition, were expected to have as their end result the avowal that 'Jesus is Lord'; a public declaration that Jesus is the believer's Sovereign and Ruler for ever; a pledge to Jesus as King.

Early teaching as found in the Didache, dating from about the end of the first century A.D. also instructs that before baptism the candidate shall be instructed concerning the Way of Life and the Way of Death. (2) Such instruction is referred to continuously in Christian literature up to the time of Augustine of Hippo (354-430 A.D.).

By the end of the fourth century, after the conversion of the emperor Constantine (312-337 A.D.), Christianity had become the religion of the majority of Roman citizens. Various measures were taken to promote Christian learning by both clerics and lay people. The seminal writings from this period were those of Aurelius Augustus (Augustine of Hippo), a master of rhetoric and an accomplished teacher. His De Doctrina Christiana gave the first detailed programme of Christian education to include a well defined philosophy and methodology. (3) In another work, De Magistro he highlighted the function of the teacher, seeing him as the one who provided the conditions in which learning can occur, but:

"There is no master who teaches man knowledge, save God". (4) For Augustine the example of the teacher was more important than moralising, and moral formation was more significant than mere intellectualism.

Augustine's 'On the catechising of the uninstructed' is the first known formal treatise to depart from the "Two Ways" as the pattern for ethical instruction. He based his work instead on the two great commandments, love of God and love of neighbour. In addition he broke new ground by including a study of the history of the church as well as a study of Scripture. This work was influential long after the demise of the catechumenate for whom it was intended.

It was reflected in the educational writings of those who later moulded monastic education, including Bede and Alcuin.(5) He set a trend also for broad-mindedness, since he did not forbid the use of such elements of pagan learning as were not opposed to the teachings of Christianity.(6)

Augustine's other most influential work was the 'City of God', of which more will be said in a later section. In this he gave the 'Two Ways' a new slant, opposing citizenship in the City of God with membership of the City of Satan.

This work dominated Western thought for almost nine hundred years. After about five centuries of obscurity it was through study of this document that members of the Menaisien school in France gained many of their ideas and ideals, so coming to influence intellectual circles in that country.

Meanwhile the church had seen the devastation of the old Roman order by the armies of Justinian and the Ostrogoths in 535 A.D.; the growth of monasticism under Benedict of Nursia (480-543 A.D.); the growth of monastic schools to compensate for the decline of fervour in the Christian home, and the rise of the Frankish ruler Charlemagne (771-814 A.D.).

Seeing himself as the new Constantine, Christian ruler of a Christian State, his aim was twofold: to restore the culture of the Roman Empire to his people, and so to make his kingdom pleasing to God. His guide book in the venture was St. Augustine's City of God. Whilst Augustine himself had used the terms 'City of God' and 'Society of the Faithful' to designate the Christian community in heaven, Charlemagne interpreted them as applying to the Church of Rome and the Frankish people. The keynote of all Charlemagne's work for the church was conformity with Rome.

Once political stability had been achieved, Charlemagne set about creating his ideal state. Recognising the importance of education for all, he transformed the army school at court into a centre of learning, inviting scholars to it from all over Europe, chief among them being Alcuin of York. He set a precedent for Christian kings in issuing specific instructions on education to all cathedrals, monasteries and village priests, so creating a bond between the state and education which has rarely been severed.

Whilst the Benedictines who were generally charged with educational works, made the Scriptures the basis of their studies, later Orders, particularly the mendicants, carried the newer learning from Universities throughout Christendom. They brought to the fore the idea that the aim of education was to produce good citizens in this life, rather than good contemplatives or sages, preparing for the next life.

For over a thousand years then, the people went to school at the feet of the Church. The history of education up to this time was linked both in England and on the continent, with the efforts of bishops, monasteries, cathedrals and chantries, to teach both clergy and laity. Church courts had jurisdiction over teachers, schools, colleges and universities, and every teacher was an ecclesiastical officer. The education provided can best be thought of as an apprenticeship. Its purpose was primarily to equip people to serve the Church, rather than to minister to the world. Rarely was learning undertaken for its own sake, and except in Italy, secular schools were rare in all parts of the Western world.

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CHAPTER II

EDUCATION AND THE CHURCH:

FROM THE SIXTEENTH TO THE NINETEENTH CENTURIES

From the sixteenth century a clear dividing line exists between events in England and in the rest of Europe, with respect to educational developments. There is also a demarcation between the work of the older 'monastic' orders and the new 'active' congregations. Though many religious orders had traditionally undertaken the work of teaching, none up to this time had ever been founded with the teaching of the young as its specific object.

First in the field was Angela Merici (1474-1540), a Franciscan Tertiary who organised a group of women whose mission developed into that of works of education and social reform. Heresy and religious ignorance were countered by education, particularly of young girls. These were to be trained so that they too could enter the mission.

The original vision was soon trapped within conventional structures. The Ursuline sisters were canonically established in 1535, and a hundred years later, these originally uncloistered women were living a full monastic life, dedicated by a fourth vow to the teaching of young girls. However, their influence was to be world-wide, and the idea of religious women as teachers and educators spread throughout the church. Not until the formation of the Assumption sisters in 1839 do we hear of teaching nuns who specifically reject the restrictions of a cloistered life.(1)

Next in time were the Jesuits, founded in 1540. The first constitutions of the Society declared that among the works for which it had been founded was the instruction of the young and ignorant.(2) The Jesuits became known as the 'Schoolmasters of Europe' and as such developed a programme of studies directed towards producing both piety and learning.(3) The programme was fundamentally that of Alcuin's schools being based on the liberal arts.

Many Orders and Congregations were founded throughout Europe during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, specifically for the education of girls. In England the most noteworthy was that founded by Mary Ward. Modelled on the Society of Jesus, her

Institute had as its immediate apostolic objective the opening of a school for children from recusant families at St. Omer, and another for the children of the town. Despite opposition and prohibitive legislation she opened schools not only on the Continent, but also in London and York. (4)

In England meanwhile, the Reformation had resulted in the disappearance of all schools attached to monasteries, chantries and convents. Though some of these were refounded by Henry VIII and later monarchs, most remained empty. Education for the poor was virtually non-existent, and for Catholics was outlawed.

When the Anglican Church became subordinated to the State in the sixteenth century, conformity to the one became synonymous with loyalty to the other. Ecclesiastical control of the schools, now in the hands of the reformers, was strengthened by new legislation, with heterodoxy in religion or religious teaching eventually becoming a treasonable rather than an ecclesiastical offence. Among the most stringent of the laws was that requiring all schoolmasters to conform to the Established Church, and making it illegal to send Catholic children abroad for their education. (5)

English Catholics from the ranks of the gentry, from about 1580 to the late eighteenth century, shared in two worlds. They were in touch with the continental educational advances to which the Ursulines and the Jesuits had contributed so substantially, but by means of colleges founded mainly in the Low Countries, where many of them were educated, developed a spirit which was firmly English. By the eve of the French Revolution many more teaching institutes had been founded, most of them being in Europe and Ireland. Apart from the Institute of the Blessed Virgin Mary founded by Mary Ward, none of them were in England.

Little published material exists concerning Catholic education in England for the three centuries prior to the Catholic Emancipation Act of 1829, and not until the late eighteenth century was there any official alleviation in the legal position of Roman Catholics. Despite the regulations however, Catholic schools were frequently established, most of them being small and short-lived.

The greatest change in the English scene, and the one which for the purposes of this thesis can be taken to mark the final phase in educational history, was produced by the French Revolution. In France Church property was confiscated, and a flood of Catholics, not all of English origin, sought refuge in this country. In 1808 a decree of Napoleon established a most rigorous State monopoly in education. This provoked further emigration, and renewed protest movements. Among the protesters were Felicité de Lamennais and his friends. Taking the writings of Augustine of Hippo as their guide, they read into the events of their time that struggle between Church and State which had been described in City of God.

Fearing a revolution, the English government tried to be alert to situations of conflict, such as had precipitated events in France. The bond between the State and religious education was re-inforced with the first grants of State Aid to the Voluntary Societies in 1833. Such assistance was not available to Catholics until 1848, and from then on the burden of maintaining denominational schools of all persuasions was gradually lessened, though not without a struggle.

The Education Bill of 1902 resulted in an increase of aid to the Church schools, at which point the Catholic Poor School Committee which had functioned since 1847, re-formed into the Catholic Education Committee. At this point the period covered by this study comes to a conclusion.

In France almost simultaneously, came the official break between the Church and education, with the Act of 1904. Catholic France now forbade the religious orders to teach in State schools, a culmination of the 1882 law which prohibited the teaching of religion in State schools. Protestant England permitted both activities, though some limited financial disabilities remained.

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apply to young children, though frequently young
boys were instructed, and infants were certainly
in the school in Richmond in 1818 founded by Fr.
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PART II

EDUCATION IN THE NORTHERN VICARIATE WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO
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CHAPTER I

FROM THE SEVENTH CENTURY TO THE REFORMATION

The first certain evidence of educational activity in the Richmondshire area dates from the arrival of the Italian Benedictine monk Paulinus, and his companion James the deacon in 627 AD. When the former departed for the South, James continued to reside at Fingall, a few miles to the south of Richmond in Wensleydale, where he continued his teaching role.(1) Fingall remained an important ecclesiastical centre, being the site of a church synod in 789 AD.(2)

King Oswald, based at Gilling West, three miles north of Richmond, was responsible for the establishment of monks on Lindisfarne. From here numerous other large and small foundations were made, one being a small cell at Gilling West which existed by 651 AD. The few monks here exercised the pastoral role of preaching and teaching throughout Richmondshire. From the abundance of archaeological material found, one must conclude that the Wensley area in particular was an important centre for their activities.(3)

By the late seventh century it was customary for local landowners to build a church on their estates, and to appoint a priest. Within these 'parrocks' or parishes, the minister commonly gave boys some elementary schooling. With the Danish invasions these limited resources were destroyed, after which the main centres of learning were no longer dependent on Lindisfarne, but on new southern monasteries.

Though many churches were rebuilt, forty nine being mentioned for the North Riding in the Domesday book, there is little concrete evidence of educational activity there.(4) We do however know that secular priests were involved in education from the decrees of the Capitula of Theodulf.(5) This too was brought to a halt in 1066 with the Harrying of the North by William the Conqueror and the devastation of the entire area between York and Durham.

In 1071 the Norman Alan Rufus founded the town of Riche-Mont, replacing the former capital of Swaledale at Gilling West. Within twenty years the Archdeaconry of Richmond had acquired special ecclesiastical rights, its Archdeacons being appointed directly from Rome, and being granted almost full episcopal powers.(6)

It became one of the wealthiest areas of England, much new building being achieved, particularly religious houses.(7) Two small Benedictine houses were founded, one of monks at St. Martin's and one of nuns at Marrick. The latter was engaged in the teaching of small girls, which provided its main source of income.(8)

Almost the whole of the rest of Swaledale and Wensleydale belonged to Cistercian foundations which thus controlled the bulk of the economy of the district. Recruits being drawn mainly from the illiterate branches of society, study had a minor place in the horarium. However, Visitation records show that Cistercian women did occasionally instruct both boys and girls living within the monastery. The paucity of records for Ellerton preclude us from drawing any conclusions with respect to that house. With Marrick only a mile away, it is to be doubted that they undertook any educational activities.(9) Anchoresses too sometimes acted as tutors for girls, but there is no proof that this occurred at St. Edmund's cell in Richmond.(10)

In 1224 the Friars Minor arrived in England, quickly establishing themselves in London, Oxford, Cambridge and Northampton. Within sixteen years they had founded thirty other houses, among them one in Richmond dating from 1258. The Friars were laymen, and generally settled of set purpose in poor districts. Here they built churches designed for preaching rather than for elaborate liturgies, with the main door leading onto the public street. In Richmond, the Friary was built as close as possible to the town walls, within which was the original Norman garrison.

The two most important functions of the Friars were preaching and the teaching of theology. In Richmond their success as preachers led to enlargement of the church to accommodate those who came to listen to the popular sermons. They also preached in the outer bailey of the castle, and were frequently sent on preaching missions, particularly during Advent and Lent. Their missions took them along the Dale, at least as far as Reeth.(11)

Nearly every Franciscan house had a lecturer in theology, whose courses were attended by the secular and the regular clergy. It is conjectured that the room called the 'Studies' in the Richmond Friary, may have been used for the teaching of the townsfolk as well as for the use of friars and clergy.(12)

Other orders of mendicant friars arrived in England at about the same time as the Franciscans. The nearest Carmelite house was at Northallerton, and the nearest Dominican house at Yarm. All worked assiduously not only to teach the people, but also to train aspirants to the priesthood. Their aim was to reduce the number of illiterate and ill-trained priests and vicars traditionally charged with the transmission of the Christian faith. A bishop writing in 1224 said of the mendicants in general:

"In England inestimable benefits have been produced by the Friars, for they illumine our whole country by their teaching and learning."(13)

By the beginning of the fourteenth century, most of the six hundred residents of Richmond were engaged mainly in the milling or the woollen trade. Much of this was under monastic control, but it contributed to the importance of the town as a trading centre, despite its small size.(14) Pious merchants often used some of their profits to found a chantry, and though the saying of Masses for the dead was their chief function, the founder of the chantry often stipulated that the priest should teach. Typical is the stipulation of Dr. Lupton of Sedbergh that the priest should:

"... kepe a free schole ... (which) is very necessarie for the bryngynge up of youth in that wylde countrie."(15)

Well before 1392, the date of the earliest known records, wealthy gentlemen of the town of Richmond had established a Grammar school. Though it was never under the control of a monastery, the schoolmaster was usually a chantry priest.(16) By 1486 there were at least fourteen chantries in Richmond, and, as was usual, a college of priests was established to serve them. Six Premonstratensian canons from Egglestone lived in the Richmond college, but whether they had a teaching function or not is unknown.(17)

Few wills are available for Richmond, save for the years 1530-1548, so there is little evidence for other scholastic establishments save for the Grammar School and for Marrick Priory. However, the totality of Yorkshire wills and chantry records shows that by 1535 there were at least 425 chantries in Yorkshire

alone, and that most parish, as distinct from monastic schools, were taught by chantry chaplains. (18) Hoepner Moran, by her analysis of the available documents, has concluded that about 30% of the yeomen and husbandmen of the Archdiocese of Richmond were literate before 1548. Sporadic mention of schools, scholars and their masters, gives evidence that opportunities for elementary and for secondary education in the area prior to 1548 were much greater than has generally been supposed. (19) Before 1349 French was the only vernacular language allowed in any school, whether reading, song or grammar. It is unlikely that many of those native to the Dales were able to take full advantage of the instruction given either in the vernacular, or in the main subject taught, that of Latin Grammar, for it is on record that their speech was:

"So sharpe, slyting froting and unshape" (20)

that only the natives could understand it.

Richmondshire was the most remote and the least well endowed area of the five divisions of the York diocese with respect to education, the north-west section of it having the poorest resources. There were few population centres save Muker, the focus of social life for upper Swaledale, and Reeth, the most important village of the mid-Dale. However, during the years 1480-1500 the Richmond Archdeaconry was supplying one fifth of the candidates for ordination in the Diocese, most of whom had received only an elementary education. (21)

Purely secular schools were unknown during this period, all being connected in some way with the church. Not until 1546 is there any mention of a school in the whole diocese whose statutes do not delineate a specifically religious function. The children of the gentry, educated in a household school were taught by ecclesiastics, and schools founded by the laity for the poor were under the tutelage of a cleric. Even lay teachers needed an ecclesiastical license.

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CHAPTER II
REFORMATION AND REBELLION

Visitors to the monasteries, appointed by Henry VIII in 1534, on the advice of his minister Thomas Cromwell, were provided with questionnaires designed to reveal the universal depravity of all houses with an income of less than £200 a year. Among those visited were Easby, Egglestone, Ellerton, Coverham, Jervaulx, Marrick and St. Martin's in the Richmond area. In March 1536 all except Marrick were dissolved.(1)

Religious sentiment in Richmondshire, inextricably tangled with social and economic factors, particularly the suppression of the saint's days on which markets were traditionally held, strengthened support for the expelled religious communities. The gentry had largely been educated in monasteries and convents endowed by their families, and they remained loyal to their erstwhile mentors. In the autumn of 1536 the 'Pilgrimage of Grace' mustered, the culmination of the growing discontent and fear felt mainly by the peasantry now suffering from the unemployment and economic depression produced by the loss of their masters. Robert Aske of Marrick Manor and Aughton was persuaded to take the leadership. He summed up the attitude of the majority of people in Richmondshire towards the monasteries when he wrote:

"...the abbeys of the north parts gave alms and laudably served God...many of the said abbeys were in the mountains and desert places, where the people be rude of condition, and not well taught the law of God...their young sons there (were) succoured and in nunneries their daughters (were) brought up in virtue..."(2)

After the collapse of this rising, a new movement began in Swaledale and Wensleydale in January 1537, supported by the Greyfriars of Richmond.(3) Lacking leadership, this insurrection also failed in its purpose, so making the position of the remaining monasteries intolerable. A new Act of Parliament secured the remaining monastic property including Marrick and Greyfriars in our area. The only educational institution surviving was the town Grammar school. In February about 57 of the poorer commoners involved in the rising were executed.(4) The wealthier participants suffered the confiscation of their estates, and orders were given to

make a 'terrible example' of conspirators from the monasteries. With the death of the priors of all the Cistercian monasteries, their extensive lands in Swaledale and Wensleydale were released to the king. (5)

Though a few abbeys and priories had begged to continue as colleges, none was successful. Sedburgh on the edge of Richmondshire pleaded for the retention of its school saying:

"Many grammar schools be taken, sold and made away, to the great slander of you and your laws, to the miserable drowning of youth in ignorance". (6)

Monastic education throughout the country was destroyed, the despoliation of their libraries prompting a Protestant scholar to complain in 1549:

"What maye bring our realme to more shame and rebuke, than to have it noysed abroad that we are despysers of lernynge" (7)

At first much monastic property was leased, but before the death of Henry VIII extensive sales were taking place. Sold first to royal officials, within a relatively short time a substantial proportion was resold to local men. Lord Scrope acquired Easby Abbey, originally endowed by his family, and Kiplin Hall. Ralph Gower was granted lease of the Friary. The mansion on the 'Green' was sold in 1586 to Francis Gurlington, in 1608 to William Gascoigne, in 1618 to Marmaduke Wyvill of Constable Burton, and in 1622 to Roger Gower. All are known from the recusancy list to have remained Catholic. It can therefore reasonably be supposed that the 'Green' was a centre for recusant priests at least until 1631 when it was bought by the Norton family. It was again occupied by a Catholic in the early nineteenth century. (8)

As late as 1544 there were still nine clergy in Richmond, serving thirteen or fourteen chantries in the various churches, chapels and hospitals in the town. In December that year the town corporation seized upon the property of six of the chantries to its own use. Three years later the Act prepared for the total suppression of chantries guilds and hospitals was put into effect. John More, probably an Austin Friar from Whickham, County Durham, who served the chantry of Our Lady in St. Mary's church was dismissed. Thus Richmond participated in the final death blow delivered to education throughout the country, for John More was the Grammar school teacher. (9)

Though the Grammar school had been officially disbanded,

bequests made in various wills show that a school continued to exist from 1548 up to its official refoundation in 1566. This school was, as hitherto, only for boys, education being provided free of charge for those who were native to the town. By virtue of the provisions of the new school statutes, papists were absolutely excluded from its walls. The 1750 ordinances, re-iterating the earlier legislation state:

"We ordain, decree and appoint, that no scholar shall be admitted unto or continue in the said school, or under the teaching or Government of the said Schoolmaster or Usher, who shall by way of disputation or Conference with any other scholar or others uphold or maintain any notorious points of Popery, or that shall endeavour to keep or use Popish books or writings, and if any such there be, who shall not upon the admonition of the Master forbear such practices and behaviour, the Master shall Notifie the Governours, and the Governours or the major part of them shall and may expell such scholar from the said school, or make other such order as they shall think fit".(10)

This decree remained in force until 1864 when the Charity Commissioners drew up a new scheme for the management of the school.(11) The first master of the school after its refoundation seems to have been John Clarkson, a scholar of Cambridge and an ardent reformer. However, among the first governors of the school were the recusants William Heighington and Ralph Gower.(12)

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CHAPTER III
RECUSANCY AND CATHOLIC EDUCATION

The relationship between education and the State in England from the time of the dissolution of the monasteries is complex. State papers, the archives of individual religious orders, family histories and letters to the continental seminaries, help to fill up the picture, but there is no noteworthy collection of documents which covers the whole topic.

In England, State control of education had begun with Henry VIII's Act of Supremacy in 1534, this control being increased during the reigns of Edward VI and Elizabeth I. The year after the closure of the Council of Trent (1545-1563) it was decreed that the 1559 Oath of Supremacy be imposed on all teachers in England. Meanwhile, Ignatius of Loyola, founder of the Jesuits, was in Rome working for the acceptance of his Society. Its Constitutions, together with the 'Ratio Studiorum' were designed to make of every Jesuit both a missionary and a teacher. From England, many Catholic scholars, priests and religious, emigrated to Ireland, Scotland, France, Italy and the Low Countries. Many joined either Cardinal Allen's seminary at Douai, founded in 1568, or were associated with the Jesuit Colleges in Rome, Valladolid or Seville.

The number of Catholic bishops in England was systematically reduced, whilst known Catholic schoolmasters were removed from office and usually imprisoned. (1) Despite the risk of indictment for treason, Catholic masters managed to continue teaching in areas where the authorities were inactive. Whilst every shade of attachment to Catholicism existed in public life, many individuals held firmly to their private beliefs. Wills of Richmondshire people show a general allegiance to Catholic beliefs and practice even at the height of the Protestant phase, and the people of the area were prominent in resisting the successive changes brought about by the Reformation. (2)

Up to 1569 and the ^{*Earls' Revolt*} ~~Pilgrimage of Grace~~, Catholicism had been kept alive in the town of Richmond by Dr. Thomas Siggeswicke and Dr. Lee. (3) In the January following the insurrection two hundred and thirty one persons from Richmondshire were executed, whilst Robert Heighington, John Gower and Thomas Wray lost their estates. Robert's son William went to Rheims and thence to Rome, becoming a

seminary priest; John Gower fled to Douai, being ordained there in 1580, and Thomas Wray also fled to the continent. (4)

The Bull 'Regnans in Excelsis' of Pope Pius V in 1570, absolving Catholics from allegiance to the Queen, precipitated even more repressive measures, and at this time the term 'recusant' came into general use. New Anglican canons prescribed a catechism for all schools, adherence to the 39 Articles, and a new Penal Act was directed against continental fugitives. Elizabeth's policy was now to totally eradicate Catholic schools, and to prevent Catholics from obtaining a 'foreign' education. A recusant census for every diocese was made during 1577-1578 which intensified the hunting out of papists, their names, residences and habits.

Though the tally of rebels compiled in 1569 contains no impressive list of recusants, there was persistent clandestine activity. In York in 1575 the Council of the North instigated an enquiry concerning:

"... such as wander from place to place to teach or instruct ... contrary to the laws and ordinances of this realm, and of all that receive, harbour or cherish them". (5)

Seven Richmondshire schoolteachers have so far been identified, but since many of the teachers were peripatetic it is difficult to circumscribe their sphere of activity. In addition, many of the prosecution lists merely state the residence as 'Yorkshire'. (6)

Up to 1577 the official number of recusants in Richmondshire was 11, but from that year a phenomenal rise occurred, with 290 persons being listed in the count of 1590. (7) In the North Riding there were now two clearly defined recusant zones; the Richmondshire-Allertonshire district, and the eastern strip of Cleveland. There is abundant evidence to show that the rise in numbers of Catholics to 20% of the population was due to the work of both the seminary priests and the Jesuits. Over four hundred of the former reached the Cleveland area from Douai alone. The mission of the Jesuits to the North Riding as a whole can be dated from 1580-81 when Edmund Campion was directed to Thirsk from London, as being a place of greater safety. Though his arrival triggered more vigorous persecution, it also produced more resistance to co-ercive measures. Not only was Mass said in prisons, but schools were held there for child inmates, conducted by the confined priests. (8) The Dean of Durham complained in 1596:

"The youth are for the most part trained up by such as profess papistry; no examination is had of schools and schoolmasters. The proclamation for the apprehension of seminaries, Jesuits and Mass priests, and for calling children home from parts beyond the sea is not executed."(9)

One of the most notable Catholic families at this period was the Cholmleys, related to most of the other Catholic gentry of the north. By 1583 they had established a network of Catholic households to which priests could be safely directed. Their farm at the former priory of Grosmont became a reception centre for priests entering the country at Whitby, where they were sheltered by Lady Scrope.(10) From here they were directed to Newcastle, York and Richmond.(11) The traffic of priests to and from Richmond in the earlier part of Elizabeth's reign was higher than for any other named town in Yorkshire.(12) At least fourteen seminary priests originated from Richmond town, and an unknown number of members of religious orders.(13) Jesuit notices tell us that Richmond was:

"... a gathering place for the persecuted Jesuits of the seventeenth century".(14)

Between 1635 and 1677 there was an average of ten Jesuits working in the Yorkshire area, known as the 'College of St. Michael', with about twenty families affording shelter. In the Richmondshire zone there occurred in Richmond itself, Brough Hall, Danby Hall, Carlton, Walden, Wensley and Aysgarth.(15) As early as 1603 more than 50% of the Richmondshire gentry were Catholic, and such families attracted round them Catholic servants and retainers, so that entire villages might be of the same religious persuasion.(16) The Jesuits had taken education to be one of their chief tools in their mission to unbelievers, and it was they who were generally taken as tutors into the household of Catholic gentry.

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PART III

CATHOLIC EDUCATION IN THE NORTH
FROM THE REFORMATION TO THE EARLY NINETEENTH CENTURY

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CHAPTER I

NORTHERN CATHOLIC GENTRY AND SCHOOLS UP TO THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

The fortunes of Catholics in England as a whole during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, ebbed and flowed with the changing political tides. The country Catholics knew their greatest strength from the period 1603 to 1660. The list of baronets and knights from 1624 to 1654 contains names which recur in the educational world right up to the end of the nineteenth century; Constables of Everingham; Langdales of Houghton; Stourtons of Holme Hall; Vavasours of Hazelwood; Staffords, Jerninghams and others. (1)

The Northern Catholics formed a tightly knit community, bound not only by common misfortune, but also formed a complex network through intermarriage, remarriage, estate sharing and exchanging, not to mention frequent changes of surname and title for reasons of inheritance. (2) Though an increasing number of the Catholic gentry sent their children abroad, and though few took up teaching as an occupation, yet they shared a common interest in education, the Haggerstons of Northumberland playing a lead role in this sphere.

Convicted recusants from 1592, the family possessed estates at Haggerston Castle and at Ellingham. These had been used as 'clearing houses' for missionaries arriving from the continent via Whitby, and the family was involved in the establishment of schools from an early date. In 1607 Mary Ward from Ripon established a convent of Poor Clares at Gravelines. (3) She returned to England in 1639, having had the approval of Rome for the establishment of a new Order, the Institute of the Blessed Virgin Mary. The school she began at Hutton Rudby in 1642 eventually moved to Paris, but in 1677 it was re-established at Dole-bank in Yorkshire with the aid of Sir Thomas Haggerstone, the Gascoignes of Barnbow and Richmond, the Middletons of Stockeld and others. (4) This, the longest surviving Catholic girls' school in Yorkshire was moved to York in the reign of James II. A further plan to establish a 'school for mothers' at Mount Grace, for the training of teachers rather than children, did not come to fruition. (5)

On the estate of the Constable-Maxwells at Everingham, was a school from 1662, still in existence in 1782. Rebuilt in 1828 it then provided for the education of both Protestant and Catholic children on the property. From the same period was the school at

Lartington on the Maire estate, founded some time before 1686, and one in Bedale under the patronage of the Stapletons, which lasted from 1666 to 1674.(6)

Before 1660, Protestant merchants, mainly in London and the west country, had endowed over 150 schools, mainly as safeguards against poverty and popery. (7) James II, crowned March 1685, altered the status quo early in his reign. Thousands of Catholics and Non-Conformists imprisoned for refusing the Oaths of Supremacy and Allegiance were released, and some religious orders returned from the continent. He also gave active patronage to the Jesuit charity school at the Savoy, and to other Jesuit and Benedictine schools both at home and abroad.(8) Perturbed by the Catholic revival, Dr. Thomas Bray founded the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge in 1699, one of his aims being to establish schools as 'garrisons against popery'.(9)

Many new illegal Catholic schools came into existence. Most of these were impermanent and due to local enterprise. Often they functioned as preparatory schools for the Academies abroad, but a few were of purely local significance, such as that at Wycliffe founded about 1692. Almost all of these schools are undocumented.(10)

Though the arrival of William of Orange led to the renewed flight of some Catholic scholars back to the continent, the year 1688 marks the beginning of a new phase in the establishment of Catholic educational foundations in Yorkshire. From January of that year, the English mission was no longer governed by a single Vicar Apostolic, but was divided into four Vicariates to ensure better government and organisation. Bishop Smith of the Northern District lived incognito in the house of Francis Tunstall of Wycliffe until his death in 1711. In 1693 he wrote from this address to the Bar Convent in York:

"I have a more than ordinary sense of what importance it is to have youth well educated...I will... be most ready to countenance and promote so good and so necessary a work".(11)

Some time between 1695 and 1698 the nuns in York started a school for girls from poorer families, held in the same building as the boarding school, so following the example of the Jesuits at the Savoy, whose Rule they followed. The Jesuit example was indeed a major factor in stimulating the growth of charity schools throughout the country, particularly among Non-Conformists.(12) Apart from this, there is no record of any other school specifically for girls, in the whole of the Northern district, until 1795.(13)

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CHAPTER II

NORTHERN CATHOLICS AND EDUCATION

FROM THE EIGHTEENTH TO THE EARLY NINETEENTH CENTURY

From 1676 to 1822 Parliament made fairly regular enquiries into Catholic numbers and property, whilst the Vicars Apostolic conducted their own surveys. Both sets of figures show a changing pattern in Catholic settlement, reflected in microcosm in the Richmondshire dales. Whilst the rural population of Catholics declined, the urban population increased. However, an analysis of the estates registered during the eighteenth century shows that the Catholic gentry in Yorkshire continued to own about 11% of the land.(1)

The most striking increase occurred from 1770 to 1850 with a tenfold rise to about three quarters of a million. By the end of this period priests estimated that about 50% actually practiced their religion; far fewer had any education.(2)

The rise in the Catholic population as a whole was produced by several factors, some of which were more important locally than nationally. Following the English Revolution of 1688 was an upsurge of political liberalism in the country. The Toleration Act of 1688 and the Bill of Rights of 1689, though directed towards the Dissenters, fostered the idea that minority groups could publicly voice their opposition to official policies. When the freedom of the press was conceded in 1695, England became, at least in germ, a liberal state. Though it was not until the end of the eighteenth century that a more tolerant attitude towards Roman Catholics became official, the ideas of the 'enlightenment' on the continent, of political freedom, and of Catholic liberalism, can be detected in the writings of a select few, some of them in the Richmond area.(3)

Another element in the 1790's was a rising interest in Catholicism among society Protestants.(4) Many had their children educated abroad in convents, whilst George IV unlike his father, was up to his appointment as Regent in 1811, most favourable to Catholics.(5) Even after this date, and the alteration of his political views, he maintained many Catholic connections. Wellington in 1816 presented at court the three Caton sisters, descended from the American Charles Carroll.(6) These were later to play an important role with respect to Catholic education.

The eldest, Marianne, became the Regent's protegee, he posing no objection when she became Richard Wellesley's wife and Vicereine of Ireland.(7) In 1828 Louisa married the Marquess of Carmarthen, later Duke of Leeds, living at Hornby Castle near Richmond. In 1836 Elizabeth married Lord Stafford, whose family was prominent in movements towards obtaining education for the Catholic poor.(8)

By 1804 three quarters of the Catholic priests had become independent of the gentry households, and were working mainly in towns. It was evident by 1760 that the most rapid increase among this urban population was among the poor labouring classes.(9) The plight of the Irish living in England was not brought to the forefront of public attention until the publication of the findings of Catholic missionaries in the Report on the state of the Irish poor in Great Britain issued in 1830.(10)

Apart from the Jesuit charity school at the Savoy, little is known of other efforts to alleviate the problem.(11) The first recorded charity for the Catholic laity was not for the English poor but for the Irish. In 1704 the Irish Charitable Society was begun in London, and between 1756 and 1784 its funds were also used to benefit the Benevolent Society of St. Patrick. Family wills of the gentry typically show a concern with the education of the poor, as is seen in the will of Teresa Constable-Maxwell, sister-in-law to Charles Stourton, founder of the Catholic Poor School Society.(12) Any suggestion that there was a conflict between the 'Old Catholic' families and the needs of the poor Irish is clearly out of place in this context.(13)

Catholic charities remained illegal until the repeal of restrictive clauses in the 1829 Emancipation Act. Despite this, Catholic philanthropists made rapid strides, several different groups working for the betterment of the poor.(14)

Efforts to reach the poor are reported spasmodically from the Richmond area. William Maire of Lartington, brother-in-law of Henry Lawson, and formerly professor of philosophy at Douai, was reported between 1733 and 1741 to be serving the 'poor Catholics of Richmond'. What form this service took is unknown, nor whether it was continued after his appointment as co-adjutor bishop of the Northern District, nor how it was related to the role of the Jesuits who had served there since the time of Campion.(15)

A few schools arose for the nascent industrial society, such as the 'Academy' at Tudhoe, Co. Durham, established in 1770 by Sir John Lawson of Brough Hall, and taught by the Rev. Arthur Storey.(16) In the same year he also founded a school on the Brough estate, rebuilt in 1837 in a room underneath the new chapel, by his grandson Sir William Wright/Lawson.(17)

There were also Sunday Schools whose original purpose in catechising children was the work of re-uniting Christendom.(18) The ideal was never achieved, but from 1765 when Miss Catherine Harrisson of Bedale introduced the teaching of reading, they gained in popularity.(19) Catholics could not at this period send their children to such schools, and it was not until 1778 and the passing of the first Relief Act that Sunday schools for Catholics were first mentioned. In the same year, Joseph Berington, chaplain to the Stapletons of Carlton published his book An essay on the depravity of the nation with a view to the promotion of Sunday Schools.(20) The Stapletons moved to Richmond in 1793, and were among the most important benefactors of the Catholic church and school.(21)

By the nineteenth century, the 'Old Catholics' were most heavily concentrated in the north, and were usually involved in industrial developments. It was they who continued to be involved in educational provision of all kinds, and who had the financial resources to do so. Outside our immediate area, but connected with it in later years were the Gerards of Garswood, Lancashire. The most famous of the 'underground' schools for Catholics, conducted by Dame Alice Harrison, was dependent on the patronage of this family.(22) Dame Alice retired to live with the Gerards after sixty years of teaching in 1760, but the family continued to sponsor educational works. Lady Gerard (Catherine Anderton) retiring to Richmond on the death of her husband, was a benefactor to the church built by Sir John Lawson in 1809 and to the school established by Fr. Robert Johnson S.J. in 1818.(23) Her grandson's wife, also Lady Gerard (Monica Strickland Standish) was at one time a pupil of Robert Johnson, and later became a benefactress of the church and the Assumption Convent Richmond.(24)

The only schools for upper class girls up to 1786 were in York and Hammersmith, with the sisters living incognito. At the French Revolution in 1789 many of the forty communities of English origin living in France returned, finding refuge with Catholic families,

often their own relatives. The last to arrive were the Poor Clares from Rouen and Graveline, founded by Mary Ward. In 1795 the daughter of Sir Carnaby Haggerston led her community to Haggerston Castle, where, according to their custom they set up a school.(25) In 1807 they moved to Scorton near Richmond, so becoming the second community of religious women in the whole of Yorkshire to establish themselves since the Reformation. Here they remained until 1857 when they moved to Darlington with their school.(26)

The same wave of movement from the continent brought over five thousand priests and sixteen bishops seeking refuge in England, only two of the former arriving so far north as Richmond.(27) The 1791 Catholic Relief Act which had permitted the building of Catholic chapels, stated that it was unlawful to:

"... found, endow or establish any religious order or society, or persons bound by monastic or religious vows, or to found endow or establish any School, Academy or College by persons professing the Roman Catholic Religion."(28)

The Act had been rendered obsolete almost before it was passed.

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PART IV

THE GROWTH OF LIBERAL CATHOLICISM

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CHAPTER I

LIBERALISM AND LIBERAL CATHOLICISM IN EUROPE

For our purposes liberalism is considered to be the intellectual movement usually traced to Rene Descartes (1596-1650), which had by the mid seventeenth century come to influence Western thought and culture. 'Enlightened' literary men tended to follow Descartes in replacing a predominantly religious view of the world with one based on principles derived from reason and ordinary experience. Mankind came to be classified by this group into those whose spirit was mechanistic; those whose spirit was noble, and those whose spirit was transcendent. Associated with this latter class was the group now known as 'liberals'.

The foundations of liberalism may be thought of as three-fold; the renaissance which had promoted an interest in life on earth rather than in heaven; the Protestant Reformation which promoted individualism in religious matters, and the scientific revolution, which encouraged the use of rigorous scientific method in the search for truth. According to liberal views, the result of human activity is the transformation of one system of society to another improved one. The process is considered to go on indefinitely, mankind being able to better his lot by his own efforts, Reform then, is the passion of this liberalism.

Independence of spirit led inevitably to religious questioning, and the cultivation of unconformity in practically all aspects of life. Both Catholic and Protestant churches tended to react to the promotion of free thought by condemning it, since it seemed to threaten the foundations of Christianity found in Scripture and Tradition alike, appearing also to dispense with the need for Revelation.

The 'Rationalism' which grew from the Enlightenment soon found itself in bitter struggle with the Churches, particularly in France, where Voltaire (1691-1778) spread these ideas to a wider, but still educated public. It was his influence which initiated the successive waves of anti-clericalism which later swept through the French bourgeoisie, and then through the mass of the people.

Contemporary with Voltaire was Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712-1778), frequently considered to be one of the chief pioneers of modern education on the continent. Though he was not in fact an innovator, but one of a series of thinkers who wrote on educational topics, he was to be the most influential of his line. His chief contribution to the theory of education was through the novel 'Emile' published in 1762, the same year in which the French government expelled the Society

of Jesus.

There was a true polarity between these two events. The Ratio Studiorum of the Jesuits was an orderly, planned programme, carried out with meticulous care, and based on first hand experience of the learning process. Underpinning Jesuit organisation and practice was an international Ultramontanism.

Rousseau on the other hand advocated a return to the state of nature. His system was based on little more than idealism, founded on the notion that all children are born perfect, and should live in a world where all are happy, equal and free. The end result of his ideas was the secularism which led Napoleon to proclaim State supremacy and nationalism in education. He did also however emphasise concepts which were later to be studied and developed by teachers such as Pestalozzi and Girard.(1)

Rousseau only considered the education of women by reason of its usefulness to man, so rousing opposition, notably that of Madame de Staël (1766-1817). Exiled from Paris as a fomenter of intrigues, she resided for varying periods in Germany, Austria and Italy, continuing to write voluminously. In 1807 she published her last novel, 'Corinne', in which she exposed the strait-jacketed existence of women of her day. This book won her a European fame which increased with the book De l'Allemagne of 1813, at which time she was in London.

In a different vein, but just as far-reaching in its influence, was the Génie du Christianisme published in 1799 by the young Breton, François-René Vicomte de Châteaubriand (1768-1848). After spending some time living in America and Ireland, where he was associated with freedom movements, he was now living in London, but the following year returned to France. His book immediately became both fashionable and famous. The Middle Ages, despised during the Age of Enlightenment, were now accorded a place of honour, its music, architecture, liturgy and customs appealing to the aesthetic sensitivities of his readers.

This book set a pattern for others, not always by Roman Catholics, extolling the customs and beliefs of that Church. It produced a new interest, and a new open-ness to religious matters, at least on the continent, easily married to the German Romantic movement popularised by Madame de Staël.

CHAPTER II

THE CARROLL FAMILY AND LIBERAL CATHOLICISM IN AMERICA

An interplay of international influences contributed in an important way to the progress of ideas and to changing educational philosophy and practice on both sides of the Atlantic during the eighteenth to the nineteenth centuries. The statement of Rousseau:

"Man is born free, and everywhere he is in chains"

was not without effect in religious circles.(1) The advances in science and technology which proceeded side by side with the Enlightenment producing a new vision of the world marching towards an earthly paradise, also had a profound effect on the churches. Among those from the New World who were most influenced by these movements was Charles Carroll of Carrollton, (1737-1832) Grandson of the Irish born lawyer Charles Carroll (1660-1720), he was educated at the secret Jesuit school, Bohemia Manor Academy, in Maryland. He then studied at St. Omers, Flanders, finally studying law in Bourges, Paris and London, returning to America in 1764 after sixteen years of European education. He was described at his return as:

"...an educated aristocrat, who had not only imbibed the intellectual spirit of the Enlightenment, but also believed that one day America...will and must be independent".(2)

Through Carroll's writing, speeches and leadership, the majority of colonial Catholics came to support Protestants in the struggle for independence from Britain. The support given by Catholic France improved the public image of the Roman Church, and the dream of religious freedom, still largely inarticulated in France, was finally achieved by the United States.

After retirement from Congress, Carroll spent most of his old age working for charitable and educational movements.(3) This pattern of involvement in public life was to be repeated by his relatives and descendants. His nephew John (1735-1815) became a Jesuit in 1753, and as a young man was tutor and travelling companion of Robert Lord Petre.(4) Returning to Maryland at the suppression of the Jesuits in 1773 he became known as:

"...a man of liberal sentiments, enlarged mind, and a manifest friend to civil liberty".(5)

His friendship with Benjamin Franklin was influential in his progress in the hierarchy of the Church and his appointment as first Catholic bishop of Baltimore in 1790.(6) At his consecration at the home of the Welds in Lulworth, Fr. Charles Plowden S.J. remarked that the end result of the American Revolution, whose outcome Carroll had done so much to hasten, was:

"...the extension of the Kingdom of Christ, the propagation of the Catholic religion...(and the) liberty to exert the full energy of divine truth".(7)

John Carroll's early interest in education was intensified upon his appointment as bishop. A man of vision, he was responsible for the introduction and foundation both of schools and of religious orders, notably the Sisters of Charity of St. Joseph, begun by Mrs. Elizabeth Ann Bayley Seton (1774-1821) and founded in 1806. Her first school, begun in 1809 at Emmitsburg was the first of over two hundred similar schools in the country, one of its foundation pupils being Louisa Caton, niece of Bishop Carroll.(8)

John Carroll remained Mother Seton's guide for years, helping her to open St. Joseph's orphanage in Emmitsburg in 1814.(9) From these influences Louisa Caton resolved to dedicate herself to working for girls through education, and particularly for orphans.(10) Though her aspirations changed, she remained in contact with her former teacher.(11)

In 1816 Louisa, Elizabeth and Mary Caton travelled to England, their grandfather's friendship with Washington enabling to send them to Coke of Holkham Hall in Norfolk.(12) One of the few M.P.'s who had been opposed to the American war, he was also one of the few who had voted for the abortive Catholic Emancipation Bill of 1779. From Holkham the Catons were launched on a European tour in the company of the nobility and high ranking officials of England and France.(13) By the summer of 1816 the 'Three Graces' had been welcomed by Louis XVIII and other French Royalty. As part of Wellington's entourage they were introduced to the salons of such persons as Madame de Stael, now near the end of her life, and with him they travelled to Brussels and famous battle sites.(14)

On return to England, Louisa married Sir Felton Elwell Hervey Bathurst, one of Wellington's aide de camps. After his death in 1819 she became increasingly involved in work for orphans and other educational projects. Her period of greatest activity commenced about 1835.(15)

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CHAPTER III

LIBERALISM AND THE MENNAISIEN SCHOOL

"The great social crisis of the time cannot be solved till the day when the revolutionaries are Catholics, and the Catholics revolutionaries". (1)

Concern with the social distress existing in early nineteenth century France, led some Catholic intellectuals to dream of the transformation of the State through the restoration of Christian ideals. Leading the way was Hughes Felicite Robert de Lamennais (1782-1852). His most famous essay Sur l'indifférence en matière de religion published in 1816 earned the praise of such Catholic intellectuals as Châteaubriand, de Maistre and de Bonald. Capturing the popular imagination, he awakened a new interest in religion, particularly among the young.

By 1828 Lamennais had become leader of a select group entitled the 'Congrégation St. Pierre', an appellation which reflected his insistence on the Roman Church as supreme teacher. Outside this body he saw only lawlessness, anarchy, the substitution of human reason for the Divine, no authority, and no religion properly so-called.

The group counted among its members such men as Lamartine, Count Montalembert, Guéranger, Combalot, Ozanam, Gerbet, Victor Hugo and Lacordaire. (2) Their leader emerged as the apostle of a new 'liberal' Catholicism, with Rome as its focus, and their aim the social regeneration of France, then of all Europe, through the renaissance of a genuinely Catholic church. They saw Christianity as an agent which could weld mankind into a new creation, St. Augustine's City of God. In France the reality was that the Church had become the tool of the State; communication between the Bishops and Rome was subject to State control, and independent Church schools were forbidden. The government pursued its own aims with little regard for the people, whilst the poor had no expectation of ever attaining their normal human rights.

The issues raised by Lamennais in Brittany had already been tackled by John Carroll in Baltimore. There the separation of Church and State had become a reality, as had most of the other issues for which Lamennais was fighting. (3)

Together the 'Congrégation St. Pierre' studied liturgy, Thomistic philosophy, and the writings of the Fathers of the Church, particularly those of St. Augustine. These latter seemed to them most apt for the needs of post-Revolutionary France, for their underlying theme was the ideal of a God-filled world. They declared that the Church now taught a narrow and degenerate form of Scholasticism, yet Thomas Aquinas, the greatest of the Scholastics, had embraced the whole of knowledge in his works. Freedom was imperative; freedom of conscience, freedom of the press and freedom of education.

During the Revolution of July 1830 when freedom of the press became a reality, Lamennais, Gerbet and Lacordaire left Brittany for Paris. The latter gave up his plan of leaving for America, the only country where Christianity seemed to be established in true freedom, to work on the editorial team of the new paper L'Avenir or Dieu et la liberté. Lacordaire now saw Lamennais as the founder of Christian liberty in France, as Carroll had been in America. Until 1830 most practicing Catholics in France had viewed their past history with nostalgic regret. Now L'Avenir gave a new perspective, calling them to new strategies and new action.

Its challenge to State interference in the Church soon attracted public attention. From Ireland, where he was currently assisting Daniel O'Connell, Montalembert offered to be foreign correspondent. Soon the paper proclaimed liberty for Ireland, then in the grip of famine, liberty for Poland, struggling with insurrection, liberty for Belgium, in search of her independence, and advocated voting rights for all adults of whatever condition.(4)

Catholic Europe was awakened into activity. Prelates and governments opposed most of the ideas circulated in the paper, for they upset the established order of life. Denunciations poured into the Vatican from Metternich, the Gallican bishops and the French Royalists.(5) The younger clergy were astounded to find a vibrant teaching with which they could indentify. The socially minded saw how Catholicism could become a religion for the people, controlled by the people. On July 31st 1831 the paper proclaimed:

"Society as a whole is aware that a new order must take the place of the old, and that the world is moving forward to a new destiny".(6)

Some members of the editorial team, including de Caux, Lacordaire and Montalembert, styling themselves the "Agence Générale de la Liberté Religieuse" opened a school in Paris in May 1831. Though the project lasted barely twenty four hours, widespread publicity was given to the views of the group on freedom and on education.(7) In December of the same year, Lamennais, Lacordaire and Montalembert were in Rome to plead the cause of the Catholic liberal movement.

Through his correspondence with Dollinger in Germany, and through his encounter with this group on their mission to the Pope, Nicholas Wiseman, then rector of the English College, became convinced that English Catholics were in need of rejuvenation. He was anxious for a similar religious revival in England, hoping that he would be personally involved in it.(8)

No support was given by Rome to Lamennais and his movement. The reforms which had been advocated were eventually censured, the Pope going so far as to say:

"Absurdum plane est, ac maxime in eam injuriosum
'restaurationem ac regenerationem' quamquam
obtrudi, quasi necessarium, ut ejus incolumitate
et incremento consolatur"(9)

The 'Congrégation St. Pierre' ceased to exist; the 'Agence Générale' was dissolved, and L'Avenir ceased publication after only a year. Lamennais retired to his home at La Chenaie, still convinced that the Church must undergo a transformation, along with the society in which it existed, though he knew not how or when.(10) His friends however continued to work for this end along more specialised lines.

Guéranger refounded the Benedictine Abbey of Solesmes, inaugurating a new liturgical movement. Montalembert and Ozanam compiled lives of the saints and popularised the movement for retreats by the laity; Emmanuel d'Alzon continued to be guided by Lamennais in his studies, but spent several years searching for his true vocation, whilst Combalot and Lacordaire revived a variety of customs associated with the Middle Ages, such as pilgrimages, processions and Marian devotions. The latter went into semi-retirement for six years, spending much of his time reading the works of St. Augustine.(11) Both he and Combalot finally commenced preaching missions which were to occupy most of the rest of their lives.)12)

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CHAPTER IV

LIBERALISM IN THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN ENGLAND

Movements on the continent in the church and in the field of education, influenced trends in England from the seventeenth century onwards. The pioneer work of John Baptist de la Salle for the education of children in workhouses, and the activities of the Brothers of the Christian Schools, produced emulation among several different groups. (1) These included the early members of the S.P.C.K., the 'middle of the road' Methodists, various Catholic philanthropists who worked for the relief of the Catholic poor, and Unitarians such as Joseph Priestley. All tried to influence society through education, but the increase in numbers of charity schools was seen by many members of the government to be a cause of sedition and rebellion. (2) Such ideas were reinforced when Priestley wrote:

"The spirit of free and rational enquiry is now abroad, and without any aid from the powers of this world will not fail to overturn error and false religion". (3)

The success of the Catholic community with respect to work for the relief of the poor provoked an outcry from the Public Advertiser:

"We now see Popish Mass houses, and what is as bad, if not worse, Popish schools increasing daily, in Defiance of all our Laws" (4)

Soon after this outburst the Relief Acts of 1778 and 1791 legalised Catholic schools along with those of Dissenters, though clauses remained declaring Catholic charitable bequests to be illegal, and:

"... the foundation or endowment or establishment of any religious order or society of persons bound by monastic vows, by persons professing the Roman Catholic Religion in Britain or her Dominions". (5)

Despite such restrictions, the opening of Catholic charity schools continued, a notable leader in this field being the Abbé Guy Toussaint Julien Carron (1760-1820). A Breton priest, he was deeply involved in helping women factory workers. After his deportation in 1792 he continued to work for French exiles in England, founding a range of educational works. Carron came to be seen as a prophet, an instrument of God. For Felicité de Lamennais, then a young man, Carron became a valuable guide in the development of his own thought. (6) Through his example, a second philanthropic wave swept through England at the turn of the century. (7)

Among the families which had worked for freedom of thought and of worship throughout the recusancy period, were the Lawsons of Brough

Hall. (8) Many had become priests or joined religious orders, and the women of the family were noted for the power they exercised in religious matters. (9) Early in the eighteenth century Elizabeth Lawson married Stephen Tempest of Broughton. A patron of the Jesuits, he had received his own education at St. Omers, and by 1720 he was noting 'Heresays' from France for his son's instruction. (10)

A few priests with unorthodox views who had achieved ordination in France also introduced liberal views into the Catholic church in England. One of these, Joseph Berington, professor of the English College at Douai from 1769, was eventually dismissed from the college for his views. Acting as companion to Carnaby Thomas Haggerston on his journey, he travelled to Carlton Hall, where he was employed as chaplain to Miles Stapleton. (11)

Berington's dismissal stimulated his supporters to write approving letters, thus revealing others of liberal tendencies among the English Catholics. They included the Lords Petre and Stourton, the Fermors of Yarm, the Lawsons, Jerninghams, and the various branches of the Stapleton family. In the main these belonged to those of the Catholic gentry who had received a continental education.

The eighteenth century saw also the beginning of the 'age of tracts', most of them concerned with religion or political questions. Soon after the 1778 Relief Act, Berington had produced his State and behaviour of the English Catholics. Whilst the liberals were delighted with the book, the conservatives were outraged. The Rev. Francis Blackburne (1705-1787) Anglican rector of Richmond, engaged Berington in a pamphlet war, preaching throughout his rectorship against popery as dangerous to the foundations of society. Blackburne set himself up as a Protestant inquisitor, collecting information about Catholics which could be used against them, and publishing several sermons and treatises to that end. (12)

Many of the Catholics who held more traditional and conservative views had a high regard for their opponents, and thus their ideas were brought to the attention of the educated church-goer. Thus Charles Plowden, later provincial superior of the Jesuits, was himself of conservative outlook, but his close friend, the American John Carroll, was at that time an ardent liberal. Berington also corresponded regularly with Carroll, discussing with him such topics as an English liturgy, married clergy, and joint Catholic-Protestant Sunday Schools.

Catholic Committees proliferated throughout the country to discuss the issues at stake in this correspondence. From the movement was born the 'London Committee' whose task was to negotiate further legislation towards religious toleration.

One of its schemes was for the founding of new types of Catholic Academy in England. This produced alarm among some of the continental educated gentry, causing them to change their opinions. In 1787 Sir John Lawson produced a written protest against the scheme, signed by over fifty of the Northern Catholic gentry. (13)

With the influx of refugee Catholics from the continent at the French Revolution, sympathy was awoken in many quarters. However, the Revolution also produced a wave of popular feeling against all forms of liberalism. In both America and England, liberal Catholics faded from the public view, and a swing towards conservatism was evident. From this trend was born the 'Roman Catholic Club' in London in 1793, which set itself to uphold these principles, as well as continuing the theme of the 'Protesting Catholic Dissenters' as some of the London Committee had styled themselves. (14)

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or orphans, rather than the setting up of new
schools.
- The only other endowments in the Richmond area were:
- | | | |
|----------------|---------|------|
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| Congregational | Keld | 1789 |
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CHAPTER V

THE LIBERAL CATHOLIC MOVEMENT

AND THE IDEA OF A NEW WOMEN'S TEACHING CONGREGATION

Since 1825 one idea above all others had dominated the thoughts of the Abbé Théodore Combalot (1797-1873); the founding of a new religious congregation for women, especially dedicated to the education of girls. He described this new society thus:

"I have proposed ... to form a teaching Congregation of nuns, who, by means of an enlightened and profoundly Christian education, should seek to introduce the germs of a spiritual new birth into society and family life.... I have come to the conclusion that in order to arrive at a Catholic system of education for girls of the higher classes, it is necessary for the nuns to gain ...knowledge of Latin...theology...liturgy and traditions of the church, the Sacred literature of the Bible... The study of history and geography and ancient and modern literature will be pursued...in such a manner that (the nuns) ...will not lose sight of Him whom it should be their object to seek first of all".(1)

Early in his life Combalot had become associated with the Ultramontanism of Lamennais. Professor of Grenoble at the age of twenty six, he kept abreast of new philosophical trends, analysing their social, religious and moral implications for his students. Preaching was the passion of his life, and in 1825 he had tried his vocation as a Jesuit. During this training he was initiated into the Spiritual Exercises of St. Ignatius, and here it is useful to pause to consider the words 'Thy Kingdom Come' eventually chosen by the sisters he founded, as their motto.

Two of the 'Exercises' are pivotal to the whole structure; the consideration on the Kingdom, and the meditation on the 'Two standards'. Behind these elements are the experiences of Ignatius himself, leading the retreatant to ask:

"What have I done for Christ?
What am I doing for Christ?
What am I going to do for Christ?(2)

At the turning point in his own life, Ignatius had attempted to discern the good and the evil influences within himself. He imagined two ultimate alternatives: service under the Standard of Satan, or total allegiance to the Standard of Christ. Opting for the latter, he knew that this implied conflict and war not of the sword, but of the word.

The call to service was the motive force of all Jesuits wherever they accomplished their mission. All was 'Ad majorem Dei gloriam', with everything that this might involve in working strenuously to hasten the coming of the Kingdom, and the devoted service of 'His Majesty'.

The proximate source of Ignatius' idea of the Kingdom seems to have been the preface to the book Flos Sanctorum by the Cistercian Gauberto Vagad, who, like Ignatius, was an ex-soldier. He spoke of Jesus as the 'Eternal Prince', whose flag is followed by the knights of God. In the same book there is a short life of Augustine of Hippo, with a summary treatment of De Civitate Dei. Part of this reads:

"Two loves...built these two cities for themselves: for the city of the devil has arisen from the love of self, growing even to contempt of God, and the city of God from the love of God, growing even to contempt of self."(3)

In his overview of history, Augustine stressed the subordination of the secular to the sacred, and repeatedly described the final option of joining the Kingdom of Satan or that of Christ. He described how, after the Fall, God planned and began the work of salvation, initiating the restoration of mankind in the foundation of the two cities. The commonwealths of love and pride, Civitas Dei and Civitas Diaboli are inhabited respectively by servants of God and servants of the world.

Augustine himself was indebted for his imagery of opposition between conflicting forces to a commentary on the Apocalypse by the Donatist, Tyconius. For Augustine, however, the thousand years of Satan's bondage described in Revelation 20 was not a future event, but one occurring in his own times with the sack of Rome by Alaric the Goth in 410 A.D. It was this contemporary interpretation which had been seized upon by Lamennais, Combalot and other members of the group pursuing their researches at La Chenaie. For them the French Revolution and subsequent events were proof enough that France was indeed in the grip of the forces of Satan.

It was from the idea of the rebuilding of society as the Civitas Dei that the Mennaisiens chose for their motto the words:

"Restaurare omnia in Christo"

which was later also taken to be the aim of the future Assumption sisters.

Twelve years after his original inspiration to found a new religious order which would help in the task of transforming society by restoring all things in Christ, Combalot was still looking for a suitable foundress; one who would be well balanced, tactful, intelligent and wise. He had already made an abortive attempt to found this society under the leadership of Mademoiselle Seuil, two of his own blood sisters and a fourth young girl. They lived in the same house as the Congrégation St. Pierre in the rue de Vaugirard Paris, and suffered many difficulties because of the policy of trying to follow parts of the rule of St. Augustine to the letter. This, combined with Combalot's erratic leadership, led to the collapse of the first 'Assumption Congregation' in 1837, after a trial of two years. (4)

When the 'Congrégation St. Pierre' finally disbanded, Combalot continued to maintain links with Lamennais by correspondence. His loyalty to the Church was, however, stronger than attachment to his friend, and Combalot pursued alone his gigantic programme of preaching and teaching throughout the length and breadth of France.

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CHAPTER VI

THE FOUNDESS OF THE ASSUMPTION SISTERS

Unknown to Combalot, Anne Eugénie Milleret de Brou (1817-1898) was, in 1837, searching for her mission in life. Born at Metz near the borders of Luxembourg, she spent most of her early childhood in the ancient chateau of Preisch. From here three countries could be seen; France, Luxembourg and Germany. Breadth of view in the geographical sense was matched by the open-ness of the house to persons of all persuasions.

Anne Eugénie's parents were only nominally Christian, religion being for them more of a social convention than a guiding principle in life. Monsieur Milleret was a convinced Voltairean, and held most of the prejudices of that school of thought against religion. (1) Madame Milleret, though a virtuous woman, given much to charitable works, was more or less indifferent to religion.

At home Anne Eugénie led anything but a sheltered life. Owner of three banks, and a member of local government, her father invited many celebrities to his residence, not all of the Voltairean school. Thus his daughter's mind was opened at an early age to a variety of philosophies and world views. Among the more frequent visitors was Phillipe Buchez (1796-1865), an author whose ideas on philosophy, the Church and social justice had a profound influence on Anne Eugénie's later instructions and writings on education. He was also one of the few who lent his support when she first broached the prospect of religious life.

Anne Eugénie was educated mainly at home, but for two or three years was a boarder in a school in Metz. It was here that she was taught to appreciate the writings of great authors. Among the works she studied were the Soirées de Saint Petersburg of Joseph de Maistre and the Bonheur des justes dans les Champs Elysées of Fénelon. Leaving school at the age of fourteen in 1831 on account of ill health, she spent most of her convalescence in reading German and French literature, particularly the works of Schiller and other contemporary poets. This early contact with a wide range of literature, some of a type which might be considered by Church authorities of the time to be 'dangerous', ensured later that the sisters in the communities she was to found, would have the same advantages. To the idea that in the library of a

religious community there should be none of the books condemned in Rome, she later replied:

"Cette règle sera difficile à observer pour les pensionnats. Aujourd'hui, la moitié des livres qui sont dans la bibliothèque sont à l'Index... je ne sais comment on pourra exclure d'une éducation développée, toute la littérature anglaise, allemande, et les trois quarts des livres français les plus connus et même les plus sérieux". (2)

During the Revolution of July 1830 the family lost both home and fortune. Monsieur and Madame Milleret were estranged, and in 1832 the latter succumbed to cholera. Anne Eugénie was entrusted to the care of Madame Doulcet, a relative in Chalons sur Marne, with whom she led the life of a society beauty. Beneath the worldly exterior she was concealing a state of torment. In her diary for 1835 she wrote:

"Mes pensées sont un mer agitée...je ne sais quel besoin inquiet de connaissance et de vérité...peut rassasier. ...je suis seule...dans un amer isolement d'âme". (3)

Transferred during the course of that year to the house of Madame Fontanelle, another relative living in Paris, she now found herself in the type of pious society which she found hard to tolerate both then and later in her life. Its strict piety being uninformed by intellectual conviction was distasteful. However, in 1836 she followed the fashion in accompanying them to the Lenten sermons in Notre Dame. The preacher that year was Henri Lacordaire, and the experience of listening to his impassioned oratory was to change Anne Eugénie's life for ever. (4)

As a youth Lacordaire had studied law, becoming famous in his student days for his efforts in the cause of political liberation, and for his eloquence. (5) Not until he went to Paris in 1824 to follow his career, did he meet the liberal Catholics. Fired now with enthusiasm for the Church, he abandoned law, took Holy Orders, and became involved in educational work. He found himself frustrated at every turn by the restrictions imposed by the State on religious education. As a member of the team of L'Avenir he investigated the state of the schools in Paris, submitting a report to the Archbishop in 1830.

Frederick Ozanam (1813-1853), then a lecturer at the University, but better known nowadays as the founder of the Society of St. Vincent de Paul, persuaded the Archbishop to engage Lacordaire for a new type of educational project; the preaching of Lenten sermons. The first series at St. Stanislas in 1834 attracted many who had belonged to the Congregation St. Pierre; Victor Hugo, Lamartine, Châteaubriand and Monsignor d'Affre, later Archbishop of Paris and ecclesiastical superior of the Assumption sisters. Soon Lacordaire was the talk of the city. His success so alarmed the government since it attracted young men of liberal sympathies, that the series of conferences was banned. (5)

In 1835 Monsignor de Quélen assigned Lacordaire to the preaching of the Lenten sermons in Notre Dame. The series was to follow the course of conferences in which Monsignor Dupanloup had been one of the lecturers. Previously the Lenten cycle had produced a near empty building. Now six thousand people attended, old and young, educated and ignorant, aristocrat and commoner, rich and poor, men and women, content to wait for hours to secure places to listen to the famous orator, the 'New prophet' as the Archbishop styled his protege. (6) The Rambler commenting on his fame remarked that:

"... (anyone who has) ever come within the influence of his wondrous eloquence... (which) penetrates... the most secret depths of their spiritual being... calling into life new hopes, new beliefs, holding their entire nature in possession, finds themselves charmed into willing acquiescence and submission". (7)

Such was the experience of Anne Eugénie Milleret. Writing to Lacordaire several years later, she went over the events of those days:

"Votre parole repondit à toutes mes pensées, expliquant mes instincts les meilleurs; elle achevait mon intelligence des choses et raniment en moi cette idée du devoir, ce désir du bien, tout prêt à se flétrir en mon âme". (8)

The young girl who now requested to speak to Lacordaire in the chaplain's apartment at Madame Swetchine's home, had as yet no definite aspirations. His advice to her was simple: "Pray and wait". He also recommended a list of books which she proceeded to read with avidity: the Mystères of Bourdaloue; the Mélanges of M. de Bonald, and a number of works of Joseph de Maistre, some of which she had encountered in her schooldays.

Lacordaire left for the Dominican novitiate in Rome soon after this encounter, not returning to Paris until 1841. In the course of the following year Anne Eugénie noted her aspirations:

"For a year now I have been wishing that I were a man; a Lacordaire, a Montalembert, a La Mennais...I believe that these men are truly serving the country by leading her to the source of truth."(9)

Anne Eugénie examined the progress of her work daily. Her notes for this period show a pre-occupation with good and evil, submission and liberty, reason and faith. She studied Protestantism, Deism, Islam, Hinduism, Materialism and a host of philosophical, moral and educational topics. Reflecting on her writings towards the end of the year she wrote:

"Je ne suis...arrivée à la foi que par la conviction de mon intelligence...si je me suis soumise à la loi de l'autorité, c'est que j'y ai été amenée par la chaine de mes pensées où chaque jour ajoutait un anneau".(10)

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CHAPTER VII

THEODORE COMBALOT AND THE EDUCATION OF A FOUNDRRESS

Seeking for another guide in the absence of Lacordaire, Anne Eugénie decided to attend the Lenten sermons of 1837 in the church of St. Eustache. The fiery and tempestuous delivery of Théodore Combalot was repellent to her, but nevertheless she consulted him. He told her of his plans to found a teaching order for women whose aim would be 'To restore all things in Christ', and that he had no doubt but that she was to be the foundress.

Her religious and academic training began almost immediately.(1) A retreat with the Dominican sisters in Paris concluded with her thoughts on the task ahead:

"...depuis un an mon coeur battait au nom de mes contemporains, illustres défenseurs de la foi. Lamennais avant sa chute, Lacordaire, Montalembert et tous les autres... je ne pensais guère qu'il me serait donné à moi, pleine de misères et de faiblesses, de m'associer à leurs grands destinées. Et pourtant cela est; car mon humble sacrifice, s'il est complet, Dieu le bénira comme leurs pensées grandioses".(2)

Entirely ignorant of theology, Scripture and the schools of spirituality, she embarked on a systematic study of St. Paul and the spiritual masters. Combalot approved her initial steps, praising her intelligence, prudence and common-sense, possessed in greater abundance than in the average nineteen year-old.(3) He counselled her to develop a distaste for false wisdom, false virtues and false teachings, precepts which she was to repeat in her own later writings on education. However, this did not reduce the range of her own reading. She studied both Catholic and Protestant versions of the scriptures, noting that she found the latter better translated.(4) She asked advice on the study of the Zend Avesta and the Qur'an, confessing that with respect to her immediate circle:

"Ici, je ne connais personne qui soit complètement catholiques...je les crois peu éclairées, même dans leur piété...ici...personne n'y connaît ce monde d'idées où la foi nous introduit, et je pense que le clergé n'y comprend pas assez l'étendue des idées catholiques, combien elles éclairent et vivifient toutes choses"(5)

In November 1837 Anne Eugénie took up residence in virtual solitude in a strict Benedictine convent in Paris. Here she wrote a paper on education praised by Combalot's clerical friends.(6)

In her letters to Combalot, Anne Eugénie advised prudence in his words and ideas. The motto: 'La femme a été élevée' which he had proposed, was unsuitable. She warned him against thinking that the future sisters would be called to effect an educational revolution in other religious orders. Rather, they would glean the left-overs in the field of the church. Religious education she saw to be one of the needs of the age, and the sisters would consecrate themselves to this work, using all new and intelligent methods which have in them the seeds of Christianity. (7)

Tormented by the attentions of her incomprehending family, and supported only by Dr. Philippe Buchez, Mlle. Milleret saw clearly that she needed an experience of genuine convent life. (8) The Visitation sisters at the Côte St. André in the south of France, accepted her for this purpose in August 1838. To the English, German and Latin studies begun in Paris, Combalot now added to her daily programme an hour each of dogma, the writings of Thomas Aquinas, the moral theology of Alphonsus Liguori, Scripture, spiritual reading and some 'livres instructifs'. Then two hours correcting both the content and style of a book Combalot himself was writing. (9)

By September she was beginning to doubt his suitability as a guide and founder. Each of his letters brought new schemes, but Anne Eugénie insisted that the only place for a 'novitiate d'études' was Paris, not some small provincial town. Soon too she requested specimens of different religious rules, timetables, and accounts of 'rapports avec les élèves', wishing to make at least an outline of the future Rule, style of life and programme of studies.

Combalot interested two of his friends in the educational project, the Abbe Sébour and the Vicar of Nimes Emmanuel d'Alzon. Both were to be among the first protectors of the congregation. The latter enclosed some notes on teaching as a participation in the priesthood, which she later expanded in her educational instructions. (10) Soon after, on a visit to Combalot in Châtenay, she met d'Alzon in person. She quickly discovered that the ruling passions of his life were those of his friend; the triumph of ultramontanism, and the rebuilding of France by a solidly Catholic education given to the young.

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NOTE Among these friends was the Abbe Philippe Olympe Gerbet (1798-1864) a trained theologian with an extensive knowledge of the early Church Fathers. As the main editor of L'Avenir he had been responsible for the new perspective on the church given to readers of the paper. Later he taught the sisters Christian philosophy. cf. infra p. 65

7. Sr. Jeanne M. op. cit. p.116-117

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10. cf. infra p. 64 & 68

CHAPTER VIII

CROSS CURRENTS: WISEMAN AND THE LIBERALS

During one of his frequent conversations with Lamennais in Rome in 1831, Nicholas Wiseman had questioned his visitor concerning the means by which prejudice against the Catholic church in England might be overcome. The instruments for such a change, said Lamennais, were the people themselves:

"They do not exist as yet. You must begin by making the implements with which your work has to be performed. It is what we are doing in France".(1)

Wiseman followed the fortunes of the Lamennais circle with interest. He continued to correspond with Montalembert, Ozanam and others of the group, seeing them on his occasional visits to Paris.(2) Though Combalot had sworn Anne Eugénie to secrecy on the new work she was to begin, he himself broadcast the fact to his friends and visitors, among whom was the future Cardinal.

Determined to be a fellow worker in the religious movement which these men were pioneering in France, Wiseman considered returning to England to work in a more direct way for the cause of the church in that country. For the moment however, whilst Lacordaire was delivering his orations in Notre Dame during the Lent of 1835, Wiseman was breaking new ground among the Catholic intellectuals in Rome with his lectures on Science and Religion.(3) En route for England later in the year, he learned of the phenomenal success of Lacordaire, particularly among the young. This further strengthened his resolve to be enterprising in his work for Catholicism in England.

Arriving in England in September 1835, his visits to many of the 'Old Catholic' families made him better acquainted with the chains of tradition which to them rendered the past as real as the present. He found the average Catholic apathetic, and still mentally shackled by the habits acquired over centuries as members of a proscribed sect. They had not yet learned to act with freedom, caution still being the order of the day.

Wiseman proceeded to discuss future plans for the country; a Catholic Review; a Catholic University, and after being introduced to Luigi Gentili, a plan to invite more members of the Institute of Charity to England to work as missionaries. During the same few months Wiseman gave a course of lectures in the Sardinian embassy in London. His eloquence, together with his facility in speaking foreign languages, attracted large audiences.

Though the attendance did not equal that of Lacordaire's conferences, Wiseman's influence was to be as important to the English Catholics. He spoke not only of matters of faith, but of movements for change within the Church, particularly in France. Lecture tours were arranged for 1836, and thus the work of de Caux, Ozanam and others was brought to the attention of a wide public. The tours were a phenomenal success with Catholics and Protestants alike.

Whilst they were in progress, Daniel O'Connell requested his co-operation in the production of the Dublin Review. Wiseman agreed, determining that through its pages the 'elasticity' of Catholicism should be exhibited, and that the paper should accurately reflect the needs of the day. He himself enlisted the help of some of the French Liberals for contributions.

Upon his return to Rome in September 1836, his primary concern remained with England and the guidance of the Catholics there. His correspondence shows an awareness of the factors shaping its future; English liberalism, Tractarianism and the revival of continental devotional practices among a small group of English Catholics. Challenged by some of the early converts from the Oxford movement, he continued to uphold the principles of liberalism and a liberal programme, maintaining that this was essential for the influence and organisation of the Church.(4) In 1837 he followed the Spiritual Exercises of St. Ignatius for the first time, and among his retreat notes we find:

"I, in the presence of the Divine and Eternal Majesty of God...resolve...to promote...(God's) glory and honour in words and works...To do all I can to aid them (the poor) and particularly I will seek out occasions of serving them and assisting them personally".(5)

He now paid particular attention to the spiritual training of his students, preparing them for the life of a missionary priest in England. His writings at the time show that he kept constantly in mind the work of Lacordaire and Montalembert in France to secure the right for religious education, as well as the similar struggle then taking place in Germany. His reading of continental Church affairs was faithfully reported in the Dublin Review, and this attracted to him a constant stream of English visitors.(6)

Inspired by his contacts with the French liberals, in July 1839 Wiseman published an Essay on St. Augustine and the Donatists which made

a great impression on English theologians. It dealt mainly with the necessity of recognising a single great spiritual organisation as the 'Civitas Dei'. Highlighting the idea that the Ultramontanists of the Roman Church were this one society, he proclaimed that despite the passage of time, the nature of the City of God has never changed. In this world it is the Church which stands firm as a sacred bastion.

On the eve of his consecration as co-adjutor bishop of the Midland district in June 1840, Wiseman listed among his resolutions:

"... to have missions as soon as possible, and a body of clergy available for that purpose".(7)

He had by now become convinced of the necessity not just for free-lance missionaries like Gentili, but proper religious foundations with a missionary outlook, and with a wide-reaching knowledge. His first move when he became president of Oscott college was to introduce teachers of such a range of opinions and experience that the students would have a taste of liberal education. He then invited from Rome orders devoted to missionary preaching; Passionists, Redemptorists and Rosminians.

By 1850 seven orders of women had been invited, among them the Assumption sisters, and two more orders of men.(8) Not all met with the approval of native Catholics, since they introduced continental 'novelties'. During the same period he had opened two orphanages, a grammar school and a middle (class) school in London. He had also become acutely aware of the thousands of Catholic children both in London and the Provinces with no education at all.(9)

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PART V

THE FIRST ASSUMPTION SISTERS : STUDIES AND EDUCATIONAL THEORY

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CHAPTER I

THE ASSUMPTION COMMUNITY 1839 TO 1841

In April 1839 Anne Eugénie moved to the rue Férou Paris, soon being joined by four other recruits, obtained by Combalot's usual peremptory method. Josephine de Commarque, a relative of Montalembert, was the recipient of a reasoned expose of Combalot's thought:

"This congregation will unite the contemplative life with a sort of religious priesthood, exercised over persons of their own sex".(1)

Anastasie Bévier (1816-1894) was already noted in the University for the depth and breadth of her knowledge, had obtained her license to run a boarding school, and was actively seeking for a teaching congregation. It was she who, as Sr. M. Augustine, was eventually to give the Assumption educational programme its content and form, marked with the unmistakable stamp of Combalot's original ideas, together with a methodology culled mainly from the Franciscan educationalist Jean Baptist Girard.(2)

Catherine O'Neill (1816-1888), charmed by the account of the travels of Corinne in the novel of that title by Madame de Stael, left Limerick in 1838 to travel to Paris and Rome. Lodging with Madame Récamier, a former friend of the author, she encountered such celebrities as Châteaubriand in the salon of her hostess. During Lent 1839 Combalot silenced all the objections made to the plans he laid before her:

"Vous ne comprenez rien à cette grande oeuvre de l'éducation chrétienne; vous ne comprenez pas que c'est par la femme qu'on régénère une société".(3)

Though Catherine had received a 'traditional' Catholic education, her literary taste was towards the romantics and continental authors noted for their liberal views. Her father was already committed to the causes of education and freedom, having helped to found a Lancastrian school, and having played an active part with Daniel O'Connell in the proceedings prior to the Catholic Emancipation Act of 1829.(4)

Unable to join the group immediately, Henrietta Halez prepared for the work by a self-appointed study programme:

"Je travaille avec beaucoup d'ardeur, je pense que cela nous sera utile; je fais des extraits d'histoire universelle, je suis un cours de littérature et d'histoire naturelle; j'étudie particulièrement les mathématiques et la cosmographie. J'ai repris mes leçons d'anglais et de musique, et m'applique au chant".(5)

On 9th November the group moved to a larger apartment in the rue de

Vaugirard, the house formerly occupied by the disciples of Lammenais and the first abortive Assumption community. (6) The feast of the Lateran Basilica, 'Mother and mistress of the churches', brought the idea of the New Jerusalem, the City of God, to the forefront of their thoughts. On this day too they adopted their religious names. (7)

The community spent most of the day in prayer and study, Combalot gaining the help of several ex members of the Mennaisien circle. The Abbe Gerbet taught Christian philosophy; Monsignor de Coux taught social economy; Monsieur d'Ault-Dumesnil taught the history of literature; Léon and Eugène Boré taught oriental languages, whilst Combalot himself took dogmatic theology, based on the works of Thomas Aquinas. Added to this were courses on art, foreign literature, geology and comparative anatomy, given by different experts. (8) Such a broad range of subjects was later to become one of the characteristics of Assumption education. (9)

Combalot's erratic leadership, and differences of opinion between himself and the sisters, eventually led to a definitive rift between them. He had tried to persuade them to separate from Sr. M. Eugénie and to move to Brittany, but they resisted firmly. Residence in Paris seemed to them essential at this moment, when they were securing a reputation for learning. Combalot left the group in April 1841, the Archbishop's advisers having been summoned to settle the dispute. At Combalot's departure Charles Thibaut, bishop of Montpellier wrote:

"...l'éducation des filles a été jusqu'a présent mal comprise et les congrégations religieuses...elles-mêmes (ont) mal apprécié ce qu'elles avaient à faire de la femme... L'Assomption existe...pour tenter une grande et vraiment religieuse réforme au point de vue de l'éducation de la femme...(dans) vos constitutions j'y ai vu quelque chose de très prévoyant". (10)

'Father Combalot's blue-stockings' as the sisters were sometimes mockingly called, had been the object of much criticism as long as he remained their director. Once he had departed, the clergy began to take the venture seriously. Pupils began to be recommended, necessitating further peregrinations in the city, first to the rue des Postes in the Latin quarter, then to Chaillot near the Champs Elysées, and finally to the Château des Tuileries in what is now Rue de l'Assomption Auteuil.

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Since Lacordaire declined to be Sr. M. Eugénie's new director, Emmanuel d'Alzon, with whom she had corresponded since 1839, accepted this role. Whilst Combalot continued to battle in other fields with more zeal than ever for the freedom of the Church to educate, even making further attempts to found another religious congregation, d'Alzon and Sr. M. Eugénie teased out, by their almost daily correspondence, the problems of providing a Christian but modern education. (11) The first pupils were accepted in October 1841.

In that same year Lacordaire had returned to Paris to preach once more in Notre Dame. His subject was Augustine's classic theme of the heavenly city and the earthly city of the Christian. Far from denigrating the latter, he extolled love of country and of this world as fostering love of heaven. Further in the same discourse he described how France had subjected Royalty to degradation, but now God had returned in his more Supreme Majesty. (12) Though Sr. M. Eugénie could not have been present at these sessions, her writings at this period bear the unmistakable stamp of his influence:

"Pour moi, j'ai peine à entendre la terre un lieu d'exil; je la regarde comme un lieu de gloire pour Dieu, puisqu'il peut recevoir de nos volontés libres et souffrantes le seul hommage qu'il ne trouve pas en lui même. Je crois que nous sommes placés ici-bas précisément pour y travailler à l'avènement du règne de notre Père céleste sur nous et sur les autres... Faire connaître Jesus Christ, libérateur et roi du monde... il veut travailler en chacune de nous à la grande oeuvre du règne de Dieu... C'est en entendant (ces idées) pour la première fois à Notre Dame que... j'ai fixé mon regard pour obtenir ce succès; mais il est tout en Jésus Christ et à l'extension de son règne". (13)

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- NOTE
- These names will be used from now on.
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 Catherine O'Neill = Sr. Therese Emmanuel
 Anastasie Bévier = Sr. M. Augustine
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CHAPTER II

UNE ÉDUCATION ÉTENDUE : A VISION OF THE WORLD

In the Introduction to the Constitutions of 1839, Combalot had examined the contemporary educational scene and its needs. Women, he said, fulfilled a priestly role when they undertook the mission given by Christ; "Go and teach".(1) Thus they could participate in the building of an empire of charity and virtue in a world where truth was almost extinguished, in minds which were famished, fed only by doubt and falsehood.(2) This idea of the priesthood of women, produced a vision of the end result of the work, which was to be the revolutionising of social conditions. The aim of this revolution was the reign of Christ as sovereign of the individual soul, and his enthronement as King of the Universe, in direct contrast to the enthronement of the 'Goddess of Reason'. It was the Rights of God which were to be proclaimed, which alone would bring about a political state where the true Rights of Man could be obtained.

The challenge to produce such a transformation of society, to build up all things in Christ, was well recognised prior to the foundation of houses outside France. Combalot's scheme depended on the insight of Lamennais who had seen women not as frail flowers to be protected from the world, but 'mulierem fortem', capable of hard work and intellectual strength; formidable weapons dedicated to the service of Christ.(3) It is clear that the underlying principles of the education given throughout the Assumption Congregation were those of Lamennais. He had deplored the fact that the education of women usually had no links with the social needs of the day. After his rejection of and by the Church, his ideas remained fecund in the work of his friends. He had desired a women's congregation, fully conversant with the foundations, the fundamental beliefs, the political needs and the aspirations of the times. Such ideals, transmitted to the first Assumption sisters by Combalot, had by 1850 been thoroughly sifted and analysed.(4)

Combalot had acknowledged that though the poor were the true 'Aristocracy of the Church', the education of the rich was more important. Such children were born into a world of pagan pride and sensuality, and it was here that a revolution was needed.(5) The Scriptures and the Church together would provide the intellectual illumination needed as the remedy for a pride produced by false learning. Utilising the imagery of Civitas Dei he said:

"Deux systèmes d'instruction se disputent le monde des intelligences: le système Catholique qui a son fondement dans les enseignements de l'église, et son principe d'explication en Jésus Christ, et le système naturaliste païen qui repose sur la raison déçue et sur les sensations".(6)

The pagan theories of the Renaissance, the divorce of faith and reason brought about by the Reformation, and the current vogue of 'naturalism' stemming from Rousseau, led him to conclude:

"Toute science consiste à connaître Dieu comme auteur de la nature, de la grace et de la gloire, et je soutiens qu'aussi longtemps que ce triple élément ne dominera pas l'enseignement, jamais nous posséderons une théorie complète de la vérité".(7)

The preliminary draft of the Constitutions written in 1840 by Sr. M. Eugénie affirms that she saw the work of teaching as fulfilling a social mission. It makes clear that the Congregation was founded to educate girls who would influence and change their milieu. The means was primarily through the secondary education of the upper bourgeoisie, the most powerful action group then existing. This work would be the basis for the transformation or regeneration of society, a task considered by her to be one of the spiritual works of mercy.(8)

The first sisters saw clearly how to implement Combalot's scheme to alter the indifference of Catholics to the social aspects of their religion, to the plight of the poor and to the injustices of society. Their work was later extended by means of a 'Third Order', a society originally intended for past pupils of the schools, as well as for pious women, through which the Christian law could be practiced in the world.(9)

In the political sphere, Sr. M. Eugénie herself had been brought up in a republican Voltairean atmosphere, whilst the family of Sr. Thérèse Emmanuel had been intimately connected with the work of Daniel O'Connell.(10) At first they saw the 1848 Paris Revolution as a handmaid to the work of the Church. It was quickly perceived however that the Republicans themselves stifled the republic. Christianity alone was the hope of social salvation, but most Christians in public life were ineffectual.

Whilst many letters from 1848 onwards speak of Republican ideals, Sr. M. Eugénie deplored the lack of Christian motives of the average politician.(11) In 1871 she gave greater precision to her ideas:

"...le peuple... ne veut pas encore du règne de Jésus Christ...(il y a) besoin d'un gouvernement chrétien, la nécessité de l'éducation, le projet d'oeuvres pour la conversion des classes populaires".(12)

D'Alzon in 1879 continued these thoughts, and compared the task the

sisters had set themselves with that facing Augustine of Hippo:

"Ce que saint Augustin a fait malgré les barbares, nous devons le faire malgré les révolutionnaires... les écoles, filles de Saint Augustin, ressuscitent la doctrine et la sainteté là où la libre pensée et la morale indépendante, pense d'avoir anéanti pour toujours la vérité et la sainteté catholiques". (13)

This letter was sent to the English houses to inspire them to further efforts for the Kingdom.

The influence of the socio-religious views of Dr. J.B.P. Buchez on Sr. M. Eugénie have already been mentioned. He himself worked continually in the service of the poor, denouncing all forms of exploitation by the growing capitalism of which he was an adversary. His views on education, and the links between science, morality and religion continued to be an inspiration to the Assumption sisters even after his death. (14) He saw the human race as essentially in a state of evolution; mechanistic, scientific and spiritual stages leading to a new era. He had preached:

"Le plus grand service qu'un homme puisse rendre aux autres, la plus belle gloire, le plus grand mérite qu'il puisse acquérir devant Dieu et ses semblables, c'est de hâter cette époque". (15)

Combalot in his document of 1839 had expanded his concept of the 'truth' which would bring about the new era. The whole programme rested firmly on the ideas of Chateaubriand in his Génie du Christianisme. Developing further the theme of a holistic education he remarked:

"In the boarding schools where young people are brought up, and in which one wishes nowadays to impart a wide and deep education...they never show them the principle of all things; all is broken, divided, scattered across their intelligence". (16)

The unifying principle of education for Sr. M. Eugénie was the mystery of the Incarnation, which had divinised every aspect of human life and knowledge. Thus all forms of thought, and all aspects of beauty were worthy of inclusion in an educational programme. (17) Léon Bore, professor at the University of Munich was later to write:

"Si j'éprouve pour vous tant de sympathie, c'est parce-que je vous vois tendre avec intelligence et générosité, vers l'idéal d'un ordre d'éducation approprié aux besoins de notre époque...c'est parce-que

vous n'avez peur ni de la philosophie,
ni de la poésie, ni de la littérature,
en un mot de la science et de l'art,
quelle que soit la forme honnête et
utile qu'ils revêtent...Tout le monde
n'est pas comme vous..."(18)

Such largeness of vision accorded well with the views of her director, Emmanuel d'Alzon. From him she received innumerable comments on the meaning of sectarianism as opposed to Catholicism, and on the necessity of becoming:

"...tout simplement catholique, mais autant
qu'il soit possible de l'être".(19)

Catholicism for d'Alzon embraced total interior liberty of spirit, an ideal which was to become embodied in the life and works of all the Assumption Congregations. It was inextricably linked with the extension of God's kingdom. Open-mindedness was for him essential for the Catholic faith, both for adults and children.

"Il faut ouvrir des horizons pour les myopes,
allumer les brasiers pour des gens qui ne
réclament que leur chauffe-pieds. Heureux
les supérieurs qui embrassent le monde entier
dans leur ambition".(20)

Most of Combalot's friends from former days had remained helpful after his departure. Some of the clergy took an interest in the work, albeit their original aim was to disband it. The opposition encountered from them was so great that in 1841 Sr. M. Eugénie wrote an 'Apologia' to Mgr. Gros, so convincing that the approbation for a school was finally given.(21) She outlined the customs of convents which were so distasteful to the 'aristocratie libérale' which she hoped to attract, described the wide range of studies undertaken by the sisters, and commented that the object was not just to attract Christian parents by an education of simple usefulness. They were attempting to be as 'wise as serpents' in applying themselves to the teaching of all the subjects which were then in demand. At the same time they would teach the truths of the faith to the same level. They must be given the opportunity to try. Soon after receiving approbation for the work, Sr. M. Eugénie wrote to Lacordaire:

"Can you imagine the beauty of a truly
Christian society? God...reigning
everywhere, albeit invisibly...this
reign of Christ is more beautiful for
me...even than the heavenly Jerusalem...
To make Jesus Christ known, liberator

and king of the world, to teach that all is his...that he himself accomplishes in each one of the great work of extending his reign...this is the beginning and end of Christian education".(22)

The motto 'Adveniat regnum tuum' did indeed control all aspects of school life at the Assumption. The reign of God was sought in the conduct of the individual, in personal piety, and in the use of free time. It was actively pursued by the pupils in the various forms of Catholic action they undertook; catechism, work for the poor, clothing clubs and other occupations. Above all it was sought in the correct accomplishment of one's state in life, an activity from which no-one could be exempted.(23) That such ideas were explicitly and not merely implicitly taught is evident from the circular letter sent to all past pupils of the Assumption on the death of Sr. M. Eugénie in 1898. After speaking of the fidelity of the latter to her vocation, they are reminded of their own duty:

"Vous avez, vous aussi, une mission à remplir
...glorifier Dieu et sauver des âmes".(24)

The reality of this vision to the pupils can be ascertained by examination of the writings of those who have left a record of their schooldays. To cite but one example, we have in the memoirs of Hélène Massalka:

"Tous ces détails; ce sont...de tout restaurer dans le Christ. Notre éducation, c'était Dieu en tout, et dans la grammaire, et dans les sciences, et dans la littérature, et dans l'histoire; Dieu, c'est à dire le côté divin de notre savoir, la facette ou se reflétait la beauté unique".(25)

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CHAPTER III

THE FIRST ASSUMPTION SCHOOL

The 'Impasse des vignes' in the Latin quarter was the scene of the first essay into school life. Between October 1841 and October 1842 fourteen pupils were accepted, from the ages of five to fifteen. Most of Combalot's friends from former days remained helpful, Madame Ozanam, Madame Swetchine, Madame Récamier, the Châteaubriands and Count Montalembert being frequent visitors. The latter was at this time working closely with Veillot and d'Alzon to break the State monopoly on secondary education.(1) The press reported favourably on the activities of the house, recognising both the advanced level of the education being offered, and the reasons for it.(2) The Congregation won the commendation of leading Catholic clergy in Germany and England as well as in France, Monsignor Dupanloup being particularly impressed. It was to Sr. M. Eugénie that Dupanloup was later to submit his writings on education for correction and revision.(3)

The lecturers who had formerly instructed the sisters, now took on an auxiliary role in the school, giving their services to the pupils. Lay people and priests, authors, artists and politicians, converts and 'cradle Catholics' who visited the house, were nearly always asked to talk to the pupils. Confronted with some of the most superior minds in the country, the girls learned to listen with intelligence, to criticise, to evaluate, to recognise false erudition, and to judge all theories in the light of their practical application. The sisters tried too to give their pupils an education in scientific progress; thus geology and anatomy were included in the programme. Sr. M. Eugénie maintained that the study of science was ideal for stretching the intelligence as well as for developing the character, since it fostered a sense of proportion as to the limits of one's knowledge, hence helping to form the person to true humility.

Among members of religious orders, the influence of the Benedictine Guéranger can be seen in the training in the liturgy given to the children; through Lacordaire, now a Dominican preacher, a social slant was maintained. Through the Jesuits came a training in logic and mental discipline.(4)

With the move to Chaillot in the smartest part of Paris in 1846, the school developed in an unprecedented fashion. Pupils arrived from all over Europe, so many being from the higher aristocracy that this posed some questions for the sisters. The 'Transformation of society' through the

Gospel, which had been envisaged, was to be brought about, they had thought, by those in process of achieving status and power; the 'liberal, democratic, managerial' group. Seeing that the popularity of the school with the higher classes was proof of its good reputation, not acting as a deterrent to the liberal bourgeoisie, the former were not refused. They too could help to fulfil the aim of extending the Kingdom of God.

The success of the sisters of the Assumption at this time and in later years lay partly in the notion that instruction was not an end in itself, but a means. All the education offered was designed for life in this world rather than the next, yet the society of the future was the key to the type of education offered. It was to be a sowing of seeds, rather than a reaping of harvests.

"Personne plus que nous n'a été fondé en vue de cette société de l'avenir dont nos vœux hâtent l'avènement; tous nos efforts, tous nos enseignements, sont en parfaite conformité avec le but". (5)

The task for the Assumption Congregation was always long-term. The immediate alleviation of suffering and poverty belonged primarily to others. To the Assumption belonged the search for the root causes of wrong, and the education of those with the 'Avoir, the Pouvoir, and the Savoir' for the right.

Chaillot is important in the history of the Congregation, since all later Assumption schools were modelled on its regime, curriculum and methods. (6) The first extant prospectus from Chaillot is repeated almost word for word in that of Auteuil in 1857, whilst that originating from Richmond about 1869 states in both its English and French versions:

"The system of education is on the same principle as in the Mother House, and is in every way calculated to develop the mind and form the religious and moral character of the pupils, so as to fit them to become virtuous and useful members of society". (7)

The persecution of the Society of Jesus in France at this period led to a vast correspondence between Sr. M. Eugénie and Père d'Alzon concerning the need for an Order of men dedicated to the works the Jesuits formerly undertook, particularly that of education. (8) In 1843 d'Alzon took over the moribund college named 'L'Assomption' in Nîmes, which in 1845 became the cradle of the desired men's order. Letters reveal that while the Jesuits had rejoiced in their liberty of movement, the two founders of the Assumption were advocating the Catholicism which gives total liberty of spirit. This liberty was inextricably linked with the extension of God's Kingdom:

"Notre liberté...mystère admirable, où Dieu nous rend toujours plus libres à mesure que nous le faisons régner plus parfaitement sur nous, et où la perfection de notre obéissance est le principe de la perfection même de notre liberté. Dieu ne veut pas régner sur les esclaves mais sur les âmes libres."(9)

These ideas were applied to education. Children should be trained to freedom, not to a 'spy' system which only leads to dishonesty. They must become accustomed to the exercise of liberty as far as their age allows, and so be made ready for the adult use of this faculty. As Sr. M. Eugénie wrote:

"A l'Assomption, on ne s'est pas tant inquiété d'obtenir une discipline parfaite...on laisse au caractère de l'enfant la liberté de se manifester...quand vous auriez obtenu une discipline parfaite comme dans une armée... vous n'avez pas atteint le but que vous devez chercher...la gloire de Dieu".(10)

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3. NOTE It was to Sr. M. Eugénie that Dupanloup was later to submit his writings on education for correction and revision, particularly the Lettres sur l'éducation des filles et sur les études qui conviennent aux femmes dans le monde of 1878. Superior of the minor seminary of St. Nicholas from 1837 he there developed his pedagogical theories, becoming well known from 1844 when he engaged in the polemics surrounding the subject of Catholic secondary education. His diplomatic skill was largely responsible for the passing of the Loi Falloux in 1850.
4. Sr. Jeanne M. op. cit. Vol. II p.162
5. Père d'Alzon to MME Letter of 25.3.1848 Printed in 'Etudes archives' No. 4 Private pub. Paris 1988 p.77
6. NOTE The first known advertisement for the school at Chaillot, found in the Laity's directory for 1852, was submitted for printing by Mrs. Blount of Richmond, wife of one of the Richmond School's first trustees. It tells us scarcely more than where to obtain a prospectus.
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CHAPTER IV

THE SPECIAL CHARACTER OF ASSUMPTION EDUCATION

An allocution of Monsignor Gay, written in 1893 described Mary, mother of Jesus as alone meriting the title 'Kingdom of God', because of her total submission to Him, and because she is queen of the City of God. From the knowledge of this mystery emanate two branches; the spirit of the Congregation, which is to extend the Reign of Christ in oneself and in others, and the work of education, by which God's Tent here below is enlarged. He spoke also of the two main works of the sisters; adoration, with an orientation towards God, and education, with an orientation towards humanity. It is the latter activity which will result in the extension of the Kingdom on earth:

"Vous devez enseigner Jésus comme Jésus enseignait son Père, glorifier Jésus ici-bas comme Jésus glorifiait son Père. Il y a mille applications à faire de tout ceci; cela va mille devoirs..."(1)

The idea of the enlarging of God's Tent had several results. It produced a missionary impulse, a fervent Ultramontanism, an open-ness with respect to the school curriculum and educational method, as well as an attitude to discipline which was aimed at the development of the natural virtues; loyalty, a sense of honour, courage and sensitivity to others. This grounding for the development of the supernatural virtues, based on the theology of Aquinas, was considered to result in:

"...quelque-chose de grand, quelque-chose qui va à l'éternité... c'est pour cela qu'on laisse au caractère de l'enfant la liberté de se manifester".(2)

Freedom of thought was also encouraged among both the sisters and the pupils. A complaint that the children were 'butterflies' brought forth the recommendation:

"Si les Bordelaises sont des papillons, laissons-les voler sans couper les ailes, sans vouloir ramener leurs mille nuances diverses à un coloris uniforme, ne nous occupons que de diriger leur vol".(3)

In her Conseils sur l'éducation written in 1842 for the five sisters entrusted with the first few children, Sr. M. Eugénie had written that she was ignorant of the works of educationalists, but that one day they must be given serious attention:

"Nous aurons à les examiner ensemble pour voir ce que nous pourrons en tirer, pour juger leurs principes et leurs moyens selon la règle infallible de la morale catholique, et enfin pour comparer leurs aperçus avec les nôtres".(4)

She continued that no system must be followed blindly, and re-iterated the precept that the sisters should use 'all intelligent new methods', first advocated by her in 1838.(5)

The ignorance of which Sr. M. Eugénie spoke was soon remedied. Study was made of the main strands of educational thought which had influenced Europe up to the present day, selection being made of any idea which served the purpose of the extension of the Kingdom. The ' simultaneous' or class mode of teaching exemplified by the Jesuits and the Brothers of the Christian schools; the theory of Rousseau that ' nature' was the best educator, particularly as developed by Pestalozzi, as well as the 'mutual' or monitorial system, known in villages throughout France for generations; all found their uses in Assumption schools.

The most notable advocate of the latter system, Père Jean Baptiste Girard (1765-1850) had developed a scheme for the use of his family whilst still a child. In 1800 he formalised it in the Projet d'éducation which was put into full operation in Fribourg.

Most continental teachers adopted one of the three main systems of education outlined above. Girard was non-partisan, being the first to make a sincere effort to establish a working compromise between them, suitable to his own situation. Here readers of the works of Sr. M. Eugénie will recognise not only her precept that the sisters should be truly Catholic; 'rich with the spirit of the Church', but also her idea that the Assumption sisters should take whatever is useful from other educationalists of different periods, both men and women.

Girard was advanced in his practice of fostering co-operation between Protestants and Catholics, induced by his concern with education for all. His example could well have inspired the following advice given by Père d'Alzon to the sisters in Richmond in 1850:

"Il faut...que la plus grande franchise règne dans tout ce que vous ferez pour les petites Protestantes que l'on vous confiera; c'est le système que l'on a adopté dans les écoles des Frères à Nîmes, où depuis quelque temps les enfants Protestants abondent".(6)

Particularly acclaimed was Girard's teaching of languages by the 'natural method'; children learnt to speak before being expected to acquire the abstract rules of grammar. This idea too can be seen in the section on languages in the Prospectuses, and was among the precepts of Sr. M. Eugénie to the Richmond sisters with respect to the teaching of French to poor children and orphans.(7) Monsieur Michel, inspector of schools in Paris, who had also published one of Girard's books, hearing that the Assumption Sisters were exemplars of Girard's system, appointed a visitor to make a detailed report on their methods and successes.(8)

For Girard religion was the core subject of the curriculum, which forms the heart of the pupil. Such a formation can only be achieved in an atmosphere of cheerfulness, mutual trust and learning in a liberal climate. Every subject should bring children to God, leading them to a high conception of their place in life. Natural Science demonstrates the wonders of God's handiwork; Geography awakens the conscience with respect to peoples still in ignorance; Arithmetic results in lessons in Christian economy, whilst language is the main means of spreading the Gospel. His teaching in these respects is much in evidence throughout the Notes on Education compiled by Sr. M. Augustine for the Assumption sisters.(9)

Girard's 'formation of the heart' was translated by the Assumption sisters as the 'Christianisation of the intelligence', otherwise described as a Christocentric education.(10) The model to be kept always before the eyes of the child was Jesus. In addition, the teacher was to love the pupils as Christ loves them, Girard going so far as to say that the teacher who cannot love, cannot teach.(11) In 1839 even before any systematic study of educational methods had been made, Sr. M. Eugénie described the type of education she wished the sisters to provide:

"...les soins maternels aux enfants, la patience qu'exigent les élèves moins avancées..."(12)

The children in Girard's schools were allowed a considerable measure of freedom. This, together with the experience of being both pupil and teacher, was considered to give occasion for testing powers of leadership, and the uncovering of hidden abilities. Virtues and vices were revealed, so giving the master the opportunity to encourage good tendencies, and to direct into useful channels those which were misguided.(13) This too was developed in Assumption schools, which had:

"... a certain breadth and liberality of outlook, and a positive endeavour to widen the field of knowledge, literary and other. Complementary with this goes a considerable freedom and trust granted to the pupils, issuing...in a sense of responsibility and orderly independence"(14)

Strongly emphasised in the Assumption prospectuses of any date and any country, is the Christian formation of the intelligence and the heart, the encouragement of simplicity of life for the pupils, and the solicitude of the teachers for the welfare of the children. The broadly based 'enseignement scientifique de toutes les classes' of which the documents speak, implies not merely the range of studies, nor the depth to which they were taught, nor the methods used, but primarily the object;

the search for truth by which the Kingdom would be extended. The prospectuses also stress that in Assumption schools the young woman is prepared by her education for all the duties which await her in the world, as a daughter, a woman, a Christian mother, or any other state to which she is called by God. Every lesson, whatever the subject, has this in view. Even when a pupil showed signs of a genuine religious vocation, the sisters were counselled:

"... ne l'élevez jamais dans cette seule pensée;
préparez-la toujours à des devoirs différents.
parlez-lui la même langue qu'aux autres"(15)

In his Discours de clôture Girard had maintained that in his school one result was the development of a small state ruled by God's law rather than by force and fear.(16) The counterpart of this idea for the Assumption sisters was the rule of Christ the King. In speaking of the preparation of the child for all the exigencies of life, Sr. M. Eugénie alluded once again to the idea of the 'two cities':

"...il n'y avait en ce monde que deux cités: celle de l'amour de soi...et celle de l'amour de Dieu... c'est à dire égoïsme et dévouement. Voilà tout le mystère, tout le principe du bien et du mal dans les choses d'ici bas'.(17)

The purpose of education for her was to help the child to leave one city behind, in order to enter the other. She was under no illusion however that instant or great successes would be obtained:

"...nous ayons pour suprême ambition d'élever au moins quelques-unes de nos élèves au-dessus d'elle-même...ne trouvez-vous pas triste que je n'ose l'espérer que quelques-unes? C'est qu'il ne faut pas se faire illusion. Nous n'obtiendront jamais de toutes".(18)

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 7. cf. infra p.121; Appendices G to I p.177-183
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CHAPTER V

ADVENIAT REGNUM TUUM

From the first Sr. M. Eugénie had felt herself to be a missionary, and had therefore maintained close links with priests and laity working in China and Madagascar. She took an intense interest in the Oxford Movement in England, and kept close ties with the Polish priests of the Resurrection. Her 'Pensée de zèle' led her to an intense thirst to be at the centre of activity in the church, and in this she was confirmed by her dealings with d'Alzon. He stressed in his letters to her that love is never enough. Love is a principle of action, and God wants some action. (1) The fervour of both founders for the work to be achieved resulted not only in the Assumption philosophy of education, but also gave birth to three other religious congregations whose foundresses were trained by the Assumption sisters. (2)

Sr. M. Eugénie had ties of friendship not only among church dignitaries, but also with literary men; Poujolet, who dedicated to her his translation of the Letters of St. Augustine; Maret, editor of l'Ère nouvelle and Veillot, editor of l'Univers, in addition to such men as Buchez, and the former circle of Lamennais. Whilst for many Catholics, Ultramontanism came to involve an almost fanatical adherence to Rome and its pronouncements, for Père d'Alzon and Sr. M. Eugénie at this early stage in their careers, it implied that they should:

"...respiré à pleins poumons un catholicisme
aux dimensions du monde". (3)

French historians have seen in the work of the two founders a parallel to that of St. Ignatius of Loyola. Their 'conversions', their social standing, their broadmindedness, and their emphasis on full intellectual development. Their congregations developed in times which were of 'crisis' proportions for the Church; the Jesuits in the aftermath of the Reformation, and the Assumptionists in the wake of the French Revolution. Between the banning of the Jesuits from France in 1764 and the founding of the Assumption sisters in 1839, none of the congregations permitted to teach in France had mapped out the whole world as its area of effort. So strongly did the Assumption sisters and fathers affect Catholicism in this respect, that Remond in particular regards the nineteenth century as the 'Assumptionist' era, much as the seventeenth was the 'Jesuit' era. (4)

The idea of Père d'Alzon in 1849 that the sisters should go to China, being considered to be inadvisable, the first group of missionaries left for the Cape of Good Hope. A year later five sisters departed for England, their leader being Sr. Thérèse Emmanuel. Scarcely two years later she was recalled to Paris to take up her former post as novice mistress, a position she held until her death in 1888. Her teaching experience was limited to the first years in Paris, and to her time in Richmond.

Soon after her arrival in England, she wrote an account of her spiritual state to her director Monsignor Gay:

"I have been marked by a very strong desire for the reign of Our Lord and for the salvation of souls in this country... This thought which I have always had of such a mission in my life... seems to me quite new... I know of no other business in England, no other reason for being here, except the honour of God and his reign in souls". (5)

Her missionary experience was confined to Richmond. However, since she was appointed occasional 'visitor' to other houses of the Congregation in her capacity as co-foundress, she was able to synthesise for the novices the experience of the 'Extension of the Kingdom' in different parts of the world.

The missionary impulse, first formally expressed in the fourth vow, was later crystallised in the Constitutions of 1888:

"L'esprit de leur Institut est de tout rapporter à Notre Seigneur Jésus Christ, aussi bien l'enseignement des connaissances humaines que les oeuvres de foi et de piété, en suivant en tout l'esprit de l'église, et de travailler par toute leur vie à étendre dans les âmes le règne du Sauveur". (6)

The text of the fourth vow, found at the end of the preceding quotation, was suppressed by Rome in 1867 as lacking sufficient precision. It was in fact made by only ten sisters. Of these, one was the foundress herself, and of the other nine, three fulfilled their mission in Richmond. The vow implied that any sister who made it could be sent as a missionary anywhere in the world, without prior consultation. (7)

In her Instructions of 18th October 1873, the evening before the departure of some of the sisters for New Caledonia, Sr. Thérèse Emmanuel spoke to the novices about the qualities needed in a missionary. She reminded them that there were important ideas which had been basic to the Congregation since its beginning, one of which was:

"...le désir sérieux de procurer la gloire de Dieu, et le salut des âmes, d'étendre le règne de Notre Seigneur Jésus-Christ". (8)

PART VI
THE TRANSFORMATION OF SOCIETY
CIVITAS DEI ET CIVITAS DIABOLI : EDUCATION, THE STATE AND THE CHURCHES

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CHAPTER I

CONFLICT AND EDUCATIONAL PROGRESS IN NINETEENTH CENTURY ENGLAND

The Catholic church, up to the eighteenth century, had viewed the purpose of education in several different ways.(1) It was the Jesuits, whose dissolution in 1773 had resulted in the closure of hundreds of schools, who had seen that:

"The education of the young is the renovation of the world...the foundation and groundwork of the commonwealth".(2)

In France, where de Chalotais had been largely responsible for their downfall, the growth of secularism during the next sixteen years, produced the idea that the purpose of education is to secure the well-being of the State.(3)

Conflict between England and France during the American War of 1778, coupled with renewed antagonism during the Revolution of 1789, heightened their differing attitudes to education. Whilst educational experimentation was encouraged on the continent, particularly if its usefulness to the State was evident, educational growth in England was haphazard.(4)

One effect of the French Revolution was to inspire in English people an aloofness from European cultural advances, so that most schools in this country reaped no benefit from continental experiences. Though Robert Owen had modelled his school in Lanark on Pestalozzian lines, and though Lord Brougham had tried to encourage changes in this country in line with what he had seen in Europe, little disturbed the apathy of the Government on the subject.(5)

Parliamentarians, unlike their French and Swiss counterparts, were uninterested in, and uncommitted to education. Malthus was almost alone in his complaint that the leaving of education to individuals without expertise or common aim, was a great national disgrace.(6) Thus, whilst Europe struggled to establish a State system, financing new ventures of both individuals and groups, England clung conservatively to the status quo, fearing to upset the prerogatives of the Establishment, and the sensitivities of the sects.

Only with respect to Ireland was any systematic plan attempted. Fearing political danger from that country, some concessions with respect to its Catholic citizens were made in 1793. However, by 1798 many Irishmen had joined the movement to plan a rebellion with French aid.

A separate Irish Parliament, conceded in 1800, was designed to stifle the danger, but the emancipation the people had been led to believe would follow, did not materialise. This precipitated an even more concerted effort on the part of the Irish to work for their rights.

The Act of Union was followed in Ireland by an intensification of official interest in popular education. Most Irish Roman Catholics had access only to the 'hedge schools' conducted by itinerant schoolmasters. Between 1807 and 1824 such schools increased in numbers from 4,000 to over 9,000. A Royal Commission set up in 1806 recommended a general plan for the education of the poor, unshackled by denominational hindrances.

The first success in this respect was the foundation of the Kildare Place Society in 1811. Adopting the methods of Joseph Lancaster, it was patronised by both Protestant and Catholic students, and thus became famous throughout Europe.(7)

In England, politics at this period was dominated by the machinations of the Whigs and the Tories. Catholics and Non-conformists generally sought political help from the Whigs. Non-conformists were frequently members also of the 'British and Foreign School Society'. Established in 1808, its aim was to promote education among the working classes, whatever their religious persuasion.(8)

The most determined of the anti-Catholics, considerably influenced by the Irish 'Protestant Ascendancy' group, were mainly Tories, though not usually Parliamentarians. The Tories were also associated with the 'National Society for Promoting the Education of the Poor in the principles of the Established Church'. Teachers working for the National Society were bound to be Anglican.(9) Most of the inhabitants of Great Britain were opposed to civil equality for Catholics. Popular anti-catholicism was widespread, some desiring that the government would legislate against the growth of monasteries and convents and their schools.(10)

Because of the difficulties inherent in the question of emancipation, the matter was considered 'open', few ministers working on any form of settlement.(11) Despite the official silence, the topic was dominant in the public mind.

In 1822 the Irish Daniel O'Connell started his 'Catholic Association', meeting Catholics in London at the Freemason's Tavern. Gaining the support of the clergy, he set himself to work for freedom, and it was primarily his efforts which brought the movement for emancipation to a conclusion.(12) In 1828 the government repealed the Test and Corporation Acts, passing the Emancipation Act in 1829. The subsequent entry of

Non-Conformists and Catholics into Parliament persuaded some people that now that the link between Church and State had been effectively severed, a national State-aided non-denominational system of education should be set up.

In some districts scenes reminiscent of the Gordon Riots were re-enacted in 1829, particularly in districts where Revivalists were strong. In 1780 John Wesley had written a pamphlet in defence of the newly founded Protestant Association, which continued to fuel hostility wherever Methodism had taken root.(13)

The year after emancipation saw the Paris Revolution which produced the downfall of Charles X, the last of the Bourbons. Reform and revolution continued to be in the news. It was evident that the Establishment in England would eventually be affected, but few offered remedies for the increasing rift between the clergy and the common man. Thomas Arnold (1795-1842) however, proclaimed the possibility of the extension of the Kingdom of God by removing false frontiers between Church and State. Echoing the idea of the 'third stage' in the development of the Kingdom previously taught by the circle of Lamennais, he said:

"Christianity should be the acknowledged basis of citizenship-the region of political and national questions...so long considered...worldly and profane should be looked upon as the very sphere in which Christian principles are most applicable...then... the kingdoms of this world would have indeed become the kingdoms of the Lord and of his Christ".(14)

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3. NOTE Louis Rene de la Chalotais published his views in the 'Essai d'education nationale' in 1763. They were implemented after the Revolution.
4. NOTE In addition to Sunday schools, private enterprise had produced many Dame and Common schools, often conducted by uneducated men and women. For those in the Richmond area see Wise 'Richmond in the 1830's'.

In some districts charity and industrial schools had been established, and in these labour usually predominated over learning. For those in the Richmond area see. Clarkson C. 'History & antiquities' p.199 & 241
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CHAPTER II

THE REDEMPTION OF CAPTIVES

France, Britain and the United States of America have been seen to have had an interdependent history with respect to the growth of liberal and democratic ideas.(1) In addition, movements within the Church followed related courses, not least because those involved were personally acquainted with one another.

In France in 1791 all religious communities of piety and charity were suppressed, resulting as outlined above in the augmentation of numbers of Catholics in England, already increased after the Revolution.(2) The influence and work of the Abbe Carron has already been described.(3) From 1802 some societies in France had managed to re-establish themselves, including the largest women's order, the Daughters of Charity of St. Vincent de Paul.

In America, Archbishop John Carroll had made it his life-long ambition to staff Catholic schools entirely with members of religious orders. At his death in 1815, the year before his nieces came to England, this desire was well on its way to fulfilment. Not only had he encouraged religious orders to settle in the country, but he had been instrumental in the founding of three American congregations, that of Mother Seton being modelled on the Institute of St. Vincent de Paul.(4)

After consultation with the Daughters of Charity, Frederic Ozanam founded the lay Society of St. Vincent de Paul in France in 1833. The aim of the group was not simply to work among the poor to alleviate their lot, but to save souls, and to create a kind of quasi-sacramental link between the philanthropist and the poor. Good works would become for both parties a 'treasure in heaven'. Whilst Théodore Combalot had described the poor as the 'Aristocracy of the Church', Ozanam stated that the poor should be treated:

"...non seulement comme un égal, mais comme un supérieur, puisqu'il est parmi nous comme un envoyé de Dieu, pour éprouver notre justice et notre charité, et nous sauver par nos oeuvres".(5)

Ozanam also stated that those who suffer, serve God. Hence they serve society, accomplishing on behalf of the church a type of expiation whose merits affect the world. His ideas were soon extended to cover all forms of charity, such as the building of schools and the maintenance of religious orders. Religious life in itself was considered to be expiatory, and when Sr. M. Eugénie had first broached the subject of her vocation to Henri Lacordaire, he had asked her:

"Connaissez-vous l'ordre de la Merci? C'étaient des hommes qui, sachant que d'autres hommes étaient esclaves, s'offraient à sacrifier leur liberté; pour les racheter. Voilà ce que c'est la vie religieuse; c'est une donation de soi pour sauver les âmes".(6)

This view of religious life remained with Sr. M. Eugénie throughout her life.

In England, Ambrose Phillips and his life-long friend Count Montalembert, had as young men pledged themselves before the ruined altar of Fountains Abbey to restore Catholicism to the country. The means was through good example.(7) This promise was not inspired simply by romanticism. Phillips began to apply some of the theories of Ozanam and Montalembert to the situation, his actions inspiring others to follow suit.(8)

Another convert, Frederick Lucas, formerly a Quaker, through the pages of the Tablet, of which he was editor, contrasted the 'Protestant Poor Laws' with a medieval ideal of charity, whereby the better-off became personally acquainted with the wretchedness of the poor; an idea which Ozanam had popularised. Lucas himself introduced the Society of St. Vincent de Paul to England in 1844, so broadcasting the idea of freeing creation from the bondage of which St. Paul had spoken; enslavement to false gods, to material possessions, and to the dark powers which are the elemental principles of the world.(9)

Other members of the Oxford movement, T.W. Allies and C. Marriott, both professors, visited Paris in 1845. Here d'Alzon accompanied them round 'Catholic Paris', a tour which included the Assumption sisters at Impasse des Vignes. Allies remained in correspondence with d'Alzon and Sr. M. Eugénie in the succeeding years.(10) Recording his impressions of the sisters in his journal, Allies wrote:

"... le but de leur société... (c'est a) donner une éducation chrétienne aux enfants de la bonne société, particulièrement de l'aristocratie de l'argent, qui est, parmi les différentes classes en France, la plus éloignée de la religion".(11)

He failed to notice the training even then being given to:

"...make children who scarcely know the name of poverty, acquainted with it in practice".(12)

In September 1840 Wiseman returned to England as one of the Vicars Apostolic. In this position he encouraged the movement towards Rome taking place among the Oxford Tractarians, continued to lecture on subjects similar to those of his liberal friends, and addressed himself to working systematically for the relief of the deprived, particularly the poor Irish.(13) His voice was added in praise of the 'holy mendicants' and their benefactors.(14)

Influential English Catholics found that the sacramental notion of philanthropy was relatively inoffensive to Protestants, as well as raising little alarm among more conservative Catholics. Poverty was raised to a dignity which was foreign to some secular and Protestant minds, which saw such a state mainly as the result of apathy, or the wages of sin. Particularly striking, whatever one's views on the causes of the problem, was the condition of the Irish immigrants. They tended to live together in the worst slums, and to engage in the most menial and underpaid tasks. They suffered from a variety of major diseases, but because of their economic position were helpless in face of the situation.(15)

As the movement towards aid for the poor developed, the idea of the obligations of charity took deeper root. Good works, defence of the faith and the making of conversions became a triad which was thought to demonstrate incontrovertibly both love of God and zeal for the Church.(16) Since Catholic wills were still illegal, secret bequests to Catholic charities were the norm.(17) Thus the clergy, as the most trustworthy recipients, became possessed of large sums of money to be spent as they thought fit. Phillips and Lord Shrewsbury employed Gentili in the founding of good works, and in this he was singularly successful.(18)

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'The denominational character of English charitable effort 1800-1865'
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cf. supra p.56
 9. Galatians 4:3-8
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CHAPTER III

ENGLISH CATHOLICS AND THE EDUCATION OF THE POOR

The problem of poverty in Britain was aggravated in the course of time by legislation having particular respect to Ireland. After 1698 about 12,000 persons annually migrated from Ireland. By 1798, of the 69,000 Catholics in England, only 150 families were from the 'Old Catholic gentry.' (1) Led by the Petre family, these latter, particularly those who were Freemasons, worked assiduously on behalf of the Catholic, mainly Irish poor. (2)

From 1723 workhouses and work schools increased in number, but Catholic children in such institutions were regarded as 'lost' to the faith. (3) Not until the passing of the Catholic emancipation Act, was it possible for the Church to take any official action on their behalf.

Few of the traditional Catholic families reaped any immediate benefits from the Act, though the Whigs did their utmost to promote Catholics to office. Among those who achieved fame were the Honourable Edward Petre (1794-1849), later Lord Stafford. (4) Most famous was Charles Langdale/Stourton (1787-1868). During his parliamentary career he became the acknowledged leader on every public matter with which Catholics were concerned. As an M.P. he was closely associated with O'Connell, and by marriage he was connected with the Constable-Maxwells of Everingham, who like himself were particularly concerned with the education of the poor. (5)

Parliament had debated the education of the poor in 1807, but the only financial help given was the annual collection for the National Society, dating from 1823. (6) When the emancipation Act was passed in 1829, though the majority of the Roman Catholic gentry were content with its provisions, Langdale began a vigorous campaign, with the rights of poor Catholics particularly in mind. Thomas Wyse, the pioneer of joint Protestant-Catholic schools in Ireland, following O'Connell to Westminster in 1830 also introduced the question of Catholic education.

In the year following the introduction of the 1833 grant, Langdale made his first official appeal on behalf of Catholic children in workhouses. (7) Wyse in his report of 1835 as chairman of the Select Committee on Education, pointed out England's backwardness in educational matters in comparison with both Ireland and the continent. The government paid no heed to the mass of evidence he had collected, until 1839. (8)

Through his chairmanship of the Catholic Tract Society, later the Catholic Institute, Langdale assisted Catholic poor schools financially whenever possible. During the first years of its existence, the annual

lectures of Daniel O'Connell at the Freemason's Tavern were a powerful factor in maintaining enthusiasm for the cause of education for the poor. (9)

As well as the work of the 'Old Catholics' such as Langdale and the Petres, there was also that of continental clerics and religious orders. In 1844 Luigi Gentili who had already spent some time in England, was appointed as itinerant missionary to the country. He was commissioned to found a school, with nuns to teach the poor, in the style of Mother Seton's nuns in Maryland. The previous year, Lady Arundel of Wardour had endowed a convent in Loughborough for the Rosminian Daughters of Charity, the sisters coming from France. The superior, Mary Agnes Amherst, had in fact already begun a day school for poor Catholic girls, the second of its kind in England. (10)

Gentili meanwhile had been carrying out preaching missions in different districts, becoming acquainted with the Duchess of Leeds during the course of one such mission. In a letter of 1845, he spoke of a conversation he had had with the Duchess and several others, about a scheme he had in mind:

"Mrs. Maxwell and the Stourtons were interested; ...the new middle class have great need in the matter of education and...our sisters might devote themselves to this work. I will write to Lady Wellesley and to others. The idea is to endow a convent school or schools with scholarships". (11)

On the same occasion, Gentili proposed another project to the Duchess of Leeds; that of an orphanage which she was to found, but which would be conducted by the sisters then at Loughborough. In June 1846 she met Gentili again, this time in London. He was then introduced to the Earls of Arundel and Surrey, the Petres, Lord Vaux and others, many of them soon to be associated with the Catholic Poor School Committee. Following this encounter, Louisa approached the Rosminian sisters to found an orphanage in Yorkshire, which she wished to endow. (12)

A somewhat acrimonious correspondence shows that the Duchess did indeed carry out Gentili's wishes, founding her orphanage in York in 1847. (13) The sisters however refused to participate, and she began to search for another order to run it; one which would have a better understanding of the work. (14)

Nicholas Wiseman, who by now had made acquaintance with the Assumption sisters through his friendship with Gerbet and Lacordaire, advised Louisa to write to Sr. M. Eugénie for help. (15) Meanwhile Langdale's brother-in-law Peter Constable Maxwell had become the first Roman Catholic mayor of Richmond since the Reformation. In 1849 he purchased land in Richmond on behalf of the Duchess, to enable her to transfer the orphanage from York to a location nearer her residence at

Hornby Castle.(16) The seven foundation orphans were all originally from the York workhouse.(17)

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1. Waugh N. These my little ones Sands London 1911 p.24
2. Smith J.T. An antiquarian ramble in the streets of London Vol. I Sands London 1846 p.299
3. Twining L. Workhouses & Women's work Longmans Brown Green & Roberts London 1858 p.6
5. NOTE Robert Edward, Lord Petre, became a Freemason in 1772. In 1775 he laid the foundation stone of the Freemason's Tavern in Lincoln's Inn Fields. These premises became the location where Catholics planned their strategies on behalf of the poor at the annual charity dinner. cf. Sturzo L. 'Church and State'
5. NOTE Edward Petre's father, the 9th Lord Petre served on the Catholic Committee, whilst his brother-in-law Edward Stafford, who had served on the Catholic board, became Lord Mayor of York. His future mother-in-law, Elizabeth Caton (Lady Stafford) was deeply committed, like her three sisters to work for the church, particularly in the sphere of education. cf. Aveling J.H.C. 'The hand & the axe' p.282 Nethercott M. 'The story of Mary Aikenhead' Assumption archives Paris Correspondence Vol. III MME to MTE No. 323 of 1.3.1851 cf. supra p. 28 ff.
6. Murphy J. NOTE Langdale was Whig M.P. for Beverley from 1832-1835 and for knaresborough from 1837-1841. Church state & schools in Britain Routledge & Kegan Paul London 1971 p. 210
7. NOTE The idea that local rates be used for educational purposes was vetoed as subversive by the Archbishop of Canterbury. The King therefore authorised the church collection. NOTE Through Langdale's efforts, the Poor Law Amendment Act, passed in 1834, included a clause which he had introduced. Parents dying in the workhouses had the right to stipulate that their children be brought up in such denomination as they specified. Four years later he instigated an enquiry into the execution of this clause. Thus he pinpointed a problem still unresolved by the time of Cardinal Manning's death in 1892, the latter having spent thirty years of effort on this question. cf. The Tablet 23.1.1864 Letter of Charles Langdale.
8. Auchmuty J.J. Irish education Hodges Figgis Dublin 1937 p.105-106
- NOTE Langdale himself founded the Catholic Tract Society. i) It became the Catholic Institute in 1838 and had branch associations all over the country.

- NOTE
ii) In the Spring of 1847 the Institute asked the hierarchy to undertake a survey of the provision of schools for the Catholic poor in each diocese. From the letters connected with this enquiry we find that the 70 Catholic children at Leyburn School were mainly from the ranks of the very poor. The school had an annual income of £4. The school at Richmond catered for a similar clientele. It was however more advantaged, since several benefactors contributed to its support, including the Anglican ministers.
cf. Appendix L p. 186
10. Steele F.M. Convents of Great Britain Washbourne London 1906 p. 100
Anon The religious houses of the United Kingdom Burns & Oates London 1887 p. 168
11. Leetham C.R. Luigi Gentili Burns & Oates London 1965 p. 238
NOTE i Mrs. Maxwell was a daughter of Lord Stourton
NOTE ii Marianne Caton married Wellington's brother, the Marquess of Wellesley in 1825. He was Lord Lieutenant of Ireland 1821-1828 and 1833-1834. Of Irish birth he was at first popular in the country, but his inability to persuade the King or his brother to adopt his own liberal and tolerant views led him to give up office for a period. In the interim he continued to work on behalf of Catholics, albeit with little success. His wife patronised the Irish Sisters of Charity and the Redemptorists, along with O'Connell, Wiseman and their friends.
cf. supra
12. Pagani G.B. Life of Antonio Rosmini Routledge London 1906 p. 253
13. Rosminian archives Rome
Letters of Louisa Catherine, Duchess of Leeds to Dr. Gentili MSS No. 132 & 165
Directory of York 1849 p. 565
14. Slater I. NOTE A common practice among society ladies at the time was to invite nuns from abroad to take over already established works. Thus Viscountess Bonnault d'Hoult who had founded the Faithful Companions of Jesus, had been invited to England to take over Carron's schools in 1830. Bishop Grant had also invited the Sisters of the Faithful Virgin to England in 1848, Wiseman asking them to open an orphanage for girls at Norwood. Feheney J.M. 'Catholic child care in Victorian London'.
cf. Mathew D. 'Catholicism in England' p. 284
McLelland V.A. 'Cardinal Manning' p. 32
15. Sr. Jeanne M. Les origines de l'Assomption Vol. II Mame et Fils Tours 1898 p. 80 & 132
NOTE The first direct contact of the Duchess with the Assumption Sisters was in 1849. Sr. Gertrude was in London to settle affairs for the first mission to Grahamstown.

16. Archives of the Duke of Leeds Claremont
St. Leeds.
DD5/II/V Bundle 19
MSS Letter of Charles Blount to the Duke
of Leeds 30.11.1857.
Labelled, 'The truth about Mr. Maxwell'.
17. Assumption archives Paris
ONhc Correspondence 1850-1851 MTE to MME.

CHAPTER IV
AN ARTFUL EDUCATION PLOT

By 1800 convents abounded, though they had been expressly forbidden by the 1791 Relief Act.(1) Anxiety expressed in official circles respecting property in the hands of monastic institutions resulted in moves to authorise 'inspection' of nunneries. The campaign to show that such establishments proved that the day of Anti-Christ had come, was given further fuel with changes in the method of distribution of grant-aid to schools in 1839.

Allocated now by a Privy Council, instead of being given directly to the Voluntary Societies, it could only be given to schools in which the Authorised version of the Bible was used. Catholics were therefore excluded. The Times however reported that the change was:

"...the seal and superscription of Popish advisers
...the subject of deep Popish meditation and
artifice...a scheme for introducing the Popish
version of the Scriptures, and the Irish system
of education into this Protestant country".(2)

It was further declared that plans to extend the 'Irish system' were:

"...anti-national and anti-Protestant...(leading to)
the inevitable mischief of allowing (children) to
herd with the leprous brood of Papists, Socinians,
Free-thinkers and Fanatics, about to be forced on
them by the Whigs".(3)

Charles Langdale launched an attack on the conditions attached to the money, whilst the Times continued its invective, accusing the government of:

"an artful education plot...(which) may be regarded
as the deadliest aim at the vitals of our
establishment which the O'Connell malignants have
yet resorted to".(4)

Though the project to extend the Irish system failed, the proposition had two main results. It convinced Dr. Kay, secretary of the Committee of Council that the education of the poor should remain in the hands of the churches, though with some state control.(5) It also led to renewed vigour among the Evangelical clergy, who now swelled the ranks of the Protestant Association.(6) Lord Ashley's diary reveals his preoccupation with the conflict between Evangelicals and Tractarians, Church and State, and the coming of Anti-Christ. This latter he soon came to identify with the Roman Church, fearing the anger of God in the face of new pro-Catholic legislation.(7)

Despite such opposition, Langdale continued to press for money. In 1840 he attempted but failed to gain a share in the education grant for Catholics. After five years of apparently useless effort he persuaded the Bishops to give the Catholic Institute the power to raise funds. O'Connell's scheme for fund raising which had worked well in Ireland had minimal results. Thus Langdale began a long correspondence with the government.

The Catholic Institute had been ineffectual save for its education committee. With its dissolution in 1847 the Catholic Poor School Committee came into being to take over the educational business, as well as those of the Associated Catholic Charities.(8) The C.P.S.C. was now the official body for the distribution of funds, and for negotiations with Parliament.

When the clause regarding the version of the Bible allowed was finally waived, Catholics could qualify. The press released further fearsome denunciations against this move, denouncing fiercely the evil of paying taxes to support establishments where false doctrines were taught.

The first report of the C.P.S.C. reflects strongly the family network described above.(9) Sir William Wright/Lawson of Brough was representative for the Yorkshire district. Individual subscriptions of considerable amounts were received from his son John, from several members of the Constable-Maxwell family, from the Marchioness Wellesley and from Elizabeth, Lady Stafford. Though Louisa Catherine, Duchess of Leeds, is not mentioned in the report, correspondence shows that she was a contributor to 'Mr. Langdale's fund'.(10)

Yearly collections from the parishes and private benefactors provided the society with funds for offering grants to schools, and the salary for a 'mistress of method' who toured the Catholic schools, helping to improve the standard of teaching.(11) Through its journal, the Catholic School the C.P.S.C. offered advice on buildings, preached the apostolic importance of education, publicised the work of different religious orders, and discussed the writings of Monsignor Felix Dupanloup, considered to be the leading authority in France.(12) Thus the Catholic church in England came to have a more global concept of educational work than most of their Protestant counterparts.

REFERENCES

1. cf. supra p.34
2. The Times 18.5.1839
3. NOTE The mention of the 'Irish system' is an allusion to an experiment in Liverpool dating from 1836, which had been much praised by Lord John Russell for its success in adapting the use of the methods of Kildare Place for use in England. cf. supra p.86
4. The Times 3.6.1839
5. NOTE Kay considered that not only should state aid be increased, but also that secular instruction should be state-controlled. Protests against this latter suggestion were strong, particularly among the Oxford Tractarians. Led by Dr. Manning they emphasised that the church is a Divine Society, not a department of state. Education, being part of the church's mission from its founder could not be split into sacred and secular. The Non-Conformists too rejected all overtures towards state control. cf. Murphy J. 'State & schools in Britain' p.26
6. Hansard XLVIII p.279
7. Hodder E. Life & Work of the 7th Earl of Shaftesbury Vol.III Cassell London 1887 p.383-385
- McLelland V.A. Victorian studies Dec. 1964 p.173-182
- Norman E.R. 'The Protestant Alliance & R.C. Schools' Anti Catholicism in Victorian England Allen & Unwin London 1968
8. NOTE Langdale was founder-chairman of the C.P.S.C., remaining in office until his death in 1868. The first secretary was a convert, Scott Nasmyth Stokes (1821-1891)
9. First annual report of the Catholic Poor School Committee 1 London 1848
- cf. supra p.26; 33-34; 47-48
10. Rosminian archives Rome
- Letters of Louisa; Catherine Duchess of Leeds to Dr. Gentili MSS No. 132 & 165
11. Assumption archives Paris
- ONHC Letter of MTE to MME 8.6.1850
12. The Catholic School Oct. 1853

CHAPTER V

THE TRANSFORMATION OF SOCIETY: 'AS IS THE TEACHER, SO IS THE CHILD'

Whilst secular educators in France saw schooling as the means of consolidating the State and its enterprises, Sr. M. Eugénie was convinced that the purpose of education was to make known Jesus Christ, liberator and king of the world. This she thought would transform the world according to the mind of Christ. Expressing this vision to Lacordaire she said:

"Faire connaître Jésus Christ, libérateur et roi du monde, enseigner que tout est à lui, qu'il veut travailler en chacun de nous à la grande oeuvre du règne de Dieu...c'est pour moi, le commencement ainsi que la fin de l'enseignement chrétien...mon regard...est tout en Jésus Christ et à l'extension de son règne.(1)

She saw the mission of each person in the church as being to transform not merely the souls of individuals, but the whole of society; the organisation of earthly life according to the law of love of the Gospels.(2) She wished to hasten this radical change, to be part of the revolution which only the Gospels could bring about.

A contemporary had written in 1848:

"I saw society split in two...no bonds, no sympathies existed between these two great classes, everywhere was the idea of an inevitable and approaching struggle..."(3)

Sr. M. Eugénie saw the gulf between the classes as being narrowed by the work of education, but she also realized the gap between the ideal and the real. She desired that:

"...les Institutions sociales doivent venir au secours de ceux qui malheureusement naissent hors des conditions qui assurent la liberté morale, de ceux qui ne trouvent pas l'éducation chrétienne dans la famille, ni la liberté d'un état honnête dans la misère...l'éducation chrétienne...assure à tous la liberté morale conquise par le Christ".(4)

Reviewing her thoughts later, she said that:

"Je croyais que la réalisation de la volonté de Dieu était un état social, où nul homme n'eut à souffrir d'autres fatalités que celle de la nature, c'est à dire où le principe chrétien tendit à écarter de chacun l'oppression des autres"(5)

Whilst Marx was writing to Engels on religion as the sigh of the oppressed creature, Sr. M. Eugénie was placing the church among the social institutions which would relieve this state of affairs.(6) In pride of



place were religious congregations, which through a teaching apostolate would prepare the seed ground for the growth of desires leading to social action. Though Sr. M. Eugénie felt alone in her understanding of the work to be done, others of the same philosophical and theological line had seen, and were to see, the same needs.

Teaching congregations in France had multiplied after the fall of Napoleon in 1815. The initiator was the Breton, Abbé Gabriel Deshayes, who together with the Abbé Jean-Marie La Mennais, founded the Brothers of Christian Instruction at Ploermel.(7) There is no doubt that Combalot knew of their work, and had it in mind when formulating his own ideas for a women's teaching congregation.(8)

Training resources for Catholic in Britain were few. Kildare place provided for the Irish. Some Irish foundresses came to England for training. Many went abroad and studied continental systems.(9) Such was the situation until 1847 and the formation of the C.P.S.C. which saw its two main tasks as the establishment of elementary schools and the training of teachers. These would help to rescue children from apostasy, perversion and ignorance.

Stokes tackled the problem by sending young men to Ploermel. Initially all such students were novices for the society, for the hierarchy and the C.P.S.C. envisaged that all the teachers in poor schools would eventually be clerics and religious.(10) Allies defined the policy thus:

"There can be no sound education without religion.
As the teacher is, so is the child. As is the
trainer, so is the teacher".(11)

Such sentiments had previously been voiced by Girard in Switzerland, as well as by Lacordaire, who saw the ultimate educator as God himself. For him, education would produce right feelings, love and right judgement. These would hold sway in a happy and harmonious society under the rule, not merely of reason, but of God.(12)

The Brothers of Christian Instruction brought the Mennaisien vision to England when they opened the first Normal school for men in Hammersmith in 1850, but in 1854 the connection with Ploermel was abandoned.(13) The first Catholic women's college was founded in Liverpool in the same year. Its success was due mainly to the work of Laura Stafford-Jerningham.(14)

Progress in teacher training was slow, Stokes complaining that:

"With the exception of teaching communities of religious bodies, who may be considered to possess within themselves a traditional method of training, with ability to carry it into complete operation..."(15)

provision for such work was woefully inadequate. It was reported that the education in girls' schools was admirable since almost all were in the hands of communities expressly founded for the purpose. The inspector of Catholic schools proclaimed them as:

"The only schools...in which the true aim and end of Christian education is fully accomplished...the fuller comprehension of Divine things".(16)

The Assumption sisters would have given limited assent to this notion. Comprehension of the earthly city must precede comprehension of the heavenly. Humanism comes before religion, and the development of the intelligence must underlie the understanding of Divine things. The teacher must before all else be inspired with a passion for the work, so that the character of the pupil will bear a similar imprint. It is this passion which is usually killed by religious education.

Sr. M. Eugénie maintained that it is better to be on fire with enthusiasm for some human concern, than to be totally 'dead' as are some so-called religious persons, particularly teachers. Infinitely superior she thought, were those who saw that:

"...la vérité de Dieu et...son règne...(sont)
le principe et la fin de toutes les études".(17)

The cultivation of zeal had several corollaries. Passion for work by both the sisters and the children had to be maintained by a constant revision and updating of materials and methods.(18) Fossilisation into particular systems or restrictions on the range of studies were never in question. To be 'mortellement ennuyeuse' must be avoided at all costs, and a constant effort had to be made to be up to date and to make one's teaching correspond to the needs of the age.(19) The desire then, as now was the 'restoration of all things in Christ'.

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2. idem p.495-499
3. Gascoigne B. The Christians Granada London 1980 p.302 quoting May de Tocqueville.
4. Sr. Clare Madeleine La pensée de MME sur notre mission éducatrice Private pub. Assumption archives Paris 1971 p.13
5. idem
6. Gascoigne B. op. cit. p.303
7. Canu J. Religious orders of men McGraw Hill New York 1960.
8. Sr. Thérèse M. Études Archives No.5 'Pour une société régénérée par l'évangile' Assumption Paris 1980
9. NOTE Mary Aikenhead, foundress of the Irish sisters of Charity in 1815, trained at the Bar Convent, York.
Catherine Macauley, foundress of the Irish sisters of Mercy, went to France in 1825 to become acquainted with the curriculum and methods there. She was sending out monitresses from 1827.
10. C.P.S.C. minute book 1847 Catholic education council London.
11. Beck G.A. The English catholics Burns Oates London 1950 p.372
12. Acton J. & Simpson S. (ed) The Rambler Vol. I Part 3 1848 p.113
13. C.P.S.C. report 1848 Catholic education council London
NOTE From 1854 the rule followed was that of the Oblates of St. Charles. This society was a major beneficiary under the will of the Duchess of Leeds in 1874.
14. NOTE Widow of the Hon. Edward Petre, she joined the Order of Notre Dame after the death of her husband in 1848. The latter had spent the final part of his life working for education through the C.P.S.C. and the St. Vincent de Paul society, as well as working for female orphans. Laura's brother Edward was a member of the Catholic Board; her father-in-law Robert 9th. Lord Petre was a member of the Catholic Committee, whilst her step-mother, was Elizabeth Caton, sister of the Duchess of Leeds.
cf. Clarke A.M. 'Life of the Hon. Mrs. E. Petre'
15. C.P.S.C. Report 1854-1855 Catholic Education Council London p.19
16. C.P.S.C. Report 1852-1853 Vol. II Catholic Education Council London p.709
17. Assumption Archives Paris Lettres Vol. VII MME to Pere d'Alzon July 1844
18. Constitutions of the Sisters of the Assumption Part I. p.97 Private pub. Paris 1959
19. M.M. Célestine (ed) L'esprit de l'Assomption dans l'éducation et l'enseignement

PART VII

FROM PRINCIPLES TO PRACTICE

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CHAPTER I

RICHMONDSHIRE IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

In England as a whole, the end of the seventeenth century saw the beginning of a migration of people from rural to urban districts, a movement not confined simply to the poor Irish.(1) In Richmondshire however, the general trend was in the reverse direction.(2) Some villages remained almost entirely Catholic throughout the period, but others attracted dissenters particularly from the south.(3) At the 1851 census dissenters outnumbered Anglicans, with Catholic strength being largely coincident with the former group.(4) Catholic surveys show that in 1773 there were about 20,000 Catholics in the Northern district, increasing to 180,000 in 1839.(5)

Up to the late seventeenth century, the total population of Richmond, including children, remained at about 1,600. Disease, and the policy of Richmond corporation to discourage settlement, particularly of the poor, contributed to this lack of growth.(6) The bad harvests of 1756 and 1757 marked the start of a steady increase in the poverty level in the more rural areas, which continued up to the nineteenth century, but the townspeople generally remained more affluent.(7)

By 1801 the population had risen to over 2,800, continuing to increase to about 4,500 by the end of the century. However, the image of Richmond as a society town, far removed from industrial civilisation still remained.(8) The only industries near Richmond town in the early nineteenth century were small water mills, the largest being Henry Cooke's paper mill west of the workhouse.(9) Forty percent of the labourers here were poor Irish Catholics, employed as rag-pickers.(10) Though they accounted for only 3% of the population, they were a significant factor in the development of educational resources of and by Catholics in the area.

The official description of the condition of the Irish published in 1844 stated that:

"The Irish poor...inhabit the filthiest and worst ventilated courts and cellars...congregate the most numerous in dirty lodging houses...are the least cleanly in their habits, and the most apathetic about everything that befalls them".(11)

The first part of the quotation accurately describes the Richmond situation. The poor Irish lived mainly in the tumble-down houses of Bargate and the Green, close to the river.(12) Most seem to have settled in Richmond after the potato famines of the 1840's, coming to the town mainly for the work at the paper mill.

The wealthier Catholics lived mainly in Newbiggin, a genteel and 'safe' Catholic area since at least the early eighteenth century.(13) One property was traditionally the priest's residence and house chapel.(14) Adjacent to this was another property which had belonged initially to Mount Grace Priory. It passed from one recusant family to another from the time of the dissolution of the monasteries onwards. These two burgages were leased in 1771 by Sir Henry Lawson of Brough (1712-1781) from Sir Lawrence Dundas Bart. (1710-1781).(15) On the latter site, Sir John Lawson (1744-1811) built a Catholic church about 1809.(16) His brother, Sir Henry Lawson (1750-1834) eventually bought both of these properties, placing them in trust for the Society of Jesus, then under interdict.(17)

After the reconstitution of the English Jesuits, the first to arrive in Richmond was Robert Johnson (1786-1865) appointed in 1814 upon the recall of Thomas Lawson O.S.B.(1758-1830) to Downside. The parish registers show that Johnson tried first to ascertain the financial standing of his parish, before attempting to solicit help for the education of the poor Irish children living nearby.

Helped by wealthy Catholic families, as well as by prominent members of the Anglican church, the school began in 1818, lessons being held in the church.(18) It was one of the first ten such schools for Catholic children officially recorded in England.(19) In 1838, aided mainly by the same benefactors as in 1818, Johnson was able to build a 'neat and commodious' schoolroom near the church, where he employed a teacher on weekdays.(20) Johnson considered that 'each and everyone' of the children in his parish was capable of receiving an elementary education.(21)

Catholic education before 1850 was provided for elsewhere in Richmondshire at Catterick. Here in 1835 the priest, Mr. Dilworth, paid for eight pupils in a school of 28, the rest being financed by their parents. At Tunstall nearby there was a National school where Fr. Dilworth paid for two of the pupils. Attached to the same school was a lending library, supplied by the Duchess of Leeds.(22) Although there are no further records of Catholic children in these schools, interchurch co-operation seems to be implied, as it was for Johnson's school.(23)

In Wensleydale a Catholic church was built in Leyburn in 1835, and a poor school three years later. Of this school little is known.(24) The Duchess of Leeds negotiated for nuns to take over the school in 1857, but she seems to have been unsuccessful.(25) Lack of documentation precludes pursuing the history of other schools than those in Richmond.

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3. Hunt C.J. The lead miners of the Northern Pennines U.P. Manchester 1970
4. McLeod H. Sociological year book of religion 1975 'Class community & religion. The religious geography nineteenth century England'.
5. Brady W.M. Annals of the Catholic hierarchy Rome 1877 p.263 & 280.
6. Fieldhouse J. & Jennings B. op. cit. p.106
7. idem. p.274
8. NOTE Richmond had grown in importance as a market town. There were improved turnpike roads, a railway and the development of horse-racing as a livelihood.
9. NOTE This mill was founded in 1823 on the site of an earlier one. The cottages built by Cooke for his workers formed the first part of the Duchess of Leeds trust land.
10. Census Richmond North Riding 1851 HO/107/2381 Bargate. Bridge Street. The Green.
11. Parliamentary papers 'Commission for enquiry into the state of large towns and populous districts' Part XVII 1844
12. Wenham L.C. (ed) Richmond Yorkshire in the 1830's Private pub. Richmond 1977 p.88 (photograph)
13. Aveling J.H.C. The handle & the axe Blond & Briggs London 1976 p.273
Clarkson C. op. cit. Appendix xxi p.liii
Stephens K. The burgage houses of Newbiggin Unpublished research 1989
14. Birt N.H. Obit book of the English Benedictines Edinburgh 1913
Notes supplied by Bellenger from the annotated copy in the Downside archives.
Foley H. Letters & Notices of the English province of the society of Jesus. Vol. 35 London 1928 p.274
- NOTE William Maire (1704-1769) brother in law to Sir Henry Lawson probably lodged here from 1735-1741, and Francis Howard S.J. from 1769-1794. It was definitely occupied by Sir Henry's nephew Thomas Austin Lawson O.S.B. from 1794-1814, and by George Turner O.S.B. in 1809.
15. NOTE In 1760 Aske Hall to the north of Richmond was acquired by the Dundas family, which gradually gained political control of the town through ownership of most of the burgage houses. The town was thus a Whig stronghold from 1763-1884. An Irish marriage, and at least one conversion, resulted in close links between the Dundas family and the local Catholic community. Thomas, third baron Dundas (1795-1873) became the natural outlet for local as well as national grievances against Catholics, particularly about the time of the restoration of the hierarchy in September 1850. cf. Ward W. 'Life & times of Cardinal Wiseman' p.15

16. Clarkson C. op. cit. p.312
17. NOTE The negotiation was facilitated by the fact that Sir Henry ran the Lawson bank. cf. Aveling J.H.C. 'Handle & Axe' p.278
18. Parish Register 'A' MSS St. Joseph & St. Francis Xavier Richmond. Appendix E.
19. Parliamentary papers 'Digest of parochial returns 1818' London 1819 p.1121
20. Johnson R. MSS Letter to the Jesuit procurator 14.9.1838 Letter Vol. St. Michael's College. Jesuit archives. Farm St. London.
21. Johnson R. MSS Letter to Bishop Briggs 1848 Box 'R'. Middlesbrough diocesan archives
22. Parliamentary Papers 'Education enquiry. Abstract of the answers & returns' London 1835 p.1115
- NOTE Rev. Thomas Dilworth S.J. was chaplain to the Lawsons of Brough from 13.6.1830 to 1.8.1834
23. Whellan T. History & topography of the City of York & The North Riding Vol. II John Green Beverley 1857 p.139
- Slater I. Directory of Yorkshire & Lincolnshire 1849 Slater London 1849 p.139
24. NOTE The school received a grant from the C.P.S.C. in 1849 and 1852. In 1858 a new school building and teacher's house were built, paid for mainly by congregational subscription and the charity of Mr. Bolton the priest. The school was closed from 1875-1895 when Dominican sisters from Leicester came to re-open it.
25. Assumption archives Paris MSS FMIAa Sr. Ignace to MME Letter of 19.7.1857

CHAPTER II
THE ORPHANAGE

In one of her letters to Père d'Alzon, Sr. M. Eugénie, explaining the influence of Buchez on her thought speaks of the redemption of the human race by the blood of Jesus. This she sees to be an action which still continues, and is incomplete. We all have our part to play in the redemption via social institutions which come to the help of the deprived, the neglected and the downtrodden. Like Combalot, she thought that the chains binding such people could be broken through the education of the bourgeoisie.

"Je sais que je fais une utopie...je compare notre vocation à celle de la Rédemption des captifs. Le but...pour moi, c'est de faire atteindre à tous les hommes les derniers effets de la Rédemption".(1)

The Introduction to the constitutions of 1839 had outlined the role that the sisters were to play in this work:

"Réjouissez-vous que votre vocation vous appelle à devenir les servantes des pauvres, de telle sorte que vous ne cherchiez, dans l'éducation des riches, qu'un puissant moyen de leur former des amies et des mères.(2)

How this vision worked out in practice in Richmond, will be seen in the following pages.

Fr. Robert Johnson had done much for the poor of his parish as a young man. Now in 1850, enfeebled by old age and ill health, he saw the sisters as a means of realising some of his early aspirations. However, the correspondence between the sisters in Richmond and those in Paris, from their arrival, right up to the beginning of the twentieth century, reveals conflicting desires with respect to the clientele they wished to attract.

In Paris the sisters had been troubled by the attractiveness to the aristocracy of the education they offered. By contrast, in Richmond they were worried that the presence of the orphans, from the worst possible class of society, would be detrimental to the development of an upper class boarding school, which was their real aim.(3)

The seven foundation orphans aged seven to thirteen years were originally from the York workhouse. They resided in the Duchess of Leeds orphanage in Blossom Street York from 1847, being transferred to the Richmond workhouse in 1849, pending the arrival of the Assumption sisters.(4) In the interim they had attended the Roman Catholic poor school, where they had become notorious in the town through their behaviour.(5)

The sisters found them bad spirited, with no respect for authority, no desire to learn, rough, dirty and lacking good dispositions. Three of the orphans were not Catholics, which posed problems with respect to their religious education.(6) Within the first week it became apparent that it would be better to send the three eldest away, and to replace them by younger, more tractable children. The Bishop asked for a longer trial, foreseeing nothing for them but a life of misery in this world and the next, if sent away so soon. Sr. M. Eugénie disagreed with this in principle. She wrote:

"Raisonner en vue de l'enfant que vous renvoyez,
c'est à poser un principe qui ruine les oeuvres"(7)

Advisers thought that the most important task was to teach the girls housework and to sew, but the Duchess' demands were grandiose. The kind of children she was really aiming at were the orphaned daughters of 'Marquises, Counts and the like', and with this in view she desired her foundation pupils to learn French.(8)

Attempting to fulfil their benefactresses wishes with respect to the curriculum they should follow, but hampered by the ineptitude and lack of motivation of the three elder girls, combined with the mortal illness of the youngest, the sisters found their task impossible. However, a prospectus for the orphanage was drawn up in June 1850, phrased:

"...de manière à ne pas nuire à nos vues
ultérieures pour notre pensionnat"(9)

Two of the elder girls were in fact returned to their sponsors before the end of the year, whilst the youngest died the following February.(10) The Duchess now thought of taking in the orphaned daughters of farmers, to raise the tone of the establishment.(11) New orphans were difficult to find, and attempts were made to obtain 'better class' orphans from Ireland.(12) In July 1850 the Countess Clare had sent a child of five years of age to be educated at the convent, and Sr. M. Eugénie advised against taking any more children of the lower classes if this would be detrimental to the future boarding school.(13)

REFERENCES

1. M.M.E. to Père d'Alzon No.1603 27.12.1843
Letter Vol. 7 cf. supra p. 89 ff.
2. Combalot T. Introduction aux constitutions MSS 1839 p.12
3. MTE to M.M.E. Letter of 8.6.1850; 18.6.1850;
31.10.1850; ONHc
MME to MTE Letter of 4.11.1850 No.309 10.3.1851
No.324 Vol. III
cf. infra p.141 ff.
4. MTE to MME Letter of 24.6.1850 ONHc
Sr. Caroline to MME Letter of 28.7.1850 FMIAd
Sr. Caroline to MME Letter of 13.7.1850 FMIAd
5. Workhouse minutes Richmond Notes of 5th week of
December quarter on educational policy. Northallerton
County Records.
6. Sr. Jeanne M. Les origines de l'Assomption M^âme et Fils Tours
1898 Vol. III p.212
Anon Assumption chronicle Vol. III No. 1 Catholic records
press Exeter March 1925 p.24
cf. supra p.94
7. MME to MTE Letter of 24.6.1850 No. 288 Vol. II & cf.
MME to MTE Letter of 3.7.1850 No.289 Vol. III
8. Duchess of Leeds to Dr. Briggs Letter of 29.6.1850 FMIAb
MTE to MME Letter of 28.6.1850 ONH2
9. MTE to MME Letter of 24.6.1850 OND2 & cf.
MTE to MME Letter of 18.7.1850 OND2
10. Duchess of Leeds to MTE Letter of 15.7.1850 FMIAb
MME to MTE Letter of 13.2.1851 No.320 Vol. III
11. MTE to MME Letter of 18.6.1850 ONHc
MTE to MME Letter of 5.8.1850 ONH2
MTE to MME Letter of 28.11.1850 ONHc
MME to MTE Letter of 18.11.1850 No.312 Vol. III
Duchess of Leeds to MME Letter of 15.7.1850 FMIAb
12. MTE to MME Letter of 22.3.1851 ONHc
Duchess of Leeds to MME Letter of March 1851 FMIAb
13. MME to MTE Letter of 24.7.1850 No.294 Vol. III
MME to MTE Letter of 4.5.1851 No.332 Vol. III
MTE to MME Letter of 28.6.1850 ONHc

NOTE

All the above letters cited are located in the Assumption archives Paris.

CHAPTER III

CHARITIES PLEASING TO GOD

The necessity of serious preparation for the Christian social mission which the sisters were attempting to foster, was acknowledged at an early date. This mission was considered, with education to be:

"tout uniquement la nôtre" (1)

To develop this spirit it had been recommended that every sister and every child be acquainted at first hand with the practicalities of household management. (2) Added to this was the eyewitness example to be given to the girls, of humble patience, resignation, hard work and the harsh treatment meted out to the poor. (3) The salutary lessons to be gained by such experiences would, it was thought, result in greater gentleness, thoughtfulness, and the eradication of the complaining spirit associated with the life of luxury many of the pupils led. (4)

Whilst such ideals proved practicable in Paris, the Richmond sisters found themselves inadequate to the task of constant contact with the poor. The letters of 1852 and 1853 emphasise repeatedly the difficulties of the situation. Despite the fact that Sr. M. Eugénie had stated categorically that the Assumption Sisters were not founded to do anything and everything, this is precisely what was happening.

With the poor school demanding daily attention, the Mill women on Sundays, the boarders, higher class orphans, lower class orphans and home catechising, no clear scheme or plan of action could be devised. (5) Sr. M. Eugénie, uneasy about the financial viability of the work, situated moreover in an intellectual backwater, consulted Cardinal Wiseman and Sir William Lawson during a Paris visit. The Duchess refused to follow their advice to transfer the work elsewhere, though the decision was made to take only better class children. (6)

Despite the statement of the convent annalist that the Richmond convent had ceased to be an orphanage, the Duchess continued to provide for eight orphans until her death in 1874, as well as for those who had been transferred elsewhere. (7) She continued to stipulate the type of child she would receive, even wishing to dismiss girls already accepted, if she found that they were not well born. (8) For £12 a year she wanted these pupils:

"...to be treated like young ladies...and fed a great deal better than the original orphans were, and to be taught German and French and Music..." (9)

Meanwhile the sisters had become caught in the general anxiety of English Catholics at this time with respect to children 'lost' in workhouses.(10) Permission was given from Paris to take up to twenty such girls, but none in fact seem to have come.(11)

The correspondence of the sisters shows that concern with social standing was not confined to the Duchess.(12) Nevertheless helping the poor was still among the aims of the house as we see in the discussion on the feasibility of moving the establishment elsewhere:

"...to keep on this house would be doing an immense charity, on account of the good these class of children do when they return to the world...we try to instil into them a love for the poor, visiting the sick and attending Sunday schools to teach catechism etc. For these are the persons who do most good in England..."(13)

It is evident from other letters that the sisters took the children to visit the poor in their own homes, and that they also visited the sick and the dying.(14)

The Duchess brought Dr. Manning to the house several times after the building of the first wing of the convent, and he occasionally sent them children.(15) In 1865 he requested that they take the child of a Mr. Morrell who had lost his government post through conversion to Catholicism.(16) This turned the Duchess' mind to the children of converts. She now announced that in future she would pay only for daughters of converted Protestant clergymen, whose parents were either dead, or had no means to educate their children, for this was the greatest charity she could perform.(17)

From time to time the Duchess expressed a desire to found her own religious order for the relief of the poor, to be known as the 'Sisters of Charity of Leeds'. Her wish was that orphans she sent to Richmond to be educated should be her first nuns.(18) The project foundered, and from 1863 she devoted less of her time to the Richmond orphans.(19)

In June of 1865 the sisters made their only incursion into 'special' education, when they took in a seven year old blind child. The object was to save her from going to a Protestant asylum.(20)

From the time of Manning's appointment to Westminster in the same year, his constant pre-occupation was with the fate of Catholic children in workhouses.(21) All over the country, efforts were being made to 'rescue' them.(22) In 1869 the sisters in Richmond again offered to help the Bishop to find accommodation for such children. The

proposition to use part of the new East wing for them, seemed to be:

"A charity that must be pleasing to God, and
must save many souls".(23)

As in 1851, the offer was not taken up, and workhouse children are never again mentioned in the records. The final allusion to orphans is found in the account of the death of the Duchess. She left no provision for the Richmond girls, though there were bequests for her other two orphanages.(24)

REFERENCES

1. MME to Père d'Alzon Letter of 19.7.1842 No.1556 Vol.VII
 2. MME to Père d'Alzon Letter of 28.7.1842 No.1557 Vol.VII
 3. Bernoville G. La Fondatrice Eugénie Milleret Grasset Paris 1948 p.153
 4. MME to Père d'Alzon Letter of 17.8.1842 No.1558 Vol.VII
Sr. Jeanne M. Les origines de l'Assomption Mame et Fils Tours 1898
Vol. II p.26
 5. Sr. Ignace to MME Letter of 1.2.1853 FMIAc
 6. Dr. Hogarth to MTE Letters of March-April 1852 FMIAa
Sr. Ignace to MME Letters of 27.12.1852 ONF2; 1.2.1853
FMIAe 15.2.1853 ONF2; 18.11.1853 FMIAe; 29.1.1854 FMIAe.
Sr. Wm. Lawson to MME Letter of 25.11.1853 FMIAe
Duchess of Leeds to Sir Wm. Lawson Letter of 3.12.1853
FMIAa
Annals. Convent of the Assumption Richmond 20.4.1853;
12.12.1853; 31.1.1854
- NOTE The timetable of the girls at this stage is found in:
Sr Wilfrid to MME Letter of 5.12.1854 FMIAe
7. MME to the Duchess of Leeds Undated letter. Probably
1856 entitled 'Historique' FMIAe
 8. Sr. Ignace to MME Letter of 14.4.1853; 16.5.1853
25.2.1865 FMIAe
Sr. Wilfrid to MME Letter of 27.8.1854 FMIAe
 9. Sr. Ignace to MME Letter of 5.12.1854 FMIAe & cf.
16.7.1855 FMIAa & 6.8.1860 FMIAe
 10. cf supra p. 93
 11. MME to MTE Letter of 11.9.1851 No.347 Vol.III
MME to MTE Letter of 3.10.1851 No.349 Vol.III
 12. Sr. Ignace to MME Letter of 20.6.1855 FMIAe 22.8.1855
FMIAa
 13. Sr. Ignace to MME Letter of 27.12.1855 FMIAe
 14. MTE to MME Letter of 11.7.1850 ONHc
Sr. Ignace to MME Letter of 5.7.1855; 11.11.1863 FMIAe
 15. Sr. Ignace to MME Letter of 10.11.1861 FMIAe
 16. Sr. Ignace to MME Letters of 5.12.1865; 26.12.1865;
April 1866 FMIAe
 17. Sr. Ignace to MME 8.11.1871 FMIAe
Notes on Miss Burchall MSS Assumption Convent Richmond
 18. Sr. Ignace to MME 2.1.1854; 29.4.1856; 20.11.1865;
28.10.1867 FMIAe
Duchess of Leeds to Sr. Ignace Letter of 27.8.1867 FMIAb
 19. Sr. Agnes to MTE Letter of 18.1.1863 FMIAe
Sr. Ignace to MME Letter of 19.2.1866 FMIAe
Feheny J.M. Clergy Review Vol.LXX Part 2 p.61-67 Feb. 1985
'Catholic child care in Victorian London'
- NOTE Orphanages for both boys and girls had been established
by the Duchess in Hastings run by the Xaverian brothers
and the sisters of the Holy Child.
20. Sr. Ignace to MME Letter of 8.6.1865 FMIAe
 21. cf. supra p. 93
 22. FitzGerald P. Fifty years of Catholic life & social progress Fisher
Unwin London 1901 p.220
Gray R. Cardinal Manning Weidenfeld & Nicolson London 1985 p.209
McLelland V.A. Cardinal Manning O.U.P. London 1962 p.33-48
 23. Sr. Ignace to MME Letter of 13.8.1869 FMIAh & cf.
31.1.1870 FMIAh
 24. Annals MSS Convent of the Assumption Richmond 8.4.1874
The Times 20.7.1874 Will of the Duchess of Leeds
M.M. Thérèse Cornelia Connelly Longmans Green London 1922 p.233
Sr. Ignace to MME Letter of 20.4.1874 FMIAf

NOTE All the letters cited above are held by the archives of the Sisters
of the Assumption, Paris.

CHAPTER IV

PREPARATIONS FOR THE POOR SCHOOL

Mention of a poor school for girls to be run by the sisters, was first made by the Duchess of Leeds in June 1849, in a letter to Sr. M. Eugénie. (1) The seriousness of such an undertaking in the eyes of the sisters is shown by the researches they made en route from Paris for Richmond. They considered that the first necessity was to acquire a thorough knowledge of conditions in the country, and secondly to gain the acquaintance of the persons best fitted to help them in the work. Sr. Thérèse Emmanuel was convinced that:

"On ne peut pas trop examiner la chose avant de commencer". (2)

Sr. M. Eugénie and Sr. Thérèse Emmanuel were already known to several of the Catholic gentry engaged in good works; Lady Vaughan, the Stourtons and Dr. Wiseman. (3) Whilst in London in May they saw Lord Arundel and Wiseman to receive their counsel, and met Dr. Stokes of the Catholic Poor School Committee. They also visited the boarding school at Newhall and the poor school run by the Sisters of Mercy at Chelsea, as well as the Oratorians at Brompton and the Jesuits at Spanish Place. (4) Stopping at York to view the schools at the Bar Convent, they saw Dr. Briggs. (5) One of his chief concerns as bishop was the provision of education for the poor. (6)

Having had prior experience of working with the Duchess, he counselled against trying to follow all of her ideas, but advised towards binding her to a definitive project as soon as possible. (7) Once the sisters had arrived in Richmond she added to her schemes that of educating small boys. From Paris came the advice to concentrate on the orphans and on preparations for the girls' poor school before embarking on other works. (8)

In June 1850 the Bishop called to discuss the poor school project with the parties concerned. Knowing that the financial help given by the Duchess was insufficient to cover this, as well as the needs of the orphans, a scheme was devised whereby wealthy parishioners would pay for the poor. Dr. Briggs dismissed the idea that there should be no charge, for this would give the impression that they were running a mere 'Charity School'. (9)

The idea that the people do not have a truly 'Catholic spirit' with respect to the reception of charity, is evident from the three-cornered

correspondence between the Père d'Alzon, Sr. M. Eugénie and Sr. Thérèse Emmanuel.(10) The latter explained that in England charity schools were considered to be the worst form of school, on a par with workhouses, poor houses and Unions.(11) Working from motives of charity creates prejudice against all that the sisters are attempting to do. D'Alzon hoped that eventually, when the people have discovered the love that animates them, they will be brought to understand that such love cannot be measured by monetary contributions, but:

"...le Coeur de Notre Seigneur; et que le désir de leur communiquer la vérité suffit, à lui tout seul, pour inspirer le dévouement le plus entier, à chaque petite âme".(12)

It was noted above that works of charity were seen by many Catholics at the time to be the means of freeing creation from bondage, a concept which had developed particularly after the introduction of the Society of St. Vincent de Paul into the country.(13) Such ideas had helped to shape the thoughts of the Assumption sisters with respect to their work, and though they did not undertake to serve the poor in the same manner as Emmanuel d'Alzon was to do in Nimes, the philosophy behind their actions was the same.

After many years of experience, d'Alzon introduced the sisters to further thoughts on slavery and redemption. In his conferences of 1870 he took as his theme the coming reign of Christ and how it could be achieved. He reminded them that they were living links in the chain connecting the rich with the poor. Their role was to establish the proper connections between the different classes, so that the poor were not forced to live in a state of servitude. The poor are the means by which the rich will attain to a truly Christian view of life.(14)

In 1850 Sr. Thérèse Emmanuel commented that in England it was impossible to make people appreciate an education given gratuitously. The people have a passion to pay, so that they can feel independent, but she hoped that eventually English Catholics would discover that there is nothing to be ashamed of in the reception of charity.(15) Meanwhile, the ruling came from Paris that the sisters were to give their services free of charge, contributions being for running costs only, and to be handled entirely by parishioners.(16)

Devotedness and zeal were among the watchwords of the early days, a zeal which they saw at work particularly in Dr. Wiseman.(17) An ardent desire to extend the kingdom of Christ in souls is frequently mentioned, and from Sr. Thérèse Emmanuel:

"Il me semble que Notre Seigneur me met dans le cœur tout ce qu'il sentirait à ma place de brûlante ardeur pour procurer ici l'honneur de son Père et le salut des âmes. C'est comme une mission qu'il veut accomplir pour moi...J'ai senti à un grand point ma faiblesse et mon incapacité pour faire son oeuvre ici...Jésus Christ me donne une vigueur, une lumière, une ardeur qui n'ont rien à faire avec ma nature".(18)

The boys and girls in the Newbiggin poor school were now separated, the girls commencing at the new convent on 2nd July 1850. At first premises were shared with the orphans, but with numbers rising from 18 in July to 43 in September, new arrangements had to be made.(19) Though Sr. Thérèse Emmanuel was extremely careful during the first weeks to keep her mind on the 'real' work of the boarding school which they intended to establish, her views were gradually changed by the needs of the people around her. She remarked:

"Voyez-vous le besoin partout en Angleterre, c'est d'instruire les pauvres...nous sommes fondées pour donner une instruction étendue aux classes élevées. Faut-il s'y enfermer?"(20)

Unfortunately the reply cannot be traced.

REFERENCES

1. Duchess of Leeds to MME 27.6.1849 FMIAb
2. MTE to MME Letter of 8.6.1850 OND2
3. MME to MTE Letters of 3.6.1850 No.285; 11.7.1850 No.291 Vol. III
MTE to MME Letters of 8.6.1850 ONHc; 15.6.1850 ONHc; 7.9.1852 FMIAe
4. Sr. Jeanne M. Les origines de l'Assomption M^{me} et Fils Tours 1898 Vol. III p.203
Reilly A.J. Catherine O'Neill Clonmore & Reynolds Dublin 1959 p.110
5. NOTE Dr. Briggs was Vicar Apostolic of the Northern District from 1836, and of the Northern District from 1840. Frederick Lucas had been one of his tutors at Ushaw, and as founder-editor of the Tablet he publicised his warm support of Wiseman's projects.
6. Bishop Briggs. Pastoral letter of 29.12.1840 Westminster Archives
7. MTE to MME Letter of 8.6.1850 ONHc
8. MME to MTE Letter of 3.6.1850 No.285 Vol. III
9. MTE to MME Letter of 15.6.1850 ONHc
10. MME to MTE Letter of 24.6.1850 No.288 Vol. III (quoting Pere d'Alzon)
11. MTE to MME Letter of 8.6.1850 ONHc
12. MTE to MME Letter of 15.6.1850 ONHc
13. cf. supra p. 90
14. D'Alzon E. De l'avènement du règne de Notre Seigneur Jésus Christ Conference given at Nimes 8.11.1870
Cyclostyled copy at 23, Kensington Square Library.
15. cf. supra p. 93 ff.
16. MME to MTE Letters of 24.6.1850 No.288 & 13.6.1850 No.289 Vol. III
MTE to MME Letter of 29.6.1850 OND2
- NOTE Père d'Alzon advised separation of accounts for the apostolate and actual community expenditure. The suggestion was not followed until the 1960's.
17. MTE to MME Letter of 15.6.1850 OND2
18. MTE to MME Letter of 15.6.1850 OND2
19. NOTE From February 1851 to at least October 1860 an adjacent cottage was used, the children there being divided into two classes.
20. MTE to MME Letter of November 1850 OND2

NOTE Except where indicated all the letters cited above are held by the archives of the Sisters of the Assumption Paris.

CHAPTER V

' TOUT CE QUE NOUS VOULONS ÊTRE, IL LE DEMANDE '

"Je pense souvent...aux dernières paroles que vous m'avez adressées quelques minutes avant de quitter la maison. Vous m'avez parlé du quatrième voeu et tout ce que vous m'avez dit reste profondément gravé dans mon esprit".(1)

Such thoughts of the fulfilment of the fourth vow were repeated often in the succeeding years by different sisters. An ardent desire to extend the reign of Christ in souls, inspired new members as much as the old, to participate in the study plan concerning the work to be done. Cecilia White spent two weeks in Dublin visiting the Kildare Place model school, so as to obtain as much information as possible, and also studied the methods of the Sisters of Gorcy.(2) Mr. Stokes in London offered them the services of the C.P.S.C. 'mistress of method', but this was refused. Sr. M. Aloysia was considered as competent, if not more so.(3)

Worthy of note was the effort made to obtain suitable books. Those of the National Schools were refused, mainly because of the fear of being bound to inspection by persons unfamiliar with Assumption aims.(4) However, in October of 1850 Sr. Thérèse Emmanuel reported that publishing firms were beginning to produce:

"Les livres de classe, dans un esprit tout catholique. Vraiment on dirait que notre Ordre est fondé pour porter son esprit et son dévouement à ce pays. Tous ce que nous voulons être, il le demande: union de la science et de la foi."(5)

Not all teaching congregations of the time had such a clear view of their aims, nor their means of action. Sr. M. Eugénie had definite ideas on both topics. By bringing religion out of the churches into the home, the market place, government and recreation, the rule of Christ over all aspects of life would be achieved, and thus a new social order would result. D'Alzon's aim to:

"...establish the Christian order in individuals and societies...to bring about the triumph of the City of God, so dear to St. Augustine, and in short to spread the social reign of Christ"(6)

was translated in Richmond as involving the working out in some detail of the relationship of the poor school children to parish life. Two of the sisters still in Paris, but destined for Richmond had, before their conversion, much experience of Protestant zeal. Under their tutelage, Sr. M. Eugénie came to consider the establishment of a Sunday school as a necessity, for fear of Protestant influence at the week-end.(7)

Some of the children attending the poor school were not Catholics, which created problems with respect to their religious instruction. Reverend Oakley, a member of the Protestant Alliance, did his best to prevent these children from attending the school. Following the standard methods of his organisation, he spread all manner of calumnies around the town concerning the life and conduct of the sisters.(8) Visiting Jesuits advised against giving religious instruction to Protestants for fear of teaching them to say 'I believe' to propositions which for them were not matters of faith.

Sr. M. Eugénie thought that such lessons were theirs by right, but that they should not be expected to attend Mass.(9) As much as possible all the children were to be taken to parish functions, including the Sunday liturgy, as this would give greater edification to the people.(10)

The sisters desired a broad curriculum for the poor girls, useful skills to be introduced as a means of later being able to make a living. Fr. Johnson on the contrary wished all subjects except the '3R's' and needlework to be treated as 'extras' with graded charges. His aim was to attract middle-class parents to send their children to the school, an idea which came to dominate his former concern for the poor.(11)

The first inspection of the school took place in late September 1850, the report being made that:

"Sr. M. Aloysia avait mis un peu trop du Père Girard, en tant qu'il y avait de la répétition. C'est un excès où on tombe facilement en commençant; mais j'ai été très contente même de ce défaut, qui peut être facilement corrigé. Il montre qu'elle a bien le desir d'appliquer le système à tout. Ses enfants ont fait du progrès, et pouvaient répondre à beaucoup de questions générales".(12)

The sisters found the children more tractable than those of rich parents, easy to control, wonderfully quiet at their work, and more open to the influence of religion.(13) Sr. Walburge, writing in 1851, inspired by her work among the poor children, said:

"If I am to remain here...pray that I may labour with redoubled efforts to gain the spirit of our Holy Order...how much good might I do among our children here, whose tender, unworldly minds are susceptible to every good impression".(14)

The young sisters sent to Richmond were soon recalled to Paris, having not finished their religious formation, being replaced by others, usually equally young and inexperienced. The continual rapid turnover of teachers did little for the stability of the school, and in general it would seem that the less talented and less well educated sisters were

charged with the poor school.(15) A variety of teachers meant a variety of teaching styles, and, apart from the above reference there is no other explicit reference to the methods of the Père Girard in the poor school. However, there was no toleration of slipshod teaching. An animated style, the preservation of good discipline and solid learning, were considered as essential here as in the school at Chaillot.(16)

Very early, the sisters became convinced that they should put as much effort as possible into this work. Though the Duchess and Fr. Johnson were pressing for the promised 'pensionnat', Sr. M. Eugénie had come to see that it was better for the moment to delay this:

"...to concentrate exclusively on work for the poor...How can you persuade Mr. Johnson and the Duchess that...our decision in favour of the poor is settled for ever"?(17)

REFERENCES

1. Sr. M. Caroline to MME Letter of 28.5.1850 FMIAa
2. MTE to MME Letter of 29.6.1850 OND2
NOTE Like the Pere Girard, the sisters introduced a reward system for achievement, progress and effort, for both study and behaviour. To a complex system of 'tickets' based on that seen in Dublin, traded in for clothing or food at the appropriate time, was added the learning of French as a reward. This served chiefly to satisfy the desire of the Duchess that the poor children should learn the language. Following the ideas of Girard, Sr. M. Eugénie cautioned that they should learn to speak, rather than to have an academic knowledge of grammar.
cf. MME to MTE Letter of 3.6.1850 No.285 Vol.III
3. MTE to MME Letter of 8.6.1850 OND2
4. MTE to MME Letter of 15.6.1850 OND2
NOTE When Girard had applied for membership of the National Society after Bell's visit to his school in 1816, the bishop condemned his work as 'Protestant'. Perhaps the sisters were also influenced by this. cf.
Pollard M. Pioneers of popular education John Murray London 1956 p.124
5. MTE to MME Letter of 24.10.1850 OND2
6. Anson P.F. The religious orders and congregations of Great Britain & Ireland Stanbrook Abbey Worcester 1949
7. MME to MTE Letter of 11.7.1850 No.291 Vol.III
MTE to MME Letter of 10.7.1850 ONHC
NOTE The two sisters were Sr. M. Benedicte & Sr. Jeanne Francoise, both of whom worked in the poor school for many years.
8. Reilly A.J. Catherine O'Neill Clonmore & Reynolds Dublin 1959 p.129
MME to the Duchess of Leeds Letter entitled 'Historique de Richmond' Probably 1856
9. MME to MTE Letter of 5.7.1850 No.292 Vol.III
cf. supra p.113
10. MME to MTE Letter of 5.7.1850 No.292 Vol.III
NOTE The first few Protestant children were removed from the school in December. cf.
Sr. Ignace to MTE Letter of 2.12.1850 FMIAa
11. MTE to MME Letter of 28.6.1850 & 29.6.1850 ONHC
NOTE Initially the work of teaching both the orphans and the poor school children was shared by both choir and lay sisters, as at Chaillot. Before long Sr. M. Aloysia was entrusted with its care, being the only one trained both in the model school in Dublin, and in the ideals of the Congregation of the Assumption.cf.
Sr. M. Aloysia to MME Letter of 11.10.1850 FMIAa
12. MTE to MME Letter of 8.6.1850 ONHC
MTE to MME Letter of 7.10.1850 ONHC
cf. supra p.78
13. Sr. Ignace to MME Letter of 2.9.1853 FMIAa
14. Sr. M. Walburge to MME Letter of 1851 FMIAa
15. MME to MTE Letter of 9.10.1850 No.304 23.11.1851 No.357 Vol.III
NOTE Sr. Benedict, mentioned in this last letter as having not much ability, was in fact the most zealous and successful in the poor school.
Sr. Ignace to MME Letters of 18.11.1853;14.8.1855; 28.6.1867 FMIAe
MTE to MME Letter of 8.12.1850 ONHC

16. Sr. Wilfrid to MME Letter of 24.4.1855 GMIAd
Sr. Ignace to MME Letters of 29.11.1859;
30.11.1859; 9.3.1860; 17.3.1860 FMIAe
17. MME to MTE Letter of 3.10.1851 No.357 Vol.III
(My translation)

NOTE All the letters cited above are held by the archives of the
Sisters of the Assumption Paris

CHAPTER VI

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE POOR SCHOOL

In 1853, the class of children being received as day pupils was being questioned, just as it had been for the orphans. Fr. Johnson and his assistant Fr. Lomax, suggested a second school for:

"Respectable children, who can pay £5 a year".(1)

In the form suggested, this school did not materialise. It was argued that no known convent took day pupils of this class, and to do so would negate from the future boarding school.

On his visit in 1858, Mr. Stokes, the director of the poor schools, expressed himself well satisfied with the children. He proposed that Sr. Jeanne Françoise, then in charge, should obtain her Certificate, so that the sisters could qualify for grant, for the reception of pupil teachers, and for the payment of salaries.(2) Such attempts to marry the 'Assumption system' to that of the Government, went unheeded until 1872.(3)

Meanwhile, in 1866 Fr. Strickland made a similar proposition for a 'Middle-class' school, and also for a night school. Though by then the boarding school was in operation, they declined the invitation.(4) We find however, that in 1870 the sisters were educating 10 middle-class day scholars, as well as the poor day children, each group being taught separately from the others.(5)

Complaints from the sisters about the poor school became frequent in the 1860's. The first wing of the convent had been built on land adjacent to the original orphanage in 1859-1860. Though a classroom had been prepared for the poor children, the general desire was to keep them at a distance, mainly because of their bad influence on the 'Young Ladies'.(6) The original desire to build bridges between the rich and the poor, and to impress on the former the hardships and trials of the latter, appears to have played no part in the policies of the sisters in Richmond at this time.

The boys' poor school in Newbiggin had by now obtained a Certificated master, and was grant-aided. Not only did he conform to the provisions of the Revised Code, but he also taught a variety of other subjects, as well as providing for visiting speakers.(7) During the same period, the girls' poor school with no grant, and no Certificated teacher, seems to have stagnated.

Father William Strickland, who had replaced Fr. Johnson as parish priest in 1865, took every opportunity to complain about the conduct of

the girls' school, particularly the lack of competence of the sister in charge.(8) He insisted that one of the sisters at least, should become Certificated.(9) He then proposed moving the school, considering that it was too far from the town, requesting on economic grounds that the sisters should teach both boys and girls.(10)

A compromise was reached with the decision from Sr. M. Eugénie to build a new girls' poor school at the furthest end of the garden, near the workhouse. Completed in January 1869, Richmond parishioners contributed nothing to its erection and upkeep, necessitating both borrowing and begging.(11)

A summary of the conditions of the girls' poor school in Richmond from 1867, and covering the years leading up to the 1870 Education Bill of W.E. Forster, was written in 1871. The teacher worked long hours, including Sundays, to bring it into line with Government regulations. The well-justified criticisms of the priests and others led to an examination of non-existent resources, with no remedy which could be applied. Comments on the attainment of the children and on the level of religious practice, reveal an apparently deplorable state of affairs.(12)

Unremitting effort on the part of Sr. Benedict, enabled her to apply successfully for grant in 1870.(13) Steps were taken to obtain Certification for the sisters involved in the school.(14) Isolated in the convent however, they were not 'au courant' with the Government system, and by 1874 a deterioration was seen in all aspects of school life.(15) The boys' school, though it had seen some efficient teaching from 1858, was also experiencing problems, with a dramatic fall in standards.(16)

In March 1876 a Miss Woolley, formerly a member of the Order of the Holy Child, was received at the convent with a view to her taking over the direction of both the Roman Catholic poor schools in Richmond.(17) She had been refused a place in the Young Ladies Boarding School on the grounds that:

"...she of course would teach according to the spirit of her own Order, and that we were taught according to the spirit that was given to us in the Novitiate".(18)

From this we can presume that with respect to the poor school, the sisters had long since ceased to teach according to the 'Spirit of the Assumption', having had to conform to State regulations. Miss Woolley took charge of the school in January 1877.(19) Sisters coming to Richmond subsequent to the move of the girls to Newbiggin, regretted the loss of contact with the poor.(20)

The fortunes of the school from 1877 to 1898 cannot be pursued

here, though these years are well documented.(21) In 1898 the sisters were re-employed as teachers, partly to solve the financial difficulties of the parish, and partly because the State certificated teachers then employed were considered inefficient.(22) An additional background factor affecting this move was the general industrial decline at the end of the nineteenth century, which highlighted the need for further educational reform. The voluntary schools, educating over half the nation's children, were those in most urgent need of improvement.

A succession of temporary legislative measures taken to alleviate the situation resulted in 1902 in the replacement of the old school Boards by Local Education Authorities. The church schools, which had hitherto functioned largely as private establishments, became Voluntary Aided. 1904 saw the replacement of the Catholic Poor School Society by the Catholic Education Council.(23)

Over these few years, the curriculum and method in the Catholic elementary school in Richmond differed in no appreciable way from that of similar schools in the country, apart from the abolition of corporal punishment.(24) For the headmistress of the time however, as for her early predecessors, the school was still a means of working for the Kingdom of Christ. A place where:

"...the seed needs sowing most carefully...
to bear fruit later on".(25)

The sentiment is culled directly from the writings of Sr. M. Eugénie, who in 1880 had instructed that the education given in schools is never an end in itself. The aim is to build foundations and to plant roots in firm soil.(26) In all essentials this was still the ideal of the Congregation when in its infancy, founded not for the present, but for the future.(27)

REFERENCES

1. Sr. Ignace to MME Letter of 26.2.1853 ONF2
2. Sr. Ignace to MME Letter of 22.4.1858 FMIAa
3. Sr. Ignace to MME Letters of 10.5.1870 & 4.11.1870 FMIAe
Sr. M. Benedict to MME Letters of 8.1.1871; 12.1.1871
FMIAf
Sr. Alphonse to MME Letter of 27.11.1867 FMIAe
4. Sr. Ignace to MME Letters of 12.1.1866 & 18.4.1866 FMIAe
5. Copy of a letter to the Catholic Committee 7.5.1870
MSS Assumption Archives Paris.
NOTE i The letter concerns the Newdegate Bill on the inspection
of nunneries. It encloses a separate paper giving
finances and statistics of the convent in Richmond.
- NOTE ii The custom of keeping poor children separate from
boarders was common in most other convents in England.
6. Sr. Ignace to MME Letter of 12.12.1860 FMIAe
7. ED 7/138 003588 1858 PRO Kew
Slater I. Post Office Directory for Yorkshire & Lincolnshire
Slater London 1854 p.1465 1857 p.1465
Boys' school log book Jesuit archives Farm St. London.
Entries for 11.8.62; 12.2.1863; 7.8.1863; 17.8.1863;
2.10.1863; 29.10.1863; 12.11.1863; 21.10.1864; 31.10.1864
8. Sr. Ignace to MME Letter of 12.1.1866 FMIAe
9. Sr. Ignace to MME Letters of 12.1.1866 FMIAe
15.4.1867 & 23.10.1872 FMIAf
Sr. Alphonse to MME Letters of 21.6.1872; 4.7.1872;
15.12.1872; 26.3.1873 FMIAf
10. Sr. Alphonse to MME Letter of Oct. 1867 FMIAe
11. Sr. Ignace to MME Letters of 2.10.1868; 28.1.1869;
6.4.1869; 2.6.1869; 3.10.1869; 31.5.1870 FMIAe
Sr. Alphonse to MME Letter of 2.8.1868 FMIAe
12. Synodi Diocesanae Beverlacensis Educational reports of
the diocese of Beverley. Leeds diocesan archives.
NOTE The official reports of Canon Scruton, the diocesan
Inspector are easily misinterpreted. Comments for one
school are often misplaced into another. This has
happened on several occasions between the different
Richmond schools.
13. Sr. Ignace to MME Letters of 10.5.1870 & 4.11.1870 FMIAe
Sr. Benedict to MME Letters of 8.1.1871 & 12.1.1871 FMIAf
Sr. Alphonse to MME Letter of 27.11.1867 FMIAe
14. ED 7/138 003589 2.1.1871 Application for grant.
P.R.O. Kew
15. Sr. M. Hilda to MME Letters of 4.10.1871; 16.1.1873 FMIAf
Sr. Ignace to MME Letters of 21.6.1872; 4.7.1872;
15.12.1872; 20.1.1873; 19.2.1873; 26.3.1873; 4.1.1875 FMIAe
Sr. Benedict to MME Letters of 10.1.1875 & 16.7.1875
FMIAf
NOTE This last letter concerns the establishment of a day
nursery, which would bring spiritual benefits to those
who helped.
16. Boys' school log book Jesuit archives. Farm St. London.
Entries for 27.2.1874; 6.3.1874; 8.5.1874; 4.9.1874;
30.10.1874; 4.12.1874; 19.3.1875; 19.11.1875.

17. Sr. Ignace to MME Letter of 9.3.1876 FMIAf
Letter of Sr. Winifred Wicken (Holy Child
archivist) 21.3.1987
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2.3.1876
18. Sr. Alphonse to MME Letter of 7.11.1876 FMIAf
19. School Log Book Jesuit archives Farm St. London
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Sr. Alphonse to MME Letters of 7.11.1876;
13.12.1876 FMIAf
20. Sr. Alphonse to MME Letter of 24.12.1878 FMIA3
21. School Log Books Jesuit archives Farm St. London.
22. Sr. Alphonse to MM C  lestine Letters of 8.10.1898;
16.11.1898; 23.12.1898; 18.9.1899; 10.2.1902 FMIAh
Sr. Ignatia to MM C  lestine Letter of 5.5.1901
FMIAh
Infant School log book Jesuit archives Farm St.
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17.12.1900; 5.2.1901; 5.12.1902.
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ED21/19617 XP/004003 12.9.1899 PRO Kew
23. Curtis S.J. History of education in Great Britain U.T.P.
London 1968 p.306-328
- NOTE
- Correspondence concerning new Trust deeds for the
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Jesuit archives Farm St. London.
Letters from Fr. Francis Farmer 22.12.1902;
23.12.1902; 23.2.1903; 29.4.1903; 30.6.1903
Jesuit archives Farm St. London
24. Sr. Ignatia to MM C  lestine Letter of 20.10.1900
FMIAh
25. Sr. Ignatia to MM C  lestine Letter of 5.5.1901
FMIAh
26. MME Letter 9898 1880 Vol. 33 Lettres
27. MME to P  re d'Alzon Letter of 25.3.1848
No. 1923 Vol.IX
- M.M. Celestine (ed) L'esprit de l'Assomption dans l'  ducation et
L'enseignement
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NOTE All the letters cited above are held by the archives of the sisters
of the Assumption Paris.

CHAPTER VII

'UNE ACTION POSITIVE, MÊME DANS NOTRE TRÈS PETITE SPHÈRE'

During the six years preceding her arrival in Richmond, Sr. Thérèse Emmanuel had been drawn more and more to considerations on the Crucifixion, which led her to attempt to live a life of self-immolation, in so far as her director would allow. (1) Once in Richmond, the needs of the mission became tied in with this tendency, leading her to write in her Spiritual Notes:

"(Richmond)...c'est ma seule affaire sur la terre, je vivrai, je penserai, je travaillerai, je me préoccuperai, je me sacrifierai pour cela". (2)

To Sr. M. Eugénie she declared that the effect she was having on the people around was the work of Jesus, manifesting itself through her. (3) Later she spoke of praising God in her actions; Christ praying in her and Christ suffering in her. (4) The allusion to her life as sacrificial, echoed in a personal way the ideas of Lacordaire and of Sr. M. Eugénie on religious life as expiatory, and their work in education as being that of the 'Redemption of captives'. (5) For Sr. Thérèse Emmanuel, the result of her meditations was twofold; mystical experiences, coupled with renewed fervour towards the apostolic life, and in particular to the poor around them to whom they were 'enchained'. (6)

News from Paris of the work of the Third Order of the Assumption, likewise filled her with zeal. Père d'Alzon had founded the society at Nîmes for pious ladies wishing to work among the poor, particularly among women rag-pickers. (7) Here in Richmond poor Irish rag-pickers were working a few hundred yards away, at Cooke's Mill. (8) Fights among the Mill-workers were common, particularly between the Irish Catholics and the Methodists born and bred in the town. (9)

The reformation of a woman of notoriously scandalous life became the means of introducing the sisters to the other women of her circle. This led to a work they had not expected; the catechising of adults. Though the Methodists maintained that this was a sham conversion, made with the express purpose of monetary gain, the movement gained momentum, with sixty women attending the convent by September. (10) The instruction given was entirely religious, ending with some act of devotion, and the giving of a pious practice for the coming week. (11)

Miss Burchall, formerly the teacher in the poor school, now in the Paris novitiate, had previously paved the way for this work, albeit unconsciously. (12) In November she wrote:

"I enjoy hearing of your labours among my poor friends...You have made many sacrifices in going to Richmond...and when you reflect that you are an instrument in the hands of God and are working for his Glory, how trifling must those sacrifices appear.(13)

The apparent success of their venture with the Mill women, brought in its train a religious ardour soon communicated to the menfolk, who desired a similar programme. This led the sisters to reflect on the activities of St. Paulinus and his co-workers, and the stories of conversions of former days:

"Nous sommes leurs successeurs; comme eux il faut travailler à faire connaître Notre Seigneur à ces âmes que l'hérésie lui a arrachées".(14)

Such thoughts were seen in Paris as a real sign of the Divine favour on the mission of the Assumption: "To extend the Kingdom of Christ in Souls". Père d'Alzon reported to the Richmond sisters that he had given the novices their instruction for a few days, and:

"...j'en ai profité aujourd'hui pour parler du zèle pour le salut des âmes".(15)

He spoke of their mission also as particularly privileged with respect to the sanctification of the workers being responsible for the conversion of other sinners.(16) The Mill women were seen as 'multipliers'; the leaven to spread the Gospel in the Kingdom of Satan.

A meeting in Leeds in February 1853 addressed itself to two topics; the education of the masses, presented by Cardinal Wiseman, and the alliance of science and religion, presented by Charles Langdale. Sir William Lawson took advantage of the journey of the parties concerned to conduct them to Richmond.(17) Following this encounter Sr. Ignace, now superior of the house, asked for advice on the former question. She proposed teaching young women, particularly 'poor ignorant girls' reading and writing, two or three days a week during the summer.(18)

The call for:

"Une action positive, même dans notre très petite sphère".(19)

which Sr. M. Eugénie had made in 1842, now resulted in the establishment of a night school.(20) The initial group consisted of six young women, all workers at the Mill, rising to a maximum of about seventeen.(21) The work was considered to be a privilege for the 'worthiest' sisters.(22) The project appears to have been very short-lived.(23)

Sr. M. Eugénie, in a letter to the Duchess detailing the reasons for wishing to withdraw the sisters from Richmond, stated:

"...the poor, to whom we desired to do good, have themselves become as it were disheartened by...difficulties...Kept back on one side by the protestant ministers who exercise at Richmond so great an influence, and...discouraged...by... the long walk out of town in the...weather so severe...at Richmond...they have almost ceased to come". (24)

The end result of this communication was the building of the convent, on land adjacent to the original house. The community subsequently expressed itself:

"Thankful...that we shall not be removed from all power of doing good to the town". (25)

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1. Sr. Madeleine Un long chemin à deux Private pub. Assumption Paris 1980 p.24 ff.
 2. Sr. Thérèse E. Spiritual Notes MSS 15.6.1850
 3. MTE to MME Letter of 15.6.1850 OND2
 4. Sr. Thérèse E. op. cit. 21.6.1850
 5. MME to Père d'Alzon Letter of 25.2.1844 No.1610 & 26.6.1844 No.1621 Vol. 8 Private pub. Assumption Paris 1982
cf. supra p.89 ff.
cf. supra p.117
 6. Les origines de l'Assomption Vol. III Mame et Fils. Tours 1898 p.467
 7. Sr. Jeanne M. cf. supra p.105
 8. MTE to MME Letter of 18.7.1850 ONHc
 9. op. cit. p.212-222
 10. Sr. Jeanne M. MME to MTE Letter of 11.7.1850 No.291 Vol. III
 11. Sr. M. Aloysia to MME Letter of 13.8.1850 FMIAe
 12. Sr. M. Caroline to MME Letter of 13.8.1850 FMIAe
 13. MTE to MME Letters of 24.6.1850 & 24.10.1850 ONHc
 14. Sr. Jeanne M. Sr. Ignace to MTE Letter of 4.12.1850 FMIAe
op. cit. p.219-220
- NOTE Sr. M. Eugenie cautioned against providing a programme for the men. She had consulted the Nuncio in Paris, who saw nothing against it, but she advised putting it off for the time being, to concentrate on the work already in hand, and to plan for the future boarding school. cf. MME to MTE Letter of 20.8.1850 No.297 Vol. III
op. cit. p.234
15. Sr. Jeanne M. idem. p.233
 16. Darlington & Stockton Times 12.2.1853
 17. Sr. Ignace to MME Letter of 1.2.1853 FMIAe & 15.2.1853 ONF2
Annals Assumption convent Richmond February 1853
 18. Sr. Ignace to MME Letter of 25.4.1853 FMIAe
 19. MME to Père d'Alzon Letter of 19.7.1842 Lettres du Pere d'Alzon Vol. VII Private pub. Assumption Paris 1982 p.45
 20. Annals Assumption convent Richmond 18.5.1853
 21. idem. 11.7.1853 & 14.6.1854
 22. Sr. Alphonse to MTE Letter of 16.5.1853 FMIAe
 23. Sr. Ignace to MME Letter of 12.1.1866 FMIAe
 24. Sr. Benedict to MME Letter of 8.1.1871 FMIAe
 25. MME to the Duchess of Leeds Undated letter. Probably 1856. Entitled 'Historique' FMIAe

NOTE All the letters cited above, and the Spiritual Notes are held by the archives of the sisters of the Assumption Paris.

CHAPTER VIII

RELATIONS WITH RICHMOND PROTESTANTS

The Duchess of Leeds had kept her counsel so well during the arrangements being made between 1849 and 1850, that only a select few knew of the coming of the sisters to Richmond. (2) Members of the local Protestant Association were enraged by the presence of nuns in their midst. (3) The Maxwell family advised having nothing to do with such people if they attempted to visit. The bishop however thought differently, telling the sisters not to be afraid to go abroad in their habits, nor to hesitate to show such people their house. It was time to enlighten the ignorance of this group, whether they came in good faith, or with malicious intent. (4) Sr. M. Eugénie was of like mind.

"Quant aux visites des protestantes; je vois tout-à-fait les choses comme vous et Mgr. Briggs; il me semble qu'il faut montrer notre vie à découvert...vous-êtes les témoins de Notre Seigneur". (5)

In July it was reported that several protestants were considering transferring their own children to the school. (6) From this group, admiration was easily won, for it was produced merely by the good behaviour of the children in town:

"...une assez puissante séduction, pour que les pauvres gens aient la messe et toute la doctrine catholique". (7)

The hope was that through the education of protestant children, whole families might be converted to the Catholic faith. This idea was later applied to the boarding school, where sometimes up to fifty percent of the pupils were not Catholics. (8)

The two most militant members of the Evangelical Association in Richmond, Mr. Oakley and Miss Leefe, acted in accordance with the normal procedure of their society. (9) Their attacks became even more vicious after the re-establishment of the Catholic hierarchy in September 1850. (10) Following this event the Evangelical Society as a whole increased its nation-wide activities against the Catholic church. Its president Ashley Cooper pledged himself to the waging of interminable war against the Pope and his Cardinals. (11) Sr. Thérèse Emmanuel remarked in her letters that the newspapers were full of terrible rumours about the profligate life of those in convents. The result was the proposition in March 1851 for a Government Bill for the inspection of nunneries. (12)

Ashley Cooper's own interpretation of the source literature of his society, influenced the outlook of his co-workers. Among his writings we find the conclusion that:

"The present circumstances of the world are extra-ordinary and critical, beyond whatever yet happened. If we refuse to let Christ reign over us as our redeemer and saviour, we must be slain before his face, as enemies, at his second coming".(13)

For most Evangelicals of the Alliance, all conversions to Rome were a betrayal to the devil, and writings such as the above served to fuel their fervour for the cause. Miss Leefe in Richmond increased her campaign in Richmond so such a degree that a public letter was sent to her by Sr. Thérèse Emmanuel. In it she says:

"...these charges are wholly groundless, and can only be made in total ignorance of the principles and practices of our religion, and of the system of education pursued in this convent...I shall be happy to receive you, and to answer any objection you may think proper to make, and to explain to you our whole order and system of teaching...I have many proofs of late, and especially an anonymous writing of an atrocious character that these attacks are directed through us against our pupils... Madame...I cannot suppose you would wish to represent wilfully the practices or conduct...of those who... have devoted themselves to the service of Jesus Christ in works of charity..."(14)

Members of the Alliance in Richmond continued their activities with undiminished vigour for several years.(15) Miss Leefe attempted to prevent children from attending even non-religious occasions held in the convent, and was an assiduous visitor to the work-house where she tried to force Alliance literature on Catholic inmates.(16) Sr. Ignace deplored the lack of action with respect to this on the part of the Catholic women of the district.(17) Father Strickland did his best to confiscate any literature stemming from the Alliance which found its way into the hands of even the better educated members of his flock.(18)

The aim, both of the Alliance members, and of the sisters, was identical - the coming of the Kingdom, but by different means. Despite the activities of the Alliance one of the most fruitful activities of the sisters for this purpose appears to have been the instruction of converts, both men and women. Among the numerous references to this work are the

remarks of Sr. Ignace:

"I am instructing two protestants, and there are two more to come...Our Lord takes care of my having occasions of fulfilling my Fourth Vow".(19)

and

"All my desire is to do good...I feel my wish to extend the reign of Christ in souls increase every day".(20)

REFERENCES

1. NOTE The term 'protestant' is used indiscriminately in the correspondence for the Church of England and the Protestant/Evangelical Association. The letters from the 1850's and 1860's mainly concern the latter.
2. MTE to MME Letter of 8.6.1850 & 15.6.1850 ONHc
3. cf. supra p.86 and 121
4. MTE to MME Letter of 15.6.1850 ONHc
5. MME to MTE Letter of 13.6.1850 No.287 Vol.III
6. MTE to MME Letter of 10.7.1850 ONHc
7. idem
8. Whitaker E. Educational work of the congregation of the Assumption M.A. London 1952 p.130
9. cf. supra p.86-87 and 121
10. Gilley G. Recusant History Vol. 10 1969 p.221
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Taylor J. The nunnery question Protestant alliance London
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11. Hodder E. The seventh earl of Shaftesbury Nisbet London
1897 Vol. II p.332
12. Norman E.R. loc. cit.
13. Orchard S.C. British evangelical eschatology Ph.D. Cambridge
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14. MTE to Miss Leefe Letter of 13.2.1851 FMIAa
15. Sr. Ignace to MME Letter of 25.2.1851 FMIAa
Fr. W. Lomax to MTE Letter of Whit Monday 1853
FMIAa
16. Sr. Ignace to MTE Letter of 13.7.1853 ONF2
17. Sr. Ignace to MTE Letter of 9.6.1859 ONF2
18. Fr. W. Lomax to MTE loc. cit.
19. NOTE The letter concerns Lady Charlotte Dundas.
Sr. Ignace to MME Letter of 17.2.1959 FMIAe
20. Sr. Ignace to MME Letter of 20.6.1855 FMIAe
- NOTE There are hundreds of references to conversions throughout the correspondence. A selection at intervals includes:
Sr. Ignace to MME 5.12.1853 & 23.2.1860 FMIAe
Sr. Alphonse to MME 4.12.1878 FMIA3
Sr. Alphonse to M.M. Célestine 3.10.1884 FMIA3
Sr. Alphonse to M.M. Célestine 21.9.1896 FMIAh

NOTE All the letters cited above are held by the archives of the sisters of the Assumption Paris.

CHAPTER IX

'DIEU ET LA CRÉATION....QUELLE OEUVRE!'

The sisters' early accounts of Richmond describe the environment as:

"...tout...qui peut réjouir l'âme, la recueillir et l'élever vers Dieu...de frais ombrages, des prairies verdoyantes...une limpide rivière..."(1)

This and similar remarks throughout the years could easily be mistaken for a simple romanticism, produced by contact with the literary movement of that name.(2) In fact they are intimately connected with the theological outlook of the Congregation, and a true reflection of the aspirations of the sisters with respect to the reign of God.

In his early legislation Combalot spoke of training in the liturgy as giving an insight into the meaning of the philosophy of the 'liberation of creation' in which they could participate by educational works. With Augustine's 'City of God' in mind, he spoke of the corruption of the world of nature which occurred when it was ruled by the powers of darkness. He then considered the effect of the supernatural light brought by Christ, which would free and regenerate humanity. Each sister, and each member of the human race, is able to participate through the Church in the creation and re-creation of beauty.(3)

Combalot had considered knowledge as embracing the worlds of nature, grace and glory, a trinity which should govern all teaching.(4) The first named must be first in order of time, and embraces not only human nature, on which the supernatural virtues will be built, but also the natural world.

Correspondence between Sr. M. Eugénie and Léon Boré highlights the idea of God's reign over the universe. It shows that for them one of the dominant aims in education was to make use of all created beauty to uplift souls to the Creator, and to teach that none of the works of man should be despised. All should be used to glorify God and to extend his Kingdom.(5)

Sr. M. Eugénie's thoughts on beauty have as their backdrop her own memories of life in the country. She always regretted that not all children could have this experience, for she linked it with character formation:

"cela fait des natures plus vigoureuses, moins impressionables, mieux préparées à des devoirs sérieux, et capables de porter de plus fortes études". (6)

Sr. M. Eugénie's sense of created beauty distinguishes her from most other religious foundresses. Unlike many religious legislators she prohibited neither literature, painting, dance nor drama, for she saw the earth not as a place of exile from the beauty of heaven, but as a place to be filled with God's glory. (7) The world is the place where the Kingdom of God must be begun, and must therefore be as beauty filled as possible. Since everything good on earth comes from the Creator, then it can be used for his glory. The Christianising of the intelligence could only include the Christianising of the earth.

Such thoughts were applicable not only to ideas of promoting conversions and to the construction of a Christocentric curriculum, but also to their attitude to the environment; a vision which nowadays might be labelled as an 'Incarnational Theology'. (8) Such ideas account for the interest taken by Sr. M. Eugénie in architecture, landscape, well designed gardens, climate and a multitude of other details taken into consideration when building a school. (9)

Père d'Alzon whose almost daily communication with the sisters influenced strongly the direction they took in their work, reinforced this theology. Writing for the Directory on the motto 'Thy Kingdom Come', he said that the extension of the reign of God the Father, the doctrine of the Rights of God, and his dominion over creation, must be proclaimed. (10) Later, describing the work of teaching in the words of St. Paul as 'A great act of giving birth', he linked it with a social apostolate. (11) It involved seeking after justice and the reversal of any movement or revolution in any part of the world which could be seen as evidence of the reign of Satan and his usurpation of power over God's earth. (12)

The idea of God's reign over the world is inextricably linked with that of the development of the 'natures vigoureux' mentioned above, since the interior life of each person is manifested by external activities and their effect on their surroundings. A famous preacher, addressing the sisters in 1866 summarised the concept thus:

"...c'est une loi absolue du royaume de Dieu que le dehors n'y est jamais que l'effet et le signe du dedans...Vous devez former le Christ dans les âmes...le leur montrer partout. Leur faire bien entendre qu'il est tout, Dieu et la création, le ciel et la terre...Quelle oeuvre!" (13)

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Tours 1898 Vol, III p.206 cf.
MTE to MME Letter of 24.10.1850 ONHC
 2. cf. supra p.64
 3. Combalot T. Introduction aux constitutions Private pub.
Assumption archives Paris p.60
 4. cf. supra p.103
 5. cf. supra p.70
 6. Breton C. Vie de Mère Marie Eugénie de Jesus J. le
Hanaff St. Etienne 1922 p.241
 7. cf. supra p.66
 8. MME to Père d'Alzon Lettres 27.12.1841 No. 1603
Vol. VII
 9. Sr. Madeleine Relectures Private pub. Assumption Paris 1979
de la croix MME to Sr. M. Bernard Lettres Vol. XX No.
5313 1858
MME to Sr. M. Bernard Lettres Vol. XXII No.
6126 1865
- NOTE Part of the delay in starting the boarding
school at Richmond was due to the search for
a more beautiful house. Scorton was the last
to be rejected, as being too ugly. cf.
MME to MTE Letter of 13.8.1850 No. 297 Vol. III
MTE to MME Letter of 24.10.1850 ONHC
Annals Assumption convent Richmond 24.2.1857 &
19.9.1857
10. Richards R. The Assumptionists Assumption fathers New York
1980 p.13-14
 11. Galatians 4.19
 12. Richards R. op. cit. p.15-17
 13. Gay C.L. Lettre aux religieuses de l'Assomption sur
le nom, L'esprit et le but de leur congrégation
St. Paul Bar-le-Duc 1866 2nd printing 1893 p.9

NOTE All the letters cited above are held by the archives of the
Sisters of the Assumption Paris

CHAPTER X

THE BOARDING SCHOOL 1850-1860

"...tôt ou tard... (le pensionnat) c'est toujours notre but". (1)

wrote Sr. Thérèse Emmanuel in 1850. The 'Introduction to the Constitutions' of 1839 had stated clearly that the work of the Religious of the Assumption was to be primarily with the children of the better-off, through whom society would undergo a social revolution stemming from the law of Christ. (2) Though the orphans and the poor school were sufficient works for the house at Richmond as it then was, it was thought that the development of the Order would suffer without higher class children. (3) It was foreseen that some of them would eventually teach, either as sisters, or in the lay state. (4)

Within a short time it became apparent that the opening of a boarding school could not be envisaged without more suitable premises, and without a greater number of trained sisters. In Paris meanwhile, the sisters destined for this future work undertook a study course covering history, astronomy, literature, mathematics, the physical sciences, and a course of cosmography based on Wiseman's 'Connection of Science and Revealed Religion'. (5) The Richmond sisters, living on the 'road to nowhere' felt deprived of the mental stimulus provided by life in a capital city, and its intellectual resources. (6)

The Duchess was quickly fired with enthusiasm for planning the school, considering that it would give her charity greater security as well as greater publicity. She wished for pupils from Paris to be transferred to Richmond and conceived a host of other ideas which never materialised. (7) Sr. M. Eugénie insisted that the work be delayed. To start it then, without the necessary resources, would only result in a work:

"...très misérable, et d'un rang inférieur". (8)

She stipulated from the outset that the first boarders were to be from good families. (9) The first to be received for this future work was a protégée of Père d'Alzon, with two other 'enfants distinguées' arriving in November 1850. (10) The special care needed for the education of these girls revealed the impossibility of conducting an orphanage for the 'plus basse classe' in the same premises. (11) Though Sr. M. Eugénie herself sent children from France to the school, there being by September 1851 about six girls of suitable background to begin the school, she continued to instruct that the work be delayed. (12)

Though by now the school at Chaillot was renowned in France, the Order was as yet relatively unknown in England. A further problem therefore was the question of becoming known. The 'Old Catholics' already had links with the established convents such as the Bar and Newhall, where they sent their children. The question was mooted as to whether the best means of publicity might be through work for the poor, urgently in need of help throughout the country.(13) Nevertheless they were urged to keep before their minds the fact that:

"Votre oeuvre...c'est l'éducation dans l'ordre le plus élevé : l'éducation des jeunes filles du monde...vous êtes appelées à avoir fatalement plus d'influence...sur elles...que sur...des enfants du peuple".(14)

With the departure of the original orphans from the York workhouse, some progress was made towards the provision of a suitable academic programme for the others.(15) Unfortunately little can be gleaned either from the correspondence or the convent annals for the period between February 1853 and September 1859.(16)

The girls are described repeatedly as:

"...d'une ignorance extra-ordinaire pour de grandes filles...leur première éducation a été complètement négligée".(17)

Many of the girls were apparently sent to the school for only a year, when fifteen or sixteen years of age, and thus little could be achieved. Children who had some hope of academic success might be transferred to Paris.(17)

A modified monitorial system seems to have been in use for the instruction of two classes simultaneously.(18) Music and French were much prized by parents, as well as Italian and German given for selected individuals. A few private day pupils also attended for tutorials in these lessons.(19) At one stage the resident chaplain gave French lessons, as well as catechism to those girls capable of understanding him in his own language.(20) During the holidays, for several years, Fr. Johnson gave reading lessons to the children who did not go home, and Latin lessons to the sisters.(21)

The educational ideals of the congregation are hinted at in some of the correspondence, but no systematic description of the timetable, curriculum or methods can be located. However, it is certain that

these were as far as possible identical with those of Chaillot.(22) The sisters persevered in trying to introduce books similar to those in use in Paris, and to apply modern methods to their situation.(23) With the removal of the pupils to the new house in September 1860, the first phase of the boarding school can for convenience be considered to have been achieved.(24)

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NOTE The first pupils wishing to come to the projected 'higher class' school were all daughters of shopkeepers in the town. All were refused, since the practice of taking them as day pupils would, it was thought, not help the establishment of a boarding school. The question was posed again in 1853 and again dismissed, since such an arrangement was not known to exist in any other convent. cf. MTE to MME Letter of 31.8.1850 ONHc
MME to MTE Letter of 25.5.1850 No.283 Vol. III
Sr. Ignace to MME Letter of 7.3.1853 FMIAa
2. Combalot T. Introduction aux constitutions & cf. MME to Pere d'Alzon Letter 1610 1844 Vol. III
3. MTE to MME Letter of 18.7.1850; 24.10.1850; 12.11.1850 ONHc
4. cf. infra p.150
5. Sr. Wilfrid to MTE Letter of 7.4.1852 FMIAa
Sr. Wilfrid to Sr. Ignace Letter of 5.12.1857 FMIAa
6. MTE to MME Letter of 8.6.1850 ONHc
7. Duchess of Leeds to MME Letter of 15.7.1850 FMIAb
MTE to MME Letters of 5.8.1850; 9.8.1850; 31.10.1850; 29.11.1850 ONHc & cf. supra p.113
8. MME to MTE Letter of 11.9.1851 No.347 Vol. III & cf.
MME to MTE Letters of 4.11.1850 No. 309; 4.5.1851 No. 332 Vol. III
9. MME to MTE Letters of 22.3.1851 No. 325 & 15.7.1852 No. 392 Vol. III
10. MTE to MME Letters of 18.7.1850; 26.11.1850 ONHc
MME to MTE Letters of 9.10.1850 No. 304; 15.11.1850 No. 311 Vol. III
- Daurette J. La révérende Mère Marie Eugénie Milleret de Brou Renard Paris 1939 p.96
- Vailhe S. (ed) Lettres du Père Emmanuel d'Alzon Maison de la bonne presse Paris 1926 p.615 & 622. Letters to MME of 12.9.1850 & 22.9.1850
11. MTE to MME Letter of 18.7.1850 ONHc
12. MME to MTE Letters of 3.10.1851 No. 349 & 15.7.1852 No. 392 Vol. III
13. MTE to MME Letter of Nov. 1850 ONHc & cf. supra 118
14. Landrieux A. Discours Bugg Rheims 1893 p.16-17
15. Sr. Mechtilde to MME Letter of 22.6.1853 ONF2
16. Sr. Mechtilde to MME Letter of 5.8.1853 & 18.8.1853 ONF2
Annals Convent of the Assumption Richmond 1.2.1853; 14.6.1854; 29.9.1859

17. Sr. Wilfrid to MME Letter of 13.9.1854 FMIAa
18. Sr. Ignace to MME Letter of 21.11.1854 FMIAa
19. Sr. Mechtilde to MME Letter of 14.8.1853 ONF2
Sr. Ignace to MME Letters of 5.12.1853 FMIAE
 18.9.1855 FMIAa
Sr. Wilfrid to MME Letter of 13.9.1854 FMIAa
- NOTE The private day pupils were the Miss Fages, relatives of the Duchess of Leeds.
20. Sr. Ignace to MME Letters of 29.1.1858 & 22.4.1858 FMIAa
- NOTE The chaplain was Père Mauviel A.A. sent by Père d'Alzon. He was later dismissed from the order for misconduct, and was replaced by another Assumptionist Father, Père Gras.
21. Sr. Ignace to MME Letters of 27.8.1854 & 28.8.1855 FMIAa
22. cf. supra p. 75 cf. infra p.177 Appendix G
23. Sr. Ignace to MME Letter of 14.1.1853 FMIAE
Sr. Alphonse to MME Letter of 15.1.1853 ONF2
Sr. Rodriguez to MME Letter of 30.7.1859 FMIAE
- NOTE Simple tools such as rulers were apparently unknown in England at this time. French text books for grammar and text books for the teacher were obtained from Paris. A Scriptural catechism and a history text which emphasised the history of the Church were obtained in England.
24. Annals Convent of the Assumption Richmond 6.9.1860

NOTE All the letters cited above are held by the archives of the sisters of the Assumption Paris.

CHAPTER XI

BACKGROUND TO THE YEARS 1860-1900

'The Assumption Congregation', said Sr. M. Eugénie, 'was not founded to do anything and everything'.(1) Though the early history of the foundation at Richmond might seem to belie this statement, when one considers the variety of works undertaken, the end in view was always the same. The 'rebuilding of all things in Christ' through a higher education which would be the key to the re-Christianisation of the haute bourgeoisie, as well as a marriage of their upper class clientele to the deprived, resulting in the growth of the City of God, on earth.

Père d'Alzon described their vision thus:

"La Cité de Dieu...est pour nous...comme
une nouvelle révélation...je vous invite
...à se porter...à la défense...de la Cité
...l'église de Jésus Christ, l'église
romaine, la seule vraie".(2)

Such ideas had grown within the context of a de-Christianised France which had exalted the cult of reason and revered an idealised 'nature'. Though secular ideas had spread, and the Church had lost its control over the daily life of the majority of the people, the results for the Church were not all negative. Rome was re-affirmed as the centre of Catholicism, the clergy as a whole becoming more Ultramontane in their views. In addition the Church was steered towards a more directly spiritual mission. Thus a social, economic and philosophical transformation of civil society resulted in a transformation of the Church herself, acting to meet new challenges.

The Assumption Congregation is situated firmly within this optic. Realism was preached at all times. Not all of the children they dealt with would profit from the advantages given to them. Only a few would reach their intellectual potential; an even smaller number would become:

"...âmes fortes...dignes de Jésus Christ,
quelques enfants de la Cité divine où
l'amour de Dieu est poussé jusqu'au mépris
de soi".(3)

The désiré of the sisters for the growth of this City became crystallised into several well defined ideas. Its field of action was considered to be global rather than provincial; the means was through education rather than instruction; the aim was to provide a novitiate for life which would not only ground the girls solidly in the Catholic faith and its social teaching, but which would render them efficient both in the service of their families and of the poor.(4)

The theology of the work of teaching had by 1860 been well developed in the Congregation, three main strands of thought having been examined. The first, that teaching belongs to the essence of the Incarnation of Christ: as priests distribute Him in the form of bread, so does the teacher distribute Him in the guise of words.(5) The second idea was that education, like Baptism, is a means of purifying the soul.(6) The third strand, the transformation of society through the activity of Catholic women, would it was hoped:

"verser...les germes de la régénération dans la famille et dans la société, en pénétrant l'esprit, l'âme et le coeur de la jeune fille de la science et de l'amour de Jésus Christ".(7)

The promotion of women, preached by Théodore Combalot in the early days, was now just as strongly held by the sisters. However, the idea never produced social slogans, nor a premature suffragette movement. With Jesus as the focal point of instruction, and the desire to be zealous for the Rights of God rather than the Rights of Man, such a movement would have been out of harmony with the philosophy of the Congregation at the time.(8)

A series of conferences given by Sr. M. Eugénie in Paris in the late 1870's and into the 1880's shows that in her view only hard work would bring about the desired results. Not only must every sister spend part of every day cultivating her own intelligence, a rule applied as much to those who do not teach as to those who do, but the children must be taught to do the same.(9) No matter how long one has been in the classroom, the principle still applies. The teacher must never be boring, always inventive, and give of her own individuality in the process. The tried and the trusted however must not be abandoned; one must use the 'vetera' as well as the 'nova'. The work is a kind of combat mission; a soldiering for the Kingdom:

"C'est...un devoir rigoureux pour vous envers l'église, d'étudier, de développer votre intelligence; c'est ainsi que vous ferez l'oeuvre de l'Assomption".(10)

During the years 1860 to 1900 several important events in the life of the Church resulted in the narrowing of the field of action of the Congregation, though its vision remained essentially the same. The 'Syllabus of Errors' published in Rome in 1864, a reaction mainly to the rise of Italian Nationalism, produced defections from some members of the Church, and incredulity in others. Many who tried to remain loyal, including Sr. M. Eugénie, felt that their consciences urged them

to do or say nothing that would appear to promote their own private judgement against that of the Church.

Two years later, the Fourth Vow of the Assumption sisters was suppressed, and stricter rules were imposed with respect to enclosure.(11) Whilst the 1844 Constitutions had provided for the sisters to accompany the children to the homes of the poor, this was entirely omitted in the 1866 version. Concerning this change, it was remarked that:

"M. Combalot avait désiré que la visite des pauvres fît partie de l'éducation de nos élèves...nous avons dû y renoncer, et ce sont les pauvres qui maintenant trouvent nos enfants au couvent".(12)

Only after the second Vatican Council was it possible to return to the original mode of action in this sphere.(13)

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3. Bernoville G. La Fondatrice Eugénie Milleret Grasset Paris 1948
p.139
4. Sr. Therese M. Pour une société régénérée par l'Évangile Études
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5. M.M. Celestine L'esprit de l'Assomption dans l'éducation et
l'enseignement Desclee et Cie. Tournai 1910
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6. idem. p.88
7. MME to Père d'Alzon Letter of 1844 No. 1621 Vol.VIII
8. Martindale C.C. op. cit. p.139
9. Sr. M. Eugenie Instructions de chapitre Couvent de L'Assomption
Paris 1899 Chapters of:
21.9.1879 On work p.33
23.5.1884 On education (1) p.73
30.5.1884 On education (2) p.78
10. M.M. Celestine op. cit p.71-72
11. Sr. M. Eugenie Instructions de chapitre Couvent de l'Assomption
Paris 1900 Chapter of 15.3.1874 On the duties of
one's state in life. p.276
12. Sr. Jeanne M. Les origines de l'Assomption Mame et Fils Tours
1900 Vol. I Footnote p.491
13. Acts of the chapter Rome 1965 p.117 ff. (Eng.tr)
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(Eng.tr.)
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NOTE All the letters cited above are held by the archives of the sisters of the Assumption Paris.

CHAPTER XII

THE BOARDING SCHOOL 1860-1904

The task of working for the Kingdom could from 1860 be given more substance in the Richmond situation. Improved facilities gave more scope for the development of the programme of studies particularly for the older girls. With respect to the secular curriculum, French was considered to be the key to the success of the school in England. (1)

Though the Richmond boarding school had been carefully planned to be the main work of the house, during the first fifty years of its existence it never numbered more than sixty pupils. Sr. M. Eugénie instructed that no pupil was ever to be educated solely in view of her possible entry to religious life, yet during the superiorship of Sr. Alphonse, girls intending to join the novitiate were educated according to a special programme of studies, tuition being given free of charge. (2) The proportion of vocations from among the girls was high, and in this respect Richmond may be considered to have achieved its aim. Sr. Alphonse also sent young men from Bishop Auckland and other northern towns to Paris to train with the Assumption Fathers. (3)

In England during these years the prohibition against religious orders dating from 1829 still pertained. Publications against convents, usually written anonymously, were continually being produced, with a renewed spate of activity in 1868. (4) This movement culminated in Mr. Newdegate's Bill of 1870, moving for an inquiry into monastic institutions. Sympathisers set out to put a true picture of monasteries and convents before the public eye, among the books published being Murphy's 'Terra Incognita'. This gives the only known printed description of Assumption schools in England at the time, apart from the prospectuses and advertisements produced internally. He says:

"As an Institute for the education of young ladies, this congregation is...deserving of praise. The object of its foundation is... the important work of imparting a first-class education to the children of the rich. Nowhere is female education imbued with a higher tone of religion and morality; nowhere do young ladies better acquire the secular knowledge and elegant accomplishments befitting their station". (5)

Academically then, the Assumption in England would appear to have won respect.

A press campaign against the convent in Auteuil in Paris, conducted in England, produced a correspondence in the London Standard which eventually had the opposite effect to that intended. (6) Past pupils and

parents in France and England attested to the excellence of the education given, one such letter ending with the remark:

"This is not a school, it is a home...the instruction is good in every branch, as the brilliant examinations...passed by the scholars have proved". (7)

Though the Congregation was by now well known, it is evident that numbers in the school in Richmond began to decline from 1867. This was due primarily to the preference of parents for the newly established school in Kensington. Nevertheless, further wings were added to the house, and facilities were upgraded. (8) As competition with the numerous convents of other Orders now vying for the children increased, along with the economic difficulties of the middle classes, so did the number of children in the school become a matter for grave concern. (9) Not until 1913 was there any marked change in this situation. (10)

Though the early thrust of the work in Paris had been towards the bourgeoisie, letters from Richmond from 1860 onwards, repeatedly emphasise the lack of 'class' of the children. (11) If we are to take the correspondence at its face value, 'class' was never achieved. The children continue to be described as vulgar, unsophisticated, boisterous, and of inferior rank. (12) Letters of the 1880's show that many of the sisters were unfitted to deal with such a type of child. (13)

Twenty years earlier Sr. M. Eugénie had ruled that girls from the lower classes were to be received at Richmond only if they were intelligent, and could be instructed sufficiently to enable them to teach poor children, or to look after younger girls. (14) This rule appears to have been followed, which accounts for the fact that fees were paid according to means, and for the statement that:

"Our elite are those who can pay the least". (15)

Letters throughout the period 1860 to 1913 show that the school fell far short of the ideal that the sisters looked for, even though it was well respected among English convent schools. (16) Efforts were made to send well trained and efficient teachers to Richmond, their methods being studied and copied by the community. (17) Outside inspectors and visitors were generally less critical in their appraisal than the sisters themselves. (18)

In 1884 the direction of the school was entrusted to a sister formerly in Kensington. Her report reveals that the type of child in the school and the curriculum followed, were below normal Assumption standards. (19) At about the same time it was decided that it was absolutely necessary to open a day school for girls who would otherwise

go to Protestant schools. Arrangements were made, as before, to teach them separately from the boarders. Two years later it was reported that many 'poor Protestant children' in the school had been brought into the Church.(20) The extension of Christ's Kingdom was undergoing a new phase.

The same complaints about the girls were being made in 1886 as in the 1850's and 1860's. They arrived in school having had no elementary grounding; they came late, and stayed such a short time that any real achievement was difficult to obtain. In addition there were not enough sisters to teach the older girls. Public examinations were being taken at this time, though the examining body is not stated.(21)

Despite an improved curriculum and method, the number of pupils continued to fall.(22) In 1900 several sisters transferred from Madrid set about remedying the 'want of culture' of the establishment.(23) Recovery however was not properly achieved until the 1920's for reasons outside the scope of this study.(24)

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Sr. Alphonse to MME Letters of 8.3.1878; 22.6.1880 FMIA3
Sr. Winifred to MME Letter of 9.10.1883 FMIA3
NOTE Provision was made for German, Italian and French. The latter was the only subject in Richmond to which lay help was admitted. A past Assumption student of the 1870's reported that it was impossible not to learn French. The games, marks, food and customs were all French. cf. Assumption Chronicle No. 3 Oct. 1943 p.4
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Sr. Alphonse to MME Letter of 13.11.1881 FMIA3
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10. Sr. M. Aelred to M.M. Celestine Letter of 6.9.1900 FMIAh
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14. MME to Sr. Ignace Letter of 14.8.1868 Vol.III
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17. Sr. Ignace to MME Letter of (nd) 1861; 21.9.1864 FMIAe
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18. Synodi Diocesanæ Beverlacensis Educational reports of the diocese of Beverley 1874 to 1900 Leeds Diocesan Archives.
- NOTE Occasionally the remarks for 'St. Mary's Poor School' and those of the convent have been reversed in the text.
Over 90% of the convent girls passed the diocesan examination annually.
19. Sr. Aloysia to MME Letter of 5.10.1884 FMIA3
- NOTE Sr. Aloysia was herself a past pupil of Richmond -formerly Caroline Waddy
20. cf. supra p. 113 & 120
Sr. Alphonse to MME Letters of 3.10.1884; FMIA3 30.5.1889; FMIAh
Sr. Alphonse to M.M. Célestine Letter of 9.12.1896 FMIAh
21. Sr. M. de St. Michel to M.M. Celestine Letter of 2.7.1886 FMIAh
22. Sr. Alphonse to M.M. Célestine Letter of 8.10.1898 FMIAh
23. Sr. Ignatia to M.M. Célestine Letter of 20.10.1900 FMIAh
Sr. Alphonse to M.M. Célestine Letter of 5.3.1901; 22.7.1901 FMIAh
Sr. Eveline to M.M. Célestine Letter of 22.7.1901 FMIAh
- NOTE At this stage examinations taken were from the College of Preceptors and the Royal College of Music.
24. Annals Convent of the Assumption Richmond 15.1.1920

NOTE

All the letters cited above are held by the archives of the sisters of the Assumption Paris.

EPILOGUE

THE RESTORATION OF ALL THINGS IN CHRIST

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CONCLUSION

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EPILOGUE

THE RESTORATION OF ALL THINGS IN CHRIST

A constant theme in the epistles of St. Paul is that of Christ as the liberator of the entire universe. His atonement has cosmic connotations, for its end result is the 'regeneration' or 'restoration' of all things at the Second Coming. This great transformation of the world on the last day will result in the reign of Christ permeating and spiritualising all spheres of human activity, sacred and secular, public and private, the inner and the outer worlds.

Augustine of Hippo, who formulated the most complete theology of Christian history in the Patristic era, saw the Incarnation as the key to its understanding. The Incarnation has given time and salvation a reality which provides the ultimate meaning to human affairs; a meaning which has to be worked out temporally, but which proceeds towards a final consummation in eternity. Each individual is responsible and involved in the bringing of history to its fulfilment.

Carefully defining the nature of Christian involvement in the things of earth, Augustine saw that they are not to be valued for their own sake, but for the sake of the Redemption to come. He did not counsel Christians to separate themselves from society to form the city of the saints, but to use the world to leaven it from within. The 'groaning of all creation' for liberation is enacted at different levels; within the life of each individual; the drama of the City of God and the City of Satan; microcosm and macrocosm; all is one.

Augustine taught that there were two transformations which must occur before the reign of righteousness would hold sway for ever. The first was Baptism; transformation according to faith. The second was Resurrection; transformation according to the flesh.(1) The fulness of time, or the millenium, was inaugurated with the first coming of Christ. Its fulfilment would be at the final Advent. Some however, now in the institutional Church, are already members of the Kingdom.(2)

Though Augustine himself did not make an exact identification, he awakened the idea that the Church is the Kingdom of God, whilst the State is the Kingdom of Satan. In the nineteenth century this concept was reformulated by the school of Lamennais, which considered that the Church would never attain true freedom until it was independent of the State.

Through the pages of L'Avenir three stages were distinguished; the theocratic, where the Church absorbs the State; the Protestant, in which the State absorbs the Church, and finally the Modern, in which Church and State co-exist independently. From indifference to one another, through understanding and eventually to reconciliation, liberty will be achieved.

When Frédéric Ozanam (1813-1853) wrote at the age of seventeen:

"... I feel that the old order is collapsing...
but what will arise out of the ruins?... I who
believe in Providence, believe in a sort of
Palengogenesis" (3)

he was referring to the book 'Palingenesis sociale' by Pierre Ballanche, which in its turn was a reflection on Chateaubriand's 'Génie du Christianisme'. For Ozanam, as for his friends, the restoration of all things in Christ became the ideal goal to pursue. For them the chaos of ignorance surrounding the world seemed to be developing some kind of order through the rise of industrialisation, the development of historical method and the progress of scientific discovery. Through these, man was seen to have modified the world; transformed the material universe.

The restoration of all things in Christ for the Mennaisien group involved an intense attachment to Rome. Lamennais in France, Dollinger in Germany and other Ultramontanists, had all been influenced by their reading of De Maistre's work 'Du Pape' published in 1819. For him, the church ruled by the Pope was the one hope for the world. Papal sovereignty would herald the sovereignty of Christ, hence the importance of unity in the Church, and by extension, the importance of the first sentence in the 'Rule of St. Augustine' for the Assumption sisters, whose origin was directly connected with the school of Lamennais.

"Before all else, love of God and love
of neighbour...unity in community". (4)

Such ideas are also behind the precept in the Constitutions of 1959, accurately reflecting the historical background of the congregation:

"Que la pratique de l'obéissance rend avant
tout les soeurs parfaitement soumises à la
sainte Église; qu'elles embrassent de tout
cœur tout ce qui vient de l'autorité du
Souverain Pontife, trouvant leur lumière et
leur joie dans tous les préceptes, tous les
conseils et toutes les paroles de celui qui
est la tête, le cœur et la bouche de l'église". (5)

Disillusionment had soon overtaken some of the liberal Catholics. De Lisle in England was pre-occupied with the coming of Anti-Christ, searching the Scriptures and the press daily for signs of his appearance. Gentili too was awaiting the final judgement on a nation of proud and

avaricious merchants.(6) Ozanam, visiting the Great Exhibition in 1851 declared himself disenchanted by the materialism threatening to envelope the whole world:

"I seemed to see standing on the threshold of the Exhibition, the same demon who transported our Saviour to the top of the mountain".(7)

The identification of Anti-Christ with the industrial society was slow to die, and not until Henry Edward Manning became Archbishop of Westminster in 1865 did English Catholics begin to come to terms with the new society.

The lure of the large canvas and the massive theme had been characteristic of Lamennais and his circle, treading in the wake of the Encyclopedists. Reality with respect to the extent of one's influence, characterised the thoughts of Sr. M. Eugénie and her community. Though their outlook was universal, the achievement of each individual was seen to be limited to that of one's 'petite sphere'.(8) They too, nevertheless, believed that modern progress had given man the tools with which he could transform both himself and the world, materially and spiritually. They believed in a new age of justice and enlightenment which could be inaugurated in their own day.

The philosophical and theological stance taken by the sisters embraced the concept that the universe needs man for its deliverance. To this end all resources of intelligence and knowledge can be directed. From such a position, all forms of scientific and technical progress, artistic endeavour and social action, were seen as pathways to the restoration of creation to God, through the means of education. Whilst some women's religious orders stated in their Rule that children must often be reminded that:

"...the contempt of the world and its vanities is one of the essentials of a Christian life".(9)

the Assumption sisters were being constantly reminded that the child is educated not only for the next life, but also for this.(10) An education conference of 1884, though its subject was not Assumption schools, can appropriately be quoted as giving an admirable synthesis of the basic ideal:

"The education of the young is the renovation of the world. These schools are the camp of God; in them lie the seeds of all that is good. There I see the foundation and groundwork of the commonwealth, which many fail to see from its being underground".(11)

In November 1927, Pope Pius XI speaking to past pupils of Assumption schools described their education as:

'...tout un trésor...largement, profondément
...exquisement chrétienne et catholique".(12)

He spoke of the education proper to the Assumption Institute as one which embraces widely all knowledge that is accessible and communicable to the young; one that pierces to the depths of the subject and is intolerant of catch-words and fashionable clichés, even religious ones.(13)

That the ideals of the Congregation be successfully transmitted to at least some Assumption pupils, was all that the foundress hoped for. That such was the case is borne out by the activities of former pupils. One such was Marthe de Noillat.

Fired with enthusiasm during a discussion in school that a feast day for 'Christ the King' was desirable, she spent her entire post-school life in promoting this project.(14) The proclamation is the encyclical Quas Primas of 25th December 1926, that henceforth the Universal Sovereignty of Christ the King be celebrated annually by the whole Roman Catholic Church, was seen by both pupils and teachers to be the vindication of nearly ninety years of continual effort, an effort grounded upon a vision of a future and better world, promised by Jesus, and ruled over by Him as Lord. The initial vision had been described to Lacordaire before ever the work had commenced, and is as valid today as it was in its inception:

"Faire connaître Jésus Christ, libérateur
et roi du monde, enseigner que tout est à
lui, qu'il veut travailler en chacun de
de nous à la grande oeuvre du règne de
Dieu...c'est pour moi, le commencement
ainsi que le fin de l'enseignement chrétien...
mon regard...est tout en Jésus Christ et à
l'extension de son règne".(15)

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CONCLUSION

At the close of this study, several ideas remain to be more fully explored. The link between the Jesuit apostolate with its 'Ad majorem Dei gloriam', and that of the Assumption sisters with their 'Adveniat regnum tuum', together with the primarily social thrust both groups gave to education, needs a more detailed analysis. This applies particularly to their educational programmes as relating intrinsically to preparation for life in this world, rather than the hereafter. Richmond would seem to be the ideal place to pursue such a study, since no other religious Orders worked in the vicinity in the last century. However, the paucity of records would render the task difficult.

It is apparent that much study has been done on the positive relationships between the ideas of Lamennais and those of Sr. M. Eugénie, but relatively little on the points on which they diverged. For instance, in his 'Une voix de prison' of 1843, Lamennais had stated that the liberation and redemption of mankind could only come from the people themselves. For Sr. M. Eugénie the restoration of all things could only come through Jesus Christ. Théodore Combalot's formulation of his ideal, 'Instaurare omnia in Christo', was almost certainly inspired initially by his Jesuit training, yet the motto has been studied almost exclusively from the Mennaisien angle.

Various sketches have appeared spasmodically over the years, relating to the way of life of the sisters, and the different elements culled from the Dominicans, Jesuits, Benedictines and other Orders. There is no research on their indebtedness to other educationalists. The remarks of Sr. M. Eugénie on the works of Rousseau, Madame Necker and others, and particularly the influence of Girard have merited no serious attention.

Some of the slogans of the French revolution can be seen to have been deliberately counterbalanced by other slogans fitted to the apostolate of the Assumption sisters. The Reign of Christ as opposed to the Reign of Terror, the Rights of God as opposed to the Rights of Man; Knowledge, Love and Service as distinct from Liberty, Equality and Fraternity. The study of these themes in the context of Augustine's City of God and City of Satan needs careful consideration. Though the Assumption sisters have always followed the Rule of St. Augustine, and though part of the modern effort to search for the charism has resulted in some work on his writings, no-one has yet produced a detailed analysis of Sr. M. Eugénie's frequent references

to the 'City of God' and their bearing on the educational work undertaken.

The intention of the sisters in the Parisian environment to educate girls of the upper middle class so that they would transform the world for the deprived, can be seen to have worn threadbare in Richmond as early as 1859. Though the boarding pupils worked for the poor by various means, and though in later years the social doctrines of the Church formed part of the curriculum, the prime purpose of this training does not seem to have been made clear to the girls. Another study than this, based on the careers and writings of past Assumption pupils might reward scrutiny. In both Paris and Richmond the chain binding the rich to the poor, of which Combalot had eloquently spoken, was poorly forged, being soon deflected into a type of charitable work never originally intended. Little documentation exists to examine this evolution in more detail. In Richmond the different schools and classes with which the sisters were involved became more and more separated, in buildings, financial arrangements, curriculum and staffing. This was probably due to the need for achieving Government recognition for the Poor school, and not to a deliberate plan of separatism. Since most Assumption houses had the two types of school on their premises, a parallel study of other foundations might clarify this aspect of the work.

Even though Richmond was regarded as the model to which all Assumption houses should look, the educational apostolate was slow to develop and to flower. The needs of a rural community, 'on the road to nowhere' as Bishop Grant described it in 1850, with a long history of Catholic recusancy, combined with the compelling presence of the poor Irish at the outset of the foundation, gave a different aspect to the vision of the establishment of the City of God. This created tensions with respect to the work, which were never satisfactorily resolved.

Despite the complaints of the sisters that the girls were low-class, the boarding school undoubtedly achieved a high standard of education for its time, bearing that 'liberal' stamp which was characteristic of Assumption schools all over the world. The number of girls who became teachers, or joined teaching Congregations, was remarkable for so small an establishment, and in this respect may be said to have achieved its purpose. The success of the poor school is more difficult to assess, particularly since the sisters involvement

with it was not continuous, and the correspondence relating to it is spasmodic. Since the teachers assigned to it were so often untrained in any sense, it must be presumed that little was expected of it.

The importance of the local Catholic gentry in sustaining educational effort from recusancy times until well into this century is remarkable, particularly the contributions of the Lawson and Maire families. The interaction of the whole complex family network deserves a study in itself, particularly the various groups working for particular purposes such as orphans, the poor Irish and the C.P.S.C.

Finally, the important role of the Caton sisters in the work of education, particularly that of Louisa Catherine, Duchess of Leeds, has produced no serious study. Remarkably, the family archives of the Dukes of Leeds bear scarcely any trace of her life-time's activity on behalf of the Church. This is to be regretted. Since all the Caton sisters were benefactors of a number of Congregations there would be much benefit in pooling such information as is available.

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APPENDIX A Part 1CLERGY ORIGINATING FROM RICHMOND AND DISTRICT FROM 1558

<u>ACRIGE</u>	<u>John</u> Born Richmond. Martyred 1585
<u>ATKINSON</u>	<u>William</u> from Richmond Yorks. Arrived Rheims 1589. Later apostatised.
<u>CLARGENET</u>	<u>William</u> from Richmond Yorks. Ordained 14.9.1585. Still working in England 1607
<u>DALTON</u> alias <u>Booth</u>	<u>Marmaduke</u> Born Hawkswell 1637. Schooling at Bedale and Cambridge. Convert. Worked at Wycliffe & York. d.1695
<u>GOWER</u> alias <u>Gold</u>	<u>John</u> Born Easby 1547. Studied in Louvain, Douai & Rome.
<u>HEIGHINGTON</u>	<u>William</u> son of Robert and Catherine of Richmond Yorks. Born 1563. Studied at Rheims & Rome. Did not return to England.
<u>KIRBY</u>	<u>Luke</u> , from Bedale. Ordained Cambrai 1577. Martyred 1582.
<u>LASCELLES</u> alias <u>Bold</u>	<u>John</u> Born Kirby Wiske 1600. Ordained 1625. Worked in Yorkshire 10 years.
<u>LIDDELL</u>	<u>Thomas</u> born Wycliffe 1718. Worked for a time at Egton.
<u>LODGE</u>	<u>John</u> born Brompton on Swale 1722. Worked in Durham.
<u>LONGSTAFF</u> alias <u>Wilson</u>	<u>Robert</u> born at Stanwick 1736.
<u>MAIRE</u>	<u>William</u> Bishop. 5th son of Thomas Maire of Lartington Born 1703. Ordained Douai 1730. Returned to England 1735. Living with relatives and looking after the poor Catholics of the Archdeaconry of Richmond till 1741 when he went to Durham. Consecrated bishop 1768. Died at Lartington 1769. Buried at Romalldkirk.
<u>METCALF</u> alias <u>Collingwood</u>	<u>John</u> born Richmond. Son of John and Eleanor. Baptised by his uncle Thos. Collingwood S.J. Ordained St. Omers 1687. In England 1690. Died 1729.
<u>METCALF</u>	<u>Thomas</u> born Aysgarth 1586. Captured in his father's house, but escaped to the continent and was ordained. Returned to England 1613. d.1651.
<u>MEYNELL</u> alias <u>Neville</u>	<u>Robert</u> born Harmby 1608. Converted by a priest named Hutton. Studied Osmotherley and St. Omers 1619-1622
<u>MIDDLETON</u>	<u>Anthony</u> born Middleton Tyas. Ordained Rheims 1582. Martyred 1590.
<u>PALASER</u>	<u>Thomas</u> born Kirby Wiske. Ordained Valladolid. Martyred Durham 1600.
<u>PEARSON</u> alias <u>Pudsey</u>	<u>William</u> born Richmond 1632. Son of Michael and Elizabeth. Ordained 1656. Chaplain to the Messenger family at Fountains Hall. Died 1669.
<u>RICKABY</u>	<u>John</u> born Wycliffe. Ordained 1798 at Crook Hall Durham.
<u>SALE</u> alias <u>Neville</u>	<u>Richard</u> . Related to Wivell of Constable Burton.
<u>SALTHOUSE</u> alias <u>Nateby</u>	<u>Arthur</u> born Richmond 1604. Son of Arthur and Catherine. In Douai 1632. Chaplain to the Clavering family Callaley Castle 1647.

- SIMPSON Richard born at Well. Ordained Douai 1577. Martyred 1588.
- SKELTON James born Kirby Ravensworth 1690. Died 1760.
- SMARTHWATT Cuthbert from Richmond. Son of Richard. Educated in Rome and Douai. Ordained Tournai 1601. Arrested and banished 1603. In Spain 1606.
- TILLETSON alias Francis from Richmond. Ordained Rheims 1584. Arrested 1585.
Lawson "A man of small learning, or rather, none at all". In Ireland 1608.
- THOMPSON John from Wycliffe. Chaplain at the Bar Convent York, 1841-1884.
- WATKINSON Robert born in the East Riding. In Richmond aged 14, where he studied four years. Arrived Douai 1598 and Rome 1599. Ordained at Douai 1602. Martyred London 1602.
alias Wilson
- WITHAM Anthony of Cliffe Hall Manfield. Died 1763 in Lincolnshire.
- WITHAM Christopher of Cliffe Hall, Manfield. Born 1659. Lived at his father's house Cliffe Hall, after ordination. Died 1734.
- WITHAM George. Bishop. Lived mainly with his family at Cliffe Hall. Died 1725.
- WIVELL alias Henry from Constable Burton. In Douai 1619. Arrested 1626.
Rudd "Was never at a university, but bred in a public grammar school at Richmond and other schools in Yorkshire till 14 or 15. Then his father dying he was bred with his mother who was a popish recusant and bred him up in that religion". Ordained 1634. Worked in the north and in the Yorkshire district 1649.
- YOUNG Robert. Born Bedale 1567. Ordained Douai 1595.

MEMBERS OF RELIGIOUS ORDERS ORIGINATING FROM RICHMOND AND DISTRICT

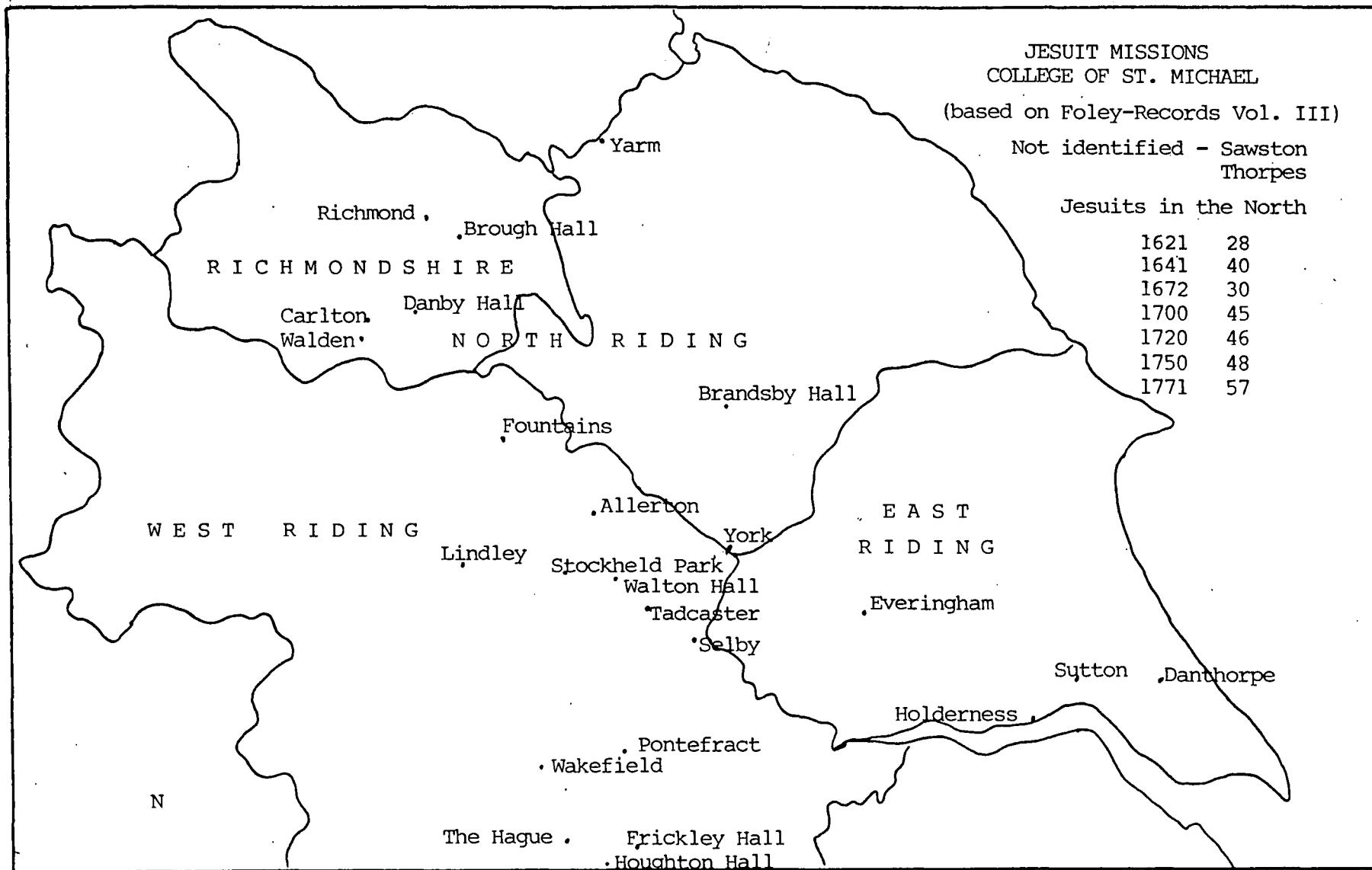
1558 ONWARDS

- ANDERSON S.J. John. Born Richmond. Jesuit from 1740.
alias Simpson
- DUNN alias Joseph S.J. Born Catterick 1746.
Earpe alias Ordained 1771.
Hart
- IDLE S.J. Timothy. Laybrother. Born Marrick 1791. Died 1855.
- LAWSON alias (cf. Part 2)
Hill
- LAWSON S.J. Thomas. Born Brough 1720. Died 1807.
- LAWSON O.S.B. Thomas Austin (cf. Part 2)
- SANDFORD Michael. Born Kirby Wiske 1589. Ordained Arras 1613
alias Okeley joining the Carthusians in the same year.
- WRIGHT S.J. Henry. Born Middleton Tyas. Died 1835.

APPENDIX A (Part 2)

CLERGY KNOWN TO BE WORKING IN RICHMOND FROM THE SIXTEENTH TO THE NINETEENTH CENTURIES

<u>JOHNSON</u>	<u>Cuthbert</u> S.J. residing at Lady Constable's House Upsall. 15??
<u>FOXÉ</u>	<u>James</u> S.J. b.1685 Address in 1724 'At Mrs. Binks Richmond'. Still working in Richmond 1727-1728.
<u>MAIRE</u>	<u>William</u> b.1703 5th son of Thos. Maire of Lartington. Ordained at Douai 1730. Professor of philosophy. From 1735-1741 living with relatives and 'looking after the poor Catholics of the Archdeaconry'. Consecrated bishop 1741. Died Lartington 1769.
<u>KNIGHT</u>	<u>Richard</u> S.J. In Richmond 1743-1761.
<u>NEWTON</u>	<u>James</u> S.J. In Richmond at least 1748-1767. First name in the written registers. From 1748 priests resided at 30, Newbiggin, Richmond.
<u>HUNTER</u>	<u>Thomas</u> S.J. In Richmond 1752-1754
<u>CROSS</u>	<u>Thomas</u> S.J. In Richmond 1752-1754 and 1765-1766.
<u>HOWARD</u>	<u>Francis</u> S.J. In Richmond 1767-1793/4. The Society of Jesus was suppressed between 1773 and 1814.
<u>DELAIRE</u>	<u>Peter</u> from Rennes Brittany 1793. b.1718 d. 16.2.1800
<u>LAWSON</u>	<u>Thomas Austin</u> O.S.B. Cousin of Sir John Lawson Brough. In Richmond 1793-1814. Called to teach in Acton Burnell in 1803 but 'disliking his situation, returned to Richmond three months later'.
<u>TURNER</u>	<u>George</u> O.S.B. Replaced Fr. Lawson for 3 months, then went to Billingham.
<u>BUSBY</u>	<u>John</u> Secular. Teaching with the Eccles family 1795-1796.
<u>DUPONT</u>	<u>Abbe</u> French refugee 1802.
<u>PERROT</u>	<u>Abbe</u> French refugee 1802.
<u>TINDALL</u>	<u>Robert</u> b.1740. d. Richmond 1811
<u>JOHNSON</u>	<u>Robert</u> S.J. in Richmond 1814-1865 All priests are Jesuits from 1814 to 1961
<u>LOMAX</u>	<u>William</u> b.1804 In Richmond 1845
<u>LOMAX</u>	<u>Walter</u> b.1808 In Richmond 1851-1855
<u>MEYRICK</u>	<u>J.</u> 1858-?
<u>ADDIS</u>	<u>Bernard</u> b.1791 1860-1863
<u>NOBLE</u>	<u>George</u> 1862-1865



APPENDIX CEDUCATION IN RICHMONDSHIRE FROM 1071 TO 1900FROM 1071 (foundation of Richemont) TO 1548 (closure of Grammar School)

- 1150 Marrick priory. Benedictine women. Founded by Robert Aske. Suppressed 1537.
- 1257 Greyfriar's monastery. Franciscan friars. Founded by Ralph FitzRandal. Suppressed 1538-39
- c.1300 Sedbergh. Grammar School.
- c.1393 Free Grammar school for boys, Richmond. Founded by the burghers. John More, Austin friar dismissed and the school officially closed 1548. (Refounded 1567, papists being excluded. Rebuilt 1667).

SCHOOLS OF UNKNOWN DATE BUT BEFORE 1548

Bedale	Middleton in Teesdale
Brettanby	Romaldkirk
Catton	Stanwick
Croft	Topcliffe
Hornby	Yafforth
Kirby Wiske	Well
Middleham	West Tanfield

FROM 1548-1800 CATHOLIC/RECURSANT SCHOOLS IN RICHMONDSHIRE

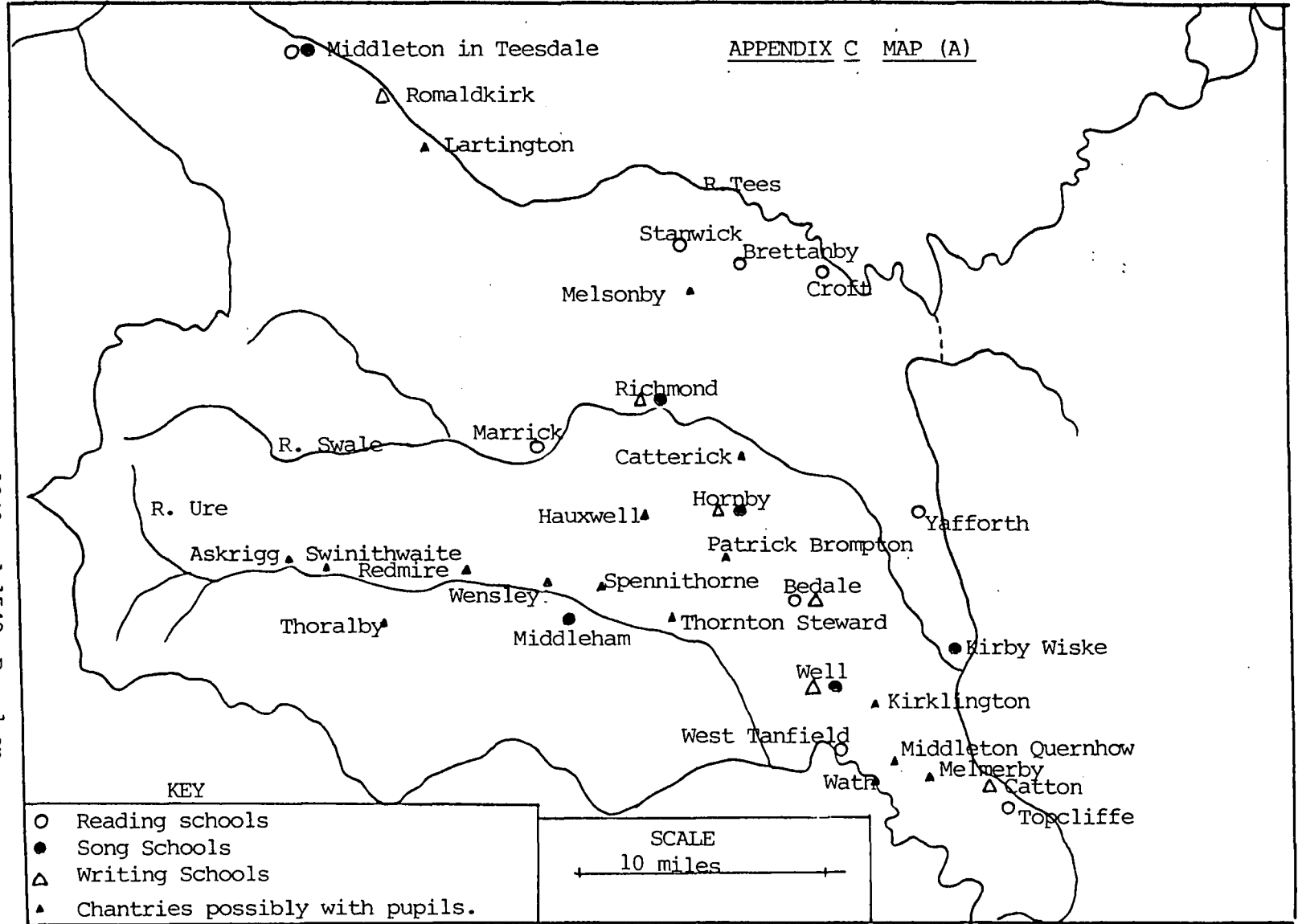
- 1555 Kirkby Ravensworth. Free Grammar School. Endowed by Rev. Dr. John Dakyn. The master to say Mass twice a week. (Baines Yorkshire p.466)
- 1563 Catholic schools and teachers outlawed.
- 1568 William Mease. Tutor to Mr. John Girlington of Hackforth. (Peacock Yorkshire Catholics)
- 1571 Robert Firbank priest. (Aveling Northern Catholics p.28-30)
- 1571-75 Michael Tyrrie layman. Oxford educated with a licence to teach. At the Metcalfs in Aysgarth. Interrogated 1571, 1573, 1574, 1575. On the latter occasion declared to be a 'stiff papist'. (Aveling Northern Catholics p.28-30)
- 1580 Lucy Sedgewick 'a very perverse and obstinate papiste and corrupter of diverse gentlemans children'. Probably a relative of Dr. Siggiswicke and of Dame Alice Sedgewick, ex prioress of Marrick, living in Richmond 1568. (Aveling Northern Catholics p.40 & 88)
- 1595 Robert Cuthbert 'late schoolmaster of Manfelde, a vagrant person, poore'. (Beales Bibliographical catalogue)
- 1604 Gerard Fawden at Barningham dothe teach Francis Tunstall his children (Kitching, History and development p.204)
- 1621 Francis Gothericke 'keeps papish books and scholars, the sones of recusant inhabitants, who are taught by a recusant schoolmaster'. (Kitching History and development p.199)
- 1633-1674 Bedale Kitching p.199 History and development
- 1686-1879+ School on the estate of the Maire family, Lartington.

FROM 1800 TO 1904 ROMAN CATHOLIC SCHOOLS IN RICHMONDSHIRE

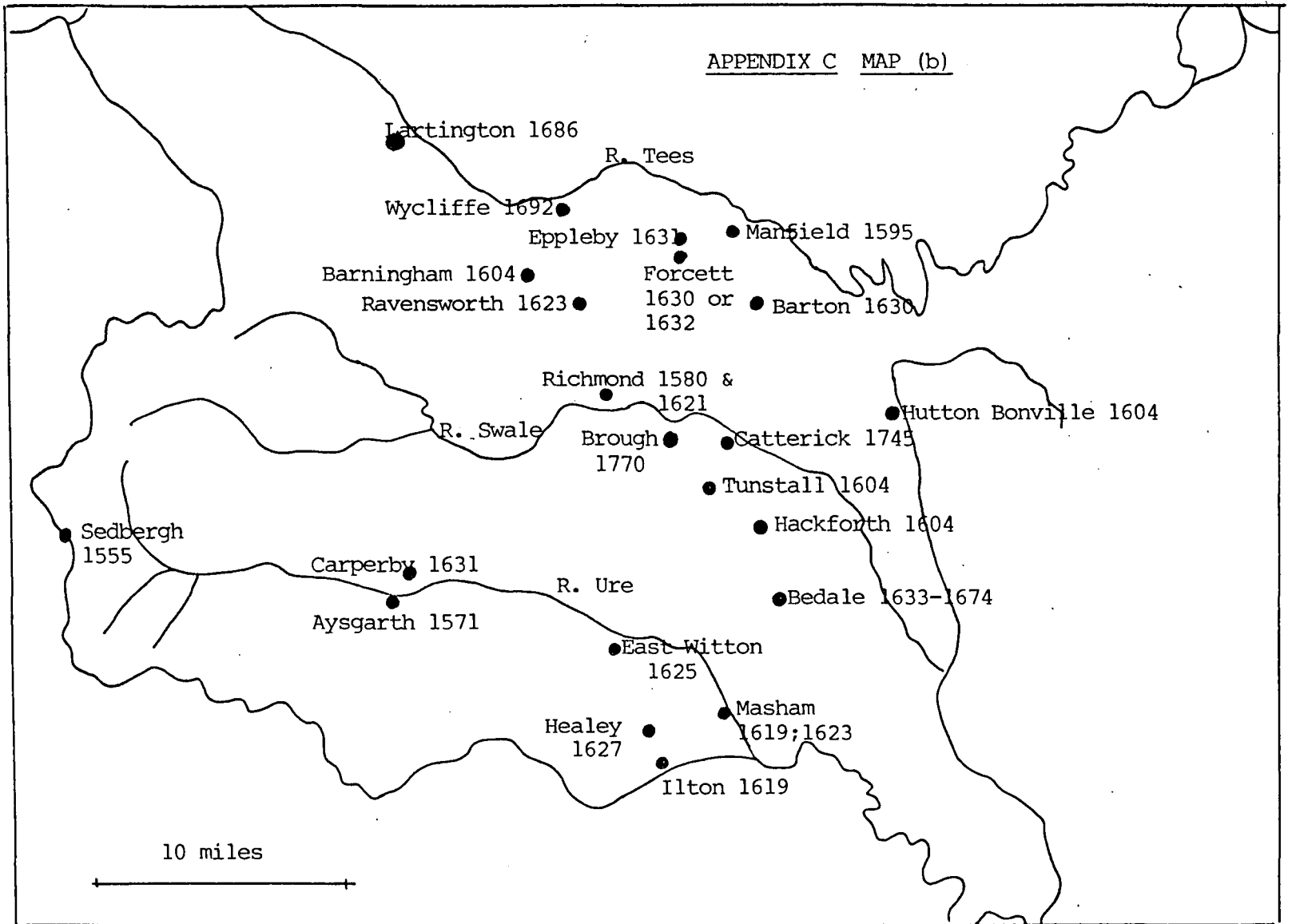
- 1807-1857 Poor Clares of the Mary Ward foundation. (From Rouen, Gravelines and Dunkirk). Boarding school for girls. Formerly at Haggerston. Moved to Darlington 1857.
- 1816 R.C. Sunday School Richmond.)
 1818 R.C. Mixed Day School Richmond.) Lessons in the church
- 1833 Tunstall R.C. mixed poor school.
- 1835 Mixed R.C. poor school Leyburn.
- 1837 Sir Wm. Lawson's poor school Brough Nr. Catterick
- 1838 R.C. Mixed poor school built Newbiggin Richmond.
- 1850 Orphanage. Mill Lane Richmond. Formerly in York. Girls from mixed poor school transferred to convent. Sunday instructions for Mill women.
- 1853 Night school for poor women. Richmond.
- 1859 St. Mary's Wycliffe. Mixed poor school.
- 1859/69/79 Building of convent Richmond. Expansion of boarding school.
- 1863 St. Paulinus Academy Brough, conducted by Thomas Skellon.
 1865 moved to Scorton
 1868-1888 in Catterick
 1895 in Ilkley
 1899 in Boston Spa
- 1863 St. Peter's Academy for boys, conducted by James and Julia Holland. Boarding. Leyburn.
 1865 in Richmond.
 1869-1872 + in 30, Newbiggin, Richmond.
- 1872 + Middle Class girls' school conducted by Miss Mary Ellen Chapelow. In 32, Newbiggin Richmond. In Wellington Place Richmond in 1875.
- 1883 R.C. poor school, Thornton Steward/Danby. Built by Mrs. S.T. Scrope.
- 1888 Mixed R.C. Academy, conducted by the Misses Agnes and Elizabeth Foley and Miss Emma Clough. Millgate Richmond.

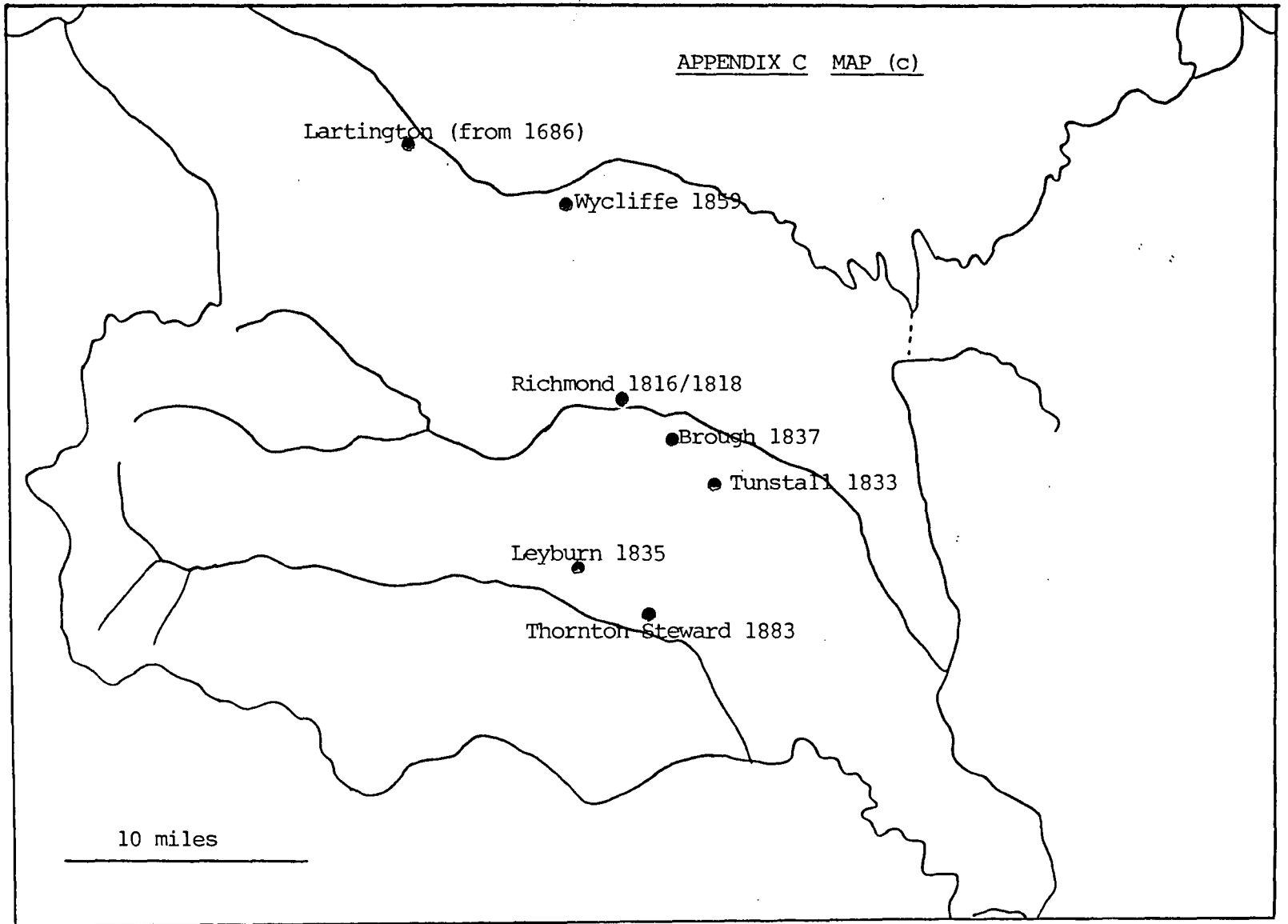
Schools in Richmondshire between 1340 and 1548. Based on:
 Moran Growth of English Schooling. Bulmer Yorkshire

APPENDIX C MAP (A)



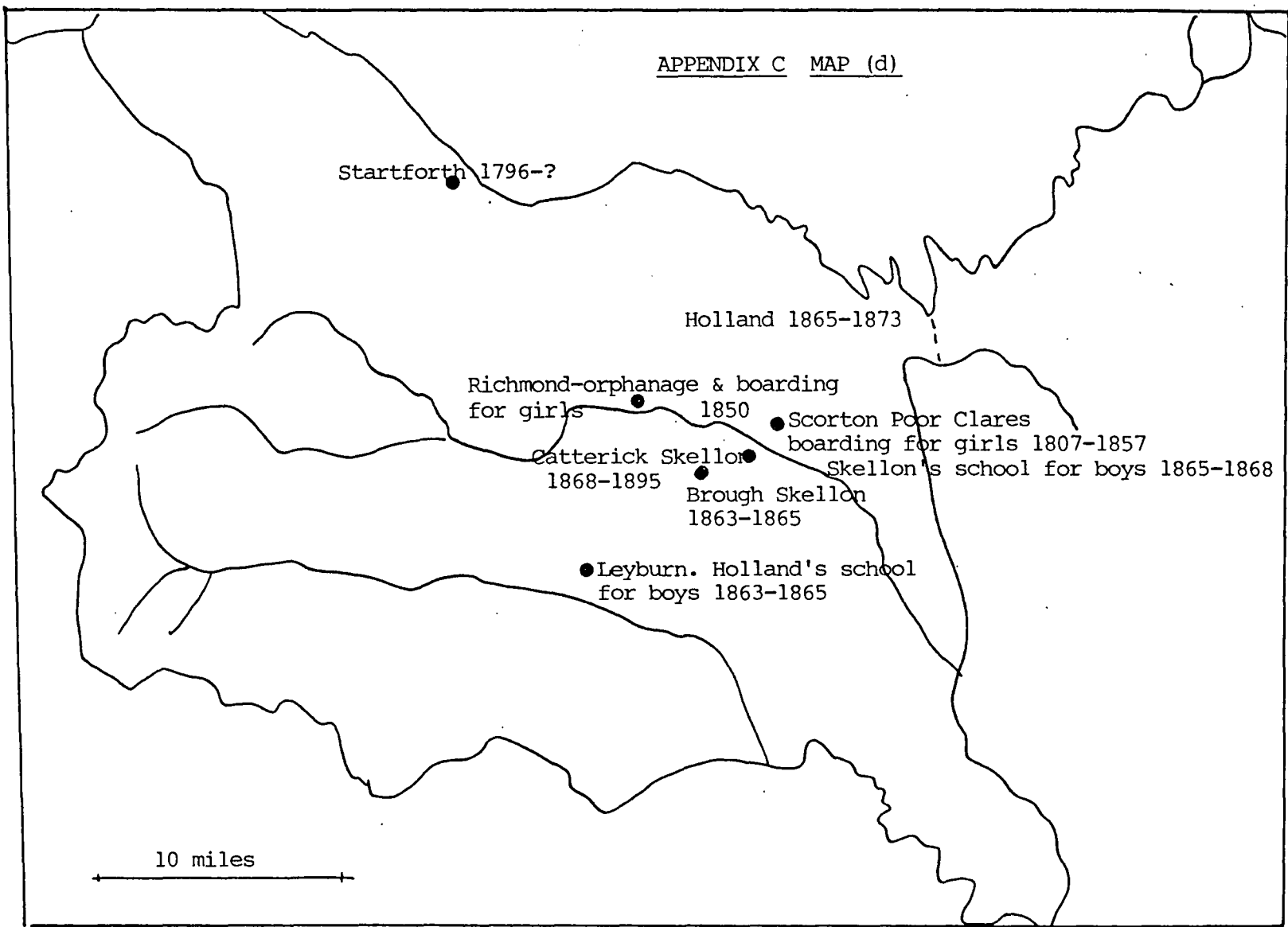
Catholic education in Richmondshire 1548-1750





APPENDIX C MAP (d)

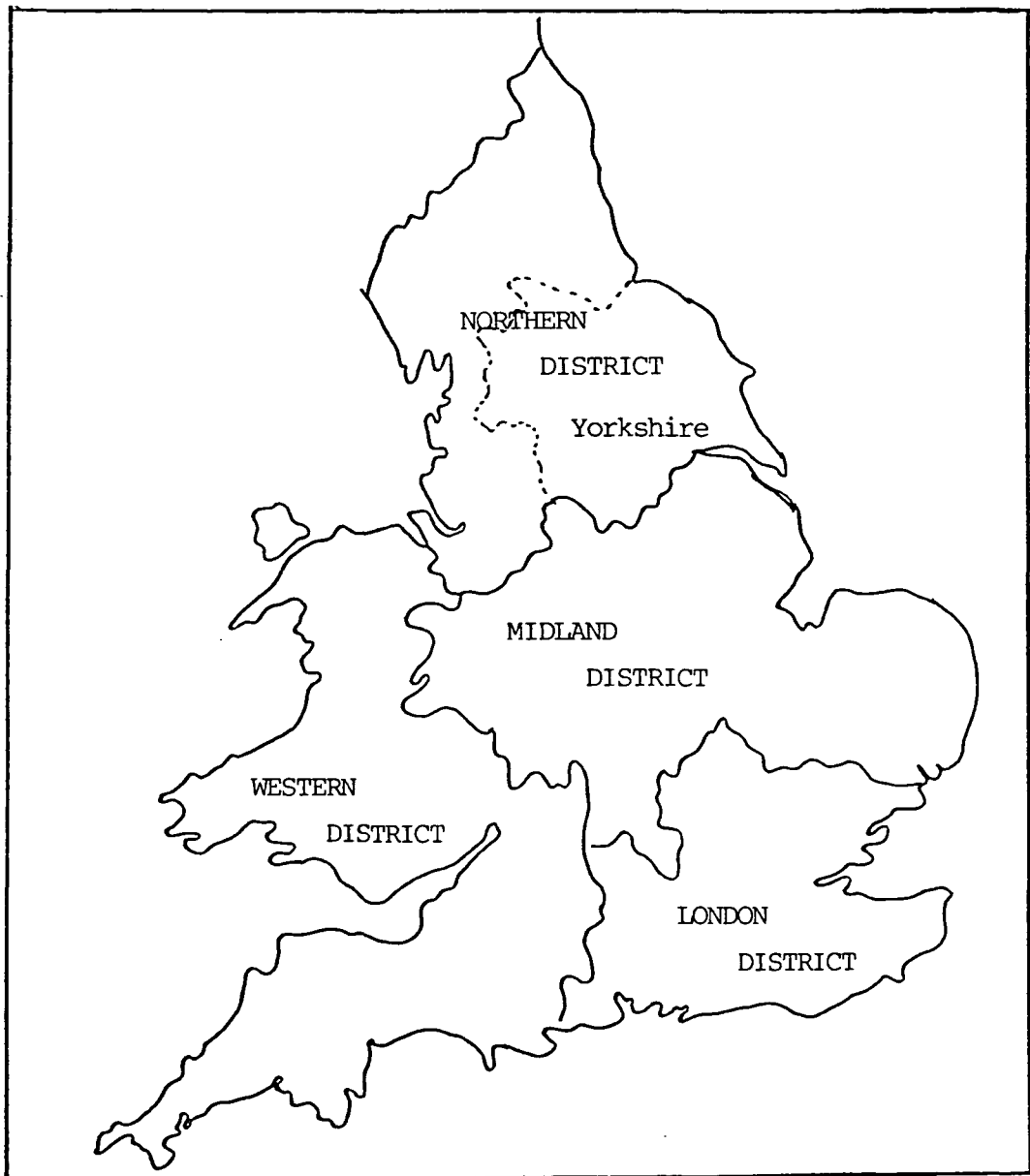
Richmondshire Catholic fee paying secondary schools
1750-1904



APPENDIX D

Districts of the Vicars Apostolic 1688-1840

Based on Kirk. Biographies p.128



APPENDIX E

Extract from Baptismal register 'A' St. Joseph and St. Francis Xavier Richmond. Accounts for the Sunday school 1818

1818 Feb 9th I opened a Sunday school for the Catholics of Richmond. The following subscriptions and donations have been received for its support

Annual Subscriptions	Donations	Total
1818	1818	
Lady Gerard	The general fund for Sunday school	15.00
Mrs Lady Lawson	Mr & Mrs C. Goddard	1.00
Mr Stapleton	Rev & J. Gale	2.00
Mrs Stapleton	Mr Pratt	3.00
Mrs J. Handwick	Mr Burdack	6.00
Rev & J. Wheeler	A Friend	5.00
Rev & Robt H. Thomson	Mr Robbing	5.00
Mrs J. Scroope	A Friend	5.00
Mr Demilly		
Mr Robbing		

x Recior of Richmond
 o Teachers of the Grammar school 20

APPENDIX F

Typescript copy of Inspector's Report on Chaillot 1848 Assumption
Archives Paris Document 1516. Among 'Lettres volume V'

ENSEIGNEMENT

L'enseignement donné dans la maison et exclusivement confié aux religieuses, comprend la lecture, l'écriture, l'histoire sainte, la grammaire française, l'arithmétique, l'histoire de France, l'histoire d'Angleterre, l'histoire de l'Eglise, l'histoire générale ancienne et moderne, la géographie, la cosmographie, la littérature, les éléments de physique et d'histoire naturelle, l'Anglais, l'allemand, le latin, si les parents le demandent, la musique et le dessin. - Vu le petit nombre des élèves, tous ces cours ne sont pas actuellement professés dans la maison, ainsi la 1^{ère} division, composée d'élèves encore jeunes et dont l'éducation ne peut être achevée cette année, n'apprendra la physique que l'année prochaine.

L'enseignement présente en général dans cette maison un caractère particulier, tous les cours étant combinés non seulement pour placer dans la mémoire de l'enfant un certain nombre de faits, mais surtout pour développer son intelligence, son jugement et sa moralité à propos de toutes les connaissances qu'on lui fait acquérir.

Pour en rendre compte, nous diviserons donc les connaissances purement techniques et qui sont là ce qu'elles sont partout, de celles pour lesquelles quelques efforts particuliers ont été faits.

Parmi les premières, la lecture est non seulement enseignée aux jeunes enfants, mais, à partir de la 2^{de} classe, ce qu'on nomme lecture perfectionnée est enseignés avec assez de succès. Plusieurs enfants y réussissent très bien. Si elles ne sentent pas encore toutes les nuances qu'elles devraient exprimer, elles donnent au moins à leur lecture une ton général convenable et harmonieux. Une enfant de 11 ans, la petite fille de Soumet, se distingue particulièrement à cet égard.

L'écriture est l'objet d'une assez grande application de la part des élèves. Les cahiers de devoirs mêmes sont assez bien écrits dans la 1^{ère} et en partie dans la 2^{de} classe.

L'arithmétique est enseignée d'après la méthode suivie aux examens de l'Hôtel de ville, et renfermés dans plusieurs ouvrages récents, notamment ceux de M. Dumonchel. L'enseignement comprend la numération, des opérations et problèmes sur les 4 règles avec leurs preuves, les fractions, les règles de trois et de société, le système métrique et la connaissances des nouvelles mesures. Par la raison que j'ai donnée plus haut, la 1^{ère} classe n'a pas encore acquis toutes ces connaissances. Les élèves comprennent et résolvent en général bien les problèmes de leur force.

La géographie et la cosmographie sont enseignées d'après la méthode de Cortambert. Les enfants dessinent les cartes de chaque pays, et même, pour la France, de chaque province divisée en départements. On leur enseigne surtout la géographie moderne, physique

L'enseignement de la littérature renferme les notions de goût propres à former le style, les compositions littéraires et l'histoire même de la littérature, divisée en littérature ancienne, littérature sacrée, littérature moderne et littérature étrangères.

Les élèves réussissent moins bien dans les compositions, peut-être à cause de la jeunesse de celles que renferme actuellement la maison, que dans les cours d'h^{is}toire littéraire, où elles ont reçu les principes d'un goût pur, et où elles semblent convaincues qu'il n'y a de véritable beau en littérature que dans ce qui élève l'âme, loin de l'abaisser et de la flétrir.

L'histoire naturelle est jusqu'ici le plus faible de ces enseignements. Cependant, les élèves savent assez bien les éléments de la botanique et de la zoologie, et analysent bien une plante ou une fleur. Ces connaissances doivent être développées dans la suite de leur éducation, surtout pour donner à ces jeunes filles cette amour des oeuvres de Dieu qui se reporte vers leur Créateur.

L'allemand et l'anglais sont enseignés par des Religieuses anglaises et allemandes, d'après la méthode de Robertson et celle de Ullendorf. Tous les jours, outre la leçon, les élèves parlent familièrement une de ces deux langues avec la maîtresse, pendant le travail à l'aiguille.

Des Religieuses enseignent aussi le dessin et la musique, mais les professeurs du dehors sont également admis, sous la surveillance des Religieuses, à donner dans les parloirs les leçons d'agrément et de langues étrangères.

Tous les travaux à l'aiguille sont enseignés aux enfants pendant une heure chaque jour.

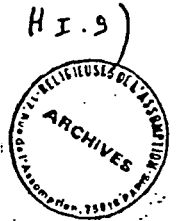
APPENDIX G

Prospectus for the school at Chaillot 1848 Assumption Archives Paris
HI.9

Pensionnat

DES DAMES DE L'ASSOMPTION.

Aux Champs-Élysées, Rue de Chaillot, 94.



Le but de cette Institution est d'offrir aux parents tout le développement d'instruction que les habitudes du monde réclament aujourd'hui chez les jeunes filles, avec toutes les garanties que présente l'éducation religieuse et de joindre ainsi des études fortes à une direction profondément chrétienne.

Pour obtenir une entière unité de plan et d'esprit, les dames de l'Assomption se chargent elles-mêmes de l'enseignement scientifique de toutes les classes, et même des leçons de langues étrangères lorsque les parents le demandent. Chaque maîtresse a sa spécialité, et s'occupe de tout son de monde; elle peut soutenir son enseignement par des études continuelles de sorte que les différents cours suivis par les élèves sont aussi complets et développés qu'aucun parent puisse le désirer.

Les maîtresses chargées des leçons d'anglais et d'allemand sont anglaises et allemandes elles-mêmes. Chaque jour, pendant une partie de la récréation ou du travail à l'aiguille, elles font parler familièrement leur langue aux enfants de manière à leur en faire acquies sans peine l'usage et la prononciation.

Elles donnent aussi aux élèves étrangères des leçons de grammaire et de littérature dans leur langue afin de leur procurer à la fois les avantages de l'éducation française et de celle de leur pays.

Mais dans tous ces soins donnés à l'instruction, le principal des maîtresses s'attache plus dessus tout à l'éducation de la jeune fille. Éclairer son esprit afin d'attacher plus fortement sa volonté au bien, fertiliser ou faire rendre en toutes choses son intelligence avec christianisme; que son cœur la prépare enfin à tous les devoirs qui l'attendent dans le monde comme fille, femme ou mère chrétienne selon l'état auquel Dieu la destine; telle doit être la fin de chaque leçon qu'on lui donne.

Le régime intérieur de la maison est tout maternel. Le nombre des élèves étant limité, les religieuses peuvent donner à chacune d'entre elles des soins plus immédiats. Elles s'attachent avant tout à former leur caractère et à leur donner une grande simplicité de goûts et d'habitudes. La surveillance est continuelle; les maîtresses couchent dans les dortoirs et ne laissent jamais les élèves seules.

Le plus grand soin est apporté à tout ce qui peut assurer la santé des enfants: la propreté, la bonne tenue, l'usage des précautions nécessaires à la faiblesse de l'âge, les secours et les remèdes réclamés par la délicatesse du tempérament, une nourriture saine, abondante et variée, en un mot

soit en santé, soit en maladie; toute sa vigilance, toute sa sollicitude, que puisse diriger sa tendresse maternelle.

On prend soin d'enseigner aux sœurs toutes sortes d'ouvrages à l'aiguille, mais surtout, aux qui méritent une jeune fille à même, de faire, et de s'accommoder elle-même tous les objets de sa toilette. Une fois par semaine les travaux de couture des enfants sont consacrés aux pauvres.

La maison est située dans l'ancien jardin Maribou où les sœurs respirent l'air le plus pur. Une vaste enceinte de quatre arpens sert à leurs récréations et à leurs promenades.

Un bulletin des études et de la conduite des sœurs est envoyé aux parents à la fin de chaque trimestre.

Les parents ne peuvent voir leurs enfants que le ~~Jeudi~~ ^{Jeudi} de trois à cinq heures, et le Dimanche entre midi et deux heures. Ils sont priés de donner par écrit le nom des personnes de leur connaissance qui auraient la permission de les visiter. Les sœurs peuvent sortir tous les premiers ~~Jeudis~~ ^{Jeudis} du mois depuis huit heures du matin jusqu'à huit heures et demie du soir, mais on ne les confie qu'à des personnes expressément désignées par les parents. Néanmoins, nous refusons la permission de coucher hors du pensionnat, ne s'accorde pas, si ce n'est au jour de l'an et à Pâques.

Cette jeune personne qui aurait été dans un autre établissement, ne sera admise que sur une attestation satisfaisante du chef de cet établissement.

Les sœurs ne peuvent apporter aucun livre sans une permission particulière de la supérieure; chacune d'elles donne 3^{rs} par an pour la bibliothèque destinée à leur usage; où elles trouvent tous les livres qui leur sont utiles.

On prie les parents d'assigner à leurs enfants une petite somme à toucher chaque mois. Tout autre argent destiné aux sœurs est remis aux religieuses qui en surveillent l'emploi.

Les lettres adressées aux religieuses ou aux enfants, doivent être affranchies.

Le prix de la pension est de 900^{rs}, payables d'avance et par dixièmes, ainsi qu'il suit: trois dixièmes en entrant, trois dixièmes à chacun des deux trimestres suivants, et un dixième dixième seulement au dernier trimestre de l'année révolue. On comprend dans ce prix, le blanchissage et les fournitures de plumes, encre et papiers ordinaires.

Celui trimestre commencé est censé révolue.

Les leçons de langues étrangères et d'arts d'agrément, l'instruction, le médecin, et les frais de maladie, sont à la charge des parents.

La location et l'entretien des pianos se payent 24^{rs} par an.

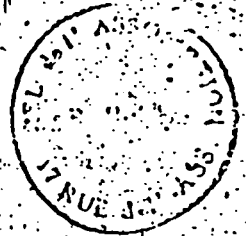
APPENDIX H

Prospectus for the school at Auteuil Paris 1857 Assumption

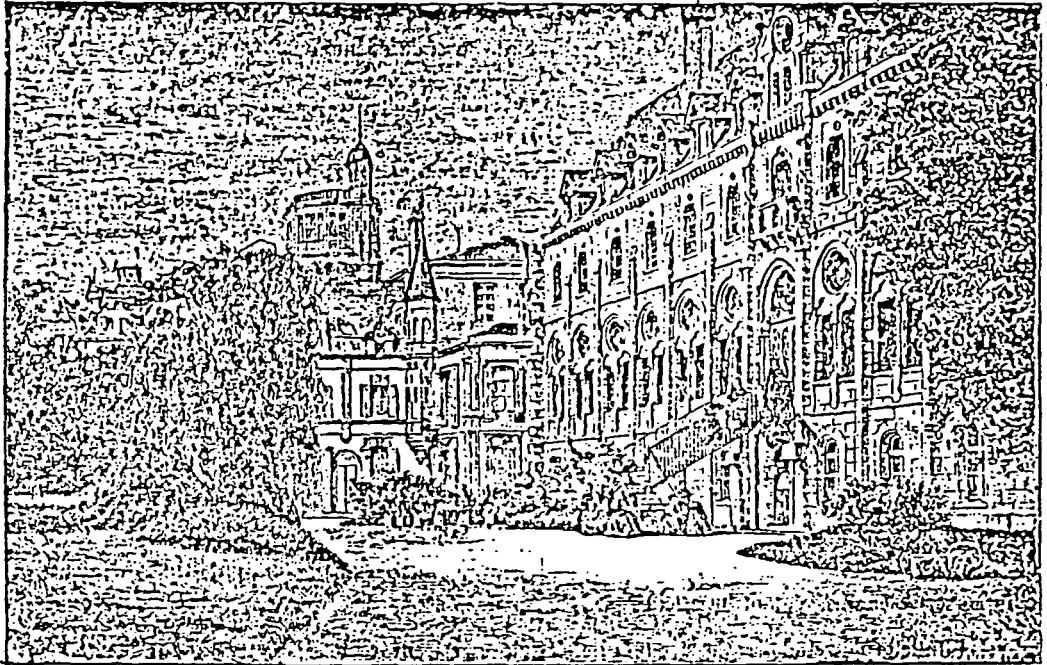
Archives Paris HIII b

PENSIONNAT ^{H III}

DES



DAMES DE L'ASSOMPTION



Rue de l'Assomption, 17 et 25, à Auteuil (près Passy)

Le but de cette Institution est d'offrir aux parents tout le développement d'instruction que les habitudes du monde réclament aujourd'hui chez les jeunes filles, avec toutes les garanties que présente l'éducation religieuse, et de joindre ainsi des études fortes à une direction profondément chrétienne.

Pour obtenir une entière unité de plan et d'esprit, les Dames de l'Assomption se chargent elles-mêmes de l'enseignement scientifique de toutes les classes, et même des leçons de langues étrangères, lorsque les parents le demandent. Chaque Maitresse a sa spécialité, et, libre de tout soin du monde, elle peut soutenir son enseignement par des études continuelles, de sorte que les différents cours suivis par les élèves sont aussi complets et aussi développés que les parents peuvent le désirer.

1

Les Maîtresses chargées des leçons d'anglais et d'allemand sont Anglaises et Allemandes elles-mêmes. Chaque jour elles font parler familièrement leur langue aux enfants, de manière à leur faire acquérir sans peine l'usage et la prononciation.

Elles donnent aussi aux élèves étrangères des leçons de grammaire et de littérature dans leur langue, afin de leur procurer à la fois les avantages de l'éducation française et de celle de leur pays.

Mais, dans tous ces soins donnés à l'instruction, la pensée des Maîtresses s'applique par-dessus tout à l'éducation de la jeune fille ; éclairer son esprit, afin d'attacher plus fortement sa volonté au bien, fortifier sa foi, rendre en toutes choses son intelligence aussi chrétienne que son cœur, la préparer enfin à tous les devoirs qui l'attendent dans le monde, comme fille, femme ou mère chrétienne, selon l'état auquel Dieu la destine ; telle doit être la fin de chaque leçon qu'on lui donne.

Le régime intérieur de la Maison est tout maternel. Le nombre des élèves étant limité, les Religieuses peuvent donner à chacune d'entre elles des soins plus immédiats. Elles s'attachent avant tout à former leur caractère et à leur donner une grande simplicité de goût et d'habitudes. La surveillance est continuelle : les Maîtresses couchent dans les dortoirs et ne laissent jamais les élèves seules.

Le plus grand soin est apporté à tout ce qui peut conserver la santé des enfants : la propreté, la bonne tenue, l'ordre, les précautions nécessaires à la faiblesse de l'âge, les secours et les remèdes réclamés par la délicatesse du tempérament, une nourriture saine, abondante et variée ; en un mot, soit en santé, soit en maladie, toute la vigilance, toute la sollicitude que peut désirer la tendresse maternelle.

On prend soin d'enseigner à l'élève toutes sortes d'ouvrages à l'aiguille, mais surtout ceux qui mettent une jeune fille à même de faire et de raccommoder elle-même tous les objets de sa toilette. Une fois par semaine, les travaux de couture des enfants sont consacrés aux pauvres.

La Maison est située sur la côte de Passy, où les élèves respirent l'air le plus pur. Un parc magnifique sert à leurs récréations et à leurs promenades.

Un bulletin des études et de la conduite des élèves est envoyé aux parents à la fin de chaque trimestre.

Les parents ne peuvent voir leurs enfants que le Mercredi, de trois à cinq heures, et le Dimanche de deux et demie à quatre et demie. Ils sont priés de donner par écrit le nom des personnes qui auraient la permission de les visiter. Les élèves peuvent sortir tous les premiers mercredis du mois, depuis neuf heures et demie du matin jusqu'au lendemain neuf heures et demie du matin ; mais on ne leur permet pas de recevoir de visites pendant leur absence.

— 3 —

Le prix de la pension est de 1.200 francs pour l'année scolaire, payables d'avance et aux termes suivants :

Trois dixièmes au jour de la rentrée ;
Trois dixièmes au 1^{er} Janvier ;
Quatre dixièmes au 1^{er} Avril.

Le prix de la pension avec chambre particulière est de 1.500 francs pour l'année scolaire, payables comme ci-dessus.

Tout trimestre commencé est censé révolu.

Le blanchissage ordinaire, l'abonnement annuel à la bibliothèque et le déjeuner particulier (*thé, café, chocolat*) sont compris dans le prix de la pension.

Les leçons de langues étrangères et d'arts d'agrément, l'entretien, le médecin et les frais de maladie sont à la charge des parents.

La location et l'entretien des pianos se payent 3 francs par mois.

Il y a un supplément de pension pour les élèves qui passent le temps des vacances au couvent.

Les vacances à la campagne, 150 francs par mois.

au bord de la mer, 200 francs par mois.

LANGUES ÉTRANGÈRES & ARTS D'AGRÈMENT

Anglais. 10 francs par mois.
Allemand. 10 francs.
Espagnol. 12 francs.
Italien. 12 francs.
Dessin. 12 francs.

Gymnastique. 12 francs par mois.
Maitien. 5 francs par mois.
Chant. 5 francs le cachet d'une 1/2 heure.
Solfège. 12 francs par mois.
Piano. 25 francs par mois.

TROUSSEAU

Couvert et timbale avec le numéro de l'élève.

Couteau de table.

Cuiller à dessert.

Rond de serviette en plaqué.

Trois paires de draps.

Douze serviettes de toilette.

Six serviettes de table, ouvrées.

Deux chemises à manches courtes.

Huit cols unis.

Trois voiles en mousseline claire.

Deux tabliers de laine noire.

Un chapeau de jardin, uniforme.

Un châle, uniforme.

Une toque, uniforme.

Une descente de lit, uniforme.

Deux paires de gants, uniforme.

APPENDIX I (a)

Prospectus for the school at Richmond about 1879
French version Assumption Archives Paris FMIAa/2



F.M. I.A. 1/2

COUVENT DE L'ASSOMPTION
PRIEURÉ DE NOTRE-DAME DE LA PAIX
RICHMOND YORKSHIRE

Placé sous le patronage

de Sa Grandeur M^{GR} l'Evêque de Middleborough

La Maison - Mère est à AUTEUIL-PARIS

Ce Couvent grand et spacieux est situé aux environs les plus pittoresques et salubres de Richmond.

Le système d'éducation est établi sur les mêmes principes qu'à la Maison-Mère, où on s'efforce de développer l'intelligence et de former le caractère moral et religieux des élèves, afin de les rendre capables d'être, plus tard, dans le monde des femmes vertueuses et chrétiennes.

Les grandes vacances commencent le 16 juillet pour se terminer le 1^{er} lundi de septembre. Il y a un supplément de pension pour les élèves qui passent le temps des vacances au Couvent.

L'année scolaire se compose de trois trimestres ainsi partagés :

1^{er} Trimestre : du 1^{er} lundi de septembre au 21 décembre ;

2^e Trimestre : du 21 décembre au 5 avril ;

3^e Trimestre : du 5 avril au 16 juillet.

Mais le trimestre peut commencer à partir du jour où une enfant entre au Pensionnat.

PENSION

Pour les élèves au-dessus de 12 ans le prix de la pension est de 750 francs par an, y compris toutes les branches de la langue anglaise, la langue française, le blanchissage, ainsi que l'usage des pianos et des livres.

Pour les élèves au-dessous de l'âge de 12 ans, le prix de la pension est de 650 francs par an.

Une réduction peut être faite pour deux ou trois sœurs.

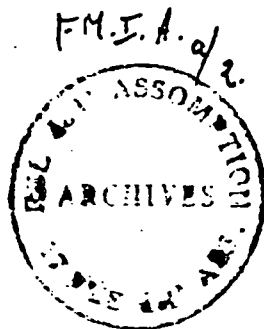
EXTRAS

Le Latin.	Le piano.	Le dessin.	La danse
L'Allemand.	Le violon.	La peinture à l'huile ou l'aquarelle.	et la gymnastique.
L'Italien.	Le chant.		

APPENDIX I (b)

Prospectus for the school at Richmond about 1879

English version



CONVENT OF THE ASSUMPTION,

(Priory of our Lady of Peace),

RICHMOND, YORKSHIRE.

Under the special Patronage of His Lordship the Bishop of Middlesborough:

THE MOTHER HOUSE IS AT AUTEUIL, PARIS.

This Convent, which is large and fitted with every convenience, is situated in the most healthy and beautiful part of the environs of Richmond.

The system of education is on the same principle as in the Mother House, and is in every way calculated to develop the mind, and form the religious and moral character of the pupils, so as to fit them to become virtuous and useful members of society.

The annual vacation commences July 16th, and lasts till first Monday in September. An extra charge is made for those who remain at School during that period.

The vacation being exclusive of the scholastic year, the three terms are as follows:—1st, from first Monday in September to December 21st; 2nd, from December 21st to April 5th; 3rd, from April 5th to July 16th. But the term may begin at whatever time the pupil enters.

PENSION :—FOR PUPILS ABOVE THE AGE OF 12 YEARS, including all the branches of English usually taught, and French, also Washing, use of Books and Stationery, and use of Piano.

27 GUINEAS PER ANNUM, to be paid in three instalments of 9 GUINEAS at the beginning of each term.

FOR PUPILS UNDER 12 YEARS, 8 GUINEAS PER TERM.

A reduction made for two or more sisters.

EXTRA :—

LATIN
GERMAN
ITALIAN

PIANO
VIOLIN
SINGING

DRAWING
PAINTING IN OIL
OR WATER COLOURS.

DANCING
AND
CALISTHENICS.

£1 8s. per term each.

Masters may be had if required. Three months' notice required previous to the removal of a pupil.

One Guinea Entrance.

Pupils prepared for Kensington and Oxford and Cambridge Local Examinations if parents desire it.

NOTE

Oxford and Cambridge Local Examinations began in 1857

London and Cambridge admitted girls to examination in 1863

Oxford admitted girls to examination in 1870

Middlesbrough diocese was created in 1878

APPENDIX J

'ADVENIAT REGNUM TUUM'(a) NINETEENTH CENTURY ASSUMPTION FOUNDATIONS

NOTE Of the thirty-one foundations made, only the first in any particular country is shown here. Once a house was established, a group of others usually followed fairly quickly. The policy usually was to go to areas where there were no other teaching religious.

Full list in Partage Auteuil No. 22 1977 p.66-73

'La mission des débuts de la Congrégation 1839-1953'

Compiled by Sr. Jeanne Marie.

<u>MISSIONARY INVITATIONS DECLINED</u>	<u>MISSIONARY INVITATIONS ACCEPTED</u>
1848 China and Singapore	1849 Grahamstown. Cape of Good Hope
1861 Jerusalem	1850 Richmond Yorkshire
1863 Bulgaria and Serbia	1865 Malaga, Spain
1877 Odessa	1873 New Caledonia
1891 Venezuela	1888 Rome, Italy
1891 Mauritius	1892 Leon, Nicaragua
	1892 Manila, Philippines
	1895 Santa Ana, Salvador.

b) ORIGINS OF THE ASSUMPTION 'FAMILY' OF RELIGIOUS CONGREGATIONS

- (1) 1838 Anne Eugénie Milleret de Brou began her novitiate proper at the Visitation convent Côte St. André. The name 'Assumption' chosen by her director, the Abbé Combalot.
 - 1844 Four sisters make perpetual vows.
 - 1838 First contact of Sr. M. Eugénie with Père d'Alzon.
- (2) 1848 Père Emmanuel d'Alzon and others began novitiate at Nimes, in a house already dedicated to Our Lady of the Assumption.
 - 1850 D'Alzon and companions decide to name their Order 'Fathers of the Assumption'. Fourth vow - 'To extend the Kingdom of Christ'.
- (3) 1865 Oblates of the Assumption founded specifically to respond to calls from the Far East. Novitiate at Nimes, conducted by two Sisters of the Assumption.
- (4) 1865 Père Pernet sent Mlle. Fage to the Assumption for training before founding the Little Sisters of the Assumption. Their work-with the poor in their own homes.
- (5) 1882 Père Picard used M.M. Magdaleine from the Little Sisters to found the Oblates of the Assumption of Paris.
- (6) 1896 Père Picard founded the 'Orantes de L'Assomption' in Paris. A contemplative branch.

APPENDIX KNINETEENTH CENTURY PROVISION FOR FEMALE ROMAN CATHOLIC ORPHANS

- 1805 St. Patrick's orphan asylum 13, Denmark St. London. Supported by St. Patrick's charity fund.
1848 female orphans transferred to Norwood.
- 1817 Liverpool Catholic female orphanage. For the respectable orphans of men who died in the Napoleonic wars.
1829 taken over by the Sisters of Mercy.
1840 taken over by the Sisters of Notre Dame.
- 1835 Small orphanages in Hampshire and Tottenham run by the Faithful Companions of Jesus. Closed 1865.
- 1847 Duchess of Leeds orphanage, Blossom St. York.
1849 orphans transferred to Richmond workhouse.
1850 orphans taken over by the Sisters of the Assumption
1852-1874. Eight places for orphans in the boarding school, paid for by the Duchess of Leeds. (Continues as the Duchess of Leeds Charity for Catholic orphans in the North Riding).
- 1848 Virgo Fidelis orphanage Norwood. Supported by Westminster Diocesan education fund. Closed 1896.
- 1852 St. Mary's orphanage Leeds. Run by the Sisters of the Immaculate Conception.
- 1853 Orphanage of Mercy. Blandford Square London. Run by the Sisters of Mercy. Closed 1866.
- 1854 St. Philip's orphanage Drury Lane London. Run by the Sisters of Compassion. Closed 1866.
- 1856 St. Vincent's orphanage Kensington. Run by the Daughters of Mary. Closed 1896.
- 1857 Hammersmith orphanage. Run by the Daughters of Mary.
- 1863 Holy Trinity orphanage Hastings. Run by the Duchess of Leeds and the Sisters of the Holy Child. (see below).
- 1865 Sacred Heart orphanage Roehampton. Run by the Sisters of the Sacred Heart. Closed 1877.
- 1866 St. Mary's orphanage, Upper Belgrave Place London.
1868 moved to Pimlico. Closed 1888.
- 1867 St. Mary's orphanage Walthamstow London.
1867-68 run by Dominican sisters.
1868 run by Sisters of Mercy. Closed 1896.
- 1871 Notre Dame de Sion orphanage Holloway. Run by the Sisters of Notre Dame de Sion. Closed 1881.
- 1871 Notre Dame de Sion orphanage Worthing. Run by the Sisters of Notre Dame de Sion. Closed 1896.
- NOTE The Holy Trinity orphanage for boys in Hastings, founded and maintained by the Duchess of Leeds and run by the Xaverian brothers was founded in 1863. It moved to Mayfield in 1864. At the death of the Duchess in 1874 12 free places for orphans were provided in Mayfield college.

Sir Wm. JENNINGS 6th Bart. 7th Baron STAFFORD
of Okefeney Hall Norfolk
b. 7.3.1736
m. 16.6.1767
d. 14.8.1809

Thomas MAINE of Lartington and Hartwick (succeeded to estates aged 14)
b. 1672
d. 29.7.1882
R.C. School at Lartington founded 1666 or earlier

Sir John JAMSON 3rd Bart.
b. 1689
m. 1712
d. 19.10.1739

John JAMSON
d. 28. 1.1791

Charles CARROLL (1) 'the settler'
b. 1660
m. Charles CARROLL (2)
d. 1720
m.
d. 1783 Secretary of the Declaration of Independence
Charles CARROLL (3) 'of Carrollton'
b. 19.9.1737
m. 19.11.1768
d. 14.11.1832

4th son
William MAINE
b. 14.1.1704
d. 26.7.1769
Professor of philosophy Douai 1725
Serving the poor Catholics of Richmond 1735-1741
Co-adjutor bishop of the Northern district 1741

Ame Anastasia = Sir Henry JAMSON
b. 1712
m. 1742
d. 8.1.1871
Leased land in Newbiggin 1771

Nicholas STRATTON of Carlton
Henry MAINE/JAMSON 6th Bart = Monica
b. 23.2.1750
d. 1.5.1750
b. 6.1.1752
d. 6.1.1800
Leased land in Newbiggin 1771
Lived in the Grove Richmond 1793

Miles STRATTON of Drax & Clines = Lady Mary Bertie Willoughby of Abington
b.
m.
c. 24.10.1808
-Joseph BERTIUM, his chaplain at Carlton
-Joseph CLINE 1768
-Joseph the Grove Richmond 1793

Robert CANSFIELD GERARD = Maria Juliana
b. 9.2.1827
John CANSFIELD GERARD
b. 22.2.1803
m. 22.5.1822
Catherine ANDERSON of Durton
b.
d. 13.1.1821
Lying on the Green Richmond 1820
Benefactress of the R.C. Church and 1818 school

John JAMSON
d. 28. 1.1791

Marriage = Richard Colley
b. 1788
m. WHELESTLY
b. 29.10.1825
d. 17.12.1853 d. 26.9.1842
Emily = John Mc. Tavish (British Consul)
b. 1793 b. 1787
d. 1667 d. 1852
Benefactress of Good Shepherd Sisters U.S.A.
& Sisters of Mercy U.S.A.

Frances Charlotte = Wm. Henry Francis Baron PRYDE
b. 19.4.1796
m. 2.6.1815
d. 29.1.1822
d. 3.7.1950

Elizabeth SPARSHUCK (1) = Sir John JAMSON 5th Bart (2) = Monica
b. 13.9.1744
d. 27.6.1811
Founded R.C. Academy, Newbiggin 1770
Gave R.C. Church Richmond, 1804/1809
Benefactress of the R.C. Church
Monica ***
Anastasia Maria = Mrs. SIMON AND STANDISH
b. 25.5.1769
m. 24.2.1789
d. 22.6.1807

John P. BROWN of Southgate House John WRIGHT of Kelvedon
b. 24.1.1817
m. 26.2.1812
d. 22.1.1826
b. 6.1.1763
m. 6.1.1769
d. 22.1.1826

John CANSFIELD GERARD = Maria Juliana
b. 9.2.1827
John CANSFIELD GERARD
b. 22.2.1803
m. 22.5.1822
Catherine ANDERSON of Durton
b.
d. 13.1.1821
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Benefactress of the R.C. Church and 1818 school

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b. 1775
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d. 1815
Sir Wm. WRIGHT/JAMSON = Clarinda Catherine JAMSON
b. 18.1.1767
m. 20.10.1825
d. 22.6.1865
Laying in Newbiggin till 1834
Built church of St. Paulinus at Brough 1824
Founded school at Brough 1827
Member of C.P.C. for Yorks. 1850 & 1851
Trustee & benefactor of Assumption convent

Dr. John JAMSON
Thomas Austen JAMSON O.S.B.
b. 1758
d. 24.4.1830
 Monk of Downside Abbey
 Parish priest of Richmond 1794-1814
 Laying at 30, Newbiggin.

Henrietta STUARDE (1) - Sir George Wm. JENNINGS (2) = Elizabeth
of Haughley
b. 26.11.1799
m. 24.7.1771
b. 1787
m. 26.5.1836
d. 29.10.1862
Benefactress of Assumption convent
& Good Shepherd Sisters

Wm. B. Baron PRYDE = Theresa = Hon. Gas P. CLIFFORD
b. 20.12.1817
m. 26.9.1843
d. 4.7.1884
b. 1802
m. 14.1.1822
d. 11.9.1870

Chas. P. 17th Lord STOURTON
b. 22.8.1752
m. 12.7.1775
d. 29.4.1816
Hon. Chas. STOURTON-WARY
b. 15.1.1837
m. 10.1801
d. 25.9.1857
Assumed name WAINCOH 1826

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Edward STAFFORD
b. 4.6.1804
m. 16.6.1828
d. 22.7.1849
Member of the Catholic Board
Rosa STAFFORD-JENNINGS
b. 25.9.1880
m. 1880
Sr. M. Rosa
Religions of the Assumption
Laura Mary - Hon. Es. PRYDE
b. 15.1.1811 b. 28.9.1792
m. 21.7.1829
St. M. of St. Francis S.N.D. 1850
Founder member of C.P.S.C. 1847
Foundress of 1st. R.C. for R.C. -
Introduced Soc. of St. Vincent de Paul to British
Women Liverpool 1854

William CONSTANCE WAINWELL = Marcia M. Vavasour
b. 23.8.1804
m. 12.11.1835
d. 12.11.1876
Hon. Es. PRYDE
b. 25.9.1880
m. 1880
Sr. M. Rosa
Religions of the Assumption
Laura Mary - Hon. Es. PRYDE
b. 15.1.1811 b. 28.9.1792
m. 21.7.1829
St. M. of St. Francis S.N.D. 1850
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FAMILY CONNECTIONS
PERSONS MENTIONED IN THE TEXT INVOLVED
IN EDUCATION IN THE RICHMONDSHIRE AREA
AND ESSEX
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Mrs. Worthington of Brough for:
The genealogies of all the Catholic
families of Earlard Mrs. H. Lawson 1796
St. Grace Dorothy for:
Exhibition notes on Carroll of Carrollton
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ANNE EUGENIE MILLERET DE BROU

(Sr. M. Eugénie - M.M. Eugénie de Jesus) Abbreviated to MME in letter references.

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CATHERINE O'NEILL

(Sr. Thérèse/Térèse Emmanuel) Abbreviated to MTE in letter references

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