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JESUIT COLLEGIATE EDUCATION IN ENGLAND,

1794-1914

I.D. Roberts

A Thesis submitted for the Degree of
Master of Education in the
University of Durham

1986

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ABSTRACTJESUIT COLLEGIATE EDUCATION IN ENGLAND, 1794-1914

I.D. Roberts

In 1773, the Society of Jesus was formally suppressed and the Fathers of the English Province entered a period of limbo which their school at St. Omers survived in a variety of guises. The first chapter of this thesis describes the arrival of the teachers and pupils of this school in England, and examines the manner in which the College and Order were re-constituted on English soil. The nature of the curriculum, finances and social class composition are considered *inter alia*.

The second and third chapters relate the way in which the work undertaken at the founding College, Stonyhurst, was expanded. These chapters describe the revival of day Colleges by the Society, and analyse the way in which the new Colleges, both day and boarding, were managed. An important feature examined, is the extension of educational provision for middle class pupils coupled with the curricular and financial adaptations undertaken.

One element which is common to all chapters is an analysis of the relationship of the Order to the Hierarchy. In Chapter 4 this becomes a central concern of the study as the attempts by the Jesuits to begin a College in Manchester resulted in a direct confrontation with the local Bishop and ultimately with the whole English Hierarchy. The attitude and machinations of the Cardinal Archbishop, Henry Edward Manning, led to the defeat of the Order in a canonical dispute in Rome, a result which blighted the Jesuits' work for more than a decade. The chapter also examines the educational circumstances and effects of this dispute, the case in canon law awaits exploration.

Chapters 5 and 6 examine the work of the Order in the light of the Bull Romanos Pontifices which followed the defeat in Rome. The former considers the Fathers' efforts to improve their educational service to Catholic youth while effectively prevented from opening new schools. The latter examines the revitalisation of the English Province's Colleges in the Archiepiscopate of Cardinal Vaughan, but also demonstrates the inexorable financial difficulties facing the opening and conduct of schools.

In the penultimate chapter, a departure is made to examine the progress made by the Jesuits in boarding education in the Stonyhurst tradition. The opening and evolution of Beaumont College and the assimilation of the Order's schools into the community of Public schools are important factors under scrutiny.

The final chapter considers the relationship of the Jesuit day Colleges to the State. As the State expanded its role and the Jesuit schools sought additional finance, they were ineluctably drawn together. The evolutionary nature of this relationship and its political ramifications are considered as they moved to a position of mutually agreed neutrality, if not satisfaction, an appropriate point, before the overwhelming cataclysm of the First World War, to terminate this thesis.

The foundations upon which this thesis was constructed lie in the study of much manuscript material. Like many of the sources for Catholic history, these records are widely dispersed and have had to be correlated. As the study makes clear, there are few secondary guides, University theses have often contained the only indications of the work of the Bishops, or other Catholic educators. It is hoped that this thesis will, in its turn, serve to guide others in a terrain where there are many areas yet unexplored.

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ABBREVIATIONS AND GLOSSARY

ABBREVIATIONS

A.S.J.	Archives of the English Province of the Society of Jesus, Mount Street, London
Bassett/ <u>Jesuits</u>	B. Bassett, <u>The English Jesuits: Campion to Martindale</u> (1967)
B.J.F.S.	<u>British Journal of Educational Studies</u>
Campbell/ <u>Jesuits</u>	T.J. Campbell, <u>The Jesuits 1534-1921</u> , Two Volumes (1921)
D.C.R.O.	Dorset County Record Office, Dorchester, Dorset
D.R.O.	Durham Record Office, Durham City
Hindle/ <u>Preston</u>	A. Hindle, <u>A Centenary History of the Catholic College, Preston</u> (1971)
<u>Lady Herbert Letters</u>	Sir J.G. Shane Leslie (Ed.), <u>Letters of Herbert Cardinal Vaughan to Lady Herbert of Lea, 1867-1903</u> (1942)
L.R.O.	Lancashire Record Office, Preston, Lancashire
Latey and Devas/ <u>Beaumont</u>	C. Latey, S.J. and F. Devas, S.J., <u>The History of St. Stanislaus College, Beaumont</u> (1911)
Leslie/ <u>Manning</u>	Sir J.G. Shane Leslie, <u>Henry Edward Manning: His Life and Labours</u> (1921)
L. & N.	<u>Letters and Notices</u>
McClelland/ <u>Manning</u>	V.A. McClelland, <u>Cardinal Manning - His Public Life and Influence 1865-92</u> (1962)
McCormack/ <u>Vaughan</u>	A. McCormack, <u>Cardinal Vaughan</u> (1966)
Milburn/ <u>Ushaw</u>	D. Milburn, <u>A History of Ushaw</u> (1964)
M.S.M.	Mount St. Mary's College Records

N.R.O.	Northumberland Record Office, Gosforth, Northumberland
P.C.C.R.	Preston Catholic College Records
P.R.O.	Public Record Office, Kew, London
Purcell/ <u>Manning</u>	E.S. Purcell, <u>The Life of Cardinal Manning</u> , Two Volumes (1896)
S.D.A.	Salford Diocesan Archives
S.I.C.	<u>Schools Inquiry Commission</u> (Taunton Report) 1868
Snead Cox/ <u>Vaughan</u>	J.G. Snead Cox, <u>The Life of Cardinal Vaughan</u> , Two Volumes (1912)
S.C.A.	Stonyhurst College Archives
Ward/ <u>Dawn</u>	B. Ward, <u>The Dawn of the Catholic Revival in England 1781-1803</u> , Three Volumes (1909)
Ward/ <u>Eve</u>	B. Ward, <u>The Eve of Catholic Emancipation 1803-1829</u> , Three Volumes (1911)
Ward/ <u>St. Edmund's</u>	B. Ward, <u>The History of St. Edmund's College, Old Hall</u> (1893)
Ward/ <u>Sequel</u>	B. Ward, <u>The Sequel to Catholic Emancipation, 1830-1850</u> , Two Volumes (1915)
W.A.	Westminster, Archives of the Archdiocese
W.C.A.	Wimbledon College Archives

GLOSSARY

There are three technical areas which require some elucidation for the reader who is not readily familiar with the Society of Jesus. They are:-

1. Jesuit organisation;
2. Jesuit training;
3. Jesuit Collegiate organisation.

These remarks do not apply to the Society at the present time, but they are relevant for much of the period of this study.

1. Jesuit organisation

Overall authority for the Society was vested in the General Congregation of the Order - a meeting of elected representative fully-professed Fathers and certain ex-officio members. On a day-to-day basis, government was in the hands of the Father Superior General, who was elected for life and aided by four Assistants. This group was usually based in Rome.

The parts of the world in which the Society was operating were divided into Provinces. For much of the period covered by this study, the English Province consisted of England, Wales and Scotland. The Fathers appointed to govern this area were termed Provincials and were appointed for periods of from 3 to 8 years. The Provincial was assisted by a number of officials, for example, the Procurator, who was responsible for financial and legal matters. Colleges, as large houses of the Order, were placed under a local Superior called a Rector. The Rector was assisted by an administrative officer termed a Minister or Minister Domus. He checked internal finances and the daily order of work. The school was placed under a Prefect of Studies whose staff is described below.

2. Jesuit training

A young man, wishing to enter the Order, undertook a few weeks of postulancy before becoming a Novice. The noviciate lasted for two years at the end of which period the young man became a Junior and then a Philosopher. These were periods of academic study and some of the students proceeded as far as external London University degrees.

Philosophy over, the young man became a Scholastic and embarked on a period sometimes referred to as Régency, when he taught in the Society's schools. This might last for several years and was followed by study of Theology for three years. The Theologian was ordained at this point and became a Spiritual Coadjutor. Some of the Fathers, for instance the poet Gerard Manley Hopkins, never proceeded beyond this point, while others studied for a fourth year and their final vows, as fully professed, usually included the special one of obedience to the Pope. Modern Jesuits undertake a further year of spiritual renewal called the Tertianship. This was waived for some Fathers in the last century as their presence was needed elsewhere. It is also clear from a study of the lives of some of the Fathers that the above programme was adapted to individuals. There were clearly accelerated programmes of induction for the well-qualified converts of the Oxford Movement.

3. Jesuit Collegiate organisation

As mentioned above, the Prefect of Studies, usually in consultation with the Rector was responsible for the staffing of the school. There were two branches to this. The first was the teaching side. Most of the teachers, particularly in the early part of the century, were Scholastics, working in the schools for periods as long as five years. Some of the older classes, especially those in the final year before public examination were taught by ordained Fathers. As the numbers of Jesuits increased during the century, the proportion of ordained Fathers increased and the length of the Scholastic period was reduced. The other branch was that concerned with the maintenance of discipline. This was placed in the hands of a Prefect of Discipline, usually an experienced Father. In a College in which he had assistants he was usually referred to as the First Prefect and the others simply

as Prefects. These men were responsible not only for punishment, but for the general conduct of the boys when not in lessons. The classes in which the boys were placed were named after the old classes at St. Omers. They were, in ascending order, Elements, Figures, Rudiments, Grammar, Syntax, Poetry and Rhetoric. Some changes were made during the century. In the boarding schools, and elsewhere, Preparatory classes were added. Indeed Preparatory schools were opened in time. In the day schools, starting at St. Francis Xavier's the class names were gradually abandoned and the classes were given numbers.

INTRODUCTION

This study is concerned with the education of Catholic boys by an Order of Clerks Regular of the Roman Catholic Church - the Society of Jesus. However mundane such a statement may be, in the previously unresearched case of the Collegiate educational work of the English Province in the period 1794 to 1914, it takes on unusual, even unique qualities. Such few generalisations that exist about the Jesuits in the world of the history of education create a myth that portrays the Order as rarified clerics offering an intellectually powerful pedagogy to the sons of the Catholic élite. Other folk tales suggest that the Jesuits, proffered a child until the age of seven, would make it an unswerving, bigoted Catholic for the rest of its life.

Much of this is false. While it is true that the Jesuits educated some of the children of socially prestigious families, they also aimed to provide what is best described as secondary education for Catholic boys from middle class and even working class homes. At the same time as being concerned with recruiting boys with vocations into the Order, or for the priesthood in general, the Fathers attempted to provide English Catholic youth with a broad, but essentially Christian, instruction, designed not only to satisfy the wishes of Catholic parents, but that was also responsive to changes elsewhere in English education. In doing this work they were limited by shortages of personnel and also of finance. A further major obstacle to their aims arose from opposition by some of the Catholic Hierarchy.

It was initially the absence of any modern study of the Jesuits and the strange reputation that they seemed to possess which first attracted my attention to the Order. Vilified by many Protestants in penal times, the Fathers did not escape opprobrium when they returned to England in



the late eighteenth century, even from some Catholics. Yet against these odds they successfully established themselves within the Catholic Church in England. As part of the parochial work of the Order, a number of elementary schools were established to serve the poor of the parishes. These had never been surveyed, but it became apparent that the Order rarely took part in the conduct of such schools, reserving their efforts for their Colleges for older pupils. The absence of studies of secondary education in general and of these schools in particular led to this thesis on the descendants of the famous College at St. Omers.

When the Society's members came to England in 1794, they were canonically non-existent. They had been ended as an Order in 1773 and only continued as a recognisable group by virtue of the loyalty of the Fathers and in part to serve their school at St. Omers. Also, when the ex-Jesuits reached England in 1794, government was inclined to tolerate Catholic orders. Like many other communities of English Regular and Secular clergy in Europe, the English ex-Jesuits were forced to flee from revolutionary France or from the invading armies of that country. Changes in English law, made largely to assist the émigré French, allowed these communities to take up residence in England, and also to open schools. Some of these schools were opened to prevent the destitution of their personnel, but the ex-Jesuits had other motives. Education was a primary method of carrying out the purposes of their Order; it was also a way of recruiting new members to the Order, not merely to fulfil vocations and staff Stonyhurst, the former St. Omers re-opened in England, but also to provide Fathers for the large number of parish missions in England for which the Society was responsible.

In facing the financial problems encountered by all Catholic clerical groups, the ex-Jesuits, assisted by the prominent Catholic family, the Welds of Lulworth, overcame these difficulties more successfully than the other major schools for Catholic youth. This had the effect of enabling Stonyhurst to expand quickly and become the largest Catholic boys' school in England by the end of the Napoleonic war period.

Importantly the Order's school was opened to externs and the ex-Jesuits took upon themselves the task of educating boys intended for lay life. In English terms these boys were not only from the aristocratic élite, popularly associated with Jesuit schools, but also from the Catholic middle class. This trend is confirmed by a study of the alumni of the school and on examination of its curriculum, as far as that is possible, not only for the early years of the school's life, but for the period from the war up until 1840.

The problem of financial hardship was not the only one that beset the Stonyhurst community in these early years. The Vicar Apostolic of the Northern District wished to incorporate the school into his diocesan organisation thereby changing the character of its education, but this was successfully resisted. After the end of the wars, despite the Pope canonically refounding the Society, new kinds of problems were faced by the Fathers. The Vicars Apostolic remained hostile. This hostility was overcome only gradually, but the residual animosity of some of the Secular clergy may have been one of the causes of the failure of a London school attempted in the 1830s.

Outside the Catholic community, the end of the wars brought changes in the attitudes of the English populace and government towards Catholics. Attempts to obtain Catholic emancipation met with hostility, and part of

this attack was anti-Jesuit. Even when emancipation was granted, the forces of anti-Catholicism had to be appeased by the inclusion in the Act, of clauses against Jesuits. Thus, despite initial survival and growth, the presence of a Jesuit school in the late 1830s had been strongly challenged and it was only due to great skill on the part of the Fathers that Stonyhurst survived.

The year 1841 was a watershed in the educational fortunes of the English Jesuits. Randal Lythgoe was appointed Provincial and began to extend the work of the Society in many fields. Not only did he open two more schools, but in one of these, he attempted to revive and make permanent the idea of Jesuit day Colleges. This move inaugurated a type of education that was to be the area of greatest expansion and greatest conflict in the future.

Despite the restoration of the Hierarchy in 1850, and the changes that this created in Catholic ecclesiastical organisation, the Jesuits continued to build schools unchecked except for internal limitations, staffing and financial constraints. They were given fresh impetus by the Oxford Movement, several of whose members joined the Society. It was the death of Cardinal Wiseman in 1865, and the appointment of his successor, Henry Edward Manning, that imposed an external check on this process. Manning and others were well aware of the need for secondary education for Catholics and publicly stated this, but made no concerted effort to fill the need. This seems in part due to the uneven strengths of the dioceses, the problems of educating the Catholic poor, the need to use finance for poor relief and the lack of trained personnel to undertake the educational work. For a number of reasons Manning was loath to use the Society of Jesus for this work, and the dioceses beyond Westminster proceeded under his lead.

The stalemate brought about by Manning's accession was ended in 1875 in hostility. The attempts by the Jesuits to open a day College in Manchester, within the see of Herbert Vaughan, the friend and pupil of Manning, resulted in open conflict between the Society and the Hierarchy. The matter was settled in Rome, but it was not a permanent solution to the problem, more in the nature of a truce in which the status quo ante the Manchester dispute was retained, and the Jesuits lost their school. Further difficulties between the Society and the Bishops, and also between the Benedictines and the Hierarchy, had to be adjudicated in Rome and new rules drawn up. A permanent solution was defined in the Bull Romanos Pontifices promulgated in 1881.

The Manchester school question and the subsequent Bull, which gave to the Bishops the power to permit or to prevent the opening of a school by any religious order, were crucial, not only for the Society's schools, but for the whole force of their initiative in secondary education. Its examination in detail, its causes, contentious events and effects form an important element in this study. From the time that the Bull was promulgated until the death of Manning, no new Jesuit school was opened in England. The effects of this fell largely on the plans for opening day schools. Money and effort could be spent on those already in being, and there was some expansion but it was constrained by other factors. Money was needed for elementary schools and the Jesuits directed to this finance that otherwise might have been spent on new Colleges. Technical Instruction Committees, with their public funds as a potential aid, did not come into being until after 1890. Consequently those new secondary schools which were opened by the English Jesuits were perforce in the Colonies.

Boarding schools fared differently. The cost of opening such schools had always been great, entailing as it did the possession of an estate on which the school could be sited, and whose produce could help to defray the costs. The Bull did little to affect them. Their chief problems were concerned with "the University question" for the upper class child and the provision of Catholic competition with the English Public Schools, for Catholic parents. The provision of a middle class boarding education responsive to the changing demands of this important and growing element within the Catholic community challenged, but was met by, the Society's flexible responsiveness. This is substantiated by studies of the alumni and their social class backgrounds.

The new Primate appointed on Manning's death, Herbert Vaughan, created a new climate of opinion, no longer so anti-Jesuit. Within the first two years of his primacy the Jesuits were invited to open two schools in the London area. Relations with the Hierarchy improved, the Society began a Hall at Oxford University and was asked to open another day school, this time in Lancashire. There was still the grave problem of finance, not only for the Jesuits, but for all Catholic secondary schools. This problem could only be solved by an extra source of finance outside the confines of the Catholic body.

The final period under review, one in which the Society and Hierarchy grew closer together, saw the solution of the serious financial problem. All Catholic day schools benefitted under the 1902 Education Act and the Jesuits and others presented a united front through the Conference of Catholic Colleges. The alliance of Catholic forces in this sphere was cemented in the opposition that had to be presented to the hostile legislation of the Liberal government between 1906 and 1911; policies that

would have destroyed the financial security provided under the provisions of the 1902 Act had they been fully implemented. Thus the Jesuits became one arm of the Catholic body in its struggle to obtain sectarian justice within the national scheme.

It this way the Jesuit schools had evolved from being the most disliked in popular English opinion to ones of high standing in the national system of education. Indeed, the last day school to be opened before the First World War, St. Michael's, Leeds, in 1905, was designed specifically to be part of this system from its inception.

The two larger boarding schools grew closer in this period to the Public School community. The other boarding school, Mount St. Mary's, and the day College at Wimbledon also eschewed contact with the state system. They concentrated their energies on educating pupils of middle class background for the professions and as such complement the other Colleges which were involved with the state system. Despite setbacks, the Jesuits had consciously and unconsciously followed the object of their Order and extended the idea that Lythgoe had launched in the 1840s, and in doing so provided a scheme of education without parallel in the Catholic community; the only similarity to it being the scheme envisaged for the High Anglican community by Nathaniel Woodard.

The Jesuits' success lay in the advancement of the system in the face of many reversals, Catholic and non-Catholic. In allying some of their schools with the English Public School community and in incorporating others into the State system, they ensured their survival. At the same time they provided circumstances under which an English Catholic schoolboy could enjoy a secondary education equal to that of any other boy in the country and yet possessing the vital element of religious faith.

MAP 1

JESUIT BOARDING COLLEGES OF ENGLAND 1794-1914

MAP 1**MAP TO SHOW THE LOCATION OF JESUIT BOARDING COLLEGES IN ENGLAND 1794 - 1914**

- A Stonyhurst College - founded 1794**
- B Mount St. Mary's College - founded 1842**
- C Beaumont College - founded 1860**



CHAPTER ONE

PLANTING THE VINE ON ENGLISH SOIL -
the establishment and development
of Stonyhurst College, 1794-1840

Medieval in conception, scholarly by training, cosmopolitan in membership, universal in charitable intent, the Society of Jesus, founded in 1540, is rooted in paradox. Its members, coming informally together in 1533, were drawn from more than one nation, had been tutored in barely reformed Schools of the University of Paris and were to hold as an ideal that of medieval pilgrimage to the Holy Land, a concept that endured many years after the promulgation of the founding of the Order.¹

Yet, even in its earliest years, and with growing vigour thereafter, the Society spread its members all over the world and drew new vocations from the schools and colleges its Fathers established as they ceaselessly and tirelessly journeyed. Its members were to be found engaged in charitable and missionary work among the South American Indians and in combatting the heresies of Europe; in tutoring the children of monarchs and in teaching the poorest waif his catechism; in conducting skilled diplomacy while others washed the sores of lepers in the lazar houses of Asia. Education became a key element in this work, and in this area the struggle and endeavour that was to become such a characteristic of Jesuit activity was to be seen very clearly.

Despite the fact that the Society was formed at the end of a decade that marked the severance of official English ties with the Church of Rome, English Catholics soon became part of the concern of the Society.²

1 *There is a great deal of material on the origins of the Society. Many of the opening paragraphs of this study are based on the writings of the late James Brodrick S.J.*

2 *There was a mission by Fathers Favre and Laynez to Ireland in 1543, while Loyola, as a mendicant student, visited London in 1529 and 1530.*

Indeed, English Catholic men began to become part of its number before the death of Loyola in 1556.³ There were hopes among some that the Order might be introduced into England, but the Order was not formally established in Mary's reign at the specific behest of Cardinal Pole.⁴ Reginald Pole's death, so close to that of the Queen, meant that it was only as a clandestine body that the Society came to England in the reign of the Protestant Elizabeth, and its struggle to survive was much greater.

In fact, Jesuit operations in England had to be more covert than most Catholic activities. Deservedly or otherwise, the Society was believed by the English authorities to constitute a special threat not only to the faith of the population but also to the political stability of the realm. It was thus the subject of special mention in anti-Catholic legislation or punitive measures in its own right.⁵

Nor was this a temporary state of affairs as the early seventeenth century saw a sustained pressure against the Society. Faced with this hostility in England the Society was forced to abandon the idea of institutions in England that would service the English Mission. Instead they were opened in the more favourable climate of the Catholic states of Europe. Thus English Catholics who wished to become members of the Society were trained in Colleges abroad especially selected for the purpose.⁶

3 See Bassett/Jesuits 14.

4 Joseph Crehan S.J., 'St. Ignatius and Cardinal Pole', Archivum Historicum Societatis Jesu, Vol. 25 (1956) 72-98.

5 For a summary of relevant legislation, see A. Dures, English Catholicism 1558-1642 (1983) 8-19 and 28-34, and A.C.F. Beales, Education under Penalty (1963) 272-3.

6 Lists of Colleges are given by Bassett and Beales. Valladolid was the most important - see Beales op. cit.

One of the principal activities of the Fathers from the early days had been work in schools, and on almost all occasions this had included actual teaching. Very swiftly training institutions for Society members or schools for putative members began to take in and educate members of the laity. Within a decade of the foundation of the Order it had become necessary to open schools for lay students only.⁷ This was not possible in England, and as the sort of education purveyed by the Society was not of a kind that could be taught in the schools run informally from time to time in Catholic households, something more permanent had to be undertaken. To fulfil their own aims, and at the request of Catholic parents who wished for a full and efficient education for their sons, a school administered by the English Fathers was set up first at Eu in France, then later moved to St. Omers in Flanders.⁸ The school was largely staffed by Fathers of English stock and became a permanent centre for the education of English Catholic youth. In this development the Jesuits were not alone as several other Secular and Regular groups of Catholic clergy opened schools 'in exile' to be attended by English children.⁹

To suggest that there was a permanent pattern to English Jesuit activity in general by the eighteenth century would be specious as a generalisation, but in educational terms is much closer to the truth. The guiding work of all Jesuit educators, the Ratio Studiorum, appeared in 1599, and this provided a series of careful precepts for the conduct

7 A.P. Farrell S.J., 'Colleges for Externs opened in the life of St. Ignatius', Archivum Historicum Societatis Jesu, Vol. 6 (1938) 37-42.

8 For the story of the College to 1794, see H. Chadwick S.J., St. Omers to Stonyhurst (1962).

9 For example, the Seculars opened the English College in Douay in 1568, and the Benedictines opened St. Gregory's, Douay in 1605 and St. Laurence's Dieulouard, Lorraine in 1606.

of all Jesuit colleges. However, local variations crept in or were permitted.

Consequently St. Omers adopted an educational system in which boys were taught by the Scholastics of the Society while the higher posts were occupied by fully professed Fathers or Spiritual Coadjutors.¹⁰ The subjects taught were similar to those in other schools administered by the Society. Drama and music playing the important and innovatory roles they did in all Jesuit Colleges.¹¹

However, there were several major differences from most other Colleges. St. Omers was always more than a school; it was one of the most important Jesuit centres for the English Mission. It was, therefore, an important administrative and seminary centre, as well as housing important elements in that Mission, such as the St. Omers' press. Clearly this gave the pupils a full and unique insight into not only the problems of taking a prohibited faith into England, but also the workings of the Order. Again, the vacations normally given to schoolboys had, often, to be spent at the College. It might be possible to return to England for the long vacation, but some boys had to spend the whole of the year at the school.

The school ethos that this created was unusual. It was essentially Jesuit, but had many national character traits that gave it a unique identity. This was a great help in the struggle against English Government hostility, but it was of immeasurable assistance in permitting the survival of the English Fathers and their school at the time of the suppression of the Society in France in 1762.

10 *Fully professed Fathers had undertaken 4 years of theological training, as opposed to three by the Spiritual Coadjutors. Scholastics were Fathers who had completed the Noviciate and the Juniorate, which was the equivalent of University training.*

11 C. Hollis, *A History of the Jesuits* (1957) 127.

During the eighteenth century, opposition to the Papacy and to the Jesuits as an instrument of Papal authority and one of the Church's more powerful Orders had grown. Although it is possible to find an element of opposition to the Society in all European states in this period, it seemed to be most clearly manifest in the Bourbon states of France and Spain as well as Portugal. The reasons for this hostility had their roots in the activities of the Jesuit Fathers in South America, the Fathers' ability to teach all types of pupil and their influence and wealth.¹²

Matters first came to a head in Portugal. Pombal, the leading minister of the Crown, succeeded in obtaining the expulsion of the Order from Paraguay. In 1762, the French monarchy also expelled the Order from the country and as a concomitant forced the English Jesuits to leave. The Fathers obtained property in Bruges in the Austrian Netherlands and re-established their school at the new site. Despite all the difficulties the move was accomplished without the destruction of the school as a teaching institution and for eleven years the English Fathers instructed the boys who made their way to the school from England.¹³

Far more serious in troubling the school, was the next event in the life of the Order. In August 1773 the Society of Jesus was officially suppressed by Pope Clement XIV.¹⁴ The suppression of the Society was the logical culmination of a series of attacks launched upon the Society principally by the Bourbon monarchies in the late 1760s and early 1770s. Until his death in 1769, Pope Clement XIII had resisted many of these

12 *Campbell/Jesuits* Vol. I, chapters xii and xiii.

13 Most of the information in these paragraphs is taken from the works of B. Bassett S.J. and H. Chadwick S.J.

14 *Hollis, op. cit.* 160.

attacks. The expulsion of the Order from the various Bourbon countries was beyond his control. The presence of any Order in a particular Catholic country was governed by complex rules laid down at the Council of Trent, but such was the power of the national rulers over the church hierarchies in their states that they were unable to resist expulsion. Papal opposition merely served to keep the Order in being elsewhere and preserve it for re-introduction to the State at a later, more favourable, date.

This had been the position under Clement XIII, but his successor faced greater, more concentrated, pressures and was forced to the point where it was almost impossible to resist suppression. Some Jesuit and other writers have likened this act to the destruction of the Templars in the fourteenth century, but apart from the seizure of property, this comparison is not really valid. The Society was larger and even more cosmopolitan, while its members were much more strictly religious, and the whole affair less sanguine. What seems to have been similar was the degree of sympathy for the Jesuits among Catholics and the dislike of the political motivation behind the Suppression. These factors probably account for the help received by the ex-Jesuits from the laity in their struggle to survive.¹⁵

The Society comprised 22,589 members at the Suppression covering 42 Provinces.¹⁶ The Jesuits conducted 24 houses of professed Fathers, 669 Colleges, 61 Noviciates, 335 residences and 273 mission stations as well as numerous parishes. Of these, the English Province consisted of 274 Fathers administering one College and the school at Bruges. The

15 For the Templars, see B.W. Tuchman, *A Distant Mirror* (1979) 42-44.

16 Figures taken from Campbell/ *Jesuits*, Vol. I, 424 and Bassett/ *Jesuits*, 326.

College was the old Anglo-Bavarian College in Liège, and it was to become the centre of English ex-Jesuit activity. The full story of the emergence of the College at Liège is complex, but it is clear that by December 1773 the transfer from the school at Bruges had been completed and it had begun to recover numbers. Only 27 boys were in the school at the end of 1773, but numbers grew until they reached 144 in 1776. This was not as large as the numbers at Bruges, but does demonstrate a real recovery and success by the Fathers in their struggle to keep the confidence of the English Catholic community and to survive.

The presence of the school run by the Gentlemen of Liège, as it was known, on the continent and in England, was a focal point for all English ex-Jesuits. The Brief abolishing the Society had been published in England, and then in Maryland in America. This was a part of the English Province, and the Jesuits both there and in England assumed the status of secular priests. This did not mean that they totally lost their identity as they continued to think of themselves as a group, as well as to correspond with and send money to St. Omers. The link between the groups on opposite sides of the Atlantic was severed, but both continued to look for some leadership to the Jesuits in Russia, where the Brief of Suppression had never been published.¹⁷

The now flourishing school gained the protection of the Prince-Bishop of Liege, acquiring in 1778 the status of a Pontifical Academy, an accolade that gave considerable status. The boys who came to the school reflected many aspects of the English Catholic community as they had done in former times. Boys came not only from aristocratic and wealthy families but also from poorer homes, their fees being paid by

17 Hollis, *op. cit.* 162-166.

ex-Jesuits ministering in parishes in England. These men were eager to foster vocation and scholarship among the less wealthy Catholics.

For the twenty years that it was in Liège, the school flourished. The benevolence and protection of the Prince-Bishop was secured by the prosperity arising from trade that came with the school. Many extra facilities were extended to the school and as a private Catholic academy the school was a great success.

Until 1786, when Frederick II died, the Order's remnants were doubly protected, as Frederick had not allowed Jesuits in his dominions to be hindered by the Suppression. However, it was in Russian Poland that the Order fared best. At the partition of Poland in 1773, a Bishopric of White Russia had been established. Catherine II had permitted the Order to remain, and it was here that a new General of the Society was elected.¹⁸ Jesuits elsewhere began to affiliate, and, as Fr. T.G. Holt has shown, the presence of this organisation in Russia was vital to the credibility of the ex-Jesuits as an organised group. It increased the reliability of the Order in the eyes of parents and this in turn strengthened the prospects for profits and survival.¹⁹

As this was happening on the Continent, the latter part of the eighteenth century saw some relaxation of the penal laws against the Catholics in England. Two pieces of legislation, in 1778 and 1791, lifted many of the restrictions upon the activities of Catholics. The Act of 1778 repealed only certain aspects of the legislation made during the reign of William III, for despite the feelings of some legislators and the petitions

18 T.G. Holt S.J., 'The English Ex-Jesuits and the Missions, 1773-1814', *Archivum Historicum Societatis Jesu*, Vol. 37 (1968), 153-165.

19 Hollis, *op. cit.* 166-169.

of the Catholics, it was impossible to do more.²⁰ Incidents of hostility towards the Catholics, and the Gordon Riots of 1780 both suggest any greater liberalisation could have resulted in greater civil disturbance. From the Jesuit point of view, ex-Jesuits could now come into England without prosecution. It also permitted the ecclesiastical establishment of the Catholic church to exist more openly than it had done in the past.

Since 1688 England had been divided by the Catholic church into four Districts for administrative purposes, and the Pope had placed over each of these Districts (London, Western, Midland and Northern), a Vicar Apostolic.²¹ Within the Districts, churches were set up on a mission basis and staffed not only by secular clergy but by the regulars as well. There were in 1780 some 360 missions, about one third of which were in the hands of ex-Jesuits, while most of the remainder were under the control of the secular clergy appointed to their posts by the Vicars Apostolic.²² The seminaries on the Continent had been responsible for the training of these priests, who had been recruited from boys at the schools run by exiled priests. A few of the priests had made their way from England direct to the seminaries but they were very much a minority.

It was possible for this system to function more efficiently after the 1778 Act, and thus when the French Revolution broke out in 1789, representations of Catholic feeling about the anti-Catholicism of the

20 W.J. Amherst, *The History of Catholic Emancipation* (1886), Vol. I 91-99.

21 A Vicar Apostolic was a missionary Bishop, holding a titular see of the Asiatic church. He had all the rights and powers of a Bishop, but was controlled more closely than ordinary Bishops by the Sacred College of Propaganda in Rome. Although the London V.A. was the leading Bishop for practical purposes, all were equal and supreme in their own dioceses.

22 T.G. Holt, *op. cit.* 160-165.

Revolutionaries were made more effectively to the English government.

It is also apparent that the successful legislation of 1778 generated a feeling of confidence among the Catholics. The pressure that they brought to bear on the legislators produced the Act of 1791.

The terms of the Act were much more comprehensive and covered a wide range of penal legislation.²³ Once a Catholic had taken the Oath of Loyalty specified under the Act, then a wide range of previously proscribed activities were now permitted, some of which were educational. For instance:-

*'And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that no ecclesiastic or other person professing the Roman Catholic religion, who shall take and subscribe the Oath of Allegiance, Abjuration and Declaration, herein before mentioned and appointed to be taken and subscribed as aforesaid, shall be prosecuted in any court whatsoever, for teaching and instructing Youth as a Tutor or Schoolmaster, any Law or Statute to the contrary notwithstanding.'*²⁴

Further in Clause XVI of this Act, the Catholic teacher who had taken the Oath was permitted to "keep" a school, after supplying to the Quarter or General sessions the name, description and place of the institution.²⁵

Clause XVII appears to contradict other ideas in the Act. If it is seen as being part of the notion of relieving Catholics "upon conditions and under restrictions" then it may be a long term restriction, rather than a short term hindrance.²⁶ A temporary school, or one in which the

23 Amherst, *op. cit.* I 149-186 gives the history of the Act.

24 31 Geo. III Cap. XXXII clause xiv.

25 *Ibid.* clause xvi.

26 *'... Nothing in this Act contained shall make it lawful to found, endow or establish any Religious Order or Society of Persons bounded by monastic or religious vows or to found, endow or establish any School, Academy or College by persons professing the Roman Catholic Religion ...'*

expenses were discharged from fees or donations by wealthy patrons was permitted.²⁷ The purpose of the Act, at this point, was to prevent Catholics transgressing unrepealed legislation dealing with property and endowments.²⁸ Most of the larger English schools of the period had property and endowments attached to them, but they were for purely educational purposes. Such a distinction between educational purpose and religious (superstitious) purpose was less easy in a Catholic school. Contemporaries, according to Milburn, circumvented the problem by assuming that the clause referred to establishments connected wholly or in part with the training of priests.

Certainly the Act gave new life to the educational work of the Catholics in England. In spite of the penal legislation the Catholic community had set up many clandestine schools, most of which were at the elementary level.²⁹ There were also three larger schools, Old Hall Green, Sedgley Park and the Bar Convent at York.³⁰ The Act seems to have provided protection for all of these, as well as for those continental schools for English pupils that were forced to flee from hostile French armies and their Government's ecclesiastical policy.

From October 1791 until September 1795, a steady stream of English monks and nuns, belonging both to teaching and non-teaching orders,

27 Any donation to a Catholic cause might be deemed to be for religious purposes, classified at the time as 'superstitious'. J. Kitching, *Roman Catholic Education from 1700-1870* (unpublished Ph.D., University of Leeds 1966) 20-21, shows how this difficulty was overcome by the use of 'second wills' in Penal times.

28 Milburn/ *Ushaw* 27ff discusses this topic.

29 Kitching, *op. cit.* Vol. II Appendix B, 13-29, lists 140 schools.

30 J. Kitching, *Catholic Education in the North and East Ridings of Yorkshire 1571-1870* (unpublished M.Ed., University of Durham 1956) 7, and A.S. Barnes, *The Catholic Schools of England* (1926) chapter VI.

secular priests and ex-Jesuits began to arrive in England. Sometimes they were accompanied by their pupils, while at other times the pupils made their way separately, re-uniting later.³¹ As well as these, there were several groups of Continental clerics who also fled to the sanctuary of England.

Many of the communities arrived with little more than the clothing in which they stood; plate, vestments, books, money and property, all had to be abandoned in flight or escorted departure from France. The communities who could, opened schools not only to serve the English Catholic population but also to earn their daily bread.

The Catholic body to which the clerics returned was a growing one. It has been contended by most Catholic historians that the Catholic population fell in the eighteenth century. There were about 260,000 Catholics in England in 1680, according to the most reliable estimates in a population of about five millions - 4.7% of the total population.³² A hundred years later the number of Catholics was stated by the Rev. Joseph Berrington as around 60,000, about 0.6% of a population of approximately ten millions.³³ This would seem to be the lowest point, for from this time the available figures indicate that the number of Catholics was rising. For this, the Irish seem largely responsible, as there was a steadily increasing incursion of Irish labourers and others that began in the late eighteenth century and that reached a peak during and after the

31 *Milburn/ Ushaw* 22.

32 J.P. Kenyon, *The Popish Plot* (1972) 28-29, gives these figures and discusses the problem of estimating the size of the Catholic community.

33 Rev. J. Berrington quoted in *Milburn/ Ushaw* 89-90.

potato famine of the mid-nineteenth century.³⁴ However the emigrés of the war years, the return of apostates following the Acts of 1778 and 1791 and a number of converts, were all responsible for additions to the numbers in the Catholic body at this time. Milburn suggests that in the North of England, the most Catholic area, numbers rose from 31,645 in 1781 to about 80,000 in 1804, a very considerable increase that called for more priests to tend the flock and more schools for the education of Catholic children.

The priests returning during revolutionary times had many problems in re-organising their schools. Premises, books and money had all to be found. The secular clergy were often the most fortunate as they had ready organisers in the Vicars Apostolic who not only had an organisation ready to help, but also, in some cases had schools that had been connected with those on the Continent. For illustration, one need only look at the London District. Here the Vicar Apostolic already had a school at Old Hall Green, a small College that had taken boys up to the age of 16, at which age they had transferred to Douay or St. Omers to be trained for the priesthood or to undertake some higher education. Faced with the collapse of these schools and seminaries, Bishop Douglass (V.A. London District 1790-1812) instituted the College of Douay in England dedicated to St. Edmund, King and Martyr, on 16 November 1793.³⁵ The College at Ware, in Hertfordshire, began with 60 pupils drawn from a variety of backgrounds, ex-Jesuit pupils, English boys from Douay, French emigrés

34 For fuller information on this topic, see the following:-

W.M. Brady, *Annals of the Catholic Hierarchy* (1877),
 J.A. Jackson, *The Irish in Britain* (1963),
 J. Hickey, *Urban Catholics* (1967).

35 Ward/ Dawn II 99 and Ward/ St. Edmund's 48-49.

and native English boys from all over the country. This was a fine start, and from this base the College grew slowly to a total of 92 attending High Mass on 25 July 1796. Not all these were schoolboys, 14 were Divines and Philosophers.³⁶ These were young men either training for the priesthood or pursuing an advanced post-school course. In 1809 the number of boys reached 120, the highest recorded for many years.³⁷ After the war, circumstances were more difficult and numbers plummeted to 40 in 1818.³⁸ It is clear that this was largely a reflection of three factors: poor internal administration, a period of uncertainty among the Catholic community at the end of the French wars and changes in the Catholics' educational ideas.

This brief case study suggests the pattern of development followed by the Colleges under the direct control of the Bishops, and it could be repeated by analysing the development of Ushaw in the North of England.³⁹ It is necessary to be aware of the above trends and the circumstances reviewed below before looking at the work of the ex-Jesuits as it is only when seen against this background that the full measure of the Order's work can be understood.

Despite some of the obvious difficulties, two circumstances worked in favour of Catholic schools in general. First, in spite of the small size of the Catholic population, parents had striven to obtain Catholic education for their children in the face of great obstacles, so that when

36 Ward/ St. Edmund's 155-159, 138 and 163.

37 Ward/ Eve I 205.

38 Ward/ St. Edmund's 225.

39 Milburn/ Ushaw is the standard work on the history of the College since 1795.

the schools had a legal standing in England, they were assured of a steady stream of pupils. Many of the early pupils had actually been at schools on the Continent, while families who had sent pupils to these schools in the past, now used the schools in England. For example, when reviewing the state of the school in 1815, the historian of St. Edmund's was able to identify 23 notable Catholic families, six of them members of the Peerage, who had patronised the school in the previous two decades and who had formerly sent pupils to Douay.⁴⁰ There were also a number of armigous Catholic families who had only been able to afford the school fees since it came to England.

In addition to this, the government and curriculum of the schools had a tendency to remain stable over long periods of time. The essentially Catholic nature of the schools, and the fervent desire not to have their sons educated in Protestant schools was of the first importance to pious parents. The fact that the schools were controlled either by a Bishop or the constitutions of a religious Order ensured their Catholic faith as well as tending to make them less susceptible to the constant changes introduced by different personnel to which lay schools were subject.

The biggest problem of all was capital. Even under favourable circumstances, money or land was needed to launch the school and some extra income necessary in order to assure the continued viability of the enterprise. During the war, when the number of Catholic Colleges was small and the numbers of prospective pupils swollen by emigrés, these factors were still an important consideration. After the war they became crucial. According to the testimony of one Dr. Kirk, there was increased competition

40 *Ward/ St. Edmund's* 207-209.

for the reduced numbers of available pupils, and in the depressed economic conditions of the time many parents began to look for cheaper day schools for their children.⁴¹ Such attitudes created some financial strain for the boarding schools.

These general considerations applied to the ex-Jesuits, but their individual circumstances were much more favourable than those of other returning communities.⁴² Assistance, as will be shown, was forthcoming as soon as the Fathers landed in England. Therefore they never suffered the straitened financial circumstances experienced by other Orders and some secular clergy. This made them more successful during the war years than their competitors, and in peace time they survived with some security as the largest school for, and of, Catholic youth in England. This phenomenon is worthy of particular scrutiny.

The Gentlemen of Liège, as the ex-Jesuits were known on the Continent, were among the later groups of clerics to arrive in England. Although they had a number of missions in this country, the Fathers had no substantial property and, unlike other groups, had no formal relationship with a Vicar Apostolic. Thus they were forced to depend upon charity and school fees to a marked degree. However, they were fortunate in having as a friend Thomas Weld Esq., of Lulworth, one of the wealthiest landowners in England and an old boy of St. Omers.⁴³ Weld had been apprised of the school's plight by one of the most prominent ex-Jesuits, Fr. Charles Plowden, who had taken up the post of chaplain at the Weld seat, Lulworth Castle.

41 Archbishop D.J. Mathew, *Catholicism in England* (1948) 161.

42 F.C. Husenbeth, *The History of Sedgley Park School* (1856) 216, citing an article by Kirk in *The Catholic Magazine* (1832) 497.

43 Archbishop D.J. Mathew, *Catholicism in England* (1948) 161.

Weld's representatives were sent to meet the party from Liège, which consisted of two Fathers, five Scholastics and a dozen boys, when it landed at Harwich. The party was there informed that Mr. Weld was lending to the school the old Hall of Stonyhurst and 44 acres of land around it, a portion of the Weld's Stonyhurst Estate in North Lancashire.⁴⁴ The President, Fr. Marmaduke Stone, and the Procurator, Fr. Charles Wright, went to Lulworth to conclude the arrangements while the rest of the party went on to Stonyhurst.⁴⁵

The building to which the party travelled was not at that stage used by the Weld family. It had passed, along with the large and wealthy estate to the Welds from the Shireburns, and, although the Welds augmented the lands by marriage, they did not occupy the estate but leased it out. It is difficult to be certain of area, but it is known that it spanned the Lancashire/Yorkshire border and in 1795 returned a gross rental of £8,321 10s. 7 $\frac{1}{4}$ d.⁴⁶ As this was a depression year in agriculture, it might be expected that the net return, which took in reduced rents, would be lower by a large sum. This is in fact not the case, and the estate returned a net income of about £7,000, which tended to rise during the decade.⁴⁷ This may be explained by the fact that this depression was primarily one that affected the grain farming areas, while the Stonyhurst Estate was largely concerned with mixed or stock farming.⁴⁸ As estate

44 J. Gerard S.J., Stonyhurst - a Centenary Record (1894) 39-40.

45 L & N, Vol. 32 (1914) cxciv 214.

46 L.R.O. DDSt. Weld Estate Rentals.

47 J.D. Chambers and G.E. Mingay, The Agricultural Revolution 1750-1850 (1970) 112ff.

48 W.E. Minchinton, 'Agricultural Returns and the Government during the Napoleonic Wars', in W.E. Minchinton (Ed.) Essays in Agricultural History, Vol. II (1968) 110.

farm rentals remained steady at around 10s. 0d. per acre in the late 1790s, it suggests that this type of husbandry may well have helped prevent the area feeling the effects of the depression caused by the Napoleonic wars.

The pattern of continued well-being is reinforced by looking at the figures for 1809-10 which show gross returns of £11,236 3s. 4½d. producing £9,064 12s. 7¾d. net.⁴⁹ A further confirmation of the importance of the estate is the salary paid to the agent. In 1795 this was £200 which compared very favourably with that paid to agents on the estates of the great aristocratic magnates such as that at Raby belonging to the Duke of Cleveland.⁵⁰

The general economic prosperity of the whole estate was of great relevance to the Fathers in the school at Stonyhurst Hall. First, it meant that the land in the Fathers' possession, either farmed by the College itself, or rented out, was of direct value to the ex-Jesuits. Further, attached to Stonyhurst was the mission to the villages of Stonyhurst and Hurst Green. This was served by the Fathers from the College, and collections and pew rents normally paid to the missionary went to College funds. There were a number of Catholic tenants and workers on all the Weld estates and the extra source of income from the chapel must have been very valuable in the early days of College life.

Most important of all, the prosperity of the whole estate allowed Mr. Weld to convert his initial loan into a gift.⁵¹ Matters did not rest

49 L.R.O. DDSt. *Weld Estate Rentals*.

50 F.M.L. Thompson, *English Landed Society in the Nineteenth Century* (1963) 161.

51 Gerard, *op. cit.* 136.

here however. As the family had so rarely occupied the Hall, it had fallen into a dilapidated state. The first Procurator, Fr. Wright was famous for his economies, but very tangible help came from the Welds.⁵² For example, in 1797, paving stones for the floors were given; in 1803, £28 13s. 8d. was added to the bills of the Weld boys at the College to pay for the carriage and installation of an organ; and in 1810, when timber was bought at the estate saw mills, a discount of one third was made by the agent upon the direct order of Mr. Weld.⁵³ This enabled the buildings to be made habitable and even extended at a low cost.

From 1809 onwards the College's own estate became more extensive and more valuable due to gifts from the Weld family and by purchase. This provided a strong base for the later restored Society of Jesus in England; it enabled the burden on receipts from scholars' fees to be eased and a larger number of scholars to be admitted. The Fathers were assured of a living and there was a school from which future Fathers might be recruited. Enough money became available to open a Noviciate at Hodder, a mile from the College, and here the future Fathers could be given the training that would enable them to staff the missions and prevent these from being transferred into secular hands.⁵⁴ This would have denied the ex-Jesuits income and a place in which to fulfil their vocations.⁵⁵

52 *Bassett/ Jesuits* 358.

53 *L.R.O., DDSt. Weld Estate Rentals and D.C.R.O. Weld of Lulworth* AF 99.

54 *Bassett/ Jesuits* 372.

55 *Holt, op. cit.* 155. Fr. Holt states that the Society had about 120 missions in 1780. By 1817, 20 of these had been given up in the North of England alone, and were then taken on and staffed by the secular clergy.

A study of the secondary source material reveals that the other Colleges, conducted by both secular and regular clergy, were much less well-provided for than the ex-Jesuits.⁵⁶ Even a school like Sedgley Park, that had been established in England for some time and whose educational role was slightly different, found itself in some financial difficulty.⁵⁷ Stonyhurst thus enjoyed financial strength denied to other Colleges, and in these circumstances grew rapidly to become the largest College for Catholic youth in England.

It is possible to gain some idea of the school's annual intake in the whole period 1794-1840,⁵⁸ but total numbers are more difficult to ascertain in detail as boys did not stay for a definite time and might leave the school after a matter of days if they did not like it or their parents wished them to go elsewhere.⁵⁹ None the less, the small group of twelve who had arrived in August 1794, had grown to forty in October. In 1797, when the school was advertised extensively in the Laity's Directory, there were ninety on the roll.⁶⁰ A brief glance at the Gerard list (see Appendix I) shows that from August 1794 to December 1797, 160 boys entered the school. As the advertisement shows, at this latter date fees were varied according to age: for boys under twelve years - 37 guineas; for those over twelve - 40 guineas and for those in Rhetoric or Lay Phil-

56 H. van Zeller, Downside By and Large (1954);
H.M. Birt, Downside (1902);
J. McCann and J. Cary-Elwes, Ampleforth and its Origins (1952);
see also other works cited in this chapter.

57 Fees were less than £20 per annum and the school had very little land.

58 See Appendix I - the registers are no longer extant.

59 Stonyhurst College Archives, Minster's Journal.

60 Gerard, op. cit. 105.

osophy -- 45 guineas.⁶¹ It is clear from the bills of the four Weld sons at the College at this time that reductions were made for brothers, but that some studies like designing and drawing were extra, as were some activities like fencing and dancing.⁶² The College kept up the Continental tradition of permitting boys to go home only for the long summer vacation.⁶³ Sums charged for clothing and shoes (made on the premises) and the concoctions of the apothecary were also added to the half-yearly bills.

Compared with the fees given for board and tuition in other Colleges, the fees at Stonyhurst in 1797 were higher than those charged at the Benedictine and Secular Colleges. This was probably necessitated by the lack of long term funds belonging to the Order and the chronic need to refurbish the building. It may have been possible to charge such sums because of the large numbers who wished their sons to benefit from the highly respected type of education offered by the ex-Jesuits. As will be shown below this may have had a strong appeal to a wider social spectrum in the Catholic community than the education offered by other schools.

61 *Rhetoric was the oldest class of boys in the school proper. L & N, Vol. II (1894) 105, states that the school was divided into six classes. The Lay Philosophers were a post-school group. Fees are taken from Gerard.*

62 *D.C.R.O., Weld of Lulworth AF 99.*

63 *Although extensively chronicled by Gerard and Chadwick, further evidence is to be found in D.C.R.O., Weld of Lulworth AF 99. The account for 1803 includes the following extra items:*

<i>Music</i>	<i>15s. 3d.</i>
<i>Apothecary</i>	<i>£1 14s. 6d.</i>
<i>a suit of Black</i>	<i>£6 13s. 0d.</i>

The imbalance between the colleges did not last long. By 1816 all the Catholic Colleges had raised their fees. Stonyhurst's had been raised slightly so that forty guineas were charged for those under twelve and £50 for those above.⁶⁴ This remained stable until 1840, when boys in Rhetoric were charged an extra ten pounds. The fees at their competitors' Colleges rose more steeply after the early period so that by around 1820 all the Colleges were charging much the same sort of fees. The only exception was Sedgley Park, which provided a markedly different sort of education.

Considering the period from the school's inception to 1840, the early differences in fees do not seem to have affected the growth of the College. In the early years of the nineteenth century it fluctuated at just below 150 boys, but from 1810 onwards another class had to be added. In September 1813, numbers were at 226.⁶⁵ Although there has been some dispute about this, it would seem likely that this was the peak figure in the first half of the century.⁶⁶ After the war, numbers at Stonyhurst and at all other Catholic colleges fell very sharply in terms of admissions and total numbers. The low point was reached at Stonyhurst in 1829 when there were only 120 boys in the school. Doubtless this had much to do with the anti-Jesuit clauses in the Catholic Emancipation Act, and after the scare was over numbers began to rise, albeit slowly, exceeding 150 in 1852. This was still a larger number than other colleges and seems to

64 D.R.O., *Salvin Papers D/Sa/C131*.

65 Bassett/ *Jesuits* contends that the highest figure exceeded the above and climbed to over 250 in 1815. However, he offers no evidence to support this and it may simply be oral tradition. Gerard offers a figure of 214 for 1815 based on a *Composition List* of 11 May.

66 J. Gerard, *Stonyhurst - a Centenary Record* (1894) 141.

demonstrate the long term support felt for Jesuit studies. It also shows how popular Stonyhurst had been with the parents of emigré children, the larger proportion of whom, when attending English Catholic colleges, had gone to Stonyhurst.

This situation was most significant and requires careful examination. Two principal reasons can be given to account for Stonyhurst's predominance among Catholic Colleges in the early nineteenth century. The first of these, and by far the least important, had to do with the attraction of the school to the parents of boys in the emigré community. Initially emigré pupils attended many Catholic Colleges, irrespective of their proprietorship. However, those secular priests who had fled from their native France often had to set up day schools to supplement the monetary relief they were given by the English government.⁶⁷ This meant that emigré pupils who had been educated by the secular clergy in France tended to leave English colleges and go to those run by Frenchmen. This was of little effect among the ex-Jesuits.

The Jesuit situation in France was completely different. The Brief of Suppression in 1773 had been antedated in France by a Royal Decree of Expulsion in 1764.⁶⁸ Those parents who had wished their sons to be educated by the Society sent them to existing Jesuit colleges in other countries, and after the Brief of 1773, to groups of ex-Jesuits like the Gentlemen of Liège, who continued to run schools. Therefore, when the emigrés came to England, there were no native French ex-Jesuits running a school, and thus the pupils they might have taught gravitated towards

67 Ward/ *Dawn* II 30-31.

68 Campbell/ *Jesuits* II 496.

Stonyhurst. In 1814, when the Society was restored, there was only one fully trained Jesuit in France, but recruits were soon forthcoming and the Society opened eight French Colleges and began to increase in numbers.⁶⁹ This naturally drew French pupils from Stonyhurst causing a fall in numbers, although, such was the vitality of the College, it did not reduce its size below that of the other English Colleges.

The second factor that accounts for the success of Stonyhurst in the period 1794-1840 was its wide appeal to, and concern for, education for boys drawn from all sections of the Catholic community. The College was not, to use Pugin's phrase, 'a priest factory', but was open to purely secular pupils. Indeed the separation of the noviciate from the school in 1803, and the creation of the Juniorate at St. Mary's Hall in 1830, all within the Stonyhurst area, but distinct from the College, emphasises this point. Such an action was not undertaken by other Catholic groups. The boys in the Jesuit College were educated in a religious, and highly moral, atmosphere but not primarily for the religious life.

On the Continent, and to some extent in England, the Jesuits had been seen as teachers of the aristocratic élite of Catholic Europe. The data to refute this as completely as it deserves no longer exists, but it is possible to show that the College in England was filled with boys drawn from a much wider social class background than the English Catholic aristocracy. In so doing the point about educating the whole Catholic community is supported.

69 J. Padberg S.J., *Colleges in Controversy* (1969) ix and 1. On page 9 the author states that in 1824 there were 108 priests, 131 scholars, and 81 brothers in the restored French Society of Jesus.

Two sets of figures exist for the number of entrants to Stonyhurst in the years 1794-1825. One is the list in Gerard's Stonyhurstiana to which reference has been made. The other is in the form of a Biographical Dictionary compiled in the 1930s and published in the Stonyhurst Magazine.⁷⁰ The registers or other documentary sources which must have formed the basis of the work have disappeared from both the Archives of the Society of Jesus in London and from the collection of material at the College. However the Dictionary was clearly based, in part, on the work of Gerard for the two sources for modern studies complement one another. The authors of the Dictionary were able to find identities for 1,374 of the 1,422 boys stated by Gerard to have entered the school during the period 1794-1825. Gerard had found identities for fewer boys than this. Besides the name of each boy, the Dictionary also lists his entry date and, in the case of 579, provides a short biography running from two lines to several paragraphs in length. All these more detailed entries provide the leaving date of the boy concerned.

A brief glance at the Gerard list and the Dictionary shows that the war years are somewhat different from those following. In order to elucidate this difference the following table was compiled (see Table I).

Not only was the annual average of entries higher during the war, but of that number only 33.73% left any record of their passing. In the years of peace the identities of 62.98% were known, and the great majority of these were at the school more than two years.⁷¹ Of the boys who did

70 See sources listed in Table I.

71 The period of two years was chosen because contemporaries would have claimed that this was the period that a boy needs to be in the school in order to be influenced by it. The Jesuits themselves argued that this was the period in which a boy might be influenced detrimentally if he had been at another school prior to enrolling at Stonyhurst. Any such boy had to provide an attestation of his 'morals and docility' before entering the College - Stonyhurst College Archives, College File Books.

TABLE I

Stonyhurst Pupils:- Entries and duration of attendance

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H
1794-1814	1,076	51.24	363	299	64	33.7%	27.8%	6.0%
1815-1825	346	31.45	216	190	26	63.0%	55.4%	7.5%

A - Total entries on list

B - Average annual entries

C - Number of pupils with detailed entries
in the DictionaryD - Number of pupils who stayed two years
or more

E - Number of pupils who stayed less than two years

F - Total in column C as a percentage of column A.

G - Total in column D as a percentage of column A.

H - Total in column E as a percentage of column A.

Sources: H. Chadwick and M. Trappes Lomax, *Stonyhurst Biographical Dictionary in Stonyhurst Magazine*
Vols. XX (1929-38).

J. Gerard, *Stonyhurstiana* (1895).

enter in the years up to and including 1814, and for whom there is no substantial record, nothing can be said except that it would seem logical to conclude that a large proportion of these were emigrés as there are quite a number of clearly foreign names among the residue in the Dictionary and for whom detailed biographies do not exist. In the detailed cases only 18 foreigners can be traced. That there were a large number of foreign boys at the school in the war years is substantiated in part by Gerard, who states that for many years after the French wars there was a local legend that the school had been a refugee centre for French and Spanish boys.⁷² It is also possible that English parents who had previously not sent boys to the ex-Jesuits tried out their educational system and did so now. When the school was not found to be to their liking, the boy would be removed, thus becoming one of those for whom there is little record save a very short stay at the College.

One interesting factor which was important in explaining the fall in entry after the war, and that will be explored further below, was the drift to day colleges and schools by pupils in the 1820s and 1830s. It seems likely that this was a national trend that influenced middle class Catholic parents just as much as those of other denominations. It was only when the fashion shifted back to boarding education, and middle class parents began to ape their social superiors, that entry numbers began to climb again.

Again it is significant that a greater proportion of those coming to Stonyhurst after the war stayed for more than two years at the College. This suggests a settled community at the College and a more settled Cath-

72 J. Gerard, *Stonyhurst - a Centenary Record* (1894) 109.

olic population. Parents who had come to this country from overseas might move around for a while, and, having found a home, settle down and withdraw their son from the College in order to educate him at home. Nicholas Hans found that this type of education was favoured at the end of the eighteenth century, and then gave way to a call for day schools in the 1820s.⁷³ Gradually Stonyhurst outlived the effects of these fashions.

Further analysis of the pupils listed in Column C of Table I is possible and these have been tabulated in Table II. Details are initially taken from the Stonyhurst Biographical Dictionary, but some arrangement, calculation and verification have all been necessary.⁷⁴ The table covers the whole period 1794-1825. Obviously some of the boys in columns A, B and C were the same as those in D, E and F. The larger samples indicate that if the period is dealt with as a whole, the numbers in each year are fairly even.

Column C represents those parents who may be termed 'middle class'. The question of defining middle class and other such terms is very complex for this period, but here it refers to merchants, solicitors, barristers, medical men and large manufacturers or those that could be so described subsequently.⁷⁵ In discussing this group of people, it is important to remember that a group of professions were not open to Catholics until the passing of the 1791 Relief Act for those in England or

73 N. Hans, *New Trends in Education in the Eighteenth Century* (1966).

74 See Table II and sources.

75 A. Briggs, 'The Language of Class in Early Nineteenth Century England' in A. Briggs and J. Saville (Eds.), *Essays in Labour History* (1960) 43-74.

TABLE II

Stonyhurst Pupils:- Family backgrounds and priestly vocations

	A	B	C	D	E	F
1794-1825	45	137	22	22	112	120

A - Total number of boys at Stonyhurst from families with a hereditary title - Baronet and above

B - Total number of boys at Stonyhurst from families of gentry status

C - Total number of boys at Stonyhurst from professional and mercantile families

D - Total number of boys who subsequently entered the secular priesthood

E - Total number of boys who subsequently entered the Society of Jesus

F - Total number of boys who came to the College from Ireland

Sources: H. Chadwick and M. Trappes Lomax, *Stonyhurst Biographical Dictionary in Stonyhurst Magazine, Vols. XX-XXV (1929-38)*

G.E.C., *The Complete Peerage (1920)*

Burke's *Peerage and Baronetage, 113th Ed. (1963)*

Burke's *Landed Gentry, 18th Ed. (1965)*

Burke's *Landed Gentry of Ireland, 4th Ed. (1954)*

J. Gillow, *Biographical Dictionary of Catholics (1885-1902)*

the 1793 Relief Act for those in Ireland.⁷⁶ Thus a number of fathers whose status would have allowed them to train for the above professions were unable to practise them and their sons' class is unknown. For instance, there were Catholic conveyancers prior to the 1791 Act, but it was not until after the Act that Catholics could become solicitors and barristers. One such was the well-known Charles Butler, a man with great knowledge and experience of the law, but who was unable to practise, merely advise and teach.⁷⁷ Thus boys at Stonyhurst whose fathers could be listed under these terms were comparatively few, not because they lacked the knowledge or means, but because they had been denied professional entry by law.

The figures for Table II probably produce a weighted sample, for the most famous boys, or those whose names were entered in works of reference, probably came from socially prestigious families. In terms of the sample, those in columns A and B are all of their type and should be considered against the quantity of all the boys entering the school at that time rather than just those for whom detailed studies exist. If these figures are compared with another analysis of school composition in this period, the study set out in Table II shows some interesting features.⁷⁸ The survey by T.W. Bamford is based on much fuller information so that the largest proportion of pupils whose parental social status is unknown occurs at Eton in the decade 1811-1820 for 47.23% of

76 *31 Geo. III Cap. XXXII and 33 Geo. III Cap. XXI; see also U.R.Q. Henriques, Religious Toleration in England, 1787-1833 (1961) 136-138.*

77 *M.D.R. Leys, Catholicism in England 1559-1829 (1961) 194-195.*

78 *T.W. Bamford, 'Public Schools and Social Class, 1801-1851', in British Journal of Sociology, Vol. V, 12 (1961) 224-233; see Appendix II for comparative statistical analysis of this data.*

the boys. This is an unusually large number, it is normally much less. The Bamford study shows the preponderance of boys from titled or gentry families in the great boarding schools of England. If one excludes the sons of Military Service or Clerical families, the participation by other social class groups was very small indeed. In the period 1801-1820, part of Bamford's study, no group of boys of titled or gentry origin was less than 47.80% of the total number in a boarding school of the type Bamford studied. In the cases of Eton and Harrow they exceeded 80% of the boys whose social class of origin could be ascertained. Only in the case of St. Paul's was the trend reversed, titled and gentry families were a minority, but this might be expected in a prominent day school historically serving the families of the leading City merchants in London.

In the Stonyhurst figures the trends found for non-Catholic boarding schools are not borne out. Of those for whom detailed biographies exist, 31.45% came from gentry or titled families, and of the total number of boys at the College in the period, this group forms only 12.80%. The Catholic nobility and gentry were not a large group; their numbers had declined in the face of penal legislation and social and political ostracism. The Duke of Norfolk and Lord Petre were the only Catholic peers with any influence in the House of Commons in the early nineteenth century.⁷⁹ The boys listed in column A of Table II, which includes the sons of Baronets, were drawn from the small group of noble families who remained loyal to their faith. It is noticeable that when historians of other Catholic boarding Colleges write of their more prominent alumni, -

79 See the lists on 'Patronage of Peers' in A. Aspinall and E.A. Smith, English Historical Documents 1783-1832 (1959) 224-228.

these pupils are drawn from the same group of families as those to be found at Stonyhurst.⁸⁰ A real problem arises when one considers the Catholic gentry. Those referred to in standard works cataloguing gentry families have been noted in column B of Table II, but this may not be a complete or justifiable guide when this sort of criterion is applied to Catholic families. Bamford makes the point succinctly:

*'The gentry ... are the landed gentry, and below them existed a large 'border zone' of independent people who accepted gentry standards and way of life. This may be defined as non-manual, non-professional, moneyed, leisured, having links with the land in the 'estate' sense and living on income, preferably from property. They were educated either at home or with other gentry and kept an establishment with servants ... Some of these lived on property too small to be considered as landed (about 1,000 acres), others were not associated with the land at all, while yet others came within the category of 'gentlemen and ladies living on incomes' ... In adopting the gentry mode of life it is probable that many parents conformed to the educational features of the class and sent boys to Public Schools.'*⁸¹

This sub-group has been placed by Bamford in his 'Others' category, and it would seem probable that a number of the unknowns in the Stonyhurst survey, irrespective of their having detailed biographies or not, belong to this type. This would have raised the number of pupils in column B. This is a valid point, as Catholic families had been forced to pay heavily through recusancy fines, double land tax and other such measures for their adherence to their faith. These measures were bound to reduce a family's lands, and hence their social status.

A further point, which again suggests that Stonyhurst was different in social composition from the English Public Schools analysed by Bamford, was that some of the more prestigious Catholic families did not wish to

80 Cf. note 56, Ward/ St. Edmund's and Milburn/ Ushaw.

81 Bamford, op. cit. 230.

PLATE 1

STONYHURST COLLEGE, LANCASHIRE

The West Front



send their sons to a denominational school. As early as the late 1780s, the Cisalpine Club, a pressure group of prominent Catholics, had attempted to form a school under lay control for their children.⁸² This stemmed from dissatisfaction with existing clerical efforts as well as fears of social stigmatisation. This latter was a powerful force and noble and gentry families, whose sons would have found political and other contacts with their Protestant social equals difficult, eschewed Catholic schools. This was something felt by all non-Anglicans. Dissenting Whitbreads renounced their Quakerism to send their sons to Eton and Cambridge to aid their social mobility, while Dukes of Norfolk adopted Anglicanism in order to save their estates from dispersal.⁸³ Some prominent Catholics even attended the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, although the practice was discouraged on moral grounds.⁸⁴ None proceeded to degrees, as this was not possible, even at the slightly easier Cambridge, without fully subscribing to the 39 Articles. This participation in University life was at this time a mark of social attainment and recent literature has suggested an almost exclusive domination of the Universities by the socially prestigious in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.⁸⁵

For those whose position was below that of the aristocracy or gentry, classification of social position is less easy. Twenty-two of the Stonyhurst pupils are known to come from professional or mercantile backgrounds,

82 Ward/ *Dawn* I, 117.

83 J.P. Kenyon, *The Popish Plot* (1974) 35, and D. Rapp, 'Social Mobility in the Eighteenth Century: the Whitbreads of Bedfordshire, 1720-1815', in *The Economic History Review*, Vol. XXVII, 3 (1974) 380-394.

84 V.A. McClelland, *English Roman Catholics and Higher Education 1830-1903* (1972) chapter 1.

85 H. Kailble, *Historical Research on Social Mobility* (1981) chapter 4.

but the real figure is likely to be much greater. Firstly, because of their small numbers and clear indication by Catholic historians, it has always been easy to identify the Catholic aristocracy and gentry, thus columns A and B in Table II contain maximum numbers. Secondly Bamford's study shows that sons of such parents were in a minority at the Public schools, but as Stonyhurst does not correspond with these schools in terms of a social élite component, it is tempting to think it does not correspond in other ways as well. In which case many of the unknowns among the detailed biographies and elsewhere may well belong to the 'middling sort' or be of even lower social status.

It was the custom of the Society to educate gratuitously a boy who showed a vocation but whose parents could not pay for his education. A large number of the boys who joined the Society and who are enumerated in column E of Table II have no occupations listed for their parents, yet in all other respects their lives were well-documented.⁸⁶ Some of these boys may well have come from poor backgrounds and thus add another dimension to the social admixture of the College.

The Irish boys, listed in column F of Table II, were not the sons of Irish immigrants. Some were from Irish gentry families, like O'Ferrall, Thunder and Wyse, and are also represented in the numbers in column B. Others were probably of the sub-gentry type. In terms of the detailed studies, Irish students represent 20.72%, but only form 8.44% of the

86 From the early 1860s, obituary notices of English Jesuits who died were published in the Jesuit journal, *Letters and Notices*. A study of these, and the biographies in the *Stonyhurst Biographical Dictionary*, does not reveal any information on this point. Such information that does exist is to be found in odd references in the *Minister's Journal* at Stonyhurst or in the files of the individual Jesuits, preserved in the Archives at Farm Street.

total number of students admitted. There are also a number of names among the unknowns that have a distinctly Irish sound. This large percentage of Irish boys is not surprising, for Ireland had been a Dependant Mission of the English Mission before the Suppression of the Order. It had only the 'hedge schools' that obtained for the Catholics in England; boys who wished to go further went to the English colleges on the Continent. After the Suppression, Irish ex-Jesuits tended to think of themselves as a separate group, although nominally under the President of Stonyhurst. As a consequence of this growing independence, Fr. Peter Kenny opened the first Jesuit college in Ireland, in 1814, at Clongowes Wood.⁸⁷ The growing autonomy of the Irish Jesuits was officially recognised when in 1829 it became a separate Mission. This was followed by Vice-Provincial status in 1830, and in 1860 the Irish Jesuits became a full Province of the Society.⁸⁸

With the establishment of an Irish college, the numbers of Irish pupils going to Stonyhurst did fall slightly. However, a proportion of Irish boys continued to be educated in England at the Society's boarding and even day colleges.⁸⁹ Perhaps they wished to enjoy an English education among the children of the leading Catholic families of the governing country, or as a matter of family tradition. Some may have been children from Irish middle class families, a burgeoning group from the mid-eighteenth century onwards.⁹⁰ Sadly, the detailed cases in column C of Table II were all of English origin.

87 *Bassett/ Jesuits* 309 and T. Corcoran, *The Clongowes Record 1814-1932* (1932) chapter 1.

88 *L. and N.* Vol. XXXII (1914) cxciv 306.

89 Evidence is to be found in the Prefect's Log and Minister's Journal in each of the schools about the relevant entertainments put on to celebrate St. Patrick's Day. Arrangements were made later in the century for Irish boys to board in Liverpool to attend St. Francis Xavier's College.

90 See material in J.C. Beckett, *Irish Historical Studies IV* (1969).

There are no comparable studies of the alumni of other Catholic Colleges. The Biographical Register for Stonyhurst is unique; other Colleges have issued lists of their old pupils and the histories of those institutions mention pupils who came from prominent Catholic families, but this is practically all.⁹¹ Fr. Husenbeth in his History of Sedgley Park School takes notice of a number of pupils, mostly of middle class status, and all of whom had become prominent scholars and theologians. These former pupils were exceptional in that they had overcome the normal middle-class curriculum of the school to achieve their scholastic eminence. Emphasis by the school on this sort of pupil may account for distrust by the laity of the Bishops' schools. With a well-established tradition of teaching pupils not destined for the Church, the Jesuits at Stonyhurst may well have been a more attractive educational centre for non-church boys, especially those from middle-class backgrounds.

Writing of middle-class education in the period explored by this chapter, E.L. Greenberg argues that:

*'The great awareness in science and technology which accompanied the Industrial Revolution of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, resulted in increasing dissatisfaction with the classical curriculum which was offered by most Grammar schools. Many private modern schools or academies emerged during the eighteenth century. During the first four decades of the nineteenth century more of these schools were established, particularly in the new industrial areas. The rising middle class demanded a 'useful education' which included modern studies.'*⁹²

91 P.M. Jacobs, Registers of the Universities, Colleges and Schools of Great Britain and Ireland (1964) lists the Jesuit Colleges as well as the Benedictine foundations at Ampleforth and Downside. A special search was made of the St. Edmund's Records, but no registers were discovered.

92 E.L. Greenberg, *The Contribution made by Private Academies in the first half of the Nineteenth Century to Modern Curriculum and Methods* (unpublished M.A., University of London 1953) iii-iv.

Musgrove, who states that: 'Tuition in the home was by no means new in the late eighteenth century: what was new was its increasing extent, and, in many instances, its greater effectiveness', gives a list of books that could be, and were, used by the home tutor of this period.⁹³ Musgrove further argues that:

*'The child centred middle class family of the late eighteenth century jealously guarded and enfolded the child, insulating him from undesirable contacts and often altogether from his age-peers.'*⁹⁴

Neither Musgrove nor Greenberg studied the problems of the denominational school; indeed Greenberg states that the majority of the schools she studied eschewed denominational allegiance in order to appeal to the widest possible range of parents.⁹⁵ Hans' study of Dissenting Academies was made by one looking for innovation in the curriculum, but he notes that parents were concerned about the religious welfare of their children, and that some of the schools were slow to relinquish their denominational intensity. However, writing of a later period, Hans concludes that:

*'... gradually Dissenters became an integral part of the nation, and had no more reasons to guard jealously their distinctive traditions. They joined forces with other progressive groups in providing reforms in the nineteenth century.'*⁹⁶

Two major Dissenting boarding schools, Bootham School and Mill Hill School, were both very slow to grow in this period, perhaps as a result

93 F. Musgrove, 'Middle Class Families and Schools 1780-1880: Interaction and Exchange of Function between Institutions', in Sociological Review VII (1959) 171.

94 *Ibid.* 170 and 173.

95 Greenberg, *op. cit.* 115.

96 Hans, *op. cit.* 55-57 and 62.

of strong identification with Quakerism.⁹⁷

However there is a strong element of paradox in this situation. If parents were desirous of protecting their children from 'undesirable contacts' then it would seem that a highly moral denominational boarding school was just the place. However this ran counter to a major pre-occupation of many parents -- the desire on their part for their child to live at home. Thus private Academies flourished in the period 1800-1840. In London, the authorities of the Established Church were well aware of this and made concerted efforts, certainly in the Middlesex parishes, to cater for middle class pupils by opening day schools.⁹⁸ The Jesuits seem to have been the only Catholic group to be aware of this and to have attempted to do something practical about the phenomenon. Thus the Society opened a day school in Norton Street, in London, in 1824.⁹⁹ This school was carried on in the London residence of the Fathers, and catered for, at the most, 30 pupils. There was no attached church, the Vicar Apostolic of the London District being antipathetic to Jesuits having a mission in the area, so the school had no outside source of finance, nor a pulpit from which to advertise the existence of a Jesuit boys' school to the Catholic population. The original aim had been to keep a free school, but this experiment had to be curtailed in 1833 and fees of £3 per term were charged. This did little to help and in 1836 the school was closed. Fr. Lythgoe, one of the masters, gave a partial explanation in 1834 of the declining fortunes of the establishment:

97 N.G. Brett-James, *The History of Mill Hill School* (1923), and F.E. Pollard, *Bootham School 1823-1923* (1926).

98 M.E. Bryant, 'Private Education', in *Victoria County History of Middlesex*, Vol. I (1966) 258-260. I am grateful to the author for drawing my attention to this work.

99 T.G. Holt, 'Notes on a London Day School' in *London Recusant* (May 1977) 66-67.

*'For as to the school which we have at present; it does little or no good. We have only nineteen scholars, and one of that number is going to leave us. Those of the Trades people that can afford to give their children anything of a liberal education send them to Boarding schools or Colleges. There are besides many other inconveniences attending the little school into which I cannot enter at present.'*¹⁰⁰

It is clear from this letter that the Jesuits were not gaining as clients, many other boys than the sort they normally gained at Stonyhurst. One reason for this, perhaps one of the minor inconveniences, was the lack of a chapel. Even when lay patrons offered a chapel in St. John's Wood, the Vicar Apostolic prevented them from accepting it. The subsequent acrimonious dispute sealed the fate of the school.¹⁰¹

It would seem that opposition from the secular clergy, limited finance, and inability to advertise were the chief reasons for the failure of the day school. Letters of support from the laity and the promotion of some boys to Stonyhurst could not overcome these disadvantages, nor could a wide-ranging curriculum.¹⁰² French was taught in the school and educational excursions were made to the Houses of Parliament, Westminster Abbey and the Greenwich Dockyard rather than the severe Classical curriculum found elsewhere.¹⁰³ These departures are very significant as they show the way in which the Jesuits attempted to educate the whole Catholic community by providing a broad curriculum.

Much of the education at Stonyhurst, as at the London school, would have appealed to the middle class of the time. In a moral sense, the

100 A.S.J., *College of St. Ignatius Papers 1750-1854*, f176, Fr. R. Lythgoe to Fr. T. Glover, 2 May 1834.

101 Ward/ *Sequel I* 28-30.

102 A.S.J., *College of St. Ignatius Papers 1750-1854*, ff173 and 241.

103 Holt, *op. cit.* 66.

school was much more strictly controlled than was the case in other boarding schools. At Stonyhurst the boys were timetabled to attend both Mass and Prayers each day. At the beginning of each school year a three day Retreat was organised by the Fathers, with the actual spiritual direction in the hands of a priest of the Society who was not a member of the Stonyhurst community.¹⁰⁴ Classes were taken by Scholastics under the guidance of the Rector and the Prefect of Studies, who was often, but not always, a fully professed Father.¹⁰⁵ This is not typical of Protestant boarding schools, of which it has been stated:

*'... that by the middle of the eighteenth century the masters in most schools tacitly ceased to concern themselves with anything but instruction, and permitted the moral character of the boys to develop by itself.'*¹⁰⁶

This situation does not seem to have altered until the effects of the Arnoldian reforms began to be implemented in schools.

When the Stonyhurst boys were not in the classroom, supervision was continued by the vigilant and observant Prefects. This body of from one to four were not

'older and stronger boys, supported by the sanction of custom, who ruled the school like feudal oligarchs under the titles at various times and in different institutions of prefect, monitor and praeposter, '

but members of the Society who controlled the activities of the boys in the playground, in the dormitory, in the study place, and almost anywhere else within bounds.¹⁰⁷ These officers also carried out punishments. No

104 Stonyhurst College Archives, College MSS., First Prefect's Log 1817-1821, *Distribution of time and annual instruction*.

105 Padberg, *op. cit.* 208-209, the Scholastic was a trainee Jesuit who had undertaken his noviciate and the equivalent of a degree course. The Prefect of Studies was a curricular director for the school and supervised the teaching staff.

106 E.C. Mack, *Public Schools and British Opinion* (1938) 34.

107 Mack, *op. cit.* 40 and the Prefect's Log 1817-1821 which lists duties

class teacher punished a boy, instead they were sent for 'ferrulas' to the Prefect on duty.¹⁰⁸ This had the effect of removing a boy from a wrathful teacher, and prevented resentment building up in the boys. There was none of the widespread and indiscriminate floggings that were a feature of English boarding schools in the age of Keate of Eton. Severe punishments along these lines were inflicted on a few notable occasions, but only in one recorded instance was a boy to run away because he feared punishment.¹⁰⁹ In general other coercive measures were used. For instance, suspension from treats or from the Sodality.¹¹⁰ This system was little different from that in practice at St. Omers in the eighteenth century, and was similar to that found in most Catholic Colleges, but was more rigorously enforced at Stonyhurst and probably with less violence.¹¹¹ These two factors, consistency and moralistic humanity, were attractive to the early nineteenth century middle class parent as pictured by Hans, Greenberg and Musgrove.

The studies at Stonyhurst began to change soon after the school was opened and in this respect were more attractive to parents who did not want their sons to be priests. The school began to abandon the older type of curriculum about ten years after Stonyhurst opened. Such curricula were still in vogue in many English schools, and consisted

108 A leather or gutta percha tawse. Blows were given on each hand up to the number of 'twice-nine'. This was used throughout the period of this study.

109 Stonyhurst College Archives, Minister's Journal. In particular, the case of John Stonor in 1832.

110 The Sodality was a select body of pupils who dedicated their devotions to the Virgin Mary. It was found in all Jesuit schools and pupils tried to excel in their studies and to be models of devout and pious behaviour for their fellows.

111 Milburn/ Ushaw 159 and 170-171.

solely of a study of the Classics. At first a wide range of studies was not possible, not because the College was backward looking, but because, according to Fr. Gerard, there was expertise in the Classical sphere and facilities for other studies were meagre. Virgil and Horace were read, but English and French also formed part of the curriculum.¹¹² Plays, always a part of Jesuit activities, were performed at the first of the annual prize days, the Academies,¹¹³ beginning in 1795. Mathematics were introduced in 1809, when conditions allowed, for this subject had been part of the Jesuit programme of studies since 1599.¹¹⁴ All subjects were taught to the class by the Scholastic who was in charge of the class, but he was supervised by the Prefect of Studies, who held a quarterly examination of all the classes. The same Scholastic took his form through from Elements to Rhetoric.¹¹⁵

This was not however the full extent of the studies in the period 1794-1840. As soon as the more immediate financial needs had been satisfied in terms of the buildings, a laboratory for scientific work was planned in 1803. Donations were called for, not only to supply the buildings, but also the scientific and mathematical instruments.¹¹⁶ Gerard gives a list of the subscribers who donated among them several thousands of pounds. The list not only includes the names of Catholic

112 J. Gerard, *Stonyhurst - a Centenary Record* (1895) 168 and 170.

113 This was referred to over a number of years in the *Stonyhurst Magazine* as play bills were discovered around the school and past pupils identified.

114 E.A. Fitzpatrick (Ed.), *St. Ignatius and the Ratio Studiorum* (1933) 175, 'Rules for the Professor of Mathematics'.

115 Gerard, *op. cit.* 171.

116 Gerard, *op. cit.* 130.

nobility and gentry, but also several important and charitable non-Catholics, such as the Earl of St. Vincent, who sent £50, and the Duke of Northumberland.¹¹⁷ The laboratory was probably used by the Philosophers -- the boys beyond the ordinary school course -- for the first few years, but a widening curriculum extending science to the rest of the school was promised in a prospectus of 1816.

*'The Scholars are taught FRENCH, LATIN and GREEK, and all the branches of CLASSICAL EDUCATION, SACRED and PROFANE HISTORY, GEOGRAPHY, ARITHMETIC, ALGEBRA and GEOMETRY, with all the other parts of MATHEMATICS in the respective classes ... The College has also a handsome museum or repository, containing an extensive apparatus for the study of Mathematics and experimental philosophy, with a chemical laboratory and adjoining lecture room for public exhibitions, and lectures on the above subjects, and other branches of useful knowledge.'*¹¹⁸

A consumer study would be needed to ascertain to what extent these subjects were studied and the papers on which this could be based have rarely survived.¹¹⁹ However, a partial collection of school papers has survived among the Weld of Chideock manuscripts relating to the period 1821-1828.¹²⁰ Charles Weld entered the class of Elements in 1821, under Mr. C. Chadwick, a Scholastic. Mr. Chadwick took the class through to Rhetoric in 1828-9, and was also Prefect of Studies from 1828 to 1830.¹²¹ He began with a class of 42, aged between 8 and 14, and by the seventh year of the course this had reduced itself to 6. This was in spite of

117 Archbishop D.J. Mathew, Catholicism in England (1948) 180.

118 D.R.O., Salvin Papers D/Sa/C 131, Fr. M. Stone to W.T. Salvin, 23 August 1816.

119 There is a total absence of quarterly reports and examination papers, normally prepared by the Prefect of Studies, for the period studied in this chapter.

120 D.C.R.O., Weld of Chideock Papers D16/F16 and D16/F17.

121 J. Gerard, Stonyhurst - a Centenary Record (1895) 300, Appendix A, Staff List.

the fact that at the start of the final year there had been 12 in the group.¹²² Their progress shows how boys left at frequent intervals during the course. These figures of numbers leaving during the first two years compare well with the overall figures given in Table I. Numbers may have been maintained to a partial extent by the entry of boys into the class at any time during its school life, but the Weld list does not show how such events affected this particular group of boys. This is, unfortunately, the only class for which it is possible to obtain such information.

Classics formed a large part of the work which Charles Weld kept among his papers, but his manuscripts also provide evidence of wider studies. There are notes on a lecture 'The Structure of Language', given by a Dr. Blair; an essay on Magnetism; and copies of notable speeches by English statesmen on important issues.¹²³ The purpose of these latter seem twofold from the way in which they were copied; first to keep the boys abreast of the works of these eminent men, and also to help them develop a prose style of their own from these examples. Weld's Rhetoric exercise book shows the final development of this work; a subject was given, a prose essay was written and then turned finally into verse.¹²⁴

In Latin and Greek, little of an original nature has survived, most of the work is translations. The earliest work appears to be from Virgil

122 D.C.R.O., *Weld of Chideock Papers D16/F16 show:-*
 4 left in *Elements*, 6 left in *Figures*, 4 left in *Rudiments*, 4 left in *Grammar*, 1 left in *Syntax*, 6 left in *Poetry*, 6 left in *Rhetoric*, 3 were promoted to other classes, and 2 died. Thus 36 departed in various ways and 6 remained.

123 E.G. Lyttleton on *Catholic Emancipation* and Edmund Burke against *Warren Hastings*.

124 D.C.R.O., *Weld of Chideock Papers D16/F17*.

or the Sentences of Cicero, but the list studied in Rhetoric was a good deal longer.¹²⁵ There was also an essay comparing Ancient Greece and Rome with Ancient Britain. Religious studies were represented by a set of notes for Confirmation.

Like all educators of the time, the Jesuits presented a course that was coherent in terms of their ideals. There may have been social pressure for certain items to be included, as happened at the socially prestigious English boarding schools, or as shown by the attempts made in the Leeds Grammar School case of 1805, but, in general, schools presenting their own course were free from the pressures of external interference.¹²⁶ The Jesuits' guide was the Ratio Studiorum of 1599, in which Mathematics played some part, and the sections of the Constitutions of the Society which dealt with education.¹²⁷ The Ratio had been revised in 1616, but it has also been shown that the Ratio was flexible enough to allow the introduction of Natural Science and other new subjects, as well as allowing the Jesuits to develop a tradition of Drama from the early seventeenth century.¹²⁸ As has been seen, many of these ideas were continued at Stonyhurst, and represent a continuous line of development from the original Ratio; the early performance of plays at the school being a good example.¹²⁹

125 D.C.R.O., *Weld of Chideock Papers D16/F16 contains notebooks on the following:-*

Virgil - Georgicks;
Horace - Book II, Satires ii and iii;
Homer - The Iliad;
Demosthenes.

126 B. Simon, Studies in the History of Education 1780-1870 (1960) 105-107.

127 E.A. Fitzpatrick, op. cit. passim prints the relevant parts.

128 A.P. Farrell, The Jesuit Code of Liberal Education (1938) 365 and 368, R. Schwickerath, Jesuit Education (1904) 148-172.

129 J. Gerard, op. cit. 98.

When it was restored in 1814, the Society was determined to do something to consolidate the new educational developments that had particularly grown up since the Suppression of 1773.¹³⁰ The work of undertaking the revision of the Ratio was placed in the hands of a special commission, and in 1832, under the direction of Fr. General John Roothaan, a revised Ratio was drafted.¹³¹ The principles of the document had been expressed in a report drawn up by the Vice-Provincial of Germany, who wrote:

*'The character of our people demands (1) that secondary school pupils be instructed not only in Latin and Greek but especially in the vernacular literature, in eloquence and elocution; (2) that earnest insistence be placed upon the study of mathematics, particularly in so far as it is serviceable for commercial and other public uses; (3) that to the studies above mentioned be joined profane and sacred history, both universal and national, and their auxiliary subjects, geography and chronology; (4) that religious instruction, notably in the classes of Humanities (in England - Poetry) and Rhetoric, be directed to preparing the youth to withstand modern errors.'*¹³²

This report is very close to the scheme followed by the new Ratio, except that some study of the Natural Sciences was later encouraged. Had the new Ratio been approved by the General and the Congregation of the Society, it might have proved innovative in the Order's Colleges at the time, but in the longer term may have been too strict and shackled those who wished to introduce new educational ideas. This was not the case. Instead, despite various attempts, the document remained only as a pointer to the direction it was thought advisable for studies to take. In this way it permitted individual Principals to adapt the curricula of their Colleges to meet national problems

130 Farrell, op. cit. 363 states that this was first discussed at the first General Council of the restored Society in 1820.

131 Schwickerath, op. cit. chapter VI.

132 Farrell, op. cit. 385-386.

and to show their approval of national trends in education. Thus the Jesuit colleges had some flexibility in their approach to the curriculum. As Stonyhurst produced not only boys destined for lay life but also those with vocations, they were able to produce a course less rigid than that of the seminaries, where the joining of school to college for aspiring priests made a true separation of profane from sacred studies more difficult. Again Stonyhurst's size made breadth of study more possible than in the schools belonging to the other Regular clergy which were smaller. This appealed to a wide range of parents and the work carried on at Stonyhurst and in the London school in the period 1794-1840 gave future Provincials experience and knowledge that permitted the flexibility of the Jesuits to be extended from one school to a whole group serving the major Catholic communities of England.

The extent to which any Provincial was prepared to implement either the Ratio or his own ideas, depended on the conditions under which the Society was working in any particular country. Attention has already been drawn to the lack of finance apart from the Weld gifts, and the more limited supply of pupils in England after the war, but other considerations also applied. The 1791 Relief Act allowed priests to enter the country, and even say Mass in Catholic chapels. In 1791, Jesuits were not singled out for any special attention as technically they did not exist and had the status of secular priests only. Neither were the Bishops hostile as they were gaining more priests to serve their flocks.

In 1794 the amount of anti-Catholic feeling appears to have been small -- a fact noted by Bishop Douglass in his diary.¹³³ However, though the attitude of the Government and people during the war years was one of

133 *Ward/ Dawn II* 204-209.

tolerance, this was a negative tolerance which removed some penal laws but did not give the Catholics civil equality. Checks were maintained on the number and location of emigrés, and in 1800 a Bill was introduced into Parliament against Religious Houses.¹³⁴ Although lost in a House of Lords committee, it had widespread support. In 1801 Pitt resigned after seventeen years as Prime Minister, on the thorny question of Catholic Emancipation. The first glimmer of hope for Catholics came in 1812, when with the death of Spencer Percival and assisted by the views of the Prince of Wales, who was now Regent, Canning succeeded in getting a motion passed in the House of Commons, by 235 votes to 106, to alter the Catholic laws in the next session.¹³⁵ As far as other matters were concerned, the Government interfered little, though there is evidence that the creation of new, permanent colleges was discouraged by Pitt.¹³⁶ This lack of interference, however, did not obtain in the Bishops' relations with the ex-Jesuits.

There were attempts by the Bishops to control the ex-Jesuits and even incorporate them into the secular wing of the priesthood. Fr. Stone resisted Bishop Gibson's attempt to control the destiny of Stonyhurst in 1794, and this resistance had to be repeated in 1796 when the Bishop again attempted to amalgamate the College with his own. This amalgamation would have suited the Bishop very well in view of the financial saving that it would have made possible. It was also argued by the Bishop that the Jesuits not only took the boys with the highest academic record who had vocations, but did not use them in his own diocese. It is difficult to

134 Ward/ Dawn II 204-209.

135 Ward/ Eve I 3.

136 Milburn/ Ushaw 44.

see why the Bishop thought that the Northern Diocese, in which Stonyhurst was situated, had the only call upon the priests the school produced as the boys themselves came from all over the country. As no records of academic attainments have survived, it is impossible to judge Bishop Gibson's belief. Table II shows that 9.75% of boys for whom detailed studies exist became priests attaching themselves to different dioceses, but most of those with vocations entered the Society - 19.34% of those with detailed biographies. The Society had missions in most parts of the country and had to send priests to these as well as to missions overseas. Despite these facts the dispute was acrimonious and of long standing, and this probably explains Bishop Gibson's persistent efforts.

The response of the Fathers was swift. They appealed to Rome, and the Brief that had given the College the status of a Pontifical Seminary at Liège was renewed.¹³⁷ The status of such an institution seems to have been difficult to define and appears to have prevented further action by the Bishop; at least a long advertisement in the Laity's Directory for 1800 asserted their independence.¹³⁸ Further security was obtained in March, 1803, when the group of ex-Jesuits in England was allowed to affiliate itself to the Society of Jesus that had existed in Russia since 7 March 1801.¹³⁹ This situation lasted until 1814, when the Society was fully restored in Rome. The first round in the conflict with the Bishops ended in the Jesuits' favour. However, the very act of restoration created a new threat to Stonyhurst.

137 Bassett/ Jesuits 359-360.

138 Laity's Directory for 1800, 15-16.

139 Campbell/ Jesuits 636 and Bassett/ Jesuits 364-366.

In the country as a whole the cessation of hostilities in 1815 saw the relaxation of controls over the civil population, but when the country was in the grip of post-war depression, several popular movements for reform sprang up. As many of the emigrés had returned to their homelands, there was no longer any necessity for the Government to aid Catholics and the question of Catholic Emancipation found many new supporters. Even so, despite the fact that

*'Catholic Emancipation was the non-party issue par excellence ... there can be no doubt that most of the inhabitants of Great Britain were opposed to civil equality for Catholics as they had been for two hundred years.'*¹⁴⁰

Although this majority was not well organised and had little real leadership, it contained men of great eminence and ability who were prepared to do their best to discredit the Catholic cause and in doing so invoked the spectre of the Jesuit plotter to stir up popular feeling.

At the same time the Vicars Apostolic, with the exception of Bishop Milner, were not well disposed towards the English Jesuits, both in the missions and at Stonyhurst, and resisted the restoration of the Society in England.¹⁴¹ The details of the struggle that followed are related extensively by Bernard Ward, but it is the educational aspects of the matter that are important in the context of this study. Stonyhurst remained open and may have gained in importance from 1818 when St. Edmund's began to adopt a more ecclesiastical tone, and was developed much more as

140 G.I.T. Machin, The Catholic Question in English Politics (1964) 2 and 6.

141 *The Society was welcomed by the Irish Hierarchy, but the Jesuits did not have charge of Missions, see L.R.O., RCLV Letters prior to 1850, Bp. Gibson to the Rev. R. Thompson n.d. 1818 states the Bishop's view that the ex-Jesuit Gentlemen of Stonyhurst were secular clergy under his authority. See also J. Connell, The Roman Catholic Church in England 1780-1850 (1984) chapter V.*

a seminary than as a school.¹⁴² This, coupled with poor administration, caused the number of boys entering to decline. The effect of the changes at St. Edmund's on Stonyhurst was probably to help maintain the level of entrants after the war, when, despite the pressure of the Bishops, it continued to function as the largest Catholic boys' school. This was not the case with the Noviciate; its candidates had to be extremely dedicated and many left, and in a difficult period, from 1821-27, it had to be sent abroad.¹⁴³

The idea of returning to the Continent, both during and after the war, had been canvassed at Stonyhurst as elsewhere, but no action was taken. Firstly, the old building that the Society had used at St. Omers was now a military hospital, and when the question of its return was raised, the Fathers at Stonyhurst had neither the men nor the money to spare to negotiate with the French for the return of the premises. Moreover the Jesuits were not paid compensation for the loss of their property by the English Government, out of the funds available, as the money might be devoted to superstitious purposes.¹⁴⁴ However, in 1829, a new problem arose which might well have persuaded the Fathers to contemplate a return to Continental Europe. At the very time a Rescript of Pope Leo XII finally declared that the Society of Jesus was restored in England, the Catholic Emancipation Act made it almost impossible to be an English Jesuit and work legally in England.¹⁴⁵ A measure of the Jesuits' alarm was that at the time when the Fathers were registered under the Act, twelve boys in

142 Ward/ *Eve* III 24-25, chapters XXXV and XXXVI, and 188-211.

143 Bassett/ *Jesuits* 372 and *L. and N.* Vol. XXXII (1914) cxciv 300-301.

144 Ward/ *Eve* II 265-266 and Ward/ *Eve* III 1-7.

145 *10 Geo. IV cap. 7*, clauses xxviii-xxxvi.

the school who had expressed vocations were registered as novice members of the Society, so that they should not be excluded by the Act. One of these boys was only in Rudiments, the third form of the school.¹⁴⁶

Peel had attempted to reassure the Society at the time of the passing of the Act, stating that the anti-Jesuit clauses were a sop to public feeling, and would not be implemented. Gerard comments that this was not believed at the time and there may be substance to this as county returns were called for down to 1863.¹⁴⁷ At the same time there was a constant element of anti-Jesuitism in the anti-Catholic feeling of the period.¹⁴⁸ A sporadic pamphlet war, centred around the alleged evil intentions of the Jesuits gave the Fathers no grounds for feeling secure, despite a collection made on their behalf by old pupils in 1829.¹⁴⁹ A certain animus, real or imagined, on the part of the secular clergy added to this, and was believed by some Jesuits to have been responsible for the loss of the London school in 1836.

Even in difficult times the college at Stonyhurst had survived and, compared with its Catholic competitors, had done so with considerable success. It was larger, better financed and better organised to appeal to the laity than other colleges. Under new leadership in the 1840s there was to be renewed expansion. There was already a foretaste of this

146 *L. and N. XX* (1902) *cii*, 411. 5 were in *Rhetoric*, 3 in *Poetry*, 3 in *Syntax*, and 1 in *Rudiments*.

147 *D.C.R.O.*, *Weld of Lulworth Papers D16/F22*. There is a copy of the Register in this collection showing demands for returns by Whitehall in 1833, 1836, 1837, 1851, and 1863.

148 See *E.R. Norman, Anti-Catholicism in Victorian England* (1968) 13-23, and *Stonyhurst Pamphlet Collection Vol. 2/31* which contains copies of 15 pamphlets variously written for and against the Jesuits between 1815 and 1867.

149 *D.R.O.*, *Salvin Papers D/Sa/C 146*, *T. Weld to W.T. Salvin*, 9 January 1829.

in the late 1830s with a rising number of entrants to the school. Perhaps the best comment on Jesuit education in England in the period before 1840 is that of Fr. Edward Walsh, who, in giving advice to young gentlemen on setting out for France, unwittingly gave a picture of his Order's own ability to survive and succeed in England:

*'I would advise you when abroad to lay yourself out to obtain the goodwill of some persons of consideration; a little docility and engaging manners will procure it. You have all the requisites to succeed; youth, sprightliness, a prepossessing form, and a competency of means to produce yourself in the best company.'*¹⁵⁰

¹⁵⁰ Stonyhurst College MSS, A.11.24 f40 cited in Archbishop D.J. Mathew, Catholicism in England (1948) 180.

MAP 2

JESUIT DAY COLLEGES OF ENGLAND AND SCOTLAND 1794-1914

MAP 2

MAP TO SHOW THE LOCATION OF JESUIT DAY COLLEGES IN ENGLAND AND SCOTLAND 1794 - 1914

- A London, Marylebone 1825 only, and 1833-36, Wimbledon founded 1892,
and St. Ignatius, Stamford Hill founded 1894.
- B St. Francis Xavier's, Liverpool, founded 1842.
- C Manchester 1852-54, and Salford 1875 only.
- D St. Aloysius, Glasgow, founded in 1859.
- E Preston Catholic College founded in 1865.
- F Bedford Leigh 1904 - 1907.
- G. St. Michael's, Leeds, founded in 1905.



CHAPTER TWO

CREATING THE VINEYARD -
the expansion of the English
Jesuit Colleges, 1840-c.1870

'The Roman Catholics', not even a sect, not even an interest, as men conceived of it, not a body, however small, representative of the Great Communion abroad, but a mere handful of individuals who might be counted like the pebbles and detritus of the great deluge; and who, forsooth, merely happened to retain a creed which, in its day, indeed, was the profession of a Church. Here, a set of poor Irishmen, coming and going at Harvest time, or a colony of them lodged in a miserable quarter of the vast metropolis. There, perhaps, an elderly person, seen walking in the streets, grave and solitary and strange, though noble in bearing, and said to be of good family and a Roman Catholic. An old-fashioned house of gloomy appearance, closed in with high walls with an iron gate and yews, and the report attaching to it that Roman Catholics lived there; but who they were, and what they did, and what was meant by calling them Roman Catholics, no one could tell, though it had an unpleasant sound and told of form and superstition ... Such was about the sort of knowledge possessed of Christianity by the heathen of old time, who persecuted its adherents from the face of the earth and then called them a gens lucifuga, a people who shunned the light of day.¹

Thus John Henry Newman in his sermon 'The Second Spring', in which he described his knowledge of English Catholicism, and that of many others in England, in the years before the Oxford Movement.

Perhaps the most important feature of the life of the Catholic community in the period from 1840 to the early 1870s was the change in the size and composition of that community. Prior to 1840 the Catholic community was seen and understood in the traditional way described by Newman, its size being augmented from time to time by a number of Irish immigrants. Many believed that this community was small, consistent with Newman's ideas, perhaps less than 80,000 souls in 1780.² The force of this view was very considerable and led to a series of misconceptions among the later Catholic leadership whereas at the time contemporaries

1 J.H. Newman, Sermons Preached on Various Occasions (1857) 199-200.

2 J.P. Palmer, 'The Registrar General's First Report on Births, Marriages and Deaths', in Dublin Review Vol. VII (1839) 454-484.

may have had grounds for greater optimism in considering the size of the Catholic community.

Newman's views of the Catholic community before his conversion were those of an outsider and he carried these into the Roman Church. Those already part of this community, who understood the situation more fully on the basis of statistical evidence, have left behind a different picture. Returns made by the English Vicars Apostolic to Rome in 1837 and 1839 and figures produced by the Registrar General in 1821 present a very different scenario. As a whole the English population had approximately doubled between 1780 and 1840, while it seems possible that the Catholic group grew sixfold. J.F. Palmer, the Registrar General, estimated that there were likely to be half-a-million Catholics in England and Wales in 1821.³ Palmer's article, which was written in 1839, went on to argue that this was probably an underestimate and that the figure was likely to be greater. From the point of view of those involved among the Catholic Hierarchy, Palmer must be regarded as an objective source. His views must be seen as important support for the Bishops' Returns of the Catholic congregation to Rome, shown set out in Table III.

The Bishops' figures were based upon parish attendance and represent those Catholics who were attending chapel and were at some time seen by a priest. This gives a notional total of 370,000 and there is every reason to believe that this was an underestimate.⁴ Priests and chapels

3 W.M. Brady, *The Episcopal Succession in England, Scotland and Ireland*, Vol. III (1877, reprinted 1971) 158, 183, 237, 289.

4 There were, if one analyses the ratio of communicants to priests and chapels elsewhere, perhaps 100,000 Catholics in the Midland District. The terms 'missions' and 'chapels' are the correct ones to apply to what are normally termed 'parishes' and 'churches' for the whole of this study, although writers at the time, and later, rarely apply this technical distinction. The old terms were deemed to apply even after the restoration of the Hierarchy in 1850 as the country was still under the guidance of the Sacred Congregation *de Propaganda Fide*, and certain parochial rights and organisations had not been permitted by the Bishops. The situation was not regularised until 1918.

TABLE III

Table to show the composition of the Catholic Church and community in England in the late 1830s

<u>District</u>	<u>Year</u>	<u>Estimated Cath- olic Population</u>	<u>Converts</u>	<u>Chapels</u>	<u>Priests</u>
London	1837	157,314	518	68	126
Midland	1837	8,000 in Birmingham alone	476	114	N/A
Northern	1839	180,000	N/A	190	211
Western	1839	24,580	221	54	57

Source: Adapted and arranged from W.M. Brady, The Episcopal Succession in England, Scotland and Ireland (1877, reprinted 1971).

were chronically inadequate and if one analyses the figures in the Table for the London, Northern and Western areas, they produce a ratio of one priest to every 1,250 lay Catholics, a huge congregation for a single priest. Indeed, Nicholas Wiseman, the first Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster, was struck, upon his return to England from Rome in 1835, that 'Catholics had just emerged from the Catacomb' and that there was a great lack of organisation as well as a dearth of chapels and priests.⁵

In such a chaotic situation it seems likely that the true number of Catholics was even greater. Many were never reached by a priest, indeed there were whole counties in England in the 1820s where there was no chapel. By 1833, despite heroic efforts to remedy the situation,

*'three counties had only one church, four counties had only two and two counties had only three. Then there was considerable fear among the Vicars Apostolic that numbers of Catholics were being lost to the faith each year through "leakage".'*⁶

This, in turn, produced a considerable drive to extend the number of chapels and reduce the loss. Table IV gives some indication of the fruits of this effort.

This was a substantial achievement, but it was based on considerable commitment. The Catholic authorities had to divert much of their funds into providing chapels and other parochial facilities rather than into secondary schools and other matters they felt to be non-essential.

Their concern was fueled by rising numbers of souls requiring ministers. For example, the Laity's Directory stated in 1840 that there

5 B. Fothergill, Nicholas Wiseman (1963) 103-104.

6 J.D. Holmes, More Roman than Rome (1978) 101.

TABLE IV

Table to show the growth of parochial facilities in England, 1824-1845

<u>Year</u>	<u>Chapels</u>	<u>Priests</u>
1824	346	N/A
1832	402	N/A
1839	431	488
1841	469	577
1845	508	666

Source: Adapted and arranged from data in T. Murphy, *The Catholic Church in England and Wales in the last two centuries* (1892)

were 700,000 Catholics in the country.⁷ In 1842 the Vicar Apostolic of the London District, Bishop Griffiths, stated in a letter to Prince Hohenlohe that he believed the problem was graver than this. He stated that he believed that there were 900,000 Catholics in England, and that conversions were taking place at a rate of 2,000 to 3,000 each year.⁸ This is most likely a very optimistic view of both overall numbers and conversions, but it has significance.

Firstly, it suggests that the Catholic population was much larger than Newman's view would lead one to believe, and therefore larger than many contemporaries would have conceived. Secondly, Griffiths must be seen as an expert, if biased, witness. He had been Coadjutor to his predecessor for three years prior to his accession to Apostolic office in 1836 and had been based in the London Diocese which gathered most of the national information for Rome. Finally, he was aware that the Catholic community was increasing dramatically in size each year. It is likely that the number of conversions is an over-estimate and also contained some re-conversions of strayed communicants, but overall the position was that the Catholic community was expanding in a way that was outstripping facilities.

A major problem faced by the Bishops was the dearth of priests. There were only three episcopal seminaries in England; St. Edmund's, Ushaw and Oscott, the numbers they produced were small and sometimes of dubious quality.⁹ Again, many of the priests had to work among the poor.

7 *Laity's Directory* (1840) 11.

8 *Ward/ Sequel*, 92, Bp. Griffiths to Prince Hohenlohe, 4 May, 1842.

9 J.D. Holmes, *op. cit.* 173-174, shows the poor quality of the priests in Nottingham that resulted from this policy in the long term.

There were perhaps 400,000 Irish working in England in 1841, many of whom had been attracted by the industrial work available in this country.¹⁰ This group, like the native Catholics, was not scattered uniformly over the whole country, but was concentrated strongly in London and Lancashire, as well as providing some substantial enclaves in other industrial centres. Often they were among the most exposed to diseases such as cholera and needed priestly help. This created a terrible toll. In 1838, in the Northern District, 26 priests died in 18 months ministering to the sick, while in 1847, a further 9 were killed as a result of carrying out relief work in Liverpool.¹¹ Losses on this scale, given the limited number of priests, generated immense pressures on those left behind, and upon their superiors to remedy the situation.

It is important at this juncture to stress that this was the state of the English Catholic community prior to the Irish famine, and the massive influx of poor Catholics who entered the country at that time. It also predates the arrival of the Oxford converts who were to be so influential on Church policy later in the century. It is hardly surprising that the overriding concern of the Bishops was for the poor and the parochial agencies most necessary to help them, and that this was to be communicated as a priority to many converts.

Yet amid this other Catholics had concerns that they shared with some Anglicans and others that represent the problems of altogether different elements of the Catholic community.

10 E.P. Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class* (1963) 470.

11 J.D. Holmes, *op. cit.* 161, and T. Burke, *Catholic History of Liverpool* (1910) 86.

In 1837, the Catholic M.P., Thomas Wyse, stated a view he had in common with other Englishmen:

*'The middle classes are peculiarly its (the Liverpool Mechanics' Institute's High School) object, and the middle classes, above all others in the country, constitute the best combination of the thinking and acting principles in society. This important portion of the community has suffered in common with others, but more perhaps than all others, the deficiencies and evils of the existing system.'*¹²

Wyse, like Thomas Arnold in his Sheffield Courant articles of 1831, was lamenting the provision of schooling for the middle classes.¹³

Wyse, together with a group of Anglican clerics and laymen, opened the Liverpool Schools while other Anglicans, in 1838, formed a 'Committee of Inquiry and Correspondence' under the auspices of the National Society. The aim of this body was to act as a corporation to set up schools for the sons of farmers and tradesmen.¹⁴

This effort must be seen as part of a wider struggle. From the 1830s to the Taunton Report of 1869 and after, there was a constant debate on the problem of providing satisfactory education for the middle classes. The work of the Anglican London diocese noticed in the last chapter and the National Society Committee mentioned above are examples of the official Anglican answer to the problem. Other Anglicans acted independently. Nathaniel Woodard produced a denominational programme, while others more non-denominational, like the Liverpool Mechanics' Institute or the later scheme of J.L. Brereton and Earl Fortescue.

12 *Thomas Wyse, M.P., Speech on the opening of Liverpool Mechanics' Institute Schools (1837)* 24.

13 A.P. Stanley, Life of Thomas Arnold (1904) 245 and 275.

14 B. Heeney, Mission to the Middle Classes (1969) 14-18, citing the *National Society Archives, Minute Book of Inquiry and Correspondence*, 13.

The Catholic community was not aloof from these pressures and ideas. Some of the Catholic schemes were referred to in the last chapter. As early as 1791, the Cisalpine Club had urged the founding of middle class schools, while five new schools for the middle class were advertised in the Laity's Directory of 1792. These were all proprietary schools run by laymen. The first cleric to interest himself in day schools for Catholic middle class boys was the Abbé Carron, an emigre who opened a school for 50 such boys at Somers town, in London, in 1799.¹⁵ However the Abbe's effort was probably undertaken for gainful employment, a motive shared with the proprietary school entrepreneurs. Indeed it was these men who made the most frequent attempts in the early nineteenth century to educate the Catholic middle class.

Proprietary schools were advertised regularly in the Catholic Directory, but they seem to have had only limited lives. Battersby, who studied such schools of the 1850s, found that only seven of the schools founded prior to 1850 survived beyond 1860, and yet eighteen were founded in 1850 alone.¹⁶ This precarious sort of life seems to have been general for the earlier decades as well. The reasons for this are not hard to find. As Fr. Lythgoe told Fr. Glover in the letter of May 1834 quoted in the previous chapter, parents preferred boarding schools to day schools. Again, if the school was not conducted by clergy, something of the uniquely religious atmosphere was missing. Finally they often had limited curricula based on inexperienced and poorly qualified staff.

15 W.J. Battersby, 'The Education of the Middle Classes in the 1850s', in The Month (1948), September, 82 and 85; see also T.G. Holt, 'Some Early London Catholic Schools', in London Recusant Vol. V (1975) 46-54.

16 W.J. Battersby, op. cit., 83, there were also 5 girls' schools of similar age, all in the hands of the laity.

Officially the Catholic Church failed to respond to the challenge. Although the Vicars Apostolic had some idea of the rising numbers in the Catholic population, they had less idea about structure. In any case they seem to have been most concerned with the huge problems presented by the difficulties of the poor Catholics and the 'leakage' among those without contact with priests. This pre-occupation seems to have increased when in 1840 the number of Vicars Apostolic was doubled from 4 to 8. Despite having smaller districts to administer, most of the episcopal administrators had held office under the old system and saw their former problems in their new dioceses. Added to this was the view of Nicholas Wiseman. Wiseman made several visits to England during the 1830s in his capacity as Rector of the Venerabile. During these visits he travelled, lectured and met members of the Catholic body as well as participators in the Oxford Movement.¹⁷ In 1840 he came back to England on a permanent basis and although his post was only coadjutor to the Vicar Apostolic of the Midland District, his influence was enormous. Wiseman carried the full blessing and authority of Rome, but his appreciation of the Catholic community in England was highly coloured by this very authority, to the extent that his appreciation of the needs of the community was limited. Thus Wiseman tended to see the needs of Rome and the Irish as being pre-eminent rather than the needs of the Catholic middle class.

In direct contrast to many of these ideas were those of the Jesuit Provincial appointed in September 1841, Fr. Randal Lythgoe.¹⁸ Lythgoe

17 W. Ward, *The Life and Times of Cardinal Wiseman* Vol. I (1897), 220-260.

18 Randal Lythgoe, S.J., 1793-1855. Educated at Stonyhurst, he entered the Society in 1812, fully professed 1836. He had been Minister at Stonyhurst and Vice-Rector in London.

had received some of his training as a Jesuit abroad, but the bulk of his life had been spent in England. He was a product of an old Catholic family and thus had a comprehensive understanding of the old English Catholic community as well as concern for its education. This had been strengthened by his experiences in the Society. Lythgoe had been educated at Stonyhurst, where he also served as Minister and had taught in the London day school referred to in the last chapter.

Immediately prior to Lythgoe's appointment to the Provincialship, the Society had begun to come into conflict with the secular clergy. In London the Society wished to open a church probably without full parochial status. They also wished to establish themselves in an area of London close to the homes of their wealthier lay supporters. Bishop Griffiths felt that this was unreasonable and offered them an East End parish.¹⁹ This was full of poor Irish and there was a dearth of priests. The Society, which seemed to have the support of the Congregation of Propaganda de Fide, responsible still for England as a Missionary country, wanted a centre in the capital to enable easier Provincial administration, but this did not seem important to the Bishop. The dispute dragged on until 1844 when the foundation stone of the church in Farm Street was laid.²⁰

Lythgoe not only inherited this quarrel, but it serves to indicate the dichotomy between his views and his immediate predecessor with those of the Bishop. That the Society could have taken on a parish in the East

19 *Details of the problem are to be found in the relevant letters of 1839-1842 in W.A. London District Letter Book.*

20 *L. & N., Vol. XXXII (1914) cxciv, 304-305.*

End is without doubt, but they believed that their work was elsewhere. Lythgoe soon began to put this into effect. Concerned as he was with the education of boys from the Catholic middle class, he opened two schools for such boys in 1842. In September, Mount St. Mary's, a boarding school for boys, was opened at Spinkhill in Derbyshire and, in the following month St. Francis Xavier's, a day school, was opened in Liverpool. Both were destined to be Colleges of the Society, but more temporarily styled "Collegium Inchoatum" (half-finished) until they were successfully working.

The earliest extant description of the work that Lythgoe had in mind comes from a letter of March 1843 to the English Assistant, Fr. R. Glover in Rome.²¹ Even this is somewhat brief in its indication of intent, rather it goes into the success or otherwise of the two schools. In the case of Mount St. Mary's, Lythgoe states:

'... we opened a school at Mount St. Mary's (formerly Spink-hill) principally to take up, suppose to the end of Grammar, a certain number of Boys, who destined themselves for the Church, and also such among the middle classes as could not, for want of means, have been sent to some more expensive establishment.'

This was quite clear to Lythgoe, but perhaps not so clear to his subordinates. Lythgoe states in his letter to Glover that he has had difficulties with the Fathers sent to the College. In the space of six months there had been five Superiors, and this had nearly ruined Mount St. Mary's. However, Lythgoe hoped Fr. Polding, the latest would do well.

One superior, Fr. Thomas Tracy Clarke, wrote a lengthy letter to the Provincial in which he described his difficulties.²² He was unable to

21 A.S.J., MQ/9, Mount St. Mary's Papers, Fr. R. Lythgoe to Fr. R. Glover, 2 March, 1843.

22 A.S.J., MQ/9, Mount St. Mary's Papers, Fr. T.T. Clarke to Fr. R. Lythgoe, 20 December, 1842, much damaged.

"ascertain the real specific object of this Institution. The question has often been put in my hearing, but never satisfactorily answered". He believed, from the Prospectus, that he was to teach "a full course of Humanities", but both men and materials were wanting. Clarke's solution was to suggest the initiation of a less demanding scheme.

'Church boys intended for Stonyhurst () as far as Grammar (or Rudiments) taught as much as would enable them to join their class at Stonyhurst, be fed and clothed more in accordance with their rank and pension, be supported by the Church Fund for and treated in all respects in a more humble way? Should they not prove likely subjects they might be sent home free from the extravagant and serious notions above mentioned, and well qualified for business together with other children of the middle class who might not be intended for the church?'

Fr. Clarke appears to have come close to understanding the situation, but was moved as he took too much interest in the mission, according to Fr. Lythgoe. His apprehension of the purpose of the school is borne out by the prospectus of 1845, the earliest to survive.²³

'The course of Instruction which is calculated fully to prepare youths for the higher Ecclesiastical studies, or for Commercial pursuits, embraces Reading, Writing, Arithmetic, Book-keeping, Geography, History, sacred and profane; Elocution and a sound grammatical knowledge of the English, French, Latin and Greek languages. Algebra, Geometry and Trigonometry are taught if required. The pension, which must be paid 6 months in advance, is £35 per annum, with £2 entrance money, and £1 per annum for the use of school books.'

These fees are less than those of Stonyhurst, which were £50 p.a. while the Bishop's middle class school at Sedgley Park was charging £28 per annum.²⁴ Schools for the middle class boy founded by non-Catholics, of

23 A.S.J., MR/1, Mount St. Mary's Papers, Prospectus:- 'A.M.D.G. Mount St. Mary's de Spinkhill, Classical and Commercial Education'.

24 F.C. Husenbeth, History of Sedgley Park School (1856), 250.

which the Woodard Corporation's, cited below, are a good example, charged from £12 to £50 per annum, but schools comparable to Mount St. Mary's charged £30 per annum.

Lythgoe, who had ensured that the school was well endowed by building it on the site of an old Jesuit mission with an estate of 200 acres, had provided a middle class boarding school for a social strata beneath the group who could afford to go to Stonyhurst. Within three years, in 1845, the population of the school was 68 in number with every prospect of rising further. Despite the ambitiously wide curriculum proposed in the Prospectus, the proprietors of the school seem to have found a group with an educational need the school satisfied.

Lythgoe's other foundation, in Liverpool, was a different proposition again. This was a day school, founded in association with the newly opened Liverpool mission of St. Francis Xavier. Even to contemplate opening a school in Liverpool was a hazardous occupation, for the Society had only obtained permission from Bishop Brown with difficulty to gain a Mission despite having the support of a large number of the laity.²⁵ The Bishop had given his consent to Fr. Bird, Lythgoe's predecessor as Provincial, but later appears to have disagreed with the interpretation of his words, the Jesuits having gained permission under a "false impression".²⁶

25 T. Burke, *op. cit.*, 61-62. See also M. Whitehead, 'The Contribution of the Society of Jesus to Secondary Education in Liverpool: The History and Development of St. Francis Xavier's College, 1840-1902' (unpublished Ph.D., University of Hull, 1984; hereafter Whitehead Ph.D.), 26. Dr. Whitehead suggests that Lythgoe, who had several relatives among this group of lay Catholics, was partly responsible for the pressure to build the church.

26 Under Pope Gregory's new arrangement of 8 Vicarates Apostolic, the V.A. of the Lancashire District was Bishop George Hilary Brown of Thloa. L.R.O., RCLV Miscellaneous Letters of the Liverpool Diocese, Bp. Brown to Cardinal Acton, 3 November, 1840.

The case was referred to Propaganda, for all arbitration failed. Matters were not decided until April, 1842, and there was no opportunity of tapping diocesan funds to aid in the building of a chapel for services by the Fathers at this time. Substantial public subscriptions had to be raised before this could be opened in 1848.²⁷ Thus the College opened by Fr. Lythgoe was without a permanent chapel from which it could be advertised and also from which funds could be raised to help launch the venture. It also began under the cloud of animus emanating from the dispute with the Bishop.

There seems to have been a distinct need for the Jesuit school as well as for an extra church. Indeed in order to advertise the school and bring support, the London experience of the 1830s would seem to make it essential. The Catholic population was estimated to have grown as the city had grown. There were reliably believed to be 12,000 Catholics in 1800 rising to 58,000 in 1841. By this latter date, the Catholics had no separate secondary school, the proprietary establishment run by a Mr. Dobson having closed some years earlier.²⁸ Not only did the Jesuits respond to this need for educational provision, but the diocese itself opened St. Edward's school and seminary in 1842 and its 50 places were soon filled. This school was designed to produce boys for the secular priesthood, while Fr. Lythgoe envisaged a different role for his College.²⁹

27 N. Ryan, *St. Francis Xavier's Church Centenary, 1848-1948* (1948), 22.

28 J. Hughes, 'History of Catholic Liverpool', in *National Catholic Congress Handbook* (1920), 95 and 114; Whitehead Ph.D. 25-63. Dr. Whitehead gives an extended history of the dispute, and shows that Mgr. Charles Acton's report was eventually adopted, but the church was not to open to the public for five years. One of the problems over the proposed attached school was that the Bishop thought that he might open his own school in Everton, less than one mile away.

29 Archdiocese of Liverpool, (Ed.), *Guide to the Quarant Ore* (1938), 193.

'Catholic Preparatory Day School, No. 36 Soho Street, Liverpool. The Rev. R. Lythgoe begs to announce to the Catholics of Liverpool that he has taken measures for opening a Preparatory Classical and Commercial Day School at No. 36, Soho Street, to be conducted by masters from and in connection with Stonyhurst. The religious and moral instruction of the pupils will form the first care of the teachers. The pupils will also be taught the different branches of education usually taught in such schools, and when parents wish it, French, Latin and Greek also, without any extra charge. The terms will be £2 10s. per quarter. '30

The Jesuits claimed, under the rules for Regular clergy of Pope Benedict XIV, and the Bull 'Apostolicism' of Pope Clement XIII that the permission of the Bishop was not required to open the school. This must have irritated the Bishop in view of the dispute over the Church, and the whole topic was to be an important factor in later disputes.

The school seems to have been a success. In the letter to Glover quoted previously, Lythgoe stated:-

'Your reverence will I am sure be glad to hear that our new school in Liverpool is likely to surpass the expectation of our best friends. I have placed Fr. C. Havers with Fr. Francis Lythgoe (Randal's younger brother) and they have already eleven day scholars with three night scholars, young men employed in merchants' offices during the day, and 7 more scholars will go to the school after March 26th. At a late public meeting of the Society of St. Francis Xavier, Mr. (later Alderman) Sheil, one of the leading Catholics of Liverpool, took occasions to congratulate the Catholics of Liverpool on the establishment of the school in Soho Street, attesting it to be the greatest blessing that had been conferred as yet on the Catholics of Liverpool. The school has already drawn around us many who were till lately strangers to the Society. '31

30 *Catholic Directory* (1843), quoted in *The Xaverian* Vol. IX (1892), June, 18.

31 A.S.J., MQ/9, Mount St. Mary's Papers, Fr. R. Lythgoe to Fr. R. Glover, 2 March, 1843.

If one pauses to consider the situation in 1845, then a number of important features can be discerned. Firstly there are two of importance within the Society of Jesus. On the one hand, Lythgoe committed the Society to a programme of educational expansion that was to be linked to its other activities. As a small group with limited personnel and capital this had the effect of diverting the Society's endeavours away from the activities espoused by the Bishops not only at the time, but also for some time in the future. Secondly, in order to do this work, Lythgoe had used the special rules governing the Society in a missionary country lacking a properly constituted hierarchy. This was to lead to future conflict. At the same time, on a broader front, the policy of the Hierarchy was clearly to try to prevent the problem of "leakage" through inadequate spiritual facilities. A further development of this policy was the involvement of the Vicars Apostolic in promoting elementary education and social facilities. This policy of concern for spiritual facilities and social welfare was again of such magnitude that it allowed few resources to be expended elsewhere. It is thus possible to see a gulf forming between the Jesuits and the Bishops.

It is important to note that these activities antedate the Irish famine. The famine threw a huge burden on several English towns, but in particular on Liverpool. This was the town where the emigrants landed most frequently; there was already a substantial Irish population, and it was the most Catholic of the large towns of England.³² Some of the burden of this fell on emergency relief funds raised by the local authorities, but there was also a considerable problem for the Catholic church.

32 C. Woodham Smith, *The Great Hunger* (1962, reprinted 1961), 266-281.

A further complication was added by the cholera outbreak of 1847-48. Catholic priests were engaged constantly in relief work in all cities and as the Irish settled among the poor and were in a low state of health they were among the worst afflicted.

The crisis was bound to heighten the awareness of the Bishops to the plight of the poor, and was also the abiding problem with which the Catholic community was faced as Oxford converts began to arrive. Although the Famine lasted from 1846 to 1849, the effects were much longer lasting as it took time for the problems of the Irish to be overcome or for those people to disperse overseas. Thus the situation which preoccupied the Bishops in 1845 was exacerbated over the next few years. This was bound to widen the rift between the Bishops' policy and that of the Jesuits. This is not to say that the Society failed to participate in helping the Irish. In fact the Society participated very fully in the relief work. No urban parishes were given up between 1845 and 1850, the Society undertook work again in Bristol in 1847, and in 1850 took charge of a very poor parish in Westminster at the behest of Cardinal Wiseman.³³

The divergence came in the matter of emphasis and the interpretation of status rather than as a direct opposition to one another.³⁴

Outside the Catholic community, in society at large, the problems that beset the Catholic community are to be seen in macrocosm. The problems of the poor; slum quarters, overcrowding, poor sanitation, long working hours and a host of others were all part of the "Condition of England question" that exercised many minds. This problem has been widely reported.³⁵ The other side of the coin, the development of middle class

33 *L. & N. Vol. XXXII (1914), cxciv, 304-306.*

34 *B. Fothergill, Nicholas Wiseman (1963), 149.*

35 *N. Gash, Aristocracy and People (1979), 188-230 and 358-359.*

education, was also burgeoning in the same decade.

It was possible by 1840 to speak of the middle class or classes in a way that had a meaning for people in society generally, and there seem to have been a number of conscious attempts at the time to state explicitly who the members of such a class might be.³⁶ As employment opportunities for those from the group increased in the 1840s and 1850s, and as there was a trend away from domestically orientated education, schemes and schools for middle class education proliferated.³⁷ One anonymous pamphleteer called on the government as early as 1845 to give greater protection to parents by controlling the admission of teachers to the profession and examining their ability, so great did he believe the variety of schools and teachers to be.³⁸

One of the most successful organisers of middle class schooling was the Anglican Rev. Nathaniel Woodard, who saw the answer to be in different types of school for different members of the middle class.

'Thus to complete our plan, we require three classes of School, one for the sons of clergymen and gentlemen of limited means, where the charge will not exceed 50 guineas

36 A. Briggs, 'The Language of "Class" in Early Nineteenth Century England', in A. Briggs and J. Saville, Essays in Labour History (1960), 43-73.

37 See the following articles for this debate:

F. Musgrove, 'Middle Class Education and Employment in the Nineteenth Century', in Economic History Review, 2nd Series, Vol. XII (1959), 3, August, 100.

H.J. Perkin, 'Middle Class Education and Employment in the Nineteenth Century: A Critical Note', in Economic History Review, 2nd Series, Vol. XIV (1961), 2, May, 122.

F. Musgrove, 'Middle Class Education and Employment in the Nineteenth Century: A Rejoinder', in Economic History Review, 2nd Series, Vol. XIV (1961), 3, August, 320.

38 Anonymous, A Letter to the Rt. Hon. Sir Robert Peel, Bart., on the Education of the Middle Classes (1845).

or be lower than about £30. The middle school for the sons of farmers, tradesmen and clerks, at the cost of 18 guineas per annum; and a still cheaper school, for the sons of mechanics, very small tradesmen, and gentlemen's servants, and co., at about £12 per annum.'³⁹

Not only are Woodard's categories useful indications of early Victorian notions of the middle class, but the idea of a corporation of schools, affiliated to a central College, with a department for training teachers, as envisaged and developed by Woodard, appears to be very similar to that used by Lythgoe for the Jesuits. Woodard was not an innovator; many of his ideas had been advocated before. His real fame lies in his organising skill, and the way in which he publicised his scheme. There seems to have been no contact in all this with any of the Jesuit educators. A search of the Woodard papers reveals some contact with the Oxford convert, Fr. George Tickell through Frederic Oakley, but this is hardly significant.⁴⁰ Similarities are to be found in the schemes and the fees; a point that was reinforced when the Woodard fees for the First and Second grade schools were raised while those for Mount St. Mary's remained stable.⁴¹

Woodard, of course, was starting much later than Lythgoe. By 1845, the year before the Irish Famine problems began, the two schools Lythgoe had opened had begun to show signs of success. St. Francis Xavier's had grown to over 25 pupils and had removed to larger premises in Salisbury Street where it was given full College status by the General in October 1851. Mount St. Mary's took in 14 in its first term and had total entries

39 *N. Woodard, A Letter to the Clergy of the Diocese of Chichester - Public Schools for the Middle Classes (1851).*

40 *A search of the Woodard Papers, to be found at Lancing College, was conducted with the kind assistance of the Hon. Archivist, Mr. Basil Handford. This revealed that the only Catholic clerical correspondent of Woodard was Fr., later Canon, F. Oakley. Woodard did correspond with one or two lay converts, most notably the lawyer, Edward Bellasis.*

41 *A.S.J., MQ/5, Mount St. Mary's Papers, Statement of Income and Expenditure for the year ending 31 December, 1851.*

of 68 by the end of 1845.⁴² Parents were clearly satisfied and seemed willing to confide their sons to the care of the Jesuits. Both Colleges doubtless gained from their association with Stonyhurst - a school with proven moral integrity and educational standards. Stonyhurst also acted as the centre for training teachers and this was a further enhancement for the new Colleges as a cohesive force for the unity of the schools. This has misled some commentators into believing that the new Colleges at Liverpool and Spinkhill were of the same type as Stonyhurst, but this is manifestly not the case.

The remainder of the Catholic clerical community seems to have been very slow to recognise the problems of middle class education. This no doubt resulted from the different views on the structure of the community mentioned above, but in educational terms produced the result that only two other clerical middle class schools were opened in England in the period around 1850. One of these was promoted by Wiseman in London in 1848, in his capacity as Pro-Vicar Apostolic of the London District. The school was intended for the middle class and was run by a committee, one of whose members was Frederic Oakley, the convert, and friend of Woodard. The school promoters had optimistic intentions.

*'The object of this school is to offer to the Catholics residing in London, or its neighbourhood, a good Classical and Commercial Education for their sons, combined with sound religious instruction at a moderate cost.'*⁴³

The 'moderate cost' was six guineas per annum, a very low fee indeed, for the boys were prepared for mercantile pursuits, the University of London Matriculation, and the Catholic Colleges. Probably the scheme was

42 T. Burke, Catholic History of Liverpool (1910), 61-62.

43 W.A. St. Edmund's College Papers, 19-1-17, Log Book of the School.

over-ambitious, as well as being underfunded, for when the institution closed only three years after it opened, lack of money was the stated cause.

The other clerical venture was in Liverpool, where Fr. Nugent opened a 'Middle' school in Rodney Street on 7th January 1850.⁴⁴ The school had a syllabus that offered subjects deemed suitable for a commercial education, as well as evening classes. The fees were low, four or five guineas a year, according to age. The school had some difficulties and Nugent supplemented the income by having paying lectures by T.W. Allies, Cardinal Wiseman and John Henry Newman. These seem to have worked as the school survived until 1901.⁴⁵

Neither of these endeavours seems to have been attended by much success. There seems to have been no concerted plan behind their opening, save for the patronage of Wiseman. They were both precariously financed, and seemed to lack immediate appeal. It might seem hard to explain this as the low fees opened the possibility of education to many parents, and the schools were in two large centres of Catholic population. One factor may be the low fees. Parents may have seen such low fees as suggesting a low standard of teaching and just not given their support. Another factor may be the lack of awareness on the part of the Bishops to understand what a Catholic middle class wanted. This may not be the only thing that the Bishops misunderstood. Lythgoe had not been without his critics. As early as 1844 one of the friends of the Society wrote:

44 *Synodical Letter of the Province of Westminster, 17 July, 1852, cited in J. Kitching, 'The History and Development of Catholic Education in the North and East Ridings of Yorkshire and the City of York from 1571 to 1870' (unpublished M.Ed., University of Durham, 1956), 140.*

45 *T. Burke, Catholic History of Liverpool (1910), 111.*

'During the evening Mr. Lythgoe arrived, he is the great man, the Provincial. This is his second term of office. George (Clifford, a Stonyhurst Lay Philosopher) told me that he had so many irons in the fire, that no one but himself could get them out, and they were obliged to retain him. I thought he seemed conscious of his own importance. '46

By 1852, with Lythgoe's schemes in full fruition and with the whole situation clouded by the Irish famine and the views of the Oxford Movement, Wiseman was critical to the point of bitterness.

'The Jesuits have a splendid church, a large house, several priests, besides Westminster. Scarcely was I settled in London, than I applied to their superior to establish here a community in due form of some ten or twelve fathers. I have also asked for missionaries to give retreats to congregations, etc. I was answered on both heads that dearth of subjects made it impossible. Hence we have under them only a church (Farm Street opened in 1848) which by its splendour attracts and absorbs the wealth of two parishes, but maintains no schools and contributes nothing to the poor at its very door. I could say much more but I forbear. '47

Small wonder a sermon preached by Father Faber in Liverpool a year earlier had been condemned as being prejudiced against the Regular clergy!⁴⁸

The Provincial, Fr. John Etheridge, who spoke to Wiseman was absolutely correct. He had only-limited numbers of men available, and his concern was not for a single house, but for the whole Province. A Province which included Malta overseas, and which opened a new mission at Rhyll in 1851 and at Accrington in 1852.⁴⁹ The church in Farm Street,

46 University of Hull Archives, Chichester Papers, DDCH/82, Diary of Sir Charles Chichester, 4 August, 1844, 229-230.

47 W.P. Ward, *The Life of Cardinal Wiseman*, Vol. I (1897), 115-121, Bp. N. Wiseman to F. Faber, 27 October, 1842.

48 T. Burke, *Catholic History of Liverpool* (1910), 112.

49 *L. & N.*, Vol. XXXII (1914), cxciv, 305-306.

close to the wealthy areas of Mayfair and Berkeley Square was of great importance. The wealthy Catholics of the congregation provided money that the Order could use in its work elsewhere and also influence that enabled the Order to have its views represented to the Hierarchy and in Parliament.

It was amid prejudices of the type outlined in the above letter of Wiseman's that the Restored Hierarchy began its relationship with the Society of Jesus. It is clear that many of the other notions that had been held in the 1820s continued into the era of the restored faith. Henry Edward Manning, the convert, who entered the Church in 1851, wrote later of the Church he entered:

*'Between the rich and poor there were individuals, but not classes. In the Catholic Church in England there were no gradations such as exist in the social order of the English people.'*⁵⁰

In 1852, before the first Provincial Synod, John Henry Newman preached the sermon "The Second Spring", with which this chapter opened. Thus both converts confirmed the views held by the Bishops.

The first Provincial Synod was very wide-ranging in its debates and consideration of problems. Amid the welter of matters that this first meeting of the Restored Hierarchy scrutinised, education was a priority. Elementary education, in particular for the Irish poor, was a major priority, as was the work of the Catholic Poor Schools Committee, the agency for the distribution of Government funds among the Catholic Elementary schools that had been founded in 1847.⁵¹ Among the educational

50 H.E. Manning, *'Works and Wants of the Church in England'*, *Dublin Review*, Third Series, Vol. I (1879), January, 58.

51 J. Murphy, *Church, State and Schools in Britain, 1800-1970* (1971), 36.

matters, the Bishops mentioned concern for the educational problems of the middle class. They recommended the following resolution.

*'Where there is a sufficient Catholic population to warrant it, we earnestly recommend the establishment of a middle school, as it is called, in which a good commercial and general education shall be given to the children of families in a better worldly position. At present the youth of their class, aspiring to a higher standard of instruction, and for obvious reasons unable to attend the gratuitous poor schools, are generally sent to day schools where religious education is out of the question and where often their faith is exposed to serious trials.'*⁵²

To what extent this appeal was to be taken seriously is open to question. Very little was attempted by the Bishops in the wake of the Synod, but it is doubtful as well if they were prepared to let anyone else assume the initiative in the problem unless it was under their direct control.

Stretched though the resources of the English Province were, the Jesuits attempted to further their work. They chose as the centre for their venture the city of Manchester, part of the Salford diocese. Little information exists about the school; most of that which is extant is preserved among papers concerning the later controversy, the subject of the next chapter.⁵³ A day school, intended for middle class pupils was opened by the Fathers in 1852. The Bishop of Salford, William Turner, resolutely refused to allow the Fathers a church, and in less than two years the Jesuits had to cease running the school. This was in spite of the large Catholic population in Salford - one contemporary pamphlet told of a Catholic population 100,000 strong served by only one priest to every

52 See reference in note 44.

53 L. & N., Vol. XXXII (1914), cxciv, 307.

3,300 souls when the "proper proportion" was one to every thousand of the laity.⁵⁴ The pamphlet went on to speak of the willingness of the Society and the Oratorians to place priests in the area, but the Bishop appears to have been against this. In fact he allowed the Jesuits to withdraw. This severance, despite the circumstances, seems to have been conducted in a spirit of Christian charity and mutual amicability. One reason for this was the purely educational success of the project; Bp. Turner appears to have been quite ready to admit this and even seems to have had regrets.

'I am in receipt of your communication and regret exceedingly that you should consider it your duty to abandon the school in Manchester and withdraw Fr. Strickland. (The Jesuit priest in charge.)

*The experiment made, has I confessed surpassed my expectations. On referring to a copy of a letter to Fr. Etheridge I then informed him that I could not calculate on having more than about 30 scholars. There are now 52 boys. This encourages me to hope that the numbers will gradually increase. Aware of the consequences of breaking up the school, now so happily begun, it is my intention to carry it on and place at the head of it one of my clergy. To Fr. Strickland, I am under many obligations for his praiseworthy exertions; he has, I conceive done a real service to religion. To yourself and to the Fathers of the Society I owe a debt of gratitude for the kindness and courtesy that I have received. It shall be my study to keep up and maintain that cordiality and harmony which ought to exist between a Bishop and the Society.'*⁵⁵

The Bishop did continue the school. It was given into the hands of the Xaverian Brothers in 1862 and as such was investigated by the Taunton Commissioners in 1868.⁵⁶ The school was stated at this date to be "Classical" and of the second grade. It had 56 scholars, 39 of whom were day

54 A.S.J., RY/2, Manchester Papers, Anonymous pamphlet, The Want of Priests in Manchester (1853).

55 A.S.J., Manchester Papers (5), Bp. W. Turner to Fr. Provincial, 20 May, 1854.

56 S.I.C., Vol. XVII, Abstract of Returns, 609.

boys, the rest boarders; the latter paying £30 per annum as against the day boys four guineas. Although the school claimed to be Classical and called itself "The Catholic Grammar School", book-keeping was studied and boys were preparing for "mercantile or professional vocations". They were "sons of gentlemen, solicitors, medical men, tradesmen, builders, warehousemen and co". It was claimed later, as will be shown, that this state of affairs represented a considerable triumph after the Jesuits had left.

This seems highly dubious. The Jesuit school had grown from nothing to 52 in less than two years. Fourteen years later the Xaverians had only four more pupils. The lesson seems clear. The Bishop wished not to have a Jesuit Church, and as this was the only way that the Order could endow a school or publicise its presence they therefore withdrew when denied this facility. The Xaverians had no church, but had episcopal support. Again the reputation of the Jesuit Fathers worked to their advantage as it had done in Liverpool. Few orders could match this advertisement, and, as will be seen in Chapter 4, there was a persistent belief in the Order that they had a mission and purpose to fulfil in Manchester.

It is doubtful, even if the Bishop had relented that a rash of Jesuit schools would have followed. Not only was personnel restricted, but in 1854 the Pope asked the Society to take charge of the Church in British Guiana.⁵⁷ This was clearly the duty of the English Province and was bound to involve a steady commitment of men over a number of years as did their other foreign missionary work. At the same time the problems of

57 *L. & N.*, Vol. XXXII (1914), cxciv, 307, and Bassett/ *Jesuits*, 415 and 417.

the Catholic community in England created demands that had to be met. It seems significant that in the five years, 1854 to 1858, the Society in England closed or transferred eight missions and opened only three and a College.

The problems of the Catholic community were made more apparent in these years. Before the second Provincial Synod in 1855, the results of the Religious Census of 30 March, 1851 were published.⁵⁸ In this the number of Catholics was stated to be 383,630, clearly a considerable under-estimate, indeed as 'The Times' remarked, this was below the figure for Irish immigrants.⁵⁹ Perhaps the census reveals most if, as Mann admitted at the time, and the more recent researches of Gay and Bossy have shown, the figures are regarded as proportional. Thus the figure is in relation to other denominations not an absolute total. Even then the figures are rather low, and it seems more likely that one needs to use Bossy's multiplier and to generate a figure of 1.5 to 1.9 millions of Catholics.

This is not the moment to consider the defects of the census, but to consider its effects upon the Hierarchy. Such a low figure could be explained in a number of ways, but the most significant explanation was leakage. Again the census revealed that a number of Catholic congregations existed for whom there were no priests at all.

This latter is the burden of Hickey's study "Urban Catholics".⁶⁰ Hickey shows how the Catholics, overwhelmingly immigrant, unskilled men,

58 H. Mann (by authority of the Registrar General), Religious Worship in England and Wales (1853).

59 Cited in O. Chadwick, The Victorian Church, Vol. I (1971), 367.

60 J. Hickey, Urban Catholics (1967), 56-134.

were at first isolated from the rest of the community, developing an economic and social infrastructure that finally, after about fifty years, allowed them to merge with the rest of the population of Cardiff, without facing too much animosity. This study is of great value because it not only shows the development of an immigrant community per se, but suggests that the phenomenon might be paralleled elsewhere. Transformation along the same lines would take place in the same way, and there might eventually evolve a Catholic community no different from its Protestant neighbours. There is also the inference that Catholic communities established by themselves, or as additions to existing groups may have been evolving into a social pattern not dissimilar from that of other religious groups. They still retained the distinctness of religious affiliation, but in other ways mirrored very clearly other citizens.

Such an analysis is possible with hindsight, but would not have been discernible to many at the time. Least able to comprehend its subtlety would have been the large group of Oxford converts, like Henry Edward Manning, and prelates returning after prolonged absence in Rome, like Wiseman. To men such as these, the huge problems of the poor, the Irish and the frightening question of leakage would be the features most in need of their attention. As Manning stated, after his conversion, "I ceased to work for the people of England, and had thenceforward to work for the Irish occupation in England".⁶¹

A further illustration of the massive efforts devoted to these causes can be seen in the expansion of facilities between 1850 and 1870.

61 E.S. Purcell, *Life of Cardinal Manning*, Vol. II (1896), 801.

TABLE V

Table to show the growth of parochial facilities in England, 1851-1870

<u>Year</u>	<u>Chapels</u>	<u>Priests</u>
1851	686	826
1855	708	944
1860	798	1154
1865	887	1363
1870	947	1536

Source: Adapted and arranged from data in T. Murphy, The Catholic Church in England and Wales during the last two centuries (1892).

These took a wide form but the two principal areas were in the numbers of priests and chapels and the number of poor schools.

At the same time the Poor Schools Committee was extending the elementary school coverage. By 1870, they were running 350 schools educating 66,066 children.⁶² At the same time religious services had to be provided in workhouses, visits made to prisons, orphans cared for and reform schools opened.⁶³ Not all these burdens were borne by the Church herself, but if one considers the resources of the Catholic body as a whole, both clerical and lay, then in the nineteenth century atmosphere of voluntarism, the whole community had to provide almost the total financial basis for the above facilities. Thus, there was always competition for scarce resources and the question of providing middle class education was one of lesser moment than other issues when viewed from the standpoint of the Hierarchy.

The Hierarchy were not totally blinkered, but there was a difference in emphasis from that of the Fathers of the Society that manifested itself in a number of ways. Manning, for instance, seems to have been growing less sympathetic in the early 1850s. Having been received into the Church in Farm Street, he preached there in the winter months for several years, but in 1856 withdrew to found his own community.⁶⁴ At this stage, Manning probably understood Jesuit views to some extent, but the following years were marked by a growing alienation and difference of

62 M. Cruickshank, *Church and State in English Education* (1964), 190.

63 O. Chadwick, *The Victorian Church*, Vol. I (1971), 96-97; D. Fraser, *The Evolution of the British Welfare State* (2nd Ed., 1984), 97; J.J. Tobias, *Crime and Industrial Society in the Nineteenth Century* (1972), 249-252.

64 E.S. Purcell, *op. cit.* 22 and 57.

opinion. Wiseman, while remaining friendly to the Fathers, began to use other means to extend middle class education in the London area.

Wiseman's solution was to introduce into his Archdiocese from the continent Orders of Brothers and communities of Sisters, regular clergy sworn to undertake particular tasks. Among these was education. This was not entirely new as the Irish Christian Brothers had conducted several schools prior to 1847, nor was it wholly successful.⁶⁵

Some of the new Orders introduced by Wiseman were not patronised fully and some had grave problems. One prominent example was the Christian Brothers De La Salle. This body, after an exploratory visit in 1854, opened a school, principally boarding, for middle class boys at Clapham on 1 August, 1855.⁶⁶ The Brothers described their curriculum as "liberal", comprising:

'... the course of studies embraces Religion, Sacred History, Reading, Writing, English Grammar, Composition, Geography, the Elements of Physics, Chemistry and Natural History, Drawing, Vocal Music, the French and German Languages, and, if required, Italian and Spanish.'

Fees were to be £21 per annum for boarders and £9 for day boys; about the same level as Woodard's third type of school. The Brothers' school was not efficient, however, and by 1863 had a debt of £8,000. St. Joseph's Academy, opened only as a day school by the same order in 1860, was more successful. It soon had over 100 pupils and made a profit, whilst the boarding College had to have its debts discharged by the Order's central treasury and was not really successful until the middle of the 1870s.

65 H.O. Evenett, The Catholic Schools of England and Wales (1944), 49-50.

66 W.J. Battersby, The De La Salle Brothers in Great Britain (1954). Information in the following paragraphs is taken from this source.

The experiments conducted at Clapham by the Brothers were not imitated elsewhere. One explanation for this may be that there was a dearth of pupils for such schools, but given the strength of the Catholic population in certain centres, this seems unlikely. More likely is that this was seen as a symptom of growing Ultramontaneism among the Hierarchy and that this alienated many of the older, and more traditional, members of the community. Thus the Brothers were a foreign and Romish novelty, that was to be distrusted as much as the reliance based by some prelates on the Oxford converts. A fault attributed to Wiseman and occasioning some hostility.

*'The Cardinal, responding to the influence of Manning, was cockering up the converts to such a puerile degree that the newly baptised misbelievers begin to treat the old Catholics as the neophytes, and themselves as ancient in the faith, while in reality their peculiar critics and far-fetched ideas were making a mockery of the Catholic religion.'*⁶⁷

Although some critics, like Mrs. Charlton, were eventually to be reconciled to Manning, as Ward, Purcell and Fothergill all demonstrate, there was much personal animus in the period between the second Provincial Synod in 1855 and the third in 1859.⁶⁸ Indeed the third Provincial Synod of July 1859 was dominated by the "Errington affair", a prime example of the internal rivalries of the Catholic body. A full discussion of this complex dispute and its manifestations is found in the biographies of the leading protagonists, such as Wiseman, Manning and Ullathorne and has little place here. What is of prime importance was the way in which it dominated the third Provincial Synod hindered any

67 L.E.O. Charlton, Ed., Recollections of a Northumbrian Lady (1949), 221.

68 E.S. Purcell, op. cit., 64; W.P. Ward, op. cit., Vol. II, 220; B. Fothergill, op. cit., 238.

further developments in middle class education and the evolution of joint strategies. Indeed the problem and its solution slipped further behind as advances were made in the country at large during the 1850s and 1860s.

These national developments were new and in many ways of a purely educational kind. Dalvi has shown that in the period 1851-69:

*'Indifference towards commercial education characterised the period under study. Even men in merchandising and commerce frowned upon the question of providing education for the preparation of young men of business, although they enjoyed the benefits from it.'*⁶⁹

In English society in general, real leads, he contends, came only from the Mechanics' Institute and existing schools modifying their curricula in ways that their proprietors wished rather than under pressure from industry and commerce. In consequence, examination innovations like the Oxford and Cambridge Locals, or those set by the College of Preceptors were adopted. Book-keeping might be taught, but no systematic course for commercial education was yet constructed anywhere.

At the same time a vast range of new views on education was being propounded and many of these found their way into proprietary schools founded for middle class pupils. Leinster-Mackay has particularised eight major categories into which these schools might be divided, the curricula of which range from the completely classical to the completely commercial and whose clientele included all ranks of middle class society.⁷⁰ Matthew Arnold, a contemporary witness to this spectrum of educational

69 M. Dalvi, *Commercial Education in England - an Institutional Study* (unpublished Ph.D., University of London, 1957), 303.

70 D.P. Leinster-Mackay, *The English Private School, 1830-1914* (unpublished Ph.D., University of Durham, 1972) Vol. II, 166.

provision, summed up the position on the eve of the Taunton investigation by declaring that there was on offer a school for every type of child of the middle class parent.

*'If they have a child with an awkward temper, and needing special management, even for this particular child the wonderful operation of the laws of supply and demand, in this great commercial country, will be found to have made perfect provision.'*⁷¹

It would be incorrect fully to equate the commercial school with the middle class school, as it would be to say that the only education for middle class pupils was a diluted form of the education offered at the schools investigated by the Clarendon Commission. The Taunton Commissioners, studying an enormous amount of evidence on existing schools, discovered three major categories of school; divisions that they tended to see not only as descriptive, but prescriptive as well.

*'The wishes of the parents can best be defined in the first instance by the length of time during which they are willing to keep their children under instruction. It is found that, viewed in this way, education, as distinct from direct preparation for employment, can at present be classified as that which is to stop at about 14, that which is to stop at about 16, and that which is to continue until 18 or 19; and for convenience sake we shall call these the Third, the Second and the First Grade of Education respectively.'*⁷²

As David Allsobrook has pointed out, this classification was based largely upon the writings of Thomas Arnold, whose influence on the Commissioners and many witnesses was strong, and also upon the requirements of a rural society, about which Arnold seems to have been thinking.⁷³

71 M. Arnold, 'A French Eton' (1864), in D. Smith and G. Summerfield, Matthew Arnold and the Education of the New Order (1969), 100.

72 S.I.C., Vol. I, 5.

73 D. Allsobrook, 'The Problems of Middle Class Education 1854-1875' (unpublished paper delivered to the History of Education Society Conference, May, 1975).

The needs linked to these requirements were familiar to many connected with the Commission and thus curricular recommendation was limited and tended to be associated with the traditional classical curriculum. This was not really what Matthew Arnold believed his father had seen for the future, nor was it what he wanted. He stoutly advocated the retention of the large public schools for the class for whom they were intended, but "To the middle class, the grand aim of education should be to give largeness of soul and personal dignity; to the lower class, feeling gentleness, humanity".⁷⁴

Thus the educational system of the Clarendon schools was wholly inappropriate.

Nor did the report meet the criticism of Robert Lowe, who wished for more commercially viable education based largely on the awakening interest in education of the businessman, whose lack of "cultural" views seem to have been deplored by the Taunton Commissioners.⁷⁵ What both the Commissioners and their critics were united in deprecating was the wide range of proprietary schools and their failure to provide any reliable form of education unaffected by proprietorial idiosyncrasy and containing a systematic schema for education.

The extent to which all this impinged on the Catholic body is uncertain. From the amount that entered into general print, the answer seems to be very little. Among the Jesuits in particular, most of the things that were said were mentioned in the context of the existing

74 M. Arnold, *op. cit.*, 113.

75 Robert Lowe, *Speech at the Philosophical Institute, Edinburgh* (1867).
Speech at Liverpool Philomathic Society, 22 January, 1868 (1868).
Middle Class Education - Endowment of Free Trade (1868).

schools and not the educational debate as such. Undoubtedly the Order suffered from a number of setbacks in the early 1850s. Because of their alleged reputation and former public hostility, the 'Papal Aggression' scare that accompanied the Restoration of the Hierarchy in 1850 meant that a low public profile was very necessary.⁷⁶ Then there were the problems in Manchester and London referred to previously and finally the limitations of manpower and money.

Given these factors, it is in many ways hardly surprising to learn that the Jesuits' next educational venture was in Scotland. Scotland was part of the English Jesuit Province, and remained so for the whole period of this study. However, from an episcopal viewpoint it had a separate status as in the seventeenth century the English authority had been withdrawn and a separate Prefecture Apostolic and then Vicariate Apostolic established.⁷⁷ In 1827 this had been divided into three Districts, a state that prevailed for a further 27 years after the English Hierarchy was restored. This meant the Scottish Bishops were different in many ways from their English counterparts. In 1858 Bishop John Murdock

76 E.R. Norman, *Anti-Catholicism in Victorian England* (1969), 61; Whitehead Ph.D., 109-110. Dr. Whitehead indicates in his study that this was a period in which plans were laid for the future. Fr. Gallwey, while Prefect of Studies at St. Francis Xavier's, sent a report of the College studies to Rome, and also took part in a Board of Studies conference on English Jesuit Colleges on 7 September, 1857. The report of this meeting was not shown to me, but is in A.S.J., CE/4. It contains the names of the Fathers who participated. They were: Fr. Peter Gallwey, Fr. George R. Kingdon, Fr. Albany Christie, Fr. George Tickell, Fr. Alfred Weld, Fr. George Porter, Fr. Thomas Porter and Fr. James Clare. The significance of this grouping seems to have eluded Dr. Whitehead, as he does not make more of it. The Frs. in the meeting figure frequently in this study and were among the most important in the Order in England and the development of its schools in the next thirty years. The meeting implies a certain co-ordination of ideas and methods the Jesuits for future years.

77 *The Catholic Directory* (1948), 42-43.

of the Western District asked the Jesuit Fathers to open a school in Glasgow and offered them a Church, St. Joseph's, in which to preach and cure souls.⁷⁸

This was precisely the sort of situation that the Fathers asked for in Manchester and did not obtain. They gratefully accepted the offer in Glasgow and began a College that flourished throughout the period of this study and beyond. The actual history of the Glasgow Collegiate School, later known as St. Aloysius, does not form part of this study. Scottish society, the Catholic Church within it and the system of education are all different from that in England. It will thus be noticed only occasionally and then because of its effect on English problems. Two things are noticeable at the outset. The circumstances that were provided for the school, which gave it the start it needed were the essential prerequisites, and secondly, the Order found men and money to undertake the work.

In England, the 1850s were a time of consolidation in the two existing Jesuit middle class schools. Mount St. Mary's continued to grow. The average entries were 22 per annum in the period 1850 to 1854, and this increased during the remainder of the decade so that the total roll exceeded 100 after 1860.⁷⁹ For these pupils a change in the work studied came after a conference at the college in 1854 discussed modifications in the curriculum. It now consisted of catechism, Bible and church history, English history, geography, Latin, French, arithmetic, writing, music and drawing, and thus had no commercial bias.⁸⁰ Exactly

78 *L. & N.*, Vol. XXXII (1914), cxciv, 307; Bassett/ *Jesuits*, 400-404.

79 Taken from Anon., *The Mount Register, 1842-1914* (1958). See also A.S.J., MR/2, *Mount St. Mary's Papers, Notes on the College*.

80 A.S.J., CR/2, *Report on Mount St. Mary's College for 1852*.

how long this was the case is uncertain, but in 1859, Fr. George Tickell, a prominent Oxford convert, was appointed Rector, and then, in 1862, Fr. Thomas Williams. To their successive rectorates, they appear to have extended the scope of the changes. J.M. Brennan, an entrant of 1852, matriculated for London University when he entered the noviciate, claiming to have been one of a group of five Matriculation students educated to this level at Mount St. Mary's.⁸¹ Fr. Williams has usually been associated with the introduction of the London examinations to the College itself, consisting of studies in classics, mathematics, history, English and science. A contemporary Letters and Notices entry confirms this by stating that Richard French, the first Matriculator, presented himself for examination in the summer of 1866, but it is obvious that the foundations had been laid by Fr. Tickell around the turn of the decade.⁸² The curriculum of the Mount had thus been deepened as well as being provided with a more advanced level to be obtained by cleverer students.⁸³

Joseph Lightbound's diary gives the reader a unique insight into a rarely recorded aspect of school life, that of the participating school-boy. He began his diary as a pupil in Rudiments, at the Mount, in December 1863 and continued it until the following Autumn when it fades out. The manuscript is preserved in its original ledger at Mount St. Mary's, but has been transcribed by Fr. Francis Keegan.

Much of the diary is concerned with life outside the classroom. In the winter months the boys had an almost passionate craze for skating, but

81 J.M. Brennan, Memories of an Old Catholic Doctor (1937), 10-22.

82 L. & N., Vol. IV (1867), 35.

83 S.I.C., Vol. V, 224; Archives of Mount St. Mary's College, Joseph Lightbound's Diary of 1864, 48.

some of this was replaced by a deep concern for cricket when the game was introduced in 1864. This was not in itself remarkable, but perhaps the starting date of 23 January was! This was happening at the same time as a water shortage and Joseph became concerned at the lack of bathing facilities -- he states four months had elapsed since his last bath!

As the months rolled by, the boy worked in his garden, followed events in the outside world through the Illustrated London News and pursued his studies. He gave no very systematic account of the work, but familiar books, Caesar's Gallic Wars, Xenophon's The Persian Expedition and Milton's Paradise Lost all make an appearance. Mathematics was also chronicled, particularly the compound rule of three upon which he seems to have become something of an expert.

The overriding impression is one of contentment. Joseph Lightbound only returned home for the summer holiday, which he spent at the family home in Liverpool, the farm at Lydiate and in Paris but was happy to return to his school, which seems to have provided a full life of academic, leisure and religious activity.

At St. Francis Xavier's, in Liverpool, there was increased emphasis on providing education for the middle class, urban Catholic within the context of the existing College. Following the removal in 1851 to Salisbury Street, the college has continued to grow in size and expand its studies.

In 1852 there were 24 pupils in the school, 58 in 1861 and 120 in 1862. Much of this was due to the work of a Scholastic Prefect of Studies, Mr. Charles Bodoano who occupied the office from 1858-1862 and re-organised

PLATE 2

ST. FRANCIS XAVIER'S COLLEGE AND CHURCH IN LIVERPOOL

The older parts of the College
are nearer the Church. The
nearer part was built early this
century



many aspects of teaching. Efforts were made to divide boys into those studying traditional Classical subjects and those studying Commercial subjects.⁸⁴ This refinement of the courses was accompanied by a reduction in fees to £8 per annum, and the increasing numbers necessitated a rebuilding programme in 1856. This produced a much larger institution with places for many more boys. This was clearly ambitious as even as late as 1867, when there were 144 boys in the school, this was considered a healthy situation, but the College was not full.⁸⁵

Measured in financial terms, the College was also showing increasing vitality. Table VI shows that receipts grew by approximately 250 per cent in the five years 1856-1860. This was in spite of the fact that many parents were poor and were charged reduced fees. There is no record of expenditure as some of the money spent on the board and lodging of Fathers, buildings etc. tended to come from central Jesuit funds, but as a contributor to the Society's funds the outlook at the College was optimistic.

After Mr. Bodoano left, numbers fell to numbers around 83 or 84 in the mid-1860s. This was only a temporary setback as in 1865, Fr. George Porter was appointed Rector with Fr. J. Harris as his Prefect of Studies.⁸⁶

84 *Whitehead Ph.D.*, 98.

85 *L. and N.*, Vol. IV (1867), 32.

86 *Whitehead Ph.D.*, 132-138. Dr. Whitehead was fortunate to have access to a cache of papers discovered when the Society finally quitted the old Salisbury Street building in 1981, and which contained, among other treasures, Fr. James Harris' previously unknown Journals. They cover in Volume I, 1 August, 1866, to 19 March, 1868, and in Volume II, 20 March, 1868, to 26 June, 1871, and 27 November, 1882 to 22 December, 1882. Unless otherwise stated, the information in the next few paragraphs is taken from that included by Dr. Whitehead in his study, the interpretation is mine.

TABLE VI

Table to show annual income of St. Francis Xavier's College, Liverpool, 1856-1860

<u>Year</u>	<u>Income</u>
1856	£296 5s. 11d.
1857	£385 16s. 0d.
1858	£532 14s. 8d.
1859	£634 8s. 6d.
1860	£778 17s. 0d.

*Source: A.S.J., RY/3 St. Francis Xavier's Papers,
Work of Fr. J. Harris n.d. but c.1875.*

They were to create great changes. Fr. Harris, through a combination of publicity, inducement and encouragement of pupils, and the organisation of the Middle School, created a whole new atmosphere in the College.

As Table VII shows, numbers of pupils at the College rose dramatically as a result of the improvements and changes introduced by Frs. Harris and Porter. Undoubtedly Harris was very idiosyncratic in his methods and these owed much to his training abroad rather than the Stonyhurst tradition of Fr. Porter and others. Fr. Harris was not very scholarly and his real success depended on his rigorous discipline and the creation of a devotional group called the Brigade. Boys in this body enjoyed his confidence and acted as a spur to their fellow pupils. These factors and his visits to parents to publicise the school and explain his viewpoint, all helped create the rise in the roll.

Another of Fr. Harris' successes was the creation of a Middle School for the study of the commercial studies set up by Mr. Bodoana. Two Brothers of the Christian Institute (De La Salle) were placed in charge of this and the chance to study subjects such as Geography, History, Book-keeping and French was soon popular. Within two years this branch of the College had nearly 40 pupils in total in its classes.

In 1870, Fr. Harris was replaced as Prefect of Studies by another Scholastic, Mr. Ryan. This improved the quality of the studies and permitted Fr. Harris to concentrate on organisation. The result of this was to make the College more attractive and to create a blueprint for future use in the school.

Within the Order as a whole the position of the middle class schools looked very favourable in 1860. As Table VIII shows, the size of the Society in England had doubled over the previous twenty years. This growth

TABLE VII.

Table to show the growth of St. Francis Xavier's College, Liverpool, 1865-1870

<u>Year</u>	<u>Numbers in January</u>	<u>Numbers in July</u>
1865	N/A	83
1866	94	109
1867	151	165
1868	175	243
1869	244	249
1870	267	260

*Source: St. Francis Xavier's Archives (now in A.S.J.),
Fr. J. Harris' Journals, cited in M. Whitehead/
Ph.D., 140.*

TABLE VIII

Table to show the numerical status of the English Province of the Society of Jesus at ten year intervals,

1840-1860

<u>Year</u>	<u>Priests</u>	<u>Scholastics</u>	<u>Lay Brothers</u>	<u>Total</u>
1840	71	46	15	132
1850	90	78	26	194
1860	140	82	40	262

*Source: Letters and Notices Vol. XXXII (1914) *cxciv*,
303, 306, 309.*

enabled the Jesuits to begin to consider expansion again and open more schools. However, just as this was taking place and more Colleges were opening, the climate outside the Order was beginning to become less favourable.

As Shane Leslie pointed out: "The reign of Manning began in 1860, as Wiseman, an invalid, gradually slipped the helm into his rigid hands".⁸⁷ This followed the dismissal of Errington as Wiseman's co-adjutor with right of succession. It placed the future direction of the Church in no particular hands, but placed Manning in a position of great influence. It also created a false vacuum in which there was no real policy on any issue and a period in which Jesuit work could expand.

In this sense the Jesuits were part of a new impetus by several groups within the Church towards providing middle class education for Catholics.⁸⁸ Many of these were in the London area. One group of schools was prompted by the need for upper-middle class education required for the sons of the Oxford Movement converts. The first school of this mode was John Henry Newman's Oratory School, opened in 1859, for pupils drawn from the homes of the socially elite.⁸⁹ The school was small and inspired by converts like Edward Bellasis and Frederic Oakley. This effort was followed by a Jesuit effort for the same group of pupils at Beaumont and the Xaverians' residential College at Mayfield. Beaumont, in many ways not entirely a middle class school, will be considered in a later chapter on Jesuit boarding Colleges. It represented a further step in the provision

87 J. Shane Leslie, *Henry Edward Manning* (1921), 138.

88 See W.J. Battersby, 'Secondary Education for Boys', in G.A. Beck, *The English Catholics, 1850-1950* (1950), 328-330.

89 M. Trevor, *Newman: Light in Winter* (1962), 140-141.

of collegiate education by the Jesuits for boys from a broad spectrum of Catholic social backgrounds.

Manning gave a lead of his own, particularly in the London area. The inspiration was aimed especially at the day schools. In 1863, Manning had written that one of the 'wants' of Catholic England was "an adequate system of education for the poor and middle classes".⁹⁰ His own answer was St. Charles' College in which he hoped, Dr. Selby states, to carry out "extensive curriculum reorientation", but for financial and other reasons this was not at first possible. Instead it was not until 1872 that any move was made to abandon the traditional classics based curriculum. As its annual fees were £45 for boarders and £15 for day boys, the school was more likely to appeal to the wealthier middle class parent than those for whom the other less expensive clerical schools were intended.

The London Catholics were not offered the choice of Jesuit education, for which Manning seems responsible. He appears by 1863 to have become somewhat anti-Jesuit. This seems to have been an echo of his Roman days of 1847, despite the intervening work at Farm Street, and was perhaps encouraged by the views of Mgr. George Talbot, the agent of the English Hierarchy in Rome.⁹¹ As the cordiality diminished between Manning and the Society, he wrote that "the action of the Society in England was to divide and to discredit the so-called secular clergy, and in Rome to hinder the restoration of the Bishops in England".⁹² Manning

90 H.E. Manning, *Works and Wants of the Church in England*, cited in D.E. Selby, *Henry Edward Manning and the Catholic Middle Class*, in *Pedagogica Historica*, XII (1971), 55.

91 E.S. Purcell, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, 364 and 366.

92 J. Shane Leslie, *op. cit.*, 290.

cast his Oblates as "the Jesuits of London" and they were to perform the functions of the Society in London.

Manning's resistance to the Fathers was strengthened when the Society supported Bishop Clifford in the succession to Cardinal Wiseman as Archbishop of Westminster and were slow to congratulate Manning on his eventual appointment.⁹³ Once installed in the see of Westminster, Manning continued to exclude the Fathers from running a school in London. A further reason for this seems to be that Manning believed that the Society would recruit all the more promising pupils who showed vocations, thus diminishing those available for work directly in the diocese.⁹⁴ Fr. Alfred Weld recorded that in 1869 the Archbishop seemed hopeful of the Jesuits opening a school in London and on 19 March he assured Fr. Weld that:

*'On my own part, I assure you that I desire and will do all in my power to promote the formation of a school or College in the diocese and I shall be happy to confer with you on this.'*⁹⁵

But despite this there was to be no school.

Against this background, the Jesuits made progress. Mount St. Mary's, in the 1860s, began to achieve a much greater status. The average number of entrants rose and by the death of Wiseman in 1865 was around 37 per annum. Extensions were made to the buildings and gardens and there were optimistic hopes for the future,⁹⁶ especially as the total number of boys

93 E.S. Purcell, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, 112.

94 V.A. McClelland, *Cardinal Manning* (1962), 54.

95 A.S.J., *Manchester Papers* (5), *Notes of Fr. Alfred Weld on a conversation with Archbishop H.E. Manning, 19 March, 1869.*

96 *L. & N.*, Vol. I (1863), 236.

exceeded 100 after 1860.⁹⁷ In order to keep the successful middle class atmosphere of the College and to prevent it from becoming a cheap form of Stonyhurst, Fr. Weld, as Provincial 1864-70, relinquished the taking of London Matriculation. This was after Fr. Williams, the Prefect of Studies who had introduced Matriculation, had left. Williams, was the College representative who gave evidence to the Taunton Commission and presented the picture of a modified Stonyhurst to the Commissioners.⁹⁸ This has had the grave disadvantage of misleading most subsequent historians into believing that the school was a typically Classical orientated one not one specifically for the middle classes. That Williams' view was entirely personal, he even stated that the differences between the Mount and Stonyhurst would disappear in a few years, is simply not supported by the extant papers. The most revealing documents are the College records, in which it is recorded that the farm, on which the boys supplied labour at peak periods, was vital to the financial health of the College.⁹⁹ This situation was to persist until around 1880.

Evidence for St. Francis Xavier's College in Liverpool suggests much the same progress. The number of pupils reached 144 in January 1867 and the receipted fees reflected this growth. By 1870 the total was £1,718 18s. 5d., a further growth of nearly 300 per cent compared with the 1865 figure. The division into classical and commercial studies was maintained as this was found successful. It was also the practice of the Anglican Liverpool College in the same period.¹⁰⁰

97 A.S.J., MR/2, *Mount St. Mary's Papers, Notes on the College.*

98 *S.I.C.*, Vol. V, 224.

99 *Archives of Mount St. Mary's College, Joseph Lightbound's Diary for 1868*, 48.

100 D. Wainwright, *Liverpool Gentlemen* (1960), 54 and 76.

Another achievement around the death of Wiseman was the opening of a small school, the Catholic Grammar School in Preston, Lancashire.¹⁰¹ It suffered from teething troubles for the first five years, but after the fees were reduced by two guineas a year and a Jesuit had been appointed Headmaster, it grew from under 20 boys to a total of 42 by the beginning of 1871. It suffered from competition with a cheaper Xaverian Brothers' school in Preston, with its initially more attractive commercial curriculum as opposed to the largely classical studies of the Jesuits.

The Jesuits had three parishes and were able to advertise the school extensively. Their aim was not to compete with the Xaverians' but rather to complement them. Fr. Syrett shows that the aim was to provide an opportunity to a large number of boys of showing what their natural endowments, so far as embracing their clerical state is concerned, really were, without their being removed from their own proper stations in society, in case they should have no vocation to the priesthood.¹⁰² It is important to realise this, because Fr. Weld, with his keen eye for education would doubtless have altered the curriculum. He clearly knew what was taking place in Preston but was happy that no commercial side, such as was at Liverpool, was to be opened. This would have been to challenge the Xaverians and would have been a strain on the resources of the Society. The upshot might well have been the loss of both schools or the anger of the Bishop. Weld was experienced enough to allow a slow development, and it forms an interesting and important illustration of the flexibility of the Fathers and the Ratio Studiorum that they were

101 A. Hindle, A Centenary History of the Catholic College, Preston (1965), chapter 1.

102 Preston Catholic College Archives, Fr. Syrett's Log, 1866.

able to operate in this way. They educated a growing number of Catholic boys in an acceptable manner, preventing them from having to attend a Protestant Grammar School, and thus showed their critics they were not educational pirates. They co-operated with another Catholic middle class school and thus gave the lie to those like Wiseman and Manning who believed that the presence of a Jesuit school drove all others to the wall as they desired to monopolise any educational scene in which they operated.

There were few missions in which it was possible for the Jesuits either to open a school like St. Francis Xavier's, or to indulge in a co-operative venture as at Preston. Not only was a substantial number of Catholics required, but so was a church. Manchester, or rather the diocese of Salford, remained one of the largest centres of Catholicism in England and was clearly an attractive proposition. The Society gained its first foothold in the city in 1868. Following a series of revivalist meetings preached by Jesuit Fathers in 1867, Bishop Turner decided that the Society should have a mission and in consequence they were given a parish and opened the Church of the Holy Name in 1868.¹⁰³ It would have been premature and antagonistic to open a school at once and thus the Fathers concentrated on building up their parish and its ordinary spiritual facilities. Several years were to pass, and a new Bishop to be elected before educational advances were made.

An external feature yet to be prominent was the authority of Archbishop Manning. As yet Manning had only prevented any initiative by the Society in London. With hindsight it is obvious that the picture of the

103 *L. & N.*, Vol. XXXII (1914), cxcv, 367.

Catholic community held by Manning had hardly changed at all. At the same time Manning's authority had grown as had his stature in the Church. He was also ably, if sometimes improperly, represented by Mgr. George Talbot in Rome until 1869. In the post-1870 world he was to consolidate his position in England and advance the policies he believed the Church needed. The Jesuits do not seem to have been aware of this. Instead the public face of Manning's policy actually encouraged them in their educational activities and this is most clearly represented by a public statement of September 1871 - a joint Pastoral.

*'There is another part of our education system which now needs attention. Until the last quarter of a century, a middle class hardly existed in the Catholic Church in England. There were indeed in parts of the country a few families of the yeomanry still faithful: but our flock was for the most part made up of a small number of venerable and honourable Catholic families, who represented the spiritual inheritance of our forefathers, and a multitude of the poorest in the land. At this time, partly by prosperity in the commerce and industries of our country, and partly by a large accession of educated families to the Faith, a numerous middle class has been formed, for which a corresponding education must be provided.'*¹⁰⁴

104 W.A., St. Edmund's College Papers, 15-10-37, Joint Pastoral of the Hierarchy, 14 September, 1871.

CHAPTER THREE

TOILERS IN THE VINEYARD -
operating the Jesuit Colleges
for Catholic youth in the 1870s

*'The result of our inquiry has been to show that there are very many English parents who, though they are willing to pay the fair price of their children's education, yet have no suitable schools within their reach where they can be sure of efficient teaching, and that consequently great numbers of the youth of the middle class, and especially of its lower divisions, are insufficiently prepared for the duties of life, or for the ready and intelligent acquisition of that technical instruction, the want of which is alleged to threaten such injurious consequences to some of our great industrial interests.'*¹

This lament about the provision of secondary education for the children of the middle classes applied to the whole of early Victorian England and Wales, but it could be applied very particularly to the Catholic community in England. There was a particular shortage of schools for middle class Catholic boys. This had not gone unremarked by members of the Catholic community, but little had been done.

One of the few people not only to discern the problem, but also do something about it, had been the Jesuit Randal Lythgoe.² Lythgoe's work had in part been studied by the Taunton Commissioners whose report is quoted above. Stonyhurst and Mount St. Mary's had sent written information to the Commission and their respective Prefects of Studies, Fr. G.R. Kingdon and Fr. T. Williams, had been questioned by the Commissioners.³ The evidence of the two men was published by the Society for its members to read in its own internal publication Letters and Notices, while reports of the submitted evidence were carried in the Report.⁴

1 S.I.C., vol. xxviii (1868) 552.

2 See chapter 2, page

3 For the purposes of the Commission, Fr. G.R. Kingdon was the equivalent of a Headmaster. Fr. Williams was both Rector and Prefect of Studies.

4 See L. & N., vol. III (1865) 178-187. See also S.I.C., vol. v, part 2 (1868) 222-232 (Fr. T. Williams), 324-337 (Fr. G.R. Kingdon); vol. ix 582-585 and 601 (J. Bryce on Stonyhurst); vol. vii 610-618; vol. xvi 577-580.

The latter consisted of the reports of the interviews, the written reports submitted by Fathers Kingdon and Williams, and a report made by James Bryce after a visit to Stonyhurst. Bryce, who was to be in the 1890s the Chairman of the Commission that bears his name and was a future Ambassador to America, was Assistant Commissioner investigating schools in Lancashire on behalf of the Commission. The authorities at Stonyhurst allowed Bryce to see over the school and answered questions. Fortuitously the day was a holiday and Bryce did not have the opportunity to request to examine the boys. As this would have not been permitted, an unnecessary clash was avoided.

Stonyhurst will not be considered further in this chapter, but the conduct of Jesuits in their behaviour towards the Commissioners is very revealing. The Society seems to have co-operated very fully with the Commission. This contrasts strongly with the attitude of the Hierarchy when faced with the Newcastle Commission enquiring into Elementary education between 1858 and 1861.⁵ The Commission was not allowed to enter the schools and there was a general reluctance to co-operate further. This difference in attitude by the Jesuits to the Taunton Commission is symptomatic of a difference in approach to secondary education when faced with demands from the lay world. The Hierarchy seem at the time of the Taunton Commission to have remained as reluctant as they were in their response to Newcastle. For example, the information on the Xaverian College at Salford ran to a single page as opposed to the eight for Stonyhurst and the four for Mount St. Mary's.⁶

5 *P.A. Platt, Roman Catholic Education in Leeds 1870-1936, with special reference to secondary schooling (unpublished M.Ed., University of Leeds 1982) 23.*

6 *S.I.C., vol. xvii (1868) 609.*

The concern of the Jesuits to co-operate with the State is characteristic of a concern with secondary education in general. The Jesuit journal The Month contained a number of articles in the period 1865-75, specifically related to College education.⁷ They show a particular sensitivity to the problems of the time, and in their attitude to many issues also show a particular sensitivity to the wishes of the laity. They dealt freely with the question of the Classics in education, Catholics at Oxford and Cambridge and the needs of middle class education.

In this latter respect the Jesuits were much more advanced than other elements of the Catholic Church. While it is true that Henry Edward Manning gave expression to the needs of the Catholic Church in England in 1863, and among those singled out middle class schools as a deficiency, the Hierarchy did nothing. There was not the same concern for this problem among the Bishops, nor did Manning pursue the matter when he became Archbishop of Westminster in 1865. The quotation from the Joint Pastoral of 1871 which concluded the previous chapter was stated as revealing the public view held by the Hierarchy. In fact that public view differed markedly from private practice. As will be demonstrated in this chapter, and in Chapter 5, the Hierarchy's response was patchy and individualistic. Although it should be made clear the Bishops had ideas on secondary education, they did little to make them concrete and certainly had no co-ordinated scheme. The Low Week deliberations of the Bishops for the period covered by this chapter are entirely free of any plans for middle class secondary education organised by the Secular Clergy.⁸

7 *There are numerous letters and articles, for example, The Month, May 1867, March 1868, July 1868, August 1868, July 1869.*

8 *W.A., Acta of Low Week meetings.*

Just as this misleading impression about the ideas of the Bishops can arise from studying their public utterances, so is there a misleading impression gained from reading the Taunton Report and assuming that Mount St. Mary's was simply a poor relation of Stonyhurst. This seems to have been done most completely by V.A. McClelland.⁹

McClelland extensively analysed school studies at Stonyhurst, and in particular the remarks of Fr. G.R. Kingdon the Prefect of Studies, the Jesuit who reported to the Taunton Commission. Along with this McClelland makes some remarks about Mount St. Mary's. He shows that it had been a shadow of Stonyhurst, that Fr. Weld recommended that it be developed for middle class boys, but that it had limiting factors due to poor physical facilities and that only: 'A slow effort to enhance the reputation of Mount St. Mary's was set on foot in 1875, ...' This took the form of entering for London Matriculation. This was only a limited success and so was the same sort of activity at the new Jesuit institution, Beaumont. These 'poor successes' were sufficient to be damning. 'It (Mount St. Mary's) was branded an inferior institution, as indeed was the third Jesuit boarding school, Beaumont.'

Further down the same page McClelland transfers his attention back to Stonyhurst. 'The Jesuits at Stonyhurst were not concerned with the specific needs of the middle classes', is McClelland's verdict about the Order's schoolmasters at their most prestigious College. Thus the Society is shown to be élitist and unwavering. The tenor of McClelland's thesis is to condemn Mount St. Mary's and Beaumont, and, if that were not enough, makes them guilty of insensitivity to the middle classes by linking them

⁹ V.A. McClelland, English Roman Catholics and Higher Education 1830-1903 (1973) Part 1, chapter 3, 28-45, specifically 40-42.

to the pervasive power of the remote and aristocratic Stonyhurst. McClelland mentions the day colleges at Liverpool and Preston, but simply calls Liverpool a middle class school and refers to their results in the London Examinations, and in particular the Latin awards. There are no references to the sources used for many of these statements, but the case is made carefully and persuasively which is unfortunate as it is such a limited and, at times, inaccurate picture.

The object of this chapter is to show that the Society was doing many of the things that McClelland says it was not, and was advancing a programme that the Hierarchy's members were not contemplating in the period. This was not an isolated phenomenon. It was to be found elsewhere in the Provinces of the Society and demonstrates the Order's sensitivity to the educational demands of the age and the flexibility of their educational guide, the Ratio Studiorum, to changes in the demands of the various countries in which the Fathers were operating.¹⁰ An analysis of this sort is particularly necessary because, as the following chapter makes clear, at this period, 1870-1880, when the English Province was expanding and refining its work, Manning and the Hierarchy created a dispute of profound significance over a proposed Manchester College. The outcome of the dispute halted Jesuit educational initiative in building new Colleges and really created a blight in the

10 For the origins of the Ratio, see J. Brodrick S.J., The Progress of the Jesuits (1946) chapter 3, 66-111. The Ratio has been partly translated and commented on in E.A. Fitzpatrick, St. Ignatius and the Ratio Studiorum (1933) and for further study A.P. Farrell S.J., The Jesuit Code of Liberal Education (1938). A full account of the effect of the Ratio on the restored Society is to be found in R. Schwickerath S.J., Jesuit Education, its History and Principles (1904) chapter vi, 189-199, chapters ix and x, 280-309.

world of Catholic secondary education that did not begin to cease until the death of Manning. No other study has dealt with this and a proper appreciation of its significance can only be made against the background of what the Jesuits were accomplishing in the 1870s.

One of the clearest examples of the sort of people using Mount St. Mary's comes from the Taunton Report. The table, overleaf, is taken from the written evidence compiled about the school that is in the report.¹¹ It shows a sample of 20 boys in the school. As the school was 'full' with 120 boys in 1862, and did not reach the 150 mark until 1876, the sample represents roughly 15% of the alumni at the time of the report's compilation.¹² This seems a very reasonable sample and shows clearly that the school had a very middle class clientele. Only two of the boys came from the families of gentlemen and if we stretch the classification 'Professional' to include the Banker, then only three could be deemed to come from families of this social class. Most of the remainder are from a commercial background and this would indicate that over half the school had a very middle class parentage.

Geographically most came from London, a centre of the Catholic faith lacking a Jesuits' College at this time. Only three came from the other major centre of Catholic faith, Lancashire. As they were served by two Jesuit day colleges and Stonyhurst, one concludes the parents were moderately prosperous businessmen who could afford a boarding school with modest fees.

11 S.I.C., vol. xiv (1868) 580.

12 A. S.J., MR/1, Fr. Baine's notes on Mount St. Mary's.

TABLE IX

Profession or Status of Parents of Boys at
Mount St. Mary's College

N.B. The sample consists of the ten highest and ten lowest boarders in the school.

<u>Boys highest</u> <u>in school</u>	<u>Profession or Occupa-</u> <u>tion of Parent</u>	<u>Residence of</u> <u>Parent</u>
1	Artist	London
2	Gentleman	Dundalk (Ireland)
3	Banker	Richmond (Yorkshire)
4	Bookseller	London
5	Broker (cotton)	Liverpool
6	Man in business	Liverpool
7	Doctor	London
8	Merchant	Manchester
9	Agent	North Wales
10	Lawyer	Tunbridge Wells
<u>Boys lowest</u> <u>in school</u>		
1	Provision merchant	London
2	Optician	London
3	Merchant	St. Lucia (West Indies)
4	Hotel Keeper	London
5	Widow Lady	Bath
6	Widow Lady	London
7	Artist	London
8	Railway Superintendent	Southampton
9	Gentleman	London
10	Corn Factor	Ireland

Source: S.I.C., vol. xiv, 580.

It is clear from the table that Mount St. Mary's was not a bastion of aristocratic Catholicism and deserves to be considered as a middle class boarding College. Indeed during the 1870s nothing was done to alter this and in fact all efforts may have been made to secure this image rather than to depart from it.

Unfortunately we have no further information about alumni until the 1880s, but a study of the curriculum provided at the College indicates much about its clientele. In Fr. Williams' time, the College had been working towards preparing boys for the London Matriculation. This was made clear to the Taunton commissioners when they asked about public examinations and about teaching of the natural sciences in the College. Fr. Williams stated that he was about to develop a class of Rhetoric and to incept Matriculation, a concomitant of which was the study of science. This appears to have been a popular course as the numbers in the school were seen to be rising; certainly this was so in terms of entries, as they rose to an annual average of 34.7 during the Rectorship of Fr. Williams (1862-67). The previous six years had seen entries averaging 27.8.¹³ The school was also full for the whole Rectorship.

When Williams left the College in 1867, it was governed for a few months by Fr. Charles Henry, who was then posted to Stonyhurst, and succeeded at Mount St. Mary's by Fr. Thomas Hill (Rector May 1868 to October 1873).¹⁴ During this period the College went into a slight decline. Fr. Alfred Weld, the Provincial, was not happy about the College and altered policy.

13 *Appendix 1 - List of Entries at Jesuit Colleges - Mount St. Mary's College.*

14 *The Mountaineer* (Sept. 1954) 74-75, *List of Rectors of Mount St. Mary's College.*

*'When I was Provincial, it was generally thought (except by Fr. Williams) that Mount St. Mary's should not be made a cheap Stonyhurst, and I consequently took off again the Matriculation class which I had added at his request. To finish boys there would involve either the omission of Matriculation, Poetry, Grammar and Syntax or putting on more or better men than you have there.'*¹⁵

Weld's policy did not bear the fruit he had hoped. The boys who wished to Matriculate were sent on to Stonyhurst, as were those with vocations. This proved to be a disaster as numbers at the College fell. Thus it became necessary to resolve the issue in the 1870s.

Fr. Weld supplied one answer to the problem:

*'I hope you will carry out my idea and advertise it as a school for the middle classes with plenty of Science (Physics and Chemistry) instead of Greek, except for Church boys. There is nothing of the kind in England and nothing would do so much good to the Catholic body. Boys with knowledge of Chemistry and Physics can get any employment and if they know Latin they will push themselves on. You could easily get 300 boys if you did this. As a little Stonyhurst it is good only for Church boys. They ought to have a school of practical Chemistry like at University College, London.'*¹⁶

Fr. Weld also went on to examine the physical problems of the College and to conclude that these needed a radical improvement.

The most likely reason for this correspondence was that the College was in new and very competent hands. In October 1873 Fr. Thomas Dykes had been appointed Rector. Dykes was not a trained scientist, as was Fr. Weld, nor a classicist of the stamp of Fr. Williams, but a mathematician.¹⁷ He had arrived at Mount St. Mary's to find that the numbers in

15 A.S.J., *English Assistancy Papers C/3*, Fr. A. Weld to Fr. Provincial, 12 Jan. 1875.

16 A.S.J., *English Assistancy Papers C/3*, Fr. A. Weld to Fr. Provincial, 21 July 1874.

17 See F. Edwards S.J., *The Jesuits in England* (1985) 186. *L. & N. vol. xix* (1887) 438 states that Fr. Dykes was a converted Anglican clergyman, who had been a noted Cambridge mathematician.

PLATE 3

MOUNT ST. MARY'S COLLEGE, DERBYSHIRE

The central building, especially
the left wing contains the
oldest part of the College,
Middleton Hall



the school had fallen to 80, and had been even lower.¹⁸ From the archives, it is clear that the first years of his Rectorate were devoted to remedying the problems.

Fr. Dykes recognised that there were just not enough pupils coming into the school and that a number of things had to be done. One of the first of these was the appointment of Fr. New as a Professor of Chemistry in 1875.¹⁹ The next phase was probably most necessary for the good publicity of the College and this was an improvement in physical amenities.

After compiling several reports, and taking the advice of the Provincial and other Jesuits, Fr. Dykes began to rebuild. His spending on capital domestic improvements ran to £10,000 in the years 1876-1878 and the size of the sum indicates the extent of the work. Most of the cost was raised by subscriptions or came in as gifts, but the last £3,000 had to be raised by borrowing, and it is significant of the way in which Colleges had to run that the farm was not only used as the collateral, but its profits also met the interest charges. This enabled the College to compete with its rivals and as time went on and running expenses in other schools rose, so Mount St. Mary's emerged as a very reasonably priced school and open to children of lower social class groupings.²⁰

At the same time, as an aid to improving the studies, Fr. Dykes re-introduced London Matriculation. This helped greatly and numbers

18 The information for this and succeeding paragraphs is to be found in A.S.J., MQ/2, MQ/3 and MQ/6 Notes and Letters of Fr. Thomas Dykes.

19 Mount St. Mary's College, Spinkhill, Derbyshire, (hereafter M.S.M.), Prefects' Log, 18 January 1875.

20 B. Heeny, *Mission to the Middle Classes* (1969) 33 gives figures for fees, and 244, Appendix C, gives the social status of pupils, at Woodard Schools.

continued to grow. Entry figures for the period 1876-1881 averaged 46.7 per annum and were to continue a little below this in the 1880s. In 1880 five boys went up to London to take Matriculation and in 1881 the first Honours were gained.²¹ This was in Latin, but, as the figures for entries clearly show, it was what the parents wanted.

It also satisfied another requirement that the College fulfilled in these years. Fr. Weld had written in his letter about 'Greek for Church boys'. One of the things that is genuinely known about the 450 boys who entered Mount St. Mary's in the 1870s is that 52 showed vocations, the highest in any decade.²² Contemporary evidence in Letters and Notices suggests that most of these entered the Society. Thus they would have needed to go on to final studies at Stonyhurst. As Fr. Dykes pointed out, if boys left for Stonyhurst before Matriculation, they were frequently disorientated by the change of College and left school. This was a great tragedy, as the Society undertook to educate gratuitously poor boys who showed a vocation and Mount St. Mary's was the centre for this work; indeed, the Liverpool records show that many boys from the Jesuit school went to the Mount for just this purpose.²³ The boarding college allowed them to study for the Church in a much more intellectual way and Matriculate before passing into higher classes elsewhere. They were thus a small but important minority of classes in a middle class boarding college.

In order to make the school more appealing to lay middle class boys and their parents, a number of other innovations were made. A class of

21 *M.S.M., Prefects' Log, 9 June 1880.*

22 *The Mountaineer, vol. xli (1958) passim.*

23 *A.S.J., RY/3, St. Francis Xavier's College Finances; and Bassett/Jesuits 403.*

Mathematics beyond Matriculation was begun in 1880 and in 1877 the existing cricket playing had been widened to be open to all boys.²⁴ These changes were coupled with a caring atmosphere, different from Stonyhurst in that it was less like a great boarding school and closer to that of a family, as Fr. Dykes stated:

*'Moral atmosphere at Stonyhurst very different. Boys separate from Masters, while at Mount more like a happy family, boys look on masters as brothers and fathers.'*²⁵

This close moral supervision was likely to appeal to many parents of boys from the middle class.

Taken together, the whole picture is not, as McClelland would have us believe, an inferior sort of Stonyhurst.²⁶ Rather it resembles a Grade II school as defined by the Taunton report.²⁷ Most boys left at 16, there were Classics, mostly Latin, alongside modern subjects, and most of the boys were to leave for employment or a career in the minor professions. Thus it complemented Stonyhurst and that other area of concern for the middle classes - the day schools.

At this time, in the 1870s, the Fathers were running two day colleges in England, in Liverpool and Preston, and one in Scotland, in Glasgow. Although the story of the Scottish college is not part of this study, it is important to understand that it absorbed the energies and manpower of several Jesuits from the English province for some years.²⁸

24 M.S.M. Prefects' Log, 11 May 1877, *L. & N.* vol. xiv (1881) 217.

25 A.S.J., MQ/2 Fr. Dykes' notes - n.d., but by internal evidence, 1877.

26 McClelland, *op. cit.* 41.

27 *S.I.C.*, vol. i (1868) chapter 1, 15-21.

28 F. Edwards S.J., *The Jesuits in England* (1985) 278-293 gives an outline history of the College and the Mission.

Perhaps the most important feature of this school and the mission to which it was attached was the enormous expense it gave the Society. More might have been undertaken elsewhere, had the Jesuits not been saddled with the task of coping with the most debt-ridden and difficult mission in the whole city of Glasgow.

Of the English day colleges, the larger was St. Francis Xavier's in Liverpool. In much the same way that Mount St. Mary's was investigated and re-invigorated in the 1870s, a major investigation was carried out into the running of the Liverpool College in 1873.²⁹ The Provincial, Fr. Peter Gallwey, seems to have ordered the inquiry soon after he became Head of the Order in England in July, 1873. Gallwey's investigation may, on the basis of later evidence, have been prompted by the ex-Rector Fr. George Porter. Concern arose from the conduct of the College, and the Middle School, by the Prefect of Studies since 1865, Fr. Harris. The agent for the investigation was a teacher at the school since Spring 1872, Fr. John Walford. Walford was an experienced teacher; an Oxford scholar and convert, he had taught at his old school, Eton, before joining the Catholic faith. He had then taught at Newman's Oratory School and he was ultimately to teach at Stonyhurst.³⁰ A Jesuit of only six years' standing, his whole experience had been in élitist boarding schools with a markedly Classical curriculum. His criticisms, which were extensive and detailed, must be seen as being conditioned by this traditional background.

Walford was looking for quality in the Classical studies at Liverpool, as well as, 'a large general school, a preparation for a future

29 A.S.J., RX/2, Fr. Walford to Fr. P. Gallwey, 23 September 1873.

30 See Bassett/ Jesuits 304, 393, 403 and 411.

life in any career in the world, as well as in Religion'.

He considered the standards of morals and piety to be high, but thought that Fr. Harris was stressing vocation to the Society too heavily. Walford felt this was compounded by a poor teaching of the Classics, and although Harris told him that parents cared little about Greek and Latin, the old Etonian felt that, if they were to be taught, they should be taught well. Further criticism was levelled at the way the boys were handled and also at the poor quality of the staff. In particular, Harris' own lack of learning was commented on.

Many of these allegations were supported by the former Rector, Fr. George Porter, who considered Harris was unable to handle the curriculum efficiently. Fr. Porter was a well-qualified and important member of the Society, who was to be English Assistant to the General of the Order, and also to be Archbishop of Bombay. Thus his voice may be more telling against Harris than that of Walford. However, he did recognise that Fr. Harris had some good qualities and that all that was needed was a competent Head Master to work alongside Fr. Walford and the standard of the school could be raised.³¹

If one were looking for a traditional classical school, these pictures would present a gloomy aspect to the College. However Fr. James Harris commented on all that had been alleged and from this material and elsewhere a much healthier picture of a thriving middle class college emerges. The type of boys in College depicted by Harris would hardly have welcomed a highly classical curriculum.³²

31 A.S.J., RX/2, Fr. G. Porter to Fr. P. Gallwey, 12 December 1873.

32 A.S.J., RX/2, Statements of Fr. J. Harris to Fr. Provincial, n.d. but probably 1873.

Table X overleaf shows the destinations of the 361 boys who had left the school in the seven years 1866-73. A large number of the boys had gone into business and of these Fr. Harris was able to state that he knew that 88 were 'doing well'. He mentions only nine by occupation, seven of whom had gone to sea, one was a medical man, and one had 'some properties'. He offered some comments on those whose destination was not known. He believed that many were doing well, purely a conjecture, but many, he stated, were birds of passage and they moved on fairly soon. This seems to have been a common feature of the period.

One group, those who had gone to other Colleges, were known in more detail by Harris. The second table overleaf seeks to group into convenient categories the destinations of the boys. It is clear that some had vocations and were seeking to further these in their new Colleges. If this is so, then it becomes apparent that the beneficiaries were the secular clergy. The largest category is that of secular seminaries with 20 boys. Even the Benedictines were only one behind the Jesuits. Entry to a college does not necessarily mean that the boy eventually became a minister, but the proportions of the figures if reproduced in eventual ordinations suggest that Fr. Harris was not a very effective canvasser and that the Society was not poaching boys on a widespread basis. Categories 4 and 5 may also have produced some clerics, but if they did, they would probably not be members of the Society. Category 6, showing that at least seven pupils left to go to Protestant schools was worrying as it showed a leakage that had to be checked.

The college was run in conjunction with the middle school. This was provided as a post-elementary school by the Society, but staffed by

Table X

Table to show Destinations of Pupils
who left St. Francis Xavier's College, 1866-73

Gone into business	147
Destinations unknown	109
Gone to other Colleges	92
Believed dead	<u>13</u>
Total	<u>361</u>

Source: A.S.J., St. Francis Xavier's Papers
 RX2

Table XI

Table to show Colleges to which former pupils of
St. Francis Xavier's transferred, 1866-73

Category 1 - Jesuit Colleges		14:
Stonyhurst	8	
Mount St. Mary's	5	
St. Bueno's	1	
Category 2 - Secular Seminaries		20:
Ushaw	11	
St. Edward's	8	
Unknown	1	
Category 3 - Benedictine		
Ampleforth	13	
Category 4 - Other Catholic Colleges (England)		10:
Roehampton	4	
Sedgely Park	3	
Catholic Institute	1	
Oblates of Mary	1	
Ratcliffe College	1	
Category 5 - Catholic Colleges (Overseas)		7:
Castle Roche (Ireland)	4	
Douai	2	
Valladolid	1	
Category 6 - Other Colleges		28:
Liverpool Institute (Protestant)	5	
Northern Institute (Protestant)	2	
Others	21	
Total		69

Source: A.S.J., St. Francis Xavier's Papers RX2

non-Society teachers. Both institutions were controlled overall by the Society, but Harris had greatest knowledge of the College. Thus, in terms of the finances he gives the most detailed picture of the College.³³ The table overleaf, part of which was produced in Chapter 2, shows how Fr. Harris caused the College to gain in funds.

The table is for gross receipts for the ten years prior to the appointment of Fr. Harris and the seven years after it. The effect of Harris' policy of canvassing, visiting the boys in their homes, and modifying the curriculum to the extent that it appeared less formidable and more commercially useful had borne fruit. The fees had not been increased, but the numbers attending the College had grown. Some of these only stayed a short time, but others did not and Harris may be seen as an innovator in that he brought boys to education from homes where it had not usually been considered. So much is superficially obvious, but another effect is less clear at first. This was the fact that the College had begun to make a profit.

Running a College was not easy financially. Many of the costs were fixed - e.g. rates, rents, salaries for teachers or an allowance in lieu. The more boys in the school, the greater the sharing of cost. The advantages of this are shown by glancing at the next table which shows expenditure and receipts in 1872-73.³⁴

There is very little material on the costs of running a secondary school in this period. Information about salaries is readily available, but there is much less about things like fuel and stationery bills. Many

33 A.S.J., RX/2, *St. Francis Xavier's College financial papers*.

34 A.S.J., RY/3, *Financial statements of 1 April 1873 and 6 April 1873*.

Table XII

Table to show Gross Income of St. Francis Xavier's
College, 1855-72

Year	£	s.	d.
1856	296	5	11
1857	385	16	0
1858	532	14	8
1859	643	8	6
1860	778	17	0
1861	1018	10	6
1862	921	12	2
1863	871	15	3
1864	712	2	9
1865	672	18	5
1866	1040	8	1
1867	1296	19	4
1868	1478	16	6
1869	1548	16	11
1870	1718	18	5
1871	1658	4	4
1872	1762	18	0

N.B. This return is for the College only and does not include Middle School returns. Fr. Harris was appointed to the College in 1865.

Source: A.S.J., St. Francis Xavier's Papers, RX/2

Table XIII

Table to show Annual Accounts of St. Francis Xavier's College, April 1872 - April 1873

St. Francis Xavier's College

Receipts	£	s	d	Expenses	£	s	d
Pensions	1471	14	0	Bookseller for			
Money for				Prizes and stationery	158	5	1
Dinners	164	5	0	Dinners	164	5	0
Stationery	45	0	0	Drill master	15	0	0
Books	76	0	0	Paid Miss Main			
Drill	21	0	0	for "Trevor"	38	8	7
				Stamps	5	0	0
				St. George's Hall	12	12	0
				Drawing master	50	0	0
				Advertisements	20	0	0
				Piano player Xmas '72	1	11	6
				Guardian Society	1	1	0
				Rents	126	0	0
				Prefect of Studies			
				and Masters	770	0	0
				Repairs	67	1	5
				Fuel, gas & furniture	51	19	0
					1491	3	7
				Balance	286	15	5
					1777	19	0
	1777	19	0				

Source: A.G.J., St. Francis Xavier's Papers BX/2

Table to show Annual Accounts of St. Francis Xavier's Middle School, April 1872 - April 1873

Receipts

Pensions

183 0 0

i s d

Teacher 2	37	0	0

Gas	2	6	8

Coals	3	2	6

Woman for cleaning	3	0	0

Rates and taxes	6	7	11

Rent of House	25	0	0

151. C O

Balance	32	0	0

183 C O

147

of these costs would exist for the school at any size within limits. A class might be any number from 6 or 8 to more than 30 pupils. Clearly there was an optimum number of pupils to defray costs and this Fr. Harris achieved. Indeed the notional rents could be paid. This was the rent, even when the Society of Jesus owned the property, paid to the Province Procurator for general funds. This could be waived in poor years, but its payment greatly strengthened the advance of education by the Society.

It seems very unlikely that this healthy financial situation would have been achieved if parents had felt that there was no value in a Jesuit school. Nor is it likely that the Society would have strengthened the College in the way it did if the management of Fr. Harris was totally defective.

There is little doubt there were some problems with Fr. Harris' work. Fr. George Porter explained in a lengthy letter to Fr. Provincial Gallwey that he had detected a lack of scholarship in Classics, want of organisation of teaching and very undemanding examining methods.³⁵ Fr. Porter recommended that there should be an assistant to Fr. Harris to put all this right. Fr. Porter had spoken plainly of this to Fr. Harris but it had been denied by the Fr. that anything was wrong.

Harris was a diabetic and in 1874-75 suffered badly and had to leave the College for a time. He returned in 1875 and stayed until 1883 holding the role of Prefect General. The post of Prefect of Studies was held by others and standards became more exacting.³⁶ However, this was not the

35 A.S.J., RX/2, Fr. G. Porter to Fr. Provincial, 12 December 1873.

36 A.S.J., RY/1, St. Francis Xavier's College papers, List of Prefects of Studies.

only change. A large building programme was begun and a new school area was opened for 500 boys.³⁷ Facilities were greatly improved and extended. Night classes commenced and the Science and Art Department courses with their associated grants and examinations were begun in order to aid the advancement of a Catholic population in a prosperous commercial city.³⁸ Some of these courses were extended into the schools, certainly the grants and equipment helped the Fathers to keep abreast of national developments as well. The result of all this was the presence of 258 boys in the school in August 1876; as Fr. Harris stated, a record for that time of year.³⁹ The numbers in the middle school were at 40; they had been higher in January, but attendance was perhaps higher in the winter months, when work was less readily available.⁴⁰

The culmination of this surge of activity in the College came in 1877 when boys were first entered for the Oxford Local Examinations.⁴¹ This was presumably the Junior Examination as London Matriculation was kept for the older boys. This was a very bold step indeed. The Hierarchy under the leadership of Manning were engaged in schemes for a Catholic University, and Catholic participation at Oxford or Cambridge had been proscribed. However other schools were beginning to take these examinations, and it shows the sensitivity of the Jesuits to the needs of their

37 T. Burke, *Catholic History of Liverpool* (1910) 225; N. Ryan, *St. Francis Xavier's Church Centenary 1848-1948* (1948) 55-56.

38 A.S.J., RX/2, Printed extract from *The Daily Post*, 27 June 1876; and for a general view of this topic, P.H.J.H. Gosden, *The Development of Educational Administration in England* (1966) 43-56.

39 A.S.J., RW/3, Fr. J. Harris to Fr. Provincial, 14 August 1876.

40 A.S.J., RW/3, Fr. J. Harris to Fr. Provincial, 30 January 1876.

41 T. Burke, *op. cit.* 226. See also on the general status of Oxford Locals at this time, J.P.C. Roach, *Public Examinations in England 1850-1900* (1971) chapter 10, 229-256.

pupils and to the pressures of the educational market-place that they were willing to enter their pupils for the Locals. No other Catholic College had yet begun to do this and the Jesuits' work does much to deny the theory that their studies were not designed for middle class pupils.

The picture presented at Liverpool is of a College trying to expand and produce a range of courses for its clientele. It is clear that this was the sort of school that the Fathers had in mind for Manchester in 1874. Under the 1851 Census Liverpool had around 55,260 Catholics while Manchester and Salford around 28,150 between the two towns.⁴² This was clearly enough to begin a school as one had been started in Preston, and that only had 6,330 Catholics in 1851. Indeed the school in Preston shows not only what it was possible for the Jesuits to achieve in a small town, but how they could also work with fellow clergy.

The College, opened in 1865, was newer than those considered above and for the period of the 1870s had over 80 boys on only one occasion in 1878.⁴³ The College had originally been under lay control as far as daily work was concerned, but, in 1870, a Jesuit Father began to supervise the work and it became more formally part of the Jesuit system. Little of an innovatory nature was attempted until a second Jesuit was appointed to augment the superior and his lay staff in 1877.⁴⁴ There

42 *Figures are taken from the tables and information in B.I. Coleman, The Church of England in the Mid-Nineteenth Century (1980) 6-7 and 40-41.*

43 *Preston Catholic College Records, The College, Preston (hereafter P.C.C.R.), Log Book 31 August 1878.*

44 *A. Hindle, A Centenary History of the Catholic College, Preston (hereafter Hindle/ Preston) (1971) 12.*

were several reasons for this such as the limited quality of the lay staff and the hope of raising standards in the school, but there may well be a more important reason. This was to do with the presence of boys with vocations, some of whom had passed to Mount St. Mary's during the Provincialship of Peter Gallwey.⁴⁵ Fr. Dykes, who had noticed the trend suggested increasing the Jesuit staff so that such boys, in the future, might have their vocations fostered.

It is clear that at this stage the school was a Catholic rival to the Protestant Preston Grammar School, and that the curriculum was a mixture of classical and modern subjects. Under the new arrangements of 1877, a new prospectus was issued, stating that the College consisted of four classes. The first of these was a Preparatory class conducted by a lady teacher who taught elementary skills.

*'The second and third classes are instructed in English, Latin, French, Music and the ordinary elements of learning. The subject matter of the first class (the upper form) is the Oxford Local for Junior candidates; this standard is kept in view in the lower classes, so that those students who pass through the course may be able to obtain a certificate from the Oxford University of having been taught accurately the elements of a commercial education. This certificate dispenses with the preliminary examination for the law.'*⁴⁶

As indicated when dealing with the development of St. Francis Xavier's College, this was a major step forward in commercial terms. It is also important to note that this was the final stage of a boys' education; London Matriculation was not part of the College course, the staff not being large enough nor the numbers of boys sufficient to warrant it.

45 A.S.J., *Preston College Papers*, Fr. T. Dykes Narrative 1886.

46 P.C.C.R., *Early Material File*.

The inception of Oxford Locals was a key feature of curriculum advance in both the day colleges and at Mount St. Mary's at this time. It is too coincidental in time and execution to be accidental, and although there is no direct evidence, seems to have been planned as a deliberate policy. The fact that the Hierarchy were uncertain in their attitude to anything connected with Oxford is immaterial. The Jesuits seemed to have realised that these examinations had a wide appeal to middle class parents and that, despite the criticisms noted by Roach, the Locals were being increasingly patronised by proprietary Colleges and schools.⁴⁷ If the Jesuits were to remain competitive and prevent leakage, then they had to take the Locals in their colleges.

The smallest of the Colleges, at Preston, took the demands of the new curriculum very seriously. Night studies, a form of teaching and homework, at the end of the school day, was introduced. The first boys, three in number, were entered and took Oxford Locals.⁴⁸ Though only two passed, the work was encouraged and boys with vocations who were successful went on to study at Mount St. Mary's or Stonyhurst.

During the period studied in this chapter, the College flourished. The slight classical bias in this middle class school can be accounted for, in part, by the presence of another middle class Catholic school in the town. The Jesuits in the parish of St. Ignatius' had such a school opened and conducted by the Xaverian Brothers in 1861. Hindle has found some evidence of local rivalry, and even suggestions that this College was to close when the Jesuits opened their own in the St. Wilfrid's Parish.⁴⁹ Mr. Hindle seems to have been of the opinion that this

47 Roach, *loc. cit.*

48 P.C.C.R., *Log Book* 31 May 1869.

49 Hindle/ *Preston* 12, 20-22, 40-41.

rivalry was a perpetual problem. Another reading of the evidence is that it was particularly local and only arose occasionally, such as during the period of the Catholic College's weakness during the latter part of the superiorship of Fr. de Lapasture.⁵⁰ Otherwise, certainly at Province level, the two Colleges, both under a form of direction by the Society, were seen as complementary to one another. They neatly demonstrated the elements of co-operation that were possible between different Catholic schools, even in such a small town. As this was something that was alleged by others at the time to be impossible, its presence at Preston is noteworthy.

The whole notion of adaptability is an important element in the Society in the nineteenth century. In a Religious Order with a popular reputation for obedience and unswerving commitment to the Papacy, it seems paradoxical to suggest that the Order was prepared to accommodate itself to national circumstance and regional difference in a very individualistic way, but this was the case. The governing forces behind education in all institutions run by the Society were the fourth part of the Constitutions of the Society and the document known as the Ratio Studiorum.⁵¹ The original Ratio had been carefully drawn up by the Fathers of all the Provinces and accepted by the General Congregation of the Order in 1599. From this time forward this was the document around which Jesuit Education was organised until the Society was suppressed in 1773.

50 de Lapasture was Superior from 1878-84; more detail of his problems will be found in chapter 5.

51 Information in this and succeeding paragraphs on this topic is based on the works cited in footnote 10.

Even the original Ratio was not a definitive and mandatory document. Much of its contents were devoted to the organisation of the Colleges and the respective duties of officials such as the Rector and Prefect of Studies. Guidance was laid down about the choice of authors in classical studies but facilities were laid down for the creation of additional subjects for study and there was considerable latitude permitted to the Provincials and College Rectors. In this way, teaching in the vernacular was able to develop, as were the traditions of drama and music which were such an unusual feature of the Colleges.

When the Society was restored in the early nineteenth century, it was obvious to the Jesuit Fathers that the Ratio was still a useful guide, but that in some areas was out of date, particularly with respect to the curriculum. Thus efforts were made to reform the Ratio in the 1820s and in 1832 a revised Ratio Studiorum was published. Unlike its predecessor, this document was not approved by a General Congregation. This gave the document the status of one of the General's Regulations, which, although important, are not regarded as being as firmly binding as a document approved by a General Congregation. As a consequence of this, the Provincials had slightly greater flexibility and as the curricular guide had been modernised to include more Mathematical and Scientific studies this freedom to adapt and innovate was enhanced.

A brief examination of the work of the Order in Provinces and places other than England proves that this interpretation of the Ratio is not simply a theoretical model, but is firmly rooted in practical educational work. France provide a clear illustration of a totally different approach

from that made in England, although there were sufficient common features for the schools to be distinctively Jesuit.

The heritage of the past was even less for the restored French Province than for the English when the restoration took place in 1814, as there was only one fully trained Jesuit in France. By 1824, there were over 300 Fathers, Scholastics and Brothers.⁵² The Fathers opened eight Colleges between 1814 and 1828 when they were exiled as part of the mounting attack on the restored Bourbon monarchy and some of its ultra Catholic policies. The Colleges of this period were really minor seminaries, but they also educated lay boys. These schools had an attraction for the Bishops as they produced a substantial number of potential ordinands and they had a great attraction to parents as they were strong in their moral and intellectual influence upon the boys.⁵³

Upon their expulsion the Jesuits set up Colleges on the borders of the country and began a pattern of education that was to be characteristic of their work for much of the remainder of the century. The Colleges, because they were outside national boundaries, had to take boarders. When the Jesuits were once more able to open Colleges within France, as a result of the Falloux Laws of 1850, eleven were opened in 1850 and six more in 1854.⁵⁴ These were all boarding Colleges and admitted day boys as a minority group from the immediate neighbourhood of the schools. The Colleges had a curriculum which was heavily biased towards classical languages and literature. Other subjects were studied

52 J.W. Padberg S.J., *Colleges in Controversy* (1969) 9.

53 Padberg, *op. cit.* 47-48.

54 G.T. Cubitt, *The Myth of a Jesuit Conspiracy in France 1814-1880* (unpublished Ph.D., University of Cambridge 1984) 228.

including Science and Mathematics, but these were only really included for the older boys and only substantially studied in the Philosophers' course which took place as the equivalent of University education.⁵⁵

The daily schedules in which this took place in the Colleges were more exacting for pupils in the French Colleges than for those at Mount St. Mary's.⁵⁶ Only the secure moral atmosphere and the religious practices of the Colleges appear to be closely similar.

Even within the areas under the control of English Jesuits education differed considerably. The Fathers in Ireland opened two Colleges, at Clongowes Wood and Tullabeg, both of which were boarding institutions.⁵⁷ Neither College was particularly large, they both had over 200 pupils by 1870. Clongowes Wood preserved a more strongly classical curriculum than Tullabeg where commercial studies such as Mercantile Arithmetic and Book-keeping were added in 1839 to help widen the scope of this College for middle class boys earlier than those in England.

Another feature peculiar to the Irish Colleges was the absence of attempts to carry out a systematic programme of higher education. This probably is connected with the presence of a Catholic University College at St. Stephen's Green in Dublin, which the Irish and English Jesuits conducted for the Irish Hierarchy. This particular institution was very successful in the latter part of the century when it competed against the three Protestant Queen's Colleges in degree examinations.⁵⁸ In fact

55 *Padberg, op. cit.* 160-162.

56 *Compare Padberg, op. cit.* 164-166 with the account in *M.S.M., Joseph Lightbound's Diary* 1863.

57 *Information, unless otherwise stated, is taken from T. Corcoran, The Clongowes Record* (1932).

58 *Schwickerath, op. cit.* 213-216.

the pattern of studies at Clongowes confirmed and reinforced the connections rather than weakened them.

Further extensive analyses could be made. The Jesuits in North America can be seen as adapting to a variety of circumstances from the extensive material available.⁵⁹ Within the United States there can be few agencies responsible for conducting elementary schools on the Indian reservations of the Middle West as well as University centres of learning on the Eastern seaboard. Again, the English Fathers were responsible for Colleges in the colonies in India and Southern Africa where climate, language and racial background were such as to make anything but a highly adaptable teaching system ineligible to operate.

Against this background of educational sensitivity and adaptability, both national and international, as displayed by the Jesuits, needs to be set the limited attempts to create secondary education by the English Catholic Hierarchy. As there was no system or consistent policy, words like haphazard and chaotic are inappropriate for all that the results might justify such epithets. Instead what emerges is a picture of public unanimity and private individuality.

Mention has already been made of the statements by the Hierarchy about Middle Class education, and about the pattern of execution differing from diocese to diocese. Superficial as it is, this skeletal explanation is not enough, but the task of fleshing out the bones is not easy. There are few studies of either bishops or individual dioceses, and, where they do exist, they are usually in the form of University theses. A number of

59 Besides the general works of Campbell and Schwickerath, see T. Hughes, *The History of the Society of Jesus in North America*, 4 volumes (1910), and J.J. Walsh, *American Jesuits* (1934, reprinted 1968).

these have been studied and an effort has been made, by using them as samples, to test the above generalised judgement.⁶⁰ They can be supported by a study of the material contained in the general histories of the Catholic community, particularly those of Norman and Holmes, and the biographies of the two Archbishops, Manning and Vaughan.

If the diocese of Liverpool is examined first, then from the period of the 1870s a fairly static picture emerges. Bp. Goss, an energetic, self-effacing man, governed the diocese for part of this period, until his death in 1872. Goss was a very able diocesan administrator who believed strongly in the Tridentine tradition of control by the Ordinary, but at the same time was opposed to Manning's Ultramontaine view and his autocratic tendencies.⁶¹ Goss inherited three secondary schools, the Junior Seminary of St. Edward's, the Catholic Institute, with its connections with commercial education and the Jesuit St. Francis Xavier's College.⁶² Although Goss encouraged all three, he had neither time nor money nor men to expand the role they were fulfilling. He did have a major dispute with the Regular clergy, but this was largely with the

60 *The following theses have been studied on this element of diocesan activity:*

P.H. Doyle, The Episcopate of Alexander Goss of Liverpool 1856-1872 (unpublished Ph.D., University of London, King's College 1981);

P.A. Platt, Roman Catholic Education in Leeds 1870-1936, with special reference to secondary schooling (unpublished M.Ed., University of Leeds 1982);

J-A. Upton, Non-Elementary and Secondary Education in the Roman Catholic Diocese of Nottingham 1870-1970 (unpublished M.Ed., University of Hull 1976);

hereafter these will be referred to by the author's name, the degree and the page number.

61 *Doyle/ Ph.D. 28 and 52.*

62 *T. Burke, Catholic History of Liverpool (1910) 72 and 111-112.*

Benedictines than the Jesuits, and as it was over parochial control, did not affect the College.⁶³

When Goss died in 1872, his successor was Bishop O'Reilly, who was not consecrated until 1873. O'Reilly had Manning's approval, but he had not his antipathy to the Jesuits. Thus they were left alone. All that the Bishop seems to have done was to enlarge St. Edward's in 1875 and this was probably preparatory to opening Upholland Seminary in 1883.⁶⁴ Thus he may be seen as safeguarding a supply of locally trained priests for his diocese rather than mounting a challenge in the secondary education sector.

If one turns from the relatively orderly state in Liverpool to the other side of the Pennines in Yorkshire and Nottingham, matters were much less well-organised. Leeds, both as part of Beverley, and as a diocese of 30,000 Catholics founded in its own right in 1878, had no secondary schools for boys until after 1900. Not only was the population considered too small and too poor, but Bishop Cornthwaite was also chronically short of elementary schools. In the post-Forster era, the only available money was spent on these. The first secondary education came in 1897 and that was for girls; a higher grade school attached to a convent.⁶⁵

Nottingham as a diocese was slightly better off as it began the 1870s under Bishop Roskell's supervision with three boys' schools. However they were all boarding and widely scattered as well as being

63 Doyle/ Ph.D. 233-272.

64 T. Burke, *op. cit.* 236.

65 Platt/ M.Ed. 47-56.

controlled by totally different authorities and with different purposes in view. They were Mount St. Mary's, controlled by the Jesuits, the Rosiminian College at Grace Dieu (opened 1835) and the lay controlled Ratcliffe College (opened 1847). By virtue of their boarding capacity and slightly higher fees than day schools, they took boys from all over England, and, in the case of the Rosiminians, associated closely with recruitment to the Order.⁶⁶

Dr. Holmes has shown something of the chaotic pastoral state of the diocese, and the lengths to which Bishop Bagshawe went in order to obtain foreign priests to serve in it.⁶⁷ As Holmes makes clear, this experiment was not a great success but typifies the recondite methods employed by Bagshawe. In elementary education he had schools opened by four Orders of nuns recruited to the diocese specifically for the purpose within a few months of his consecration in 1874. These ladies not only staffed the elementary schools, but provided some classes for older girls, perhaps with the hope of recruiting new members.⁶⁸ Bagshawe assisted the work with appeals, grants and loans, of which, to his successor's consternation, he kept no record.

For older boys, and in particular those from the middle class, Bishop Bagshawe did nothing at first. He was to open a seminary/school, but this was in the 1880s. Despite the need for some educated boys, even simply for elementary school teaching, progress in providing facilities took the form of encouraging others. There seems to have been only one school opened in the 1870s and this was by a Fr. Edward Smith in

⁶⁶ Upton/ M.Ed. 48 and 65.

⁶⁷ J.D. Holmes, More Roman than Rome (1978) 172-173,

⁶⁸ Upton/ M.Ed. 39.

Newark in 1877. Intended as a day and boarding College for middle and upper class pupils, Upton suggests that its life was short.⁶⁹

Such limited and sporadic activity was absent in two other areas. One of these was the diocese of Salford, but consideration of this will be reserved to the following chapter. The character of the changes in secondary education for Catholic boys in Salford is so bound up with the whole dispute with the Jesuits that it would be foolish to consider it in isolation. The other area is London.

Properly speaking London consisted of two dioceses - Southwark and Westminster - in which were concentrated the largest number of Catholics outside Lancashire. Bishop Grant of Southwark, who died in 1870, had attempted to provide for Catholic boys in his diocese through the offices of the De La Salle Brothers.⁷⁰ By the 1870s they were running two schools in South London, St. Joseph's College and St. Joseph's Academy, the latter being a lower key commercial education establishment. Neither was flourishing but they were able to keep going with around 100 pupils in each school. This was as much as the Brothers could undertake and they turned down requests to open schools in Bristol (1878), Halifax (1880) and Worcester (1880) in the period studied in this chapter. Apart from little known private venture schools they preferred to cater for the Catholics of Southwark.

North of the river lay Westminster, the Archbishop's Province of Henry Edward Manning. Much of Manning's work in connection with secondary education will be studied in the next chapter, but in his own diocese he

69 Upton/ M.Ed. 63.

70 Information is taken from P.R. Cusack, *De La Salle Secondary Schools in the English Province 1855-1964* (unpublished M.Ed., University of Manchester 1973).

expanded the College of St. Charles.⁷¹ Fee levels suggest that this school was for wealthier middle class boys as does the presence of a London Matriculation class. A further pointer to this is that, despite the Cardinal's strictures and efforts elsewhere, in 1880 boys began to take the Senior Oxford Locals. Manning encouraged others to work for the lower middle class pupils and thus, for example, St. Bonaventure's was opened by the Franciscans in 1877 and St. Aloysius' in 1879 by the Brothers of Mercy.⁷² Manning also made overtures to the Marists, who had arrived in England in 1876 and were opening a school in Jarrow. They had no claims to the privileges of the Jesuits or Benedictines and were thus much more acceptable to the Cardinal. Indeed Dr. Selby states that Manning was able to call upon eleven middle class schools for Catholics in 1880.⁷³ Sadly we do not know much in the way of details about the schools, but the fact that Manning was convening a meeting for the purpose of discussing a complementary or replacement central school scheme that will be discussed in the next chapter suggests that the efforts of the existing institutions were incomplete.

This seems to return the point full circle. If the Hierarchy had responded in an organised fashion to the challenge of the times with regard to secondary education, they would have been less idiosyncratic and more homogeneous. All this study has done is to highlight diversity

71 See D.E. Selby, 'Henry Edward Manning and the Catholic Middle Class', *Paedagogica Historica* xi (1970) 155-156.

72 W.J. Battersby, 'Catholic Education for Boys' in G.A. Beck, *The English Catholics 1850-1950* (1950) 331.

73 D.E. Selby, *op. cit.* 158. Dr. Selby cites a report of an investigation held in 1880 that is in the Manning Papers. Sadly, I have not had access to these and have not found a copy elsewhere.

of educational provision, were curricular diet or sociology of alumni to be explored as they have been for Jesuit Colleges then the picture would be even more jumbled. The Jesuits, despite the differences in their Colleges, kept some inter-collegiate examinations in being in order to create some homogeneity and consistency beyond public examinations.⁷⁴ This the Hierarchy never did.

It is this lack of system, failure to meet needs and indecision about the nature of provision that seems to suggest the Jesuits had a planned approach that gave success in secondary education. It is also what makes the Manchester College dispute and its ramifications, studied in the next chapter, so crucial. By halting structured Jesuit initiative in secondary education, the Hierarchy held up the advance of this vital work very substantially until after the death of Manning. They also placed Catholic boys in a position of double jeopardy by either denying them efficient schools or forcing those with aspirations to attend Protestant schools with their implied danger to faith. Only a detailed study of the case against the background of Catholic secondary education seen in this chapter reveals how blighting were the actions of Manning and his Bishops.

74 These were reported very fully in *Letters and Notices*. E.g. *L. & N.* vol. xii (1878) 106-115 shows Stonyhurst, Mount St. Mary's, St. Francis Xavier's and the Glasgow College took part. Beaumont and Preston may well have taken some papers, but they fully participated later.

CHAPTER FOUR

FROST ON THE VINE -
the Manchester College problem
and its effects, 1872-1881

'It might be supposed that Manning could now feel that his triumph was complete. His position was secure; his power was absolute; his prestige was daily growing'.¹ Thus Lytton Strachey described the effect on Henry Edward Manning of his elevation to the Archdiocese of Westminster and his victory over his opponents in his early days as incumbent of that office. Strachey's essay, which was based entirely upon secondary sources, is perhaps best seen as a waspish and cynical vignette in which some of the judgements are spiteful and inaccurate. However, the picture that Strachey drew of a dominant and absolute Manning, firmly ensconced in Westminster, autocratically directing the course of the Catholic Church in England, has persisted in even the most modern of scholarly treatments of Catholic history of the period. Both Dr. Derek Holmes and Dr. E.R. Norman in their respective, but quite distinct, studies of Catholic activity in the 1870s and 1880s devote chapters to the subject, based not just upon Manning's Archiepiscopate, but also upon his personal direction and involvement.²

To some extent the failure to obtain access to the Manning papers may account for this interpretative difficulty, but more important is the lack of material for large areas of Catholic history.³ Save for John Henry Newman, there are few studies of Catholic teachers and groups. For instance only six of the episcopacy have been accorded any detailed biographical

1 L. Strachey, *Eminent Victorians* (1918; 1981 Ed.) 68-9.

2 J.D. Holmes, *More Roman Than Rome* (1978) Chapter IV; E.R. Norman, *The English Catholic Church in the Nineteenth Century* (1983) Chapter 6.

3 E.R. Norman, *op. cit.* 246 reviews the current state of the Manning archive.

studies.⁴ The work of other groups of Catholic clerics and laity has also suffered from a lack of systematic research.

The picture so far drawn in this study shows the Society of Jesus building up a body of schools in the secondary education sector. These were designed not only to cater for boys from a variety of social class backgrounds, but also to provide them with different curricula to satisfy their differing needs, aspirations and abilities. This curricular variety reflected concepts peculiar to the Society itself as well as national changes taking place in England. Although there was superficial encouragement by the Hierarchy for this work, it ran counter to the prevailing notions of some of the converts and their allies. Everything tended to be overshadowed by the problems of the Irish immigrants and the desperate need for social facilities and elementary education. In some instances antipathy had led to hostility, and in the most marked case, prevented the Jesuits from opening a College in the Metropolitan area. Here something was attempted by the Ordinary, but this was not the case elsewhere. Other Bishops were idiosyncratic and most definitely unco-ordinated in their approach to secondary education.

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- 4 W.B. Ullathorne, The Autobiography of Archbishop Ullathorne with selections from his letters (1891).
C. Butler, The Life and Times of Bishop Ullathorne, 2 vols. (1926).
K. O'Meara, (Grace Ramsay) Thomas Grant, First Bishop of Southwark (1874).
J.A. Wilson, The Life of Bishop Hedley (1930).
P.H. Doyle, The Episcopate of Alexander Goss of Liverpool 1856-72 (Unpublished Ph.D., University of Liverpool 1981).
J.F. Supple, Robert Cornthwaite: A Neglected Nineteenth Century Bishop, Recusant History, Vol. 17 No. 4 (Oct. 1986) 399-412.

Despite adversities, and the slow growth of the limited finances of the Order, the Jesuit Fathers continued to try to open schools. At a critical point in this expansion they were opposed by some of the Hierarchy who took the matter to Rome. The support of the Papal Court for the Hierarchy reperculated upon the Society in a way that was destructive of its initiative in opening secondary schools and cast unjustified aspersions upon the work being undertaken in the existing English Jesuit Colleges.

The figure at the centre of the opposition to the Jesuits was Henry Edward Manning. Inescapably the conflict came to be directed by him and ultimately he was triumphant in Rome. If one follows the line of thought propounded by Strachey, it would be relatively simple to see the problems of the 1870s as a conspiracy to nullify the work of the Jesuits. In this way Strachey argued that Manning and Mgr. George Talbot 'broke the spirit' of John Henry Newman.⁵ However, this is too simplistic, and the causes of the dispute are wider than a simple hunger for autocratic power. Yet Manning remains at the centre of the dispute.

Although recent work suggests that Manning was less autocratic and had support for his views, he nevertheless had great influence and authority.⁶ Even before his elevation to the Archiepiscopate Manning had secured his position in the diocese of Westminster to the point at which he was indispensable to Cardinal Wiseman, and his logical successor. Manning had created the Oblates of St. Charles as 'the Jesuits of London' with the express purpose of carrying out the various priestly tasks essential to the diocese as he saw them. In the resultant critical affray with Wiseman's

5 *Strachey, op. cit.* 75-81.

6 *R. Gray, Cardinal Manning (1985) is an example of such a sympathetic treatment.*

co-adjutor, Archbishop Errington, Manning was triumphant and his chief rival for future preferment removed.⁷

After the accession to Westminster in 1865, Manning had slowly attempted to consolidate his position and win over his enemies, a process fostered in Rome by Mgr. George Talbot. This might have been hindered after 1869 when Talbot went insane and was removed to Passy, near Paris, but Manning enjoyed two great successes, one European, the other domestic.⁸ These greatly strengthened his position in the Church.

The European success was at the Vatican Council of 1870 and concerned the declaration of Papal Infallibility.⁹ Manning's position was very ultramontaine in that he not only defended the propositions of Infallibility, but believed the time was ripe to declare them. The Archbishop spoke in the Council on the matter, as well as negotiating extensively outside the Chamber. He was a successful negotiator with the French governments and, perhaps because of his former friendship with W.E. Gladstone, ably coped with the unofficial representative of the English government, Odo Russell.¹⁰ He also successfully countered the influence of Sir John Acton, the distinguished lay Catholic opponent of Infallibility. When the Council voted for the declaration by 535 votes to 2 on 18 July 1870, all Manning's activity seemed justified. Shane Leslie

7 *Leslie/Manning* 120-138.

8 E.R. Norman, *op. cit.* 258.

9 This topic is extensively covered in all the works of Manning's biographers and studies of Newman and Acton, but there are full studies of the Council, e.g. C. Butler, *The Vatican Council 1869-70* (1962), and F.J. Cwiekowski, *The English Bishops and the First Vatican Council* (Louvain 1971).

10 Manning's biographers relate the story of this work but see also T. Morley, *Life of Gladstone*, Vol. II (1903) 308 and P. Magnus, *Gladstone* (1963 ed.) 35, 37.

commented that Manning was congratulated for his part in this by friend and foe, including the Society of Jesus.¹¹ Although he gained no immediate reward, Manning was not to be a Cardinal until 1875, the esteem of the Pope and Cardinals for the English prelate was high. Manning no longer needed a Talbot to advocate his cause in Rome, he had accomplished sufficient in his own right.

Manning's other great success concerned elementary education and W.E. Forster's Education Act. This went through Parliament while Manning was in Rome, but he had anticipated its creation and had been actively preparing since 1868.¹² As McClelland makes clear, the most important Catholic contributor to education was Bishop Ullathorne of Birmingham, but he had to be in Rome as well as the Archbishop.¹³ Initially Manning left Bishop Brown of Menevia to conduct matters, but, as he never left his diocese, Manning was forced to undertake the work by correspondence.

The management of the negotiations was conducted skilfully, Manning displaying a deep knowledge of the topic and a complete familiarity with the methods and personalities involved. Manning would have liked to have gained aid from local rates for Catholic Poor Schools, but this would have entailed a measure of non-Catholic control that was insupportable as all Catholics agreed.¹⁴ The eventual compromise did not satisfy some Catholics, but many agreed with Manning when, according to Dr. Selby, he thought it would 'act as a stimulus to Voluntaryist effort' and he was 'thankful for

11 *Leslie/ Manning* 230-31.

12 See D.E. Selby, *Henry Edward Manning and the Education Bill of 1870*, *B.J.E.S.* xviii No. 2 (1970) 190-212 and D.E. Selby, *Towards a Common System of National Education* (Leeds 1977) 1-2.

13 *McClelland/ Manning* 65-66.

14 J. Murphy, *Church, State and Schools in Britain 1800-1970* (1971) 60-61.

anything which rouses our people from their apathy and unconsciousness'. Over the succeeding ten years, although there was a burden of costs not faced by their rate aided competitors, as the Catholic community more than doubled its schools and pupils in the elementary sector, Manning's prestige grew with it.¹⁵ He had gained the domestic success to parallel his Roman triumph.

Manning lacked full support to match these instances in one important area - the Hierarchy. Many of the Bishops had been appointed years before Manning became Archbishop and many were not only more experienced but more hostile to their leader.¹⁶ Recent research has shown that in one case at least, that of Goss of Liverpool, opposition to Manning was not confined to a single issue, but ran to a feeling of alienation from the Archbishop and a lack of co-operation in a number of areas.¹⁷

In order to end this situation, or at least gradually to alter it, Manning began to seek to elevate more sympathetic figures to the episcopacy. The first opportunity to do this came about some six months after Manning's own accession. Bishop Hogarth of Hexham died at the age of eighty in January 1866, and in due course a terna of three candidates was sent by the Chapter to Manning. He approved the second of these, James Chadwick and, upon forwarding the list to Rome, wrote to Mgr. George Talbot to work for Papal approval of Chadwick. This was obtained and in due course

15 D.E. Selby, *Towards a Common System of National Education* (Leeds 1977) 1-2.

16 J.D. Holmes, *More Roman Than Rome* (1978) 181-2.

17 See P.H. Doyle, *The Episcopate of Alexander Goss of Liverpool 1856-72* (Unpublished Ph.D., University of London 1981) 52-58 and 81-86. Doyle shows that Goss not only disliked Manning's autocratic manner but also opposed the influence of Talbot, was the only Bishop not to write a Pastoral against *The Rambler*, was pro-Newman and Oxford attendance, pro-Errington, and opposed Manning on Papal Infallibility.

Chadwick demonstrated his loyalty by assisting Manning at the Vatican Council and on other matters.¹⁸

The next vacancy did not occur for nearly five years, when Grant of Southwark died. By this time Manning felt himself to be rather isolated in his dealings with his fellow Bishops. Thus Manning tried to have his friend and fellow Oblate, Herbert Vaughan elevated to be Bishop of Southwark.¹⁹ This was resisted and Manning had to settle for a compromise candidate in James Danell.²⁰ Danell did not oppose Manning but he never became a close friend.

Vaughan was the close confidant Manning really needed. He shared or espoused many of the Archbishop's ideas. When the next vacancy occurred, at Salford in July 1872 on the death of Bishop William Turner, Manning persuaded the Canons to put forward Herbert Vaughan's name and he was duly chosen. The closeness of the new Bishop to Manning is best described by the Archbishop.

*'As early as 1852, the Bishop of Salford was living with me in Rome, and there we formed the most intimate relations of friendship and confidence. He being much younger than I, we stood in the relationship of spiritual father and son, he opened his heart to me and trusted me as one advanced in life. From that time to this, there has not been a shadow of difference between us - our friendship and confidence have deepened from day to day.'*²¹

Manning was to create other Bishops, some of whom were friends, but none were to be as close as Vaughan. It is from this appointment that the problems of the Jesuits in the 1870s may be traced, although at first sight

18 See Leslie/ Manning 181 and J.D. Holmes, op. cit. 142 and 144.

19 The story of this is related in the biographies of Vaughan cited below.

20 Leslie/ Manning 181-182.

21 McCormack/ Vaughan 222.

it seems that Vaughan was himself beset by difficulties.

The diocese in which Vaughan was consecrated in October 1872 was geographically the smallest in England, but in terms of numbers one of the largest, having an estimated population of 196,000 souls.²² Many of these were poor Irish or industrial workers and almost all lived in the poorer quarters of Manchester and Salford, the very area where there were fewest priests. A survey, made twelve years after Bishop Vaughan had taken up office, showed that 75,000 Catholics, 10,000 of whom were children were still without a pastor.²³ The new Bishop seems to have been made aware of some of the roots of the problem - these included the dearth of trained priests, and a very limited amount of secondary educational provision. This was worrying as it meant there were few places where potential vocations might be fostered, few nurseries for future Catholic school teachers, and a positive danger that some boys who desired secondary schooling were attending Protestant schools where they might apostasise.

There seem, at this period, to have been only three Catholic secondary schools in the diocese.²⁴ One of these was Stonyhurst in the far north of the diocese - remote from the urban area and a centre for the education of boys from wealthier families, it could contribute little help for the Bishop. The other two schools had been created by Bishop Turner. One was the former Jesuit College of 1852 that had been resumed by the Bishop in 1854, conducted for a short period by secular clergy and then given to the

22 Snead Cox/ *Vaughan* I 246.

23 K.S. Inglis, *The Churches and the Working Class in Victorian England* (1963) 124.

24 There may have been some private venture schools but they have not been studied. The possible methods are outlined in P. Gardner, *The Lost Elementary Schools of Victorian England* (1983).

Xaverian Brothers.²⁵ They had taken on the school with 14 boys and had built it up steadily as a day and boarding College. To complement this school, the Bishop had opened a grammar school in the converted stable block of his own residence in May 1862.²⁶ This was the school surveyed in the Taunton Report of 1868, by which time it had grown from 6 pupils to 73, 56 of whom were day boys.²⁷ These boys were described as coming from the homes of gentlemen, solicitors, medical men, tradesmen, builders, ware-housemen etc. and only a very small proportion, less than a quarter of the school, were engaged in learning Latin and Greek. Thus it seems likely that the boys were going into the professional and mercantile trades the school professed to send them to and that both schools had about 150 in them by 1872.

Manning's influence on Vaughan was illustrated in the way in which the new Bishop approached his diocese. Vaughan set out a programme for restructuring episcopal institutions that follows the aspirations that Manning had for the Archiepiscopate as a whole. His initial scheme was outlined in his first Pastoral, extensive reference was made to a diocesan seminary, elementary school and institutions for social reform. Among these was a plan for the extension of secondary education.

'There is perhaps no diocese in England better provided in respect to its parochial schools than that of Salford. Suitable provision has yet to be made for the provision of a higher class, so that the next Diocesan undertaking, after the work of the Seminary, must be to carry on to completion

25 Information on these schools is taken from W. Whalley, *Catholic Education in England with special reference to Educational Activities in the Salford Diocese* (Unpublished M.Ed., University of Manchester 1938) 410-416.

26 Salford Diocesan Archives (hereafter S.D.A.) *Acta Salfordiensia* 452-472 Circular from Bishop Turner, 1 March 1862; *Fondest Silvulae* (The Salford Catholic Grammar School Magazine, Vol. I 1885 69 and 86); Whalley/ M.Ed. *op. cit.* 420-25.

27 *S.I.C.* (1868) Vol. XVII 609.

*the work of the grammar school; prudently and wisely begun by my predecessor. This great commercial Metropolis ought to possess a Catholic Commercial College, worthy both of itself and the Catholic name. We have excellent Classical Colleges in the diocese and elsewhere, and they have been proved by test to have reached a high state of proficiency; but we have no Commercial Schools that I know of, coming up to the standard which I think we are bound to attain. Our position and the requirements of the day demand this of us. We are a commercial people, and there is no reason why the Catholic Church should not supply as highly efficient a commercial education in Manchester as she does a liberal and classical elsewhere.'*²⁸

The extent to which any Bishop could implement such a programme depended on will and finance. Vaughan had a superabundance of the former, but money was a serious problem. The diocese itself was very poor and had no reserves. Vaughan himself had nothing to bring with him. His missionary ventures, at Mill Hill and in America, had not only absorbed his own money but also contributions from supporters. He had added to his expenses when he had purchased The Tablet in 1868 in order to ensure its orthodoxy as an organ at a popular level for the Ultramontaines.²⁹ The attempt to create a seminary reveals these problems most clearly.

Besides being necessary, opening a seminary was bound to be the first consideration of a prelate who had been Vice-President of St. Edward's and gone on to found St. Joseph's College, Mill Hill, to provide missionary priests for negroes in North America.³⁰ Vaughan's Salford priests, when trained in England, came from Ushaw, the old Northern District Seminary, that supplied several dioceses.³¹ When this was not adequate it

28 Bp. H. Vaughan, Pastoral for November 1872 (Salford 1872) 18.

29 McCormack/ Vaughan 91 108-109; some of the problems of The Tablet are surveyed in J.L. Altholz, The Liberal Catholic Movement in England (1962).

30 Snead Cox/ Vaughan I Chapters IV, V and VI *passim*.

31 D. Milburn, A History of Ushaw College (1964) 261-66.

was supplemented from seminaries overseas or by religious Orders staffing missions with their own members. Those coming from Ushaw or overseas were generally thrust straight into Parish work without proper pastoral and parochial training. This made some of them inefficient as they did not know how to cope with their parishioners' problems.³² Regular priests, by virtue of their longer training and wider experience, were often more successful, like the Jesuits who staffed the Holy Name in Manchester. However as the Superiors of regular clergy could remove or replace them at will, such priests were outside the full control of the Bishop and could never be fully part of the parochial structure.

Vaughan, like Manning, wished to remedy these problems, and envisaged for the diocese not a full Tridentine seminary but a pastoral one. In such an institution priests, already theologically trained and ordained, would spend a year in practical work, regulated by the Bishop himself, before being placed in charge of a Parish.³³ This would give the Bishop a clear idea of the quality of the priests and knowledge of where their talents might be best employed. It also meant that although a local boy from a school in the diocese might not be trained there initially, his vocation could be fostered by the example of the pastoral seminary.³⁴

The Bishop estimated that the seminary would cost between £8-10,000, but the final cost was in excess of £18,000. The money for the project had all to be raised from subscriptions and donations, diocesan funds being inadequate, and some of the contributions to meet the final costs were only raised with some difficulty.³⁵ In these circumstances, the fact that the seminary was operating by late 1874 was a minor triumph.

32 J.D. Holmes, *More Roman Than Rome* (1978) 172-3.

33 Snead Cox/ *Vaughan* I 251-59.

34 McCormack/ *Vaughan* 148.

35 McCormack/ *Vaughan* 148-149.

Expenditure on this scale, coupled with the normal costs of running a diocese, precluded any other scheme, and the plans for a new secondary school were temporarily shelved. The Pastoral had not announced any date, nor had the Bishop suggested one elsewhere. In any case, he had two schools already, and although they might not be free of problems, they were in operation and expanding very slowly. The seminary, as the Pastoral made clear, was the first objective.

It was perhaps awareness of this background, probably supplied by the Fathers at the Holy Name Church, that persuaded the Provincial of the Jesuits, Father Peter Gallwey, to approach the Bishop with a proposal about the school.³⁶ Gallwey spoke to Vaughan at the first session of the Provincial Synod of Westminster in July 1873 and suggested that the Society open, and run, the school that the Bishop had proposed for his diocese. Vaughan, who had a strong personal commitment to the school he had yet to disclose, refused Gallwey.³⁷

Gallwey did not regard the matter as closed, but it was not pressed. A certain amount of delicacy surrounded the approach to the Bishop and was to continue to do so for both personal and political reasons. Personally, the Bishop was a former pupil at Stonyhurst (1841-46); his brother, Bernard, who was close to the Bishop, was a Jesuit; and Fr. Alfred Weld, a cousin, was a former Jesuit Provincial now acting as English Assistant to the Father General in Italy. Vaughan was also a close friend of Manning, a fact of

36 *Peter Gallwey S.J. (1820-1906) b. in Killarney and e. at Stonyhurst. He entered the Society in 1836 and was ordained a fully professed Father in 1852. He held many posts of responsibility in his long life and was Provincial from 1873 to 1876. From 1877 he was Rector of the Farm Street community where Provincial Headquarters was located for many years. With Fr. A. Weld, Fr. G. Porter and other Jesuits, his Provincialship was part of a Jesuit education revival.*

37 *McCormack/ Vaughan 149.*

which Gallwey must have been aware. Gallwey, like Fr. Weld, had been refused an extra parish, or mission, in London and thus had prevented the opening of a College.³⁸ Unbeknown to Gallwey, though perhaps hinted at in manner, was Manning's poor opinion of the Jesuit, fostered by Mgr. George Talbot.³⁹

The need for delicacy politically was occasioned by the dispute over the question of a Catholic University. This was becoming complex and Gallwey did not wish to antagonise Hierarchy members unduly.⁴⁰ Already some of the Bishops appear to have been angry about Jesuit opposition to Manning's scheme. Bernard O'Reilly of Liverpool, a Manning protégé consecrated in March 1873 to replace Goss who had died in October 1872, demonstrated this clearly in a letter to Manning about the Joint Bishops' Pastoral of 1874.⁴¹ He claimed that the Jesuits took too much praise for their educational work at the expense of other educators. Some of the views presented by Fr. Gallwey, through the Jesuit Fr. General, to Propaganda were denied by the English Hierarchy, and this denial should, he advised, be part of the Pastoral. Even if Gallwey was aware of the shadow, not the substance, of these views of the Manning group, they suggested the use of tact and discretion.

Such tactics seem to have been adopted because the next relevant piece of correspondence extant shows a totally different attitude by Bishop Vaughan.

38 *Leslie/ Manning* 294.

39 *Purcell/ Manning II* 388.

40 *V.A. McClelland, English Roman Catholics and Higher Education 1830-1903* (1973) 277-97.

41 *L.R.O. RCLV Miscellaneous Correspondence Bp. B. O'Reilly to Archbishop H.E. Manning, 23 June 1874.*

On 16 July 1874, he wrote to Fr. Henry Birch, the Rector of the Holy Name Church in encouraging terms.

*'I thought I should have seen you at the opening of St. Peter's today, and that I could have told you what I now say by note; viz. that I waive all objection to you building the school where you propose, in consideration of your having to buy the property and in the hope that you would be willing to extend your work, if I some time beg you to do so.'*⁴²

From the Bishop's point of view the logic of this letter must have had a premise in his own financial state and the money problems associated with the seminary. In February and March of 1874, he wrote to his confidante, Lady Herbert of Lea of his efforts to discharge debts incurred in opening the seminary as well as meet other expenses connected with his foundation, St. Joseph's College at Mill Hill.⁴³ He wrote of receiving £500 from the Duke of Norfolk towards his costs and then of having to raise £1,000 to pay off pressing debts on the Church. Further, when he told Lady Herbert that he had much interested the Marquess of Ripon in the scheme for the Commercial College, Vaughan added the specific comment that the College venture could not even be planned until the Seminary was completed. Vaughan continued to write about progress and costs of the Seminary until late October.

The Bishop's letter to Fr. Birch was also welcomed by the Jesuits. Manchester/Salford had, along with Liverpool, London and Preston, one of

42 A.S.J. *Manchester Papers* (5) Bp. H. Vaughan to Fr. H. Birch, 16 July 1874.

43 Lady Herbert of Lea was the widow of the politician, Secretary at War and Secretary for the Colonies, Sidney Herbert, later Lord Herbert of Lea; who died in 1860. A friend of Manning, Lady Herbert became a Catholic in 1865 and met Vaughan in 1866. A friendship developed that lasted till his death in 1903. They corresponded regularly and she aided him in many ways, not least financially. S. Leslie (Ed.), *Letters of Herbert, Cardinal Vaughan to Lady Herbert of Lea 1869-1903* (1942) 242-248 hereafter *Lady Herbert Letters* date and page reference.

the four most substantial Catholic populations in England.⁴⁴ In two of these the Society had schools, while in the third they had been resisted strongly by the Archbishop even when they suggested opening a school. It was logical to open a College in Manchester, particularly as they now had a centre in the Holy Name Church and its associated mission from which to operate.⁴⁵ When the Society had last had a College in the 1850s it was this very point which hampered its development. The parish was also the theme of Fr. Weld's letter to the Provincial in which he discussed the curriculum of a Manchester College.

*'I should say that though our parish gives us an additional right to a school, it is not to be assumed that the boys are to come from our Parish only. As long as there is not another school that gives a good classical education in Manchester, such a school is wanted by all boys capable of profiting from it. How many parents in Glasgow wanted a classical education? But it is very important it should be given them provided the essentials of commerce are not neglected.'*⁴⁶

This approach is consistent when examined alongside Weld's views as expressed in the previous chapter. The College that was being proposed in Manchester was to be conducted along the same broad lines that characterised the school in Liverpool and Mount St. Mary's. The reference to Glasgow makes this certain. It was the approach with which the Order was familiar and it was proving effective in practice. Such planning and concern drew Gallwey to speak to the Bishop about the school at the second session of the Provincial Synod in August 1874. To his surprise, Vaughan refused now to approve the Jesuit school.⁴⁷

44 B.I. Coleman, *The Church of England in the Mid-Nineteenth Century* (1980) 45 *tabled*.

45 *L & N Vol. XXXII* (xcv April 1914) 367-369.

46 A.S.J. *English Assistancy Papers C3* Fr. A. Weld to Fr. P. Gallwey, 16 July 1874.

47 McCormack/ *Vaughan* 151.

This appears now, as it appeared then, a great paradox. The school the Jesuits were proposing was similar to ones they were running, seemed to be similar to that proposed by the Bishop and was to be staffed and financed from resources the Society had available. The Bishop, who was in a much less well-endowed position, appeared to welcome a Jesuit college in July but had changed his mind in August. The only explanation for this seems to be in the events in Vaughan's life between the two dates. The time was taken up by a series of Bishops' meetings and, in particular a further session of the Provincial Synod of Westminster, in which the principal item of business was Catholic Higher education. There is no full account of the Synod, and the modern account by Professor V.A. McClelland begs more questions than it answers.⁴⁸ While clearly articulating an argument for Jesuit hostility to the ideas of the Hierarchy, the presentation of the evidence is chronologically muddling and partial. Most of the original evidence cited is taken from the Jesuit archives in Farm Street, and precious little from the Manning papers. Consequently we know little of what Manning thought or did, other than by reference to public utterances, published in Pastorals or the press. Vaughan stated to Lady Herbert that he regarded the meeting very favourably: 'This will be a very valuable Synod, the best held since the Hierarchy', and 'The Synod has been most happy and successful'.⁴⁹ However he says nothing of his work with his fellow-Bishops in detail. The conclusion must be that if McClelland's thesis has any truth in it, Manning found the plans he and the Hierarchy were making were unacceptably challenged by the Jesuits. The Society had to be prevented

48 V.A. McClelland, *English Roman Catholics and Higher Education 1830-1903* (1973) 277-93.

49 Lady Herbert Letters, 4 August, 11 August 1874, 255-57.

from taking any further control of the education of Catholic boys, and it would thus seem most probable that Manning changed Vaughan's mind over the question of a Jesuit school in Manchester.⁵⁰

Undoubtedly Gallwey was puzzled by Vaughan's volte face. He communicated the new position to Weld in Rome, and the English Assistant seems to have relayed this and other problems concerning Jesuit/Hierarchy relations to the General. These were discussed in Rome, and Vaughan, who learned about what he believed were 'misrepresentations in Rome', wrote to Gallwey to apprise him of these matters.⁵¹ Gallwey wrote a lengthy, regretful reply, in which he manifested his sorrow for the impression that had been created, as it could be injurious to both parties, but was not the fault of the Jesuits. He went to great lengths to state his case, and in doing so provides a clear explanation for his and other Jesuit activity in Manchester. It is worth quoting extensively from this letter as it establishes the Jesuit case, later so much misrepresented and used so skilfully to halt the Order's educational initiative.

'The demand for English missions is ever-increasing, as your Lordship knows. Now it seems to me that in Manchester and the manufacturing towns around there is an ample nursery of priests, not only for your Lordship's but for other poor souls' besides, provided the chance is given by early education ... I cannot think that the grace which has been given to you will permit you to limit your pastoral charity to institutions in which the diocese is directly concerned. I think that I should be quite safe in prophesying that if your Lordship grants us permission to do the work of our Institute by taking part in education, the number of vocations to the priesthood, both for the Salford diocese and other parts of the globe, would be trebled and quadrupled.'

50 McCormack/ Vaughan 151.

51 F. Edwards S.J., The Jesuits in England (1985) 199-200 and Appendix 1, 298-302 contains much which explains Manning's complex views on the Society of Jesus.

Gallwey then went on to write specifically of middle class education, and the duties laid on the Society by the Roman authorities.

'It appears that it has been stated in high quarters at Rome that we are unwilling to do anything for middle-class education. That is about as true as the reports concerning your Lordship to which you refer.'

*'This report and other representations on the subject have led to a correspondence between the Father-General and Propaganda. The Cardinal-Prefect (of Propaganda) begged him to do all he could in England for middle-class education and named Manchester among other places, and both he and some other eminent Cardinals have reminded us that this belongs to our Institute, and that wherever we are canonically instituted it is part of our acknowledged work to open schools, and that the permission to do so is already granted to us by the Holy See. Father-General himself is most desirous to carry out the wish of Propaganda, but I am sure he would have the strongest objection to our doing anything that would in any way prove an injury to your Lordship's diocese, and great reluctance in any way to act against your Lordship's wishes.'*⁵²

This letter shows explicitly the Jesuit view that they believed they were fully conversant with the state of Catholic Manchester, aware of its educational needs and possessed of rights which enabled them to meet these demands. They may well have been of the opinion that the Bishop was mistaken in his views. Despite having been in the diocese for two years, Vaughan was not a native of Salford, and following five years at Stonyhurst had been educated and trained abroad. His only priestly experiences had been in the vicinity of London before he had once more become involved in foreign service through his missionary foundation at Mill Hill. Although he had been advised by diocesan clergy, Vaughan might have erred in thinking that the Jesuits would take all vocations as well as in believing that the Jesuits were not helping the middle-class. The previous chapter has shown that the Jesuits had strong evidence from their other schools to justify their opinions about educational matters.

But this was not all. If these had been the only problems, then they might have been solved more speedily. Behind them looms the whole question of the status of the Society and its right to open a school without the permission of the Bishop. Attitudes about this essentially canonical question were bound to be coloured by opinions in England at the time as a result of the personalities involved and the presence of other issues like that of Higher Education.

Briefly, prior to this time, the permission of a Bishop had not been sought before opening a school. Usually the Society had requested, where it did not have one, a mission or parish from which the new College might be supported in its early years and advertised to local Catholics. When this was refused, the College had either to be given up, as in the case of Salford in 1854, or not begun, as was the case in London. The right to open the College, nor the capacity of the Fathers as educators had been called into question.

The difficulty in Salford jeopardised this traditional position. One reversal in the diocese was likely to taint all Jesuit ventures and not only would a cloud hover over the work that had been undertaken previously, but future developments by the Order would be hindered or even prevented. This was felt very strongly by several Jesuits, not least Fr. Weld who told Fr. Provincial Gallwey that Catholic middle-class education 'was the weakest point in England among all the educational deficiencies of the Catholic laity' and thus required the most urgent prosecution.⁵³

Gallwey, through the local Jesuit rector, Fr. Henry Birch, began to proceed. As the land for the school had been bought, some time previously,

⁵³ A.S.J. *English Assistancy Papers C/3*, Fr. A. Weld to Fr. Provincial P. Gallwey, 26 October 1874.

in the Provincialship of Fr. Weld, there was now little to hinder this. Vaughan seems to have been aware of this activity. Snead Cox's view was that this was not the case and that the Bishop had tried to find out and discuss the whole matter with Gallwey over dinner, but that the invitation went astray. The inference is that the Bishop was thus in ignorance of Jesuit plans. Two letters written by Vaughan in December 1874 deny this suggestion and indicated that the Bishop held very strong opinions and was drawing up battle plans accordingly. The first was to the Rector of the English College, Rome, Fr. Henry O'Callaghan, the official agent of the Hierarchy.

'I do not consider it to be for the greater good of religion that the Middle class or Commercial College of Manchester should be in the hands of the Jesuits. I have the greatest respect for the Society, and thoroughly appreciate its classical and traditional system of education for the higher classes. But this is not the system required in this great commercial metropolis - it is not the system suited or acceptable to the commercial classes, for whom a full and perfect provision should be made. The system required is not one based upon the dead languages and the classics, but upon the living languages, upon certain branches of science, Catholic history and commercial methods ... I venture to think that the Church would make a serious blunder if in this centre of Commerce we set down a College founded on the system of 300 years ago, or if we provided for the commercial and industrial classes the classical education they do not want, and the system of study and learning which belongs to the higher classes. I have my plans already laid for bringing into operation the system which is in my belief the better one, and the one needed. I have conferred with some of our principal clergy and laity upon it, and it has met with their approval.'

*'Now I will venture to say this much further, I do not believe that the Society would or could carry on such a system as I have alluded to. They have a large College in Liverpool within 45 minutes by train of Manchester. It is a very successful College, but it is not carried on upon this system; and though it has deservedly many friends, there are many who hold very strongly that it is not the system needed for the commercial classes. We moreover have this experience from the Jesuit College in Liverpool, viz. that no other can exist by its side.'*⁵⁴

54 A.S.J. RY/1 Bp. Vaughan to Fr. H. O'Callaghan, 20 December 1874 in Bishop's Pamphlet I - see note 73 below.

The second letter, written a few days later to Lady Herbert of Lea, amplifies and reinforces the interpretation that the Bishop knew what was happening and was making plans to frustrate the Jesuits.

*'It is a little doubtful if I shall get to America on January 7th, (to escort some missionary priests). I have a mess with the Jesuits, Father Gallwey being determined, to the ruin of the Xaverian Brothers Middle School (the former Jesuit College, 1852-54) and the frustration of my attempts to found a Commercial College, to start a school in Manchester. And now I am in for a contention with him before Propaganda. Having given notice, in my first Pastoral after Consecration, that I meant to found a Commercial College, having already bought the land, and got some money for it, it will be a little too bad if ...'*⁵⁵

The first of these letters clearly indicates that the Bishop was keeping the Agent in Rome well informed of his views, which could then be conveyed to the relevant authorities, especially Propaganda. It also shows that the Bishop had a surprising, or feigned, ignorance of what was being taught at the Jesuit College in Liverpool. However useful this was for Vaughan, it would not help the Jesuit case. The second letter shows that Vaughan's first biographer, Snead Cox, and the more recent Fr. A. McCormack, were wrong in believing that the first intimation the Bishop received of the Jesuit school being opened came in a letter from Gallwey to Vaughan on 1 January 1875.⁵⁶ This may be an oversight on the part of Snead Cox as he was denied access to the Herbert of Lea letters, but in the light of the above correspondence, the Bishop's reply to this letter of Gallwey appears to have a false ring. He asked Gallwey not to open the school until he, Vaughan, had heard from Propaganda. Though he may not have heard directly, O'Callaghan was constantly acting as an intermediary on the Bishop's behalf.

55 *Lady Herbert Letters*, 21 December 1874, 264 - the printed form of the letter ends at this point.

56 Snead Cox/ *Vaughan* I 282-4; McCormack/ *Vaughan* 151.

and keeping him informed. On the Jesuit side, Fr. Weld had been at Propaganda and obtained some further encouragement to work in Manchester, and communicated this to Gallwey. It seems likely O'Callaghan was aware of the visits and as the Lady Herbert letter shows, Vaughan also knew. It makes it probable that his request for delay was not solely to prevent the school being opened but also to permit him to mount a counter-offensive in Rome.

There is an additional puzzle. Bishop Vaughan had been continuously short of money, yet he speaks of purchasing land and having money for the school he wished to open. In October, construction work was still going on in the Seminary, and the foundation of St. Joseph's was constantly in need of cash. The sudden appearance of resources for the school remains an unexplained phenomenon, but extremely timely for a Bishop hoping to make a case in Rome, and requiring the evidence of activity in the Diocese to support it.

In terms of Vaughan's dialogue with the Vatican, strength for the above interpretation can be found in a letter sent to Vaughan, now in Baltimore, by O'Callaghan and telling of his work on the Bishop's behalf.

'I send you a line, not to keep you 'fizzling' as you call it. (Cardinal) Simeoni today told me that he had read the long document which I sent him and spoke very strongly against Gallwey both in reference to his conduct and language. I fancy that they will hold a preliminary Congresso on the subject tomorrow or as soon as the Cardinal has personally examined the paper. I have no fear of anything being done contrary to your wishes as your case is so strong and so strongly put. The chief effect of this business will be to put the S.J. in bad odour at Propaganda. Even at the best of times I fancy that region is not most favourable to the Society as the whole staff belong from top to bottom to a non-Jesuit if not anti-Jesuit section of the Ecclesiastical world.'

O'Callaghan went on to say that he hoped to write more definitely in two or three days' time and that the large amount of work that he had done

over the Christmas period, and the pressure of work from other Bishops had delayed the translation of Vaughan's document. He concluded:

*'You need not be uneasy about the Callwey business, as it is a maxim of Propaganda to stand by a Bishop wherever it is possible.'*⁵⁷

The letter was written on 14 January and states the author received Vaughan's document before Christmas. This was well before the Bishop had received the New Year letter from Gallwey on the opening of the school, and seriously calls into question the reliability of the statements by Snead Cox and McCormack that Vaughan gave notice to the Jesuits that he was appealing to Propaganda when he wrote to Gallwey on 2 January.⁵⁸ Even more astray is Norman's contention that Vaughan was first really active in April 1875.⁵⁹ The appeal had been launched without notice well before Christmas, and the letter of 2 January was both a formal notification and an attempt to gain yet more time. O'Callaghan, who was only hampered by the translation problem, had held office since 1868 and was well versed in the way to approach Roman officials. He was clearly devoted to Vaughan's interests, something that is hardly surprising when one considers he had been placed in office by Manning and Mgr. George Talbot.⁶⁰

Circumstances apart from these worked in Vaughan's favour. The Society of Jesus no longer had its headquarters in Rome, having been expelled to Fiesole, near Florence, at the time of the destruction of the Papal States in 1873.⁶¹ Jesuits had no representative office in the Vatican and had to

57 W.A. Vaughan Papers 1/64, 242 Fr. H. O'Callaghan to Bp. H. Vaughan, 14 January 1875.

58 Snead Cox/ Vaughan I 288, McCormack/ Vaughan 151.

59 E.R. Norman, The English Catholic Church in the Nineteenth Century (1984) 363.

60 E.R. Norman, op. cit. 74.

61 Campbell/ Jesuits II 762-3.

travel to Rome, or rely on representatives, to gain or impart information at the Papal Court. Still more alarming was the fact that the Father-General, Peter Beckx, was in his seventy fifth year and no longer as robust as when elected to office, twenty two years earlier.⁶²

Elsewhere in Europe the Order was under very considerable pressure that absorbed the energies of the General and his staff in the 1870s. Bismarck had never been very tolerant of the Catholic Church, and during the movement called the Kulturkampf this came to a head. One of the major casualties under Bismarck's anti-Church decrees was the Jesuit Order, which was expelled in early 1872.⁶³ Homes had to be found for the German Fathers and institutions created for them to carry on their work. As well as this, there was the considerable wave of anti-Jesuitism in France throughout the 1870s.⁶⁴ At times this was not successful, but resistance had to be undertaken by the Fathers. Ultimately the opponents of the Society were to triumph when it lost the right to teach when the new educational rules were decreed by Jules Ferry in 1879-80.⁶⁵

A letter of 11 January 1875 from Fr. Weld to Fr. Gallwey indicates very clearly how the absence of personal participation hampered the Jesuits.

'Then comes a funny thing. (Mgr. Edward) Stonor went to the Propaganda on the part of the Bishop of Salford to say that they were in great alarm at the news that we had got leave to open a school in Manchester. The Cardinal answered that he

62 Campbell/ Jesuits II 919.

63 W.N. Medlicott, Bismarck and Modern Germany (1965) 106-113.

64 See G.T. Cubitt, The Myth of a Jesuit Conspiracy in France 1814-80 (Unpublished Ph.D., University of Cambridge, 1984) and D.M. Lineham, The Society of Jesus in France 1870-80 (Unpublished Ph.D., University of London, 1984).

65 A.B. Cobban, A History of Modern France Vol. 3 1871-1962 (1965) 24-30.

had not spoken to the Fathers about Manchester. Either this was diplomacy or he had forgotten. It is true not much was said about Manchester. Though it was spoken of, it was included in the general principle on which I mainly insisted, and what is more, he firmly asked Fr. General in his letter to do something for Manchester.'66

Weld went on to state that the Cardinal thought that a school could be opened three miles from the Bishop's site, but Weld said that the Cardinal seemed 'a little weak'.

Mgr. Stonor was a respected senior English cleric, who had not only a wide acquaintanceship with the Roman authorities, but had been used by the English Hierarchy as an agent in the past. He had a distinguished, aristocratic background and was friendly with most of the leading Old Catholic families in England.⁶⁷ This meant he was probably well-known to Weld and apprised him fully of what happened at Propaganda. However this very background and familiarity meant that he was probably not in O'Callaghan's confidence and did not know the work the present Agent had already undertaken on Vaughan's behalf. The treatment, or answers, Stonor received at Propaganda reveal how successful O'Callaghan's work had already been.

Frs. Gallwey and Birch responded to Vaughan's machinations by opening the school before the Bishop returned to England on 22 February. Following a letter of 13 March from Gallwey to Vaughan, in which matters were explained, the Bishop took strong action.⁶⁸ On 16 March he wrote to Fr. Birch demanding the closure of the school under pain of suspending the Jesuits'

66 *A.S.J. English Assistancy Papers C/3 Fr. A. Weld to Fr. P. Gallwey, 11 January 1875.*

67 *V.A. McClelland, English Roman Catholics and Higher Education 1830-1903 (1973) 19.*

68 *Snead Cox/ Vaughan I 284-6.*

PLATE 4

THE CHURCH OF THE HOLY NAME, MANCHESTER

The Putative College was located in
Ackers Street to the right of the
Church on the site of the present
University Medical School



ies.⁶⁹ This document, vital permission from the Ordinary for a diocesan priest to preach within the episcopal see, was normally denied in cases of personal disobedience or moral impropriety. Helped by the harshness of the Bishop, Gallwey petitioned for delay and, after some negotiation, the school closed early for Easter. Both pique, and encouragement from Henry Edward Manning, added to a sense of episcopal rectitude may explain Vaughan's firmness. Certainly the presence of Manning in Rome from 10 March was most comforting, as was his eminent elevation to the dignity of a Cardinalate.⁷⁰ Distinction and with eminent influence began to be employed among the most powerful figures in the Church on Vaughan's behalf. A letter of 25 March by Manning suggests an almost preternatural desire to elevate the Jesuit in Manchester from an isolated dispute to a reforming crusade.

*I have long felt that the English Province is altogether abnormal, dangerous to themselves, mischievous to the Church in England. I have seemed to see it and feel it with more than natural intellect and natural discernment. I am now convinced that I am right, and I propose to go through the whole work on warfare which I have now begun - for their sake as well as for ours.'*⁷¹

Through this powerful contact, the Cardinal Prefect of Propaganda, charged Manning to put Bishop Vaughan's paper before the whole of the English hierarchy.

1. *To examine the facts of the case.*
2. *To give their judgement on the whole action taken in this matter as being one of universal interest throughout the country; and to inform the Holy See of the measures thought necessary or opportune.'*

McCormack/ Vaughan 152; Snead Cox/ Vaughan I 286-90.

Purcell/ Manning II 533-34.

Snead Cox/ Vaughan I 293 Card. H.E. Manning to Bp. H. Vaughan, 25 March 1875.

Such was the force of Manning's concern, the dispute with the Jesuits occupied, in one form or another, a space of time or all four days of the Hierarchy's meeting in Low Week, 6 to 9 April 1875.⁷² The Hierarchy, who were all present with exception of the Bishop of Shrewsbury, seem to have given unequivocal support to Vaughan and Manning. Indeed doubt was dispelled and urgency created by the information that the Jesuits had re-opened their school after Easter. The Hierarchy would not have had the information that this was Gallwey's understanding of the correspondence with Vaughan and that this interpretation had the sanction of the Jesuit General. To the Bishops, it had an appearance of mischief and disobedience.

The document Vaughan presented to his fellow Bishops has not survived in the Acta, but three pamphlets are extant in the Farm Street archives; two written by Vaughan, one by Gallwey. They can be seen as a series, whose order was: an initial statement by Vaughan, a response and reply by Gallwey, and finally, a rejoinder by Vaughan.⁷³ They are undated, but we do know from other Jesuit evidence that Gallwey's paper had been printed, carefully circulated and discussed by some of his fellow-Jesuits by 20 April 1875. Thus the first two pamphlets represent the arguments made by

72 W.A. Acta 6-9 April 1875. *These are the printed minutes of the meetings held annually in the week following Easter for the Hierarchy. A wide range of issues affecting all matters to do with the Province of Westminster was discussed.*

73 A.S.J. RY/1 1. The Jesuit Claim to Found a College of the Order in Manchester in Opposition to the Judgement of the Ordinary - hereafter referred to as Vaughan PI.

2. Facts and Documents relating to the College of the Society of Jesus in Manchester - hereafter Gallwey Reply.

3. The Bishop of Salford's Reply: Uncanonical Reopening of the Jesuit College and Summary of the Whole Case - hereafter Vaughan PII.

Vaughan and Gallwey to Propaganda and the General respectively. Whether they were used initially or at the Bishop's meeting in this fashion is not vital as the forms of argument employed were largely unchanged throughout. At the meeting in Low Week they were presented formally by Vaughan in person while Gallwey's were relayed through Ullathorne, the Bishop chosen, as he was a Benedictine, to represent the Jesuits.

Vaughan presented his case on the first day of the meeting and a resolution about the Manchester College question was formulated three days before the Bishops read Gallwey's reply.

*'The Bishops resolved to inquire if the privilege which the Society claimed, to open schools wherever it was canonically instituted, was still in force; and to represent to the Holy See that, if it were in force, it was desirable by reason of the exceptional circumstances of England, that it should not be acted on in any case until an opportunity had been given to the Ordinary of referring to the judgement of the Holy See the inconveniences that might thus arise.'*⁷⁴

Although this resolution was based on the question of the school in Manchester, it was widened to include all schools. It was also widened from simply a request for information to include a request for action. It must also be seen as a partisan approach. The resolution was formulated before the Jesuit evidence was studied and, even when it was, the Hierarchy decided that all the papers should be sent to Rome for canonical judgement. Ullathorne was to inform Gallwey of this and to state that the Manchester Fathers were only to be charged with canvassing boys from the Xaverian school. Meanwhile Vaughan wrote to Gallwey demanding a justification for re-opening the school and telegraphed to Rome to request Papal authority for a final closure.

74 W.A. Acta for 1875 p.2.

Although the dispute was now entering the realm of canon law, not within the scope of this study, education remained a central feature. It is for this reason and the effects it had on the work of Jesuits and others in the sphere of Catholic secondary education that the Manchester College question has to be understood. Firstly it called into question the Society's right to open Colleges without episcopal permission. This meant that the educational initiatives previously undertaken by the Jesuits were jeopardised and that the ultimate authority over their schools would rest with the Hierarchy. Secondly, the problem encapsulated the dispute between Manning and his group with the Jesuits over the nature of education for the Catholic middle-class. Such was the personality of the Cardinal Archbishop, the two forms could not exist side-by-side - only that espoused by Manning was to prevail. Finally, there was the added bonus for Manning, that his victory over the Jesuits in this sphere might assist him in the arena of Higher Education. The influence of the Jesuits among certain lay Catholic groups would be diminished and the alliance between the Jesuits and the Benedictines, a damaging one according to McClelland's account of the matter, would be impaired or negated.⁷⁵ Thus Bishop Vaughan's pamphlets not only represent his personal view of the Manchester College dispute, but can be seen as being a manifesto of the Manning/Vaughan group in a more general educational struggle.

Vaughan's principal pamphlet considered as its first topic 'The Necessity of Diocesan Organisation', and, under this heading, dealt with the need for a commercial college. As there was room for only one in Salford, it

75 V.A. McClelland, *English Roman Catholics and Higher Education 1830-1903* (1973) 294-95. McClelland fails to mention the Manchester case and does not seem to see its importance to the topic he studied as well as to secondary education.

necessarily had to be conducted by the Chapter and principal clergy. He contended that a Jesuit College would take vocations from the diocese, while one run by the clergy would supplement the native priesthood. The Jesuits, a rich and powerful Order, had several Colleges, one of which (Stonyhurst) was in the diocese and another would give a monopoly of 'the education of the easy and middle classes'. It was surprising that the Jesuits had not tried a College 'in the great Catholic town of Preston, where they had from time immemorial been in possession of several missions'.⁷⁶ He gave it as his opinion that the Jesuit system was not capable of providing a commercial college and that a Bishop's decision should not be overruled at the desire of a powerful Order.

Secondly, the Bishop dealt with 'The Protection due to the Xaverian Congregation'. Having reviewed the progress of the Order, taking over the former Jesuit school for Bishop Turner in 1854 and raising it to a school of 80 to 90 pupils taught by 18 Brothers, the Bishop outlined the threat posed by the Jesuit school only ten minutes away. The Bishop felt that men, not in Holy Orders, humbly teaching all classes in Catholic society were entitled to his protection. Vaughan claimed that there had been an agreement by the Society with Bishop Turner that the Jesuits would not open a school in Salford if they were given a mission in the town. Finally Vaughan declared that questioning the principle, that the Bishop should be supreme in his own diocese, had been a cause of scandal.

Fr. Gallwey's pamphlet seems to have been written slightly later than the Bishop's and after seeing most of Vaughan's arguments, Gallwey's statements are longer and usually answer the Bishop's points, but for the reference to Preston which was ignored. This is surprising but the allusion may

76 A.S.J. RY/1 Vaughan PI 8.

be ignorance on the part of Vaughan. A more likely explanation is that Gallwey did not wish to give away information, however creditable it might be.⁷⁷

Gallwey assumed that both the Society and the Bishop had perfect rights to build schools, and was quite prepared to compete. However if there was to be only one school, he maintained that it should be Jesuit as they were first in the field. He did not agree that there was room for only one middle class school in Salford, but:-

'If his Lordship will offer a more useful education, our school will not long continue to be unduly attractive. If our schools absorb, it will be shown that the education given in them is considered sound and useful. Here I may add ..., that the success of our large Military school in Paris proves sufficiently that our system is pliant enough to be adapted to modern wants.⁷⁸ In fact there never has been a time when practical sciences, such as chemistry and the different branches of Natural Philosophy, have not entered into our ideas on education ... I hold to the opinion that, situated as we are in Liverpool and Manchester at one extremity of towns containing such large populations, we by no means preclude the success of a well managed College if judiciously situated. And I further add that in the opinion of a man well able to judge, the Board Schools and the new Poor School code, which offer to our Catholic children a high education, comprising Latin Grammar, French and Chemistry at a very cheap rate, will create so grave a danger, that the Fourth Council of Westminster is not one day too early in the injunction it lays on the priests in charge of missions to provide middle schools and colleges to meet this danger.'⁷⁹

Gallwey contended that the Xaverian Brothers' school was not efficient and was staffed by men who were not at ease with the English language. He denied any agreement with the late Bishop not to open a College and stated that the purchase of land at the time (1867) was proof of this. Finally,

77 *A. Hindle, A Centenary History of the Catholic College, Preston (Preston 1971) 21.*

78 *See J.W. Padberg, Colleges in Controversy (1969) 293; the point about Jesuit curricular flexibility elsewhere was amplified in the previous chapter.*

79 *A.S.J., Gallwey reply, 9 and 10.*

he remarked, any scandal had begun when the Bishop had threatened to remove Fr. Birch's faculties.

Bishop Vaughan's reply to this was a short document that reiterated many of his previous points. Although there is a copy in the Jesuit archives, it seems likely that this was sent for information purposes only and the main task of the paper was to put Vaughan's final points to his episcopal colleagues. It would then have gone to Rome for translation and use in the campaign at the Vatican, into which Vaughan thrust himself in April 1875.

The way had been paved by Manning before his return to England, and Vaughan, with some assistance from O'Callaghan, followed it to secure his goal. He gave very little notice to the Jesuits as he felt insulted by the reopening of the school. Indeed his only letter to Gallwey between Low Week and Vaughan's arrival in Rome on 25 April stated he had not given the Jesuits permission to open a Manchester school, merely said they could open one should occasion arise.⁸⁰ This letter has survived at Farm Street and is the only clue to Vaughan's public view as so much of his correspondence is missing, perhaps destroyed by his own hand.⁸¹

Certainly very little of what was happening was known in Manchester. Wild rumours circulated among the Catholics that the Bishop had gone to Rome to have the Jesuits removed from the city altogether.⁸² The Father who related this to the Provincial also included an unfavourable account of the

80 A.S.J., *Manchester Papers* (5) Bp. H. Vaughan to Fr. P. Gallwey, 13 April 1875.

81 McCormack/ Vaughan 339.

82 A.S.J., *Manchester Papers* (5) Fr. A. Charnley to Fr. P. Gallwey, 20 April 1875.

Xaverian College, reaffirming the real middle-class strength in the Jesuits' parish.

'... our Congregation (i.e. the people living in our neighbourhood) is much more largely (sic) made up of the middle class than any Congregation in Manchester. Even absolutely I think it contains a large number of the class for whom such schools are designed than any other parish. It is also true that our quarter of Manchester is that in which this class is most likely to develop.'

The Catholics referred to by Charnley had welcomed the Jesuit school and wished to retain it. On 27 April Fr. Keenan reported that Dr. Noble, a prominent local figure, had decided to petition Propaganda on behalf of the school.⁸³ 'Half a dozen of the leading men of Manchester' would sign the appeal, Noble believed.⁸⁴ Thus the petition was drawn up and duly sent.⁸⁵ It spoke of the desire of the laity for a Jesuit school over the last thirty years, the want of efficient schools in Manchester, especially in contrast to Liverpool with its efficient Jesuit College, and also the dangers of Catholic boys having to attend Protestant schools.

This had little effect on events in Rome. From late April until the end of May, Vaughan vigorously pursued his case, seeing the Cardinals connected with Propaganda, the Pope, the Generals of other Orders, as well as the Jesuit General and Father Weld. The cause he advocated followed the pattern set out in his pamphlet, but, from the evidence of his diary, it is clear Vaughan stressed some elements.⁸⁶ Gallwey and Weld were the

83 A.S.J., *Manchester Papers* (5) Fr. Keenan to Fr. P. Gallwey, 27 April 1875.

84 S.D.A. *Diocesan Pastorals 1872-76 Brochure on opening Academia of the Catholic Religion*. This was a body devoted to study and enrolled many middle class Catholics. Dr. Noble (an M.D.) was one of the censors - an important post.

85 A.S.J. RY/1 contains a copy of the petition but without names or signatures.

86 W.A. Vaughan *Diary III*.

principal culprits for the trouble; stress was laid on the limited numbers of the middle class, enough for only one school, as there was 'no Roman Catholic family with a carriage and pair'; and finally that, as in Liverpool, the best vocations would go to the Jesuits'.⁸⁷ Vaughan saw himself as embattled and under siege. He told Manning on 15 May:

*'S.J. have brought up all their artillery. The present is a crisis upon which all depends. The only hope is in Pius IX and Cardinal Franchi. The Pope allowed me nearly half-an-hour to explain the whole case to him.'*⁸⁸

In reality, the case had already been decided before this date. The diary records that by 7 May the Pope had already decided in favour of the Bishop. The remaining time was spent in negotiating the acquiescence of the Society and the closure of the Manchester school without the formal involvement of the Pope.

The petition from the laity played no part in this as the Pope never saw it. Cardinal Franchi (the Prefect of Propaganda) told Vaughan that he had received it, but it was, in Franchi's opinion

*'... poorly signed and badly drawn up, and dated July - that the Duke (Norfolk) did not bring it in person and made no allusion to it when he called afterwards - that the Cardinal shut it in the Archives and will give it no answer. That the affair is over, that his policy of temperance has been wise and co. and co. (sic)'*⁸⁹

Franchi added that Propaganda would not allow in quarrels between seculars and regulars, 'anything against the secular clergy'.

87 The table of vocations at S.F.X., cited in the last chapter, questions the point about vocations, as does the list of middle class in the 'Academia' that about a carriage and pair.

88 Leslie/ Manning 302, Bp. H. Vaughan to Card. H.E. Manning, 15 May 1875.

89 W.A. Vaughan Diary III p. 204 entry for 10 February 1876.

In the age of Ultramontanism and Papal Infallibility, this attitude and these actions were fairly typical of some of the higher clergy.⁹⁰ If anything, the petition, a moderate and polite document, served to create further hostility towards the Jesuits in Rome than to further their cause. Thus minds in Rome already narrow in their views became further restricted and decisions were reached without a full and rational scrutiny of the evidence available.

Some commentators have accused the Jesuits of trying to bluff a new, inexperienced Bishop in conceding Jesuit claims to the Hierarchy's disadvantage.⁹¹ However, Vaughan was only initially approached in July 1873 following consecration in October 1872, petitioned once more in the summer of 1874 and the school finally opened in 1875. Thus the Fathers gave the Bishop over two years of diocesan experience before acting. Both major biographers seem to regard Gallwey's request for a school as peculiar, even hypocritical, particularly when he was thereafter to argue that the Society had a right to open the school irrespective of the Bishop's wishes. However, such an interpretation is unreasonable and displays a lack of knowledge of Jesuit sources and motivation. The period was a peculiarly sensitive time and Gallwey's methods show a certain diplomatic tact. Vaughan came from an Old Catholic family, some of whose members had been and were members of the Society; there was a strong desire not to antagonise Manning; and a genuine ambition to extend the educational work of the Order now that resources were available.

90 J.L. Altholz, *The Liberal Catholic Movement in England* (1962) Chapter VI 98-112 has several examples of this attitude in the English context.

91 Snead Cox/ Vaughan I 290-91, McCormack/ Vaughan 149-150.

What is peculiar is the elevation, by Manning and Vaughan, of a simple educational proposal into a major Canonical dispute judged formally in Rome. Judgement in a court that seems, on the evidence, to have been biased towards their opinions. Jesuit educational methods, and particularly their appropriateness for middle class Catholic boys, were inevitably entangled with Canonical disputation. A defeat on the legal question carried with it a suggestion that the middle class parent would be unwise to entrust the education of his child to the Jesuits and that a member of the Hierarchy would be injudicious in approaching the Order for help in the founding of a middle class school.

Vaughan wrote to Lady Herbert on 29 May to express his satisfaction for the support of the Pope and the outcome of the struggle.⁹² Upon hearing that the school was closed, Vaughan returned to England on 5 June and began to attempt a reconciliation with the Jesuits.

*'I have done what I can to show S.J. that I am not ill-disposed towards them. I have invited them to give this year's retreat to the Bishop and Clergy of the Diocese, and finding that the Manchester Jesuits did not call upon me, but seemed rather to avoid meeting me, I called on them and assured them that I desired the little episode should make no difference in our relations and tried to put them at their ease.'*⁹³

This may be an expression of the Bishop's charity, but the use of the term 'little episode' was inappropriate, the Jesuits saw the matter in a more serious way. All those who had worked in the school offered to be missionaries in Guiana, while the effect on the development of the Order's schools was severe.⁹⁴ No new Jesuit school in England was opened during

92 *Lady Herbert Letters*, 267, 29 May 1875.

93 *Lady Herbert Letters*, 268, 7 July 1875.

94 *A.S.J., Manchester Papers* (5) Letters to Fr. P. Gallwey from various Frs. June and July 1875.

the remainder of Manning's Archiepiscopate and instead the English Province took charge of missions overseas and opened Colleges at Grahamstown in South Africa in 1876, and in Malta in 1877.⁹⁵

Vaughan's success owed much to Manning, who advised his friend, lobbied important Curial officials, spoke with the Pope and orchestrated the meetings of the English Hierarchy. As early as 14 March 1875, long before many of the events outlined in this chapter, Manning had written to Vaughan stating that he hoped the Manchester affair was over. Opposition to Manning's views on Higher Education and other criticism fueled a view expressed in concise essence many years later.

*'The exclusive, narrow, military, aristocratic character of the Society shown in the time of James I, with the arch-priest figment and the continued thwarting of the English clergy down to good Father Lythgoe, whom I just remember, seems to me a mysterious permission of God for the chastisement of England.'*⁹⁶

Consistent with the policy followed in his diocese, Manning excluded the Jesuits from middle class education and weakened their power to present an alternative view to his own in England. This victory was a prelude to the struggle over the relationship of the Religious Orders to the Hierarchy that Manning was determined to settle in the Bishop's favour after the Fourth Provincial Synod of 1874 and the Manchester problem.⁹⁷ His attitude had widespread effects in more fields than just education and was to lead to Manning's own dominance. The centre of the struggle was English, but

95 *L. & N. Vol. XXXII cxcv (April 1914) 372, and Bassett/ English Jesuits 401.*

96 *Leslie/ Manning 297.*

97 *Purcell/ Manning I 507. See also V.A. McClelland, English Roman Catholics and Higher Education 1830-1903 (1973) 277-97 which discusses the Higher Education aspects of the question.*

decisions were made at Rome and had global implications for the Catholic Church. Thus the further struggle over the Bull 'Romanos Pontifices' of 1881 and its consequences merit a study in their own right, but the interest of this study must remain with Jesuit secondary schools in England.

CHAPTER FIVE

ENDURING THE WINTER -
Jesuit Collegiate education,
1892-1903

*'The traditional prejudice and fear of S.J. is such that I am afraid of anything but a deliberate and stand up fight.'*¹

These militant and forthright sentiments from the pen of Cardinal Manning in 1879 demonstrate clearly that the hostility felt by the English Jesuits emanating from him had not died with the closure of the Manchester School. Indeed, in some ways, distrust on Manning's part may have widened and deepened. From the Low Week meeting of 1877, when the Hierarchy had drawn up a list of 25 questions about the Regular clergys' relations with the Bishops, for the next four years, the Cardinal pursued a course designed to eliminate any challenge to episcopal authority from the Society.²

Manning's work was part of a canonical dispute that ultimately had world wide effects, but there were also practical and canonical repercussions of a purely English kind.³ In the field of secondary education studied in this thesis there were several immediate practical implications.

The first of these was in Manchester. Once it became clear that the Jesuit College was closed, Bishop Vaughan set to work to open his own College. This was not undertaken on a new site as Vaughan had earlier implied, but at the Xaverian School in Grosvenor Square to which it was attached first as a High school, and then absorbed.⁴ This supplanting of the Xaverians compares strangely with the Bishop's earnest desire to defend them from the Jesuits, but it may have been expedient at this juncture and perhaps offset to some extent by the fact that the Xaverian Brothers had

1 *Clifton Diocesan Archives Bishops' Correspondence, Card. H.E. Manning to Bp. Clifford, 16 June 1879.*

2 *W.A. Acta for Low Week, 1877, 9 and 10.*

3 *There is no study of the background to 'Romanos Pontifices' other than the misleading chapters in the biographies of Vaughan and Manning.*

4 *Whalley W., M.Ed. 426-27.*

opened a school under the Bishop's protection in the more northerly Manchester Parish of St. Chad's. However this little school did not last long.⁵ The new Bishop's College, called St. Bede's, moved to its own home in Alexandra Park in the following year. In order to bring this about, Vaughan had to go into debt and to beg large sums of money from Catholic nobles and traders.⁶ The eventual school was a substantial College that effectively gave the Bishop the monopoly of the education of boys wanting Catholic secondary education in Manchester. True to his initial ideas, Vaughan was soon to develop the school along the lines he had earlier suggested, thereby making educational innovations unparalleled by the rest of the Hierarchy.

The second practical result of the exclusion of the Jesuits was perpetrated along slightly different lines in the London area. Manning had permitted two Orders of Regular clergy to open schools in the diocese, St. Bonaventure's (1877) run by the Franciscans, and St. Aloysius' (1879) kept by the Brothers of Mercy.⁷ However there still seemed to be a shortage of schools when a central Catholic middle school was proposed in 1880.⁸ The two founders claimed that there was a large number of Catholic boys attending Protestant schools in London and thus endangering their faith.

5 W. Whalley (M.Ed.) states that the school began at St. Chad's in 1867 but the only extant evidence is found in S.D.A. Salford Catholic Directory 1878 and 1880 in which it is advertised. It did not appear again after 1880.

6 McCormack/ Vaughan 166, and Lady Herbert Letters 283, 28 April 1876.

7 W.J. Battersby, 'Catholic Secondary Schools for Boys' in G.A. Beck, The English Catholics 1850-1950 (1950) 331.

8 W.J. Battersby, Brother Potamian: Educator and Scientist (1953) Chapter IV, 42-62, and V.A. McClelland, 'The 1880 Central School Scheme' in The Tablet, Vol. 219 (1965) 6532, 6533, 6534, 31 July, 7 August, 14 August.

A central school scheme was proposed to deal with the problem, and Manning was approached, through Canon Gilbert, to sanction the development. He was not convinced, and dubious about the numbers alleged to be involved. Brother Potamian reported that the Cardinal had eleven Marist and other schools catering for middle class boys already in being and thought the new scheme 'must prove abortive'.⁹ Potamian had already been approached by Manning to enquire if his Order would run such a school as the one proposed, '... the Cardinal will not have the Jesuits and has pitched on us as a substitute'. There had been several calls for grammar schools in the previous decade and this latest suggestion seemed to be another of these.¹⁰ However, details of just what was being proposed by the sponsors were never very clear. The only common factor was the belief that the Jesuits would run the school and had £100,000 available to invest in the venture. As Manning's enquiries progressed, the constancy of the Jesuit factor became clearer and clearer. This prevented any acceptance of the scheme, and although compromises were suggested, none were workable or acceptable and the scheme foundered.

There is little evidence that the Jesuits were part of, or encouraged, any element of the scheme. The idea that the Society had the enormous sum of £100,000 to put into any single school venture in 1880 is fanciful in the extreme. Nor is it likely that the Jesuits would have chosen such a delicate moment in relations with the Hierarchy to launch themselves into such an enterprise. However the very hint of their presence was enough for Manning to dismiss the proposal.

⁹ W.J. Battersby, *op. cit.* 55.

¹⁰ *The Tablet*, Vol. 21 (1875) R. Bellamy to the Editor, 30 January 1875.

Indeed the situation deteriorated rapidly. The Fathers were resisted in other ways. In January 1880 Bishop Bagshawe refused a Jesuit missionary, Fr. McQuin, leave to build even a Poor School at Stavely and in April, Manning himself denounced the Jesuits to Propaganda for undermining his Kensington University scheme and thereby causing it to fail.¹¹

Manning's open hostility has already been noted extensively, but Bishop Vaughan had stated that he had made peace with the Jesuit Fathers. The extent to which this was actually the case is called into question by a series of letters that he wrote from Rome to his Vicar General, Canon Sheehan, in late 1879 and the summer of 1880.¹² Most of the correspondence concerned diocesan matters, but Vaughan's implacable desire to defeat the Jesuits is a clear refrain throughout. For instance, on 14 January 1880, he requested Sheehan to send him a map of the Manchester and Salford areas to show the true position of the Jesuit mission. The letter goes on to inveigh against Jesuit pride and pretensions. In a further missive of July the Bishop angrily describes how the Jesuits are still talking of having a College in Manchester. Vaughan was in Rome solely at the behest of Manning, who maintained a constant English episcopal presence at the Vatican in order to maintain pressure on the Holy See to decide in favour of the Bishops in their cause against the Regular clergy.

Eventually, in 1881, the Bull, Romanon Pontifices, was promulgated. In it, the relationship of the Regular clergy to the Episcopacy was fully

11 *On Stavely, A.S.J. English Assistancy Papers C/4, Fr. G. Porter to Provincial, 21 January 1880, and on Manning, A.S.J. English Assistancy Papers C/4, Fr. Porter to Provincial, 4 April 1880. See also on this latter point Purcell/ Manning II 378.*

12 *S.D.A. Box 23, File marked 'Letters from Rome 1879-1880'.*

defined, and largely to the detriment of the independence of the former.

The canonical implications were universal and great, while in the limited field of English Catholic secondary schooling, they were devastating.

Romanos Pontifices ushered in a new era of secondary provision - or lack of it. In future all schools had to have the sanction of the Bishop before they could be built and opened. This meant that the final arbiter of both the educational needs and the provision for a diocese was the Bishop. This might have been restrictive in less contentious times, but in the furore of 1881 was likely to be punitive. The Hierarchy were not friendly and even the Benedictine Bishop of Birmingham, W.B. Ullathorne, expressed himself with some asperity:

*'If it tends to bring our brethren of the religious Orders, and especially those of the Society, to a more modest estimation of their position, it will be a great blessing, for nothing is more injurious to any religious body than a false tradition fostering the corporate pride of men who are individually humble.'*¹³

Nor were matters likely to change in the near future. Manning, perhaps the most hostile figure, consecrated six new Bishops between 1880 and 1882. All were favourable to his policies, but in the case of two, there was close adherence to Manning's educational views, while Robert Coffin C.S.S.R. who went to Southwark, was a personal friend who had supported Manning for a number of years.¹⁴ The Hierarchy, largely composed of such men, hardly gave any ground to the Jesuits for more than a decade. There was a stultifying inertia in the field of Catholic secondary schooling, relieved only by the piecemeal efforts of certain Bishops until the death

13 E.C. Butler, The Life and Times of Archbishop Ullathorne II (1926) 189.

14 V.A. McClelland, English Roman Catholics and Higher Education 1830-1903 (1973) 333-4.

of Manning in 1892. Yet within this same period the Jesuits were making great strides forward in the middle class schools they operated and outside in the nation at large there was one of the greatest stimulants to secondary education yet encountered.

Firstly there were a number of pressures in the commercial world for a better educated labour force. Most of these were for posts in the newly expanding service trades and were for clerks and other office workers. As the debate between Perkin and Musgrave cited in chapter two makes clear, these job prospects may not have been for boys educated in schools of the type designated as Grade I by the Taunton Commissioners, but for pupils from Grade II and III opportunities were expanding.¹⁵ One area in which such employment had increased greatly was in the railway industry. Dr. Dalvi, who studied this situation, states that the number of railway clerks and other officials had risen steadily throughout the second half of the century. In 1851 there were 4,072 of these operatives, in 1871 the number had grown to 22,083, while in 1901 although the rate of growth had slackened, there were 68,341 clerks and officials in the railway industry.¹⁶ A growth rate in excess of 1600 per cent was clearly spectacular and might be expected in an industry that hardly existed before 1840 and had a station in almost every village by 1901, but in the whole of commercial clerical employment numbers had increased greatly from 37,529 in 1851 to 363,373 in 1901.¹⁷

15 See Chapter 2, note 37.

16 M.A. Dalvi, *Commercial Education in England during 1851-1902 - An Institutional Study* (Unpublished Ph.D., University of London 1957) 105.

17 Dalvi, *op. cit.* 100.

Geographically these numbers were not uniformly distributed. Dalvi states that although the North-West and London showed slower rates of growth than elsewhere, they had begun to employ clerks earlier and probably had in total more commercial clerks working in these areas than elsewhere. For example, in Nottingham numbers rose from 107 in 1851 to 1,728 in 1891 - over 1600 per cent, and in Leeds from 227 in 1851 to 3,445 in 1891, a rate of growth of over 1500 per cent. Meanwhile the growth rate in Liverpool was only just under 300 per cent over the same period, but the absolute figures are much greater, 3,008 in 1851 as against 8,923 in 1891.¹⁸ As the greatest concentrations of Catholics were to be found in London and the North-West, the opportunities were open for the educated Catholic boy provided he had the necessary accomplishments. Protestant boys were clearly aware of this and responded accordingly. Studies of education in Leeds and Liverpool have shown that there was a flight from some of the middle class classical and commercial schools to more appropriate educational institutions.¹⁹ In particular the Higher Grade Elementary schools and the evening Science and Art Department classes for those already in employment began to be patronised.

These latter classes were linked to a second force in the development of secondary education in these years, the movement towards scientific and technical education. There had been concern among many leading figures in science and industry that Britain had a very limited, if not wholly inadequate, provision for such forms of learning and preparing pupils for

18 Dalvi, *op. cit.* 130.

19 F.C. Bassett, *The Development of Higher Education in Leeds, 1800-1907*, (Unpublished M.Ed., University of Durham 1965) Chapter II *passim*, and, E.C. Colbeck, *The Development of Commercial Education on Merseyside since 1900* (Unpublished M.A., University of Liverpool 1945) 41.

subsequent careers.²⁰ Germany, in particular, was cited as the most active foreign state wherein provisions for Technical Instruction had been made.²¹ Two reports, the Devonshire Report of 1875 and the Samuelson Report of 1884, drew attention to the lack of such educational facilities and the very considerable progress made by Britain's competitors.²² It was only after the second of these two reports, which demanded provision of good modern secondary schools, aided by public finance, either national or local, that there was a noticeable response.

This response took three main forms. First, some of the independent and grammar schools began to modify their curricula and incorporate science into the boys' studies. Science lecture theatres and laboratories were erected to provide the specialist facilities for teaching.²³ Secondly, in the 1880s, a number of elementary schools began to develop advanced courses in what were to be known as Higher Grade Schools.²⁴ Linked with these schools were the schools of science as officially designated and financed by the Science and Art Department, and which had grown to 183 in number by 1900. They offered systematic instruction in science along with a good general education. The same Department also grant-assisted 3,562 day science

20 B. Simon, *Education and the Labour Movement 1870-1920* (1965) 165-168.

21 Simon makes this case convincingly, but the legend has been qualified by P. Lundgreen, 'Education for the Science-based Industrial State? The Case for Nineteenth Century Germany' in *History of Education* Vol. 13 (1984) 1, 59-68.

22 *The Royal Commission on Scientific Instruction and the Advancement of Science 1870-75 (Devonshire)*; *The Royal Commission on Technical Instruction 1881-1884 (Samuelson)*.

23 E.g. *Wellington College in 1874*; D. Strettell et al., *Wellington College Register* 7th Ed. (1951) 19.

24 B. Simon, *op. cit.* 176-185.

classes.²⁵ Schools of this sort were often in large, urban School Board areas and offered a challenge to the traditional middle class school.

Finally, the Technical Instruction Act of 1889 was passed; an adoptive measure that permitted Local Authorities to aid Technical Instruction in their areas, a method, in Gosden's opinion, of developing the authorities set up under the 1888 Act.²⁶ Out of this legislation arose the Technical Instruction Committees which were responsible for disbursing the money raised under the Act. This was very small and really active work was only begun when the Committees gained an accession of finance under the Local Taxation (Customs and Excise) Act of 1890 - the so-called 'Whiskey Money', a sum equal to the income of all the endowed schools of England and Wales.²⁷ This money was available only in areas that chose to make it available to schools. As shown below, Liverpool and, *inter alia*, the Jesuit College gained greatly from the Act, but in Preston the local Council applied all the money to the general relief of rates, and all the schools, including the Jesuit College, had no help for Technical Instruction.²⁸

Lack of consistency of provision was also the characteristic of Catholic secondary education in this era. This was not simply due to Episcopal hostility to the Jesuits but was produced by a great number of factors. A principal reason lay in the field of elementary education, where finance was a grave problem for the Catholic Church in the 1880s. The Poor Schools

25 P.R. Sharp, *The Public Financing of Secondary and Technical Education in Victorian England* (Unpublished Ph.D., University of Leeds 1973) 409.

26 P.H.J.H. Gosden, 'The Technical Instruction Committees' in D.C.A. Bradshaw (Ed.), *Studies in the Government and Control of Education* (1970) 28-29.

27 53 & 54 Victoria, Cap. 60 & Sharp Ph.D., *op. cit.* 336.

28 Sharp Ph.D., *op. cit.* 339.

run by the Catholic Poor Schools' Committee had been increased in numbers from 350 to 758 in the decade 1870 to 1880 and had to face increasingly stiff and expensive competition from the Board Schools from 1880 onwards.²⁹ The Catholic Hierarchy, and indeed all bodies attempting to offer denominational education, had to use their resources in the elementary area as a first priority in order to prevent the schools becoming so inferior to the Board Schools that pupils were lost from their schools to those of the Boards. The acute crisis brought about by Chamberlain's Free Education scheme at the time of the 1885 election has been well reported elsewhere and it has been clearly shown that any further assistance to School Boards at the expense of the Voluntaryists was resisted at all costs.³⁰

Faced with problems of this nature, Manning's Hierarchy had to devote much of its resources not only to supporting elementary education on a denominational basis, but also, because the Catholic body was increasing, to expanding the number of elementary schools. This was only part of a much wider expansion of facilities, as there was a concomitant rise in the number of priests and chapels to be provided. Thus the Catholic community was served by 1,175 chapels with 1,962 attached priests in 1880 as well as supporting 748 elementary schools. By 1890 there were 1,335 chapels served by 2,478 priests and 946 elementary schools to be financed.³¹ These were substantial increases, probably greater than the proportionate growth in the population of Catholics, but it must be remembered that the Bishops had

29 *M. Cruickshank, Church and State in English Education 1870 to the Present Day* (1964) 52-57 and 190.

30 A. Simon, 'Joseph Chamberlain and Free Education in the Election of 1885' in *History of Education* Vol. 2 (1973) 2, 56-78.

31 *T. Murphy, The Catholic Church in England and Wales in the Last Two Centuries* (1892) 98.

the deficiencies of previous decades to remedy as well as present growth.

Coupled with these difficulties, the Catholics also provided a vast range of social institutions to help the poor, destitute and handicapped in human society. Undoubtedly the leading figure in this movement was Cardinal Manning. The range of his interests, temperance, industrial relations, and, in particular, the Dock Strike of 1889, children's rights, orphanages and prison reform to name but some of the more prominent, was enormous and provided a shining example that many clerics and lay people tried to emulate.³² Even if they could do little else, they were prepared to give financially to assist in these social works. All of this reduced the amount of energy and money it was possible to expend on secondary education.

In this climate it is hardly surprising that the provision of secondary education in the various dioceses was spasmodic and inconsistent. In Leeds there was no attempt to provide anything beyond elementary education for boys, while in Nottingham there were the three boarding colleges, Mount St. Mary's, Ratcliffe College and Grace Dieu and very little else. Two secular priests, Frs. Cafferata and Gorman, ran St. Joseph's College Seminary for Young Gentlemen in Gainsborough between 1883 and 1887 and a Miss Sharpe taught younger boys in her girls' school in the same period, but these were private ventures and showed the instability that was a feature of such institutions.³³

32 Manning's work is clearly surveyed in V.A. McClelland, *Cardinal Manning - His Public Life and Influence 1865-92* (1962) and R. Gray, *Cardinal Manning - A Biography* (1985) while D.E. Selby, 'Cardinal Manning, Campaigner for Children's Rights' in *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History* Vol. 27 (1976) 4, 403-412 looks at a specialist aspect. K.S. Inglis, *Churches and the Working Class in Victorian England* (1964) looks at the wider scene of Catholic social problems.

33 P.A. Platt, *Roman Catholic Education in Leeds 1870-1936 with special reference to Secondary Schooling* (Unpublished M.Ed., University of Leeds, 1982) 70; J.A. Upton, *Non-Elementary and Secondary Education in the Roman Catholic Diocese of Nottingham 1870-1970* (Unpublished M.Ed. dissertation, University of Leeds, 1976) 24-25.

It seems likely that poverty had a great deal to do with this sort of situation and it often took a number of years for this to be overcome. The Catholic community in Cardiff was almost completely formed of immigrant Irish workers and for many years was desperately poor. The Brothers of the Institute of Charity had opened a 'middle school' in 1867, but it was the 1880s before it began to make any noticeable growth and progress as it took that time for the community to prosper and assimilate themselves to the more well-to-do social groups in the town.³⁴

Even in more prosperous communities, established much longer, little could be attempted. In Newcastle, Bishop Hedley was able to open St. Cuthbert's Grammar School in 1881 and even had enough money to keep it under the control of the secular clergy. Bishop Ullathorne was less fortunate and had to persuade the Fathers of the Oratory to open St. Philipp's Grammar School in Birmingham.³⁵ Both of these schools lasted and have continued to serve their Catholic communities to the present day. Consistency of provision being of great importance if the school was to build a strong reputation and a steady clientele.

The dioceses in which the greatest progress was made in the last years of Manning's archiepiscopate were those of Salford and Westminster. In the former it was the development of quality, while in the latter efforts were made to provide quantity. After the founding of St. Bede's, Vaughan had three secondary schools in the Salford Diocese; the new school, the Xaverian College at St. Chad's and the boarding and day Diocesan Grammar School that had been founded by Bishop Turner in 1862. This situation altered in the

34 J. Hickey, *Urban Catholics* (1967) 104.

35 H.O. Evannet, *The Catholic Schools of England and Wales* (1944) 41 and 47.

early 1880s with the disappearance of the Xaverian College and then again in 1891 when the Grammar School was amalgamated with St. Bede's.³⁶ The Grammar School had educated a number of boys who had become priests in the diocese and must have become something akin to a Junior Seminary for several of these. It seems to have been amalgamated partly as an economy measure, and also because by this time the Bishop had more room for pupils at St. Bede's. However, it was in the field of curricular innovation that Bishop Vaughan really made his mark. Vaughan was determined to provide a broadly appealing commercial curriculum for the Manchester Catholics. There were facilities for Classical education but the prime aim of the school was to prepare boys to enter business life in Manchester.

*'The various Commercial and Technical classes comprise instruction in all kinds of Commercial transactions, business Correspondence in various languages, the reading of the money and the produce Markets of different countries (sic), a practical knowledge of primary and raw Materials, the manufacturing and use of Machinery, technical and manufacturing Chemistry, pure and applied Mathematics, natural Philosophy, the elements of civil Engineering, the general History of commerce and industry, commercial Geography and political Economy statistics.'*³⁷

Further classes were advertised covering elements of law and other aspects of science as well as more usual subjects. All this was planned in 1878 and repeated in the prospectus for the next four years. After this time the advertisement was shortened but insisted on the commercial aspects of the course. Another startling feature of the school's life between 1888 and 1895 was the opportunity given to pupils to study in Germany. Bishop Vaughan acquired the former Metternich Palace near Bonn

36 W. Whalley, *Catholic Education in England with special reference to Educational Activities in the Salford Diocese* (Unpublished M.Ed., University of Manchester, 1938) 425.

37 S.D.A. *Salford Catholic Directory* (1878) 52. Information about the school's stated aims is taken from subsequent years.

and for the few years it was financially possible to keep it open, boys went to study at 'St. Bede's on the Rhine'.³⁸ St. Bede's in Salford prospered and by 1891, 499 pupils had been taught at the school since it opened.³⁹

Vaughan strengthened commercial teaching in the Diocesan Grammar School. Its former curriculum was broadened so that by 1885 it was also stressing that: 'Especial attention is paid to the Commercial branches of Education'.⁴⁰ Book-keeping and Shorthand had been added to studies that included French and Physical Science. Thus Vaughan had made good his initial promise and had begun to provide a very full commercial course of study. However, no other Bishop followed his lead.

In London, Manning tackled the larger problems of his diocese somewhat differently. He had no money left after the collapse of the Catholic University scheme and his settlement with Mgr. Capel and was forced to rely on self-financing Orders of Brothers whose vocation was to teach.⁴¹ Battersby and McClelland both state that Manning encouraged the Marists to open Grammar schools in the diocese, but no source is cited for this.⁴² More particularly, Manning tried to involve the Brothers of the Christian Schools (De La Salle) in the elaborate scheme for a Central School, but they felt it was absurd and grandiose in the extreme.⁴³ Manning's more

38 McCormack/ Vaughan 167.

39 W. Whalley M.Ed., *op. cit.* 426-7.

40 S.D.A. Salford Catholic Directory (1885) 10.

41 Lady Herbert Letters p. 303, 28 January 1879.

42 V.A. McClelland, Cardinal Manning, His Public Life and Influence 1865-92 (1962) 57 and W.J. Battersby, 'Catholic Schools for Boys' in G.A. Beck (Ed.), English Catholics 1850-1950 (1950) 331.

43 W.J. Battersby, The History of the Institute of the Brothers of the Christian Schools in the Nineteenth Century - 1850-1900 (1963) 164.

frequent policy was to encourage the opening of small, localised middle class schools. Two were opened in the Westminster diocese at this time. The Brothers of Mercy opened St. Aloysius' College at Highgate in 1879 while the Fathers of the Oratory opened a day school under a lay headmaster in 1880. Like most of the other schools in the diocese, numbers in these rarely exceeded 40 pupils. Costs probably prohibited more elaborate schemes. One contemporary example, the removal of the De La Salle Brothers' College from Clapham to Tooting, both in the Southwark diocese, cost around £30,000.⁴⁴ This was for a part boarding, part day, College of 200 pupils and acted as a prohibitive burden to further development for years to come.

The only school in which Manning had any direct involvement was the St. Charles' College run by the Oblates he founded. According to Dr. Selby, Manning had invested heavily in the College and its development in the 1870s, perhaps as much as £40,000 when the College moved in 1872.⁴⁵ Within this new building Manning began to add modern linguistic and scientific subjects to the curriculum. He also expanded the range of examinations that the students might take and in particular both the Oxford Local Junior and Senior Certificates. Between 1880 and 1895 the students gained 45 of the former and 19 of the latter of these.

The number of new subjects was not as great as at St. Bede's, and even the addition of the Department of Higher Studies, when the Catholic University College closed, did not add much to the pupil numbers, but the

44 W.J. Battersby, *Brother Potamian, Educator and Scientist* (1953) 95-97.

45 D.E. Selby, 'Henry Edward Manning and the Catholic Middle Class: A Curricular Study' in *Paedagogica Historica* X (1970) 1, 149-170. Most of the information in this paragraph comes from this source.

College enjoyed considerable success among its old boys. Perhaps the Oxford Locals helped account for this, they were clearly demanded by parents, and St. Charles' College had to offer the courses in competition with the Jesuit and other Colleges which were introducing them. They were adopted at a time when the Hierarchy was banning contacts with the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, Manning clearly condoning and approving a policy under censure elsewhere for the ends of his own Order.

Denied geographical expansion, despite willing attempts to open in Edinburgh, Doncaster and St. Helen's that were negated by local secular clergy, internal vitality became the key characteristic of Jesuit Colleges in the era between 1880 and 1892.⁴⁶ For the middle classes, this meant St. Francis Xavier's, the Preston College and Mount St. Mary's. This is perhaps the last era in which the Mount should be compared with the day Colleges as after this period it became part of the boarding school system that moved closer to the Public Schools as the day Colleges moved closer to the State.

Recruitment is a good indicator of the health of institutions and it is possible to measure this for St. Francis Xavier's for the period 1880-95. Table XV shows the numbers of boys recruited each year to the school. The figures vary slightly from year to year, but they give an average recruitment of 112. Not all these boys stayed for a long period. One of the complaints of Fr. Harris, who died in 1884 having laid down office in 1883, was that boys did not stay long enough at the school. Harris' death was part of a temporary general dislocation of College life that characterised the early 1880s, but the problem of limited pupil occupation was persistent. In 1889 the Rector, Fr. Murphy, exhorted parents on the matter.

⁴⁶ *L. & N. Vol. XXXII (1914) cxcv, 376, states the Edinburgh Canons opposed the school, while Bassett/ Jesuits 402 mentions Doncaster and St. Helens.*

Table XV

Table to show recruitment figures to St. Francis Xavier's College,
Liverpool, 1880-1893

<i>Year</i>	<i>Numbers of entrants</i>
1880-1881	103
1881-1882	97
1882-1883	143
1883-1884	144
1884-1885	95
1885-1886	119
1886-1887	116
1887-1888	92
1888-1889	125
1889-1890	112
1890-1891	102
1891-1892	100
1892-1893	106

Source:- The Xaverian Magazine Vol. V (1889) 7, July;
 Vol. VI (1890) 7, July;
 Vol. VII (1891) 7, July;
 Vol. VIII (1892) 7, July;
 Vol. IX (1893) 7, July.

*'It is certainly a pity that many of our boys cannot be kept at school till they have finished their education. It is a very short-sighted policy to withdraw boys so soon from school. Their youth is the best time of life for acquiring knowledge and the power of steady, hard work and the training which a boy undergoes in the upper forms for the ordeal of public examinations, is a splendid preparation for the strain of facing the difficulties of his after life.'*⁴⁷

Thus the actual numbers of pupils in the College, although apparently growing, did not quite reflect the size of recruitment. Dr. Whitehead has calculated the numbers in the school for the period September 1881 to September 1894 inclusive and shows that an average size on 20 September each year was 285.⁴⁸ Of these about 60% were on the Classical course and about 40% undertaking Commercial courses. This was a healthy state and shows continuing satisfaction with the Jesuit system in Liverpool.

In Preston the position was poorer in the early 1880s. Fr. de Lapasture was a particularly incompetent Rector and Headmaster, and by the time he left the school in 1884, numbers had fallen to 24 and looked as if they were going to fall even further.⁴⁹ The appointment of the energetic Fr. Payne wrought a slow transformation and the College had over 80 pupils by 1893.⁵⁰ This may seem a slow growth, but the College had no Commercial element, this being provided by the Xaverian Brothers' College, 'managed' by the Jesuits in another of their three Preston parishes. The complementary nature of this school was a theme that was to influence the curriculum work at Preston.

47 *The Xaverian Magazine* Vol. VI (1889) August.

48 Whitehead Ph.D. 353.

49 Hindle/ *Preston* 28-29 and P.C.C.R. Log Book, September 1884.

50 Hindle, *op. cit.* 40.

Finally at Mount St. Mary's numbers of recruits remained stable. The average entry for the period 1870 to 1879 had been just over 45, a number that was only very slightly exceeded for the period 1880 to 1893. Appendix 3 shows where these boys came from and of the 121 boys formally registered as arriving in the years 1881 to 1883 inclusive, over a quarter had been at day schools of one sort or another. Some of these were elementary schools while others were private academies. At this stage there were few pupils who had been prepared to enter the College at either schools run by secular clergy or by nuns. Both these were to expand. On the other hand, the number of foreign students was to decline over the next twenty years and this altered the character of the school. It became much more the province of wealthier Catholic middle class boys, and thus by the very late nineteenth century must be compared to Beaumont or Stonyhurst.

The actual size of the College is less easy to determine. Total figures were rarely recorded in this period. It is known that there were 148 pupils in 1879 and from references to the size of the Jesuit establishment in the same source, this must have been fairly constant throughout the period of the chapter.⁵¹ A minor alteration may have occurred in 1888 when Fr. Payne, the Rector, began building operations. These were not really advanced beyond the foundations until 1901 when extra room really became necessary.⁵² Thus a steady figure of about 150 seems a reasonable assumption. Even this seems a trifle surprising given the conditions of life at the College. A series of reminiscences published in 'The Mountaineer' in 1957-58 speaks of the Spartan life style for which poverty was

51 *Mount St. Mary's College Papers, Prefect's Log. Entries for 1880.*

52 *L. & N. Vol. XXXII (1914) cxcv, 377.*

in part to blame.⁵³ Straw palliasses that were warm, but had to be worn in; washing in cold water; bread, butter and milk only for breakfast and supper; and permission to go home for the Christmas vacation withheld until 1890, were among the less pleasant experiences.⁵⁴ Unlike other schools where hardships diminished as one got older, these had to be endured by all the pupils!

Perhaps the success of the Jesuit Colleges in the period is shown partly in the above paragraphs, as they were battling against Hierarchical hostility, and indifference to middle class education created by financial difficulties. However a further demonstration of Jesuit educational progress lies in their curricular changes and examination success. These two topics were less interdependent in the late nineteenth century than in later eras as the schools tried to create educational programmes that were fulfilling in their own right. Public examination was an addition only to be taken by those capable of gaining some profit from it.

The most successful and broadest curricular additions took place at St. Francis Xavier's. The College had some competition from both the Junior Seminary, St. Edward's, and the Catholic Institute. The former was quite small, but the latter was a larger scale school founded to provide a source of commercial education. It could have been a competitor, but by this stage was a failing concern. It had 96 pupils in 1881 and declined to the point where it closed in 1901.⁵⁵ This threw the burden of education heavily on St. Francis Xavier's which developed its three sides of Prepar-

53 A.S.J. Mount St. Mary's Paper MO/3 shows this clearly and states that the College had to lease out its coal mining rights in 1891.

54 *The Mountaineer* Vol. XXIX (1957-58) 1 & 2, Memoirs of Fr. I.C. Scoles.

55 M.E. Sadler, *Report of Secondary Education in Liverpool* (1904) 46 & 24.

atory .. rarely more than one class, Classical and Commercial.

Although the Classical side was the larger, it was on the Commercial side that some of the most exciting developments took place. The Commercial course in 1884 was a fairly broad, modern course comprising English, French, Geography, History, Writing, Arithmetic, elements of Algebra and Geometry, and Chemistry, but there was nothing that made it really Commercial.⁵⁶ However in March of the following year the Prefect of Studies began to take matters in hand. His exhortation included demands that the boys improve their writing. This was the key to success in business and would be especially scrutinised in future.⁵⁷ Some time in the next two years book-keeping was added to the course, but in 1887 a real change took place. The new Prefect of Studies added shorthand to the course and began to prepare boys for entry in the following year for some of the Science and Art Department examinations as well as for the Oxford Locals, something previously only taken by Classical course boys.⁵⁸

These changes, particularly those related to the Science and Art Department, were portents for the future. The College steadily built up this work and in 1890, following the establishment of a second Science and Art Department centre in the previous year, boys began to take courses freely from both the Commercial and Classical side.⁵⁹ In 1892 the commercial balance was restored as the College purchased 6 Remington typewriters, two lay staff were engaged to teach typing, and the whole project was crowned by the Xaverian Association of former pupils and friends providing prizes for the new subject.⁶⁰

56 *The Xaverian* Vol. I (1884) April.

57 *The Xaverian* Vol. II (1885) March.

58 *The Xaverian* Vol. IV (1887) October.

59 *The Xaverian* Vol. VII (1890) October.

60 *The Xaverian* Vol. IX (1892) February and April.

On the Classical side, change was not so revolutionary. Classical studies were encouraged and prizes provided by the Rector and the Xaverian Association for a number of subjects. A library was also opened early in the 1880s under the express direction of the Provincial, Fr. E.I. Purbrick, whose long experience of the usefulness of these facilities at Stonyhurst would have revealed the damage that arose from their absence in Liverpool.⁶¹

It was in the field of Technical Instruction that the school made the greatest strides.⁶² Liverpool was one of the earliest cities to avail itself of the permissive Technical legislation and 'Whiskey' money. St. Francis Xavier's was represented at the conferences of Liverpool secondary schools held in 1889 and 1890 by the Technical Instruction Committee. It was the promise of money from this source, in return for a biennial inspection that stimulated an expansion in the provision of Science and Art courses at the school, as well as Commercial subjects. Each year The Xaverian's school reports were filled with Science and Art passes and by references to grants for this sort of work. In 1891 and 1892, the Technical Instruction Committee provided grants of £150 for Science and Art equipment in the first year, while in the second, provided most of the finance to establish a Physics laboratory. In 1891 and 1892, the College magazine published the successful passes in Physiography, Mathematics, Inorganic Chemistry and Sound, Heat and Light. Forty-one pupils passed each year in Mathematics and ten in Chemistry. The other subjects saw an increased number of passes in the second year. This is positive evidence that the investment was

61 Whitehead Ph.D., *op. cit.* 321-323.

62 Information in this paragraph is taken from E.C. Colbeck, *The Development of Commercial Education on Merseyside since 1900* (Unpublished M.A., University of Liverpool, 1945), J.A. Hall, *Science Instruction in Liverpool* (Unpublished M.A., University of Liverpool, 1930), *The Xaverian* Vol. VIII (1899) August and September and *The Xaverian* Vol. IX (1892) August and October.

producing an educational return and as a result of these successes, most of those who entered, many boys obtained scholarships to undertake further studies.

Preston, the other day College run by the Society at this date, could not really compete in a display of its accomplishments. The school was rebuilding and consequently had little chance to expand. There were also problems connected with finance. A long letter quoted by Hindle, and written by the Rector Fr. Payne shows that the College was in debt.⁶³ This situation was bound to obtain in such a small school. Fr. Payne did his best to widen the studies by entering boys for the Science and Art Department Examinations at the local centre. He was also sent Fr. Walford for a year to raise the standards of Latin and Greek in the school.⁶⁴ Perhaps the real problem lay in the fact that the Jesuits needed a Commercial department. This was very difficult as Commercial education was the province of the Xaverian Brothers' school conducted in another Jesuit parish. Fr. Dykes, the Rector for the Collegium, or whole group of Jesuit missions, reported on this for the Provincial in 1886 or 1887.⁶⁵ Dykes recommended that the two schools continue as they were both performing very satisfactorily. He suggested that the links between the two schools should be strengthened. A common Prefect of Studies could be appointed, under a Joint Board of Management. The scheme was not executed, but its very appearance is a clue to Jesuit ideas about a complementary school and presenting Catholic middle class boys with a broad spectrum of studies.

63 Hindle/ Preston 38-39, Fr. F. Payne to Fr. Socius, 9 August 1887.

64 Hindle/ Preston 32, Fr. Walford does not seem to have been a natural choice for such a school but accomplished a great deal in one year.

65 A.S.J. Preston Papers - Statement of Accounts, Fr. F. Payne, 9 August 1887.

PLATE 5

THE CATHOLIC COLLEGE, PRESTON

The main entrance to the College at
the top of Winckley Square, erected
in 1898



Of Mount St. Mary's, even less is known. Following the publication of a prospectus in the time of Fr. Dykes, 1873-1878, and the opening of the first Rhetoric class in 1880, there appear to have been few changes.⁶⁶ Form or class masters continued to teach the boys for all subjects except Mathematics. Although Classics and English were well taught there were deficiencies in some subjects, particularly Geography and History which were taught only in sufficient quantity to pass London Matriculation.⁶⁷ Science and Art Department studies just did not appear at all, although passes by the boys might have secured grants that would have helped with the financing of the College as they had done elsewhere.

Apart from these Science and Art Department examinations surveyed above as part of the curricular changes in the Colleges, Jesuit pupils studied for two groups of external examinations. These were London Matriculation and the Oxford Locals. Although the London examination had been adopted at Stonyhurst soon after its inception, it was never popular. As Fr. George Kingdon stated most clearly, its classical content and examination was not satisfactory and it afforded no competition with nationally well-known schools as they refused to adopt it.⁶⁸ However, it had to be retained because the Hierarchy's prohibition of University study at Oxford and Cambridge meant that the able pupil had to have the means to proceed to a London degree.

London Matriculation had been gradually extended in its use to the Society's other English Colleges and by the 1880s was in use at the two

66 A.S.J. MR/1 Notes on Mount St. Mary's College.

67 *The Mountaineer* Vol. XXIX (1957-58) 1 & 2, Memoirs of Fr. I.C. Scoles.

68 G.R. Kingdon, S.J., 'Catholic Colleges and London University Degrees', in *The Month* (1868) July.

other boarding establishments as well as at St. Francis Xavier's. It was not used in the Preston school as there were never enough staff or pupils to permit the necessary separate class of Matriculators to be formed.

Table XVI shows the comparative results obtained by the four Jesuit Colleges in the 1885 London Examinations. This was one of the better years as two of the Beaumont boys finished 1st and 4th overall and all the Catholic candidates entered for the examination succeeded in passing.⁶⁹ There were 932 candidates in total and only 554 passed, 113 of whom were in the Honours Division. This gives a pass rate of 59% and an Honours success rate of 12%, both of which were bettered by the Jesuit Colleges with their 100% pass record and 33% attainment in the Honours Division. The Table also shows that St. Francis Xavier's was the smallest participating Jesuit College. This was quite usual as was the high success rate as only those clearly likely to pass were entered.

It is also possible to compare the results obtained by the Jesuit Colleges against those obtained by other participating Catholic Colleges. This is set out in Table XVII for the year 1887. The only other day College in the Table is that at Edgbaston run by the Oratorians which submitted only one candidate. All the rest of the schools had boarding pupils and thus had the circumstances in which more sustained and intensive study was possible. The place of St. Francis Xavier's particularly and the Jesuit Colleges in general shows the effectiveness of their teaching and their comparative superiority over other Catholic Colleges. The seven boys entered by the Liverpool school in this year was the highest number for

69 L. & N. Vol. XVII (1884) 71.

Table XVI

Table to show comparative results of Jesuit Colleges in the London University
Matriculation Examinations, 1884

<i>College</i>	<i>Total Candidates</i>	<i>Honours</i>	<i>1st Division</i>	<i>2nd Division</i>	<i>Prize Marks</i>
Beaumont	5	3	1	1	2
Mount St. Mary's	11	3	8	-	1
St. Francis Xavier's	3	1	-	2	-
Stonyhurst	11	3	7	1	-

Source:- Letters and Notices Vol. VII (1884) 71.

Table XVII

Table to show comparative results of Catholic Colleges in the London University
Matriculation Examinations, 1887

<i>College</i>	<i>Total Candidates</i>	<i>Honours</i>	<i>1st Class</i>	<i>2nd Class</i>
Stonyhurst	13	3	9	1
Ushaw	12	5	7	1
Beaumont	7	3	4	1
Old Hall, St. Edmund's	6	1	4	1
St. Francis Xavier's	5	2	3	1
Mount St. Mary's	5	2	3	1
Oscott	5	—	4	1
Downside	4	—	4	1
St. Edward's	2	—	2	1
St. Charles'	2	—	1	1
Edgbaston	1	1	—	1
St. Bede's	1	—	—	1
St. George's	1	—	—	1

Source:— The Xaverian Vol. IV (1887) August.

any year between 1880 and 1893; it was usually between 3 and 5. As in 1887, most of those who entered were successful.

London Matriculation was never really popular with middle class schools and alternatives were sought. Upon their introduction in 1858, many schools began to turn to the Oxford Locals and Cambridge Locals as more effective examinations. Between 1878 and 1898, among the ever greater numbers flooding in, were the Jesuit Colleges.⁷⁰

The Hierarchy was very wary of these new examinations and in 1881 clearly stated its view.

*'... the Bishops cannot sanction, and can only unwillingly tolerate, the subjection of Catholic youth of either sex to the Oxford and Cambridge Local Examinations even in secular subjects.'*⁷¹

This disapprobation was a logical extension of the refusal by the Hierarchy to permit Catholics to attend these Universities. Association with examinations conducted by these heretical bodies might first taint the faith of the Catholic child and secondly present a tempting lure to enjoy a stronger academic involvement. Although Manning's College chose to ignore these sentiments, the middle class Cotton College did not adopt these examinations until 1889 and Ushaw not until 1896.⁷²

The Jesuits, being eager to find examinations more consistent with their teaching, were not inhibited and adopted the Oxford Locals at Mount St. Mary's and the day colleges in the late 1870s. Throughout the 1880s,

70 J.P.C. Roach, *Public Examinations in England 1850-1900* (1971) 169, states that Oxford had 2,330 candidates in 1878 and 9,136 in 1898 while Cambridge had 6,435 in 1878 and 15,941 in 1898.

71 W.A. Acta for 1881, Item VIII, 26 April 1881.

72 Milburn/ Ushaw 305, and Canon W. Buscot, *The History of Cotton College* (1940), 269. This was the former Sedgley Park.

even at the tiny Preston College, a steady stream of candidates was entered for Junior and Senior Certificates. Results were published in journals like Letters and Notices and The Xaverian. For the period 1880-1893, St. Francis Xavier's was entering up to 30 candidates each year and, as in 1893 when 29 out of the 30 passed, most were successful.⁷³ Entries from both Mount St. Mary's and the Preston College were fewer in number but, because the boys were well-taught generally and carefully prepared for examination, tended to be as successful as the Liverpool school. This was certainly the view of the Rev. C.P. Roberts, a Superintending Oxford Locals Examiner, who visited Preston in 1885 and wrote to the school praising its teaching of French, Latin and Greek.⁷⁴ A man of 'wide experience', he was well-satisfied with the standards of teaching and trusted that the College's future would be successful. The Jesuits clearly found the examinations satisfactory as they not only persisted in their efforts in the face of Hierarchical disapproval but also increased the number of pupil entries. This was not an isolated whim of the College's superiors but part of a co-ordinated Jesuit effort to provide satisfactory Catholic education.

It is clear from the surviving evidence that during the 1880s the English Province began to make a concerted attempt to co-ordinate its educational work. One important reason for this may be that the Provincial from 30 March 1880 to 15 August 1888 was Father E.I. Purbrick.⁷⁵ In

73 The Xaverian Vol. X (1893) August.

74 L. & N. Vol. XVIII (1885) 177 and Hindle/ Preston 37.

75 *Edward Ignatius Purbrick (1830-1914) was the second son of James Clarke Purbrick of Birmingham, a gentleman. He was educated at King Edward's School with the future Archbishop of Canterbury, E.W. Benson. Purbrick went to Matriculate at Oxford in 1848, was Servitor at Christ Church from 1848-1850 and then renounced his studentship upon becoming a Catholic in 1850.*

company with those Jesuits like Fr. Weld and Fr. Gailwey who had been responsible for the educational efforts of the 1870s, Purbrick had been a member of the Board of Studies meeting of 1857. He had also been Prefect of Studies at Stonyhurst, Rector from 1869 to 1879, his Provincialship has been the longest since 1817, his commitment to education was considerable and he was very fully aware of Manning's hostility to the Society: what better pilot for the Jesuit ship in the troubled waters of the 1880s.⁷⁶ His touch was to be found everywhere, in founding the library at St. Francis Xavier's or in the high policies of the Society.

Dr. Whitehead quotes a letter in the Jesuit Roman Archives in which Fr. General Beckx requested that the English Jesuits adhere more strictly to the Ratio.⁷⁷ Purbrick interpreted this rather generously and began to encourage changes that were uniquely English. In 1882 he encouraged Fr. Reginald Colley to publish a useful pamphlet entitled Hints offered to Young Masters in the Colleges of the English Province S.J. by 'One who knows the difficulties of their position'.⁷⁸ Revised and reprinted four more times before the First World War, this was an intensely practical little volume that offered 119 different practical hints to young teachers. Although largely based on Stonyhurst usage and examples drawn from the

76 *Bassett/ Jesuits* 406-408 has some delightful stories about Fr. Purbrick; more information is to be found in F. Edwards S.J., The Jesuits in England (1985) 200 and in J. Gerard, Stonyhurst - A Centenary Record (1894) 300-301.

77 *A.S.J. Epistolae Generale* 1873-1884 f501, Fr. Beckx to Fr. Purbrick, 4 November 1881, in Whitehead Ph.D. 312.

78 There is a copy and notes in A.S.J., AF/3. It was reprinted with revisions in 1886, 1893 and 1898. There was a further reprint in 1912. It was also printed in L. & N. Vol. XXV (1900) cxxxix, 349-367. This states that it was composed 'by the late Father Hunter', but it was run through the Press and supervised to a great extent by Fr. Colley.

teaching of Classics and Mathematics, it was written by an experienced and successful teacher, and was full of sound advice to be followed in teaching situations, relationships with pupils and staff, in administrative matters, discipline and personal conduct.

If this helped the individual, Purbrick's next step was to help the group. In April and May of 1883, the Prefects of Studies were circularised and asked to report on Lower, or school, studies.⁷⁹ The reports were to be sent to the doyen of Jesuit educators, Fr. G.R. Kingdon, who scrutinised the reports and then summarised and commented on them to the Provincial.⁸⁰ A whole range of matters touching the boys, studies and the work of the staff was produced by the Fathers. Kingdon pinpointed the problem as lying with the staff. They were not scholarly enough, poorly trained and lacked the habit of work.

Kingdon, in his personal practice, sought to amend these matters, while the Provincial used the ideas to help train better teachers. Contacts between the Prefects of Studies were obviously made firmer and over the years spasmodic attempts were made to hold conferences. One was planned for August of 1887 and a number of letters and reports written in July of that year have survived.⁸¹ The issues covered in these documents are much

79 A.S.J. A1/4 contains these.

80 George Renorden Kingdon (1821-1893) was the son of a surgeon and was educated at St. Paul's and Trinity College, Cambridge. He Matriculated in 1840, was Campden Exhibitioner 1840, Perry Exhibitioner 1841, took his B.A. in 1844 - First Class Honours and Senior Oppidan and won the Wix Theological Prize in 1845. From 1845 to 1847, he was at Bart's Hospital, from which he joined the Catholic Church and Society. He became, as befits a real Classical scholar, the greatest of the Jesuit schoolmasters. He was Prefect of Studies at Stonyhurst from 1864 to 1879 and then at Beaumont. His testimony to the Taunton Commissioners and his reports are those of a vastly experienced teacher. He wrote a Latin Grammar that was in use until after the last war.

81 A.S.J. A1/4.

more specific than those in the 1883 reports. Questions are to be found on the place of Latin Verse, the extent of modern language teaching and the role of science in the curriculum. Although no clear answers emerged, the act of sharing problems may have helped produce responses later, and certainly the fact that specific issues were being considered suggests that the general policy problems had been discussed and decisions taken.

One of the most important features of the latter years of Fr. Purbrick's Provincialship was that he presided over a thaw in the icy relations with the Hierarchy that presaged a flourishing second spring among the Jesuit schools. As early as 1877 a Madame Arendrup had encouraged the Jesuits to operate in the Wimbledon area, opening a chapel in her house in which Mass was said by Fr. de Würzburg.⁸² Gradually, under the lady's patronage, this became a full scale mission of the Southwark diocese. In 1887 the Bishop, Dr. Batt, formally transferred the mission to the Society and at the same time appears to have considered a Jesuit proposal to open a school.

*'Though I was perhaps not bound to do so, I thought it well to mention that you proposed to open a day school at Wimbledon and that I approved of your doing so. The Chapter has therefore had the whole scheme before them and unanimously sanctioned it.'*⁸³

Despite this propitious sentiment, it was to be five years before the College opened. Land had to be found and purchased and accommodation provided. This was done in a temporary way in late 1892 in a makeshift building on some ground near the All-England Tennis Club, but a move was

82 *L. & N. Vol. XXXII (1914) cxcv, 369-375 gives an account of the new mission.*

83 *A.S.J. RQ/1 Wimbledon College Papers, Bp. John Batt to Fr. E.I. Purbrick, 31 March 1887.*

soon made.⁸⁴ By April of 1893 a former school had been bought and the Bishop's permission obtained to open it as a Jesuit College. The former establishment had 12 pupils in September 1892, which had grown to 23 when they entered the new building.⁸⁵ It had been hoped that this school would become a St. Francis Xavier's of the London area and take in some of the Catholic boys who were endangering their faith as pupils of Protestant schools.

In January of 1892 Cardinal Henry Edward Manning died. His successor as the new Archbishop Westminster was Herbert Vaughan. As Bishop of Salford Vaughan had opposed the Jesuits and after driving their school from the city, had pursued them in Rome. However this was in the past. As Archbishop he was to welcome a Jesuit school to his Archdiocese and the College at Wimbledon may be seen as the past product of this new relationship with the Hierarchy that was to be fostered in the years to come.

Internally vital, eager to expand the numbers of their Colleges, and with a keen appreciation of their clients' demands, the Jesuits had weathered the isolation of the Manning years without rancour or bitterness. They were ready to meet the challenges of the next decade and to partner Herbert Vaughan in his efforts to extend Catholic secondary education.

84 *L. & N. Vol. XXI (1892) cvi 230-34 and 460 give accounts of the developments taking place in 1892 and the reasons for the opening of the College.*

85 *Wimbledon College Archives (hereinafter W.C.A.) Manuscript History 15. The College had been built as a private school for the Rev. J.M. Brackenbury M.A. in 1860; it had been an Anglican/military academy.*

CHAPTER SIX

THE SECOND SPRING -
Jesuit Colleges 1892-1903

The death of Cardinal Manning in January 1892 and the appointment to the Archdiocese of Westminster of Herbert Vaughan, Bishop of Salford, was a watershed for the Catholic community and also for the Society of Jesus. Vaughan was not appointed at once. He had to wait until the end of March, and he did not take up office until the end of May, but received the Pallium and a Cardinalate by the end of the year, an honour Manning took ten years to gain. Indications were soon forthcoming that his tenure of office was going to be greatly different from that of his predecessor. The last chapter related one instance of this, the lack of opposition to the Jesuits opening a school at Wimbledon in the neighbouring diocese of Southwark. A further major departure from Manning's ideas came before the end of 1892 when Vaughan closed the diocesan seminary at Hammersmith, begun by Manning, in favour of a central seminary at Oscott.¹

Reluctant though he may have been to become Archbishop, Vaughan showed no reluctance to overthrow one of his predecessor's most consistent policies, inviting the Jesuits to open a school in the Westminster diocese.² Vaughan, as was shown in the previous chapter, had a lively concern for secondary education and now wanted to strengthen what he saw as an inadequate provision for boys' secondary education. Thus he invited the Society to open a College in the North London area.

This was undoubtedly a great step forward, but it posed problems for the Provincial. Despite the vitality of the existing Jesuit Colleges, the circumstances prevailing between the closure of the Manchester College and the death of Manning had limited the possibilities of educational work in

1 *Snead Cox/ Vaughan II. 1-33 and 35-43 deal with Vaughan's accession to Westminster and his change in the Hammersmith policy.*

2 *L. & N. Vol. XXII (1893-4) 492-493.*

England. The Provincials were able to undertake two activities that left them short of men and money. The first of these was the abandonment of missions in which only a single Jesuit priest, or at best a pair, worked. Missions were preferred in which a group of Fathers could live and work together in conformity with the Society's rules. This was more expensive to run and somewhat demanding. The second area of initiative was in foreign missions. The Society had always regarded the evangelising of new countries as part of its work and English Jesuits had worked abroad from early in the nineteenth century. However this had increased in the 1870s and, as part of the work, Colleges were opened. Three, Grahamstown (1876), Malta (1877) and Georgetown (1880), all opened before Manning died and plans were laid for more as the Fathers became embroiled in the expansion of British influence in South Africa.³

Impressive though these achievements were, they had a damaging effect on the opening and stabilising of a new College. It was impossible to build or acquire much in the way of property without considerable expense and as money had been spent on Wimbledon there was little available for the new school.⁴ Thus the College of St. Ignatius at Stamford Hill began life in a set of semi-detached houses, only one of which was vacant, the other being occupied by a community of Anglican nuns! In these unpropitious circumstances a Jesuit Father, the historian John Hungerford Pollen, and a group of lay brothers began to prepare for the opening of a chapel

3 F. Edwards, *The Jesuits in England* (1985) 213-215 and Bassett/ *Jesuits* 401.

4 There are several sources for the history of the College including *Letters and Notices* and archives at the College and Farm Street. One prime source, extensively used here are the MSS of the late Fr. Michael Fox S.J. These were most kindly made available to me by his brother Fr. Kevin Fox S.J. Fr. Michael had begun his first chapter of a College history but his notes go up to the 1950s.

and school. This direct labour approach, and the opening of the chapel prior to the school, are clear indications of the limited finances available. Despite great cordiality at the Stonyhurst centenary, Vaughan had no money available to help the Fathers - he had practically nothing for his own projects and they had to improvise.⁵ It was not until 10 September that the school could be opened, by which time the Chapel had a congregation of 600.⁶ The school opened with 46 pupils, but by 14 October had 52. The boys were a mixture of all ages from 7 to 19, came from the locality as well as other parts of London by train, and represented a whole spectrum of attainment. One boy was to be entered for the Cambridge Locals in 1894, while three others were due to sit in the following year, and Science and Art syllabi were being started as well.

It really needed a stable staff to make sense of this chaotic situation, but this was not forthcoming. For the first two or three years a succession of caring and well-intentioned teachers did their best to bring some sort of order. There was no competent Prefect of Studies until 1897, prior to which time the Vice Rector attempted to keep to the general lines of the prospectus which had stated that the school would prepare pupils:

*'... to enter upon a Commercial or Professional career, special attention will be given to Modern Languages, Mathematics and Physics. Students will be prepared for the Examinations of the London University, those held under the London Chamber of Commerce, and the Oxford and Cambridge Locals and the South Kensington Science and Art Departments.'*⁷

5 *Lady Herbert Letters* June 14 1894, 417; 'I have no house, no money and no school', with reference to some recently arrived Polish sisters.

6 *L. & N.* Vol. XXII (1894) 574.

7 *For Papers, Notes on First Prospectus* 1894.

This sounds somewhat ambitious and was first attempted in classes organised along Stonyhurst lines and bearing the old names of 'Elements' and 'Figures' etc. Most of the teaching was done by the Form teacher, the only specialisation being for Mathematics.⁸ Very soon circumstances proved this to be too difficult and at the start of the academic year 1895-6, the forms were numbered along the lines of St. Francis Xavier's College and, in a further move towards a commercial curriculum, Greek had been abandoned and shorthand was promised for the following year.⁹

In its first year of operation, St. Ignatius' College appears to have been destined to move to this sort of teaching. The school attracted 81 students, about all of whom came from the North London area and among whom were few who wanted to pursue a classical curriculum.¹⁰ This was in marked contrast to the other new College, Wimbledon, where a different pattern was beginning to emerge.

Fr. James Nicholson, who opened Wimbledon as Prefect of Studies, had gone on to open Stamford Hill as Rector and the two Colleges had similar experiences in their opening months. However at this point sharp differences began to emerge. Once Wimbledon moved into its new building, the school was much more easily organised. As it had been built as a school, proper classrooms existed and there was a purpose built laboratory, gymnasium and swimming pool.¹¹ There was also a surplus of accommodation and a number of boarders were admitted. These boys were classed as 'Seniors'

8 *L. & N. Vol. XXII (1894) 574.*

9 *The Ignatian - St. Ignatius College, Jubilee Book 1894-1919 (1919) 20.*

10 *Fox Papers, Programme of the Exhibition (1895) - a register is extant from 1900 only, this is the first pupil list obtainable.*

11 *L. & N. Vol. XXII (1893) 200.*

and were to study for 'Government and Professional Examinations'.¹² There was also a difference in the curriculum. At Academies held in 1894 and 1895 the list of subjects for which prizes were awarded was quite extensive. They were Religious Instruction, German, Mathematics, Greek, Latin, English, French, History, Physics, Chemistry and Elocution.¹³ It is noticeable that Latin and Greek were not only included, but that prizes were awarded, and that no Commercial subjects were to be found. Coupled with the fact that the Stonyhurst form names of Elements, Figures, Rudiments etc. were used continuously, this all demonstrates that the Society was creating at Wimbledon a day school that mirrored in curriculum content and style the boarding schools, in particular Stonyhurst and Beaumont. The more prosaic commercial courses were to be run in Stamford Hill, thus permitting the Colleges to complement, not rival, one another.

Important though the London developments were, the Society was conducting two more day schools in England, both of which had been established a great deal longer. At the smaller of these, the Preston Catholic Grammar School, the progress of the last few years was being consolidated. A new Rector, Fr. Frederick O'Hare, was appointed in 1894, and as a mark of faith in his plans, the school became Collegium Inchoatum, a term that implied it was consolidating and could soon be raised to the status of a full Jesuit College.¹⁴ From the Order's point of view this was an accolade and promise of permanent investment and development.

Such considerations did not obtain at St. Francis Xavier's in Liverpool. Long a full College, it celebrated its Golden Jubilee in November 1892.¹⁵

12 *Wimbledon College Archives (hereafter W.C.A.), Log Book, 30.*

13 *W.C.A., Log Book, 32-33.*

14 *Hindle/ Preston 42-43.*

15 *L. & N. Vol. XXII (1893) 33.*

This led to a substantial number of visitors, including the Jesuit General, and some consideration of the Jesuits' work in Liverpool, much of which was published in The Xaverian Magazine and Letters and Notices. One piece of information that was prominently displayed, usually without comment, was the distinction of those with vocations. It was possible to trace 80 such boys and of these 44 had become Secular Priests, 22 Jesuits, 5 Benedictines and 9 had joined other Orders.¹⁶ Clearly the school was neither a nursery for the Order, nor was it robbing the diocese of priests.

In purely educational terms, the College had continued to expand. Numbers grew and the College had constantly between 300 and 400 pupils. However there was still the problem of length of stay. In 1893, 106 boys entered the College, but the average age of departure was 14 years and 4 months - far too young according to the Prefect of Studies.¹⁷ Some parents clearly understood this because in the following year, on occasion when 139 boys entered the school, it was discovered that the permanent population contained fifty boys who had been at the school for 8 years or more.¹⁸ Efforts were made to attract the pupils to stay longer. Large numbers were entered for the Oxford Locals, with better than average success and in the Science and Art examinations it was possible to be taught and entered for seven separate subjects by 1895.¹⁹ Again the physical facilities were improved. The Science and Art Department had commended the Chemical Laboratory as 'one of the very best school laboratories', electricity was wired into the school and funds were raised at the time of the Jubilee for re-

16 The Xaverian Magazine, Vol. X (1893), January.

17 The Xaverian Magazine, Vol. X (1893), July.

18 L. & N., Vol. XXII (1894) 577.

19 The Xaverian Magazine, Vol. XII (1895) July and September. 27 out of a total of 40 candidates passed the Oxford Local - 67.5% average. The national average was 65.6%.

decorating.²⁰ Even more of these funds were used to create scholarships to help former elementary school boys through a College course.²¹ Optimism was great among the Fathers. They felt, 'the grand total in the College ought to be 500', entry members for the past few years had indicated this strongly.

*'And why not? Our teaching staff is both more numerous and more efficient than it was in the times of 400 (1882-83) and our class-room accommodation would be by no means exhausted with that number.'*²²

The Society had now seven working schools in England, both day and boarding. These schools form a coherent pattern because they enabled the broadest possible social spectrum of boys within the Catholic community to profit from a secondary education. They ranged from cheap day schools for the sons of prosperous artisans through to boarding Colleges for the scions of the aristocracy. Within the schools, commercial, scientific and classical studies were available which enabled a boy to be directed to the most appropriate form of education. They might not have had the flexibility of a modern, comprehensive school options system but they indicate that within the limitations imposed by external forces and the ideas prevalent in education at the time, the Society was doing the best that it could for the individuals under its care.

One of the severest of the limitations imposed upon the day colleges during the 1890s was that of financial stringency. This impoverished spectre was a figure that haunted all the Colleges studied in this chapter and will be seen as an important motive force in the behaviour of the Society

20 *L. & N.*, Vol. XXII (1893) 195 and (1894) 489.

21 *The Xaverian Magazine*, Vol. XI (1894) January and February.

22 *L. & N.*, Vol. XXII (1894) 490.

in its attitude to education. In this, as will be shown, it was not alone and another feature of the chapter will be the growing co-operation of all engaged in Catholic secondary education.

Superficially it might seem that a Jesuit had set out to look at the Catholic community and 'consider what are the best methods of establishing a well-organised system of secondary education in England, taking into account existing deficiencies and having regard to such revenue ... available' and created as an embryonic pattern of Jesuit schools.²³ However appropriate the words are, they belong to the terms of reference of the Bryce Commission which began to study secondary education in 1894. This Royal Commission was the brain child of A.H.D. Acland, a committed reformer of secondary education, who was the Vice-President of the Council with responsibility for education and a Cabinet member of both Gladstone's and Roseberry's administrations, 1892-95.²⁴ The Commission was chaired by Bryce, a former member of the Taunton Commission and also a Cabinet Minister. The report he produced was slight compared with that of Taunton and contains sufficient inaccuracies to suggest to one commentator, at least, that the conclusion had been pre-ordained.²⁵

23 *Terms of reference of the Bryce Commission (Royal Commission on Secondary Education) in J.S. Maclure, Educational Documents, England and Wales 1816-1967 (2nd Ed. 1968) 140.*

24 *He had edited, with H. Llewellyn Smith, Studies in Secondary Education (1892) in which James Bryce had written the introduction. Acland's work is summarised in W.H.G. Armytage, Four Hundred Years of English Education (1965) 176-179.*

25 *The report was only 9 volumes in length compared with the 21 of the Taunton report. See G.A.N. Lowndes, The Silent Social Revolution (2nd Ed. 1969) 39-46.*

PLATE 6

WIMBLEDON COLLEGE, LONDON

A portion of the original
building



In the sample surveys carried out by the Assistant Commissioners, two Jesuit Colleges were covered. As at the time of the Taunton Report, the Order co-operated very fully with the investigators but in the case of Wimbledon College, it was so new that only a brief report was included.²⁶ This simply described the physical aspects of the school, the terms charged and the size on 5 May, 1894, which was 50 pupils with 7 permanent staff, 6 of whom were graduates. The other College was St. Francis Xavier's in Liverpool, and a much more extensive report was compiled on the school.²⁷ Not only was there a summary report similar to that about Wimbledon, but the school was also visited and inspected by Mr. Kitchener in November 1894 and a personal report included in the evidence published in the final report.²⁸

This survey was the first undertaken by a government official and by a third party other than those connected with the bodies which examined pupils from the school. The summary is similar to that of Wimbledon and other schools. One important feature revealed is that the College took nearly 50% of its pupils 'from Public Elementary Schools'. There were 324 pupils on 31 May, 1894, and they were taught by 14 permanent staff, 3 of whom were graduates and 4 trained teachers.

On the whole, Kitchener's report was favourable to the College. He stated it had 'the reputation of being a good middle class school, and its pupils take high places in London Matriculation, and in the Locals list'. The remainder of his report supports this, although there are

26 Royal Commission on Secondary Education, Vol. IX (1895) 306-309.

27 Royal Commission on Secondary Education, Vol. VIII (1895) 141-147 and Vol. IX (1895) 274-277.

28 The Xaverian Magazine, Vol. XI (1894) November.

minor criticisms such as, for example, the fact that the school rooms were 'small and rather dark' having been 'sacrificed' to make room for the 'magnificent assembly hall'. However, there is much favourable comment on the way in which the College had created the facilities to teach scientific and technical subjects. The circumstances in Liverpool were outlined by Kitchener and contrasted with the lack of support given to scientific and technical teaching in Lancashire. It was shown how St. Francis Xavier's utilised the advantages, permitting scholarship boys to enter, purchasing equipment, opening the school to inspection and entering the boys for Science and Art Department examinations. From these the school had gained great benefit, both educational and financial. Indeed, in 1893, the school earned £231 from the Department, approximately the salary of three lay teachers.

Success in the application of public funds by schools similar to St. Francis Xavier's strengthened the hands of those in the educational world who wished to extend the public control and funding of education. The Report clearly recommended that there should be a central authority for secondary education that would also control elementary education. There were to be further powers placed in the hands of counties and county boroughs to supply schools and maintain them as well as to aid the existing facilities provided by both private and endowed sources. The fate of this advice was uncertain as the report was published only a short time before Roseberry's administration resigned in June 1895. However Sir John Gorst, the new Vice-President, although not in the Cabinet, was a reformer and seemed likely to continue to make some changes in education in the near future.

Cardinal Vaughan seems to have been keenly aware of the situation. Certainly he had not lost any of his interest in secondary education. His letters to Lady Herbert simply amplify the picture of a busy and detailed life lived in a great number of geographical locations, but even amid this he demonstrated a masterly capacity for detail. In 1892, for example, Vaughan proposed that St. Edmund's begin a Commercial course and prepare pupils for examinations set by the Chamber of Commerce.²⁹ He also looked at a number of the then current London County Council schemes for scholarships of various sorts. The scheme was tried out on some of the ecclesiastical students, but was not a great success and there was no real demand.³⁰ However the fact that the scheme was tried at all testifies to Vaughan's encouragement of curricular innovation.

Vaughan also kept education firmly in front of his Bishops. This had been widely reported in respect of elementary education, but it was also true of secondary schooling.³¹ At the Low Week meeting of 1894, the Bishops considered the possibility of requesting Catholic representation on the Bryce Commission, but cautiously refrained, desiring to seek further information.³² Subsequent events reveal that the Hierarchy maintained contact with developments in secondary education, but the active figure in connection with this was the Cardinal himself. Vaughan followed proceedings carefully and must have studied the Report when it appeared. The conclusions and recommendations disturbed him and led him to consider the fragmented nature of Catholic secondary education and the general lack of

29 W.A., *St. Edmund's Papers* 19-2-6. Consultative paper, n.d. but 1893.

30 W.A., *St. Edmund's Papers* 19-2-20. Report by the President on Modern Course, December 1893.

31 *Snead-Cox/ Vaughan II* devotes pages 70 to 140 to education and the laity.

32 W.A. Acta for Low Week 1894.

co-ordination in the face of potential action by the State. A logical extension of the Catholic attitude to elementary schooling would show that the Church authorities were not inclined to grant to the State power over schools that it had not created, nor to expose the pupils in schools, where faith was so vital, to the government of lay non-Catholics.

The Cardinal began to formulate a policy in late 1895, and, as he recorded in a memorandum of March 1896, began to execute it early in the New Year.³³

'Last January, I invited the heads of our Catholic Colleges (22 in number) to meet in my house in order to discuss the Report of the Royal Commission on Secondary Education and in what way it might affect Catholics.'

This was only the preliminary phase as Vaughan had in mind other topics for perusal and advantages to be gained.

'Our Colleges are isolated from each other and there is a want of common aim and co-operation. I wished to unite them all in a common association, so to raise the spirit and the aim of the whole. The Catholic population is small, but its power in the nation will be increasingly great, if we present a united front and work together. The Colleges ought to exercise the greatest influence upon our Catholic youth.'

These moves preceded by several months Gorst's abortive Bill of 1896, as did the actual deliberations of the Council which took place at Westminster on 19 and 20 May, 1896. Thus the leaders of the Colleges were able to present a united front to the Government.³⁴ There was more than this however to the Conference. Vaughan had proposed that the assembled Heads discuss the training of teachers and the way in which more Catholic elementary school pupils could be persuaded to take up secondary schooling.

33 W.A., *Vaughan Papers*, VI/64, Memo. 171, 17 March 1896.

34 W.A., *St. Edmund's Papers*, 19-4-161, *Minutes of the Conference from which information in this section is drawn.*

These topics were discussed and a full paper was actually presented by Canon Graham of the Westminster diocese on schemes of scholarships for boys from elementary schools, but the remainder of the Conference was far broader even than this. Although not dominated by Jesuits, the President was Fr. Walmesby, S.J., and in his inaugural address he stressed the need for unity and co-operation. His aims were amply fulfilled, because the Conference decided to meet on a regular basis. Other issues were raised, such as mathematics teaching and the problems of building grammar schools and one of the five other Jesuits present, Fr. Colley, presented a paper on educational legislation.

The Jesuits were a major force at the meeting. The full lists from the Conferences of 1896, 1899 and 1901 are set out in Table XVIII and it is plain that among those present the Jesuits formed a block of schools that were not isolated one from another, worked to a common aim and co-operated closely together. It was natural that they should be a leading force for cohesion and that Fathers from the Society should have occupied a seminal role in its deliberations.

The Conference and the ideas associated with it were welcomed by the Society. The deliberations of 1896 were extensively reported in Letters and Notices in a favourable manner.³⁵ Attention was clearly drawn to the fact that the meeting had decided to make the Conference a permanent organisation and that a subscription of £1 per Headmaster had been levied in order to defray costs of organisation. The final Jesuit accolade came in the announcement that the 1897 Conference was to be held at Stonyhurst.

35 L. & N., Vol. XXIII (1896) 293-297, 'Notes on Headmasters' Conference from Fr. R. Colley, S.J.'

Table to show school membership of the Conference of Catholic Colleges,

1896, 1899 and 1901

1896	1899	1901
Wonersh	Wonersh	Wonersh
Old Hall (St. Edmund's)	Oakamoor	Oakamoor
Hammersmith Training College	Woolhampton (O.S.B.)	Woolhampton (O.S.B.)
Oakamoor	St. Edward's, Liverpool	St. Edward's, Liverpool
Woolhampton (O.S.B.)	Ampleforth (O.S.B.)	Ampleforth (O.S.B.)
St. Edward's, Liverpool	St. Charles', Bayswater	St. Charles', Bayswater
Ampleforth (O.S.B.)	Stonyhurst (S.J.)	Stonyhurst (S.J.)
St. Charles', Bayswater	Beaumont (S.J.)	Beaumont (S.J.)
Stonyhurst (S.J.)	Wimbledon (S.J.)	Wimbledon (S.J.)
Beaumont (S.J.)	Oratory School	Oratory School
Wimbledon (S.J.)	Ratcliffe College	Ratcliffe College
Oratory School	Beaconsfield, Plymouth	Beaconsfield, Plymouth
Ratcliffe College	Downside (O.S.B.)	Downside (O.S.B.)
Beaconsfield, Plymouth	Ramsgate (O.S.B.)	Ramsgate (O.S.B.)
Downside (O.S.B.)	St. Francis Xavier's (S.J.)	St. Francis Xavier's (S.J.)
Ramsgate (O.S.B.)	Stamford Hill (S.J.)	Stamford Hill (S.J.)
St. Francis Xavier's (S.J.)	St. Cuthbert's, Newcastle	St. Cuthbert's, Newcastle
Stamford Hill (S.J.)	Prior Park	Prior Park
St. Cuthbert's, Newcastle	Catholic Grammar School, Manchester	Catholic Grammar School, Manchester
Prior Park	St. Bede's, Manchester	Catholic Institute, Manchester
Catholic Grammar School, Manchester	St. Philip's, Birmingham	St. Philip's, Birmingham
St. Bede's, Manchester	Mount St. Mary's (S.J.)	Mount St. Mary's (S.J.)
	Preston Catholic College (S.J.)	Preston Catholic College (S.J.)
	Weybridge	St. Helen's Grammar School
	Ushaw	Ushaw
	St. Joseph's, Clapham	St. Joseph's, Clapham
		Liverpool Institute
		St. Bede's, Bradford
		Old Hall (St. Edmund's)

Key:

S.J. - Jesuit
O.S.B. - Benedictine

Source: W.A., St. Edmund's College Papers 19-4-161, 19-4-162 and 19-4-163.

This inaugurated an important feature of the Conference's form of organisation in that until at least 1914 the conference was held in a number of places controlled by both secular and regular clergy and geographically scattered over the length and breadth of England.³⁶ From the Jesuit standpoint this was very beneficial as it prevented the domination of the Conference by the Bishops or the Regulars and opened up the schools to positive external influences.

The dominant figure in orchestrating the future policy of the Conference was Cardinal Vaughan. It was he who placed the responsibility for drawing up rules in the hands of Mgr. Bernard Ward, the Vice-President of St. Edmund's. Ward embodied in the rules the desires of the Cardinal, as is made clear by the 'Objects' for which the Conference of Catholic Colleges was formed:

'(a) to facilitate the interchange of ideas and information on all school matters, e.g. teaching, examinations, scholarships, internal management and organisation generally, with especial reference to the conditions in force at our Catholic schools and Colleges.

*(b) to watch over Catholic interests in case of any proposed legislation as to secondary schools and to take such steps as may be considered advisable to secure the due consideration of such interests.'*³⁷

Thus centrally concerned, Vaughan remained in London to watch the progress of Gorst's ultimately abortive Bill in the House.³⁸ Despite the problem of the Anglican Orders and the whole question of reunion that was

36 In the first four years the Conference was held in Westminster at Stonyhurst, at St. Edmund's and in St. George's Hall, Southwark. In 1901 it came to Ushaw.

37 W.A., St. Edmund's Papers, 19-2-5, Manuscript of Prospective Rules, 1896.

38 E. Halévy, *Imperialism and the Rise of Labour* (1926, 1961 Edition) 190-192, gives a summary of the proposals.

being discussed in Rome, Vaughan felt that leaving England, '... in the midst of the education question is entirely out of the question'.³⁹ The close scrutiny of educational matters that had characterised Manning was being adopted by his successor and extended to encompass the causes of secondary education.

Slowly the Conference, at the centre of any initiative in secondary education, began to adopt the mantle of a pressure group as well as a forum. The Conference grew in size, by 1901 there were 29 members and schools only absented themselves from time to time, there were no real abstainers. It also began to seek links with other educational bodies outside the Catholic fold. In 1897-98, Bernard Ward began to correspond with the Incorporated Association of Headmasters, whose views on secondary education were believed to be similar to those of the Conference.⁴⁰ Co-operation was to be extended to participation in a draft Parliamentary Bill, also approved by the Head Masters' Conference, but difficulties, pointed out to Ward by the Jesuit, Fr. Norris, in 1898, terminated this. Nevertheless the exercise had been useful in exploring future links as well as in gaining a Parliamentary voice through the Catholic M.P., Lord Edmund Talbot.

The same direct approach through Talbot was used again in 1899 when the Conference had misgivings about the unification of the Technical and Scientific Departments; their control being vested in the hands of Captain

39 *Lady Herbert Letters*, 18 April, 1896, 426. *The question of Anglican Orders is dealt with in Snead Cox/ Vaughan II, 141-230 and in J. Shane Leslie, Cardinal Gasquet (1953) Chapter IV passim.*

40 W.A., *St. Edmund's Papers*, 33-4-9 deals with consultation, 19-2-50 contains the correspondence to the point of the breakdown, and 19-2-47 has the draft Bill.

Abney, the former Technical Head.⁴¹ Lord Edmund represented the views of the Catholic Headmasters and conveyed their resolutions to the appropriate ministers, but without any success in having the administrative arrangements altered.⁴²

In a similar manner the Conference opened channels of communication with the Hierarchy that enabled the Conference to place its views before the assembled Bishops at their Low Week meetings. This usually took the form of an audience being given to a deputation from the Conference. The request or information could be considered and a reply given at once or issued by letter later. This was a two-way process as the Bishops passed on ideas of their own or even messages from Rome for dissemination to the Headmasters. An instance of this took place in 1899 when the Holy See positively forbade any parents from sending the children to non-Catholic secondary schools.⁴³

Among these important developments, the Jesuits figured prominently. By 1899 all seven Colleges then in being were members of the Conference and sent representatives to the annual deliberations. Two of the more experienced Fathers were appointed Consultors to the Conference - a post that carried permanent advisory status to all Catholic secondary schools. From 1896 until 1901 the posts were occupied by Fr. Reginald Colley and Fr. John Gerard. Both fathers had been Prefects of Studies at Stonyhurst and held the post elsewhere, but, most important, John Gerard was Provin-

41 *A.S. Bishop, The Rise of a Central Authority for English Education (1971) 199-201 contains the background to this matter.*

42 *W.A., St. Edmund's Papers, 19-2-58 and 19-2-59 contain the relevant material, especially the important letter, Dom H.N. New, O.S.B. to Mgr. B. Ward, 15 July, 1899.*

43 *W.A. Acta of 11 April, 1899, Item III.*

cial from September, 1897 to January, 1901, and Colley from January, 1901 to May, 1904.⁴⁴ There would be no more powerful representative figures from the Jesuit community than these Fathers.

This reveals an important feature that emerged from the Conference of Catholic Colleges - the ending of isolation. The Jesuits were no longer battling on their own to provide secondary schooling, or, worse, at odds with the Hierarchy over the extent of provision to be permitted or the contents of the curriculum taught. Members of the Conference were able to support each other, and had a forum through which to exchange views with the Bishops that prevented many of the animosities and misunderstandings that had occurred in the past. This enabled co-operation to take place and corporate action to be mounted when dealing with the increasingly intrusive English government, on tackling the common problems of financial hardship.

At the same time the Society was able to sustain itself and support the members of the Conference by its own internal meetings on educational matters. Reference was made in the previous chapter to the way in which these regular meetings had maintained the coherence and vitality of the Society's educational programme in the period before Manning's death. There seems every indication that the contacts between the Prefects of Studies was maintained in the late 1890s. The minutes have survived of one such meeting held on 28 and 29 December, 1897.⁴⁵ The seven Prefects of Studies met with the Provincial to discuss 'Lower Studies'. These were the studies as they occurred in the Colleges, but the agenda was a great

44 F. Edwards, S.J., *The Jesuits in England* (1985) 304.

45 A.S.J., A1/4, *Meeting of Lower Studies Committee, 28-29 December, 1897.*

deal wider than the simple curricular organisation might imply. There were very extensive discussions about teacher training and the problems that were to be found among some of the masters and there was a major consideration of the organisation of the whole school year and the apportionment of holidays. Alongside this were more mundane, but important, considerations about the sort of Latin grammar used in the Colleges and the way in which mark schemes were to be applied.

Although the evidence has not survived, the familiarity of the Fathers with the work in hand, and the slightly disconnected themes suggest that contact was maintained on a regular basis, though perhaps not as regular as the other important link, Letters and Notices. The private publication of the Society, stamped from its inception with the phrase 'Printed for circulation among Ours only', carried an extensive number of reports about the Colleges and on educational matters. Articles often contained detailed reports of school life in the individual Colleges and summaries of examination results were also included. All Jesuits, whether they were in schools or not, had a quantity of basic information about current events and this improved the quality of the educational commitment of the whole Order. The fact that this structure was supported by a system of reports to the Fr. General, two yearly visits by the Provincial and a number of inter-Collegiate examinations all goes to buttress the sense of cohesion within Jesuit Colleges.

Despite this central direction and regular teamwork, the individual day Colleges had to exist and educate within their own localities. In adapting themselves to a variety of local constraints, they demonstrate flexibility and initiative and the remainder of this chapter shows how this was done, in spite of increasingly difficult financial strictures.

In spite of these difficulties it is still possible to suggest that at the end of the period before the 1902 Act, the Jesuits were still the leading educators of Catholic youth.

The most important, because of its large size and its length of service was St. Francis Xavier's College in Liverpool. The College had been happy to co-operate with the Bryce Commission, but it was not happy with the subsequent, proposed, legislation of Gorst. The fears, voiced by the Prefect of Studies in The Xaverian Magazine, were that Catholic Colleges would be forced to compete on unequal terms with 'state favoured secondary schools'.⁴⁶ The results of this would be damaging and were clearly all too reminiscent of the problems Catholic elementary schools faced in competition with the Board Schools. Thus, although the Classical side continued to flourish, the real strides made by the schools' management were on the Commercial side. The Liverpool Technical Instruction Committee and the Science and Art Department both had money to offer to the school that would help it to compete and resist any State competition.

In the first instance this took the form of making improvements along the lines suggested by the Technical Instruction Committee's Inspector after his annual visits. Individual subjects were improved, such as Commercial Arithmetic in 1897 after an adverse report in the previous year, while the Commercial side had a fifth class added in 1897 and a sixth in 1898.⁴⁷ These did not simply accommodate more pupils, but they spread the age ranges among more classes and thus made teaching more homogeneous and consistent.

46 The Xaverian Magazine, Vol. XIII (1896) May.

47 The Xaverian Magazine, Vols. XIV and XV (1897) February, (1898) October.

These policies were themselves an example of consistency by the Society, because they span a complete change in the administrative personnel in 1897 when a new Rector, Vice Rector and Prefect of Studies all took office. By 1899 the new team felt secure enough to co-operate further with the City authorities. In March the Rector and Prefect of Studies attended a major conference organised by the Council to discuss secondary education within the City. The conference followed a visit by Gorst earlier in the year, and the agenda seems to have followed some of his recommendations.⁴⁸ Three major resolutions were passed to be forwarded to the Council and the Technical Instruction Committee. The first aspired to set up a new Consultative group to liaise between the schools and the City authorities while the second requested that one of these authorities, the Technical Instruction Committee, should be reconstituted on a much wider basis and should include members of the Council, the School Boards, the University College and the Secondary Schools. Finally the Technical Instruction Committee was asked to attempt to become an organisation for the Promotion of Secondary Education within the Science and Art Department regulations. This would not only strengthen links with the governmental agency, but would help financially and prepare the City schools in anticipation of Gorst's new legislation later in the year.

How the Jesuits voted in this matter is not known, but their actions made it apparent that they favoured the policy. By August in 1899 the Commercial department had negotiated to become an Organised School of Science under the Science and Art Department regulations.⁴⁹ This was a

48 *City of Liverpool Archives, City Council Proceedings, Conference of Secondary Schools in Liverpool, 6 March, 1899.*

49 *The Xaverian Magazine, Vol. XVI (1899) July.*

great success and was apparently praised for its work by the Government Inspectors who visited the College in the following year.⁵⁰ At the same time the Fathers were attending meetings of a Council Committee on Secondary Education which had been created as a follow-up to the Conference of the previous year.

In 1901 the Council arranged for all the secondary schools participating in the Council's schemes to be visited by a team of H.M.I.s and the extensive report that followed their visit permits the whole of the schools work to be judged from an objective, third party piece of evidence.⁵¹ The judgement formed was, on the whole, very favourable. That there were some problems was only to be expected, but they tended to be problems which resulted from lack of money rather than any positive omissions on the part of the Fathers or substantial defects in the teaching.

Three distinct types of problem arose from lack of money. One was the lack of some specialist and other facilities. An art room was suggested as was the creation of an area within the laboratory where light experiments might take place. Ventilation to some of the classrooms was poor and the provision of new lavatories would have been a distinct advantage. The second area was in the field of salaries. The Jesuit Fathers did not draw salaries, any fees that they earned went to Society funds, but there were a number of what were termed 'extern' teachers, particularly for the commercial course. It was noted that these teachers were lowly paid in comparison with the staff of other secondary schools. Only one example is cited, that of the lady teacher in charge of the preparatory

50 *The Xaverian Magazine*, Vol. XVII (1900) August.

51 A.S.J., St. Francis Xavier's Papers RX/2, Report of the Board of Education on the Inspection of the School, 29-31 May, 1901 (hereafter SFX Report 1901).

form, whose £72 per annum after twelve years of teaching compared very unfavourably with newly qualified elementary school teachers who were paid between £90 to £100 depending on the Board whose schools they staffed.

Finally, there were no Scholarships. This was particularly for entry to Higher education, and meant, in the first instance cited, to Oxford and Cambridge. However the report went on to state that this also applied to entry for the City's School of Art. Although much of the section of the report concerned the absence of scholarship provision for boys on the Classical course, it was also felt that more could be done for the Commercial boys and those in Catholic elementary schools by extending the use of Technical Instruction scholarships.

Generally speaking the curriculum was largely free of major faults, indeed the teaching of some subjects such as Mathematics, Chemistry, French and Latin was very highly praised. If the Inspectors tried to do anything constructive, it was to eradicate some of the more mechanical aspects of teaching and also to do something for some of the duller boys who tended to get left behind.

Judged overall the school had made great progress 'in providing an education well suited to the needs of a large number of the citizens of Liverpool'.⁵² An opinion that applied equally to both divisions of the school. There were fears for the future of Greek, and the report echoed the voices of several Prefects of Studies who stated that boys did not remain at the College as long as they should. The real problem was to find more money. The Inspectors suggested one or two ideas and hoped the

52 A.S.J., *SFX Report 1901*, 12.

City, which had obtained a good return for the money invested, might yet do more, for '... it is hoped that means may be found to secure that the further development of so valuable an institution might not be checked by want of financial support'.⁵³

The Fathers seem to have been fairly satisfied with their treatment.. There are a series of notes, presumably by the Rector, on the Inspection surviving in the Jesuit Archives.⁵⁴ They suggest the community was pleased at the lack of criticism, and the willingness of the Inspectors to listen to the Fathers. The ownership, control and financial status of the College were all discussed very fully and it was made clear that despite the need for financial aid, control had to remain in the hands of the Fathers, or, at least, the Catholic body. The Fathers did not know what might come of the report, although it was hoped that there might be an increase in grants.

Many of the themes in these notes were echoed in an article that appeared in The Xaverian Magazine in January of the following year.⁵⁵ This stressed the great progress made in the school in the preceding twenty-five years; the growth in the staff, the broadening of the curriculum and the examination successes. However this was not the real purpose of the article. This was to explore the lamentable financial state of the College. Familiar ideas such as the underpayment of staff, expenses of courses and the limited size of fees were all rehearsed. Central to all of this was the £10,000 mortgage needed to build the present

53 A.S.J., *SFX Report*, 14.

54 A.S.J., *St. Francis Xavier's Papers*, RX/2. *Notes on Inspection n.d. but June 1901.*

55 The Xaverian Magazine, Vol. XIX (1902) January.

school and the £400 interest payment that had to be serviced each year. All of these factors created an annual deficit of between £500 and £800 that had to be raised in a variety of ways, but which had to be relieved if the school was to survive. As the elementary schools took as much as could be raised, hopes had to be pinned on proposed Government schemes.

On a broader front, this mirrored the situation in Liverpool very clearly. In March, 1902, the Balfour administration introduced the legislation that was to become the 1902 Act. Liverpool took advantage of this to review its provision of secondary education in the form of a Memorandum from the Technical Instruction Committee.⁵⁶ The report makes for very pessimistic reading. It is very critical of the numbers of pupils in secondary education showing that this had deteriorated since 1881 and that compared with a city of the same size in Germany, Hamburg, only a third of the pupils who ought, were in receipt of education. Several factors were to blame; distances travelled, insufficient schools, high fees, the short period of the school life of most pupils, and the lack of high standards. An even greater catalogue of complaints was listed about the quality of education. School buildings, teaching staff, administration and scholarships were all defective.

If the other Liverpool school reports of 1901 were similar to that for St. Francis Xavier's, then it is easy to see where the ammunition for such volleys of criticism could be found. St. Francis Xavier's, like the other Liverpool schools, was not singled out for praise or blame, it simply helped provide the evidence for the overall view of the Committee which was:

56 *Liverpool City Archives, Council Documents. Memorandum of T.I.C. as to the present position of Secondary Education in Liverpool, 21 April, 1902.*

'Secondary Education at present suffers from lack of organisation and lack of funds'. Having expressed this view the Committee went on to suggest a series of organisational and financial remedies, support for which was solicited from the whole Council. The picture presented is that of a lobby document, and in a city which had huge Conservative strength it was, perhaps a guide to the way its supporters saw the administration legislating.⁵⁷

Conclusions such as those in the report would have attracted Jesuit support, provided denominational control was retained. It is very apparent that by 1901 the Order was beginning to feel that the Liverpool College had to have an extra source of finance if it was to remain open. This was not just a local threat. Their leading place as Catholic educators was imperilled by factors in other Colleges not dissimilar from those in Liverpool, but with facets of their own.

In Preston, the College had revived steadily in the '90s and as a Collegium Inchoatum had hopes of future success. A rebuilding programme had taken place and was completed by late 1898. When the school reoccupied the buildings, it adopted the new name, 'The Catholic College', and was stated to have room for 250 boys.⁵⁸ As there were only 70 to 80 boys in the school the large space might seem over-generous. This was not to be the case for long, however. In October 1899 the Xaverian Brothers closed the school they ran for the Jesuit parish of St. Ignatius and this Higher Grade school was amalgamated with the Catholic College.⁵⁹

57 H. Pelling, *Social Geography of British Elections* (1967) 247-252.

58 *L. & N.*, Vol. XXIV (1898) 550.

59 Hindle/ *Preston*, 47-53 clearly narrates the story of this era.

This development had been mooted before, but had not been pursued. Four reasons were advanced by the Headmaster, Fr. John Wright, for the amalgamation. They were to end the rivalry between the schools, to raise the moral and academic standards of the Higher Grade boys, to limit the loss of money, and because the Xaverians were leaving. This last point is somewhat unclear. Hindle states extant records do not support the story the Brothers had to leave to teach in Manchester. What can be supported, though, is the financial problem.

The Higher Grade school was running at a loss, while the Catholic College had, as the Grammar School, made a small profit. At the same time the new buildings had been costly, indeed a loan of £1,000 had to be raised in St. Ignatius' parish. Thus the amalgamation of the schools was a sensible measure that would prevent further losses. Fees would have to be adjusted, but this proved very difficult and, as Hindle makes clear, was not actually possible. Fr. Wright approached the problem in a way that suggests he had studied the Liverpool experience. The school was divided into Classical and Commercial courses, boys being prepared for the types of public examinations taken at Liverpool. Despite some success in the Oxford Locals, the Commercial Course, with its lower fees was the larger. In 1899 there were 108 Commercial pupils to 78 Classical, and in 1900, 109 to 71, and of these far too many left at 13.⁶⁰ By this time the College had two Jesuits and eight lay teachers, all of whom were paid poor salaries. Fr. Wright's answer was to draw up a scheme, again along Liverpool lines, to make the Commercial Course an Organised School of Science. This was ready by the spring of 1902, but postponed until after the proposed legislation appeared.

60 *L. & N.*, Vol. XXIII (1899) 258 and Vol. XXIII (1900) 539.

Although Preston's problems have some similarities to those in Liverpool, there are important differences. The town had no Technical Instruction Committee to organise funds and provide local scholarships. Nor was there a local University College. Parents also appear more apathetic than those in Liverpool. There was real resistance to paying realistic fees and boys were removed from school with a smattering of knowledge, and no real education. It would seem that the amalgamation was not a success, but it is difficult to see what else was to be done. The Higher Grade school had been even less satisfactory and it was clear that only with substantial external aid could the school be made attractive and fees be kept at a level that would overcome parental resistance to a long stay at the College by their sons. Only then might the school blossom in the way the newer Jesuit schools in London were doing.

The senior of those at Wimbledon had begun to depart from the pattern of its northern sisters. This had already seemed likely when the school opened its doors to boarders in 1897, but in 1898 the class which had been started with the aim of studying government examinations was converted into an Army class. The purpose of an Army class was to prepare its members for direct entry to Sandhurst.⁶¹ For this purpose a number of 'extra' teachers were engaged and the class became a permanent feature of the school, each year about 10 or 12 boys enrolling.⁶² The school also settled down to study for the Senior and Junior divisions of the Oxford Locals in 1898 following some experimentation with this and the Oxford and Cambridge Joint Board.⁶³

61 *L. & N.*, Vol. XXII (1898) 552.

62 Figures given in *L. & N.* show numbers in the Army Class were 1898 - 8, 1899 - 12, 1900 - 16 and 1902 - 10.

63 Wimbledon College Archives, Log Book, 34.

Wimbledon appeared to be adept at preparing boys for these examinations as was demonstrated in 1900. This was the year in which 102 boys were in the school, the highest since 1897, and it celebrated the fact with 8 passes in the Senior Certificate with 4 in Honours, and 11 in the Junior with 3 taking Honours.⁶⁴ For such a new school, this was most encouraging and shows the high standards created, as well as the high proportion of boys who stayed on for a lengthy school career.

All these features combine to reinforce the opinion that the school was attempting to be more than an ordinary day Grammar school. No mention is made in either the Log or in Letters and Notices of Science and Art examinations or Commercial Courses. These were not for boys at Wimbledon, nor was there to be any pursuit of a connection with the local authority to help the school or to promote into it children from elementary schools. Finance does not seem to have been a marked difficulty as it was in the other day Colleges. Residence may have been abandoned in 1898, but the persistent flavour of the reports of the College is more like those of the Jesuit boarding Colleges. The market in which Wimbledon was operating was similar to that of King's College School or St. Paul's School, and was for wealthier middle-class Catholics.

Yet it was still part of the Jesuit group. It was reported in Letters and Notices along with the other Colleges and its Prefects interchanged with the other Colleges and it was subject to the same deliberations and decisions. Wimbledon was unlike the other day colleges, but, within the London area, was a useful complement to the boarding College of Beaumont at Windsor, and the day school at Stamford Hill in North London.

64 L. & N., Vol. XXIV (1900) 539.

Stamford Hill was much closer to the northern Colleges than Wimbledon. However, like its South London neighbour, the school achieved a more permanent direction in the late 1890s. From 1897 to 1899 the Prefect of Studies was Fr. Charles Newdigate. Newdigate was to be associated with the College for a number of years, but his initial stay was for two only. In this short time he worked very hard and laid the foundations of the College's future success. It became rapidly apparent to him that to pursue a traditional classical course was bound to be self-defeating and was already causing numbers to decline.⁶⁵ A concise analysis of the causes - staff changes and teacher incompetence, parental indifference and an unsuitable curriculum - led to a programme of home visits and a change in the subjects studied. The Oxford Locals became the standard public examination in the school while a much greater attention was paid to Science and Art examinations. Newdigate opened up protracted negotiations with the Middlesex Technical Instruction Committee in an effort to gain aid for the building of a laboratory. Although this ultimately failed, Newdigate's efforts indicate the direction in which he was moving. A further development of the commercial potential of the College came in 1898 when Newdigate contacted the Chamber of Commerce. He sent them an analysis of the school's work and showed how it prepared its pupils, 25 to 30% of whom came from elementary schools, for a commercial career.

The policy incepted by Fr. Newdigate began to bear dividends as early as 1898. Considerable success in the Preliminary and Junior Oxford Locals of that year persuaded him to form a class for Seniors.⁶⁶ Numbers rose to

65 *Information in this section is based on the papers of Fr. Michael Fox, S.J., MSS Notes 1897-1902.*

66 *L. & N., Vol. XXIV (1898) 558.*

130 by September 1901, when Newdigate returned for a third year.⁶⁷ Numbers were to remain at around this size in the following year and it seemed, as the school gradually expanded and facilities improved, that the decline had been arrested.

Underlying this superficial success, however, was the problem of finance. The College had failed on several occasions to gain any help from the Middlesex Technical Instruction Committee or the London County Council. In 1896, the debts on the property stood at nearly £11,000, and interest at 3½% on the mortgages was over £100 per annum.⁶⁸ This meant that the termly fees of 30 to 40 boys had to be used simply to discharge debts before salaries could be paid. This worsened and by 1901 as the debt stood at over £13,000 and interest in excess of £450. This increased problems for the Rector and in 1901, following a welcome cheque from the Province Procurator, he proposed the only solution might be to build a church as a centre to advertise the school and to raise funds.⁶⁹ The only real solution lay in a transfusion of finance from State funds.

It was considerations of this sort that applied to the whole Catholic community. A study of Table XVIII and the theses mentioned earlier in this study reveals that the Bishops found it impossible to make any substantial improvement in the provision of secondary education. The cost of establishing and conducting a school until it showed some signs of permanence and success was just too great to be contemplated. Hence the Hierarchy and the

67 *Fox Papers, MSS Notes for 1901.*

68 *A.S.J., Stamford Hill Papers DH/3, Fr. Scoles to Vice Rector, Stamford Hill, 11 February 1896. Fr. Blacknell to Rector, 10 November 1915.*

69 *A.S.J., Stamford Hill Papers DH/3, Fr. Donnelly to Fr. Sidgreaves, 17 December 1901.*

Jesuits looked forward with mixed hope and apprehension to the proposed State legislation.

Within the framework of the existing day Colleges the Jesuit Fathers had considerable integration of courses. Their policies were framed to allow Colleges to compete with one another and provide a variety of opportunities for Catholic boys of different social class backgrounds.⁷⁰ As Table XIX shows, the Jesuits were also among the leading Catholic schools when examination results in the Oxford Locals are compared. This pre-eminence and the whole approach of the Order was jeopardised by the problems of finance. It was relief from this and the advantages and disadvantages of participation in the State structure that awaited the Jesuits in the next decade, as it did the whole of Catholic secondary education.

By 1902 only boarding Colleges were able to survive without external financial aid, day schools were seeking alternative financial help. This was already coming from the State through Science and Art grants and other indirect means. Within the quest to exorcise the spectre of financial hardship, however, lay a dangerous contradiction. The State might, as it provided the money, demand a type of control over the schools that jeopardised their religious function, yet without the provision of such funds, the aims of the denominational schools would be lost, as their execution could not be financed. The Catholics had not enough secondary schools, and the idea that far from increasing numbers, some might have to close, was a terrible one to contemplate.

The resolution of this paradox was impossible for a single teaching Order, however able, to undertake. Only if they worked in concert with the

⁷⁰ *L. & N.*, Vol. XXIV (1898) 290 gives details of revisions in the inter-collegiate examination which involved the Oxford Locals results.

Table XIX

Table to show a comparison of results obtained by Catholic Colleges in the
Oxford Local Examinations of 1899

<i>College</i>	<i>Seniors</i>	<i>Juniors</i>	<i>Preliminary</i>
Ampleforth	7	9	10
Oratory	11	18	8
Clapham College (Xaverian)	2	1	12
St. Francis Xavier's*	11	22	18
St. Ignatius'*		4	6
St. Bonaventure's			7
St. Charles'	3	8	9
St. Bede's	9	6	18
St. Wilfrid's, Oakamoor	16	8	36
Ratcliffe College	3	6	6
Downside	4	21	13
St. Augustine's	5	9	13
Prior Park	1	11	16
Mount St. Mary's*	15	14	
Ushaw (Senior)	11	33	
Ushaw (Junior)		18	15
Preston*	6		
Wimbledon*		12	

* - S.J.

Source: The Xaverian Magazine, Vol. XVI (1899) July.

whole of the Catholic body could the present position be preserved, and even enhanced. The spirit of co-operative endeavour had been fostered by the Conference of Catholic Colleges, and was vital in the years to come. The Society of Jesus through it was able to increase the number of its schools and gain the help of the Hierarchy in protecting the establishments it had already created.

CHAPTER SEVEN

PRESERVING THE ROOT STOCK -

Stonyhurst and the development of boarding education 1840-1914

'Some few of the Professors and masters were of rather a different type from the plainer members of the little society who had always lived at the College, (Stonyhurst) and would die there. Its routine and its government was for them as important as Queen, Lords and Commons. They were simple blunt men, old fashioned. Some were really 'fine fellows', manly, generous and off-hand. Their system was often summary enough, but as this was well understood beforehand, it did little harm. Their decisions were sharp and short, not to be discussed or disputed, and the most satisfactory way was to accept them whatever they were, even punishments, though there might have been a mistake in the matter. This was somewhat after the pattern of army discipline; but I confess it seems to me now to have been a wholesome method and helped to 'make a man' of a boy ... They were straightforward men, and had themselves been reared under the system they were administering, and were untiring in their devotion to their duties, which were fatiguing enough.'¹

This lengthy quotation, although published in 1894, was part of an extensive description of the impressions made by the Jesuits at Stonyhurst on a young pupil in the 1840s. Its value lies in the picture that it creates of some of the unique features of the College in that period; features so essentially part of the school that they were to be preserved and to be carried forward as fundamentals in the Jesuit boarding system as it evolved, expanded and transformed.

The 'little society', referred to by Fitzgerald, was in reality a somewhat more complex world than a simple school. Stonyhurst was not just a College but the focal point of the Society of Jesus in England and its principal training centre. In the 1840s the Seminarians, Scholastics and Theologians were all being educated on the estate, while the Noviciate was located at Hodder House, only about a mile away from the main College building.² The groups were kept separate, indeed a Seminary building existed apart from the College, but their presence was sufficient to add

1 P. Fitzgerald, *Stonyhurst Memories* (1894) 21-22.

2 L. & N., Vol. XXXII (1914) 302-305. Confusion was created in 1845-48 when the Seminarians moved into the College, while the Lay Philosophers were housed in the Seminary!

difference and character, as was that of a third group of students. This was the body known as the 'Lay Philosophers'; a collection of students beyond school years pursuing a course of Higher Education within the College. The aim of the course for the abler student was to enable him to take an external degree of the University of London.³

McClelland suggests that this latter group was not really very studious, and the impression they made on Fitzgerald, whom McClelland cites, was of a gentlemanly club, but there is room for doubt. Grugen and Keating give a much more favourable report in their history of the College, while the limitations on other forms of higher education for the Catholic call this negative view into question.⁴ Catholics could not go to Oxford or Cambridge or Durham because of their connections with Anglicanism and had thus to create their own centres of learning. Stonyhurst was one of these and thus provided an internal stimulus for boys in the College.

Fitzgerald also conveys the sense of a unique system of pastoral care and discipline. As outlined in the first chapter, the Jesuit College was highly moral so that not only was the educational life, but also the religious and communal lives of a boy, carefully supervised. Indeed, because Stonyhurst was such a common factor in the lives of the English Jesuits, and the common school for them to learn their teaching skills the positive qualities of the school were carried into all English Jesuit Colleges and classrooms. Stonyhurst held this position for the whole of the century and even into the period of state direction of teacher training, as St. Mary's Hall, the seminary, became an approved training college.

3 V.A. McClelland, *English Roman Catholics and Higher Education, 1830-1903* (1973) 38-41.

4 G. Grugen, S.J. and J. Keating, S.J., *Stonyhurst - Its Past History and Life in the Present* (1901) 134.

The fact that the College had such strong characteristics and sought to support and strengthen them did not mean that the institution ossified; instead the Society actively took measures to evolve and improve them. This first took place within the curriculum, when in 1840 the College adopted London Matriculation examinations, probably as both a terminating examination for school studies and as a qualifying test for participation in the external London B.A. examinations.⁵

The syllabus for the Matriculation necessitated a number of changes in College organisation. The first attempt to cope with these took place in the years 1840 to 1846 when a group of specialist teachers, called Professors, for Greek, Latin and History, with occasional chairs in French and English, was appointed.⁶ The experiment was not very successful, and was not repeated after 1846. Another, more successful, innovation accompanied the Professorial experiment. This was the separation, organised by Fr. McCann, of mathematical classes. Until this time classes had been taken through the whole of their school careers by the same master for all subjects. This was satisfactory as long as a purely internal syllabus was followed, but when the University demands were introduced the standard was not high enough and specialist teaching was needed. At the same time a more experienced teacher took the class over for Rhetoric and Matriculation studies.⁷

5 *L. & N.*, Vol. XXXII (1914) 302.

6 J. Gerard, S.J., *Stonyhurst College Centenary Record* (1894) 176.

7 J. Gerard, S.J., *Stonyhurst College Centenary Record* (1894) 180 and Appendix A, 300-302. Gerard shows that Fr. W. Johnson was the last teacher to take his class from *Elements to Rhetoric*, 1834 to 1841, but also shows that, for example, *Elements to Syntax*, 1836-1841, by Fr. F. Clough and *Elements to Grammar*, 1851-1855, by Fr. W. Lea were still common features of school life.

These changes were not initially entirely successful. In evidence given to the Taunton Commissioners, nearly twenty years later, Mr. Besant, a mathematical examiner, stated that the College had not been satisfactory in its early years. The examiners had corresponded with the College authorities, reporting on the problems, and there had been a consequent improvement in the standard.⁸ Other areas of the curriculum do not appear to have been affected adversely but the whole course had altered and this was reflected in a Prospectus produced in the late 1840s.

'The course of classical education comprises the study of the chief Greek and Latin Classic authors, of composition in Greek and Latin prose and verse, regular instruction in Reading and Elocution, Writing, Arithmetic; English, French and Italian; History, sacred and profane; and Geography. The higher classes receive lessons of Algebra, Geometry and Trigonometry ...

*There is in the College an extensive apparatus for Experimental Philosophy, an Astronomical Observatory, a Chemical Laboratory, a Collection of Minerals and co. There is also a considerable and increasing library of approved works of History and general information, of which the scholars have the use on paying a small monthly subscription. Masters of Music, Drawing, Dancing and Fencing, give lessons to those whose parents may desire it.'*⁹

The adoption of London Matriculation was not unique. Other institutions, like Ushaw College, adopted it, and made the necessary adaptations in the same period. What was unique, was firstly some of the changes in physical circumstances which took place at the same time and assisted its adoption. When the 10th Lord Arundell of Wardour bequeathed his extensive library to the College on his death in 1837, this collection not only enlarged study facilities, but also created a nucleus of scholarly literature that could be expanded beneficially in the future.¹⁰ Again the

8 S.I.C. Vol. IV (1868) Q 1343 et seq.

9 A.S.J. Stonyhurst Papers 001.

10 G. Grugen, S.J. and J. Keating, S.J., Stonyhurst - Its Past History and Life in the Present (1901) 90.

Observatory, built in 1838, assisted any scientific teaching. The Fathers were encouraged in their work by the Government which, shortly after it opened, recognised the Observatory as an official station for the making of magnetic observations and provided grants to assist the work.¹¹ Few schools could boast facilities of this sort and they helped both Fathers and pupils directly.

The second feature that was unique to the school was the acceptability of the changes of the 1840s to its clientele, both particular and general. In the particular sense, one parent wrote to his son in 1842 enjoining him not to study German, as that could be most effectively learnt in that country. However he directed him to science and astronomy: 'Astronomy is the most useful and the most interesting study I know'.¹² Unusual sentiments from a gentry parent, they could only have been pursued by the son at the Jesuit College.

In a more general sense Stonyhurst continued to have the support of parents and their sons. Although we have few figures for the total school roll, the numbers of boys who entered each year is known for most of the period covered by this study.¹³ Compared with the period 1830 to 1839 when an average of 36.5 boys entered each year, the decade 1840 to 1849 saw an annual average entry of 43.9. An increase of more than 7 is surely significant of growing confidence in the College.

11 J. Gerard, S.J., Stonyhurst College Centenary Record (1894) Chapter XI.

12 Brynmor Jones Library, University of Hull, Chichester Papers, DDCH/44.

13 See Appendix 1; we do know 150 boys were at the College for the first time in 1852.

By contrast, one Secular College, Ushaw, witnessed a violent reaction to the new system. Dr. Milburn has argued that it would be wrong to suggest that the introduction of London Matriculation was alone responsible for the rebellion at Ushaw College in 1842, but it was a considerable factor behind the unrest. It was thus, in part, responsible for the decline in numbers at the College from 160 in 1841 to 125 in 1843 .. a fall from which recovery did not take place until 1851.¹⁴ The Jesuits had no such problems. The case for their relative strength is buttressed further when it is remembered that Stonyhurst was expanding while the two new Colleges in Liverpool and Derbyshire were being opened and taking in pupils.

Both the schools in Derbyshire and Liverpool were intended primarily for boys from middle class homes and it might be conjectured that this would alter the social class composition of Stonyhurst. Unfortunately the very full survey by Chadwick and Trappes-Lomax used to analyse the social class of the College's pupils in Chapter One does not give much help for the 1840s. Superficially it might be supposed that the school became more elitist after the opening of the two new schools but this does not appear, from the surviving evidence, to be the case.

The Biographical Dictionary was to be continued by its two editors for the period 1826 to 1850, but only a survey of those whose surnames began with the letters A-K was completed.¹⁵ In the period 1826 to 1850, 1023 boys entered the College and of these Chadwick and Trappes-Lomax studied only 439, i.e. 44%. For only 150 of these, that is 14.7% of the total, are there detailed biographies and the picture that emerges from

14 D. Milburn, *A History of Ushaw College* (1963) 168-173.

15 H. Chadwick, S.J. and M. Trappes-Lomax, *Stonyhurst Biographical Dictionary, Part i, 1794-1825, Part ii 1826-1850, in Stonyhurst Magazine Vols. XX-XXV (1929-38).*

these is not really conclusive. Twelve pupils had parents with hereditary titles, while 29 came from families that can firmly be identified as having gentry status, that is 2.7% and 6.6% of the total respectively. The clearest evidence, about those who showed vocations, reveals that 44 joined the Society of Jesus. Compared with the period 1794-1825, the changes are slight. In that period 3.2% and 9.6% came from titled and gentry families, while only 7.9% joined the Society of Jesus. Thus the picture, such as it is, would suggest that in direct contradiction to the hypothesis that the school became more elitist, it became less so.

As the admission registers for the 1840s are not extant and the surviving contemporary records, like the Minister's Journal, are silent about the school being swamped by numbers of richer or poorer boys, further sources of information have to be examined. One distinguished historian of landed society has suggested that very few, if any, Catholic families were to be found among the class of great magnates, that is owning 10,000 acres of land or having landed incomes of £10,000.¹⁶ Thus Catholics were among the class of lesser magnates and it is possible that they were ceasing to patronise Catholic Colleges exclusively in this period.

The evidence for this lies in the work of John Bateman, author of The Great Landowners of Great Britain and Ireland.¹⁷ Bateman surveyed, in some detail, the owners of estates in excess of 3,000 acres and with a landed income of £3,000. He based his researches on the House of Lords' survey of the owners of land conducted, analysed and published between 1872

16 F.M.L. Thompson, English Landed Society in the Nineteenth Century (1963) 28.

17 Two editions of Bateman's book have been used here, the third of 1879 and the fourth of 1884, republished with an introduction by David Spring in 1971.

and 1876. By a mixture of personal contact and correspondence, Bateman published a digest of the information with some personal details of the landowners as well. His digest covers 1,575 persons for 1,035 of whom he was able to provide an educational entry - that is 65.7%. The dates of birth and of succession to the estates vary widely, but an average of the first 100 entries with educational details reveals that the 'average' estate owner was born in 1830 and succeeded to his estates in 1862. From an educational point of view the significance of this is that this person was at school in the 1840s and had proceeded to University or elsewhere by 1850. Bateman's returns show that of the 1,035 for whom he had details, 75% attended one of the 9 'Public schools' to be surveyed in the 1860s by the Clarendon Commission. 40.5% of the total also stated that went on to attend colleges of Oxford and Cambridge. Only 3% stated that they had been to a Catholic College and of these, about half, 15, had been to a Jesuit school, the remainder attending either the Benedictine Downside or one of the Seminary Colleges.

Bateman himself suggests one reason to explain this tiny figure.

*'Had this compilation been made twenty years ago, every Roman Catholic proprietor might have been 'spotted' by the place of his education being given as Oscott, Ushaw or Stonyhurst; now, on the contrary, at least 15% of all the heirs to Roman Catholics find their way to Oxford and Cambridge.'*¹⁸

This conclusion would seem to support the statistical analysis.

Stonyhurst, and indeed all Catholic Colleges, were no longer being as widely patronised by the Catholic élite as they had been. The ineluctable

18 J. Bateman, *The Great Landowners of Great Britain and Ireland* (1883, 1971 Edition) xx-xxi. The 540 landowners for whom we have no relevant data do not include just those who failed to reply to Bateman, but minors, lady owners and estates in legal dispute.

conclusion is that although Stonyhurst was the most prestigious of the Catholic Colleges, it was increasingly becoming an agent for the education of Catholics from another stratum of society - the minor landowners and the wealthy middle class.

Stonyhurst was not a large school. It was also a higher education centre and a seminary. By the end of the 1840s it was beginning to change, but there was little except its Jesuit character to suggest that it was much different from other Catholic Colleges or even some of the new boarding schools opening at the time. As many of these were being patronised by the middle classes, the above analysis of the educational background of the landed classes suggests that Stonyhurst's curricular and organisational changes were supporting a drift to the status of a middle class boarding school.

This was only temporary. In the 1840s Stonyhurst became more efficient educationally and even middle class, but the fact that it was making these changes is very significant. It is possible to compare Stonyhurst by 1850 meaningfully with non-Catholic schools. Progress at the College had begun to make it a modern centre at which Catholics could be educated. Upon this base, great changes were to take place in the next fifteen years, one of which was that the school became the centre of a network of colleges, among which, at Stonyhurst and Beaumont (opened in 1860), the root stock of the Jesuit system was preserved and developed to accommodate the notion of the English Public school.

Elsewhere in England, among the Anglican community, similar organisational models were being created. The two most widely known and of greatest

influence were those of Woodard and J.L. Brereton.¹⁹ Both Woodard and Brereton proposed a central college with Wardens and Fellows, or their equivalent, that would act as the focus of a group of schools or Colleges. Like the Jesuit scheme, the Woodard model had to be modified in the light of practical difficulties, while Brereton's County College scheme never came to fruition. However they both provided models that gained considerable support and patronage from Anglicans, particularly those of the middle class.

The only educational organism produced by the Catholics that could parallel or match these Anglican groups was that of the Society of Jesus. This thesis has already shown how the day Colleges and the boarding College of Mount St. Mary's catered for a range of middle class pupils. The Jesuit focal point was Stonyhurst, the root from which all others sprang, trained many of their teachers, and, coupled with Beaumont after 1862, was to provide the boarding Public school apex of the group.

Before this could happen, a certain amount of reorganisation had to take place at Stonyhurst. The College had to become more fully a school, rather than a seminary with attachments. The first event was the removal of the Theologians by Fr. Randal Lythgoe who believed that the students should have greater quiet than could be found at Stonyhurst.²⁰ Accordingly the College of St. Bueno was built in a remote rural part of Flintshire and

19 Woodard's work is set out in B. Heeney, Mission to the Middle Classes (1969), while Brereton's schemes are discussed at length in J.R. de S. Honey, Tom Brown's Universe (1977) 58-101, and more briefly in J.P.C. Roach, Public Examinations in England, 1850-1900 (1971) 50-55.

20 Basset/ Jesuits, 395-397 and F. Edwards, S.J., The Jesuits in England (1985) 185-186. The Theologianship was the last stage of Jesuit training prior to ordination and final vows. It lasted three years for a Spiritual Coadjutor and four for a fully professed Father.

St. Mary's Hall emptied. This became the centre for the teaching of the Juniors and Philosophers and the Lay Philosophers moved back into the main College, the rest of which was now a school.

The success of St. Bueno's prompted the Society to consider the removal of the Noviciate from Hodder. In order to do this suitable premises had to be found and purchased. This was done through the offices of the Hon. Joseph Constable-Maxwell who purchased, for £16,500, Beaumont Lodge at Old Windsor.²¹ The purchase had to be undertaken secretly;

*'lest it should transpire that the real purchasers were Jesuits, who of course could not be permitted to encamp beneath the wall, almost, of Windsor Castle itself.'*²²

Although later to be used as a school, the first function of the house was as a Noviciate. Hodder was abandoned and Beaumont occupied in 1854, but the former residence did not remain vacant for very long. In September 1855 it was opened as a Preparatory school for the main College. As Leinster-Mackay has shown, Roman Catholics had never been happy to allow younger boys to mix with older students, and in the busy conditions of the College, the problem was exacerbated.²³ The opening of Hodder with its own teachers and domestic staff ended the difficulty, while the close proximity of the two schools meant that the benefits of close connection were not terminated.

21 C. Latey and F. Devas, The History of St. Stanislaus' College, Beaumont (1911) 12-15; hereinafter Latey and Devas/ Beaumont.

22 Brother H. Foley's reminiscences cited in Latey and Devas/ Beaumont, 16.

23 D. Leinster-Mackay, 'The Evolution of "Other School"', *The Development of Nineteenth Century Preparatory Schools*, in History of Education, Vol. 5 (1973) 3, 244-5.

The new Preparatory school housed boys from 8 to about 12 years of age. For most of the school's history in the nineteenth century it had a class of 'First Elements' that prepared boys for direct entry into the ordinary first class -- Elements -- or, in the case of an exceptional boy, entry into the second class, Figures. Its development is really a separate concern from this study, but its presence enabled the main College to improve and expand as well as acting as a source of prepared pupils for the main school.

In the College proper, Fr. Peter Gallwey, who was Prefect of Studies from 1855-57, introduced several features which helped to raise standards of work and scholarship. Firstly, he created the double syllabus of 'Ordinary matter and Extraordinary matter' introduced into each year of the school life.²⁴ 'Ordinary matter' was the standard curricular content to be followed by all the boys while 'Extraordinary matter' was additional material introduced to enable the brighter pupil to be stretched academically and develop his knowledge and skills. 'Extraordinary matter' also gave long term, in depth preparation for the Matriculation studies of the last year in the school.

Stonyhurst had no house-system and before Gallwey's time there were few ways of prompting friendly rivalry among the pupils. Thus, he revived the division of classes into teams called Romans and Carthaginians. These competed with one another for points in academic tests and exercises rewarded by a small prize. The system worked well and was retained into the twentieth century.

24 J. Gerard, S.J., Stonyhurst College - A Centenary Record (1894) 177.

Gallwey's final contribution was the 'Concertatio'. He felt that boys should be encouraged to display their abilities in a public setting and the device of the 'Concertatio' or scholarly entertainment did this. Classes performed at intervals throughout the school year for the benefit of their fellow-pupils in the whole school.

These innovations were strongly supported by the Rector and other Fathers. They provided an allocation of prizes to be distributed to such a generous degree that, in 1863, 76 prizes were awarded to 66 boys in a school which had only achieved a total roll of 250 on 28 May, 1861.²⁵ The preparation for Matriculation in Rhetoric was also increased and in 1862 the school became an examining centre for the London Examinations. This not only prevented the boys having to make the long and expensive journey to London, but also created an awareness of the examination's presence and potential among the rest of the school.²⁶

Gallwey's reforms improved scholarship at the school and raised the standards achieved by the pupils. This was accompanied by the evolution of a system for chartering the development of the individual and safeguarding his welfare in a manner that anticipates much of the modern debate on pupil profiling. Evidence for the existence of the scheme comes from the best possible source - a report on an actual pupil dispatched by the school to the boy's parents.²⁷ As the pupil was in

25 *L. & N.*, Vol. I (1863) 236, and *S.C.A., Minister's Journal*, 1848-1877, entry for 28 May, 1861.

26 *S.C.A., Minister's Journal*, 1848-1877, entry for 5 July, 1852. This records how Fr. Tickell, Mr. Sidgreaves and 13 scholars went to London. They took 3 carriages to Preston, 15 miles away, departing at 6 a.m. They then caught the train for London and proceeded by cab to Farm Street. The journey took the entire day and was very tiring for the boys and staff!

27 *D.C.R.O., Weld of Lulworth Papers*, D10/C301, Reports on Wilfred Weld.

Preparatory, his academic studies were limited and reports were compiled for only four subjects, i.e. 'Christian Doctrine', 'the Vernacular', 'History and Geography' and 'Arithmetic', from a possible list of fourteen. The report then commented on social and personal matters such as, 'Conduct', 'Religious Duties', 'Manners' and 'Cleanliness'. In order to assess each subject or personal quality, the master was given a choice of ten symbols running the whole gamut of performance from 'notorious' to 'excellence'. Two further symbols were provided to enable the assessment to be qualified as either 'falling off' or 'improving'. At the end of the document a short written report was appended.

These reports were issued quarterly. Such frequency necessitated that a teacher maintain a continuous and detached scrutiny of his pupil's work and personality as only an exact knowledge would have enabled such a report to be compiled. From the Weld example, it is clear they really did reflect the pupil and were valued for their accuracy by the parents. Their presence also supports strongly the case made in this study for the highly moral tone of Jesuit education and its desire to produce an educated, cultured and healthy person and not just an able academic. A contention reinforced by the introduction of a resident physician to the College around the early 1860s - one of the earliest examples of the idea in English boarding schools.²⁸

A formative influence on the direction of studies at Stonyhurst, and thus, *inter alia*, on the whole community of Jesuit schools in the 1850s

28 G. Grugen, S.J. and J. Keating, S.J., Stonyhurst - Its Past History and Life in the Present (1901) 97, and B. Gardner, The Public Schools (1973) 143-144.

was the arrival in the College of a number of prominent Oxford Movement Converts. The backgrounds of many of these men were academic and scholarly. Some were not only Oxford educated, but were also distinguished teachers in the University.²⁹ Many had also attended major Protestant schools and brought into the Order a wide knowledge of the most successful schools from the points of view of scholarship and social patronage in the country.

The new blood broadened contacts through the friends and associates of the Converts. One instance of this is Fr. Tickell's friendship with the lawyer and correspondent of Nathaniel Woodard, Edward Bellasis. Bellasis visited the College when Tickell was Prefect of Studies, 1853-55. According to Meriol Trevor, though impressed, he found it 'full to overflowing' by virtue of the pressure of 'the influx of upper-class converts used to sending their sons to Eton and Oxford'.³⁰ Indeed this may well be the case as annual entries averaged 52 from 1850-1855 and 67 yearly from 1856-1860.

29 *The backgrounds of four of the most prominent Jesuits in education were as follows:*

Albany James Christie (1817-91) Educ. Oriel College, Oxford - Matric. 1834, B.A. 1839, M.A. 1842, Fellow of Oriel 1840-1845.

George Renorden Kingdon (1821-1893) Educ. St. Paul's School and Trinity College, Cambridge - Matric. 1840, Campden Exhibitioner 1840, Perry Exhibitioner 1841, B.A. 1844, Senior Opidan and First Class Honours. Barts' Hospital 1845-47, Wix Theological Prize 1845.

Edward Ignatius Purbrick (1830-1914) Educ. King Edward VI School, Birmingham and Christ Church, Oxford - Matric. 1848, Servitor 1848-50.

George Tickell (1815-93) Educ. Eton and Balliol College, Oxford - Matric. 1831, Scholar of Balliol 1831-1837, B.A. 1835, First Class Honours, M.A. 1837, Fellow of Balliol. Called to the Bar at the Inner Temple 1839.

There were others of similar background, but the future work and varied backgrounds of these four make them excellent examples.

30 M. Trevor, Newman - Light in Winter (1962) 178-9.

In November 1857 the presence of 200 boys in the College for the first time led to great celebrations.³¹ Small wonder Bellasis encouraged John Henry Newman to open the Oratory school to admit Convert children.

The autumn of 1857 was important for Stonyhurst in another sense as well. Reference has already been made in Chapter Two to a Board of Studies meeting held in September at the College, an event important enough not only to warrant a report to Rome but also an entry in the Minister's Journal.³² The case was made earlier suggesting the importance of the Conference for the boarding schools.

Among those present were men who were to be key figures at Stonyhurst and Beaumont over the next few years. Some of the Fathers overlap in their service to schools, but Frs. Kingdon, Tickell and Purbrick were to be solely associated with Stonyhurst until the late 1870s, and, in the case of Fr. Kingdon, with the two main boarding Colleges for the whole of his working life.

The first major change which sprang from this meeting was the opening of Beaumont College in 1861. Beaumont Lodge, near Windsor, was used as the Noviciate, and in October 1861, the Novices were moved to Roehampton. The building was transformed once more.

'The opening of a College of the Society in the neighbourhood of London is the realization of a long felt desire on the part of the Catholics of England who wish to give to their children the benefit of the Education of the Society, without sending them so far to the North as Stonyhurst. There is every reason to hope for success in the undertaking, as the position is convenient with respect to London, easily accessible (being within

31 *L. & N.*, Vol. I (1862) 18.

32 *S.C.A., Minister's Journal, 1848-1877.* Entry for 2 September, 1857. This lists the Fathers who were present at the meeting but does not report the nature of their deliberations.

PLATE 7

BEAUMONT COLLEGE, OLD WINDSOR

This shows the original, eighteenth
century, house, bought in the
1850s for the noviciate and
occupied as the original College in
1861



*half an hour's drive of stations on three railroads), the situation being healthy and elevated, and climate excellent, to say nothing of the beautiful grounds and magnificent ambulatory, all of which must be a great attraction to parents.*³³

Catholics, converted at the time of the Oxford Movement and after, especially in the southern part of the country, had not the devotion to Lancastrian Catholicism of older Catholic families and wanted a school nearer London. Beaumont was close to Windsor, Oxford and the capital, as well as being near neighbour to the élite, Protestant Eton. At the same time it was being conducted by one of the most prestigious of Catholic Orders and was to teach along the lines followed by its famous sister school, Stonyhurst. Indeed the great majority of the senior staff at Beaumont had usually had a number of years' experience at Stonyhurst either as Superiors or on the teaching staff before they were sent to the new College.³⁴ Although this might be said of the other Jesuit Colleges, it is a marked instance at Beaumont that its Prefects of Studies had either already been Prefect of Studies at Stonyhurst, or Master to the elder boys in Poetry or Rhetoric. The school prospered and had 100 pupils by 1864.³⁵

Meanwhile Stonyhurst was undergoing further changes. The force behind these was the Board of Studies Conference of 1857, but they were embodied at Stonyhurst in a single man, Fr. George Renorden Kingdon. Kingdon was master of Rhetoric from 1857 to 1861 and then Prefect of Studies for a year - he never held a lesser post. Then, in 1864, he was again appointed Prefect of Studies, a post he held from that date until 1879, when, after a year's

33 *L. & N.*, Vol. I (1862) 18.

34 *This is revealed by comparing J. Gerard, S.J., Stonyhurst College - A Centenary Record (1894) Appendix A, 300-30 with staff list in A.S.J., Beaumont College Papers, PE/4.*

35 *P.C.T. Levi, Beaumont 1861-1961 (1961) 18.*

relief, he was appointed Prefect of Studies at Beaumont from 1880 to 1887.³⁶

For thirty years Kingdon was perhaps the most forceful and powerful Jesuit schoolmaster. At St. Paul's he had been a contemporary and rival of Jowett, at Cambridge he was a major scholar and in the Society he was the man who raised its two main boarding Colleges to the status of English Public Schools. In part this sprang from his background as a Protestant and from his scholarship, but also from considerable awareness of English educational changes.

In 1864 the Clarendon Commission reported on the nine major Public Schools.³⁷ In many senses the Report did little more than chart the *status quo* by advertising in public those schools whose clientele knew they were the most prestigious in the country. Positively the report also commended the use of the Classics as the kernel of teaching in the schools and made suggestions for their improvement. Kingdon seems not only to have been aware of the Report, but it seems to have dictated three courses of action on his part. The first of these was the authorship of the periodical articles referred to in Chapter Two, while the second was the nature of the remarks that he made to the Taunton Commission in his written and oral evidence.³⁸ Here he defended the work of the College, particularly in Classics, and suggested that because the College had to provide for London Matriculation, it was disadvantaged in comparison with the Public Schools.

36 Note 34 - *ibid.*

37 Report of Her Majesty's Commissioners appointed to inquire into the revenues and management of certain colleges and schools, and the studies pursued and instruction given therein (1862).

38 See references in footnote in Chapter 2.

Trenchant, forthright and epistolatory though these were, they were not as potent as Kingdon's third course of action -- his addresses to his pupils. The Prefect of Studies occupied the role of Headmaster for many practical purposes and on several occasions during the year he was able to address the pupil body in a formal way. The principal times were at the start of the school year and at the end of each term, after the examinations conducted by himself. Kingdon kept written copies of these reports and addresses and they convey in eloquent fashion the sentiments he inculcated into his charges.³⁹ They did not work hard enough, they were mediocre in comparison with the great schools of England, their classical studies lacked polish, they did not pay sufficient attention to religious devotions are among the themes that he reiterated down the years. Two short examples, some ten years apart suffice to give a flavour of Kingdon's style and message. Firstly, the lack of work

*'What may be the case at other Catholic Colleges, I have no special knowledge. It is possible that there may be as much study here as there or even more. But it is not only Catholic Colleges you have to compete with: and if you have the idea that the best boys at Protestant Public Schools do no more in the way of study than the best among yourselves, all I can say is that the idea is utterly erroneous and a mere delusion. Many do at least thrice as much.'*⁴⁰

Again, on religion

*'Religious matter is not studied enough, especially in the Higher Line (i.e. Syntax, Poetry and Rhetoric). You surely do not want much encouragement to show you how essential it is to acquire a good knowledge of your Religion and its Doctrines, especially in a country where the majority are unfortunately in heresy.'*⁴¹

39 These are to be found in S.C.A. as the Prefect of Studies' Journals, 1862-1879.

40 S.C.A., Prefect of Studies' Report, August, 1867.

41 S.C.A., Prefect of Studies' Report, 18 May, 1877.

Central to much of what Kingdon wrote was his analysis that Catholic boys failed because they did not work and study hard enough. Protestant boys, stimulated by the demands of entry to Oxford and Cambridge, worked harder and made substantial progress in life. The Catholic, competing in the second-rate London University examination with second-rate schools, simply did not have the same stimulus. Thus Kingdon stressed the need to emulate Protestant boys.

It was sentiments of this nature that led to Manning's accusation that Kingdon and other Jesuits were not teaching boys to adhere to their faith, but seek for 'the latch keys to Grosvenor Square'.⁴² In turn the Archbishop became convinced that the Jesuits had destroyed his hopes to found a University College and continued to nurture among Catholics hopes of attending the morally dangerous and officially proscribed Oxford and Cambridge. More recently this case has been advanced by Professor V.A. McClelland, with the added charge that the Jesuits also advanced Classics to the detriment of science teaching in Catholic schools.⁴³

This is to misunderstand the matter. As has been shown, Fr. Weld and other Jesuits made considerable efforts to introduce scientific and commercial studies into the day Colleges. Kingdon's work and policy was directed to two boarding Colleges only. He observed the way in which the leading Public schools approached the curriculum and the evolving Oxford and Cambridge Locals and accordingly modified the work of his own pupils. In 1868 he announced that in future the College's pupils would no longer be entered for Honours in London Matriculation. The reason for this was

42 *Manning Papers, Journal No. 4, 54, cited in V.A. McClelland, English Roman Catholics and Higher Education 1830-1903 (1973) 233.*

43 *V.A. McClelland, op. cit. 28-45.*

that, prior to this time, Honours had been given for proficiency in a single subject, such as Classics. The changes the University now made restricted Honours to those who gained success in a range of subjects that included Science.⁴⁴ This was not what Kingdon wanted for Stonyhurst boys and he eschewed participation. This followed the habits of the Public schools where Science was only pursued when it was a special interest of the Headmaster, such as Wilson of Rugby or Thring of Uppingham.⁴⁵ At the Catholic College, Ushaw, Dr. Milburn states that the laboratories were only for those taking Matriculation and the Seminarians -- there was no attempt to form a rigorous science course.⁴⁶ In this way Kingdon was following the path of the majority of the schools that he wished to emulate. In this, he was consistent with his own aims, reinforcing them by publishing a Latin textbook that was used extensively into this century.⁴⁷ His work was also consistent with the general aim of the Society to create an appropriate form of education for all its clients.

Kingdon's 'reign' came to an end in 1879 but in 1880 he resumed the same work at Beaumont. Meanwhile, a new Prefect of Studies at Stonyhurst was appointed in the person of Fr. John Gerard. From the records, Gerard, who had been a master at the College under Kingdon's tutelage from 1865-70, maintained much the same style of leadership. Gerard was a very able priest and Provincial from 1897 to 1901. His work until 1893 as Prefect of Studies can be seen as a continuation and evolution of his predecessor's work.

44 *L. & N.*, Vol. V (1868) 217.

45 A.J. Meadows and W.H. Brock, 'Topics Fit For Gentlemen' in B. Simon and I. Bradley, *The Victorian Public School* (1975) 115-128.

46 D. Milburn, *A History of Ushaw College* (1964) 168-169.

47 G.R. Kingdon, *The Beaumont Latin Grammar* (6th Edition, 1922); it was reprinted several times - I was shown this copy by Fr. F. Keegan S.J.

The tradition established in Stonyhurst was transferred to the south of England at Beaumont. Beaumont was purely a school and had no part in training priests, nor did it run a Philosophy course. Its popularity is attested by its rapid growth and by the approval of the General, who raised it to full College status when it gained 100 pupils in 1864.

This early success was made in the face of some difficulties. The school was not purpose-built and although adaptations had been made, conditions were spartan, if not primitive.⁴⁸ The very first pupils, of whom Fr. Heathcote was one, were treated with special care. As there were only four boys in the first few days, they were outnumbered by members of the Order. One of the Fathers was responsible for calling the boys, gently waking them with a quiet call and a cup of hot milk. As more pupils arrived, this kindly introduction to the day was replaced by a clamouring bell and cold washing water. The College was not wealthy, but had an estate in excess of 100 acres, and some of the more recently purchased land was let in order to augment income or farmed to provide food for the school.⁴⁹ This was not unusual for Jesuit Colleges, and when more prosperous times arrived, provided the school with excellent playing fields.

More serious than the financial problems was the competition posed to the school by the opening of the Oratory school by John Henry Newman in 1859.⁵⁰ Although the two year start Newman had was hindered by internal

48 A.S.J., *Beaumont Papers*, Fr. Sir William Heathcote's *Memoirs* - an account of one of the Jesuits who was one of the first boys at the school and became Rector.

49 Fr. C. Latey, S.J. and Fr. F. Devas, S.J., *The History of St. Stanislaus' Collège, Beaumont* (1911) 23, 32, hereinafter Latey and Devas/*Beaumont*.

50 M. Trevor, *Newman - Light in Winter* (1962) 190-191 and 248-280.

quarrels at the Oratory, and by the fact that at £80 per annum the fees were £20 greater than those of Beaumont, this school was a great danger. The association with Newman and his part in the direction of the school, together with support from powerful converts like James Hope-Scott, made the Oratory a powerful social and educational attraction to many Catholic parents.

The only way in which this could be countered was by replicating at Beaumont the scholarly standards of Stonyhurst. A prospectus of 1863 states that: 'A full course of Education is given in Classics, Mathematics, French, German and English'.⁵¹ No modern studies such as History, Geography and Science were to be offered. At the same time academic rigour was to be enforced by the authorities at Stonyhurst.

*'In the course of this year (1865) the dread Prefect of Studies of Stonyhurst (!!!) (sic) one day loomed on the horizon, and actually entered the new school for the purpose of holding an examination. The representative boys in the different grades were put to the question by Fr. Kingdon who found us I fancy somewhat deficient as compared with the corresponding classes in the longer established College.'*⁵²

Heathcote further remarks that the strictest masters seemed to come from Stonyhurst and that the forms of discipline used in the Lancashire college were introduced if the boys became at all lax. Heathcote suggests that Beaumont was kindlier than its northern sister, but the essential educational features were much the same in both establishments. This was an element reinforced when Fr. Kingdon was Prefect of Studies from 1880 to 1887.

51 A.S.J., *Beaumont Papers*, PE/5.

52 A.S.J., *Beaumont Papers*, *Memoirs of Fr. Sir William Heathcote*, S.J., Bart., 44-45.

During the remainder of the century and up to 1914, both Stonyhurst and Beaumont evolved into Catholic Public Schools. The process by which this took place was begun by Fr. Kingdon with his desire to send out Catholic boys whose educational standards equalled those of their Protestant peers. However, becoming a Public School was not a question of joining an organisation and gaining a certificate of membership. The Fleming Report of 1942 designated Public Schools as those that belonged to the Headmasters' Conference, but this was not a criterion that had existed for very long.⁵³ The Conference had only been founded in 1869 and it was a number of years before the prestigious schools examined by the Clarendon Commission joined it. Indeed T.W. Bamford has suggested that the Conference was a defensive organisation for Heads of lesser schools that was only recognisable in the decade before the First World War as a Public School organisation.⁵⁴ Students of the Public School community recognise the origins of the community as lying in the nine schools studied by the Clarendon Commission, but because of the problems of mutual recognition it is difficult to see even these schools as being part of a homogeneous entity. Some authors, like Ogilvy, who took the list of Public Schools given in the 1905 edition of the Harmsworth's Encyclopaedia as his starting point, are prepared to take a stipulated reference point of a later date and then work backwards and forwards on the history of the schools.⁵⁵ Even a more discerning writer, T.W. Bamford, who recognised the problems, cites the first Public Schools' Yearbook of 1889 as a sound basis on which to build.⁵⁶ This list was chosen by members

53 Report of the Committee on Public Schools appointed by the President of the Board of Education (1944) 1, Preamble.

54 T.W. Bamford, The Rise of the Public Schools (1967) 182-185.

55 V. Ogilvy, The English Public School (1957) 180.

56 T.W. Bamford, op. cit. 188-189.

of Eton, Harrow and Winchester who recognised schools that were of the same type as themselves. There were twenty-five in all. As Bamford remarks:

'Few outsiders would have disagreed with the names in the first Year Book, and they still form the hard-core of the genuine public-school system at the present time. The common elements, if we omit St. Paul's and Merchant Taylors' as being day schools, arise from the significance of boarding education, a unified Anglican outlook within each school and an exclusiveness derived from a prohibitive cost and a positive restriction of the intake to the higher classes. The great day grammar schools at Manchester, Birmingham and elsewhere were still obviously beyond the fringe.'

Bamford compiled a list of schools using his own criteria and this produced several variations from the Yearbook. This points to the problem that contemporary opinion was not always uniform, nor consistent. However Bamford's explorations do point to some considerations analysed more fully by a more recent researcher.⁵⁷

J.R. de S. Honey in both his original doctoral thesis and subsequent book suggested new criteria by which to judge membership of the Public school community:

*'It is highly feasible that the most useful criterion for the classification of schools whose pupils would have accepted each other as members of the 'public school community' before the year 1902 ... is a consideration of which schools interacted with each other.'*⁵⁸

Honey's notion of 'interaction' revolves around the participation by the school in certain examinations, by schools meeting in sporting activities and by membership of organisations like the Headmasters'

57 J.R. de S. Honey, *'The Victorian Public School: The School as a Community'*, unpublished D.Phil., University of Oxford (1969) and J.R. de S. Honey, *Tom Brown's Universe* (1977). I am grateful to Professor Honey for permission to use his thesis. Reference to the works will be cited hereafter as Honey/ D.Phil. and Honey/ Tom Brown.

58 Honey/ D.Phil. Thesis, 245.

Conference. In many ways there is much in this which reflects late-Victorians' own self-perception of the notion of a select body of schools to which it was socially and educationally appropriate to belong. The concept emerges clearly from the statements of Fr. Kingdon, and by implication from the educational backgrounds of the large number of landed magnates studied by Bateman.

Honey examined 256 schools, testing to see how many criteria from among a list of 33 the schools managed to meet. In a chronological sense they begin in the late nineteenth century, c. 1870, recording the number of scholarships obtained to Oxford and Cambridge through to membership in 1952 of the Headmasters' Conference.⁵⁹ In this way the author was able to assess when schools could be considered part of the public school community, when they joined and when they departed. In 1902, he concluded 104 of the original group might have claimed public school status. Of this number, 50 were deemed to have definite public school status while 14 more were on the margin of the community. The remaining 40 had claims which might allow them to think of themselves as public schools but really they should be seen as aspirant minor establishments. Stonyhurst is the only Roman Catholic school to be found in the group of 104 and in the final analysis of his data Honey placed Stonyhurst in the group of 40 aspirants. He does concede that Beaumont was not far behind it, but no other Catholic school was a serious contender.

Thus, in this very extensive survey of public schools, it would seem that the Victorian Jesuits had met with only qualified success in their efforts to provide education for Catholic boys comparable with the Protestant public school. Unfortunately studies like those of Bamford and Honey

59 Honey/ D.Phil., Chapter IV, Interaction Chart and attached Notes.

have never addressed the problem of Roman Catholic schools specifically. They tend to look at the whole range of public schools and in the wealth of evidence available, the Catholic schools tend to be seen as a minority group meriting only limited attention. In the remainder of this chapter the more specific, Jesuit evidence will be considered to demonstrate that the Jesuits safeguarded their heritage as well as preparing boys in a public school fashion so that by 1914 their two major boarding schools were part of the public school community.

By the 1870s and 1880s a number of schools had been created that were designed to extend the type of education available at the Clarendon schools to more pupils. Many of these came from a new social class market, the professional and middle classes. No longer did the earlier situation obtain in which ex-middle class grammar school pupils educate the sons of the aristocracy and gentry in a few exclusive schools.⁶⁰ The middle class now began to educate its own in schools modelled on reformed examples of the elite group.

In these schools the pupils would be able to mingle with peers drawn from the same social class or from more prestigious groups. It was important that the pupil be prepared not only educationally but also socially, social class being an important determinant of school status. Bamford explored this for some of the Clarendon schools for the period 1801-1850, but the same analysis does not seem to have been undertaken for a later period.⁶¹

60 T.W. Bamford, *The Rise of the Public Schools* (1967) 124.

61 T.W. Bamford, 'Public Schools and Social Class, 1801-1850', in *British Journal of Sociology*, XII, No. 3 (Sept. 1961), 224-35.

In order to ascertain whether the Jesuit schools had the status of public schools it would be useful to compare the social class status of their clients with those of boarding schools that can be clearly identified as being in the public school sector. Such an undertaking creates problems of availability of evidence. Stonyhurst has none that I have seen for the period after 1850 other than numbers arriving at the school and something about the schools these boys attended previously. The picture for Beaumont is much happier. A printed list with biographical details exists as do the manuscript notes from which this booklet was compiled, probably by the authors of the 1911 History of the College, Frs. Latas and Deney.⁶² If one is attempting to determine social class status on the basis of occupation of parent or eventual pupil occupation then there is ample evidence in these sources.

However, evidence of the same quantity and quality is not always available for other schools. The Clarendon schools are well served but others less well. It is easiest to obtain information about the eventual occupation of the pupils and this has allowed comparisons to be made. The occupational categories have been based on those of the 1861 Census and are listed in an appendix.⁶³ These have then been refined to six categories, i.e. 1 - aristocratic and gentry, 2 - the armed and civil services, 3 - the professional classes, 4 - overseas occupations, 5 - those for whom we have no data, and 6 - those who did at school or soon after having no discernible occupation. At this stage note has been made of any pupils of lower class origin. All statistics have been expressed in percentage terms.

62 Anon., *The Beaumont Lists for Fifty Years' in Supplement to the Beaumont Review* (1911), also A.S.J., *Beaumont Papers*.

63 *Census for 1861, Vol. I (1861) xl and xli, Table XVIII.*

Five other schools have been studied. They were Harrow, one of the Clarendon schools; Lancing, the leading school of the Woodard foundation; Rossall, an Anglican proprietary school, founded in 1844 during the period which saw so many middle class schools established; Sedbergh, an ancient endowed grammar school that was investigated by the Taunton Commission and re-organised by the Endowed Schools' Commissioners; and finally Weymouth College, an independent proprietary school founded in 1863 as a private grammar school with a strong Anglican bias. Wellington College was also examined, but the preponderance of Army careers made it unfruitful.⁶⁴

Two periods were studied, 1872-1876 inclusive and 1892-96 inclusive, the dates referring to the periods then those studied were at school. As the volumes on which the investigations were based were produced variously between 1909 and 1933, the youngest ex-pupil in the survey would have departed thirteen years prior to publication and would thus have become established in a profession. The results have been tabulated in Tables XX and XXI overleaf.

In terms of the first two groups there is a much greater similarity between the returns for Beaumont and Harrow than any other school studied. One reason for this is the close connection between the aristocracy and gentry and the Government service groups whose form of work was seen as being suitable for the younger sons of notable families. These were the traditional supporting classes of the Clarendon type school and it argues very strongly for Beaumont's presence in the public school community.

It also argues clearly that Roman Catholic parents of pupils in these social classes saw no reason to eschew a Catholic school. This is not to deny that some parents sent their boys elsewhere, but it indicates that

64 *The Old Wellingtonian Society, Wellington College Register, 1859-1948 (7th Edition, 1948).*

Table XX

Table to show the social class of pupils at six schools based on eventual occupation
of pupils, 1872-1876 inclusive

<i>School</i>	1	2	3	4	5	6
Harrow	9.6	22.7	47.4	-	19.8	0.6
Lancing	2.1	13.6	43.5	5.2	35.1	0.5
Rossall	1.4	10.8	53.4	-	33.8	0.3
Sedbergh	1.4	4.3	68.5	-	22.9	2.8 + 1.4 low status
Weymouth	1.8	12.1	64.5	-	21.5	-
Beaumont	17.3	27.7	19.4	12.3	0.6	

Sources: M.G. Daughlish and P.K. Stephenson, Harrow School Register, 1800-1911 (1911);
Anon., The Lancing Register, 1851-1932, 3rd Edition (1933);
L.R. Furneaux, Rossall School Register, 1844-1923 (1923);
B. Wilson, The Sedbergh School Register, 1546-1909 (1909);
G.C. Falkner, The Book of Records of Weymouth College (1923);
Anon., 'The Beaumont Lists for Fifty Years', in Supplement to The Beaumont Review (1911), also A.S.J., Manuscript Notes for the Beaumont Lists.

Table XXI

Table to show the social class of pupils at six schools based on eventual occupation
of pupils, 1892-1896 inclusive

<i>School</i>	1	2	3	4	5	6
Harrow	6.7	27.8	50.3	1.3	10.3	1.7
Lancing	2.6	19.0	50.0	2.0	23.0	3.3
Rossall	0.6	13.0	54.5	-	30.1	1.1 + 0.7*
Sedbergh	0.1	10.4	69.1	-	18.5	0.3 + 0.7*
Weymouth	0	18.6	63.8	-	17.6	-
Beaumont	19.1	25.7	18.6	20.2	13.7	2.7

* Pupils of lower class status

Sources: M.G. Daughlish and P.K. Stephenson, Harrow School Register, 1800-1911 (1911);
Anon., The Lancing Register, 1851-1932 (3rd Edition, 1933);
L.R. Furneaux, Rossall School Register, 1844-1923 (1923);
B. Wilson, The Sedbergh School Register, 1546-1909 (1909);
G.C. Falkner, The Book of Records of Weymouth College (1923);
Anon., 'The Beaumont Lists for Fifty Years', in Supplement to The Beaumont Review (1911), also A.S.J., Manuscript Notes for the Beaumont Lists.

this was a limited and contained shift. The complaints of the Hierarchy about such moves may not be quite as all embracing as Professor McClelland and others wish to see them.⁶⁵

It is in terms of middle class participation that a real difference between Beaumont and the other schools emerges. In all of the professional categories subsumed in Column 3 the Catholics had very limited historic participation and it is likely that this limited the number of entrants. Again, if the professional status of some of the foreigners or those residing overseas aggregated in Column 4 were classified in English terms, they would be part of Column 3. There was also a purpose-built Jesuit middle-class boarding school in Mount St. Mary's that absorbed some of those pupils who might otherwise have found their way to Beaumont.

At first sight Beaumont has a major discrepancy in terms of the numbers of foreign students when compared with other schools. This can be accounted for in two ways. Firstly there were always several pupils in the school who were refugees from persecution overseas. Boys came from France at the time of the Franco-Prussian War, some of whom stayed to avoid the difficulties of the Third Republic. During the 1870s groups of Germans began to arrive, fleeing from the anti-Catholic Falk laws and attempting to secure a religiously based education in England. Although some exiles, like the French at Littlehampton, established their own schools, there was still a steady stream through the English Catholic Colleges.⁶⁶

The second reason for the presence of foreign students was that the parents of boys from overseas Catholic countries could obtain an education

65 *W.A. Acta*, 11 April, 1899, Item III.

66 *L. & N.*, Vol. XVIII (1885) 114.

for their sons at an English school without danger to faith. Many of these parents conducted mercantile enterprises in South America. Education at Beaumont meant that their sons gained a sound education and contact with important English Catholics and English society. This was reinforced by the visits of foreign royalty and nobility to the school as well as those by English nobility.⁶⁷ Most impressively of all, the school was permitted to present loyal addresses to the Queen in 1882, 1887 and 1897.⁶⁸ The Queen, on these occasions, spoke to boys and masters and appeared to be very interested in the school. Although Stonyhurst never had a royal visit, numerous prominent persons graced its halls as guests and added to its prestige.

These factors strengthen the case for seeing Beaumont, and probably Stonyhurst, although the evidence is not as clear, as English public schools. There is also other evidence which needs to be rehearsed to show the development of the Colleges.

This has to be seen in two separate ways. Firstly there is the evidence that shows the development of the academic public school. E.C. Mack has shown that in the 1860s public schools were subject to much public scrutiny and internal reform.⁶⁹ The products of this were the reformed institutions described so carefully by Dr. Newsome.⁷⁰ This type of academic establishment with high moral tone was close to the model

67 A.S.J., *Beaumont Papers, Beaumont Prefects' Journal*. This lists the visitors and the dates when they were in the school.

68 P.C.T. Levi, *Beaumont 1861-1961*, (1961) 22-29 gives a brief account of the three Royal visits.

69 E.C. Mack, *Public Schools and British Opinion 1780-1860*, (1939) 401-403, and the same author, *Public Schools and British Opinion Since 1860* (1940) Chapter III.

70 D. Newsome, *Godliness and Good Learning* (1961).

favoured by Fr. Kingdon. At Stonyhurst in 1875, Fr. Kingdon demanded that, in order to raise the academic standard of the school, boys be sent at the earliest possible age and remain until 19 as they did at public schools.⁷¹ His successor, Fr. Gerard, attempted to spread Matriculation teaching of Mathematics into the lower forms in order to raise standards.⁷² At Beaumont, in 1883, the year when morning clothes or Eton suits became the uniform, the pinnacle of Fr. Kingdon's success at the school was reached when two boys came first and fourth in all England in the London Matriculation.⁷³ However, Fr. Kingdon still regarded these as second-rate and something of this is reflected in the announcement of the result in Letters and Notices when the writer wryly remarks the second and third were both girls.⁷⁴

This academic prowess was not enough and in 1887 the authorities at Stonyhurst decided to attempt the Oxford and Cambridge Joint Board Examinations. This Board had been established in 1873 upon the request of the Headmasters' Conference and by 1887 had been widely adopted by most public schools as well as many of the better day grammar schools.⁷⁵ If Stonyhurst was to progress these had to be tried. Twenty-seven boys were entered for the examination and seventeen obtained success. The Board's report, by Mr. Evelyn Shuckburgh, M.A. was reprinted in Letters and Notices.⁷⁶

71 S.C.A., *Prefect of Studies Reports 1862-1879*, 10 March, 1875.

72 A.S.J., *Stonyhurst Papers*, A1/2.

73 A.S.J., *Beaumont College Papers*, *Prefect of Studies Journal*, 1883.

74 L. & N., Vol. XVII (1883) 71.

75 J.P.C. Roach, *Public Examinations in England 1850-1900* (1971) 233-234.

76 L. & N., Vol. XXIII (1896) 369.

'(1) That the boys were very even, the worst in the class not being generally so much worse than the best. (2) That there seems a certain definiteness about all this work, the boys seeming to know what they did firmly and clearly, and to be able to state it clearly.'

Together with favourable reports on the demeanour of the boys and the teaching methods employed, the report augured well for the future. However the Hierarchy was not happy with this experiment and the examination was not adopted for ten years. It should be noted that the College had performed creditably and that external forces acted to prevent the College taking up this hallmark of public school status.

In 1896 the Hierarchy permitted Colleges to enter for the Oxford and Cambridge Joint Board, and ex-pupils to go to the Universities as part of the liberalisation of secondary education that came with the inception of the Conference of Catholic Colleges. The circumstances are described in an article in Letters and Notices aptly entitled 'The New Oxford Movement'.⁷⁷ The author described not only the way in which the examination was a better test of skills in the narrow Classical area rather than the broader London Matriculation, but also a vital entry qualification for Oxford and Cambridge Universities. It was felt that this new system complemented Jesuit teaching in the Colleges, and with the establishment of a Jesuit Hall at Oxford in 1897, provided qualified recruits.

In the same period Stonyhurst became the only Catholic College in England to be approved by the General Medical Council for certain aspects of science teaching.⁷⁸ This was a unique honour as only a few schools were admitted to undertake this teaching and Stonyhurst joined a select

⁷⁷ L. & N., Vol. XIX (1887) 280-284.

⁷⁸ A.L. Mansell, 'The Influence of Medicine on Science Education in England 1892-1911' in History of Education, Vol. 5, 2 (June 1976) 155-168.

group of schools including Eton, Harrow and Winchester.

There is small wonder that in 1909 the Beaumont Review could speak with pride of the Old Boys who were students and Fellows at Oxford.⁷⁹ Stonyhurst had also sent boys to the University and it would appear that with this College's entry to the Headmasters' Conference in 1899 it had come of age as an academic rival to Protestant schools:

The 'spirit of academic compromise to modern trends was perhaps best displayed by Fr. Sykes at a Prefects of Studies Conference of 1909.

*'The aim is to preserve unity of spirit and to secure unity of intelligence throughout the whole body of our schools. Though the uniformity of details in method, which the Ratio was designed to accomplish, may not now-a-days be practicable in this country, still unity of understanding, mutual co-operation and sympathy in each other's work become all the more urgently needful in view of the increasing variety of type among our schools.'*⁸⁰

However academic development was not enough; the second area in which the schools had to develop, and for which there is evidence, was concerned with socialising and sports. E.C. Mack suggests that late Victorian public schools showed three tendencies; a lack of administrative skill on the part of the staff, a wholesome pursuit of athletic excellence and a growing regimentation perpetuated by boys on boys.⁸¹ The first was obviously not consciously pursued, but the latter two tendencies became part of the

79 The Beaumont Review, Vol. XVI (Nov. 1909) 3. There were two Fellows at Oxford: Francis Fortescue Urquhart, who developed vacation reading centres and F. de Zulactta who was later Regius Professor of Law.

80 A.S.J., Education Papers A1/4 Circular letter of Fr. R. Sykes (Provincial) to all Rectors of Colleges, 18 March 1909.

81 E.C. Mack, Public Schools and British Opinion Since 1860 (1940) 122-125.

everyday pursuits of the public schools.⁸² The Jesuits became increasingly aware of these matters although they did tend to lag behind Protestant schools.

It was the 1890s before the Jesuits began to incept athletic and military matters in their schools. Beaumont began a rowing club in 1895 and in the same year embarked on a series of Association Football matches with Eton, that was to last until 1905 when Rugby was substituted as the main school game. There was similar development in other sports.⁸³ Stonyhurst also began an extensive sporting programme and in 1899 joined the Public Schools' Athletics Association.⁸⁴

In terms of pupil control and responsibility, the Jesuit Colleges had always differed markedly from other English schools. As has been shown in this study, the Prefect system in Jesuit Colleges meant a system of control in the hands of the Fathers while the boys took their part in the moral development of the school as part of the special congregation called the Sodality. By the 1890s there was a change in the offing and as Fr. Levi has shown the disrupted circumstances at Beaumont allowed a new system to be introduced.⁸⁵ Fr. Bampton, Rector, 1901 to 1908, and Fr. Charles Blount, Prefect of Studies, 1897 to 1908, were responsible for changes in rules, the abandonment of Prefects and the introduction of a

82 See J.A. Mangan, 'Athleticism', *A Case Study in the Evolution of an Educational Ideology* and G.F.A. Best, 'Militarism and the Public Schools' in B. Simon and I. Bradley, *The Victorian Public School* (1975), 147-167 and 129-146.

T. Hearl, 'Military Education and the School Curriculum 1800-1870' in *History of Education*, Vol. V, No. 3 (October 1976) 251-265.

83 *L. & N.*, Vol. XXIII (1895) 195; Latey and Devas/ *Beaumont*, 122.

84 *L. & N.*, Vol. XXV (1899) 243.

85 P.C.T. Levi, *Beaumont 1861-1961* (1961) 23, the troubles led to a decline to 60 pupils c.1895 - they trebled by 1903.

Captain system in which boys controlled boys.⁸⁶ Beaumont was a laboratory in which these ideas were tried out, and, having proved their success, were soon transferred to Stonyhurst.⁸⁷

Fr. Bampton was also responsible for the development of military training at Beaumont. The College had 106 boys serving in the British forces in the Boer War, a figure claimed to be the greatest in proportion from any public school in England.⁸⁸ One Old Boy had already suggested a Cadet Corps in 1895, 'such as is generally known to exist in most of the English Public Schools', and the Corps were formed at Stonyhurst and Beaumont in 1900. In 1909, two companies of boys went to the O.T.C. Public Schools' Camp along with Eton, Wellington, Harrow and other such schools.⁸⁹ By 1914 the schools had numerous boys trained for arms. In the First World War these boys were to serve and die on all fronts and in all services. Like other public schools they contributed to 'the lost generation'.

Other Colleges like Downside and Ushaw followed the lead given by the Jesuits.⁹⁰ In this they were pioneers of the Catholic public school. At the same time they preserved their traditions of the faith and the Ratio. This surely demonstrates the Jesuit willingness to evolve while protecting the roots of their educational work. One of their aims was to help their pupils to the best of their ability - this involved, as Fr. Sykes suggested, variety, flexibility and continuity. By 1914 Jesuit

86 A.S.J., *Beaumont Papers*, PE/4.

87 S.C.A. *Rule Book* 5.

88 *Latey and Devas/ Beaumont* 61.

89 *The Beaumont Review*, Vol. XVI (March 1909) 16.

90 Dom. H. van Zeller, *Downside By and Large* (1954) 64; and D. Milburn, *A History of Ushaw College* (1964) 301-304, 310.

pupils from Beaumont and Stonyhurst were no longer isolate and reserved but able to gain elite qualifications, proceed to the most prestigious Universities and take their place in society as devout Catholics with total social assurance.

CHAPTER EIGHT

APPELLATION CONTROLÉE ~

The Jesuit Colleges and the State 1902-1914

*'Have not the children who attend Denominational schools as good a right to receive a full payment for their education from the State as children who attend Board schools? Are they not equal in the eyes of the State? Or, is the fact that Christian parents desire their children to receive instruction in definite Christianity to brand their schools with a mark of inferiority and a penalty of diminished payment for secular instruction labelling it charity school, supported by voluntary contributions.'*¹

Herbert Vaughan's comments were made in a memorial to Lord Salisbury in 1895 with specific reference to the plight of the Catholic elementary schools but they are also appropriate in the secondary school context. There was a distinct financial blight affecting Catholic secondary schools in the late 1890s. Some of this was due to the rising cost of education brought about by the need to provide a wider curriculum with special teaching services, but the fact that the elementary schools were demanding more and more help in their fight to remain viable in competition with the Board schools meant that there were fewer funds available for the secondary schools.

By the early twentieth century the situation for secondary day schools was deteriorating rapidly. Boarding establishments do not seem to have had the same problems and although there were difficulties in running these schools, finance was not the most important of them. Probably all the Catholic day secondary schools were suffering from these monetary difficulties, but the evidence is unequivocal for the Jesuit Colleges.

The clearest picture emerged at Preston. The school had always been small and was not wealthy, but in the period around 1899, the date of the amalgamation with the Xaverian school, matters deteriorated greatly. Two statements of the accounts of the College have survived in the papers from

1 *Snead Cox/ Vaughan II, 118.*

the Rectorate of Fr. J. Wright (1899-1907) for the years October 1899-March 1902 and 1900-1904 inclusive.² The first of these is a simple balance sheet showing that in the two and a half years covered by the account, total expenses were just over £2,700.00. Not all of this was spent on the usual expenses of salaries and books as some was spent on laboratory equipment and over £330.00 was interest on debts. The credit side of the sheet reveals at once why there was such a substantial interest payment. Receipts from all sources fell short of the amount needed to cover debts by over one thousand pounds, and this had to be made up by an advance from Fr. Rector. Money loaned from the Rector was most often taken from Province funds and the interest payments would usually have been to this source. Although it can be argued that this sort of account merely shows the Fathers were recycling Society money, this would be to deny the problems of monetary loss and the restrictions such loans and interest payments placed on the Order helping its schools or expanding its educational work.

The second financial paper enables this analysis to be extended. It consists of five years' accounts showing monthly receipts and expenditure. It shows that in almost every one of the 60 months covered there were some receipts and some expenses - in other words, a constant cash flow. The months of September, January and April/May show the most substantial receipts, but, they also show the times of greatest expenditure. Obviously the Fathers retained bills to be paid until a substantial income prevented the deficit becoming too great. However, the overall picture was still grim. No year had more than six months in which receipts exceeded expenses

2 *Preston Catholic College Archives, Fr. Wright's Papers and Files.*

and in each of the five years studied the overall loss was never lower than £230.00.

Undoubtedly part of this particular problem was created by the small numbers attending the school, and the very limited help given by the Preston Borough Council to the College.³ However, there were no endowments or investments so that losses of this nature were a constant drain. The picture is less detailed for other Colleges, but really no rosier. The position at Liverpool was adequately described earlier and it is important to notice that the city authorities recognised the difficulties and were as eager as the College to find a solution.⁴

At Stamford Hill money was also a problem. While there is very little direct evidence for any single, huge loss, the situation appears from the references made in the sources to have been somewhat similar to that at Preston. A letter from Fr. Donnelly to Fr. Sidgreaves in 1904 summarises the position.

'40 What does not pay is the College. We have lived for years past on money belonging to the Schools and the Church. Even this very year we have lived on money subscribed for the building of the Church and money obtained from the Bazaar for the Schools. (Elementary)

So I see no chance at present of meeting the Interest on the mortgages, (Blount etc.).'⁵

The answer to these problems was to obtain money from State sources. This study has already shown that the Jesuit Colleges had exploited some

3 *Hindle/ Preston Chapter IV, 46-60 deals with the period of Fr. Wright's Rectorate and the associated problems.*

4 *Liverpool City Archives, Council Documents, Memorandum of the Technical Instruction Committee as to the present position of Secondary Education in Liverpool, 21 April, 1902.*

5 *A.S.J., Stamford Hill Papers, DH/3, Fr. Donnelly to Fr. Sidgreaves, n.d. 1904.*

of the resources available in the form of Technical Instruction money and Science and Art department grants. The Order had also shown some readiness to take more substantial sums, but had equally demonstrated a degree of caution in accepting projected state solutions.

These had been put forward at the time of Sir John Gorst's abortive legislation in the 1890s and had been continually raised at the Conference of Catholic Colleges meetings. In many ways the concern by the College officials reflected the fears of most Catholics, clerical and lay, which were centred on the fate of the Voluntary elementary schools. Indeed, many of the studies of the 1902 legislation concentrate on the struggle for justice and financial equality for Voluntary schools as the state transferred the financing of elementary education to the County Councils.⁶

To some extent this was justified as only 4 of the 57 days of the debate were not centred upon the denominational issue. The Liberals, with a strong Non-conformist following, attempted to prevent support for sectarian education and, in particular, 'Rome on the Rates'. At the same time Anglicans and Catholics battled to secure what they believed would be a just future for their schools. Many aspects of the debate had been rehearsed before and the 1902 Act saw a further major clash.⁷

Education beyond the Elementary level was not embroiled significantly in the religious debate. To a large degree this was because no-one seemed

6 See, for example M. Cruickshank, *Church and State in English Education* (1964) 69-90; J. Murphy, *Church, State and Schools in Britain, 1800-1970* (1971) 76-95; Snead Cox/ Vaughan II 70-140; B.E.C. Dugdale, *Arthur James Balfour* (1939) Vol. I, 241-250.

7 G.A.N. Lowndes, *The Silent Social Revolution* (1969) 64-74.

to have transferred the debate to this area and also, as Professor Simon has shown, party lines about education at this level were not clear.⁸ It also seems likely that the Government of the day was not yet clear about the nature of education beyond the elementary stage. Professor Eaglesham has shown that although there were some ideas about the nature of the Regulations that were going to be issued to secondary schools, many of the details about finance were not worked out until June of 1902 as the Bill was progressing through Parliament.⁹

Thus the legislation which eventually emerged from Parliament was very limited in scope and quantity. Three sections only out of twenty-seven dealt with education beyond the elementary level and these gave few guidelines or real causes for concern. Catholics had no direct fears of losing control of their schools, the only problems that might arise were to be in terms of competition.

The first feelings that the Catholics must have had were of relief. The State was prepared to provide a grant to schools that followed its Regulations and permitted its H.M.I.s to inspect them for efficiency. The conditions under which such grants were to be given were specified in the Regulations for 1902-03 in some detail and qualification was based on the meeting of curricular requirements. For 1902-03 and 1903-04 the school was either to be registered as Division A or Division B; the former representing Schools of Science or Commercial Schools while the latter were Grammar or Classical. In 1904, these were amended and subject

8 B. Simon, Education and the Labour Movement 1870-1920 (1965) 240-246.

9 E.J.R. Eaglesham, The Foundations of Twentieth Century Education in England (1967) 55-61.

distinctions abolished. Grants from this date, until 1907, were based on a single grant for a four year course of study, either 12 to 16 or 13 to 17.¹⁰

For the Jesuits this was to be most important, as for other Catholic schools. Here was direct access to State funds and the source of immediate relief for some of their financial difficulties. This was not all, however. The Act also held out some hope of further help.

Under the Act, County Councils and County Borough Councils were made responsible for the provision of education beyond the Elementary level up to, and including, teacher training within their areas. This was to be undertaken following a period of survey and investigation and was to be financed by the existing 'Whiskey money' and the product of up to a 2d. rate. Embodied within such legislation was a double-edged sword. On the one hand, if an authority was inclined to be helpful and generous, existing schools could be helped greatly by locally raised funds. On the other hand more parsimonious, or less tolerant, local bodies could cut off their existing schools without a penny. In this latter situation Catholic schools were really at risk and if hostile authorities built their own schools they might attract to their well-endowed facilities Catholic boys whose souls would be imperilled by the non-Catholic teaching.

To a great extent the Jesuits were somewhat more advanced in their dealings with central Government and able to profit from the new situation than were other Catholic bodies. The reason for this lay in the 1899 educational legislation that had created arrangements for the establishment

10 Secondary Education with Special Reference to Grammar Schools and Technical High Schools (1938) (The Spens Report) 66ff.

of a Register of teachers in schools. One of the important elements in the Register was that teachers had to be probationers in approved schools as well as having been trained in recognisably efficient institutions.¹¹ As the Jesuits had nearly one hundred men they wished approved as teachers, as well as wishing to train many more, the Order was concerned that some of its Colleges should gain approbation by the Board of Education. Thus teams of inspectors visited four schools during 1903 and early 1904 and carried out major inspections.¹²

In this, Stonyhurst and Glasgow were seen by the Order as being unusual. Stonyhurst was only inspected with reference to teacher training, it was outside the State system for any other purpose and would not receive grants. The Glasgow College inspection was carried out by the Scottish Education Department as part of a different regional approach outside the scope of this study. The other Colleges were the day schools in Preston and Liverpool. These were not only being looked at from the point of view of teacher training but also with grants in prospect. This meant that the reports were much more important for the ordinary purposes of teaching as they could assist the schools to become more efficient and prosperous. It would perhaps become possible to open Pupil Teacher Centres and gain more grant aid as well as assist Catholics to advance socially and educationally.

To some extent this was the case. From the report in Letters and Notices, St. Francis Xavier's was very sound and effective. There were criticisms about certain aspects - Mathematics was weighted in favour of the most able, French lacked a modern, oral approach - but on the whole

11 *The whole Jesuit position is well summarised in an article 'Our Colleges and the Board of Education' in L. & N., Vol. XXVII (1904) 304-309.*

12 *'Some Inspectors' Report on Glasgow College' in L. & N., Vol. XXVII*

boys were very soundly taught and the devotion of the teachers to working on their pupils' behalf was highly commended. Another feature the school seemed very capable of accomplishing was the successful assimilating and educating of former elementary school pupils. Preston figures far less in the Letters and Notices report, but the school was judged efficient.¹³ A much greater number of recommendations were made for this College than for its sister school in Liverpool. They included the raising of Classical and Commercial fees to the same level, the inception of a standard course for all boys 12 to 14 and the abandonment of the Commercial course. The Inspectors hoped, as did many of the Fathers, that more boys could be encouraged to remain longer in the school. Not only did this help the school to earn more in grants, but the Inspectors were impressed by the fact that those who did stay on and were entered for the Oxford Locals usually passed and thus suggested the school's potential to educate more boys to a higher level.

Many of these ideas had been suggested by Fr. Wright prior to this time and the weight of support meant they were put into effect from 1904 onwards. The willingness of the Fathers to do this suggests that they were eager, where possible, to co-operate with the Board of Education. This was a characteristic of the Jesuit approach to the Board. On all possible occasions the Fathers allowed Inspectors into the schools, went to the Board when necessary and attempted to assist rather than obstruct Board officials, at least until 1907.

The relief afforded by the advent of Board of Education grants was considerable. Preston, despite a great deal of doubt, flourished more

13 See Hindle/ Preston 50-60 and P.R.O. ED109/3142, *Report on Catholic Day College, Preston, 1904.*

effectively under the new system and gained extra money.¹⁴ St. Francis Xavier's managed even more successfully. The grant from the Board was over £600 every year from 1902 onwards and this enabled the expenses of running the College to be defrayed.¹⁵

Generalisation beyond this point becomes more difficult as each College had its own problems to meet, factors that arose from the localities in which the Colleges were situated. As Gosden has made clear, each local area was very different in its approach to the implementation of the 1902 Act.¹⁶ Furthermore the extent to which they were able to work quickly depended very much on the educational infrastructure that existed prior to the Act. Liverpool, largely through the active agency of the Technical Instruction Committee, was well prepared to act quickly and began to provide a series of scholarships to help both pupils and schools. At the same time they engaged Michael Sadler to carry out a thorough investigation of the state of the city's secondary education.¹⁷

Sadler did this work for a number of authorities, based on his earlier experience at the Education Department. Sadler not only made a detailed survey of the city and its educational facilities but also made a series of suggestions for the future. His report showed that the city was grossly deficient in secondary schooling in comparison with similar cities in Europe, had less schooling for boys than before the Taunton Report and had far too few facilities for the promotion of ex-Elementary

14 *L. & N.*, Vol. XXVIII (1905) 230-231.

15 *City of Liverpool Archives, City Council Proceedings (1905) Appendix of Educational Statistics.*

16 P.H.J.H. Gosden, *The Development of Educational Administration in England and Wales* (1966) 166-184.

17 M.E. Sadler, *Report on Secondary Education in Liverpool* (1905).

school boys. To remedy these and other faults, Sadler proposed a seven-point programme that would help many of the existing schools rather than embark the city on a masterful scheme of building new schools.¹⁸

St. Francis Xavier's stood to benefit from two points in this scheme -- the continuation and expansion of the existing grants and the development of a scholarship system. Over the next few years this was gradually realised and the College gained an increasing amount of local money from both sources. By 1906 there were boys at the school with local authority scholarships, not only from the city, but from Lancashire County and the Borough of Stockport.¹⁹

At this juncture it is important to stress that although the Jesuit Colleges at Liverpool and Preston were gaining money under the 1902 legislation, they could have gained more. Sadler supported very strongly the point made by many at this time that boys did not stay at school for long enough to benefit either themselves or the school. In part this was due to the poor backgrounds from which many of the pupils came. Table XXII shows this very clearly. The two Lancashire schools were not middle-class institutions -- around 10% of the pupils came from the lowest social class. Parents could not afford to keep boys from this background at school for very long and the provision of any financial help was bound to assist them. Scholarships transformed the opportunities open to an able boy from an elementary school and working class background.

Table XXIII permits a closer comparison to be made between the origins of boys from Liverpool and Preston in social class terms. Retail traders played the largest part in providing pupils for both schools. Preston,

18 M.E. Sadler, *op. cit.*, 133-177.

19 *L. & N.*, Vol. XXVIII (1906) 528.

Table XXII

Table to show the social class origins of pupils
at St. Francis Xavier's College, Liverpool, and the Catholic
Day College, Preston in 1904

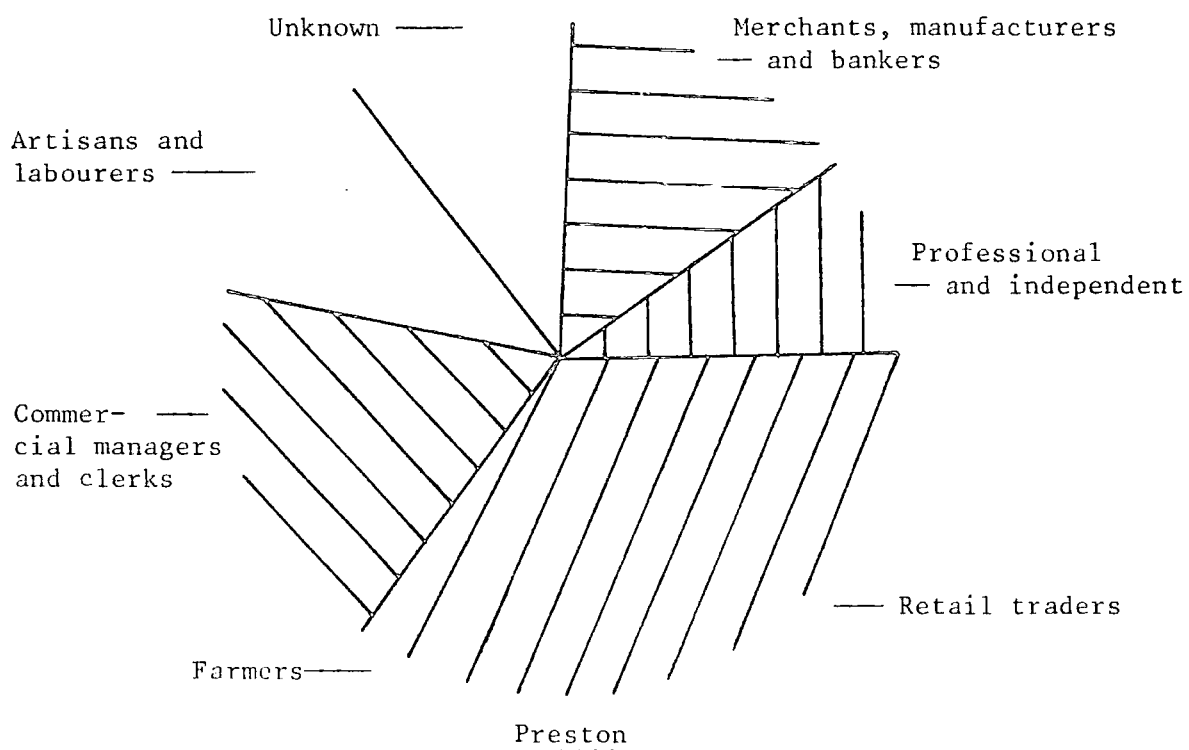
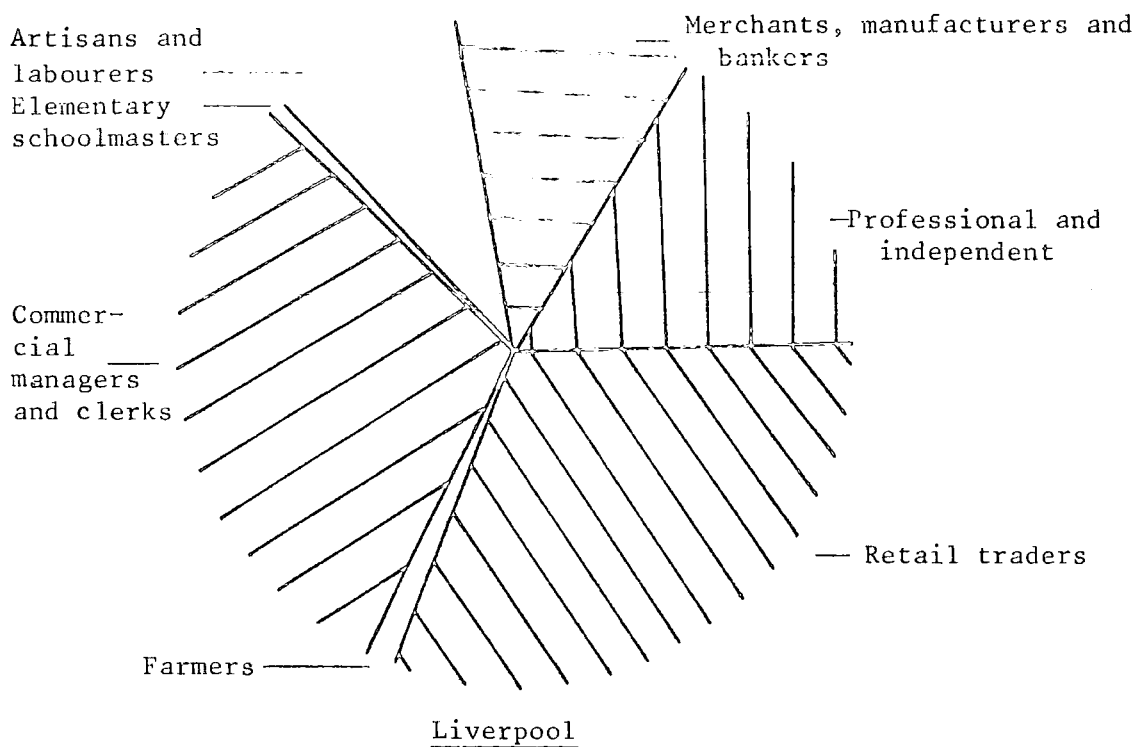
<i>Parental Occupation</i>	<i>Liverpool</i>	<i>Preston</i>
Professional and independent	49	12
Merchants, manufacturers and bankers	36	18
Retail traders	97	41
Farmers	4	3
Commercial managers and clerks	94	23
Elementary schoolmasters	1	-
Artisans and labourers	30	15
Deceased	-	-
Unknown	-	14
Total	<u>311</u>	<u>126</u>

Source: P.R.O. ED109/3007 Report on St. Francis Xavier's College, Liverpool 1904.

P.R.O. ED109/3142 Report on the Catholic Day College, Preston 1904.

Table XXIII

Pie charts to show the relative proportions of pupils from different social class backgrounds at Liverpool and Preston Jesuit day Colleges in 1904



Source: Table XXII

however, had a higher proportion of boys coming from poorer homes than in Liverpool. A feature that explains not only why Preston had fewer financial resources than St. Francis Xavier's but additionally underlines the case for Council financing.

In Preston, where the College was the only Board of Education recognised school in 1904, a transformation did take place in the relationship of the school with the Borough Education Committee. The reports on the school printed in Letters and Notices in 1904 and 1905 give extensive details about the College and its new status.²⁰ From the grant of £100 for science equipment in 1904, through the Rector's membership of the local Education Committee and the establishment of the Pupil Teacher centre to the arrival of local and county scholarship boys, the increasing involvement with the authority is recorded. Preston Catholic College was the first College to set up a body of local governors to help the College meet regulation changes and to consolidate the greater involvement with the town.²¹

The situation at the other two day Colleges was different again. Stamford Hill was not in a position immediately to seek recognition from the Government as a secondary school. Buildings and facilities were too chaotic. A Form V had been started in 1898 and in 1900 a Form VI was added.²² However both classes had to be taught together until 1906 for the double reasons that numbers were so small and extra staff members were not available. At the same time some classrooms were reached through

20 L. & N., Vol. XXVII (1904) 539-543, and L. & N., Vol. XXVIII (1905) 230-233.

21 A.S.J., *Preston College Papers* SR/10, *Memorandum on the Ownership and Governing Body*, March 1905. There is a similar document for St. Francis Xavier's in A.S.J., *St. Francis Xavier's Papers* RX/2.

22 *Old Ignatian Society*, Silver Jubilee Magazine 1894-1919 (1919) 17.

bathrooms or trap doors .. accommodation that H.M.I.s would have condemned at once. The curriculum was slowly evolving but it was not uniform enough for the Board's regulations.

One very serious problem that emerged from this failure to be recognised by the Board was that of finance. The school was not only precluded from State finance, but was also unable to participate in the London County Council's scheme for scholarships for boys from an elementary school background.²³ This meant that the only finance available came from the former Science and Art examinations as they were administered by the Board of Education. These sums were small and only gave slight assistance in the running of the College.

Yet funds were desperately needed. The school continued to grow slowly and served a clientele drawn from the middle, lower middle and working classes rather than the wealthier, traditional supporters of English secondary education. Table XXIV is based on the College Admissions Register.²⁴ The Register was opened in 1900, but it only began to be kept regularly from late 1903 onwards. It records the status or occupation of the boy's parents, the length of his stay at the school, and the eventual occupation upon which the pupil entered when he left the school. The Register reveals that numbers entering the school each year were rising as well as those parents of modest social status. Based on the categories used by H.M.I.s in their contemporary reports, it is easily demonstrated that the proportion of wealthy, middle class parents, those of Professional status, e.g. Doctors and Solicitors, was always less than 25% of the total.

23 *Fox Papers, Notes on Prefect of Studies' Report 1904.*

24 *St. Ignatius College Archives, School Register I 1900-1909.*

Table XXIV

Table to show the social class origins of pupils
at St. Ignatius' College, Stamford Hill, 1904-1906

<i>Parental occupation</i>	<i>1904</i>	<i>1905</i>	<i>1906</i>
Professional and independent	2	4	8
Merchants, manufacturers and bankers	5	4	5
Retail traders	2	4	1
Farmers	-	-	-
Commercial managers and clerks	6	4	20
Elementary schoolmasters	1	-	-
Artisans and labourers	-	1	2
Deceased	-	-	-
Unknown	-	-	-
Total	<u>16</u>	<u>17</u>	<u>37</u>

Source: Admissions Registers of the College, Register I

What is missing are numbers of those from Artisan and labouring backgrounds. This was clearly caused by the lack of scholarships and other funds to help boys from this station in life.

Thus it became essential to gain acceptance as a secondary school by the Board of Education. The quest for this status was begun in 1905 and can be linked to the re-appointment of Fr. C.A. Newdigate as Prefect of Studies.²⁵ This was Newdigate's third period in this office and his experience of the school and education permitted him to make the curricular changes necessary to open the school to boys with local authority scholarships and to gain Board finance. These changes were coupled with a substantial re-building programme and the creation of a class to be trained to take part in the Civil Service examinations. By the academic year 1906/07 these changes were complete enough for the school to be a Board recognised secondary school with, by 1906, 150 pupils.

At Wimbledon there was a complete departure from the course being pursued in North London. The school does not seem to have attempted to make any effort to become recognised by the Board of Education. Mention was made of this in 1904, but it was not as actively pursued as elsewhere.²⁶ Instead the school seems to have concentrated on other matters. The entries in Letters and Notices concentrate strongly on the Army Class. The whole school was only around 120 pupils in size and about 10-15% of these were always in the Army Class. In the years 1903-06 a steady stream of pupils made their way to Sandhurst and other military training establishments. The school entered pupils for the Oxford Local Examinations

25 *L. & N.*, Vol. XXVIII (1905) 236 and Fox Papers, Manuscript Notes on Beadle's Log; Newdigate was in office 1905-14.

26 *L. & N.*, Vol. XXVII (1904) 534-535. There are few other sources on Wimbledon for this period, 1902-06. There are no Board of Education reports and I have seen no admission registers.

but its greatest successes came in other spheres. The school set out to be a prestigious day school and boys went regularly to the Public Schools' Sports and in 1904, won the Cup. One of the complaints uttered consistently by the Fathers conducting the school was that boys left too early to benefit from the school and it may be that the pursuit of the public school cult of athleticism compensated for the early leaving, as did the prestige of having attended a Jesuit College.

The prevailing spirit of the Society in the years immediately after the 1902 Act was optimistic. Nowhere is this optimism more evident than in the founding of two new Colleges by the Jesuits. The first was founded in the Lancashire town of Leigh in 1903.²⁷ Leigh lies mid-way between Salford and St. Helens and is within the Liverpool diocese. It had no boys' secondary school and the Society obtained permission from Bishop Whiteside in July 1903 to open the school in September. This was duly undertaken with a single teacher, the Prefect of Studies, Fr. John Moran. The school was attached to St. Joseph's Parish and went from strength to strength. A new, extra Jesuit, Fr. Crook, was appointed to the school in 1904, there were 66 pupils in 1905 and finally, in 1906, a number of pupils took part in the Junior and Preliminary Examinations of the Oxford Locals. It seemed that this new foundation was on course to become a full Jesuit day College.

The other venture took place in Leeds in 1905. Prior to this time Leeds had no Catholic secondary educational establishment for boys. There were girls' schools but the agreement concluded with the Bishop in

27 A.S.J. contains a Prospectus for the College but no other material. Other information has been compiled from A.S.J. Litterae Annuae, the yearly reports to Rome of a confidential nature and from the relevant entries in Letters and Notices, Volumes XXVII, XXVIII and XXIX.

July 1905 produced the first boys' school, housed temporarily in the Bishop's House.²⁸ The co-operation with the Bishop revealing the extent to which the animus of Romanos Pontifices had been overcome by this time.

The College was very successful. By September 1906 Fr. O'Gorman was able to write to Fr. Sidgreaves in very optimistic terms about the new St. Michael's College.

*'You would be much pleased with the College now. It is neat and orderly and does well temporarily. Of course it is full. No room of any kind to spare, and with an extra class next year we shall be in a fix. There are a little over 100 boys at present and they will increase as the year advances.'*²⁹

The Bishops of Liverpool and Leeds were not the only prelates to be concerned with expanding secondary education for Catholic boys. The new Archbishop of Westminster, Francis Bourne, was enthroned in December 1903 and in his Pastoral, read on the morning of his enthronement, called for an increase in the number of secondary schools.³⁰ This was echoed in the proceedings of the Bishops' meetings.³¹ Following some initial misgivings in 1903 the Bishops set out to encourage education at the secondary level.

Individual Bishops responded as best they could.³² Some, like the Bishop of Salford, who had encouraged the re-opening of the Xaverian College in 1901, helped existing schools and convents to be recognised by the Board of Education. This was the pattern followed by the Bishop

28 Platt/ M.Ed. 1982, 84-85 and L. & N., Vol. XXX (1909) 148-155.

29 A.S.J., Leeds Papers BC/9, Fr. O'Gorman to Fr. Sidgreaves, 26 September 1909.

30 E. Oldmeadow, Francis Cardinal Bourne, Vol. I (1940) 221-222.

31 W.A., Acta, Proceeding for Years 1904-1906 inclusive.

32 See W. Whalley/ M.Ed. 1938, on Salford, 434-35; J-A Upton/ M.Ed., on Nottingham, 63-71; P.R. Cusack/ M.Ed. 1973, on De La Salle Schools, 45-59; Platt/ M.Ed. 1982, on Leeds, 65-67.

of Nottingham. Others, like the Bishop of Leeds, invited in teaching Orders to help so that in Portsmouth, in 1908, exiled French Brothers of the Christian Schools (de La Salle) opened a College for boys. Again Leeds was the only Bishop who seems to have had his secular clergy open a school in the shape of St. Bede's at Bradford.

The Bishops decided, in 1905, to give this increased educational activity some extra sense of direction. This was done in two ways.³³ Firstly, at a local level, there were to be Diocesan Education Committees to oversee all the educational work in the bishopric. At a national level the Catholic Educational Council was established. This body contained representatives of the diocesan bodies as well as the Conference of Catholic Colleges and other groups. It was to meet once a year, in Low Week, at the time of the Bishops' meetings, unless called otherwise. The Council did not replace the Conference of Catholic Colleges, rather it co-ordinated its work with other Catholic educational activity and represented it to the Bishops and external bodies such as Parliament. Several Jesuits were among the membership of the new Council and ensured the Order was well represented.

Table XXV shows the results of the examinations taken by the Catholic schools and Colleges participating in the 1906 Oxford Locals. It shows clearly how widely, and increasingly, Catholic schools were using the examination at this date compared with 1899, and also demonstrates the extraordinary success that the Jesuit Colleges enjoyed. As has been shown, in the case of three of the schools, St. Francis Xavier's, St. Ignatius' and Preston, the boys came from modest home circumstances, while

33 *W.A., Acta, Proceedings of 1905. This source gives lists of those engaged in the localities and those working nationally.*

Table XXV

Table to show results in the Oxford Local Examinations of 1906
of all participating Catholic Colleges

<i>School or College</i>	<i>Senior</i>		<i>Junior</i>		<i>Preliminary</i>	
	<i>Hons.</i>	<i>Pass</i>	<i>Hons.</i>	<i>Pass</i>	<i>Hons.</i>	<i>Pass</i>
*St. F. Xavier's, Liverpool	10	3	26	2	21	2
*St. Ignatius', Stamford Hill	3	4	9	11	5	6
*Mount St.' Mary's	4	6	4	12	12	8
*Wimbledon	4	..	8	1	4	11
Ratcliffe College	1	3	4	6	-	6
Woolhampton	1	8	-	5	-	-
Xaverian Bros., Mayfield	1	7	6	18	1	13
Catholic Institute, Liverpool	1	9	7	20	10	7
St. Bede's, Bradford	1	3	-	4	-	-
St. Bede's, Manchester	1	-	2	2	-	22
Oratory	-	9	1	7	-	-
Salesian School, Battersea	-	6	1	8	-	9
St. Marie's, Rugby	1	3	-	2	-	-
Xaverian Bros., Clapham	-	6	2	12	-	10
Forest Gate	-	1	-	2	-	-
*Preston College	-	2	-	1	1	8
Card. Vaughan's Memorial School	-	-	1	2	-	3
St. Philip's, Birmingham	-	-	2	14	-	10
St. Wilfrid's, Oakamoor	-	..	1	15	2	9
*Leigh	-	-	-	3	2	4
Christian Brothers, Bristol	-	-	1	2	..	4
Ealing	-	-	-	4	-	-
St. Augustine's, Ramsgate	-	-	-	-	-	1

Key: * Jesuit
Hons. Honours

Source: Letters and Notices, Vol. XXVIII (1906) 544-546.

Leigh had only been open for three years and had no pupils old enough to take the Senior Examination.

The year 1906 has been used for this comparison because this was an important year for Catholic secondary education. External forces were massing that were to alter the whole course of future secondary schooling, by all groups within the Church. The central event which created this change was the General Election of 1906 and its result.

The Conservative administration which had passed the 1902 Act had been elected with a comfortable majority in 1900.³⁴ Rifts had occurred in the party and there had been a series of difficulties which had led to by-election defeats ultimately forcing Balfour out of office in December 1905.³⁵ In the election which followed, the Liberals and their Labour allies succeeded in gaining 430 seats in a House of Commons of 670 members. One of the first commitments of the new government was to modify the 1902 Education Act, and accordingly the new President of the Board of Education, Augustine Birrell, began to form legislation to do this. The failure of this, and successive attempts by those who held the office of President of the Board, Reginald McKenna and Walter Runciman, is well known, but what is less explored, and for this study is of greater importance, was the Liberal attitude to secondary education.

During the period in which Birrell was President of the Board of Education from December 1905 to January 1907, few adjustments were made in the rules governing secondary education. However, under McKenna, matters changed. The Liberals decided in 1906 that they wished to increase

34 *Figures and technical data come from D. Butler and J. Freeman, British Political Facts 1900-1960 (1963).*

35 *D. Read, Edwardian England 1901-1915 (1972) 131-132 and 158-162.*

the money paid to secondary schools, open a number of free places on the basis of examination tests and to limit denominational control.³⁶ Apart from some preparatory work by Birrell, which resulted in a Cabinet memorandum and a doubling of the Treasury grant to the Board for spending on secondary education, nothing really public was done. The reason for this seems to have been the furore over the elementary school legislation Birrell was proposing. McKenna, his successor, felt, however, that the matter must not be postponed and the 1907 Regulations should not be issued without modifications.³⁷

Accordingly, in his own Cabinet Paper of April 1907, McKenna detailed a scheme in which the grant to schools from the Board should be doubled in return for certain changes. These were to include 25% of the admission numbers of the previous year as competitively awarded free places in the current year, the ending of denominational restrictions on teacher employment and pupil placing and a great increase in the control of schools by Local Authorities.

McKenna knew that there would be opposition to this and he saw that the greatest outcry would come from the Catholic Colleges who would not only lose money, but would be unable to build new, aided schools. His belief was that the issues raised were so important and the objections from the denominations likely to be so strenuous that the Cabinet had to give its approval of the changes.

36 *N.R.O., Runciman Papers, File 24(2) Cabinet Paper on Education, 28 May 1906.*

37 *N.R.O., Runciman Papers, File 24(2) Cabinet Paper on Education, 24 April 1907. This copy has been annotated by Runciman.*

These were approved in the form McKenna proposed and were embodied in the new Regulations for 1907-08. These were issued in July and there was an immediate storm of protest.³⁸ This had been anticipated to the extent that certain officials at the Board of Education had been able to calculate which schools would be penalised, have to accept the old grant of £2.10 shillings per pupil, and the amount of money, about £10,000, that would be 'saved'.³⁹

The new Regulations were embodied in four Articles, namely 5, 18(b), 23 and 24. The first two dealt with the pupils attending the school and made it clear that the parents of pupils had to request denominational instruction in writing, that records of this had to be kept and that where there was denominational religious instruction it must be paid for out of private funds.⁴⁰ The other two articles dealt with the appointment of teachers and the constitution of the governing body. Within these regulations it was also possible, under Articles 42 and 43 for a Local Authority to apply for a waiver to the denominational articles.

*'A 'Waiver Resolution' must contain a declaration that the School is, in the view of the Authority, required as part of the Secondary School provision for their area, and that the conditions named may be waived with advantage in view of the educational needs of the area.'*⁴¹

Superficially it would seem that the new regulations were not really penal and could be dispensed with if the Local Authority was at all helpful. This was, however, not the case. The Board, or rather the President, made it clear from the outset that Articles 5 and 18(b) were not to be waived.⁴² This was not going to be disclosed to the schools, for it was

38 See P.R.O. ED12/120 Items 1017, 1030 and 1294 for examples of this.

39 P.R.O. ED12/122 Memorandum by Fletcher and Campbell.

40 Parliamentary Papers 1908, Cd 4230, Statement on Waiver Resolutions.

41 Ibid., page 3.

felt that they could be easily made to comply with the Articles as they stood. Thus, when waivers were granted, as they were in a great number of cases, they were only for Articles 23 and 24.

From the very first the Catholic authorities were aware of the very grave implications for their schools. A memorandum of July 1907 among Cardinal Bourne's Papers displays a full grasp of the problems concerned.⁴³ The Bishops used the newly formed organ of the Catholic Education Council to communicate with the schools, but met themselves twice in July 1907 and organised a deputation to see the President of the Board of Education.⁴⁴ Over the succeeding months and years this was to be the pattern followed by the Catholic authorities. Deputations were regularly sent, letters were exchanged, resolutions were passed and the cases of individual schools were fought.

In general the Board under both McKenna, and his successor, Runciman, proved unwavering. The final position reached by Runciman and Bourne seems to have been embodied in a Memorandum of March 1910 after a meeting between Minister and Archbishop.⁴⁵ Runciman reiterated his position, that Articles 5 and 18(b) could be applied without much difficulty and that in the case of Articles 23 and 24, Local Authorities and the Board had proved sympathetic to the Catholic cause.

Thereafter, until the First World War, protests were regularly made, but the situation was not altered. All Catholic secondary schools had to

43 *W.A. Bourne Papers B/028, 4c, Memorandum on the Secondary Schools Regulations of 1907-8.*

44 *W.A. Acta, Minutes of 18 July and letter of 29 July 1907.*

45 *W.A. Bourne Papers B/028, 4c, Memorandum of interview, 18 March 1910. See also material in Runciman Papers for 1910 and P.R.O. ED12 and P.R.O. ED122 for more information about this struggle.*

accommodate themselves to the Board and it is in the light of this situation that the Jesuit schools had to conduct themselves from 1907 to 1914.

The first casualty in the changed circumstances of secondary education was the new school at Leigh. The decision to close in late 1907 was announced to the English Jesuit Province in Letters and Notices.

*'How difficult it is to maintain a secondary school has just been illustrated by the fate of the Society's Collegiate School opened four years ago at Leigh. The most devoted work on the part of the Fathers connected with it has failed to make it succeed, and it had had (sic), to the great regret of all concerned, to be abandoned.'*⁴⁶

Leigh had never been registered as a school under the Board's Regulations and had not been in receipt of anything but Jesuit finance. As the new Regulations made it very hard for a denominational school to register without losing its denominational control, the Leigh school was doomed.

This was exactly what many of the early Catholic critics feared, and for several months following the publication of the new Regulations there was much anxiety.⁴⁷ The Jesuits showed themselves to be keenly aware of the problems. In Leeds the finances for the College were limited. Many of the boys came from poor Irish families, and they found it hard to meet even the modest level of fees charged. One of the Fathers spent his evenings visiting parents and collecting fees.⁴⁸ Any losses had to be made up from external funds, thus the Jesuits made every effort to secure Board recognition. In Liverpool, Fr. Browne told the Provincial of their

46 L. & N., Vol. XXIX (1907) 285.

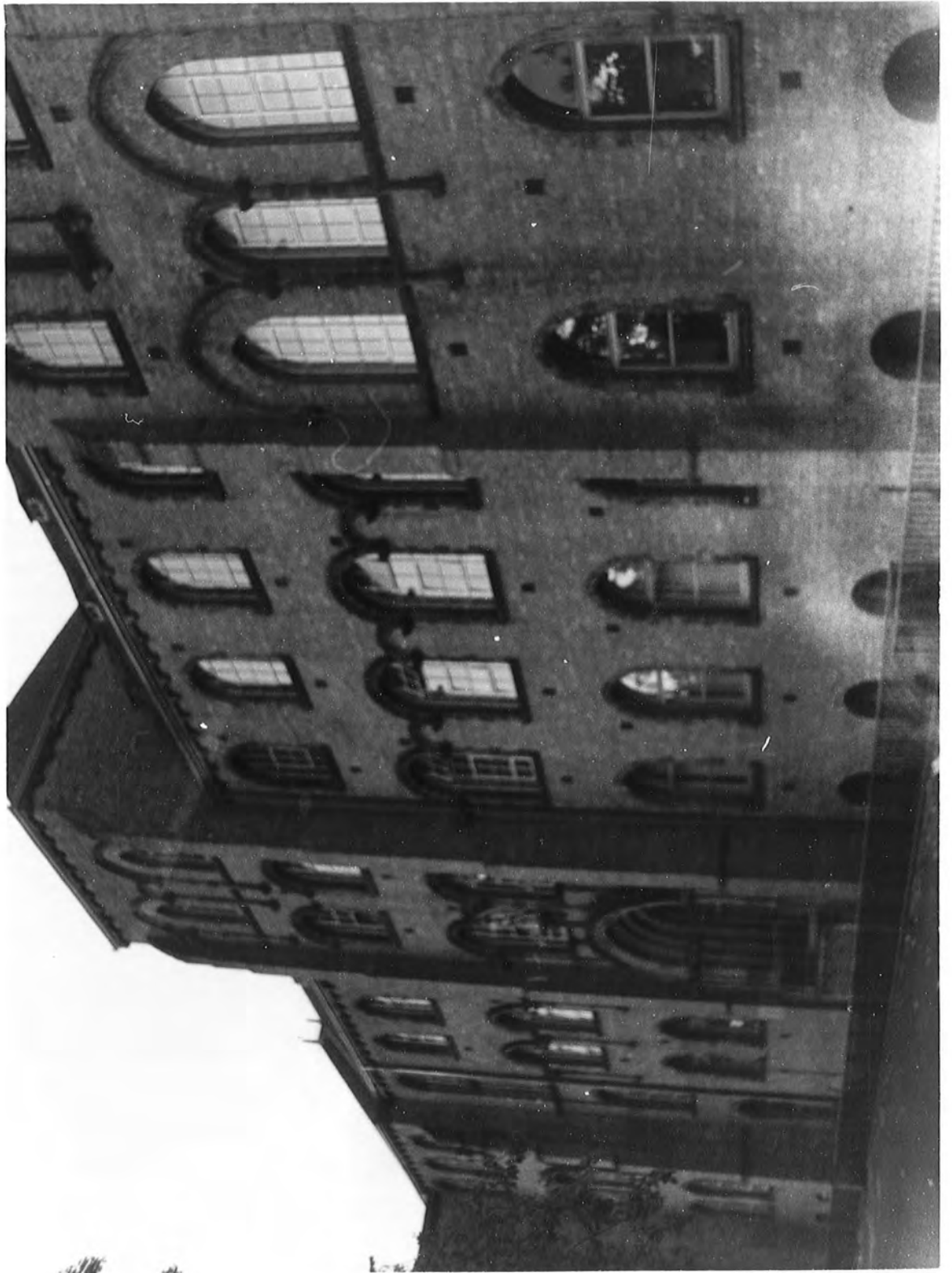
47 *This is well depicted in a Catholic Truth Society pamphlet written by an anonymous Headmaster and found in W.A. Bourne Papers B/028,4c.*

48 A.S.J., Leeds Papers BC/9 Fr. J. Kerr to Provincial, 10 July 1907.

PLATE 8

ST. MICHAEL'S COLLEGE, LEEDS

The West Front built in 1908



very great fears that the 'most unexpected' new Regulations might 'snuff out' the school.⁴⁹

The person most appreciative of the difficulties was Fr. C.A. Newdigate at St. Ignatius' College at Stamford Hill. Newdigate wrote a long letter to the Provincial in August 1907 from St. Bueno's where he was on a summer retreat. The letter is part of a longer correspondence between the two men, but other pieces do not seem to have survived.⁵⁰ Much of the letter concerned Stamford Hill and its prospects. The College had gained Board recognition and Newdigate hoped that the school would get Middlesex County Council grants in the new year. He also hoped that the College would be able to do something about the new Regulations. Like most of the Jesuits and other Catholics, Newdigate regarded compliance with the new Regulations as unacceptable but he clearly felt applications should be made to Local Authorities for waivers. In order to help this, Newdigate felt that the Instrument of Government used by the Catholic Colleges could be amended to make it easier for the Local Authorities to support the Colleges' case for a waiver.

This was undoubtedly the course pursued. Fr. Browne from Liverpool was one of the Catholics who saw Walter Runciman at the Board of Education in 1908. He was very unhappy about 'this scoundrel' but clearly wished to make the best of things. He showed alarm at the slowness of the Bishops and the delays created by their lack of frequent meetings.⁵¹ In response

49 A.S.J., *St. Francis Xavier's Papers* RX/2, Fr. Browne to Provincial, July 1907.

50 A.S.J., *Stamford Hill Papers* DH/3, Fr. C.A. Newdigate to Fr. Provincial, 19 August 1907.

51 A.S.J., *St. Francis Xavier's Papers* RX/2, Fr. J. Browne to Fr. Provincial, 24 June 1908.

to this, the Jesuits began to undertake a course of action of their own. It is clear from the correspondence at Preston that the new Instrument of Government was formulated, and, following some correspondence and modifications, was approved by the Board. The result of this was that by July 1908 the Colleges at Stamford Hill, Preston and Liverpool had permitted waivers to Articles 23 and 24 of the Regulations.⁵² As the schools had no boarders, 18(b) did not count. Leeds did not at first get its waiver. There had been some local opposition, but, paradoxically, with help from the Board, this was overcome and a waiver granted.⁵³

This simply left the problem of Article 5. Once again the Jesuits appear to have been successful in circumventing this. In the correspondence files of the Board of Education, the letters exchanged with Fr. Newdigate show that in early 1908 the Board was not prepared to grant a waiver over Article 5.⁵⁴ Gradually a satisfactory form was evolved which could be issued to parents to permit them to request denominational teaching. From Newdigate's diary, entries can be found for the academic year 1908-09 which show that by the end of that year, the Board was paying the full grant of £5 for each of the pupils over 12 years of age.⁵⁵ For 1908-09, this was an invaluable £632. From figures given for the other Colleges it is obvious the formula was applied with success elsewhere.

52 *N.R.O., Runciman Papers, Board of Education Statement on Waiver Resolutions, 23 July 1908.*

53 *See P.R.O. ED35/2977 Board of Education Correspondence with Leeds Catholic College and L. & N., Vol. XXX (1909) 148-155.*

54 *P.R.O. ED35/1892 Board of Education Correspondence with St. Ignatius' College, Stamford Hill.*

55 *Fox Papers, Notes on Fr. Newdigate's Diary, 1908-09.*

Although the Bishops continued their fight against the Regulations, there is some doubt as to its practical necessity by 1910. Certainly the Jesuits had found ways in which they could accommodate themselves to the new situation. At the same time they supported the Hierarchy, the Catholic Education Council, and the Conference of Catholic Colleges and their respective endeavours.⁵⁶ In all this political manoeuvring the Fathers maintained very successful curricular instruction and educated a broad social spectrum of pupils including many from the working class.

Assessing curricular progress in these years is relatively easier than for the earlier period for two principal reasons. Firstly the curriculum was now much more uniform than it had been in the days when the Jesuits were running the school by themselves. The curriculum prescribed by the Regulations was much more rigid and there was consistent application by the Jesuit schools. Secondly an external, objective group, the H.M.I.s, were inspecting the four Jesuit day Colleges which were under the Board Regulations.⁵⁷ These inspections were held at regular intervals and provide a broad profile of the progress and success of the day Colleges. In general all the Jesuits were an above average teaching force making, as was said in the case of Leeds, 'a valuable addition to the educational establishments of the city'.

56 For instance, St. Ignatius' College has a full set of printed reports of the Conference Reports collected by Fr. Newdigate.

57 P.R.O., ED109/3008, Report on St. Francis Xavier's Commercial School, 1908;
 P.R.O., ED109/3008, Report on St. Francis Xavier's Classical School, 1908;
 P.R.O., ED109/3143, Report on Preston Roman Catholic Day College, 1909;
 P.R.O., ED109/4362, Report on St. Ignatius' College, Tottenham, 1909;
 P.R.O., ED109/7290, Report on Catholic College School, Leeds, 1909;
 P.R.O., ED109/3144, Report on Preston Catholic College, 1914;
 P.R.O., ED109/3009, Report on St. Francis Xavier's College, 1915.
 Quotations are taken from these reports.

In the schools, the teaching of the humanities was usually the most highly praised. The Fathers had such a deep knowledge of Latin from their training that they were often stated as being 'excellent' in their ability to teach the subject. In other areas, such as science, performances were less outstanding. Commonly specialist rooms, like the science laboratories built at Stamford Hill in 1907, had to be constructed in order to permit the full curricular range to be taught. If their own Fathers were not qualified to teach such subjects, the Order engaged laymen to carry out this work. In this way the reports always carry much commendation of the Jesuits as educators. Suggestions were made to improve the teaching, such as the provision of some art lessons, perhaps involving some clay modelling for younger pupils, or the introduction of oral methods in French, the 'modern method' then in vogue.

The final test of the curriculum, public examination success, continued to be favourable to the Jesuit schools. Comparisons of the results from the different Colleges made in Letters and Notices in 1909 and 1914 reveal that in the Oxford Local Examinations, the Jesuit day Colleges had all improved their results since 1906.⁵⁸ In the case of St. Francis Xavier's this was roughly in proportion to the growth in the size of the school, but in the other Colleges this was not so. In these schools, the improvement exceeded the growth of numbers in the school and thus under-rated real progress. This trend was not solely attributable to the connection with the Board of Education as Mount St. Mary's and Wimbledon, both independent of Board scrutiny, also improved in these years.

The boys who obtained the results in the day Colleges came from a wide social class background. The figures given in the following tables

58 L. & N., Vol. XXX (1909) 267 and L. & N., Vol. XXXII (1914) 532.

clearly demonstrate this point. In the two previous tables dealing with this matter, Tables XXII and XXIV, the numbers of pupils drawn from the lowest sections of society was very much smaller than in the later tables, Tables XXVI and XXVII. All three of the Colleges represented in the earlier tables had gained much more substantial numbers of pupils of lower class origin in the intervening years. In the case of Leeds this feature is even more striking. At the time of the 1909 Report, it was suggested that over 40% of the pupils then in the school came from lower class homes.⁵⁹ Although it was made clear in that Report that 110 of the 149 boys then in the College had attended public elementary schools prior to enrolling at St. Michael's, the figure for lower class boys appeared rather large. It was tested over a longer term by examining the parental origins of the first two hundred members of an alphabetical card index of all those who entered the school between 1905 and 1914. The results of this survey, using the Board's classification for the sake of comparison, are presented in Table XXVIII. They demonstrate that 30% of pupils came from homes where the parent was in the Artisan, Labourer and Domestic Service groups. This proportion of the total in the school is much greater than in any other of the Society's day Colleges. This is a very important feature.

Upton, in her thesis, in which the relevant section is based heavily on Board of Education papers, contended that the retention by the Hierarchy of the Catholic atmosphere in secondary schools in 1908 prevented entry by working class pupils.⁶⁰ She suggested that the financial penalties inflicted by the denominational decision forced Catholic schools to retain

59 P.R.O., ED109/7290, *Report on Catholic College School, Leeds, 1909.*

60 Upton/ M.Ed. 98-99.

Table XXVI

Table to show the social class origins of pupils
at St. Francis Xavier's College, Liverpool in 1915,
and Preston Catholic College in 1914

<i>Parental Occupation</i>	<i>Liverpool</i>	<i>Preston</i>
Professional	14	17
Farmers	2	4
Wholesale Traders	7	7
Retail Traders and Contractors	29	35
Clerks and Commercial Agents	16	7
Public Service	7	9
Domestic Service	4	2
Artisans	13	16
Labourers	7	2
No occupation	1	1
<i>(Figures are expressed as percentages)</i>		
Total	<u>370</u>	<u>149</u>

Source: P.R.O., ED109/3009 Report on St. Francis Xavier's College,
Liverpool 1915;
P.R.O., ED109/3144 Report on Preston Catholic College 1914.

Table XXVII

Table to show the social class origins of boys entering St. Ignatius' College,
Stamford Hill, 1907 to 1914 inclusive

<i>Parental Occupation</i>	1907	1908	1909	1910	1911	1912	1913	1914
Professional and independent	20	19	15	17	5	13	8	6
Merchants, manufacturers and banking	7	11	12	14	13	16	6	6
Retail Traders	8	7	11	6	8	11	6	5
Farmers	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
Commercial managers and clerks	16	17	14	19	18	26	18	24
Elementary school-masters	4	2	3	2	-	2	-	4
Artisans and labourers	6	6	11	9	15	14	12	13
Deceased	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Unknown	-	1	-	-	3	-	4	1
Total	<u>61</u>	<u>64</u>	<u>64</u>	<u>67</u>	<u>62</u>	<u>82</u>	<u>53</u>	<u>59</u>

Source: St. Ignatius' College, Stamford Hill, College Papers, Registers I, II and III.

Table XXVIII

Table to show the social class origin of a sample of pupils at
St. Michael's College, Leeds 1905-1914

<i>Parental Occupation</i>	<i>Numbers (per cent)</i>
Professional	6
Farmers	1
Wholesale Traders	2
Retail Traders and Contractors	20
Clerks and Commercial Agents	12
Public Service	12
Domestic Service	1
Artisans	22
Labourers	7
No occupation or unknown	17
Total	<u>100</u>

*Source: St. Michael's College, Leeds, Entry cards
of former pupils.*

a middle-class, fee-paying clientele. This prevented able working-class pupils from participating in secondary education.

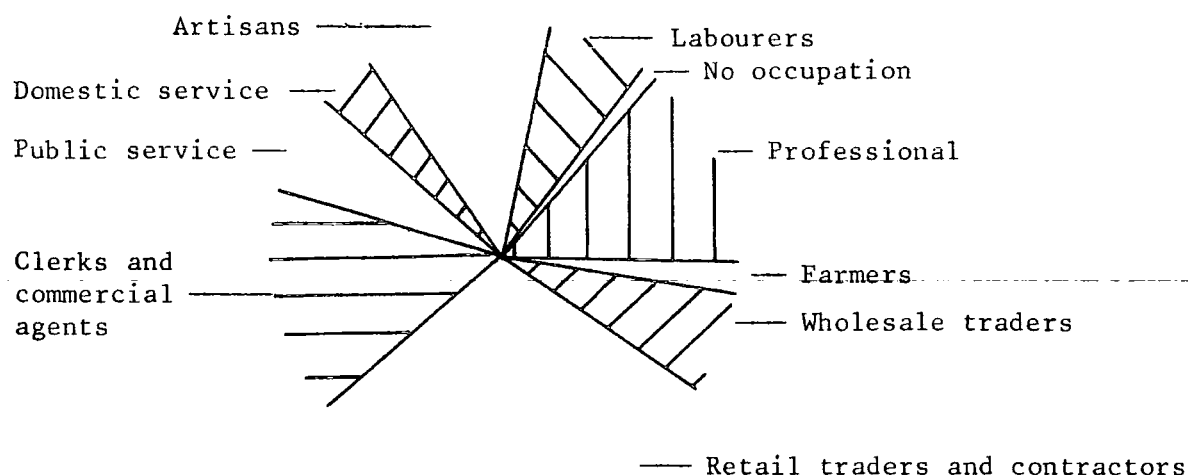
Whatever may have been the case in other Catholic schools, this analysis simply does not obtain for the Jesuit Colleges. The Society had other schools, like Wimbledon and the boarding Colleges, to cater for the wealthier families. The Fathers had made a number of conscious decisions that permitted them to avail themselves of the full grants paid by the Board of Education in the other non-Catholic day schools. The result of these strategies did not simply allow the Society to retain places for children of the working class but actually increased the numbers of such children attending the schools.

Social class information about pupils from three of the day Colleges has been gathered together and presented in a form that makes them comparable in Table XXIX. The graphs show that professional families accounted for less than a quarter of any College's pupils while those from the lowest identifiable social groups, Artisan, Labourer and Domestic Service, were at least as large, or in the case of Leeds, much larger. Furthermore, if these charts are compared with those in Table XXIII they indicate the marked way in which the children of professional families had declined and those of working class origin increased as proportions of school rolls during the period studied in this chapter.

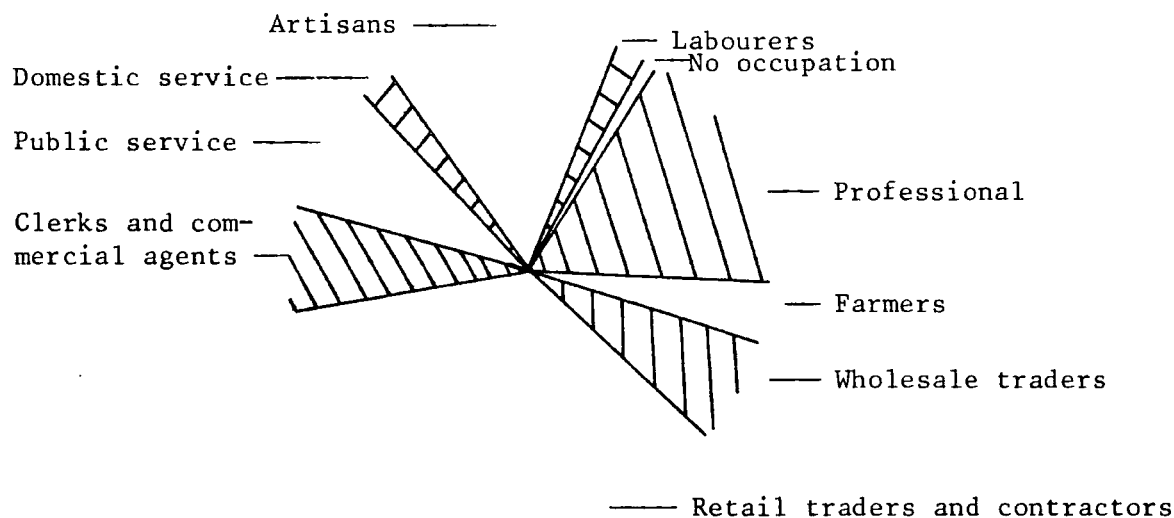
It has been part of the burden of this study to undermine the traditional concept of the Society of Jesus as educators of the aristocracy. Nothing does so more eloquently than the picture presented here of the day Colleges. Efficient schools, open to all who had the ability to enter them, in which careful, scholarly men educated boys of every rank of society in an atmosphere of religious and moral probity.

Table XXIX

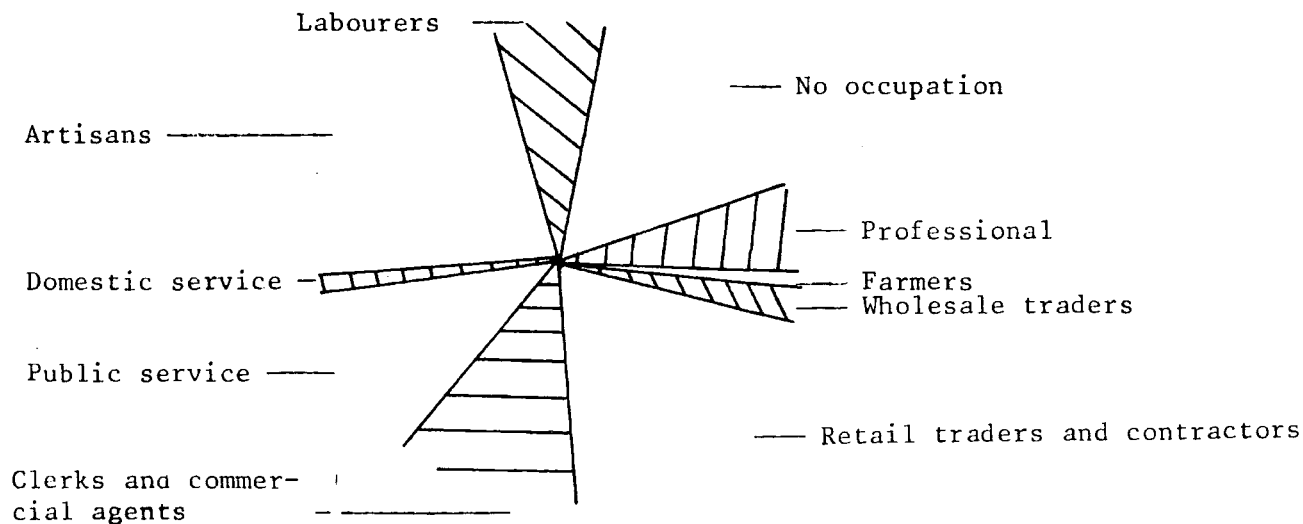
Pie charts to show the social class origins of pupils at three Jesuit day Colleges on a comparative basis



St. Francis Xavier's College, Liverpool



Preston Catholic College



St. Michael's Catholic College, Leeds

CONCLUSION

If the weary band of travellers who entered Stonyhurst in the summer of 1794 had been able to look forward into the English Jesuit world of 1914, they would have found much cause for satisfaction. The tender educational plant they had nurtured during the dark and uncertain days of the French Revolution had flourished amid further strife and setback. The Order now numbered in excess of 500 Fathers, conducted 8 schools and educated more than 1,500 boys.

The pupils were drawn from a wide range of backgrounds; from aristocratic estates to labourers' cottages, yet within the Colleges all were accorded the same moral and educational care and had equal opportunity to profit from their experiences. A boy might leave after a few months having sampled the studies only, but many more stayed for some years and proceeded to university, a learned profession or into the Church.

Initially the education that the boys in the schools enjoyed had been the product of the organisation and learning of the Jesuits themselves leading to its own self-circumscribed ends. During the one hundred and twenty years since the coming of the Order's teachers to England, external circumstances changed and the Fathers adapted to the various demands of the ecclesiastical authorities, the state and the examination boards. This had not always been easy, but sufficient flexibility and accommodation had been forthcoming so that the Order overcame all these problems to the ultimate benefit of the pupils.

In many ways, despite the fact that their religious status was not always clear, the early Fathers had enjoyed a considerable degree of freedom, especially from episcopal control. This had been an area of great change. Even though the Order had been Papally reconstituted, there had been problems in restoring the English Province. For a variety of reasons,

Jesuit independence had been questioned, and the Order had to face many challenges, the most gruelling of which, the Manchester College dispute, had been decided against the Order in Rome.

The residual effects of the resulting Bull, Romanos Pontifices, were such that the Order virtually had to re-establish itself in the country. It was a triumph for the skill of the Fathers and the diplomacy of Cardinal Vaughan that the animus created by the dispute and the antipathy of Cardinal Manning was overcome. By the time of the First World War, the Fathers were co-operating with the Hierarchy in establishing a system of secondary education throughout the country and acting as close advisers to the Bishops through the medium of the Conference of Catholic Colleges.

The evidence cited in this study demonstrates how effective the Jesuits were in the circumstances of 1914. Their Colleges were the leading producers of successful examination candidates among Catholic schools. The growth of the Colleges and the admission of boys who did not take public examinations reveal these schools also had advantages for pupils of this sort. In the boarding Colleges, the progress made by the schools in their efforts to assimilate themselves into the public school community was bearing fruit. Boys who had been Jesuit educated were no longer disadvantaged in social or material terms when compared with their Protestant peers. When coupled with entrance to Oxford or Cambridge, permitted by the Bishops after 1896, only residual social prejudice could prevent a Jesuit boy from progressing into prestigious walks of life.

On several occasions throughout this study comparisons have been drawn between the Jesuit Colleges and those of the Woodard Corporation. This is an important parallel. The Jesuits were the only Catholic body to attempt to provide a systematic network of educational establishments

for boys. Individual studies and histories of schools have produced much information about their subjects, but they have often failed to see beyond this point to a co-ordinated body of schools. The group's provision of day and boarding colleges for boys drawn from wide social backgrounds reinforces this uniqueness of presence in the Catholic community.

In the years following the First World War this network of Colleges was extended, so that more boys were able to avail themselves of a Jesuit education. Even more important was the fact that the schools were in entirely new locations, Sunderland and Southbourne, near Bournemouth, thus geographically broadening the network to cover more regions and dioceses.

In the absence of co-ordination by the Hierarchy in providing secondary schools for boys, and the impossibility of other bodies doing so, for reasons largely financial, the Jesuit undertaking is all the more remarkable. Within this context, the Manchester dispute was critical, for it delayed for twenty years the extension of Jesuit schooling. Resources, which might otherwise have been employed in England, were diverted to enterprises overseas. In their place, very little was offered by other Catholic authorities and educators. Indeed, if there was a dearth of provision of boys' secondary education in general towards the end of the century, the activities of the Cardinal and his Bishops in the 1870s may well account for the failure of the Catholics to make good their portion of this deficit.

Despite the fact the Society had produced sound schools that were running efficiently and expanding by the 1860s, their work was curtailed. When the Fathers were invited to expand their work once more, costs had become almost prohibitive. Only with substantial injections of State funds could a school thrive, and, as was shown in the case of Bedford Leigh, the alternative was closure.

It might be suggested that in creating a pattern of schools the Jesuits resembled a man cultivating a vineyard from a single plant. Such an enterprise bore fruit in the form of the boys produced by the schools. By 1914, when this study closes, the Jesuit schools had educated and were educating large numbers of boys ripening to maturity following the Fathers' sound teaching, moral guidance and direction to scholarly success. Socially and economically such fruit could be used in many ways in the community at large. One way in which the work of this study could be extended is by assessing the action and effects of Jesuit education upon their pupils' futures. The reason that this study ends in 1914 is that such immediate futures were all too clear.

To open any of the Jesuit periodicals from the autumn of 1914 onwards is to enter a new and emotionally disturbing world. Like the rest of British society, the Fathers, their pupils and ex-pupils became embroiled in the First World War. The most striking impact is created by the periodical pages devoted to the exploits and sacrifices of the former pupils. Those listing the dead and wounded lengthen appallingly as the years of war pass, measuring the wealth of the sacrifice made. Beyond this other events are chronicled; Fathers departing for service as chaplains, schools opening their doors to refugee co-religionists from Belgium and France, and even the digging of trenches amid the flower beds of Stonyhurst. No incident, however small, was overlooked.

These circumstances, and those which prevailed when the war was over, differed radically from those preceding it. They should form a separate study, as should those of more recent Jesuits who have witnessed a decline in vocations accompanying changes of direction in the work of the Order. This has led to a withdrawal from English educational work and the consequent closure, or transfer to diocesan control, of most of the schools.

One is also conscious that there are several areas touched upon in this study that have yet to be explored. At the simplest level there are no histories of some of the Jesuit Colleges, and in the case of only two has anything substantial been contributed in the last twenty years. Saddest of all are the papers of Father Michael Fox, S.J., for they betray deep learning and much research that would have produced a fine volume about St. Ignatius'. Much use has been made of the complementary studies of the Society in England by Fathers Bassett and Edwards but they, by virtue of the time span of their investigations, have to be selective rather than exhaustive in their excellent books.

There is certainly room for a systematic treatment of the parochial work of the Society that would include some analysis of its role in the spread of the Catholic elementary schools. Similarly, although a few Jesuits have been written about, usually by other members of the Order, there are no modern, analytical biographies. From an educational point of view studies of the activity and influence of prominent Jesuits such as Fathers Gallwey, Kingdon and Purbrick would enable historians to understand more clearly the Order's methods and policies.¹

On a wider front there are features of Catholic history that are still obscure. The most commonly reported derives from the inability of historians to enjoy access to the Manning papers. This absence of consideration may have led to this study, and other works on Catholic history, being biased, or at least partial, in their treatments of matters connected

1 A recent article has begun to do this work. See M. Whitehead, 'Military Prompt, Unstinting': The Religious Thinking and Educational Influence of the Reverend James Harris, S.J. (1824-83), in *History of Education*, Vol. 15, No. 3, 161-176, 1986.

with the Cardinal. For this the authors are not culpable as all that can be accomplished must depend on the publicly available sources or the current biographies of Manning. If these contain imperfections, then they can only be remedied by a change in attitude on the part of the custodians of the Manning papers. This position contrasts markedly with the helpful attitude of other Catholic repositories.

However, there are other matters which also need exploration. Of prime importance is a study of the circumstances of the Bull Romanos Pontifices. It was obvious from the evidence examined during the compilation of this thesis that there is a wealth of material extant dealing with this matter that has, so far, been overlooked. The Bull was important in a global context, but in England had widespread repercussions other than those altering the relationship of the regular clergy to the Hierarchy.

In considering the Bishops, their most important educational initiatives as a group, the Conference of Catholic Colleges and the associated Catholic Education Council, have yet to be studied. There are also a number of individual dioceses that have no secondary educational history. This is in keeping with the limited studies of secondary schooling in general but is particularly noticeable in Catholic terms. Each diocese had a number of problems peculiar to itself and absurdities in generalised statements are bound to arise as a result of the absence of any research. Similarly there were many key Catholic non-episcopal educators, like Bernard Ward, who have yet to be investigated. Omissions of this nature have to be rectified if there is to be a full understanding of the development of Catholic education prior to 1914.

In spite of these gaps, one overwhelming theme dominated Jesuit efforts, that of struggle. If the Order can be seen as creating an educational vineyard, then it was not accomplished without extensive cultivation

of a soil soured by conflict and disputation. Nothing that was achieved seems to have been done without overcoming some obstacle or opponent. Yet this never depressed or arrested the Fathers completely. Jesuits continued to follow the advice and example given so long before by their founder, Ignatius Loyola: to pray for the guidance and help of God, but work as if the obstacles had to be removed by themselves alone. This spirit of Christian fortitude was leavened by charity and selflessness embodied in a simple but revealing formula. At the head of each Jesuit piece of work appear the letters 'A.M.D.G.' and at its termination, 'L.D.S.'. Standing for 'Ad Majorem Dei Gloriam' and 'Laus Deo Semper', they emphasise not just the centrality of God but the total Jesuit commitment to the glorification of His name and that all their efforts and failures are part of His divine purpose.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1

Annual Entries to the Three Jesuit Boarding Colleges:

Stonyhurst 1794-1905

Mount St. Mary's 1842-1914

Beaumont 1861-1911

Annual entries of boys to Stonyhurst College 1794
- 1905

1794	52	1832	27	1870	93
1795	51	1833	35	1871	87
1796	31	1834	30	1872	89
1797	16	1835	45	1873	73
1798	32	1836	48	1874	79
1799	31	1837	41	1875	83
1800	40	1838	40	1876	74
1801	48	1839	39	1877	72
1802	48	1840	62	1878	65
1803	34	1841	41	1879	69
1804	26	1842	47	1880	98
1805	52	1843	49	1881	105
1806	41	1844	29	1882	110
1807	56	1845	48	1883	101
1808	80	1846	44	1884	92
1809	57	1847	40	1885	75
1810	73	1848	46	1886	59
1811	61	1849	33	1887	76
1812	51	1850	54	1888	51
1813	70	1851	45	1889	54
1814	61	1852	52	1890	73
1815	65	1853	66	1891	61
1816	45	1854	38	1892	86
1817	34	1855	55	1893	44
1818	39	1856	58	1894	55
1819	31	1857	65	1895	60
1820	31	1858	71	1896	59
1821	23	1859	69	1897	58
1822	39	1860	80	1898	73
1823	36	1861	71	1899	72
1824	34	1862	50	1900	63
1825	34	1863	79	1901	79
1826	23	1864	71	1902	60
1827	28	1865	78	1903	65

1828	32	1866	72	1904	66
1829	37	1867	93	1905	11 (March)
1830	33	1868	84		
1831	27	1869	75		

Source: J. Gerard, Stonyhurstiana (1894) and added list (1905).

Entries at Mount St. Mary's College .. corrected on lists to 1958

Annual entries 1842-1914

1842	17	1879	54
1843	16	1880	31
1844	20	1881	36
1845	15	1882	38
1846	10	1883	50
1847	10	1884	34
1848	20	1885	44
1849	29	1886	46
1850	24	1887	43
1851	20	1888	37
1852	23	1889	51
1853	16	1890	46
1854	29	1891	55
1855	30	1892	48
1856	18	1893	32
1857	15	1894	36
1858	34	1895	35
1859	29	1896	50
1860	32	1897	43
1861	39	1898	38
1862	43	1899	34
1863	27	1900	39
1864	27	1901	32
1865	36	1902	69
1866	35	1903	79
1867	40	1904	51
1868	31	1905	80
1869	32	1906	62
1870	33	1907	60
1871	27	1908	47
1872	38	1909	55
1873	45	1910	66
1874	47	1911	63

1875	58	1912	78
1876	50	1913	65
1877	39	1914	55
1878	59		

Source: Anon., Mount Register 1842-1914 (1958)

Beaumont Arrivals 1861-1911

1861	4	1888	54
1862	48	1889	68
1863	24	1890	57
1864	36	1891	51
1865	26	1892	36
1866	32	1893	48
1867	34	1894	31
1868	31	1895	45
1869	24	1896	23
1870	50	1897	19
1871	38	1898	41
1872	24	1899	28
1873	34	1900	17
1874	40	1901	45
1875	27	1902	63
1876	34	1903	36
1877	38	1904	44
1878	46	1905	44
1879	46	1906	35
1880	55	1907	53
1881	49	1908	56
1882	39	1909	52
1883	44	1910	64
1884	42	1911	30
1885	40	1912	
1886	43	1913	
1887	50	1914	

Source: Beaumont Lists for 50 Years (1911)

APPENDIX 2

(This table is referred to in footnote 78 of Chapter 1)

Table showing the proportion of gentry and titled parents in the schools studied by Bamford, 1801-1820

<i>School</i>	<i>A</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>C</i>	<i>D</i>	<i>E</i>
Harrow	758	929	1398	81.60%	54.21%
Rugby	664	1019	1216	65.16%	54.26%
St. Paul's	76	638	742	11.91%	10.24%
Eton	1084	1299	2268	83.45%	47.80%

- A - total sons of gentry and titled families;
- B - total known cases of parental status;
- C - total number of boys in the school;
- D - total in A as a percentage of total B;
- E - total in A as a percentage of total B.

Source: Adapted from T.W. Bamford, "Public Schools and Social Class, 1801-1851", British Journal of Sociology, Vol. V, No. 12 (1961) 224-233.

APPENDIX 3

From the extant registers at Mount St. Mary's and Stonyhurst, an attempt was made to determine the previous educational background of pupils entering the Colleges. The absolute totals of those entering the Colleges differ from the lists in Appendix 1 and this suggests that there were other entry registers which have subsequently disappeared.

The first analysis (Table A) concerns Mount St. Mary's alone. It was possible to reconstruct the entries for three groups of three years: 1881-1883, 1901-1903 and 1911-1913. Very few general trends can be observed, but the following remarks can be made with some certainty.

1. The number of boys from Jesuit Colleges increased.
2. The number of boys from non-Jesuit sources abroad declined.
3. The numbers of boys attending unknown, but probably proprietary, day schools was fairly uniform.
4. The numbers who had attended Protestant grammar schools increased. This suggests a rising demand for such schools that has been a theme of my study and which was not met by Catholic bodies.

In order to compare this with Stonyhurst, the sixteen categories had to be reduced to eleven. The information revealed in the Stonyhurst registers, which were discovered later, did not permit the more detailed analysis of the Mount registers. The results are reproduced in Table B.

The result was very negative. There are few trends of real significance and the periods under study do not overlap. The importance of the exercise is that it demonstrates the very great difficulty in finding and comparing evidence of this type.

Table A

Mount St. Mary's - Entries and Previous Schools

	<u>A</u>	<u>B</u>	<u>C</u>	<u>D</u>	<u>E</u>	<u>F</u>	<u>Gi</u>	<u>Gii</u>	<u>H</u>	<u>I</u>	<u>J</u>	<u>K</u>	<u>A¹</u>	<u>B¹</u>	<u>C¹</u>	<u>I¹</u>	<u>Total</u>
<u>1881</u>	3		2		2	1		1	1	16			2			5	33
<u>1882</u>	7		1	2	2			3	2	12	1		4	2	1	2	39
<u>1883</u>	5	1	1							6	2	29	5				49
<u>1901</u>	1		4			5	2			5		15				1	33
<u>1902</u>	6	1	8	1			2			2		45	1			2	68
<u>1903</u>	1		1	3	3	1	4			7		5	1				31
<u>1911</u>	5		6	2	6		4			4		10	5				42
<u>1912</u>	12		9	4	17	1	4	1		15	3	3	4				73
<u>1913</u>	9		10	2	16	1	3			13	1	9	4			2	70

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Source: Registers at Mount St. Mary's College

Key to Table A

<i>A</i>	.. Other Jesuit Colleges in England and Wales	
<i>B</i>	.. Benedictine Colleges	
<i>C</i>	- Secular Clerical Colleges	
<i>D</i>	- Xaverian Brothers Schools	
<i>E</i>	- Convent Schools	
<i>F</i>	- Private Boarding Schools	
<i>Gi</i>	- Protestant Grammar Schools	
<i>Gii</i>	- Catholic Grammar Schools	
<i>H</i>	- Gentlemen's Academies	
<i>I</i>	- Day Schools	
<i>J</i>	- Private Tutor	
<i>K</i>	- Unknown and unrecorded	
<i>A</i> ¹	- Jesuit	} Schools abroad
<i>B</i> ¹	- Benedictine	
<i>C</i> ¹	- Secular Colleges	
<i>I</i> ¹	- Day Schools	

Table B

Two Jesuit Boarding Colleges - Previous Schools of Entrants

<u>STONYHURST</u>	<i>App.1</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>4</i>	<i>5</i>	<i>6</i>	<i>7</i>	<i>8</i>	<i>9</i>	<i>10</i>	<i>11</i>
1844-46	121	85	6* 7.1	10 11.8	3 3.5	7 8.3	2 2.4	19 22.6	2 2.4	12 4.1	3 3.3	9 10.6	12 14.1
1854-56	151	126	26 20.6	11 8.7	1 .8	5 4.0	6 4.8	1 .8	7 5.6	9 7.1	12 9.5	11 8.7	37 29.4
1864-66	221	166	25 15.1	12 7.2	2 1.2	12 7.2	12 7.2	9 5.4	3 1.8	6 3.6	19 11.5	24 14.5	42 25.3
<u>MOUNT ST. MARY'S</u>	<i>App.1</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>4</i>	<i>5</i>	<i>6</i>	<i>7</i>	<i>8</i>	<i>9</i>	<i>10</i>	<i>11</i>
1881-83	124	121	15 12.4	11 9.1	1 .8	4 3.3	10 8.3	3 2.5	34 28.1	3 2.5	1 .8	10 8.3	29 24.0
1901-03	180	132	8 6.1	2 1.5	1 .8	13 9.8	7 5.3	0 0	14 10.6	0 0	14 10.6	3 2.3	65 49.2
1911-13	206	185	26 14.1	13 7.0	0 0	25 13.3	48 25.9	4 2.2	32 17.3	0 0	13 7.0	2 1.1	22 11.9

**Figures in the left-hand column are absolute totals; those in the right-hand column are percentages of the total in the Register for the three year periods under review.*

Key to Table B

1	- Jesuit Colleges in England and Scotland
2	- Jesuit Colleges in Ireland and Overseas
3	- Benedictine Colleges in England
4	- Seminary Colleges in England
5	- Other Catholic Educational Institutions
6	- At Home or by Private Tutor
7	- Day Schools
8	- Gentlemen's Proprietary Academies
9	- Grammar Schools
10	- Foreign
11	- Unknown

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